

Introduction: adventures in reality: why (punk) fanzines matter

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*I'm scribbling this down at work so I can't let the prose flow but I couldn't care.
There's only one way to defeat the two evils (boring established groups & straight
record shops) and that is to ignore them completely.*

Tony D., *Ripped & Torn*, no. 1 (1976)

It may seem strange that something so ephemeral should warrant historical attention. Typically made with wilful irreverence and designed, often, to capture but a fleeting cultural moment, the archetypal punk fanzine could be dismissed as little more than pop detritus. Indeed, many of the homemade zines that flowered as a result of punk's impetus to 'do-it-yourself' were parochial in their focus and concern. Most were short lived; some were one-offs. They were often bought and discarded in a matter of days, their contents comprising adolescent obsessions and subjective musings presented in hard-to-comprehend scribble, one-finger type or slap-dash collage. The inaugural issue of *Sniffin' Glue*, produced by Mark Perry in 1976 and generally recognised to be Britain's first self-defined punk fanzine, even denied that it was meant to be read. It was 'chucked together' and best used for 'soaking in glue and sniffin'. On one page, a large gap was filled only by Perry's thick black marker-pen scrawl: 'I didn't no what to put here so I wrote this!' [*sic*].¹

And yet, look harder, think deeper, and fanzines become far more than just cast-off copies of yesterday's teenage news. Not only do they provide

portals to a particular time and place, with parochialism transformed into resonant snapshots of cultures beyond the hubbub of London's media, but they also offer glimpses of the interests, concerns and opinions of youthful milieux. Most obviously, they help us understand what it is to be a 'fan' (or a 'punk' or a 'skinhead' or a 'riot grrrl'). Yet they further allow insight into cultural preoccupations and socio-political understandings. Flick through their yellowing, stapled pages and alternative cultural narratives are recovered, hidden voices are heard, cultural networks are pieced together and formative political awakenings discovered.² For all their immediacy, fanzines serve as residues of youthful agency; 'visual and verbal rants' freed from the pressures of censorship, editorial dictates, subbing and deadlines.³

As this suggests, punk-informed fanzines developed in myriad ways. Most early zines – be it *48 Thrills*, *Bondage*, *Shy Talk* from Manchester, *Gun Rubber* from Sheffield or any of the literally hundreds of titles that emerged from towns, cities and suburbs across the UK from 1976–77⁴ – followed the *Sniffin' Glue* template: fervid text with cut 'n' paste imagery that was Roneo-stencilled or Xeroxed to be sold for minimal cost at gigs, school, college or in local record shops.⁵ Over time, however, some of these – and countless others – began to broaden their scope, taking in politics, as with Lucy Whitman's *JOLT* (1977), or committing towards critical analyses of punk's cultural advance. Tony Drayton first produced *Ripped & Torn* as an 18-year-old living on the outskirts of Glasgow in late 1976, before moving to London to provide a three-year running commentary on punk's dissipation. By 1980, after eighteen issues, *Ripped & Torn* had morphed into *Kill Your Pet Puppy*, debating anarchist politics and esoterica. Not dissimilarly, *Vague* began as a fairly conventional fanzine from Wiltshire in 1979 before transforming through in-depth analyses of punk's socio-cultural relevance to expanded essays on situationist practice, cyber-punk and the Red Army Faction.⁶ *Rapid Eye Movement*, too, evolved from a punk zine to a book-length compendium exploring what its founder, Simon Dwyer, called 'occulture'.⁷

Culturally, zines opened up enquiry into everything from surrealism (*The Eklektik*) to situationist excursions through urban space (*Adventures in Reality*) to the writings of Wilhelm Reich, Henry Miller and Austin Osman Spare (*White Stuff*).⁸ Poetry and short stories began to mingle amidst the gig and record reviews.⁹ Politically, progressive causes were aligned to music coverage in zines such as Manchester's *City Fun*, while the influence of Crass, a band formed in 1977 and credited with transforming punk's rhetorical anarchy into coherent practice, led to a groundswell of overtly anarchist zines into the 1980s.¹⁰ Beyond Gee Vaucher of Crass's own *International Anthem* and Poison Girls's *The Impossible Dream*, titles such as *Acts of Defiance*, *Anathema*,

Enigma, *New Crimes*, *Pigs for Slaughter*, *Scum* and *Toxic Graffiti* [*sic*]¹¹ mixed limited music coverage with political tracts on subjects that included militarism, squatting, feminism, vivisection and the various structural props of 'the system'.¹²

The presentation of punk-informed fanzines also brokered experimentation. Where the first edition of Jon Savage's *London's Outrage* (1976) interspersed media clippings with pop cultural references and an essay forewarning Britain's descent into fascism, the second (1977) compiled photographs of desolate London landscapes that reflected punk's dystopian vision of 'No Future'.¹³ A year later, in 1978, Savage co-produced *The Secret Public* with Linder (Linda Mulvey), comprising photomontages that spliced together pornographic images, household appliances and advert-speak to expose the gendered false promises of the media spectacle.¹⁴ More generally, the graphic design of punk zines advanced to incorporate homemade collage, illustration and a wider colour palette. Paper sizes varied, while the layout of text pushed against convention to forge distinct aesthetics. Simultaneously, zines such as *Guttersnipe* (from Telford) began to combine social commentary with social-realist imagery, striving – as did others in their collages of urban decay, National Front marches, police mobilisations, newspaper headlines, domestic ordinariness and media clichés – to capture what Raymond Williams defined as a 'structure of feeling'.¹⁵ By the 1980s, as the Cold War reignited, so images of domesticity, militarism and nuclear devastation were juxtaposed to evoke a 'sense of the quality of life at a particular place and time'.¹⁶

Given all this, the premise of the current collection rests on the notion that fanzines help the historian trace and better understand the shifting contours of British youth culture. With regard to punk, they map the contested nature of its cultural evolution away from the *moment* of 1976–77 and on through its various and often overlapping subdivisions (subsequently recognised as 'post-punk', 'Oi!', 'anarcho', 'goth' etc.) into the 1980s. Fanzines documented punk in the provinces; they collated debates over the meanings attributed to punk's varied forms and practice; they revealed continuities and distinctions between pre-punk and post-punk cultures. In the process, fanzines also demonstrate the extent to which (youth) cultures are not simply produced and consumed but constructed and utilised. If punk's fanzines first claimed to emerge in lieu of informed media coverage, then they later offered counter-narratives to dominant media perspectives; an alternative press to the music weeklies (*NME*, *Sounds* and *Melody Maker*) and commercial media. To this end, fanzines enabled the formation of what Nancy Fraser has called a 'subaltern counterpublic', formulating alternate and sometimes oppositional 'interpretations of ... identities, interests and needs'.¹⁷

Punk fanzines were more than just pieces of paper: they staked a claim to cultural identity and autonomy. 'I don't wanna see the [Sex] Pistols, the Clash etc. turned into more AC/DCs and Doctors of Madness', Perry wrote in September 1976, referring to two bands then being fêted in the music press and peddled as the 'next big thing'. 'This "new wave" has got to take in everything, including posters, record-covers, stage presentation, the lot!'¹⁸ Two months later he went further: 'I hope that with the new young music will come new writers who have got the right to vent their ideas and opinions ... I used to enjoy reading about the Pistols, the Clash and the other bands in *Sounds* etc, but not anymore. [They] should stick to writing about the established artists. Leave our music to us, if anything needs to be written, us kids will do it ...'.¹⁹ Fanzines, then, became an integral part of punk's challenge; the literary and visual embodiment of 'do it yourself'. To recognise their importance is to recover cultures in the making, grass-roots complements to the pervasive simplicity of mediated narratives.

Kid's stuff: writing about fanzines

The history of fanzines has been well told.²⁰ Their origin can be traced back to the home-made magazines produced by science fiction fans in the US and Britain from the 1930s; labours of love that enabled stories and critical commentaries to be shared among enthusiasts. Thereafter, non-commercial and non-professional publications emerged across a range of cultural spheres, from comics, sport and cinema to sexuality and religion. Not surprisingly, music provided – and continues to provide – a particularly fruitful site of fanzine activity, with publications concentrated on specific genres or artists dating back to at least the 1950s. To this extent, many of the early punk fanzines followed in a set tradition, providing celebratory coverage of the 'new wave' for the appreciation of like-minded 'fans'.

And yet, the sheer number of punk-informed fanzines that appeared from 1976 to 1977 suggests they signalled more than a simple by-product of musical consumption.²¹ Already, by the 1960s, the distinction between fanzines, countercultural publications (such as *Frendz*, *International Times*, *Oz*) and samizdat-style pamphlets rooted in a longer radical tradition had become blurred.²² In fact, these three points of connection were conjoined via Jamie Reid, whose artwork for the Sex Pistols used détourned media graphics and concepts cultivated during his time at Croydon Art School (with Malcolm McLaren and Helen Wallington-Lloyd) and disseminated through the Suburban Press he co-founded in 1970. The Sex Pistols' own fanzine, *Anarchy in the UK* (1976), displayed such a pedigree, featuring pictures of the band's early

coterie with politically charged skits that subscribed to one criterion: 'Does it threaten the status quo?'²³ Crass, too, issued the first of Gee Vaucher's three *International Anthem* zines in late 1977, juxtaposing artwork with collages, lyrics and extended essays by Penny Rimbaud that revealed the band's countercultural heritage. As a result, punk and its associated fanzines came imbued with a subversive aesthetic that helped tender broader political potential and provide space to debate and determine the wider implications of youth cultural politics.

This was recognised at the time. Just as Jon Savage extolled fanzines for providing a graphic complement to punk's musical and stylistic assault, so Tony Parsons insisted they represented 'the largest, nastiest, funniest and healthiest selection of alternative music press in the history of rock 'n' roll'.²⁴ Scholarly analyses of British punk fanzines also picked up on related themes. Teal Triggs, in particular, has done much to commend the graphic innovations of punk zines, demonstrating how their visual language formed an essential part of punk's cultural revolt and helped forge a unique aesthetic that has since been absorbed into conventional design.²⁵ More broadly, sociological accounts of British punk have – like Savage before them – noted how a fanzine's cut 'n' paste assemblage reflected the culture's early sartorial bricolage and sense of agency. Dick Hebdige, for example, pointed to the jumbled pagination, spelling mistakes and cheap production values of punk fanzines as an indication of their 'urgency and immediacy ... memos from the front line'.²⁶ Dave Laing, meanwhile, emphasized how the language and imagery used by fanzines helped define punk's boundaries within (and against) the music industry and society generally.²⁷ If the abiding legacy of punk was to provide a cultural process that transformed the passive observer into active participant, then fanzines deserve their place alongside the independent labels and self-released records that came in its wake.²⁸ For Steve Duncombe, whose *Notes from the Underground* (1997) provides the most extensive study of fanzine cultural politics, zines formed part of the 'long line of media for the misbegotten': amateur, non-commercial, counter-hegemonic.²⁹

The *content* of British punk fanzines has warranted less attention. Beyond Matthew Worley's survey of their varied political approaches and Matt Grimes and Tim Wall's comparative study of early and contemporary anarcho zines, the focus has tended to be on the form rather than the substance of fanzine production.³⁰ Even the *Punk & Post-Punk* journal has to date published just two fanzine-related articles – Brett Lashua and Sara Cohen's mapping of Liverpool's post-punk 'musicscape' and Paula Guerra and Pedro Quintela's study of Portuguese punk zines – even though zines increasingly form part of the reservoir of resources drawn upon for the study of punk.³¹ A notable exception to the rule is riot grrrl, a culture named after a fanzine and for which

zines proved integral to its development and dissemination.³² Subsequently, fanzines have provided much of the core material for those seeking to trace the meanings and objectives of the 'revolution'. As a result, riot grrrl literature – both original and academic – has revealed the important role played by zines in terms of constructing cultural-political networks and providing space for personal empowerment.³³ Or, as Laura Cofield and Lucy Robinson have argued, fanzines forged communities and facilitated a discourse that 'built, reflected on and critiqued the possibilities of a feminist DIY community across geographical boundaries'.³⁴

There is much to learn from this. More to the point, the collation of riot grrrl material – such as that housed at Fales Library in New York – is now complemented by a wider and growing number of catalogued zine collections, both archival and digital. Some of these, as in London's British Library or Victoria and Albert Museum, sit alongside prestigious national deposits. Others, such as the Manchester District Music Archive or Bristol Archive Records, are grass-roots digital resources compiling music, zines, memories and ephemera to map the specifics of place.³⁵ Taken all together, they provide researchers and anyone involved in a particular culture with a valuable historical record.³⁶ They also offer opportunity to facilitate collaborations between the two, enabling histories to be assembled and written in conjunction with those actively materialising their own experiences and expertise. It is in such a spirit that the current collection has been conceived – scholars, archivists and cultural practitioners combining towards *our* history rather than 'mine', 'yours' or 'theirs'.

Protesting children minus the bondage: contents, rationale and limits

The book is divided into four Parts, with each one designed to provide distinct but overlapping insights into the politics and practice of punk-related fanzines. Part I, 'Going Underground', will reassert the fanzine's historical importance, recognising zines not simply as a historical resource but as historical writings in themselves. Firstly, Jess Baines, Tony Credland and Mark Pawson place punk's fanzines in the wider context of radical publishing, looking back to the 1960s counterculture in order to trace the practices, techniques and infrastructures that fed into and helped enable punk's fanzine culture. Thereafter, Lucy Robinson and Matthew Worley develop one of the book's core themes: the role of fanzines in constructing historical narratives and identities. For Robinson, fanzines offer far more than just a historical record; they serve also

to create and articulate competing cultural and historical canons. Worley, meanwhile, uses three case studies to examine how zines forge and offset the meanings associated with youth cultural practice. Where *JOLT* provides an example of a leftist claim for punk's possibilities, *Anathema* filters punk through an anarchist lens to make sense of its oppositionism. By contrast, *Hard as Nails* was a skinhead zine established, in part, to counter the prevailing media narrative of skins as racist neo-Nazis. Finally, Cazz Blase examines how zines can help make political sense of the youth cultures of which they were part. Concentrating on female fanzine writers, Blase considers why women were so well placed to sustain punk and post-punk's zine culture in the mid-1970s and after.

Part II, 'Communiqués and Sellotape', focuses on the construction of cultural identity and cultural politics. Each of the five chapters picks up on a strand of punk's cultural evolution to explore how fanzines gave meaning to their respective practices and processes. David Wilkinson hones in on Manchester's vibrant post-punk milieu via the long-running *City Fun* (1978–84), tracing countercultural roots that fed into and thereby informed a discourse that one of the zine's writers, Liz Naylor, defined as being about 'how to recreate [Manchester]'. Claire Nally examines goth's long evolution through two zines integral to the culture's form and dissemination, one British (*Panache*) and one American (*Propaganda*). By so doing, Nally reveals the contested and continually evolving nature of youth cultural practice while also demonstrating how zines offered space to debate and construct the meanings ascribed to their particular form. Punk's anarchism is next discussed by Russ Bestley and Rebecca Binns, primarily in relation to the symbiotic relationship between the bands (especially Crass) and the wider anarcho-punk culture that emerged into the 1980s. In particular, Bestley and Binns consider the aesthetics of anarcho-punk, using fanzines to trace the visual conventions used to communicate values, ideas and political positions. Not dissimilarly, Benjamin Bland uncovers how fanzines became an integral part of the industrial culture that emerged parallel (and often overlapped) with punk from the mid-1970s. Often drawn from avant garde performance art and cultural theories designed to challenge, deconstruct and demystify the forces of 'control' (media, government, religion, language, ritual) that shape 'reality', industrial bands such as Throbbing Gristle and zines such as *Stabmental* committed to recovering lost knowledge and disseminating information. Lastly in this section, Pete Dale returns to punk's DIY ethos to demonstrate how such values continued to inform the development of 'indie pop' through the 1980s. Even as the sound, content and aesthetic of 'indie' moved away from the iconoclasm of punk's initial revolt, so its position as a perceived alternative to the corporately owned

media and music establishment remained and was sustained within a zine culture aware of its punk roots.

In Part III, 'Memos from the Frontline', those who helped forge punk's and post-punk's fanzine culture are invited to reflect back on their experiences and motivations. As noted earlier in the Introduction, *Vague* passed through a major transformation over the 1980s, from a punk zine to a countercultural, psychogeographical annual. Tom Vague here explains such an evolution, reaffirming his commitment to punk's DIY principles while tracing a hidden history of the 1970s and 1980s. By contrast, Mike Diboll's *Toxic Grafity* chartered a personal journey of political discovery. Suitably, therefore, such reflexivity continues through Diboll's chapter, musing on how the ideas and experiences that shaped *Toxic Grafity* were rekindled later in life. Both Vague and Diboll make connections between punk and the pre-existing counterculture. For Nicholas Bullen, however, punk initially appeared as the proverbial 'year zero', with fanzines providing him the means to find like minds and experiment with ideas. By the time he had left school, Bullen had produced and co-produced a number of fanzines, formulating an aesthetic that he transferred to the musical onslaught of Napalm Death. As for Richard Cabut, his fanzine – *Kick* (1979–82) – proved integral to developing a 'positive punk' based on a premise of 'individuality, creativity, rebellion'.³⁷ In time, such ideas fed into what became 'goth'. Here, however, Cabut explains why such a conception of punk seemed necessary in the context of the early 1980s. Finally, Clare Wadd reflects on punk's influence on an 'indie culture' that held fast to notions of doing it yourself. Wadd's own fanzine (*Kvatch*) covered the gamut of mid-1980s post-punk culture, providing a 'way in' to the local scene and informing the modus operandi that later helped forge Sarah Records.

The objective of these five chapters is to maintain a dialogue between scholars and practitioners, to cross the lines and develop a history that transcends any divide between practice, experience and interpretation. As with the more analytical chapters, the contributions of Vague, Diboll *et al.* should be read in conjunction with each other: part of a historical mosaic designed to bring clarity of understanding from a range of experiences and contexts.

Lastly, Part IV – 'Global Communications' – looks beyond the UK to consider zine cultures in the USA, Germany and the Netherlands. S. Alexander Reed examines the influence and development of *RE/Search* from San Francisco, a publication that branded itself a subcultural archive and reference guide. As with Britain's *Vague* and *Rapid Eye Movement*, the zine evolved into a compendium, casting its founders V. Vale and Andrea Juno as subcultural archivists, recording and collating hidden cultures and alternative practices in ways that

legitimised and informed participants while simultaneously documenting a subterranean history. By contrast, Kirsty Lohman and Karl Siebengartner concentrate on Europe. Where Lohman uses *Raket*, produced in Rotterdam between 1979 and 1980, to expose the contested nature of punk's cultural politics, Siebengartner demonstrates the extent to which Munich's fanzines were integral to the formation of punk identities and the maintenance of local punk scenes. To finish, Laura Cofield moves us forward to riot grrrl, delving into the Fales Library collection to examine how the movement's fanzines negotiated and challenged issues of body politics in a way that collapsed boundaries between the personal and political. Beyond the music, the word and the practice was essential, allowing zines to provide a perfect medium for criticism, self-examination, self-expression and communication.

Taken all together, and in keeping with the Subcultures Network's aim to broker cross-disciplinary discussion, the chapters included here bring varied perspectives to the practice, process and politics of punk-related fanzines. There are limitations: questions of class and race are but touched upon and warrant far greater attention. Part IV, 'Global Communications', is but the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Non-punk scenes also generated fanzines of equal and distinct interest. But despite this, and although a historical outlook predominates, the book hopes to provide context for a wider zine culture that continues to be vibrant and transnational.³⁸ The aim is to reveal the value of cultural agency and to demonstrate how youth cultures provide space for formative political expression. While scholars have long discussed what youth cultures signify or suggest from the outside, fanzines allow us to discover cultural meanings engendered from within. Historians, in particular, have not yet shown willing to tap into such a valuable resource. In the spirit of our subject, therefore, we decided to do it ourselves.

Notes

- 1 *Sniffin' Glue*, 1 (1976).
- 2 Matthew Worley, 'Punk, Politics and British (Fan)zines, 1976–84: "While the world was dying, did you wonder why?"', *History Workshop Journal*, 79:1 (2015), 76–106.
- 3 Jon Savage, 'Diary entry', 8 December 1976, *England's Dreaming: Sex Pistols and Punk Rock* (London: Faber & Faber, 1991), pp. 279–80.
- 4 *48 Thrills* was produced by Adrian Thrills, *Bondage* by Shane McGowan, *Shy Talk* by Steve Burke, *Gun Rubber* by Paul Bower and Adi Newton.
- 5 In *Gun Rubber*, 5 (1977), p. 20, Rat Scabies of The Damned called London's *Rock On* the 'W.H. Smith of punk rock'. Some zines were given away free, but most sold at a low cost of between 5p and 50p.

- 6 For extracts, see Tom Vague, *The Great British Mistake: Vague, 1977–92* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1994).
- 7 See Simon Dwyer (ed.), *Rapid Eye*, vols 1–2 (London: Annihilation Press, 1989–92). A third volume was published by Creation Books in 1995.
- 8 *The Eklektik*, 2 (1982); *Adventures in Reality*, G (1981); *White Stuff*, 4 and 6 (1977). These were produced, respectively, by Andy Palmer, Alan Rider and Sandy Robertson.
- 9 Some poetry zines included *Another Day Another Word* (Mick Turpin), *Blaze* (Janine Booth), *Cool Notes* (Richard Edwards), *Molotov Comics* (Steven Wells), *Stand Up and Spit* (Tim Wells) and *Tirana Thrash* (John Baine).
- 10 For Crass, see Richard Cross, ‘The Hippies Now Wear Black: Crass and the Anarcho-Punk Movement, 1977–84’, *Socialist History*, 26 (2004), 25–44; George Berger, *The Story of Crass* (London: Omnibus, 2006).
- 11 The spelling of ‘graffiti’ changed with each issue – e.g. Graffitti, Grafitty, Grafity and Graffity.
- 12 Those zines listed were produced by Russell Dunbar, Lee Gibson, Rob Challice, Graham Burnett, Ian Rawes, Andy Martin and Mike Diboll.
- 13 *London’s Outrage*, 1 and 2 (1976–77).
- 14 *The Secret Public*, 1 (1978).
- 15 Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Pelican, 1961); *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977); *Guttersnipe*, 1–7 (1978–79) and 2:1 (1980). A BBC *Open Door* documentary was broadcast about the fanzine in 1980.
- 16 Williams, *The Long Revolution*, pp. 63–5.
- 17 Nancy Fraser, ‘Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy’, *Social Text*, 25–6 (1990), 56–80.
- 18 *Sniffin’ Glue*, 3½, 1976, p. 4.
- 19 *Sniffin’ Glue*, 5, 1976, p. 2.
- 20 Teal Triggs, *Fanzines* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), p. 18; Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from the Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (Bloomington, IN: Microcosm Publishing, 2008 edn), pp. 15–17; Roger Sabin and Teal Triggs (eds), *Below Critical Radar: Fanzines and Alternative Comics from 1976 to Now* (Hove: Slab-O-Concrete, 2000); Chris Atton, *Alternative Media* (London: Sage, 2002); Fredric Wertham, *The World of Fanzines* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 1973).
- 21 This is not to suggest punk-related fanzines were the *only* zines to reflect this. Such an observation could be made in relation to fanzines across a range of subject areas and timescales.
- 22 Nigel Fountain, *Underground – London’s Alternative Press, 1966–74* (London: Comedia, 1988); Jeff Nuttall, *Bomb Culture* (London: Paladin, [1968] 1970); Peter Stansill and David Zane Mairowitz (eds), *BAMN (By Any Means Necessary): Outlaw Manifestos and Ephemera, 1965–70* (London: Penguin, 1971).
- 23 *Anarchy in the UK*, 1, 1976.

- 24 Jon Savage, 'Every Home Should Print One', *Sounds*, 10 September 1977, pp. 26–7; Tony Parsons, 'Glue Scribe Speaks Out', *NME*, 12 February 1977, p. 12. Parsons' early support for fanzines was short-lived, see Julie Burchill and Tony Parsons, *The Boy Looked at Johnny: The Obituary of Rock 'n' Roll* (London: Faber & Faber, 1987 edn), pp. 36–7.
- 25 Triggs, *Fanzines*, pp. 16–17; 'Alphabet Soup: Reading British Fanzines', *Visible Language*, 29:1 (1995), 72–87; 'Scissors and Glue: Punk Fanzines and the Creation of a DIY Aesthetic', *Journal of Design History*, 19:1 (2006), 69–83. See also Tricia Henry, 'Punk and Avant Garde Art', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 17:4 (1984), 30–6; Russ Bestley and Alex Ogg, *The Art of Punk* (London: Omnibus Press, 2012); Johan Kugelberg and Jon Savage (eds), *Punk: An Aesthetic* (New York: Rizzoli, 2012); Jon Savage, *Punk 45: Original Punk Rock Singles Cover Art* (London: Soul Jazz, 2013).
- 26 Dick Hebdige, *Subcultures: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 2007 edn), pp. 111–12.
- 27 Dave Laing, *One Chord Wonders: Power and Meaning in Punk Rock* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1985), pp. 14–15.
- 28 David Hesmondhalgh, 'Post-Punk's Attempt to Democratise the Music Industry: The Success and Failure of Rough Trade', *Popular Music*, 16:3 (1998), 25–74; Alex Ogg, *Independent Days: The Story of UK Independent Record Labels* (London: Cherry Red, 2009).
- 29 Duncombe, *Notes From the Underground*, pp. 6–21.
- 30 Worley, 'Punk, Politics and British (Fan)zines', 76–106; Matt Grimes and Tim Wall, 'Punk Zines: Symbols of Defiance From the Print to the Digital Age', in *Subcultures Network* (ed.), *Fight Back: Punk, Politics and Resistance* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 287–303.
- 31 Brett Lashua and Sara Cohen, '“A Fanzine of Record”: Merseysound and Mapping Liverpool's Post-Punk Popular Musicscapes', *Punk & Post-Punk*, 1:1 (2012), 87–104; Paula Guerra and Pedro Quintela, 'Spreading the Message! Fanzines and the Punk Scene in Portugal', *Punk & Post-Punk*, 3:3 (2014), 203–24.
- 32 Lisa Darm (ed.), *The Riot Grrrl Collection* (New York: City University of New York, 2013).
- 33 Jessica Rosenberg and Gitana Garofalo, 'Riot Grrrl: Revolutions From Within', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 23:3 (1998), 809–41; Ellen Riordan, 'Commodified Agents and Empowered Girls: Consuming and Producing Feminism', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 25:3 (2001), 279–97; Anita Harris, 'gURL Scenes and Grrrl Zines: The Regulation and Resistance of Girls in Late Modernity', *Identities*, 75 (2003), 38–56; Jennifer Sinor, 'Another Form of Crying: Girl Zines as Life Writing', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 26:1 (2003), 240–64; Feona Attwood, 'Sluts and Riot Grrrls: Female Identity and Sexual Agency', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 16:3 (2007), 233–47; Sara Marcus, *Girls to the Front: The True Story of the Riot Grrrl Revolution* (London: Harper Perennial, 2010); Kevin Dunn and May Summer Farnsworth, '“We are the Revolution”: Riot Grrrl Press Girl Empowerment and DIY Self-Publishing', *Women's Studies* 41:2 (2012), 136–57; Mimi Thi Nguyen,

- 'Riot Grrrl, Race and Revival', *Women and Performance: a Journal of Feminist Theory*, 22:2–3 (2012), 173–96.
- 34 Laura Cofield and Lucy Robinson, "'The Opposite of the Band": Fangrrrling, Feminism and Sexual Dissidence', *Textual Practice*, 30:6 (2016), 1071–88. See also Anna Feigenbaum, 'Written in the Mud: (Proto)Zine-Making and Autonomous Media at the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp', *Feminist Media Studies*, 13:1 (2013), 1–13.
- 35 There are too many zine archives or archival deposits to list here, but to give a sense we can point to the Birmingham Music Archive, the University of Iowa, Washington Provisions Library and Olympia Zine Library, the Archiv der Jugendkulturen (Berlin), the Fanzinothèque de Poitiers and the Forgotten Zine Archive in Dublin. But see also fanzine deposits at the Liverpool John Moores University and the London College of Communication.
- 36 Sarah Baker (ed.), *Preserving Popular Music Heritage: Do-it-yourself, Do-it-together* (New York: Routledge, 2015); Catherine Strong, 'Shaping the Past of Popular Music: Memory, Forgetting and Documenting', in Andy Bennett and Steve Waksman (eds), *The SAGE Book of Popular Music* (London: Sage, 2015), pp. 418–34; Sarah Barker and Alison Huber, 'Saving "Rubbish": Preserving Popular Music's Material Culture in Amateur Archives and Museums', in Sara Cohen, Robert Knifton, Marion Leonard and Les Roberts (eds), *Sites of Popular Music Heritage: Memories, Histories, Places* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 112–24.
- 37 *Kick*, 3, 1980, p. 2.
- 38 See, for example, Red Chidgey, 'Reassess Your Weapons: The Making of Feminist Memory in Young Women's 'Zines', *Women's History Review*, 22:4 (2013), 658–72. See also www.thedebrief.co.uk/things-to-do/books/girls-zines-20160262294.