The network of feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web

Leigh A. Shoemaker

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We have read this thesis and recommend its acceptance:

William C. Robinson, Gretchen Whitney

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)
To the Graduate Council:

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William C. Robinson

Gretchen Whitmer

Accepted for the Council:

Curtis Dean
Associate Vice Chancellor and Dean of the Graduate School
THE NETWORK OF FEMINIST E-ZINES
ON THE WORLD WIDE WEB

A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Leigh A. Shoemaker
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ABSTRACT

In this study, I show that a network of feminist electronic independent publications (e-zines) exists on the World Wide Web. I have accomplished this by mapping the connections between these publications. Each publication is connected to another in the network by a hypertext link provided on a page devoted entirely to links or by a hypertext link provided elsewhere within the publication's website. Following links from publication to publication, I was able to locate 64 feminist e-zines that constitute a network of feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web. Within this group of 64, I identified seven core feminist e-zines, or "gateways." These gateway e-zines are defined as such based on the number of links received from other feminist e-zines in the network. Each of the seven gateways identified receive 10 or more links each from the other e-zines in the network, making them the most linked to publications among the network of feminist e-zines. This status marks these publications as centers, or hubs, of activity and information within the network. The gateways provide over 100 outgoing links to other publications in the network, as well as to sites outside of the network. The fact that only thirteen of the outgoing links overlap (that is, are links to the same publications) indicates that this core is important not only for its centrality within the network, but also for its usefulness in redirecting user traffic to other points both inside and outside of the network. Three of these gateway e-zines offer a "chatroom" feature to users that enables many-to-many communication among visitors (a feature that is not found anywhere else within the network). The existence of the network with its clearly defined gateways, coupled with the interactive capability provided by three of the gateways, has implications for future studies in virtual communities on the World Wide Web.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

_Bitch_ is a constantly evolving webzine and community space where feminists, Internet gluttons, media addicts and thoughtful folks in general can talk about women, pop culture, advertising, and just about anything else... If you print a paper zine that you're interested in getting online, we'd like to help you out. We're hoping to build a community of women's webzines, and would love to get more good women's publications up on the Internet.

_Bitch_ (http://www.bitchmag.com)

The above statement mirrors much of the existing sentiment among feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web.¹ Until this year, statistics on Internet usage revealed that the typical user of the Internet was male (not to mention white, young, and middle-class). Only recently have those statistics changed to show that women now make up a quickly growing portion of Internet users. One source reports that in 1996, 40 to 49 percent of online users were female, up from 10 percent only three years ago.² However, other surveys report different results. Georgia Tech has a team of researchers who perform periodic surveys of netizens to determine usage statistics. Since the surveys are self-reporting (answers are not solicited but are voluntary), GVU's survey claims to reflect "active" users on the Internet. They report that the ratio of male to female users is stabilizing, but still favors males (31.30% female).³

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¹ Zines, as I will discuss more thoroughly later in the paper, are those independently produced publications that are characterized by specialization of topic, narrow audience, and limited funding. Zines are distributed both in print and online, with print zines having typically limited press runs (usually well under 1,000) and costing the reader a minimal fee, often used to cover postage and not much else.


³ GVU's 7th WWW User Survey Results: http://www.gvu.gatech.edu/user_surveys/survey-1997-04
"The proportion of female users in the US has always been an interesting statistic to the popular media. Some research firms report the proportion of female users to be in the 40% range, while others (such as our Surveys and FIND/SVP's 1997 American Internet User Survey) report the proportion to be in the low to mid 30% range (GVU 7: 33.41% vs. FIND/SVP: 35.9%). Much of the difference between results can be
Regardless of variations in counting, the numbers of women online are increasing. Women are finding that the Internet holds interesting resources for them, but do their increasing numbers signal the presence of an online “community” of women who are actively involved in creating content, discourse, and “space” in the cyber-realm? Laurel Gilbert and Crystal Kile, adopting the 65:35 ratio of men to women using the Internet, point out that there is a much higher ratio of men to women “who are, for various structural and economic reasons, active players on the Net.” According to Gilbert and Kile, this ratio is as high as 7:1 or even 9:1.4

This study examines the connections between feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web to determine whether a network of feminist webzines exists. Such a network does exist, it relies on several core, or “gateway,” e-zines to support its most basic framework, and it is intentional in nature, as the Bitch statement indicates. Following is a survey of literature (Section II) relating to the general zine phenomenon, both print and online, the concept of virtual community, citation analysis as it will be applied in this study, and, finally, feminist zines and e-zines in particular. Section III briefly outlines my methodology. Sections II and III will assist in providing working definitions for the terms and concepts with which I deal in this thesis. Section IV reports the results of my research, and Section V provides a conclusion and suggestions for further research. Appendix A lists each of the feminist e-zines that I was able to locate on the World Wide Web, along with their links to other feminist e-zines.

explained by inspecting the definition of a user and possible age limitations placed upon the users. Our numbers, by the very nature of our sampling method, represent active Web users, whereas other numbers may more accurately reflect very casual users (i.e., they have used the Internet at least once in the past 6 months, etc.). Thus, neither number is necessarily wrong or better than the other in our opinion. We do recommend using a variety of research sources when making decisions based upon demographics.”

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Journalism has become a pitiful giant, ensnarled by commercial formulas and political tribalism. Where once its voice shook mountains, it now squeaks cautiously and banally. The Net allows publishers to burst these bonds, to howl again.

-Salon  http://www.salon1999.com

Is there an identifiable community of women's electronic zines ("underground" publications) present on the World Wide Web? Existing literature does not specifically address this question; however, related literature on the topics of zines, webzines, women and the Internet, and contemporary feminist activism does offer a wealth of background information that is helpful in constructing an approach to this topic. I have broken down my review into five specific areas: literature on zines; literature on electronic zines, specifically; literature on online or virtual communities; literature on women (feminists), activism, zines, and the Internet.; and literature on citation analysis, specifically as it relates to the identification of a “core” literature. From this diverse collection of writings, I will synthesize a review of both zines and “virtual community” and how these work in conjunction with feminist activism to create the possibility of a network of women's e-zines with an identifiable core on the World Wide Web.

Zines

In recent years there has been an upswing of media interest in the very small press, as corporate magazines such as Wired and Details have sought fresh marketing approaches to younger generations of readers, and as companies have sought to increase their consumer base by advertising in “underground” literature. The success of
publications has led to an inquiry into the culture that they have so successfully co-opted. This culture is perhaps best reflected in the literature it produces, known as zines.

What is a “zine”? There is some disagreement among sources as to the precise meaning of this term. “Zine” is a word used independently of prefixes, and has become, through popular usage, a term unto itself. However, it is a word with a definite lineage. Most sources, including those within the zine community itself, define the term “zine” as being a derivative of “fanzine,” a term used to refer to the literature that originally sprang from amateur science fiction circles in the early 1930s. A minority of sources characterize “zine” as being an abbreviation for “magazine,” and only trace the zine’s history back to underground punk literature of the 1970s. Due to the immense differences (philosophical, stylistic, and economic) between the zine and the corporate magazine, I will take this to be a mischaracterization of the term. Arguably, zines owe a great deal of their historical development and present incarnations to the groundwork laid in early sci-fi fanzines.

Gregory Benford, writing for Reason, outlines the early beginnings of this very small press phenomenon, pointing to the literature’s roots in gathering together communities of like-minded individuals across great distances. Tracing the history of the zine back to around 1930, when letter columns in science fiction magazines began to create the first bonds of fandom among sci-fi aficionados, Benford describes the eventual result of such communication, the fanzine, as “often odd and eccentric, sometimes devoted solely to news or club functions, these circulated nationally and flourished into the several


hundreds of titles." Zines, according to Benford, express an "anarchic sociology" and chaos from which more ordered and directed organizations and publications grew.7

Benford's characterization of the fanzine as an "anarchic" and "eccentric" medium is not unique. Each article that directly addresses the phenomenon of zine culture alludes to some aspect of its underground, confrontational, uncensored approach to journalism. Zines are part of the press that proceeds unimpeded by advertisement or corporate control, that picks up the topics the mainstream media won't touch. Zines are designated, time and again, as the literature that reflects the id of the public, the literature that serves the same or similar function as the "samizdat literature of alienated twentysomethings."8 Terms such as "quirky," "edgy," "controversial," "fanatic," "unrestrained," "unconventional," "radical," and "cutting edge" are often applied to zines; however, as James Romensko points out, "Not all zines have a quirky edge, however; those that do just seem to get the most attention. Many zines are published by hobbyists who use their publications to network."9 Perhaps the clearest and most inclusive definition of zine is put forward by R. Seth Friedman, editor and publisher of Factsheet Five (the most widely respected of zine directories): "A small hand-made amateur publication done purely out of passion, rarely making a profit or breaking even. Sounds like 'zeen.'"10 Christopher Dodge echoes this definition, albeit somewhat more succinctly: "Sometimes loosely understood as any nonmainstream magazines or newspapers, zines are more narrowly defined as self-published periodicals."11

Dr. Frederic Wertham devoted an entire book, The World of Fanzines: A Special Form of Communication, to the phenomenon of zine publishing. In this work, Wertham

7 Benford, 43.
8 Shea, A37.
9 Romensko, 43.
concentrates on science fiction fanzines (the book was published in 1973, prior to the explosion of punk zines in the late 1970s and early 1980s). He characterizes fanzines as

uncommercial, nonprofessional, small-circulation magazines which their editors produce, publish, and distribute...The fact that they are not commercially oriented, may come out irregularly, and are privately distributed differentiates them from the professional newsstand magazines. Their writers and readers belong chiefly to the underthirty group.\textsuperscript{12}

To Wertham, who holds a favorable, almost utopian, view of the fanzine world and its promising potentialities, fanzines offer a refreshing refuge from traditional corporate publishing. In an attempt to clearly articulate the major difference between corporate and fanzine publishing, Wertham states, "We have built up an enormous communication machinery which at times confronts us like a superior power and, paradoxically, contributes to our isolation. The individual is apt to be submerged and regarded as a statistic. There is no such tendency in fanzines."\textsuperscript{13}

What Wertham is referring to in the above statement is the tendency among fanzine publishers and readers to actively engage in dialogue. Fanzine publishers are not in the business of creating products that are targeted at specific "markets." In fact, they are not in a business at all. The marketplace does not play a primary role in the motivation to produce and distribute fanzines:

Of paramount significance is the economic factor. In short, fanzines -- in their most typical examples -- function outside the market and outside the profit motive. Publishing them is not a business but an avocation. Sensationalism for the sake of sales, which big mass publication media sometimes indulge in, is foreign to them.\textsuperscript{14}

Unlike corporate magazines that are driven by profit motives, zines and their readers are seeking to expand networks of connections between like-minded individuals that ultimately result in communities. Throughout his examination of fanzines, Wertham


\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 35.

\textsuperscript{14} Wertham, 74.
continually hearkens back to the basic themes of communication, networks, and community building that are so prevalent among the producers and readers of zines.

Perhaps the most crucial component to an adequate understanding of zine culture is recognizing the importance of the zine as a method for creating a community among its readers. As Romensko notes, zines are used to network. These networks are by necessity small, as zines typically do not have wide circulation, nor are they advertised widely among mainstream America. Locating a zine that is of interest may take quite a bit of research and digging. Zines tend to be highly specialized, which can be alienating to the general reader. Estimates of a typical zine print run, according to three different sources, range from anywhere between 200 to 2,000 copies, with production costs averaging $500, and the average cost to the consumer averaging $3 to $6.\(^1^5\) Mike Gunderloy, the original publisher of *Factsheet Five*, estimates from his research on zines that the readership of zines may extend (at most) to a couple of million people. He also figures that out of any 10,000 zines surveyed, only a few hundred ever attain a circulation over 1,000, and that of those

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\text{at least half have gone out of business—the half-life of a zine is on the order of two years (that is, two years from now half the current zines will be out of business. Even when they don’t go bankrupt, editors on this scale tend to move on to other things as their interests change. Since for most of us there is no fortune and darned little fame to be made from publishing a zine, this is quite understandable.}^{16}\]

Gunderloy himself got out of the zine publishing business when he sold *Factsheet Five* (one of the rare zines with a circulation of over 10,000) to Hudson Luce in late 1991, who then sold the huge, unprofitable project to R. Seth Friedman, the current publisher. Typical of the communal ethos of the zine, Gunderloy’s policy was to review every zine that was sent to him, and send out a free copy of *F5* to each publisher who shared a zine with him. Perhaps half of Gunderloy’s circulation was accounted for by such trades.


\[\text{Gunderloy, 59.}\]
Zines are becoming more prolific in American culture. The low costs of production coupled with easy access to and decreasing cost of means of reproduction (computers, copy machines, printers, etc.) has led to a veritable explosion of self-publishing in recent years. In 1994, "at least 20,000 titles have been produced in the U.S., and...the cottage industry is growing at an annual rate of 20%". According to one source, Tower Records, a major commercial entertainment store in the US, sold at least 4,000 zines every month during 1994. Of course, the ephemeral nature of zines greatly complicates any effort made to study, count, or categorize them. "Bibliographic difficulties" associated with fanzines include occasional lack of dating and numbering zines, occasional lack of page numbering, difficulty/impossibility in obtaining back copies, fluctuating editorship, lack of central archive/database of zines, intermittent publication, obsolescence, difficulty in defining what a zine is, small editions, limited print runs, etc.

With the advent of the World Wide Web and its capabilities for graphical display, some self-publishers are exploring a new electronic means of disseminating their publications. It may be the next logical progression of the zine--the Web is widely accessible, the learning curve is relatively low, and the zealous self-publisher still can have control over each step of publication. However, on the Internet, a zine is not limited to a distribution of a mere 100, 1,000, or even 10,000 readers. The potential for having one's voice heard is almost limitless, and the potential for extending one's tiny and intimate print zine community to the world is a reality.

Webzines

Expressing his excitement over the progeny of the very small press, Mike Gunderloy states that "our industrial society has finally brought things to the point where

17 Gross, David M. "Zine But Not Heard," 68.
18 Ibid., 68.
almost anyone can own the means of production of a zine." To take the liberty of extending this observation to what is becoming known as the "Information Age," our information society has finally brought things to the point where almost anyone can have access to the means of production of an electronic zine, and almost anyone can have access to that e-zine from anywhere in the world. But does it beat hoofing it down to the downtown comic store to dig for the latest issue of *Bust*?

Zines on the World Wide Web, or webzines, seem to be everywhere on the Web—and the topics are just as far-reaching as those that can be found in printed format. The tendencies to specialize and to avoid advertisement and solicitation are also similar to print, although many webzines have found it necessary to begin draping advertisement banners in conspicuous places across their sites. However, publishers can and often do exercise a great degree of selectivity about the companies or networks to whom they sell ad space. The publisher of *Second Guess*, a punk print zine that accepts advertisement, is such an individual. "Advertising ultimately cheapens quality standards...[but] there are businesses out there that are worth supporting." There are the occasional zines that serve as a foot-in-the-door for aspiring commercial publishers who would like nothing more than for *Wired* to come along and buy them up. For the most part, however, the same is true of electronic as it is of print: most zines are "hobbies rather than businesses," and as a result, enjoy an uncensored approach to subject matter that they might not have under the watchful eyes of a corporation eager to protect its public image. In fact, the Web may make it possible for zines to be more of a hobby and less of a second job (as is often the case with print zines) since the entire compilation, editing, and publishing process can potentially be achieved from one location.

19 Wertham, 37.
20 Gunderloy, 59.
The Economist, in a piece on webzines, refers to the appearance of the webzine as a natural progression from the merge of two cultures: print zines and bulletin board systems (BBSs). Again, limitless distribution is cited as a major difference (if not achievement): “Paper zines go hand to hand or by post. BBSs take technical skill and tend only to serve people a local call away. The Internet, by contrast, is easy to use and global.”

When referring to webzines, Joshua Quittner uses some of the same adjectives that are often used to refer to print zines: “Edgy graphics,” “clever first-person writing,” “small but fiercely loyal readership.” He also cites global distribution as an asset, pointing out that “it costs no more to distribute 30 million copies that it does to distribute one.” However, both Quittner and the Economist tend to throw the term “zine” around quite freely, using it less as a term with its own unique meaning, and more as a trendy abbreviation for magazine, evidence of the co-option of zine culture that has been so prevalent in recent years. Quittner reveals his loose vocabulary when he states that what, until recently, most ‘zines had in common was that they were as noncommercial, communal, and idealistic as the Internet itself. But all that changed with the advent last year of HotWired, the sassy online sister of Wired, and later of Pathfinder, Time Warner’s mammoth collection of magazines-come-to-the-Net.

Those of Quittner’s ilk praise the advent of advertisement on the Web, seeing it as an economic lure for big name publishers who might otherwise fear the “anarchic” ethos of the Internet. One might argue that the Web, while started by a network of individuals similar to early sci-fi fandom, and dotted with publications that can honestly be referred to as webzines, is becoming less friendly to that community and more amenable to big

25 Ibid., 64.
26 Ibid., 64.
business. Big business and the zine network have never been comfortable bedfellows, nor will they ever be.

It is important to note that there are many different types of electronic publications available on the Internet: electronic magazines, electronic journals, scholarly electronic journals, electronic newspapers, electronic books, etc. Simply because a publication exists on the World Wide Web in no way qualifies it as an e-zine. The same requirements for zine status hold true in electronic form as in print: a zine is a product of the very small press, is nonmainstream, typically narrow in scope, typically independent and non-profit, typically published for the sake of publishing, and typically serves as evidence of an attempt to create, sustain or chronicle the interests of an identifiable network of individuals. Neal Pozner in the zine The Creative Adventure, asserts that "the thing that makes publications important 'is not only the content; the attitude is just as important."27 Wertham continues this line of thought, "The future of fanzines will depend on resistance to commercial trends... The noncommerical aspect is an essential characteristic of fanzines." 28

*HotWired*, Wired magazine's "sister" electronic publication to which Quittner refers, is not an e-zine, despite the fact that it, like its "sibling," has co-opted many of the stylistic aspects of the very small press in design and approach to subject matter. Many articles on the subject fail to make the distinction, and when passing along URLs of "webzines," include links to what many would consider to be electronic MAGAzines, and not e-zines in the proper sense of the word.29 The Internet, specifically the World Wide Web, presents an interesting phenomenon in publishing that history is witnessing for perhaps the second time: major corporate publications are emerging from very small press (zine) culture, rather

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27 Wertham, 76.

28 Ibid., 76.

29 The Economist article falls prey to just such an error of judgment by listing HotWired, Word, and other large electronic magazines as examples of webzines. Quittner's article, as stated previously, makes the same mistake. A more accurate categorization for these corporate publications might be "electronic magazines."
than the other way around. Gareth Branwyn articulates the frustration felt by e-zine publishers who are tired of the rampant missrepresentation of their medium:

...Let's get one thing straight. Just as in the print media world, where *Rolling Stone* is a magazine not a zine, *Slate, HotWired, Salon, Word,* and all the other commercial Web sites, are “online magazines” not “e-zines”\(^{30}\)

I will close this section with a passage from Christopher Dodge’s “Pushing the Boundaries: Zines and Libraries,” that gives an eloquent description of exactly what type of publication, electronic or otherwise, may be properly referred to as “zine”:

Whether they proliferate on paper or electronically, in some form or another zines are here to stay. Zines—like information itself—just want to be free. They are a crucial example of media democracy during an era in which daily newspapers are owned by increasingly fewer (and larger) conglomerates. A product of rebellion akin to graffiti and Russian samizdat publishing, zines epitomize freedom from control (indeed, zine editors are notorious for freely appropriating and altering images and text). Zines are a celebration not only of the much-vaunted freedom to read, but of the freedom to publish.\(^{31}\)

Still having trouble pinpointing an exact definition of “zine”? Some keywords to emphasize when attempting to define a zine might include: freedom, noncommercialism, independence, democratic, rebellious, not-for-profit, opinionated, community-oriented. Zines are constructed in opposition to the corporatization of mainstream media.

**Virtual Community**

Many, if not most, of the literature on zines has as a central theme the idea of community. Zines offer a centralized clearinghouse for networks and virtual communities of like-minded individuals. These “communities” are referred to as “virtual” due to the fact that more often than not, members of the community do not share physical space with one another, as they are potentially spread across the world. The community is not one of physicality or location, but is rather a community built on ideology and interest. Some

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\(^{31}\) Ibid., 27-28.
would argue that this is no community at all, while for some, a zine may be the closest thing to a community that they will ever know.

In almost each article on zine culture, there is reference made to the networks created by very small press publication, for these publications thrive only when a network of readers, contributors, and interested persons develop in response. Mike Gunderloy revealed his commitment to the idea of maintaining the zine network with his practice of sending out free copies of F5 to anyone who sent him a zine to review. In one of his articles on zines, he praises the punk community united by the independent press: “...they publish like mad, giving them an information network unsurpassed at the grassroots level.”32 James Romensko also refers to the intricate network that supports the publication and distribution of zines in “The Zine Explosion.”

Zines that survive and thrive do so through mutual admiration. That’s how editors trade or sell their work. Almost every zine includes reviews of others. Pick up one zine and you’ll learn about dozens. And those dozens will probably note hundreds more. 33

Zines do not simply create a traceable network among readers and publishers, they also have the potential to unite readers and publishers on deeper levels. Some zines may serve to bring together survivors of abuse by giving their experiences a voice, as with Raised By Wolves34, some zines provide humor in the face of human tragedies such as AIDS (Diseased Pariah), and some allow for the creation of genuine community among members of marginalized groups. These groups range from those with far-left leanings all the way across the continuum to the far right, “including teenage girls and young women in the punk music scene (“grrrizines” or “riotgrrrlz” zines), lesbian/bi/gay and transgender people (“queerzines”), libertarians, and, yes, even hate-spewing neo-Nazis.” 35
Gregory Benford argues that the Internet is "recapitulating science fiction fandom." According to him, we have seen a phenomenon similar to the 'Net before, during the heyday of the sci-fi networks known as fandom (from which fanzines evolved). Networks of like-minded individuals, "anarchic sociology" (complete with flamers and emoticons), "neos" (now known as "newbies"), and virtuality were all elements present in fandom. For Benford, this parallels the networking functions of the Internet, including e-mailing, newsgroups, listservs, webzines, and multi-user dungeons (MUDs). Is history simply repeating itself, as Benford argues, or is the Internet adding new elements to our conceptions of virtual community, broadening it?

"As the famous New Yorker cartoon remarked, on the Internet, nobody knows you're a dog." As the omnipresent MCI television commercial claims, "There is no race...no gender...no infirmity...," claiming that the community offered by the Internet is somehow Utopic, offering a haven from weighty embodiment and the prejudices of the physical world. Of course, the MCI commercial is wrought with fallacy--prejudices and stereotypes do not disappear on the Internet, simply because people do not communicate face-to-face, body-to-body. The same assumptions are still present, as is evident in some women's experience with online sexual harassment, some minorities' experience with online racism, etc. However, the ability to "leave the body behind" and communicate without revealing too much about oneself (or revealing what one chooses or cannot help but reveal) remains a big draw to participation in the Internet. MCI certainly knows (and exploits) this.

Gregory Benford points to this lack of embodiment as a big attraction for many individuals to sci-fi fandom: "You could be anybody, or nobody." However, when we commonly conceptualize a community, we are not inclined to think of a network of

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35 Dodge, 27.
36 Benford, 43.
37 Benford, 43.
individuals eager to retain their individuality at any cost, including ongoing deception and hiding of the embodied Self. Is it possible to have community with people whom you cannot see? Eric Utne, former editor of the Utne Reader, answers with an emphatic "no!" in an editorial entitled, "Networks Are Not Communities."

We're living in the ruins of bygone communities, in special-interest networks that aren't really communities at all—they're ghettos of like-minded people. ...Networks are based on choice. When they get uncomfortable, it's easy to opt out of them. Communities teach tolerance, co-existence, and mutual respect. I think most of us are searching for community.39

The point that Utne makes is well-taken: groups of fans linked together by a publication, whether online or in print, are certainly members of an intricate network, and while the network may be quite close knit, it is easily abandoned without consequence—not to mention the fact that the term "community" is itself (like zine), overused and possibly co-opted in an attempt to make virtual networks seem more appealing and friendly than they actually are. But the argument does not end there.

How is community to be defined in the context of virtuality? Jerry Michalski observes that "in a study of the online BBS, The Well, as a virtual commons, community became defined as a 'set of ongoing social relations bound together by a common interest or shared circumstance,' and that a virtual community helps people create several kinds of collective goods: social network capital, knowledge capital and communion."40 In physical communities, particularly intentional communities, what brings people together is the same idea: a common bond, a shared interest, and a desire to build social relations with people who are similar in many ways to one's own self. It is unusual to claim great degrees of diversity within a tightly knit community. Perhaps Utne interprets the word too strictly, too idealistically. Michalski continues: "The concept of creating collective network and knowledge goods describes much of the activity of communities of interest; such

38 Ibid., 43.
40 Michalski, Jerry, "What Is Virtual Community?" New Perspectives Quarterly 12 (Spring 1995): 44.
communities can just as easily be called collectives."\textsuperscript{41} He goes on to make a distinction between the emotional contacts and feeling of connectedness that one can derive from a virtual community, and the corresponding lack of \textit{communion} (in the sense of deep sharing and development of trust and commitment).\textsuperscript{42} Many people still believe that something is missing in virtual community, but perhaps that is not the point. Virtual community is not necessarily meant to replace physical community—it is simply a \textit{different} form of community.

The Internet is both a physical network linking computers across the world via telephone and digital lines, and a virtual network linking humans in conversation across great distances. We continue to refer to the virtual connection as occurring within a type of space, as if we are uncomfortable with the idea of communicating independent of time and place: "cyberspace"\textsuperscript{43} is a term that has been coined to refer to the aetherlike living room that we must imagine ourselves to be in when we are participating in online activities. For Kevin Hunt, the website serves as "a rhetorical 'gathering place,' delineates a location on the Web that users can 'enter' and share in these values."\textsuperscript{44} In this sense, participation in an online network requires some notion of location and spatiality for true engagement in the sharing of experiences and values. In spite of the mind/body dualisms with which we are ingrained from birth, we are still hesitant to leave the body and our concepts of spatiality that come with embodiment behind. However, communication without physical interaction

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 44.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 45.

\textsuperscript{43} "Cyberspace" is an often-used metaphor for the virtual sense of spatiality that Internet users experience when interacting/creating/searching/participating in online activities. It first originated and was popularized by William Gibson in his novel \textit{Neuromancer}, where it is described as a "consensual hallucination" and "bodiless exultation." The idea behind cyberspace reflects the dream of bodiless Utopia referred to earlier. From Gibson, William, \textit{Neuromancer}, (New York: Ace Books, 1984), 5-6.

may allow some individuals more freedom, as Howard Rheingold points out in his article on the virtual community created by San Francisco’s popular BBS service, The Well.

Yet some people—many people—who don’t do well in spontaneous spoken interaction turn out to have valuable contributions to make in a conversation in which they have time to think about what to say. These people, who might constitute a significant proportion of the population, can find written communication more authentic than the face-to-face kind. Who is to say that this preference for informal written text is somehow less authentically human than opting for audible speech?45

On the Internet, there exists the potential for everyone to have a forum to share ideas, with little physical consequence (except in a few cases) to the owner of the ideas. In an instant, the entire world is your audience, and is reading your ideas on any number of topics. With little emotional or physical effort, one can begin to form a network of people who enjoy your ideas, or who respond negatively and with vitriol. The appeal seems obvious.

Jonathan Zittrain, in “The Rise and Fall of Sysopdom,” voices skepticism about the reality of finding communities in the online world. He restricts his definition of virtual community to forums that allow for many-to-many communication, or the type of communication that most closely mimics our physical interactions with groups of people in physical space. He is concerned that the term “community” has been bled dry of meaning due to its overuse. In the effort to make the Internet seem friendlier and more familiar to new users, the term has become little more than a marketing ploy to increase demographics. As Zittrain says, “It represents something once craved and still invoked (if only as a linguistic placeholder) even as it is believed by all but the most naive to be laughably beyond reach. Since it’s applied to almost anything, it now means vague warm fuzzies and nothing more.”46

Despite this claim, Zittrain goes on to examine which areas of online activity might best reflect a sense of community, “non-hollowly defined.” Although he never offers a “non-hollow” definition of community, it is clear that his conception of community

necessarily includes some form of many-to-many communication. For Zittrain, this excludes the possibility of community formed through e-mail (one-to-one) or creating a Web page (one-to-many). The most likely place for community to be fostered, according to Zittrain, is in the chatroom, the MUD, the newsgroup. This is the medium for Internet communication that most closely mimics our real-world interactions with individuals. Chat is "realtime," one-to-one relationships can be initiated and pursued, the same people tend to frequent the same chatrooms, conversation is ephemeral, etc.

This newgroup-style architecture enables something extraordinary: useful and satisfying contact between people who are utter strangers. In the physical world, we typically encounter strangers in situations in which our roles and scripts are highly defined and the scope of our communication with them is duly limited. Deeper relationships develop slowly, fitfully, and rarely in a group. The few real-world analogies to the type of interaction possible within newsgroups and their kin--clubs, churches, neighborhood cafes--are, sadly, in decline.46

Horizontal relationships between like-minded individuals, as opposed to vertical relationships such as that between information consumer and producer, are favored by Zittrain as those relationships most indicative of community. Moral complexity and conflict emerge from interactions among members of a community--variables that are lacking in Websurf culture where interaction is not required (and if it is, Zittrain seems to feel that it is most often required in order to purchase or consume something). However, as new technologies are integrated into websites that allow for more user interactivity, the model of the passive Websurfer may soon become an anachronism. Many websites now offer visitors the option to observe or participate in a chatroom, where an environment not unlike that of a newsgroup can quickly emerge.

It has often been said that there is strength in numbers, and certainly there is comfort, assurance, and affirmation when one can find a group with whom one identifies and fits, whether that group is present physically or merely virtually. It can imbue a sense of legitimacy to the armchair philosopher who finds her ideas sparking heated debate. It can fulfill the need for "gift-giving", the sharing of information or knowledge as a

form of extending aid and solidifying bonds with others." Quoting Benedict Anderson’s studies of ideological communities, Rheingold points out that “nations and, by extension, communities are imagined in the sense that a given nation exists by virtue of a common acceptance in the minds of the population that it exists. Nations must exist in the minds of their citizens in order to exist at all.” Continuing the line of thought with a quote from Marc Smith, Rheingold goes on: “Virtual communities require an act of imagination, and what must be imagined is the idea of the community itself.”

That said, it is quite possible that the idea of community that is fostered by webzines, particularly feminist webzines, is motivated from similar yet somewhat divergent bases. Until recently, women have been underrepresented among users and participants on the Internet (they still are, but their numbers are growing). Stories of sexual harassment, virtual rape, and assaults/stalking by “friends” met online pepper news media. Women have expressed the need to band together online to dispel harmful myths of a hostile virtual world that’s too scary or dangerous for fragile females. Thus, when women speak of creating an online community, they refer directly to developing a sense of ownership over territory that might once have been hostile (or constructed/perceived as hostile); to creating a pocket of interest where once there was none; to getting women online so they can form their own un-media-ted view of the Internet; to including voices in the debate that might have once been silenced through perceived threats, fear, or a sense of not belonging. Women have accomplished this in different ways: by providing resources specifically targeted toward women, by providing women-only chatrooms and “safe spaces” where people could “meet” without fear of harassment, and by shouting a big, loud “F*** You!” at the male-dominated online establishment, the “old-boy network” as it were.

47 Ibid.
48 Hunt, 385-386.
49 Ibid., 64.
50 Gilbert, 139-149; 169-234.
Women, Feminists, Activism, Zines, and the Internet

Feminist zines are a subcategory of the larger group of zines that make up the very small press. Just as science-fiction zines focus on issues relating to sci-fi, and literary zines feature poetry, prose, and other literary endeavors, feminist zines have a specific direction and focus, and tend to center around a particular theme in attempt to appeal to a particular audience. As Bryn Austin states, "...they all, in their own distinctively unconventional ways, attempt to push the bounds of feminist conversation." Feminist zines respond to what they consider "mainstream feminist" press, something that is generally not considered a part of the hard-line mainstream itself, as well as to the corporate mainstream press in general, specifically that part of the mainstream press that targets women (Seventeen, Vogue, Cosmo, YM, etc.). "Particularly in today's backlash climate, 'zines provide an alternative to, as well as an oasis from, the mainstream press's (mis)representations of our experience as women."52

The literature on feminist zines is quick to point out the particularly confrontational nature of feminist zines, "the medium of choice for the movement's prurient provocateurs, punk philosophers, and, of course, the garden-variety rabble-rousers who have always been stirring up trouble."53 Such zines are distinctly activist in nature, and many feminist zines reflect the publishing efforts of young women in the punk rock community who learned about the effectiveness of the medium from their zine-compiling (male?) peers. The community ethos is strong in these zines, as young women seek to gain an understanding of their place within both the feminist community and the world at large, offering outright pleas for understanding and banding together in the face of common

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51 Austin, 68.

grievances: "This world doesn't teach us how to be truly cool to each other, and so we have to teach each other."^5^ Another zine, Hit It Or Quit It, expresses similar desires:

Seek out the...most shunned girls in your school or town and start a 'zine or a band. Girls are raised to be jealous of each other and to be quiet, polite, and feminine. Screw it all and just do whatever you want. Be loud and discuss your ideas of what it means to be a woman.^5^

The Riot Grrrl movement, a feminist movement consisting largely of young women involved in the punk rock community, is most often cited as one group in particular that has helped to popularize the zine as a method of communication within the younger feminist community.^5^ Creativity and humor often combine with grassroots theory and confrontational rants to produce parodies of and alternatives to the "hairstyles-and-how-to-get-boys advice of mass-market teen magazines."^5^ Some zines also emerge that define themselves in opposition to mainstream feminism, claiming the label "post-feminist." Others, like the zines Bitch! and Bust (both of which appear in print and electronic formats) claim the term feminist with pride, eager to reinvent, redefine, and reclaim its tenets through the very small press network.

Feminist e-zines are also a part of the growing number of publications appearing on the World Wide Web. Many feminist webzines are quick to point out the fact of their presence among the content on the Internet that caters to young, computer literate men. Thus, webzines with names like NrrdGrrl, Girls Can Do Anything, gURL, and geekgirl appear with an agenda: to establish a foothold for women and girls in the electronic arena. Angela Richardson makes this agenda crystal clear:

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53 Ibid., 68.
56 Since most of the articles surveyed do refer specifically to the Riot Grrrl movement and other young feminist groups as producers of zines, it may be safe to assume that the majority of feminist zines in circulation are published by younger generations of women as an activist exercise.
57 Buchsbaum, 23.
The sad fact is that the majority of the cyber-population is still white, wealthy, and male. The print and digital worlds have begun to collide, through, as traditional, photocopy zinesters go online and then circle back to write about those cyber-experiences in their print grrlzines. We can only hope that, over time, these explorations in self-publishing will grow to represent an even greater diversity of feminist points of view. They surely will continue to be an important means by which like-minded women across the country establish communications, share ideas, and make plans for smashing the patriarchy.58

Feminist webzines serve not only as voices of activism and presence for women, but also help to sustain a network of interactions within the feminist zine community from zine to zine. Print zines, as previously discussed, also foster networking and community, but perhaps not as immediately as electronic zines. Many feminist e-zines that are published on the World Wide Web contain links to other feminist e-zines and sites of potential interest to readers, particularly female readers. Readers can quickly jump from link to link, visiting many e-zines in the space of a few minutes. The Web makes it possible for the resulting network to be more overlapping, entwined, and interactive than with print. Visitors can post comments immediately, participate in chat rooms, submit articles over e-mail, link to their own sites, etc.

Articles that discuss the online network of women sometimes tend to fall into essentialist jargon about how women can make the Internet friendlier, safer, and somehow more "feminine."59 This line of argument hearkens back to those suffragists who claimed that the feminine influence of women was needed in deciding who (what men) got into office, and is specious reasoning at best. The important point to note is the emphasis among female publishers of electronic media on developing networks and ultimately communities of women on the Internet, for whatever ends, but mainly for the purpose of simply establishing presence and offering a forum for the exchange of ideas, the creation of content, and the production of information that is vital to women and their needs and interests. "Women use ‘zines as a forum for interacting with, reacting to, and

58 Richardson, 13.
hacking up and re-assembling pop culture. The 'zines provide a space in which we can create our own meanings, for our own pleasure and amusement." The idea of actively creating a girl-positive space within male-dominated cyberspace is an important concept to feminist e-zine publishers. The hope is that that space will continue to grow, and to intersect with and impact the rest of cyberspace, so that the "larger" realm is no longer dominated by or reflective of one gender's concerns and interests. The "cyberspace" of feminist e-zines does not intend to remain self-contained, static, or ineffectual.

Just as zines in the print world have "facilitated the networking of many young feminists across the country," e-zines and their publishers actively seek to facilitate the networking of feminists in the global cyberrealm and beyond. Sarah Dyer, a prominent female cartoonist and creator of Action Girl Comics as well as print and e-zines, refers to her Action Girl Newsletter, a publication that appears in print as well as online, as "dedicated to networking organized girls everywhere." The fact that most feminist e-zinesters, print fem-zinesters, and individuals writing about the feminist zine phenomenon tend to use terms such as "community," "communication," "network," "space," and "creation" is no coincidence. These zines are activist efforts and direct attempts at grassroots organizing. This is one aspect of the feminist zine, both online and off, that makes it unique among the other zines in the greater zine community. These are not simply vain attempts at vanity publishing. Even those feminist zines with a heavily personal slant have a larger vision in mind: connection, identification, and ultimately action.

In their book, SurferGrrrls, Laurel Gilbert and Crystal Kile interview several publishers of woman and girl positive content (including zines) on the Internet. Each of these women is proud to be technically knowledgeable, and is eager to help other
women to become more tech-literate. Some of the questions asked by Gilbert and Kile include:

- What are the Internet projects and communities with which you are or have been involved?
- What is your take on the ways gender gets played out, expressed, discussed online?
- What are your experiences of online spaces made by and/or maintained by women?
- How is interaction in these spaces different from that taking place in mixed forums or "guy" sites? Why do you think it's important for girls and women to get online and participate in the imagination and realization of what we here at SurferGrrls call the "cyberscape"?
- What hopes do you have for the future and impact of feminism(s) online?
- The media sometimes portrays the Net as this totally dangerous and awful space for women, and tries to convince us to make it "safe" for women and children. What do you have to say to the media?
- Do you see any indication that women are becoming more wired?
- What blew your mind about the Internet and convinced you to really get involved in this "revolution"?
- Why did you first go online? When did you discover the Internet?
- How did you go about becoming a fully functioning netizen? What resources and people were useful to you?
- Your best experience as a woman online?

One of the women interviewed by Gilbert and Kile is Amy Goodioe, a woman who owns her own business, a consulting and referral service for women who need tech support with computers (Macintoshes) or the Internet. Goodioe also runs eight women-only listservs, and is active in Web publishing. She is an excellent example of a feminist who is committed to helping establish and expand women's presence on the Internet. Goodioe describes her commitment to her business: "I'm a committed feminist and have been for a long time, so that feeds my desire to see that women have equal access to the technology that will shape the future... I would like to see as many women as possible online." Goodioe peppers her responses to Gilbert and Kile's questions with phrases like "enable women to network with other women," "facilitating the exchange of knowledge among women," "online community," etc.

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63 Gilbert, 169-234.
64 Gilbert, 210.
Clea Hantman and Keva Marie, the women behind the feminist e-zine *Foxy* also explain their commitment to Web publication in terms of empowering other women to do likewise. Hantman says of her plans for the e-zine: "I want to be a launch pad for uninitiated girls who come to the Net and wanna know what to do next. I want to be a pointer and send them on their ever-discoverin’ way, and hopefully they will check back with us, maybe write something for us, but also, DO THEIR OWN THING!" Marie echoes her sentiment in her response to why she thinks it’s important for girls and women to get online and actively participate, saying, "just like any forum, girl-powered ANYTHING IS necessary to express ourselves and give other girls a place or inspiration to do it themselves..." Again, stress is placed on endowing other women with the sense of self-sufficiency and the education they need in order to become creators, not just passive surfers. The emphasis is not on merely getting women to hook up a modem and turn on the WebTV. Rather, it is on changing the “cyberscape” to reflect a more diverse point of view, by bringing women and girls online as active contributors.

Eno “NetDiva” Jackson, who runs her own Internet consulting firm and maintains a website (*Isis*) points out the importance of diversity among the creators of content on the Internet. The more diverse the creators, the more diverse the content: “The people who have input (and control) over the content and construction of cyberspace will have input and control over how people find out about, view, think, and perceive themselves and the rest of the world—in the same way that broadcast media do now.” Aliza Sherman of *Cybergrrl* (home of the search engine *Femina*) couches her answers in terms of power—the powerful medium of the Internet, the need for empowerment of women to get online, the resulting power/powershift that will occur once women take the initiative to

65 Gilbert, 227.
66 Gilbert, 230.
67 Gilbert, 186.
become active participants in Web discourse. If feminist e-zines can help to encourage women and girls to become part of a network that espouses a do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos that ultimately results in more women and girls getting online to create Web content, then the potential exists for change in cyberspace.

In fact, that potential already exists, and is well on its way to actualization. Many of the women interviewed by Gilbert and Kile referred to what they termed the “myth” that women weren’t online and that the Internet is dangerous and threatening to women and children (porn, sexual harassment, stalking). Although it is doubtful that a central group of threatened white males is conspiring to keep women out of their virtual clubhouse, there is a valid concern that the fear generated by the mainstream media's focus on the negative aspects of the Internet and its harsher realities could possibly have a negative impact on women’s participation in the creation of the Net. What these “wired” women want to emphasize, and what the expanding networks of feminist e-zine publishers on the World Wide Web point to, is the fact that women are online, they are creating content, and they are actively adding their voices to the chaos of the Internet.

Citation Analysis, Invisible Colleges, and Gatekeepers vs. Gateways

Publications on the World Wide Web differ in many ways from traditional print publications. Obvious disparities exist, such as the ability to use hypertext to link sections of a website (or indeed, sections of the Internet itself) together in a non-linear fashion. Other differences exist which make studying web publications difficult, or at least require the creative application of methodologies previously applied only in the print world (if not the creation of completely new methodologies) for examining web publications.

Through various studies, print journals have been shown to be indirectly linked together in networks via citations that exist within journal articles. Citation analysis and

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68 Gilbert, 233-34.
journal citation studies have been used to show that the links between these journals provide evidence of communication networks between scholars or other interested parties. Typically, the work in identification of implicit communication networks as set forth through interjournal links has been focused on the sciences and other scholarly, academic communities. I use the terms "implicit" and "indirect" to describe these networks due to the fact that links between journals have primarily been located in the footnotes, endnotes, and works cited sections of academic papers appearing within the journals. Rarely does a scholarly journal suggest related works of interest as such (although annual volumes of collected lists of citations used throughout a year may serve this purpose).69

In contrast, the print zine network (as has been previously shown) relies on a more explicit form of networking to establish communication channels among readers and contributors. The webzine phenomenon presents an interesting blend of implicit scholarly networking and explicit print zine networking through the provision of hypertext links to other websites. Usually, links that are provided by a webzine are links to similar sites, or sites that might be of interest to the editor and/or the visitor. In this way, these links can be considered as a type of reference, or bibliography, for a webzine. In the case of feminist e-zines, such links eventually overlap and intersect, creating a network of feminist e-zine publishers. Due to the lack of research of connections between e-zines via these hypertext links, I have found it necessary to make an analogy between work done to identify networks of scientific communities as constructed by scholarly journals and my work in identifying networks of feminist communities as they are constructed by hypertext links in feminist e-zines.

S. C. Bradford, in his Documentation, lays out a methodology that has served as the basis for many citation analysis studies of the relations between scientific journals. In the chapter entitled "Documentary Chaos," he identifies a pattern of citation that has

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come to be known within the information science community as “core and scatter.” Bradford applies mathematical formulae to determine the extent of the “bibliographic chaos” that leads him to the conclusion that “less than half the useful papers are noticed in the current abstracting and indexing periodicals.”

For the purpose of citation analysis, researchers most often refer to Bradford’s finding that, among scientific publications, there is typically an identifiable “core” of journals that produce the majority of useful articles in a field, with a few important articles appearing “scattered” throughout journals that do not specialize in the field of study covered by the article. According to Howard White and Katherine McCain, “Bradford studies focus on ‘journal productivity,’ in the sense of establishing the small core of journals that contributes the most articles to a subject literature and the scatter of articles on the subject over the remainder.” Citation analyses based on Bradford studies tend to seek to place value on certain journals over others, based on their membership in the core, for purposes of collection development (deciding which journals to include in a library’s collection of periodicals). Rather than using this “core and scatter” method to determine a value-based ranking for feminist e-zines, I am simply attempting to identify a communication network that contains certain central publications (a “core”).

Analyses of journal citations, building upon Bradford’s notions of “core and scatter,” lead researchers to important conclusions about the relatedness of the journals themselves. In this sense, the “core” is interpreted as the center of a network of communication, rather than simply as the journals that publish a majority of articles on a given subject. Value is assigned to these publications as indicators of the presence of internetwork dialogue, discourse, and exchange of ideas. By studying the “links” between journals, as expressed in article citations, researchers can gain an accurate picture of the channels of communication that exist within a particular discipline’s community. According to one source, “bibliometric studies assume that journal citations

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are an important indicator of patterns of scientific communication, and therefore are one indicator of the structure of scientific knowledge and disciplinary boundaries such as invisible colleges."\(^72\) Other articles on the subject of journal citation studies echo this sentiment. Katherine McCain writes that

citation data derived from journal articles provides information critical to investigators' understanding of the structure of scholarly fields and their literatures, particularly in those areas for which the scholarly journal is the major formal medium of communication....Core network analysis and cocited journal mapping are offered as powerful, flexible tools that allow the rapid identification of the important serial literature in a discipline, subdiscipline, or multidisciplinary research area and the quantification of journal prominence within the area under study. \(^73\)

The application of citation analysis to the study of patterns of communication within scientific (and other) communities is somewhat sociological in nature. Diana Crane, in her book *Invisible Colleges*, sets forth the basic theories behind this study of indirect interdisciplinary communication. According to Crane, the "invisible college" is a

"communication network...that links groups of collaborators."\(^74\) The presence of invisible colleges ensures a connection within a discipline such that "anyone choosing even one of the most productive members of the research areas...could have been in contact with a large network of individuals."\(^75\) This connection is crucial to the concept of the invisible college. John Wedman states that

Collaboration among individuals is made possible by communication networks linking the individuals together....When an individual works in an area dominated by high performers, the individual is linked indirectly to other members of the invisible college through the high performers. \(^76\)

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\(^71\) White, 124.


\(^75\) Crane, 49.

\(^76\) Wedman, John F., "Citation Patterns in the Computer-Based Instruction Literature," *Journal of Computer-Based Instruction* 14 (Summer 1987): 91.
Despite the presence of high performers within an invisible college, there is no "formal" system of leadership as such. Crane likens the relationship among members of an invisible college to that of a "social circle" with no set hierarchy or authoritarian relations.\(^77\)

The non-hierarchical relations of the invisible colleges, as described by Crane, can be set in contrast to power relations that exist in the world of publication at large, where power structures referred to as "gatekeepers" constrain and limit discourse by monitoring and controlling the contributions that may be made by certain groups or individuals. Gatekeepers shape a discipline by "set[ting] the standards, produc[ing] the social knowledge, monitor[ing] what is admitted to the systems of distribution, and decree[ing] the innovations in thought, or knowledge, or values."\(^78\) Within the scientific community, which has historically been predominantly white and male, gatekeepers may exist in the invisible college network; indeed, it seems naive to think otherwise. Regardless, Crane's description of the invisible college network and its pattern of interactions can also be applied to the network that Frederic Wertham and others have noticed within the zine community. The zine community operates outside of and at times in reaction to the traditional gatekeeper paradigm of the mainstream world of publication. The feminist zine community in particular recognizes that it is creating published works that might not otherwise be given a print (or electronic) forum by mainstream media. This community is keenly aware of the fact that

many of these people [gatekeepers] are to be found as editors of journals, as referees or reviewers, or as advisors to publishers. They are in a position to determine what gets published and what does not, and most of them are men.\(^79\)

Although the feminist community is certainly not immune to developing gatekeepers of its own, the experience of women who were once excluded by such a system is important

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77 Crane, 14.
79 Spender, 187.
in shaping the role of these central arbiters of information within the network of feminist publication (and ultimately within the publishing community at large).

**Bringing It All Together**

Research literature specifically targeting the existence of a network of feminist webzines is rare, if it exists at all. To provide an understanding of the background issues at hand involving zines, “virtual community,” feminist activism, and citation analysis studies, I have attempted to synthesize literature pertaining to each of these topics in turn. Common themes have emerged, among them the communal nature of zine publishers and readers, both online and on the Web.

It has been shown, through a discussion of the literature, that zines are publications of the very small press that provide an alternative to mainstream publications, often by taking a confrontational and direct attitude to subject matter. These zines continue to exist through the support of networks of interested individuals who circulate these publications among themselves, often trading one zine for another, and keeping a system of dialogue open and flourishing within the community. Zines also exist in electronic format, under similar conditions and for similar motivations.

The networks fostered and nourished by zine publication are dubbed “virtual communities,” due to the fact that interaction between concerned persons in a network takes place across great distances without members sharing the same physical space. This term is applicable both to the print zine community and to the electronic zine community, and is popularly used to refer only to online networks, not just of e-zine publishers/readers, but the entire Internet.

Feminist zines are a subgroup of zines that deal specifically with issues relating to the empowerment of women and girls. These publications reflect the same ethos as the zine community at large, and are utilized by readers and publishers to establish networks among feminists. Feminist e-zines are online publications that mirror their print sisters, but with the specific intention of forming the basis for a virtual community of
women online through encouraging women to become active in technology and to participate in the building and shaping of the Internet.

An analysis of the links between feminist e-zines and the resulting network that these links create and sustain can be performed using tools borrowed from citation analysis studies of print media. S. C. Bradford’s theory of “core and scatter,” along with Diana Crane’s study of invisible colleges, helps to reveal the pattern, structure, and sociology behind networks of scholarly and, in this case, popular feminist communication. By utilizing the methods offered by information scientists studying citation links among journals in the print world, I have been able to engage in a more scientific approach to the study, analysis, and subsequent mapping of the links between feminist e-zines.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

I am interested in the convergence of feminist activism, publishing, the World Wide Web, and the networks of publications (e-zines) that support a virtual community of feminists online. Research on print zines has uncovered an intricate network of interactions and cooperation among zine publishers and readers. Electronic zines, coming from the same or similar roots and motivations as print zines, share many traits in common with print, including the tendency to spawn networks of specialized interest groups that consume, contribute to, and publish the independent electronic “press.” I have chosen to look at feminist e-zines in particular for this study because of the unique convergence of activism, consciousness raising, purpose, and independent publishing that they embody. Women have been in the minority among users, creators, and disseminators of information since the inception of the Internet. Feminist e-zines not only represent the intellectual discourse of and among a community of individuals with similar goals, but also represent a discourse of change—one that seeks to convert and recruit, and one with the purpose of opening the Internet to new perspectives. Connections between feminist webzines do exist. These connections form a network, and in the case of feminist e-zines, this network is a likely place to find a community.

Due to the ambiguous nature of many of the terms I use in this study, I feel that it is necessary to set forth some “working definitions” before proceeding further. “Community” is one such term. As I have discussed in previous sections of this paper, “community” is subject to many interpretations and admits to great complexity. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when community begins, just as it is difficult to come up with an agreeable and general definition of what constitutes community. Therefore, I will not attempt to define community for this study; rather, I will limit my study to the networks that lay the foundations for virtual community.
The network is a necessary condition for community; however, it is not sufficient. As Eric Utne points out, a network does not in-and-of-itself indicate the presence of community. The use of terms such as "community" to describe what is happening among individuals through use of electronic communications media is questionable, and perhaps the term is sometimes loosely applied in an attempt to make online communication seem more friendly and familiar. I will not involve such speculation in this research. I will simply be examining those connections without which community cannot exist. Further examination of whether or not a community has emerged from those connections can only be conducted after the presence of a network has been established. Again, I will not be exploring the community of feminist webzines per se, but will rather be exploring the network of feminist webzines.

The term "zine" is another term that requires further specification for the purpose of this study. Since e-zines and the links among them are the basis for my study, it is imperative that I provide an operational definition of what constitutes an e-zine so that I can clearly identify these publications and include them in the network. I do not wish to unwittingly exclude publications that are in fact e-zines, nor do I wish to include publications in the study that do not fit the definition of what constitutes a e-zine. However, as with community (but perhaps not to the same extent), what exactly constitutes a e-zine is often hard to pinpoint. To paraphrase a member of the Supreme Court commenting on pornography, I couldn't tell you exactly what a e-zine is, but I'd know it if I saw it. Therefore, for my purposes, I consider a webzine to be a publication that meets the following criteria:

- a publication that exists on the World Wide Web
- a publication that is serial in nature, meaning that the content is updated and changed periodically, and that retains some degree of consistency from issue to issue (usually the title will remain the same, and the e-zine will be referred to by that title)
- a publication that is organized to include different sections, such as articles, essays, literature, reviews, links, etc., which are clearly defined within the context of the publication and are accessible from a central location within the publication (a table of contents or some similar device)
- a publication that embodies the spirit of the print zine through its refusal of corporate ownership (e-zines may solicit advertisement, but may not be owned by or issued by a corporation on a for-profit basis, such as Time-Warner's Pathfinder)
- a publication that is directed at a specialized audience (in this case, feminists)
a publication that is crafted by one or a few people, none of whom rely on the publication alone for their livelihood or for their primary income

Another term that should be defined is "feminist," as this designation excludes many webzines from the study based on certain criteria. "Feminist" and "women's" are not necessarily the same, as "feminist" implies an agenda that is typically political in nature, whereas "women's" is a broader category pertaining to information that might be of interest to an individual simply for the reason that she is female (or it might simply indicate a publication created by a woman). A feminist webzine, therefore, is a webzine that meets all criteria listed above for a webzine in addition to being a webzine that is political in the sense that it seeks to address or comment on the subordination of women in some area of life. This feminism may take the form of social/cultural criticism, political activism, prose/poetry, art, commentary on the dichotomy existing between women and men on the Web, etc., as long as the medium reveals a feminist consciousness and appears within the context of a e-zine.

This study (of the network of feminist webzines on the World Wide Web) was conducted by:

1) Selecting webzines to serve as "starting points" for the study. The initial webzines were chosen from a list of webzines provided by the Yahoo! Search engine\(^{80}\), under the headings "Society and Culture/Magazines/Women/" and ".../Women/Feminist/" and ".../Women/Grrrls." I chose the Yahoo! search engine rather than a search engine such as AltaVista due to Yahoo!'s directory-style listing of sites as well as Yahoo!'s selective indexing (a site must apply to be indexed). Webzines were also chosen from John Labovitz's E-Zine List\(^{81}\), searching under a variety of keywords, including:


\(^{80}\) [http://www.yahoo.com](http://www.yahoo.com)

\(^{81}\) [http://www.meer.net/~johnl/e-zine-list/](http://www.meer.net/~johnl/e-zine-list/)
Both of these sources are self-selected indexes; in other words, e-zine publishers index with these sites, rather than the indexers actively seeking sites to index. In the case of Yahoo!, an e-zine publisher may choose the directory within which her e-zine is indexed. In the case of Labovitz's e-zine list, an e-zine publisher chooses certain keywords to describe her e-zine (keywords are not set, but are self-selected). From these "starting points," I simply followed links until I reached a dead end, then went back to earlier e-zines and followed other links. In addition, I limited my study to English-language e-zines only, as language barriers prevent me from accurately studying foreign-language e-zines.

2) Closely examining the publications that make up the network of feminist webzines. This examination involved examining webzines internally and determining if the e-zine contains a "page" devoted entirely to external links; and if so:

- capturing of the location of this page within the e-zine,
- capturing of the name or title given to this page,
- capturing of the different categories of links on the page (if there were different categories),
- determining if any of the links were links to other feminist e-zines,
- listing and counting the links to other feminist e-zines (if any were present); if there were no links to other feminist e-zines, making note of what types of links were present,
- capturing of the type of link given (textual or graphic, review or list),
- determining if there was an order or ranking within the listing of the e-zines that received links,
- capturing of any links to other e-zine resources or distribution centers,
- determining where links to other feminist e-zines went (in other words, does a link "go" to the opening page of a e-zine or to a specific article in the e-zine, etc.)

In the case that the e-zine did not include a separate page devoted entirely to external links, I determined if there were links listed on the opening page, or distributed within the text of articles in the e-zine. If the
e-zine was a part of a larger project, I referred to the “main” site to determine if there were a link page available from it. In the event of past issues or archives of a e-zine, I looked back at the previous issues to determine if links had changed according to the “theme” of an issue, or if they remained consistent throughout the publication of the e-zine. I also made brief notes about each e-zine relating to the type of e-zine and the specific feminist audience it might be intended to address.

3) Counting the number of links received by feminist webzines from the list of feminist webzines identified in Step 2 to determine if a “core” group of feminist e-zines exists within the network. As expected (and as I will discuss later), I located a few e-zines that received a majority of the total links given among the feminist webzines. These “core” e-zines, which I will refer to as “gateway” e-zines, serve as central hubs of communication within the existing network of feminist e-zines. I have mapped these gateway e-zines and their outgoing links two-dimensionally, to get a better (visual) picture of the central connection that they provide. This mapping differs from journal cocitation maps that are produced by computer programs to create a “matrix of correlations.”

Instead of mapping the core e-zines as an abstract matrix, I have chosen to represent them and their outgoing links as a web of interconnections and extensions from the core. I have also determined if and how many times the core e-zines were “co-cited” by referring e-zines. The presence of a central core of gateway e-zines in the network reveals a pattern of communication among feminist e-zines that is analogous to the existing

82 McKain, 322.

83 According to S. G. Sachs, the linking of frequently cited journals through co-citation (citation within the same article, or in this case, zine) “represents a pattern of influence that would suggest the existence of an invisible college.” Wedman, 92.
communication patterns within the scientific community, as discussed by Diana Crane in *Invisible Colleges*. I discussed the basis for this conclusion earlier in Section II, and will elucidate it further in Section IV.

Thus, the factors I looked at and measured in this study include: the network, feminist webzines, "gateway" e-zines, and links between e-zines. The network is dependent upon the presence of links to other feminist webzines within e-zines that exist on the World Wide Web. The "gateway" e-zines are dependent both on the network and the presence of links: the network because it sustains the "gateways" and allows them to be defined as such (in the absence of a network, there would be no "gateways"), and the links because the "gateways" are dependent upon receiving a large number of links from other e-zines in order to function as "gateways." It is difficult to clearly separate these factors from one another, and is also difficult to show a clear cause and effect relationship among them, as they affect each other in a circular sense. A network is a dynamic variable—constantly growing and changing, creating and being created. The feminist webzines themselves are the prerequisites to all of this, although these e-zines may spring from a pre-existing network of feminists, giving rise to the question: "Which came first, the e-zine or the network?" Is the e-zine determinative of the network or vice versa? Such a question is not within the scope of this study, but was helpful to keep in mind as I explored the existing network of feminist webzines on the World Wide Web.
CHAPTER IV

THE RESEARCH AND THE RESULTING NETWORK

Findings

The Appendix lists each feminist e-zine that I was able to locate in this study, along with a brief description of the e-zine; a statement reflecting whether the e-zine has a separate page of links, and, if so, where that page is located within the larger e-zine; identification of subsections within the links page; and a listing of links. In several cases, the list of links was too long to list in its entirety. In these instances, I simply listed links to feminist e-zines and/or feminist resources. I was able to locate a total of 64 feminist e-zines.84

After tabulating the links from each e-zine, I was able to identify a “core” of feminist e-zines in the network. Table 1 offers a listing of each of the “core” e-zines, along with the feminist e-zines that link to them. Thirty-two out of the 64 feminist e-zines (exactly half) provide a link to one or more of the core, or “gateway,” e-zines. Eighteen of those provide a link to more than one of the gateway e-zines. This means that the core e-zines are “cocited (mentioned together) 56% of the time.

Of the remaining 32 e-zines, eight have links to other feminist e-zines not included in the core. Therefore, 40 of the feminist e-zines surveyed contain at least one link to another feminist e-zine. That is, 63% of the feminist e-zines in the network have a link to at least one other feminist e-zine.

Eight of the remaining 24 e-zines do not have links to any feminist e-zines, but do include a links page with links to other resources. In total, out of 64 feminist e-zines in the

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84 I am in no way claiming that there are only 64 feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web, or that this number is static in any way.
Table 1. Listing of feminist webzines with links to the core.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Woman Rebel</th>
<th>RiotGrrl</th>
<th>Brillo</th>
<th>BUST</th>
<th>geekgirl</th>
<th>gURL</th>
<th>Bitch</th>
<th>Grrowl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grrowl</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>Disgruntled Housewife</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Ratgrrl's Hideout</td>
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<td>feminist.com</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pearshaped</td>
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<tr>
<td>grrPOWr</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voices of Women Online</td>
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<td>X</td>
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<td>Powercandy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>SmartyPants</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>GirlRights</td>
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<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemesis</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MimiZine</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
network, 48 have links to feminist e-zines and/or other feminist resources. This makes a majority (75%) of feminist e-zines that place some emphasis on links within their publications by providing clear access to a page devoted entirely to links, or by providing a clearly marked list of links within the e-zine.

Sixteen of the e-zines in the study (25%) did not contain a links page, and if there were any links within the e-zines at all, they were buried within articles or otherwise hidden from easy accessibility. This appears to be a large percentage, but upon further analysis, seven of these are primarily print zines. In these cases where the primary media is not electronic, the e-zine functions as a sort of “advertisement” for the print zine.

Of the remaining 9 e-zines without links, two are exceptional cases. WomenZone is the e-zine for CyberGrrl, a larger project/community for women who produce online content. CyberGrrl has a links section, so a visitor to WomenZone is likely to go there for links. MY Magazine is also an interesting e-zine, in that it is entirely reader-produced. All the articles in MY are submitted by visitors -- an interesting experiment in electronic publishing. Figures 1 and 2 show the distribution of links among feminist e-zines.

Of the 48 e-zines with a links page, all clearly indicate the presence of this page with a link to the page from the opening page of the e-zine. A majority simply call this page “Links,” although some refer to it in cleverly guarded language: “Girl Wide Web” (BUST), “Minxinx” (Minx), “Girl Parts” (New Style American Girlie Magazine for Girls), “Dorothy’s Shoes” (Ratgrrrl Parapraxes), “Now Where?” (Squiffy Ether Jag). Most feminist e-zines simply provide a text link to other sites, although six provide graphical links: gURL, Bitch, SmartyPants, Nemesis, geekgirl, RiotGrrl. As far as order within lists of links, only one e-zine (RiotGrrl) provided a rating system (stars) for e-zine links.

Figure 1. Distribution of links among feminist e-zines.

- No specified links page
- Links, but not to feminist e-zines
- Links to other feminist e-zines

Figure 2. Number of feminist e-zines with links to the gateways.

- No links
- Links to other resources
- Links to core

42
Many of the feminist e-zines do, however, provide a helpful “review” or a brief statement or description about the site linked to. All links to other feminist e-zines go directly to the opening “page” of the e-zine receiving the link.

The “Gateways”

The network of feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web is constantly in flux, as befits the medium. E-zines are volatile: they may be accessible although they have not been updated for months or years, they may simply vanish without notice, they may resurface under an alternate name, they may appear seemingly out of nowhere. However, even within this inherently unstable system, certain e-zines are able to gain a fair amount of notoriety both in and out of the network. They receive enthusiastic links from “smaller” e-zines, are indexed by the major search engines and appear in the e-zine lists and databases. Their presence is something of a constant, if there can be a constant in the online environment. They anchor the network and encourage it to expand by providing a “hub” from which the network can branch forward into all of its far reaches and crossed paths. These are the “gateway” e-zines.

I mentioned previously that I was able to identify a core of feminist e-zines within the network. I based this core on the number of links received by each e-zine. Seven of the 64 e-zines (11%) received 10 or more links each from within the network. Those seven, along with the number of links received by each, are listed in Table 2.

_Bitch_ is no longer an active e-zine, and exists only in archive format. It is the only “gateway” e-zine that has been retired in its online form (it is still available in print). Although its content is static, in that it will never be updated, _Bitch_ still serves an important role in the network by receiving and giving links. Incidentally, the archive of _Bitch_ is more extensive than many of the feminist e-zines surveyed. I have decided to

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86 As if to prove this point, even as I write this thesis, one of the gateway e-zines, _BUST_, has added a new feature to its website that allows visitors to post their links. Therefore, the _BUST_ links page is no longer static, and has grown exponentially since I counted its “original links.” _BUST_ now has 222 links and counting, compared to the 18 links it had at last count, less than a month ago. 13 November 1997.
Table 2. Listing of the core feminist webzines and the number of links received by each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E-Zine</th>
<th>Number of Links</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RiotGirl</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brillo</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bust</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geekgirl</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gURL</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bitch</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRowl (NrrdGrrl!)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

retain *Bitch* as a gateway e-zine, regardless of its current state of retirement. *Bitch* has been “replaced” in the network by a e-zine called *Maxi*. Although *Maxi* did not receive as many links as *Bitch*, it did receive seven links, and will most likely continue to receive more as it becomes more established within the network. Eventually, it may replace *Bitch* as a gateway e-zine.

Half of the feminist e-zines surveyed provide links to at least one of the core zines. Using these zines as a starting point, one should be able to navigate the network of feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web quite thoroughly. There was little crossover or overlap among the outgoing links from the seven core e-zines, indicating that the network spreads out broadly and in many directions from this center. Figure 3 provides a theoretical picture of how this network emerges in many directions from the gateway e-zines.

I tabulated 105 outgoing links from the gateway e-zines. However, two of these e-zines did include more links that I did not list (*geekgirl, GRowl*). I did tally all outgoing links to other feminist e-zines from the gateways. There are only 15 overlaps among the links extending from the core. Table 3 provides a list of each of the core e-zines, along with each of their outgoing links. Overlaps are easily identifiable using this table.

Without these central “gateways” to hold things together and redirect the flow of interested visitors, the network might not be accessible, if it existed at all. In addition, these e-zines have a very visible presence on the Web, and receive links from other sources outside the feminist e-zine network, making them excellent “gateways” into the
Figure 3. Color-coded map of outgoing links from the gateway feminist e-zines. The circles representing the seven core e-zines are scaled in size according to number of outgoing links. Beginning with *NrrdGrll/Grrowl* and moving clockwise, the e-zines and the colors representing them and their links are: *Grrowl*—pink; *BUST*—blue; *RiotGrll*—orange; *geekgirl*—green; *Bitch*—red; *gURL*—purple; and *Brillo*—yellow. The number and percentage of total outgoing links are given in the center of each zine’s representative circle. The other feminist e-zines represented in this map are those e-zines that receive more than one link from the core (overlaps). Their colors correspond to the color of the gateway zine that links to them. Since these are all overlaps, and are linked to by each of the gateway e-zines, their color assignment is arbitrary.
Table 3. Outgoing links from core feminist webzines.

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network. Each of these gateway e-zines is well designed, both aesthetically and technically, and each has content that is intellectually challenging and complex. All are intuitively navigable and clear (RiotGrrl may rank as the most confusing layout-wise, but even it has an index that points a visitor clearly to its various sections).

Three of these gateways provide “chatrooms” for visitors. BUST, gURL, and RiotGrrl allow individuals to log in to a chat room using a username and password selected by the user. BUST’s chatroom is called “The Lounge,” and includes ongoing chats on such topics as friendship, religion, body image, sex, etc. BUST also offers a private “Live Chick Chat” for registered visitors. gURL’s chatroom is called “The gURL Connection.” This service is more than a simple chatroom: registered users receive e-mail informing them of updates to the gURL site, surveys, and special events; receive access to “members only” portions of the website; and can post their personal URLs in the Connection as well as chat with other members. RiotGrrl’s chat area is called RiotGrrl Interact. Topics include: sex, rants, media, GenX, web technology, etc. RiotGrrl also provides banner ad style links to other feminist e-zines from the topic pages in this chat area.

This interactive feature that allows visitors to “speak” directly with each other opens up a new consideration: the possibility of virtual community within the feminist e-zine network as per Jonathan Zittrain’s model of many-to-many communication. Encouragement of this sort of fraternization between visitors by the gateway e-zines serves many purposes: it helps to create more interest in the remainder of the network (as well as in the e-zine that houses the chatroom); it creates loyalty among visitors and frequent participants to the zines that house the chatroom by encouraging them to return to participate in conversation; and it lays the foundation for the creation of community in the context of the feminist e-zine by enabling the development of interpersonal

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87 gURL recently won an award for “design distinction” from ID Magazine, and was a PC Magazine “site of the day” on October 26, 1996. http://www4.zdnet.com/pcmag/iu/web/sod/sd961024.htm

relationships. It also involves the editors of the e-zines in more active roles as they initiate conversations and monitor ongoing threads of discussion.

Five of these seven webzines appear in their primary form online (only two, BUST and Bitch, are primarily print zines). All are vocally and actively feminist, clearly stating their “agenda” within the content of the e-zine. All are excellent examples of what women can create and achieve with computers and some technical knowledge. Each e-zine is constantly expanding, always updating, and ever progressing in its technical expertise. As mentioned previously, gURL, RiotGrrl, and Bust each have interactive “chat” rooms for members (anyone can join). None of these e-zines had a chat area when it was initially placed online. RiotGrrl is the most commercial of the gateways, with plenty of ads and an extensive “staff”, but its beginnings were much more humble.

Each of the gateway e-zines has a clearly marked section of links. Brillo is the only gateway that doesn’t provide a link to any feminist e-zines, but it does provide links to feminist resources, particularly computing and technology resources. The links for each gateway e-zine are listed in the Appendix. With these links provided by these gateway e-zines, one can begin a journey into the feminist e-zine network and stay connected throughout the entire network.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Problematics!

With the Web being the dynamic beast that it is, several extra variables were tossed into the fray that I did not anticipate. Primarily, the line between what is and what is not an e-zine on the Web is a very blurry one. This stems from the fact that even a personal homepage is an electronic publication, and may contain "articles," poems, fiction, etc. Add to this the fact that many RiotGrrrl e-zines are personal and feminist zines at the same time, with feminist content coming from a very personal perspective. Many RiotGrrrls express their feminism in terms of their experiences overcoming childhood abuse, discrimination at the hands of the boys in their punkrock community, rape, sexism, etc. The result can be very confusing indeed when trying to determine which publications fit the definition of a feminist e-zine.

Another difficulty I encountered in determining whether an e-zine fit the definition of a feminist e-zine was delineating between what is and what is not feminist content. Many of the e-zines specifically state that they are feminist, or that their editors are feminists, or that they come from a feminist perspective. However, some e-zines that make it into the network are not feminist. Two examples of this are The Postfeminist Playground and Yoni: Gateway to the Feminine. These are classic examples of e-zines with content that may be misconstrued as feminist. The Postfeminist Playground, despite the word "feminist" in its name, is neither postfeminist nor feminist. It is decidedly antifeminist, as is apparent from the editors' position statements.89 Yoni is not antifeminist;

89 Susannah Breslin's "Post Feminist Manifesto" offers her version of "what a feminist might say": "I am angry. I am sullen. I take my frustrations out on men, women who do not identify themselves as feminists, and anyone who points out any problems with feminism...I don't wear makeup and often look
rather, it focuses on the feminine. This focus is, quite simply, not feminist. PFP Playground and Yoni might be mistaken as feminist because they deal mainly with women and women's concerns, and are produced by women. "Women's" or "produced by women" does not necessarily equal feminist.

Multiplying the confusion, a few of the e-zines are sub-projects of a larger website, as in the case of Tapestry, the online zine for Women Online Worldwide, or Grrowl, the e-zine for NrrdGrrl!. In these cases, sometimes the content of the e-zine intersects and overlaps with the content of the "parent" site— for instance, Tapestry does not have links, but WOW does. Where does one draw the line, when does a site become "independent"? Incidentally, in cases where both the "main" site and the e-zine were specifically identified as parts of a larger "community project" (this is the case with both WOW and NrrdGrrl!), I treated the main site and the "sub-e-zine" as one entity, since it is very likely that a visitor will examine the site in its entirety (particularly if he/she is searching for links).

Another problematic is my chosen limitation of describing the network among feminist e-zines on the Web. The feminist network is much larger than that existing merely among feminist online publishers. It extends to "playgrounds," resource centers, virtual cities such as Amazon City, the Cybergrrl Cyberstation, the FeMiNa search engine, lists of feminist bookstores, sites put up by feminist organizations such as NOW and the Feminist Majority Foundation, organizations concerned with women's health such as Planned Parenthood, and other woman and girl positive/friendly sites and spaces on the Internet. By limiting the scope of my study to the e-zine network only, I am revealing only a small corner of a larger feminist network on the Web, one that intersects with, bolsters, and encourages activity among independent feminist publishers. I might also mention that resources "outside" the network such as Factsheet5 Electric, John Labovitz' E-zine List, and Chip Rowe's website, The Book of Zines, often serve as doorways... etc. Of course, this sort of statement/argument effectively stops dialogue, for if an individual attempts to disagree, she is cast as just the sort of woman that Breslin describes. This is explicitly antifeminist, and proud of it; therefore, it is not a feminist e-zine. It is interesting and somewhat entertaining, however. From The Postfeminist Playground, http://www.pfplayground.com
into the feminist e-zine network. These resources are invaluable for the individual who wishes to find a fanzine/e-zine of any type that is currently available online.

Finally, the network (and the World Wide Web at large) is anything but static or stable. The ephemeral nature of publications on the web makes for an incredibly dynamic network, in the sense of e-zines popping onto and dropping off of the circuit. Cooties, Echick, and Beehive all have dropped into oblivion. Some e-zinesters have vowed not to put another issue online but to return to or begin a print only format (Bitch, Molly's Mind), some haven't updated in quite a while (Girls Can Do Anything). In fact, in many cases, it is apparent that some feminists are getting their start in print publishing by first publishing an e-zine. It seems that many e-zinesters still feel that print is a more legitimate format for publication and distribution.

I do not consider the return to print a breaking of the network: in the cases of Bitch and Molly's Mind, the e-zine "archives" will remain, along with information for obtaining the print zines. Also, the online network can be used to advertise and assist/ease entry into the print zine network. Online zine "distros" (distribution centers, often run by only one enterprising individual with the energy to fill orders and make lots of copies) such as pander zine distro offer inroads into the print network, and create overlaps and intersections between the print and online worlds of feminist zines. The connection between on and off-line feminist publication is fluid--the transition from one format to the other is most concretely bridged by those zines that exist in both formats (Bust, Mimizine, Hip Mama, HOT GOS, Mystery Date, Spoilt Milk, bluejean, etc.). Print zines advertise the online version, online zines advertise the print version, and the network extends from the print world to the electronic world and back again.

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Discussion and Possibilities for the Future

In their book *SurferGrrrls: Look Ethel! An Internet Guide for Us*, Crystal Kile and Laurel Gilbert offer the "CyborGrrrl Oath" to be taken by women and girls who emerge as creators of content on the Internet:

We are wired women. We would rather be cyborgs than goddesses. We have made a special vow to help guide our sisters, our mothers, our daughters and our friends into a cyberscape of their own. We promise to support them—however initially technophobic—as they apprentice themselves in that realm. We live by the geekgirl code: "The keyboard is a greater equalizer than a Glock .45." We are wired in to Chaos and Gaia. We swell the listservs, we proliferate in the Usenet groups, we weave the Web, we chat and MOO, we upload and download, we help build and nurture our chosen online communities. We help imagine and create new applications and forms, always looking to that next horizon, always thoughtful about the interface of embodied humankind and the electronic projection of the highest mental faculties of our species. In the name of global good and human freedom, we vow never to surrender the Internet and its successors to dangerous, self-perpetuating myths of the technological incompetence of women.\(^{91}\)

Links are an important part of the wired feminist's attempt to actively create, extend, and participate in networking and empowering women and girls on the Internet by providing them with readily available resources and the sense that they are welcome in cyberspace, a space whose boundaries, rules for entry and "citizenship" have traditionally been defined by (white) men. Networking is survival on the Internet, a medium that thrives on interconnections and dynamic relations. A strong presence on the Internet is solidified by the extent and strength of one's network.

I was able to map almost 70 feminist e-zines on the World Wide Web. Quite possibly, there are more feminist e-zines than this in the network, and there are more emerging each day (there are also those e-zines that go off-line or drop out of Web circulation). Each of the e-zines that I located are connected to the network via links

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91 Gilbert, 239-40.
(outgoing and incoming). None exist completely independently of the others—thus, a “network” of interconnections and related agendas and concerns.

Most of the feminist e-zines that are currently available on the World Wide Web reflect the views of white, middle class, urban, feminist-identified women, some of whom also identify as queer. Most are produced by women and girls in the United States, although four are products of Australian women. In addition, at least 15 of the online zines are “samplings” of existing print zines. Seventy-five percent of the e-zines have a “links” page with links to e-zines or women’s resources. Simply because a feminist e-zine doesn’t have a link to other feminist e-zines doesn’t mean the network is broken: many of the e-zines without links to other e-zines do include links to other feminist resources that may in turn have links to e-zines. Twenty-five percent of the feminist e-zines surveyed have no links at all, but 44% of these are primarily advertisements or samplings of print zines.

There are many variations in how links are displayed on a site. Most feminist e-zines have a special “page” reserved solely for links—three feminist e-zines even devote an entire “page” to zine links only (Mimizine, Growl, Sassy Femme). Feminist e-zines with links typically offer a clear link to that page or section from the “opening” page (or Table of Contents) of the e-zine. Judging from the prominence and attention given to links in most feminist e-zines, it is apparent that these e-zines are advocating connection with a network of like-minded publishers. The attention given to the act of networking among the community of independent publishers is evidence of a spirit of intentionality among these women and girls. They are attempting to expand the network for the often expressly stated purpose of bringing more women into positions as actors and creators of content on the Internet.

Actual links to other sites on the Web vary in appearance, format, and extent of description given by the editor of a e-zine. Links in a feminist e-zine may range from

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geekgirl, HOT GOS, Ms. 45, Spoilt Milk

BUST, Blue Stocking, Bitch, Hip Mama, HUES, ROCKRGRL, Mystery Date, PowerCandy, PMS: Post Modern Sluts, Slant, HOT GOS, Anonymous, bluejean, Mimi Zine, Bodipolitic

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Some editors choose to classify links with an explanation or a review, while some simply list links with no explanation at all. Some e-zines ask readers to submit links, and then use those submitted links as a sort of self-selected database for their reader community; others actively choose their links without reader input, but with an eye toward the audience. Some links are selected to jive with the “theme” of an issue, while some e-zines use the same links over and over, regardless of topic. Some link pages attempt to be as extensive as possible (*Sassy Femme, Growl, Catt’s Claws, The Woman Rebel*), while others are selected primarily to reflect the editor’s choices and preferences. As previously mentioned, only one site, *RiotGrrl*, attempted to provide a rating system (stars) for its links. Regardless, links serve as a recommendation to visitors, a promise of “If you liked this site, you’ll be sure to like this one as well.”

Some links seek to educate visitors not only to the wealth of related information on the Internet, but also to information that might be disagreeable, dangerous, or best avoided. *Brillo* offers two link pages within the e-zine: the Hitlist and Tools & Resources. “Tools and Resources” offers women the opportunity to educate themselves about technology, to practice safe surfing, or to check out other sites with similar agendas. “Hitlist” provides an education to some of the more frightening content on the ‘Net (hate filled sites produced by white supremacists and far-right religious groups). *Brillo* doesn’t encourage women (or anyone, for that matter) to wander off to these sites unprotected—it provides a link to the *Anonymizer*, a tool that shields surfers from sites that might track and monitor visitors.

Aesthetics of feminist e-zines vary from publication to publication. Traditionally, print zines have a very “unpolished” do-it-yourself (DIY) aesthetic, as many are produced on a Xerox machine at the local Kinko’s. Computers as tools for desktop and online publishing have helped to blur the distinction between commercially and independently produced publications. It is important to note that since computer-aided web design allows even the average user to create a page that has a “professional” look, most of these e-zines appear “ slicker” than their print sisters. In this sense, the playing field is “leveled” between e-zines such as *Bust* and corporate magazines such as *Slate*.
(Microsoft), blurring the distinction between what constitutes a e-zine and what is really an electronic magazine in e-zine's clothing. I discussed this distinction in the previous section on "Webzines." As Gareth Branwyn astutely points out, in his online column Basement Media, "Slate ain't no stinkin zine!" Interestingly, however, I did find that feminist e-zines targeted at a younger audience tend to be less "traditional" and more experimental in design (more zine-like?), while feminist e-zines targeted toward a more "mature" feminist audience (over 30) tend to have a cleaner, more linear look.

In future studies of this network, it would be interesting to characterize each of the outgoing links from the feminist e-zines, rather than merely concentrating on the outgoing links to other feminist e-zines. This would help to give a more accurate picture of how this network is connected to an even larger network of feminist and non-feminist resources. It would also point to the fact that the network of feminist e-zines is not a ghetto of information that exists in isolation from the other content on the World Wide Web, or the Internet at large. Rather, it is an active part of a larger network, a subgroup that is as much as part of the whole as it is an entity unto itself. A study that included an analysis of all of the outgoing links from feminist e-zines would also shed more light on the activist nature of these zines, and the ways in which they reach out into the Internet network at large to affect change. It is important to note that this network does not fold in upon itself, but that it extends beyond its "boundaries." Likewise, it would be effective to include an analysis of the websites (feminist and non-feminist) that provide links into the network. This would serve to locate the network of feminist e-zines within the larger network of the WWW as a whole, again revealing the interconnections not only within the feminist e-zine network itself, but also among the entire community of content providers on the WWW.

I mentioned previously that three of the gateway e-zines provide chatrooms for visitors. A future study might include a more in-depth analysis of the visitors to these sites, by monitoring their interactivity in chat areas. Threads of conversation could be

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monitored for length and depth of engagement. It would be relatively easy to determine which individuals participated most often (or posted repeatedly) in chats. A survey could be conducted to determine how often participants visit the gateway sites to contribute to chat threads, and if they follow the links provided by the gateways to other feminist e-zines in the network, other feminist resources, or sites outside of the network. This would help to determine if the gateways truly function as gateways in the eyes of the users. A study of interactivity between users and the network would be vital to any future determinations of virtual community that may exist among users/readers and editors of feminist e-zines.

It would also be enlightening to conduct a survey of the editors of the feminist e-zines, particularly those e-zines with chat capabilities. For this study, I relied on interviews conducted by Laurel Gilbert and Crystal Kile in SurferGrrls to get a feel for the responsibility and purpose that feminist content providers on the Internet express as an important part of why they are and continue to be active online. It would be interesting to learn why the editors of the gateway e-zines felt the need to provide visitors with a chatroom, why they set up their chatrooms the way they did, and what kind of response they have received from visitors. It would also be interesting to ask them how they feel about their role as gateways into the network of feminist e-zines, or if they are even aware that they are filling such a role.

Conclusion:
In Search of Virtual Community

BECAUSE we girls crave records and books and fanzines that speak to us that WE feel included in and can understand in our own ways. BECAUSE we wanna make it easier for girls to see/hear each other's work so that we can share strategies and criticize-applaud each other. BECAUSE we must take over the means of production in order to create our own moanings.... BECAUSE I believe with my wholeheartmindbody that girls constitute a revolutionary soulforce that can, and will change the world for real.
The previous manifesto (excerpted from the print zine *riot grrrl*) has served as the rocket fuel for what is known as RiotGrrrl, a young DIY (do-it-yourself) feminist movement that has its roots in both punkrock and the feminist consciousness raising movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Since its inception in the early 1990s, some would argue that RiotGrrrl has been co-opted by the media and the society it originally sought to question and oppose. Whatever the case, RiotGrrrl urged (and still urges) young feminists to get the word out to their sisters and create a community of girl-positive (grrrl-positive) thinking and acting. This word is often spread through the creation and distribution of zines, both print and online.

In referencing the RiotGrrrl movement, I am recognizing what is perhaps the main driving force behind independent, not-for-profit feminist publications (zines) today. Most of the feminist webzines that I located on the World Wide Web owe some part of their design, politics, lingo, or style to RiotGrrrl. The attitude expressed in the RiotGrrrl manifesto is one that is duplicated in spirit throughout the network of feminist e-zines. These women/girls/grrrls are dead serious, and it is precisely their sense of purpose and the drive for meaning that makes this network so powerful, so tight, and so unique among existing networks of webizens.

Despite the seriousness and the willingness to connect and network with like-minded souls, the movement ("old-school" feminist and RiotGrrrl alike) has its problems, not the least of which are areas of race and class. Certain of the e-zines I found take these issues to task (*Slant*, *Mimizine*, *HUES*) either directly or by providing a forum for multicultural, multidimensional discourse. However, as I previously mentioned, the majority are produced by white, middle-class, urban girls and women, and the content does reflect that bias (there are quite a few feminist e-zines that come from a queer standpoint, but again, mainly a white queer standpoint). Of course, as this study takes place exclusively on the World Wide Web, issues of access to technology and education are implicit in defining the audience and the actors in the feminist e-zine network. Therefore, the network of feminist e-zines that I have mapped on the World Wide Web reflects for the most part a white, middle class, urban, female situation-- and the "gateway"
e-zines are no different. Hopefully, the continuing strength and presence of feminist e-
zines that represent different situations will change the “face” of this network. However, it
is apparent that even among the more “revolutionary” publishers on the Web, the playing
field is not a level one.

I have focused solely on the network of feminist e-zines for this thesis. By limiting
my study to this small subset of electronic publications on the World Wide Web, it is not
my intention to “ghettoize” women and girls and the content they create and interact with
on the World Wide Web. Rather, it is my intention for this thesis to provide insight into the
independent electronic publishing movement as a whole, especially as it encourages and
empowers minority groups to take an active role in content creation and information
dissemination on the Internet. The World Wide Web is such a dynamic entity that no
group with a strong and growing presence can remain isolated for long. A variety of
participants is needed to play a part in the continuing creation of this electronic medium by
adding diversity and making the Web more reflective of our realities.

The network of feminist e-zines does extend beyond itself, and does receive links
from sources “outside” the network. In fact, the Web itself is a vast network—feminist e-
zines are only a small subnetwork within the whole. I eventually hope to extend this
study of networks to the study of virtual community, considering questions such as:
when does a network become a community? Is community possible in the absence of
physical contact? Why is a sense of “community” or “shared space” important in the
electronic realm? It is this question of whether the feminist e-zine network can create and
sustain a virtual community that ultimately interests me, and that provides impetus for
further research.

The network of feminist e-zines seems a likely place for community to emerge.
The activist nature of feminist dialogue and discourse encourages communication and
networking among like-minded individuals as a means to a very specific end. Activism
connotes networking and grassroots outreach, as opposed to isolation and solipsistic
consumption. Feminist activism on the WWW is made all the more urgent due to issues
such as the existing gender disparity among users, women’s equal access to technology
and the means for producing/creating electronic content, and more academic concerns with embodiment issues triggered by the physical invisibility and anonymity provided by electronic communication.

To the feminist publisher, the zine (both print and electronic) acquires meaning beyond merely serving as a vanity press-- it serves as a tool for activism and as a means for responding to and dethroning existing dominant power structures. There are many types of e-zines available on the WWW, some activist-oriented and others not. What each zine, whether print or electronic, shares with other members of its medium is a zeal for expression and communication of ideas that is rarely found within mainstream media. Feminist e-zines are but one type of independent electronic publication with an identifiable network on the WWW. The conclusions that have been reached in this paper concerning the network of feminist e-zines may be applied to other networks of independent publications appearing on the Internet, particularly those of an activist nature. The methods that I have employed in this study are generalizable to the phenomenon of networking on the WWW in general, inasmuch as they offer ways to examine how such networks are formed, how they extend, and how they insure their survival through the creation of gateways. The network of feminist e-zines is but one example among many of the fascinating convergence of independent publication, networking, activism, and the potential for virtual community.
Articles Concerning Zines In General


Branwyn, Gareth. "Zine Views." Whole Earth Review (Fall 1990): 61+


Griffin, George. "The 'Noonzines' have Arrived." Graphic Arts Monthly 69 (February 1997): 74.


**Articles Concerning E-Zines, Particularly**


"The Phenomenon of WebZines." http://www.richmond.edu/~eng376/project/compwrit/genx/webzines.htm


**Articles Concerning Online or Virtual Communities**


Women, Activism, Zines, and the Internet


Citation Analysis


Rice, Ronald E., Christine L. Borgman, and Byron Reeves. "Citation Networks of Communication Journals, 1977-1985: Cliques and Positions, Citations Made and Citations Received."


Wedman, John F. "Citation Patterns in the Computer-Based Instruction Literature." Journal of Computer-Based Instruction 14 (Summer 1987): 91-95.


Books


Web Resources

The ETEXT Archives. http://www.etext.org/


The Pander Zine Distro. http://members.aol.com/xhecubusx/pander.html


Yahoo! http://www.yahoo.com
APPENDIX

THE ZINES AND THEIR LINKS:
VIRTUAL SISTERHOOD AMONG FEMINIST WEB PUBLISHERS

1. The Woman Rebel (http://www.mindspring.com/~wrebel/)

First accessed: 06/23/97  Last visited: 06/23/97

Links page can be accessed directly from the opening page of the zine. Link to links page is simply titled, “links.” Icon at top of links page reads, “Feminist Links & Bad Girls.”

Links include:
- The Mining Company: Women’s Issues Site
- National Women’s History Project
- Fem*Mass
- Women Online
- Women in Herstory
- IGC Online
- Women’s International Center
- Virtual Sisterhood
- The Electra Pages
- Femina
- Feminist Activist Resources on the Net
- Feminist.com
- Women in Technology International
- Feminist Activist Resources on the Net
- WWWomen
- Women Online Worldwide
- Guerrilla Girls
- MediaWatch
- Abortion Rights Advocacy
- Battered Women’s Support Services
- NOW
- Feminist Majority
- Women’s Web
- HomeArts
- Women’s Wire
- Hillary Clinton Online
- Cybergirl
- HerSpace
- WomenSpace
- Fighting Woman News
- Q World
- Hues
- Catt’s Claws
- Every Woman’s Fantasy Page
- On The Issues (magazine)
- Bluestocking
- Hot Gos
- Brillo
- The Annie Sprinkle Homepage
- FAT! SO?
- Amazon Bookstore
- Monday Morning Briefs
- Radar Rose
- Fighting Woman News
- Aviation and Space Art
- Female Writers


First accessed: 06/23/97  Last visited: 06/23/97

Links are available from the opening page. Links to the links page is titled “FemLinks.” Links page is titled, “News for Women: WWW Links.”

Links are divided into the following categories:
Books
Cyber-Spaces
Email Lists
Forums
Web Pages

Actual WWW Links include:

- ABIGAILS-L & BEIJING95-L WebPage
- FeMinA
- Obsession
- APC/IGC/Womensnet
- BEIJING95-L FTP site
- Catt's Claws
- Community Breast Health Project
- DOJ Violence Against Women Office
- Dorsie Hathaway, List Wrangler
- Feminist Activist Resources
- Feminist Activist Resources
- Feminist Homepage
- Women Leaders Online
- Feminist Majority Foundation
- FTP sites for Women of Achievement & Herstory and Catt's Claws
- Her Heritage: A Biographical Encyclopedia of Famous American Women
- Hillary Rodham Clinton's Home Page
- Hillary Plenary Speech
- Hillary's WHO Speech
- Hillary's NGO Speech
- Irene Stuber's Homepage
- Laurie Mann's Sites
- Fourth World Conference on Women Men, Women & Gods
- Marist College
- NOW
- Pleiades Network
- The Web Weavers
- Tracking the Opposition
- Virtual Sisterhood
- Washington Feminist Faxnet
- The Women's Caucus
- Women of Achievement & Herstory Women's Health
- Washington State NOW Women's Wire
- Women Online Worldwide Women Organizing for Change
- WWWomen
- Women in the Military
- University of Maryland InforM Archiving
- Merrwill
- The Rebel Magazine
- Swarthmore College Peace Collection

3. feminista! (http://www.feminista.com/)

   First accessed: 06/23/97 Last visited: 07/29/97

   A very upscale, aspiring feminist e-zine. There are links to “Network” and “Weekly Web Review” from the opening page. “WWR” is updated weekly. “Network” is forthcoming.

From “Network”:
- A link to the “e.zine movement”
- A link to “Art-Kunsthalle”

From “WWR”:
- No zines -- varies from week to week, inconsistent. No archive.

4. Grrowl! (NrrdGrrl!!) (http://www.nrrdgrrl.com/grrowl/)

   First accessed: 04/30/97 Last visited: 11/13/97

   A zine catering to the wired, twentysomething feminist. Entire section devoted to links to feminist zines, called “zinerack.”
Links include: (all are zines)

- Growl!
- geekgirl
- Grrrlz
- 'Zine Rack of paper 'zines
- Cusp
- Nothing But Scorn
- FaTGIRL
- Ratgrrl Communique
- BlueStocking
- Random Violence
- Girls on Film
- Cupcake
- Brand X
- Grrl Enterprises
- Anonymous
- Foxy
- Catt's Claws
- Hothead Paisan, Homicidal Lesbian Terrorist
- New Style American Girlie Magazine for Girls
- Feminist Science Fiction, Fantasy, & Utopia
- Spew
- On the Issues
- Big Girl Press
- Girls Can Do Anything
- Athena
- gURL
- Brillo
- Tapestry
- Visibilities
- Bitch
- b-grmf
- Bust
- Ms. 45
- HUES
- GiRLRiGHTs
- Molly's Mind
- Fresh & Tasty
- Inertia
- Beehive
- Ectoderm
- WWWomen
- Disgruntled Housewife
- Rockgrrl
- HOT GOS Magazine
- RiotGrrl
- the Postfeminist Playground
- GrrlsWorld
- Blue Jean
- Plasma
- data on pulp
- The Blank
- Don't Underestimate Us!
- Girls Can Be Anything, Except Roosters
- Bitch Dyke Whore
- Fairy Dust
- Social Justice Web 'Zine
- Verbal Abuse
- INTRRR NRRRD E-Zine
- Like, Duh!
- Pulled Mints
- Riot[NRRD]
- Starchild

* indicates that this item is not a fem-zine for one of several various reasons (not feminist, a major publication, a list of zines, etc.)

5. Sassy Femme (http://www.txdirect.net/~sassyfem/mainpage.html)

First accessed: 04/30/97 Last visited: 06/24/97

A feminist/lesbian oriented zine with a decidedly feminine touch. From the opening page, there is a link to "Resources for Women." From "Resources for Women," interested parties may proceed to the "Zines" section. "Zines" page is titled: "Resources for Women: Zines and Newsletters." I have not distinguished between a zine and a newsletter for the purposes of this study.

Links include: all are fem-zines, with the exception of those marked with a *.

- The Advocate Magazine
- AfterGlow30+ Newsletter
- Astarte Woman Online
- Athena
- Bitch
- Blade On-Line
- Blue Stocking
- Body-Mind Queendom
- Body Politic
- Brat Attack
6. **Bust** ([http://www.BUST.com](http://www.BUST.com))

First accessed: 06/24/97  Last visited: 11/13/97

A zine that appears in both print and online formats, Bust appeals to the younger (twentysomething) feminist. From the opening page, there is a link to the "Girl Wide Web." (As of 13 November 1997, this links page has been expanded to include visitor submissions. This list is no longer exhaustive.)

Links include:

- gURL
- Bitch!
- Disgruntled Housewives
- Mystery Date
- 2 Chicks, 2 Bikes, 1 Cause
- HUES Online
- A Girl’s World Online Clubhouse
- Women Leaders Online
- Anonymous
- OutNOW!
- Out Smart
- Planet Q
- Prairie Dyke
- Queer Nasty
- Quilt Zine
- QZine
- ROCKRGRL Magazine
- Sapphrodate
- Sauce*Box Literary Erotica
- Shescape
- Sojourner: The Women’s Forum
- Spinsters Ink
- Spirited Women
- Stay Free
- Tapestry
- Uptown Express
- Visitivities
- Whooosh!
- Wings
- Wit’s End Literary Cyberzine
- Woman
- THE WOMAN REBEL
- Women of the Road
- Women’s Edge
- Women’s History Magazine
- The Woman’s Journal
- Women’s Room
- Women’s Web
- Women’s Web Zine
- Worldnet Women


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First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 07/14/97

Also a twenty-something feminist zine. From opening page, graphical link to "Links" section (picture of Vienna Sausages, reads, "Tasty Links.").

Links include:

• Minx
• The Official Xena Page
• Working Girls
• Bust
• Emanzenpage
• bad kitty
• ROCKRGRL
• Bettie Page
• Anneli Cloodt's Page

8. Minx (http://www.minxmag.com/)

First accessed: 07/14/97 Last visited: 07/14/97


Links include

• gURL
• Bust
• Maxi
• Disgruntled Housewife
• Bitch!
• geekgirl

• NrrdGrrl
• Cosmopolitan (this is why I wonder)
• Mystery Date
• Grrl
• Blair
• Riotgrrl

9. Grrl (http://www.grrl.com/)

First accessed: 07/14/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

This zine has an opening page much like the cover on a book that you must click to enter the zine proper. From the second page, there is a link to "Zine" that takes you to the Grrl zine. From there, there is a link to "Other Girl Zines."

Links include (mostly graphical)

• Mystery Date
• Brillo
• gURL
• Foxy
• New Style American Girlie Revolution
• Ratgrrl’s Hideout
• Oh Bondage, Up Yours
• American Girl
• Bitch!
• Bust
• Disgruntled Housewives
• RiotGrrl

10. **Foxy** (http://www.tumyeto.com/tydu/foxy/foxy.html)

First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 07/14/97

From the opening page of Foxy, there is a link to “Foxy Links.” This section is divvied into “Corporate Links,” “Feminist Links,” “Music Links,” “Miscellaneous,” and “Your Pages.” From the “Feminist Links” section, some fem-zines may be found.

Links include:

- PlanetGirl
- Capricious
- Bitch!
- gURL
- Daria
- Brillo
- Girls on Film
- Girl’s Guide
- FeMiNa
- feminist.com
- XX
- Girls Can Do Anything
- Geekgirl
- RiotGrrl

11. **XX** (http://www.internauts.ca/~studioxx/main.html)

First accessed: 04/30/97 Last visited: 06/24/97

XX is a zine that is a subset of a larger zine called “Crisp.” XX is the feminist part. From the opening section of XX is a link to “Related Sites.”

Links include:

- @fashion
- Guerrilla Girls
- WMHP
- Women’s Web World (Feminist Majority Foundation)
- Women’s Wire

None of these links are to other feminist zines.

12. **Tapestry (Women Online Worldwide)** (http://www.wowwomen.com/Tapestry/TapestryTOC.html)

First accessed: 07/24/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

Tapestry is a zine put out by Women Online Worldwide. The zine kind of blends into and out of the larger website (WOW). The links are not reachable from the zine, but are readily available from the WOW main site. Economy? From WOW, links can be reached via WOW Links link. Zines are listed in the Publications section of the list.

Categories for WOW links include:

- Arts & Entertainment
- Business Woman
- Education
- Health & Wellbeing
- Information & Resources
13. **New Style American Girlie Magazine for Girls**
(http://www.tiac.net/users/girle/)

First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 08/06/97

Put out by one woman as a college project. Link to “links” from the opening page. Section with links to fem-zines is called “Girl Parts.”

Links include:

- Sissy
- Blair
- gURL
- The Net Chick Clubhouse
- NrrdGrrl!
- Cool Girls Japan

14. **gURL** (http://www.gurl.com/)

First accessed: 04/10/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

One of the groundbreaking zines on the feminist circuit, gURL gets lots of links and provides lots of stuff for visitors, including an interactive chat area. Their links are provided in each issue from the exhibitionist section (not very intuitive, grrrls!). Within exhibitionist is a section entitled “stepping out” that houses the actual links. These are graphical and are consistent from issue to issue, including a couple of zines, as well as some other women’s resources online. The links page is entitled, “A Few Choice Links.”

Links include:

- Coalition for Positive Sexuality
- Bust
- Bitch
15. Scorn (http://www.cyborganic.com/people/rita/scorn/)

First accessed: 08/06/97 Last visited: 08/06/97

No links I could find.

16. RatGrrrl’s Hideout/Parapraxes (http://gladstone.uoregon.edu/~meganl/)

First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 08/06/97

Personal zine from the self-identified “RatGrrrl.” This zine rides the edge between homepage and zine, but has just enough components to fit the zine requirements. Links to other pages from “Dorothy’s Shoes.” Clever.

Links to women stuff (“rebel grrrl, i wanna be yr best friend”) include:

- The Pop Tart Pages
- cybergrrrl
- geekgrrrl
- riot grrrls page
- shef’s palace of fine girls
- girls on the web

17. All Men Must Die! (http://www.kfs.org/~kashka/ammd.html)

First accessed: 04/30/97 Last visited: 09/17/97

Very tongue-in-cheek, but also serious. All about catharsis, and connection via shared hetero female experience. Link to links page from opening page (“Links”).

AMMD-Related Links are categorized into the following groupings:

- Organisations
- Individuals
- Random Stuff

No zines.


First accessed: 06/23/97 Last visited: 09/17/97

These words at first blush seem offensive—why were they chosen for the title of a feminist zine? In the words of the author/editor (Lisa): “bitch, dyke, and whore are three words that have been traditionally used against women, especially feminists, but when used as insults each carries an underlying message of fear of a strong woman. a bitch is a woman who has strong opinions and speaks her mind. a dyke is a woman who doesn’t
need a man to make her happy or whole, a whore is a woman who is sexual. none of these seem like insults to me.” She has links, linked from the first page of the zine (“links”).

These links are qualified as “links to stuff I like.” Ranging from zines to bands to the author/editor’s high school. Zines include (mostly riotgrrl per/fem-zines):

• What’s Going On?
• Cooties
• Power Candy (is it per- or is it fem-?? Most riotgrrrl zines ride this line.)
• PMS (Post Modern Sluts)
• light a match, spark a life


First accessed: 04/30/97  Last visited: 10/11/97

Here’s a zine that ends up on a lot of link lists. It’s more of a homepage for a print zine, but there’s some writing on it as well. It’s “unabashedly feminist.” There’s a link to a links page from the first page (“links”).

Links include:

• WITI, the International Network of Women in Technology
• NOW
• Sappho Mailing List
• The Gender Home Page
• Future Sex
• RRR-the Radical Religious Right
• Rock for Choice
• Voxxen Worx

20. BITCH  (http://www.bitchmag.com/index2.html)

First accessed: 06/24/97  Last visited: 09/17/97

It was great, my first intro to fem-zines on the Web, my inspiration for Nemesis. Now it’s gone, but lives on in archive at Maxi. Whew. Links that got me started (“tasty links”) include:

• Girls on Film
• Brillo
• gURL
• Heartless Bitches International
• Foxy
• Prodigy Ad Post-Mortem
• Cupcake


First accessed: 04/04/97  Last visited: 11/25/97

Ah, my favorite feminist zine online! The opening page has graphical links to the current and previous issues. Each issue has its own sections--the layout is pretty standard from issue to issue, with some minor variances. Issue #3, the current issue, has a link to

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“Tools & Resources” from the bottom of the page. This is the links page. Links include links to online resources/tools for women. There are no zines listed. Brillo also has a “Hitlist” of links to evil websites. Too bad Brillo’s a dead end for zines. Links in “Tools and Resources” include:

ALPHA Alliance Computer Center
Artists’ Television Access
Austin Free-Net
Greater New Bedford Community Computing Centers
LibertyNet
New Beginnings Learning Center
Playing to Win
Plugged In
Silicon Valley Public Access Link
Technology In Learning
Virtually Wired
Women’s Access to Electronic Resources
Community Computing Centers Througout the U.S.

Links for Tools (this issue: “Covering Your Tracks”) include:

The Anonymizer
Deleting Cookies
anon.peneti.fi FAQ
Security and Encryption Links
Center for Democracy and Technology

Brillo’s links change from issue to issue. This leaves room for zines to be listed in the future. Additionally, all links are accompanied by an explanatory paragraph.

22. Coffy Time Blues (http://bizweb.lightspeed.net/~ct/)

First accessed: 04/30/97  Last visited: 09/21/97

A little more inspired by the -ine than the -ist, CTB is a self-proclaimed “feminist literary zine” with focus on women’s spirituality, erotica, political commentary, and more. The opening page is in frames, with the scrollable menu bar offering links to various sections, including “Sites We Like.” There are no zine links!

23. Cusp (http://hamp.hampshire.edu/~psw94/cusp/)

First accessed: 06/10/97  Last visited: 09/21/97

I’m not sure how long it’s been since Cusp was updated, there’s no date on the page. They do have a link to a links page from the opening page, tho.

Links include:

• Hues
• Nothing but Scorn
• Sassy Remembered (link broken)
• Bog Off! (Link broken)
• Girls Can Do Anything
• Nrrdgrrl!
• ...The cool girls list (link broken)
25. **FaT GIRL** (http://www.fatso.com/fatgirl/)

First accessed: 04/30/97  Last visited: 09/21/97

A zine that is fiercely politicized around the issue of fat as it relates to women's bodies. Although mainly from a queer slant, I've included *FaT GIRL* precisely because of its political nature, and because those politics impact on an issue of import to all feminists—that of body image. Includes link to links page from opening ("Other Stuff on the Net"). (Disclaimer: yes feminists can be queer, and vice versa, but if a site is *mainly* queer and focuses on that rather than feminism, I've chosen not to include it. BTW, all queers are not feminists! Queer is not homogenous, neither is feminist. OK.)

Links include categories such as "Fat Dykes on the Net," "Dyke/Queer Links," "Fat Links," and "Women's Links."

- Activist's Oasis
- a truly amazing photo of Ambar
- Catt's Claws
- Cybergrrrl Webstation
- Femina
- comprehensive list of Feminist Bookstores
- GeekGirl
- Girl Stuff Page
- Jenny Strauss--Classic Female Nude
- Ladyslipper Music
- Nrrd Grrl
- Perfect Body
- The PopTart Page (Girls Can Do Anything)
- House of Cute Fatgirls
- Voice of Women Online
- Women Online Worldwide
- Electrapages
- Women's Resource Project

26. **Feminist.Com** (http://feminist.com/)

First accessed: 07/14/97  Last visited: 09/21/97

An online publication complete with classifieds... Links are available from the first page by clicking on "Resources & Links."

Categories for links include:

- IN-HOUSE RESOURCES
- GENERAL WOMEN'S RESOURCES AND ORGANIZATIONS
- GLOBAL
- PARENTING, CHILDREN AND COMMUNITY
- PRO-FEMINIST MEN'S GROUPS
- REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS AND SEXUALITY
- SEXUAL HARASSMENT & VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
- WOMEN AND THE ARTS
- WOMEN'S CAREERS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
- WOMEN'S CULTURE AND EDUCATION
Zines:

- Cybergrrl (General Women's Resource)
- Rockgrrl Magazine (women & the Arts)
- Yoni (Women & the Arts)
- Bitch (Women’s Culture & Education)
- Brillo (WCE)
- Bust (WCE)
- Feminista (WCE)
- Foxy (WCE)
- GeekGirl (WCE)
- gURL (WCE)
- NrrdGrrl (WCE)
- Voxxeen Worx (WCE)


First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 11/25/97

One of the more popular fem-zines available on the Web, also one of the most professional & updated. It’s Australian! From the “Recidivists” section of the current “crime” issue (about 3 pages down from the index page), there is a link to “e-zines, paper zines, more zines.” In fact, the entire “Recidivists” section is full of links, mostly those submitted by readers of the zine, along with the messages the submitters included. Note that these are all submitted links that have been screened and selected by the editor of geekgirl, RosieX. How non-linear of her. Some of the links have accompanying graphics. I did not count all of the links in this Recidivist section. Sections include:

- inclined to Watch Women’s Work
- Books hanging for a review?
- Files from Hollywood
- Penpals on the Outside
- e-zines, paper zines, more zines
- politics, Pride, poofs an dykes
- crimes, cafes & cappaccinos (sic)
- 2Jokes
- dial M for mad who is this?

Zines include:

- Postfeminist Playground (Watch Women’s Work)
- Ms. 45 (zines)
- GRRL (zines)
- Bluesy (zines)

28. **Girls Can Do Anything** ([http://ernie.bgsu.edu/~cklie/GCDAOne.html](http://ernie.bgsu.edu/~cklie/GCDAOne.html))

First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 09/22/97

Published by Crystal Kile, part-author of *SurferGrrrls*, this is a pretty bare bones zine, not as flashy or graphically endowed as, say, *geekgirl*. But then again, Ms. Kile is a grad student. Heh. Also, it doesn’t look like it’s been updated since Summer 1995. Crystal!!

Link from issue no.3:
29. Girls on Film (http://www.girlsonfilm.com)

First accessed: 07/13/97 Last visited: 09/22/97

Decidedly feminist, this zine focuses on film as its taking-off-point. The only thing about it is, no links page. Gets a lot of links, tho'.


First accessed: 06/23/97 Last visited: 09/22/97

It’s feminist, it’s focused on parenting. It’s a zine. It’s hip. From the opening page, you are invited to “come on in.” OK. It’s great, but there are no links. Snif.

31. HUES (http://www.hues.net)

First accessed: 04/30/97 Last visited: 09/22/97

This professionally wrought zine, directed at younger feminists (although women are welcome, too) gets a lot of links. It focuses on diversity and providing an alternative magazine for women. From the opening page (frames) in the content bar, there is a link to the “Link Warehouse.” Promising... There are several categories to choose from, including:

- African-American/Black
- Art & Music
- Asian-American
- Business & Career
- Computers/Internet
- Education & Academia
- Girls & Youth
- Health & Body
- Hobbies & Sports
- Latina/o
- Lesbian & Bisexual
- Mags & Zines
- People of Color
- Political
- Relationships & Families
- Religion & Spirituality
- Travel
- Women's Internet Reference
- Women's Organizations
- Women's Sites

In the “Mags & Zines” section (how hip!), links include:

- Maxi
- Bitch (archives)
- Radiance
- SassyFemme

- Deed (now Mimi)-- a paper zine
32. **Ms. 45** (http://minyos.its.rmit.EDU.AU/~bkerr)

First accessed: 04/30/97  Last visited: 04/30/97

This zine gets good linkage. And gives it as well. There’s a link to links from the opening page, titled “Women, Wimmin and Wombats.” Not the most intuitive of links, but it does encourage some exploring. Yes?

Links include:

- Huan-Hua Chye
- Heather DeCentral
- Julie’s Home Page
- Woman Motorist
- Webgrrls in Melbourne! (This is Australian, as is geekgirl)
- Museum of Menstruation
- All Men Must Die
- NrrdGrrl

- SPOT
- FatlSo?
- The Yeast Infection Homepage
- Wonderful Web Women
- Girls On Film
- Guerilla Girls
- Heartless Bitches International
- Web Wombat

33. **Maxi** (http://www.maximag.com)

First accessed: 04/10/97  Last visited: 06/10/97

The successor to *Bitch*, it’s nice & expansive, and growing with each issue, but it’s conspicuously without a links page (unlike its predecessor). Gets a lot of links, though.

34. **RiotGrrl** (http://www.riotgrrl.com)

First accessed: 06/23/97  Last accessed: 11/13/97

A very popular feminist e-zine, I’ve followed the progression of *RiotGrrl* from its second issue or so up until now. The format has gotten much much slicker and more ad-intensive (they used to have no ads). I’m starting to wonder if they aren’t making a living here. Hmm. Success story #... Anyway, their links page is linked to their main page via a link called “SurferGrrl.”

Links include (and are rated with a star system):

- The PostFeminist Playground (Pick of the Week & graphical link) *****
- Minx ****
- Grrl ****
- SmartyPants ***
- Growl! **
- MAXIM * (obligatory guy zine to slam on)

There’s also links to the “electronic newstand” (other sites with good zine links). These include:

- The E-zine List
- Ecola Newstand
- eZine Database
- Monster Magazine List
- Nrrdgrrl’s Zine Rack
35. **ROCKRGRL** (http://www.indieweb.com/rockrgrl/)


It's feminist & it's about grl music, or music by grls, specifically music by grls that rocks. It's a zine. This online version is mainly a sampling—the main content is still in print. But there's enough here to qualify. However, there are no links.

36. **Spoilt Milk** (http://www.spoiltMilk.aus.net)

First accessed: 06/24/97 Last visited: 09/23/97

This zine is cool & intelligent, but the lingo gets a bit tedious if yr not into phat syntax. Put out entirely by female volunteers in Australia, it's a “sister” zine to print Milk. Can't find any links though, except some in the “Hack Tech” section to women's computing resources. I'll list these:

- Females in Information Technology
- Women and Computer Science
- Resources for Women Computing Professionals
- Women in Technology International
- Gender, Science and Technology Programme
- Women Online: Internet News, Reviews and Information for Women Online
- The Association for Women in Computing
- Women in Technology: brought to you by Harvard
- Web-sters' Net-Work: Women in Info Technology

37. **WomenZone** (http://www.womenzone.com)


CyberGrrl's zine, this offers an alternative to traditional content for women (read: dreck) targeting “real women.” Whatever those are. Anyway, there are articles, and sections, and stuff, so I suppose it qualifies as a zine. And it's feminist. So there. There aren't links, but then again, CyberGrrl sponsors Femina, the feminist search engine, so who needs a links page? It's pretty linked already! Now there's community for you. Nothing fits into a neat package here. Non-linear world now! Wouldn't McLuhan be proud?

38. **MY magazine** (http://members.aol.com/mymagchief/)

First accessed: 10/07/97 Last visited: 10/07/97

Found in Labovitz' e-zine list; keyword: “womyn.” No links. Kind of an interesting format. Encourages visitors to submit an article, and then posts the article. Basically, a community space. Seems almost totally reader-written. Interesting.

39. **Xpress** (http://www.rabble.com/xpress/1997.03.01/)

First accessed: 10/07/97 Last visited: 10/07/97

Also found in Labovitz' list, keyword: “womyn.” No links to other zines. Some links may be found within articles.
40. **Women Leaders Online—Women Organizing for Change** (http://wlo.org)

First accessed: 10/07/97  Last visited: 10/07/97

It's a women's advocacy group, attempting to create a "network" of women and men online. Found in Labovitz' list; keyword: "women's studies." Link to links from opening page. Categories on links page include:

- Express Lanes on the Information Superhighway
- Activist Resources
- Politics, Politics, Politics!
- Prominent Women
- Women Plugged in and Staking a Claim on the Net
- Interactive Communications on the Net

"Zines" is a category under "Express Lanes." Follow that link to another page with the following subtopics:

- News of the Day Sources
- Action Alerts
- 'Zines
- Calendars
- Sites of the Day

In "Zines," the following zines are listed:

- On the Issues
- Msnet
- Wmlifenet
- Wwbiznet
- Sojourner
- Body Politic
- AlterNet
- MoJo Wire
- Utne Reader
- Girls Can Do Anything
- Feminist Majority's Journal and Internet Publications Sources
- EXTRA!
- Women's Web Magazine
- Grrowl! (NrrdGrrl)
- Canadian Spiderwomen

Most of these are not zines, but are magazines. There are a couple of bonafide zines, though.

41. **Women's Web Magazine** (http://womenswebmagazine.com)

First accessed: 10/07/97  Last visited: 10/07/97

Labovitz: keyword: "women's studies," "women's music." It's interesting how zines for older women (read older than 30) tend to be more professional and slick, and less personal, then zines directed at younger women. Women's Web is very close to being magaziney. Very. Even calls itself a magazine. No links page.
44. **GrrlSWrld** (http://www.mv.com/ipusers/erb/index.htm)

First accessed: 10/07/97  Last visited: 10/11/97

Labovitz, keyword: “women.” From opening page, link to Grrl Stuff. From Grrl Stuff, link to “Where the Grrls Are.” This page has links to:

- Girls on Film
- Suck
- Salon
- Maxi
- Miss Melty
- Emily Hackbarth

45. **Melty** (http://www.melty.com)

First accessed: 10/07/97  Last visited: 10/07/97

Labovitz, keyword: “women.” From second page (opening page is a graphic), link to links and zine and comic reviews.

Links are divided into categories:

- E-zines and Web Experiences
- Smarty Pants Fodder
- Politics, Baby
- Good Queer Fun

E-zines linked include:

- Brillo
- GrrlsWrld
- slant
- Eroticize This
- Girls on Film
- Feminista
- Maxi
- Bust
- Grr
- HUES
- new style american girlie magazine for girls
- Motel
- Giant Robot
- the fray

46. **Out of Order** (http://www-personal.umich.edu/~atomlin/)

First accessed: 10/07/97  Last visited: 10/07/97

Labovitz: “women.” Link to links from opening page. Link categories include:

- Publications
- Music
- Funny Stuff
- Nice People
Publications links include:

- RiotGrrl
- Extent
- Meltdown 43
- Punks G Hybrid
- Extric@te
- Encultured
- AxispoweR
- Emo Cloning Lab
- Upstate Press
- Michigan Independent
- Holiday Fanzine

Annie Tomlin, the editor of “Out of Order” writes the “CollegeGrrl” section for RiotGrrl.

47. Pearshaped (http://www.retina.net/~ratty/pear.html)

First accessed: 10/07/97 Last visited: 10/07/97

A new zine put out by two women. Labovitz: “Riot Grrl.” Link to “Pearshaped Links” from opening page. Links include:

- Music
- Art
- Books
- Film
- Miscellaneous

Books includes links to online publications as well, including:

- RiotGrrl
- Women’s E-Zines and Publications (404)
- Virtual Sisterhood
- UK Fanzine List

48. Blue/GIrl/ZIne or Squiffy Ether Jag (http://www.slc.edu/pages/t/tmershon/)

First accessed: 10/07/97 Last visited: 10/07/97


Links include three categories:

- Swanky
- Squiffy
- Serendipity

In Swanky, links include:

- Tawdry Town
- Houdini
- Retro
• Disgruntled Housewife
• Swank-o-Rama
• Blair

49. Mystery Date
(http://members.tripod.com/~Mystery_Date/index.html?876280438)

First accessed: 10/07/97 Last visited: 10/07/97

Mainly an advertisement for corresponding print zine, but also an independent e-zine space. Sort of campily feminist ("You know, the tragically ludicrous, the ludicrously tragic?"—from The Simpsons, John Waters episode) Links from opening page ("links"). Link page entitled "good stuff." Links include e-links as well as print zine reviews. All links are reviewed and dated. Links include:

• Miss Abigail's Time Warp Advice
• Grrl Enterprises
• The Fully Caffeinated World of Felix
• Placing
• Amazon.com
• Maxi
• The Fortean Times Online
• Strange Magazine
• Giant Squid Page
• Taylorology
• The Lipstick Page
• Tampax
• Museum of Menstruation
• Good Vibrations Vibrator Museum
• Anna Nicole Smith (the Jayne Mansfield of her generation?)

50. grrlPOWrr (http://members.tripod.com/~grrlPOWrrr/)

First accessed: 10/07/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

Zine put out by younger thirdwavers. Found in e-zine database, search on "grrl." Link from opening page (frame left bar)—"links." Graphic of scissors. Links include:

• Grrl.com
• hayley's Grrl page
• Girl Power
• Edge! Also done by the webmast of Riotgrrl
• April's GrrlPower Page
• Gurl.com
• Webgrrls
• The Body Shop
• CyberGrrl
• G.I.R.L.
• New Moon
• troom.com
• Bitch
• watergrrl
• Sophie's city at night
• love, life, and everything!
• GoGirl!
51. **Bluesy** (http://www.bluesy.com)

First accessed: 09/21/97  Last visited: 10/09/97

No links. Wah. (I'm so blue!)

52. **Voices of Women: Journal and Resource Guide**
(http://www.voiceofwomen.com)

First accessed: 09/21/97  Last visited: 10/09/97

Link from opening page to "other links." This goes to a page with categories for links. Categories include:

- General Resources
- Women and the 'Net
- Women in Business
- Reproductive Health
- Health/ Protection from Abuse
- Feminist/ Social/ Political
- Mother Earth
- Herstory
- Women's Studies/ Education
- Women Inside the USA
- Women Outside the USA
- Sexuality
- Newsgroups / Mailing Lists
- Newsletters/ Ezines/ Publications
  - Grrrls just wanna have fun...

Following "Newsletters/Ezines/Publications," links include:

- The American Prospect
- Amazon.com Books
- Angel Times
- Blue jean magazine
- Blue Stocking
- Body Politic
- bogusmen.com
- Catt's Claws Newsletter
- The Crazy Lady Planner
- Divorcesource.com
- Every Woman's Fantasy
- Fa' GiRL (zine)
- FEMINISTA!
- The Garden Portraits and The Charnel e-zine.
- geekgirl (zine)
- Heartsong Books
- Her Heritage Maiden Name Directory
- 'How The Frog Satisfies The Princess'
- Liberated Women's Channel
- Luna Media
- Jillian Medoff
- Margo Rivera
- "Me 'n God in the Coffee Shop"
- New Age Directory
- NewsBoy, Your News Source
- The Online Noetic Network
- On the Issues (progressive women's zine)
- The Postfeminist Playground--Fiction, essays, reviews.
- Rene' Donovan's Promotion page of her book, "Me 'n God in the Coffee Shop"
- Rowena's Page.
- SHATTER THE GLASS CEILING
- CYBERSHOTS MULTIMEDIA
- GLASS GRAPHICS
- Silver Wave Records
53. PowerCandy (http://members.aol.com/Powercandy/menu.html)

First accessed: 09/17/97  Last visited: 10/10/97

A very personal zine, but also with a decidedly feminist presence. Opening page gives two graphics of the latest issues of the print zine (the page is mainly an online limited version of the print zine). From each zine, there are zine links. Links include (along with descriptions):

- Bust
- Brillo
- bitch dyke whore
- ROCKRGRL
- Johanna's Grrrl Page
- Bikini Kill
- alt.zines
- Ratgrrrl Parapraxes
- Mimi Page
- Maxi
- Action Girl Online
- Mental & Emotional Health
- DIY Search
- Zines Zines Everywhere
- Riot Grrrl Review
- The Yellow Wallpaper
- Factsheet 5
- We Go With the Kids
- Limousine
- Grrrl Love


First accessed: 09/17/97  Last visited: 10/10/97

Pro-sex feminists with no links.

55. DoLLcLoud 7 (http://www.geocities.com/SunsetStrip/4606/hq2.html)

First accessed: 09/17/97  Last visited: 11/22/97

This zine has gone into "retirement," and will probably not be updated again. But, it is still "active," in that it is still online, still gets links, etc. And it has good links as well. On the opening page, which takes a long time to load, there is a section entitled "Puttin the Grrr Back in Grrrl!" that lists several good zine links (no clicking necessary to get to this list--it's right there). Links include:
56. **Slant** ([http://members.aol.com/~slantgirl/slant.html](http://members.aol.com/~slantgirl/slant.html))

First accessed: 10/10/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

Asian-American feminist Mimi Nguyen's zine, a compact version of the print zine. Like many zines I've found, this is one subpart of a larger project (the home page). There are no links from the zine.


First accessed: 10/11/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

Jayne Loader's *(Atomic Cafe)* online "column" (zine) that's an extension of her Public Shelter website. Very interesting. No links (from WWWench, anyway).

58. **Smartypants** ([http://www.smartypantsmag.com/smartypants](http://www.smartypantsmag.com/smartypants))

First accessed: 09/23/97 Last visited: 10/11/97

At bottom of opening page, there is a graphical link bar with a link to "links." On the links page, there are graphical links to:

- GirlTech
- Moneygirl
- RiotGrrl
- Tripod

Each issue of HotGos has a “Women on the Web” section that changes from issue to issue, depending on the subject of the issue (ranging from “taboo” to “sistahood”). Hot Gos is mainly a print zine. The “WOW” section is the only section available online. No links to zines that I could find, but with the possibility of some in the future. However, since this is mainly print, that may not be likely.

**60. Anonymous** (http://www.anonymous.com)

First accessed: 10/10/97 Last visited: 10/10/97

Archives of this zine are available. This is also mainly print. In Issue 3 there is an article on zines, but there are no links.

**61. bluejean magazine** (http://www.bluejeanmag.com/welcome.html)

First accessed: 10/10/97 Last visited: 10/10/97

Directed mainly at teens as an alternative to standard teenmag fare. Ad-free magazine with a teen editorial board. Mainly print, but issues can be “sampled” online. There are no links.


First accessed: 10/10/97 Last visited: 10/10/97

Very creative and artistic, but no links. The most “zine-like zine” by older feminists?

**63. Girl Rights!** (http://www.mmotion.com/girlrights.html)

First accessed: 10/10/97 Last visited: 10/10/97

Link categories from the opening page (graphical) include:

- Music
- Feminist
- Queer
- Zines/Books/Articles
- Other

Links from Zines/Books/Articles include:

- fuck this shit
- 10things fanzine
- Bikini Kill Zines
- Social Justice Webzine
- IntrrrNrrrd
- Fat! So?
- Home Channel
- Girls Can Do Anything
- Molly’s Mind
- ROCKRGRL
- Scorn
- She’s Got the Beat
- geekgirl
- Fetch the Pliers
- NrrdGrffl/Grrrowl
- Interbang
- Body Modification
- Jett-a-queer
- Womyn's Press
- Ratgrrrl's Hideout
- Journal of Sacred Feminism

Book/Zine distros also listed include:
- SPITE! Books
- Feminist Bookstores (US & Canada)
- AK Press Distribution

Review sites listed include:
- factsheet5
- Grrrl zines
- MaximumRocknRoll zine review

Miscellaneous:
- How to Make a Fanzine

64. Ectoderm (http://qlink.queensu.ca/~3klc8/index.html)

First accessed: 10/10/97 Last visited: 10/10/97

Links (from main page) include:
- Mimi's page
- Say Hi to Seng
- Cyberboarder
- Queen's Women's Ultimate
- NrrdGrrl!
- Cybergrrrl

65. Nemesis (http://funnelweb.utcc.utk.edu/~lshoe/nemesis.htm)

Launched: 10/96

My fem-zine, it gets a link from SassyFemme and Labovitz, so by all rights, it should be included as well. Link from opening page to links page. Links include:
- RiotGrrl
- Brillo
- Bitch
- Maxi
- Bust

Of course, I will expand this in the future to include each of the 65 other zines that I found.

66. Mimi Page (MimiZine) (http://www.columbia.edu/~rli3/)

First accessed: 09/22/97 Last visited: 10/12/97

Also primarily paper. Mimi has links to zines from her second page (opening page is a graphic of Hello Kitty's head that must be clicked upon to enter). Zines lists three links under "Spring 1997 Reviews." These include:
• Spring 1997 ezines
• Other review sites
• Mimizine, my zine

From Spring 1997, Mimi has reviews of several ezines. Links + reviews for:

• Atlas
• Action Girl
• Blair
• Bust
• bodypolitic
• Cooties
• gURL
• HUES
• Jeffrey's Kick Bright Zine
• No Easy Answers
• Out Your Back Door
• pander zine distro
• tripod (a "maga-zine")

From “other review sites,” links include:

• Zines, zines everywhere
• Justice league of e-zines
• 10 things fanzine
• Factsheet 5
• John Labovitz e-zine list
• Kristy’s RiotGrrrl Review
• ‘zines zone

Mimi also has her 1995 zine reviews posted.

67. Bodypolitic

Also mainly a print zine, but with limited “mirroring” online. Links from second page (opening page is a big graphic) from “Cool Links.” Link categories include:

• People
• Punkshit
• Political/Revolutionary

There are no feminist e-zine links, but there are some good women’s resource links in the political section.

**Of course, this list is by no means exclusive or all-encompassing!!
Leigh Shoemaker was born in Owensboro, Kentucky on October 30, 1972. She attended public school in the Blount County and Maryville City school systems in Tennessee, where she graduated from Maryville High School in 1989. She received her undergraduate education at Carson-Newman College in Jefferson City, Tennessee, where she was awarded Bachelor of Arts degrees in political science and philosophy in May, 1993. She then entered the philosophy graduate program at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, officially receiving the Master of Arts degree in philosophy in December, 1995. While at UK, she was among the initial group of students to receive the Graduate Certificate in Women’s Studies. In August of 1995, she entered the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to begin work on a Master of Science degree in Information Sciences, with a concentration in Electronic Publishing. This degree was awarded in December, 1997.

Ms. Shoemaker has been publishing documents on the World Wide Web since October, 1996, and has been involved in the creation and maintenance of five websites since that time. She currently publishes her own feminist e-zine, Nemesis, and is working on creating a database of feminist e-zines for publication on the World Wide Web. She has also been a contributing writer for the print version of Bitch zine.