

**Choosing zines: Defining the constructs that influence
the decision to participate in the practice of zine-
making in the digital age**

Submitted by Peter Bryant in fulfilment of the requirements of a Doctor of
Philosophy 2017

University of Technology Sydney

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as part of the doctoral degree and/or fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

Production Note:

Signature removed prior to publication.

Peter Bryant

Date: 23rd January 2018

This research is supported by an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I don't know how to create what I am searching for. I want something meaningful, but I don't know where to begin.

She's So Very... #9 – A zine by Melissa Ann (2007)

This thesis has been a long time coming, with a few false starts along the way. It would not have been possible without the help, advice and hearty appetite to listen to me think this through for hours on end from everyone around me.

I would like to thank the following people for their support during this long process.

To Jenna Freedman and Eric Goldhagen, who asked every time I went to New York about the thesis, introduced me to New York zine-makers, helped organise the NY expert group, inducted me into the wonderful collective story of ABC No Rio, took me to Bluestockings and sent me a wonderful zine every year.

To all the respondents and expert group participants who gave their time, shared their zines, let me into the lives and made the insights in the study. Thanks to Alex Wreck for her time in helping to bring together the Portland expert group.

To my family, friends and the rest of the assorted menagerie, writing this kind of academic work takes you away from all of them and their tolerance and support in those absent times, and their embraces on my return were always appreciated.

To my Mum and Dad, who seemed to have a pretty clear idea before I did that an academic career beckoned. And especially to Dad, without whom I wouldn't know what a thesis was and that without a doubt, it would all eventually fit together like it grew there.

To my supervisors, Christine Burton and Bronwen Dalton, both of whom have been around since day one. Thank you for your timely and pragmatic advice and feedback that has shaped the way this study turned out.

And Fiona, my wife and most important person in my life, who by now knows everything there is to know about zines, every half idea I had, every dead end, every light bulb. She listened, she interrogated, she let me be, she pushed when I wasn't doing enough and she made this journey possible.

Professional editor, Hazel Blunden of Corvus Consulting provided copy editing and proofreading services, according to the guidelines laid out in the university-endorsed national 'Guidelines for editing research theses'.

ABSTRACT

Zines are a unique, small circulation, print based medium that have been in existence for over eighty years. They have survived and some would argue flourished in an environment of participatory social media and declining print circulation. Zine-making is a contradictory, lo-fi, do-it-yourself media-making practice, rich in parallel research traditions and historical engagements across many vocal creative and social communities. This study investigated the constructs that influenced the decision to choose to make zines in the digital age. Drawing on thirty-four semi-structured email interviews, conducted between 2011 and 2015, the study interrogated and defined the motivations of individuals to participate in zine-making. Using a constructivist grounded theory inquiry, a theoretical model was developed from the responses that located the activities undertaken to make a zine within a four-stage model of zine-making participation processes. The study argued that these stages were not enacted sequentially or discretely, but coalesced into liminal spaces that shaped the aspirational and attitudinal aesthetics of zines. It is within these liminal spaces that zine-makers defined and shared their own understanding of what they were choosing to participate in. Zine-makers, by constructing and sharing meaning and their identity through zine-making, became part of a bounded but fragile *communitas* of makers and readers, where small sub-spaces intersect to form semi-private spaces defined by an almost infinite combination of geographical locations, socio-cultural influences, digital technology and social media practices, interests, types of making, attitudes and beliefs, lived experiences and audiences. Finally, the study locates the impacts, influences and transformative effects of digital technology and social media practices on the decision to make zines.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS	viii
LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 The context of zine-making	1
1.2 Introducing the study	5
1.3 Key concepts and debates	6
1.3.1 Defining zines	6
1.3.2 Defining the digital age	13
1.3.3 Zines in the digital age	14
1.4 Significance of the study	17
1.5 Contribution to knowledge	20
1.6 Research questions.....	22
1.7 Research methodology	24
1.7 Thesis outline.....	27
1.8 A note on nomenclature.....	27
CHAPTER TWO – EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH ..	29
2.1 Introduction.....	29
2.2 Research paradigm	29
2.2.1 Knowledge claims	30
2.2.2 Selecting a constructivist approach	32
2.3 Methodology	33
2.3.1 Why qualitative research?	33
2.3.2 Evaluation of competing methodological approaches	36
2.3.3 Applicability of constructivist grounded theory to the research question ..	40
2.3.4 Constructivism and grounded theory	42
2.3.5 Enhancing quality and rigour	43
2.3.6 Supporting theory construction	44
2.3.7 The importance of the phenomena and the story	45
2.3.8 My position in the research	46
CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY	49
3.1 Introduction.....	49
3.2 Methodological process.....	49
3.2.1 Location and conduct of the literature review	50
3.2.2 Developing the research question	52
3.2.3 Theoretical sampling.....	54
3.2.4 Conducting the interviews.....	56
3.2.5 Interview questions	61
3.2.6 Coding	63
3.2.7 Refining categories and capturing feedback through memo-writing	66
3.2.8 Theoretical saturation	68
3.2.9 Quality in the research process	68
3.2.10 Sensitising concepts and key studies	73
3.3 Ethical considerations	75

CHAPTER FOUR – LITERATURE REVIEW	78
4.1 Introduction.....	78
4.2 Defining zines and zine-making – the definitional debates.....	78
4.2.1 Introduction	78
4.2.2 Defining zines through the role of the zine-maker	79
4.2.3 Defining zines through the nature of content and the style of writing	85
4.2.4 Defining zines through circulation and distribution	87
4.2.5 Defining zines through form and construction	89
4.2.6 Defining zines through communities.....	90
4.2.7 Defining zines through the transition from reader to maker.....	92
4.2.8 Defining zines as communication and social tools	93
4.2.9 Defining zines in the digital age	94
4.3 Locating zine-making within DIY and the act of making.....	95
4.4 Defining participation in making and the constructs that influence participatory decisions	100
4.4.1 Introduction	100
4.4.2 Defining participation in making across discipline contexts	100
4.4.3 Cultural production and participation in zine-making	103
4.4.4 Transitioning from cultural consumption to cultural participation	106
CHAPTER FIVE – DEVELOPING A MODEL OF ZINE-MAKING PARTICIPATION	108
5.1 Introduction.....	108
5.2 Identifying the processes and acts involved in making zines	109
5.3 A model of zine-making participation processes	117
5.3.1 Exploring the complexities of the cultural production of zines	117
5.3.2 Refining the categories that define the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making.....	122
5.3.3 Modalities of zine-making participation.....	124
5.3.4 Describing the zine-making participation processes – Form and Construction	128
5.3.5 Describing the zine-making participation processes - Content.....	148
5.3.6 Describing the zine-making participation processes - Distribution	170
5.3.7 Describing the zine-making participation processes- Community and Readers	178
5.3.8 The zine-making participation processes in the digital age	191
CHAPTER SIX – THE COMMUNITAS OF AESTHETICS.....	195
6.1 Exploring the liminality and communitas within zine-making participation	195
6.2 Defining the communitas of zine-making through aesthetics	203
6.2.1 Aesthetics enacting political meaning and identity	209
6.2.2 Aesthetics enacting meaning and identity through control: Intimacy, the bedroom, compulsion, ranting, reporting and sharing secrets.....	211
6.2.3 Aesthetics enacting resistance, rebellion and revolution	217
6.2.4 Aesthetics enacting personal meaning and identity.....	225
6.3 Concluding the communitas of aesthetics	235
CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	238
7.1 Choosing to participate in the communitas of zine-making.....	241
7.2 Reflections on the research design and methodology	247
7.4 Contributions to theory.....	249
7.4.1 Communitas and zine-making	249
7.4.2 Semi-private spaces in the digital age	252
7.4.3 Transitioning between cultural consumption and cultural production	254
7.4.4 Analogue making in the digital age.....	255

7.5 Areas for further research	258
REFERENCES	261
LIST OF ZINES CITED	292
LOCATION AND SOURCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	293
APPENDIX 1 – CALL FOR PARTICIPATION	295
APPENDIX 2 – INFORMATION LETTER.....	296
APPENDIX 3 – INFORMED CONSENT	298
APPENDIX 4 – THIRD CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS	299
APPENDIX 5 – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE	300
APPENDIX 6 – EXPERT GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE.....	302
APPENDIX 7 – OPEN CODING GUIDE AND WORD CLOUDS.....	304

LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS

Bryant, P. (2011). Interaction, feedback, reinforcement and collective identity: The role of zine making in the formation and sustaining of community and personal networks. International Association of Media and Communications Research Conference. Istanbul, Turkey.

Bryant, P. (2014). If a tree falls in the forest: the role of community formation and the power of the individual in zine making participation. Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies 4(3).

Bryant, P. (2014). Making analogue connections in a digital world: Exploring the motivations for zine-making participation through the lens of zine writing. International Perspectives on Participation & Engagement in the Arts. Utrecht, Netherlands.

LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Tables

<i>Table 1 Discipline fields and key studies</i>	8
<i>Table 2 Breakdown of interview stages</i>	58
<i>Table 3 Sensitising concepts and key studies</i>	74
<i>Table 4 Categories describing participation in the cultural production of zines that emerged from the initial data analysis</i>	114
<i>Table 5 Examples of participation scenarios exploring degrees of sociality from the interviews</i>	126
<i>Table 6 Modalities of form/construction in zine-making</i>	132
<i>Table 7 Modalities of content in zine-making</i>	151
<i>Table 8 Examples of the subjects and topics captured within the zine content of the respondents in the study</i>	162
<i>Table 9 Modalities of distribution in zine-making</i>	171
<i>Table 10 Modalities of community/readers in zine-making</i>	180
<i>Table 11 Aesthetical dynamics and the modes informing zine-making participation</i>	209

Figures

<i>Figure 1 Constructivist grounded theory methodology as implemented in the study</i>	50
<i>Figure 2 Stage 1: A model of zine-making participation processes</i>	124
<i>Figure 3 Stage 2: Zine-making participation processes and modality</i>	127
<i>Figure 4 A model of the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making</i>	202

Illustrations

<i>Illustration 1 An example of how zines are made and the cut & paste and handmade appearance of some zines. Photograph taken by themostinept (CC BY-SA 2.0)</i>	4
<i>Illustration 2 An example of the handmade construction of zines, including handwriting and cut & paste images - Drink More - Back Cover by Amanda Millar (CC BY-ND 2.0)</i>	10
<i>Illustration 3 An example of the Star Trek fanzine 'Beyond Antares' produced by the Sydney University Star Trek Club in 1982, with a cover by fan artist Michael McGann (CC BY-ND 2.0).</i>	47
<i>Illustration 4 The zine 'I dreamed I was assertive #13' by Celia Pérez (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0).</i>	88
<i>Illustration 5 The zine 'Mend My Dress' issues 14 and 15 by neelybat chestnut. Reproduced courtesy of the author.</i>	122
<i>Illustration 6 An example of the cut and paste and appropriated images used to make zines, represented by Beckoning, a one page wonder zine by Sacha Baumann (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0).</i>	129
<i>Illustration 7 Lower East Side Librarian Winter Solstice Shout Out 2004 and 2009, a zine by Jenna Freedman (reproduced courtesy of the author).</i>	143
<i>Illustration 8 Factsheet five Issue #35 (1990), photo by Destination DIY (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0).</i>	182
<i>Illustration 9 A collection of zines for sale on the Etsy website June 2017. Note the prominence of community informed reviews for each seller in the form of stars.</i> ..	194

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

I was fifteen years old when I first fell in love with the lo-fi ideals of do-it-yourself culture, with the idea of producing a zine or recording for yourself and passing it on to others. I was excited by the thought that you could use the resources available to you – a piece of paper, a battered guitar, a cheap tape-recorder – to cross the boundary between who consumes and who creates. It was empowering to realise that anyone, however amateur, could produce something which would be valued as a finished product. In a society where the publishing and music industries are shaped by profit-margins, what is radical about the participants of this scene is that they simply want to exchange information about the bands, gigs, zines etc. they have found exciting. The primary aim is to build unique idealised networks in which anyone can participate. (Spencer 2005, p. 11)

1.1 The context of zine-making

The first paragraph of Amy Spencer's book *'DIY: The rise of lo-fi culture'* (2005) identifies several critical tensions for media-makers aligned with their processes of making, centred on notions of creation, professionalism, idealism, participation and community. These tensions have magnified and collided in a digital society, where technology and the practices of social media have vastly changed the media landscape. Written in 2005, before the explosion of social media (both Twitter and Facebook went mainstream in 2006), the story Spencer tells of self-publishers, of independent music distributors and zine-makers could only hint at the impact that the emerging social media revolution and mobile technology would have on do-it-yourself (DIY) media practices over the ensuing years. The 'piece of paper' became a blog, the 'battered guitar' an iPad app, and the 'cheap tape recorder', a mobile phone. Yet the ambition of individuals to express themselves within a sometimes-idealised community of DIY making continues to drive creativity in music, media and other forms of expression. At the centre of this DIY movement is a collective appreciation among participants

of forms of democratised, emancipatory participation, where commercialisation and corporatisation do not limit the capacity of individuals to express themselves and build communities.

This study sought to define and understand the constructs that influenced the decision to make zines in the digital age. It was critical to explore individual motivations for engaging in zine-making practice and how individuals define, understand and share their participation. In a media-making environment often overwhelmed by social media practices, why and how can lo-fi, handmade and DIY media survive and sometimes flourish? Whilst some earlier studies on zine-making have taken an *a priori* perspective, positioning technology as a disruptive or dangerous force or as something that runs counter to the DIY aestheticism of zine-making, what factors create the conditions for zines to grow, evolve and maintain relevance and a presence in a media landscape dominated by the digital?

Zine-making is a uniquely contradictory, lo-fi, do-it-yourself media-making practice, rich in parallel traditions and historical positionality across a diverse spectrum of vocal creative and social communities. It has been informed by an impassioned and analytical debate that coalesces around the future of zines in a social media world, the rationale and motivations for participation in zine-making and the role of zine-making in forming and informing communities (Brown & Duguid 1996; Chidgey 2014a; Debies-Carl 2014; Guzzetti, Foley & Lesley 2015; Hester & Walters 2016; Malekoff 2010). Deciding to participate in zine-making is where many of these tensions are exposed, centering on the role of the individual zine-maker, the ways in which they connect and engage with their readers and the importance they place on technology in their practice (Cramer 2015a; Piepmeier 2008).

The exponential growth of blogs and social media platforms such as Facebook, Wordpress, YouTube and Twitter has allowed individuals to engage in some of the practices often ascribed to zine-making, such as community development, distribution, hacker culture/aesthetics, accessible expression, creativity and life writing (Chidgey 2014b; Cramer 2015b; Debies-Carl 2014) using entirely digital

media. However, there remains a significant proportion of zine-makers who maintain and promote a manual approach to zine-making, fighting against the domination of born-digital media. They do this by defending the continued legitimacy of DIY making, advocating for the authenticity and originality of handmade production techniques and arguing for the benefits arising from the relative impermanence of zines (Chidgey 2009; Eichhorn 2014; Radway 2011; Tkach & Hank 2014).

Zines are complex to define, partially due to the wide variety of forms, methodologies, content, materials and communities involved in making them (Chidgey 2006; Kempson 2015b; Stoddart & Kiser 2004). Essentially a print based handmade medium, defined in part by the control the maker exerts over the content and distribution, zines have been described in the literature as an emancipatory and democratic form of media-making shaped by behaviours of resistance against the mainstream (Cameron 2016; Debies-Carl 2014; Schilt 2003a). The handmade, trashy or amateur appearance characteristic of many zines (Bartel 2004; Piepmeier 2008) aligns with the established traditions of DIY media and bricolage, but is uniquely demonstrable in zine-making practice in ways that are distinctive from other DIY media forms: cut and paste pictures, typewritten manuscripts, laser printed covers, collages and comic drawings. Zines are often defined by the aesthetics of the photocopier, incorporating blurry, shadowy, black and white images. Zines are generally hand-cut and stapled, and come in a variety of shapes and sizes. They are assembled manually, and copied using cheap and generally accessible methods of reproduction. These elements come together to give many zines a look and personalised feel unique to the individual zine-maker, who shares the sometimes rebellious, sometimes revolutionary and sometimes personally insightful or challenging messages contained within (Nijsten 2016; Zobl, Reitsamer & Grünangerl 2014).

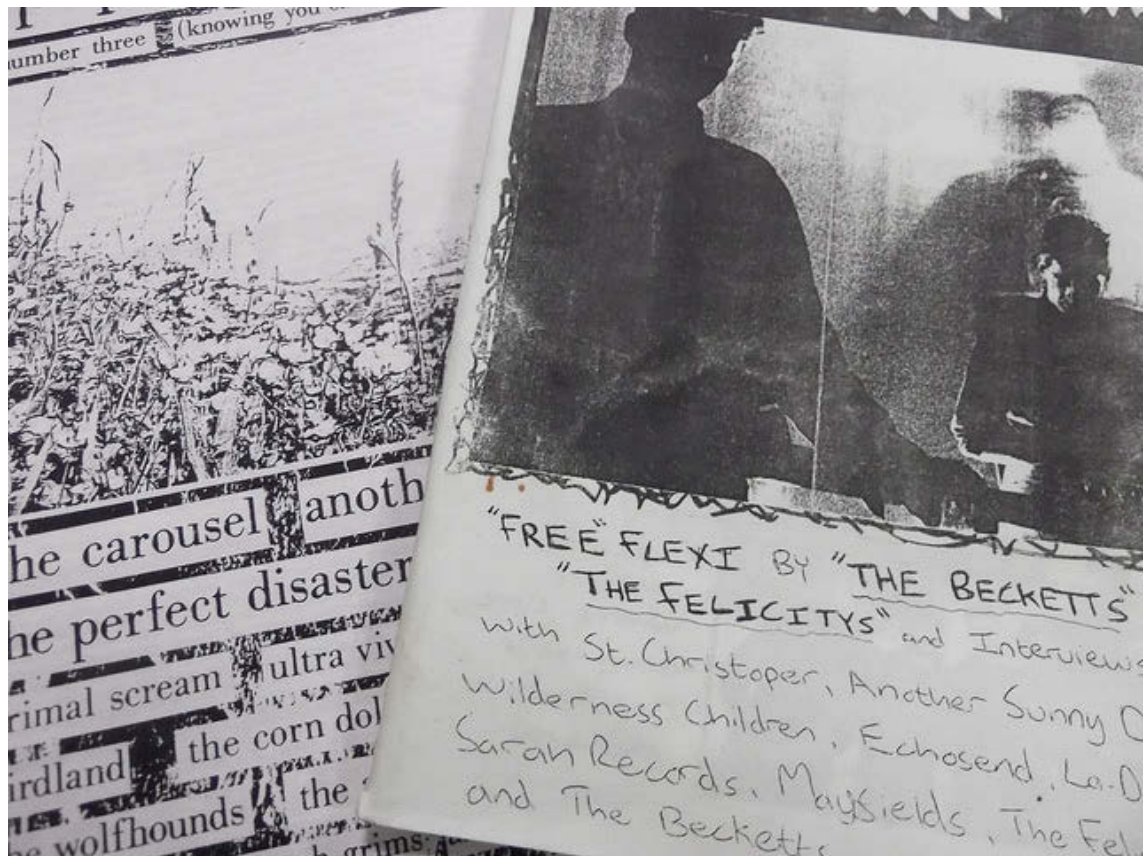


Illustration 1 An example of how zines are made and the cut & paste and handmade appearance of some zines. Photograph taken by themostinept (CC BY-SA 2.0)

The complexity in defining what zines are extends to the academic and scholarly discourses about zines and zine-making, where there is a long, fragmented and contested tradition of theoretical debate and research. Many of the studies are located within specific discipline areas, such as feminism and gender studies, literature, music, cultural studies, fandom studies, sexuality and education. This fragmentation is due, in part, to the non-linear and idiosyncratic evolution and development of zines themselves, with new types and forms emerging each year that add to already established numbers of older zine types.

Zines are chronicles of an increasing diversity of modern cultures and sub-cultures, whilst continuing to give voice to earlier cultural representations. As they evolved and grew in importance within specific communities and cultures, the role of zines was interrogated and interpreted by scholars (Harris 2016; Kempson 2015b; Piano 2015; Rauch 2015b). Many of these discipline-specific

studies position zines as relatively homogenous objects within that field, but seek to differentiate the zines types they study from others in different fields (Ferris 2001; Hays 2017; Nijsten 2016; Radway 2016; Sinor 2003). This has resulted in a deficit of studies about zine-making participation as a form of cultural production and studies that cross or compare between disciplinary boundaries.

1.2 Introducing the study

Utilising data from thirty-four interviews with zine-makers from six countries whose own zines and personal and community memberships straddled a wide range of disciplines, political perspectives, musical and cultural styles and zine types, this study sought to identify the constructs that influenced the decision of these zine-makers to make zines. There are a limited number of studies that explore zine-making participation outside of a disciplinary, historical or political context (see e.g. Duncombe 1997; Spencer 2005). With zine-making crossing traditional disciplinary boundaries, it was important to ascertain whether there were commonly agreed principles or conditions that defined what the zine-makers believed they were participating in. The stories told by the thirty-four respondents in their interviews provided layered accounts of what influenced and shaped their motivations for participation in zine-making. The interviews exposed how the act of making was for many a representation of the respondent's internal analytical processes. Through sometimes long and complex responses to questions, the way zine-making practices were described was effectively a personal narrative; one that was part therapy, part dialogue or conversation and part on-going project.

Finally, this study examined the influence of the digital age (represented broadly by digital technology and social media) on the decision to make zines. Not every respondent in the study started making zines in the digital age. Some made their first zine as early as the 1980s and others made their first zine in the year they were interviewed. At the time of their interview, all respondents were actively engaged in making zines in an era of relatively ubiquitous and accessible technology and where other media forms such as blogs, social

media platforms or digital tools and applications for making offered the potential for replicating, replacing or enhancing the capabilities of zines. The impacts of technology on the way zines are made and distributed, the capabilities of the zine-maker to create and engage with communities of makers and readers, and the role of social media such as blogs, publishing and design applications ('apps') and community formation and development tools like online forums, have disrupted and transformed zine-making practices (Aragon 2008; Brouwer & Licona 2016; Debies-Carl 2014; Desyllas & Sinclair 2014; Douglas & Poletti 2016; Vesey 2015). These developments have challenged the primacy of the physical, handmade zine form and broken down some of the boundaries between the making of print and digital media.

1.3 Key concepts and debates

1.3.1 Defining zines

Zinesters combine iconography and text to create publications that can be chaotic, disturbing, uncomfortable, sensual, complex, loud, confrontive, and often a social critique of contemporary life. Gender roles, religion, familial relationships, politics, sexual orientation, the environment, academic disciplines, the arts, class structure, ethnicity, generational differences, economics, and pop culture are among the many issues celebrated, skewered, deconstructed, reconstructed, and illuminated by zinesters. (Congdon & Blandy 2003, p. 45)

Defining both the physical form of a zine and the practices of zine-making is a contested and complex debate in both the academic literature and the mainstream media. The diversity of meanings, discourses and understandings of zines ensures that an agreed or definitive definition remains hard to develop (Chu 1997; Schilt 2004). Whilst there is some agreement about form (that zines are physically constructed at some point in their production and reproduction and are demonstrative of handmade or DIY techniques), editorial control (maker owned and controlled) and non-commerciality (not for profit), there are ongoing and passionate disagreements around audience, content, distribution, intention

and construction (see e.g. Bartel 2004; Desyllas & Sinclair 2014; Duncombe 1997; Freedman 2005a, 2011; Kempson 2015b; Spencer 2005; Stoddart & Kiser 2004).

These disagreements are partially attributable to a lack of consistent or agreed frameworks or schema defining the making of zines, across and within specific zine typologies or the political, social and historical contexts of zine-making (Duncombe 1997). Many of the studies on zine-making are located within disparate and fundamentally different fields of study and not aggregated in a tradition of study on zines specifically. One result of this fragmentation is that many definitions of zine-making reside in the community and cultural contexts of the zine-maker, as opposed to the artefacts they are making. For example, one of the common distinctions in the literature is between zines made by men and zines made by women (more commonly referred to in the literature as girls). Some writers argue that the gender of the writer makes the study of their outputs and practices incomparable or fundamentally different with that of the opposite gender (Dunn & Farnsworth 2012; Keller 2012; Radway 2016). As a result, there is no consensus between the disciplinary approaches affording explanations of concepts such as participation, motivation, intention and impact and how they intersect with zine-making practices.

Table 1 summarises the key discipline fields and discourses in which definitions about zine-making reside and the key studies that have informed the definitions of zines used and accepted within that field.

Discipline field	Key studies	Zine context
Feminist theory (especially third wave feminism)	Chidgey (2014b) Cofield and Robinson (2016) Fraser (2002) Payne (2009) Schilt (2003a, 2003b) Weida (2013)	Zines as a medium representing feminist politics, zines as a form of resistance to patriarchy, zines as identity formation instrument, zines as instruments of riot grrrl community membership and participation.
Narrative storytelling	Boellstorff (2004) Piepmeier (2008) Poletti (2005, 2008a, 2008b)	Zines as sites of lived experience, zines as chronicles of cultural activity, zines as representations of embodied community.
Library and information science	Bartel (2004) Freedman (2009) Gardner (2009) Gisonny and Freedman (2006) Leventhal (2007)	Zines as archive material, the ephemerality of zines, the affordances of digitising or archiving zine content, categorisation of zine types.
Primary and secondary education	Guzetti and Gamboa (2004) Williamson (1994) Yang (2010)	Zines as developmental tools for identity formation, writing skills and creativity.
Creative and life writing	Chidgey (2006) Cohen (2004) Green (2014) Richardson (1996) Sinor (2003)	Feminist dialogues through zine-making, the intersection of digital and zine creative writing, life writing as a practice, development of writing skills.
Critical media studies	Atton (1999, 2001) Chu (1997) Lankshear and Knobel (2010)	Making DIY media as a form of participation, the role of zines as form of alternative media, zines challenging the dominance of mainstream media.
Music and cultural studies	Dunn and Farnsworth (2012) Schilt (2003b, 2004) Triggs (2006)	The role of zines in musical sub-cultures such as riot grrrl and punk.
Sexuality and culture	Boellstorff (2004) Collins (1998) Dodge (1993)	Zine-making exploring sexual identity, assertion and expression of sexuality, political action and representation, community formation and identity.

Table 1 Discipline fields and key studies

Within a significant number of these studies, a small sub-set of cross-disciplinary writers are frequently cited to define, at least in part, what constitutes a zine (see e.g. Duncombe 1997; Piepmeier 2009; Spencer 2005;

Wreck 2005). One of the most commonly cited of these works is the 1997 book *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* by Stephen Duncombe (republished in 2014). In the book, Duncombe defines zines as ‘...non-commercial, non-professional, small-circulation magazines which the creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves’ (Duncombe 1997, p. 6). He introduces the idea that zines are often best self-defined by participants in the practice, arguing (perhaps in jest) that a person seeking a definition for zines should read a variety of zines and decide for themselves. Alex Wreck is a zine-maker from Portland, Oregon who wrote one of the most referred to ‘how-to’ guides on zine-making called *Stolen Sharpie Revolution*, originally published in 2002. She makes a similar assertion to Duncombe by arguing that the definition of what constitutes a zine is in the gift of the maker noting that:

It is about looking at something and saying “I can do that!” rather than waiting for someone to do it for you. It is about taking control away from corporate consumer influence and creating things on your own terms. It’s about learning new skills and integrating them into your daily life (Wreck 2005, p. 2)

For both Duncombe and Wreck zine-making is the outcome of a complex intersection of the motivations and behaviours of the zine-maker and those of the community or individuals that read the zine. A common demonstration of this complexity is the way zines are described as variously alternative, independent or underground, acting as vehicles for content, narration, stories and voices that are not represented or resist those in the mainstream media (Atton 2002; Chidgey 2014a; Radway 2016; Rauch 2016). Zines and zine-making are aligned to social movements and communities such as third-wave feminism, punk and science fiction, acting as organs of record, representations of identity, badges of membership or sites in which to construct stories and narratives which are often personal and idiosyncratic (Chidgey 2006; Duncombe 1997; Spencer 2005). Some of the studies conflate participation by individuals in these movements and participation in zine-making, arguing that

make a zine constitutes membership or recognition within a community or socio-cultural movement (Creasap 2014; Ferris 2001; Piepmeier 2009).

Another common descriptor that studies have used to define zines is how zines are made, both in terms of the acts of construction involved in making and through the physicality of zine-making. From the use of the term photocopied (and derivations) as an aesthetic descriptor of zines (Poletti 2008a) to the way zine-making can be shaped by appropriation of imagery and materials (Congdon & Blandy 2003; Duncombe 1997), the practices and techniques of how zines are constructed, designed and reproduced are used frequently in the literature to define zines.

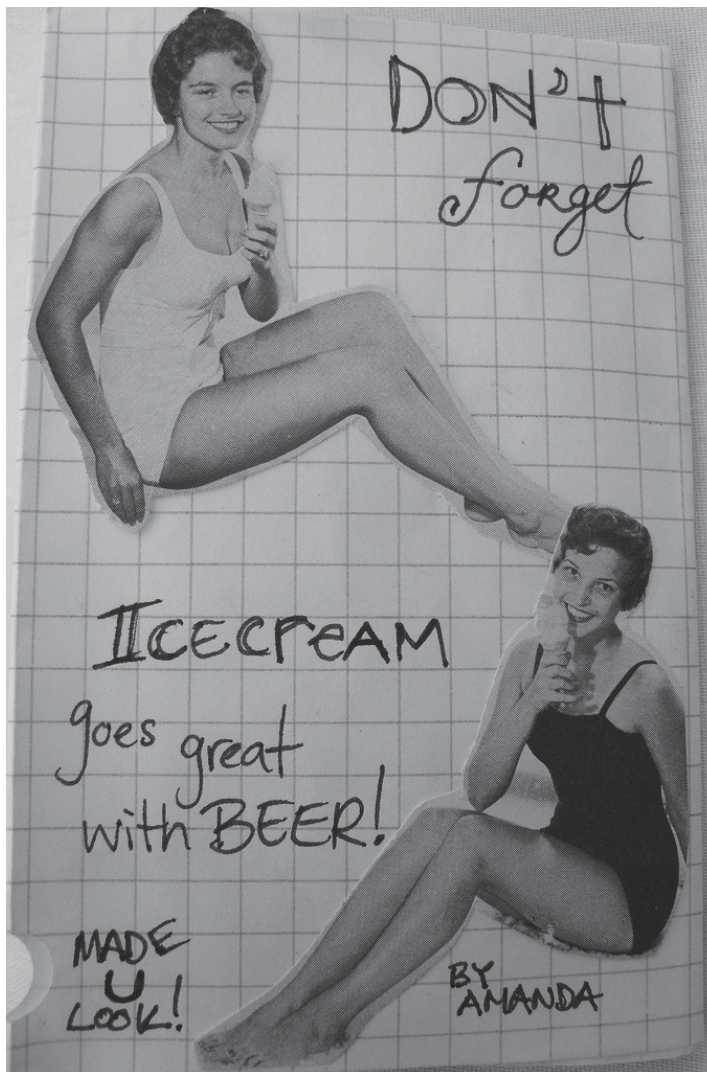


Illustration 2 An example of the handmade construction of zines, including handwriting and cut & paste images - Drink More - Back Cover by Amanda Millar (CC BY-ND 2.0)

The application of terms such as lo-fi, do-it-yourself, found, artisan and handmade can represent both a philosophical position as well as describing the actual practices used to make zines (Piepmeier 2008, 2009; Poletti 2005; Reagles 2008; Triggs 2006). Describing the way something is made and the application of a personal touch or the care taken in assembling the item embodies both the emotion and expression of resistance by the individual, unfettered by the need for complex training or the approval of others (Freedman 2011; Radway 2001; Sklar 2006). Zines are a tactile, physical media; hands-on in a way that involves the maker and reader in an equally personal and physical participatory experience (Rauch 2004) with the ephemerality and uniqueness of the medium characterised by small circulations, idiosyncratic content and personal, editorial and authorial perspectives.

The methods used to distribute zines represents another definitional element in the literature. Zine-makers utilise a range of informal and scattergun approaches to distribution which can include sharing them hand-to-hand with readers, leaving them in spaces to be discovered, selling them through zine fairs or distributing them in retail stores or via the Internet. Pricing of zines is nominal, usually free or priced to cover costs. These methods help to maintain the underground feel of zines, as zines do not need to be registered as serials or publications and do not require the zine-maker to have any formal business structures (Kempson 2015a; Radway 2016). The digital age offers zine-makers new channels of distribution, supporting the selling of zines online (through sites like Etsy and Sticky Institute in Melbourne, Australia). These new methods of distribution have globalised (on a micro-scale) the readership of many zines and facilitated new networks of readers and makers who aggregate around blogs, web forums and social media to share and discuss zines (Chidgey 2009; Weida 2013).

There is no formal taxonomy of zine content, although there are many zine types commonly referred to in the literature, including perzines (personal zines containing content about individual opinions, stories or interests), fanzines (containing content about a specific musical or cultural phenomena), sex zines

(centred on gender and sexuality) and girl zines (made by and for girls or women). Zines can contain a variety of content: written, visual and in some cases three-dimensional using crafting practices like sewing and knitting (Gauntlett 2013; Triggs 2010; Zweig 1998). The written content of zines ranges from poetry to life writing, reviews, letters, comment, resources and stories (Buchanan 2012; Cohen 2004; Poletti 2005; Stanley 2014). Zines contain a variety of visual content, often informed by the practices of bricolage, ranging from appropriated pop culture images, comics, art, craft constructions such as stitching and felting (Bayerl 2000; Duncombe 1997; Gardner 2009; Gisonny & Freedman 2006; Gunderloy & Janice 1992; Wooten 2002).

Zines can be aligned to the practices of using 'found' materials such as old magazines, discarded photographs, bric-a-brac and recycled materials. *Found* is a simple term that includes notions of discovery, exploration as well as implying loss. In terms of zine construction, *found* represents the materials that may be used by zine makers to illustrate or compose their work. The zine *In Which a Discarded Letter on the Subject of Unrequited Love Is Found on the Corner of 19th Ave. and 3rd Street* deconstructs a found love letter, using the physical fragments as a basis for commentary and the zine content. The concept of appropriating found images and items is prevalent in several other zines. The ability to draw on these items of discarded popular culture and then re-image them as zines serves both to democratise the media and make a comment on the society or community the zine may be critiquing (Congdon 2005b; Feigenbaum 2013).

In some cases, these zines are uniquely constructed or customised, personalising the zine for each reader and demonstrating the touch of the maker in each issue. For example, the zine *I Miss the Way Things Used to be Between Us* has a lipstick-shaped kiss trace on the cover, offering the reader an inherently personal and intimate demonstration that this zine was touched by the zine-maker and their copy is unique to them. The zine-maker has also signed and dated the back of the issue and noted the number of the zine that the reader owns within the limited print run of seventy-two copies.

The notion that zine content does not shy away from difficult or traumatic subjects is another common descriptor used to define zines. Some zine-makers use the content of their zine to enable a form of catharsis, constructing meaning through sharing lived experiences (Walker 2009). Poletti (2003) argues that zine content can be form of life writing, where the zine-maker discusses their personal experiences and their past histories, developing a life narrative and revealing intimate details about themselves within the content of zines. For example, the zine *Too Close to the Sun: Manic Depression and the Life and Death of My Friend Sera Bilizikian* by Sascha chronicles, in sometimes painful terms, the zine-maker's own battle with depression and how she coped with the loss of her friend. Another zine, *Hypochondria: A Year in the Waiting Room with Me* by Angela Weyrens (2004), a self-described hypochondriac, describes a year of medical experiences, often using explicit descriptions and language of the medical procedures she both underwent and imagined.

1.3.2 *Defining the digital age*

Many of the most cited studies on zines and zine-making were published in the 1990s and the early 2000s or interrogated historical phenomena that occurred during in the 1970s through to 1990s. Most of these studies centred on the role of zines as representations of sub-cultural and political movements such as third-wave feminism, punk and more broadly girl culture (see e.g. Chidgey 2014b; Debies-Carl 2014; Ferris 2001; Harris 2016; Moore 2007; Schilt 2004; Schmidt 2006; Sinor 2003; Triggs 2006; Zobl 2004b). Whilst many of the studies listed above are contemporary, the period under investigation is one where the impacts of the Internet and social media on media-making and communications were either non-existent or relatively nascent.

The study uses the term digital age to broadly define a society where digital technology and social media practices have had significant and transformative impacts on media-making and communications. It is recognised however that there is little agreement in the literature about the term 'digital age' and when it may have commenced. Digital can be used to define any manner of electronic computation, engagement, interaction, replication or creation and has passed

(in the main) into an unspecified description of modern times, distinct from an era where digital technology was not as prevalent (see e.g. Brunsting & Postmes 2002; Congdon 2005a; Gomez 2008; Grimes & Wall 2014; Mandarano, Meenar & Steins 2010; Pavlik 2012; Weida 2013; Whitney 2006 - all of these studies have 'digital age' in their title but don't generally define it specifically or explicitly.). Lévy (1998) makes the case that the digital age represents a state of virtualisation for conceptual artefacts such as the corporal body, text, the use of language, the construction of subjects, and the definition and application of objects. He argues that real and virtual are not oppositional concepts but represent opportunities for transformative actions to occur. Siemens (2005) argues that the digital age is marked by the shrinking shelf life of knowledge, matched by the exponential growth of the availability of the same. The capacity to learn and participate is replaced by the capacity of technologies and social networks to share and locate knowledge (what he describes as know-where as opposed to know-how). Hilbert (2012) positions the digital age as one where social evolution has been triggered by innovation and technological change due to '...the digitization of the information and communication processes in social systems' (Hilbert 2012, p. 244). Manovich (2001) describes the digital age as '...the middle of a new media revolution - the shift of all culture to computer-mediated forms of production, distribution, and communication' (Manovich 2001, p. 19). In this definition, the digital age extends beyond the uses of technology to make to also include the development of value systems and behaviours that arise from its use (Deuze 2006).

1.3.3 Zines in the digital age

The growth and normalisation of digital technologies and social media practices have transformed and disrupted the media landscape in the digital age (Burn 2009). Dominant and long-standing models of physical distribution have been supplanted by digital delivery methods and the control of editors, journalists and media owners challenged in ways that the alternative media-makers of the 1970s through 1990s could have only imagined (Bailey, Cammaerts & Carpentier 2007; Mansell 2004). Technology has blurred the boundaries

between what is considered public or private media spaces and roles (Harris 2012), giving rise to citizen journalism, grassroots media and growth of social media news and opinion on sites like Facebook, and in the era of United States President Donald Trump, direct communications to citizens via Twitter. Engaging with this new media landscape demands a range of new skills for both creators and consumers, normalising remix culture, play and transmedia navigation as legitimate media literacies (Jenkins 2009; Jenkins, Ford & Green 2013).

The capabilities and potentials of technology and social media practices in the digital age have informed the aesthetics and attitudes of handmade or DIY, creating new modes of participation and transforming others (Mann 2014). The 'insidious' influences of technology has prompted some writers to observe a nostalgic return to the practices and aspirations of the handmade and a collectivist activism aesthetic that zines historically imbued (Rauch 2015b). The state of making that exists between digital technology and social media practices determining and defining how something is made and the rejection of its influences for a more analogue approach has been labelled by some writers as post-digital (Cox 2015; Cramer 2015a; Taffel 2015). Cramer (2015a) argues that a post-digital media world is messy; a state arising from making practices being subject to hacking, argumentative communications, strident defences of positions and sometimes incorrectly held binary and pejorative descriptions of practice.

For zine-making, the tensions and changes emerging from the post-digital have not been linear or sequential in nature. There is a blurred state within zine-making in the digital age, with the seeping influence of digital practices across the entire gamut of production, distribution, archiving and readership. This is increasingly so with younger zine-makers who may have access to technology (although not necessarily with all the required skills to use it). Types of technology and digital practice starting with the rise of photocopier and leading to practices such as digital layouts, laser printing for reproduction and digital acquisition of imagery have become relatively synonymous with zine-making (Brent & Biel 2014; Chu 1997; Leonard 1998; Poletti 2008a). Zine-makers have

embraced social media, email and other forms of electronic communications to engage with their readers and build and form communities (Ratto & Boler 2014; Weida 2013; Zobl, Reitsamer & Grünangerl 2014). However, there are complex and passionate debates in the literature about the digitisation of zines, evoking some of the post-digital tensions noted above. One such debate centres around the importance of the creation of semi-private spaces for expression and sharing that are characteristic of the relatively small circulations of zines and how digital reproduction can take control away from the zine-maker in determining who and how many people can read their zine (Gottlieb & Wald 2006; Karaian & Mitchell 2010; Kennedy 2007).

The formerly entrenched, personal and strongly held beliefs about what constituted a zine (as opposed to other media) have been progressively challenged by digital disruption and post-digital normalisation and reversion (Coyne 2015; Taffel 2015). The result has been a reconfiguring of the components of zine-making practices and attitudes, breaking and coalescing them into other media forms and redefining what zine-making means in the digital age.

For some zine-makers, this is not a contested or difficult space to navigate. Their practice remains literally and ideologically analogue. They fight against the promulgation of a digital revolution, producing only small numbers of physical artefacts, maintaining the emancipatory potential of pen and paper and supporting the continued efficacy of DIY production as a method of community and personal empowerment (Chidgey 2009; Radway 2011). The pervasiveness of immediate communications, the digitisation of knowledge, the anonymisation of audience and the rise of digital storytelling and blogging runs counter to the idiosyncratic, handmade, small-scale and intimate nature of zine-making. For others, the capacities of technology to further democratise access and participation and change the way the zine is made and circulated is an increasingly attractive and emancipatory proposition (Crossley 2015; Kempson 2015a).

1.4 Significance of the study

Zines and zine-making has experienced several boom cycles in popularity over the last twenty years (including in the late 1970s with punk and in the 1990s with the riot grrrl movement), although there is little quantitative evidence for any assertion of an increase in participation during these boom cycles (Bird et al. 2012; Freedman 2011; Reynolds 2009; Stevens 2010). There is also no significant reliable evidence of the on-going viability or growth of zines in 2017. This is not to infer that zine-making practice is growing or shrinking, but more to note that there is no reliable evidence to make such an assertion either way.

Within the broader field of the making of print media there are many evidence-based studies that explore the changes in participation practices, the impacts of technology and the growth of 'retro' practices that embrace and celebrate analogue or non-digital technologies in print media (Atkinson 2010; Atton 2001; Barassi 2009; Bimber 2017; Branwyn 1997; Burn 2009; Mansell 2004; Pavlik 2012; Rauch 2015b; Spinelli 2000). Three conditions were identified from the initial review of literature that codified the technological disruptions and transformations impacting on the way print media is made, distributed and consumed in the digital age. The exploration of these conditions began to stake out the boundaries within which the significance of this study finds its context.

Condition 1 – The decline of print media

There has been significant and measurable decline in the participation of makers and readers of 'traditional' print media. In particular newspapers and magazines have experienced varying levels of decline in print circulation for over decade arising from the explosion of Internet-based digital content (Carson 2015; Chandra & Kaiser 2014). Along with other factors such as the growth of social media and changing government regulation, the decline in print circulations has resulted in the concentration of media in the hands of a small number of owners and the economic imperative to share the same content globally (Tiffen 2015). This limits the opportunities in print media for self-expression, critical journalism and accessibility (Dwyer & Martin 2010). The

ways print media are distributed has also been transformed, with traditional retail outlets selling physical items such as newspapers being usurped by digital delivery through electronic devices and click-friendly stories targeted through social media. Digital delivery methods enhance and privilege connectivity, deep embedding of content and the opportunity to create multimedia artefacts with video and audio. In many cases, the ephemerality and localness of print media has been replaced with permanence, instant access and globalised reach (Mussell 2011).

The small circulations of zines and their relative ephemerality can run counter to the competitive and participatory environments of mainstream print media. In this context, what are the constructs that influence the decision to make zines in an environment where print media is in decline and the consumption and production patterns of zines runs counter to the trend towards digital making, archiving and delivery?

Condition 2 – The transformation of participatory culture

Writers such as Henry Jenkins and Trevor Honma have argued that the processes and potential of participatory culture have been uniquely transformed due to the media convergence facilitated by technology such as social media, the rise of 21st century media skills (such as remixing and searching) and the increases in amateur media production (Honma 2016; Jenkins, Ford & Green 2013; Jenkins et al. 2009). Participatory culture represents a shift from being a consumer of culture to a producer of it. Jenkins argues this change has been facilitated by shifts in the way media is made in the digital age, such as the lowering of barriers to expression and engagement, increasing support for sharing and creating, the development of structures and cultures of mentorship, the respect for the contribution made and shared by makers, and the increasing sense of social connection between participants (Jenkins & Ito 2015; Jenkins et al. 2009). The blurring of the roles of producer and consumer in a participatory culture environment have led to what Bruns (2007; 2009) refers to as 'produsage', where the making of user-led and user-generated content

overcomes the limitations created by industrial-age modes of content making and sharing.

Historically, zines have represented an analogue version of the digital-led participatory culture described by Jenkins, with many of the determinants of participatory culture that he describes applicable to the practices of zine-making. Zine-making, both due to the level of skill required and the relatively small costs involved in making, has significantly lower barriers to entry than other print media forms (Kearney 2006). Zine-makers often engage in skill sharing, mentorship and exchange within the community and through practices like trading content and creative outputs (Chidgey 2014a; Zobl 2004b). Zine-making creates informed, embodied and supportive communities of belonging, where makers buy each other's zines and review and share them within their own community. Zine-makers draw comfort, connection and empowerment from the zines they read and make (Eichhorn 2001; Kempson 2015a; Piepmeier 2008). This relationship has been supported by a strong sense of social connection, initially via the postal system to facilitate connection and more recently through email and social media (Chidgey 2009; Schilt & Zobl 2008). Responding to this condition in the context of participating in zine-making in the digital age the question arises; what constructs influence the decision to make zines within a media environment that supports the engagement of makers and readers in competing forms of participatory culture?

Condition 3 – The rise and prevalence of social media

The exponential growth and impact of social media and the practices arising from it has been studied extensively in several disciplines (see e.g. boyd 2014; Kaplan & Haenlein 2010; Lenhart et al. 2010; Livingstone 2008; Smith 2009). Social media practices replicate many of the characteristics that have been ascribed to zines including self-expression, sharing, journal-writing, community development, storytelling and reporting (Crossley 2015; Douglas & Poletti 2014; Grimes & Wall 2014; Kempson 2015a). Social media have also replicated and replaced some of the hand-making practices used by DIY makers, for example, the appropriation and reproduction of images (from sites such as Flickr) and the

use of 3-D printers. Finally, social media have transformed the ways in which many DIY outputs are distributed, from sites such as Etsy to sell a physical products to the sharing of media through blogs and forums as PDF documents (Guzzetti, Foley & Lesley 2015).

Despite impassioned pleas by writers such as Piepmeier (2009) and Freedman (2005b) that zines are and should remain essentially analogue artefacts, there are equally impassioned arguments made by others that counter that position (see e.g. Keller 2012; Tkach & Hank 2014; Weida 2013). These writers argue that social media has the same emancipatory and empowering capabilities of zines, with Keller (2012) arguing that blogs are a ‘...method for both networking and community-building amongst feminist teens’ and are positioned within the ‘lengthy history of girls’ media production and feminist activism, which includes zine-making’ (Keller 2012, p. 436). In the context of zines and zine-making in the digital age, what are the constructs that influence the decision to make zines instead of using social media to facilitate expression and sharing?

1.5 Contribution to knowledge

This study contributes to knowledge and extends theory in six different ways:

- (i) The current understanding of zine-making is fragmented and fractured across disciplines boundaries. This study affords an opportunity to explore and define zine-making across disciplines, zine types and is situated in the current context of the digital age. The discourses and theoretical studies of cultural participation located within other theoretical domains such as social movement theory, organisational participation, arts participation and socio-cultural participation do not adequately explain the phenomena of participation in zine-making in the digital age. This study proposes a theoretical model of the constructs that influence the decision to make zines that can be understood in the contemporary context of the digital age.

- (ii) Zine-makers are part of many distinct but connected communities, both with other zine-makers and with people with whom they share meaning and identity. This study identifies the ways those communities (*communitas*) are bound by commonality and how different aspects of them intersect through liminality, extending the anthropological interpretation of both liminality and *communitas* to the study of DIY media-making (and zine-making specifically).
- (iii) Zine-making represents an accessible opportunity for expression, access and networking for many marginalised, under-represented and disenfranchised communities, individuals and socio-economic groups. Despite being significantly impacted by the disruptive and transformative influences of digital technology and social media practices, physical zines continue to be made and individuals continue to decide to make zines. Many of the affordances and aesthetics of zines can be replaced through more easily accessible digital platforms, yet people chose to make zines. This study informs a better understanding of cultural participation and the continuance of zine-making in the context of an increasingly digital environment. It defines how the decision to participate in a specific type of cultural participation (zine-making) is enacted and shared.
- (iv) This study provides a more comprehensive understanding of the reasons people chose to participate in media-making in the digital age. The normalisation of media-making practice based on digital technology and social media has afforded makers vast canvases to express themselves, participate in specific communities or debates, engage in activism or dialogues, or simply make something themselves. The already blurred boundaries between what is real and online continue to dissolve, altering attitudes towards quality, payment, sharing, permanence and ownership. This study uses zine-making practice as a lens to understand participation in media-making within this environment.

- (v) The practice of zine-making is not a static one. During the four-year process of collecting primary data and the deep interrogation of the literature for seven years, the impacts and influences of digital technology (for example, the growth of personal devices and the expansion of Wi-Fi coverage) and increasing ubiquity of social media have caused waves of disruptive change. This study looks at the changes in participation that have emerged over its duration (ending in 2014 with the completion of the final interview and data analysis). Within the broader context of the changing media-making environment, the rise of participatory culture and the pervasive growth of social media as a form of individual sharing and meaning construction, the study provides an understanding of what it means to participate in DIY art in the context of massive technological disruption and transformation.

- (vi) The use of a constructivist grounded theory methodology and its application to the field of cultural participation represents a contribution to knowledge. Building on the capacity afforded by the methodology to represent and share the stories of participants to generate theory, the methodological approach supported the creation of a small community of zine-makers that shared personal, insightful and idiosyncratic stories that may not have emerged using other methodological approaches.

1.6 Research questions

The three conditions discussed in section 1.4 represent an environmental and socio-cultural foundation through which the disruptions and transformation of print media can be positioned, and their influence on zine-making understood. The general decline in printed media could be a challenge to the ongoing viability of a print media form such as zines. Participatory culture, whilst rooted in digital practices and the capabilities of social media, mirrors many of the affordances and capacities of zines. Social media practices replicate and democratise the emancipatory and participatory characteristics of zines. These

conditions represent critical challenges for zines as a physical print media. Other analogue mediums in fields like photography, music and film have been disrupted by digital technology and social media practices. What these conditions also suggest is that the market for expression, sharing and media-making has become crowded with choice due to the opportunity to easily access a variety of media forms. Whereas zines were once one of the few forms of participatory media in the print landscape, they now share that mantle with an ever-increasing and complex web of social media, nostalgic returns of obsolete technologies and the resurgence of some forms of print media. It was in this context that the research question for this study emerged:

In the digital age, where participation in media-making has been transformed by technology and social media practices, what constructs influence the decision to make zines?

One of the key assumptions made in other studies on zine-making is that despite the inconsistencies and tensions surrounding how zines are defined, there is a general acceptance of what constitutes a zine. This acceptance is not grounded in an extensive or shared set of criteria. It is constituted (in part) through a shared belief that if the zine-makers believe they are making a zine, then the study generally accepts that they are. This is enacted within both the acceptance of this assertion and within the limited commonly agreed definitions extant in the literature. In order to transgress the disciplinary boundaries of the existing literature and develop a trans-disciplinary understanding of the constructs that influence the decision to make zines, a secondary research question was necessary:

How do zine-makers define the process of zine-making and what do they define as a zine?

This secondary question was critical for several reasons. Firstly, the study had to be bound by what the respondents believed they were participating in. Without an established or agreed set of definitions for zines and zine-making, it was necessary to allow the respondents to decide that they were zine-makers

and that they had made at least one zine. This question also helped to define what zine-makers were choosing to participate in and at what point the participation decision was made. Finally, it was also critical in defining what participation in zine-making meant for the zine-makers themselves and what constructs influenced the meaning that emerged from the decision to participate (linking the secondary question with the primary research question).

1.7 Research methodology

Given that the primary research question was centred on identifying through personal experience the constructs that influence the decision to make zines, any research methodology chosen for the study had to be able to:

- a) Develop a theory, arising from personal testimonies, to describe and understand the constructs that influenced the decision to make zines in the digital age;
- b) Be inclusive of diversity across zine typologies and communities;
- c) Provide the participants with a variety of appropriate methods to explain and explore their motivations for participation.

The study utilised a qualitative research approach implemented through a constructivist grounded theory approach (Charmaz 2006). Grounded theory was used to construct a theory and analyse meanings and concepts agreed by the actors within the community, without starting with a pre-formed model or hypothesis (Glaser & Strauss 1977; Suddaby 2006). The goal of the research was to inductively develop a framework to codify and explain the phenomena of why people chose to make zines in the digital age.

An initial literature review (Chapter Four) identified a gap in knowledge. Zine-making had been primarily explored and understood within the studies focusing on key periods of historical growth, or analysed the role of zines within discipline-specific domains. There was no existing theory with the zine-making or cultural participation literature that explained motivations for participation or described the constructs that influenced participation in zine-making outside of

defined historical or cultural contexts. Finally, few academic studies focus on the contemporary period of zine-making practice (commencing from 2010).

The rationale for a constructivist grounded theory inquiry stemmed from the ‘...importance of the phenomena and the lack of plausible existing theory’ (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007, p. 26). There was no existing model of participation to test as one might do in a more traditional qualitative study. There was a need for the theory to emerge from the multiple interactions of a spectrum of zine-makers, unbound by the application of discipline-specific discourses but united in their common agreement of participating in zine-making (Charmaz 2009b). It was also preferable that the zine-making community could share and identify with the meaning that emerged (Birks & Mills 2015; Charmaz 2006).

Following Glaser’s (1992) criteria for determining the fitness for purpose of grounded theory, the development of theoretical categories were initially framed by the literature, but refined and informed by continual data collection in the form of semi-structured email interviews, theoretical memo-writing and engagement with expert groups. At the commencement of the data analysis there were no theoretical assumptions or preconceived models, with each new category having to earn its place in the analysis, primarily through the iterative process of data collection and analysis (Charmaz 2000; Glaser 1992).

The non-linear nature of zine-making was a significant factor in choosing constructivist grounded theory as a methodological approach and discounting others. Constructivist grounded theory is an approach used to construct theory inductively from the stories of the community or group under study, and additionally seeks to maintain the presence and the voice of the participants in a meaningful way (Charmaz 2006; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). To overcome the disciplinary divides that permeate most of the existing research, it was critical that the community of participants constructed and owned the theory that emerged from the data collection.

Thirty-four semi-structured interviews with zine-makers were conducted via email over four years from 2011-2014, with the respondents based in six countries (Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Canada and the United States). A theoretical sampling approach was chosen over purposive or representative sampling in order to allow the differences between categories to emerge through the data analysis with Charmaz and Belgrave (2012) arguing that theoretical sampling affords the data significant precision over other sampling methodologies. The interviews were conducted by email as this method supported an iterative approach to theory development, allowing for a considered asynchronous conversation to form within the context of the interview. Whilst sacrificing some immediacy, email afforded the study an opportunity to create narrative discourses and conversations with the respondents that explored their motivations for participation over time (James 2015). In line with the often idiosyncratic nature of the writing and content of zines, email interviews provided for respondents to give both considered and spontaneous responses, coloured by their sometimes unique approaches to phrasing and expression (common with Internet communications) (Chen & Hinton 1999; Crystal 2001). The interviews contained a wide variety of emoticons, Internet acronyms, spelling variations and mistakes, swearing and colloquial language. These idiosyncrasies added a layer of context and expressivity to the responses in that respondents had the capability to describe their participation in the ways they felt best represented them.

As part of the constructivist grounded theory approach, along with theoretical memo-writing as a form of critical reflection on the data as it emerged, informal expert group discussions were conducted in New York, and Portland in the United States (see Appendix 6). These were comprised of established zine-makers, librarians and zine retailers. They acted as 'expert groups', providing input into the categorisation process, but most importantly, supporting the process of socially constructing the understanding of the constructs that influenced the decision to make zines by acting as a litmus test for the validity of approach and theory-building, and whose feedback shaped the questions and direction of the successive interviews (Creswell 1998).

The data was analysed firstly by using open coding methods and later by using a summative content analysis approach to identify underlying meanings in the data through a two-stage process of counting the occurrence of specific words and searching for latent meanings in the usage of those words as aligned with themes emerging from the literature (Hsieh & Shannon 2005). It was from this summative content analysis that a model that explained the constructs that influenced the decision of the respondents to make zines emerged.

1.7 Thesis outline

This thesis proceeds over seven chapters. The second and third chapters describe the methodological approach of the study, identifying the research philosophy and epistemological position taken by the researcher and a rationale for the chosen methodology. The fourth chapter is the summary of the initial literature review conducted before the commencement of the interviews and completed at the end of the study. The fifth chapter addresses the secondary research question and defines the practices of the respondents in terms of how they made their zines. The sixth chapter explores the liminal spaces that have emerged within zine-making participation and proposes the frame in which the primary research question is addressed. The seventh and final chapter presents the conclusions that emerged from the study in relation to the primary research question, its contribution to knowledge and recommendations for further research.

1.8 A note on nomenclature

As this study draws on the stories of zine-makers told through email interviews, these responses are provided *verbatim*. Many of the responses were free-form, drawing heavily on abbreviations, colloquial language and sometimes contained spelling mistakes and grammatical errors. The actual language used by the respondents has been left in its original and uncorrected form to better tell the stories of the respondents in their own words.

I made the decision to ensure the confidentiality of the respondents through anonymising both their names/non-de-plumes and their zine titles in this thesis. In many of the responses, the zine name was referred to explicitly by respondents to explain rationales for participation and making. Whilst no respondent requested anonymity, referencing these titles or the zine-makers themselves did not add to the data analysis or to the findings of the study. The respondents were not anonymous to me as email cannot provide such capacity. Explicit consent was not sought to expose names and zine titles. This may have contributed to candour of the participants. As these interviews were conducted over several years, the nature of consent to identify individuals may have also changed over time. Therefore, each respondent is represented in the study by a number, which was allocated at the completion of the interviewing process, for example R.1 stands for respondent one. To ensure that the zine-makers interviewed are not identifiable, the names of zines have been replaced with the text <zine name>, with a number allocated for different zines mentioned within the same response.

CHAPTER TWO – EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

2.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the epistemological and methodological approach that informed and determined how this study was conducted. The research methodology is described within the context of the literature exploring how grounded theory can and has been applied to similar challenging research. It then outlines the applicability of grounded theory to the inductive development of a theory that seeks to describe and define the contexts that influence the decision to make zines in the digital age. The chapter also explores the methodological design and methods used to structure the data collection and guide the open coding process. The limitations and constraints of the research are also discussed.

2.2 Research paradigm

In the early stages of planning this study, I identified a potential primary research question about how people used zines as a method of building networks and communities amongst artists. This question presupposed that the decision to make zines was predicated (at least in part) on network development and community building. Many traditional approaches to qualitative research include a literature review to explore critical perspectives, existing theoretical models or to delineate the framework within which the question/s lie. As part of preparing a research proposal I undertook a preliminary literature review. This exposed unexplained (or unexplored) tensions arising from the impacts of technology on the practices of zine-making (Freedman 2005; Zobl 2009), with key debates emerging around the relationship of zines to blogs and social media as modes of personal expression, and the role of technology in the actual making of a zine. These tensions mean that much of the literature did not contain coherent or agreed definitions of zine-making, zines and participation. It also identified a paucity of

established theory that explained the environment in which zine-making participation occurs, especially in the context of zine-makers practicing their craft outside specific, definable cultural or community-based movements.

Crotty (1998) poses four steps that help researchers determine the most appropriate methodological approach for a study:

1. Identifying the epistemological perspective that informs the research;
2. Identifying the philosophical stances underpinning the methodological approach;
3. Identifying what plan of action or methodology strategy contributes to the selection of research methods and;
4. Deciding what research instruments will be used.

Creswell (2008) approaches the same issue of methodological choice from a more ontological perspective, posing key questions to the researcher to support the design of an appropriate and rigorous research proposal and to develop a rational methodological choice:

- 1. What knowledge claims are being made by the researcher (including a theoretical perspective)?*
 - 2. What strategies of inquiry will inform the procedures?*
 - 3. What methods of data collection and analysis will be used?*
- (Creswell 2008, pp. 4-5)*

The next three sections will outline the methodological approach of this study through the lens of the questions posed primarily by Creswell, as well following the steps suggested by Crotty.

2.2.1 Knowledge claims

The importance of exposing and critiquing the knowledge claims held or made by a researcher is well explored in methodological literature. Knowledge claims are similar in definition and scope to research design concepts such as

research paradigms (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Guba & Lincoln 2004), epistemologies (Crotty 1998) and research philosophies (Trochim 2000). Knowledge claims describe the epistemological or ontological stance of the researcher, indicating their approach to qualitative research at a meta-level (Denscombe 2008). Simply put, they help to identify what the researcher will learn and how they will learn it. Creswell (2008) describes four major knowledge claims that researchers bring to the conduct of their research; post-positivism, constructivism, advocacy/participatory and pragmatism. Whilst not an exclusive or universally agreed list, the application of Creswell's notion of knowledge claims to my research philosophy and schema was critical in determining the methodological approach for this study.

Post-positivism relies on the verification of theory within the researcher's own position in the world, demonstrated through a learning process over the duration of the research, as opposed to testing one which emerges from empirical study (Ryan 2006). Post-positivism argues that the world is constructed through multiple realities, ambiguous meanings and as O'Leary (2004) asserts, multiple versions of the truth, noting; '...what might be the truth for one person or cultural group may not be the "truth" for another' (O'Leary 2004, p. 6). Post-positivism is essentially a reductionist approach, seeking to find meaning through decreasing sets of variables such as those represented in hypotheses.

Participatory paradigms are rooted in action and change, where the core intent of the research is to apply critical methodology to a problem/solution dynamic usually situated within the practice of the researcher (Lincoln, Lynham & Guba 2011). These approaches are essentially action-oriented and lead to recommendations for change within specific situations (often workplace related) and conducted collaboratively with research participants (Carr & Kemmis 1986; Heron & Reason 2006; McTaggart 1991).

Pragmatism can represent the philosophical justification for mixed methods inquiries, where the researcher is free to choose combinations of quantitative and qualitative methods as they see fit, challenging both the idea of truth and

the importance of historical dualities between concepts, preferring to find the middle ground between dogma and skepticism (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004). Pragmatists privilege the centrality and importance of the research problem and seek methods to understand that problem and complete the research within the existing constraints or systems (Creswell 2008).

Constructivism emerges from the idea that all knowledge is socially constructed (Berger 1967). The aim of a constructivist research study is to understand the world (and the world of human experiences) through social interaction, leading to the generation of theory or meaning (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2013; Mertens 2005). Social constructivist research is essentially relativist whereby research does not seek to prove absolute truths, rather to identify findings and insights from multiple accounts (Andrews 2012). Creswell (2008) notes that this process is generally inductive and arises from interactions with a human community. The views of the research participants are critical in generating theory, but equally, the researcher recognises the impacts their own views, perspectives and background have on their engagement with the problem (Mackenzie & Knipe 2006).

2.2.2 Selecting a constructivist approach

I chose to approach this study from a constructivist perspective for several reasons. Firstly, the initial literature review exposed multiple truths centred on how zines were defined, the process of zine-making and the rationales for participation, with these truths disaggregated across disparate fields of study (Guba & Lincoln 1994). These truths were socially constructed through an agreed contextual frame of understanding (for example, third-wave feminist zines are in part defined by their position and role within that movement) (Berger & Luckmann 1991). Critically, the study needed to represent these multiple truths through both the lens of the participants and that of the researcher (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006).

Secondly, whilst understanding can be socially constructed, constructivism argues that reality is located in the mind of the individuals under study

(Ponterotto 2005). The realities of the individuals are not objective, but are constructed through a semi-subjective process of seeking social consensus between participants (Dietz 2006). Finding the common ground between zine-makers, often separated by self-imposed contextual, geographic or socio-cultural boundaries was critical to ensuring the study could effectively generate theory that addressed the primary research question.

Thirdly, constructivists argue that meaning (as separate from truth and reality) is socially constructed through individual activity and engagement with others. These meanings are developed socially and but understood and interpreted individually (Vygotsky 1980; Vygotsky, Hanfmann & Vakar 2012). A constructivist approach argues that the researcher/participant relationship is prioritised and allows for data to emerge from the study by understanding and observing that relationship (Guba & Lincoln 1996). Manning (1997) argues that the ontology of constructivism (open ended inquiry, joint construction of interpretations and meaning and the use of members to confirm or construct the hypothesis) provides the researcher with an opportunity to be reflexive, evaluative and authentic.

2.3 Methodology

2.3.1 Why qualitative research?

There is a significant body of work in social research that both supports and criticises the qualitative research approach in terms of conducting reliable, valid and impactful research across a variety of disciplines (see e.g. Creswell 2008; Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Flick 2009; Guba & Lincoln 2004; Merriam 2002; Rallis & Rossman 2011; Silverman 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1998; Taylor & Bogdan 1998). One key process that most studies describe is the application of specific criteria to methodological choice allowing for the defence of the selection of qualitative research as an appropriate research methodology.

The first criteria applied to this study to determine the choice of methodology was contextual sensitivity. Silverman (2006) and Bonoma (1985) argue that

contextual sensitivity is critical in determining the research problem for a study and assessing the relevance of qualitative research to solving it. Contextual sensitivity is the capacity to recognise the differences in what may be seen to be relatively uniform concepts (such as readers, zine-makers, participation and zine-making in the case of this study) amongst different contextual communities. This affords the researcher the capability to identify insights that transcend the boundaries of how these uniform concepts are defined. Contextual sensitivity represents the notion that problems are not unitary and rarely cede a single answer to a research question (Silverman 2006).

The second criteria applied to the study was to recognise and understand the criticality of the context of the subjects of the study. Qualitative research values the messiness of the lives of the research subjects and the worlds that they and researcher exist within, privileging the lived experiences of the individuals involved (Rallis & Rossman 2011). This criteria was of particular relevance to this study as zines are often described in the literature as messy documents; chronicling difficult, asynchronous, muddled and personal lived experiences using subjectively messy techniques like cut and paste and handwriting (Chidgey 2006; Piepmeier 2009). Zines are often created in the fuzzy intersections between personal and political life, within the wider contexts of abuse, identity, sexuality and creativity or what Licona (2012) refers to as borderlands or third spaces. Qualitative research can also enable the interjection of the researcher's own lived experiences and contexts into the research process. This can enable the researcher to revel in the messiness and arrive at serendipitous conclusions (Fine & Deegan 1996; Sandelowski 2004).

The third criteria identifies the relevance of qualitative research to situations or contexts in which the phenomenon under investigation is located (Eisenhart & Jurow 2011; Guba & Lincoln 2004). Context supports the capacity of qualitative research studies to be open-ended and flexible (Eisenhart & Jurow 2011). There is a tension that emerges from the consideration of context whereby the lived experiences of the subject are explored contiguous with the structural determinants of that experience (such as race and class) (Denzin & Lincoln

2011). Central to the practices and experiences of many zine-makers is the role of the zine in defining or explaining their lived experience (Chidgey 2006; Ferris 2001). These experiences are often self-defined as non-mainstream, existing on the fringes of media production and representing only a small proportion of print media practice (Atton 2002; Ferris 2001; Hedtke 2008).

The fourth criteria is the capacity of qualitative research to represent the actions occurring in a natural world (Crotty 1998; Guba & Lincoln 1994; Rallis & Rossman 2011). Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that it is impossible to separate the understanding of human behaviour from the actions and activities they are engaged in demonstrating it. Crotty (1998) takes this argument one step further by assuming that the '...basic generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community' (Crotty 1998, p. 9). The positioning of actions within a socially constructed space, where definitions and codifications are collectively or individually defined (a phenomenological approach) are key assumptions within qualitative research (Taylor & Bogdan 1984). Zine-making is a process that occurs within a community; either actively as a member of the community (or the person forming it) or passively as an outsider, looking in, acting as reader or observer (Honma 2016; Piepmeier 2008; Zobl 2009). Duncombe (1997) asserts that the definitions of what constitutes a zine and what it means to be a zine-maker are socially constructed and community owned. The relationship of the zine-maker to their community can often be quite complex and personal, with the role of the zine varying from that of change agent, to an instrument of codification, to an organ of expression (Chidgey 2014a; Schilt 2004). The choice of a qualitative approach ensured that these complexities could be explored and represented within the design and subsequently could play out in the data collection process.

The final criteria used was the relevance of qualitative research to the discipline under study. Within the zine-making literature qualitative research is the dominant approach to inquiry, including the limited number of studies that explore zine-making participation in specific discipline contexts (Kempson 2015a; Schilt 2003a; Zobl 2009). In advocating for a modified ethnographic

approach to researching zines, Eichhorn (2001) argues that qualitative research supports a better understanding of the diasporic and virtual communities that engage in zine-making. She also argues that qualitative research is one of the only methods by which researchers can engage with isolated zine-makers who are linked only by virtual structures such as online forums. Sinor (2003) links context to insight and knowledge by identifying the need to have a thick understanding of the context in which zines are made in order to effect any analysis, or some cases to even be a reader of the zines themselves (necessary for a methodology like content analysis or textual analysis). Kempson (2015a) in her sociological study of zine sub-culture in the United Kingdom noted the importance of both locational context (in her study, zine-makers were interviewed at zine festivals) and the socio-political context (in her study, the majority of respondents stated their 'negotiation of zine sub-culture' was influenced by their feminist views). Further, she argues that context was critical for the research process, because interviewing subjects at zine festivals overcame her feelings of not being authentic enough to comment on the issues under study.

2.3.2 Evaluation of competing methodological approaches

In selecting the appropriate qualitative methodological approach for this study, several different alternative approaches were considered and ultimately discarded. I chose to take a first principles approach to the selection and evaluation of methodology as advocated by Denzin and Lincoln (2005). A first principles approach argues that, despite the expertise of the researcher and their experience in conducting qualitative studies, they should still apply the basic principles of determining the suitability of specific qualitative research methodologies early in their study. This approach is supported by writers such as Firestone (1987) and Groenewald (2004) who argue that methodological choice is not simply about matching a method to a problem or choosing an approach to a problem from equal paradigms. Rather, methodological choice evolves from how researchers view the world and the values they bring to the research.

In practice, I approached the methodological decision-making process with as little pre-determination as possible, although some clarity in determining the problem and population under study was essential to filter the wide range of methodologies available for qualitative research. With the paucity of studies that could inform a specific methodological approach and no established tradition of methodological selection in existing studies of zines or zine-making, this first principles approach allowed for a better evaluation of the methodological alternatives.

Four first principles criteria were identified by Lincoln and Guba (1985), with similar criteria described by Patton (2002). These criteria were used as a framework for comparing potential methodological approaches for this study:

1. The applicability of the methodology to the problem (Lincoln & Guba 1985);
2. The ability of the methodology to enhance quality and rigour (through considering reliability and validity) (Patton 2002);
3. The ability of the methodology to inductively construct a theory to explain behaviours within a context (Lincoln & Guba 1985);
4. The ability to explain or understand the phenomena observed within the data without manipulating it (Patton 2002).

Methodological approaches such as ethnography and phenomenology would have provided the study with data strongly positioned within the context and communities of zine-making. However, they are not especially suited to research that requires the inductive generation of theory for a relatively undefined group (Locke 2001). Ethnography implicitly recognises the role of the researcher as an active part of the community and part of the world under study (Boyle 1994; Goulding 2005). Whilst I am part of what might be considered the zine community as a reader of zines and as a scholar studying the phenomena of zines, I am not a zine-maker and therefore could not consider myself an active part of this community.

Ethnography focuses on the interpretation of established theory within a cultural context, seeking meaning through abstraction of theory from context to the point where it becomes generalisable (Goulding 2005). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) identify a number of determinations that arise whilst undertaking an ethnographic study, including the need to research in the field and the role of participant observation within a 'documentary' form of data collection. This study needed to engage with zine-making and zine-makers across diverse contexts, both geographically as well as diverse typologies and readerships. The study sought to generate theory about the broad category of zines, avoiding the discipline-based categorisations present in the literature. In this context an ethnographic approach, even in a modified sense, would be problematic to apply. In terms of data analysis, the ethnographic focus on meanings and consequences of human actions could have helped to identify the underlying motivations of zine-makers. The lack of cultural and geographical homogeneity or linkages as well as the diversity of meanings in a multitude of community contexts does not fit with an ethnographic approach. It was for these reasons that ethnography was discounted as a research methodology.

Phenomenology, whilst appropriate for seeking holistic meaning within lived experiences, does not seek to uncover unconscious motivations, relying as it does primarily on the investigation of concrete experiences and thinking (Spiegelberg 2012). As with ethnography, inductive theory development is not the natural outcome of phenomenological research, with theory emerging from direct connections and reflections between the data and established theory (Morse 1994). It was for this reason that phenomenology was not selected as a research methodology.

Content analysis is a commonly utilised methodological approach in studies that explore zine-making. In most of these studies, the primary source is the zines themselves (see e.g. Bailey & Michel 2004; Boellstorff 2004; Chidgey 2006; Poletti 2008a). Many of these studies apply a variety of different content analysis instruments to tease out the meanings implicit and explicit in the zine text. Often enacted through reading a relatively small number of zines (in some

cases, a only a single zine or series of issues) the construction of narrative in and through the text can lead to the generation of inferences about zine-making motivations (Hays 2017; Pytash 2016). Content analysis, whilst extremely relevant as a method of data analysis for qualitative studies, can rely on highly structured and contextualised approaches to data in order to generate theory (Finfgeld-Connett 2014). In the context of zine studies, content analysis can ensure that controversial personal topics (such as body image, sexual abuse, sexuality and gender, for example) can be explored (Ogle & Thornburg 2003). Whilst zine content represents a relevant form of data, it is one step removed from the zine-makers themselves. Content analysis cannot necessarily assist in answering the primary research question because it is limited in its capacity to uncover reasons or motivations for participation. Content analysis was used in one of the published works that emerged from this study (Bryant 2014). In this study, content analysis was chosen to better understand how the words that zine-makers shared in critical texts, addressed directly and/or indirectly to the reader within their zines (introductions, editorials, conclusions, thank you pages, for example) sought to explain zine-making participation. Whilst the use of content analysis in this instance offered some insights, its limitations in exploring the unexpressed and unpublished motivations for participation was exposed, due to the reliance on what the zine-maker chose to share in their zines and the knowledge of who might be reading it.

Grounded theory and more specifically constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz 2003b, 2006) met the broad epistemological intentions of the study and at a methodological approach level aligned best with the four first principles criteria. Constructivist grounded theory supports the construction of theory and the analysis of meanings and concepts agreed by the actors within the community, without starting with a pre-formed model or hypothesis (Charmaz 2006; Glaser & Strauss 1977; Suddaby 2006). More traditional grounded theory informed approaches such as those described by Glaser and Strauss (1977) and Corbin and Strauss (1994) have been used in a small number of zine-making studies, primarily to explore the conditions under which zines are made. Bobel (2007) used grounded theory to evaluate interview data in order to understand the concepts of identity within activist zines. Guzzetti (2006) applied a grounded

approach to a study centred on identity creation and expression, as a way of incorporating data from sources as varied as informal interviews, zines, websites and observations of girls using and making zines in order to better understand the process of identity formation in both pre- and post-digital environments. In both these instances grounded theory allowed for an inductive theory generation process that was sympathetic to the context from which the data was collected.

2.3.3 Applicability of constructivist grounded theory to the research question

Theoretical and critical studies of the factors that influence the participation decision-making process of zine-makers are often located in historical and pre-digital periods of growth, with limited study of how these decisions are made in the digital age. The absence of a grand theory (Guba & Lincoln 2004; Urquhart 2016) to test or a substantial hypothetical position extant in the literature suggested the need for theory to be constructed through the process of data collection and analysis, and preferably one in which the community itself could construct meaning. In line with the broader epistemological approach of constructivism, the constructivist grounded theory approach advocated by Charmaz (2006) privileges the way people live their lives in designing the research approach, and is aligned to the broader philosophy of knowledge as being socially constructed. Charmaz (2003b) describes this social constructivist model as one that creates a ‘...picture that draws from, reassembles, and renders subjects’ lives’ (Charmaz 2003b, p. 270).

Constructivist grounded theory diverges from the traditional grounded theory approaches of Glaser and Strauss (1977), Strauss and Corbin (1994) and the more critical assertions of Glaser (1992; 2007) in a number of ways. Constructivist grounded theory affords the explicit opportunity for the voice of the subject to be heard, with Breckenridge et al. (2012) noting that it ‘...incorporate[s] the multiple voices, views and visions of participants in rendering their lived experiences’ (Breckenridge et al. 2012, p. 65). This particular aspect of constructivist grounded theory is the target of one of the criticisms levelled at the methodology by Glaser (2007), who argues that

grounded theory should seek to explain the patterns of behaviour of subjects in order to ascertain or resolve a concern or question. This tension between abstraction and personalisation as a method of generating theory or meaning informed the selection of constructivist grounded theory for this study. Zine-making is an inherently personal practice that seeks to represent and share the voice of the zine-maker, often in an unedited, unfiltered and idiosyncratic form (Stoddart & Kiser 2004). Any methodological approach that would break that voice down into abstract behaviours would lose the insights that arise from the subject's personal involvement and connection to the study.

It was important to ensure that as the subjects, zine-makers were not absented or abstract participants in the study. Generally, the zine-makers who approached me to participate were interested in why I was undertaking the study. Many of them wanted to know when and where they could access the findings to see how they were represented and how their stories were located within the context of the wider zine community. Constructivist grounded theory allowed the researcher to tell the participants stories and reflect them in the analysis and findings (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012). A more traditional grounded theory approach would have created a sense of distance from the subjects, treating their stories as concepts and conceptualisations of behaviour (Glaser 2007).

Constructivist grounded theory privileges a closer relationship between the researcher and the research through data analysis. The intention is to construct meanings and actions located as closely as possible to the cultures and sites of the subjects and the epistemological stance of the researcher (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012). Whilst not extending this relationship as far as that of the embedded researcher in an ethnographic study, constructivist grounded theory seeks to conduct an interactive process whereby the data that is collected is constructed as a shared reality between the subjects and the researcher (Breckenridge et al. 2012).

Finally, constructivist grounded theory is relativist, recognising multiple truths within the perspectives of the subjects (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006).

Charmaz (2006) argues that a traditional grounded theory approach seeks to find the single truth (not necessarily in the absolutist sense of the inarguable single truth) and then find why the determination of that truth is verifiable. Constructivist grounded theory recognises the emergence of more complex theoretical realities that are not centred on a core category, truth or concern (Martin 2006). Zine-making is a complex practice. In the context of its position as a media form within diverse political and social movements that intersect tangentially (if at all), it does not lend itself to the emergence of a single truth to explain participation, if only because the lens of meaning applied by each unique community interprets that truth differently.

Creswell (1998, 2008) states that once the researcher's knowledge claims have been identified (in this study, the use of constructivism as an epistemological frame), the next steps in designing a research methodology are to determine the strategies of inquiry informing the research. This is followed by determining which data collection and analysis instruments will be used. In truth, the last two points are closely interrelated, especially in the context of grounded theory. Constructivist grounded theory provides a framework for the use of a variety of interpretative tools of collection and analysis, but can also guide the way in which those tools are used to generate theory and meaning. The methods and instruments that were selected for the study will be described in detail in the next chapter.

2.3.4 Constructivism and grounded theory

There have been a significant number of studies exploring the link between a constructivist paradigm and grounded theory (see e.g. Charmaz 2006, 2009b; Clarke 2005; Glaser 2007; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). Charmaz (1995) argues that the use of a constructivist approach to grounded theory, informed by the interaction between the researcher and the zine-maker '...produces the data, and therefore the meanings that the researcher observes and defines' (Charmaz 1995, p. 35). This enhances the capability of the researcher to inductively develop theory or meaning. Constructivist grounded theory supports the assertion that theory can be constructed from the stories of the community

or group under study, and seeks to maintain the presence and the voice of the participants in a meaningful way (Charmaz 2006; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). The alignment of constructivism to grounded theory is not universally accepted. One of the originators of grounded theory, Barney Glaser (2007) argues against the influence of constructivism on grounded theory noting that many of the arguments for a constructivist approach (such as social interaction and meaning construction) run counter to 'true' grounded theory.

There have been many examples of where constructivist grounded theory has been used in different fields, but there is a paucity of examples where it has been used to explain cultural participation and/or zine-making (Hughes 2008; Pöldaas 2015). For example, constructivist grounded theory has been used to develop a theory of social justice by exploring the critical links between examples of suffering and social structure, culture or practice (Charmaz 2011b). It has also been used to identify the development of social media networks amongst members of a community in times of natural disaster (Bunce, Partridge & Davis 2012) and the development of self-image and narrative stories through fashion blogging (Titton 2015). It has also been used to conduct research in tourism management, including research on the impacts of zoo visit experiences on the development of identity (Fraser 2009) and how young Chinese women travellers experience and describe tradition and identity in blogs (Zhang & Hitchcock 2017). One of the key contributions to knowledge by this study is the application of a constructivist grounded theory methodology to cultural participation and zine-making.

2.3.5 Enhancing quality and rigour

Grounded theory, through its systematic coding processes and its maintenance of aspects of the scientific tradition of research in terms of '...significance, theory-observation compatibility, generalisability, consistency, reproducibility, precision, and verification' (Corbin & Strauss 1990, p. 4), aims to bring rigour to the inquiry. Within a constructivist approach, Charmaz (2006) asserts that quality and rigour lie in the data; both in terms of the way the data is collected but also the richness and substance within it. A constructivist grounded theory

approach allows the researcher to explore a complex array of views, identifying the subjective aspects of experience and practice and negotiate joint understandings of meaning (Blaikie 1991; Manning 1997).

In terms of research design, the systematic approach of a constructivist grounded theory methodology that aimed to represent and code the actualities of real world practice was suited to the discursive and rhizomatic nature of zine-making (Allan 2003; Glaser & Strauss 1977). Grounded theory does not necessarily achieve its rigour through objective data collection and interpretation, instead relying on a sometimes, subjective frame of coding and the eventual saturation at point of analysis (Nunes et al. 2010). Suddaby (2006) notes that rigour also emerges from action as well as language in a grounded theory study. Rigour can be enhanced from the intersection of research questions, data collections, reflections, instruments and analysis, all filtered through a researcher's worldview (Birks & Mills 2015; Charmaz 2006).

2.3.6 Supporting theory construction

The process of theory construction was critical to the ability of the study to address the research question (Charmaz 2006, 2009b; Charmaz & Mitchell 1996). In the absence of established theory, constructivist grounded theory offered a path towards inductively generating a socially accepted theory that identified the constructs that influenced the decision to participate in zine-making. Charmaz (2009a) argues that constructivist grounded theory begins as an essentially inductive or objective approach to theory-making but evolves as curiosity and imagination are applied to the researcher's understanding of behaviours as part of studied life or lived experience.

One of the epistemological sticking points between constructivist grounded theory and the Glaserian grounded approach is the way the 'sense of positivism' is considered and applied to the methodology. Glaser and Strauss (1977) allude to positivism in grounded theory through the use of terms such as objectivity and objective facts in describing the outputs of a 'correct' grounded study (Tolhurst 2012). Glaser and Strauss (1977) assert that reality as exposed

by grounded theory can be discovered and understood. Bryant and Charmaz (2010) observe this traditional grounded theory approach perspective through an even more positivist lens, noting that grounded theory assumes that reality can be '...unitary, knowable and waiting to be discovered' (Bryant & Charmaz 2010, p. 34). Charmaz (2011a) argues that constructivist grounded theory takes a position that is neither positivist nor post-positivist but builds on principles of social constructivism and reflexivity.

For this study, the capacity of the inquiry to be located within the life stories and lived experiences of the respondents, which includes their personally identified communities and their personal definitions of zines and zine-making, allowed for theory to emerge from within those socially constructed realities. Adopting a positivist approach to this study would have been problematic because of the lack of agreement in the literature about what constitutes a zine and its physical construction and content, the development of a core category and the subsequent testing of any emergent theory would not have been reliable enough to verify the categories within the framework of analysis.

2.3.7 The importance of the phenomena and the story

Some interpretations of grounded theory place an interpretivist importance on the stories and the authentic voice of the subjects, and the researcher being located within the worlds in which they live (Strauss & Corbin 1994). Constructivist grounded theorists (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006) make the case that storytelling is a thorny process of both making the stories of the subjects readable, whilst simultaneously affording the researcher the opportunity to construct theory through the own interpretations of these stories. Constructivist grounded theory supports and privileges the capacity of the subjects to tell their own stories and use their (written) voice. This afforded me the opportunity to understand the phenomena of zine-making participation from the un-reconstructed words and accounts of the subjects (Charmaz 2006; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). Further, because the literature clearly identifies that meaning within a community comes from the actors themselves and not from a historical or traditional framework (Charmaz 2000),

the use of constructivist grounded theory allowed the actors (through the data collection) to ‘...construct meaning out of inter-subjective experience’ (Suddaby 2006, p. 634).

Zine-making can be a deeply personal practice (Creswell 1998), that is reflexive (Chu 1997; Ferris 2001) and transformative (Chidgey 2006) for both the zine-maker and their readers. Constructivist grounded theory supported the ability of the zine-maker (as the subject) to tell their story, be given voice and to have their stories recognised as important and relevant to the phenomenon under study. This was crucial to gaining both meaningful and plausible connections between observations (see e.g. Davidson 2005).

2.3.8 My position in the research

One of the key acknowledgements made in applying a constructivist grounded theory approach is the role of the researcher, both in terms of how the data is interpreted by them and the degree of trust that can be placed in the findings they construct (Charmaz & Mitchell 1996). At an epistemological level, the role of the researcher within a constructivist inquiry is subjective and the interactions between the subjects and the researcher forms part of a process of co-construction and co-production of meaning (Charmaz 1995; Hayes & Oppenheim 1997). Constructivist grounded theory is underpinned by the assumptions that the interaction of researcher and subjects produces the data and subsequently the meanings that are observed and defined through the generation of theory (Charmaz 1995). The use of constructivist grounded theory changes the role of the researcher from that of a distant expert to one who co-creates knowledge and meaning (Charmaz 2000).

At the start of this study I was not a participant in zine-making and maintained that stance during the duration of the research (although I have been and continue to be a maker of other forms of DIY media, mainly visual and sound-based). Although I was a reader of zines dating back to the 1980s, I was a relative outsider to the zine-making communities I was intending to study. My zine purchases were not made at fairs or from the zine-makers themselves, but

were through more anonymous sources like record stores and online distributors.

Zines are an important part of many of the musical scenes and sub-cultures I have been a part of for nearly thirty years, starting with my experiences as a science-fiction fan in the early 1980s, reading Star Trek and Doctor Who fan fiction. Buying and reading zines was an important experience for me as my musical passions emerged. I was exposed to punk rock music in the late 1980s. I found out that zines were critical to the growth of punk music and the DIY movement in the 1970s through reading books on the history of popular music. The importance of zines to me as a fan of punk and independent music became most prevalent when I was exposed to the riot grrrl music of bands like Bikini Kill and Bratmobile in the early 1990s. Through being involved in community radio in Sydney, Australia, I met people from the zine-making community who were fans of the music I was championing on-air. They shared their zines and their own passion for the politics and culture of riot grrrl. I started buying fanzines about riot grrrl and politics from my local independent record store, along with the records of the bands themselves.

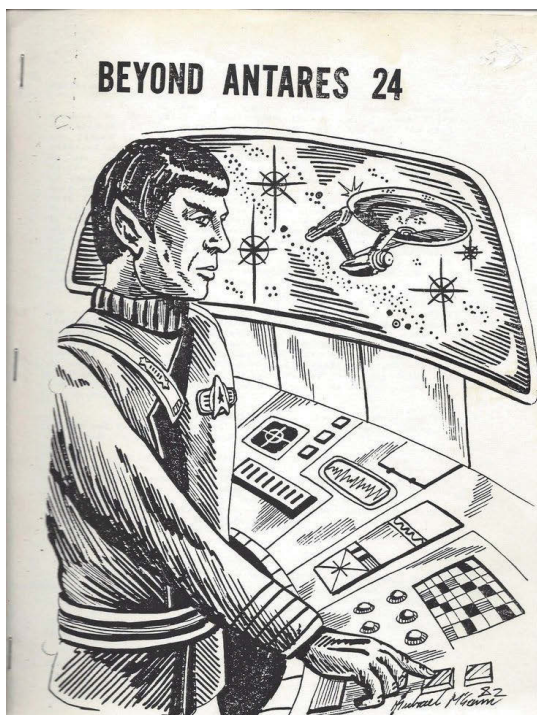


Illustration 3 An example of the Star Trek fanzine 'Beyond Antares' produced by the Sydney University Star Trek Club in 1982, with a cover by fan artist Michael McGann (CC BY-ND 2.0).

It was important in this study that I could gain the trust of the potential respondents, especially as it was possible that they would share with me their personal experiences, stories and emotional responses in relation to zine-making. During the process of organising the interviews and in the interviews themselves I was asked by some respondents about my own practices as a DIY maker or reader of zines. These moments of revelation were part of the process of co-construction that built trust between myself and the respondents, allowing the conversation to progress with openness and insight (Reinharz 1997).

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe how the constructivist grounded theory approach was implemented in the study. It will identify the sampling approach, data collection methods, and the analytical coding frames used to interpret the data to generate theory. It will describe how theoretical memos were used to provide a reflective component to the research. This chapter will also address the position of the literature review in the context of a constructivist grounded theory approach. Finally, this chapter will address the ethical considerations that arose from preparing for and undertaking the study.

3.2 Methodological process

This study applied a constructivist approach to grounded theory informed by the methodological processes and epistemology outlined by Charmaz (Charmaz 2003b, 2006, 2009b; Charmaz 2011a; Charmaz & Belgrave 2012).

Approaching the problem iteratively, the study had twelve relatively sequential stages, that when completed, supported the development of a theory to explain the phenomena of zine-making participation in the digital age. *Figure 1* shows these stages, including the location of the critical grounded theory process of writing theoretical memos and the positioning of iterative engagements with the literature within the methodology.

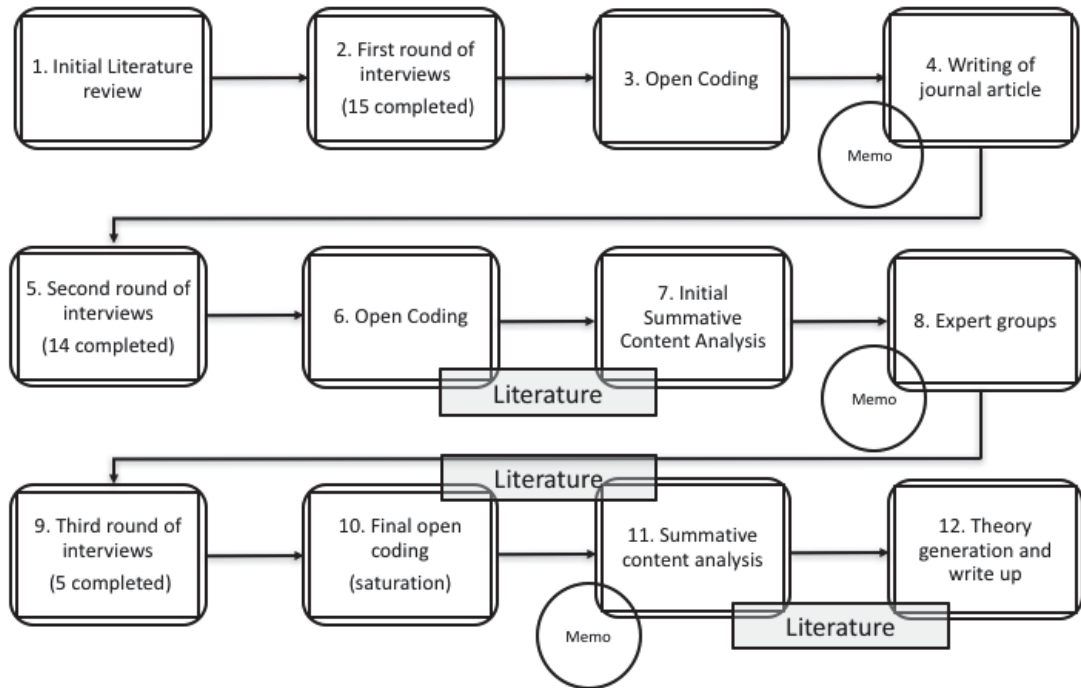


Figure 1 Constructivist grounded theory methodology as implemented in the study

3.2.1 Location and conduct of the literature review

Glaser (1992, 2002) and Guba and Lincoln (2004) argue that in grounded theory research the literature review should not precede the research, but instead should occur during or even after data collection (if at all). This position is challenged by Hutchinson (1993) and Cutcliffe (2000) who posit that the researcher must develop an understanding of the phenomenon in order to identify the gap in knowledge. Thornberg (2012) and Suddaby (2006) go further by arguing that a literature review enhances the end theory being developed (and the knowledge of the field) by affording the opportunity for revision and reflection within the iterative approaches supported by constructivist grounded theory. They suggest that a grounded theory study that does not undertake a literature review prior to the data collection risks being labelled atheoretical or painting itself into an uninformed corner. Even some strict Glaserian grounded theorists argue that a researcher will always approach a topic with some pre-knowledge and that the conditions of determining the merits of undertaking a specific study are enhanced by a pre-study literature review (Chenitz 1986; Dey 1999).

As a qualitative researcher, the undertaking of a literature review at the commencement of the study is a common and established part of any research process. Starting this study, it was imperative to determine the feasibility, uniqueness and potential significance of the area of study and the potential questions I was seeking to investigate. The undertaking of a preliminary literature review was critical to developing an understanding of the field and its discourses. Further, it ensured that to some degree I could identify (and defend) how the study represented an original contribution to knowledge.

Because I undertook a literature review at the start of the process, there needed to be an acknowledgement and assessment of the impact of the literature sources on the research (Gasson 2003). At the completion of the data analysis, it was my opinion that the impact of conducting a preliminary literature review was entirely positive. The literature review shaped the methodological choice to a great degree. It informed the epistemological evaluation that was described in Chapter Two. The review also brought to the fore issues around the discontinuity of zine-making practice as described in the literature, some of the shifts in participation that have occurred in the digital age and most critically it indicated that zine-making studies were found across a wide range of disciplines. The literature review also informed a broader understanding of the complexity of the zine-making phenomenon without compromising the ability of the methodology to successfully generate theory, aligning with the later thinking of Strauss and Corbin (1998). They suggest that literature searches improve the theoretical sensitivity of the research and ‘...stimulate our thinking about properties and dimensions that we can then use to examine the data in front of us’ (Strauss & Corbin 1998, p. 44).

The preliminary literature review was not undertaken to make definitive statements about theory or to identify a testable theoretical framework. The literature review grounded me in the discourses of the field and afforded the opportunity to enter the conversations about theory (Lempert 2007). It identified that there was no agreed position emerging from either practitioners or theorists on key issues such as defining zines and zine-making and most critically, the nature of, and motivations for, participation. The review also supported the

capability to ask theoretical questions of the data at critical points, informing the choice of questions that were used in the successive series of interviews, and how the expert groups, who were critical to the writing and validation of the theoretical memos, were run (Charmaz 2011a).

I took the philosophical stance described by McGhee, Marland and Atkinson (2007) who argue for a hybrid role for the researcher and the literature, halfway between the Glaserian interpretation of reflexivity and the need for theoretical knowledge to inform the study. This necessitated a second and third review of the literature (including the significant corpus that had developed in the ensuing five years) after the completion of the summative coding. The purpose of these literature reviews was to help frame, locate and assess the constructs and theories that emerged from the data analysis, within the extant theory (Charmaz 2014). The reviews codified my own perspectives regarding zines and zine-making and served to inform an abductive approach to reasoning and discovery that became necessary due to the dearth of conventions and perspectives outside of specific disciplines and the historical location of studies prior to the digital age (Reichertz 2007).

3.2.2 Developing the research question

According to the traditional grounded theory approach it is important that the primary research question in a study is not described in preconceived terms or as a set of tightly defined *a priori* research questions (Corbin & Strauss 1990; Glaser 2003; Glaser & Strauss 1977; Strauss & Corbin 1994). This approach to grounded theory asserts that the researcher should have no prior assumptions or knowledge with which to force data into categories at the theoretical sampling or coding stage, with Glaser (1992) noting:

The research question in a grounded study is not a statement that identifies the phenomena to be studied. The problem emerges and questions regarding the problem emerge by which to guide theoretical sampling. (Glaser 1992, p. 25)

Some constructivist grounded theorists oppose the assumption that the researcher can approach a problem or engage in research without any preconceived notions of knowledge, personal preferences or research objectives as an objectivist pursuit that is unachievable and unrealistic. Charmaz (2008b) illustrates this opposition by noting that ‘...no qualitative methods rest on pure induction – the questions we ask of the empirical world frame what we know of it’ (Charmaz 2008b, p. 206).

Recognising that constructivist grounded theory supports a degree of specificity around defining the research question (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Flick 2009), I set out a broad research ambition at the commencement of the study. An initial research question sought to identify why people chose to make zines. This question contained the presupposition that zines are made and that the making of them involves a choice as opposed to an autonomic response or legislative compliance, for example. In this context, zine-making could be argued to be a positivist truth (Breckenridge et al. 2012).

As the data collection, analysis and coding progressed, along with the iterative literature reviews, the research question continued to evolve. The realities that the zine-makers inhabited were increasingly evidenced to be multiple, socially constructed and complex. The positivist truth inherent in the initial research question became increasingly diluted. It was in this context, drawing on the literature to support and challenge the research question formation that the final primary research question was determined and remained the same for the remainder of the duration of the study. This question focused on the analytical process and the generation of theory on the contexts that influenced the decision of individuals to participate in zine-making. This extended the potential scope of the study from being limited to a singular decision point (why did you choose to make zines?) to a more longitudinal, evolving and ongoing analysis, that afforded the possibility of understanding why the respondents continued to make zines. The location of the study within a period of significant and disruptive technological change (the digital age) was also critical to the process of theory generation. The lack of studies about zine-making in the digital age exposed gaps in the understandings as to why people make zines. The study

of zine-making within specific disciplines applied a frame of understanding that in part excluded responses and insights that sat outside of the assertions and findings of the writers in those fields or that ran counter (or were irrelevant) to the discourse under investigation. Further, the location of many zines studies in entirely historical contexts such as punk music in the 1970s and riot grrrl in the 1990s created 'walled gardens' of insight that focused on pre-digital practices.

3.2.3 Theoretical sampling

The use of theoretical sampling is a critical aspect of a constructivist grounded theory approach, in that it allows the researcher to adjust the sample in order to explore and refine the theory until the point of data saturation (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Theoretical sampling can also inform the process of data collection by directing the conduct of the data collection itself, affording the researcher the opportunity to further develop their theory (Soulliere, Britt & Maines 2001).

There is extensive discussion in the literature both in the context of traditional grounded theory and constructivist approaches on the conduct, development, scope and application of theoretical sampling, identifying and debating the methodological issues that arise from this type of sampling (e.g Charmaz 2006; Corbin & Strauss 1990; Cutcliffe 2000; Glaser 1992; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin 1994).

The field of zine-making is defined by the action and practice of making a zine. The scope and breadth of the potential sample for the study was therefore was somewhat limited and was in part self-selecting. Zine-makers make 'something' that they call a zine and hence identify themselves as zine-makers. However, this definition may not garner universal agreement from peers, distributors or readers. Alternately, as Hallberg (2006) notes, the sampling methodology chosen for a grounded theory approach must '...maximize variations in experiences and descriptions by using participants from contrasting milieus and backgrounds' (Hallberg 2006, p. 143). Charmaz (2008b) challenges the assumptions of some qualitative researchers who she argues cannot separate the process of sampling from the preparatory phase of research before data collection commences. She posits that constructivist grounded theory utilises

theoretical sampling as an active part of the research process, informed by the iterative emergence of categories, and one which might take the theory generation or data collection in new and different directions.

In order to start the process of theoretical sampling and begin the generation and definition of categories, the initial call for respondents (Appendix 1) outlined some broad sampling criteria in order to ensure that the participants were able to discuss and describe their own experiences of zine-making and legitimately be able to provide insight into the question under study (Morse 2010).

Respondents needed to have made at least one zine, which ensured that the zine-maker had something they could identify as zine-making practice to describe. To comply with the ethical requirement of gaining informed consent, all respondents needed to be aged eighteen or over and capable of giving informed consent.

Respondents were asked four screening questions after responding to the initial call (Appendix 5). The questions were used to determine their suitability for the study and to start the process of ensuring that the sample represented a diversity of zine-making practices, contexts, locations and typologies. Each respondent was asked the number of zines that they had made (to ensure that I was interviewing zine-makers as opposed to people just interested in or consuming zines), what country they were residing in and in what year did they start making zines. Finally, each respondent was asked to describe the type of zines they made, using language and descriptors that they felt comfortable with. None of these questions used scaled responses, with all of them requiring an open-ended response. Many respondents added substantial detail to their answers to even the relatively dichotomous questions, challenging their own capacity to remember when they started zine-making, for example.

The purpose of theoretical sampling in a grounded theory methodology is to direct the research where the researcher needs it to go, as opposed to allowing the sample to progress by the same rules that you started with (Birks & Mills 2015; Charmaz 2006). Theoretical sampling also works as a self-correcting process, whereby the process of constant comparison within the data analysis

identifies gaps in the data and directs the next iteration of sampling (Charmaz 2014). After the completion of the initial tranche of fifteen interviews and subsequent open coding, I applied the theoretical sampling approach to direct the data collection and analysis towards exhausting the categories emerging from the data (Charmaz 2006).

The second call for participants generated a further fourteen respondents and was more precisely targeted at emerging zine-makers as opposed to experienced, longer term zine-makers, with the call highlighting a preference (though not exclusively) for respondents who had started making zines less than five years previously. Respondents outside that parameter were not excluded. Newer zine-makers represented a key gap in the data as they had made their initial decision to participate broadly within the digital age. The final round of interviews (five respondents) were conducted exclusively with zine-makers who had made their first zine within the last year. It was at this point that the refinement and exhaustion of the conceptual categories occurred and where any new properties of the categories connected to the research question were not exposed subsequent to further data collection (Charmaz 2006).

3.2.4 Conducting the interviews

From the first call for participants in 2011, thirty-two zine-makers expressed an initial interest in participating in the study. The participants responded to a series of posts made across several forums on the *wemakezines* web-based discussion board. I also placed notifications on several Facebook groups that promoted themselves as connecting with zine-makers and posted to two large membership Usenet-style mailing lists (*alt.zines* and *zines_australia*). To take advantage of the extensive networks of zine-makers, the call included a request to spread the word amongst the reader's zine-making colleagues and communities. I chose these sites and lists as they represented the largest concentrations of zine-makers online and the rules for topics discussed on these forums did not preclude academic or scholarly projects. The use of Facebook to conduct the interviews, whilst offering the potential to reach 'hard to reach' communities and overcome some of the barriers to access (Baltar &

Brunet 2012), was discounted for two reasons. Firstly, Facebook requires users to assert and share their real name which would have compromised the capacity for respondents to communicate with me using non-de-plumes or self-selected identities (something email interviews offered) (Caplan & Purser 2017). Secondly, there are ethical issues around the use of Facebook including who sees the information, who can be identified as participating in the study (through sharing content) and who owns the data within the Facebook platform (Lunnay et al. 2015)

Each respondent who expressed an interest in being part of the study received information outlining the purposes and proposed outputs of the study (see Appendix 2) and a copy of the informed consent form (Appendix 3). On receipt of the signed informed consent form, the respondents were sent the screening questions discussed earlier by email. The next two calls for participants (in 2013 and 2014) were placed on the same zine-maker boards and mailing lists. The owners of the Melbourne, Australia based zine distribution retail shop Sticky Institute offered to include the call in their newsletter to subscribers. The theoretical sampling approach used for the second and third calls was more specific in describing the type of participant that was required for the study. In the second, the call included a request for participation from less experienced zine-makers to join the study (although, as noted earlier no valid respondent was rejected) (see Appendix 4). These two calls resulted in fourteen more interviews in 2013 and the final series of five interviews in 2014.

The second and third calls did result in a small bias of the sample towards Australian zine-makers, with eight of the fourteen respondents from Australia or New Zealand in Series 2 and four out of five in Series 3. At no stage did geographic location emerge from the data analysis as influencing the construction or saturation of theory (nor was it present in the literature). It was therefore deemed that this slight bias towards Australian respondents in the sample was not important. *Table 2* shows the demographic and practice breakdown of the sample across the three series of interviews

Series of interviews	Number of respondents	Demographic breakdown	
Series 1 2011	15	Country: UK = 4 AUS = 6 US/Canada = 5 (CA = 1)	Number of zines: 1-5 = 3 6-10 = 5 11-20 = 2 20 or more = 5
Series 2 2013	14	Country: UK/EUROPE = 3 (NL = 1) AUS = 8 US = 3	Number of zines: 1-5 = 3 11-20 = 3 20 - 50 = 2 Over 50 = 6
Series 3 2014	5	Country: UK = 1 AUS = 4	Number of zines: 1-5 = 4 20 or more = 1

Table 2 Breakdown of interview stages

I used email to organise and conduct the interviews. Each respondent had a minimum of three emails exchanged to agree to participate, to gain informed consent, to acquire the data for four screening questions and finally to conduct the interviews. Some respondents received follow up emails to probe their responses in more detail, to fill in missing questions or to simply clarify their answers. Where a respondent did not respond to the final email with the main body of questions, a follow-up email was sent. If they did not respond, they were considered exhausted and not included in the study. Three respondents asked for a discussion about the study via Skype before they answered the main body of questions. All three then contributed their answers via email.

In stage one, I conducted fifteen semi-structured asynchronous email interviews with respondents. Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they provided flexibility within the interview format to expand or elaborate on information and perspectives not thought of at the time of determining the questions (Bryman 2015; Gill et al. 2008). Semi-structured interviews supported the ability of respondents to develop and tell their stories and not standardise away the evolution and variation that emerges from the process of storytelling (Kasper 2015).

Semi-structured interviews are of particular relevance to constructivist research studies in that they support the eliciting of a participant's views (Creswell 2008). They support the creation of an environment that serves to replicate the

interactions that arise from daily conversation, the importance of exchange between people and the way two parties negotiate meaning (Brinkman & Kvale 2015). They also provided the opportunity for an asynchronous conversation to emerge between myself and the respondents, using the relatively casual language inherent in email, including abbreviations, emoticons, idiosyncratic language and support less formal and spontaneous interactions (Gibson 2010).

The use of interviews conducted asynchronously, in-depth and online through email was critical to the study for several reasons. Firstly, it was assumed that all respondents would have access to and experience with technology. This was predicated on the fact that the calls for participation were located on digital platforms. Email was the only way to contact me in the first instance (Mann & Stewart 2000). This was not especially limiting in that whilst zine-making is an inherently physical form of making, the literature identified that most zines offered an email contact to the readers (Weida 2012, 2013). There were also a number of other studies that used the emails of zine-makers as a point of initial contact (see e.g. Kempson 2015b; Poletti 2008a).

Secondly, as the study would necessitate interviewing people remotely across three continents it was important to afford the respondents the opportunity to answer at convenient times. It was also critical in the light of the depth of responses that the study was seeking that the respondents were provided with opportunity for appropriate thought and consideration and could engage in settings that were familiar, easy to access and conducive to the time spent thinking and responding (Bowker & Tuffin 2004; McCoyd & Kerson 2006).

There is some debate that email interviews can be cold or impersonal, arising from the lack of non-verbal or para-verbal cues (Bampton & Cowton 2002; Schneider et al. 2002), the reliance on entirely text-based communications, discontinuity in terms of response delays (Pearce, Thøgersen-Ntoumani & Duda 2014) or the lack of immediacy that comes from face-to-face interviews (Hesse-Biber & Griffin 2013). Other studies have found that email interviews can engage the interviewer and the participant in warm, open and engaged discussions that create an environment of trust (Mann & Stewart 2000).

The semi-structured email interview approach used in this study allowed respondents to share personal details about their zine-making experiences and reasons for participation (Ison 2009; Mann & Stewart 2000). This form of interview provided rich data from the respondents, and allowed me to probe for more details, get under the surface of their responses and support their reflective capacity. The order of the questions asked by email was particularly important. Several respondents used the sequence of questions to develop a layered (and sometimes discontinuous) narrative within their answers. They offered tentative explorations of their motivations, which, as each question progressed, they re-visited, re-interpreted, changed or contradicted.

Because there were generally a number of emails exchanged between myself and the respondents (in one case, this exchange stretched to nineteen emails) there was a real sense of conversation in many of the interviews, which provided for a layered form of interaction (Burns 2010). It was also critical in building rapport and trust between myself and the respondents. Email also provided the respondents with an opportunity to consider their responses before sending, which resulted in some very detailed and thoughtful responses, and equally considered questions back to me. This capability was noted by some respondents directly in describing the difficulty or depth of thought to which they had to apply to the response (Bampton & Cowton 2002) and their own (sometimes surprising) capability for providing reflective answers (Opdenakker 2006).

Finally, writing is at the heart of many zine-maker's practice and is the way that many zine-makers engage in expression, sharing, reflection and criticality (Douglas & Poletti 2014; Hays 2017; Poletti 2003, 2008a; Vong 2016). The use of email interviews provided respondents with a comfortable, familiar medium, supporting opportunities for richer, more considered insights and the capacity to mimic '...the non-linear, fragmentary narratives and modes of presentation that autobiographical memories' that are central to zines as artefacts (Chidgey 2013, p. 668).

3.2.5 Interview questions

In a constructivist grounded theory study, initial interview questions allow for the development and sharing of personal narratives or stories by respondents (Suddaby 2006). The type of questions asked in an interview support the development of understanding by the researcher of the theoretical plausibility of the stories that are told, but not their coherence as logical or accurate representations (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012). Both Charmaz (2004) and Hallberg (2006) note that in a constructivist grounded theory inquiry interview questions are best delivered intensively and often over multiple interviews or discussions in order to provide the opportunity to gain a deeper and richer view of the respondent's life.

As the interviews in this study were semi-structured and evolved as the iterative data collection and analysis occurred, the actual questions asked including follow-ups were not exactly the same for each interview (Charmaz 2006; Charmaz & Belgrave 2012). The broad categories of questions did remain relatively stable to build the respondents' stories and to tease out the experiences that shaped their participation (see Appendix 5 for an example of the interview guide). I asked a succession of questions that allowed for richer recollections of experiences and opinions to emerge and to provide the opportunity to build categories through a successive set of related descriptions. Most critically, the questions were designed to encourage the respondents to share their stories in an honest, rich and insightful way.

Question structure

(i) Making your first zine

The intent of the questions in this set focused on the respondent's initial engagement with zine-making as a practice and provided an opportunity to explore how their motivations for participation might have changed. These questions also explored the respondent's first exposure to zines, either as a maker or as a reader. A number of key studies have flagged the importance of

the transition from being a zine reader to being a zine-maker (see e.g. Duncombe 1997; Poletti 2008b; Rosenberg & Garafolo 1998). Taking the respondents back to their first experiences of zines afforded the opportunity to locate their stories within the context of the starting place of their journey. It allowed for the interviews to explore both how they learnt about what a zine was, how they identified and acquired the skills needed to make zines (or realised that they perhaps already had those skills) and how they constructed their own motivations for participating in zine-making.

(ii) Communicating with readers and other zine-makers

The purpose of this set of questions was to provide the opportunity for the respondents to reflect on the way they engaged with their community. Many studies explored the critical importance of engagement, communication and sharing to zine-makers and their practices (see e.g. Chidgey 2014b; Dunn & Farnsworth 2012; Eichhorn 2001; Rauch 2007; Wray & Steele 2001). These questions became increasingly important in exploring the importance of the concept of sharing and the impact of technology on the decision to participate. As the coding process progressed through the first and second series of interviews, these questions became more directed at probing where their use of technology and the physical practices of zine-making intersected. This grouping of questions also explored understandings and experiences of the networks, communities and interactions between zine-makers and readers.

(iii) The journey and critical reflection

The questions that were asked about the social, technical and critical processes that the zine-maker went through, perhaps over many years, to make zines were designed to add longitudinal capacity to the stories being told. As one of the screening questions identified how long the respondents had been making zines, there needed to be the opportunity to explore how their journey had shaped and changed the motivations and influences of the decision to participate. It was critical to ensure that participation could be explored in more than a 'single-shot' context and where the respondent's reasons for

participating may have changed or evolved, the interviews could capture that. The notion of capturing the journey of their zine-making was especially interesting in the context of those respondents who had started their zine-making practice the emergence of the World Wide Web and social media. These questions also triggered very deep reflections on the personal and lived experiences of the zine-makers that were threaded throughout the interviews. Partly a product of the questions seeking opinion from the respondents, and partly because the questions sought an affirmation of impact, these questions were answered often in highly personal, reflective and descriptive terms. The alignment of the respondent's zine-making with other creative practices exposed a form of linearity between the ways the zine-maker chose to make something and the ways in which they chose to share that making (across a number of different media).

3.2.6 Coding

In a constructivist grounded theory approach, the processes of data collection and analysis are interrelated, as the data analysis starts immediately with the receipt of the first piece of data (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). There is a critical importance placed on the application of appropriate methods of coding within an effective constructivist grounded theory approach. It is through coding that a skeleton can emerge for the construction of theory (Charmaz 2003c). Coding is the primary way of identifying the multiple social realities at play in the data (as opposed to the single core category or reality that is critical to theory formation in traditional grounded theory) (Hallberg 2006; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). Charmaz (1995) argues that coding allows for emergence of insights, meanings and stories. It is through those discoveries that the coded data provides an opportunity for the researcher to be a co-producer, exploring the wider contexts of the interview and the subject. Constructivist grounded theory treats the coding of data as a living concept, with the stories that are constructed benefiting from the immersion of the researcher in the story and keeping the lives of the respondents in the foreground of the research (Charmaz 2000; Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006).

One of the benefits of a constructivist grounded theory approach is that the researcher needs to be prepared for the emergence and existence of multiple realities from the coding process (Charmaz & Belgrave 2012; Thornberg & Charmaz 2014). Open coding was used from the receipt of the first completed interview to identify core categories within the data and shape the subsequent sampling approach and the types of questions that were asked (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). This broad approach to coding identified categories that could be used to aggregate pieces of data that represented the more general phenomena of participation. It was critical that the open coding approach allowed for the existence of multiple realities in the data. This supported the location of zine-making in multiple self-defined contexts and within the complexities of self-described typologies of zines.

Other coding approaches common in grounded theory were considered and then discounted. The use of axial coding was considered as it supports the development of the understanding of the interactions, conditions and consequences between categories (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1998). Whilst axial coding would have allowed for the reassembling of data that may have been fractured by the iterative nature of the questions used during the interview process (Strauss & Corbin 1998), it would not have supported the construction of multiple realities. Instead, axial coding seeks to generate what Goulding (1999) refers to as a Gestalt-like solution, where the coding constructs a single hybrid reality instead of identifying the potential multiplicity of realities within stories. Theoretical coding is very commonly used in grounded studies as it affords the researcher the ability to make connections between the data and start to explore the relationships that form within and between the categories (Glaser 1992). Charmaz (2006) argues that theoretical coding may add an analytical aspect to the process but also can contribute towards missing how the theory emerges from the data analysis.

It was critical the coding approach stayed close to the data in order to ensure that the stories being told by the respondents were coded both across the instances and behaviours observed from the other respondents and through

their own sequence of responses (Charmaz 2006). To this end, most of the coding process was undertaken manually and did not use a qualitative analysis package, although word counts and word clouds were generated using basic computer software (see Appendix 7 for examples of the word clouds generated at this stage). Writers such as Basit (2003) and Jones (2007) argue that manual coding is both time consuming and tedious, and rarely affords the researcher any richer data. However, the cleaned data set in this study was relatively small (around 40000 words) which meant that there was not a large volume of data to analyse (Vander Putten & Nolen 2010). Further, the use of manual coding and analysis on a printed copy of the data set afforded me the capacity to get close to the data and maintain some of the sense of tactility with the data and the relationships between the emerging categories that replicates the handmade nature of zines themselves (Birks & Mills 2015; Charmaz 2006; Gilbert 2002) (the two initial coding frames are described in Appendix 7).

After the completion of the second round of interviews, a more focused coding approach was needed in order to better identify '...implicit processes, to make connections between codes, and to keep their analyses active and emergent' (Charmaz 2008a, p. 164). The application of summative content analysis approach (Hsieh & Shannon 2005) allowed for the identification and construction of meaning from the interviews. This form of coding and analysis supported the emergence and understanding of underlying meanings in the data through a two-stage process of counting the occurrence of specific words or phrases and searching for latent meanings in the usage of those words, aligned with meanings emerging from the initial coding and the potentially the literature (Hsieh & Shannon 2005). It is generally conducted by analysing the data line-by-line and taking multiple passes through the transcripts to extract and expose meaning (Charmaz 2006; Charmaz & Belgrave 2012).

The directness of the communication, the broader references to the audience or the individual reader, the meanings behind specific assertions or statements and the tone of the text were addressed through this summative content analysis process. The use of culture-specific words, the almost diary-like form of some responses and the more euphemistic style of writing generally

supported the use a textual check against the literature to ensure consistency of interpretation and enhanced the credibility of the study (Weber 1990). To ensure theoretical sensitivity, the coding frame needed to avoid the notions of preconception, which was achieved through challenging my own notions of zine-making and ensuring that coding occurred at a specific enough level and with particular regard to relationships that assist in the construction of actions (Dey 1999; Glaser & Strauss 1967; Urquhart 2001). Coding frames were not pre-determined, nor the extent of the coding process mapped out before the initial practices of primary data collection. This allowed for the direction of inquiry to develop as analysis fed into understanding (Charmaz 2006).

3.2.7 Refining categories and capturing feedback through memo-writing

Memo-writing is the critical interstitial step between coding, the construction of theory and writing up of results within a constructivist grounded theory study (Charmaz 2006). Memo-writing provides an opportunity for the study to expand on categories or fill out detail within those categories, as well applying a more free-form and exploratory approach to writing notes in order to better explain the emerging categories and theory (Charmaz 2003a). Finally, memo-writing is used to feed back into the final writing process once theoretical saturation has been reached (Holton 2007). The reflexive nature of memo-writing was critical to the process of data analysis, as it provided the link between the data collection and the process of analysis that 'filled out' the codes and categories of the theoretical framework with comparisons, observations and conjectures (Glaser 1992; Lowe 1995).

To provide opportunities for reflection, to draw on my own explicit assumptions, beliefs and experiences and to create the environment for the emergence of theory, two different types of memo-writing were used at different stages of the study. During the open coding process for the first two series of interviews, I wrote a journal article as a memo, testing the emergent categories against a content analysis of zine editorial content (Bryant 2014). Writing this type of memo enabled me to learn through the data and begin to discover insights (Charmaz 2011a). It utilised aspects of my established academic practice to

better explore the meanings arising from the open coding. Charmaz (2006) notes that many memos have a life beyond their initial purposes, either as journal articles or conference presentations, for example. The use of article writing as a form of memo provided the study with insights into the way people described their motivations through their answers. I utilised a similar mode of memo writing in between stages ten and eleven by writing two article-style memos testing the logic of the emergent theory. Neither of these were submitted for publication.

After the second round of interviews, I convened two expert groups of zine-makers, one in Portland, Oregon and the other in New York City, New York in the United States. The members of this group represented perspectives or practices that were relatively complementary to the norms of the community under study (Mills 2009). The members were a selective group drawn from people I knew in the community (Donovan 1995) and snowballed to include their extended networks. The membership of the groups was determined on a convenience basis, with two leading zine-makers (Jenna Freedman in New York and Alex Wreck in Portland, offering to bring people together). The purpose of these groups was to provide the capacity for critical reflection on the data and theory arising from the interviews. No data was drawn the panels themselves. The Portland group had six members and ran for two hours, whilst the New York City group had ten members and ran for nearly three hours. The purpose of these groups was to have an open discussion around the emerging categories and to use that discussion as a reflective process, both on the emergent theory and the core categories. The opening point of the discussion was a high-level summary of the early categorisation, that led to a series of questions that interrogated whether the findings had resonance within the lived experiences of the group or their engagement with the experiences of other zine-makers (the discussion guide for these expert groups is in Appendix 6). The notes from the discussion were written up as a memo and informed the development of the summative content analysis coding frame.

The use of an expert group arguably contributed towards enhancing the rigour and quality of the inquiry, forming part of what Birks and Mills (2015, p. 36) call

'methodological congruence' where the process provided for an opportunity (within my own frame of reference, and the emerging categories) for the data to be challenged and tested by a wider group and aligned closely with both the aims of the research and the methodology. To that end, the location of both groups in the United States reflected the broader nature of the zine community, which was not defined by geographic location, but defined by approaches, understandings, subjects and experiences of zine-making (a distinction that was present in the emerging categories).

3.2.8 Theoretical saturation

Saturation is a concept that is debated extensively in grounded theory literature, often uncritically (Charmaz 2006; Dey 1999; Glaser 1992, 2003). Glaser (2003) states that saturation occurs when the conceptualisation of categories yields no new insights. Saturation is a difficult term as it relies on the conjecture of the researcher to decide when a category is saturated (Dey 1999). Charmaz (2006) argues against the efficacy of identifying the point of theoretical saturation, noting it is often proclaimed as opposed to reached. She added in 2008 that theoretical saturation is often discussed and rarely achieved (Charmaz 2008a), with the point of theoretical saturation an entirely subjective call on behalf of the researcher (Hallberg 2006).

At the completion of the final series of email interviews and the subsequent open coding of that new data, no new insights emerged from the interviews; they simply reinforced the existing categories and the emerging theoretical model. This was especially telling as this series of interviews was bounded by the most directive and purposeful theoretical sampling of the entire study.

3.2.9 Quality in the research process

Ensuring the quality of a grounded theory study is the subject of contentious debate in the methodological literature (see e.g. Annells 2006; Charmaz 2006; Glaser & Strauss 1977; Lazenbatt & Elliott 2005; Lomborg & Kirkevold 2003; Morse 2010; Sparkes & Smith 2009; Suddaby 2006). Lazenblatt and Elliot

(2005) argue that scientific reliability can be assured (to some degree) in a grounded study through the effective use of the key data collection processes inherent in grounded theory (continuous data collection, the use of constant comparisons, theoretical sampling and the writing of memos). Glaser and Strauss (1977) and Sparkes and Smith (2009) argue that the concepts associated with defining the quality of research such as validity and reliability lack relevance to grounded theory because they apply ontological and epistemological assumptions deriving from positivism. Instead, grounded theorists argue that quality emerges from how well the study addresses and represents the real concerns of the subjects and the researcher (Weed 2009) and how the study fits and works to offer accepted explanations for the phenomena under study (Glaser & Strauss 1977).

To interrogate the quality of this study, I applied two conditions posited by Lincoln and Guba (1985) that seek to assure the trustworthiness and authenticity of the study as ways of understanding the quality and reliability of the findings and the study. Each of the two conditions were measured and codified through the application of sets of criteria identified by Lincoln and Guba that should be used by the researcher to assure (or at least assess) the quality of their methodological design.

The first condition of trustworthiness was assessed by Lincoln and Guba through applying four criteria: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility refers to the rigour applied to the conduct of the methodology and the modes of interpretation applied to the study. Charmaz (2006) uses credibility as a criteria for assessing the quality of a constructivist grounded theory study. She states that the study should provide enough evidence for the claims made by the emergent theory (so much so that the reader should be able to form an independent assessment) and that the methodological approach has been applied with sufficient depth of observations, comparisons of data and analysis and determinations of categories.

I used semi-structured interviews to provide the opportunity for stories and insights to emerge during the study. The motivation for participants to become involved with the research project through agreeing to be interviewed was explored in the initial interactions with the respondents after they agreed to participate. The rationale for the study was shared and my own position as a maker and researcher was made clear and through that some respondents discussed unprompted why agreed to participate. The evaluation of these reasons became part of the theory generation; supporting assertions of sharing, openness, community and being part of something.

I utilised two expert groups to inform the research and to provide additional validation in terms of the findings. The recognition of my world view and the experiences I brought to the study as a researcher and as a reader of zines were recognised as *a priori* knowledge. The use of a literature review prior to data collection was justified within that frame and significantly shaped the structure of the successive chapters of this thesis. These processes were applied rigorously to provide for the required depth and evidence.

Transferability refers to the notion that ‘...accounts may be transferable to other specified settings through the provision of thick description about both the sending and receiving contexts’ (Spencer et al. 2003, p. 40). There are no explicit criteria for transferability in assessing the quality of constructivist grounded theory approach, although Charmaz (2006) does discuss the usefulness of the study, where the study can be used by people in their own everyday worlds or where the study could spark insight or further research in other discipline areas. This study meets the criteria of transferability in two ways. The findings of the study relate to participation in zine-making and provides rich descriptions of participatory media in the digital age. Secondly, the findings explored the role of community in the sustainable growth of this form of participatory media. These insights and observations are potentially transferable to other forms of participatory culture.

The third criteria described by Lincoln and Guba is dependability, which refers to how transparent the research process is and how clear the subsequent

decision-making is. As discussed earlier, there are certain concepts within a constructivist grounded theory study (such as theoretical saturation) that require subjective and pragmatic decisions by the researcher. Whilst dependability may be able to be determined within that context it was difficult to determine in this study.

Lincoln and Guba's final criteria for trustworthiness is confirmability, which refers to the extent to which the findings and process are grounded in the data (Spencer et al. 2003). As with transferability, the constructivist grounded theory approach discusses the idea of usefulness as analogous to confirmability, with the identification of process from the emergence of the analytical categories used in coding (Charmaz 2006). A literature review was done prior to data collection to inform the development of the categories and then to position, validate and challenge the final theoretical frame with reference to the established lore of the field. A journal article was written from the theoretical memos that emerged during the analysis phase. Literature was then used to confirm or challenge the emerging theory. Finally, the expert groups were provided with the emerging categories and were asked to use their own *a priori* knowledge to validate or challenge the findings.

The second measure of quality identified by Lincoln and Guba is authenticity, which effectively looks at a section of actions that determine how the study represents and presents different views (fairness), how the study develops understanding of the social context of the research (educative authenticity), how the study demonstrates research stimulated action (tactical authenticity) and how the study contributes towards a deeper understanding of inquiry (ontological authenticity) (Manning 1997; Seale 1999). These four criteria of authenticity are only partially explored in relation to a constructivist grounded theory inquiry. Charmaz (2006) argues that authenticity through in a constructivist grounded theory is constructed through questions surrounding the social and theoretical significance of the study, the challenging or extending of existing ideas and the freshness of the category development. These descriptors do not entirely cover the scope of Lincoln and Guba's definition of authenticity.

In terms of fairness, this study ensured that the sample represented a wide spectrum of views on zine-making. It did not pre-suppose a definition of what constituted a zine and encouraged participation from people who self-identified as zine-makers. Respondents chose to participate, I did not actively target specific participants to become part of the study, which had the potential to frame participation within the study to people who had an interest in the research itself.

In terms of how the research extended existing ideas, the study provided for a deeper understanding of the topic for the researcher and the readers. To choose the methodological approach, I undertook an extensive interrogation of the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the methodological choice and of my own approaches to research. The application of a constructivist grounded theory approach to understanding zine-making participation represented a unique application of the methodology which built on the understanding of the nature of this type of inquiry. This supported the ontological authenticity of the study. The capacity to tell stories, explore longitudinal lived experiences and the explicit exploration of the social and communicative relationships between zine-makers, their readers and communities, ensured the study had educative authenticity.

The final criterion of tactical authenticity is the one most closely aligned with the measuring of the quality and rigour of the study. Put simply, tactical authenticity asks the question: how useful is this research? This is an easy question to answer hyperbolically. Whilst zine-making is a relatively discrete media-making practice, it has had significant impacts on the longevity and subsequent measureable socio-cultural impact of at least two social/political movements (riot grrrl/third wave feminism and punk rock). The considerations explored in this study around how zines can proliferate and continue to survive in a digital age could provide insight for the community in terms of training, support, development and ultimately towards the defining of zines and zine-making practices.

3.2.10 *Sensitising concepts and key studies*

Operationalisation is a necessary process in the conduct of many grounded theory approaches, as this provides significant insights that contribute to the confirming or testing theory in the real world (Lynham 2002) and can define the reaching of theoretical saturation within the data (Glaser & Strauss 1977; Strauss & Corbin 1994). Charmaz (2006) challenges the importance of operationalisation, suggesting that operationalising research concepts is essentially limiting. It provides an end (as opposed to a starting place) for the theory building and is better positioned within a logico-deductive research process as opposed to a grounded one. She argues for the use of sensitising concepts as a way of beginning the research with a series of general concepts that may or may not last through the duration of the research.

It was critical for the study to create sensitising concepts defining the act and action of participation to provide for ‘...starting points for building analysis, not ending points for evading it’ (Charmaz 2003b, p. 259). Participation is a complex concept, which resides (not entirely comfortably across several disciplines, including arts and creative industries, social movements, community management, consumer behavior and education. The initial literature review exposed some of the conceptual frames of participation. In these frames, the intersection of experiences, behaviours and influences were used to form and defend the researchers definition of participation as a decision-making process (see e.g. Balfe & Meyersohn 1995; Baum et al. 2000; Brunsting & Postmes 2002; Burgess 2006; Carpentier 2010; Holden 2007; Jackson, Herranz & Kabwasi-Green 2003; Matarasso 1997; O'Reilly 2003; Smith 1994). It seemed logical to therefore explore these frames as part of the process of sensitising concepts, as these became critical to shaping the broad semi-structured interview questions, and the open coding categories. These were also suitable jumping off points for the respondents to begin to tell their stories related to zine-making.

In the context of the fuzziness surrounding zine-making as a practice (as well as defining what a zine is), applying critical sensitivity to the concept of zines and

zine-making was appropriate to help find commonalities and threads within the data. This ensured that when comparisons and analysis were conducted, I was comparing ‘apples with apples’.

Sensitizing Concept	Identifying ideas and concepts
Experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The engagement of the respondent with the community or movement (Boellstorff 2004; Duncombe 1997; Harris 2003; Zobl 2004c) • The life experiences of the respondent (Clark 1998; Collins 1999; Duncombe 1997; Piano 2003) • The respondent’s arts background (Berke 2004; Duncombe 1997; Leventhal 2007; Spencer 2005; Triggs 2006) • The respondent’s retail/purchasing experiences (Eismann, Jiménez & Zobl 2008; Zobl 2005) • The respondent’s reading background (Leonard 1998) • The respondent’s educational background (Congdon & Blandy 2003; Guzzetti & Gamboa 2004)
Behaviours	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mapping of how respondents network within their community (Kearney 2006) • The respondent’s social interactions (Atton 2002; Rauch 2004) • Career development and the development of professional skills (Pressler 2006; Stoddart & Kiser 2004) • The need for artistic expression (Antliff 2004; Sabin & Triggs 2002; Zweig 1998)
Influences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The respondent’s political or activist positions (Boellstorff 2004; Harris 2003; Licona 2005) • The need of the respondent to rebel, resist, heal or express (Clark 1998; Collins 1999; Duncombe 1997; Piano 2003) • The connection of the respondent to specific social movements or communities (eg: riot grrrl or punk) (Alcantara-Tan 2000; Boellstorff 2004; Harris 2003; Phillipov 2006; Schilt 2003a; Sinor 2003)
Zines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Content (Chidgey 2006; Poletti 2005) • Construction (Radway 2001; Snyder 2006) • Distribution and circulation (Bartel 2004; Chidgey 2009; Duncombe 1997; Rauch 2004; Zobl 2009) • Do-it-yourself art and the zine aesthetic (Spencer 2005; Wreck 2005)
Zine-makers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People who participate in the construction and making of zines (Piepmeier 2008; Poletti 2008a) • Usually, but not always, they also participate in the distribution of zines (theirs and others) (Piepmeier 2008; Schilt 2003a, 2003b) • Zine-makers may also be zine readers or zine collectors (sometimes zine librarians) (Bartel 2004; Chidgey 2009; Freedman 2009; Gisonny & Freedman 2006) • They are the editor, author, illustrator of their zine (Nijsten 2016) • They may work individually or collectively (Piepmeier 2009)

Table 3 Sensitising concepts and key studies

3.3 Ethical considerations

As required by the University, a Human Research Ethics Application was submitted in 2010 as the research involved interviewing people.

The research methodology did not undertake research that directly intervened in the lives of the interview subjects. It should be noted however that zines are often made by people who have experienced significant traumatic experiences such as rape, abuse or illness (Cameron 2016; Ladegaard 2015). Their zines often represent, in sometimes visceral terms, the experience or the emotional reactions to that experience. This was one of the primary reasons for the use of anonymised interview data and the anonymising of the titles of zines made by respondents. Informed consent allowed for participants to withdraw at any stage, if they chose to. At no stage did the research ask direct questions about the lived experiences of the respondent. In the context of the interviews, it was not uncommon for the respondents to refer to these events when discussing their motivations for participation and their experiences of making zines.

In terms of identifying participants and maintaining confidentiality, generally the identity of the respondent was not known to me outside of their chosen online avatar or screen name or through their email address. There were some discrepancies between the online or zine identity and the email address, which on some occasions revealed the real name of the participants. Due to this consequence that arose from the use of email interviews there was no guarantee that the respondents were anonymous to me. However, in terms of reporting data and illustrative examples, confidentiality was assured. Further, the participants were in control of their own identity and identifiers in terms of publication. They were also made fully aware of the publishing outcomes of this study.

Generally, the literature suggests that zine-making is a positive, transformative process for both the zine-maker and the communities they engage with (see

e.g. Desyllas & Sinclair 2014; Goulding 2015; Hays 2017; Kearney 2007; Radway 2016). Whilst telling the story behind their zine-making may recall a traumatic experience, the zine itself is where generally the experience will be located. There was a slight risk that telling the story may recall for the participant a traumatic incident and that the participant may have sought reassurance or assistance from the researcher. There were no examples of where this happened during the interviews or at expert group meetings.

As identified within the university policy or within the Australian Vice-Chancellors' Committee's Joint NHMRC/AV-CC Statement and Guidelines on Research Practice or the Commonwealth Privacy Act (1988), the research poses only a slight risk in terms of emotional trauma. I managed this slight risk through several process and strategies including:

- Ensuring that the respondents were offered the opportunity to provide interviewee-generated non-de-plumes during the conduct of the interview (which is a common practice in zine-making);
- Not including names in the final thesis (only referring to respondents by number) and not including any identifying zine titles in the illustrative examples in the thesis;
- Making the respondents aware of the publishing outcomes from this research and how their data will be used (as either individual or aggregated data);
- Offering respondents the option not to continue if they feel their story is too personal or causes them trauma;
- Providing respondents with full disclosure regarding the purpose of the research and the intended uses of the data;
- Asking all respondents for informed consent for the use of their responses in the study, which could be withdrawn;
- The choice of email interviews ensured that the choice to complete or participate in the study is in the hands of the respondent;
- All data collected was stored in accordance with the relevant privacy principles.

Specific ethical lessons

The project was not especially complex in terms of ethics, and was well supported by the Human Research Ethics approach of the University. The respondents were self-selecting, they were provided with the opportunity to remain anonymous (which eventually became ensuring their confidentiality in terms of data presentation) and the degree to which they shared personally identifiable stories and insights was entirely in their hands with the final submission of data in their control. The project timeline crossed critical changes in how individuals represent themselves in public and online, especially on social media. At the start of the project, social media was nascent, with Twitter and Facebook at the early stages of their lifecycle. Many of the issues in both the popular press and the academic discourse surrounding privacy, exposure, bullying, identity and most presciently for this study, sharing of experiences were yet to emerge or be explored fully in the methodological literature. As the study progressed, consideration was given to ethical issues such as the consent issues arising from self-managed privacy on social media (Crawford & Finn 2015), the blurring between public and private lives afforded by technologies such as email and social media (Elliott & Urry 2010) and impacts of digital exclusion and inclusion afforded by the exclusive use of social media to recruit and communicate with participants (Berger 2015).

CHAPTER FOUR – LITERATURE REVIEW

Why do people spend their time and money producing a zine which, at best, probably fewer than a thousand people will ever see? Lloyd Dunn, a long-time denizen of the experimental small press, once said, “One publishes because one must; which is to say that I publish because I don’t know what else to do to make my voice heard outside of the narrow confines of my home turf.” (Gunderloy & Janice 1992, p. 1)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises perspectives, debates and discourses on key concepts within the study. It explores the transdisciplinary debates centred around the definition of what constitutes zines and zine-making. It locates the study’s focus on participation and briefly explores the socio-cultural, political and discipline contexts in which zine-making occurs. In line with the methodological approach, the chapter represents the combined outputs of the literature review conducted before the commencement of the study and the reviews conducted after the development of the theoretical model.

4.2 Defining zines and zine-making – the definitional debates

4.2.1 Introduction

This section will break down the debates around what constitutes making a zine. It will position zines within the wider field of DIY making. It will look at the ethics, attitudes and rituals associated with zines and the role technology has played in the digital age. Finally, it will look at the complex relationships between zines and the communities and individuals that read them.

4.2.2 *Defining zines through the role of the zine-maker*

The way zine-making and zines are defined is extensively discussed in the literature, but aside from several notable exceptions, is rarely agreed on. One of those notable exceptions is the work of Stephen Duncombe and his 1997 work '*Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*' which has been much-cited for definitional purposes. He defines zines as being '...non-commercial, non-professional, small-circulation magazines which the creators produce, publish, and distribute by themselves' (Duncombe 1997, p. 6). The important constructs that underpin his definition are that the creator has control of the editorial perspective and all aspects of the construction and distribution of the finished product.

Freedman (2005a) identifies nine characteristics of zines that describe how the zine-maker exerts control over the making of their zine. She argues that the physical process enacted by zine-makers (requiring few specific skills and the affordances that come from small print runs) underpins the control that zine-makers assert over their creation. Finally, she identifies a number of motivations and aspirations (such as the importance of community building and the assertion that zine-makers are '...motivated by desire to express oneself rather than to make money') that are manifestations of the assertion of control (Freedman 2005a, p. 10).

There are several different interpretations in the literature of what control means in the context of defining zines. Angel and Kuscma (2004) interpret creator control through the lens of expression, arguing that zines represent the most accessible media form for self-expression. The role of the zine-maker as creator, controlling their own editorial and creative output and reducing the space between the reader and the creator is seen fundamental to the nature of zine-making as a practice by many writers (Dodge 1998; Lymn 2008; Piepmeier 2008, 2009; Sinor 2003; Spiers 2015).

Dodge (1998 n.p.) argues that zine-making represents a '...budget means of un-homogenized expression' with the ease of accessibility to design,

construction and reproduction techniques allowing zine-makers to control how they engage in critical dialogue and commentary on society. The confessional tone and content of some zines represent a cogent example of this phenomena, whereby zine-makers assert their control through what they are prepared to share. Spiers (2015, p. 5) describes the confession and expression of traumatic lived experiences as a 'revelatory trope' within zine-making, noting that it provides the work with a sense of authenticity and continuity with other forms of feminist expression. She also argues that many zine-makers choose to confess through their zine as a way of pre-empting criticism or public shaming, a theme which Thi Nguyen (2012) picks up, where she discusses what it means to be a zine-maker confessing in such a public way:

...flawed, processual beings ... or, in the name of intimate love, allowed themselves to be publicly critiqued for their entitlements. Public shame, whether pursued through rigorous self-critique or delivered through the letters of an interlocutor, served as evidence of accountability. (Thi Nguyen 2012, p. 174)

Wright (2016) notes that the confessional mode of many riot grrrl zines imbues their narratives with a sense of vulnerability, which in itself is a manifestation of control through the empowerment it engenders. Desyllas and Sinclair (2014) introduce the concepts of agency and voice, whereby the zine-maker is in control of how they choose to self-disclose through their zines. The confessing of secrets and the sharing of intimate knowledge is closely aligned to the diary-like nature of many zines (Weida 2013), represented by the tone and style of writing and shared within complex web of controlled public and private spaces (Chidgey 2006; Piano 2003).

Another way control is exerted by the zine-maker is located within the exploration of zines as sites of cultural production, linked with the aspirational outcomes of empowerment, access and expression (see e.g Duncombe 1997; Galloway et al. 2004; Holtzman, Hughes & Van Meter 2007; Kempson 2015a; Reitsamer & Zobl 2014; Schilt 2004; Triggs 2006). The aesthetics and attitudes arising from control and ownership are a personalised representation of how the

zine-maker sees their own world and how that worldview is constructed within and through their own experiences, although they are not exclusive of the norms of society or the community that zine-maker exists within (Nijsten 2016). Control asserted through cultural production is not risk-free for the zine-maker, as Kempson (2015a) notes. She suggests the assertions of control arising from engaging in cultural production risks the zine-maker being ascribed outsider status by transgressing or challenging the established values of the community. Eichhorn (2001) identifies that the sense of being a part of a community is an important motivation for zine-makers. The relationship of the zine-maker to their community can often be quite fractured, and the role of the zine itself can vary from change agent to an instrument of codification to an organ of expression (Collins, 1999). The connections formed within and between these communities occur not just through physicality and proximity but through meaning and embodiment, where the ephemera of production and materiality form ‘...intimate, affectionate connections’ (Piepmeier 2008, p. 214). It is sometimes through those connections that communities are joined, formed or brought together by zines and zine-making practices (Desyllas & Sinclair 2014).

An alternative position is taken by Green and Taormino (1997) who argue that zine-makers do not make their zines for an audience or for a community but simply to express themselves, and through a broader dialectic of personal communication, bring together divergent peoples and form sites of ‘...communication, education, community, revolution, celebration, and self-expression’ (Green & Taormino 1997, pp. xiii-xiv). Leventhal (2007) expands the dialectic of personal communication between maker and reader by including the value of the zine-maker’s voice and their capacity to be heard through the accessibility of zine-making.

Common in the literature is the embodiment of control represented through the metaphor of the bedroom (especially prominent in the literature on girls’ zines) (see e.g. Harris 2001; Kearney 2007; Leonard 1998; Poletti 2008b). Poletti (2008b) represents the bedroom as a site for sharing of intimate content through zine-making. She argues that the bedroom is often the only private

space for a young person and as such reflects the mess, the personalisation, the ownership and the secrecy of that space in their zine:

The bedroom publishing house is constitutive of the style and content of persons, as the bedroom not only contributes to the physical construction of the zine (through the suggestion and hiding of content in mess) but also the tone of writing, as the imagined world beyond the windows and doors of the zinester's room is reflected and held at bay by the intimacy and specificity of the room. (Poletti 2008b, p. 133)

The bedroom represents both the actual and metaphorical location for the construction and ownership of personal and public spaces through zine-making. How the zine-maker chooses to construct self-defined and represented versions of self through their zine is only in part explained by the metaphorical bedroom. Zine-making affords the zine-maker the opportunities to locate their identity, the personality and their sense of self through the creation of zine content, the way the zine is distributed and to whom, and the way the zine is made and designed (Guzzetti 2006; Kempson 2015b; Stockburger 2015). This sense of self can be seen through the lens of the lived experiences, moral codes and ethics and the application of acquired and used knowledges shared by the zine-maker (Bauman 2003; Clegg & Hardy 1999; Rojek 1995; Sutton 1999).

The idea of resistance and its expression through zines is a further form of control exerted by zine-makers. Bartel (2004) describes zine-makers as action-oriented, not willing to stand back and let things happen within their communities, with zines as their instrument of activism. Kearney (2006) identifies the counter-hegemonic role of zine-making, connecting this form of resistance with its ease of production, ease of access to materials and the simplicity of distribution. Zines are constructed by many writers as sites of resistance, where resistance behaviours are demonstrated through both the nature and subject of the zine content and the package of aesthetical elements that shape how the zine came to be made (Eichhorn 2001; Harris 2003; Marie 2015; Piano 2003; Stahl 2003).

The representation of zines as sites of resistance created through their engagement with aesthetical processes is widely explored in the literature, especially in the context of zines made by girls (see e.g. Atkinson & Dougherty 2006; Chidgey 2014a; Debies-Carl 2014; Dunn 2016; Eichhorn 2001; Goulding 2015; Harris 2003; Rauch 2015b; Schilt 2003a; Stahl 2003). Harris (2003) argues that these sites of resistance exist as borderland spaces, where resistance emerges from the active manipulation of the borders between public and private spaces, the areas of making and sharing inside the bedroom and outside into the very public world of society which she says is ‘...expression without exploitation, resistance without appropriation.’ (Harris 2003, p. 47). Eichhorn (2001) extends this notion of control through freedom of expression by building in the interpersonal acts of community engagement, supporting the development of small communities (or sites) of ‘...empathetic readers and knowers’ (Eichhorn 2001, p. 574). Stahl (2003) argues that these sites do not emerge from the aesthetics of zine-making, but more where the cultural production process ‘...produces spaces that are dynamic sites of activity and include the continual reassertion and maintenance of boundaries enacted through processes of differentiation and distinction made by groups and individuals’ (Stahl 2003, p. 31).

Several studies suggest that there is an alignment between the capacity of zines to support and demonstrate resistance within the wider DIY field (see e.g. Chidgey 2014a; Culton 2007; Dunn & Farnsworth 2012; Featherman 2016; Kempson 2015b; Lankshear & Knobel 2010; Poletti 2005; Rauch 2004; Spencer 2005; Weida 2013). There is a close relationship between zine-making and other DIY making forms such as ‘...squatting, graffiti cultures, independent music, community event organising...political and cultural activism, community gardens, culture jamming, “hacktivism”, and independent media...’ (Poletti 2005, p. 185). Built on attitude, access and acts of rebellion against the mainstream, many zine-makers are active participants in multiple forms of DIY making, integrating practices across media types through the making of content and formation of community (Lowndes 2016). Rauch (2004) quotes from an interview she conducted with a zine-maker who asserts this relationship clearly, noting:

The zine phenomenon is not a publishing phenomenon...it's a social phenomenon instead...It's the mouthpiece of subcultures, along with flyers, graffiti, punk bands, guerrilla video, and many other forms of underground communications. (Rauch 2004, p. 165)

The capacity of zines to extend resistance and rebellion behaviours past assertions of self-identity and affording the capacity to challenge existing structures of power, authority and norms, is a common theme in the literature, especially in the activist/social justice and gender studies/feminism discourses (see e.g., Bell 2010; Chidgey 2014a; Cofield & Robinson 2016; Goulding 2015; Harris 2003; Hemphill & Leskowitz 2013; Schilt 2003a). Hemphill and Leskowitz (2013) argue that these resistance behaviours (which can be enacted through a DIY media like zines) are an active way to make change through the capacity of DIY media to act as '...knowledge-sharing modalities [that] embody in powerful ways the participants' substantive, radical political commitments' (Hemphill & Leskowitz 2013, p. 73). Bell (2010) asserts that the capacity of zines to encapsulate and distribute resistance stories represent active engagement with the (potentially) wider populace focused on confronting and challenging marginalisation and inequality, stating that resistance stories in zines have:

...the capacity to instruct and educate, arouse participation and collective energy, insert into the public arena and validate the experiences and goals of people who have been marginalized, and model skills and strategies for effectively confronting racism and other forms of inequality. (Bell 2010, p. 62)

Another aspect of creator control described in the literature is the empowerment afforded by the relative accessibility of zines as DIY media. The DIY nature of zine-making and the ease of accessibility to the tools of the trade support practices of resistance to a mainstream media that has both denied and embraced participatory practices, but has not been generally supportive or accessible to those resisting dominant paradigms (Ferris 2001; Rauch 2015a; Schilt 2003b). An extension of accessibility is the assertion that zines are

essentially an amateur pursuit, although in part this refers to both the aesthetics of the zines and the status and role of the maker in producing something non-commercial and accessible (e.g., Rennie & Valdivia 2012; Sinor 2003; Triggs 2006). How the notion of amateur is constructed through the processes of making is manifest through the skills applied to making, the editorial approach, the way the content is written and laid out or through a combination thereof. These processes are not in and of themselves amateur or unprofessional, but either through a deliberate sense of design or through variations in the skills applied, the zine can appear to be a messy, unprofessional or amateur artefact (O'Brien 2012). Some writers argue that zines seek to be idiosyncratic expressions of individuality and voice presented in amateur, rough DIY packages, deliberately effecting an amateurism of making as an affectation of control or to create a specific aesthetic (O'Neil 2004; Peace 2007; Piepmeier 2009).

4.2.3 Defining zines through the nature of content and the style of writing

The phrase 'zine content' is used in the literature to encapsulate the writing, designs, visual imagery and art included in a zine. Zine content can utilise a wide variety of tropes, forms, styles of writing, bricolage and modes of reproduction (Duncombe 1997; Wreck 2005). The content of a zine is essentially self-determined by the zine-maker and serves to achieve the specific purposes and aspirations they have for their zine, as Hays (2017) notes:

...to consider a zine's content is to consider its materiality, and how its production benefits its creator and its reader. As a mode of textual transmission in an increasingly digital age, then, it is important to question how the zine carries its creator's message. (Hays 2017, p. 87)

Zine content is not limited by the tastes or preferences of a publisher (Duncombe 1997; Stockburger 2015), nor is it bounded by some of the traditional norms of publishing such as copyright, attribution, editorial authority, the need for populism resulting in sales and, in some cases, having to comply with the law or customs (Feigenbaum 2013; Liebler 2015). Zine content has

been described by some writers as fringe, sometimes supporting the publication of controversial, challenging or offensive material that exists outside the mainstream (Fraser 2002; Kucsma 2002; Piepmeier 2009). Livingston-Webber (1994) observes that the language used within zines can often represent the perspective of the outsider looking in:

Swearing, obscenities, scandalous and provocative language are important elements in the arsenal the grrrl zines throw at mainstream windows from the fringe. (Livingston-Webber 1994, p. 4)

Zine content does not shy away from difficult or traumatic subjects, with some zine-makers using their content as a form of catharsis or shared experience (Romenesko 1993). Sutton (1999) argues that the essentially personal nature of zines is a form of therapy session whereby the zine-maker starts the creation process in one space and through the dynamics of writing and self-expression moves to a different one, driven by the '....willingness to share almost anything with the invisible audience' (Sutton 1999, p. 170). Poletti (2003) describes zine content as a form of life writing, where the zine-maker discusses their personal experiences and the development of a life narrative by revealing of intimate details about themselves (Poletti 2003).

The use of zine content to create a space to establish and define the autobiographical self is another key definitional debate. Connecting the lived experiences of the zine-maker to the making of the zines defines zines as a form of intimate life storytelling. The zine becomes an autobiographical representation of the zine-maker, with the telling and sharing of trauma constructing understanding through shared experiences, healing and the demonstration and sharing of righteous anger and indignation (Chidgey 2006; Chidgey 2013; Douglas & Poletti 2014; Poletti 2003, 2008b).

The content of zines can represent the personality, network, and close personal relationships of the zine-maker (Burt 1999; Kempson 2015b; Veitch 2016), meaning zines do not have to focus on single topics of interests or be bound by subject headings, categorisation or narrative (Duncombe 1997;

Radway 2001). They have the capacity to veer widely between topics and map the conflicting and complex personal ideologies and perspectives of the zine-maker (Leonard 1998; Licona 2012; Poletti 2008b). Duncombe (1997) argues that personal politics borne from a frustration with traditional media drives the need of zine-makers to express the emotions and opinions they are feeling through their content. The content becomes a representation of the personal and political passions of the zine-maker and provides the opportunity to actively share those passions with others (Branwyn 1997; Fraser 2002; Knobel & Lankshear 2001). Zine content represents both the capacity of zine-makers to personally construct what they want to (or are willing) to share and through the process of making, fulfill specific objectives centred on identity, meaning, communion and/or expression (Chidgey 2013; Houpt et al. 2016; Stanley 2014).

4.2.4 Defining zines through circulation and distribution

The way zines are circulated and distributed is another key area of definitional disagreement within the zine literature. The distribution models for zines are many and varied, ranging from traditional postal services, retail outlets, hand-to-hand circulation, free distribution, specific zine-making events such as zine fairs and increasingly through the Internet on sites like Etsy (Bird et al. 2012; Brouwer & Licona 2016; Chidgey 2009; Radway 2016; Rauch 2004; Sellie 2005). Chidgey (2009) argues that the methods of distribution for zines supports the 'emotional currency' that zine-makers and readers gain from the formation and participation in '...networks of trading, reading, responding, exchanging ideas, and sharing work' (Chidgey 2009, p. 34).

Prominent in the literature are the affordances and risk management capacities arising from the relatively small circulations of zines and the semi-private nature zine-making (Douglas & Poletti 2016; Schilt 2003a). The creation of safe spaces for expression and sharing through the control afforded by small circulations and varying forms of authority over who can consume the zine give rise to the opportunity for intimate exchanges with an invisible audience (Duncombe 1997; Wilson & Johnson). The 'personal is political' adage is represented in zines as an affirmation or call to arms for zine-makers, utilising

the semi-private realm of small circulation zines to raise awareness of and share their experiences, identity and issues and connections (Gottlieb & Wald 2006; Harris 2001; Karaian & Mitchell 2010; Kennedy 2007).

The editorial of the zine *I Dreamed I Was Assertive #9* represents a demonstrable example of these complex distribution behaviours. The zine-maker describes how the small circulation of her zine gave her the opportunity to both control who read her zine (and later to allow her to share the zine with a controlled number of strangers) and to help her deal with a sequence of personal and life-changing traumas and experiences:

There have been a few major developments in my life since the last issue of this zine. Before I continue, an aside on the 'last' issue. The last issue (#8) was a journal I kept about dealing with infertility and going through in vitro fertilization. As of now, there are less than forty copies in circulation. Originally, I did not intend to seek distribution for that issue. I was only going to send it to family and friends. But I changed my mind. (Zine: *I Dreamed I Was Assertive #9* by Celia Pérez)

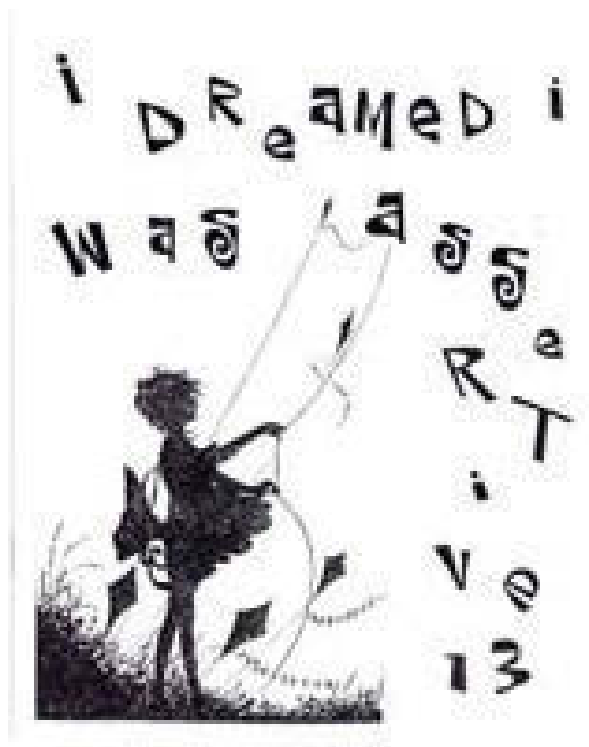


Illustration 4 The zine '*I dreamed I was assertive #13*' by Celia Pérez (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0).

4.2.5 *Defining zines through form and construction*

The way a zine is made is another critical part of the definitional discourses in the literature. It is through descriptions of form and construction that a significant majority of the definitions of zines emerge (see e.g. Allan 2003; Bartel 2004; Goulding 2015; Grimes & Wall 2014; Harris 2016; Piepmeier 2008; Poletti 2011; Wrekk 2005). The physical form of a zine may integrate a variety of production techniques, art practices, layout and designs and bricolage practices, including;

- the way the zine is reproduced, often associated in the literature with the use of a photocopier (Bailey & Michel 2004; Clark 1998);
- the use of cut and paste techniques to facilitate bricolage (Comstock 2001; Lankshear & Knobel 2010; Triggs 2006);
- the appropriation of commercial images and their re-construction as statements on society or culture (Desyllas & Sinclair 2014; Harris 2003);
- handmade components such as hand colouring, handwritten notes and other uniquely personalised touches (Bott 2002; Gustafson 2000; Liming 2010; Piepmeier 2008; Stockburger 2015; Whitlock & Poletti 2008);
- the application of crafting practices such as twine, stitching, ribbons, glitters and stickers (Gauntlett 2013; Tanenbaum et al. 2013).

The almost romantic association with the physicality of paper, envelopes, pens and the notion of something handmade lends a tangible and tactile perspective to the construction ethic (Poletti 2008b; Reed 2016). The engagement with physical acts of making can generate value-laden and vivid descriptions of the amateur, accessible nature of zines with words like scruffy, mashed-up, experimental, amateur, unsophisticated and messy often used in the literature (e.g. Bott 2002; Chepesiuk 1997; Liming 2010; Piepmeier 2008; Stockburger 2015; Whitlock & Poletti 2008). The descriptions of the imperfections of a zine (spelling mistakes, badly cropped photographs and the 'the scrappy messiness of the final product' contribute towards the charm or the uniqueness of the finished zine (Piepmeier 2008, p. 222). This uniqueness is enhanced by the

capability of the zine-maker to personalise each zine with handwriting, lipstick kisses, hand-colouring and unique covers made of found ephemera (like magazine pages and old books).

They display a wild mixture of handwriting and print, nearly all of which refuses to stay put within the lines. They sport images that overlap and bleed into one another. In some cases, those images strain to burst from the page, and sometimes narratives do not necessarily follow serially, page by page (Radway 2001, p. 12).

4.2.6 Defining zines through communities

Zine-making and zine reading practices have been closely linked to their role within socio-cultural, political, demographic or geographic movements. Within these movements zines can support notions of personal and political expression aligning the zine-maker with the attitudes and expectations of the communities that have been formed (Brouwer & Licona 2016; Creasap 2014; Moore 2007; Zobl 2009). The role that zines play in the formation and development of communities is not an easily definable one. For example, zines can influence the formation, gestation and sustainability of a community (Boellstorff 2004; Osorio 2015). The ways in which this can be achieved is dependent on the constructs and conditions within that community including the level of resistance to mainstream media, the messages and purposes of communication, the impact of the legal or cultural environment and the requirements for mobility and education within the community as a social movement (Honma 2016; Rauch 2007, 2015b)

Another role for zines discussed extensively in the literature is community recruitment and mobilisation, where zines can be the instrument that draws people with common interests or opinions together (Chidgey 2014a; Moore & Roberts 2009). Duncombe (1997) describes communities formed through zine-making as essentially libertarian, where the members are '...free to be who they want and to cultivate their own interests, while simultaneously sharing in each other's differences' (Duncombe 1997, p. 52). Zines can also be an instrument

of network formation between community members, sharing experiences, resources and creativity (Debies-Carl 2014; Drüeke & Zobl 2014; Reitsamer & Zobl 2014; Zobl 2004b). These connections can support how members of the community transition from passive to active participation (or from reader to zine-maker), sharing lived experiences, production skills and the potentialities arising from being part of the zine-making community (Kearney 2006; Spencer 2005).

The sense of social isolation caused by experiencing trauma represents a cogent example of zine-makers using their engagement in zine creation to commune with and form communities of people who share their isolation, thereby alleviating it (however permanently or temporarily) (Harris 2003). This use of zines is described by studies that examine how zines have informed, educated and liberated the politically repressed gay community in Indonesia (Boellstorff 2004), how they engage with the unique requirements of a being a riot grrrl in the Philippines (Alcantara-Tan 2000), how they celebrate the rights and empowerments of HIV-positive gay men (Long 2000) or liberate and arouse the lesbian BDSM community (Collins 1999). Zine-making provides the zine-maker with confirmation that they are not alone in their world and that their behaviours, opinions and experiences are not strange or weird (Douglas & Poletti 2014).

Finding an existing community, challenging the notions of the community you are currently a member of or helping to grow a movement or community are other participatory actions aligned with zine-making (Piepmeier 2008; Richardson 1996; Weida 2013). The processes of creation, contribution and communication that arise from purchasing, giving feedback and ultimately making a zine assert how the zine-maker identifies with their community, either directly or remotely (Kempson 2015a; Lacey 2005; Licona 2012; Milner 2002). Some writers offer a counter argument that zine-making, despite its wider position as a voice or instrument of inter-community communications or within social movements (Holtzman, Hughes & Van Meter 2007; Snyder 2006), remains effectively the pursuit of an individual or a small collective, engaging in personal media production and the construction of self-identity (O'Neil 2004). This individuality may be in conflict with the notion that whilst writing and making

acts are often solitary and personal, writing and making acts leading to publication are ultimately social (Wayman 1983).

4.2.7 Defining zines through the transition from reader to maker

The transition from being a reader of zines to making them is discussed within the literature, especially in relation to how the transition can be used to define zine-making as different from other media (Duncombe 1997; Freedman 2009; Grant 2009; Gunderloy 1990; Holtzman, Hughes & Van Meter 2007). The transition of modes of participation from consumption to production is actively supported by the community itself, through skill sharing, events such as zine fairs and often in the content of the zine itself (Chidgey 2014a; Creasap 2014). Poletti (2005) argues that ‘...zine culture specifically challenges the distinction between readers and writers, encouraging people to create their own textual and/or visual products’ (Poletti 2005, p. 186), whilst Zobl (2004b) positions zines as a space where readers and writers coalesce to form communities or a ‘...supportive and safe space for like-minded peers [to] willingly to share their experiences, thoughts and opinions with one another’ (Zobl 2004b, p. 159). This is facilitated as both a positive, reinforcing exposure to zine-making (Eismann, Jiménez & Zobl 2008) or in a challenging, motivational way (‘I can make something better’) (Zobl & Jiménez 2008). In encouraging the transition from reader to maker, zine-makers are able to propagate the circumstances that assist with the growth of their own media (Poletti 2008b). The duality of resistance and engagement in zine-making encourages the transition from creator to consumer and works towards building communities, initiating political rebellion and cultural creation (Sandlin 2007).

Finally, zine-makers often seek out and encourage interaction with their readers in order to breakdown the impersonal rhetoric of traditional media distribution (Leonard 1998). Zine-makers will build relationships with their readers through letter-writing (or email), the exchange or trading of zines or by interacting with them at zine fairs. Within these relationships are those that occur in anonymous and semi-private spaces and those formed within networks of common interest, friendship, skills exchange and community engagement

(Douglas & Poletti 2014; Licona 2012; Potter & Sellie 2016; Rallin & Barnard 2008). Within these semi-private spaces the fluidity of making and reading is often demonstrable. A maker may also be a reader of another maker's zine, interacting with them across contexts as both a fan of their work and perhaps equally the object of fandom for other zine-makers/readers (Weida 2013). The inherent capacity for reciprocity, sharing content, experiences and skills is generally unique to zines. Whilst a zine-maker's initial exposure to the media may trigger or seed participation it does not signal the end of their engagement as a reader and consumer. Zines afford the maker the capacity to play simultaneous roles as both reader and maker (Poletti 2008b; Smagorinsky 2001).

4.2.8 Defining zines as communication and social tools

Related closely to the formation and membership of communities and the transitions from reader to maker is the role of zine-making as a social tool, facilitating communication between members of a community or between related communities, encouraging collaboration and co-operation, resource sharing and creative conflict (Chidgey 2014a, 2014b; Honma 2016; Keller 2012; Kempson 2015a; Rauch 2016). The desire to share experiences and opinions has a strong influence on the decision to make a zine and is represented by styles of writing that address the reader as a friend, a confidant or a member of an invisible audience (Sinor 2002). The social interaction afforded by zines represents a safe space for sharing thoughts and feelings that are difficult to share outside of the community or are not represented in mainstream media (Harris 2012, 2016; Schilt 2003a; Tolman 2002).

The engagement in various forms of social interaction and the development of complex social relationships are fundamental to the nature of zine-making culture (Holtzman, Hughes & Van Meter 2007). Atton (2002) argues that zine-making practices can encourage internal and external sociability amongst zine-makers, whereby zine-makers commune together at events, engage in collective construction of meaning or find sociability through constructing their own community for the zine. Cameron (2016) argues that the desire to seek

social interaction is not always a negative reaction to oppression or abuse, but can lead to the reader finding or sharing their own internal ethical framework by providing them with pathways to learn about positive engagement and resistance.

4.2.9 Defining zines in the digital age

The increasing prominence and ubiquity of digital technology and social media practices in the production and design of zines can replicate and transform the cut and paste aesthetic of a zine (Barassi 2009; Debies-Carl 2014; Eichhorn 2014). Free and commercial software packages and applications can replace the hand-designed layouts of zines with an entirely digital master copy, which when reproduced, looks exactly like it was made by hand. Social media platforms can replicate the accessibility, currency, immediacy and affordability offered by zines, allowing for much larger potential audiences although with significantly less control over the size of the semi-private space (Grimes & Wall 2014; Nijsten 2016; Tkach & Hank 2014; Zobl, Reitsamer & Grünangerl 2014). This creates contestation of what constitutes a zine, in that these technologies can deliver for the zine-maker a similar physical output (albeit one that is made and circulated in digital form), but with potentially different participatory, ideological or ethical principles afforded to it.

Many writers have made the case that zines are a media form that resist technological change in their construction, embrace the retro-feel of obsolete or aging technology and celebrate emotional and attitudinal attachments to the medium of print (e.g. Brent & Biel 2014; Brouwer & Licona 2016; Cramer 2015b; DeSousa 2008; Morgan & Dawson 2014). Whilst many zine-makers use technology to produce and design their zines, the concept of an entirely born-digital or e-zine has elicited a passionate debate within the literature, with arguments advocating or rejecting the position that e-zines or blogs are outside of what is defined as zine-making (Barness & Papaelias 2015; Eichhorn 2014; Freedman 2005a; Harris 2003; Leonard 1998; Smith 1999).

With technology influencing the distribution and communication practices of zine-makers, the audiences for zines have become disparate, more geographically spread out and often disconnected from the maker or the community (Chidgey 2014b). In the digital age, many zine-makers undertake their own distribution through online retailers such as Etsy and through the formation of digital zine communities and through zine sites that serve the joint purposes such as cataloguing, sourcing and skills dissemination such as <http://www.zinewiki.com/>. Sites like these (along with personal blogs and sites such as Tumblr) have increasingly taken the place of music/record stores and/or bookshops as the preferred way to distribute zines (Weida 2013).

4.3 Locating zine-making within DIY and the act of making

Making is a relatively generic term that has multiple meanings across several disciplines and fields of study (including arts and media, science, education and sociology). Lande (2013) argues that making is a connected series of acts ranging from building to the process of turning parts into an object. He aligns making (as a process) with the sense of creativity and fun it engenders for the maker. Several writers extend the conceptual definition of making to include the cognitive processes such as thinking, analysing and creativity (Bratich & Brush 2011; Gauntlett 2013; Orton-Johnson 2014; Ratto & Boler 2014). Making is also argued to be an attitudinal state linking practices and skills to wider notions of citizenship, participation and engagement (Ratto & Boler 2014).

The process of making DIY arts and media specifically has evolved significantly in the 21st century and onwards, with accessible platforms for online creation and the growth of social media having a transformational and democratising impact on how something is made (and by whom) (Dovey, Alevizou & Williams 2016; Kera 2017; Meissner et al. 2017; Tanenbaum et al. 2013). The attitudinal intentions of DIY have the capacity to democratise making by rejecting the assertion that you need to pay experts to make things that that you are not skilled or capable of doing yourself (Gauntlett 2013). Watson and Shove (2005) argue that DIY making is informed by the capability to fail and re-do with little consequence, and it is this safe space for participation that motivates makers to

make. The capabilities of DIY making are significantly enhanced through technology and social media, which support the emergence of a participatory creative culture and a more engaged citizenry (Dovey, Alevizou & Williams 2016; Jenkins & Ito 2015). Tanenbaum et al. (2013) describe DIY making as a form of nonviolent resistance, standing up to capitalist norms of mass production and homogenisation through individual acts of making and increasingly democratised and accessible acts of production (such as mass reproduction, online distribution, 3D printing and crowdfunding through sites such as Kickstarter).

Another key aspect common in the literature is the critical importance of sociality to understanding DIY making. Orton-Johnson (2014) makes the case, in the context of crafts such as knitting, that making is essentially a socially networked and connected practice that informs the wider engagement of the community through participating as a DIY citizen. Rosner and Bean (2009) and Tanenbaum et al. (2013) make the case that the processes of making are both personal and interpersonal with individual acts of making satisfying the intrinsic and collaborative motivations of the maker, noting that:

...identity production, skill, reputation, participation, norms of sharing, learning through teaching, and communities and collectives of practice are components of DIY making, privileging pleasure, expressiveness, and communicative practices over the utility of making the end product (Tanenbaum et al. 2013, p. 2604).

The social capacity afforded by DIY making has been significantly enhanced by technology and social media. The application of these technologies to form DIY communities has blurred the lines between DIY making and social media practices such as the sharing and making of user-generated content such as YouTube videos of bands (Lingel & Naaman 2012). The Internet has supported the exchange of technical skills online, both in the form of community knowledge exchanges such as forums and through the platforms that support the growth of the gig economy. This supports the ongoing sustainability of DIY

making whilst simultaneously extending its scope to incorporate less tangible outputs such as hacking and coding (Caldwell & Foth 2014).

Henry Jenkins in his extensive writing on modern making culture argues that made culture is not a singular act, ending with the production of an artefact or shareable product. Across a number of studies on participatory culture (Jenkins & Ito 2015; Jenkins et al. 2009) he argues that DIY making is an inherently social process that extends to include social practices such as the sharing of culture, lived experiences, play and bricolage. Even in the context of the physical acts of making, he argues that sociality in the form of networked and connected engagement, for example the remixing and repurposing of existing cultural forms, defines making in the digital age:

...the power of participation comes not from destroying commercial culture but from writing over it, modding it, amending it, expanding it, adding greater diversity of perspective, and then recirculating it, feeding it back into the mainstream media. (Jenkins 2006, p. 257)

By including making practices such as re-mixing, modifying, amending and re-purposing into DIY making, Jenkins incorporates social processes that draw directly on the creative work of others (not just the replication of those works) to make something new. Social media practices have empowered makers to build communities of participatory culture where the motivation for participation is not the physical process of writing fan fiction about Star Wars (for example). The motivation arises from the sharing of that story and the capability of the maker to participate in a community with other fans (Jenkins 2006, 2009; Jenkins, Ford & Green 2013).

There have been several studies that have taken the alternate perspective and explored DIY making through the lens of constructing the made artefact, touching on physical acts such as skills usage, methodologies of making, materials selection, the aesthetics of design and the spaces within which these physical acts occur (Guffey 2014; Lupton 2006; Tanenbaum et al. 2013). These studies focus on essentially individual acts examining the person/s

making the artefact, and the services they may draw on to facilitate making something (e.g. printing, digital technology, software, etc.). These making practices, whilst sometimes driven by and through technology, can also create a sense of nostalgia for obsolete or retro forms of making that is critical in defining the identity of some makers (Tanenbaum et al. 2013). Eley (2011) suggests that the acts involved in making DIY (in this study, music cassettes) were less important than the stories that are created through the process of making and sharing them.

The importance of stories and experiences arising from the sharing of DIY making has led writers such as Jenkins and Bruns (2009) to argue that there is a blurring between the role of the producer and the consumer in the making of DIY media. The blurred realities between making and consuming become a liminal practice space where making cannot be separated from consumption, resulting in making practices that draw on both the acts of production and consumption (or what Bruns (2007; 2009) calls *produsage*). He argues that making and consuming are often tightly intersected worlds, where the transition between audience and maker is not always linear. The result is a series of transitional states centred on practice, sharing, making and communicating, which are complex and personal. Consumption informs the decision to make, but can also inform the decision not to participate or the decision to enhance, modify or change the form, affording opportunities for innovation and evolution (Rennie 2007).

The intersectionality of DIY making and consuming has shaped the growth and cultural impact of several sub-cultural movements. Two of these sub-cultures are especially relevant to the practice of zine-making: the punk music scene of the 1970s and the riot grrrl movement centred in the north-western region of the United States in the early 1990s. In both these movements, the expansion of the community and the way in which these cultures became a call to arms for participation came from the accessibility, emancipation and capacities arising from their DIY aesthetics (Culton 2007; Lowndes 2016; Spencer 2005).

In the 1970s and early 1980s, burgeoning punk scenes centred primarily on London and Manchester in the United Kingdom and New York and Los Angeles in the United States encouraged people to use whatever materials they had around them to create and share music and culture (Goshert 2000; Moore 2004; Moore & Roberts 2009; Phillipov 2006; Sabin 1999). Bands such as the Sex Pistols in London and the Germs in Los Angeles built a scene of fans around them. These fans were encouraged and motivated by the band and other fans to create posters, clothing and zines in support of the band (Triggs 2006). Punk zines encouraged a sense of self-replication amongst zine-makers whereby punk fans, encouraged by what they read and experienced in zines like *Sniffin' Glue*, were motivated to make their own zines, form their own bands and encourage others to do the same (Cogan 2007). DIY making forged new connections between communities, which had previously been local and disparate (McKay 1998; Moore & Roberts 2009). Zines became the accessible, cheap and fan-made organs of taste and acceptance, and included content such as music reviews, interviews and opinions on cultural outputs within the scene (Worley 2015).

The riot grrrl movement was formed in part as a response to the misogynistic and aggressive male-dominated United States punk scene and the general strictures and expectations placed on young girls in 1990s society (see e.g. Dunn 2016; Dunn & Farnsworth 2012; Radway 2016; Rosenberg & Garafolo 1998; Schilt 2004; Wright 2016). Like punk, riot grrrl rejected technical proficiency and professionalism in favour of amateurishness and a do-it-yourself aesthetic in music, art and culture (Gottlieb & Wald 2006). Riot grrrl supported the formation of networks of young women; forming identity, shaping their reactions to the expectations of their behaviours and engendering participation in DIY making with a strongly feminist perspective (Driscoll 1999; Kearney 1998; Piano 2003). Wray and Steele (2002) discuss the critical impacts of the riot grrrl phenomena on the process of zine-making, noting that the '...supportive network of like-minded young women, and zines provided an easily accessible medium for them to communicate with each other' (Wray & Steele 2002, p. 194). Zines became the primary instrument of communication, expression, meaning-making and identity formation within and between the riot

grrrl community (Dunn & Farnsworth 2012; Mack-Canty 2004). Similar to the earlier punk scene, zines represented a call to arms for young girls to participate in making, and exposed fans of riot grrrl to a more diverse and inclusive community than their local one (Kearney 2006; Zobl 2004b). Unlike the punk scene where punk zines making declined to be replaced by zines and cultural production for new fragmented music scenes such as post-punk, indie, and new romantic, riot grrrl has had a lasting effect on zine-making practices for girl zine-makers that extends to this day (Hays 2017; Radway 2016).

4.4 Defining participation in making and the constructs that influence participatory decisions

4.4.1 Introduction

The primary research question of this study seeks to identify the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making. Participation in making is a complex, contested construct within the literature, extending across many fields of study. It was critical to ascertain what constitutes participation in making and how it was defined within the community under study. This section will analyse how participation in making is theorised in several relevant disciplines (cultural production, media making, DIY making and specifically zine-making). In the light of the debates in DIY making about the role of producer and the interconnectedness of making and consuming, the decision to participate in making will be interpreted through the lens of transitioning participation from cultural consumption to cultural production (or vice-versa).

4.4.2 Defining participation in making across discipline contexts

Participation in making is described in the literature as spanning contexts greater than the act of making something. Participation in making affords larger, more aspirational possibilities such as participation in digital citizenship, social change, collective action, sub-cultures and identity and meaning-making for the individual.

Jenkins (2009) asserts that participation in making media is one of the most critical practices for a modern society in that it supports how people want to live their lives and enables citizenship and civic engagement in a digital age. Participation in making media can create contested societal and community spaces, where practices such as digital citizenship and civic engagement are shaped by how participation facilitates inclusivity, altruism, clicktivism and digital literacy and access (English & Irving 2015; Knobel & Lankshear 2014; Lacharite 2017). Participation in making has been argued as having a transformative capacity for democracy, engaging disenfranchised socio-demographic communities in political and social acts of change (Heikka 2015; Kruger 2013; Neuman, Bimber & Hindman 2011). Some writers have argued that participation in making media extends these emancipatory tendencies into the wider community by democratising the tools and platforms of citizen engagement, making practices like citizen journalism, user-generated content and activism available to wider sections of the community (Goode 2009; Mandarano, Meenar & Steins 2010). Brunsting and Postmes (2002) position the civic aspirations for participation in the context of collective action, where participation in making media can be used to mobilise a community, supporting actions that confront and inform and potentially lead to societal change.

The rise of makerspaces where access to making technology and tools has been democratised by making them freely available to the public lowers the barriers to participation and extends DIY culture to fields such as engineering, information technology and education (Taylor, Hurley & Connolly 2016). It creates an environment where makers of different skills can interact, learn and mentor, leveraging both the technical skills of making and the social and digital literacies that come from making with others (Tucker-Raymond et al. 2016). Makerspaces and the growth of what some writers describe as 'maker culture' (Halverson & Sheridan 2014) can also serve to widen participation in making amongst disadvantaged and minority communities (Alper 2013).

There are many influential studies that identify the motivations and rationales for participation in media-making within specific practices or social movements, analysing the psychological and personal motivations underpinning participation

decisions (Balfe & Meyersohn 1995; McCarthy & Jinnett 2001; Yoshitomi 2002). In the specific field of cultural production, there are extensive narratives in the literature on the positionality of the individual (Jermyn 1999; Wilpert 1994) and social pre-requisites underpinning the participation decision (Carpentier, Lie & Servaes 2003; Locke, Schweiger & Latham 1986). One interesting commonality in some of these studies is the assumption that the mode of participation has already been determined prior to the act of participation, or that participation is predetermined by the interaction of the individual and the movement under study. Oegema and Klandermans (1994) argue that the pathway towards active participation in a social movement starts with an individual being sympathetic towards the movement. Once the individual begins to participate in media making within or for the social movement, their role in that movement can change from peripheral to central, enhanced by their collaboration with others (Goldman, Booker & McDermott 2008).

McCarthy and Jinnett (2001) assume that the individual has already experienced the type of art making they are deciding to participate in and the decision to participate arises from those lived experiences. Becker (1974) argues that participation in arts making is more an assertion of collective action. He asserts that sociality and social organisations extend participation past the simple dichotomy of producer and consumer. He incorporates the undertaking of non-aesthetical acts such as distribution to arts making, which whilst not incurring the label of 'artistic', may lead through collective action to participation in making.

Deuze (2006) in describing the participatory media-making environment in the digital age asserts that participation only represents part of the way in which digital culture can be defined. He argues that remediation (reversing the trend of the dominance of mainstream media through the remixing of old and new media forms) and bricolage (building a cultural or political mediated reality through the aggregation, personalisation and dis/assembly of multiple source of citizen made content) define how digital culture is converging through media-making.

4.4.3 Cultural production and participation in zine-making

Writers such as Bourdieu and Habermas have prosecuted relatively intellectual cases (within arguably limited cultural forms of making) for what they believe are the instigators of cultural participation within an informed society. Bourdieu (1993) argues that cultural participation is a function of social class and education, and this influences participation in avant-garde cultural activities. Habermas (1991) argues that within the public sphere, access to cultural participation performs the role of bringing people together through the mass media (including 'laypersons'). Neither position makes an overt distinction between cultural consumption and cultural production (Hesmondhalgh 2006), which represents both a transitory pathway of participation in making (from consumer to producer, or in the case of zines, reader to zine-maker). This lack of distinction underpins some of the theoretical modelling of behaviours informing the processes and strategies to increase or encourage participation in the arts, with some describing participation as an arts audiences in the same context or as part of a linear progression towards arts making (see e.g. Balfe & Meyersohn 1995; Bridgwood & Skelton 2000; Cornwell 1990; DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Gilmore 2011; McCarthy & Jinnett 2001; Robinson 1993; Seaman 2005).

Writers such as Hartley (2010) and Bruns (2007) make the case for a similar lack of distinctiveness between participating as a consumer and participating as a maker. Hartley (2010) suggests that the exponential growth of participatory technology has intrinsically linked cultural production and consumption as part of the same participation process. The line between producer and consumer is blurred further by the greying of distinctions between consumption and making in the form of co-construction of arts and media by the artist and the audience.

Zine-making as a form of participatory media has been interrogated in the context of the wider theoretical frame of cultural participation by several key studies (see e.g. Fiske 1989; Gottlieb & Wald 2006; Jenkins 1992; Kearney 2007; Piano 2003; Zobl 2014). Bourdieu (1993) whilst not referring specifically to zines, makes reference to the space within the field of cultural production for

radical media activities and the avant-garde. He categorises the notion of art as existing between commercial (large scale) and non-commercial (in terms of oppositional to commercial) arguing that economic considerations are fundamental to the definition of an art form within a field of production. He categorises the non-commercial producers as being dominated by the economic capital generated by commercial success, stating that:

The dominated producers...in order to gain a foothold in the market, have to resort to subversive strategies...thus their revolutions are only ever partial ones, which displace the censorships and transgress the conventions but do so in the name of the same underlying principles. (Bourdieu 1993, pp. 83-4)

Zobl (2014) argues that the making of feminist zines asserts the rights of individuals to resist dominant media discourses, actively participate in making culture and engage in a process of critical self-reflection. Bayne (2000) extends the concept of participation in cultural production by positioning it in opposition to participation in cultural consumption:

By encouraging women to tell their own stories and become actively involved in creating their own zine, rather than being passive consumers of commercial media, zines are part of an ongoing, dynamic process of empowerment and subversion. (Bayne 2000, p. 2165)

Another aspect of the influence of the cultural production on the decision to participate is posited by Wagg (2003) who within a study of the riot grrrl movement argues that zines empower young women to 'reclaim a feminist voice' and allow them to be 'in control of their own participation within the revolution' (Wagg 2003, p. 20). Kearney (2007) argues that, in the context of girls making media, individual cultural production has helped to transform Western perceptions of what it means to be a girl and be a part of girl culture. Fiske (1989) makes the case that cultural production is not an end in itself but supports a form of self-replication where new makers engaged in consumption practices (reading and buying) morph into cultural producers.

The process of production does not necessarily have to be limited to the physical construction of a zine. Cultural production in terms of zine-making can also include the less tangible action of community-building (building on the collective action theory of participation posited by Becker (1974). Jenkins (1992) argues that zine writers are part of a community of makers that build, through their own stories, words and creative content, a different and alternative community of social interactions, with zine-making used as a ‘...means of building and maintaining solidarity within the fan community’ (Jenkins 1992, pp. 213-4). Duncombe (1997) discusses the acts of social transformation that the process of zine-making engenders, with cultural production once again central to his discussion:

The medium of zines is not just a message to be received, but a model of participatory cultural production and organisation to be acted upon. The message you get from zines is that you should not just be getting the messages, you should be producing them as well (Duncombe 1997, p. 129)

Zines are made within a DIY culture of active participation, where the lines between a reader and maker and their public and private lives are blurred (Collins 1999; Jenkins & Bertozzi 2008; Schilt 2004). In this context, zines have been posited as essentially counter-cultural, rebellious and idiosyncratic, challenging the ways of making and modes of control that define traditional media forms (Clark 1998; Dodge 2008; Johnson 1999). Participation in this mode is argued to be the most active form of cultural participation, where every day (offline) lives converge with participation in the making of (online) media, transforming the media itself, the forms of creativity demonstrated and the wider society through cultural participation (Burgess, Foth & Klaebe 2006; Deuze 2006).

4.4.4 Transitioning from cultural consumption to cultural participation

The relationship between zine-makers and zine readers is complex, with the roles played by the maker and reader not neatly defined or easily described. These roles are fluid, whereby the reader is part active participant, part impending creator, part confidante, and part passive consumer (Weida 2013). The interconnected and symbiotic relationship between cultural consumers and cultural producers can create the conditions for growth and sustainability of the media (Deuze 2007; Turner 2010; Woodbrook & Lazzaro 2013). The ease with which readers can begin to create and find an immediate audience for their zine gives them a sense of immediacy, observable response to action and the perception that as new makers, they are not screaming into the void (Brouwer & Licona 2016; Nijsten 2016).

Transitioning participation from cultural consumption to cultural production is a process actively supported by the community itself. Poletti (2005) argues that ‘...zine culture specifically challenges the distinction between readers and writers, encouraging people to create their own textual and/or visual products’ (Poletti 2005, p. 186) whilst Zobl (2004b) defines zine-making as a space where readers and writers coalesce to form communities or a ‘...supportive and safe space for like-minded peers willingly to share their experiences, thoughts and opinions with one another’ (Zobl 2004b, p. 159). The transition is enacted as a positive reinforcing exposure, manifest in the assertions of ease of making and a belief that they can do this (Eismann, Jiménez & Zobl 2008), or sometimes as a competitive response, arguing that they could make something much better (Zobl & Jiménez 2008). Some zine-makers act as mentor to readers, either personally or through their zine, teaching the reader the skills required to participate in making (Bird et al. 2012; Moscovitz & Carpenter 2014), with Rallin and Barnard (2008) noting:

The circuits of exchange reveal not only a more interactive and personal relationship between writer/artist and reader than is commonplace with today’s mainstream publishing trend of mass production and alienated readers, but also the blurring of lines between production and

consumption, artist and consumer, as well as conceptualizing zine creators/readers as community. (Rallin & Barnard 2008, p. 49)

The modes of transition between reader and maker are also addressed in the wider cultural participation literature. Lo-fi, informal, unincorporated and DIY cultures can be difficult to place within the existing models of cultural participation as the audiences for these media forms are often small, the communities disparate and geographically separated, and the thematic content of the art aimed at areas of interest that maybe defined as niche. This can be explained partially by Bourdieu's notion of position-taking (Bourdieu 1993), whereby the dominant processes of cultural production are disrupted, legitimising fringe activities and the distribution of ephemeral material as critical documents within a wider social movement (Eichhorn 2014). Critical are the productive acts and actions themselves in how they position the zine-maker outside of the mainstream in the role of activist, story-teller, resistor or rebel (Debies-Carl 2014; Moore 2007)

Defined partially by the absence of economic interchange in the form of recorded income and expenses, but more so by the hands-on and amateur nature of the art itself, the unincorporated or informal arts sector represents a substantial component of arts making practice (Peters & Cherbo 1998; Wali et al. 2001). There has been little documentation of the participation practices within this part of the sector, primarily due to the inability to document informal activity and difficulties in defining relatively porous (and increasingly so in the digital age) boundaries between commercial and informal arts (Arthurs & Hodsoll 1998; Wyszomirski 1999). Jackson, Herranz, & Kabwasi-Green (2003) argue that participation encouraging activities are more widespread in the informal arts sector than in the commercial sector and utilise a significant component of the art maker's own economic resources (Jackson, Herranz & Kabwasi-Green 2003). Further, whilst there has been significant evidentiary research on the engagement of people in volunteer activity (Brooks 2002; Bussell & Forbes 2005), there has been only superficial research around the situations and conditions that encourage participation in the informal, DIY and unincorporated arts

CHAPTER FIVE – DEVELOPING A MODEL OF ZINE-MAKING PARTICIPATION

So, OK, about five people will read what you write. Maybe even nobody. That's not the point. The point is that for a brief period you were involved. You chose what was to happen; you didn't do what was expected of you, you weren't limited to what choices corporations and government laid out for you. You had control. But why leave it at writing and reading?' Gellhorn – A zine by 'Martha Gellhorn' (undated)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter returns in part to the complex debates in the literature centred on defining what participation in the cultural production of zines means and how this is enacted by zine-makers within their own broader social, political and cultural contexts. The decision-making processes enacted by potential and current zine-makers are complex, personal and exist within the context of what they believe to be the practice of zine-making.

The chapter will identify the processes undertaken by the respondents in the study to make their zines, exposing the mechanics of zine-making but also the relationships between making and participation. It will draw on the emergent theory from the data analysis to interrogate how the processes involved in producing a zine form an agreed understanding of what the respondents in the study were choosing to participate in.

It will briefly explore the identification of the processes involved in making a zine, and how the zine-makers engaged with the experiences being shared or interacted with the people who enacted the processes, offering a fuller understanding of the decision to make zines. This model of participation processes will address the question of whether these processes have been disrupted or transformed by technology in a digital age and whether technology and social media has impacted on the decision to participate in zine-making.

5.2 Identifying the processes and acts involved in making zines

It is a difficult process to disentangle zine-makers from the acts involved in making a zine. Making a zine is a combination of physical acts initiated through a decision to participate in zine-making. It is also difficult to disentangle other processes that are not explicitly making processes from the production of zines. In an environment where the zine-maker can control the entirety of the life-cycle of their zine from conception to distribution, the process of making a zine can be extended to include reproduction, distribution, network formation and the development and identification of an audience or readership.

Making zines in the digital age has added a layer of complexity to the process of making a zine. The emergence of participatory digital culture promulgated by social media-informed (and democratised) practices has significantly changed how DIY media is distributed and consumed (Chidgey 2014b) and how the networks between makers are formed and maintained (Zobl, Reitsamer & Grünangerl 2014). Rauch (2016) argues there has been a convergence of alternative and mainstream forms of media, which has seen the emergence of hybrid forms, where instead of relatively clear distinctions between alternative and mainstream in terms of content and aesthetics, there are now blurred boundaries.

Many writers have argued that a critical point of differentiation and uniqueness for zines is the way they afford the zine-maker the right to express and share in opposition to the mainstream (Atton 2002; Duncombe 1997; Freedman 2011). Many studies have cited examples of zine-makers who demonstrate this right in their zine, rebelling against body image, gender stereotypes, political ideologies, cultural norms and other mainstream positions (see e.g. Alcantara-Tan 2000; Bird et al. 2012; Zobl 2003). However, in the more hybridised environment of the digital age, small circulations, micro-fragmentation of audiences and alternative content to that presented in mainstream media are not the exclusive purview of the fringe or DIY media such as zines (Featherman 2016; Ratto & Boler 2014).

This study interviewed thirty-four people who (by self-definition) had made at least one zine. The definitions they used to self-select into the sample were not explicitly interrogated in the interviews, but extracting these from their responses during the data analysis was not an unimportant priority. What emerged from the interviews was the notion that the respondent's participation in the cultural production of zines was not generally marked by a single, measurable event or act. A significant majority of respondents described a personally constructed concept of zine-making that did not end at the physical making of their zine, but extended to the distribution and consumption of that zine, extending into its life and impact within the community. Many respondents described how the ways they made their zines were not discretely enacted, with clearly defined boundaries between each step, resulting in the making of a zine. Rather, these making processes were represented in their interviews as a collective whole. They described their journey (often in detail, right down to the number of staples and weight of paper used) towards and through participation in making, whereby the descriptions of how they made their zines were linear or progressive, but also idiosyncratic, iterative and abductive.

What was apparent in the interviews was the clear demonstration that a series of connected or joined up activities holistically defined their participation in the cultural production of zines. At one end of the spectrum there were tacit rationales for participation which emerged through how the respondents constructed meaning, action and identity through zine-making, demonstrable in the assertion of attitudes of rebellion, revolution and resistance and countering the mainstream. At the other end of the spectrum were the procedural aspects of zine-making; for example, construction, content, distribution, selling and audience development. Engagement in these processes of making were not necessarily sequential or entirely rational, with consideration given to how and where to distribute their zines before they had started making one. For example, R.3 noted that she had chosen to make zines to have something to trade with other zine-makers because she couldn't afford to buy zines.

To address the principles underpinning the secondary research question, which in turn informed the key intention of the primary question, it was critical to

determine what form of cultural production the respondents understood themselves to be participating in. Some respondents described how the way they made their zines was constructed and informed in relation to practices of other zine-makers (either positively - emulation, or negatively/competitively – believing they could do better). Others described their experimentation with the processes and skills used to make zines or the application or replication of skills and experiences to the process of zine-making. These stories coalesced around the notion of what enacting those processes *meant* to the zine-maker and how they constructed meaning and identity through these processes.

The first series of interviews were initially open coded by identifying acts of participation that the literature had identified as part of the process of making a zine, built around the *how, where, what, when and why* of their zine-making practice, based on categories that emerged from the initial literature review (see Appendix 7). The summative content analysis aggregated these acts into categories, which identified the emphasis and relative importance each respondent put on specific acts of zine-making. As the next two series of interview data was added, these categories were expanded, refined and recreated.

A good example of how this refining process worked was the emergence of community formation as a zine-making process. In the literature and in the subsequent first open coding, the process of forming a community around the zine and the zine-maker was commonly described (e.g. Cameron 2016; Collins 1999; Eichhorn 2001; Goulding 2015; Honma 2016; Piepmeier 2008; Richardson 1996; Smith 1999). In the first series of interviews, the community being described by the respondents was almost exclusively a community of readers, which partially countered the perspectives in the literature that located zine-making within other social, political or cultural communities (see the coding frame v.1 in Appendix 7). The interviews in the second and third series asked more explicit questions exploring the importance of community membership to the respondent and how they described the optimal relationship between themselves and their readers/community. These questions identified wider forms of community membership, even at the point of initial prompting within the

interview. This next stage of analysis broke the category into two distinct processes, that of community formation and audience development based on the clear distinction in the interviews between readers who purchased zines as part of their participation in a community or shared interest and those who read the zines as individuals, not directly connected to a social, political or cultural community.

At the completion of the initial data analysis, ten categories emerged that exhausted the acts described by respondents as part of their participation in the cultural production of zines. There were clear patterns within each category of how these acts supported the undertaking and completion of a sequence of processes that led to the making of a zine. These patterns emerged from a complex process of cross-coding, context analysis and deep interpretation of the stories that were being told by the respondents. Evidencing the assertions of Bourdieu (1993; 1996) on the nature of cultural production, it was clear from the analysis that these acts did not occur in isolation from the social context of the zine-maker. Sometimes triggered by a single life event or experience, and in other cases from a convergence of experiences and attitudes towards life and living and the realisation of ambitions and expectations, the participation in the production of zines was marked by influences that extended beyond the practical considerations of making. R.21 demonstrated this complexity, aligning the impact of their life experiences, decision-making and aspirations with their zine-making, all within a short paragraph:

When I quit drinking and smoking I had more time and new energy that I wanted to give some direction. Demons of the past and some old frustrations had to find their way out. At the time I wanted to become a director and was making some short movies but my standards and expectations were high. Making a zine was something on the side, just for fun. I allowed myself to do anything that I liked and not having any pretensions. (R.21)

Table 2 describes the ten categories that emerged at the completion of first stage of the data analysis, with some indicative exemplars from the

respondents. At this stage, even though the categories exhausted the data to the point where no further categories were necessary, it was apparent from the interviews that there was significant and rich evidence of liminality between these categories. Whilst some respondents made explicit references to the specific processes they completed to make their zine, their stories also told of the ambiguities in the processes, manifest as both a holistic understanding of zine-making (the zine was not 'made' until all/some of the processes had been completed) and as the necessity to complete these processes to satisfy more tacit outcomes (the zine was 'made' to help them construct and share meaning about something that interested or drove them).

Categories (and related concepts)	Exemplar from the data
Making (made, make, handmade, DIY, craft, art)	<i>I hate to categorize zines, but I suppose mine would be labelled as perzines, about my personal life. One zine I make is entirely about the community I live in. All of my zines have an art component to them, as I like to focus on the craft of zine making, i.e., zines as artistic expression (R.8)</i>
Form (size, shape, design, colour)	<i>I think it was probably some horribly earnest activist mish-mash from the 90s... I would have decided to make it out of a sense of political righteousness, a fascination with the form and an interest in drawing. It was a very deeply political thing for me, and only later that I thought of making zines out of my own creative writing (R.14)</i>
Content (writing, images, bricolage, stories, topic, subjects)	<i>I currently focus on my zine <zine name> which I would class as a perzine (because it's non-fiction and focuses on diary entries, reflections, and has a confessional tone). It's quarter sized and it tends to be equally text and image heavy. I select images and artwork that tend to be quite dark, bordering on slightly erotic. I also include some of my own sketches. In terms of content, I talk about the issues and experiences that play on my mind at the time of writing, usually it flows like a journal with occasional film, book and music reviews or literary and philosophical quotes/excerpts. Reoccurring themes tend to be polyamory, myth and matriarchy, sex and sexuality, psychoanalysis, philosophy, wanderlust. (R.2)</i>
Rebellion (revolution, change, fight, resistance, opposition, attitude, norms)	<i>SO my zine isn't just "my story" it is part of a rebellious fabric of society that is a movement for change (R.26)</i>
Community formation/membership (part, member, join, build)	<i>Again, I have to emphasize the importance of zines in the sense that they capture the true spirit of a community. They provide some of the most honest reflections of a society; documenting its ups and downs. I feel exhilarated when I read a good article in a zine, or see a good piece of art. Zines often succeed in making me feel like a part of a community, like my opinions and views may be shared with someone else. (R.6)</i>

Audience development (readers, consumers, friends)	<i>Ideally it'd be the ability for zine writers to have a chance to express and release their instinctual thoughts through the form of a physical DIY media that readers can collect and fully submit to. A great zine should stir up uneasy conversation, not just controversy in order to raise awareness and thought on issues relating to their particular target audience. I think it'd be great for every time a reader disagrees with the views of the writer a new zine is born. (R.34)</i>
Distribution (distribute, circulation)	<i>Then, either I or a prostitute I had befriended, would distribute the copies throughout the Tenderloin district in the downtown area, leaving copies in the kiosks of the free indie weeklies on various street corners or in the newspaper stands outside liquor stores, cafes, and bars. (R.21)</i>
Promotion (marketing, promote, communicate, sell)	<i>I might be overestimating my position, but with <zine name>, I'm at least trying to promote, encourage, and participate in a more DIY approach to lending exposure to photographers... We're making zines for and with our artists, planning physical, interactive ventures and projects, and trying to progress with a DIY mantra and trying to achieve that. (R.17)</i>
Sharing (share, dialogue, conversation, open, talk, content, arts)	<i>This is something that I feel is very important to write about – I think there are lots of us shy girls who just don't get a chance to encounter each other and share our experiences. My zines are a small way of opening up a dialogue about these things, and acknowledging that not everyone can be a social butterfly... and maybe that it's okay to be that way. (R.1)</i>
Collaboration (collective, group, joint, working together, skills exchange)	<i>The community is very accepting, welcoming, and collaborative, even if only subtly, and the nature of making them and sharing them is the best I've ever encountered, and so far reaching. (R.17)</i>

Table 4 Categories describing participation in the cultural production of zines that emerged from the initial data analysis

Confining the generation of theory about the decision to make zines to the relatively simplistic notion of making a physical zine placed limits on how the study could explain the cultural production of zines. The physical acts of making presented an incomplete picture which only partially represented the experiences, identities and meanings constructed by the respondents in terms of participation. These acts often described the ways in which the respondents believed they were participating in something bigger and sometimes more important than a making project. As Harris (2016) notes, DIY making in a social media age has the capability to encourage people to participate in the construction of their own cultural environment rather than simply consuming one that has been dictated to them. The creation and construction of a self-determined cultural environment is as much a function of the people with whom it is shared (both through the definition of the environment and through the process of forming it) as it is through the making of the artefact that represents it

(Hemphill & Leskowitz 2013). This notion came through strongly in the interviews, with both R.13 and R.8 describing how their making practices were supported by interpersonal acts of participation:

I guess making zines can be a very introverted thing so it's comforting to be aware of the community and know you're not alone. It's really gratifying to get feedback and I definitely feel more inspired to make zines after reading a bunch of them and having people tell me that they read my zines and would like to see more of them. (R.13)

But if you're making zines to get attention, then in my opinion, you're making zines for the wrong reason. My ideal relationship as both a zine-maker and a zine reader is to trade my zine with readers for something that they made - preferably a zine that they made, or another DIY craft item. (R.8)

Many of the stories told by the respondents ran counter to the linearity and democratic accessibility of some of the modes of zine-making described in the literature, and equally counter to the assertions of emancipatory DIY simplicity. The actual processes of making described in the interviews varied from the decidedly simple through to the incredibly complex. These processes of making were rooted strongly in the experiences, practices and community engagements of the respondent, of which zine-making itself was but a part.

During the summative content analysis, it became increasingly clear that the ten categories, whilst effectively exhausting the data in the interviews at a broad process level, did not explain how those processes were enacted and the contexts in which they were undertaken. The categories could not explain where responses encompassed notions such as a shared adherence to the principles and practices of DIY, the construction of shared values around expression, isolation, censorship or the value of sharing and exchanging zines (Lacey 2005) and the use of accessible low-end or simple technologies (like scissors and glue) as a way of encouraging people to make their own culture and share it (Kempson 2015a).

Many respondents described their zine-making practice as an interaction of often coinciding, sometimes consecutive processes that defined what they believed they were participating in. Like the definitional debates within the literature, there were some agreed principles but many contrary explanations, divergent understandings, individual or collective assumptions and strongly held beliefs about what constituted zine-making and most importantly, what defined the 'thing' they were choosing to participate in. The respondents' stories often represented layered, deep and complex descriptions of how they constructed meaning and identity through their participation in making. In some instances, the act of writing the text in answering the questions became a representation of their internal analytical processes, with some respondents referring to earlier questions in later responses, adding to their previous answers or even contradicting them.

It was apparent by the end of the interviews that any tangible and measureable process of zine-making (such as the making of their first zine) did not mark the end of their reflections on participating in making. Their understanding as to why they chose to participate in zine-making evolved over time, rationalising and critically reflecting on less-defined or understood constructs that influenced their initial and ongoing decisions to participate in zine-making. The interviews afforded the respondents the opportunity to relate their stories in a longitudinal manner; one that was part therapy, part dialogue or conversation and part ongoing project. There were some examples (such as R.13) where the respondents made statements of intent, statements of purpose or statements of boundary determination that were unique to that zine at that time, going on to explain how the constructs that influenced their decision to participate in zine-making had changed or evolved over time:

I guess it started out as being lonely in high school and wanting someone else to be able to understand the things I was seeing and having trouble dealing with. That motivation has changed as I've grown up, and maybe now my focus is more loose as I just want to be able to talk about my life and have a creative outlet to express myself in. I'm also

really motivated by the prospect of community and meeting new people and sharing my experiences with them. (R.13)

R.25 described a similar evolutionary journey illustrated by the acts involved in participating in zine-making, placing importance on the liberating effect of not just making the zine, but on the content, the zine's association with the 'cool' parts of the town and finally the realisation that zine-making was something they could do themselves (and not just consume). The story of R.25 was a good example of where the decision-making process was not described as occurring in a single moment in time, but through a series or sequence of experiences, events, realisations or exposures to specific community:

One was going to this "cool" area of town and picking up a free copy of a zine by a guy in a local band set with fliers and weekly papers. It had lyrics and poetry and original drawings in it and it was printed on nice thick paper...Obviously, this changed over time as I found my own voice but it just sort of opened a world of different kinds of layout that you didn't see in magazines and newspapers. It reminded me a lot of the punk albums I had. For a long time I think I thought punks were the only ones who made zines. (R.25)

5.3 A model of zine-making participation processes

5.3.1 Exploring the complexities of the cultural production of zines

As noted earlier, the acts of participation in the cultural production of zines were not explicit and discrete, where a single participatory engagement both marked and informed the decision to participate in zine-making. Nor were these acts essentially individual or personal, as they involved both the explicit and tacit participation of others (from readers to family to zine-makers) in how they were enacted and who they were enacted for. The study identified several convergences of participatory acts, where single processes could not be disaggregated, that allowed for the identification of the constructs that influenced the decision to participate in zine-making. It was also clear that

whilst the zine itself was the demonstrable representation of the decision to participate, the making of it was not necessarily the way the zine-maker explained or defined their decision-making or actions.

Utilising a wide variety of descriptors such as expression and sharing of personal experiences through life writing (Chidgey 2006; Poletti 2003; Sinor 2003), political development or activism (Radway 2011; Rallin & Barnard 2008; Sklar 2006), critique, reflection and criticism (Zobl 2009), or the cataloguing of views, ideas or interests (Bimson 2006; Cogan 2007; Grimes & Wall 2014; Triggs 2006), personal acts and practices involved in zine-making are described in the literature to explain why people chose to make zines. The interpersonal motivations are represented as procedural or instrumental acts (how to distribute a zine, the need for processes like printing, for example) and interpreted through a frame of higher order influences. In the case of studies that referenced the role of digital technologies, these interpersonal and personal acts of making are often represented as oppositional to handmade zines (Chidgey 2014b; Cresser, Gunn & Balme 2001; Zobl 2004b).

Many respondents chose not to describe any distinction between the essentially personal and interpersonal acts involved in zine-making. For these respondents, zine-making was both an individual act and one that needed to be shared with others, either passively (readership or referring to the (in)visible reader) or actively (community formation/membership or skills sharing) to be complete or to be defined as making a zine. This complexity informed a significant number of the stories. R.17 was an indicative example of this complexity, where she described several different reasons for zine-making centred mainly on her migration but expressed through content sharing, personalisation and limited circulations:

I made my first zine about a year and a bit ago. It was a personal one called <zine name>. It was as all about my first few months living in Australia having moved - for the first time ever - from South East London. It was a run of 20something for my friends and family, and included photos taken on my new Yashica T3 Super which I'd got on arriving,

some drawings of stuff I missed, social observations of my new home - and comparisons to my first one - and a specially-selected-for-each-copy crossword to highlight the absence of my daily G2 crossword back in London. (R.17)

Rauch (2004) argues that zine-making is best described as a series of processes informed by the search for and participation in identity, drama and performance. Whilst the descriptors she used could be argued to be essentially subjective in the way they describe and explain participation decisions (and mostly intangible and difficult to measure), they align with the tensions and interactions between the acts of participation described by the respondents. The convergence of acts of making made it difficult to ascertain when participation in zine-making had happened. This difficulty is exacerbated by the hybridity and fluidity between the initial categories, where for example in the case of R.17, content sharing and community could be both used a category to code her participation in zine-making, challenged in part by who she was choosing to share with (a limited audience of twenty people) and the specificity of what she was sharing with her readers (reflections on emigration). These difficulties in coding blunted the analytical capabilities of the initial coding categories.

The notion of the construction and sharing of identity represented another example of this problem. None of the categories specifically addressed the construction, sharing or demonstration of identity, although some of them (such as community and content) clearly touched on this. In the cases where the respondents described how they were rebelling against mainstream perceptions or stereotypes, they described and challenged identity, both self-defined and society shaped. The story of R.34 described their identity in the wider context of cultural production, demonstrating resistance as the rebellious individual advocating change through the lens of their zines:

We chose zines to get our thoughts and views across - not in any rash political or extreme social manner but to create an output and release of our what we believe in. I feel the act of writing the articles are not as

important as knowing that our ideas will either resonate or strike a wrong chord with someone on the other end. (R.34)

The story of R.18 was a further example of where there were crossovers between the initial coding categories, in part explained by the engagement in the processes of zine-making in non-sequential ways. R.18 described how his participation in zine-making processes produced something arguably more important than the zine itself, that being the formation and public demonstration of identity:

The discovery of zines coincided with my leaving my hometown and venturing out into the big, wide world as well. It was that combination, the discoveries I made at that stage that contributed to my creating not just zines but a new identity for myself as well. It seemed to all be integrated and combined. So, I guess that experience was life changing! One scrappy zine, full of bands I had never heard of! Who would have thunk it? (R.18)

For R.18, identity formation came about through a combination of reading zines, making zines and sharing zines. Identity was a fluid concept that was shaped through making zines, talking with readers and other zine-makers, but the social structures that shaped who R.18 was always came to the fore, as he notes:

...my problem is I'm still a bogan country boy who is fascinated by too many things but can't get his head around half of them! (R.18)

There was also an element of performance in the answers of R.18, linked to the content of their zine (music) and their role as maker and audience of musical and zine culture. When asked to describe the perfect relationship between reader and maker they jokingly boasted:

I guess to impart some knowledge, open a dialogue, make some friendships based on common ground... and for them to bow down to my obvious superiority! (R.18)

Alison Piepmeier (2009) in her seminal work '*Girl Zines: Making Media, Doing Feminism*' describes a zine called *Mend My Dress* in which the zine-maker explores very personal issues revolving around her experiences of incest and how those lived experiences shaped her identity. This deeply reflective zine shared the emotions of the zine-maker with her readers, describing in detail how her relationship with her mother was central to the abuse she suffered. Her desire to share, her capacity to heal and try and understand what had happened to her manifested itself in the making of the zine itself (and her choice of that medium specifically), the content of the zine (her choice of stolen imagery associated with fairy godmothers) and through the form of her zine:

The last page of the zine offers a visual/textual artwork that uses fragmentation to great effect, combining a snippet from a description of 1950s mental hospitals with repeated images of the fairy godmother from Disney's Cinderella...and a line from 'The Little Match Girl,' cut from strips of paper. (Piepmeier 2009, p. 99)

The example of *Mend My Dress* represents a complex, personal and conflicted set of processes, where both the physical aspects of zine-making (performance) and content (identity) intersect with reactions expected from the audience (drama). There are thresholds that are reached within these acts (how much is shared, to what extent is risk minimised by the relatively small circulation of zines).

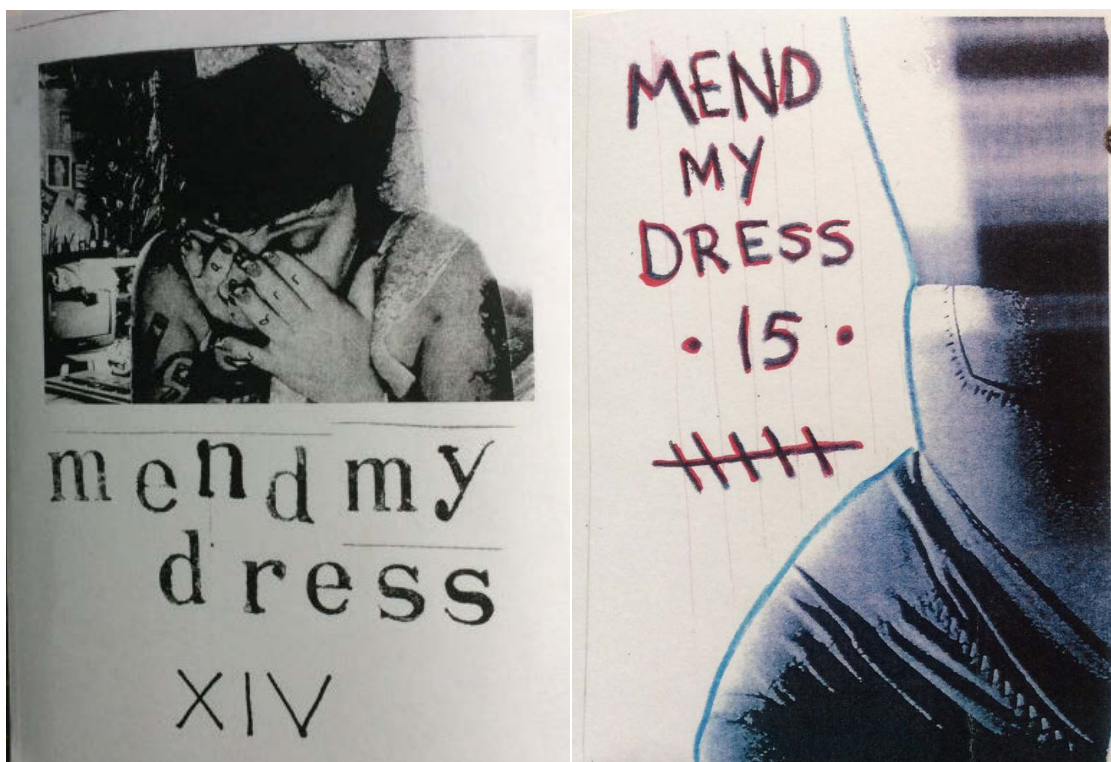


Illustration 5 The zine 'Mend My Dress' issues 14 and 15 by neelybat chestnut. Reproduced courtesy of the author.

5.3.2 Refining the categories that define the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making

To address these complexities of participation in zine-making that were arising through the summative analysis and to develop a theory that answered the primary research question, it was critical to refine the categories that emerged from the open coding process. The summative content analysis built interpretations of the stories told by respondents, developed through the interpretive location of the words and phrases within broader contexts in the data. The original ten categories coalesced into four definable and interconnected processes that described how the respondents made their zines. The refining of the categories was undertaken by extracting the acts of doing (demonstrated broadly by the aggregated responses to the initial question of *how* the respondents made their zines) and filtering these responses through the summative content analysis to determine the key processes that the respondent used to describe their zine-making and their relation to the decision to participate.

This was a complex analytical process in that the stories told by the respondents were often idiosyncratic, nonlinear and freeform. Whilst each respondent was asked the question, ‘*why do you make zines?*’ there was rarely a direct answer, or at least a narratively consistent one. As the interviews were iterative and often involved a series of emails, the respondents gave both considered responses, and at other times, used an almost stream of consciousness structure to their stories, with diversions, detours and distractions masking or creating windows into their version of the ‘truth’.

Many respondents described how they made zines in terms of their lived experiences, with making processes described within the context of their experiences of sharing content and consumption. Some respondents provided discursive recollections of how they came to make zines, with their stories ebbing and flowing around the processes of making zines, sometimes non-sequentially, other times contradictorily. They told incredibly personal stories of abuse, mental illness, isolation, teenage angst and passion for a thing or person. These stories, when read and understood through the summative content analysis, defined and to some extent bounded the way they chose to make their zine. They also supported the argument that each process was enacted through and by a series of acts, which in combination with the processes produced *something* (an artefact, a concept, an aesthetic, an attitude) that represented the output of their decision to participate in making.

The first stage of the model (*Figure 2*) defined four zine-making processes that collectively constituted how the respondents participated in the cultural production of zines. These four processes (form, content, distribution and community), whilst represented in the model linearly in what could be argued to be a sequential and logical order of print media-making, were not experienced or valued in that order by the respondents. It was evident in the study that all four processes were essential to the zine-making experience collectively and shaped the framework of what they believed they had chosen to participate in. The four processes will be described in detail in sections 5.3.4 through 5.3.7.

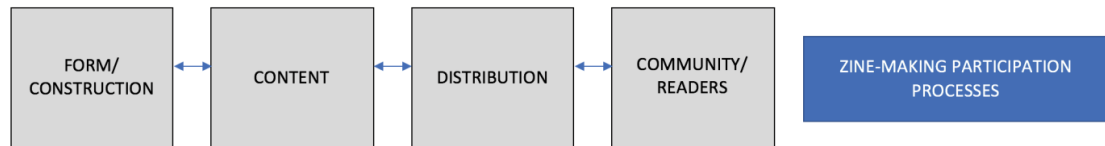


Figure 2 Stage 1: A model of zine-making participation processes

Whilst each process was bounded enough to be different from the rest (for the purposes of analysis, coding and theory development) the ways in which they were enacted by the respondents was not. The processes themselves were demonstrated to be effectively a construct of all the acts undertaken and filtered through the experiences, practices, skills, attitudes and personality of the respondent. It was through these acts that a zine was made (and by default, the decision to make them was enacted). Whilst the zine-making participation processes ‘made’ the zine, it was the acts that delivered what the zine-maker wanted to achieve from making their zine. These acts were enacted in a combination that was unique to the zine-maker and applied to and was complied with (to varying degrees) by each respondent.

5.3.3 Modalities of zine-making participation

Making zines was not a natural or assumed choice for many of the respondents. The complexities of exposure, consumption, aesthetics and access meant that zine-making and zines were often discovered outside of the decision to participate. Some respondents were inspired, motivated and informed by other zine-makers and their zines, sometimes long before they chose to make zines themselves. Some had been exposed to zines through engaging in cultural contexts around bands, by being part of a specific cultural scene that included zines or through the desire to be part of a community or movement that included zines as an integral part of their ways of being and communicating. In these instances, the decision to make zines could be positioned within an experiential frame which was often social in nature. R.26 described not just the physical stimulus that they experienced from reading zines, but the emancipatory and inspirational emotional experience afforded by the content of the zines they read:

I had been an enthusiastic reader of other people's zines for a while and was particularly fond of the personal and autobiographical style written (mostly) by women zinesters. After a breakthrough of my own I decided I could make such a zine! In particular, I read an auto-biographical comic by a woman about incest from her uncle and I admired her courage in sharing that painful and traumatic story in such a creative way that reached out to others, and I hoped I could do something similar
(R.26)

R.30 describes similar experiences of interaction with other zine-makers that have shaped the way she made zines and specifically, the decision to make zines. At the time of the interview, R.30 had just made a single zine and had been inspired by the works of other zine-makers they had encountered at an art exhibition:

The afternoon after seeing Space Invaders I scanned in my sketchbook and set up my zine layout in InDesign. Over the next two weeks I had them printed at Officeworks (They are really pricey for colour printing so I've kept this first run to 25 copies). Last night I trimmed and bound them all, signed them and packaged them up ready to be sent off today. (R.30)

Some of the stories described more complex interactions, where the respondent's communities reacted in fundamentally unique ways to their zines and where their zine content was both a way to find a potential audience and a way of differentiating yourself from the same. Making their zine was not necessarily the point which the decision to participate in making was 'made'; this may have been the at the point of distribution or sharing (as one respondent noted, it only became a zine for them when someone read it) or the point at which they were accepted or joined the community. What the interviews represented was a unique and personally defined set of participation pathways taken by respondents towards and through participation that were not essentially linear or sequential, although in varying degrees they represented some engagement (or lack thereof) with others (in the form of other zine-makers or the more collective validation of a community or readership). *Table 5*

describes the participation pathways identified during the data analysis, exploring the varying degrees of sociality associated with the pathway through examples from interviews. At one end is the traditional sequential print media-making process, where the editor sources content to fit within predefined editorial perspectives and the design format, printing it and then distributing it to the audience (Bell 2001; Bellotti & Rogers 1997; White 2015). Whilst there were examples of this sequence of making in some of the responses, most respondents engaged in more personally enacted sequences of making which were highly personal in their meaning but almost always undertaken to facilitate (or be facilitated by) some form of social interaction.

Participation pathways	Examples from the interviews
Respondents made zines before they had read another zine-maker's zine	<i>But the truth was that I was failing Chemistry and I was very unhappy because for the first time in years of school I didn't have any art classes. The stress of school was making me physically ill, and a nurse at my school suggested that I find a better balance of school and fun, and that I make time for art because it was so important to me. It was maybe a month or so after that conversation that I saw the article in Seventeen, had a giant light bulb of inspiration, and decided that I should take the article as a personal challenge. I decided I would make a zine, and that it would be awesome. (R.9)</i>
Respondents made zines before they even knew what a zine was or that what they were making was a zine	<i>I made my own before I ever bought one. I thought I had made a chapbook, but in reality it was more like a zine, and when I found out what one was, I sought out more and now I have a small but growing collection (R.16)</i>
Respondents created their content before they decided to make zines or on the form or design of their zine	<i>I draw, paint, do mixed media and collage, sew, photograph, and participate in a lot of collaborative art projects. They all interact with my zine making in some way. This first zine is a collection of my drawings, paintings, mixed media work from the Sketchbook Project. (R.30)</i>
Respondents had identified their desire to trade with other zine-makers before they had made a zine with which to trade	<i>I had met some kids at a church retreat in Indiana in 95 and some of them made zines so I wanted to make my own zines to trade with them. Part of making zines for me was making pen pals and getting mail. (R.25)</i>

Table 5 Examples of participation scenarios exploring degrees of sociality from the interviews

Modalities were used as an analytical mechanism to describe and understand the socially and culturally constructed relationships that were present in the data describing the respondents making processes (Kiefer 1987). The use of modalities as a frame to expose and explain the social and cultural reality of the

respondents afforded the capacity to assess ‘the truth’ that the stories presented and how the respondents as social actors shared, rationalised and explained those decisions with and to others (including myself) (Brouwer & Asen 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996). Finally, modality ascribed a sense of meaning to the processes that on the surface they did not necessarily possess. Whilst the processes of constructing the zine form (for example) might be enacted using scissors and glue, cutting out pictures and making a master copy of the zine before using a desktop printer or photocopier to reproduce it, for the respondents these actions were imbued with meaning, both personal and collective. These actions were made in the environment of choice; creative, political and cultural. Gibbons (2013) argues in the context of media making that signs determining modality are essentially socially motivated ‘...which simply means that signs occur in a social context and that they are endowed with meaning by people according to who they are and by what people want to accomplish with the sign’ (Gibbons 2013, p. 261).

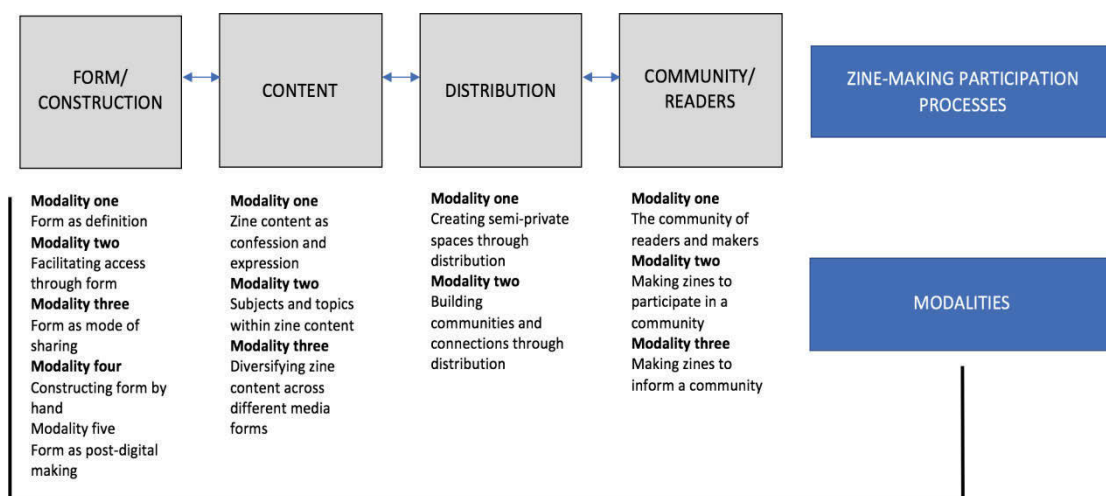


Figure 3 Stage 2: Zine-making participation processes and modality

Exploring, codifying and describing the modalities within each process supported a better understanding of the lived experiences that informed the way in which zine-making processes were enacted. It was clear that participation in zine-making, whilst facilitated through engagement in specific acts, occurred within the context of the lived experiences that were the catalysts for the participation or those experiences that emerged from the actions of engaging in

zine-making. *Figure 3* describes the modalities for each zine-making process that emerged from the summative content analysis. The boundaries between these modalities were essentially porous in that the same lived experience may inform the ways in which a zine-maker participates in several of or all the different zine-making processes. For example, the experiences, emotions and lasting impacts of attending high school were especially prominent in some interviews. From negative experiences arising from bullying, boredom and isolation (R.9, R.14 and R.28) through to positive experiences of skills acquisition and celebrating friendship, achievement and growing up (R.11, R.13 and R.32) the experience of high school shaped the way respondents engaged in their zine-making practices, and most critically, represented complex and deeply personal rationales for why they chose to engage in the making of zines. R.13 drew heavily on her experiences of studying at a Catholic high school to create her first zine, which satirised the tone and content of her diocesan newspapers but also replicated the form and style of these newspapers. Applying a nascent form of bricolage, she used cut and paste techniques to illustrate her zine by appropriating the original source material of her school newspapers. What was critical in this story was the importance of the readers who needed to understand clearly what was being satirised by the zine:

It struck me how after they were handed out everyone threw them away without even thinking so I thought it would be funny to read it and make a 'best of'-and at the same time I could show people how Catholic school has all these weird things that only people who experience that system ever really understand. It took me about a week to cut out clippings from the newspaper, figure out what I wanted to say about each clipping and then put into a zine format. I xeroxed the zine after school one day and spent my free periods and art classes constructing the zine. (R.11)

5.3.4 Describing the zine-making participation processes – Form and Construction

The process of form and construction represented the physical actions taken by the zine-maker to design and make their zine. The form of a zine has been

described in the literature in a variety of different and sometimes instrumental ways exposing techniques, skills, capabilities, methods or design principles and practices as part of defining zines and their nature (Kearney 2013; Lankshear & Knobel 2010). Examples of the representation of form and construction in the literature (see e.g. Biel 2014; Bravo 2014; Grimes & Wall 2014; Jeppesen 2012; Leventhal 2007; Todd & Watson 2006; Wreck 2005) include:

- the critical importance of reproduction technologies like photocopiers;
- the application of cut and paste techniques to the layout of a zine (see *Illustration 6*;
- the appropriation of commercial images and their re-construction as statements on society or culture;
- the use of hand colouring to personalise a zine;
- the integration of craft materials such as twine, ribbons, glitters and stickers and the importance of the design aesthetic that comes from the use of idiosyncratic technologies such as a typewriter;



Illustration 6 An example of the cut and paste and appropriated images used to make zines, represented by *Beckoning*, a one page wonder zine by Sacha Baumann (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0).

The way actions facilitating the form and construction of zines were described in the interviews was not necessarily simple or uniformly applied. The form of a zine was described by many respondents as a complex construct of rules and accepted practices, both formally applied and regularly challenged. It was through their compliance with or the challenging of these rules that the respondent developed their personal interpretation of what they were making. For some respondents making the zine in ways that mirrored or replicated the zines they had read was itself the sign that they were participating in the production of zines. For others, the act of defying the established form of zines was the way they knew they were participating in making zines. It was clear that for a significant number of respondents the ability to undertake the practices necessary to make zines was not fundamental to their decision to participate (for example, there was no evidence that the capability of a zine-maker to effectively cut and paste something influenced their decision to make zines directly). What was far more prominent in the study was that the skills required for making and the access to materials needed to apply these skills facilitated how the respondents decided to participate in zine-making. However, it was equally clear that these skills and materials once utilised did not always define the object they were making as a zine. This dissonance was captured by R.24, who described the authenticity that arose from not knowing what a zine was before they started to design their first one:

I hadn't seen any zines in their usual form (I saw a few reprinted in book form, but not ACTUAL zines) until after I made my first zine, so I still feel that there is something really authentically-from-my-brain about the first issue of my zine, <zine name>. When you don't have anything to compare it to, there are no expectations. (R.24)

The importance of the social experiences that arose before, during and after making zines was manifest in the significant majority of stories and was demonstrable through how those experiences informed almost every act supporting form and construction. Five modalities emerged to explain the social experiences related to zine form and construction. Each of these modalities provided insights into the critical nexus present in the stories regarding the

experiences of doing, the experiences of social interaction and the experiences of participating in zine-making;

- *Modality one - Form as definition* (how the respondents understood and shared their definitions of zines through the form/construction of their zines);
- *Modality two - Facilitating access through form* (how form/construction facilitated the ease of participation);
- *Modality three - Form as a mode of sharing* (how form/construction provided a capsule to share with the community or their readers);
- *Modality four - Constructing form by hand* (how form/construction were enacted by personalised, unique and intimate acts of making something by hand);
- *Modality five - Form as post-digital making* (how form/construction were influenced, transformed or disrupted by the resistances and affordances of digital technology and social media practices).

Table 7 summarises the key descriptors from the data set that were used to codify and define the modalities of form/construction, along with an exemplar response from the interviews locating the descriptors within the lived experiences of the respondent and how those descriptors enabled social relationships or experiences.

Modality	Descriptors from the data set	Exemplar from the data set
Form as definition	Tools, instruments, materials, products, devices, craft, techniques, ways of making, practices.	<i>I looked up zines on the Internet and learnt what was the basis of making a zine and what it entailed and I just took it from there and through reading other zines and looking at how that person has made there's I have slowly moulded my own way of making them. I wouldn't say it exactly requires a lot of skill, just a lot of creativity and fun! I've always been creative and artistic so that was already a given. It was just a matter of putting that in zine format. (R.5)</i>
Facilitating access through form	Ease of access, democratise, emancipation, control, editing.	<i>I don't think there are any prerequisites or technical expertise required to put a zine together. That's the beauty of zining. You only need passion and the urge to share that passion with others. Mostly it's just printing stuff on a page, limited only by your own creativity and how fancy you want to get with it. (R.20)</i>
Form as mode of sharing experiences	Passing on knowledge, education, sharing, teaching, learning, tradition.	<i>I liked the "underground" quality of reading something someone had created and printed with no editor, printing company or publisher involved, it was raw and real and revealing and I liked it! It probably did want to make me contribute to this in my own way and share my story (R.26)</i>
Constructing form by hand	Handmade, personalised, unique, by hand, artisanal, personal	<i>It greatly inspired me, not only for the zine itself but how personal it felt to receive something in the post, in a hand decorated envelope. It struck me that it was such an immediate and personal way of sharing art, it was exciting. (R.2)</i>
Form as post-digital making	Technology, digital, design, software, online	<i>I use the Internet to connect with other zine makers. the medium-sized city i now currently live in does not have an infoshop, zine library, or distro, unfortunately, so there's no other way of communicating such a niche "product" (for lack of a better word?) to anyone. I know a lot of the "old skool" zine makers hate the presence of email and the Internet within zine culture, but lets face it... the 90's are over (R.3)</i>

Table 6 Modalities of form/construction in zine-making

Modality one - Form as definition

Many of the respondents described in often very detailed and sometimes fetishised terms the specific ways in which their zine was made and the materials used in its making. These stories frequently referred to the methodologies and skills required to make zines: materials, size, colour, tools, technologies etc. An example of this sometimes-exhaustive step-by-step description came from the interview of R.20, who chronicled his making

practices using the chronology of computer technology they utilised in their making:

In 1993, I had purchased my very first PC, which was an HP Vectra 386. 2MB RAM (that's megabytes, not gigabytes!) and a 40MB hard drive. I pirated a copy of Wordperfect 5.1 from the law office where I was working at the time and used that to write my stories and articles. For the actual formatting of my zine, I bought a copy of Compuworks "Publisher," which was a pretty efficient and cool little desktop publishing app at the time...My zine is relatively low-tech, even by zining standards. None of it is handmade, except for a few sketches I'll scan in from time to time. (R.20)

In the case of three respondents (including R.20) parts of their responses became effectively how-to guides that took me through the entire story of how they formed and designed their zine. In other interviews, the materials and practices used came from the childhood experiences of the maker; the cut and paste practices learnt using kindergarten scissors and glue and the bricolage that shapes the form of teenage scrapbooking. Other respondents recalled early experiments and experiences with desktop publishing and digital drawing (R.11) and manual typewriters (R.22) in a similar vein. Zine-making represented an adult version of youthful expression; one that turned an innocent, fondly remembered craft activity into something more confronting and 'grown-up'. This was especially prevalent in the responses of the newer zine-makers, where these skills were explained as being simpler and easier (or as R.21 described it 'rudimentary') to undertake in relation to the increasing complexity of web-based design:

It was the oldskool cutting and pasting with a pair of scissors and glue, skills I learned at kindergarten. I still prefer to make things that way because I'm not that skilled in computer programmes. (R.21)

Other respondents described the materials and techniques they used descriptive, detailed and sometimes romantic terms. The physicality of the

paper and printing, the intensity ascribed to how the zine was stapled and the importance of the source material for images came through in a significant majority of the stories. The use of specific materials and choice of techniques represented an important editorial or creative choice, both in terms of defining the thing they were making as a zine and the degree to which they were willing to use technology as part of their design and construction process:

We don't like the idea of simply making a Microsoft Word document and writing everything in Times New Roman and inserting personalised clip art - we'll usually type the entire edition up and print all the text in one big go (this saves paper and our pocket). If we're dealing with photos I'll print out a 6x4 and glue it to our already organised page cards that we stick on our bedroom wall. We'll then cut out the text and glue it to the pages - once that is done we scan each page and save each as a .pdf file to we can take it to get printed. (R.34)

The focus on the importance of the materials and skills used in zine-making was not universal across all the interviews. Several respondents argued for the relative unimportance of the form/construction of their zine, preferring to focus on the content they were sharing. The words, the writing, the stories and experiences that were being shared with others facilitated the need for sociality far more than the container they were shared in. R.20 described the tension that was extant in many responses between the attention to detail respondents related in regard to the form of their zine and the simultaneous dismissal of the importance of detail in the light of the social experiences enabled by the content of the zine:

My zine is relatively low-tech, even by zining standards. None of it is handmade, except for a few sketches I'll scan in from time to time (usually for the cover art or whatever). Other than that, it's mostly just stuff printed on 8.5x11 copy paper and stapled in the upper-left-hand corner. This is mostly by design and my desire to keep it simple. I've always been more interested in the words and what a zine has to SAY rather than how it was made or how it LOOKS. (R.20)

Many responses described the blurring of the lines between zine content and its form/construction, where the established practices of bricolage, the flaunting of copyright and the appropriation of images were described as editorial decisions that enabled the messages extant within the zine to be shared with the community or the readers. The fact that in several stories there were no hard boundaries between the processes of participating in the design and making of the form/construction of the zine and what the respondents were choosing to share was a key insight in the iterative theoreticising of the model. R.27 described this liminality within the processes of making in a very matter of fact way:

My first writing with cut & paste specific zeen came as a reaction to a zeen by Kirsty Sullivan, 'Muppet in Training' which I got in 2004, it was a muppet fanzine. & It was a one off. I thought the idea of a muppet fanzine was too good (to) end at one zeen & I endeavoured to make my own & I did. (R.27)

Modality two – Facilitating access through form

There was a clear thread of responses that described the simplicity of zine-making form/construction as a critical influencing construct in both determining their decision to make zines and facilitating that decision to participate. In some cases, the emancipatory capacity afforded by zine-making construction and form was a result of trying it out after reading someone else's zine and working out how easy it was to become a zine-maker. The ease of access to the basic materials required to make a zine (paper, staples and the photocopier or printer) meant participation was relatively barrier-free for a respondent such as R.31:

I don't think that there really are any skills necessary to make a zine- perhaps a good zine. But I think the point of zines is that they're accessible to everyone. If you can use a pen and can find a photocopier, yr done. (R.31)

How these technologies and material were accessed (with options ranging from stolen, borrowed, bought or found) contributed to both the way the zine was made and most critically, what the making of that zine meant to the maker. For example, stealing copies from the office photocopier was described as an act of rebellion because it was seen as stealing from the dominant capitalist authority figure in the respondent's life (the boss). Finding images and repurposing them through bricolage was described as a justified act of appropriation that challenged dominant media stereotypes, with R.14 confessing:

I'd write, illustrate, cut and paste/collage over a period of a week or ten days, then do layouts and photocopying in a couple of days. I would have stolen the photocopying from somewhere - you always knew someone who knew someone who worked at Kinko's. Then I would distribute by hand, sometimes leaving proselytising anarchist zines on public transport to effect a transformation of working class consciousness. (R.14)

The form/construction of zines and its relation to access was a fundamental descriptor in the majority of interviews, with varying degree of importance placed on how making facilitated access to the media. There were clear demonstrations of DIY attitude and editorial control and ownership in many of the stories, related in the main to how access enabled either explicit or tacit forms of social engagement, manifested in a number of different ways in the responses:

- there was a demonstrable expression of the assertion that they made zines because they could (R.18);
- the skills required were simple (R.20 and R.27);
- the materials were cheap (or free), and accessible (R.32);
- they knew what a zine was and believed quite strongly that they could make one themselves (R.34).

These rationales were defined as both something that made zine-making a unique pursuit, distinct from other media-making, and as something that was

accessible and democratising. At the core of these definitions was the assertion that some respondents chose to make zines because they could and that the skills required for making were easy to acquire:

I faked it!! After seeing seminal Adelaide zines, Smash It Up and DNA (which I'd picked up on the way through to Darwin) I realised that you could just cut and paste and hand write and slap it down – it didn't have to have glossy magazine values to make it valid. So, I just typed up reviews at work, cut them up, wrote to bands naively expecting them to answer (and they did!) and photocopied the first run at work. One sided and stapled together. (R.18)

Whether possessing the skills required to make zines or access to materials, the capability of the zine-maker to *make* was critical. In many cases, these affordances of form/construction allowed the zine-maker to transition from aspiration to participation easily (an opportunity not easily offered by other media forms that involved editors, publishers or more professional methods of production).

R.29 described this transition from aspiration to participation in two very specific ways. Firstly, they pointed to the relatively inexpensive nature of zine-making, from the production through to the final processes of distribution. What was especially interesting about the case of R.29 was their alignment of their zine-making processes to the community and aesthetical processes that supported their zine-making participation. R.29 placed zines within an underground counter-culture, where they were effectively part of a rebellion against the dominant '*conformist social notions*' and noted the capacity of zines to support unedited, uncontrolled freedom of expression in a space beyond the market (even though later they described how they were active professionally in that market) (Rauch 2015b). But it was the transition from wanting to make and distribute their zines to having both the capability and the demonstrable outcome of making, that in effect triggered a consideration of the wider impact of making zines:

Being unsatisfied with much of what was available on the larger commercial marketplace, we decided to create the zine we wanted to see, but do it as cheaply as possible. For an individual artist or creator, the cost of professionally producing, printing and effectively distributing any kind of magazine for the commercial marketplace in Australia is daunting, so we decided to go the underground route, besides, it is within the counterculture that our roots lay. That is where we believe all creative and original ideas initially come from. (R.29)

The story of R.29 revealed another critical aspect of the process of transition from aspiration to participation, whereby the aspiration to publish was not sated by being published. For R.29, it was the making of something that they needed or wanted to publish, free from censorship, the editor and the restrictions of social mores and norms that was critical. The aspiration to make a zine was facilitated by the capacity to make and decide for themselves (as a personal act of participation):

Apart from this, we had been working as professional comic book and strip writers/artists and eventually became frustrated with the perceived requirements and limitations of the “commercial” marketplace, as well as being disappointed with some of the more conservative and censorious editors we had encountered. Partially as a means of addressing this problem and also wanting to express our ideas more freely, we decided to create something of our own without having to appease traditionalist editors, fashionable politics, conformist social notions, and censors. (R.29)

Modality three – Form as mode of sharing experiences

By far, the most prominent of the modalities to emerge from the analysis were the experiential aspects of demonstrating and constructing the importance of form through the capacity to share with others. Many respondents explained how they wanted to demonstrate altruistic behaviours through their making by *sharing, changing, shaping, helping and encouraging* others to make zines or to

share experiences (all words used by the respondents to describe their engagement in the processes of form/construction).

The simplicity of the form of zines facilitated an ease of sharing the skills required to make a zine that they had acquired from others. This was described in several different ways, ranging from a direct personal relationship between zine-maker and 'new' practitioners developed through the sharing of zine-making skills (as a mentor or the more formal role of teacher or trainer) through to the assertions of R.31 and R.20 who shared their experiences (as opposed to their practices) by asserting in the interviews how the relatively simple form/construction of zines reduces the barriers to participation:

It's a liberating medium, in that you can do it quite cheaply (in comparison to other artistic/literary mediums) and control all aspects of creation and distribution - it's very empowering, that. (R.31)

I don't think there are any prerequisites or technical expertise required to put a zine together. That's the beauty of zining. You only need passion and the urge to share that passion with others. Mostly it's just printing stuff on a page, limited only by your own creativity and how fancy you want to get with it. (R.20)

Several respondents described how they chose to actively share zine-making skills through attending zine fairs, working at or visiting zine retail stores or volunteering at zine libraries. This kind of engagement with potential and current zine-makers was a way of practicing what they preached by demonstrating through action that zine-making and the form/construction that facilitated it was an easy and accessible act of participation in making. R.8 was an interesting example of how the experiences of sharing skills shaped her engagement in zine-making. Describing her practices over more than two decades, which included a break from zine-making, it was her strongly-held desire to share the importance of zines with her own children and their peers that drove her passion to share how to make zines with others:

I talked to my step-kids that were in junior high and high school, and they didn't know what zines were and didn't know about any kids at their schools that were making them. I was astonished. And disappointed. This kind of lit a fire for me. Zines had been so important to me as a kid, and if our local kids and adults didn't know about this form of creative expression, then I was gonna teach them! Since March 2010, I've held several zine exhibits at local galleries, held workshops at our local library and bookstores, started developing a zine library, taught zine electives at local middle-schools, and published six issues of a zine that is devoted to our community. It has definitely resulted in more folks making zines and selling them at our local bookshops, and the response to my efforts has been very well-received in the community that I live in (R.8)

Where sharing skills was a critical component of how the respondents constructed their zines, not all these experiences were personal or face-to-face. The role of other zine-makers who shared their skills in impersonal ways was prominent in the responses of some zine-makers. This took the form of reading zines or books that taught readers how to make a zine (such as *Stolen Sharpie Revolution* by Portland, Oregon based zine-maker Alex Wrekk (2005), which was specifically mentioned in the interviews by eight different respondents as the source for some or all of their zine-making knowledge). One of the challenges of understanding this modality was disentangling the way the zine was made from the decision to participate. A sense of fuzziness emerged, where the capability to make zines (which was facilitated in part by the ease of acquisition of the skills required to do so) was part of the decision to make zines. In the majority of responses where this connection was made, the underlying (and sometimes explicit) assertion was the same – respondents made zines because they could.

There is a 'chicken and egg' conundrum present here as well. Did the respondent read a how-to guide or zine and decide that they could make a zine? Or did they decide they wanted to make a zine and then sought out the mechanisms and knowledge they needed? The responses were split on this point, but arguably in the context of understanding the decision-making

rationale, the point is perhaps somewhat moot, because in both cases the process of making was understood through the experiences arising from sharing stories, as both R.1 and R.13 explain:

When I first read zines, I remember loving the DIY cut-and-paste look and feel of them, and that idea of sharing one's stories was something that really inspired me. Once I'd decided that I wanted to make a zine, I found it helpful to read a lot of zines and identify what it was that I liked about those zines, so I could attempt to make the kind of zine that I'd love to read too. (R.1)

Well I already mentioned the first zine workshop I attended, I have been to several more since then because I find everyone has a different approach so it's cool to know a few different ideas on how to do it and then choose what works and doesn't work for you. I also bought the book 'Stolen Sharpie Revolution' from zine writer Alex Wrekk, which is a really valuable resource for the medium. (R.13)

Modality four – Constructing form by hand

The use of words such as handmade, hand-crafted and by hand by the respondents indicated the importance of making something handmade and personal. Sometimes subsumed into the wider descriptor of DIY, the experiential importance of tactility, personalisation and uniqueness that can come from making by hand was explicitly described by some respondents, which was similar to the prominence afforded to the notion of handmade in the literature. Located within the discourses of handmade art, craftivism and making, handmade can often ascribe values to the art not afforded by other forms (Appelbaum & Evans 1978; Kuznetsov & Paulos 2010). The can include personalisation, uniqueness, personal calls to activism or change or ownership of the media itself (Garber 2013; Levine & Heimerl 2008; Spencer 2005; Tapper 2011)

Goulding (2015) argues that the handmade nature of zines positions them as an ‘...appealing and critical alternative to popular media’ (Goulding 2015, p. 166). The handmade nature of zines also contributes to the ephemerality of medium and their status as quickly thrown together objects that capture the feelings and emotions of a moment in time (Duncombe 1997; Richardson 1996). The use of the word handmade in the literature is often aligned with the terms that describe a sense of immediacy and the urgency that comes from self-motivated publishing and creation, such as ‘scruffy’, ‘mashed-up’, ‘experimental’, ‘amateur’ and ‘messy’ (Bott 2002; Liming 2010; Piepmeier 2008; Stockburger 2015; Whitlock & Poletti 2008). Gibb (2009 n.p) suggests that people make by hand ‘...because of the need to see a physical, and not entirely digital, result from one’s efforts. And because it is liberating to want something and then to make it yourself’. Poletti (2011) adds that there is value for the reader to receive something that seems to be made just for them, citing emotional interchanges such as confession and secret telling as modes of exchange facilitated by the handmade object.

The experience of making something by hand represented an often intensely personal reason for deciding to participate in zine-making. The respondents told stories of how they designed their zines in individualised ways, using materials such as embroidery and sewing, hand-printing and colouring or even personalised content to produce an inherently unique edition for the reader, with R.10 noting:

The world is getting more digital so people really do fetishize the handmade, and I think my zine is plays up to that. I encourage it, in fact: issue #2 of the zine was hand bound with embroidery thread; and I always enclose origami cranes and other such treats in my Etsy orders. People often express surprise when I tell them that my main work is on the zine and not on the blog, but when they get their grubby mitts on a copy of the zine they see the appeal straight away. (R.10)

Contrary to the mass-produced nature of other print mediums, the experiences afforded by making zines by hand offer zine-makers the opportunity for

communications, engagement and interaction deployed at a uniquely individual level. Piepmeier (2008) gives an example of the zine *Lower East Side Librarian Winter Solstice Shout Out* from 2004, written by Jenna Freedman, which has an illustration of the zine-maker on the cover with her hair coloured blue by hand, making each zine unique. Freedman received feedback from people who had read the zine stating that ‘...there was something about the fact that her hand had touched every cover that made it meaningful...’ (Piepmeier 2008, p. 286). I have been receiving an annual copy of this zine from the author for over ten years. Each edition has her prominent blue hair coloured differently, with a short personalised message on the back cover addressed directly to me, ensuring I know that the maker has made this copy of the zine for me. It adds a sense of intimacy to the experience of reading the zine. *Illustration 7* shows the cover of two issues that have been personalised for me, as a reader of the zine.



Illustration 7 Lower East Side Librarian Winter Solstice Shout Out 2004 and 2009, a zine by Jenna Freedman (reproduced courtesy of the author).

The importance of being able to personalise the form of their zine was prominent in the stories of several of the respondents, from the capacity to make zines for small, personally selected audiences (family and friends) through to the adding unique elements (such as pictures, lipstick kisses or messages in the margin). Like the work of Jenna Freedman, these personalised touches imbue the experience of both making the zine and experiencing it as a reader with a sense of intimacy and connectedness:

I submit writing to a free online magazine, I write letters, I sew and do patchwork, and occasionally draw and paint. I use some of my art in my zines, and sometimes include drawings or additional handmade gifts in the packages I send. (R.2)

Modality five – Form as post-digital making

Cascone (2000) defines the concept of the post-digital as representing a watershed in the way society understands and explains the role of technology in disrupting or transforming our activities and actions. He argues that ‘...the revolutionary period of the digital information age has surely passed. The tendrils of digital technology have in some way touched everyone’ (Cascone 2000, p. 12). The post-digital represents a point where technology no longer defines change, but becomes part of it. Cramer (2015a) asserts that post-digital making happens as a result of ‘the messy state’ media-making (amongst other art forms) finds itself in as a result of digital technology and distribution (Cramer 2015a, p. 19). He argues that the states of flux and tension that exist between traditional media-making and the newer forms informed and facilitated by digital practice have resulted in deliberate returns to the more physical practices of making that dominated the pre-digital age. Andrews (2000) asserts that the growth of media that embraces errors, glitches and imperfections (examples include mash-ups, found art, musical styles like glitch, outsider and musique concrète) demonstrates how makers have found ways to reject the hyperbole, perfectionism and mass accessibility of the digital age for a more physical and individual way of making.

The assertion of a state of post-digital reversion, where digital forms are rejected or old media forms are revived and repurposed (Andersen & Pold 2015) was prominent in a number of the interviews. Whilst none of the respondents used the term post-digital, there were several examples where the making practices of the respondents were described in terms that indicated a longing for the analogue practices of the past. This nostalgia was not a universal rejection of digital technology or social media practices, rather it represented the deliberate application of pre-digital technology for specific purposes. For example, R.20 argued that their zine-making practices supported and protected what they called the 'lost art of letter writing and pen-pals', and deriding digital forms of making and distributing work as impersonal:

More and more people are going the online route and publishing their stuff in blogs and on social networks. Not very many of them seem to "get" the idea behind publishing a zine and wanting to distribute print copies. So, when someone sends me a trade of their own zine, I think that's really cool. In a way, it's kind of like keeping the lost art of letter writing and pen-pals alive. The zines we create are open letters to the world and we send them to anyone who is interested in reading what we have to say. It somehow feels more personal and intimate than reading some entry on a blog somewhere over the Internet. (R.20)

Alternately, R.7 embraced digital technology in making their zine, eventually believing that the technology altered why they making to such a degree that it was no longer a zine and then ultimately stopping their zine-making to concentrate on blogging:

With the arrival of my first computer and publishing software, <zine name> was born. I had stopped drawing, bought a digital camera and started shooting my friends and places. Unfortunately, without me knowing, my zine had become more of a newsletter. My work then disappeared completely when I discovered blogging...although I kept the name <zine name> for about 5 years, my longest running work. I stopped blogging in 2010, shut down my blog, dropped out of the face of

my social circle, consumed by work, but I could not hold my creative side back...so, in January 2011 I had sort of a "rebirth" (R.7)

The apparent contradictions within the responses of R.7 are not as incongruous as they might seem. They represent what Andersen and Pold (2015) refer to as the 'new aesthetics' of media and art, where there are '...paradoxical combination(s) of the digital and the physical' (Andersen & Pold 2015, p. 271). These combinations create circumstances where the digital erupts into the physical, the results of which are not predictable or homogeneous. Where the respondents discussed the role of digital technology and social media practices, they identified a level of digital incursion that they felt comfortable with or a level that they did not think compromised the overall integrity of the media they were working in. The role of technology in these instances was two-fold. In some instances, it represented a justification as to why they chose to not make a different type of media (blogs were the common alternative in the study, cited by six respondents). In other cases, there was a point at which respondents decided that non-digital practices were central to what they had chosen to make. Both R.27 and R.7 expressed very similar assertions about the point at which the primacy of paper became apparent to them:

I have a blog now, what might've been a zine ten years ago is now a blog tag-stream today, the zine is for a work/project best suited for the craft of print-medium/textile-object. (R.27)

I have noticed that I WANT printed material, and most of my audience wants that also. (R.7)

It was clear that where digital technology and social media were used within the making of the respondent's zines (n=23) it was the end-product that mattered. R.20, despite their passionate advocacy for the importance of print, gave a completely digital artefact distributed in PDF form the title of 'zine'. Each of the respondents who used technology in the making of the zine identified a point at which what they were making had enough of the properties of form/construction that they understood or experienced as a zine to be able to be called one. They

were also relying, although with little or no risk attached to that reliance, on the fact that whoever purchased or consumed their zine recognised that their output as a zine (or that it didn't matter). Perhaps it is more an academic or archiving construct that the final product of the process of making can or should be called a zine. The benefits of small circulations, the invisible audience and the lack of commercial pressure mean that the risk of making something and failing, especially in terms of what might be considered as a zine are relatively small. R.27 describes the phenomena quite succinctly, stating:

Zeens don't make money so there's no pressure to hone the writing to something for a wider market of discerning critical readers, generally they aren't subject to multiple drafts for people to give feedback on before publication. They're generally self-published & accessible for creators in that way. There's no ethics panel you gotta get your project past before you make a zeen & the audience for zeens, produced in small batches, is often smaller than that batch too. (R.27)

Concluding form

The form and construction of zines and the subsequent relationship of those practices to the decision to participate was described by almost every respondent in varying degrees of detail, drawing on personal and social experiences. The critical importance of the simple transition from the idea of making a zine to the realisation of that idea manifested as a physical zine cannot be underestimated. In that sense, zine form/construction represented a tangible and measurable mode of individual action and participation, clearly positioned within the lived experiences of the zine-maker. However, what was equally important to many respondents was that engaging in the making of zine was a process informed by the emancipatory realisation that they could make something and that the skills required were easily acquirable or already extant in their own skillset.

Whether these skills were applied directly to the task of making or bent or shaped to make their zine was not critical to the decision to participate in zine-

making. What was far more prominent in the stories was that the engagement in the process of zine form/construction became a lived experience (and not just the result of one) for the respondents, often related to a DIY ethic. The choice to make zines was sometimes made because zines were something that *could* be made. The respondents either possessed the skills which was often learnt at a very young age or they discovered through practice that, with some specific exceptions (layout and folding being the obvious examples), making a zine was easier or simpler than they thought. The tools required for making were not sophisticated or expensive, nor were the materials, which could be acquired cheaply or stolen. The accessibility afforded by the modalities extant in the form/construction of zines was therefore critical in defining the constructs the influenced the decision to make zines.

5.3.5 Describing the zine-making participation processes - Content

They display a wild mixture of handwriting and print, nearly all of which refuses to stay put within the lines. They sport images that overlap and bleed into one another. In some cases, those images strain to burst from the page, and sometimes narratives do not necessarily follow serially, page by page. (Radway 2001, p. 12)

Zine content is another mode by which zine-makers express and construct their personal intentions and participation choices through a wide spectrum of lived experiences. Zine content can include everything from straight descriptions of typologies and mediums through to complex explorations of political, socio-cultural or personal politics and experiences. The respondents described a diverse spectrum of content within their own zines. These descriptions were often quite detailed and explored both the motivations for the creation of the content and sometimes frank descriptions of what they were sharing within their zines. The respondents described content types ranging from writing styles (creative, autobiography and commentary amongst others) through to visual imagery (drawings, photographs and artwork) through to multimedia and craft objects and ephemera. They also described, both within their own personal identities and their self-described formed or formative social positions, the

subjects, themes, topics and stories contained within their zine's content. Many of these social positions within zine content were rooted in their lived experiences, their communities or the imperative to share.

The idea, the ambition and the reality of sharing through content represented critical touchpoints for respondents within their stories. Whilst sharing and distributing zine content was clearly a strong motivation for many of them, the need to share the insights, emotions or ideas that their content represented was a far more powerful force for many respondents. The capacity to share and express their own lived experiences, both personal and cultural, were central to the decision to participate in zine-making. R.1 identified the need to share her thoughts with others, noting the importance of the inspiration she gained from inspiring others (however visible or invisible):

It's so lovely to have that common ground and get the chance to speak to people who can understand how I'm feeling, and not label me a 'weirdo' or whatever. And that is very important in finding the inspiration to write – being aware that there are so many people out there who like what I write and can identify with my experiences motivates me to keep making zines. (R.1)

There were over two hundred specific references to zine content across the thirty-four interviews, including styles, topics, images and stories. Content was described as a critical instrument in delivering the outcomes the respondents sought from participating in the cultural production of zines. Some respondents argued that content was an inherently personal domain, with their content reflecting a capacity to find voice, assert identity and process experiences and trauma. These personal expressive acts were undertaken in tandem with the more social activities such as sharing experiences, joining or forming communities or networks. Content was the instrument that afforded the respondent the opportunity to build connections with the readers through shared experiences. The content of their zines represented a window to the respondent's soul or feelings or functioned as a way of seeking out others who had experienced or felt the same as they did. This made the identification and

bounding of this process and its modalities complex, with the response of R.2 indicative of the fluidity between personal and interpersonal engagements:

I started to realise that not only is it cathartic for myself to really unlock myself in this way, but it's also useful for a reader to delve straight in to another country, culture, sexuality, background, set of experiences and assumptions. It's enlightening, it shows people they aren't alone in the problems they face, and its political (R.2)

Three modalities were especially prominent within the data set in terms of zine content and the ultimate relationship these had to the decision to make zines. The first modality emerged from the choice of zines as an outlet or an accessible form of media that encouraged rants, confessions or venting about things that concerned, enraged, excited or challenged the zine-maker (*Zine content as sharing, confession and expression*). The second modality was observed in respondents who made specific choices about the subjects and topics that they wanted to share within their zine (*Subjects and topics within zine content*). The final modality emerged at the intersection of the capacity of zines to support the sharing of artistic and cultural productions and forms of media types (other than printed stories or writing) (*Diversifying zine content across different media forms*).

Modality	Descriptors from the data set	Exemplar from the data set
Zine content as sharing experiences; confession and expression	Confess, diary, illicit, private, rant, vent, trauma, stories, share, express, secret.	<i>I'm an avid diary-writer, and so writing that kind of personal, confessional prose that is so common in zines is second-nature to me. I guess it also suits my tendency to change my opinion on certain topics – it's as if the zine grows with me, and as my views become more nuanced and developed, so does my zine. And I don't think any other type of artistic medium is as flexible or unrestrictive as that, perhaps. (R.1)</i>
Subjects and topics within zine content	Perzines, fanzines, girl zines, life writing, stories, feminism, change, revolution, rebellion, LGBTQ, queer.	<i>I tend to view it more on an individual level, as simply being important to get your voice and your personal narrative out in to the world. I see that in itself as a form of political activism. However, I would also say, writing from the perspective of a queer feminist woman strongly contributes to the lgbt and feminist cause. I also see zine making as an act of defiance against capitalism and modern culture in that it is a non-profit activity, it's subversive, it allows the inner mess to be let loose instead of bound by a socially acceptable persona. (R.2)</i>
Diversifying zine content across different media forms	Writing, imagery, photography, craft, sewing, music, paintings, drawing, comics, poetry, drawings, art, visual, painting, collage, remix, appropriation.	<i>The type of zine I usually make could either fall into the categories of cut n paste, perzine or art and poetry because that is exactly what I do. in issues of <zine name 1> and <zine name 2> you will see my drawings and some poetry. <zine name 3> you will see poetry and <zine name 4> is a comic. I write from personal experience in my new <zine name 1> so that is basically a zine made up of what my life consists of and my mental health/ sexuality/ beliefs etc. I keep all my drawings to <zine name 2> now and leave my poetry in <zine name 3> so I like to keep all those three aspects of my life in their own zine and little unit. Poetry, art and writing are the three things you will find in my zines and that's what I usually make. (R.5)</i>

Table 7 Modalities of content in zine-making

Modality one - Zine content as sharing experiences; confession and expression

The expression of a personal voice, personal opinions, a personal cause and the concept of a rant exemplify the types of content that appear in many zines (Harris 2003), with the emotions expressed swinging from explorations of pleasure to exhortations of pain. For many respondents in the study (including R.1, R.10 and R.27), zines provided an outlet for an intense desire to write, allowing for the sharing of rants or venting. For other respondents (including

R.10 and R.31) the making and sharing of confessional or exposing zine content was an iterative process, where they dipped a toe into the water of personal sharing, minimising risk and hoping that their decision to make zines paid dividends in terms of supporting their needs for a social experience. These two different approaches were best described by R.31 (being tentative about sharing zine content) and R.1 (diving straight in to difficult and personal topics). Both drew on the lived experiences that informed their zines or arose from making the zine:

A girl emailed me saying she liked one of my zines and she sent me some of her (lovely, beautiful) zines. We're oldskool style penpals now. Part of the reason for making my current zine is to teach myself to be less worried about what people think, so not getting feedback isn't really a big deal. (R.31)

A frequent topic I cover in my zines is shyness and social anxiety – as a shy girl with clinical depression, my social life is very strained and stressful. This is something that I feel is very important to write about – I think there are lots of us shy girls who just don't get a chance to encounter each other and share our experiences. (R.1)

Content was described in the interviews as a way of representing and initiating personal discourses, with the topics being discussed and shared in the zine being the vehicle for cathartic, therapeutic, healing or psychoanalytical outcomes. R.2 described how her zine content represented an image of self and a construction of meaning that could not have been developed or shared through any another medium. For her, writing for zines was an '...act of defiance' against societal norms. Writing for zines allowed R.2 to express herself by sharing her personal narratives and position her role, voice and identity within the wider LGBT and feminist community. Contributing to a cause was critical in determining her participation in zine-making:

I tend to view it more on an individual level, as simply being important to get your voice and your personal narrative out in to the world. I see that

in itself as a form of political activism. However, I would also say, writing from the perspective of a queer feminist woman strongly contributes to the LGBT and feminist cause. I also see zine-making as an act of defiance against capitalism and modern culture in that it is a non-profit activity, it's subversive, it allows the inner mess to be let loose instead of bound by a socially acceptable persona, it challenges copyright, and its interaction that isn't based around buying/selling exchange, it's underground and it makes pathways for people to explore alternative music, film, literature and concepts. (R.2)

Taken at face value, whilst there was an implied role for the society she was rebelling against (as the audience for her content and as the wider community she located herself within), R.2 described the content of her zine as didactic, broadcasting at her readers. In a later response, R.2 expanded the role of the community of readers by introducing the notion that creating zine content was inherently an act of sharing. Whilst her earlier response explained the motivations for her participation, when she responded to the question of why she made zines she told a far more personal story. Her zine content was described as part-confession, part-therapy, but not just for herself. She discussed a more altruistic ambition - to help others (her readers) to explore their own issues and understandings:

Initially I was motivated by the idea of trying to become less of a private. I kept a lot to myself, I wrote diaries and stories, I was often quiet. And I was working on changing all this. I started to see that the things I thought and wrote needed to be brought into the world. Zines in particular are quite an immediate way of getting read, making your voice and your experiences accessible. (R.2)

This reader-writer relationship that forms around the sharing of zine content is an incredibly personal one, but still framed in the context of communicating with the community. Sutton (1999) argues that the essentially personal, confessional and expressive nature of zine content can be a form of therapy session. The zine-maker starts the creation process in one space and through

the dynamics of writing and self-expression moves to a different one, driven by the ‘...willingness to share almost anything with the invisible audience’ (Sutton 1999, p. 170). In the zine *I am a camera*, Australian zine-maker Vanessa Berry describes how she conceptualises the way her personal and idiosyncratic zine content can be shared with the invisible audience, describing the way she writes the stories she wants to tell and the complexity of sharing them with others:

What really happened is less important than how I want to tell these stories. Imagine my mind as a complex filing system, with memories grouped around objects, association and senses. Regard this as some of the files and you’re slyly reading them whilst I’m out of the room.
(*I am a camera #9* by Vanessa Berry)

The importance of confession to zine content is explored in a significant number of studies that, like most of the zine field, cut across several disciplines, with a strong focus on girl-made zines (e.g. Chidgey 2006; Cofield & Robinson 2016; Duncan 2000; Perry 2015; Piano 2003; Poletti 2003, 2011; Spiers 2015). Poletti (2003) argues that zine content allows the zine-maker to discuss and share their personal experiences, their past histories, develops a life narrative and reveals intimate details about themselves. The confessing of secrets and the sharing of intimate knowledge is closely aligned to the diary-like nature of many zines, which is then represented in the tone and style of the writing and presented in an arguably public form (Chidgey 2006; Piano 2003). This can be a difficult, anxious and traumatic process, as Cofield and Robinson (2016) note in the context of riot grrrl informed fanzines:

In so doing, an anxiety for authenticity, being ‘real’, and expressing your true self through your work and politics evolved. Grrrls were encouraged to self-examine, confess and articulate personal sometimes traumatic experiences as a way to validate the subjects’ importance and raise awareness for other girls. (Cofield & Robinson 2016, p. 1018)

The stories of R.9, R.20 and R.25 are particularly relevant to understanding how confession, expression and sharing influenced their decision to participate in zine-making. All three respondents described how their diarised and journal-like writing was critical to the creation and style of their zines (to varying degrees). However, the relationship of that style, and its personal, confessional and story-like nature, with its immediacy, everyday language, explicit descriptions and 'slapdash vigour' (Cottam 2001, p. 268) to the perceptions and reactions of the reader were especially interesting. For example, R.25 talked about the role of their stories in helping to shape and create histories that were essentially personal but became political through their telling:

I believe that the personal is political and that when we tell stories we are revealing out politics and creating our own histories. I don't feel I speak for any specific community but I identify with several. I am a feminist and a vegan and I carry my time I spent living in Utah like a heart on my sleeve. I send my zines out into the world hoping that other people identify with it. (R.25)

In some cases, where the reader was referenced, it was almost as a meta-level concept. The reader was an interloper, picking up someone's diary surreptitiously or as an observer passively archiving records of experience (Grant 2009; Zobl 2004a). In other cases, the respondents justified (sometimes in the form of an apology) their zine content with reference to the impact that sharing that content might have on the reader. R.2 privileges the importance of confession to strangers through her zine, supporting the importance of both sharing and the capability of zines to construct semi-private spaces under the control of the zine-maker:

Zines in particular are quite an immediate way of getting read, making your voice and your experiences accessible. So, there's quite a thrill from that, and from confessing secrets to strangers anonymously. (R.2)

Nine respondents described the content of their zines using words such as diary or journal. The common factor in these stories was that, although they

were using a diary form of writing or described their work as such, there was a clear sense that they felt that they were writing that diary *for* someone - an audience, a reader, or even an imagined person opening a drawer and finding it. This was a shared experience between the maker and the reader, either explicitly or tacitly acknowledged, but shared nonetheless. Many of the respondents chronicled their experiences for inherently personal reasons: to express, to heal or to understand or explore. It was also clear that sharing of personal content held risks and thrills for the zine-maker, as R.2 noted:

Initially I was motivated by the idea of trying to become less of a private. I kept a lot to myself, I wrote diaries and stories, I was often quiet. And I was working on changing all this. I started to see that the things I thought and wrote needed to be brought into the world. Zines in particular are quite an immediate way of getting read, making your voice and your experiences accessible. So there's quite a thrill from that, and from confessing secrets to strangers anonymously. (R.2)

The use of words in the interviews that suggested an imperative to share or confess such as tell (n=8), rant (n=4) and share (n=18 including shared and sharing) represented the desire to initiate conversation between zine-makers and their readers. This conversation was in some cases a dialogue, which occurred not just through the zine but also via email, online forums, or letters. In other cases, the process was essentially one-way, with the zine-writer broadcasting content in the hope that like-minded others would hear, without expecting or demanding a response. The capacity of zines to provide respondents with the platform for sharing experiences and to initiate or participate in conversations was prominent in the stories. R.33 makes the case that the conversations started by zines should be difficult or 'uneasy' and result in the readers making their own zine, which underlines the importance of sharing the experiences of making:

Ideally it'd be the ability for zine writers to have a chance to express and release their instinctual thoughts through the form of a physical DIY media that readers can collect and fully submit to. A great zine should stir

up uneasy conversation, not just controversy in order to raise awareness and thought on issues relating to their particular target audience. I think it'd be great for every time a reader disagrees with the views of the writer a new zine is born. (R.33)

An equal number of respondents used their zine content to directly address or discuss the motivations of their readers. Whilst the imagined consumption of zine content by an invisible (or at least semi-private) audience was present in some of the stories, also commonly expressed was the need to elicit some reaction from the reader to the content. The example of R.33 represented this intention to provoke a reaction from the reader, in the form of uneasy conversations or disagreements, noting; *'I think it'd be great for every time a reader disagrees with the views of the writer a new zine is born'*. This desire to elicit a response (whether positive or negative) runs counter to the notion of a diary, with its secret nature and the diarist's hope that the diary is never, ever discovered or read. R.33 makes the case for making an impact on the reader by stating:

I feel the act of writing the articles are not as important as knowing that our ideas will either resonate or strike a wrong chord with someone on the other end. (R.33)

R.2 gave one example amongst many of the critical role of the reader in shaping the content and form of their zine, and how they contributed to the ongoing practices of making. The cycle of seeking feedback and making iterative improvements described by R.2 highlights the importance of zine content by describing how their continued involvement in zine-making is shaped by dialogue with readers about the content:

In my earlier zines feedback was essential in terms of the layout and tips on how to improve, or make my zines more reader-friendly. But after finding more of my own niche in how I create my zine, any feedback now tends to focus on content. It's usually those who share similar values or philosophy on life that will respond, with a mixture of feedback and

discussion about the ideas within my zine. It's always useful for me to know which parts of my zine stood out to a reader, or if it challenged any preconceptions, what things about my life should be kept as private, or which things are worth exploring. (R.2)

Another aspect of the modality of confession and sharing that was prominent in both the literature and the interviews was the capacity of zines to support the expression of views related to the zine-maker's role in or opinions about the socio-cultural or political environment they lived in. Often denied access and representation in other media forms and with a personal identity that ran counter to the societal expectations and stereotypes, R.26 took a strident and passionate position about the relevance of zine content to a range of societal and political issues. The freedom afforded by practices such as zine-making offered R.26 the capability of living her life as she saw fit and to fight off and free herself from oppression and fear. Her story was a powerful assertion of the role of the zine to represent the emotions, the gritty reality and the intense desires of living of those who create them. It made a clear case for why, for her, making zines was essentially political:

I also think it is a radical and highly political act for women, any woman or oppressed person to tell their story and express themselves because our society is so much about silencing people and white-washing and sanitising everything into tidy shiny fake piles of crap. (R.26)

The use of zines to state or share manifesto-like content, or as a platform to develop or propagate political positions has been well explored within the literature (Chu 1997; Grimes & Wall 2014; Kempson 2015b; Moore & Roberts 2009; Schilt 2003a, 2003b; Weida 2013). From defining third-wave feminist and riot grrrl politics and culture (Schilt 2003b, 2004) to constructing and sharing a zine-makers' personal views of the world and their perspectives (Chu 1997), manifesto-style zine content represents a statement of intent, a declaration of independence, a call to action or a roar of indignation and righteous anger (Grimes & Wall 2014; Kempson 2015b; Moore & Roberts 2009; Weida 2013). For the respondents who positioned self-expression as critical in determining

whether they made zines, the capacity to think through, write and ultimately share a manifesto, whether in detailed form or in the looser form of a rant or by stating opinions or positions, was often strongly asserted. Building on her earlier responses, R.10 offered an intense and impassioned call to arms for rebellion against dominance of corporate culture:

I don't want to be censored and rejected by a publishing company because they don't think my writing is "sellable" or my art isn't "art". I don't want to only read what someone has decreed I can read, and see art that someone thinks is valuable. (R.10)

The content of zines that were consumed by the zine-maker prior to making the decision to make a zine of their own represents a slightly different angle on the importance of confession and sharing to the decision to make zines. In the case of R.12, there was a direct relationship between her lived experiences (in this case the trauma of a relationship breakup) and the content of a zine made by a friend which she connected to emotionally, as well as being inspired by. Whether it was the zine content that inspired R.12 to create her own content or simply that she recognised that she could make something similar, this story illustrated the explicit relationship between zine reader and a zine-maker centred on content and how this was critical to many respondents' decisions to make zines. It was clear in these stories that simply reading zines was not the primary experience that influenced the decision to participate in zine-making - the realisation that 'yeah I can do that and I want to do that too' (R.33) was described as more important:

*I had just moved back to New York City from a 6-month sabbatical in Philly. I'd broken off my most serious relationship to date, turned my life plan on its head, and returned to the city to reclaim my old life and also make a new one. My friend Eryn had made a little quarter-sized zine called *Scraps and Sutures* that had little bits of writing and collaged images in it, they were sort of connected and sort of not, and it was all very ethereal and emotional and anonymous-ish, and read it and loved it*

and I knew: I have to do this next. I was totally inspired. So, I made a little one kinda like it, and that's what started <zine name>. (R.12)

The final aspect of the experiential modality of confession, expression and sharing was the capacity of zine content to directly express and share the life experiences of the respondent (Hays 2017; Nussbaum 1988; Poletti 2003, 2005). Nussbaum (1988) compares the process of life writing in zines to that of diary-keeping, creating shifting versions of both personal and private self-identity. Zines represent an unique, almost auto-ethnographic, opportunity for catharsis, with zine content providing the zine-maker with the opportunity ‘...for exploration, for emotional disclosure and rawness, and for a bridging between ‘what happened’ and ‘how I felt’ (Stanley 2014, p. 153).

The decision to make zines to tell a story or shared lived experiences was often predicated on the zine’s capacity to tell the respondent’s life story in an unedited and unfiltered way. Through the process of writing and the act of sharing through distribution, some respondents argued that they participated in a public act of catharsis. Telling the story, whether written or visual, or told through any number of narrative techniques, was their central motivation for participation. R.26 told an evocative autobiographical story of their catharsis through the mirror of their experiences with the darker side of children’s books. For R.26, zines represented a way of understanding their experiences that had shaped their life from a very young age, providing both a media to share those experiences but critically as a way of representing the story by using bricolage techniques and appropriated images from children’s books:

After I decided to make the zine, I went through a phase of collecting images I thought would work with the story including ones from my childhood like "The Dark Crystal" and "Enid Blyton" Folk in the Magic Faraway Tree type stuff, and I found some poems I had written as a teenager, and then I started to type my story, which I was so scared of doing because I had never told people before about my childhood and upbringing which was characterised by a lot of physical violence, threats, psychological abuse and emotional trauma. It's a not a "fun" story to tell,

but not many children's stories are - a lot of people die, get eaten, the giant falls off the beanstalk when jack chops it, witches get pushed in ovens and Cinderella had a rough family life too. (R.26)

For R.26, whilst the telling of stories was important, and sharing of those stories implicitly equally so, the telling of *their* story was the critical influence on their decision to participate in zine-making. This was the demonstration of an autobiographical intention: the telling of their life story using a variety of narrative forms. The sharing of their life story was not always inherently serious or traumatic for the respondent. Some respondents saw their autobiographical zine content as a way of making fun of their obsessions or talking about their lives in more idiosyncratic or personal ways, with R.21 making this modality quite explicit in their interview:

Usually my zines are about my personal interests. There are autobiographical elements, there is pornography, sometimes there are philosophical attempts. By magnifying some of my subjects I try to make fun of some of my obsessions. (R.21)

Modality two – Exploring different subjects and topics within zine content

There has been no formal taxonomy of zine subjects performed in the literature, although there are many informal categories of zines used by writers to set boundaries for their studies. Some of these informal categories have enjoyed relative acceptance within the literature and have transgressed academic discipline boundaries. Categories such as perzines (Bailey & Michel 2004; Chidgey 2006; Grushka & Goodlad 2013), girl zines (Piepmeier 2009; Sinor 2003), fanzines (Sabin & Triggs 2002; Schmidt 2006; Wertham 1973) and punk zines (Bimson 2006; Grimes & Wall 2014) are distinctly broad enough in their scope to gain transdisciplinary use.

The importance of *what* the respondents were choosing to share in and through their zine content was evident throughout the interviews and only in part aligned with the broad categories in the literature. The subjects and topics of the zines

made by the respondents represented passionate social and cultural interests, sexual, gender and personal identity, political views and creative expression, as summarised in Table 8.

Zine subject/topic	Examples from the data set
Social and cultural interests	Violin/classical music (R.10) Crafting (R.27, R.33) Science-Fiction (R.18, R.29) Music (R.6, R.32, R.33) Punk (R.25, R.28) Sports (R.23)
Sexual, gender and personal identity	Queer/LGBTQ (R.2, R.9, R.12, R.14, R.17, R.26) Feminism (R.1, R.2, R.18, R.26) Gender (R.1, R.32) Relationships (R.12, R.26, R.34) Identity (R.18, R.32) Life writing/perzines (R.2, R.8, R.13, R.15, R.20, R.27, R.28, R.32) Sexuality (R.2, R.21, R.26)
Political views	Personal politics (R.4, R.25, R.26, R.28) Anarchy (R.2, R.14) Veganism (R.22, R.25) Information/Activist (R.3, R.14, R.26)
Creative expression	Visual arts (R.8, R.14, R.17) Art making (R.29, R.30) Poetry (R.5, R.12, R.16) Music making (R.1, R.6, R.31)

Table 8 Examples of the subjects and topics captured within the zine content of the respondents in the study

There was clear evidence in the interviews that whilst zine subjects and topics were personally important to the respondent, they were rarely disconnected from the experiences of sharing that content and the meaning and identity emerging from it with others. Whilst the respondents valued the opportunity to share their stories, their art and most importantly for some respondents, their unfiltered views and opinions, a significant number of respondents referenced the audience directly in their interview (n=26). These references ranged from assertions of hope that the reader would like or appreciate what they were saying about their subjects and topics of interest through to explorations of the types of reactions the zine-maker expected to get from their content. This concept was best expressed by R.9 in the context of her hopes and aspirations for how her zine content would be received by her readers:

My zines are for the most part light-hearted perzines. I am always the central character in all of my zines, and the zines reflect my thoughts, travels, dreams (literal night-time dreams, not aspirations), and adventures, often in comic-strip form. While the zines are always about me and things that I find interesting, my hope is that readers will find something with which they identify or find thought-provoking. (R.9)

The importance of the subjects and topics of their zines to the respondents was evidenced by how respondents explicitly described the urge to make and share their content. The subjects and topics that they wanted to share became something that could not be contained. The decision to make zines was not so much a choice but more an imperative for the zine-maker. Zines were something that they *had* to make to express and share what was going on in their mind. In some instances, the respondents ruled out alternative media forms such as blogs as inferior to justify their choice to make zines. There were several examples (n=8) where the respondents explicitly declared that zines were the only way they could share the type of content they were making. Some respondents asserted that zine-making in fact chose itself, especially where being exposed to zines as a reader triggered an immediate and often visceral reaction, whereby the respondent felt compelled to make zines to share and express their views and perspectives on specific subjects and topics. R.26 describes this organic and aspirational process arising from an engagement with zines. This story also pointed to the notion that content could not be explored outside of the wider context of the other zine-making processes, such as distribution and trading:

That people who read zines will make their own zines. That we will start to listen to people, and hear their stories and connect with them. That readers will become writers, and artists, and radio announcers, and dancers, and lovers, and joyful playful beings who care for each other and the planet. And we will share and trade zines and make other zines. That everyone will make and read zines!! (R.26)

The final aspect of this modality was how important the subjects and topics contained within zine content were to defining and sharing the identity of the respondents. Several respondents were unashamed of the way they defined themselves through the subjects they shared. For these respondents, these subjects were not simply things of interest, passing fancies or casual encounters. Interest in and writing about these subjects and topics defined who they were as a person, and fundamental to their decision to make zines. In some cases, this took the form of filling a perceived gap in the narratives about the subject (R.23 was inspired to make zines about professional wrestling because they couldn't find anyone else writing about them). In other cases, it was giving their own unique take on that topic by being able to have their say and staking out their own place within the field of discourse (R.9 described how zines offered her the chance to find her place as a woman and a feminist without explicitly making zines for the feminist community). This aspect of passionate and sometimes defiant commitment to the criticality of their subjects and topics was described best by R.2, who observed that the subjects and topics in her zines were constructed from her own personal gender and sexual identity:

I tend to view it more on an individual level, as simply being important to get your voice and your personal narrative out in to the world. I see that in itself as a form of political activism. However, I would also say, writing from the perspective of a queer feminist woman strongly contributes to the LGBT and feminist cause. I also see zine making as an act of defiance against capitalism and modern culture in that it is a non-profit activity, it's subversive, it allows the inner mess to be let loose instead of bound by a socially acceptable persona, (R.2)

Modality three - Diversifying zine content across different media forms

Whilst essentially a print media, the zine form represents a flexible container for sharing a wide variety of different content types. This ranges from the different types of writing styles (poetry, life writing, reviews, fiction, how-to guides, letters, commentary and stories), through to appropriated pop culture images, comics,

art, craft constructions such as stitching and felting as well as more ephemeral items including music, film or other visual arts (Bayerl 2000; Duncombe 1997; Gardner 2009; Gisonny & Freedman 2006; Gunderloy & Janice 1992; Wooten 2002).

There was a close alignment between the artistic practices of some respondents and their decision to make zines as a way of sharing or publishing their art. For many the respondents (n=14), their DIY arts practice (or parts thereof) coalesced and informed their zine-making, with either arts practices being their gateway into making zines or zines being the participation pathway into other forms of DIY making. R.14's work was representative of this experience:

I blog, podcast, and do the odd visual arts or cross-platform collaboration... they are not really separate categories in my mind. I recently ran a zine workshop for my writer's centre and a zine fair at an art gallery. Last year I made small weird fake invitations, which were kind of like zines as part of an avant-garde dance collaboration. It all makes sense as part of a continuum of creative interest. (R.14)

The example of R.28 demonstrated how the practices of DIY making informed the respondent's personal understanding of the aesthetics of zine content and the attitudes inherent in zine-making:

I participate in punk rock culture, hip-hop to some degree, DIY filmmaking, and in various ways, I also am active in the graffiti/street art scene. A lot of times there is overlap between these groups, but not always. I've tried making graffiti zines, and not found them to do so well. Different markets, a lot of times. But all those things are vital parts of an overall underground, non-mainstream movement (R.28)

The convergence of content in various forms of DIY making represented an almost portfolio-like approach to the decision to make zines for several respondents. Zines were a part of a toolkit of means of expressions, often aligned with strongly held political or social beliefs. Zines were just one outlet

through which these views could be expressed and shared. R.26 aligned both their media-making and their active participation in events and practices such as protest, swapping and volunteering to their decision to participate in zine-making, with each act of participation informing the next in terms of content, message, and potential audience:

I am active in the anarchist/ activist left community and I see my zine-making as one form of radical art and creativity amongst a spectrum I have engaged in; like street art, "reclaim the streets" events, organising "really free markets" and clothes swaps, I do Food Not bombs on a weekly basis and have done so at big actions like at Baxter Detention Centre and the Peace Convergence in Yeppoon, I also create radio shows on community radio 3cr and formerly Triple zed in Brisbane which are activist radio that gives a medium to dissenting and alternative views...so I would write about and include these events and organisations in my zines, and give away my zines at these events or have tables at Anarchist fairs, conferences etc. (R.26)

Whilst these different forms of expression and practice were prominent in the interviews, at the heart of what defined zine content as a decision-making factor for the significant majority of respondents (n=24) was writing as a practice. Zine writing was described by the respondents in often complex, contradictory and emotional terms. Writing was a necessary and essential act for many respondents. Writing enabled them to construct and share their process of finding meaning (*'It's so lovely to have that common ground and get the chance to speak to people who can understand how I'm feeling (R.1)*). Writing was the vehicle through which they found, asserted and shared their identity (*'I am a writer. I do spoken word/poetry... I dabble in art (dabble being the operative word)... make noise tapes/cdrs... I guess they are all part of the process. (R.18)*).

The writing process and the capacity for sharing that writing represented the starting point for choosing to make zines. Most of the respondents who used written content within their zines were already writing before they chose to

participate (n=16). Both R.10 and R.24 chose to make zines that included their own writing, but for vastly different reasons. For R.24, making zines was a compromise between his more commercial and career-oriented styles of writing and his creative style which he infers would be compromised if he 'just' wrote as a journalist. R.10 was resisting the dominant writing forms that were pervasive in her area of interest by using visceral and emotive terms like 'sickened' to describe her reactions to the writing of others. In both instances, subject and writing style were actively described with the capabilities of zines to effect control over what and how was written stridently described:

I was frustrated on the lack of writing for viola players and also was also completely bored/sickened with mainstream music writing, which never really engaged or spoke to me....There was a lucky confluence of influences and experiences which made me start the zine: becoming being a musician again after a long gap and all the insecurities that brings; working in a library stuffed to the gills with 20th century avant-garde music and books about music; plus developing more confidence and a more individualistic voice for myself in my writing (I started reviewing films online around this time too). (R.10)

The importance of writing in relation to zine content is prominent and explored extensively in the literature, especially in the discipline fields of literature and gender studies. Stockburger (2015) aligns zine writing with the broader handmade aesthetics of zine-making, noting that writing becomes in effect a handmade textual artefact, that challenges the efficacy of textual practices such as editing, polishing and refining, privileging the relatively messy nature of zine writing. Wurth, Espi and van den Ven (2013) make a similar point by arguing that zine writing uses a '...verbal-visual textuality to pronounce (zines) specific materiality'. The use of various modes of content making intersects with the methodologies of form and construction. The cut and paste aesthetic, the use of images, cut-up words and various forms of typed and handwritten writing forms create embodied texts that are '...impossible to express in words alone.' (Wurth, Espi & van de Ven 2013, pp. 105-6). The liminality between zine

content and the form/construction of a zine is described by R.33 in terms of the cohesion that it brings to their zine-making:

I feel the visual aspect of the zine counts for 50% of the reason why we create zines in the first place. We're not into "plain-text-academia-style" editions that contain black font and white spaces with the occasional italic emphasis - however we're also into context and cohesion so I guess what I'm trying to say is that the visuals are never just for the visual sake, they do reinforce or even contrast the text. (R.33)

Another aspect of this modality emerged in the instances where the respondents described their zine content in terms of how it was received by an invisible and imagined audience (DeVoss, Cushman & Grabill 2005; Litt & Hargittai 2016). Partially aligned to the way some of the respondents described their arts and DIY making practices more generally, one of the critical reasons given for participation in zine-making was to find an audience and vehicle for their arts or media-making. Whilst there were examples where this ambition was explicitly described by respondents, there were others where the audience became almost an assumed conceit: the audience was assumed to exist, but how they interpreted, consumed or shared the content was not explicitly understood. As discussed earlier, there were examples where the respondent hoped that their zine would be treated as if it were a diary or a letter, found by accident. The plausible invisibility of the reader (plausible because often the reader and zine-maker will never communicate or meet) made the sharing of difficult, embarrassing or traumatic subjects easier. It created semi-private spaces where intimate and personal secrets and experiences could be shared with a limited number of strangers (or a limited circle of friends and family). They became an *imagined force* undertaking *imagined acts*, with assumedly real experiences shared through content:

Well, at least quite personal, in the way that you can have with friends you share secrets with. This is, though, coming from my perspective as an often quite frank anecdotal non-fiction-zine maker. (R.33)

I imagine the kind of person that would have responded may have had the potential to be a very cool friend. (R.33)

The final aspect of this modality emerged from the experiences of reading the writing and absorbing the content shared by other zine-makers, and the critical importance of that experience in deciding to participate. Whilst writing, designing and sharing their own content was a demonstrable example of participation, the motivation and inspiration that emerged from the writing and content of others was prominent in the interviews. A significant number of respondents (n=17) mentioned the influence of consuming specific types of writing and content from other zine-makers in determining their decision to participate in zine-making. Part catalyst, part inspiration, part instructional guide, other people's zines were described as the seed the gestated into participation. R.34 made this case quite explicitly by noting how reading the zines of others made her feel '*...the earth shake under my feet! I felt so energised by reading them.*' R.20 and R.31 told similar stories of drawing inspiration from reading the zines of others, opening up worlds they never knew existed or that they desired to be part of, with R.20 likening the writing of zine-makers to the works of their favourite beat poets or novelists, noting that '*...reading these guys is like reading Bukowski or Kerouac. I'm always inspired to go out and do my own thing after reading their stuff.*'

Concluding content

The experiences arising from participating in the process of making zine content significantly influenced the participation decision for many of the respondents. How they chose to set out their thoughts, ideas and opinions within (and sometimes challenging) the framework of a zine emerged as a key determinant for their decision to make zines. But what was more significant perhaps was that many of these creative decisions were explicitly or tacitly informed by the act of sharing. Content was not generated or made in isolation, but was part of a wider, interpersonal process of writing for, or having the content consumed by, an audience. And most critically, content was made and shared for an audience that they believed they had some control over, either in terms of who

they shared it with or the extent or degree to which their work was circulated through controlling the number of copies produced.

Understanding why the respondents chose zines as a vehicle for their content and why their decision to make zines shaped the style, subject or emotional or political intent of their content was closely related to how the respondents wanted to share that content. Whilst there were examples in the data set where this was explained in the frame of constructing a reader-writer relationship or because of the desire to share, the majority of responses presented a subtler, less explicit rationale. These respondents defined and assumed certain behaviour traits that an (in)visible audience might exhibit. This was occasionally based on real experiences, but in the main was how they imagined or hoped the reader would respond to their content.

5.3.6 Describing the zine-making participation processes - Distribution

The process of distributing zines would on the surface appear to be both a pragmatic function of making print media and strongly rooted in notions of sharing. Using those assertions as a basis, the process of distribution can be described in almost instrumental terms - making the zine available to people who chose to buy or consume it or finding ways to subvert the mainstream media system to ensure that the zines and their content get into the hands of the 'right' people. However, historically zines have not been distributed via mainstream avenues of print distribution, but rather through more informal, hand-to-hand methods, such as being handed out at gigs and events or to friends, resulting in a feeling of 'engagement' with the reader (Chidgey 2009; Leonard 1998). More recently, there has been significant growth in other methods of zine distribution, including at zine fairs which act as both community events and as storefronts for makers (Maynard 2016). In addition there has been a rapid growth of online distribution platforms such as the craft selling site Etsy (Weida 2012), primarily online specialist zine distributors (Nijsten 2016) and the making available of downloadable PDFs (Brouwer & Licona 2016). Whilst each of these modes have an essentially instrumental aspect in that they deliver copies of zines to the consumer, they also bring experiential and

attitudinal value to the process of distributing a zine, imbuing distribution of collective, community, resistance and subversion characteristics.

The data analysis identified two modalities aligned to zine distribution that emerged in part from the tradition that informs the intent, actions and principles of zine distribution in the digital age. The first modality explored how zine distribution was characterised by relatively small circulations and the control the zine-maker has over distribution supported the construction of controlled spaces for zine-makers to share (*creating semi-private spaces through distribution*). The second modality explored the importance of the zine-making community as constructed through the ways in which zines are distributed in the digital age, both in terms of the global potentialities and the more local market style of distribution through zine distros and zine fairs (*building communities and connections through distribution*).

Modality	Descriptors from the data set	Exemplar from the data set
Creating semi-private spaces through distribution	Limited or small circulation, control, family, friends, community, audience, underground, aesthetics.	<i>I like the intimacy of a zine, a low circulation and a somehow personal content. Making a zine is something a bit underground and non-commercial. Maker and reader knowing each other is part of the charm of a zine I think. (R.21)</i>
Building communities and connections through distribution	Zine fairs, distros, hand-to-hand, workshops, free, shops, stores, Sticky Institute.	<i>When I went to the TINA zine fair a few years ago was my first experience in buying a zine. It was a pretty buzzing atmosphere with a lot of people around. They had music in the corner of this car park and interesting things to see and do with every table. It was just a relaxed atmosphere with people who enjoyed reading and this kind of quirky literature, if you want to call it that. I just simply was drawn to it and grew to love being in stores and other zine fairs (R.15)</i>

Table 9 Modalities of distribution in zine-making

Modality one - Creating semi-private spaces through distribution

I touched earlier on the importance of how zine-makers construct semi-private spaces through their participation in zine-making. For some respondents, the semi-private readership of their zine (or at least the conceit of it) represented

safe spaces for the expression and sharing of difficult, embarrassing, traumatic or highly personal stories. This was a complex notion to interrogate, as what constituted a semi-private or semi-public space was located within highly personal definitions of exposure, risk, public and private identity and the importance of sharing.

For some respondents, the process of distribution explicitly facilitated the engagement with their own semi-private spaces by providing ways in which zines could reach the reader without the respondent ever meeting or seeing them. R.22 offered an almost despairing perspective on this aspect of distribution, where there appeared to be a disconnect between the process of distribution and the reception of the zine by the audience. What was interesting in the story of R.22 was that despite their apparent rejection by the community, they continued to make and distribute their zine:

Sadly, I almost feel that most of my communication, the heart, blood and soul I pour into my zines, especially my philosophical/political/religious zines, is pretty much a one-way street. There doesn't seem to be a lot of "communication", at least two-way, in what I do. Maybe readers just think my ideas are stupid, or wrong, or irrelevant, or boring...or just don't know what to think about them. I'm very disappointed that most, if not all, communicators/discussants in my communities---animal-rights, Theravada Buddhism, veganism and others---have absolutely no interest in print & paper. (R.22)

The way a zine is distributed also shaped the relationships between the reader and the zine-maker. The importance of control of circulation was demonstrated by how the number of copies produced limited the quantum of people who could read the zine, but did not determine who read it. R.24 describes the critical importance of control to their decision to make zines, which was partially a construct of what they chose to share and an ongoing dialogue with the reader to determine the same:

Reader feedback rarely figures into the zine because (1) I don't get much feedback from readers and (2) I don't care to ask. My experience working in actual magazines has led me not know too much about who reads the magazine. Not because I dislike them (at the very least I am indifferent) but because I use zines to convey a certain point of view rather than to appeal to one as Vice and other magazines are wont to do. I make exceptions though if it pertains to the improvement of my writing abilities which I will never be without. (R.24)

Some respondents identified distribution as a key component of what it meant to be a zine-maker. This was essentially an attitudinal assertion, whereby the experiences of zine distribution afforded the opportunity to challenge and usurp the dominant paradigms of media accessibility and access. Distribution was critical to how they gained access to communities, identified members of networks and most crucially perhaps, was a badge of membership that marked the respondent as a maker, not just a reader. Having someone buy or consume the zine was seen as the point at which the 'dream became a reality' (from simply needing to do it to the more concrete experience of *actually* doing it). It was the process of distribution that made what could have been a project confined to the bedroom, real:

I first saw a zine shelf at 78 Records in Perth, WA. I thought it was amazing that next to "real" publications like Rolling Stone and Mojo there were handmade zines by people from Perth and around the world. I guess I thought it was great to read peoples stories that hadn't "made it" yet, so I was encouraged to make zines because I felt like if they could do it, I could too. I guess I also felt like if I was interested in other ordinary people's stories, maybe they'd be interested in mine too. (R.23)

The act of distribution and what it *meant* to the respondent in terms of emancipation, control and ownership was far more important than how it was enacted. Starting with the relatively standard description of distribution, R.25 explained the personal disconnects that arose from sharing zines with others who did not understand the content contained within:

It took me a good two years or so to put out the first one. I didn't know about distros, I just wanted to trade zines to get more zines and pen pals. It was a way of escaping from the isolated place that I lived. I also gave them away at shows to and to friends who didn't really know what to do with them. (R.25)

Another aspect of the importance of constructing semi-private spaces through distribution was described by the respondents who gave away their zines for free (n=9). This form of distribution manifested itself in three different ways. The first was the sharing of the zine amongst a circle of friends and family, with the respondent controlling to a great degree who consumed the zine and its content (R.8, R.17 and R.30). The second method was handing the zine out at events, zine fairs or in shops to readers, ensuring some visual connection between the maker and the reader (R.26, R.31 and R.34). The third method of distribution saw the zine being shared randomly, with copies being left in shops, on public transport and handed out in the street (R.20, R.30 and R.33), supporting the opportunity for their zines to be found or discovered randomly. In the last two modes of free zine distribution, the semi-private space was formed though engaging and creating an invisible audience for the zine (Close 2011), the members of which were only partially known, recognised or remembered by the respondent. R.28 describes the invisible reader in the context of being a fan, someone who follows the zine-maker like a listener follows a band, connected but at a distance, and through that fandom finds out where the zine is distributed:

I like it when the zine-maker knows what they want to make, and they do it. Whatever their voice is, they shout with it. They push their own limits, and are continuously productive. The reader, then, is loving and supportive, and finds what voice they like to hear, and become die-hard fans of that zine. They salivate in anticipation of a new zine by their favourite author. (R.28)

An alternate, though complementary, perspective was offered by R.1 who argued for a different type of relationship between reader and maker. They asserted the importance of distribution (in the form of trading) in developing an alternate form of semi-private space, one in which the relationship between reader and maker veered from mentor to colleague and away from that of artist/fan or artist/critic. In this they were not alone. Seven respondents made explicit cases that the reader was an equal in the process and the role of distribution was simply to aggregate and connect with those equals:

I suppose I like it when my readers are honest and upfront, keeping open lines of communication between us, writing letters, trading zines and artwork. I originally thought I'd like to have my readers regard me with a certain air of mystery, as music fans regard their favourite musicians, but that's not really in-keeping with the DIY zine ethos... I later realised that it would feel artificial and arrogant, so I'm glad it hasn't turned out that I have "fans" as such. We're all artists in the zine community, there is no hierarchy. Zine makers and readers are more like fellow art-lovers than artist and critic. (R.1)

Modality two - Building communities and connections through distribution

The second modality of distribution was the experiences that arose from how the process of distribution supported the formation of communities, networks and organisations.

Whilst there were examples where there was an explicit relationship between zine distribution and the capacity of the zine-maker to shape and construct their own communities, it was the importance of third parties in distribution that was more prevalent in the interviews. The role of third parties in zine distribution is important in that distributors undertake both the aggregation and allocation roles that are present in a traditional distribution channel (Kotler 2001). However, unlike these traditional channels, zine distributors offer additional value-added services include the provision of reviews/critique, thematic

collection, development and the unearthing and support of unique points of retail sales (Chidgey 2014b; Gamboa 2004; Gisonny & Freedman 2006; Hubbard 2005). Reagles (2008) suggests that the advent of the distro has formalised some of the distribution process and has improved the reach of zines within the community. More recently, many zine-makers have begun to find ways to distribute their own zines online using platforms such as Etsy (n=9 in the interviews) and through the formation of digital zine communities using Tumblr sites and forums like wemakezines where they can promote their zine and connect with other zine-makers (n=6). Online methods of distribution have increasingly taken the place of music/record stores and/or bookshops as the preferred way to distribute zines (Weida 2013).

Whilst there was significant discussion with respondents about the ways in which they used distros and online platforms in the interviews, there was at best a glancing importance placed on these methods of distribution to the decision to participate in zine-making. There was one notable exception to this and that was the role of zine fairs and events. Zine fairs are public events where zine-makers can swap and sell their zines (along with other creative outputs such as craft and music) to other zine-makers and the public. Zine fairs often have workshops on zine-making, provide access to the materials and equipment that support zine-making and support the formation of networks of zine-makers (Berry 2010; Poletti 2003).

The positive role of zine fairs in shaping their participation in zine-making was discussed by fifteen respondents. Several respondents described zine fairs as a way of priming their participation, by building skills and experiences, talking with and learning from other zine-makers and contributing to the emancipatory and accessible ways zines are made. R.8 utilised multiple modes of distribution for her zines, not privileging a specific mode but seeing them as an integrated, connected method of distributing her zine. What was critical about her response (along with several similar stories told by other respondents) was that distribution was part of the way she used zines and creative thinking to solve specific creative or personal problems:

I have an Etsy shop, and I'm involved in the organization of a large indie craft fair. I do think all of these forms of creativity are connected, and that using different media to solve creative problems can help you to be a better zine-writer. Creative thinking, for me, usually results in more creative thinking. (R.8)

R.13 extended this notion further by making explicit reference to the skills they acquired at a zine fair. What was critical in this story was how R.13 aligned making with the importance of having something to say. This is another example of the liminality that emerged between the four zine-making participation processes, where the enacting of each process (and the requisite descriptions) was rarely discrete:

I'd been to a few zine fairs. At one of the smaller ones (at the Hazelhurst gallery in the Sutherland Shire) I attended a zine making workshop. Going to the workshop made me realise zines can be as lofi and DIY as you want so there's no reason not to make them yourself as long as you can think of something you want to write about/make art about. (R.13)

Zine fairs also were the catalyst for respondents to become part of the community of zine-makers. The importance of being a member of this community was critical for many respondents (n=12), as well as being prominent in literature (see e.g. Honma 2016; Piepmeier 2008; Zobl 2004b). The specific experiences of attending and sometimes organising zine fairs, and experiencing how these can facilitate community development and formation influenced respondents' decisions to participate in zine-making. R.15 and R.8 mentioned this influence, with a positive experience described by R.15, matched with a negative one for R.8, for whom the zine fairs they attended were marked by the presence of impenetrable cliques of zine-makers that they perceived as keeping them on the outside of the zine community:

When I went to the TINA zine fair a few years ago was my first experience in buying a zine. It was a pretty buzzing atmosphere with a lot of people around. They had music in the corner of this car park and

interesting things to see and do with every table. It was just a relaxed atmosphere with people who enjoyed reading and this kind of quirky literature, if you want to call it that. I just simply was drawn to it and grew to love being in stores and other zine fairs. (R.15)

I haven't found the zine community to be as warm and accepting as I thought they might be. Especially as someone who has re-entered the scene after an 18-year absence. I mistakenly thought that because I shared a common hobby/interest with others, and because I was interested in the zines that they made regardless of genre, that they would be interested in the zines I make. This clearly is not the case. At least, not in my experience. There are a lot of zinester cliques, and while I've found a few individuals that share my interests and values, I feel like an outsider, on the fringe, of the "zine community". (R.8)

5.3.7 Describing the zine-making participation processes- Community and Readers

The processes involved in identifying, engaging, forming and nurturing a community and/or readers of a zine represented interactions and experiences for the zine-maker that were rife with personal and inter-personal tensions and expectations. How a community is defined and understood can be a contested, nuanced and often discipline-specific process. Within the data set the word community (or communities) (n=100) was used frequently by respondents in relation to other zine-makers and the relationships they had with their readers, whilst related words such as 'movement' (n=23) and 'membership' (n=5), 'reader' and 'readership' (n=71) and 'audience' (n=20) were also prominent.

The respondents use of the word community held multiple meanings, often within the same interview ranging widely from concepts of membership, alliance, and aspirations for readership. However, the assumption in the literature that community represents a sense of belonging and being a part of something, both for the maker and for their readers, generally held true. One of the challenges of the data analysis was to understand and categorise these

different contextual uses of the term community which raised several critical questions interrogated through the summative content analysis;

- Did the respondents use community to describe something that they were already a part of or where their zine-making was part of the way they participated?
- Was community of the respondent's own making - a group of readers with a common interest that the zine-maker wanted to form around them?
- Was the community an already existing group that the respondent aspired to be a part of, and zine-making was their way of engaging with or joining that community?

Equally challenging was identifying the makeup of the community, as how it was described in the responses was not always consistent. Was it comprised of other zine-makers, people sharing a common interest or readers? As with the first three zine-making participation processes, the application of the framework of modality to the data through the summative content analysis sharpened the way in which the experiences of engaging with the self-defined concept of community influenced participation. *Table 10* summarises the three modalities that emerged from the process of forming and engaging with community or readership. The first modality (*the community of readers and makers*) explained how the relationship between readers and zine-makers (both actual and desired) was critical to the zine-making process. The second modality (*making zines to participate in a community*) emerged in the cases where zine-making represented the entry point to joining or being part of a community. The final modality was present in cases where zine-making was part of a wider experience of informing, educating, entertaining or empowering a community or readership (*making zines to inform a community*).

Modality	Descriptors from the data set	Exemplar from the data set
The community of readers and makers	Reader, audience, consumer, receiver, reading, market, purchase, listener/receiver, confidant, friend, peer	<i>My ideal would be that there is no difference or dividing line between zine makers and zine readers. I would like there to be more of both readers and makers (whatever their relationship to each other. I think there is danger in the zine community becoming stagnant, self-serving and inward looking. (R.5)</i>
Making zines to participate in a community	Member, communities, groups, collective, sharing, part, one, initiate, start, create, generate	<i>I talk to a couple of other zine makers most days on Twitter or blogs. Actually I started talking to them long before I knew they made zines, it just turns out that a lot of artists in my network also make zines. I enjoy sharing ideas with other zine makers and artists and seeing what they are up to so I would say it is fairly important to me to be part of the wider community. (R.30)</i>
Making zines to inform a community	Inform, educate, teach, learn, enthuse, activate, inspire	<i>I most definitely think that zine making practice represents and contributes to the communications and stories of my specific community. The Rolling Stone magazine won't cover anything besides what's already popular in media and culture, while zines work towards exposing and informing readers of what's happening directly around them. (R.6)</i>

Table 10 Modalities of community/readers in zine-making

Modality one - The community of readers and makers

The influence of the experiences of engaging with, being part of or forming a relationship between readers and makers was present in a significant majority of the interviews. Two-thirds of the respondents (n=23) had read zines before they chose to make them. In many of these instances, it was the experience of reading zines that triggered the impulse or the intention to make zines, or to be part of the community that made them. R.5 described how her reading behaviours eventually led to the decision to make zines, starting the process of making by acquiring skills and then diving straight into the making her first zine:

I remember coming across Sticky's festival for the photocopier 2010 through the online newsletter ThreeThousand and it intrigued me as to what it was. I didn't end up going but I followed up my intrigue by looking

up sticky and eventually going to the store. At first, I was happy reading zines and learning about them but as I learned more about them I decided I wanted to make one. So I researched what making one entailed and grasped the concept of a basic zine. From there I decided what to put in it; my drawings and I thought I would tell a story of my day to day life. That's basically it. I decided to make one because it fit what I kinda wanted to do with my creativity. It was a very happy day to discover something I could put both my writing and drawings into! SO that's what made me make my first zine 😊. (R.5)

The transition between being a reader and maker of zines was rarely linear. At one end of the scale were the respondents who were exposed to zines through a variety of mechanisms (accident, serendipity, friends, education, fandom) and decided that it was something they *could* do, something they *must* or *needed* to do. Respondents who described this mode of transition from reading to making rarely engaged in direct communications with the zine-maker/s concerned, preferring to read zines at arm's length within the semi-private spaces of readership. The zine-maker was tangential to the importance of the zine itself or the realisation of how easy it might be to make one. One of the most prominent examples of this relationship in the interviews was the importance placed on the zine *Factsheet Five*, an anthology/review zine distributed from 1982 through to 1988 and produced by zine-maker Mike Gunderloy. R.20 was strongly inspired by *Factsheet Five* as it represented a portal into not just zines and zine-making, but into attitudes and behaviours of the wider DIY movement:

I don't remember the first zine I read, but it would have been something I found through Factsheet 5. That magazine opened me up to the whole world of the underground press and that DIY mind-set... Seeing zines was so exciting, because it was proof that other people were doing the same thing as me. I also remember being struck by the variety in style and composition of some of the earliest zines I read. (R.20)

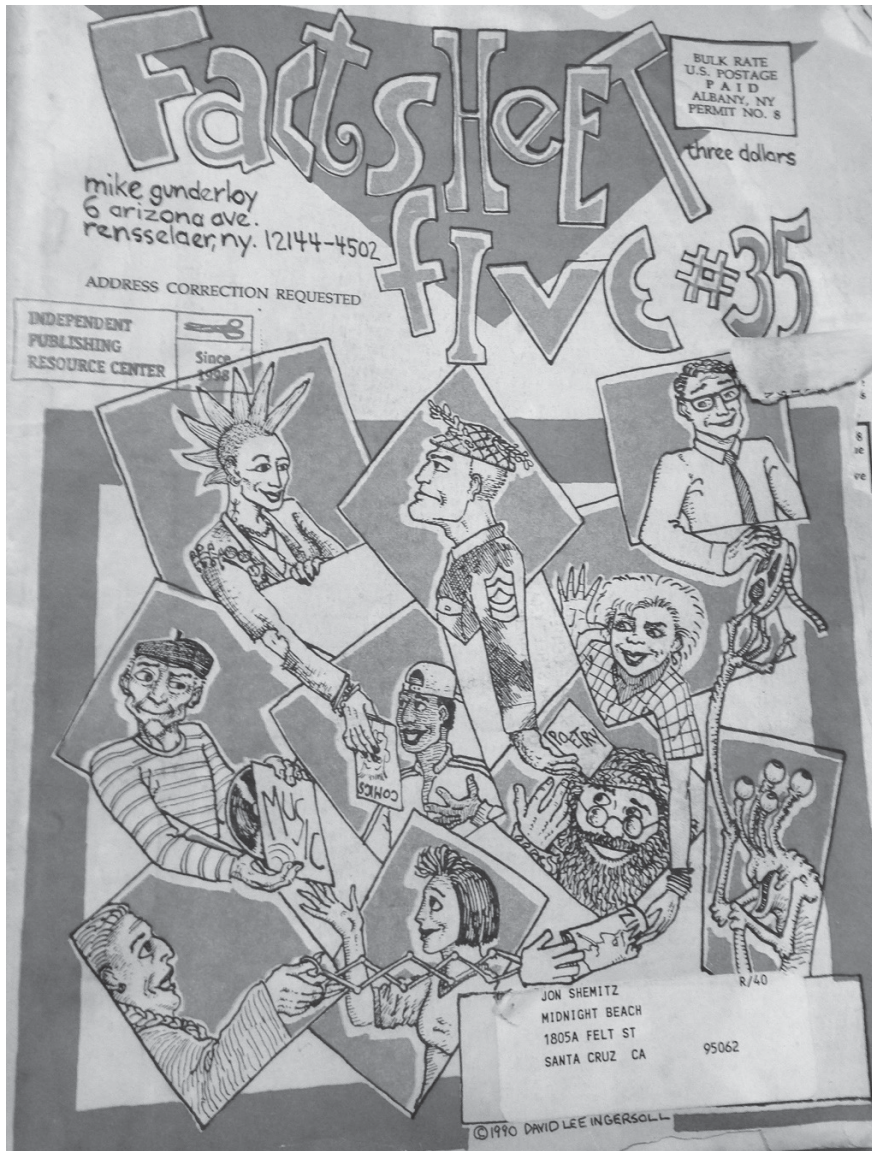


Illustration 8 Factsheet five Issue #35 (1990), photo by Destination DIY (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0).

At the other end of this modality was the role of the zine community or readership in supporting the skills development of the nascent zine-maker. Zines and zine-makers were part of a learning community, with skills passed on explicitly and tacitly. Some respondents (n=7) described this community in terms that alluded to the atelier model of learning, where the respondent learnt directly from people they admired or were inspired by. This learning was not always undertaken in person, with four respondents referencing the work of prominent zine-maker Alex Wreck and her how-to guide for zine-making *Stolen Sharpie Revolution*. Other respondents (n=5) explicitly noted that they did not learn from community members but learnt the required skills set by consuming zines as a reader:

I met a lovely lady called Lizzy on my theology course in my first few weeks of living in Nottingham. After we got to know each other and becoming heavily involved with the university's Women's Network together, we started talking about how it was such a shame that the Women's Network magazine (Artemis) was no longer being printed. She then told me all about zines, the underground zine community, and how we should transform the Women's Network magazine into something big and fun and amazing, like the many zines she loved to read. Turned out that Lizzy was the lady that ran Marching Stars distro (www.marchingstars.co.uk). So, after borrowing a huge pile of zines from her distro stock (including loads of back issues of Telegram Ma'am, Culture Slut, Doris, Not Sorry, and Brainscan), I became totally inspired to start creating my own zines. And so I did! (R.1)

There were several respondents (n=6) who linked their decision to make zines to a higher order motivation of supporting others to participate by example and action, and encouraging them through mentorship, interaction or education. The interactions that fuelled the support of others to make zines were not always positive. The capacity of zine-makers to be pragmatic, tough and sometimes judgmental in the ways they interacted with emerging zine-makers was present in a small number of stories. These cases demonstrated the sometimes unequal status of members within certain zine communities and a similar inequity between the zine-maker and the reader:

A girl sent me a zine that was obviously slapped together with a note reading "I just threw this together so I would have something to trade" it made me really angry that I would spend months working on a zine and this person just threw some thing together to get an unequal trade. So, I wrote her to let her know what I thought and apparently, she was really angry at me about it. Funny thing, about 5 years later she wrote to me to say that she was volunteering at a zine library and that I had taught her a very valuable lesson years ago and that it took her a long time to understand it. (R.25)

Alternately, there were respondents who described intimate, welcoming and collegiate experiences arising from being invited into the community. The respondents in these cases described these experiences as encouraging and supportive ones that engaged makers to keep zine-making alive. Both R.5 and R.10 made impassioned arguments supporting the blurring of the distinction between reader and maker to maintain the healthy state of zine-making:

All zine readers should be zine makers. Also, we should send each other more creative challenges and feed off each other's interests and experiments. It is a creative community I seek in zines, rather than a writer-reader relationship. (R.10)

My ideal would be that there is no difference or dividing line between zine makers and zine readers. I would like there to be more of both readers and makers (whatever their relationship to each other. I think there is danger in the zine community becoming stagnant, self-serving and inward looking (R.5)

One of the more problematic aspects of this modality was the clear demonstration of the inherent tension between the decisions to make what is essentially a self-published artefact with the desire to engage actively with and make content for the reader. There were some respondents (n=4) who noted that they wrote for their audience, amending and adapting their content based on the feedback they gained from them (or that they imagined they would gain). This represented a more traditional approach to publishing where writing for the audience is part of the way writers grow and sustain their circulation, with R.1 reflecting:

I also get a lot of letters from readers who tell me what they liked and didn't like in my zines. Although criticism can be difficult to deal with, I do think it's really useful to identify where my zine-making can improve, and make an effort to improve with each issue. (R.1)

These tensions were not always explicit in the decision to make zines. There were examples of where the tensions resulted in critical self-reflection by the respondents, arguing whether they trusted themselves not to compromise what they have chosen to share with the readers, such as the experience of R.10:

I try very hard not to let a perceived idea of 'audience' or readership dictate what I write about and how I write it. I try to trust my judgement and voice, and write what I want to write and to hell with the reader! Whilst I do try to write for like-minded souls, I never decide to not print an article because it's 'not right for my audience', for example. (This is probably the key difference between zine writing and any other kind of writing, in my opinion. Any other kind of writing requires you to write for your audience and not for yourself). (R.10)

Other respondents (n=8) argued that they had a lack of interest in feedback or the opinions of their readers. The reader was not an active or even real concept for some respondents. They were more of an abstract notion, one that they knew existed because they consumed or read their zine, but knowing anything more about them or even offering them a way to contact the zine-maker was described as unnecessary. The construction of semi-private spaces for the zine-maker in these instances was facilitated through the choice to know nothing about the person who picked up their zine. This resonated strongly with the idea of the invisible audience discussed in the previous section. Whilst it may have manifested itself as responses describing a sense of not caring about what the reader thought of their zine, these respondents were also the ones that said they did not provide a mechanism by which the reader could contact them, or if they did (such as the case of R.24 cited earlier) they used it for critical advice on enhancing the skills they wanted to develop.

Modality two – Making zines to participate in a community

Distinct from the community of readers, the experiences arising from making zines to inform or form communities represented a different modality in the data. Rooted strongly in the traditions and culture of some communities, zine-making

can effect both instrumental actions (such as communication) and more tacit actions such as defining and asserting attitudes and behaviours. Spencer (2005) argues there is significant crossover between the experiences of forming communities and the community of readers and makers that form within that community, noting that '...zines have been successful in forming and informing communities... due to the unity of distribution, the interactive feedback between creator and reader and the gradual transition of reader to creator themselves' (Spencer 2005, p. 27). Zine-makers can use the process of zine-making to commune with and form communities of people who share their feelings of isolation thereby alleviating it (however permanently or temporarily) (Harris 2003; Schilt 2003a).

The sense that zine-making could alleviate loneliness and isolation through engaging with or building communities was a critical influence on some respondents. Central to these stories was the sense of deliberateness and knowledge arising from the respondent's awareness of the existence of these communities (however well or poorly defined). They were also aware of how zines facilitated access or membership to these communities, whether it was the thing you needed to do to become part of the community or that zine-making was a fundamental demonstration of the behaviours inherent in that community, such as R.14 who wanted to become one of the 'cool kids':

The first zines I did were basically made so I could feel like a part of a punk community, a way to talk about political ideas, and part of my efforts to become one of the cool kids. Now I make them to give breath to new stories and play with ideas which aren't serious enough for my "serious" writing practice. My motivations are more hedonistic now than aspirational. (R.14)

R.8 demonstrated her understanding of the interconnectedness between community and zine-making practices by adjusting her content and style to appeal to and celebrate the diverse, broad audience she writes for. The story of R.8 (amongst many others) represented another critical point at which the liminality between the processes of making was clearly demonstrated in the

responses. In a single paragraph, R.8 referenced the distribution processes of her zine, along with its content, descriptions of the audience of readers she engaged with, and what influenced her decision to participate in zine-making:

One of my current zine titles is devoted to celebrating the community I live in, and as a result it is also a zine education/outreach tool for where I live. So, my motivation for that title has shifted a bit towards representing my own community, as well as the zine community, in a very positive and non-threatening way. This particular zine has a diverse audience, and is enjoyed by middle-schoolers as well as their grandparents. As a result, I am much more careful with the content and tone of this zine than I am with my other zine works. (R.8)

The more experienced respondents in the study described the changing criticality of engaging with the community. Several noted that making zines for the community played an important, though not necessarily essential, role in their decision to make zines. Other respondents described how their motivations changed over time, from being very aware of the importance of the community to being less concerned about the reactions or impact their zine would have on that community. There was a clear delineation in this specific modality between the more and less experienced zine-makers. R.8 challenged this general pattern by arguing that she became more connected with her community as her zine-making practices evolved, through educating them, sharing the joys and satisfaction that comes from zine-making with younger people in her community, and generally being an advocate for zine-making.

A number of respondents (n=7) described their active search for a community or the desire to form one, even though the membership of this community was often unknown or hazily understood (as R.10 noted it was like '*being a voyeur in a secret society*'). R.14 described how the need to make zines facilitated her desire to break out of her boring Sydney suburban existence and find the cool people who listened to music and talked about politics. She wanted to become part of this cooler, more interesting community:

Probably saw punk fanzines in Red Eye while I was failing to attend school in Sydney. I thought they were cool. I thought that people who made zines were probably the cool people with their fingers on the pulse of interesting music and politics that I wanted to be hanging out with, instead of the boring idiots I was forced to hang out with all day in a suburban high school. I wanted to find these zine makers and learn how to become one of them. (R.14)

Aligned with the broader emancipatory and democratic possibilities of form and content, some respondents emphasised the ease of finding and joining a community through zine-making. At one end, there was an altruistic assertion that by choosing to make zines they were engaging in and perhaps demonstrating that there was a larger world of connected people out 'there' (n=5). It was their intention to create a place where they and their community could share, talk and express themselves freely (n=3), which in some cases manifested itself as the exertion of some form of ownership or proprietorial interest ('my community' n=3). R.15 defined their sense of 'ownership' over the community in clearly personal terms, describing how it was initially formed and then organically spread:

By community I'm referring to the people I've interacted with, that network that's concentrated in my home town but spreads in dribs & drabs across the country & a few spots overseas. (R.15)

Some respondents rejected the definition of "community" as welcoming and supportive (n=6). In these cases, the respondents felt they were making their zine for a community of one. R.14 made the case that despite making zines for her own purposes, she had perhaps unwittingly become part of a community, by default:

I increasingly feel that I speak only for myself, and that zines have been a fantastic way for me to pare back all the other stuff and find my own voice. But I do feel that making zines makes me part of a creative

community with its own energy and interests, some of which overlap with mine and some of which bore me. (R.14)

R.17 offered a similar perspective, describing the individually constructed meaning that results in zine-makers becoming standard-bearers for a counter-cultural community outside of the mainstream:

We do produce a lot of socio-political satires but essentially see ourselves as individuals and artists. We do not conform or belong to any specific religious or socio-political group. We mainly represent a part of the counterculture that stands for unconditional freedom of artistic expression, no boundaries; no censorship. (R.17)

Modality three - Making zines to inform a community

Distinct from their role as an instruments of community formation, zines play a complementary role in communities as communications platforms for education and information. This final modality aligns more closely with the social experiences arising from using zines to communicate within a community. Guzzetti and Gamboa (2004) describe zines as an ‘...act of civil disobedience, a tool for inspiring other forms of activism; and a medium through which girls effect changes within themselves’ (Guzzetti & Gamboa 2004, p. 411). This modality once again exposed the liminality between the zine-making processes, with respondents describing the critical importance of zine content, distribution and the form of the zine fundamental to facilitating how their zine-making informed their communities.

The first demonstration of this modality was the emphasis placed by respondents on the importance of educating and informing communities. Words such as ‘inform’ and ‘informing’ (n=16), ‘learn’ (used in the active sense of supporting the learning of others) (n=7) and ‘education’ (n=2) highlighted how the respondents made zines to educate or inform their readers and the wider community about specific topics of interest or concern. For example, R.3 noted the critical importance of finding out and sharing information with others

interested in herbal medicine and body art, whilst R.22 adopted a slightly passive stance by identifying her zine as a place to share information with people who held similar interests and beliefs:

How I came to see/read/buy zines was through the infoshop in my small hometown city. They had a very (very!) small selection of zines and the 2 that I picked up were "old wives tales" and "herbal abortion", both about DIY women's health. I realized that there's more knowledge and information out there than we're normally given, but as long as we know where to find it, we can learn. I want to make zines so I can share the information and ideas that I have with other people and perhaps, create a discussion. (R.3)

I chose to make zines to network, share information, express ideas, propose strategies, discuss, dialogue, find new insights, to find hard-to-find music, movies, books, etc., with and from people with similar beliefs, values, interests and enthusiasms. (R.22)

A variation on the modality of informing and educating the community was the sharing of lived experiences. The capacity to share lived experiences through their zines afforded respondents the opportunity to shape the way their communities interpreted or understood certain phenomenon or behaviours. R.9 located the experiences of informing the community through sharing lived experiences within the frame of engaging in a dialogue or conversation with other zine-makers or readers, ensuring that the engagement was not anonymous, but personal and immediate:

But how do I seek feedback? I guess by inviting readers to write to me in a message in my zine. My latest zine is about mail, and in the back there's a note about how you can send a SASE [Self-Addressed Stamped Envelope] for a limited-edition mini zine, also about mail. I haven't received a ton of requests yet, but I was happy to see that all who have sent an SASE so far have also written me a short letter about their own experiences with mail. That, I would say, is ideal feedback. I

like to hear about shared experiences and interests even more than I like to hear that they enjoyed my drawings. (R.9)

5.3.8 The zine-making participation processes in the digital age

The influence of digital technology and social media practices on zine-making participation grew over the duration of the study. From examples in the literature where digital technology was the domain of only the largest corporations and the super-rich (Hall 1983; Johnson 1986), through to the situation in 2017 where digital technology is as accessible as the more traditional technologies (such as the photocopier) that fuelled the growth of zines, the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making have been disrupted and transformed.

The processes of zine-making have all changed in some way in response or reaction to technology and social media. Some have been completely transformed (communication between maker and reader and distribution are two notable examples). Some have been reinforced and reinvigorated in a determination to maintain the traditions and idiosyncrasies of the physically handmade and hard copy zine. It was evident in the interviews that the decisions made by respondents as to which analogue or digital practices were used in their making was not predicated on the 'kit' of digital technologies that the zine-maker applied. Instead, the importance of these technological distinctions was located in the degree of sociality afforded or constructed by specific digital and analogue technologies. Several of the respondents argued strongly for the capacity of technology to enhance their participatory practices. R.3 dismissed much of the strident romanticism attached to analogue making and distribution and defended the impacts of technology by arguing that the Internet and social media create communities for zines that would have been impossible in the pre-digital age. She argues that it is these social media created communities emerging from zine-making that distinguish zines from other media forms such as blogs:

I use the Internet to connect with other zine makers. the medium-sized city I now currently live in does not have an infoshop, zine library, or distro, unfortunately, so there's no other way of communicating such a niche "product" (for lack of a better word?) to anyone. I know a lot of the "old skool" zine makers hate the presence of email and the Internet within zine culture, but let's face it... the 90's are over. My personal relationship with the wider zine making community is very important. without them, no one would read or distribute my zine which would make the whole point of creating a zine kind of moot. If it wasn't for the community, these zines would just be webpages or blogs, I suppose (R.3)

As R.3 noted, there were non-technological criteria that respondents used to distinguish zines from other media types facilitated through technology or social media. Respondents only occasionally apportioned value judgements to their use of technology, instead taking a sometimes pragmatic or even utilitarian approach where technology was simply an instrument that helped them complete necessary tasks or overcome skills gaps. What did emerge was that in some cases there were 'points of no return' where digital practices stopped and the decision to assert or apply analogue practices became what defined their personal process of zine-making. In other cases, there were no red lines drawn by the respondents to indicate that technology had changed what they had decided to make so substantially that it was no longer a zine, or what they perceived their audience defined as a zine.

Understanding what influenced these decisions was critical in translating and codifying the constructs that influenced the decision to participate in zine-making more widely. The analysis bore out the complex and personal interpretations of a series of often inter-connected acts that enabled the respondent to participate. Further, it identified the extent to which they valued some of the 'standard' aesthetics of zine-making, such as the privileging of the handmade or the relative importance of human interaction (over digital engagement). R.7 and R.2 summarise this inherent complexity, locating zine-making clearly in both an analogue and digital world, and describing in

intersectionality between the two, where using social media becomes part of the way they connect with others:

I had no idea I had been making zines all that time, I always felt that it was my 'geeky' hobby, until I had more exposure to the Internet, then I discovered that I wasn't alone, that there was a whole world of zinesters. This 'discovery' just encouraged me to make more! (R.7)

I often instigate trades via the we-make-zines site, Tumblr or Facebook. But I aim to keep online interaction to a minimal (so I don't often use forums or online groups) and based solely around a trade. It isn't particularly important to me to interact with other zine-makers online as I think that one of the striking things about the zine scene is how human it is, so if I choose to respond it tends to be by post and so I sometimes end up becoming pen pals with zinesters if there is a strong connection (R.2)

The decision to apply physical approaches to making or the fetishisation of equipment such as photocopiers was a far less defensive position for some respondents. For these respondents, it was the act of making by using manual methods such as a typewriter or cutting and stapling something by hand that influenced their decision to participate in zine-making. Once again, there were clear demonstrations of liminality not just between the processes of zine-making, but in the decisions made by respondents to enact them. Over the course of three years it was increasingly evident that digital technology and practices were impacting across all four of the zine-making processes. The importance of the decision to engage with digital technology created altered environments for zine-making, from the increased use of social media sites to purchase zines, through to discontinuous, non-linear and asynchronous engagement with communities through email, forums and message boards, through to how it impacted directly on the practices of constructing form and content. Network formation through social media created globally expansive but thinly spread communities; equally, hyper-local and hyper-segmented micro-communities. Many of respondents talked of isolation, loneliness, being

alone in a small town, struggling with sexuality, body image or identity, and the need to confess their secrets publicly. The decision to use digital technology and social media provided variety of accessible solutions to those problems, which may include the making of zines, as R.7 quite tellingly noted:

Well, with today's social networking, blogging, flickr, etc, it would seem that printed material would be in danger of disappearing, but as a zine publisher, I have noticed that I WANT printed material, and most of my audience wants that also. There's a certain satisfaction that you get from either writing, cutting and pasting, drawing and finally putting it all together that you don't get by clicking on "submit" on a blog. I believe I will always make zines. (R.7)

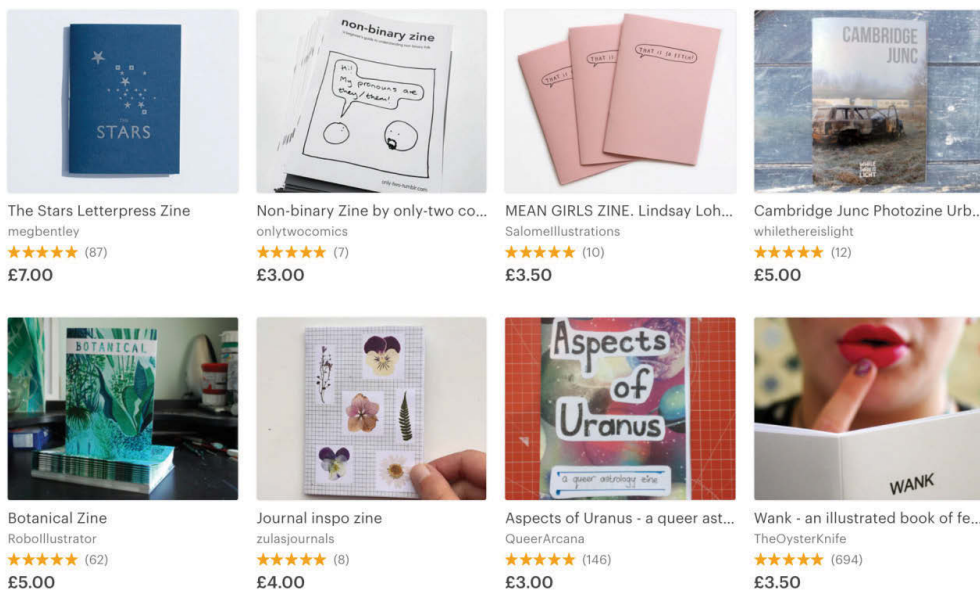


Illustration 9 A collection of zines for sale on the Etsy website June 2017. Note the prominence of community informed reviews for each seller in the form of stars.

CHAPTER SIX – THE COMMUNITAS OF AESTHETICS

Delightfully primitive, hands-on in exact opposition to the Kindle, 'zines are made by touch first and foremost, formulated by drawing and cutting and tying and binding. Flashbacks of classroom tactics — the doodle, the note ripped raggedly from the bottom quadrant of a lined piece of paper, the stack of paper stapled unevenly — reemerge, making the simple, the intuitive, the artisanal glorious again. (Moroz 2009 n.p.)

6.1 Exploring the liminality and communitas within zine-making participation

The interviews with the thirty-four zine-makers exposed the complex, interconnected and personal ways that zines were made by the respondents. The decision to participate in zine-making was not described in simple, quotable statements of intention. Many respondents engaged in a deeply analytical process when describing their participatory actions and decisions, with some observing how hard some of the questions were to answer and how they needed to think through the response, as if the typed response was part of the conversation that shaped their thinking and understanding. It was an iterative and progressive process of cognitive interpretation that drew sometimes disparate observations, memories and past actions together to try and ascertain the constructs that influenced the decision to make zines. R.31 was a good example of how this cognitive process was described in the responses:

I don't know. I suppose everyone and everything that is part of any social movement contributes one way or another. I wouldn't think that my zines would make any real impact on anything or anyone, though. There certainly are zines that could say that they do contribute. (R.31)

The zine-making participation process presented in the previous chapter codified how zines were made by the respondents and the decisions they took to enact the processes involved in zine-making. It only partially provided the

framework within which to understand what zine-makers were participating in (the critical issue in the secondary research question). Whilst the modalities representing the lived experiences of the respondents explained the contexts and connections that were critical to participation, they did not directly answer the primary research question. At the completion of this stage of the data analysis the picture was incomplete. There was no clear theoretical understanding of the constructs that influenced the decision to participate in zine-making, although a number of inferences and assertions had emerged.

Whilst all the respondents had made and were making zines, the way they made them was not homogeneous and did not conform to any logical sequence. The critical intersection of the lives and cultures of the respondents with their practices of zine-making meant that the constructs that influenced their decision to participate were multi-faceted and emerged from very personal, individual and cultural experiences. The decision to make a zine did not always start with an idea for a subject or topic for their zines and it did not always end with the making of a zine. Whilst this might sound counter-intuitive to some degree, the point at which an object or project went from being something undefined or personal and became something that could be described or accepted as a zine by either the maker or the audience was critical to ascertain.

At the core of exploring and understanding this point of transition or transformation were the lived experiences of the zine-makers. The tensions and porous nature of the four zine-making participation processes were more than definitional. The way the processes interacted and the fuzzy boundaries between them afforded certain interdependencies that were framed by how the zine-maker lived their life, expressed their culture and constructed their own meanings and identity within that context. The modalities discussed in the previous chapter represented the critical importance of lived experiences or the expectation of future or imagined experiences that were to come from participating in zine-making. The respondents, whilst making explicit references to specific processes, did not limit their rationales and descriptions to those processes. Instead, their stories exposed the ambiguities between the processes and most critically, how these processes and the ways they enacted

them came together to develop and shape their understanding of what constituted zines and zine-making. Many respondents explored their zine-making practice in terms of how they used zines and the ways they made them to construct and share meaning and identity. This was aligned explicitly and tacitly with how the respondents engaged with the four processes and from how they made creative and editorial decisions about them.

One of the benefits of using summative content analysis is the capability to de-construct meaning in and around the use of words or concepts. What emerged from the coding and re-coding of the data at each iterative stage was the notion that whilst the definitions of the processes held true, the tensions between the processes were personally located and somewhat idiosyncratic. It was impossible to disaggregate the processes and decisions from each other to define the constructs that influenced the decision of the respondents to participate in zine-making. The engagement in the collective processes of zine-making afforded the respondents the opportunity to describe their reasons for participation as a conceptual whole that was greater than the sum of its parts. Far from being instrumental or utilitarian, the decision to participate was often explained by the respondents in personal, persuasive, aspirational, contradictory and demanding terms. This did not mean the decision to participate was described in selfish or conceited ways, but rather that collective and community responsibility and voice were functions of how the respondents understood or needed to construct and share meaning and identity.

The ways the respondents constructed their zine-making practices exposed liminal spaces of messiness and ambiguity, inscribed with a sense of uncertainty about the continuity and future of the traditions of zine-making, arising mainly from the impacts of digital technology and practices. Zine-making occurred in a state of liminality, with zine-makers engaged in ritual actions of making at the thresholds of established media practices that are ‘...neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony’ (Turner 2008, p. 95). Zine-making processes exist between different states of structure (such as mainstream and alternative media, or physical and digital making). Zine-making

processes can also be subversive, representing ‘...radical critiques of the central structures and proposing utopian alternative models’ (Turner 1977, p. 45). The liminality betwixt and between the processes is also centred on creating and supporting a mood of experimentation and play for the maker, from the appropriation and stealing of images to the creative process of writing to interacting with other zine-makers (Turner 1979a).

While some writers have argued that, as a concept, liminality has lost some of its meaning through its application to fields other than anthropology (Barfield 1998; Le Shure 2005), the liminality between the rituals and practices of media-making has been debated in the media and cultural production and participation literature. Several writers have argued that liminality in cultural participation is rooted in how contested liminal spaces generate uncertainty, messiness, discomfort or transformation (Andrews & Roberts 2012; Sunstein 1998; Wood et al. 2015). Couldry (2003) notes that liminality in media-making happens where media rituals do not necessarily require specific acts of making but engage in more interactive processes such as distribution and communications. Licona (2012) uses the term ‘borderland spaces’ to describe liminality in the context of zine-making, where emergent attitudinal motivations and practices such as rhetoric and resistance are formed and re-formed through the experiences of making.

More than simply an overlap of activities, or even a diffusion of boundaries, I have used the notion of liminality to describe the ambiguity that exists between processes and the role of the maker in enacting them. It became clear that exploring and understanding the liminal spaces between the processes exposed complexities within the stories. Liminality and the conditions arising from participating and living within a liminal state provided the granularity necessary for theory generation. The demonstrable existence of these liminal spaces made the case that the personal and inter-personal acts involved in zine-making were inter-connected. The existence of liminal states also challenged some of the simplistic definitions of a zine as a physical artefact or form. Understanding these states and the spaces between the processes helped make the case that whilst the physical construction and design of a zine

was a demonstrable and definable activity, the distribution of that artefact, or the consumption of the zine by an audience, informed the act of participation and determined the aesthetic understanding held by the zine-maker. Through successive iterations of analysis, it also was clear that this aesthetic understanding was defined more by the liminality within the processes of zine-making rather than through their discreteness.

Participating in the rituals of making a zine in these liminal spaces was a rite of passage for zine-makers, one that extended from the first zine they made to the way they engaged in interpretative and critical reflection during their interviews (Turner 1987). It was also apparent that, in many cases, the liminal spaces were socially constructed (or socially unstructured), where the expectations and imaginations of behaviours were as important as those that could be demonstrated as having happened. The respondents experienced this liminality together, united in the commonly held belief they were making zines and in many cases, emboldened and inspired by the knowledge that others were also participating in zine-making. Through this collective liminal experience generated through the unique combination of participatory acts and decisions, zine-makers participated in or aspired to be part of a *communitas*, bounded by how the respondents collectively agreed that they were participating in zine-making. Gunnarsson Payne (2013) notes that movement media (including zines) is not a static concept, irrevocably bound to existing practices and communities through a set of immutable rules or messages. Instead, *communitas* emerges as a spontaneous modality, one where communion and togetherness between the members is experienced in brief collective social interactions in what Turner (1977) describes as ‘...full, unmediated communication’ that challenges and scrutinises the core values and assertions of the community (Turner 1977, p. 46).

One critical modality within the zine-making *communitas* was the sense of togetherness that coalesced in the liminal spaces around the construction and sharing of meaning and identity. Whilst essentially individually defined but socially constructed, the construction and sharing of meaning and identity by the respondents was facilitated through their participation in the rituals of zine-

making. There were no explicit questions asked about meaning or identity in the interviews yet in the context of explaining how and why they chose to make zines the respondents constantly referenced experiences and expectations that asserted the criticality of meaning and identity. Turner (1987) argues that liminality effects a ritualised transition and sense of discovery between cultures and states. These rites of passage for actors inside liminal spaces breed a sense of comradeship, familiarity, 'mutual outspokenness' for the participants and one where they can simply 'be themselves' in the *communitas* (Turner 1987, p. 11). The construction and sharing of meaning and identity was effected through zine-making through the modalities of human interrelatedness (what I have called influencing dynamics) existing within the *communitas* (such as control, political and cultural beliefs, resistance and rebellion behaviours and personal states of being) required the capacity for the members of the *communitas* to maintain their 'individual distinctiveness' whilst being bound to what brings them together and protecting it collectively (Turner 1974, p. 76)

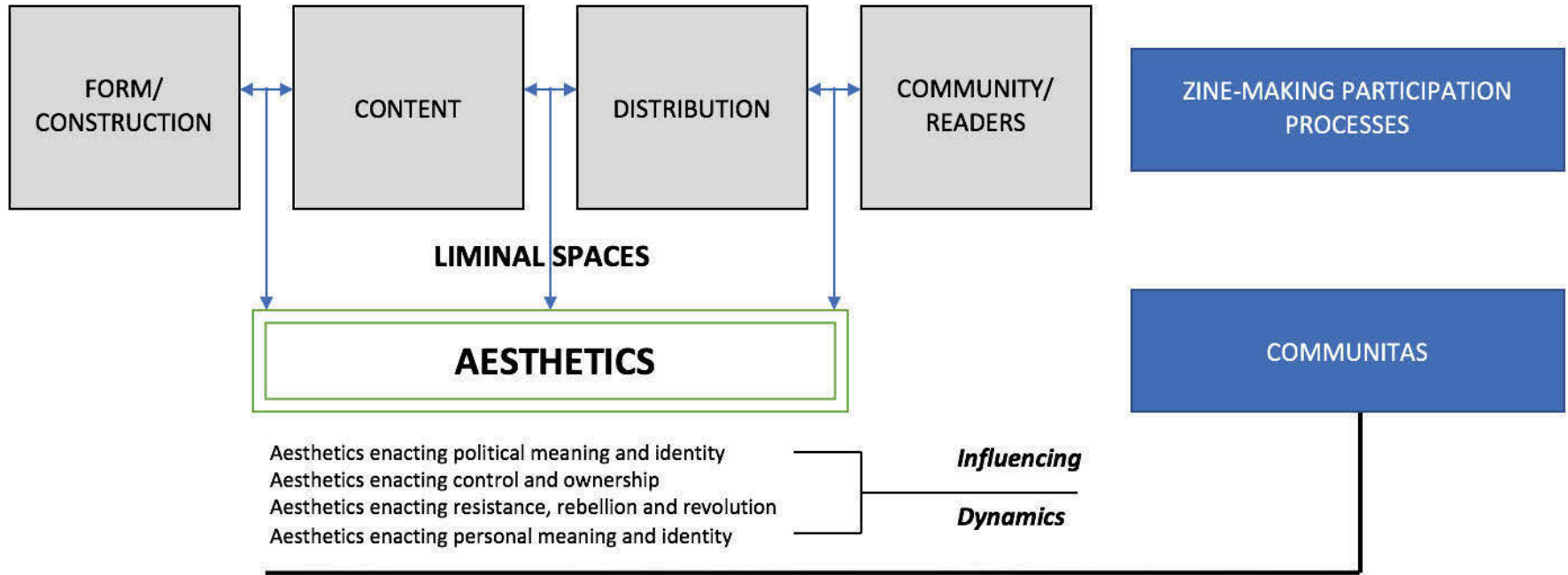
Starting as a relatively amorphous concept early in the data analysis, the notion of aesthetics began to emerge as a way of defining the boundaries of the *communitas* (individual distinctiveness within the liminally created *communitas*). Shaped by resistances to the social borders created by factors such as race, sexuality, class, age and political or cultural perspectives, a *communitas* founded in and through aesthetics represents a rich borderland space for cultural production (McMaster 1995). The data also aligned with both the wider literature perspectives of social aesthetics invoking action in terms of social identity (as noted in Nguyen-Vo & Hong (2017) and the assertions within zine literature defining zine aesthetics within the frame of actions arising from DIY making (defined in detail in Chapter Four). The sharing and intimacy that occurs through the common experiences of cultural production can define the nature of the *communitas* of makers (McKeown 2013).

The ways in which the respondents aggregated and integrated the constructs that influenced their decision to participate in zine-making could not be completely explained by what they were making nor by identifying when in the process of making they decided they were participating in zine-making.

Understanding the *communitas* of zine-making through the lens of aesthetics explained both the common attributes of both the physical actions that were taken by the respondent and the attitudes, behaviours, interactions and experiences that supported the construction and sharing of meaning and identity. As a *communitas* can often exist within the borderland states of actions such as making, the fact that the materiality of zines and the narratives contained within them represented the assertion of what the respondents believed they were participating was critical. Aesthetics were not defined by the completion of a single act of making. In each interview, the unique combination of participatory acts and the degree to which the respondent privileged the importance of tacit outcomes such as creation, expression, control, and sharing (amongst others) supported the generally strongly held belief that what they were making was a zine. This belief was determined by how they interpreted and understood the aesthetics of zines, and the assumption that others in the community would recognise those aesthetics as the same.

Figure 4 is the complete theoretical model of the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making. This model answers the primary research question of the study. It is built on how the liminal states and spaces that exist between the processes of zine-making supported the creation of a *communitas* bound and defined through common and personally held assertions of zine aesthetics. The model also identifies the influencing dynamics that enacted the construction and sharing of meaning and identity through participating in, challenging, sharing and asserting the respondents understanding of zine aesthetics within the *communitas*. The influencing dynamics explained the transitions that the respondents made during their decision to make zines and their subsequent zine-making practices between cultures and states (identity and meaning). They also supported the commonalities and connections between zine-makers and readers that bound them together within the *communitas*.

Figure 4 A model of the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making



6.2 Defining the *communitas* of zine-making through aesthetics

The descriptions used by respondents to frame and describe the aesthetics of their own zines (and the zines of others) drew on specific aspects of their engagement with the processes of zine-making. Respondents discussed at length how their zines were different from mainstream media. Drawing on detailed descriptions and interpretations of zine form, content, distribution and their community, respondents formed holistic but idiosyncratic definitions of the aesthetics of zine-making. There was a liminal interplay between the acceptance, interpretation, assumption and demonstration of what their understanding of the aesthetics of zine-making were. This interpretive sense of liminality supported the emergence of *communitas* as the broader construct that influenced their decision to participate. The liminal states arising from zine-making also defined the loosely bound but common held bonds between *communitas* members as a frame of understanding participation.

It was critical to identify how the aesthetics of zine-making were defined and understood by the respondents and how that understanding was supported or challenged by assertions in the literature. Partially attributable to the sometimes-contested positions of zines within different disciplines of thought and partially to the contrary understandings inherent in the term aesthetics itself, zine-making aesthetics were not defined well in the literature, nor were they explicitly described in the interviews.

Downing (2003) makes the argument that the aesthetics of alternative media present complex methodological challenges, due to common assumptions about the unattractiveness of the form and content of alternative media and the relative unimportance or commonness of the media arising from its accessibility. This interpretation informed some of the key definitions of zines in the literature that aligned zines with a specific look and feel and to attitudes unique to zine-making. Words like trashy, handmade, idiosyncratic and amateur are used to describe specific making practices both instrumentally and attitudinally, defining the unique aesthetic of zines as a media (see e.g. Bartel 2004; Douglas & Poletti 2014; Duncombe 1997; Piepmeier 2008; Spencer 2005).

Within both the academic literature and popular press, various design tropes, materials and methodologies have been used to describe the aesthetics of zines (e.g. Poletti 2008b; Potter & Sellie 2016; Todd & Watson 2006; Woodbrook & Lazzaro 2013). This has led some writers to argue that the manual and physical approaches used to make zines define what a zine is and what it is not (Chidgey 2009; Radway 2011; Veitch 2016). However, simply making something that fits within the established constructs, tropes or traditions of design does not itself define the object as a zine. Several writers describe zines as an essentially hands-on medium, which involves the maker and reader in a personal but essentially physical experience that is both active and participatory (Lonsdale 2015; Rauch 2004; Veitch 2016). Feigenbaum (2013) argues that participation in a spectrum of processes, including but not limited to making, help define how people participate in the construction of a broader aesthetic of zine culture. Goulding (2015) extends this further by arguing that participation in the behaviours of resistance (essentially against the mainstream) and the expression of feminist politics define in part of the aesthetics of zines.

This phenomena of constructing aesthetics through participation in a set of commonly understood processes was prominently described in many interviews. The description of each process was accompanied by either explicit or tacit reasons for why the respondent engaged in that process. The significant majority of these reasons were connected to how the respondents privileged the importance of the handmade, DIY and personal nature of zine-making to construct and share meaning and identity through zine-making. There were many cogent examples from the interviews that explored how individual respondents identified their own aesthetical position through the ways they engaged in the processes of zine-making and the interrelatedness and social interactions that informed it:

- personal interactions and social interactions between the respondent and their community or readers leading to shared understandings of culture or political action (R.27 noted, *'I felt I was participating in a media-culture*

of peers & contemporaries, making zeens was an active way of being part of that);

- the relationships and transformations built through hand-to-hand distribution (R.14 noted, *'Then I would distribute by hand, sometimes leaving proselytising anarchist zines on public transport to effect a transformation of working class consciousness.'*);
- the direct sharing of experiences with others through the zine, where the reader would then contact the zine-maker to engage in discourse and dialogue (R.1 noted, *'My zines are a small way of opening up a dialogue about these things, and acknowledging that not everyone can be a social butterfly... and maybe that it's okay to be that way.'*);
- the personal handmade touches that come from bespoke applications of making practices that ensure that each zine is unique and individual (R.10 noted, *'The world is getting more digital so people really do fetishize the handmade, and I think my zine is plays up to that. I encourage it, in fact: issue #2 of the zine was hand bound with embroidery thread; and I always enclose origami cranes and other such treats in my Etsy orders.'*).

At the completion of the data analysis it was clear that zine aesthetics framed participation for the respondent as personally constructed, community endorsed and tacitly agreed with the reader through the acts of purchase or reading. Demonstrated within the complexity of their stories, a significant number of the respondents argued that the way in which their zine was made was less important than the materiality inherent in its making. For these respondents, the making of the zine and the production of an aesthetic they believed represented their participation facilitated something larger and more significant. Making zines became a site in which to construct and share meaning and identity, both personally and socially, representing for these respondents the demonstrable outcome of their decision to participate. These were the shared acts and assertions within the liminal spaces of making that brought together the respondents within the *communitas*. These assertions were contained within the common understanding and commitments to the aesthetics of zine-making (but not bound by rules or established practices) and were essentially socially

constructed, either involving others as part of the *communitas* or in some cases defining the boundaries of the *communitas* by who was excluded from it. Some examples of the socially constructed experiences observed in the responses included;

- the demonstration of resistance against ‘mainstream’ expectations or views (R.10 noted, ‘*I was frustrated on the lack of writing for viola players and also was also completely bored/sickened with mainstream music writing, which never really engaged or spoke to me.*’);
- the call for rebellion by repressed or underrepresented communities or the desire to rebel against similar mainstream expectations or views (R.26 noted, ‘*SO my zine isn't just "my story" it is part of a rebellious fabric of society that is a movement for change. It believes change is possible and it starts now!*’);
- supporting and facilitating political action through participation and within the contexts of making and distribution (R.2 noted, ‘*I tend to view it more on an individual level, as simply being important to get your voice and your personal narrative out in to the world. I see that in itself as a form of political activism.*’);
- emancipation of the respondent from dominant or imposed forms of meaning and identity (Weida 2013) (R.18 noted, ‘*It was that combination, the discoveries I made at that stage that contributed to my creating not just zines but a new identity for myself as well.*’);
- the creation of embodied communities through physical encounters with the aesthetics of zines, either as a reader or for their readers (Piepmeier 2008) (R.33 noted, ‘*I feel the act of writing the articles are not as important as knowing that our ideas will either resonate or strike a wrong chord with someone on the other end.*’);
- the shaping of zine aesthetics through the representation of the cultures of the zine-maker (Woodbrook & Lazzaro 2013) (R.29 noted, ‘*We mainly represent a part of the counterculture that stands for unconditional freedom of artistic expression, no boundaries; no censorship. It is*

through the underground zine culture that we communicate with our peers.').

The common thread between these experiences was the notion that zine-making was a manifestation of materiality, where the way something is made becomes the message, as opposed to signifying the message through the content. It is in effect an ontological interpretation of making, where the engagement in doing facilitates higher-order levels of understanding and knowing. These higher order knowledges emerged as ways in which the zine-maker expressed and demonstrated the need to construct and share meaning, to represent and form their identity, aligned to their ways of being, their sense of belonging, their attitudes to society and life and their wider perspectives of the role in the community, as described by R.34:

Although at the end of the day I do believe zine writing and reading is a community act I feel there is an importance in writing for yourself. Even though all of our articles are written for others to read and either agree or disagree with we do write for ourselves and without the criteria or demand of others. In the future I'd love to interact with other zine creators who share similar beliefs and attitudes but although it is a healthy element to have I do not feel it is necessary (R.34)

R.34's response clearly demonstrates this liminality by linking the concepts of making, writing, reading as acts of individual distinctiveness and for the community into a single response that explained the constructs that influenced their decision to participate in zine-making. As noted in the previous chapter, there was rarely a single participatory action or act that the respondents assigned to describing how they participated in zine-making, nor were there instances where, across the breadth of the story, a single reason for choosing to make zines was posited. Within the *communitas* defined by zine-making aesthetics, the combination of these participatory acts and attitudinal assertions, whilst having common elements were, in effect, anti-structures. Part borne out of their resistance to established media-making norms, part a result of the challenges to the skills and expertise attributed to professional making, the

respondents were often united (and equal) in how they privileged the anti-structures within their *communitas* (Turner 1987).

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) argue that both the choice to participate in making and design decisions taken represent a process of learning about aesthetics best understood through the lens of the maker's own culture and not by the structures that bound them. However, cultural understanding is not necessarily agreed or codified within or by that culture, or in this case, the *communitas*. The stories of the respondents were essentially interpretivist (in the Weberian sense), where the actors engaging in the social process of making ascribed subjective meaning to and understanding of their practice, and did not necessarily apply any objective criteria to ensure that their understandings were correct or right.

The stories of the respondents did expose four influencing dynamics that defined the *communitas* of zine-making and the shared acceptances inherent in their understanding of zine aesthetics as the constructs that influence the decision to participate in zine-making. The emergence, interrogation and 'proof' (for want of a better word) of these dynamics became central to how the model (see Figure 4) addressed the primary research question. Fundamental to these dynamics was the criticality of the construction and sharing of meaning and identity. Applying the construct of aesthetics as an interpretative filter, the ways in which the respondents described their current state of meaning-making and identity represented how they understood their decision to participate. The rites of passage they were taking (or had taken) and the importance of the commonality within the *communitas* were both individually held and experienced but shared in some way with the members of the *communitas*. The behaviours and assertions that defined these four influencing dynamics were contiguous in that they shared the common boundary of meaning and identity but because of very personal interpretations and demonstrations of aesthetics were also porous:

- The enacting of political meaning and identity;
- The enacting of meaning and identity through control and ownership;

- The enacting of resistance, rebellion and revolution;
- The enacting of personal meaning and identity.

Aspect of zine aesthetics	Exemplar from the data set
Influencing dynamic 1: Aesthetics enacting political meaning and identity	<i>I do strongly believe in the motto that "the personal is political", especially so when I'm talking about my experiences as a male-identifying heterosexual transvestite - it's hard for me NOT to do something political, given that identity. (R.32)</i>
Influencing dynamic 2: Aesthetics enacting meaning and identity through control and ownership	<i>There is no censor. I can do or say anything I want. I can get my voice out. They are handmade. I like holding them. They are their own art form. (R.28)</i>
Influencing dynamic 3: Aesthetics enacting resistance, rebellion and revolution	<i>I also had a helluva time making zines during that time, because my step-mom and dad didn't understand what they were or the type of mail I was getting, etc. So, I made my zines a bit as an act of rebellion (against my parents) in those days. I even got a PO Box with an older friend, so my parents wouldn't know what mail I was getting. (R.8)</i>
Influencing dynamic 4: Aesthetics enacting personal meaning and identity	<i>I don't want to only read what someone has decreed I can read, and see art that someone thinks is valuable. I look at street art, I photograph it, I love it. I see emerging artists and writers and support them. I don't think art should be about profit, art is about life. And zines are the manifestation of a creative anti-authoritarian social movement that knows a better world is possible, and on its way. (R.10)</i>

Table 11 Aesthetical dynamics and the modes informing zine-making participation

6.2.1 Aesthetics enacting political meaning and identity

The first dynamic explained how the construct of aesthetics afforded the respondents the capacity to enact political meaning and identity through their decision to make zines. There were several manifestations of this dynamic in the interviews, but I want to focus on the use of the concept (and phrase) 'the personal is political' as an exemplar of how this dynamic influenced the decision to participate in zine-making within the construct of aesthetics.

The assertion that the personal is political was used explicitly by three respondents and was referenced conceptually in a further eight interviews, identifiable through the descriptive connections made by the respondents between their personal actions and direct political acts. Debated and discussed within the discipline of second-wave feminism and present in many of the

discourses informing third-wave feminism (see e.g. Braithwaite 2002; Dicker & Piepmeier 2016; Schuster 2017; Siegel 1997), the phrase 'the personal is political' has been used in some studies to describe an affirmation or call to arms for zine-makers emanating from the community, the zine-maker themselves or sometime used by the author/s of the study themselves (Gottlieb & Wald 2006; Harris 2001; Karaian & Mitchell 2010; Kennedy 2007). The 'personal is political' implies relationships between personal expression and making and the engagement of the zine-maker with socially movements, politics and collective expression (Bobel 2007; Greer 2008). Schuster (2017) argues that a feminist's everyday life and lived experiences can have political purchase, with zines providing a platform for individuals to communicate and express their views without (patriarchal) scrutiny or control.

Several respondents made the case that zines supported the development and sharing of their political perspectives and manifestos. They also described how participation in zine-making enhanced their capacity to initiate or participate in activism. Using the 'personal is political' maxim explicitly, R.32 rationalised his decision to make zines as an imperative, coming from his desire to share and express his identity and lived experiences:

I do strongly believe in the motto that "the personal is political", especially so when I'm talking about my experiences as a male-identifying heterosexual transvestite - it's hard for me NOT to do something political, given that identity. (R.32)

R.25 made a similar case, locating her desire to share the emotional and political meanings that she constructed through her zine-making, alluding to zine-making as a form of life writing by '...creating our own histories':

I believe that the personal is political and that when we tell stories we are revealing our politics and creating our own histories. I don't feel I speak for any specific community but I identify with several. I am a feminist and a vegan and I carry my time I spent living in Utah like a heart on my

sleeve. I send my zines out into the world hoping that other people identify with it. (R.25)

Critical to both cases was the explicit connection the respondents made between their political beliefs and identity and how this afforded them the capacity to engage with others of like mind (or have others engage with them). The *communitas* of political connection was supported through both the lived experiences of the respondents and how the meanings and identities they constructed and shared defined who they were (Bauman 2003; Clegg & Hardy 1999; Rojek 1995). A majority of respondents (n=19) made explicit assertions about their political beliefs and affiliations. In these cases, participating in zine-making both helped them find their position or place within a political discourse or movement and explained why zines became the most appropriate medium to share those opinions and experiences with others (both inside and outside the *communitas* of aesthetics). The story of R.14 went one step further in attempting to explain the irresistible imperative formed by their need to share their political views through zine aesthetics. The criticality of political meaning and identity (their sense of *righteousness* and moral authority) to their decision to make zines is laid bare in their response:

I would have decided to make it (their zine) out of a sense of political righteousness, a fascination with the form and an interest in drawing. It was a very deeply political thing for me, and only later that I thought of making zines out of my own creative writing. (R.14)

The importance of meaning and identity evolved for R.14 over time and catalysed through her process of zine-making, resulting in less political and increasingly personal zines (although still made with the zine-making *communitas* in mind).

6.2.2 Aesthetics enacting meaning and identity through control: Intimacy, the bedroom, compulsion, ranting, reporting and sharing secrets

The second dynamic explained how the construct of aesthetics afforded respondents the capability to enact meaning and identity through control. Many respondents felt compelled to participate in zine-making because zines enabled them to express and share their personal stories and experiences without filter. The critical importance of owning the medium, expressing and sharing their ideas, thoughts and identity without an editor and finding meaning with people who shared common interests was frequently described in the interviews. The fact that they could control these aesthetical actions was equally critical in influencing their decision to participate in zine-making.

Assertions of control, freedom and ownership were described in the interviews in often-impassioned terms, pleading with the reader and with the invisible researcher to believe that this was something that the respondent *had* to do. The decision to make zines was not a choice or a convenient or accessible fit for their needs, but as a response to an immutable and impossible to ignore imperative that could only be satisfied by the aesthetics of a zine. R.29 and R.21 (amongst others) described that whilst zine-making was fun thing to do for some zine-makers they knew, it was a *force majeure* for others, including themselves:

Zines are a release for creative urges that cannot be expressed through other means; this is what motivates us the most. (R.29)

At first it felt as a necessity to fight my demons and handle my frustrations but that changed as I got older. But I still have the urge to create images and show my fascinations about some things. (R.21)

R.21 offered a good example of how participating in the *communitas* of zine aesthetics became a way of controlling how life experiences impacted on their identity. This was expressed in the intimate, semi-private spaces afforded by the limited circulation of their zine:

I like the intimacy of a zine, a low circulation and a somehow personal content. Making a zine is something a bit underground and non-

commercial. Maker and reader knowing each other is part of the charm of a zine I think. (R.21)

R.21 alluded to the importance of intimacy through aesthetics within (and outside) the *communitas*. By limiting the number of copies and controlling who receives the zine, semi-private, semi-public spaces are created that differ from the mainstream mass audiences of traditional publishing and the potentially limitless and uncontrollable audiences of social media. Sutton (1999) argues that the essentially personal and intimate nature of zine-making is a form of therapy session where the zine-maker through a journey of self-expression moves to a different one, driven by the ‘...willingness to share almost anything with the invisible audience’ (Sutton 1999, p. 170). Within the *communitas* described by the respondents, one of the critical aspects of commonality that zine aesthetics facilitated was the creation and support of intimate connections between zine-makers and their readers (Piepmeier 2008; Poletti 2008b).

There were many examples in the interviews of intimacy and intimate connections between maker and reader within and through the liminal spaces of zine aesthetics. Two prominent examples of how seeking intimacy influenced the decision to participate came from respondents who created intimacy through the aesthetical device of a diary (or using diary-like writing and form) and those where the respondents identified the bedroom as a site of production.

The diary

The likening of zine-making to writing a diary was described by respondents in terms of the style of writing, the intimacy of it being read and how it created connections between maker and reader. The notion of the diary was a clear example of the liminality between the zine-making processes with content, form, community and distribution enacted to replicate the intimacy of a diary and create a personally identifiable manifestation of zine aesthetics. Assuming the form and tropes of a diary justified the risks that some respondents were taking in sharing intimate details about their lived experiences. R.1 described the confessional nature of the diary form and how by confessing through her zine

she grew as a person, noting that it was only zines that afforded that kind of expressive capability:

I'm an avid diary-writer, and so writing that kind of personal, confessional prose that is so common in zines is second-nature to me. I guess it also suits my tendency to change my opinion on certain topics – it's as if the zine grows with me, and as my views become more nuanced and developed, so does my zine. And I don't think any other type of artistic medium is as flexible or unrestrictive as that, perhaps. (R.1)

The bedroom

From the use of bedroom walls to lay out a zine through to how a zine replicated the patterns of ephemeral material lying about on the floor, the bedroom was both a literal space and a metaphor appearing in the stories of six respondents. It was a place where zines were made and, perhaps more importantly, a place where zine-making or the sometimes-questionable content of their zines could be hidden from figures of authority (R.32 and R.8). Like the diary form, responses that mentioned the bedroom to describe what influenced their decision to participate in zine-making drew on notions of secrecy, intimacy and privacy. The bedroom was also identified by respondents as 'their' space and as one that they wouldn't normally invite strangers into (and perhaps where it might be a little bit naughty to find yourself there or be found there). R.2 extends the idea of the confessional, which is both intimate and anonymous:

Zines in particular are quite an immediate way of getting read, making your voice and your experiences accessible. So there's quite a thrill from that, and from confessing secrets to strangers anonymously (R.2)

The respondents understanding of the *communitas* was shaped to a great degree by the capacity of zines to share intimate or personal lived experiences or life stories (n=17). For these respondents, the acts of sharing their emotions, their passions, their anger or joy through content and form was a key determinant of why they chose to make zines. The content itself was

sometimes secondary to the need to vent, experience catharsis or express anger arising from their often-stated inability to share their feelings with anyone close to them. R.28 observed:

There is no censor. I can do or say anything I want. I can get my voice out. They are handmade. I like holding them. They are their own art form. (R.28)

There was not an overwhelming desire among respondents to share these stories and experiences with everyone or anyone. Some respondents described themselves as shy (n=4) or private (n=3) and that the openness afforded (and expected) by zine-making scared them (as R.26 noted, ‘...and then I started to type my story, which I was so scared of doing because I had never told people before about my childhood and upbringing.’). But critical to the intimacy, privacy and sense of ownership they were describing was the control that these respondents had over of the aesthetics of their zine.

Words such as ‘editor (n=6)’ and ‘censor (n=7)’ were often used pejoratively in the interviews. In these cases, the respondents tried to describe how ‘someone’ or ‘something’ was trying to take control away from them and what they had to say and share was too important to have that happen. The assertion that zines were uncensored and free from the influence of outside forces (like an editor) was worn proudly as a badge of honour both by respondents and for the media. This independence was not something that many respondents were willing to bargain away. It was the aesthetic of control that informed both their participation in zine-making but equally their participation in the movements, collectives and communities that were formed or informed by the zines, as R.11 noted:

I choose to make zines because I love the unrestricted voice and opinions you can have in zines, and the extreme lack of censorship. In my zine <zine name> I'm printing the big business responses to my complaints and I think it's both informative (on their position on issues) and funny. Which is a great combo in my opinion. (R.11)

This editorial control extended past the capacity to say what the respondents wanted to say without the influence of an editor (real or imagined). It was a sense of control facilitated directly by how the respondents understood the aesthetics of what they were making. This wide-ranging freedom *from* control was described by R.32:

It's a liberating medium, in that you can do it quite cheaply (in comparison to other artistic/literary mediums) and control all aspects of creation and distribution - it's very empowering, that. It also allows you to explore a wide mixture of visual and literary forms, from journal-writing to artist books to comics, all with that added tactile element that comes with something handmade. (R.32)

Not all respondents made these kinds of strident assertions of emancipation and control. There was an almost self-effacing tone in some of the stories, evidenced by demonstrable expressions of self-doubt. Whilst it is true that every respondent had made zines prior to participating in the study (and noting therefore that their self-doubt had not prevented them from participating in zine-making) this did not stop several respondents from describing their doubts about the zines they had made, how they might be received and whether they were in fact even participating in a definable act of zine-making (n=5).

R.1 talked about control in very personal terms, wearing her 'heart on her sleeve', clearly proclaiming her 'strident feminism' but tempering those assertions with phrases like 'I think', 'I feel' and describing her impact as 'small'. R.31 went one step further by dismissing any interest in his zine from readers or the community, noting that '*...I've no idea at all what made me think anyone might be interested in my cack-handed writing, I suppose I was young and ignorant (or arrogant, or both)*'. He argued in a later answer that '*...I wouldn't think that my zines would make any real impact on anything or anyone, though*'. These instances of self-doubt and self-criticism were not isolated. Throughout his story, R.31 inferred that there was lack of interest or care from the *communitas* about his writing. He described how he gave his zines away so

had no idea if anyone was interested in what he had to say or express through his zine. R.31 represented a unique example of the aesthetics of control in relation to describing what influenced his decision to participate in zine-making. to it. He was in effect controlling his own reaction and emotions to potential criticism or praise from readers. His construction of meaning and identity took a different turn to that of others in the study. The participation of R.31 in zine-making constructed a negative or critical sense of identity, one that challenged his sense of meaning and purpose, perhaps as a form of self-defense from criticism that might come from the community.

6.2.3 Aesthetics enacting resistance, rebellion and revolution

The third dynamic explained how the construct of aesthetics afforded respondents the capability to assert, demonstrate and collectively agitate for resistance, rebellion and revolution. For many respondents, the specific and deliberate decision to resist, rebel and stand up against dominant societal expectations influenced their decision to participate in zine-making. In these instances, the respondents needed to resist the influences of a dominant force or ideology or share how they were rebelling against social structures or people that they felt had oppressed them.

The capacity of zines to support or enable resistance, rebellion and revolution is extensively debated in the literature. Bartel (2004) describes zine-makers as action-oriented people who are not willing to stand back and let things happen within their communities, and will use their zines as the instrument of activism and resistance. Kearney argues (2006) that the calls to action found in many zines are essentially counter-hegemonic as zines often present oppositional views to the hegemonic ones promulgated in the mainstream media. Kearney goes on to suggest that zines facilitate this counter-hegemonic resistance through their ease of production, ease of access to materials and the simplicity of distribution of zines.

How rebellion and resistance behaviours are constructed and demonstrated through the aesthetics of zines has been discussed widely in the literature,

exploring how how zines resist the messages and content of established, mainstream or normative forms of publishing and media (Harris 2003; Radway 2016) through to how zines challenge the dominant gender roles and stereotypes inherent in the music that the zine-makers love (Schilt 2003a). Commonly described in these studies is the sometimes-tacit notion that the zine-maker is resisting or rebelling *against* a dominant force, narrative, identity or paradigm. In some cases, this resistance against something represented the zine-maker's resistance to what they were expected to say or do. This phenomenon was especially prominent in the literature about girl zines, where a number of studies described how zine-makers can resist the consumption-driven recuperation and appropriation of rebellious images from the riot grrrl counter-culture in mainstream teen girl magazines like *Seventeen* in the United States and *Dolly* in Australia (Cofield & Robinson 2016; Kearney 2013).

The respondents used their power as editor and maker to act as cultural producers, rebelling against what they believed society was telling them to say, do and act. They took the agency created by owning the medium to, in effect, dis-alienate themselves from the society, the circumstances, the workplace, the school, the social group or the family that was effecting their alienation (Dunn 2016). Through those acts of rebellion, the respondents could construct and share their own rebellious identity, as R.34 notes:

So I think that's pretty typical. I love zines because there are no constraints, no editors. I think that's something all zinemakers must need. You can express yourself at that moment and however lumpy your art, prose, ideas... at least it found a way out into the world, no one told you 'No, better not do that.' (R.34)

There is a large corpus of research that explores and chronicles the role of zines in resisting dominant societal and cultural stereotypes by providing a voice to under-represented or suppressed cultures or sub-cultures (see e.g., Alcantara-Tan 2000; Boellstorff 2004; Collins 1999; Gordon 2012; Goulding 2015; Long 2000). Tom Boellstorff (2004) in his detailed study of how zines represent the difficulties, dangers and ambitions of being gay and lesbian in a

Muslim majority country notes that zines play a critical role in normalising what is considered by the government and wider society to be immoral, sacrilegious and illegal behaviour. This form of cultural resistance or cultural normalisation through resistance and rebellion was also present in several of the respondent's interviews. Part-polemic, part-manifesto, some respondents argued that their zine-making and the control they exert over it represented their contribution to a bigger cause fuelled by their acts of rebellion and resistance through their zine. R.2 used words like activism, defiance and subversion to position her zine within her wider resistance and rebellion behaviours, enacted against the effects and norms of capitalism and what it means to be a '*socially acceptable persona*':

I also see zine making as an act of defiance against capitalism and modern culture in that it is a non-profit activity, it's subversive, it allows the inner mess to be let loose instead of bound by a socially acceptable persona, it challenges copyright, and its interaction that isn't based around buying/selling exchange, it's underground and it makes pathways for people to explore alternative music, film, literature and concepts.

(R.2)

This respondent also highlights another example of how these behaviours of resistance and rebellion were demonstrated by zine-makers was the demonstration and challenging of the rules, norms and practices of ownership and copyright. Through privileging and heroicising acts of cultural appropriation, copy theft and stealing, zine-makers staked out, through their actions, a rebellious space. In this space, the act of stealing an image or secretly using the office copier became an act of resistance to the corporate world, capitalist society or any other insidious, evil, malfeasant, parental or traditional force (Poletti 2005, 2008a; Weida 2013; Wrekk 2005). These resistance behaviours represented a safe form of rebellion, whereby the zine-maker could be seen doing something that their parents or teachers would disapprove of or find immoral, or that their behaviours needed to be cleansed (Ritson & Dobscha 2001). R.4 located this rebellious streak firmly in the realm

of comedy, belying the assumption that all the talk of rebellion was serious and contemplative:

Taking the piss, making people laugh, secretly infiltrating Anarchist ideas into people's heads via comedy. Australian Larrikinism. It was more about creating the community I wanted by encouraging the distribution of material that would bring that community about... Trying to bootstrap that type of critique of society - one that was critical of capital, but disarmed people by making them laugh - encouraging them to laugh, because it's the best medicine for the depression that capitalism can bring about. Or something like that :) (R.4)

The scope of what was being resisted by making zines was a dynamic space in which zine-makers could swing from large scale ambitions for changing nation, state and society through to the more personal notion of resisting the values their parents (both literal and conceptual) represented. Two respondents expressed that they were resisting, rejecting or hiding from the values, attitudes or their parents or their generation and that they were asserting their right as an adult to be heard. In the case of R.8, she believed that her parents would not understand the reason she was making zines and why she was getting all the mail from her readers:

I also had a helluva time making zines during that time, because my step-mom and dad didn't understand what they were or the type of mail I was getting, etc. So, I made my zines a bit as an act of rebellion (against my parents) in those days. I even got a PO Box with an older friend, so my parents wouldn't know what mail I was getting. (R.8)

Resistance, rebellion and revolution, whilst often described in terms of individual assertions, were in the context of the *communitas* of zine aesthetics essentially socially constructed. Where these assertions were prevalent in the interviews, the respondents did not appear to be resisting and rebelling though demonstrable individual acts based on their own personal political or social opinion. The respondents told how their zine-making was an act of rebelling or

resisting against *something* or *someone* that needed to be resisted; a dominant paradigm, a set of experiences, an identity, a political perspective or societal expectation that demanded to be spoken out against. The interpersonality of these acts separated the aesthetics determined by editorial control from the construction and enacting of resistance, rebellion and revolution behaviours. R.26 described how their inter-personal acts positioned their rebellion within the context of a society wanting or needing change, asserting:

'...SO my zine isn't just "my story" it is part of a rebellious fabric of society that is a movement for change. It believes change is possible and it starts now!' (R.26)

The use of the term 'revolution' by several respondents (n=4) and similar use of the word 'fight' (N=5) to describe their reasons for participating was another way in which the aesthetics of zine-making influenced the decision to make zines. These respondents wanted to create lived experiences within the liminal spaces for themselves and their readers by agitating for an active form of resistance through their zine-making. Zobl, Reitsamer & Grünangerl (2014) interviewed a zine-making collective in Romania called *Love Kills* who argue that revolution in zine-making is both an individual and collective action that draws on the wider process of zine-making (including community building and making) to effect rebellion, resistance and revolution against oppressors:

By advocating revolution, by raising awareness, by questioning authority, by breaking the silence, I think zines can have a meaningful effect. And maybe it has to be first in the individual, the one who is holding the zines in her/his hands and starts rebelling her/himself against the oppressors; later on you can find other individuals who are rebelling and can 'ally' and plot together. (Zobl, Reitsamer & Grünangerl 2014, p. 49)

Joining together with others in the fight was a demonstration and acclamation of rebellion that shaped how the respondents saw themselves in the *communitas*. R.19 imbued zine-making with the smell of rebellion:

I was someone who worshipped authors and their beautiful books (with the new book smell, the library book smell) so zines smelt of rebellion to me. I was totally influenced by them because it was just a simple lightswitch moment for me- you can do this? Who knew?!

Several respondents described the contextual and aesthetical worlds in which their resistance, rebellion and revolution behaviours manifested themselves, exploring and sharing deeply personal experiences, beliefs and views that defined why they were participating in zine-making. These were not behaviours that the respondents engaged in silently. Resistance was an act defined by who they resisted with, how they helped others to resist, how they created the community of fellow resisters or how they gave voice and strength to the invisible audience who might be silently suffering alone. R.2 conflated the cathartic aspect of confession with the need to be a part of something, a common cause defined through the problems collectively faced:

I started to realise that not only is it cathartic for myself to really unlock myself in this way, but it's also useful for a reader to delve straight in to another country, culture, sexuality, background, set of experiences and assumptions. It's enlightening, it shows people they aren't alone in the problems they face, and its political (R.2)

A specific example of how aesthetics facilitated the construction and sharing of meaning and identity and influenced the decision to make zines was the sharing of taboo, illegal or forbidden subjects within zines. Ferris (2001) argues that the ability to discuss taboo issues in zines (content such as sexuality, body image, politics and feminism) is directly related to the fact that these issues are not represented in the mainstream media (continuing the counter-hegemonic narrative). This was also expressed in terms of resistance to the patriarchal representations of women in the media focusing on appearance, body shape and size, social class or sexuality (Licona 2005; Piepmeier 2008). Resistance is also described in the literature as representing or discussing images that the zine-maker believes that they shouldn't discuss, either as a challenge to a polite society or because of expectations of their sex, gender or identity. Nijsten

(2016) argues that the use of zines to discuss complex, taboo subjects such as gender identity, sexuality, sexual abuse, menstruation and mental illness is a product of the controlled risk afforded by safe, semi-private spaces of readers.

The sharing of taboo subjects defined the aesthetics of zines for a number of respondents. The *right* to talk about their lives, and to share experiences and trauma in confronting, explicit and personal ways influenced their decision to make zines. Some of these responses were littered with swear words, appropriated identity labels (such as queer) and stark descriptions of their lived experiences including mental illness, gender identity, rape and sexual violence, political activism, sex, drugs and illegal behaviour. In the emails exchanged between myself and the respondents as part of the process of organising the interviews, several respondents explained (without prompting) that they wanted to be open and honest in the interviews, not in the sense of warning me what was to come, but as an assertion that they were not willing to comply with the tone, language and tenor of what they assumed an academic interview might entail. A number of respondents told quite personal and private stories that described their reasons for deciding to participate in zine-making by exposing what they stood for personally and what they identified as. The importance of sharing these experiences within the aesthetics of zine-making was critical. These respondents described the personal benefits that came from sharing taboo or illegal subjects and, as some argued, the fears and uncertainties that emerged before and after sharing these opinions or experience:

Life is not like a movie or a margarine commercial it is raw and gritty and hard and painful and authentic which doesn't sell mouthwash or pre-mixed drinks does it? I think our society needs street art, zines, poetry and music as a reminder we aren't CONSUMERS we are beings who are attempting to inhabit these bodies and this planet and experience love and take care of each other and this world and we didn't want to be oppressed and put in boxes and corners and prisons, we needed to be heard and nurtured and loved and experience joy and freedom not fear and pain. (R.26)

The story of R.26 demonstrated the capacity of respondents to describe zine aesthetics as a way of supporting the sharing of meaning and identity that resisted dominant or perceived social norms. In the interview, R.26 was asked to describe the type of zine she made. Her response started as descriptive but as it progressed began to explore her relationships, her gender and sexual identity, her relationship with her identified community and some of the debates around safe spaces and identity politics that have been at the centre of the modern progressive political discourse:

(my zine) was about feminism and gender and how women's liberation/ radical feminist types use gender to exclude trans people from spaces, as a political tool, how the term "woman" is loaded and powerful and what it means to have a "women's only space" when you were born male and now live as a woman or born and identified as "female" when actually you were a man, some of my lovers have been trans* men so it really is their story to tell, I just wanted to try and capture a snapshot of these conversations in the radical/ queer/ women's communities which I inhabit and try and represent it. (R.26)*

Sharing their experiences and telling the stories '*...about my diagnoses of mental health issues, medication, treatment by doctors and psychiatrists and the like*' was not easy process for R.26. It was described as a cathartic, difficult and traumatic process, with her resistance and rebellion emerging in the form of her struggle to share experiences that she was '*scared*' to share. The aesthetics of zine-making provided her with a bricolage-informed pathway to illustrate and to help share her experiences. She collected images related to her childhood and then connected those to poems she had written as a teenager. R.26 used the essentially dark nature of children's stories where '*...a lot of people die, get eaten, the giant falls off the beanstalk when jack chops it, witches get pushed in ovens and Cinderella had a rough family life*' to remember previously blocked or forgotten events and to contextualise her traumatic and difficult experiences.

It is from here that the fear that comes from expressing and sharing something that she had been unable to share all her life became apparent; *'...and then I started to type my story, which I was so scared of doing because I had never told people before about my childhood and upbringing which was characterised by a lot of physical violence, threats, psychological abuse and emotional trauma'*. Whatever had caused her to not share this with anyone before was broken down through the practice of making the zine (and in part sharing it again through the interview). The decision that she made to make a zine, and then to write about these highly personal and difficult subjects, was facilitated through the aesthetics of the zine itself (the images interspersed with poetry), the appropriation of popular culture images of childhood heroes and villains. Zine-making gave her the sense of resisting the perceived and perhaps real forces and behavioural expectations that mitigated against her being able to share her experiences.

Most critically, R.26 recognised that the experiences conveyed through her zine were going to be shared with others and once published, would become part of the public domain. The thought of putting something out there, even into a semi-private space, nearly made her change her mind about choosing to make zines; *'...I started and stopped it a few times, just freaking out about the process of breaking this silence, you know? I had never told anyone this stuff before, big family secrets, shame and all that.'*

6.2.4 Aesthetics enacting personal meaning and identity

The fourth and final influencing dynamic explained how the construct of aesthetics supported and enabled the zine-makers' personal search for meaning and identity. The critical importance of zines in enabling personal constructions of meaning and identity was evident in a significant majority of interviews. Distinct from the assertions of control over the media, respondents felt that zine-making was a highly personal act. In each instance, how each act of making was undertaken and valued (or privileged) by the respondent defined how personal and individual zine-making was. The interpretations and assertions of the aesthetics of their own zine-making afforded both the capacity

to construct personal and individual meaning and identity through making or share their existing constructions of meaning and identity with others.

Superficially, the act of making was itself the personal assertion of meaning and identity. Respondents clearly stated that they *made zines*. At a deeper level, the analysis identified making was often the superstructure in which personal meaning and identity were constructed and shared. There were several examples where the respondents, using their zine content or form as an entry point, explored wider issues as sexuality, gender, music, art or geography through how they defined and interpreted aesthetics.

R.26 started her journey with a description of how she came to decide and design the form of her zines. A single sentence linked the opportunistic capacity to make zines easily with the need to '*get a message across*'. Naming five different zines she had made recently, she went on to outline how each of them created unique and personal opportunities to construct and share meaning and identity, closely aligning both the personal and the political, but making deliberate choices to what degree the personal or the political informed the zine:

Originally, I made a zine out of the collected anarchist and activist propaganda I had lying around my room that I couldn't throw out because I liked the images, or I wanted to use them to get a message across. A lot of my zines <zine name 1> particularly has been political/ personal, about food not bombs, anti-capitalist, anti-prison type activism I have been involved with, anti-nuclear. So it was a way of getting these ideas out there. <zine name 2> was about stuff I was going through at the time - reflecting on my sexuality (queer) and the hype around same-sex marriage, how I felt about that, and mass-marketing of women's bodies in advertising and how that affects our society, <zine name 3> was about a relationship breakup and the dysfunctionality of the relationship prior to the breakup, and <zine name 4> one was about my family "survive" and the other <zine name 5> about my diagnoses of mental health issues, medication, treatment by doctors and psychiatrists and the

like, so they have been pretty different depending on what was going on for me at the time and taking up my cerebral space. (R.26)

Another demonstration of this dynamic was the respondents who constructed and shared personal meaning and identity from the lived experience that came from the making of their zines. Many of the interviews (n=29) featured very detailed references and descriptions of the individual actions taken by the respondent to make their zine, chronicling the technology and the practices that they used, right down to descriptions of types of paper and the cuts and folds they needed to make their zines. Words like 'cut' (n=24) and 'paste' (n=12), along with descriptions of scissoring (n=2), gluing (n=7), using a typewriter (n=12) and derivations and direct descriptions of the process of photocopying (n=17) were prevalent in the interviews. Whilst it was true that some respondents gained satisfaction and achievement just through undertaking these processes, for the majority of respondents these processes enabled ease of access to media-making, creativity, ease of skills acquisition and ownership. R.23 asserted the desire to make *something* (in this case something creative) and that desire was facilitated through the low cost and ease of accessibility of the means to make it (to the materials for making and to a photocopier for reproduction):

I found most of the zines to be fairly uninteresting to me and so I guess the idea that I could make one that had a specific topic, and that wasn't just confused ramblings and disconnected images would be fun. I was working in a very stressful environment at the time where I was lucky enough to have access to a photocopier after hours, so I guess I wanted a little project to work on and had the resources to do it. (R.23)

Some respondents were decidedly instrumental in their descriptions of how they came to choose to make zines. The exposure to the mechanisms through which zines can be made (or in the case of R.19 to the zines themselves) facilitated the decision to participate. Personal meaning and identity in these instances was not always something deeply held or serious. Identity and meaning could be derived through fun, creativity, sharing as part of a

relationship or the satisfaction of making. Stories involved finding zines by accident or chance (R.5), making them to alleviate boredom of unemployment (R.27), being told by a nurse at school to do something creative (R.9) and trying it because their partner or friends were making them (R.34). R.10 described the fun and passion she had for making zines through which she defined her role in the community and how she enacted processes to make what she could aesthetically identify as a zine:

I didn't set out to design the zine with a clear mandate or 'look'. I didn't have access to a printer, but did have access to a copier and some books of fonts which is how my own cut and paste style came about. Necessity is the mother of invention, and all that. I started collecting different papers to stick onto, and I try to always use maps or the insides of security envelopes to recycle and reuse them, which by coincidence fits into that typical zine thing of reappropriation of material and subversion. It's a pleasure to receive bank letters these days for their elaborately patterned envelopes! I have always written for fun, so that skill plus the research skills I learnt working in the library helped me enormously. (R.10)

R.10 unwittingly posed an interesting conundrum - was access to technology the factor that facilitated participation, or was there an equally emancipatory aesthetic process of making that was facilitated by having access to technology? Whilst R.19 made explicit references to the processes of making and how access to some of the technologies of making facilitated participation, it was the experience of making, the realisation that she could participate in making zines and that zines represented a specific aesthetic experience for her that supported her choice to make zines. It was through the aesthetics that were constructed through the ways she made her zine that she engaged in both the construction of meaning and identity, even at the young age of thirteen:

Most of my skills were acquired from simple trial and error. I knew my way roughly around the copier and the rest was pie. Later on, I would look at other zines and try and emulate their styles but mostly I tried to

emulate book design. I think reading my first zine was a real trip. I was only around 13 and just the idea that you 'could' or were allowed to make such a thing and sell it was out of the world to me. (R.19)

In a later response, R.19 expressed self-doubt and self-criticism, and eventually made the choice to stop making zines. Her response also exposed the fragility of the *communitas*, balancing both the inclusion of more professional zines into the collective understanding of zine-making, but simultaneously challenging describing them as zines. This liminality, whilst supporting the construction of tentative bonds between zine-makers, was also the source of internecine tensions, personal self-criticality and of the definitional (and disciplinary) debates in the literature:

I originally chose to make them as a pretty teenage thing, for praise, for the cool factor but mainly just to vent. When I grew up I grew more critical and hard on my writing so I edited more and more. Then zine making became just like publishing and lost a lot of its shine. I was too critical and expected too much of myself. I've often been put off from going back into zine making by the giant amount of "really nicely made overly designed zines" that are out these days. I feel I can't compete on that level. I feel like there shouldn't also be that level, they're zines, not magazines. (R.19)

Finally, R.19 realigns herself with the *communitas* through the connections that she forged with inspirational zine-makers and her readers. This interaction was shaped by making across the broad range of forms, from decorating letters to the writing of zines to the formation of a community of readers:

*I did most of my communicating via snail mail and eventually email. It wasn't such a big thing when I started. Messaging online wasn't either, plus it was nice to receive letters and zinesters in that day wrote and decorated the best letters. I think you can be a solo zine maker and not talk to anyone and still be ok, but having friends in the community helps. I remember getting a postcard from the guy who wrote *Journalson* once,*

it made my day, I felt like I'd gotten a letter from Jack Kerouac himself. I wish I had received more letters. It would have been amazing. The small praise I got was great, and the critiques from other zinesters was really helpful, but I was never big enough to receive loads of feedback. (R.19)

This enactment of aesthetics was rooted deeply in the personal experiences arising from participating in zine-making. It shaped the constructs that the respondents understood to be influencing their decision to participate. The case of R.19 was not unique in how she unpicked the complexities of her own making practices within the frame of her search for and sharing of meaning and identity. Her decisions to participate in zine-making were personally constructed and often non-deliberative in their nature. They evolved through the process of making, clearly not present in the zine-makers who had made only one zine, but increasingly so the more experienced they became, noting as R.19 did, that their reasons for participating (or deciding to stop participating) shifted over time. R.10 encapsulates the aesthetic enacted through individual acts of meaning and identity in a response to the question about why she chose to make zines. She argues strongly for her own position as a fan in the *communitas* and the practices that went with that (fan mail, letter writing etc.). She also asserts that these positions and motivations have shifted due to the incursion of technology into her practices of making, however marginally. For a young person, the 'coolness' of the rest of the *communitas* could seem intimidating:

I was probably a bit too young to understand it all, but the sudden appearance in my life of a vibrant and connected underground was at once thrilling and scary to me. I felt quite intimidated by how cool and hip it seemed, and I felt like a voyeur in this secret society. I should point out that this was before the Internet took hold of the world: living as a teenager in a remote, provincial town in the north of England was a very isolating experience without the connectivity and culture that the web brings. I would say that a concern with 'reaching out' to like-minded people is still present in my zines now. (R.19)

R.19 also personalised her decision to participate by using emotive words like natural and obsession to understand her own motivations and her own identity:

Making a zine just seemed like the most obvious and 'natural' thing to do. It suits various interests I have and aspects of my character - an obsession with letter writing, getting things in the post and being a fan of mail art feeds into it; a love of books and the printed written word, along with hand crafted things. It suits the subject matter as well: alternative string playing and experimental music is somewhat underground, so it ought to be written about in a non-conventional way as well. I'm not sure my motivation has changed over the course of my practice, but I have recently started writing more on my blog...as a kind of adjunct to the zine. (R.19)

The story of R.8 was another example of the fragile interrelationships formed through aesthetics within the communitas of zine-making. Through a series of self-critical reflections of her own histories, her self-doubts about *what* she was participating in and why she was even making the effort to participate were linked to aesthetical processes arising from making. R.8 started her story with a long description of how she chose to come back to making zines after a seventeen-year absence:

I made my first zine in middle-school (approx. 1986) and made zines all through high school (1992). That story is kind of told in pieces in my responses below. I think the more interesting story is how I circled back to making zines, at the age of 35, after a 17-year absence from the zine scene. So that's the story I'll tell you. (R.8)

R.8 talked about her narrative history of zine-making in complex and descriptive terms. Her zine-making practice and the decision to make zines was at first an almost visceral and immediate reaction to the aesthetics of the first zine she had read. Even though the subject matter (content) was of no interest, the potentiality of the zine to facilitate '*creative expression*' was immediately one she seized upon, wanting to be a part of the '*coolest thing I have ever seen*':

I was in middle-school when I saw my first zine, in about 1986. My older step-sister brought home a zine that a high school boy had made. It was a skateboard zine, full of photos of his friends skateboarding, stuff on tricks, interviews, music reviews, etc. I wasn't into skateboarding at all, but I thought it was about the coolest thing I'd ever seen. It absolutely influenced my zine future. I immediately recognized it as a form of creative expression, and started making zines of my own within a week of that first encounter. (R.8)

R.8 described zine-making as a rebellion against her parents, a way to share her artistic practices of sculpture, painting and sewing, and finally to connect with a personal audience of high school friends and teachers. Each of these complex reasons for participation was enacted through the making of the zine and the subsequent sharing of that zine with a semi-private audience. When those reasons for participation and the 'act of rebellion' facilitated by the aesthetics of zine-making ceased being necessary, R.8 stopped making zines:

I also had a helluva time making zines during that time, because my step-mom and dad didn't understand what they were or the type of mail I was getting, etc. So I made my zines a bit as an act of rebellion (against my parents) in those days,...once I graduated and moved out, the act of rebellion was no longer necessary. I hope that makes sense. (R.8)

Within this detailed zine-making history, R.8 described many single points at which the decision to make zines occurred, and equally, when that decision changed. They made the case that participation was more complex than making or distributing. Participation in zine-making was a series of inter-linked acts and intentions, constructed within both personal and inter-personal frames, shared with others in a variety of different ways but almost always understood through what zines meant to them and how the aesthetics of zines delivered that meaning:

Zines had been so important to me as a kid, and if our local kids and adults didn't know about this form of creative expression, then I was gonna teach them! Since March 2010, I've held several zine exhibits at local galleries, held workshops at our local library and bookstores, started developing a zine library, taught zine electives at local middle-schools, and published six issues of a zine that is devoted to our community. It has definitely resulted in more folks making zines and selling them at our local bookshops, and the response to my efforts has been very well-received in the community that I live in. (R.8)

For R.8, technology and its role in making zines was an ever-present aspect. The Internet allowed her to meet other zine-makers, make and share her zine and build and coalesce a community around her making. It was her discovery of Etsy as a distribution channel that triggered her decision to make zines again.

Digital technology allowed R.8 to document her artworks (digital photos) before they were sold, and connect with other zine-makers in a small town (through Google searches and Facebook). On the surface, the most recent decision made by R.8 to start making zines again seemed a relatively simple interpretation of the model. R.8 wanted to make sure the ephemeral nature of her art was recorded and preserved. She made a zine to document the artworks she sold via Etsy. This was an intersection of technology and physical practice:

Anyway, in late 2010 I started a project where I was creating an original work of art each day, in the medium of my choice, and then selling it for really cheap on Etsy. It made sense to me to document these daily works of art in a zine, so that the people that missed out on purchasing the original piece of art could at least buy a cheap zine with the art reproduced. So I made a monthly zine to document this project. (R.8)

However, when R.8 started to reflect on this purpose, she recalled both the inspiration for her art (the local community and its members) and her own

experiences as a school student making zines. The complexity of the influences arising from aesthetics on the decision to participate in zine-making emerged more clearly in her response. The liminality within and between the zine-making participation processes, which was especially visible in her aesthetics, offered a different interpretive position. The importance of her community and how they informed and shaped her experiences emerged as a powerful reason to make zines. Her initial practice, essentially a pragmatic one that identified a problem and solved it, became something far more exploratory and personal. It prompted more actions and personal analysis than simply making a zine. R.8 shared her own lived experiences with her children, encouraging them to make zines like she had done. She ran zine fairs, workshops and eventually began teaching zine-making in a local school. The experiences that R.8 had through her zine-making were critical in that they ignited cascading activity and an intense desire to share the aesthetic of making with others. This was an incredibly important example of where the aesthetics of zine-making were described by the respondents as being individually constructed and understood but also shared with others or dependent on how others interpreted (or received) them:

Then, as a lot of the daily art I was making was inspired by people, places or events in my hometown, I started to make a zine about the community I live in. I then realized that I hadn't noticed zines in my local bookstores, and I started checking around to see if ANYONE was making zines in my corner of the world. I found one person through a google search, tracked her down on Facebook, and through some email exchanges learned that we were pretty much the only zinesters in town. I talked to my step-kids that were in junior high and high school, and they didn't know what zines were and didn't know about any kids at their schools that were making them. I was astonished. And disappointed. This kind of lit a fire for me (R.8)

6.3 Concluding the *communitas* of aesthetics

Through the lens of constructing and sharing meaning and identity, the way aesthetics were personally demonstrated or cognitively defined served as a medium through which participation could be enacted as an attitudinal or emotional affect. However, it was equally clear that at times the respondents were simply using aesthetics as a frame to describe and interpret the acts they were doing as part of their zine-making and how those actions coalesced together to produce the desired outcomes.

The questions that were asked in the interviews referred to zines and zine-making as a practice. The respondents were never asked to define what they believed constituted a zine or how they understand zines to be unique from other media. The definition of what constituted the practices involved in their zine-making (or in the context of how they consumed, replicated or learnt from the practices of others) were both individually defined and community owned, even when those definitions and actions were mutually contradictory (which was especially the case where digital technology and social media practices were used in the making and distributing of zines).

One of the critical commonalities within the *communitas* as described by the respondents was the connection between the decision to participate in zine-making and how the aesthetics of the practice were enabled as a learnt and lived experience, emerging from doing, sharing, reading or engaging in a community. It was through these lived experiences that the aesthetics of zines afforded zine-makers the opportunity to be a part of this process of sharing and inform the development, demonstration or sharing of meaning and identity.

One of the critical lived experiences that spanned all four of the dynamics was the experience of reading zines. Reading was often the main trigger that made zine-making possible. It was clear from the study that many respondents had never heard of zines until they read one. Extending from simple consumption through a sense of tactility affording inspiration and ideation, the experiential aspect of participation supported the assertion that zine aesthetics were in part

a learnt concept, either directly or indirectly learnt from the sharing behaviours of others. This was a common signifier of the bond within the *communitas*, enabling direct and indirect connections to be forged. Some respondents argued that these sharing behaviours were not didactic but two-way. In these instances, the zine-maker was both a receiver of shared experience and a sharer of their own experiences. In the liminal space between and through the zine-making activities there was commonality as well as a fragmentation that occurred when the responses from the person receiving the shared information didn't always matter to the sharer.

The longitudinal story told by R.8 was demonstrative of this almost cyclical process of participation where exposure through reading prompted the respondent to make their own zines, which itself became a motivation to make and share zines in the hope that others would make and share them as well. This cycle of shared experience was part of how the aesthetic was defined for many respondents. There was an inferred belief that making zines, sharing their experiences, and enacting *something* through zine-making, helped to propagate or sustain the media. The transfer of knowledge that was enacted by the zine-makers was explained both in terms of sharing and, in a more altruistic sense, of protecting the aesthetic, especially in the face of technology and competing forms of expression. The act of continuing the aesthetic was itself an act of resistance against the dominance of blogs and 'easy' forms of media-making.

It was also interesting that aesthetical processes were often used by the respondents to determine who was welcomed into the 'church' of zine-making or as a way of excluding others. The 'rules' of aesthetics were applied as both hard limits and soft guidelines that could be stretched, pushed, added to and played with. These were not always applied equitably, but emerged from within practices, communities or sometimes from the process of archiving or cataloguing for library collections. These rules were both stated and understood in the conceptual framework of individuals and their acceptance of community-defined standards of aesthetics.

There was no universal acceptance of 'zine aesthetics' as such. Resisting and rebelling against orthodoxies constituted key reasons for participation for several participants. These tensions between sharing and individuality, technology and handmade and construction and attitude, whilst essentially liminal, were not essentially explicit in the interviews. The respondents told complex, discursive stories that explored sometimes nascent, sometimes deeply held convictions as to why they were making zines. It was hard to disconnect these decisions from the way the aesthetics were made real, in terms of how the zines themselves were constructed, with terms like 'cut and paste' representing both an aesthetic and a way of making:

Menghsin says of her zine writing, "how important this is to me. 28 cents worth of paper but priceless chunks of me." She is her zine. Her words are her. And the act of claiming that hard-won self is not surprising...Menghsin writes under the constant threat of her father who disapproves of her zinestering (Sinor 2003, p. 246)

CHAPTER SEVEN – CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This isn't the whole story and this isn't me attempting to be a journalist or a novelist, or a creative writing student. This isn't me trying to sound slick or finished, because guess what? I'm a mess and a contradiction and an introvert and a loud mouth and a girl hiding in the corner.
(From the zine 'Giantess Seven' by Candace, 2007)

The writer of the zine Giantess Seven directly addresses the reader (through the medium of the editorial) with clear and honest assertions about her reasons for making zines. The language is imbued by honest confessions, interjections of self-doubt and direct statements of what she *isn't*. It is through this exclusion that we (as the reader) can see how she defines her place in the complex communitas of zine-making. The critical factors that define the oneness and commonality she feels with other zine-makers does not come from her content or from making something professional. It comes from the meaning and identity she constructs through her practice of making the zine. It is shared with the reader openly, through the frank words in the editorial but equally controlled by limiting the number of copies made and distributed. The semi-private nature of the communitas she inhabits is demonstrated through the way she describes herself as hiding in the corner, defining the communitas as something that allows both active and passive participation.

Candace refers to the critical importance of understanding what she is choosing to participate in, defining it constantly. Whilst this is a public assertion, she excludes the influences and eyes of others (advertisers, editors). The sense that we are peeking into something private and personal is clear in the metaphor of the zine as her bedroom:

Still, I feel the need to define zines to myself over and over, as a reminder of why they're so important. A personal zine is a record of something. It's a product of an editor with no staff or advertisers. It's my bedroom in black and white. (From the zine 'Giantess Seven' by Candace, 2007)

The zine itself is dotted with other examples of where Candace addresses the reader directly in order to say that this zine is different to the zines she had made before, noting on the last page:

I wrote this zine during the course of a year. I still think it's mostly relevant. I've never been this personal in a zine. I'm not sure I will again. I may just escape to fiction (From the zine 'Giantess Seven' by Candace, 2007)

Finally, Candace uses her zine to explain her own issues with zines as a media form. She describes how she needed to take a year off zines and how making them contributed to her re-evaluation of her decisions to participate. She described that was not what she expected to do with her zine content and through successive tracts of highly personal, emotive and confessional text she chronicles a very personal narrative of sexuality and love. The writing contained in these two short pages of a single issue of a zine describe the complexities, fragilities, aesthetic sensibilities and connections that define the communitas of zine-making.

The aim of this study was to identify the constructs that influence the decision to participate in making zines, represented by the primary research question:

In the digital age, where participation in media-making has been transformed by technology and social media practices, what constructs influence the decision to make zines?

Challenged by the decline of print media, the transformation of participatory culture and the rise of social media, participation in zine-making has continued to occur in the digital age. Zines are represented in the popular and academic literature as a fringe activity, marginalised through being deliberately positioned in opposition to other, more traditional or corporate forms of media-making. How and where zines are located within the mediascape of the digital age is attributed to the personal, handmade nature of zine-making. The introduction to *Giantess Seven* exposes some of these personal idiosyncrasies, and the metacognitive nature of zine-making that were also present in the interviews conducted for this study. The interactions of process, action, personality and lived experiences created liminal spaces in which degrees of commonality emerged between the respondents, both collectively held and individually determined. It was in this context that addressing and answering the secondary research question was critical in determining the answer to the primary research question.

In order to unpack the way zine-making was defined and understood by the respondents and therefore address the primary research question, a model was developed that iteratively defined what the respondents believed they were participating in and how they enacted those participation processes to make their zine (Chapter Five). Within this model, modalities were identified within each process that represented and explained the social and cultural reality of the respondents. Whilst acts of zine-making were generally individually undertaken, the role of the zine-maker as social actor, creating, sharing and understanding lived experiences through their making defined more clearly what they were choosing to participate in. Whilst this model addressed part of the secondary research question by defining the process of zine-making, it left unanswered how the respondents defined zine-making for themselves.

It was through exploring the processes that respondents used to make their zines that the liminality between those processes began to emerge. Chapter Six argued that what the respondents were choosing to participate in was not necessarily bound by zine-making and their completed zine, but located within a *communitas* bounded by the personal definition and assertions of the liminal

nature of zine aesthetics. Being a self-identified member of this *communitas* and experiencing the sense of commonality and comradeship that came from participating in making zines defined the constructs that influenced their decision to participate in zine-making.

The use of aesthetics as a lens to interpret the stories of the respondents and tease out and interrogate notions of meaning and identity clearly demonstrated the critical importance of liminality. There is a significant subset of the literature that argues strongly for making practices as determinants for defining what is and is not considered a zine (see e.g., Chidgey 2014a; Lymn 2008; Stockburger 2015). In this study, the aesthetics of the actions of making, demonstrated through independence, control over construction and distribution, and readership in some instances, emerged as more influential. Meaning was constructed through personal assertions of emancipation, ownership and influence. However, it was equally critical for meaning to be shared, whether anonymously, safely or even provocatively. Respondents couched their rationales for participation in the context of the visible or invisible audience, explaining their zine-making processes with the reader always in mind (positively and negatively).

This final concluding chapter is divided into four sections. The first section will address the research questions directly by reviewing the key emergent findings arising from the stories of the respondents and how these coalesced into a theoretical model. The next section will reflect briefly on the constructivist grounded theory approach taken by the study. The third section will reflect on the theoretical model and how it contributes to knowledge. The final section comprises of a concluding discussion and suggests avenues for further research.

7.1 Choosing to participate in the communitas of zine-making

This section discusses the key findings in relation to the primary research question, as well as addressing the key constructs within the secondary research question.

Rupert Cox in his work on the aesthetic sensibilities of Japanese Zen arts describes a *communitas* of artists as occupying a positionless position (Cox 2013). In privileging the commonality and comradeship of *communitas* as posited by Turner (1987, 2008) Cox argues that both the political and social implications of making art can be lost within the liminality that forges the *communitas*. The *communitas* of zine-makers identified in the study did not lose sight of the political and social implications of zine-making. The shared participation in defining and owning the aesthetics of zines afforded the respondents the capability (if they wanted it) to enact political and social behaviours within a community they could exert a degree of control and influence over. Whilst it was evident through the responses that the *communitas* itself, defined by liminality, was fragile in the way it was constructed, this did not make it weak. The fragility in part was borne out of the tensions within the *communitas* about the ways in which the aesthetics of zines were understood, with the uses of digital technology and social media practices creating some of these tensions. Social media sites such as Facebook, Tumblr and Instagram offer their users some of the same aesthetics of zines, with the added benefits of immediacy, flexibility and almost unlimited capacity for exposure to readers and the community. But it was clear that the decision to participate in zine-making was partially made because the aesthetic of zines offered something different. What that 'something different' was did not emerge as uniform or universally agreed in the study. It was in the shared agreement the zines represented something different that the strength of the *communitas* was held.

For some respondents, the decision to participate in zine-making was an assertion that they wanted to be part of something that afforded them the capability to construct and share meaning and identity – a capability not supported or provided in mainstream media forms. Others found the *communitas* of zine-making confronting and contradictory, with the aesthetics as defined by other zine-makers challenging their own aesthetical sensibilities and aspirations for participation. The liminality in the processes of zine-making meant that the *communitas* was constantly challenged and evolving, shaped

and defined differently for each member. However, these very personal, unique and individual approaches to making zines clearly had some commonalities, evident in the way certain products or practices could be challenged as being zines or zine-like. This was a critical insight into the secondary research question.

I have argued in earlier chapters that the *communitas*, whilst formed within the shared experiences of the liminality arising from how zines are made, is defined by the critical importance of zine aesthetics. How the respondents identified the artefact they were making as a zine, how they recognised other zine-makers within and outside the *communitas*, and how they shared their own views on zine-making, was informed through the filter of aesthetics and how they facilitated construction and sharing of meaning and identity. This was evident in interviews, such as R.28, who transitioned from not knowing what these printed objects that contained writing about cool topics actually were, to how those aesthetical elements helped him identify that he had been making zines all along.

Zine aesthetics afforded the respondents the capacity to enact their reasons for choosing to participate in zine-making, whether this was the impulse for control, resistance and rebellion to share lived experiences. Participation in making allowed the respondents the opportunity to find and own their unique space within the *communitas*. Participation in the digital age with its incursions, interventions and enhancements of technology supported respondents to transmediate their making, participating in digital and analogue acts and drawing influence, content and most importantly aesthetics from other media (Brouwer & Licona 2016). Participation allowed respondents to share their own constructed version of zine aesthetics with others in the *communitas*, or share them with people outside the *communitas* to draw them in.

Many respondents passionately described how their reading practices made them part of the *communitas*, often long before they had made their first zine. The *communitas* in that sense was only loosely bounded with no agreed or established 'badge of entry' required to participate, other than a shared passion

for zines. Within this relatively elastic commonality, where members recognise their participation and the participation of others as zine-making, the interviews exposed multiple smaller sub-spaces that intersected, clashed, supported, merged and ignored each other in multiple Venn spaces within the *communitas*. These Venn spaces represented where different identities or meanings intersected in the agreed aesthetical space of the *communitas*. Take the example of R.2:

I currently focus on my zine <zine name> which I would class as a perzine (because it's non-fiction and focuses on diary entries, reflections, and has a confessional tone). It's quarter sized and it tends to be equally text and image heavy. I select images and artwork that tend to be quite dark, bordering on slightly erotic. I also include some of my own sketches. In terms of content, I talk about the issues and experiences that play on my mind at the time of writing, usually it flows like a journal with occasional film, book and music reviews or literary and philosophical quotes/excerpts. Reoccurring themes tend to be polyamory, myth and matriarchy, sex and sexuality, psychoanalysis, philosophy, wanderlust.
(R.2)

The sub-spaces described by R.2, whilst centred on her self-description of her zines as perzines, intersected with her identity as defined through sexuality and eroticism. It also intersected with the diary-like confessional style of zine-making and tangentially with music or culture zines. She also describes subjects for her zines that encompass alternative lifestyles and living. Finally, she shares artworks and drawings in her zines in the sub-space of people who make and read art zines. The complexity of defining the *communitas* for R.2 was indicative of similar complexities for other respondents. As with the broader *communitas*, these sub-spaces were fragile, with each zine-maker and zine reader defining their own identity within them. They were also not heterogeneous within and homogeneous without, with clear examples in the study (like R.2's comments) that argued for the importance of the porosity between the boundaries of these sub-spaces. They were self-defined through how the respondent constructed and shared meaning and their identity. Other

respondents argued for clear and hard boundaries between the sub-spaces, whilst agreeing that their sub-spaces existed within the wider zine-making communitas, as R.22 describes; *'I don't want to open up a big can of worms, but I'm never sure what people are talking about, and what they're including or excluding, when they say "zine"'*.

The importance of control over the decision to be part of the communitas was also critical to understanding how the communitas influenced the decision to make zines. Respondents privileged the control they had over the degree to which they exposed themselves to the communitas. This control was described in the interviews in terms of how the respondent formed and nurtured semi-private spaces within the communitas. These semi-private spaces and the invisible audiences contained within determined the degree to which the respondents were willing to share meaning and their identity. They were also critical to the choice of zines over other media such as blogs. Blogs do not create a private space for the maker, as anyone with an Internet connection is able to access them. The maker cannot control how many people see the blog and who reads it. The respondents who described the need to share meaning through their zine or to construct or share their formed, hidden or nascent identity chose zines because they could exert some actual or perceived control over who consumed their zine (and perhaps which readers became members of the communitas themselves).

The inclusion of both zine-makers and readers in the communitas was another critical insight. A significant majority of respondents described the importance of reading zines to both knowing what zines were and influencing their decision to make them. The importance of reading behaviours within the communitas could not be underestimated. The exposure of an individual to zines, aside from the intended emotional or political impact, can provoke the actions triggering participation. From the 'three chords' of the punk movement where punk fans were empowered to make music to reading zines such as *Sniffin' Glue* (Davies 2005; Grimes & Wall 2014), the DIY movement has thrived on people consuming media that they clearly could see themselves making. Integrating the complexities of the atelier model, the replication and copying of

creative work (the re-appropriation of cultural artefacts as bricolage) and more passive approaches where the maker never knows that they have inspired others, the encouragement of readers to join the *communitas* in active ways such as making was critical to many respondent's decision to make zines. It was a complex interaction involving emotional bonds stretching both ways. Respondents were simultaneously zine readers and zine-makers, signifying their participation in the *communitas* through both acts. The act of reading zines was itself a choice to participate in the *communitas* of zines, either explicitly enacted or serendipitously discovered. It defined what the respondent *knew* they were choosing to participate in (answering the secondary research question) and providing a vehicle to enable the modalities that arose from the processes of making.

Another critical way the *communitas* influenced the decision to participate in zine-making was the capacity of the aesthetics of zines to share the lived experiences of zine-makers. Whether those lived experiences occurred before the choice to participate in zine-making (and were shared in the zine itself) or occurred during the processes of making zines was unique to each respondent. The respondents sought to find some sense of embodiment from their participation, manifesting itself as a zine. Participating in a community, finding commonalities or simply knowing there was an audience for their rantings, rebellions, resistances and opinions were important outcomes for many respondents. Expressing and telling the story of their lived experiences facilitated the capacity of zines to support the construction of meaning, either through the healing afforded by sharing or the placing of a marker to attract others who had similar lived experiences.

Returning to the collective demonstration of the findings of this study within the wider zine community (as I did at the start of this chapter with the zine, *Giantess Seven*), the influences that the construct of the *communitas* has on the decision to participate in zine-making is clearly demonstrated in the zine *13 months*. Coming in the form of a five-page typed letter addressed 'Dear Reader' and sealed in a nondescript manila envelope, the zine-maker set about describing their '*first relationship and the impact it had on my life*'. What followed was an

intensely personal story of love, insecurity, sexual violence and the consequences of depression and social isolation. The story that the zine-maker tells is traumatic, explicit, and searingly honest about the broken relationship that led to her alcoholism, dangerous acts of self-harm and anorexia. Telling this story helps the zine-maker deal with all the '*memories and the hurt*' and provides support for others (perhaps those who read the zine) caught in similar cycles of abuse. The zine is signed '*From a person*' with no identifying email address, non-de-plume or any way to contact the zine-maker. The letter was then sealed into an envelope with a hand-stamped title on the outside, and distributed as a letter that you as the reader, surreptitiously opens to see the deepest and most personal confessions of the writer.

The zine acts as both an invitation to the *communitas* and a construction and sharing of meaning and identity through the aesthetics of the zine. In this instance, the liminality between the processes is clearly exposed, with the form of the zine, its content, the way it was distributed and the intimacy of the community of readers shaping how the zine can be recognised as a zine, even though this zine doesn't resemble any 'traditional' zine form. Aside from the risks taken by zine-maker in sharing her lived experiences, the zine afforded her the capability of controlling the way she told her story. The author did not have to have her experiences interpreted by an editor or a journalist (as would occur in a different medium) but was able to tell her story as she saw fit, for the *communitas* and for her honest discovered place within it.

I went back to school and instead of letting myself grieve and deal with the horrible things that had happened over the last 13 months, I buried myself in studies and stuffed all the horrible memories and pain and hurt and sadness into a little compartment into my brain and didn't deal with it. (ZINE – 13 months)

7.2 *Reflections on the research design and methodology*

The methodological approach and the decisions undertaken in carrying it out during the course of the study were shaped by both the questions I wanted to

ask and the nature of the people I was planning to interview. The constructivist grounded theory approach was located within my broader epistemological position of constructivism, which shaped the overall design of the study and informed decisions that inevitably influenced the findings.

The first of these critical decisions was the importance of my own position in the study. As noted in Chapter One, I commenced work on this study as a reader of zines, dating back to the early 1980s. I had never made the transition from reader to maker, preferring to navigate the sub-spaces within the *communitas* of zine-making by reading zines from a variety of different perspectives and across many subjects. As the construct of *communitas* emerged from the data analysis, it was clear that both my role as a reader of zines and my role as a researcher of zines and zine-making allowed me to locate myself within the wider *communitas* of zines. I even made this location explicit in the call for participation where I described myself as both a researcher and a DIY artist (in fields of making other than zines – see Appendix 1).

The next critical decision was related to the type of data that came from the interviews. Semi-structured interviews supported respondents to tell their stories, starting with their first experiences of zines through to how they engaged with their readers and the wider community. These stories were rich, personal, sometimes contradictory and often critically reflective. The constructivist grounded theory approach and the methods of coding and analysis that supported it drew out insights from these stories that shaped my understanding of how zines were made, how those decisions came together aesthetically to make something that the respondent identified as a zine and ultimately to explain why the respondents chose to make zines in the digital age. More generally, one of the challenges of interviewing people about the past was, as demonstrated by the narrative inconsistencies in some stories, the vagaries of memory. Some respondents noted that they would recount their experiences, if only they could remember that far back. Using follow-ups and holistic questioning that approached the same topic from different angles (all related to the decision to make zines), the experiences they related acted as

aide-memoires throughout the analytical process they were engaged in through telling their stories.

The use of theoretical sampling enabled me to iteratively target specific types of interview respondents as the open coding progressed, to obtain voices of younger people involved in different types of zine-making practices and with different levels of experience in zine-making. This was achieved to a large extent, with all thirty-four respondents having made at least one zine, with significant variation in zine types, geographic locations and experience

As noted in the Chapter One, the use of a constructivist grounded theory methodology in the broader field of cultural participation and more specifically as applied to DIY making represented a contribution to knowledge. The methodology afforded me the opportunity to engage with the *communitas* of zine-making at a personal and sometimes intimate level. In many instances, the respondents themselves reflected on and processed their behaviours and practices through the course of the interviews. Almost all of the respondents noted their interest in seeing the final study and participating in sharing it with the wider zine-making community. The constructivist grounded theory approach supported this creation of a small community of zine-makers that may not have emerged using other methodological approaches.

7.4 *Contributions to theory*

7.4.1 *Communitas and zine-making*

The concept of *communitas* (and how it is defined and shaped from participation in liminal states) has played a central role in orientating the theory generation and analysis in this study. Primarily residing in anthropology and cultural studies (Turner (1974, 1977, 1987) McMaster (2008)) the concept of *communitas* has made limited impact in the study of cultural production, DIY, punk, youth social movements and resistance (e.g. Kera 2017; Martin-Iverson 2009). A *communitas* is a complex space within which individuals enact their practices. It is relatively transient with limited commonality and unity coming

from experiencing liminality. Turner (1979b) argues that a *communitas* is often never quite realised because ‘...individuals and collectivities try to impose their cognitive schemata on one another’ (Turner 1979b, p. 75).

In the context of the study, the respondents describe a relatively coherently bounded *communitas*, encircled by the common acceptance that what they were making (and reading) could be described as a zine. Within that boundary, they accepted and expected a sense of comradeship coming from the experiences of a shared rite of passage in part arising from the construction and sharing of meaning and identity. This boundary was challenged both in the context of the literature which struggled to present an agreed definition of zine-making and to a lesser degree in the interviews. Some respondents questioned whether a zine made by another person in the *communitas* was in fact a zine, but stopped short of declaring this, giving them the benefit of the doubt. The *communitas* of zine-makers was different from that described by Turner in two different ways. Firstly, the cognitive schemata, which in effect was the acceptance of an object as a zine or as part of a zine-making process, was not applied to exclude or remove zines and zine-makers from the *communitas*. Forged through the processes of making zines and how those processes and acts coalesced to determine the aesthetics of zines for the maker, the cognitive schemata were relatively elastic in how they bound the *communitas* together against the forces and practices outside of it. Inside the *communitas*, it was the cognitive schemata in the form of aesthetics and actions that shattered and combined within the *communitas* to create Venn spaces between these sub-spaces formed by different types of practice, different external communities and cultures, different gender and identities and different types of zines.

Edith Turner (2012) ascribes a *communitas* with a sense of joy that comes from being freed from status and structures and readiness of the *communitas* to see members as ‘they really are’ (Turner 2012, p. 2). Positioned in anthropology (mainly in the context of spirituality but extending into arts and culture), Turner’s assertion of *communitas* as a boundaryless concept, capable of de-structuring sociological and psychological practices and patterns generates a lack of specificity as to how an individual knows they are, or wants to participate as a

member, of a specific *communitas*. My use of *communitas* as a construct informed by how respondents represented and demonstrated their understanding of zine aesthetics both defined what the *communitas* was (in this case, a commonly held though fragile understanding of zine aesthetics and their capability to construct and share meaning and identity) as well as explained why individuals wanted to be in the *communitas* (or stay a part of it).

One of the key areas of aesthetical agreement between most respondents was the location of zine-making within the broader movement of DIY making. Unlike other cultural practices, DIY making communities can be loosely constructed and organised due to the ownership, control and democratisation of the forms of making. DIY making comes with much of its own aesthetical baggage, much of which is generated through the challenged assertions and demonstrations of control that inform zine-making. DIY making also affords the participants the capability to shape and share identity, creating safe spaces for exposure, for transition, for lies and for fantasy (Martin-Iverson 2009; Morrison 2010).

Rauch (2004) describes zine-making as a series of processes informed by the search for and participation in identity, drama and performance. Victor Turner also notes the critical importance of performance and drama to a *communitas*, whereby a *communitas* gains wisdom not through solitary contemplation and analysis but through what he calls ‘...participation immediately or vicariously through the performance genres in sociocultural dramas’ (Turner 1979b, p. 76). It is through the performative engagement between members that wisdom accumulates within a *communitas*. These descriptions align to the constructions of fantasy and lies ascribed to DIY making by Martin-Iverson and Miller.

The study exposed similar conditions within the *communitas* of zine-making, where traditions formed within the membership were based on the progressive aggregation and sharing of lived experiences and a sense of performative engagement through the making and distributing of zines. The construction and sharing of meaning and identity through the decision to participate in the *communitas* was effected by this performative engagement, as well as through

exposure, cognition in the form of decision-making and creative choice and volition, whereby the respondents shared and constructed lived experiences willingly through a medium they owned and controlled.

7.4.2 Semi-private spaces in the digital age

Prominent in the study and alluded to in some of the literature (e.g. Duncombe 1997; Gottlieb & Wald 2006; Schilt 2003a) was the unique capacity of zines to allow the zine-maker control (to varying degrees) over who read or consumed their zine. Much of the relevant literature refers to the criticality of the zine-maker's control over the scope and scale of the readership by limiting the circulation of zines and the creation of semi-private spaces for the construction and sharing of meaning and identity. This was supported by assertions of control over the channels of distribution and a sense of resistance against mass production and traditional retail outlets. The notions of privacy and control described in these studies, usually by the zine-makers themselves, were in some ways a fakery, or perhaps even an affectation. While small circulations effectively afforded the zine-maker control over the numbers of readers, they often ceded control over who the readers were to the randomness and serendipity of whoever walked in and bought the zine.

The study reaffirmed the importance of semi-private spaces to zine-makers, with respondents alluding to concepts such as the invisible audience and describing scenarios in which the risks of sharing their own searches for meaning and identity were mitigated through the aesthetics of zines. The descriptions given by respondents as to how they understood and supported the creation of the semi-private spaces inhabited by their readers extended past the assertions presented in the literature:

- The sense of deliberacy around the creative choices of content and form that limited the potential size of the readership;
- Overt assertions of not caring about who read their zine and what they thought of it;

- Altering distribution methods to make them more personal (choosing who to share the zine with or only selling at zine fairs);
- Privileging communications with and between readers and adjusting the zine to better suit their needs.

One area of alignment between the study and the literature was the notion that zine-writers write deliberately for an intentionally limited audience (Chidgey 2006; Nijsten 2016). Comprising mainly of readers that are part of the communities the zine-makers chose to be a part of, the sense of deliberacy described by the respondents was both an assertion of control and clarion call for an assumption that there must *be someone* out there like them. Chidgey (2006) goes further by arguing that the most obvious *someone* are other zine-makers and readers:

There is certainly an intended audience in mind when the zine is written: other zine writers and readers. Zine editors can therefore be said to partake in a form of community publishing – not only writing the stories and histories of their lived communities, but being shaped by the expectations and boundaries of a virtual, nongeographical zine community (Chidgey, 2006, p. 10).

Alluding to the sense of bounded boundarylessness that shapes a zine *communitas*, Chidgey defines the *communitas* as virtual, shaped by the lived experiences and perhaps most critically, the expectations of the members. The study identified that respondents were aware that zine-making did not expose their creative work to large audiences nor was zine-making a mass media such as blogs or social media. In many instances, the respondents did not know who their audience might be (and in several cases, did not care). The critical importance of close personal and sometimes intimate ties such as with family, friends, fleeting connections, classmates or people into the same bands, was as dominant in the study as the desire to be part of a community of zine-makers.

A guy finds a zine next to him in a bar in Tokyo and he picks it up and reads it then he doesn't stick it in his bag and take it home because it

asks him not to. He feels like he's part of a secret club. He feels a sense of belonging and romanticism and goes home and calls the lady he has a crush on and asks her to lunch. (Grant 2009)

7.4.3 Transitioning between cultural consumption and cultural production

The study exposed the complex interrelationship between the practices of zine reading and zine-making alluded to by Chidgey. Some of the literature on cultural production describes how participation in culture as an audience represents a common entry point for individuals to participate in producing culture and is focus of studies designed to identify ways in which cultural participation can be enhanced (DiMaggio & Mukhtar 2004; Glăveanu 2011; McCarthy & Jinnett 2001). There was a strong sense from many of the respondents that the catalyst for the development of their understanding of the aesthetics of zines came from being a zine reader. The notion of discovery was prominent, whereby the respondents were not actively seeking zines but found them in retail shops, at gigs or through friends or family that were making them. For these respondents, zine reading was not a passive process, it encouraged seeking behaviours to find more zines to actively engaging in communications or the formation of a relationship with the zine-makers. The inclusion of zine readers into the *communitas* was demonstrated in the study through incidences where participation in reading was in of itself enough to make the reader a member of the *communitas*. The respondents described how their readers became part of their community, either in their invisible form or more actively through meeting them at events like zine fairs.

Many of the theoretical studies on cultural production are informed (in part, at least) by Bourdieu's notion of the privileges arising from the charismatic acts of creation and the magical transubstantiation inherent in how creativity and making supports the creation of the maker and their capacity to make (Bourdieu 1992, 1993). Whilst Bourdieu centred his studies on high-culture forms such as art and literature (and later journalism), he refers to the space within the field of cultural production for radical media activities or making that fits within the label of *avant-garde*. He categorises art as a form that exists between commercial

(large-scale) and non-commercial (in terms of being oppositional to the commercial), arguing that economic considerations are fundamental to defining art within a field of production.

Many of the conditions Bourdieu ascribes to cultural production were extant in the ways zines were made in the digital age. Bourdieu argues that cultural production exists within the social conditions of production, circulation, and consumption. These broadly represented the four zine-making participation processes described in the model emerging from this study. The processes themselves, whilst potentially instrumental in nature were enacted by the respondent in social ways; reacting, responding or shaping their engagement within their own search for meaning and identity. Bourdieu also argued that aesthetics represent a lens to understand art as a 'socially constituted' form, created through display in public and private spaces, consumed by social actors (makers, readers, patrons) and not existing *sans* forms of sociality that engage producers in the search for meaning and value (Bourdieu 1993, pp. 318-19). The critical importance that Bourdieu placed on social experiences was helpful in defining the boundary of the *communitas* around a common appreciation, enthusiasm and passion for zines. Despite the debates about what a zine is and why individuals choose to participate in making them, everyone in the study recognised and asserted that they were making zines. Equally, where referenced, they also recognised what others in the *communitas* were making (through the lens of aesthetics) as zines as well. The original title for this study that was set out in the initial research proposal was *If a tree falls...* inferring that, conceptually, zines represented more than the result of making something for the purposes of simply making it (art for art's sake as the saying goes).

7.4.4 Analogue making in the digital age

The critical engagement of zine-making and the normalisation of technology (both pre and post digital) is a dominant theme in both the popular literature and the theoretical positions asserted in the literature of the academy. One prescient example is the sometimes totemic importance placed on the photocopier to the emergence and growth of zine-making practices. The

humble photocopier has been associated with stealing, accessibility, DIY making, aesthetic sensibilities unique to zines and a sense of relative inexpensiveness. Even though zines were made before the invention of the first photocopier, many definitions emphasise the importance of the photocopier to the flow of zines within a community and the capacity of anyone to make one. Poletti (2008a) used the characteristics of the photocopier as a site for exploring how zines allowed makers to produce narratives of their lived experiences. She argues that photocopiers are more than instruments of reproduction but come with their own bureaucracies and histories supporting the demonstrations of originality and authenticity within a zine:

It is this very process that is the focus of reflection in zine making, and reading the zine object requires us to recognize the photocopier as the medium of choice of zines, and not merely as a tool of expression uncritically taken up because of the predominance of cheap and accessible photocopying in the societies where zines are produced. (Poletti 2008b, p. 98)

In the study, the types of technology described and the practices arising from how the respondents used social media possessed similar bureaucracies, affordances and histories to the photocopier, which in the main has been superseded by digital printing technologies as the instrument of choice to reproduce zines. However, the aesthetics and the characteristics of photocopied zines have remained central to the way the aesthetics of zines were defined by the respondents.

The descriptions of the intrinsic importance of the photocopier posited by both the more experienced zine-makers in the study and in the literature, have evolved into more tacit representations of similar expectations and demonstrations of aesthetics. For example, there were several examples where respondents asserted that the photocopier made zine-making more accessible, underground and rebellious. Where respondents discussed their social media use in relation to zine-making, they asserted similar values ascribed to social media. They described how social media has created

opportunities for zine-makers to engage with micro-fragments of communities and readers on a global scale, maintaining communications across national borders and time zones, distributing zines to people anywhere and everywhere, and being part of a *communitas* that is not bounded by geography. Social media, which some respondents argued to pose a challenge to the practice of zine-making, supported the capacity to build bridges between the sub-spaces of the *communitas*, extending the scope of the semi-private spaces.

Another helpful though less explored theory was the inherent tensions that emerged from within the literature on post-digital making (Cascone 2000; Coyne 2015; Cramer 2015a). Common to most definitions of post-digital is that there is a defining point of time where technology no longer bounds change, but is simply a part of it. It is positioned within what Coyne (2015) describes as ‘...some common sense wrapped up as *zeitgeist*, and pitting itself against the “straw man” of the digital true believer’. Cramer (2015a) aligns being post-digital with the states of flux that media-making finds itself as a result of digital technology and distribution.

The use of technology and social media practices by the respondents was effectively a normalised behaviour, where the technologies that informed or facilitated action were referenced but rarely pejoratively described. There was a sense of longing for the past, protecting (through zine-making) the historical practices of DIY making, including the skills of cut and paste, the aesthetical sensibilities of bricolage, or the practices of letter writing to pen pals and the invisibility of the audience. However, this longing was balanced by the respondents’ use of technology as a way of realising their zine-making ambitions. Whether technology replicated the pre-digital imperfections of photocopying and the handmade or it created some of those imperfections and the sense of aesthetical uniqueness itself, there was a sense of post-digitalness in many of the responses.

7.5 Areas for further research

This final section discusses some of the implications that the study has raised and how these might be further developed. What emerged from the development of the model was an exploration of the constructs that influenced the decision to make zines in the digital age. Within the historical development of zines, there have been several epoch-defining periods signalling change and growth (punk and riot grrrl being two prominent examples of this). Others predicted the inevitable decline and death of print media and zines (Marr 1999; Yorke 2000). Contra to this and prevalent in the popular literature, in regular news stories, television coverage and social media debate, there is an assertion (however under-evidenced) that zines have continued to grow in popularity and participation. In her *New York Times* article 'Why the Internet didn't kill zines' Jenna Wortham (2017) notes that zines represent a respite from the scrutiny and intensity of the Internet, observing the intimacy that arises from the personal and semi-private nature of the *communitas*:

And it perhaps reflects why zines can feel so much more intimate than a Facebook post. The deliberation and care that goes into making them is important. The Internet is especially adept at compressing humanity and making it easy to forget there are people behind tweets, posts and memes. (Wortham 2017, p. MM14)

This study commenced in 2010, with the interviews of zine-makers conducted between 2011 and 2015. The sample included zine-makers who had started making zines in the 1980s and had continued their practices into the digital age as well as zine-makers who were effectively born-digital into an era with participation choices created by technology and social media practices. Many of the respondents had lived experiences that spanned the critical epochs of zine-making discussed throughout this thesis. Immersed in the histories of punk or the loud resistances and assertiveness of riot grrrl, these respondents brought significant experience to their interviews and the *communitas* in which they were participating. There was a limited number of respondents who had made a single zine close to or in the year of their interview. Whilst some of

these respondents were aligned to or expressed affinity with the historical contexts of zine-making, their decision to participate was not directly informed by having or seeking lived experiences arising from them. They came to zine-making from the digital age, where social media practices are relatively ubiquitous and have transformed day-to-day communications and interactions. One area of further research would be to explore the sustainability of the *communitas* in the digital age. As these historical epochs recede further into history and the academic studies transition from explorations of the current to the past, what sustains the decision to participate in zine-making? Wortham (2017) suggests reasons that are essentially post-digital - a rejection of the intrusion of technology into the sociality of individuals and the embracing of analogue, imperfect practices. To what degree do the zine-makers of 2017 feel a part of the *communitas* and how are the sub-spaces and Venn spaces within it shifting and blurring? Are the modalities and dynamics of control influenced by access to an increasing array of platforms and access to larger global audiences create the same semi-private spaces inhabited by readers?

Another question that could inform further study is also aligned to the practices of making in the digital age. In an era of sharing, selfies, shaming, empowerment and the critical importance of identity as a way of defining yourself in a modern society, where is zine-making situated? As the study identified, the construction and sharing of meaning and identity in zines was a critical context which framed zine-making participation. The assertion of the zine-makers right to do that in a medium under their control was only part of the story. Through reading zines, many respondents found kindred souls, people who had gone through similar lived experiences to them, used same labels or descriptions to identify themselves or had interests similar to their own. These respondents found a sense of kinship in the experiences of others, shared through their zines. In a digital age, similar experiences, stories and identities can be found through a Google search, contained within blogs, Instagram galleries, Twitter feeds, Tumblr pages, YouTube videos and a myriad of other social media. To what degree does the almost infinite nature of information and the intelligent and adaptive modes of search engines powered by even the most basic of handheld devices change the patterns of participation in zine-making?

Is the exposure to zines impacted by individuals having (to put it crudely) more choice? What are nascent zine-makers now seeking out? Are they looking for the content of the zine? Are they seeking the aesthetic that zine-making offers? How do the contexts that influence the decision to make zines change in this increasingly digital age? These are critical questions for the practices of making more generally in the digital age. The digital challenges the ongoing viability of many mediums, some of which only survive because of idiosyncratic retro-revivalism (such as printed photography and records/the turntable) and others that have survived attempts at digital replacement (hard copy books, for example). As the capacities to share and construct meaning and identity expand through social media, does the importance that zine-makers place on access and control in defining the aesthetics of their making become challenged by other, more unique characteristics of zines (handmade, physical, tactile and decidedly analogue)? Or alternately, in a post-digital media environment does this enhance the status or desirability of zines, where the personal and handmade nature of zine-making aesthetics adds value to the construction and sharing of meaning and identity? The commonality afforded by participating in these aesthetical practices that are potentially antithetical to social media may in fact strengthen the bounds of the communitas. These represent interesting challenges for further research.

REFERENCES

- Alcantara-Tan, S.M. 2000, 'The Herstory of "Bamboo Girl" Zine', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, vol. 21, no. 1/2, pp. 159-70.
- Allan, G. 2003, 'A Critique of Using Grounded Theory as a Research Method', *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1-10.
- Alper, M. 2013, 'Making Space in the Makerspace: Building a Mixed-Ability Maker Culture', *Humanities, Arts, Science, and Technology Alliance and Collaboratory*.
- Andersen, C.U. & Pold, S.B. 2015, 'Aesthetics of the Banal—'New Aesthetics' in an Era of Diverted Digital Revolutions', in D.M. Berry & M. Dieter (eds), *Postdigital Aesthetics: Art, Computation and Design*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 271-88.
- Andrews, H. & Roberts, L. 2012, *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces in-Between*, Routledge, London, UK.
- Andrews, I. 2000, *Post-Digital Aesthetics and the Return to Modernism*, viewed 22nd May 2015, <<http://www.ian-andrews.org/texts/postdig.html>>.
- Andrews, T. 2012, 'What Is Social Constructionism?', *Grounded Theory Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 39-46.
- Angel, J. & Kucsma, J. (eds) 2004, *The Zine Yearbook*, vol. 8, Become the Media, Brooklyn, NY.
- Anells, M. 2006, 'Triangulation of Qualitative Approaches: Hermeneutical Phenomenology and Grounded Theory', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 56, no. 1, pp. 55-61.
- Antliff, A. 2004, *Only a Beginning: An Anarchist Anthology*, Arsenal Pulp Press, Vancouver, CA.
- Appelbaum, J. & Evans, N. 1978, 'An Anti-Frustration Guide to Publishing', *Change*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 43-7.
- Aragon, J. 2008, 'The 'Lady' Revolution in the Age of Technology', *International Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 71-85.
- Arthurs, A. & Hodsoll, F. 1998, 'The Importance of the Arts Sector: How It Relates to the Public Purpose', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 102-8.
- Atkinson, J. & Dougherty, D.S. 2006, 'Alternative Media and Social Justice Movements: The Development of a Resistance Performance Paradigm of Audience Analysis', *Western Journal of Communication*, vol. 70, no. 1, pp. 64-88.
- Atkinson, J.D. 2010, *Alternative Media and Politics of Resistance: A Communication Perspective*, Peter Lang, New York, NY.
- Atton, C. 1999, 'A Reassessment of the Alternative Press', *Media, Culture and Society*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 51-76.
- Atton, C. 2001, 'Approaching Alternative Media: Theory and Methodology', *International Communication Association Conference*, Washington, DC.
- Atton, C. 2002, *Alternative Media*, Sage, London, UK.
- Bailey, O., Cammaerts, B. & Carpentier, N. 2007, *Understanding Alternative Media*, McGraw-Hill Education, Maidenhead, UK.
- Bailey, S. & Michel, A. 2004, 'The Photocopied Self: Perzines, Self-Construction, and the Postmodern Identity Crisis', *Reconstruction*, vol. 4, no. 2.

- Balfe, J. & Meyersohn, R. 1995, *Arts Participation by the Baby Boomers*, National Endowment for the Arts, Washington, DC.
- Baltar, F. & Brunet, I. 2012, 'Social Research 2.0: Virtual Snowball Sampling Method Using Facebook', *internet Research*, vol. 22, no. 1, pp. 57-74.
- Bampton, R. & Cowton, C.J. 2002, 'The E-Interview', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 3, no. 2, viewed 3rd March 2017, <<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/848/1842>>.
- Barassi, V. 2009, 'Digital Vs Material: The Everyday Construction of Mediated Political Action', *Networking Knowledge: Journal of the MeCCSA Postgraduate Network*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 1-15.
- Barfield, T. 1998, *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, Blackwell, Oxford, UK.
- Barness, J. & Papaalias, A. 2015, 'Critical Making at the Edges', *Visible Language*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 5-11.
- Bartel, J. 2004, *From a to Zine: Building a Winning Zine Collection in Your Library*, American Library Association, Chicago, IL.
- Basit, T. 2003, 'Manual or Electronic? The Role of Coding in Qualitative Data Analysis', *Educational Research*, vol. 45, no. 2, pp. 143-54.
- Baum, F.E., Bush, R.A., Modra, C.C., Murray, C.J., Cox, E.M., Alexander, K.M. & Potter, R.C. 2000, 'Epidemiology of Participation: An Australian Community Study', *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, no. 54, pp. 414 - 23.
- Bauman, Z. 2003, *Intimations of Postmodernity*, Routledge, London, UK.
- Bayerl, K. 2000, 'Mags, Zines and Gurls: The Exploding World of Girls' Publications', *Women's Studies Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 287-92.
- Bayne, M. 2000, 'Zines', in C. Kramarae & D. Spender (eds), *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 2164-66.
- Becker, H. 1974, 'Art as Collective Action', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 39, no. 6, pp. 767-76.
- Bell, B.L. 2001, 'Women-Produced Zines: Moving into the Mainstream', *Canadian Woman Studies*, no. 21, pp. 56-60.
- Bell, L.-A. 2010, *Storytelling for Social Justice: Connecting Narrative and the Arts in Anti-Racist Teaching*, Routledge, Florence, KY.
- Bellotti, V. & Rogers, Y. 1997, 'From Web Press to Web Pressure: Multimedia Representations and Multimedia Publishing', *Proceedings of the ACM SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, ACM, pp. 279-86.
- Berger, A.A. 2015, *Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Sage Publications.
- Berger, P.L. & Luckmann, T. 1991, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Penguin UK, London, UK.
- Berke, N. 2004, 'Review: Cheatin' Hearts, Single Hearts', *The Women's Review of Books*, vol. 21, no. 8, pp. 20-1.
- Berry, V. 2010, 'My Own Private Underground: Discovery and Adventure in the Zine World', *Artlink*, vol. 30, no. 2, p. 38.
- Biel, J. 2014, *Make a Zine: When Words and Graphics Collide*, Microcosm Publishing, Portland, OR.

- Bimber, B. 2017, 'Three Prompts for Collective Action in the Context of Digital Media', *Political Communication*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 6-20.
- Bimson, J. 2006, 'Hard Wired for Heroes: A Study of Punk Fanzines, Fandom, and the Historical Antecedents of the Punk Movement', Liverpool John Moore University.
- Bird, A., Hare, C., McClary, C., Skov-Nielsen, H., Sorensen, S. & Stevens, A. 2012, 'Zine Power! Why Zines Are Important for Teens', *YA Hotline*, no. 83, pp. 13-6.
- Birks, M. & Mills, J. 2015, *Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide*, Sage, Thousands Oaks, CA.
- Blaikie, N. 1991, 'A Critique of the Use of Triangulation in Social Research', *Quality and Quantity*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 115-36.
- Bobel, C. 2007, 'I'm Not an Activist, Though I've Done a Lot of It': Doing Activism, Being Activist and the Perfect Standard in a Contemporary Movement', *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 147 - 59.
- Boellstorff, T. 2004, 'Zines and Zones of Desire: Mass-Mediated Love, National Romance, and Sexual Citizenship in Gay Indonesia', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 63, no. 2, pp. 367-402.
- Bonoma, T.V. 1985, 'Case Research in Marketing: Opportunities, Problems, and a Process', *Journal of Marketing Research*, pp. 199-208.
- Bott, C. 2002, 'Zines--the Ultimate Creative Writing Project', *The English Journal*, vol. 92, no. 2, pp. 27-33.
- Bourdieu, P. 1992, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Bourdieu, P. 1993, *The Field of Cultural Production*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Bourdieu, P. 1996, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.
- Bowker, N. & Tuffin, K. 2004, 'Using the Online Medium for Discursive Research About People with Disabilities', *Social Science Computer Review*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 228-41.
- boyd, d. 2014, *It's Complicated: The Social Lives of Networked Teens*, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Boyle, J.S. 1994, 'Styles of Ethnography', in J.M. Morse (ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 159-85.
- Braithwaite, A. 2002, 'The Personal, the Political, Third-Wave and Postfeminisms', *Feminist theory*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 335-44.
- Branwyn, G. 1997, *Jamming the Media: A Citizen's Guide: Reclaiming the Tools of Communication*, Chronicle Books, San Francisco, CA.
- Bratich, J.Z. & Brush, H.M. 2011, 'Fabricating Activism: Craft-Work, Popular Culture, Gender', *Utopian Studies*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 233-60.
- Bravo, K. 2014, *Making Stuff and Doing Things: A Collection of DIY Guides to Just About Everything*, Microcosm Publishing, Portland, OR.
- Breckenridge, J., Jones, D., Elliott, I. & Nicol, M. 2012, 'Choosing a Methodological Path: Reflections on the Constructivist Turn', *Grounded Theory Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 64-71.
- Brent, B. & Biel, J. 2014, *Make a Zine: When Words and Graphics Collide*, Microcosm Publishing, Portland, OR.

- Bridgwood, A. & Skelton, A. 2000, 'The Arts in England: Developing a Survey of Attendance, Participation and Attitudes', *Cultural Trends*, vol. 10, no. 40, pp. 47-76.
- Brinkman, S. & Kvale, S. 2015, *Interviews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing*, Sage, Thousands Oaks, CA.
- Brooks, A. 2002, 'Artists as Amateurs and Volunteers', *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 5-15.
- Brouwer, D.C. & Asen, R. 2010, *Public Modalities: Rhetoric, Culture, Media, and the Shape of Public Life*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL.
- Brouwer, D.C. & Licona, A.C. 2016, 'Trans (Affective) Mediation: Feeling Our Way from Paper to Digitized Zines and Back Again', *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 70-83.
- Brown, J.S. & Duguid, P. 1996, 'The Social Life of Documents', *First Monday*, vol. 1, no. 1.
- Bruns, A. 2007, 'Producers: Towards a Broader Framework for User-Led Content Creation', *Creativity & Cognition Conference*, vol. 6, , Washington, DC, pp. 13-5.
- Bruns, A. 2009, 'From Prosumer to Producer: Understanding User-Led Content Creation', paper presented to the *Transforming Audiences Conference*, London, UK, 3-4 September 2009.
- Brunsting, S. & Postmes, T. 2002, 'Social Movement Participation in the Digital Age', *Small Group Research*, vol. 33, no. 5, pp. 525-54.
- Bryant, A. & Charmaz, K. 2010, 'Grounded Theory in Historical Perspective: An Epistemological Account', in A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (eds), *Handbook of Grounded Theory*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 31-57.
- Bryant, P. 2014, 'If a Tree Falls in the Forest: The Role of Community Formation and the Power of the Individual in Zine Making Participation', *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies*, vol. 4, no. 3.
- Bryman, A. 2015, *Social Research Methods*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Buchanan, R. 2012, 'Zines in the Classroom: Reading Culture', *The English Journal*, vol. 102, no. 2, pp. 71-7.
- Bunce, S., Partridge, H. & Davis, K. 2012, 'Exploring Information Experience Using Social Media During the 2011 Queensland Floods: A Pilot Study', *The Australian Library Journal*, vol. 61, no. 1, pp. 34-45.
- Burgess, J. 2006, 'Vernacular Creativity, Cultural Participation and New Media Literacy: Photography and the Flickr Network', paper presented to the *IR7.0: Internet Convergences*, Brisbane, Australia.
- Burgess, J., Foth, M. & Klæbe, H. 2006, 'Everyday Creativity as Civic Engagement: A Cultural Citizenship View of New Media', *Communications Policy & Research Forum*, Sydney. Australia.
- Burn, A. 2009, *Making New Media: Creative Production and Digital Literacies*, Peter Lang, New York, NY.
- Burns, E. 2010, 'Developing Email Interview Practices in Qualitative Research', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 15, no. 4, viewed 3rd March 2017, <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/15/4/8.html>>.
- Burt, S. 1999, 'Amateurs', *Transition*, vol. , no. 77, pp. 148-71.

- Bussell, H. & Forbes, D. 2005, 'Volunteer Management in Arts Organisations: A Case Study and Managerial Implications', *8th International Conference on Arts and Cultural Management*, Montreal, Canada.
- Caldwell, G.A. & Foth, M. 2014, 'DIY Media Architecture: Open and Participatory Approaches to Community Engagement', *Proceedings of the 2nd Media Architecture Biennale Conference: World Cities*, Aarhus, Denmark, pp. 1-10.
- Cameron, P. 2016, "'I Still Have My Hands". Rural Women, Depression, and Zines', in S. Butterwick & C. Roy (eds), *Working the Margins of Community-Based Adult Learning*, Sense Publications, Boston, MA, pp. 15-25.
- Caplan, M.A. & Purser, G. 2017, 'Qualitative Inquiry Using Social Media: A Field-Tested Example', *Qualitative Social Work*, pp. 1-19.
- Carpentier, N. 2010, 'A Short History of Cultural Participation', *Transforming Culture in the Digital Age*, Taretu, Estonia.
- Carpentier, N., Lie, R. & Servaes, J. 2003, 'Community Media: Muting the Democratic Media Discourse?', *Continuum*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 51-68.
- Carr, W. & Kemmis, S. 1986, *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge, and Action Research*, Routledge, London, UK.
- Carson, A. 2015, 'Behind the Newspaper Paywall—Lessons in Charging for Online Content: A Comparative Analysis of Why Australian Newspapers Are Stuck in the Purgatorial Space between Digital and Print', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 37, no. 7, pp. 1022 - 41.
- Cascone, K. 2000, 'The Aesthetics of Failure: "Post-Digital" Tendencies in Contemporary Computer Music', *Computer Music Journal*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 12-8.
- Chandra, A. & Kaiser, U. 2014, 'Targeted Advertising in Magazine Markets and the Advent of the Internet', *Management Science*, vol. 60, no. 7, pp. 1829-43.
- Charmaz, K. 1995, 'Grounded Theory', in J. Smith, R. Harré & L. Langenhove (eds), *Rethinking Methods in Psychology*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 27-65.
- Charmaz, K. 2000, 'Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods', in N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 509-35.
- Charmaz, K. 2003a, 'Grounded Theory', in J.A. Smith (ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 81-110.
- Charmaz, K. 2003b, 'Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods', in N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry 2nd Edition*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Charmaz, K. 2003c, 'Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis', in J.A. Holstein & J.F. Gubrium (eds), *Inside Interviewing: New Lenses, New Concerns*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 311-30.
- Charmaz, K. 2004, 'Premises, Principles, and Practices in Qualitative Research: Revisiting the Foundations', *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 14, no. 7, pp. 976-93.
- Charmaz, K. 2006, *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*, Sage Thousand Oaks, CA.

- Charmaz, K. 2008a, 'Grounded Theory as an Emergent Method', in S.N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (eds), *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, Guilford Press, New York, NY, pp. 155-70.
- Charmaz, K. 2008b, 'Grounded Theory in the 21st Century: Applications for Advancing Social Justice Studies', in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 203-42.
- Charmaz, K. 2009a, 'Shifting the Grounds: Constructivist Grounded Theory Methods.', in J.M. Morse, P.N. Stern, J. Corbin, B. Bowers & K. Charmaz (eds), *Developing Grounded Theory: The Second Generation*, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA, pp. 127-55.
- Charmaz, K. 2009b, 'Shifting the Grounds: Grounded Theory in the 21st Century', in J.M. Morse, P.N. Stern, J. Corbin, B. Bowers, K. Charmaz & A.E. Clarke (eds), *Developing Grounded Theory: The Second Generation*, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 125-40.
- Charmaz, K. 2011a, 'Grounded Theory Methods in Social Justice Research', in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 359-80.
- Charmaz, K. 2011b, 'Grounded Theory Methods in Social Justice Research', in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, vol. 4, pp. 359-80.
- Charmaz, K. 2014, *Constructing Grounded Theory 2nd Edition*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Charmaz, K. & Belgrave, L. 2012, 'Qualitative Interviewing and Grounded Theory Analysis', in J.F. Gubrium, J.A. Holstein, A.M. Marvasti & K.D. McKinney (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Charmaz, K. & Mitchell, R.G. 1996, 'The Myth of Silent Authorship: Self, Substance, and Style in Ethnographic Writing', *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 285-302.
- Chen, P. & Hinton, S.M. 1999, 'Realtime Interviewing Using the World Wide Web', *Sociological Research Online*, vol. 4, no. 3, viewed 22nd June 2017, <<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/4/3/chen.html>>.
- Chenitz, W.C. 1986, 'Getting Started: The Research Proposal for a Grounded Theory Study', in W.C. Chenitz & J.M. Swanson (eds), *From Practice to Grounded Theory: Qualitative Research in Nursing*, Addison Wesley, Menlo Park, CA, pp. 39-47.
- Chepesiuk, R. 1997, 'The Zine Scene: Libraries Preserve the Latest Trend in Publishing', *American Libraries*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 68-70.
- Chidgey, R. 2006, 'The Resisting Subject: Per-Zines as Life Story Data', *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 10, pp. 1-13.
- Chidgey, R. 2009, 'Free, Trade: Distribution Economies in Feminist Zine Networks', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 28-37.
- Chidgey, R. 2013, 'Reassess Your Weapons: The Making of Feminist Memory in Young Women's Zines', *Women's History Review*, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 658-72.
- Chidgey, R. 2014a, 'Developing Communities of Resistance? Maker Pedagogies, Do-It-Yourself Feminsim, and DIY Citizenship', in M. Ratto & M. Boler (eds), *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.

- Chidgey, R. 2014b, 'Free, Trade: Distribution Economies in Feminist Zine Networks', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 28-37.
- Chu, J. 1997, 'Navigating the Media Environment: How Youth Claim a Place through Zines', *Social Justice*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 71-85.
- Clark, H. 1998, 'Photocopied Politics: Zines (Re)Produce a New Activist Culture', *Broken Pencil*, vol. 6, viewed 3rd March 2017, <<http://www.brokenpencil.com/features/feature.php?featureid-22>>.
- Clarke, A. 2005, *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Clegg, S.R. & Hardy, C. 1999, 'Representations', in S.R. Clegg & C. Hardy (eds), *Studying Organization: Theory and Method*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 422-51.
- Close, S. 2011, 'An Interview with Danielle Corsetto of Girls with Slingshots (2004-Current)', *Octopus: A Visual Studies Journal*, vol. 5, pp. 1-4.
- Cofield, L. & Robinson, L. 2016, 'The Opposite of the Band': Fangrrrling, Feminism and Sexual Dissidence', *Textual Practice*, vol. 30, no. 6, pp. 1071-88.
- Cogan, B. 2007, '"Was He Safe or Was He Out?": Sports Zines and Questions of Authenticity', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 40, no. 5, pp. 808-30.
- Cohen, B. 2004, 'The Zine Project: Writing with a Personal Perspective', *Language Arts*, vol. 82, no. 2, pp. 129-38.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. 2013, *Research Methods in Education*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Collins, D. 1998, 'Lesbian Pornographic Production: Creating Social/Cultural Space for Subverting Representations of Sexuality', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, vol. 43, pp. 31-62.
- Collins, D. 1999, 'No Experts Guaranteed! Do-It-Yourself Sex Radicalism and the Production of the Lesbian Sex Zine "Brat Attack"', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 65-89.
- Comstock, M. 2001, 'Grrrl Zine Networks: Re-Composing Spaces of Authority, Gender, and Culture', *JAC*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 383-409.
- Congdon, K. 2005a, 'Community Arts in the Digital Age', *CultureWork*, 24th May, vol. 9, no. 3, viewed 2017, <<http://pages.uoregon.edu/culturwk/march05congdon.html>>.
- Congdon, K.G. 2005b, 'What I Have Learned from "Other" Art Educators', *Studies in Art Education*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 138-49.
- Congdon, K.G. & Blandy, D. 2003, 'Zinesters in the Classroom: Using Zines to Teach About Postmodernism and the Communication of Ideas', *Art Education*, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 44-52.
- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. 1990, 'Grounded Theory Research: Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria', *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 3-21.
- Cornwell, T. 1990, *Democracy and the Arts: The Role of Participation*, Praeger Publishers, New York, NY.
- Cottam, R. 2001, 'Diaries and Journals: General Survey', in M. Jolly (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Life Writing*, Fitzroy Dearborn, London, UK, pp. 267-9.
- Couldry, N. 2003, *Media Rituals: A Critical Approach*, Psychology Press, Trowbridge, UK.

- Cox, G. 2015, 'Postscript on the Post-Digital and the Problem of Temporality', in D.M. Berry & M. Dieter (eds), *Postdigital Aesthetics: Art, Computation and Design*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 151-62.
- Cox, R. 2013, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan*, Routledge, Oxford, UK.
- Coyne, R. 2015, 'When Did We Become Post-Digital?', *Reflections on Technology, Media & Culture*, weblog, Edinburgh, UK, <<https://richardcoyne.com/2015/08/15/when-did-we-become-post-digital/>>.
- Cramer, F. 2015a, 'What Is 'Post-Digital'?', in D.M. Berry & M. Dieter (eds), *Postdigital Aesthetics: Art, Computation and Design*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK, pp. 12-26.
- Cramer, F. 2015b, 'What Is Post Digital?', *A Peer Reviewed Journal About Post-Digital Research*, vol. 3 (1), no. 1, pp. 12-28, viewed 20th July 2015, <<http://www.aprja.net/?p=1318>>.
- Crawford, K. & Finn, M. 2015, 'The Limits of Crisis Data: Analytical and Ethical Challenges of Using Social and Mobile Data to Understand Disasters', *GeoJournal*, vol. 80, no. 4, pp. 491-502.
- Creasap, K. 2014, 'Zine-Making as Feminist Pedagogy', *Feminist Teacher*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 155-68.
- Cresser, F., Gunn, L. & Balme, H. 2001, 'Women's Experiences of Online E-Zine Publication', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 457-73.
- Creswell, J.W. 1998, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions*, Sage London, UK.
- Creswell, J.W. 2008, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, Sage, London, UK.
- Crossley, A.D. 2015, 'Facebook Feminism: Social Media, Blogs, and New Technologies of Contemporary Us Feminism', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 253-68.
- Crotty, M. 1998, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*, Sage Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Crystal, D. 2001, *Language and the Internet*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Culton, K.R. 2007, 'From Zines to the Internet: An Exploration of Communication Practices in a Diy Punk Scene', paper presented to the *Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association*, New York City, NY, August 11, viewed 22nd February 2013, <http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p183110_index.html>.
- Cutcliffe, J.R. 2000, 'Methodological Issues in Grounded Theory', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 31, no. 6, pp. 1476-84.
- Davidson, T. 2005, 'Feminist Zines: Cutting and Pasting a New Wave', University of Victoria, Canada, Victoria, CA.
- Davies, M. 2005, 'Do It Yourself: Punk Rock and the Disalienation of International Relations', in M.I. Franklin (ed.), *Resounding International Relations*, Palgrave, Basingstoke, UK, pp. 113-40.
- Debies-Carl, J.S. 2014, 'Print Is Dead the Promise and Peril of Online Media for Subcultural Resistance', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 44, no. 6, pp. 679 - 708.
- Denscombe, M. 2008, 'Communities of Practice a Research Paradigm for the Mixed Methods Approach', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 270-83.

- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y. 2005, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y. 2011, 'The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research', in N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, New York, NY, pp. 1-20.
- DeSousa, K. 2008, 'MCA Zine Fair Program', Sydney.
- Desyllas, M.C. & Sinclair, A. 2014, 'Zine-Making as a Pedagogical Tool for Transformative Learning in Social Work Education', *Social Work Education*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 296-316.
- Deuze, M. 2006, 'Participation, Remediation, Bricolage: Considering Principal Components of a Digital Culture', *The information society*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 63-75.
- Deuze, M. 2007, 'Convergence Culture in the Creative Industries', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 243-63.
- DeVoss, D.N., Cushman, E. & Grabill, J.T. 2005, 'Infrastructure and Composing: The When of New-Media Writing', *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 14-44.
- Dey, I. 1999, *Grounding Grounded Theory: Guidelines for Qualitative Inquiry*, Academic Press San Diego, CA.
- Dicker, R. & Piepmeier, A. 2016, *Catching a Wave: Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century*, Northeastern University Press, Lebanon, NH.
- Dietz, J.L. 2006, *Enterprise Ontology: Theory and Methodology*, Springer, Berlin.
- DiMaggio, P. & Mukhtar, T. 2004, 'Arts Participation as Cultural Capital in the United States, 1982-2002: Signs of Decline?', *Poetics*, vol. 32, no. 2, pp. 169-94.
- Dodge, C. 1993, 'Alternative Sex: Some 'Zines, Comics, Books, and Sources'', *Collection Building*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 48-51.
- Dodge, C. 1998, *A Zine-Ography: An Annotated List of Books and Articles About Zines*, viewed 20th November 2008, <<http://www.geocities.com/SoHo/Cafe/7423/zineog2.html>>.
- Dodge, C. 2008, 'Collecting the Wretched Refuse: Lifting a Lamp to Zines, Military Newspapers, and Wisconsinalia', *Library Trends*, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 667-77.
- Donovan, J. 1995, 'The Process of Analysis During a Grounded Theory Study of Men During Their Partners' Pregnancies', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 708-15.
- Douglas, K. & Poletti, A. 2014, 'Rethinking 'Virtual' Youth: Young People and Life Writing', in A. Bennett & B. Robards (eds), *Mediated Youth Cultures: The Internet, Belonging and New Cultural Configurations*, Springer, New York, NY, pp. 77-94.
- Douglas, K. & Poletti, A. 2016, 'The Riot Grrrl Epistolarium', *Life Narratives and Youth Culture*, Springer, pp. 121-48.
- Dovey, J., Alevizou, G. & Williams, A. 2016, 'Citizenship, Value, and Digital Culture', in I. Hargreaves & J. Hartley (eds), *The Creative Citizen Unbound*, Policy Press, Bristol, UK, pp. 75-102.
- Downing, J.D.H. 2003, 'Audiences and Readers of Alternative Media: The Absent Lure of the Virtually Unknown', *Media Culture Society*, vol. 25, no. 5, pp. 625-45.

- Driscoll, C. 1999, 'Girl Culture, Revenge and Global Capitalism: Cybergirls, Riot Grrls, Spice Girls', *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 14, no. 29, pp. 173-93.
- Drüeke, R. & Zobl, E. 2014, 'Introduction: Feminist Media: Participatory Spaces, Networks and Cultural Citizenship', in E. Zobl & R. Drüeke (eds), *Feminist Media: Participatory Spaces, Networks and Cultural Citizenship*, vol. 9, transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, DE, pp. 11-20.
- Duncan, B.J. 2000, 'Writing Feminist Webzines and the Confusion of Identity', in P. Standish & N. Blake (eds), *Enquiries at the Interface: Philosophical Problems of on-Line Education*, Blackwell, Oxford, UK, pp. 95-106.
- Duncombe, S. 1997, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture*, Verso, London, UK.
- Dunn, K. 2016, *Global Punk: Resistance and Rebellion in Everyday Life*, Bloomsbury Publishing USA, New York, NY.
- Dunn, K. & Farnsworth, M. 2012, "'We Are the Revolution": Riot Grrrl Press, Girl Empowerment, and DIY Self-Publishing', *Women's Studies*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 136-57.
- Dwyer, T. & Martin, F. 2010, 'Updating Diversity of Voice Arguments for Online News Media', *Global Media Journal: Australian Edition*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-18.
- Eichhorn, K. 2001, 'Sites Unseen: Ethnographic Research in a Textual Community', *Qualitative Studies in Education*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 565-78.
- Eichhorn, K. 2014, 'Beyond Digitisation: A Case Study of Three Contemporary Feminist Collections', *Archives and Manuscripts*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 227-37.
- Eisenhardt, K.M. & Graebner, M.E. 2007, 'Theory Building from Cases: Opportunities and Challenges', *Academy of Management Journal*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 25-32.
- Eisenhart, M. & Jurow, A.S. 2011, 'Teaching Qualitative Research', in N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, New York, NY, pp. 699-714.
- Eismann, S., Jiménez, H. & Zobl, E. 2008, *Wolverette: "Taking You and Your Grrriness Seriously" - an Interview with Dodo B. From: Tübingen, Germany*, viewed 20th August 2009, <<http://grrrlzines.net/interviews/wolverette.htm>>.
- Eley, C. 2011, 'Technostalgia and the Resurgence of Cassette Culture', in J.P. Fisher & B. Flota (eds), *The Politics of Post-9/11 Music: Sound, Trauma, and the Music Industry in the Time of Terror*, Ashgate, Farnham, UK, pp. 43-55.
- Elliott, A. & Urry, J. 2010, *Mobile Lives*, Routledge.
- English, L.M. & Irving, C.J. 2015, *Feminism in Community: Adult Education for Transformation*, Sense Publishers, Rotterdam, NL.
- Featherman, C. 2016, 'DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media', *New Media & Society*, vol. 18, no. 4, pp. 672-4.
- Feigenbaum, A. 2013, 'Written in the Mud: (Proto) Zine-Making and Autonomous Media at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp', *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 1-13.
- Ferris, M.B. 2001, 'Resisting Mainstream Media: Girls and the Act of Making Zines', *Canadian Woman Studies*, vol. 20/21, no. 4/1, pp. 51-5.

- Fine, G.A. & Deegan, J.G. 1996, 'Three Principles of Serendip: Insight, Chance, and Discovery in Qualitative Research', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, vol. 9, no. 4, pp. 434-47.
- Finfgeld-Connett, D. 2014, 'Use of Content Analysis to Conduct Knowledge-Building and Theory-Generating Qualitative Systematic Reviews', *Qualitative Research*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 341-52.
- Firestone, W.A. 1987, 'Meaning in Method: The Rhetoric of Quantitative and Qualitative Research', *Educational Researcher*, vol. 16, no. 7, pp. 16-21.
- Fiske, J. 1989, *Understanding Popular Culture*, Unwin Hyman, Boston, MA.
- Flick, U. 2009, *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, Sage, London, UK.
- Fraser, J. 2009, 'The Anticipated Utility of Zoos for Developing Moral Concern in Children', *Curator*, vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 349-61.
- Fraser, M.L. 2002, 'Zine and Heard: Fringe Feminism and the Zines of the Third Wave', *Feminist Collections*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 6-10.
- Freedman, J. 2005a, 'Zines Are Not Blogs: A Not Unbiased Analysis', *Counterpoise*, vol. 9, no. 3, p. 10.
- Freedman, J. 2005b, 'Zines Are Not Blogs: A Not Unbiased Analysis', *Counterpoise*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 10-.
- Freedman, J. 2009, 'Grrrl Zines in the Library', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 52-9.
- Freedman, J. 2011, 'Pinko Vs. Punk: A Generational Comparison of Alternative Press Publications and Zines', in M.K. Wallace, R. Tolley-Stokes & E. Etep (eds), *The Generation X Librarian: Essays on Leadership, Technology, Pop Culture, Social Responsibility and Professional Identity*, McFarland, Jefferson, NC, p. 147.
- Galloway, A., Brucker-Cohen, J., Gaye, L., Goodman, E. & Hill, D. 2004, 'Design for Hackability', *5th Conference on Designing Interactive Systems: Processes, Practices, Methods, and Techniques*, Cambridge, MA, pp. 363-6.
- Gamboa, M. 2004, 'Zines for Social Justice: Adolescent Girls Writing on Their Own', *Reading Research Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 408-36.
- Garber, E. 2013, 'Craft as Activism', *The Journal of Social Theory in Art Education (Online)*, vol. 33, pp. 53-66.
- Gardner, J.J. 2009, 'Zines in the Academic Library: A Literature Review', *Library Student Journal*, vol. 4, viewed 12th May 2010, <<http://www.librarystudentjournal.org/index.php/lj/article/view/101/245>>.
- Gasson, S. 2003, 'Rigor in Grounded Theory Research: An Interpretive Perspective on Generating Theory from Qualitative Field Studies', in M.E. Whitman & A.B. Woszczyński (eds), *The Handbook of Information Systems Research*, Idea Group Publishing, Hershey, PA, pp. 79-102.
- Gauntlett, D. 2013, *Making Is Connecting*, Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Gibb, L. 2009, 'State of the Craft Economy', *Broken Pencil*, no. 43, viewed 22nd May 2017, <<http://www.brokenpencil.com/features/state-of-the-craft-economy>>.
- Gibbons, D. 2013, 'Developing an Ethics of Youth Media Production Using Media Literacy, Identity & Modality', *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 256-65.
- Gibson, L. 2010, *Using Email Interviews to Research Popular Music and the Life Course*, National Centre for Research Methods, University of Manchester, Manchester, UK.

- Gilbert, L.S. 2002, 'Going the Distance: 'Closeness' in Qualitative Data Analysis Software', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 215-28.
- Gill, P., Stewart, K., Treasure, E. & Chadwick, B. 2008, 'Methods of Data Collection in Qualitative Research: Interviews and Focus Groups', *British Dental Journal*, vol. 204, no. 6, pp. 291-5.
- Gilmore, A. 2011, 'Counting Eyeballs, Soundbites and 'Plings': Arts Participation, Strategic Instrumentalism and the London 2012 Cultural Olympiad', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 151-67.
- Gisonny, K. & Freedman, J. 2006, 'Zines in Libraries: How, What and Why?', *Collection Building*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 26-30.
- Glaser, B.G. 1992, *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence Vs Forcing*, Sociology Press Mill Valley, CA.
- Glaser, B.G. 2002, 'Conceptualization: On Theory and Theorizing Using Grounded Theory', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 1-31.
- Glaser, B.G. 2003, *The Grounded Theory Perspective: Conceptualization Contrasted with Description*, Sociology Press, Mill Valley, CA.
- Glaser, B.G. 2007, 'Constructivist Grounded Theory?', *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, vol. Supplement, pp. 93-105.
- Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. 1967, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Aldine Transaction, London, UK.
- Glaser, B.G. & Strauss, A.L. 1977, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, 2nd edn, Aldine Transaction, London, UK.
- Glăveanu, V.P. 2011, 'Creativity as Cultural Participation', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, vol. 41, no. 1, pp. 48-67.
- Goldman, S., Booker, A. & McDermott, M. 2008, 'Mixing the Digital, Social, and Cultural: Learning, Identity, and Agency in Youth Participation', in D. Buckingham (ed.), *Youth Participation. Youth, Identity, and Digital Media*, vol. , MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, pp. 185-206.
- Gomez, J. 2008, *Print Is Dead: Books in Our Digital Age*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY.
- Goode, L. 2009, 'Social News, Citizen Journalism and Democracy', *New media & society*, vol. 11, no. 8, pp. 1287-305.
- Gordon, J. 2012, 'Sexual Assault Support Zines as a Pedagogy of Hope', *Thinking Gender Papers*, viewed 18th February 2013, <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3j65b7v9>>.
- Goshert, J.C. 2000, 'Punk after the Pistols: American Music, Economics, and Politics in the 1980s and 1990s', *Popular Music and Society* vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 85-106.
- Gottlieb, J. & Wald, G. 2006, 'Smells Like Teen Spirit: Riot Grrrls, Revolution, and Women in Independent Rock', in A. Bennett, B. Shank & J. Toynbee (eds), *The Popular Music Studies Reader*, Routledge, Oxford, UK.
- Goulding, C. 1999, 'Grounded Theory: Some Reflections on Paradigm, Procedures and Misconceptions', *Working Paper Series*, viewed 1st May 2016, <<http://wlv.openrepository.com/wlv/bitstream/2436/11403/1/Goulding.pdf>>.

- Goulding, C. 2005, 'Grounded Theory, Ethnography and Phenomenology: A Comparative Analysis of Three Qualitative Strategies for Marketing Research', *European Journal of Marketing*, vol. 39, no. 3/4, pp. 294-308.
- Goulding, C. 2015, 'The Spaces in Which We Appear to Each Other: The Pedagogy of Resistance Stories in Zines by Asian American Riot Grrrls', *Journal of Cultural Research in Art Education (Online)*, vol. 32, pp. 161-89.
- Grant, D. 2009, *The Zine Lives: Why the 90s Aren't as Dead as You Think*, viewed 5th August 2009, <<http://www.jossip.com/the-zine-lives-why-the-90s-arent-as-dead-as-you-think-20090218/>>.
- Green, H.E. 2014, 'Literature as a Network: Creative-Writing Scholarship in Literary Magazines', *Libraries and the Academy*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 217-38.
- Green, K. & Taormino, T. (eds) 1997, *A Girl's Guide to Taking over the World*, St Martin's Griffin, New York, NY.
- Greer, B. 2008, *Knitting for Good!: A Guide to Creating Personal, Social, and Political Change Stitch by Stitch*, Trumpeter, Boston, MA.
- Grimes, M. & Wall, T. 2014, *Punk 'Zines: 'Symbols of Defiance' from the Print to the Digital Age*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, UK.
- Groenewald, T. 2004, 'A Phenomenological Research Design Illustrated', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 1-26.
- Grushka, K. & Goodlad, N. 2013, 'Perzines: A Visual and Narrative Learning Space', *Australian Art Education*, vol. 35, no. 1/2, pp. 68-80.
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. 1994, 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research', *Handbook of qualitative research*, vol. 2, pp. 163-94.
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. 1996, *Fourth Generation Evaluation*, Sage Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y.S. 2004, 'Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research', in S.P. Hesse-Biber & L. A (eds), *Approaches to Qualitative Research: A Reader on Theory and Practice*, Oxford University Press, New York, NY, pp. 105-17.
- Guffey, E. 2014, 'Crafting Yesterday's Tomorrows: Retro-Futurism, Steampunk, and the Problem of Making in the Twenty-First Century', *The Journal of Modern Craft*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 249-66.
- Gunderloy, M. 1990, *Zines: Where the Action Is: The Very Small Press in America*, viewed 5th August 2009, <<http://zinewiki.com/Zines: Where the Action Is: The Very Small Press in America>>.
- Gunderloy, M. & Janice, C.G. 1992, *The World of Zines: A Guide to the Independent Magazine Revolution*, Penguin Books, New York, NY.
- Gunnarsson Payne, J. 2009, 'Feminist Media as Alternative Media? A Literature Review', *Interface: A Journal For and About Social Movements*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 190-211.
- Gunnarsson Payne, J. 2013, 'Moving Images, Transforming Media: The Mediating Communitas of Hallontv and Dyke Hard', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 367-82.
- Gustafson, M. 2000, *Grrrl Power on the Web: "Grrrl Power" Sweeps the Web as Women Write for "Zines"*, viewed 22nd May 2017, <<http://www.feministezine.com/feminist/books/Grrl-Power-on-the-Web.html>>.

- Guzzetti, B.J. 2006, 'Cybergirls: Negotiating Social Identities on Cybersites', *E-learning*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 158-69.
- Guzzetti, B.J., Foley, L.M. & Lesley, M. 2015, 'Nomadic Knowledge', *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, vol. 58, no. 7, pp. 591-601.
- Guzzetti, B.J. & Gamboa, M. 2004, 'Zines for Social Justice: Adolescent Girls Writing on Their Own', *Reading Research Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 4, pp. 408-36.
- Habermas, J. 1991, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.
- Hall, H.W. 1983, 'Science/Fiction Collections: Fantasy, Supernatural & Weird Tales', *Special Collections*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 3-8.
- Hallberg, L.R. 2006, 'The "Core Category" of Grounded Theory: Making Constant Comparisons', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 141-8.
- Halverson, E.R. & Sheridan, K. 2014, 'The Maker Movement in Education', *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 84, no. 4, pp. 495-504.
- Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. 2007, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Harris, A. 2001, 'Revisiting Bedroom Culture: New Spaces for Young Women's Politics', *Hecate*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 128-39.
- Harris, A. 2003, 'Gurl Scenes and Grrrl Zines: The Regulation and Resistance of Girls in Late Modernity', *Feminist Review*, vol. 75, pp. 38-56.
- Harris, A. 2012, 'Online Cultures and Future Girl Citizens', in E. Zobl & R. Drüeke (eds), *Feminist Media: Participatory Spaces, Networks and Cultural Citizenship*, transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, DE, pp. 213-25.
- Harris, A. 2016, 'From the Subcultural to the Ordinary: DIY Girls since Grrrlpower', in S. Baker, B. Robards & B. Buttigeig (eds), *Youth Cultures and Subcultures: Australian Perspectives*, Routledge, London, UK, pp. 151-60.
- Hartley, J. 2010, 'Connected Communities and Creative Economy; Clash, Cluster, Complexity, Creativity', *AHRC Research Development Workshop on the Role of the Creative Economy in Developing & Sustaining Vibrant & Prosperous Communities in the UK*, Birmingham, UK.
- Hayes, R. & Oppenheim, R. 1997, 'Constructivism: Reality Is What You Make It', in T. Sexton, B. Sexton & G. B (eds), *Constructivist Thinking in Counseling Practice, Research and Training*, New York: Teachers College Press, New York, NY, pp. 19-41.
- Hays, A. 2017, 'Reading the Margins: Embedded Narratives in Feminist Personal Zines', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 86-108.
- Hedtke, L. 2008, 'Cereal Boxes and Milk Crates Zine Libraries and Infoshops Are... Now', *Libreas: Library Ideas*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-9.
- Heikka, T. 2015, 'The Rise of the Mediating Citizen: Time, Space, and Citizenship in the Crowdsourcing of Finnish Legislation', *Policy & Internet*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 268-91.
- Hemphill, D. & Leskowitz, S. 2013, 'DIY Activists: Communities of Practice, Cultural Dialogism, and Radical Knowledge Sharing', *Adult Education Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 1, pp. 57-77.

- Heron, J. & Reason, P. 2006, 'The Practice of Co-Operative Inquiry: Research 'with' Rather Than 'on' People', *Handbook of Action Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 144-54.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2006, 'Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production', *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 211-31.
- Hesse-Biber, S. & Griffin, A.J. 2013, 'Internet-Mediated Technologies and Mixed Methods Research Problems and Prospects', *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 43-61.
- Hester, H. & Walters, C. 2016, 'Riots Not Diets!: Sex, Fat Studies and DIY Activism', in H. Hester & C. Walters (eds), *Fat Sex: New Directions in Theory and Activism*, Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 1-14.
- Hilbert, M. 2012, 'Toward a Conceptual Framework for ICT for Development: Lessons Learned from the Cube Framework Used in Latin America', *Information Technologies & International Development*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 243-59.
- Holden, J. 2007, *Logging On. Culture, Participation and the Web*, Demos, London, UK.
- Holton, J.A. 2007, 'The Coding Process and Its Challenges', in M. Birks & J. Mills (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 265-89.
- Holtzman, B., Hughes, C. & Van Meter, K. 2007, 'Do It Yourself... And the Movement Beyond Capitalism', in S. Shukatis, D. Graeber & E. Biddle (eds), *Constituent Imagination: Militant Investigations, Collective Theorization*, AK Press, Oakland, CA.
- Honma, T. 2016, 'From Archives to Action: Zines, Participatory Culture, and Community Engagement in Asian America', *Radical Teacher*, no. 105, pp. 33-43.
- Haupt, K., Balkin, L.A., Broom, R.H., Roth, A.G. & Selma 2016, 'Anti-Memoir: Creating Alternate Nursing Home Narratives through Zine Making', *Art Therapy*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 128-37.
- Hsieh, H.F. & Shannon, S.E. 2005, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 15, no. 9, pp. 1277-88.
- Hubbard, C. 2005, 'DIY in the Stacks: A Study of Three Public Library Zine Collections', *Public Libraries*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 351-4.
- Hughes, J.M. 2008, 'The Performative Pull of Research with New Media', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 16-34.
- Hutchinson, S.A. 1993, 'Grounded Theory: The Method', in P.L. Munhall & C.A. Boyd (eds), *Nursing Research: A Qualitative Perspective*, National League for Nursing Press, New York, NY, pp. 111-30.
- Ison, N.L. 2009, 'Having Their Say: Email Interviews for Research Data Collection with People Who Have Verbal Communication Impairment', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, vol. 12, no. 2, pp. 161-72.
- Jackson, M.-R., Herranz, J. & Kabwasi-Green, F. 2003, *Art and Culture in Communities: Unpacking Participation*, The Urban Institute Washington DC.
- James, N. 2015, 'You've Got Mail...! Using Email Interviews to Gather Academics' Narratives of Their Working Lives', *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 6-18.

- Jenkins, H. 1992, "'Strangers No More, We Sing': Filking and the Social Construction of the Science Fiction Fan Community', in L.A. Lewis (ed.), *The Adoring Audience: Fan Culture and Popular Media*, Routledge, London, UK, pp. 208-36.
- Jenkins, H. 2006, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide*, NYU Press, New York, NY.
- Jenkins, H. 2009, *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.
- Jenkins, H. & Bertozzi, V. 2008, 'Artistic Expression in the Age of Participatory Culture', in S.J. Tepper & B. Ivey (eds), *Engaging Art: The Next Great Transformation of America's Cultural Life: How and Why Young People Create*, New York, Ny: Routledge, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 171-95.
- Jenkins, H., Ford, S. & Green, J. 2013, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture*, NYU Press, New York, NY.
- Jenkins, H. & Ito, M. 2015, *Participatory Culture in a Networked Era: A Conversation on Youth, Learning, Commerce, and Politics*, John Wiley & Sons, New York, NY.
- Jenkins, H., Purushotma, R., Weigel, M., Clinton, K. & Robison, A.J. 2009, *Confronting the Challenges of Participatory Culture: Media Education for the 21st Century*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.
- Jeppesen, S. 2012, 'DIY Zines and Direct-Action Activism', in K. Kozolanka, P. Mazepa & D. Skinner (eds), *Alternative Media in Canada: Policy, Politics and Process*, UBC Press, Vancouver, CA, pp. 264-80.
- Jermyn, H. 1999, 'Commentary 2: Arts Attendance and Participation', *Cultural Trends*, vol. 9, no. 33, pp. 107-10.
- Johnson, K.L. 1999, *What the Heck Is a Zine?*, viewed 24th November 2008, <<http://www.suite101.com/articles.cfm/zines/18386>>.
- Johnson, R. 1986, 'Comic-Book Fan Magazines: Watching Pop Turn into Art', *Serials Review*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 17-26.
- Johnson, R.B. & Onwuegbuzie, A.J. 2004, 'Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come', *Educational Researcher*, vol. 33, no. 7, pp. 14-26.
- Jones, M.L. 2007, 'Using Software to Analyse Qualitative Data', *Malaysian Journal of Qualitative Research*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 64-76.
- Kaplan, A.M. & Haenlein, M. 2010, 'Users of the World, Unite! The Challenges and Opportunities of Social Media', *Business Horizons*, vol. 53, no. 1, pp. 59-68.
- Karaian, L. & Mitchell, A. 2010, 'Third Wave Feminisms', in N. Mandell (ed.), *Feminist Issues: Race, Class and Sexuality*, Pearson Canada, Toronto, CA, pp. 40-52.
- Kasper, G. 2015, 'Conducting Interviews', in J.D. Brown & C. Coombe (eds), *The Cambridge Guide to Research in Language Teaching and Learning*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, pp. 209-16.
- Kearney, M.C. 1998, 'Producing Girls: Rethinking the Study of Female Youth Culture', in S.A. Inness (ed.), *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Culture*, New York University Press, New York, NY.
- Kearney, M.C. 2006, *Girls Make Media*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Kearney, M.C. 2007, 'Productive Spaces: Girls' Bedrooms as Sites of Cultural Production', *Journal of Children and Media*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 126-41.

- Kearney, M.C. 2013, *Girls Make Media*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Keller, J. 2012, 'Virtual Feminisms: Girls' Blogging Communities, Feminist Activism, and Participatory Politics', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 429-47.
- Kempson, M. 2015a, 'I Sometimes Wonder Whether I'm an Outsider': Negotiating Belonging in Zine Subculture', *Sociology*, vol. 49, no. 6, pp. 1081 - 95.
- Kempson, M. 2015b, 'My Version of Feminism': Subjectivity, DIY and the Feminist Zine', *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 14, no. 4, pp. 459-72.
- Kennedy, T.L.M. 2007, 'The Personal Is Political: Feminist Blogging and Virtual Consciousness-Raising', *The Scholar and Feminist Online*, vol. 5, no. 2.
- Kera, D. 2017, 'Maker Culture Liminality and Open Source (Science) Hardware: Instead of Making Anything Great Again, Keep Experimenting!', *Liinc em Revista*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 7-28.
- Kiefer, F. 1987, 'On Defining Modality', *Folia Linguistica*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 67-94.
- Knobel, M. & Lankshear, C. 2001, 'Cut, Paste, Publish. The Production and Consumption of Zines', paper presented to the *State of the Art Conference*, Athens, GE, January 25-28 2001, viewed 15th January 2009, <<http://www.geocities.com/c.lankshear/zines.html>>.
- Knobel, M. & Lankshear, C. 2014, 'Studying New Literacies', *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, vol. 58, no. 2, pp. 97-101.
- Kotler, P. 2001, *A Framework for Marketing Management*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, NJ.
- Kress, G.R. & Van Leeuwen, T. 1996, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Routledge, Oxford, UK.
- Kruger, K. 2013, 'The New Normal: Social Networking and Student Affairs', *Journal of College and Character*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 31-8.
- Kucsma, J. 2002, 'Countering Marginalization: Incorporating Zines into the Library', *Library Juice*, vol. 5, no. 6, p. Supplement.
- Kuznetsov, S. & Paulos, E. 2010, 'Rise of the Expert Amateur: DIY Projects, Communities, and Cultures', *NordiCHI '10 Proceedings of the 6th Nordic Conference on Human-Computer Interaction: Extending Boundaries*, ACM, Reykjavik, Iceland, pp. 295-304.
- Lacey, A. 2005, 'Networked Communities: Social Centers and Activist Spaces in Contemporary Britain', *Space and Culture*, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 286-301.
- Lacharite, J. 2017, 'Digital Media, Civic Literacy, and Civic Engagement: The "Promise and Peril" of Internet Politics in Canada', in R. Luppincini & R. Baarda (eds), *Digital Media Integration for Participatory Democracy*, IGI Global, Hershey, PA, pp. 44-65.
- Ladegaard, H., J. 2015, 'Coping with Trauma in Domestic Migrant Worker Narratives: Linguistic, Emotional and Psychological Perspectives', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 189-221.
- Lande, M. 2013, 'Defining Makers Making: Emergent Practice and Emergent Meanings', *ASEE Annual Conference and Exposition*, Atlanta, GE, p. 1.
- Lankshear, C. & Knobel, M. 2010, 'DIY Media: A Contextual Background and Some Contemporary Themes', in M. Knobel & C. Lankshear (eds), *DIY Media: Creating, Sharing and Learning with New Technologies*, Peter Lang, New York, NY, pp. 1-26.

- Lazenbatt, A. & Elliott, N. 2005, 'How to Recognise a 'Quality' Grounded Theory Research Study', *Australian Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 48-52.
- Le Shure, C. 2005, *What Is Liminality?*, viewed 22nd May 2017, <<http://www.liminality.org/about/whatisliminality/>>.
- Lempert, L.B. 2007, 'Asking Questions of the Data: Memo Writing in the Grounded Theory Tradition', in A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 245-64.
- Lenhart, A., Purcell, K., Smith, A. & Zickuhr, K. 2010, *Social Media & Mobile Internet Use among Teens and Young Adults*, Pew Internet & American Life Project, Washington, DC.
- Leonard, M. 1998, 'Paper Planes: Travelling the New Grrrl Geographies', in T. Skelton & G. Valentine (eds), *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*, Routledge, London, UK, pp. 101-20.
- Leventhal, A. 2007, 'Imperfect Bound: Zines, Materiality, and the Question of Preserving Ephemera', paper presented to the *Canadian Association for the Study of Book Culture*, Saskatoon, Canada, 30th May 2007, <http://media.mcgill.ca/files/imperfect_bound.pdf>.
- Levine, F. & Heimerl, C. 2008, *Handmade Nation: The Rise of DIY, Art, Craft, and Design*, Princeton Architectural Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Lévy, P. 1998, *Becoming Virtual: Reality in the Digital Age*, Plenum Press, New York, NY.
- Licon, A.C. 2005, '(B)Orderlands' Rhetorics and Representations: The Transformative Potential of Feminist Third-Space Scholarship and Zines', *NWSA Journal*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 104-29.
- Licon, A.C. 2012, *Zines in Third Space: Radical Cooperation and Borderlands Rhetoric*, State University of New York Press, New York, NY.
- Liebler, R. 2015, 'Copyright and Ownership of Fan Created Works: Fanfiction and Beyond', in M. David & D. Halbert (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Intellectual Property*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 391-403.
- Liming, S. 2010, 'Of Anarchy and Amateurism: Zine Publication and Print Dissent', *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, vol. 43, no. 2, pp. 121-45.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. 1985, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Lincoln, Y.S., Lynham, S.A. & Guba, E.G. 2011, 'Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences, Revisited', in N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 97-128.
- Lingel, J. & Naaman, M. 2012, 'You Should Have Been There, Man: Live Music, DIY Content and Online Communities', *New Media & Society*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 332-49.
- Litt, E. & Hargittai, E. 2016, 'The Imagined Audience on Social Network Sites', *Social Media+ Society*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1-12.
- Livingston-Webber, J. 1994, 'How Sassy Are Grrrl Zines?', paper presented to the *Conference on College Composition and Communication*, Nashville, TN, March 16-19.
- Livingstone, S. 2008, 'Taking Risky Opportunities in Youthful Content Creation: Teenagers' Use of Social Networking Sites for Intimacy, Privacy and Self-Expression', *New Media & Society*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 393-411.

- Locke, E.A., Schweiger, D.M. & Latham, G.P. 1986, 'Participation in Decision Making: When Should It Be Used?', *Organizational Dynamics*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 65-79.
- Locke, K. 2001, *Grounded Theory in Management Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Lomborg, K. & Kirkevold, M. 2003, 'Truth and Validity in Grounded Theory—a Reconsidered Realist Interpretation of the Criteria: Fit, Work, Relevance and Modifiability', *Nursing Philosophy*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 189-200.
- Long, T.L. 2000, 'Plague of Pariahs: Aids 'Zines and the Rhetoric of Transgression', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol. 24, no. 4, pp. 401-11.
- Lonsdale, C. 2015, 'Engaging the "Othered": Using Zines to Support Student Identities', *Language Arts Journal of Michigan*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 8-16.
- Lowe, A. 1995, 'The Basic Social Processes of Entrepreneurial Innovation', *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour & Research*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 54-76.
- Lowndes, S. 2016, *The DIY Movement in Art, Music and Publishing: Subjugated Knowledges*, Routledge, New York, NY.
- Lunnay, B., Borlagdan, J., McNaughton, D. & Ward, P. 2015, 'Ethical Use of Social Media to Facilitate Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 99-109.
- Lupton, E. 2006, *DIY: Design It Yourself: A Design Handbook*, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, NY.
- Lymn, J. 2008, *The Octapod Zine Collection Developing a Preservation and Access Strategy*, Sydney, Australia, viewed 22nd May 2017, <<https://luminenlymn.files.wordpress.com/2009/06/octapod-report-for-web.pdf>>.
- Lynham, S.A. 2002, 'The General Method of Theory-Building Research in Applied Disciplines', *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, vol. 4, no. 3, p. 221.
- Mack-Canty, C. 2004, 'Third-Wave Feminism and the Need to Reweave the Nature/Culture Duality', *NWSA JOURNAL*, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 154-79.
- Mackenzie, N. & Knipe, S. 2006, 'Research Dilemmas: Paradigms, Methods and Methodology', *Issues in Educational Research*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 193-205.
- Malekoff, A. 2010, 'The Do-It-Yourself (DIY) Movement and Young People with Serious Physical Illnesses Who Support Building Communities of Care', *Social Work With Groups*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 304-7.
- Mandarano, L., Meenar, M. & Steins, C. 2010, 'Building Social Capital in the Digital Age of Civic Engagement', *Journal of Planning Literature*, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 123-35.
- Mann, C. & Stewart, F. 2000, *Internet Communication and Qualitative Research: A Handbook for Researching Online*, Sage, London, UK.
- Mann, S. 2014, 'Maktivism: Authentic Making for Technology in the Service of Humanity', in M. Ratto, M. Boler & R. Deibert (eds), *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, MIT Press, Boston, MA, pp. 29-52.
- Manning, K. 1997, 'Authenticity in Constructivist Inquiry: Methodological Considerations without Prescription', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 93-115.
- Manovich, L. 2001, *The Language of New Media*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.

- Mansell, R. 2004, 'Political Economy, Power and New Media', *New Media and Society*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 74-83.
- Marie, D. 2015, 'Zines at Work: Visualizing Diasporic Filipina/O Identities In .45 Kaliber Proof', *Asian Diasporic Visual Cultures and the Americas*, vol. 1, no. 3, pp. 265-84.
- Marr, J. 1999, 'Zines Are Dead', *Bad Subjects: Political education for everyday life*, vol. 46, viewed 17th April 2017, <<http://www.zinebook.com/resource/zines-are-dead.html>>.
- Martin, V.B. 2006, 'The Postmodern Turn: Shall Classic Grounded Theory Take That Detour? A Review Essay', *Grounded Theory Review*, vol. 5, no. 2/3, pp. 119-29.
- Martin-Iverson, S. 2009, "'C'mon Commodify Us!": Commodity, Fetishmand Resistant Practice in the Bandung DIY Hardcore Scene', in U.M. Rodrigues & B. Smail (eds), *Youth, Media and Culture in the Asia Pacific Region*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, UK, pp. 177-94.
- Matarasso, F. 1997, *Use or Ornament: The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts*, Comedia, Stroud, UK.
- Maynard, A.L. 2016, 'For the Love of the Craft: Industry, Identity, and Australian Comics', in C. Brienza & P. Johnston (eds), *Cultures of Comics Work*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY, pp. 21-34.
- McCarthy, K.F. & Jinnett, K. 2001, *A New Framework for Building Participation in the Arts*, RAND Publications, viewed 22nd May 2017, <http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/2005/MR1323.pdf>.
- McCoyd, J.L.M. & Kerson, T.S. 2006, 'Conducting Intensive Interviews Using Email a Serendipitous Comparative Opportunity', *Qualitative Social Work*, vol. 5, no. 3, pp. 389-406.
- McGhee, G., Marland, G.R. & Atkinson, J. 2007, 'Grounded Theory Research: Literature Reviewing and Reflexivity', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 334-42.
- McKay, G. (ed.) 1998, *DIY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain*, Verso, London, UK.
- McKeown, A. 2013, 'Virtual Communitas, "Digital Place-Making," and the Process of "Becoming"', in D. Harrison (ed.), *Digital Media and Technologies for Virtual Artistic Spaces*, Information Science Reference, Hershey, PA, pp. 218-36.
- McMaster, B. 2008, *Supporting Excellence in the Arts*, London, UK.
- McMaster, G.R. 1995, 'Borderzones: The 'Injun-Uity' of Aesthetic Tricks', *Cultural Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 74-90.
- McTaggart, R. 1991, 'Principles for Participatory Action Research', *Adult Education Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 168-87.
- Meissner, J.L., Vines, J., McLaughlin, J., Nappey, T., Maksimova, J. & Wright, P. 2017, 'Do-It-Yourself Empowerment as Experienced by Novice Makers with Disabilities', *Proceedings of the 2017 Conference on Designing Interactive Systems*, ACM, pp. 1053-65.
- Merriam, S.B. 2002, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, Jossey-Bass San Francisco, CA.
- Mertens, D. 2005, *Research Methods in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative Approaches*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.

- Mills, J. 2009, 'The Trajectory of Cultivating and Growing Australian Rural Nurses: Findings from a Constructivist Grounded Theory Study', *Social Theory & Health*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 39-54.
- Mills, J., Bonner, A. & Francis, K. 2006, 'The Development of Constructivist Grounded Theory', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 1-10.
- Milner, J. 2002, 'Arts Impact: Arts and Culture in the Community', *Performing Arts & Entertainment in Canada*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 11-2.
- Moore, R. 2004, 'Postmodernism and Punk Subculture: Cultures of Authenticity and Deconstruction', *The Communication Review*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 305-27.
- Moore, R. 2007, 'Friends Don't Let Friends Listen to Corporate Rock: Punk as a Field of Cultural Production', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 36, no. 4, pp. 438-74.
- Moore, R. & Roberts, M. 2009, 'Do-It-Yourself Mobilization: Punk and Social Movements', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 273-91.
- Morgan, S. & Dawson, E.-J. 2014, 'Zine Scene at Multnomah County Library: An Interview with Emily-Jane Dawson', *OLA Quarterly*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 21-5.
- Moroz, S. 2009, 'Zine Fest for the People', *The L Magazine*, no. 29th June 2009, viewed 22nd July 2009, <<http://www.thelmagazine.com/TheMeasure/archives/2009/06/29/zine-fest-for-the-people>>.
- Morrison, C.M. 2010, *Who Do They Think They Are?: Teenage Girls & Their Avatars in Spaces of Social Online Communication*, Peter Lang, New York, NY.
- Morse, J.M. 1994, 'Emerging from the Data: The Cognitive Processes of Analysis in Qualitative Inquiry', in J.M. Morse (ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 350-1.
- Morse, J.M. 2010, 'Sampling in Grounded Theory', in A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*, Sage, London, UK, pp. 229-44.
- Moscowitz, L. & Carpenter, M.B. 2014, 'Girl Zines at Work: Feminist Media Literacy Education with Underserved Girls', *Girlhood Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 25-43.
- Mussell, J. 2011, 'The Passing of Print', *Media History*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 77-92.
- Neuman, W.R., Bimber, B. & Hindman, M. 2011, 'The Internet and Four Dimensions of Citizenship', in R. Shapiro & L. Jacobs (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, pp. 22-42.
- Nguyen-Vo, T.-H. & Hong, G.K. 2017, 'The Grammar of Failure: Dispossession, Mourning, and the Afterlife of Socialist Futurities', *Social Identities*, pp. 1-18.
- Nijsten, N. 2016, 'Write It Yourself?', *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies*, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 413-31.
- Nunes, J., Martins, J.T., Zhou, L., Alajamy, M. & Al-Mamari, S. 2010, 'Contextual Sensitivity in Grounded Theory: The Role of Pilot Studies', *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 73-84.

- Nussbaum, F. 1988, 'Towards Conceptualizing Diary', in J. Olney (ed.), *Studies in Autobiography*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- O'Brien, E. 2012, 'Zines: A Personal History', *New England Review*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 89-99.
- O'Leary, Z. 2004, *The Essential Guide to Doing Research*, Sage, London, UK.
- O'Neil, M. 2004, 'Exclusion and Inclusion in Personal Media Networks', *Mobile Boundaries/Rigid Worlds: Proceedings of the 2nd Annual Conference of the Centre for Research On Social Inclusion*, eds M. Fine, N. Smith & A. Wise, Sydney, Australia.
- O'Reilly, T. 2003, *The Architecture of Participation*, viewed 10th March 2010, <<http://www.oreillynet.com/pub/wlg/3017>>.
- Oegema, D. & Klandermans, B. 1994, 'Why Social Movement Sympathizers Don't Participate: Erosion and Nonconversion of Support', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 59, no. 5, pp. 703-22.
- Ogle, J.P. & Thornburg, E. 2003, 'An Alternative Voice Amid Teen 'Zines: An Analysis of Body-Related Content in Girl Zone', *Journal of Family and Consumer Sciences*, vol. 95, no. 1, pp. 47-56.
- Opdenakker, R. 2006, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of Four Interview Techniques in Qualitative Research', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 7, no. 4, viewed 26th March 2010, <<http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/4-06/06-4-11-e.htm>>.
- Orton-Johnson, K. 2014, 'DIY Citizenship, Critical Making, and Community', in M. Ratto & M. Boler (eds), *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, MIT Press, Boston, MA, pp. 141-56.
- Osorio, R. 2015, 'A Community of Beloved Femmes: The Cultivation of Radical Self-Love in Femme Shark Communique', *Peitho: The Journal of the Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric & Composition*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 226-46.
- Patton, M.Q. 2002, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Pavlik, J.V. 2012, *Media in the Digital Age*, Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Peace, E. 2007, *Future Melbourne: Artist Run Spaces/ Artist Run Initiatives: Sticky and Melbourne's Zine Culture*, viewed 22nd July 2009, <<http://www.stickyinstitute.com/zineopedia/FUTURE MELBOURNE.pdf>>.
- Pearce, G., Thøgersen-Ntoumani, C. & Duda, J.L. 2014, 'The Development of Synchronous Text-Based Instant Messaging as an Online Interviewing Tool', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, vol. 17, no. 6, pp. 677-92.
- Perry, L. 2015, 'I Can Sell My Body If I Wanna: Riot Grrrl Body Writing and Performing Shameless Feminist Resistance', *Lateral*, no. 4, viewed 22nd May 2017, <<http://csalateral.org/issue/4/i-can-sell-my-body-if-i-wanna-riot-grrrl-body/>>.
- Peters, M. & Cherbo, J.M. 1998, 'The Missing Sector: The Unincorporated Arts', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 115-28.
- Phillipov, M. 2006, 'Haunted by the Spirit of '77: Punk Studies and the Persistence of Politics', *Continuum*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 383-93.

- Piano, D. 2003, 'Resisting Subjects: DIY Feminism and the Politics of Style in Subcultural Production', in D. Muggleton & R. Weinzierl (eds), *The Post-Subcultures Reader*, Berg, Oxford, UK, pp. 253-68.
- Piano, D. 2015, 'Exchanging Life Narratives: The Politics and Poetics of Do-It-Yourself Practices', in J. Flood, S.B. Heath & D. Lapp (eds), *Handbook of Research on Teaching Literacy through the Communicative and Visual Arts, Volume 2*, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 309-18.
- Piepmeyer, A. 2008, 'Why Zines Matter: Materiality and the Creation of Embodied Community', *American Periodicals*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 213-38.
- Piepmeyer, A. 2009, *Girl Zines: Making Media, Doing Feminism*, New York University Press, New York, NY.
- Pöldaas, M. 2015, 'Public Libraries as a Venue for Cultural Participation in the Eyes of the Visitors', *Media Transformations*, vol. 11, pp. 106-22.
- Poletti, A. 2003, 'Life Writing in Zines: Memory, Public Spaces and Intimacy', *New Media Poetics*, no. 3, pp. 1-7.
- Poletti, A. 2005, 'Self-Publishing in the Global and Local: Situating Life Writing in Zines', *Biography*, vol. 28, no. 1, pp. 183-92.
- Poletti, A. 2008a, 'Auto/Assemblage: Reading the Zine', *Biography*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 85-102.
- Poletti, A. 2008b, *Intimate Ephemera: Reading Young Lives in Australian Zine Culture*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, AU.
- Poletti, A. 2011, 'Intimate Economies: Postsecret and the Affect of Confession', *Biography*, vol. 34, no. 1, pp. 25-36.
- Ponterotto, J.G. 2005, 'Qualitative Research in Counseling Psychology: A Primer on Research Paradigms and Philosophy of Science', *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, vol. 52, no. 2, pp. 126-36.
- Potter, R. & Sellie, A. 2016, 'Zines in the Classroom: Critical Librarianship and Participatory Collections', in N. Pagowsky & K. McElroy (eds), *Critical Library Pedagogy Handbook: Lesson Plans*, vol. 2, Association of College and Research Libraries, Chicago, IL, pp. 117-24.
- Pressler, J. 2006, 'Remember Zines? Look at Them Now', *The New York Times*, viewed 8th March 2017, <<http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B0CE1DD1F3FF934A35756C0A9609C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=print>>.
- Pytash, K.E. 2016, 'Girls on the Fringe: The Writing Lives of Two Adolescent Girls', *Reading & Writing Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 4, pp. 299-316.
- Radway, J. 2001, 'Girls, Zines and the Miscellaneous Production of Subjectivity in an Age of Unceasing Circulation', *Speaker Series: Center for Interdisciplinary Studies of Writing and the Literacy & Rhetorical Studies Minor*, vol. 18, viewed 8th March 2017, <http://writing.umn.edu/docs/speakerseries_pubs/Radway.pdf>.
- Radway, J. 2011, 'Zines, Half-Lives, and Afterlives: On the Temporalities of Social and Political Change', *PMLA*, vol. 126, no. 1, pp. 140-50.
- Radway, J. 2016, 'Girl Zine Networks, Underground Itineraries, and Riot Grrrl History: Making Sense of the Struggle for New Social Forms in the 1990s and Beyond', *Journal of American Studies*, vol. 50, no. 1, pp. 1-31.
- Rallin, A. & Barnard, I. 2008, 'The Politics of Persuasion Versus the Construction of Alternative Communities: Zines in the Writing Classroom', *Reflections*, vol. 7, no. 3, pp. 46-57.

- Rallis, S.F. & Rossman, G.B. 2011, *Learning in the Field: An Introduction to Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Ratto, M. & Boler, M. 2014, *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, MIT Press, Boston, MA.
- Rauch, J. 2004, 'Hands-on Communication: Zine Circulation Rituals and the Interactive Limitations of Web Self-Publishing', *Popular Communication*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 153-69.
- Rauch, J. 2007, 'Activists as Interpretive Communities: Rituals of Consumption and Interaction in an Alternative Media Audience', *Media Culture Society*, vol. 29, no. 6, pp. 994-1013.
- Rauch, J. 2015a, 'Exploring the Alternative–Mainstream Dialectic: What “Alternative Media” Means to a Hybrid Audience', *Communication, Culture & Critique*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 124-43.
- Rauch, J. 2015b, 'Slow Media as Alternative Media: Cultural Resistance through Print and Analog Revivals', in C. Atton (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Alternative and Community Media*, Routledge, London, UK, pp. 571-81.
- Rauch, J. 2016, 'Are There Still Alternatives? Relationships between Alternative Media and Mainstream Media in a Converged Environment', *Sociology Compass*, vol. 10, no. 9, pp. 756-67.
- Reagles, J. 2008, 'My Identity Is Fluid as Fuck: Transgender Zine Writers Constructing Themselves', in S. Driver (ed.), *Queer Youth Cultures*, SUNY Press, New York, NY, p. 87.
- Reed, A. 2016, 'Craft and Care: The Maker Movement, Catherine Blake, and the Digital Humanities', *Essays in Romanticism*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 23-38.
- Reichertz, J. 2007, *Abduction: The Logic of Discovery of Grounded Theory*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Reinharz, S. 1997, 'Who Am I? The Need for a Variety of Selves in Fieldwork', in R. Hertz (ed.), *Reflexivity and Voice* Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 3-20.
- Reitsamer, R. & Zobl, E. 2014, 'Alternative Media Production, Feminism, and Citizenship Practices', in M. Ratto & M. Boler (eds), *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, MIT Press, Boston, MA, p. 329.
- Rennie, E. 2007, 'Community Media in the Prosumer Era', *Journal of Community, Citizen's and Third Sector Media and Communication*, vol. 3, pp. 25-32.
- Rennie, E. & Valdivia, A.N. 2012, 'Community Media Production', *The International Encyclopedia of Media Studies*, Blackwell Cambridge, UK.
- Reynolds, S. 2009, 'How the Fanzine Refused to Die', *The Guardian*, 2nd February 2009.
- Richardson, A. 1996, 'Come on, Join the Conversation!: Zines as a Medium for Feminist Dialogue and Community Building', *Feminist Collections*, vol. 17, no. 3-4, pp. 10-3.
- Ritson, M. & Dobscha, S. 2001, *The Free State: An Ethnographic Study of a Counter Culture of Consumption*, Working Paper, London Business School, London, UK.
- Robinson, J.P. 1993, *Arts Participation in America: 1982–1992*, Washington, DC.
- Rojek, C. 1995, *Decentering Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory*, vol. 35, Sage, London, UK.

- Romenesko, J. 1993, 'The Zine Explosion', *American Journalism Review*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 39-44.
- Rosenberg, J. & Garafolo, G. 1998, 'Riot Grrrl: Revolutions from Within', *Signs*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 809-41.
- Rosner, D. & Bean, J. 2009, 'Learning from Ikea Hacking: I'm Not One to Decoupage a Tabletop and Call It a Day', *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, pp. 419-22.
- Ryan, A.B. 2006, 'Post-Positivist Approaches to Research', in M. Antonesa, H. Fallon, A.B. Ryan, A. Ryan, T. Walsh & L. Borys (eds), *Researching and Writing Your Thesis: A Guide for Postgraduate Students*, National University of Ireland Maynooth, Ireland, pp. 12-28.
- Sabin, R. 1999, *Punk Rock: So What?: The Cultural Legacy of Punk*, Routledge, London, UK.
- Sabin, R. & Triggs, T. 2002, *Below Critical Radar: Fanzines and Alternative Comics from 1976 to Now*, Codex, New York, NY.
- Sandelowski, M. 2004, 'Using Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, vol. 14, no. 10, pp. 1366-86.
- Sandlin, J.A. 2007, 'Popular Culture, Cultural Resistance, and Anticonsumption Activism: An Exploration of Culture Jamming as Critical Adult Education', *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, no. 115, pp. 73-82.
- Schilt, K. 2003a, "'I'll Resist with Every Inch and Every Breath": Girls and Zine Making as a Form of Resistance', *Youth & Society*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 71-97.
- Schilt, K. 2003b, "'A Little Too Ironic": The Appropriation and Packaging of Riot Grrrl Politics by Mainstream Female Musicians', *Popular Music and Society*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 5-16.
- Schilt, K. 2004, "'Riot Grrrl Is...": The Contestation over Meaning in a Music Scene', in A. Bennett & R.A. Peterson (eds), *Music Scenes: Local, Translocal and Virtual*, Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, TN.
- Schilt, K. & Zobl, E. 2008, 'Connecting the Dots: Riot Grrrls, Ladyfests, and the International Grrrl Zine Network', in A. Harris (ed.), *Next Wave Cultures: Feminism, Subcultures, Activism*, Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 171-92.
- Schmidt, C. 2006, 'Meanings of Fanzines in the Beginning of Punk in the Gdr and Frg', *Volume! La Revue des Musiques Populaires*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 47-72.
- Schneider, S.J., Kerwin, J., Frechtling, J. & Vivari, B.A. 2002, 'Characteristics of the Discussion in Online and Face-to-Face Focus Groups', *Social Science Computer Review*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 31-42.
- Schuster, J. 2017, 'Why the Personal Remained Political: Comparing Second and Third Wave Perspectives on Everyday Feminism', *Social Movement Studies*, pp. 1-13.
- Seale, C. 1999, 'Quality in Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 5, no. 4, pp. 465-78.
- Seaman, B.A. 2005, 'Attendance and Public Participation in the Performing Arts: A Review of the Empirical Literature', *Nonprofit Studies Program Working Paper 05-03*, Andrew Young School of Policy Studies, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GE.
- Sellie, A. 2005, 'A Do-It-Yourself Zine Definition', *Counterpoise*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 8-9.

- Siegel, D.L. 1997, 'The Legacy of the Personal: Generating Theory in Feminism's Third Wave', *Hypatia*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 46-75.
- Siemens, G. 2005, 'Connectivism: A Learning Theory for the Digital Age', *International Journal of Instructional Technology and Distance Learning*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 3-10.
- Silverman, D. 2006, *Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analyzing Talk, Text, and Interaction*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Sinor, J. 2002, 'Adolescent Girls', *Annual Meeting of the Conference on College Composition and Communication*, Chicago, IL.
- Sinor, J. 2003, 'Another Form of Crying: Girl Zines as Life Writing', *Prose Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 240-64.
- Sklar, A. 2006, 'The Personal, Political, and a Little Bit of Everything Else: Girls, Grrrls and Perzines', *Volume! La Revue des Musiques Populaires*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 73-81.
- Smagorinsky, P. 2001, 'If Meaning Is Constructed, What Is It Made From? Toward a Cultural Theory of Reading', *Review of Educational Research*, vol. 71, no. 1, pp. 133-69.
- Smith, D.H. 1994, 'Determinants of Voluntary Association Participation and Volunteering: A Literature Review', *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 3, pp. 243-63.
- Smith, M., J. 1999, 'Strands in the Web: Community-Building Strategies in Online Fanzines', *Journal of Popular Culture*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 87-99.
- Smith, T. 2009, 'The Social Media Revolution', *International Journal of Market Research*, vol. 51, no. 4, pp. 559-61.
- Snyder, G. 2006, 'Graffiti Media and the Perpetuation of an Illegal Subculture', *Crime, Media, Culture*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 93-101.
- Soulliere, D., Britt, D. & Maines, D. 2001, 'Conceptual Modeling as a Toolbox for Grounded Theorists', *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 42, no. 2, pp. 253-69.
- Sparkes, A.C. & Smith, B. 2009, 'Judging the Quality of Qualitative Inquiry: Criteriology and Relativism in Action', *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, vol. 10, no. 5, pp. 491-7.
- Spencer, A. 2005, *DIY: The Rise of lo-fi Culture*, Marion Boyers, London, UK.
- Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. & Dillon, L. 2003, *Quality in Qualitative Evaluation: A Framework for Assessing Research Evidence*, National Centre for Social Research, London, UK.
- Spiegelberg, H. 2012, *The Phenomenological Movement: A Historical Introduction*, Springer, New York, NY.
- Spiers, E. 2015, '"Killing Ourselves Is Not Subversive': Riot Grrrl from Zine to Screen and the Commodification of Female Transgression', *Women: A Cultural Review*, vol. 26, no. 1-2, pp. 1-21.
- Spinelli, M. 2000, 'Democratic Rhetoric and Emergent Media – the Marketing of Participatory Community on Radio and the Internet', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 268 - 78.
- Stahl, G. 2003, 'Tastefully Renovating Subcultural Theory: Making Space for a New Model', in D. Muggleton & R. Weinzierl (eds), *The Post-Subcultures Reader*, Berg Publishers, Oxford, UK, pp. 27-40.
- Stanley, P. 2014, 'Writing the Phd Journey(S): An Autoethnography of Zine-Writing, Angst, Embodiment, and Backpacker Travels', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 143-68.

- Stevens, A. 2010, 'They're a New Zine of the Times: A Bustle of Writers ', *The Age*, May 22nd.
- Stockburger, I.Z. 2015, 'Stancetaking and the Joint Construction of Zine Producer Identities in a Research Interview', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 222-40.
- Stoddart, R.A. & Kiser, T. 2004, 'Zines and the Library', *Library Resources and Technical Services* vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 191-8.
- Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. 1994, 'Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview', in N.K. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 273-85.
- Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. 1998, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Suddaby, R. 2006, 'What Grounded Theory Is Not', *Academy of Management Journal*, vol. 49, no. 4, pp. 633-42.
- Sunstein, B.S. 1998, 'Moveable Feasts, Liminal Spaces: Writing Centers and the State of in-Betweenness', *The Writing Center Journal*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 7-26.
- Sutton, L.A. 1999, 'All Media Are Created Equal Do-It-Yourself Identity in Alternative Publishing ', in M. Bucholtz (ed.), *Reinventing Identities : The Gendered Self in Discourse.*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Taffel, S. 2015, 'Perspectives on the Postdigital: Beyond Rhetorics of Progress and Novelty', *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 324-38.
- Tanenbaum, J.G., Williams, A.M., Desjardins, A. & Tanenbaum, K. 2013, 'Democratizing Technology: Pleasure, Utility and Expressiveness in DIY and Maker Practice', *Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, ACM, pp. 2603-12.
- Tapper, J. 2011, *Craft Activism: People, Ideas, and Projects from the New Community of Handmade--and How You Can Join In*, Clarkson Potter, New York, NY.
- Taylor, N., Hurley, U. & Connolly, P. 2016, 'Making Community: The Wider Role of Makerspaces in Public Life', *Proceedings of the 2016 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, ACM, pp. 1415-25.
- Taylor, S.J. & Bogdan, R. 1984, *Introduction to Qualitative Research: The Search for Meanings*, 2nd edn, Wiley, New York, NY.
- Taylor, S.J. & Bogdan, R. 1998, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource*, Wiley, New York, NY.
- Thi Nguyen, M. 2012, 'Riot Grrrl, Race, and Revival', *Women and Performance*, vol. 22, no. 2-3, pp. 173-96.
- Thornberg, R. 2012, 'Informed Grounded Theory', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, vol. 56, no. 3, pp. 243-59.
- Thornberg, R. & Charmaz, K. 2014, 'Grounded Theory and Theoretical Coding', in U. Flick (ed.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 153-69.
- Tiffen, R. 2015, 'From Punctuated Equilibrium to Threatened Species: The Evolution of Australian Newspaper Circulation and Ownership', *Australian Journalism Review*, vol. 37, no. 1, p. 63.

- Titton, M. 2015, 'Fashionable Personae: Self-Identity and Enactments of Fashion Narratives in Fashion Blogs', *Fashion Theory*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 201-20.
- Tkach, D. & Hank, C. 2014, 'Before Blogs, There Were Zines: Berman, Danky, and the Political Case for Zine Collecting in North American Academic Libraries', *Serials Review*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 12-20.
- Todd, M. & Watson, E. 2006, *Whatcha Mean, What's a Zine?: The Art of Making Zines and Minicomics*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, Boston, MA.
- Tolhurst, E. 2012, 'Grounded Theory Method: Sociology's Quest for Exclusive Items of Inquiry', *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 13.
- Tolman, D. 2002, *Dilemmas of Desire*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Triggs, T. 2006, 'Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 69-83.
- Triggs, T. 2010, 'Post Riot Grrrl Zines and Craft Activism', paper presented to the *Women's Library Zine Festival 2010*, London, UK, 9th June.
- Trochim, W.M. 2000, *Research Methods Knowledge Base (2nd Edition)*, Atomic Dog Publishing.
- Tucker-Raymond, E., Gravel, B.E., Wagh, A., Wilson, N., Manderino, M. & Cstek, J. 2016, 'Making It Social: Considering the Purpose of Literacy to Support Participation in Making and Engineering', *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, vol. 60, no. 2, pp. 207-11.
- Turner, E. 2012, *Communitas: The Anthropology of Collective Joy*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, NY.
- Turner, G. 2010, *Ordinary People and the Media: The Demotic Turn*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Turner, V. 1974, 'Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual: An Essay in Comparative Symbology', *Rice University Studies*, vol. 60, no. 3, pp. 53-92.
- Turner, V. 1977, 'Variations on a Theme of Liminality', in S.F. Moore & B. Myerhoff (eds), *Secular Ritual*, Van Gorcum, Amsterdam, NL, pp. 36-52.
- Turner, V. 1979a, 'Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality', *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 465-99.
- Turner, V. 1979b, *Process, Performance, and Pilgrimage: A Study in Comparative Symbology*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, India.
- Turner, V. 1987, 'Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites of Passage', in L.C. Mahdi, S. Foster & M. Little (eds), *Betwixt and Between: Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation*, Open Court, La Salle, IL, pp. 3-19.
- Turner, V. 2008, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Aldine Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, NJ.
- Urquhart, C. 2001, 'An Encounter with Grounded Theory: Tackling the Practical and Philosophical Issues', in E.M. Trauth (ed.), *Qualitative Research in Is: Issues and Trends*, Idea Group Publishing, Hershey, PA, pp. 104-40.
- Urquhart, C. 2016, 'Grounded Theory', *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Theory and Philosophy*, Wiley, New York, NY.
- Vander Putten, J. & Nolen, A.L. 2010, 'Comparing Results from Constant Comparative and Computer Software Methods: A Reflection About

- Qualitative Data Analysis', *Journal of Ethnographic & Qualitative Research*, vol. 5, pp. 99-112.
- Veitch, M. 2016, 'Read a Zine, Then Make One, Then Catalog It: Creating a Zine Library at Suny New Paltz', *The Reading Room*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 83-102.
- Vesey, A. 2015, 'Mixing in Feminism', *Popular Music and Society*, vol. 39, no. 2, pp. 202-21.
- Vong, S. 2016, 'Reporting or Reconstructing?: The Zine as a Medium for Reflecting on Research Experiences', *Communications in Information Literacy*, vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 62-80.
- Vygotsky, L. 1980, *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Vygotsky, L., Hanfmann, E. & Vakar, G. 2012, *Thought and Language*, MIT press, Boston, MA.
- Wagg, H. 2003, 'Mediate This! Positioning Communications in Riot Grrrl Subcultural Formation', *Journal for the Arts, Sciences and Technology*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 19-24.
- Wali, A., Marcheschi, E., Severson, R. & Longoni, M. 2001, 'More Than a Hobby: Adult Participation in the Informal Arts', *Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 212-30.
- Walker, B. 2009, <Zine> *Anatomical Heart Four*.
- Watson, M. & Shove, E. 2005, 'Doing It Yourself? Products, Competence and Meaning in the Practices of DIY', *European Sociological Association Conference, Torun, Poland*.
- Wayman, T. 1983, 'Inside Job: The Transformation of Literature', *Labour/Le Travail*, no. Spring, pp. 155-69.
- Weber, R.P. 1990, *Basic Content Analysis*, vol. , Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Weed, M. 2009, 'Research Quality Considerations for Grounded Theory Research in Sport & Exercise Psychology', *Psychology of Sport and Exercise*, vol. 10, no. 5, pp. 502-10.
- Weida, C.L. 2012, 'Counterculture, Craftsmanship, and Cyberspace Connectivity: Considerations of Contemporary Feminist Zines in/as/of Art Education', in S. Collingwood, A.E. Quintana & C.J. Smith (eds), *Feminist Cyberspaces: Pedagogies in Transition*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, UK, pp. 33-50.
- Weida, C.L. 2013, 'Feminist Zines: (Pre) Occupations of Gender, Politics, and DIY in a Digital Age', *The Journal of Social Theory in Art Education* vol. 33, pp. 67-85.
- Wertham, F. 1973, *The World of Fanzines: A Special Form of Communication*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, IL.
- White, R. 2015, *Beginning Scribus*, Apress, Berkeley, CA.
- Whitlock, G. & Poletti, A. 2008, 'Self-Regarding Art', *Biography*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. v-xxiii.
- Whitney, E. 2006, 'In Praise of Zines: Pushing Paper in the Digital Age', *Bitch*, vol. Winter, p. 27.
- Williamson, J. 1994, 'Engaging Resistant Writers through Zines in the Classroom', paper presented to the *College Composition and Communication Conference*, Nashville, TN.
- Wilpert, B. 1994, 'Participation Research in Organisational Psychology', in G. D'Ydewalle, P. Bertelson & P. Eelen (eds), *International Perspectives on*

- Psychological Science: The State of the Art Volume 1*, Hove, UK, Psychology Press, p. 293.
- Wilson, C. & Johnson, M., 'Media Literacy, Digital Technologies and Civic Engagement', in S.H. Culver & P. Kerr (eds), *Global Citizenship in a Digital World*, International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media, Gothenburg, Sweden, pp. 95-105.
- Wood, B.E., Kraftl, P., Nairn, K. & Skelton, T. 2015, 'Border Spaces: Geographies of Youth Exclusion, Inclusion and Liminality', *Space, Landscape and Environment*, no. 3, pp. 1-22.
- Woodbrook, R. & Lazzaro, A. 2013, 'The Bonds of Organization: Zine Archives and the Archival Tradition', *Journal of Western Archives*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 1-17.
- Wooten, K. 2002, 'Women's Zines in the Sarah Dyer Zine Collection', University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Worley, M. 2015, 'Punk, Politics and British (Fan) Zines, 1976–84: 'While the World Was Dying, Did You Wonder Why?', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 76-106.
- Wortham, J. 2017, 'Why the Internet Didn't Kill Zines', *The New York Times*.
- Wray, J. & Steele, J., R. 2001, 'Girls in Print: Figuring out What It Means to Be a Girl', in J. Brown, D., J. Steele, R. & K. Walsh-Childers (eds), *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media: Investigating Media's Influence on Adolescent Sexuality*, Routledge, London, UK.
- Wray, J. & Steele, J., R. 2002, 'Girls in Print: Figuring out What It Means to Be a Girl', in J. Brown, D., J. Steele, R. & K. Walsh-Childers (eds), *Sexual Teens, Sexual Media: Investigating Media's Influence on Adolescent Sexuality*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Mahwah, NJ.
- Wreck, A. 2005, *Stolen Sharpie Revolution: A DIY Zine Resource*, Portland.
- Wright, L. 2016, 'Do-It-Yourself Girl Power: An Examination of the Riot Grrrl Subculture', *James Madison Undergraduate Research Journal*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 52-6.
- Wurth, K.B., Espi, S.R. & van de Ven, I. 2013, 'Visual Text and Media Divergence', *European Journal of English Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 92-108.
- Wyszomirski, M.J. 1999, 'Creative Assets and Cultural Development: How Can Research Inform Nonprofit-Commercial Partnerships?', *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 132-41.
- Yang, A. 2010, 'Engaging Participatory Literacy through Science Zines', *The American Biology Teacher*, vol. 72, no. 9, pp. 573-7.
- Yorke, C. 2000, 'Zines Are Dead: The Six Deadly Sins That Killed Zinery', *Broken Pencil*, no. 12, pp. 18-9, viewed 15th May 2008, <<http://www.brokenpencil.com/features/feature.php?featureid=46>>.
- Yoshitomi, G.D. 2002, *Engage Now! An Arts Worker's Guide to Deepening Experience and Strengthening Participation in the Arts*, Heinz Endowments, Pittsburg, PA.
- Zhang, Y. & Hitchcock, M.J. 2017, 'The Chinese Female Tourist Gaze: A Netnography of Young Women's Blogs on Macao', *Current Issues in Tourism*, vol. 20, no. 3, pp. 315-30.
- Zobl, E. 2003, 'Let's Smash Patriarchy! Zine Grrrls and Ladies at Work', *Off Our Backs*, vol. 33, no. 3/4, p. 60.

- Zobl, E. 2004a, *Feminist - DIY - Queer: The Zine Varla's Passed out and Fingerbang Distro: An Interview with Red Chidgey from Brighton, England*, viewed 20th August 2009, <<http://grrrlzines.net/interviews/fingerbang.htm>>.
- Zobl, E. 2004b, 'Persephone Is Pissed! Grrrl Zine Reading, Making, and Distributing across the Globe', *Hecate*, vol. 30, no. 2, pp. 156-75.
- Zobl, E. 2004c, 'The Power of Pen Publishing: International Grrrl Zines and Distros', *Feminist Collections*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 20-4.
- Zobl, E. 2005, *Digress Magazine and Queer Zinesters Have Lives Too - an Interview with Annie Knight from Riverside, USA*, viewed 10th March 2017, <<http://grrrlzines.net/interviews/digress.htm>>.
- Zobl, E. 2009, 'Cultural Production, Transnational Networking, and Critical Reflection in Feminist Zines', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 1-12.
- Zobl, E. 2014, 'Cultural Production, Transnational Networking, and Critical Reflection in Feminist Zines', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 40, no. 1.
- Zobl, E. & Jiménez, H. 2008, *Park It up Your Arse: "This Zine Is for All Us 'Weirdos!'" An Interview with Leigh Ann* viewed 20th January 2012, <<http://www.grrrlzines.net/interviews/parkitupyourarse.htm>>.
- Zobl, E., Reitsamer, R. & Grünangerl, S. 2014, 'Feminist Media Production in Europe: A Research Report', in E. Zobl & R. Drüeke (eds), *Feminist Media: Participatory Spaces, Networks and Cultural Citizenship*, vol. 9, transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, DE, pp. 21-54.
- Zweig, J. 1998, 'Artists, Books, Zines ', *Afterimage*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 4-5.

LIST OF ZINES CITED

Melissa Ann (2007), **She's So Very... #9**

Mish, Safia. (2014), **I Miss the Way Things Used to be Between Us**

Sascha. (no date), **Too Close to the Sun: Manic Depression and the Life and Death of My Friend Sera Bilizikian**

Weyrens, Angela. (2004), **Hypochondria: A Year in the Waiting Room with Me**

Pérez, Celia. (2006), **I Dreamed I Was Assertive #9**

Berry, Vanessa. (2005), **I am a Camera #9**

Petrik, Candace. (2007), **Giantess number seven**

Anonymous (no date), **13 MONTHS**

LOCATION AND SOURCE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1 - An example of how zines are made and the cut and paste & handmade appearance of some zines. Photograph taken by themostinept (CC BY-SA 2.0). Image located at

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/46123010@N04/10278144015>

Illustration 2 - An example of the handmade appearance of zines - Drink More - Back Cover by Amanda Millar (CC BY-ND 2.0). Image located at

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/amandamillar/5952924421>

Illustration 3 - An example of the Star Trek fanzine 'Beyond Antares' produced by the Sydney University Star Trek Club in 1982, with a cover by fan artist Michael McGann (CC BY-ND 2.0). Image located at

<https://fanlore.org/wiki/File:Beyondantares24.jpg>

Illustration 4 – The zine 'I dreamed I was assertive #13' by Celia Pérez (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0) Image located at

http://zinewiki.com/zinewiki/images/8/86/I_dreamed_I_was_assertive.jpg

Illustration 5 – The zine 'Mend my Dress' issues 14 and 15 by neelybat chestnut (reproduced courtesy of the author)

Illustration 6 – An example of the cut and paste form of zines represented by Beckoning, a one page wonder zine by Sacha Baumann. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0). Image located at https://www.flickr.com/photos/sacha_baumann/8288379225/

Illustration 7 - Lower East Side Librarian Winter Solstice Shout Out 2004 and 2009, a zine by Jenna Freedman (reproduced courtesy of the author)

Illustration 8 - Factsheet Five Issue #35 (1990), photo by Destination DIY (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0). Image located at

<https://www.flickr.com/photos/destinationdiy/9053404235/>

Illustration 9 - A collection of zines for sale on the Etsy website 2017. Note the prominence of community informed reviews for each seller in the form of stars.

Image accessed at <http://www.etsy.co.uk>

APPENDIX 1 – CALL FOR PARTICIPATION

Initial call for participation placed on the wemakezines ning site January 10, 2011

ZINE MAKING RESEARCH PROJECT

Posted by DJ Ringfinger on January 10, 2011 at 8:55am in UncategorizedView Discussions

My name is Peter Bryant, I am a researcher and DIY artist working on a fairly extensive project on participation in DIY arts and specifically zine making, through both the University of Technology, Sydney and Middlesex University in the UK. The aim of the research is to look at how people come to make zines and their personal stories of their first exposure to zines and zine making.

The main purpose of the project is to explore the zine making as an art or a media and hopefully help understand how practices such as zines, street art and community radio can survive and continue to flourish in a changing digital and artistic environment.

If you would like to know more about the project, just drop me an email. I am seeking zine makers who may be interested in answering either a short interview via email or through a very short phone interview.

djringfinger (at) gmail (dot) com

Cheers

Peter

APPENDIX 2 – INFORMATION LETTER



Information Letter

Choosing Zines – Approval Number UTS HREC 2010-386

Peter Bryant

PhD Student

School of Leisure, Sport and Tourism

Kuring-gai Campus

PO Box 123 Broadway

NSW 2007 Australia

T: +44 7709579607

peter.j.bryant@uts.edu.au

www.uts.edu.au

UTS CRICOS PROVIDER CODE 00099F

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Peter Bryant and I am a doctoral student at UTS. My supervisor is Dr Christine Burton.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

The aim of the research is to look at how people come to make zines and their personal stories of their first exposure to zines and zine making. The main aim of the project is to explore zine making as an art or a media and hopefully help understand how practices such as zines, street art and community radio can survive and continue to flourish in a changing digital and artistic environment

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

I will ask you to answer participate in an online/phone/face to face discussion, which should take no more than 20 minutes. I will also ask if I can record this conversation. Depending on the responses I receive in this first stage of research I may need to contact you again for a brief follow up discussion/interview.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS?

All research has risks. This study poses very few risks to you. If at any time you feel embarrassed or worried about what you are telling me then please let me know

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

You are able to give me the information I need to find out about zine making and how you came to choose zines as a way of communicating.

CAN I REMAIN ANONYMOUS?

Yes. You can choose to be completely anonymous; you can select a non-de-plume or use the identity that you prefer to be referred to as (such as a DJ name or online identity). You can also select if wish the name of your zine or zines can be included in the study. I don't need to know your identity nor your zines in order for you to participate. The choice is yours.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I can help you with, please feel free to contact me at peter.j.bryant@uts.edu.au or if you need to contact my supervisor you can email Dr Christine Burton at christine.burton@uts.edu.au.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on +61 2 9514 9772, and quote this number UTS HREC 2010-386

APPENDIX 3 – INFORMED CONSENT



1st June 2014

Peter Bryant
PhD Student
School of Leisure, Sport and Tourism
Kuring-gai Campus
PO Box 123 Broadway
NSW 2007 Australia
T: +44 7709579607
peter.j.bryant@uts.edu.au
www.uts.edu.au

CONSENT FORM

Choosing Zines – Approval Number UTS HREC 2010-386

UTS CRICOS PROVIDER CODE 00099F

I _____ (your name) agree to participate in the research project ‘Choosing Zines’ (Approval Number: UTS HREC 2010-386 being conducted by Peter Bryant of the University of Technology, Sydney for his doctoral degree.

I understand that the aim of the research is to look at how people come to make zines and their personal stories of their first exposure to zines and zine making. The main aim of the project is to explore the zine making as an art or a media and hopefully help understand how practices such as zines, street art and community radio can survive and continue to flourish in a changing digital and artistic environment

I understand that my participation in this research will involve me answering the questions located on the next page of this website (participate in an online/phone/face to face discussion.) Depending on the responses I understand that Peter Bryant may need to contact me again for a brief follow up discussion/interview

I am aware that I can contact Peter Bryant or his supervisor Dr Christine Burton (christine.burton@uts.edu.au or phone +61 2 95143646) if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time I wish, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that does not identify me in any way unless I choose to offer a non-de-plume, my zine name or any other form of identification I agree to.

Signature (participant)

____/____/____

Signature (researcher or delegate)

____/____/____

NOTE:

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome

APPENDIX 4 – THIRD CALL FOR PARTICIPANTS

This call was sent out through the mailing list of the zine retail shop Sticky, located and was posted to the wemakezines ning site on the 29th May 2014.

Hello Sticky people

I was in contact with you all back in 2012 working on a zine research project. I have now reached the final stages of the project and am seeking to collect around 5-10 more interviews with new zine makers (2 years or less) to wrap up the data collection. Are you able to post my call on your blog or in your newsletter? Many thanks in advance

Cheers

Peter Bryant

Subject: Call for interviewees

My name is Peter Bryant, I am a doctoral researcher and DIY artist working on an extensive project on participation in DIY arts and specifically zine making through the University of Technology, Sydney, Australia. I had a series of very useful conversations with around 30 zine makers from all over the world in 2011. I have now reached final stage of the project which involves talking to people who are new to zine making (making zines for two years or less). The purpose of the research is to look at how people choose zine making and their personal stories of their first exposure to zines and zine making, with main aim of the project to help understand how practices such as zines, street art and community radio can survive and continue to flourish in a changing digital and artistic environment.

So, if you are interested in participating, the interviews for the project will take around 30 minutes of your time. The interviews will be conducted through email. If you are a zine maker, have been making zines for two years or less and are interested in participating please contact me via email - peterjamesbryant (at) gmail (dot) com.

APPENDIX 5 – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

This was used as a guide to structure the discussion during iterative emails which formed the completed interview.

The first email included the following text and questions:

In order to help me analyse the information I get from the interview, would you able to answer these few simple questions so that we can get a picture of your zine making practice and history. If you don't feel comfortable with any of these questions, then feel free to leave them blank. However, your answers will be extremely valuable to the study and will contribute towards a better understanding of the practice of zine making

Question A: What city and country do you currently live in?

Question B: In what year did you start making zines?

Question C: In that time, approximately how many zines have you made? This may include different issues of the same zine or entirely different zines.

Question D: In a few sentences, how would you describe the type of zine you usually make?

Semi-structured interview guide (2014 version)

1. Can you tell me the story of how you decided to make your first zine?
 - *How did you distribute your first zine? Do you know who bought the zine?*
 - *Take me through the production cycle of your first zine (including timeframes), starting from when you decided to make the zine through to the zine being printed and distributed?*
2. How did you learn or acquire the skills required to make your first zine?
3. Can you describe your first experience of seeing, reading or buying a zine?
 - *In what way (if any) do you feel that this experience influenced your decision to make zines?*
4. Do you communicate or interact with other zine makers?
 - *How do you communicate or interact with them?*
5. How important to your practice is your relationship with the wider zine making community?
6. How do you seek reader feedback on your zines?

- *What role (if any) does that feedback play in your practice of zine making?*
7. Why did you choose to make zines?
 - *How has that motivation changed through the course of your zine making practice?*
 8. Do you participate in any other DIY forms of art or media?
 - *In what ways (if any) do they interact with your zine making practice?*
 9. Do you feel that your zine making practice represents or contributes to the way a specific community or social movement communicates?
 10. For you, what is the 'ideal' relationship between zine makers and zine readers?

APPENDIX 6 – EXPERT GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

This guide was used during the two expert group discussions held on Portland, Oregon on the 8th March 2011 and in New York City on March 18th 2011.

Introduction

The question 'why do I make zines?' relies on the zine maker participating in a process of sense making and self-identification. The zine maker could answer this question quite simply by stating 'because I like to make them'. What seems to have been emerging from the research is the importance of 'the experience', both positive and negative, that equally positive and negative outcomes

Tactile:

Seeing a zine in a shop

- I suppose you could say I was "inspired" to make after 2 or 3 years of reading Factsheet 5.
- I was inspired by all the other zinesters I'd read about in Factsheet 5 and decided to start publishing the stuff myself.

or

- I went into the Sticky Institute, the zine shop in Melbourne and had a good look around. I found most of the zines to be fairly uninteresting to me and so I guess the idea that I could make one that had a specific topic, and that wasn't just confused ramblings and disconnected images would be fun.
- Being handed one at a gig
- Picking up a free one on the train
- Seeing an exhibition of them
- My boyfriend also took me to see Space Invaders at the National Gallery of Australia (street art, graffiti, zines etc.) and I spent two hours just going through their wall of zines.

Tactility itself and bricolage

- It was a combination of having grown up reading a book about pranks on campus in the 80s - one of those airport novels that my father bought home. Watching *Revenge of the Nerds* as a child. A degree of irreverence in my approach to life, and having a large collection of paper based things I wanted to share. A fascination with John Oswald's music, and negativland's as well.

Personal:

- I read an auto-biographical comic by a woman about incest from her uncle and I admired her courage in sharing that painful and traumatic story in such a creative way that reached out to others, and I hoped I could do something similar

- Wanting to express our ideas more freely, we decided to create something of our own without having to appease traditionalist editors, fashionable politics, conformist social notions, and censors.
- Being part of something, a community
- I had seen some excellent zines for sale online at various distros and knew that if i made a great zine, maybe i could get some great zines in trade.
- I'd always been around zines as I was part of the local punk scene back home, though it wasn't until I came upon zines like ANSWER Me! and Crank that I realized the medium's potential.
- But it wasn't until I was about 23 that I actually did some research and realised there was such an active community. I can't actually remember what triggered this (perhaps reading some poetry zines a friend bought from an anarchist bookfare)
- I think part of my motivation then was the realisation of how private a person I was, and wanting to get my voice heard.
- I allowed myself to do anything that I liked and not having any pretensions.
- Topic interest

Community frames

1. Community forming and social movements
2. Zines as social media
3. Zines as an instrument of education
4. Activism and political change

The person/community interface frame

1. Reader to creator
2. Alt.media

Personal frames

1. Personal voice – rebellion, resistance, healing and expression
2. Pathways to professionalism
3. Artistic expression

Stories of your first experience with zines?

What role did it play in deciding to make zines?

- Is there an issue with 'bad' experiences? (zines you didn't like etc) impacting on the continued making of zines
- Explore the reader-creator pathway? (the dude who said less than 10% of his readers are zine makers)
- Importance of the creator-reader experience?
- Long term future for zine making? Why has it continued to survive?
- Find it funny that (a) zines are making a comeback and (b) anyone cares!
:D
- Unique interaction between the technology and more traditional constructions?

APPENDIX 7 – OPEN CODING GUIDE AND WORD CLOUDS

OPEN CODING v.1

This was the first coding from developed in 2011 using the initial literature review to guide the formation of the first set of codes. This was the subject of a theoretical memo (an extract of which is included here).

Theoretical memo

The question ‘why do I make zines?’ relies on the zine maker participating in a process of sense making and self-identification. The zine maker could answer this question quite simply by stating ‘because I like to make them’. Whilst this statement clearly outlines the personal reasons for zine making, it does not investigate the underlying influences that either made the zine maker aware of the medium in the first place or mapped the outcomes of zine making to their particular personal or communal requirements.

Looking at the personal and community frames in terms of how they influence the participation decisions of zine makers, primarily in terms of an entry participation paradigm. The frames are not mutually exclusive in that participation is heavily influenced by the constructs with sense making, which in terms of zine making suggest that a person understanding of themselves is not a continuous and predictable process more that their understanding are disconnected and rent with discontinuities, suggesting unique and personal confluences in the determination of participation.

There is significant bleed between the frames, where the personal and community can converge. At a concrete level, they converge in the reader to creator transition, where a member of the community breaks away to create. Their own individual motivations for creation will equally be definitive in terms of the frame or oblique in terms of the merging of motivations. Much of the literature places the zine maker within a community (sub-culture or social movement) and then explores the personal reasons for zine making. The lines between genres, formats and content are blurred by zine makers creating work that is ‘fragmented, nonlinear, shocking and personal’ (Sinor 2003, p. 243). This chapter attempts to develop a typology of participation constructs with the

caveat that these frames are not exclusive or stratified, but represent aspects of the zine makers motivations for participation that can explored and expanded by the primary research.

Coding categories from the literature review

Community frames

1. Community forming and social movements
2. Zines as social media
3. Zines as an instrument of education
4. Activism and political change

The person/community interface frame

1. Reader to creator
2. Alt.media

Personal frames

1. Personal voice – rebellion, resistance, healing and expression
2. Pathways to professionalism
3. Artistic expression

Open Coding v.2

This coding frame evolved from the data itself, with the categories emerging from the process of reading the data, hand coding each response and through the use of word clouds. An example of the word cloud process used is located below the coding frame. Word clouds were used for all responses connected with a specific initial trigger question. For example, this word cloud is for responses connected with the question ‘Why did you choose to make zines?’ Word clouds were also used for the entire data set, which identified where the responses evolved as each question was asked and started to expose where respondents changed their thinking as the interview progressed.

Initial coding categories

- Making (made, make, handmade, DIY, craft, art)
- Form (size, shape, design, colour)
- Content (writing, images, bricolage, stories, topic, subjects)
- Rebellion (revolution, change, fight, resistance, opposition, attitude, norms)
- Community formation/membership (part, member, join, build)

- Audience development (readers, consumers, friends)
- Distribution (distribute, circulation)
- Promotion (marketing, promote, communicate, sell)
- Sharing (share, dialogue, conversation, open, talk, content, arts)
- Collaboration (collective, group, joint, working together, skills exchange)

