

Megan Connor

# “I Think I Have Some in a Box in My Closet”: Constructing Archives in Magazine Research

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## Abstract

*Where have all the magazines gone? This article traces my own experiences attempting to locate and construct a specific archive, namely mainstream teen magazines published between 2000–2009, and provide a record and road-map for those that might attempt similar archival magazine scholarship in the future. I outline the limitations of existing formal and scholarly archives, including the overreliance on text-based archives to document a visual medium, and the logistical challenges of storing and maintaining such an archive. I detail my experiences with non-academic archives from ‘official’ sources of magazine publishers to ‘non-official’ fan websites, demonstrating how different types of archives are shaped by their different priorities and the labor of individual collector-archivists.*

“...making archives is frequently where our knowledge production begins.”

Kate Eichhorn<sup>1</sup>

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As a graduate student beginning my dissertation research in 2018, I landed on teen magazines as the ideal archive to explore the construction of celebrity girlhood during the twenty-first century. I imagined surrounding myself with stacks of bright, candy-colored glossy magazines like *Seventeen*, *CosmoGIRL*, and *Teen Vogue*; they would be rich in content for deep textual and visual analysis, additionally activating my nostalgic memories of reading them as a teenager in the 2000s. However, this archive I imagined only existed in piecemeal, and much of it was entirely non-existent. Collecting a usable archive required almost a year of searching through physical libraries and online databases, and expanding to less ‘official’ archival spaces like publishing companies, fan websites, and personal connections. While the thrust of my dissertation project has remained more-or-less the same, the labor of building such a research archive has also transformed my research to examine the questions of archiving of women’s and girls’ media. More importantly, I now ask: what makes a feminist archive?

The work of building a missing archive also becomes the work of justifying the importance of such an archive. Magazines, whether weekly or monthly in nature, are structured to be consumed ephemerally, resisting preservation in the way that

other media texts do not. Yet, many publications have been preserved, depending on their supposed cultural significance. Maryanne Dever notes that institutions “continue to make assumptions about the current and projected needs of researchers and these in turn shape priorities concerning the acquisition, processing, conservation and digitization of particular archival materials.”<sup>2</sup> By Dever’s logic, hierarchies of preservation are established such that contemporary teen magazines, which serve a young, female readership and have yet to mature into historical significance, have not been given space in the archive. This is not just recency bias; neither *Jackie* nor *Just-Seventeen*, subjects of Angela McRobbie’s foundation cultural studies work on the youth cultures of working class girls in the UK, has been particularly well-preserved.<sup>3</sup>

I argue that we should continue to rectify this oversight, as teen magazines can serve as a beneficial research archive for scholars working across the cultural industries. Penny Tinkler, a magazine scholar, describes the form as complex and “heterogeneous”; the list of considerations she includes is best reproduced in full:

...they are composed of different types of content: fiction, features, editorials,

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advertisements, pictures and so on. This composite form is integrated according to editorial policies and objects, and it is managed through design practices which include layout, the positioning and style of captions and the use of images and color. Magazine are not, however, necessarily coherent or tidy, in part because of their composite form. Their pages often harbor diversity, inconsistency, contradiction, and tension. They also mediate competing objectives (for instance, providing satisfaction and generating need) and different interests and viewpoints (those of publishers, editors, readers, advertisers). Adding to this complexity, magazines simultaneously promote femininity as natural and as something that needs to be achieved. Their constructions of femininity maintain continuity but they also respond to social and cultural change.<sup>4</sup>

Teen magazines, then, serve as a nexus of girls' media culture, able to provide insight on the shifting terrain of girlhood in almost any direction, from fashion and beauty, femininity and sexuality, to the advertising and marketing of other media texts and celebrities. Teen magazines are further tightly intertwined with other media industries as they must maintain relationships with many competing parties from one issue to the next, such as which celebrity might land the coveted cover placement any given month. At no time has this been more the case than at the turn of the twenty-first century, when concurrent intensifications of celebrity culture and girl culture in the US resulted in a tripling of the number of publications in the early 2000s. The period also became the "last gasp" of traditional magazine publishing, as the industry formed new partnerships to survive in an increasingly digital world.

This article first discusses relevant scholarship on feminist archiving in both content and practice, noting how girls' media studies might continue to expand this work. I then trace my own experiences attempting to locate and construct a specific archive, namely mainstream teen magazines published between 2000-2009, and provide a record and roadmap for those that might attempt similar archival magazine scholarship in the future. I outline the limitations of existing formal

and scholarly archives, including the overreliance on text-based archives to document a visual medium, and the logistical challenges of storing and maintaining such an archive. I also detail my experiences with non-academic archives from 'official' sources of magazine publishers to 'non-official' fan websites, demonstrating how different types of archives are shaped by their different priorities and the labor of individual collector-archivists.

### What is a Feminist Archive?

Since the so-called "archival turn" in the humanities and social sciences, in which scholars have turned their attention to the dynamics of power in how the archive is constructed and studied, the question of feminist archiving has become a frequent one. Alex Bevan's recent case study of pin-up hair tutorials on YouTube as a counterarchive succinctly addresses the current thinking, citing the foundational work of Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault defining the archive as "the institutional assignment of value to a collection of texts," For her, feminist archiving is "part of a long-term project of recuperation that inserts subjugated groups into history when they've been erased from popular historical narratives."<sup>5</sup> Because archives have often acted as historically patriarchal institutions of power, many feminist archivists and archival collections have organized themselves around representations of previously underserved groups, such as collections focusing on women and girls.

In their study of historical women's television programming in the UK, Rachel Moseley and Helen Wheatley also directly pose the question, "is archiving a feminist issue?"<sup>6</sup> They argue that questions of what merits archiving, namely, "the question of the relative attractions of the ordinary and the exceptional, the everyday and the newsworthy" is frequently gendered.<sup>7</sup> That is to say, "ordinary" television programming, particularly daytime television programs that are produced for and watched by female audiences, are less often considered worthy of preservation. Moseley and Wheatley provide the example of the BBC's *Leisure and Pleasure* (1951-1955), from which only a few clips have survived. They note that one of these few surviving segments from 1954 includes an interview with Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the first female president of the United Nations

General Assembly and sister of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. The segment demonstrates a much wider range of women's role in public life, positioning female viewers as citizens and not just consumers, and challenges our preexisting ideas of 1950s women's television and femininity. However, many *Leisure and Pleasure* segments on cooking, fashion, shopping, and childcare, which Moseley and Wheatley argue are vital to understanding television's operation as a "technology of gender," have not been preserved in the archive.<sup>8</sup>

The question of the feminist archive often depends on what exactly each scholar asking it defines as feminist. In the introduction to her piece on feminist archiving, Kate Eichhorn questions if a conference entitled "Archiving Women," considered women as an archival object, or the active subject doing the archiving.<sup>9</sup> We must then ask what we mean by "feminist" in feminist archiving: is it the archive itself, or our praxis in approaching the archive? This seems a particular issue in girls' (and women's) media studies, where an emphasis has been given to collecting works that are explicitly feminist and political in nature for archival purposes. Eichhorn's work serves as an example: she connects her personal feminist archiving to a larger project of feminist activism, including the Barnard College Zine Library and the Bingham Center Zine Collections at Duke University. These collections are both activism and deeply personal, as "feminist collectors and archivists of [her] generation [seek] safe public homes for their personal collections."<sup>10</sup> Beyond Eichhorn, there is a dominant strain of archival labor and academic inquiry in girls' media studies have been focused on girls' political activism, such as riot grrrl culture and zine-making.<sup>11</sup>

This is not to say that scholarship on popular girls' media culture does not exist. Many girls' studies scholars have examined teen magazines from a range of perspectives, including Angela McRobbie's previously mentioned work on UK girls' youth culture, Kelley Massoni's excellent history of the early years of *Seventeen* magazine, and Dawn H. Currie's work on teen magazine readers.<sup>12</sup> Mary Celeste Kearney notes in her overview of the field of girls' studies that communication scholars have been primarily interested in teen magazines, as a primary medium produced for and consumed by teen girls.<sup>13</sup> These scholars often use content analysis to identify scripts—depictions

of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior patterns—of femininity and sexuality in magazine content, using regular monthly magazine features like advice columns and quizzes. However, one of the major limitations of this scholarship is the use of small or targeted samples of magazine content, in particular the overreliance on *Seventeen* as a stand-in. As the longest-running US teen magazine (beginning publication in 1944), *Seventeen* is a convenient archive for these scholars, especially given the interest in tracking changing scripts over time through longitudinal content analysis.<sup>14</sup> Penny Tinkler argues against this vein and method of magazine research as a "fragmentary approach." Tinkler further refers to the teen magazine scholarship cited above as "cherry-picking,"—i.e. thematically fragmentary—in that only the relevant content on specific topics (e.g. sexual health, body image, etc.) is analyzed without broader contextualization of the full magazine issue.<sup>15</sup> "Fragmentary" is doubly meaningful for magazine archives as they are *literally* fragmentary: archives rarely include a complete or even undefaced run of issues. Scholars must then rely on the few issues or publications they have access to, like *Seventeen*, which is fully digitally archived in ProQuest's Women's Magazines II Collection. Instead, Tinkler proposes an inclusive research methodology that views women's and girls' magazines as "complex cultural products," which includes mapping periodical provision both laterally and longitudinally and through a holistic approach to magazine content.<sup>16</sup> In particular, the archival preservation of a wider range of teen magazine publications could achieve a lateral mapping across the genre, which Tinkler suggests is vital to understanding the market construction and wider discourses of girlhood.

Finally, Marika Cifor and Stacy Wood have argued that feminist archiving must aim for more beyond the representations of women in archives, by also engaging fully with feminist praxis that recognizes the labor of archive collection and maintenance as gendered. This work is "routinely feminized" and broadly devalued as such.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, scholars like Maryanne Dever and Stacie Williams have noted that archival labor is "rooted historically in sexism, racism, ableism, and classism."<sup>18</sup> The work of creating a feminist archive of teen magazines is then twofold: to expand and preserve knowledge of girls' media cultures

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and to further recognize and legitimate the labor of building such archives. The rest of this article outlines the current state and limitations of teen magazines archives, and then suggests alternative avenues toward archive-building outside the academy. These alternative archives also merit greater attention for their archival labor, and as potential collaborators, building new methodologies and approaches to archiving in our own scholarly work.

### No Pictures, No Space, and Other Limits of the Archive

Archives of teen magazines exist in many academic institutions and online databases, providing what appears to be a wealth of materials for researchers to draw on. Databases like GenderWatch, MAS Ultra, MasterFILE Premier, and Middle Search Plus include many of the teen magazines I originally planned to examine in my dissertation. However, these archives are text-based, providing a record of only the written words on each page, which flattens their complex, visual form. I argue that to study these magazines using only text-based archives is to do them a disservice, and can never provide a nuanced understanding of their content or how they are interpreted by readers.

Teen magazines in particular privilege the visual over the written word. Many pages of magazines are wholly dominated by images, such that archiving only their text becomes nonsensical. For example, a two-page spread titled "Shopping Spree: 20 Green Fashion Finds" in the May 2009 issue of *Teen Vogue* results in a simple list of products, their cost, and a website at which to purchase them when accessing the MAS Complete archive online. Images, if they are referenced at all, are listed as "PHOTO (COLOR)" at the end of the text document. In a fashion spread like this, the text is the least important element of the page. The images here tell the whole story; when I found this physical issue, even a simple use of the doubled meaning of green—both as the color of a dress and its environmentally-conscious products—became clear once I could perform a visual analysis.

Holistic analysis that attends to both the text and visual design is necessary for even text-heavy pages of teen magazines. Standard monthly features like the editor's letter, letters from readers, and advice column pages may be text-based fea-

tures, but these pages are still filled with visual nuance. The visual design of a page—such as sizing, color, and design elements like call-out boxes—might direct the reader through a pathway outside the traditional up/down, left/right schema, rearranging the flow of information, or clearly indicating what elements should be prioritized. Even on a word-by-word level, new meanings are added through the use of visual elements. Consider a "Mail" page from the November 2004 issue of *Seventeen*. Two letters from readers address the inclusion of Natalie Portman on the cover of the previous September 2004 issue. From a text-only archive, a scholar could infer that *Seventeen* is attempting to promote ethical, balanced journalism by including opposing perspectives on Portman's celebrity. However as seen in Figure 1, it is clear that *Seventeen* is pro-Portman, as they have stylized the positive letter from Elyse, 14, at the top of the page in a red call-out box, and highlighted the positive words that directly oppose the negative letter from Katelin, 17, below, which is additionally stylized to blend in with the rest of the letters on the page about various other topics.

A final issue of text-based archives is how text then becomes the inherent organizing structure of the archive. While text is necessary to make such an archive properly searchable for use, an organizational schema that indexes items by thematic content is incompatible with the design layout of magazines that might compose multiple related items in juxtaposition with one another on a single page. For example, a regular *CosmoGIRL* feature is "CG! Insider, a round-up of new celebrity gossip." The feature consists of a two-page spread that includes many brief news items, laid out in a cohesive and overlapping visual design. However, when viewed in the text-only archive Middle Search Plus, the spread is not denoted as a single feature, but rather four separate items. Relying on this text-based archive could then easily skew a resultant analysis by giving features more (or less) weight than the magazine actually devotes to them.

Moreover, the indexing process can result in errors without the context of the visual, fundamentally misunderstanding the tone, and thus the content of the article. The April 2003 issue of *Teen People* uses the headline "Good Guys vs. Bad Boys" to promote the profile inside on Shane West, star of the teen film *A Walk to Remember*.<sup>19</sup>



Figure 1. "Mail," *Seventeen* November 2004.

The article demonstrates that while he may play a bad boy in his acting roles, he is a good guy in reality, and thus ideal romantic fantasy for teen magazine readers. Several other features in the issue follow this theme, debating the merits of 'good guys' and 'bad boys' as both celebrity crushes and in real life. However, this dichotomy is characterized in the Middle Search Plus digital archive under the subject "multiple personality" and includes the abstract "Focuses on the presence of split personality disorder of the fashion model Shane West."

In contrast to digital archives, physical archives of magazines are not without their own limitations, particularly considering the logistics of space and place in holding and maintaining these archives. The collections at Indiana University-Bloomington hold physical copies of forty years of *Seventeen* and fifteen years of *YM*, two of the longest-running and most influential teen magazines. New magazine issues are put on a display rack for library patrons to peruse in common areas. After a year's worth of issues accumulate, they are bound in hardback to preserve the physical copies in the library stacks. Neither new issues or the hardbound collections can be checked out from the library. In preserving the issues, the binding process does require remov-

ing the issue spines and often cropping the edge of pages, destroying a small, but valuable, part of the archive. This tightly bound format additionally makes it challenging to lay pages flat for a complete scan; making the archive present, but immovable.

A final limitation of magazine research is the perceptions of magazine culture as ephemeral and disposable, as well as considerations of the physical space required to house a continually expanding collection. This leads many libraries to enact a 12-month rule. That is to say, libraries hold only a year's worth of issues of a magazine publication at a time before disposing of past issues. This was the case with many of the public and academic libraries I spoke with. In the case of my local public library, the Monroe County Public library, the staff told me they would be happy to set aside issues of the publications I was interested in, instead of recycling them, which only transferred the problem of the physical space necessary to store such archives on to my own personal living situation. However, despite these 12-month policies, magazine collections are often not similarly purged from the digital archive indexing a library's holdings.<sup>20</sup> Defunct publications were entirely ghost archives, listed online, but with no content preserved. This demonstrates the disconnect between the two archival spaces: the physical and the digital.

## Alternative Archives

The limitations of existing academic archives of teen magazines required me to extend my search outward to other sources. The first avenue of magazine collection I pursued was to go straight to the source, magazine publishers. My initial assumption was that gaining access would be the primary hurdle: locating the correct contact at each publisher and legitimating my scholarly need for access to their back catalog of issues.

When I contacted the staff at *Seventeen* (currently owned by Hearst Corporation), I was met with confusion and disinterest as I explained my desire to locate old issues of the magazine, even as I framed my request around showcasing *Seventeen's* vital importance to the history of girls' media culture. In the three separate instances I spoke to their offices on phone, I was continually passed on to different employees that had "been there longer" and would "remember" where the old issues

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were—if they existed at all. While this runaround could be interpreted as industry professionals prioritizing their paid labor over a side project they had no stake in, it also demonstrates that archival preservation is generally not a primary concern in a fast-paced industry that is experiencing massive changes and continually demanding more of its creative professionals. Brooke Erin Duffy details the challenges of magazine staff dealing with these transitions, including “the emergent logics of digitization, cross-platform distribution, and flexible labor” that asks its workers to be “multi-skilled masters who can fluidly move content across media platforms.”<sup>21</sup> Additionally, the crumbling divisions of labor, realignment of responsibilities, and influx of new digital priorities that Duffy details has led to younger staff with faster turnover that further limits continuity and alters—as I experienced over the phone—the maintenance of history into an oral tradition.

Condé Nast, publisher of *Teen Vogue*, does have an official archive for all their publications: housed in a satellite office in Manhattan, New York, a few blocks away from their main offices in the One World Trade Center. The archive is not open to the public, nor does it advertise itself to researchers anywhere. When I tracked down the contact information for their archivist, Marianne Brown, and explained my request, her first response was, “Wait...how did you get this number?” Brown was exceedingly generous with her time and granted me the opportunity to visit the archive in April 2019. The complete run of *Teen Vogue* issues fit in a neatly labeled set of five boxes. After spending the day cataloguing the necessary pages for my dissertation research, I chatted with Brown, mentioning the few missing issues in their collection. She was unsurprised, and said, if anything, it was more surprising their collection was so complete. She noted the issues I said were missing, and told me she would probably remedy the gaps in their collection by turning to eBay.

I faced even more difficult challenges in contacting magazine publishers for defunct publications like *Elle Girl*, *CosmoGIRL* and *YM*. Most of these were purchased by Hearst or Condé Nast during the most recent media consolidation, but their archives are non-existent. For example, *YM* was purchased by Condé Nast from Gruner + Jahr in 2004, effectively buying out their competition

and closing the publication to scavenge their subscriber lists. Condé Nast had no vested interest in the history of *YM* and did not maintain an archive of any of their issues or any promotional materials. Similarly, Hearst purchased Hachette Filipacchi in 2011 and did not preserve *Elle Girl* as they already owned the *Seventeen* and *CosmoGIRL* titles.<sup>22</sup> Despite this evidence to the contrary, I am hesitant to state authoritatively that these magazine publishers, or others, do not keep full archival records of their output. Given the time constraints of my dissertation research, I was unable to pursue these avenues and contacts to a greater extent, but additional research with magazine professionals could further explore how the industry archives itself.

Beyond pursuing ‘official’ sources of teen magazines, I also turned to more unofficial means of collection, particularly archives collected by fans. I found fan sites devoted to individual celebrity girls to be the incredibly comprehensive and organized archives of visual teen magazine content, almost entirely built by the labor of individual fans. These archives call to mind Abigail De Kosnik’s work on contemporary media collectors as digital pirates. De Kosnik profiles an anonymous collector of digital files of films and television programs through peer-to-peer file sharing.<sup>23</sup> The fan website archives I detail below belong to a similar gray area of legality as the media piracy De Kosnik explores, considering the legally questionable disclaimers against copyright violation most websites include to attempt to ward off potential shutdowns. De Kosnik is particularly interested in the psychology of media pirates, noting how Joan positions herself as a media archivist, intent on collecting or “rescuing” texts that have not been appropriately preserved by official archives.<sup>24</sup>

This archiving impulse seems likely in fan websites as well, given their organization and uniformity of style. Most fan websites have a main page, devoted to recent news about the celebrity girl and fan-talk, and perhaps additional subpages; but there is always an associated page exclusively devoted to images of the celebrity girl, called “Gallery” or “Media.” The main page often includes links to “sister” sites for fans of celebrity girls; the relationships between these fan pages provides a logic to their uniformity in design, as well as suggesting a community-oriented, rather than competitive ethos between their preferred fan objects.

This is consistent with De Kosnik's understanding of digital piracy as anti-rivalry, citing Steven Weber's definition of an anti-rival good: "one whose utility to its users increases with the number of users; the more people that share the good, the more each person benefits from that good."<sup>25</sup> However, as De Kosnik also mentions, there is an assumed code of reciprocity among these fan websites, requesting link backs to one another, and an expectation of appropriate credit or public gratitude for the use of their images in fan art and so forth.

On the Gallery page of each fan website, images are organized into categories, such as "public appearances" including photos from red carpet premieres; "candid," commonly cataloging paparazzi photos, "film/television photography," which can include promotional images or screen captures from the celebrity's filmography or appearances; and "photoshoots" which include modeling, advertisements, and magazine photoshoots. These categories are then organized into subcategories, often chronologically by year, making the desired content easily accessible. For example, I accessed the Christina Aguilera fan website *xтина-web.com* and its associated gallery, *xtinapictures.com* looking for further materials for a case study on Aguilera, comparing the depictions of her in teen magazines across a decade. I was able to view full scans of early cover profiles of Aguilera in *Teen People* (December 1999/January 2000) and *CosmoGIRL* (March 2000/March 2003) that I had been unable to find anywhere else.<sup>26</sup>

A final strategy of collecting my magazine archive was to reach out to my personal networks. I publicized my project on social media and at academic conferences, even creating a shareable graphic depicting the logos of all the teen magazine publications I hoped to find. I told family members, friends, colleagues, and even my optometrist about my research, hoping that someone might have a lead for me. This strategy paid off: magazines trickled in from a colleague in a different department, a second cousin at a family gathering, even a staff member at the optometry clinic. The largest individual contribution of teen magazines in my personal collection came from a friend I had not talked to since high school. She saw one my repeated requests on Facebook, listing the magazines I was looking for and send me

a private message that she "probably had some in a box in her closet." A week later, I made the trip to her childhood home, where her father loaded three heavy boxes into my trunk, including issues of *CosmoGIRL*, *Teen Vogue*, and *Seventeen* from between 2003-2007, roughly the years we were in high school. These collections are the most loosely structured archives, but should still be recognized as such. It is not always ascertained what leads individuals like my friend to keep those magazines in her closet for so long, or for her parents to never dispose of them, but the process still required labor, and thus, credit, as an archival collection.

Cifor and Wood have advocated for continued collaboration with community and community-based archives, arguing that better engagement with community members can challenge existing norms of archival practice, and help build archives that better serve and represent these communities.<sup>27</sup> I should note that I am not suggesting these archives should serve as a substitution for institutional academic archives, but rather work in tandem. The sources I outline above—publishing companies, fan websites, and my personal network of connections—each have different goals and priorities when maintaining (or not) their own archives. Therefore, measuring them by the standards or values of an institutional academic archive is not a productive metric. However, as Cifor and Wood go on to caution, community archives "can easily and do frequently serve to produce and reproduce hierarchies and exclusions through their processes and interpretations of records and collections that reify damaging and unjust social structures."<sup>28</sup> While I see a strong benefit to engaging with these alternative archives, learning from them, and diversifying our citational practices, they should be given a critical, contextual lens to identify their own objectives and biases.

## Conclusion

This article has provided an introductory resource for scholars interested in pursuing archival magazine research of their own, and to think further about what defines a feminist archive in content and praxis. My initial preoccupation with the imagined materiality and study of glossy teen magazines has not entirely faded,

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and I have become a pirate archivist-collection myself—as clear boxes of my hard-won research archive now line the walls of my apartment.



Figure 2. Magazine archives stored in the author's home.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the longer I work with these archives, the more I see them. In particular, there has been an influx of social media accounts dedicated to archiving teen magazines and the popular culture of the 2000s. It seems appropriate that magazines, a relatively ephemeral text, are being chronicled on a new medium that feels equally ephemeral. There are Twitter accounts like @PopCultureDiedin2009, which regularly chronicles the covers of weekly celebrity gossip magazine from exactly ten years ago, while Instagram accounts like @doyoulovethethe2000s, @thankyouatoosa (dedicated exclusively to *CosmoGIRL* and *Seventeen* editor-in-chief, Atoosa Rubenstein) and Tik-Toker @shinypretties post both original content and fan art and memes inspired by their nostalgic fan objects. These accounts are followed by hundreds of thousands of followers, making them both the most informal, but most democratic modes of transmission for the teen magazine archive.

Social media archives should be highlighted not only as potential resources, but as a site for community-building as feminist archiving praxis, where we can exchange strategies and techniques of archival labor. In reflecting on my own journey, I encourage other media studies scholars to further explore these alternative avenues in their archival research, both as a research archive as well as as an object of study in the future.

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### Notes

1 Kate Eichhorn, "DIY Collectors, Archiving Scholars, and Activist Librarians: Legitimizing Feminist Knowledge and Cultural Production since 1990," *Women's Studies* 39.6 (2010): 625.

2 Maryanne Dever, "Archives and New Modes of Feminist Research," *Australian Feminist Studies* 32.91-92 (2017): 2.

3 I have only been able to locate small, fragmented collections of *Just-Seventeen* and *Jackie: Just-Seventeen* at the University of Birmingham's Cadbury Research Library Special Collections, and *Jackie* at Liverpool John Moores University "Femorabilia" Special Collection, and the Glasgow Women's Library, that holds some of the special *Jackie* annuals.

4 Penny Tinkler, "Fragmentation and Inclusivity: Methods for Working with Girls' and Women's Magazines," in *Women in Magazines: Research, Representation, Consumption and Production*, ed. Rachel Ritchie, Sue Hawkins, Nicola Phillips, and S. Jay Kleinberg (London: Routledge, 2016), 31.

5 Alex Bevan, "How to Make Victory Rolls: Gender, Memory, and the Counterarchive in YouTube Pinup Hair Tutorials," *Feminist Media Studies* 17.5 (2017): 767; citing Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (1998) and Michel Foucault's *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* (1972); *Ibid.*, 770.

6 Rachel Moseley and Helen Wheatley, "Is Archiving a Feminist Issue? Historical Research and the Past,

Present, and Future of Television Studies,” *Cinema Journal* 47.3 (2008): 153.

7 Ibid.

8 Moseley and Wheatly, “Is Archiving a Feminist Issue?,” 156; citing Teresa De Lauretis’s term from *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film and Fiction* (1987).

9 Eichhorn, “DIY Collectors,” 623.

10 Eichhorn, “DIY Collectors,” 628-629.

11 For example, see Alison Piepmeier’s *Girl Zines: Making Media, Doing Feminism* (2009).

12 Additionally, scholarship on women’s magazines is a rich field that is also beneficial toward an understanding of teen magazines. Of particular note are *Decoding Women’s Magazines* by Ellen McCracken (1993), *Reading Women’s Magazines* by Joke Hermes (1995), *The Girl on the Magazine Cover* by Carolyn Kitch (2001), *Understanding Women’s Magazines* by Anna Gough-Yates (2003), *Women’s Magazines in the Digital Age* by Brooke Erin Duffy (2013), and *Reading Celebrity Gossip Magazines* by Andrea McDonnell (2014).

13 Mary Celeste Kearney, “Coalescing: The Development of Girls’ Studies,” *National Women’s Studies Association Journal* 21.1 (2009): 18; “When in Doubt, Choose ‘B’” in *Feminist Media Studies* 9.2 by Amy Pattee also provides a good overview of this scholarship.

14 For example, see Laura M. Carpenter, “From Girls into Women: Scripts for Sexuality and Romance in *Seventeen* Magazine, 1974–1994,” *Journal of Sex Research* 35.2 (1998), 158-168; and Jennifer A. Schlenker, Sandra L. Caron, and William A. Halteman, “A Feminist Analysis of *Seventeen* Magazine: Content Analysis from 1945 to 1995,” *Sex Roles* 38.1/2 (1998): 135-149.

15 Penny Tinkler, “Fragmentation and Inclusivity,” 26.

16 Ibid.

17 Marika Cifor and Stacy Wood, “Critical Feminism in the Archives,” *Journal of Critical Library and Information Studies* 1.2 (2017): 18.

18 Dever, “Archives and New Modes of Feminist Research,” 1.

19 David Keeps, “Go West!” *Teen People*, April 2003, 103-108.

20 For example, an early failure in my search for teen magazine collections with an experiment with inter-library loan, the service that provides materials across university library systems. I requested scans of over 300 issues of magazines that were indicated to be held by other libraries. Instead, I received a long train of request cancellation emails for months: while these libraries still listed the magazine publications within their searchable databases, the continual 12-month policies meant old issues were non-existent.

21 Brooke Erin Duffy, *Women’s Magazines in the Digital Age*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 51-52.

22 Notably, almost the entire run of *Elle Girl* issues is available to view on Google Books.

23 Abigail T. De Kosnik, “The Collector is the Pirate,” *International Journal of Communication* 6 (2012).

24 Ibid., 529.

25 Ibid., 531; citing Steven Weber’s *The Success of Open Source* (2004).

26 It should be noted that these fan websites served as a productive archive for my particular project, which focuses on the construction of celebrity girlhood in teen magazines. If my focus lay elsewhere—the horoscope page, or the fashion editorials—celebrity girl fan websites would no longer be useful. This underlines how the archive is always personal and may diverge based on the priorities of the archivist.

27 Cifor and Wood, “Critical Feminism,” 19-20.

28 Ibid., 21.