

## DIY PRINT ACTIVISM IN DIGITAL AGE: ZINES IN HONG KONG'S SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Kin-long **TONG**

*The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

### Abstract:

Hong Kong has experienced two of its largest social movements in history in recent years: the Umbrella Movement in 2014 and the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement in 2019, in which many artists and activists used zines as a means to participate. This article aims to explain the popularity of political zines in Hong Kong and the unique functions of zines in the digital age by interviewing zinesters, distributors, and collectors. In this article, a zine is broadly defined as an independent, not-for-profit, Do-it-Yourself form of paper publication. This article argues that unlike mainstream print media, zine production is benefited from digital transformation which can further simplify the means of production and expand distribution network. Also, this article argues that digitization and DIY culture democratize the means of publishing and Hong Kong's protest zines are the by-product of both forces. Zines have become a democratic object with passion and affection, presenting an alternative account of everyday life.

**Keywords:** Zines, Print activism, DIY culture, Umbrella Movement, Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement

September 28, 2014 is an unforgettable date to many Hong Kong citizens as it marked the beginning of the Umbrella Movement. Tens of thousands of citizens took to the streets to demand the release of the student activist Joshua Wong, as well as the right to universal suffrage of the Chief Executive. However, the police force brutally suppressed the peaceful protest using rounds of tear gas, which had triggered a widespread public outcry. The angry crowd occupied three business districts in Hong Kong: Admiralty, Causeway Bay, and Mongkok. The movement lasted for 79 days, though protesters failed to achieve democratization. The occupation zone in Admiralty was dubbed “Harcourt Village” by the protesters, as it was built along Harcourt Road. Harcourt Village was often portrayed as a utopian community, in which there were self-study rooms, lecture corners, recycling systems and patrol teams (Li and Tong, 2020). Meanwhile, arts flourished in different forms, from slogan banners, leaflets and posters to the famous “Lennon Wall” and the “Umbrella Man”. Among numerous artworks produced during that time, I was most impressed by a zine that had circulated in the movement, titled *Harcourt Village Voice* and its radical imaginations of community. It was a series of zines self-published by the protesters to document their daily life in the Harcourt Village. During and after the Umbrella Movement, zines were produced for different purposes, such as promoting political ideas and documenting the memories of the social movement.

Five years after the Umbrella Movement, in 2019, Hong Kong experienced its largest political storm in post-colonial history as the HKSAR government pushed forward a controversial extradition bill which would allow the extradition of Hong Kong citizens to Mainland China. People were anxious that the Chinese government would utilize the bill to arrest political dissidents in Hong Kong. A million people marched

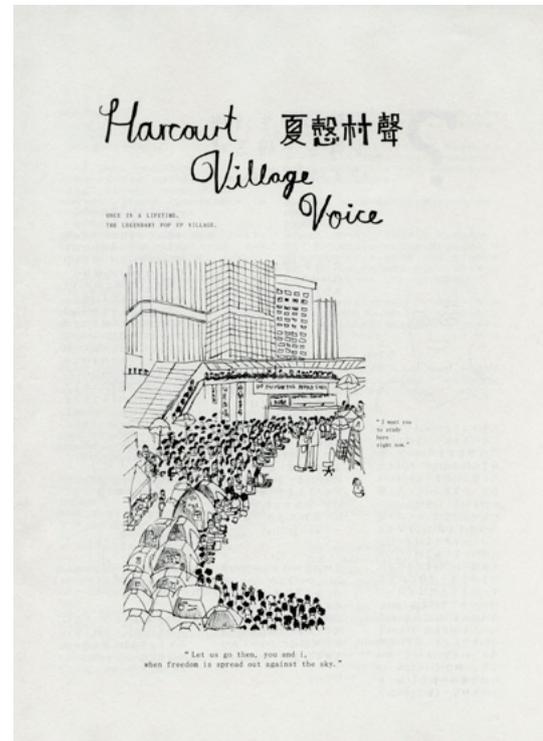


Figure 1: *Harcourt Village Voice*. Source: Artiquette Press

on the streets on June 9. On June 12, there was a class boycott assembly that was eventually suppressed by the police force with rubber bullets and tear gas. The Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement (The Anti-ELAB Movement) has lasted for months and morphed into a broader democracy movement, as the protesters have put forward their Five Demands, including universal suffrage. The movement has not yet ended by the end of November 2019.

In a similar vein to 2014, the current movement is characterized by the protesters' creative use of textual

and multi-media materials. Zine-making is also a common tool for protesters to express their political views. Some impressive examples include *You Are Born to be Romantic*, published by artist Siu Ding, and the zine series made by the US-based 6am Projects. In connection with the Anti-ELAB Movement, a local art group called ZINE COOP launched a series of zines exhibitions, titled "*Freedom-Hi! Zines from Hong Kong's Civil Movements*" in more than 15 cities.

In this case study, a 'zine' is broadly defined as an independent and Do-it-Yourself (DIY) form of paper publication (Kempson, 2015). This article aims to explain the popularity of political zine production in Hong Kong in recent years, and the unique role that zines play in the digital age. To tackle these questions, I have analyzed more than 100 zines from the Asia Art Archive and from my private collection. I have also interviewed

zinesters, archivists, book store owners and zine lovers. Using the theoretical framework of "DIY Print Activism," this article argues that unlike mainstream print media, zine production has largely benefited from digital transformation, which can further simplify the means of production and expand the distribution network. Moreover, the DIY nature of zine allows the artists to be able to instantly respond to the ongoing political crises, and foster a greater extent of communicative participation in the social movement.

## DIY PRINT ACTIVISM

The term "zine" was coined in the 1930s and was subsequently popularized by punk fans in the 1980s (Radway, 2011). There is a substantial body of scholarship on zine production in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in particular, feminist zines. Many scholars theorize zines



Figure 2: Examples of the protest zines in Anti-Extradition Bill Movement.

Source: Zine COOP

as “resistive texts” that challenge the mainstream media narratives (Schilit, 2003; Kempson 2015). For instance, Freedman (2009) points out third wave feminists used zines as a tool to explore and expound upon a wide variety of viewpoints, while nurturing shared openness and connectedness among the community. Meanwhile, Spiers (2015) examines the zines produced by the ‘riot grrls’ in the US in the 1990s and she similarly argues that zine production has engendered a sense of intimacy and solidarity among the zinesters against the backdrop of the oppressive socio-cultural environment.

Despite the immense scholarly efforts made by the researchers, there are still some missing puzzle pieces in the research dealing with zine production and consumption in the digital age, especially when taking into consideration the fact that zine production continues to flourish in the 21st century. For example, the DIY movement gave rise to a new wave of production of feminist zines in the UK (Kempson, 2015). In fact, the aforementioned Hong Kong’s protest zine production has been blooming very rapidly as well. There are a number of articles that explain the popularity and role of zines in recent years. Chidgey (2009) investigates the distribution network of the international Grrrl Zine Network, and she argues that zine makers and distributors have formed an alternative political economy which is sustained by emotional capital and egalitarianism. Approaching zine production from a pedagogical perspective, Desyllas and Sinclair (2014) argue that zine-making can be an educative tool to achieve empowerment and transformation of the self. However, the questions that seem yet unexplored are those that deal with the connection between zine production and political expression. Precisely why do the zine makers use printed zines as a tool of political expression? And how do the zine makers adapt to the changes in the digital age? To fill the research gap, this article would use the theoretical framework of “DIY Print Activism” to analyze the rise of zine production and consumption in the

digital age, using the case study of Hong Kong’s social movements (Umbrella Revolution 2014 and the 2019 Anti-ELAB Movement). In a book she edited, *Modern Print Activism in the United States*, Schreiber (2013) develops the term “print activism” from a historical perspective. She argues that industrialization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had advanced print technologies and expanded the distribution networks of printed materials. Thus, the print media, from pamphlets to newspapers, played an important political role in the past two centuries in shaping the citizens’ political subjectivity: the activists utilized different printed channels to enhance their voices, spread political ideas, gain support, construct mobilization networks and shape group identities.

Yet, from her observation and analysis of the Arab Spring and the Occupy Movement, Schreiber (2013) presumed the significance of print activism would fade in the age of networked media, as she noted that “print media is no longer the central medium for eliciting engagement with various activist causes” (p. 1). Schreiber’s observation is partially valid when it comes to tracing the decline of newspaper production in different countries which is largely due to the inflexibility of print media production and the competition with new digital media (Nielsen, 2015). However, Schreiber underestimates the variety of print media: zine production is different to mainstream print media in terms of purpose, targeted audience and mode of production. Despite Schreiber’s erroneous assumption about the fading out of print activism, her framework can still be useful for understanding zine production, as it highlights the importance of modes of production and the functionality of print media. Her framework can be revised to respond to the unique context of digital age and DIY nature of zine production, especially within the socio-political context of Hong Kong.

The modes of zine production, in terms of creation, distribution and community building, have been fundamentally transformed in the digital age, and its DIY nature also gives the media perform some unique functions. Nguyen (2016) theorizes that DIY culture refers to mass amateurization that democratizes knowledge and innovation. Ratto and Boler (2014) argue that the DIY culture has reshaped the international politics as it can be seen in global upheavals. They regard "making things" in public sphere as a potential form of horizontal, participatory, and direct democracy. This article argues that zines, as a product of DIY culture" can be perceived as a democratic object against the mainstream media as well as the authoritarian government in Hong Kong. This article contributes to the broad literature of social movement studies and print culture conducting a case study of Hong Kong's protest zines through the prism of "DIY print activism" theoretical framework.

## THE TRANSFORMATION OF HONG KONG'S ZINE-SCENE

Hong Kong has a long printing industry history and the earliest newspaper titled Chinese Serial, was first published in 1853 (Zhao and Sun, 2018). Due to the Chinese Civil War in 1946-49, a number of capitalist entrepreneurs, printers and journalists fled to Hong Kong, leading to the sudden bloom of the printing industry in the 1950s. Both commercial and political press expanded quickly in the 1960s, owing to the expansion of the population. At the same time, a number of non-mainstream publications emerged as well, such as literary magazine *Modern Edition* (Ho Mon Kok) and a left-wing publication called *Pan Ku Magazine*.

The well-developed printing industry provided fertile soil for zine production. There was ample support

from the auxiliary industries, such as printing factories, as well as a large pool of publishing practitioners, including writers, illustrators and designers. There was also a large supporting base of well-nurtured readers. While rock music spread across the globe, zine culture also reached East Asia and had an impact on a small group of young people. In 1975, Sam Jor founded *Music Week*, one of the first music magazines in Hong Kong, which introduced the city to rock music (Standnews, 2015). In 1980s, while a wide variety of music magazines like *Monitor* (Jor Ting Hei), *Good Time Magazine*, and *Swing Biweekly* (Yiubai), competed with each other in the mainstream market, independent publishing also became more popular among music fans (Standnews 2016). *Blackbird: A Living Song* was one of the earliest zines in Hong Kong published by radical left-wing artists Mok Chiu-yu in 1986, introducing the story of a political rock band Black Bird (Asia Art Archive, accessed 2019).

A new wave of zine mania exploded in Hong Kong in 2012. That year, an independent publishing house, Small Tune Press, was founded and a gallery Odd One Out began to subsequently sell zines in 2012. Print Studio Ink'chacha opened in 2013 and imported a Risograph machine that enabled more flexible ways of art printing. While some artists produced personal zines for self-expression and life writing, many artists used zines as a medium to raise social awareness. For example, SEE Network made *Market Post* to arouse discussion on the wet market policy in 2013. An art group Woofer Ten published 15 issues of *Woofer Post* to document everyday life in Yau Ma Tei, an old business district in Kowloon, from 2012 to 2013. In this way, technological advancements that allowed for more efficient printing of (maga)zines went hand in hand with the increasing popularization of zines as new platforms for the expression and spread of socio-political ideas.

When the Umbrella Movement broke out in 2014, it signaled the beginning of a golden age of political zine production in Hong Kong, as many artists became involved in the movement through zine making. Established in 2014, Artiquette Press was the most active independent publishing house in the movement, producing two issues of *Harcourt Village Voice* to record the daily life of occupants. They published 3000 copies of each issue and distributed them for free to the occupants of the Harcourt Village. In 2015, they also produced three illustration books to commemorate the movement including *The Good, the Bad and the Umbrellian*, *Harcourt Village Scroll*, and *Umbrella Chronicle*. Other notable examples include Jeffrey Yeung incorporating "Umbrella Movement A-Z" in the fourth issue of his zine series titled, *YEUNGYET*, and the visual artists Angel Tsui producing a question and questionnaire zine called *20 Question Marks and Exclamation Marks*, in 2015. Although the Umbrella Movement failed to bring about any significant political reforms, it has nevertheless inspired many citizens to participate in social affairs and promote democratic values on a grassroots level, which includes zine production and design.

Since 2014, Hong Kong's zine-scene has expanded quickly. On one hand, many young activists self-publish to reach out to members of the community. One example includes the district councilor Kwong Po Yin distributing *Whampaper* to inform the residents of the latest development in the Whampoo district since 2015. Eason Chung, a student leader in the Umbrella Movement, opened an indie bookstore Living Bookspace in 2016. On the other hand, zine makers started to establish a collaborative network. ZINE COOP was founded in 2017 as an indie publishing artist collective that offers assistance with zine making and distribution, as well as connection between artists and potential readers. When the Anti-ELAB Movement exploded in June 2019, there was an eruption of protest zines in Hong Kong. By

the end of November 2019, ZINE COOP has included 36 zines into their exhibition catalogue, from the pocket-size *Not a Yellow Object* by Pop&Zebra to A3 size *Only the Good Lives Well* by Artiquette Press. The zines cover a wide variety of themes, from private lives and social documentation, to toolkits and political propaganda. Jeffrey Yeung wrote about the dialogue with his daughter in his work titled *In the Million People Protest, My Daughter Asked Me* while illustrator Inksundae produced two toolkits for citizens *Family Relationship Rescue* and *Weekday Relax*. There are many zines that have not been included in the collection by ZINE COOP, such as *Echo*, which was made by a group of anonymous students from The Chinese University of Hong Kong, where they share their experience of interviewing people with different political standpoints. Furthermore, the Anti-ELAB Movement has already enhanced the international profile of Hong Kong's zine scene. ZINE COOP has toured their exhibition of Hong Kong's protest zines in the following 15 cities across the globe, for instance Vancouver, Taipei, Melbourne, New York and London.

## MODES OF PRODUCTION IN THE DIGITAL ERA

To understand the zine mania throughout the 2010s, one should not neglect the historical legacy of the printing and publishing industry in the pre-digital era. To this day, in the industrial neighborhoods of Hong Kong, there are still many printing companies that provide cheap services. According to an interview with the ZINE COOP co-founder Forrest Lau (December 4, 2019), many zinesters have fostered close relationships with printing companies. Although he himself prefers Risograph printing by the print studios Ink'chacha or DotDotDot Studio, many zinesters use traditional off-set printing methods or digital printing. They can produce zines at a very low cost, as they can fully utilize the underused resources of the traditional

printing companies. Apart from that, some zinesters have also received professional training in traditional publishing houses or press, for example, Patsy Cheng, the author of *Market Post*, has previously worked as a senior reporter for *Oriental Daily*, a bestselling newspaper in Hong Kong. Forrest Lau has worked for a mainstream magazine and Atom Cheung, also the co-founder of ZINE COOP and one of the interviewees for this case, was a writer who contributed to literary journals. A prominent publishing industry has also established a strong reader base and a network of independent bookstores for wider zine distribution. Also, akin to the print activism in 19th and 20th centuries (Schreiber, 2013), zine mania in the 2010s can be explained from a socio-economic perspective. The modes of zine production have been fundamentally transformed in the digital age, as the process of zine-making has been simplified and zine-distribution extended. Past generations of

zine makers typically produced hand-written texts and drawings, using cut and paste methods to put zines together. On one hand, *Woofers Post* by Woofers Tan and the zines by Artiquette Press also take a similar approach to zine making. At the same time, however, many zine makers mix traditional methods of production with the use of digital tools. While some professionals like Forrest Lau utilize Adobe InDesign to lay out publications quickly, many zine makers, particularly illustrators, simply use platforms such as social media Instagram as zine publishing tools. During the course of the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement, some illustrators upload their paintings onto Instagram and then proceed to print out square-shaped pocket-sized zines, in order to speed up the process of publication. Some notable examples include the drawings by Venusphilosophy, Inksundae and DingVillage Fiberboard.

Although zine production has become significantly more accessible through non-professionalized channels, the distribution of zines has also moved beyond the limits of pre-digital age. Conventionally, the circulation of zines has somewhat been restricted to certain communities bound by common interests, such as that of fans (Freedman, 2009). In general, Hong Kong zinesters use three different modes of distribution. The first mode is the conventional model of giving out the printed zines in certain districts or communities for free. For example, Artiquette Press only circulated the *Harcourt Village Voices* in the "Harcourt Village" as they regarded the zines as newspapers belonging to the "villagers". The second mode of distribution is the sale of printed zines both offline and online. Zinesters can supply the various independent bookstores dotted across Hong Kong with their zines. A few examples of such independent stores include Odd One Out, ACO, Kubrick and Living Bookspace, among others. They can also choose to sell the works online through their own websites or social

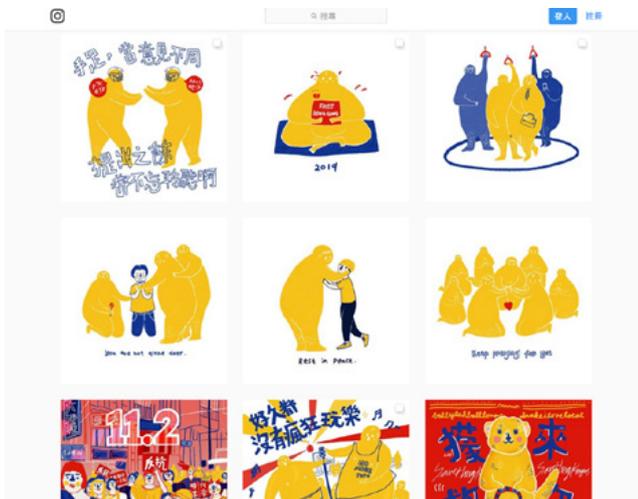


Figure 3. venusphilosophy Instagram Page

Source: venusphilosophy, [www.instagram.com/venusphilosophy/](http://www.instagram.com/venusphilosophy/)

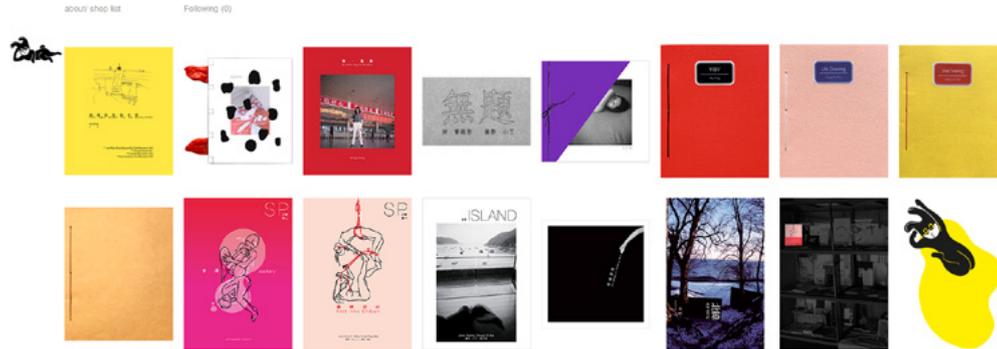


Figure 4: Soft D Press online shop  
Source: [www.softdpress.com](http://www.softdpress.com)

media pages. Zinester Jeffrey Yeung founded an online zine store named Tothepowerofz in 2015. Siu Ding, one of the interviewees and also the founder of Soft D Press, also established her own online store.

The last but the most interesting mode of distribution is “dropbox circulation,” which is the preferred method of zine circulation for the protest-themed zines in the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement. The main reason is that protest zines are not only meant for entertainment consumption, but they also act as the means of spreading out political messages and responding to specific political movements and changes. The US-based artist group, 6am Projects, distributed some of the best zines in the movement using a Dropbox. By December 2019, they had produced five issues of protest zines for the movement and all for their works used movement slogans as titles, such as, *Liberate Hong Kong, Revolution of Our Times*. Each issue was compiled with reminiscent pictures of the movement and quotes from international journalists. In their Instagram bio(graphy), 6am Projects writes, “Feel free to download and print anything in our GDrive” (6am Project, 2019). This is also an example of a common sharing practice among Instagram-based zinesters, including aforementioned LOSZEHANA. With

the use of digital storage spaces such as Dropbox, the circulation of zines can be vastly expanded as Hong Kong zine lovers can easily consume, engage with, and contribute to the zines made by foreign artists like 6am Projects.

In some cases, collectors print out copies of zines for display and distribution. According to the interviewees from ZINE COOP, they also collect e-zines downloaded from Dropbox and they bring along the printed zines to book fairs and international exhibitions. Interestingly, Asia Art Archive, an independent non-profit organization dedicated to contemporary Asian arts, also engages in similar practices. Sam, an archivist and one of the interviewees, revealed that archivists usually print the zines, so they can catalogue and display the materials for pedagogical and research purposes (December 3, 2019). During the interview, we exchanged and compared our zines collections. Although we printed the same original file, the final printed products did not look alike, because we used different materials, printers, inks and papers. According to my interview with some anonymous zine collectors, they can add their own creative elements by binding and pasting

stickers when they print the zines downloaded from Dropbox. Printing an e-zine is an integral part of the creation process and it allows the zine collectors to exercise individuality in the mechanical production of print products.

Undoubtedly, with the zinesters' creative use of Instagram and Dropbox, zine production has become more convenient, extensive, and interesting; whereas the emergence and spread of online stores and Facebook pages also increase the distribution points and popularize zine culture. In this way, zines therefore become a quick tool for the artist to communicate with the public and intervene in the socio-political movements, both local and global.

### THE SPIRIT OF DIY PRINTING

However, apart from taking into consideration the various modes of production, it is equally important to note that zine-making is also appealing to activists because it has some unique features and specific functions that other mediums do not possess. Benjamin Leung, the editor of *Harcourt Village Voice*, reminded us the rebellious nature of zines:

*«Zines emerged out of the punk culture in the 1970s and were created to strengthen solidarity of marginalized communities. They were founded on principles of anti-establishment and disobedience. The spirit of zine-making is especially applicable to the situation in Harcourt Village during the Umbrella Movement»* (personal interview, December 24, 2019).

In fact, while Schreiber (2013) points out those print materials are important tools for activists to spread political ideas and gain public support, the protest zines in Hong Kong can perform similar, or even better, functions. As emphasized by a ZINE COOP member, "compared to traditional media channels,

a zine is responsive, affordable and effective" (cited in Raicovich, 2019). Zinesters can respond to the ongoing current crises instantly because they are not constrained by any "standard" rules of zine-making. They can skip through the bureaucratic procedures and tedious processes of proofreading and copy-editing a process which one ZINE COOP member described using the Hong Kong protest movement "be water" metaphor, to stress the liquidity and flexibility of Hong Kong zine production. He stated that: "We have to 'be water,' and inject our creativity into this movement" (*ibid.*).

Moreover, digitization and DIY culture democratize the means of publishing and Hong Kong's protest zines are the by-product of both forces. Ratto and Boler (2004) argues that DIY ethos constitute "practices of horizontal, participatory and direct democracy" (p. 1). In fact, zines can be regarded as symbols of democratic practice in everyday life because their existence and modes of production reject the rules set by institutions such as the mainstream media, publishing houses and academia. Beatrix Pang, the founder of Small Tune Press, stated in an interview that "there is no teacher, and we basically learn [from] each other" (cited in Okazaki, 2017). During the personal interview conducted in December 2019 for research purposes, Forrest Lau revealed that:

*«[he] felt suffocated when working for mainstream publishing houses, and creating zines has become a source and space for artistic liberation. I can truly exercise my craftsmanship through this medium.»* (personal interview, December 4, 2019).

In comparison with traditional print products, Forrest Lau, as a self-publisher, described zines as grassroots objects, produced with passion and affection. This radical sense of artistic liberation and affection for the final product makes zines a powerful tool to challenge the hegemonic narratives of mainstream media, which are governed by an authoritarian logic of neoliberal capitalism. On one hand, self-publishing can be regarded as a political act

in itself within the socio-political context of Hong Kong, the only Chinese city that enjoys the freedom of press and the freedom of speech. In our interview, Siu Ding repeatedly reinforced that she was exercising her civil rights when explaining the reasons why she founded Soft D Press (December 5, 2019). It reminded me of the first issue of protest zines published by Gam Projects in the Anti-ELAB movement, *This Is Hong Kong, Not China... Not Yet* (2019).

Some zinesters also share their private stories within the wider social movements; *In the Million People Protest, My Daughter Asked Me...* is the most popular and heartfelt zine in the Anti-ELAB movement, as it documents the dialogue between a father and his daughter in a protest. In the zine, the anonymous author (2019) expressed the most private feelings and apologized to his daughter:

*Daddy must apologize to you that your Sunday wasn't more fun or comfortable. My daughter, your tantrum in the MTR on the way home cried out to your mummy and I that you had reached breaking point... I was so mad at myself, yet in a time like this, what can I do to protect my family and stand for our precious rights and freedoms* (p.4).

*Salty Wet* is a bold and experimental attempt made by Tiffany Sia (2019), an issue that is compiled of sexually explicit photos from an adult magazine *Lung Fu Pao* published in 1989 during the social movements in support of the June Fourth Movement in Mainland China. These kinds of stories would never be told by mainstream media, the mainstream media in Hong Kong or indeed China, as the narratives that are broadcast are controlled and manipulated by pro-government forces or neoliberal capitalist logic, which leaves little space for individual voices to be heard.

A zine, on the other hand, is an affective object that invites the creators to inject their 'soul' into a physical form. Odd One Out artist Yiyu Lam said that

a zine is an "intimate vehicle" through which she can communicate her feelings (cited in Okazaki, 2017). Similarly, Siu Ding portrayed zine-making as a therapeutic experience, through which she relieves herself of the trauma of state violence she encountered in the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-ELAB Movement (personal interview, December 5, 2019). This intimate relationship between people and the medium differentiates zines from new media and commercial print products. Atom Cheung believes that media articles are informative and tend to fade out in



Figure 5. «Salty Wet» by Tiffany Sia  
Source: Inpatient Press, [inpatientpress.bigcartel.com/product/salty-wet-by-t](http://inpatientpress.bigcartel.com/product/salty-wet-by-t)

nanoseconds while zines are emotional and affective, thus serving as memory archives that will trigger people's memories in the future (personal interview, December 3, 2019). Siu Ding shared a personal story about the Anti-ELAB movement:

*I was passing by a tram station one day and saw that the sanitation workers were cleaning up the graffiti and posters put up by the protesters. I believe that the government will eliminate any trace of their resistance, by any means possible, and I have to resist that.*

Thus, a zine, in her opinion, is essentially a proof of existence of a particular socio-political struggle. Their lives and emotions are stored in an individualistically crafted printed medium, as if in a time capsule, demonstrating to generations to come that these events did occur at some point in history, and that they bore witness to them.

## CONCLUSION

During the personal interviews conducted in 2019 for the case study in question, many of the interlocutors communicated that they feel optimistic about the future of zine production, as they believe that zines are irreplaceable. The arrival of the digital age does not necessarily bring the death of traditional print media; on the contrary, it marks the transformation in its fundamental modes of production. Digital transformation only further popularizes self-publishing, makes it more convenient and perhaps contributes to the distribution and rapid dissemination of visually stunning materials, such as the zines that were produced during the Anti-ELAB Movement, which were collected and exhibited in various venues both in Hong Kong and elsewhere. Both digitization and DIY culture have democratized the means of publishing and allowed the zinesters to break traditional rules of the publishing industry.

Zines have become a democratic object that presents an alternative account of everyday life and the zinesters have essentially injected their 'soul' into the works. In the interview, Atom Cheung used the word "exquisite goods in the digital age. This idea is somehow echoed by Chidgey (2009), who argues that zinesters and distributors have formed an alternative 'gift economy' which demonstrates emotional affect and egalitarianism. The affective power of zines has leveraged the political power of this medium - zines are important because they are aesthetically beautiful and emotionally persuasive. In fact, most of the zines pertaining to the Umbrella Movement and the Anti-ELAB Movement stimulate our thinking about the complex facets of collective resistance and political realities. *Harcourt Village Voices* was the first batch of political zines that I have collected. At the end of the final issue, Benjamin Leung (2014), one of the interviewees and the editor of the zine, left the readers with the following words:

*If Harcourt Village is a village, then we should have our own press, which solely works for the villagers here... The aim of Harcourt Village Voice is to document the life and culture of the villagers, as well as to commemorate our collective resistance and imagination of the community. We want to prove to the people in future: there was once a Harcourt Village in Hong Kong (p. 47).*

Zine culture will prevail in the future and political zines will continue to serve as affective objects that will prove that people once tried to rebel for a better world.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Chidney, Red (2009) Free, Trade: Distribution Economies in Feminist Zine Networks, *Signs* 35(1): 28-37
- Desyllas, Moshoula Capous and Sinclair, Allison (2014) Zine-making as a Pedagogical Tool for Transformative Learning in Social Work Education, *Social Work Education* 33(3): 296-316
- Freedman, Jenna (2009) Grrrl Zines in the Library, *Signs* 35(1): 52-59
- Kempson, Michelle (2015) "My Version of Feminism": Subjectivity, DIY and the Feminist Zine, *Social Movement Studies* 14(4): 459-472.

- Li, Cho-Kiu and Tong, Kin-Long (2020, forthcoming), "We are Safer without the Police": Hong Kong Protestors Building a Community for Safety, *Radical History Review* (137).
- Leung, Benedict (2014) "Editor's Note" In *Harcourt Village Voice*, Issue 2, ed. Benedict Leung, Hong Kong, Artiquette Press, 2014, 45.
- Nielsen, Rasmus Kleis (ed.) (2015) *Local Journalism: the Decline of Newspapers and the Rise of Digital Media*, London, I.B. Tauris.
- Nguyen, Josef (2016) Make Magazine and the Social Reproduction of DIY Science and Technology, *Cultural Politics* 12(2): 233-252.
- Okazaki, Manami (2017) Why Hong Kong Artists and Activists Are Turning to Zines in the Digital Age, *South China Morning Post*, November 25.
- Radway, Janice (2011) Zines, Half-Lives, and Afterlives: On the Temporalities of Social and Political Change, *PMLA*, 126 (1): 140-150.
- Raicovich, Laura (2019) In Hong Kong, Protestors Are Using Zines to Get Their Messages Out, *Hyperallergic*, August 29.
- Ratto, M. and Boler, M. (2014) "Introduction". In Matt Ratto and Megan Boler (eds), *DIY Citizenship: Critical Making and Social Media*, London, MIT Press.
- Schilt, K. (2003) "I'll Resist with Every Inch and Every Breath": Girls and Zine Making as a Form of Resistance, *Youth & Society*, 35, 71-97.
- Schreiber, R. (Ed.) (2013) *Modern Print Activism in the United States*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Spiers, E. (2015) "Killing Ourselves is Not Subversive": Riot Grrrl from Zine to Screen and the Commodification of Female Transgression. *Women: A Cultural Review* 26 (1-2): 1-21.
- Standnews* (2015) "Music Week: Keep It Rock and Roll" (Yum Nok Yat Chau: Kai Chuk Yiu Gwan), May 8.
- Standnews* (2016) "A Cultural Archeology of the 1980s" (Pak Sup Lin Doi Man Fa Hau Ku), May 8.
- Zhao, Yunze and Sun, Ping (2018) *A History of Journalism and Communication in China*, New York, Routledge.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I'm extremely grateful to the constructive comments given by Maria Romanova. I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to Katrien Jacobs, Andrew Guthrie, Judy Wu, Zita Lam, Jumbo Tsang, Elmo Gonzaga, and all the interviewees, especially Forrest Lau.

Kin-long Tong is a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Cultural and Religious Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong.