

## 2.1. Punk fanzines in Portugal (1978-2013): a mapping exercise

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### Abstract

With the emergence of punk in the UK and USA, in the 1970s, the production, distribution and consumption of fanzines became relevant, as an area of freedom of thought and creativity, and as an alternative to conventional media. Since then the fanzines scene clearly expanded, at different levels. In this paper we discuss preliminary results of an ongoing research on the emergence, development and transformation of punk movement in Portugal, from 1978 until nowadays, in which the fanzines and, more recently, e-zines are interesting examples. Looking at a broad set of Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines, produced over the past decades, we'll try to analyse major trends and changes in their graphic and editorial contents and also understand their relevance inside the punk 'scenes'. Finally, we'll discuss the convergences that, despite the existing diversity, allow us to speak of a do-it-yourself ethic associated this kind of cultural objects.

**Keywords:** fanzines, do-it-yourself, punk.

### Introduction

This paper focuses on the analysis of Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines that has been carried out in a research project entitled "*Keep it simple, make it fast! Prolegomenons and punk scenes, a road to portuguese contemporaneity (1977-2012)*", which is funded the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, and involves several researchers and research institutions from Portugal, Australia and Spain. This project is led by the Institute of Sociology from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto and developed in partnership with the Griffith Centre for Cultural Research and the University of the University of Lleida. Also the following institutions participate in this research: Faculty of Economics of the University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences of the University of Porto, Faculty of Economics of the University of Coimbra, Centre of Social Studies of the University of Coimbra and the Municipal Libraries of Lisbon. The project's main contribution is the analysis of foundation, development and consolidation of punk manifestations in Portugal, considering the Portuguese society contemporary changes between 1977 and 2012. Therefore, we're trying to study contexts and listen to social actors though a diachronic perspective and in a synchronic framework, crossing times and spaces.

Once there are no significant Portuguese academic studies on this subject, one of the major goals of this project has been to undertake a systematic collection of existing empirical data on punk events in Portugal over last three decades. Over the last two years the project's researchers have been involved in collecting assorted empirical data, namely:

- interviews with several key elements that are or have been connected to the Portuguese punk 'scenes' in different historical periods;
- participant observation events in punk;
- collecting and cataloguing of several material objects related with Portuguese punk 'scenes', including records, fanzines, posters, flyers, fanzines, etc.

It's important to emphasize that the task of collecting, organizing and analysing Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines is still ongoing, so in this paper it isn't yet possible to share and discuss here the definitive results on this matter. However, we'll try to present and discuss here some preliminary findings based on analysis of data that have been collected, organized and analyzed. Particularly, we intend to discuss here: the role of fanzines and e-

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zines in Portuguese punk 'scenes' and how these objects helped to promote and boost the punk movement in Portugal

The paper starts with some considerations about the relevance of fanzines and e-zines in the international punk movement context. Then, we focus on some preliminary results arising from the ongoing analysis of Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines, including some brief reflections concerning methodological aspects. Finally, we conclude systematizing main issues arising from the analysis conducted, emphasizing some relevant aspects to consider on further research moments.

## Punk and fanzines

The first fanzines emerged in the 1920s and 1930s, associated to science fiction fans. However, production, distribution and consumption of fanzines won global relevance with the emergence of the punk phenomenon in the UK and USA, during the 1970s and 1980s, arising as a space of freedom of thought and Do It Yourself (DIY) creation, as well as an alternative to conventional media. In effect, as regards Teal Triggs (2006), from early on, the fanzines placed themselves as a very important part of punk scenes construction – alongside bands, records and concerts -, actively contributing to the creation and consolidation of a certain sense of community.

“Fanzines adopted the DIY, independent approach that punk musicians had espoused. With the rise of newly formed bands came the establishment of impromptu clubs, small, independent record labels and record stores (...). In the same way, fanzines offered fans a ‘free space for developing ideas and practices’, and a visual space unencumbered by formal design rules and visual expectations.” (Triggs, 2006: 70)

Usually homemade produced with a limited circulation, punk fanzines tend to be written and published by punk movement members (individually or collectively), having as their target audience their peers (other punk fans). As referred by Julia Pine (2006), fanzines are material forms of symbolic representation. These collective and volunteer constructed (editing, contributions and distribution) objects allowed individuals to state their social existence, to integrate (sub)cultures, tribes and musical scenes and to participate culturally. At the same time, fanzines materialize a local underground movement and facilitate the promotion of local records, bands, concerts and stories. They are an element of taste, of affinities, of social, political, ideological and cultural belongings, and musical and lifestyle choices.

“Unlike other publications, like books, which address the anonymous individual, or magazines, which seek to inform but also to entice and sell, punk zines were always written by insiders for insiders. They were often collective volunteer projects in terms of editing, contributions and distribution, and for the most part they invited feedback (although not always what you would call “warmly”). Belying the frequent “fuck you” attitude, they allowed their producers, (who, not incidentally, often lived at the periphery of the city or beyond or where otherwise house-bound), to declare their own existence, participation and stance, while at the same time helping to reify the local movement through concrete forms of representation. Zines were about conjuring up, connecting to and being part of the scene.” (Pie, 2006: 42)

Therefore, it seems particularly interesting to analyze the contents of fanzines once we often find, throughout their pages, their authors' statements on political and social ideological positions, as well as supporting statements on certain causes (animal rights, eg). But we can also find interviews with bands and other member of punk 'scenes', and critical reviews of records and, concerts, movies, books or even other fanzines.

But many fanzines have also very important components of personal and even introspective articles. As Stephen Duncombe (1997) showed, personal thoughts and ethics have a central place in this kind of self-published independent publications. Some fanzines – that Duncombe defines as “personal zines” or “perzines” – are particularly interesting places to learn how youth identity and socio-political distinctions are actively built. “These personal zines are testimony that regular people think about themselves, about their experience, about politics, and about their role as creators and consumers of culture” (Duncombe, 1997: 29).

As in other dimensions of the punk movement, fanzines' graphic components play an equally or even a more important role than the written texts. In fact, very often happens that written and visual components are so deeply mixed that it becomes impossible to develop a separate analysis of these two elements. Inspired by Beverly Best and Michel Foucault, Teal Triggs (2006) highlights how the punk fanzines developed a “graphic language of resistance”, becoming a forum for political discourse and even political action. “For punk fanzines, language is communicated

graphically through a system of visual signs and specifically in the conveyance of a message of 'resistance'. (...) Punk fanzines are sites for oppositional practice in that they provide a forum for cultural communication as well as for political action, which should be included in any broader political discourse." (Triggs, 2006: 73).

However, it's important to highlight here that all these different elements – whether in terms of topics of the texts, or at the level of used graphic language – were already present in the pioneering English punk fanzines of the second half of the 1970s (such as *Panache*, *Sniffin' Clue* or *Ripped & Torn*). Thus, we can say that these first punk fanzines made a decisive contribution to the creation of a specific aesthetic and editorial "language" that turned out to be a sort of "subcultural canon". In recent decades, this "language" was widespread and globalized leading to the reproduction of a do-it-yourself ethic and a certain way of "doing" punk fanzines that still persists today. As we will see, we can also observe this kind of "subcultural canon" in the analysis that we have been conducting on punk fanzines produced in Portugal since the 70s until nowadays.

Nonetheless, the role of technology must be taken into consideration. With the Information Technologies development, especially with the growing use of the Personal Computers and the increasing Internet easy access, there are a number of important changes in the way punk fanzines are produced, distributed and consumed. On the one hand, we can see that the traditional fanzines – print – are often replaced by electronic fanzines (called e-zines); and, on the other hand, those e-zines have an on-line widespread presence on websites, blogs and social networks, like *MySpace* or *Facebook*. In addition, it is also important to note that, as Ruben Ramirez Sánchez (2012) stated, the rise of Internet has speed up the local punk 'scenes' international contacts.

"Punk networks comprise diverse mechanisms that facilitate local and international relations in the service of a punk ideology, and their reliance on DIY as a mode of production is primarily made possible by the creation and development of social networks that power media making. (...) the emergence of technologies of interconnectedness has greatly contributed to the international growth of punk media infrastructures. Self-production hardware and software, such as digital recording and self-publishing technologies, have enriched the punk media infrastructure by facilitating the punk cultural production that is circulated through its networks." (Sánchez, 2012: 42).

We must remember, however, that, even before the Internet's advent, fanzines played a very important role inside underground 'scenes', helping to establish and spread international networks contacts among punk aficionados, done by postal exchange not only of fanzines, but also records, demo-tapes, books, patches, etc. Of course, the recent development of the Internet has been very important in this process, because it allows the worldwide expansion of ties between bands, fanzines and record labels within the punk-spectrum (but not only, since this phenomenon is extensible to other underground 'scenes' ).

Although this set of deep transformations, made possible by recent technical and technological developments, we would like to stress that there are a number of themes that are already very well settled in the global punk imaginary and, therefore, did not fail to appear in almost all punk fanzines. As we point out before, they part of such a "subcultural canon" about how should be produced a do-it-yourself punk fanzine, the kind of graphic language used, or addressed topics.

## Methodology

The brief general considerations on punk fanzines - their origin, relevance, recent changes - are important for the discussion of Portuguese case specific aspects. First, however, it's important to note that the international scientific literature still lacks specific guidelines on fanzines' content analysis. Therefore, we sought to develop, within the framework of the KISMIF project on which this research is inserted, a proper methodology for punk fanzines and e-zines' content analysis.

First of all, it is important to briefly introduce the information collection, systematization and analysis procedures. We should start by pointing that, with the notable exception of Lisbon *Bedeteca* (Comics' Library) – partner of our research project – the Portuguese state and academic libraries usually do not purchase nor catalogue fanzines (whether punk or not).

So, we have to collect punk fanzines primarily through the following main procedures:

- Purchase fanzines directly to publishers, or indirectly at concerts, political events, community centres and squats, etc;

- Donation or loan for scanning by interviewees (punk movement elements);
- Availability of fanzines from the personal collection of some researchers;
- The Lisbon *Bedeteca* collection, which have several fanzines related to Portuguese punk movement or aesthetics;
- Online research and downloading (total or partial).

Regarding e-zines, the data collection has been taking place mainly through online surveys. In the case of e-zines that were available on the Internet, but have been removed, the research team has been trying to identify their publishers, in order to contact them to ask permission for access to these contents.

In what concerns the systematization, a database was created with the following aims: on the one hand, enable a systematic analysis of collected documents; and, on the other hand, create an archive that will be based on the Library of the Faculty of Arts, University of Porto (Portugal). The database and all the fanzines, records, flyers, posters, photographs and other documentary and iconographic elements collected will be available for anyone who wishes to research on the Portuguese punk movement.

Although in a necessarily abbreviated form, it is worth to describe and explain here how the contents of fanzines collected and listed on the database are being organized by the research team. So, we list then the main fields that compose this database:

- Name/designation
- Date of issue
- Type (individual/collective)
- Fanzine Editor – name/designation
- Fanzine Editor Geographic Origin – NUTS 3 level (Groups of Municipalities)
- Cost (paid/unpaid)
- Price (in Euros)
- Coin/currency
- Fanzine's total number of pages
- Graphics (Colour; Black and White)
- Print (Industrial – paper; Industrial – digital; Photocopied – paper; Photocopied – digital; Fanzines printed at home)
- Type of fanzine [all documents included in the database are fanzines, however, through this field we intend to catalogue different formats: Newspaper; Magazine; Fanzine; Portal/Website (when the fanzine is presented as a website and not a PDF or other type of application); and e-zine (only Fanzines that are hosted on the Internet); Graphzine (Fanzines only/mostly illustration / image); Newsletter; Book; Flyer]
- Subject of analytic incidence (once sometimes we don't have access to the whole fanzine, it's worth mentioning the sort of parts that each record refers: cover, all contents, only one article).
- Types of articles (Interviews; Reports; Record Reviews; DVD/Movies Reviews; Concerts Reviews; Opinion; Advertisement; News; Letters from Readers; Cartoons; Editorial; Others)
- Type of Images (Printmaking/Drawing/Painting; Photography; Cartoon/ Caricature; Collage; Comics)
- Theme discussed (Music; Attitude; Health; Politics, Humour; Others)
- Band names mentioned/discussed (in interviews, concert reports or in records reviews)
- 'Scenes' referred/mentioned (in interviews, concert reports, records reviews, opinion articles)

As we stated previously, the Portuguese punk fanzines and e-zines collection and analysis began about a year and is a work still in progress. As might be expected, the team of researchers has found great difficulties in collecting fanzines published between the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s. By contrast, it has been quite easy to find and collect punk fanzines published in subsequent decades (since the early 1990s until nowadays).

Such difficulties are closely related to the low perception, mainly during the 1970s and 1980s, on the importance of preserving fanzines as relevant documents to understand the Portuguese punk movement historical memory. In fact, unlike many of the pioneering Portuguese punk records, which have been preserved and are now rare objects sought by record collectors and punk fans (eg., the first and only *Corpo Diplomático's* LP, entitled "Música Moderna", published in 1979), it has been very difficult to identify and collect punk fanzines published during the 1970s and 1980s. However, we are confident that there are still copies of these pioneers punk fanzines in Portugal.

Therefore, the research team carries on working hard to identify and contact owners of Portuguese punk fanzines, from different times, making them aware of the interest and relevance of this research project. Until now it was possible to scan and analyse more than 90 Portuguese punk fanzines (some of them with multiple numbers). Beside these fanzines we must add other fanzines that have already been collected and are currently in process of digitizing and cataloguing.

## Punk fanzines in Portugal: preliminary considerations

Based on the analysis carried out so far, this chapter of the paper seeks to present, briefly, some preliminary considerations about issues that stand out from the analysis carried out so far. This is a preliminary mapping exercise of the 90 fanzines that currently constitute our analytic corpus, crisscrossing a reading of the themes addressed and the techniques and graphic aesthetic used, with the analysis of the historical time in which the various fanzines were produced.

### Late 1970s: the pioneers of punk fanzines in Portugal

The first punk fanzines arise in Portugal in the late 1970s, in the Lisbon area. This is namely the case of the *Desordem Total* fanzine, with six numbers, published between 1978 and 1979, and the *Estado de Sítio* fanzine, edited by Paulo Borges, also a member of *Minas e Armadilhas* (a pioneer band punk in Portugal), which published at least six number throughout 1978. In both cases, the editors took a do-it-yourself aesthetic orientation, based on a blend of cut-and-paste techniques, drawing/illustration, handwritten and typed texts, photo manipulation, etc. which, as we saw before, it is perfectly consistent with the large majority of English and American punk fanzines this period.

At a time when the Portuguese punk movement was still was still embryonic we find in these early fanzines essentially a space for a sarcastic comment about the national and international socio-political reality. The references to Anglo-Saxon punk bands are also frequent, mainly through pictures of bands elements, not always identified.

### The 80s: a first boom of punk fanzines in Portugal

Following the development of punk scenes in Portugal, we witness during the 1980s a certain proliferation of fanzines although at this stage still largely concentrated in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. In this period we can identify relevant punk fanzines such as *Subversão* (1982), *Subúrbios* (1985), *Tosse Convulsa* (1985), *O Cadáver Esquisito* (1986), *Lixo Anarquista* (1986-87), *Suicídio Colectivo* (1987), *Anarkozine* (1987), *Post Scriptum* (1987-88), *Morte à Censura* (1988), *Culto Urbano* (1988-89), among others.

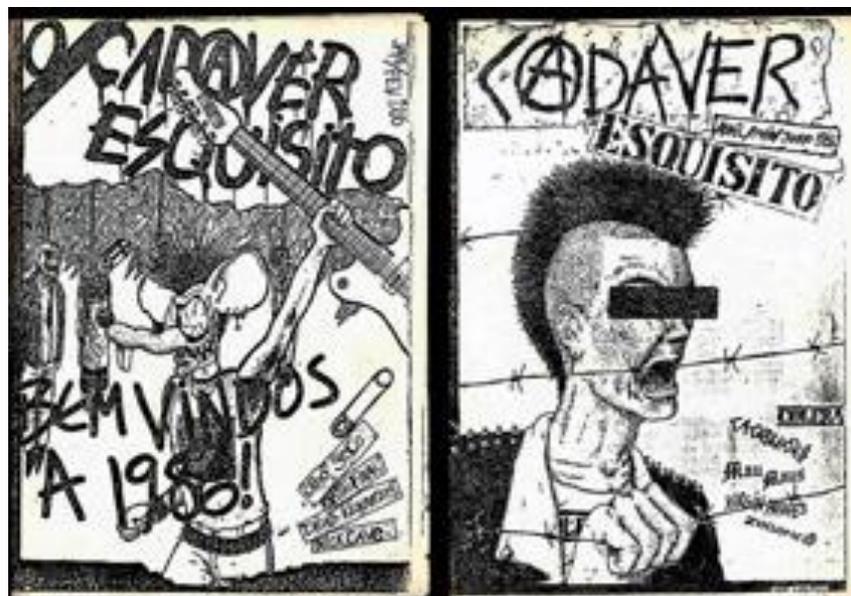


Figure 1 – Front and back cover of the fanzine *Cadáver Esquisito* (April / May / June 1986)

Although the political and social criticism is still crucial, the musical dimension gains a clear relevance from this period; so fanzines become a fundamental space for the dissemination of punk bands, both national and international. Articles on punk and hardcore bands (subgenre that, during these years, breaks out in Portugal) and also reports on some punk international scenes (Australia, USA, Brazil, Italy, etc.) become frequent in these fanzines. Initially publishers were using essentially secondary sources (such as newspaper articles, press releases, etc.), but gradually they began to incorporate primary data, in general by conducting interviews with punk bands, both national and international.

From a graphic point of view, the Portuguese punk fanzines produced during the 1980s reflect a certain maturity of their producers. Formally we found that in many cases there is a more careful presentation; but many fanzines from this period still maintain an essentially do-it-yourself approach that since the beginning always characterized the punk culture.

### **The 90s: proliferation, dispersion and diversification**

Analyzing the set of Portuguese punk fanzines published during the 1990s it became clear the deepening of some trends that it were already possible to identify in the previous decade.

First, we witness a diversification of punk subgenres addressed in fanzines (which is reflected in the increasing relevance of crust and straight-edge hardcore, for example), but also a greater openness to other underground aesthetics (not only musical genres such as hip hop, reggae-dub or even certain subgenres of electronic music, but also other issues are addressed here, such as skateboarding for example).

The analysis of bands and record labels mentioned on these fanzines, during this period, allows us to understand some networks of relationships between international punk scenes. On first analysis, yet very sketchy, there is a deep relationship between Portuguese bands and other international punk/hardcore scenes that we can realize on the regular movement of records, bands and fanzines between these countries. For example, we find in some of these fanzines references to some Portuguese punk hardcore bands that were on tour in countries like Brazil, Spain and Germany. Simultaneously, new topics gain relevance in fanzines during the 90s: ethical and policy issues related to the anarchist-libertarian ideology, women's rights; vegetarianism/veganism; animal rights; sexism; homophobia; drug use; among others.

The advent of the personal computer in Portugal that, during the 1990s, will become increasingly important became remarkable from the graphical point of view. In this sense, we find that many fanzines published during this period show a greater technical precision, moving away from a certain cut-and-paste aesthetic purism that marked the early stages of punk, in Portugal and abroad.

In this period it's worth mentioning fanzines such as *Mutante* (1992), *Grito de Revolta* (1992), *Crack* (1992, 1993, 1995), *Vontade de Ferro* (1994), *Animal Abuser* (1995), *Golpe Baixo* (1996), *Global Riot* (1996), *Insubmissão* (1997), *Kannabizine* (1997), *First Step* (1998), *Out of Step* (1996-98), *Hope* (1998), *Bakuzine* (1998), *Se o «voto é a arma do povo»...* (1998), *Zona Autónoma Provisória* (1999), *Convicção* (1999), *Rebeldia* (1999), *Spirit of Youth* (1999), among others.

### **The 2000s: refinement and deepening**

Over the last thirteen years the production, distribution and consumption of punk fanzines seems to not have slowed.

Among other fanzines published during this period we may refer to the following ones: *Inhumanus* (2000), *San Bao* (2000), *Sisterly* (2000), *Vontade de Ferro* (2001), *Opinion* (2001), *Wake up and Live* (2001), *Two Sides* (2001), *Suburbano* (2002), *Ação Directa* (2004), *X.cute* (2005), *Crise Social* (2005), *Porque Nada se Constrói Sozinho* (2006), *Backfire* (2007), *Grita!* (2007), *Comedores de Cadáveres* (2008), *Not Just Words* (2007-2009), *A Culpa é da Humanidade* (2008-2012), *Alambique* (2007-2013), *O Alfinete* (2011-2013), *Kaos Urbano* (2007, 2010-2011), *Apupópapa* (2010), *Núcleo Duro* (2012), *The Juice* (2012), *Prego* (2013), *Möndo Brutal* (2011-2013), *Jubiladxs* (2012), *City Lights* (2011), *Humble: skate zine* (2011-2012), *Overpower Overcome* (2009, 2012), *Deflagra* (2008, 2011-2013) and *Karapaça* (2013).

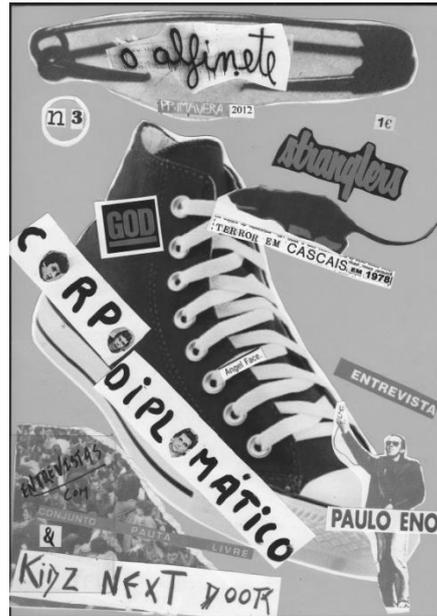


Figure 2 – Front cover of the fanzine *O Alfinete* (Spring 2012)

Although the beginning of the 2000s is definitely marked by the emergence of several online forums, weblogs and e-zines related with the punk scenes which uses the power of Internet for a quick, easy and inexpensive dissemination of punk bands, records, concerts, festivals, etc., the truth is that traditional fanzines, published on paper and distributed in underground circuits, continue to show a strong resilience (see Graphic 1). Although it contains some specific characteristics associated with the punk universe, this is a trend that is part of broad sense of appreciation of retro, analogue, vintage and also to a certain aesthetic and ethic memory associated with some cultural manifestations. In fact, and although taking different shapes of the past, nowadays traditional fanzines – published on paper - continue to be powerful spaces to affirm a certain do-it-yourself spirit inspired by punk culture, integrating text and image contents in a unique way, like there is in no other medium.

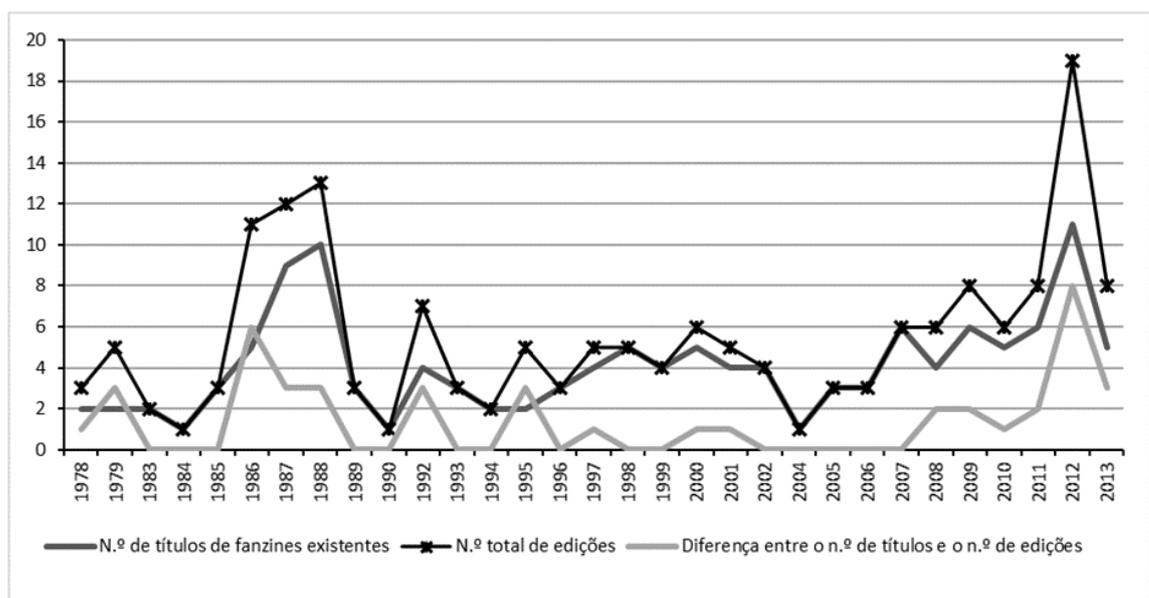


Figure 3 – Evolution of the number of Portuguese punk fanzines's titles and the number of Portuguese punk fanzines's editions, between 1978 and 2013.

Source: KISMIF Database

In thematic terms, we can see that the 2000s fanzines maintain the trend, already observed in the previous decades, of a certain diversification of the musical punk subgenres addressed, as well as an increasing openness to the incorporation of other underground aesthetic, not only in what concerns musical genres but also photography, cinema, comics or cartoons.

In contrast to what succeeded during the 1990s, now many Portuguese punk fanzine articles focus on "historical" punk/hardcore band, sometimes with some nostalgia (as some interviews with members of iconic punk/hardcore Portuguese bands from the 1990s, such as *X-Acto* or *New Winds*, show up quite clearly). This seems to be a major change, to the extent that it reveals a growing interest, among current members of 'scene', to build up a certain look upon the history and the memories of the Portuguese punk 'scene', which we rarely find in previous decades. On the other hand, it's also evident the little attention given to international punk/hardcore bands: in 2000s, Portuguese punk fanzines become essentially dedicated to the local context, in what suggests a deep editorial change, possibly justified by the Internet advent, during this decade, that ease the access about other international punk 'scenes', records and bands.

Moreover, in recent years gained increasing importance in Portuguese punk fanzines issues related to the ethical-political sphere, in the broad sense. While most fanzines maintain a strong tendency to address political/ethical issues and punk/hardcore musical related issues – a prevailing trend since the 1980s, as we have seen - in recent years some fanzines are particularly interested in anarchist oriented topics. Regarding this political dimension, it's interesting to point out that, in this matter, there is a combination of clearly international dimensions with other topics that are deeply rooted in local realities.

So, on the one hand, in some fanzines we find texts that address general topics related to the oppressive nature of capitalist society, without a specific connection to a specific territory or community (eg., exploitation, capitalism, development, etc.); but, on the other hand, we also found in the same fanzines several chronicles, interviews and reports on topics that address more specific concerns and that are deeply linked to a well-defined local contexts.

## Concluding Remarks

To conclude, we would like to quickly point out two or three points which, in our perspective, result from the analysis conducted so far and that may point out relevant research topics for future research in this field.

First, it seems important to emphasize that more than thirty years after the emergence of the punk movement in the UK – and, in this context, the appearance of the first punk fanzines –, the fanzine seems to remain current and relevant. This relevance is deeply related with the way a certain idea of do-it-yourself ethic has spread and is now fully integrated and globalized within the punk movement (and even beyond its borders). In fact, despite widespread use of the Internet and so-called Web 2.0 - that through the use of weblogs and online social networks have questioned the relevance of the traditional model of fanzines published on paper and distributed in a limited way -, the truth is that, in recent years, it seems to be take place a resurgence of this kind of do-it-yourself, independent, self-published publications.

As we have previously noted, it seems that the interest to keep the publishing of fanzines on paper and with a specific graphic aesthetic is related to a certain way of thinking and producing punk fanzines that has persisted since the 1970s to the present day. Despite all changes that the punk movement suffered in last decade, the punk fanzines that are currently produced continue to follow a certain "canon" - in graphic terms and in editorial content terms - that has its roots in the early punk fanzines, published in the United Kingdom and the United States, between the 1970s and 1980s.

However, it's also important to highlight that although many Portuguese punk fanzines current reaffirm this "canon" punk, they also introduce new issues and new concerns. Effectively, analyzing some Portuguese punk fanzines, especially the most recent ones, it appears that some specific concerns have been introduced in recent years, covering particular topics which are related to well-defined historical, political, social and cultural realities. The case of *Alambique* fanzine is a good example of this very particular articulation of broader socio-political issues with other local concerns, deeply rooted historically and socially. Here we can find, for instance, several articles on the historical roots of the anarchist movement in Alentejo - the region where is located Aljustrel, a small village where the *Alambique* is published -, along with articles on global concerns related with the current political situation. Another example is related to the recent concern of some fanzines to contribute for a punk history in

Portugal, seeking to reconstitute certain periods or collect testimonies of national flagship bands – as we have already talked about.

Another example, of a different kind, is related with motherhood, a new sort of problem that is addressed in some of fanzines from the 2000s decade that were analysed by our research team. This is an interesting new topic, that seems to us important to analyze in more detail in further moments of this research, once it is closely related to the way punks are dealing with the aging and the responsibilities associated with this moment of transition to adulthood.

Secondly, the analysis carried out so far seems to indicate that the Portuguese punk fanzines continue today - as in the past - to play a very important role in building a sense of underground community, strongly rooted locally but at the same time showing a great ability to connect with other 'scenes' local punk scattered all over the world. The fanzines remain privileged spaces for expression and communication, but they are also relevant to the editor affirm their belonging to the punk/hardcore scene - this identity dimension remains today a very important aspect in the analysis of punk fanzines.

However, it's important to recognize that today punk fanzines no longer have the same essential function of helping to establish national and international contacts within the international punk movement – an essential function that early Portuguese punk fanzines assumed, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. Indeed, with the remarkable extension of the Internet during the last fifteen years, the establishment of these international contacts became much easier, quick and regular. Nevertheless, nowadays the punk fanzines seem to continue to play a very important role in structuring relationships and social networks inside these underground scenes. Moreover, due to the peculiar and very personal way of integrating text and graphical components, fanzines are somehow an unrepeatable object in a digital format (eg., on weblogs or online social networks).

In short, this is a return to the past or what we are witnessing is something new? This is an authentic phenomenon or a "mere" reproduction of some formulas from the past, which were globalized and are now being incessantly repeated, again and again? Maybe it's too early to draw definitive conclusions. In any case, it seems that the set of documents that have been already collected, catalogued and analyzed by our research team put us a quite interesting and stimulating set of questions and research paths to be deepening in a near future.

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