Electric hive minds

Italian science fiction fandom in the Digital Age

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Abstract

Today science fiction fandom seems to have achieved full critical recognition in all its complexity and segmentations, as an extraordinary vantage point from which to observe ongoing changes in the relationships between cultural industries and the public, and monitor developments in an increasingly interconnected mediascape. This essay looks at some critical issues regarding the activities of Italian science fiction fans, starting from central questions on their use of media and their accomplishments: where can fannish activities be positioned in relation to the professional fields of science fiction cultural production across different media? How have the new media, by making new spaces and tools available to produce content and connect people, influenced fans' activities and the form and workings of fannish communities? And how, in turn, have these people and their activities influenced media development and the shape of the contemporary Italian mediascape? Provisional answers are provided to these questions drawing on existing primary sources, testimonies and contributions on past decades, and on a survey conducted in 2015 to capture the present state of Italian fandom.

Keywords: convention, fan club, fan fiction, fanzine, Italian science fiction fandom, new media, science fiction sociology

The social and sociological aspects of the reception of science fiction as a genre, expressed through the existence and cross-media activities of a specialized fandom, is a fascinating phenomenon that is still waiting, in the Italian context, to receive the attention it deserves from critics and scholars. Science fiction is a genre endowed with a strong identity (an easily recognizable transmedia megatext [Broderick 2015; Csicsery-Ronay 2008: 257n4]), which has produced a vast range of different appropriation practices over the years. These are characterized by intersections between proper reception activities



and forms of re-creation and critical appropriation of contents, and include: single and multi-authored fictions and fan fictions, writing and editing of critical materials, catalogues, encyclopaedias, the establishment of physical and virtual archives, the organization of conventions and cultural events, debates, and games.

Today, fan studies is a vibrant and fast-expanding field, in which science fiction fandom seems to have achieved full recognition as a worthy object of inquiry and analysis, and as an extraordinary vantage point from which to observe ongoing changes in the relationships between cultural industries and the public, and monitor developments in an increasingly interconnected mediascape. In particular, after Camille Bacon-Smith's (2000) comprehensive history of American fandom from the 1920s to the 1990s, Henry Jenkins (1988, 2006a, 2006b) gave birth to a scholarly tradition regarding fans' productions analysed as a means of re-creating cultural contents across media; in this perspective, phenomena and/or corpora such as slash narratives have received considerable critical attention.¹

The vast array of activities organized by science fiction fans is all the more interesting in the Italian cultural context, since its development has been markedly independent from the problematic reception given to the genre by academics and intellectuals. The historical and technical development of Italian fandom goes from the first clubs and correspondences in the late 1950s, through the cyclostyled fanzines appearing in the 1960s, the spread of Bulletin Board Systems during the 1990s, and the advent of the Internet in the 2000s. Until today, this history (as well as the current activities of sci-fi fans) has been a 'critical underground', with a lack of specific studies, despite a series of first-hand accounts and historical reconstructions written by the actual protagonists and/or by professionals working in the science fiction market,² with a prevailing interest in publications and writings over other fans' activities (to the extent that more than one history of Italian fandom relies, for its periodization, on the technical developments and print technologies used in the making of fanzines in different decades).³

This article examines some critical issues regarding fannish activities, starting from what I consider to be central questions on their nature, their use of media, and their accomplishments. Where can fannish activities be positioned in relation to the professional fields of science fiction cultural production across different media? How have the new media influenced fans' activities and the form and workings of fannish communities, by making new spaces and tools available to produce content and connect people? And how, in turn, have these people and their activities influenced media development and the shape of the contemporary Italian mediascape?

With examples taken from past and present fannish publications, conventions, and clubs, and with special attention paid to fannish uses of media and technologies through the years, provisional answers are provided to these questions. The research draws on the study of fannish publications, on existing testimonies and contributions on past decades,⁴ and on a survey conducted in 2015 to photograph the present state of Italian fandom (Iannuzzi 2015b) by means of a questionnaire which was available online and via mail between August and September 2015. The form was in Italian, and divided into eleven sections, devoted to the gathering of personal information, information on cultural habits and consumptions, and ideas about science fiction as a genre; details on a vast range of fannish activities across old and new media including authoring and editing of fanzines, websites, and fan fiction, participation in forums, clubs and conventions, gaming and collection practices, followed by a conclusive section on processing of personal data and feedback were collected. A total of 293 people completed the questionnaire, but given an overall shortage of data on genre readership, audience and fans in Italy, it is difficult say how representative this number is. It may be of some assistance to have a general idea of specialized science-fiction readership and audience in Italy today: the average print run of the most popular specialized newsstand series, Urania, during the 2000s is 12,000 copies per issue (Ferretti and Iannuzzi 2014: 169; sales are usually around half this number), the Star Trek Italian Club had 6,500 members in 2001 (Iannuzzi 2014b: 23), while smaller numbers of people are usually actively involved in fannish activities. The Star Trek Italian Club Convention, for example, gathers around 1,000 attendees each year (STIC 2012). The 2015 questionnaire results therefore account for a relatively small percentage of Italian readers, viewers and gamers, and we can also assume that the demographic distribution of the population screened has been influenced by the channel adopted for the questionnaire distribution and promotion (primarily via the Internet), selecting a group of people with high digital literacy (which is usually connected to literacy rates, education, income - see ISTAT 2015, vol. 8, 270-272, 290–291; OECD 2011).⁵

Nonetheless, the survey provides us with valuable and detailed data, and given the participation in different activities indicated by interviewed fans, it seems reasonable to assume that it reached different specialized communities, thus offering a portrayal of the science fiction fandom as a 'fuzzy set', composed by interlinked communities of practice, to which individuals can relate with multiples and fluid memberships (Rieder 2010): 76 per cent of fans interviewed cooperate with fanzines and/or websites as author and/or editor; 63 per cent possess a specialized collection (of books and/or DVDs, action figures, etc.); a little more than half participate in forums and a little

less attend conventions and play games (including role play, board, strategy, and video games), while smaller numbers indicate memberships in clubs and associations (27 per cent) and fan fiction writing (10 per cent wrote at least one piece of fan fiction in his/her life). The results of this survey help us individuate the consolidation or modification of historical trends, and advance hypotheses on the ongoing changes brought about by digital media.

The issues of primary data and the accessibility of sources are crucial for both current and past years: publications and other memorabilia produced at a non-professional level are not usually to be found in public libraries, and are hence difficult to access. In recent years, important initiatives have made this task much easier in the English-speaking world: the Eaton Collection (University of California Riverside), and the SF Foundation Collection (University of Liverpool) have amassed rich holdings of fannish publications, but unfortunately, the Italian-speaking world has no equivalent, except for the Fondo Sandrelli [the 'Sandrelli Papers'] until recently part of the Biblioteca di via Senato.⁶

Some useful online resources are also available: Italian initiatives similar to the Fan History Project and The SF Oral History Association are devoted, on a smaller scale, to cataloguing paper-based fanzines, such as the *Prontuario delle Fanzine italiane* ['Italian Fanzines Handbook'] as part of *Intercom SF Station* (Bonati n.d.), and to preserving visual documentation, such as the photographic archive featured on the Fantascienza.com website ('Museo Fotografico del Fandom Italiano' n.d.).

Training grounds

An exhaustive description of the general characteristics of the Italian science fiction market (as regards publishing initiatives and readership, local productions for the big and small screens, gaming, and audiences) is beyond the scope of this essay;⁷ for a better understanding of science fiction fandom in Italy, however, we must remember that since the end of the Second World War until today, the Italian market has been characterized by a large number of translations from English (of books, but also of films and television series, Iannuzzi 2014b, 2014c). Although there were some home-grown precursors of the genre, science fiction did not arrive in Italy as a label until the economic boom years of the 1950s, and its recent history has consisted mostly of translations of Anglo-American productions; emblematic of this direct influence is the Italian word 'fantascienza', coined in 1952 as a direct translation of the English 'science fiction'.⁸

The beginning of an Italian science fiction fandom has to be placed between the late 1950s and early 1960s, when magazines such as *Oltre il Cielo* and



Figure 1. Futuria Fantasia, fanzine, ed. Luigi Cozzi, Milan, 1963. Illustration by Duccio and F. Alessandri. Courtesy of Luigi Cozzi.

Futuro started to publish columns dedicated to readers' letters and promote correspondences and the setting-up of sci-fi clubs in various cities (just as had happened in England and America a few decades earlier; see Del Rey 1979; Stableford 1987). The first fanzines appeared in the early 1960s, immediately after these first contacts were established: in 1963, Luigi Cozzi (later to become a filmmaker) cyclostyled Futuria Fantasia in Milan (the title paid homage to Ray Bradbury's fanzine by the same name). In the same year, the first Trieste Festival of Science Fiction Cinema took place, becoming an opportunity for a nationwide social gathering long before the first conventions were organized. Two years later, in 1965, another fanzine appeared: L'Aspidistra, edited by Riccardo Leveghi in Trento. Among its contributors, Gianfranco de Turris, Gian Luigi Staffilano, and Sebastiano Fusco were future editors and writers, protagonists of the Italian science fiction market from the

1970s onwards. The same goes, for example, for Luigi Naviglio, editor in 1965 of *Nuovi Orizzonti* and soon to become a writer for *I Romanzi del Cosmo* (under foreign pseudonyms, like most of his Italian colleagues) as well as for many others who started out as fans only to became professionals in the field. Fandom in Italy began to serve the dual purpose of training ground and contact network: from the late 1950s, countless professionals, especially writers, editors, and translators – started their working life in small fanzines and conventions.

There are numerous fanzines worth mentioning among those which appeared after the 1960s; the general trend was towards improved quality and life expectancy. In the 1960s, the most important fanzines published only a few issues or even just a single one, but in the 1970s, many titles lasted longer; during its ten years of activity, for example, fifty issues appeared of *The Time* Machine (printed in Padua in 1975); 149 issues of Intercom (1979–1999) were printed on paper before its migration to the web (as an e-zine until 2003, then as a website). While the professional market was still dominated by translations from England and America, the fanzines continued to feature numerous Italian authors. The Time Machine, for example, offered short stories by Gilda Musa, Lino Aldani, Massimo Pandolfi, Renato Pestriniero, and Gianluigi Zuddas - authors quite familiar to Italian readers, who were also writing for professional magazines and anthologies during this time. The same goes for editors: all the editors of the principal professional publications from the 1970s on had begun their careers in the fanzine universe, which continued to provide an excellent breeding ground.

Counter histories and fannish agencies

The content of the first fanzines consisted mainly of short stories, poems, articles and illustrations, indicative of a certain need to find a publishing outlet, given the extremely limited number of professional publications willing to feature works by Italian writers and reviews or discussions on science fiction as a genre. This need to make up for the shortcomings of the professional publications is also evident from the presence of translations from languages other than English, and poetry – already difficult to find a publisher for in the mainstream market, let alone the specialized science fiction one. The same goes for information and literary, film, and radio and TV criticism, which had to wait until the late 1970s to find space in the professional magazines (one example is Curtoni's *Robot*, after the sporadic reviews appearing in *Oltre il Cielo*), and the 1980s for the first scholarly journal devoted to genre criticism (Carlo Pagetti's *La Città e le Stelle*). During the 1960s and 1970s, reviews and essays were featured in the appendix of

publications such as *Galassia* and in publishers' bulletins and catalogues such as Nord's *Cosmo Informatore*: in these spaces, informative and promotional aims were ably woven together. It can be argued that fannish publications emerged in response to professional ones, offering as they did citizenship to content not welcome in the professional publications for commercial reasons, and testifying to Italian fans' yearning for creative and critical spaces.

Today, the boldly intermedial identity of the genre is clearly reflected by the cultural habits of its fans. ¹⁰ Indeed, the most common type of content in both paper-based and electronic fanzines is still literary and film criticism, along with creative writing. However, this is followed by video games, music and art (and to a lesser extent theatre, bibliographical data, politics, philosophy and news on current events).

The writing genres in today's fanzines partly reflect how the content is organized: reviews, articles, interviews, and original narratives are the most common typologies, followed by essays, poetry (present in 38 cases out of 69: a remarkable figure), catalogues and encyclopaedia entries and columns dedicated to collection practices. Of these contents, almost 97 per cent is written and published in Italian, while the most common source language of the translated contents is English, in a few cases (3 per cent [Iannuzzi 2015b]) the contents are published in languages other than Italian.

The remarkable amount of criticism and literary information to be found in the fanzines since the 1960s and constantly later on, points also to the continuing absence of science fiction in mainstream literary magazines and, more generally, in all the 'official' spaces allocated to literary criticism and information (such as universities, textbooks, literary awards, and so on). This absence must be put down to the difficult relationship between Italian intellectuals and techno-science and to a wider reaching, more disadvantaged position of the hard sciences in the Italian education system (Antonello 2011, 2012; Bellone 2005; Bernardini and De Mauro 2005; De Mauro 2010; Iannuzzi 2015a: 37–98 passim).

The activist tendencies on the part of Italian fans, dating back to the late 1950s, also points to their agility in moving from reception to production of contents, and claiming for themselves a cultural agency (leaving aside any critical assessment of what was produced) – impressive in itself, and even more so, given the backdrop of the difficult reception of the genre on the part of Italian academics and intellectual elites (Antonello 2008; Iannuzzi 2015a: 94–98). The *democratizing* effect of grassroots activities, born outside the *canonic* cultural institutions took a long time to be recognized as a phenomenon worthy of critical attention.

In order to assess fandom placement in an intermedial cultural landscape, it is useful to emphasize the key role played by the literary (and more in general, written) matrix in early fannish activities (e.g. the role of professional publications in promoting the first clubs, and the central position of fanzines as means of expression). This can be explained by the availability of the technical instruments with which to print amateur publications (as opposed to the much more recent availability of tools to reproduce and edit audiovisual material on the mass market); and the *interactive* nature of local publications and the possibility for the Italian fan to establish direct connections with them through mail (there is obviously no equivalent in film distribution to a readers' letters section, while the organization of a film festival requires a commitment in terms of finance and logistics quite burdensome for a non-professional).

The role of writing as a fundamental means of cultural exchange between fans continues today, and has even become more evident, thanks to the increasing importance, alongside paper-based fanzines, of websites, blogs and other means of instant communication using digital media, such as social networks. Of almost 300 fans who participated in the 2015 survey, only 69 have cooperated or are cooperating as authors and/or editors in the making of a paper-based and/or electronic amateur publication, while 147 were contributors or moderators in forums (including forums on specialized websites, such as Trekportal or Uraniamania, as well as group discussions on social networks such as Facebook; see Iannuzzi 2015b).

Hive minds and the roots of a transmedia fanscape

Since they first appeared between the 1950s and 1960s, fannish publications were not just a means of expression but also an important means of socialization, produced by local groups and clubs, and circulated by direct exchanges between authors at small group meetings. The first informal meetings were organized in Milan, Turin and Carrara between 1965 and 1967. In 1967, a Fanzine Award was created¹¹ and a Movimento Fandom Attivo ['Active Fandom Movement'] was founded with the (rather generic) aim of promoting fannish activities. A series of other small get-togethers took place in subsequent years and decades, in which fun-loving and socialization aspects were combined (in the 1980s, there would even be a SalamaCon in Piacenza, in which the salami took away the title from science fiction; cf. Greenwald 1998: 123–133).

In 1972, the first European convention, Eurocon, was organized in Trieste, thanks to the energy, initiative and international connections of fans in northeast Italy, such as Giampaolo Cossato and the Centro Cultori Science Fiction in Venice. During Eurocon, an Italia Award was also created (annual since



Figure 2. Europa Report 1, First European Convention of Science Fiction, Trieste, 12–16 July 1972, ed. Centro Cultori Science Fiction. Illustration by Mariano Missaglia. Courtesy of Giampaolo Cossato, Gianluigi Missiaja, CCSF.

1975), dedicated to professional and amateur publications, as well as to artists and shows, testifying to the characteristically blurred boundaries between amateur and professional in the field, as well as the strong identity of the genre across different media. During subsequent years the Italian fandom was less active in an international dimension: Italy has never hosted a Worldcon – world science fiction convention, for example, nor have there been panels on Italian science fiction in Worldcons' programmes; Eurocon was back in the peninsula two times (in 1980 and 2009; in 1989 a Eurocon was held in San Marino). National conventions were consolidated and usually held in association with convention of specialized association (such as Start Trek

Italian Club, Yavin4, Gundam Italian club). Since its foundation in 2013, the association *World SF Italia* coordinates the organization the annual national convention (Italcon) and awards (Premio Italia ['Italy Award'] – with thirty-two categories across media – and Premio Vegetti ['Vegetti Award'] – best Italian novel and essay).

Attendance at conventions and events, just like club membership, is nowadays restricted to a limited number of particularly motivated fans (almost 56 per cent of fans do not attend any event or convention, while 27 per cent participate less than once a year; 74 per cent do not belong to any club or association), but social exchange is the motivation in which every kind of fannish activity is deeply rooted: while it may come as no surprise that fans appreciate the fanzine as a means of exchanging ideas, and gaming as a social and aggregative practice, one of the most important by-products of collection practices is listed as co-establishing relationships and friendships (Iannuzzi 2015b).

During the 1980s and early 1990s Italian fandom was marked by an increased interest in fantastic genres other than science fiction (such as horror, fantasy, swords and sorcery, and so on), a (late blossomed but lively) cyberpunk movement, and the birth and development of specific fandoms relating to television series, such as Star Trek. In Milan, certain initiatives would leave an important legacy around the Club City: La Spada spezzata: Fanzine di Fantascienza e Fantasy (18 issues 1981–1991, Prix Européenne de Science Fiction for best non-professional publication in 1986) was the incubator to Silvio Sosio's Delos group, a future pioneer of the digital environment with *Delos cyberzine* (later *Delos*, registered magazine since 2003) and, later on, Fantascienza.com. Un'ala (4 issues, 1984–1986), animated by Nicoletta Vallorani, Daniela Piegai, Anna Rinonapoli, among others, fostered an unprecedented (in Italy) critical assessment of gender issues in speculative genres. Other significant clubs were founded in Italy around this time, such as the Space Opera Club in Turin, promoted by Gianfranco Briatore, and ANASF (Associazione Nazionale Amici della Science Fiction) established in 1979 in Rome and coordinated by Gianni Pilo (with its fanzine Sf.. Ere, Europe Award in 1980).

With the *Star Trek* fandom came the first significant production, in Italian, of *fan fiction* (according to Thomas' [2011: 1] definition: 'stories produced by fans based on plot lines and characters from either a single source text or else a "canon" of works', here a 'pre-existing storyworld' and transmedia global franchise). *The Original Series* arrived in Italy in the late 1970s (around ten years after they first aired in America), but the franchise did not achieve great success until the first film version, *Star Trek The Motion Picture* was distributed

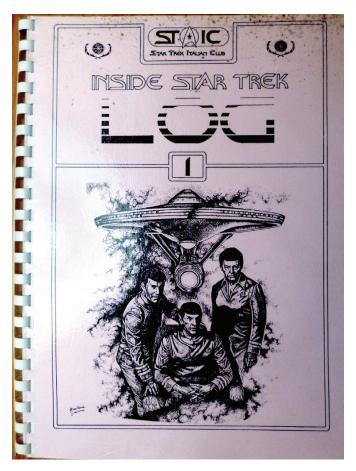


Figure 3. *Inside Star Trek Log*, ed. Star Trek Italian Club, first issue, 1987. Illustration by Marilena Maiocco, graphic design by Alberto Lisiero. Courtesy of Star Trek Italian Club.

in 1980. We can place the first appearance of an Italian *Star Trek* fandom in the early 1980s, with the first national convention being held in 1986 (Iannuzzi 2014b). The official *Star Trek Italian Club* would be the coordinating centre for printing and distributing various magazines (*Inside Star Trek, Log, Log Plus*) and for all the activities of the club: conventions, games, encyclopaedias, forums, and so on.

Television series fandoms and cyberpunk reveal the increasing importance of a transmedia cultural diet for science fiction fans. Cyberpunk fandom possessed a remarkable ability for operating across different media, and even stimulating cultural and technical innovation in the use of technologies, being attracted to new forms of media activism that were often politically engaged. ¹² By way of example, the group in Milan which would found the small publishing company called Shake, first saw the light as a fan group, with *Tensioni Radiozine* (featured on the independent channel Radio Popolare), and the fanzine *Decoder* (1987–1997, registered magazine since 1994), which promoted the organization of the first Bulletin Board Systems in Italy.



Figure 4. *Tensioni radiozine*, registration on tape, 1987. Every effort was made to contact the original copyright owner.

At the beginning of the 1980s, xerography broke the monopoly of cyclostyle in fanzine-making, a technology that had severely limited the use and quality of illustrations, and created huge financial headaches for those publications determined to have at least the cover printed in offset. The 1980s and early 1990s also saw the first experimentations with non-paper-based-media, with fanzines realized and distributed via voice-mail (by Tommaso Tozzi in Florence, for example), via fax (*Shining* by Franco Forte), programmed in BASIC language for ZX Spectrum (*Blade Run* by Luigi Pachì). The first fanzine to make use of a computer was *La spada spezzata* in 1984 (a CBM 64, later one of the first Macintoshes), while *Delos Science Fiction* was the first to appear in html (April 1995); *Intercom* was the first to transmigrate online after first seeing the light on paper. In the early 1990s, Italian fandom exploited the new spaces offered by BBS and Fidonet (Pachì n.d.; Sosio 2001, 2015).

Where old and new media collide

What has already been noted in other linguistic areas also applies to the Italian case being investigated here: traditional fannish activities such as paper-based correspondence, publications, and conventions were most effective forms of many-to-many communication, thanks to which *virtual* communities were created before the advent of the Internet, bringing together people who were both geographically and socially distant through their shared interests (Jenkins 2006b, esp. 134–151; Merrick 2004). Digital media put new channels and practical instruments at the disposal of fans, and the impact of these is not easy to assess, both for the shortage of homogeneous data series regarding the preceding periods, and the difficulty in evaluating ongoing processes. It seems

reasonable to state that digital media are being put to good use by Italian science fiction fans not only with the creation of important new spaces for virtual socialization and expression (indicated by 78 per cent of fans as one of the most important opportunities offered by digital media), but also as tools for communication which make it easier to circulate physical products and organize traditional activities. Among the changes introduced by digital media and the Internet, fans place great value on the improved accessibility and better circulation (e.g. e-commerce) of traditional products (indicated by 77.5 per cent of fans as being one of the most significant changes in their cultural experiences), and the possibility to use the Internet to promote initiatives in the physical world (45 per cent), while other aspects such as the new forms of consumer-content interaction, or the democratizing effects of the tools now available to publish contents are seen as less important (23 per cent and 31 per cent, respectively) and counterbalanced by more sceptical points of view (such as the overall decline in the quality of contents and/or content overload with poor feedback possibilities determined by that same ease in publication -13 per cent; 33 per cent).¹³

Old and new media are generally perceived as complementary: in fanzine production, for example, essential synergies are put in places (53 per cent); or complementary, different areas are covered (23 per cent); more rarely, a marked distance is perceived between the two worlds (18 per cent); and in a minority of cases, bitter competition or opposition (Iannuzzi 2015b).

Where do we go from here?

The case of Italian science fiction confirms how fans' activities across the different media can also be interpreted as direct responses to specific shortcomings in the contents offered by cultural industries (an example is the commitment of fannish publications to Italian authors, criticism, and poetry), and this would seem to be a phenomenon that has not changed either with the passing of time or with the introduction of new media and technologies. In a mediascape where production and distribution of cultural products are increasingly dominated by large corporations and groups, this role of fannish initiatives seems even more critical, and all the more in those sectors, such as publishing, where science fiction finds reduced spaces, almost becoming a niche: specialized genre publishers active in Italy today were in fact professionally born after a fannish apprenticeship and/or maintain significant ties with their fannish base (Iannuzzi 2015a: 84–93).

There seems to be more to it, however, than simply trying to make up for something missing in cultural products: fan activities in Italy are markedly independent from an academic culture which, from Benedetto Croce to Marxist intellectuals' suspicions towards a mass culture indebted to American



Figure 5. (Left) *Intercom*, fanzine (paper, off-set), ed. Giuseppe Marcianò, Palermo, issue 9, June 1980. Illustration by Daniele Brolli. Courtesy of Daniele Brolli. (Right) *Intercom Science Fiction Station* (web portal), 2016. Courtesy of Intercom Science Fiction Station.

models, has shown contempt both for techno-science and for the so-called popular genres. Pierre Bourdieu has read fan practices in other fields as compensation strategies put in place by people who have not earned the legitimation of an institutional, canonical education and are looking elsewhere for recognition of cultural distinction (Bourdieu 2001: 85–86). In a cultural context characterized by a difficult relationship between sciences and humanities, and by the primacy of liberal arts as a source of social prestige, it will come as no surprise that the educational qualifications of passionate science fiction readers, viewers and gamers tend to be significantly higher than the national average, and are mostly higher degrees in the hard sciences; ¹⁴ and that they show exceptionally developed cultural habits, 60 per cent of them being habitual readers for example, which is far above the national average of around 14 per cent. ¹⁵ A better overall knowledge of science fiction fans' education levels and cultural practices surely helps to explain these fans' early uptake of new media over the last few decades, not to mention their inventiveness.

Of course, the *compensatory* nature of the fans' activities mentioned above should not be over-exaggerated: the simple pleasures of indulging one's private passions constructively, and getting together and making new friends with a similar mindset are among the most important motives behind many fans' undertakings. 16 We have previously noted the importance currently placed by fans on the acquisition and exchange of products (through digital channels), something that we may as well interpret in the light of broader cultural consumption practices and forms of consumerism (that have been growing, in Italy, especially since the 1950s; see Forgacs 1990; cf. Forgacs and Gundle 2007) of which science fiction is part, with specific spaces and forms. The 'curious co-existence within fan cultures of both anti-commercial ideologies and commodity-completist practices' in fact has to be accounted for by scholarly research, and we shall agree with Hills that 'the best we can hope for is a theoretical approach to fandom which can tolerate contradiction without seeking to close it down prematurely' (Hills 2002: 4, 5) by overestimating one aspect on the other, or by stating an opposition between 'fan' and 'consumer' where we should be analysing multifaceted and contradictory habits. 17

Significantly, the passion of its fans for science fiction is perceived and thematized as an interest in hypothetical experiments and in the future scenarios awaiting the human species, combined with the sense of wonder typically deriving from plots involving the discovery and explorations of new worlds and alien dimensions (Iannuzzi 2015b): as much as (or even more than) its entertainment value, fans of science fiction appreciate its capacity for critical engagement. It may be pointless to make such a sharp distinction between the two aspects; indeed the winning feature of the genre for its fans may well be the pleasure of being encouraged to reflect critically, while being entertained at the same time.

How are fandom segmentations shaped and interconnected according to audiences of different media? What are the trends that characterize present changes, and what are we moving towards? At the individual psychological level, what determines one's self-perception and self-definition as a fan? Further systematic data gathering and critical analysis still need to be done in order to answer this and many other questions regarding the nature and activities of Italian science fiction fandom; it is precisely this complexity than makes fandom phenomenology all the more fascinating.

Notes

1. On fan studies and their historical development see Hellekson (2009), Reid (2009); see Mendlesohn (2014), Reid (2012) for definitions of fan and fandom and an historical overview focusing mainly on the English-speaking world, on which also Hansen (2015) and Roberts et al. (2015); for the idea of *fan-scholars* see

- Hills (2002: 16–20). I would like to thank Giampaolo Cossato for his generosity in putting rare material at my disposal, Silvio Sosio for offering me his testimony and decisive help in promoting the *Indagine sul fandom fantascientifico italiano* ['Survey on the Italian science fiction fandom'] visibility through Fantascienza. com. Special thanks also to Luca G. Manenti for helping me out in many of the research and writing phases of this work.
- 2. In the English-speaking world, as in the Italian one, the first contributions on the history of science fiction fandom are to be found in the memoires, autobiographies, and testimonies of its protagonists, e.g. Knight (1977); Moskowitz (1954); Pohl (1978); Warner (1969), together with autobiographies such as Asimov's (1979, 1980); a few testimonies are available from women regarding the early years, e.g. Merril (2002), and for subsequent periods, Trimble (1983) and Verba (1996).
- 3. See for example Cersosimo (2012); Rulli (2012); Sosio (2001, 2009).
- 4. Altomare (2005); Calabrese (2008); Cersosimo (2012); Curtoni (1999); Pachì (n.d.); Rulli (2012); Rulli and Tassi (2012); Sosio (1999, 2001, 2009, 2015); Sumiraschi (1985); Valla (2001); Vegetti (2001, 2005, 2012).
- 5. The questionnaire sections were: 1 Informazioni personali; 2 Abitudini culturali; 3 – Fantascienza; 4 – Fanzine e siti; 5 – Fanfiction e scrittura creativa; 6 – Forum; 7 – Giochi; 8 – Eventi e convention; 9 – Collezionismo; 10 – Club e Associazioni; 11 – Trattamento dei dati e feedback ['1 – Personal Information; 2 - Cultural habits; 3 - Science fiction; 4 - Fanzines and websites; 5 - Fan fiction and creative writing; 6 - Forums; 7 - Games; 8 - Events and conventions; 9 -Collections; 10 – Clubs and Associations; 11 – Processing of personal data and feedback']. To validate the questionnaire, only selected answers in sections 1, 2, 3, 11 were necessary. Less than 2 per cent of the science fiction fans interviewed were aged under 20 (whereas 18.5 per cent of the Italian population is under 20); 10 per cent were between 20 and 30 (compared to 10.5 per cent in Italy as a whole); 22 per cent were aged 31-40 (compared to 13 per cent nationwide), 36 per cent were aged 41-50 (compared to 16 per cent), 23.5 per cent were aged 51-60 (compared to 14 per cent nationwide), 7.5 per cent were over 60 (compared to 28 per cent nationwide; ISTAT 2015, vol. 3, 84); all data rounded up or down to closest integer.
- 6. Biblioteca di via Senato is a private institution in Milan. The Fondo Sandrelli has been recently sold and is currently being moved to a new home.
- 7. For a general overview in Italian see de Turris and Vegetti (2012); Iannuzzi (2014a and 2015a esp. 27–98); in English: Iannuzzi and Pagetti (2015).
- 8. The word 'fanta-scienza' first appeared in the blurb of *The Sands of Mars* by Arthur C. Clarke, published in *I Romanzi di Urania* 1, 10 October 1952 (as *Le sabbie di Marte*). Giorgio Monicelli, who invented the word, had been a key figure in the development of the genre as the editor of *I Romanzi di Urania* (Iannuzzi 2014a: 23–57).

9. A few examples from the early years: in 1966, some short stories by the German author Herbert W. Franke were featured in *Vega sf*; a whole issue dedicated to *S.F. Française* was edited by Vittorio Curtoni, Adalberto Cersosimo, Roberto Temporini, and Jean Pierre Fontana; a short story by the Swedish writer Bertil Mårtensson appeared in *Siderea*, edited by Naviglio.

- 10. In Iannuzzi (2015b) fanzine authors and editors were asked what kind of content is contained in the publication they collaborate with, and to what extent on a scale from 1 to 5 it characterizes the fanzine's cultural project. Literary criticism of genre texts proved to be by far the most common and significant content: of the 69 fanzines accounted for in the survey, genre criticism was present in 68 cases, and in 20 cases (34.5 per cent) it played the most important role in the cultural project of the publication. This was followed by film criticism (present in 51 cases, and usually among the most characterizing type of content– ranked between 3 and 5 in 38 cases), creative writing (48), art criticism (43), other literary genres (42), music (42), bibliographies and catalogues (39), games and video games (38), news (38), philosophy (37), politics (36) and theatre (36).
- 11. Since 1968, the award has been divided into four categories: best short story, poem, essay and graphic work.
- 12. Close to the left underground movements, for example, in Milan and Bologna (the same background that would see the appearance of the media-activist Luther Blissett project years later).
- 13. Iannuzzi (2015b). The question posed in the survey (3.6) was: 'Did digital media and the Internet bring about significant changes in your experience as a science fiction fan? If so, what were the most important ones?' More than one answer was possible, percentages were calculated using the total number of completed questionnaires.
- 14. Iannuzzi (2015b): approximately 5 per cent of fans interviewed have a junior high school diploma, almost 50 per cent have a secondary school diploma, 38 per cent a bachelor's/master's degree, and 13 per cent a Ph.D.: 51 per cent have tertiary-level degrees, compared to a national average of 26 per cent (ISTAT 2015, vol. 7, 251); the national figure for secondary school diplomas is 84 per cent of the population. These differences can be partly explained by the demographic distribution of the population screened; see note 5. Of the fans interviewed, 58 per cent had some kind of qualification (secondary school diploma, bachelor's/master's degree, Ph.D.) with a specialization in mathematics, physical sciences, information and communication, engineering, universe and earth sciences, or life sciences. The remarkable gender gap that emerged (88 per cent of the interviewees were male, compared to only 11 per cent female and 1 per cent other) can be traced back to age-old disparities in education and broader cultural issues.
- 15. Almost 60 per cent of the interviewees had read 12 or more books in the last 12 months (Iannuzzi 2015b) compared to a national average for Italy of 14 per cent, according to ISTAT (2015, vol. 8: 267). Italian science fiction fans are also

- more than twice as likely as the average Italian to go to the theatre, or to cinemas, concerts and museums.
- 16. When asked 'What are your reasons for collaborating with a non-professional publication?' the most popular responses were that it constitutes a constructive hobby (67 per cent); that it is a way to compare your ideas with other people's (42 per cent); that it offers the opportunity to express personal opinions (39 per cent); socialize (27 per cent); make up for the unavailability of professional spaces (13 per cent) and other options. The most popular motives for writing fan fiction are that writing is a pleasant activity and is easier to do building on known fictional works (54 per cent), and that existing works do not offer all the content fans would like to see, and thus they write to take the stories themselves in specific directions (40 per cent); fan fiction writing is also seen as a way of getting together with other fans (29 per cent) and improving one's own writing with the help of feedback from others (23 per cent). Attendance at conventions and events is motivated by a desire to be physically present at conferences and presentations, followed by the chance to meet old and new friends, and exchange ideas with other attendees; the least important motivations are the chance to meet famous writers and actors, buy rare products, and do gaming and co-playing. The importance of social relationships also emerged in collection practices: Iannuzzi (2015b); more than one option was allowed in these answers.
- 17. On the role of industrial agencies in the construction and promotion of the genre's labels for cultural products, see Altman (1999); Rieder (2010); Westfahl (1998). While consumerism has been repeatedly studied as a theme in science-fiction narratives, less systematic research has been carried out on the issue of consumerism and/or science fiction, despite the critical role of consumption practices in shaping the complex relationship that fandoms have with cultural products. See (Hills 2002: 3–19); and contributions in debt with an increasing and fruitful presence of cultural history methodologies in science fiction studies: e.g. Luckhurst (2005), and on specific aspects: Cooper (2015); Lancaster (1996); Vint (2014: 95–96).

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