

**FAN PRACTICES AND DOCTOR WHO: “NU WHO,” FAN WORKS, AND SHIPPING**

by

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### **Dedications**

For the Whovians old and new who keep the man in the blue box alive.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Dr. Cynthia Walker, whose expertise, support, and assistance made this work possible. I would also like to thank my friends on Tumblr, whose excitement for this research allowed it to snowball across social media to a degree I never expected. Thank you.

Special thanks go to the Argus Eyes Drama Society and the constant friends and supporters who have inspired me throughout this process.

### Abstract

With the advent of the Internet and the continually shifting state of digital technology, simply and concretely defining “fans” and “fandom” proves a somewhat daunting task. Accordingly, the complexity and uniqueness of the British science-fiction series *Doctor Who* does little to ease this challenge. Following its 2005 revival, a new influx of fans suddenly appeared alongside time-tested fans of the program’s original run, and if defining the fandom itself proves difficult for its diversity, observing the divide between old *Who* and “Nu *Who*” does not. Hadas (2009) has written much on old fandom’s transition to the Internet, but these newer fans have utilized the Internet throughout their entire fan experience, both to supplement old practices and to engage in new ones. Therefore, through two surveys handed out at New York Comic Con, at Saint Peter’s University, through snowball sampling, and via Tumblr, this study focuses primarily on those new fans and the practices in which they engage to examine what differences, if any, exist along gender lines and age lines.

What emerges is a group of individuals who identify as strong *Doctor Who* fans but who do not necessarily engage in traditional fan practices, such as fan fiction writing. They do, however, engage passively in new ways through the Internet, allowing fan content to find *them* rather than actively searching for it. Perhaps they are fans without a fandom—a picture of the mainstream audience entering more traditionally “fannish” culture through new media and examined through the lens of Rogers (2003) diffusion of innovations.

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## I. Literature Review

As deceptively simple as the concepts of “fan” and “fandom” may seem to the average media consumer, when one attempts to frankly and concretely define them, the complexity of language and thought they demand becomes readily apparent—especially when one considers how evolving digital technology has altered and supplemented those concepts since research on them began throughout the latter portion of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, those early observations, especially the work of Jenkins (1992), provide the necessary basis for further study, even if “fan” and “fandom,” as concepts, remain consistently difficult to directly articulate.

On one hand, the term “fan,” finding its roots in the term “fanatic,” can carry negative connotations, referring to an individual who mindlessly purchases merchandise associated with some television program, who devotes his or her life to accumulating knowledge about that program, and who struggles to function well on a more widespread social level (Jenkins 1992). Although these ideas remain hyperbolic, one can nevertheless see in a relatively superficial way that part of identifying a fan occurs through identifying the behaviors in which he or she participates. However, these stereotypical examples reduce fans to passive consumers.

Conversely, fans themselves belong to a “participatory culture,” interacting with, engaging with, and even creating new renditions of a media text in the forms of fan fiction and fan art (Jenkins 1992). This process does not occur in a figurative vacuum. Rather, fans create their own fan community; they develop a “fan culture with its own systems of production and distribution...” (Fiske, 1992, p. 30). This shared system of practices, of interests, and of what Hadas (2009) called “rules” that define acceptable and unacceptable behavior, constitutes a basic overview of what exactly fandom entails.

Still, to define “fan” and “fandom” for 2014, one must also note other potential considerations. Booth and Kelly (2013) defined fans “as audience members who feel an intense emotional connection to a particular media text” (p. 58). However, they also noted that in forging this definition, fan voices themselves proved paramount. Accordingly, another aspect of the fan experience remains a process of psychological self-identification, the willingness of an individual to define himself or herself as such and to embrace that identity. Thus, encompassing all aspects of that identity, Harrington and Bielby (2007) note that the investment of a fan in a media text can be threefold, bearing a behavioral component, an emotional component, and a psychological component.

Ultimately, while diverse modern and historical definitions offer glimpses at different facets of the fan experience, they do share one feature in common: the notable distinction between the “fan” and the “mainstream” audience. Essentially, fandom exists on values popular culture rejects (Fiske 1992), such as intense dedication to a single piece of sometimes obscure media. For example, Cavicchi (2007) examines music “lovers” as fans and notes that critiques of those fans often emphasize their rejection or seeming unawareness of social norms; in the eyes of their critics, they lack the taste to appreciate popular music and the tact to conduct themselves like the majority. In a similar fashion, science-fiction fans, those individuals on whom this paper focuses, traditionally seem to encounter more ridicule than fans of more “mainstream” programs, such as soap operas (Jenkins 1992). Even Booth and Kelly (2013) insist that a fan’s investment in a media text must be emotionally intense—excluding those viewers whose interest was perhaps casual or passing.

This same distinction compelled Tulloch (1995) to define “fans as a powerless elite, structurally situated between producers they have little control over and the ‘wider public’ whose

continued following of the show can never be assured, but on whom the survival of the show depends” (p. 144). Nevertheless, the advent of new technologies, particularly the Internet, has changed the way this relationship functions.

On one hand, a wealth of file and content-sharing websites has made the process of disseminating, creating, and manipulating content easier and has, therefore, made the formerly exclusive concept of fandom more visible to general audiences (Jenkins 2006). As one research participant noted to Booth and Kelly (2013), shows like *The Big Bang Theory* have “opened the door,” so to speak, on formerly “geeky” practices and allowed mainstream audiences to understand and even participate in them. (p. 65). This unique connection between the fan and the mainstream viewer becomes especially perplexing in the *Doctor Who* universe. The British sci-fi series detailing the adventures of the Doctor, an alien Time Lord, and his human companion provides an interesting backdrop for observing the place of fandom in 2015.

On the other hand, *Doctor Who* exists as a cultural mainstay in the United Kingdom—one that expresses a mainstream British identity and compels those audiences to interact with it differently than American ones do (Hills 2010). As Booth and Hill summarized (2013), the original program ran for 26 years until its cancellation in 1989. Then began a period known as the “Wilderness Years” (Booth and Hill, 2013). However, the show was revived again in 2005, leading to an influx of new fans of what Booth and Hill (2013) called the “New *Who*” and Hadas (2009) called “Nu *Who*.” This 21<sup>st</sup> century revival thus allows for unique avenues of research, particularly in regard to the Internet. In short, questions emerge about how old fans adapted to new technology, about how newer fans interacted with technology from the beginning of their fandom experience, and about how these two groups came into contact and interacted with one another both online and in person.

Foremost, the *Doctor Who* fans of the 21<sup>st</sup> century seem to go online primarily to supplement offline practices (Booth and Hill 2013). According to a sample of 115 attendees at Chicago Tardis, a *Doctor Who* fan convention held in Chicago in the fall of 2011, the Internet proved useful for organizing in-person gatherings and for remaining in contact with other fans between those gatherings. Effectively, the study found that:

the computer and social media specifically are ways of deepening the ties between fan communities and have become influential on their fan practices. But for fans that have the financial and social capital, traveling to conventions remains an important fannish event, augmented by online messages but reliant on in-person dialogue. (Booth and Kelly, 2013, p. 69)

This research thus found that the Internet had supplemented more traditional practices rather than having eliminated or completely changed them.

Another fan practice that the Internet has perhaps supplemented is fan fiction writing. As Jenkins (1992) described, interacting with, rewriting, and adapting a media text to create fan works has always remained a prominent part of the fandom experience—namely for the so-called “textual poachers” who borrow from a media text to create their own. Today, large portions of the fan writing community consist of teenaged writers exploring new creative outlets online (Thomas 2006). Interestingly, these individuals have perhaps not lived in a world where the Internet did not exist, and it has, therefore, always been a part of their fandom and fan fiction experience. Naturally, it must somehow affect how they participate in that experience.

Today, more than 68 thousand unique *Doctor Who* narratives exist on FanFiction.net (<https://www.fanfiction.net/tv/Doctor-Who>). That number has dramatically increased since the series reappeared on television in 2005, rising “from a mere 710 between 1998 and 2005 to over

12,000 by mid-2008” (Hadas, 2009, para. 2.2.). Throughout her own observations of *Doctor Who* fan fiction writers online, Hadas applied O’Reilly’s (2007) model of online participation (Hadas 2009). In short, the *Web 2.0* model that O’Reilly proposed painted the Internet as a platform rather than a provider, and accordingly, users became participants and producers rather than mere consumers. Therefore:

If participation is the essence of fandom, then the changes brought on by the new model should be fandom's wet dream. However, as the *Doctor Who* fans are learning, such openness does not necessarily fit in with their conception of what fandom means. The model may supposedly thrive on a community of users, but this is a community with different rules.... (Hadas 2009, para. 3.5)

Such rules may distinguish desirable content from undesirable content. As Hadas (2009) notes, the Web 2.0 model implied that all fan fiction was equally relevant online because all writers were merely equal producers on the Internet platform. Nevertheless, conflicts between fans began to arise, particularly on “A Teaspoon and an Open Mind,” *Doctor Who*’s largest online fan fiction archive (<http://www.whofic.com>). Evidently, not all fan content was created equal.

In 2008, the community switched from free submissions to moderated submission, and on a site already struggling with conflicts between fans of different generations, this switch only prompted further divisions (Hadas 2009). One segment of users insisted fan content ought to allow for the free blossoming of creativity, and another segment insisted on the moderators’ rights to institute new rules. Therefore, discerning a general agreement on the purpose and value of fan fiction for *Doctor Who* fans proves difficult, and the “A Teaspoon and an Open Mind” incident only served to highlight the fandom’s consistently divisive nature.

For example, members of the Livejournal community *doctorwho* (<http://doctorwho.livejournal.com>), constructed two unique identities in light of “Nu *Who*’s” infusion of romance into the program’s traditional science-fiction formula: the romance-loving “shippers,” who engage in “shipping” by pairing characters into relationships, and the romance-hating “anoraks” (Hadas 2013). Further divides emerged from what Hadas and Shifman (2013) saw as *Doctor Who*’s continual transition between mainstream and “cult” status—that is incarnations catering to the traditionally small group of particularly devoted fans.

As new fans flocked to the series in 2005, older fans retreated into Tulloch’s (1995) model of the powerless elite (Hadas and Shifman 2013). Effectively, fans who did not necessarily enjoy the way the series was changing could not attempt to influence the series’ producers to consider a more classical approach. Rather, recalling the relationship between the elite, the mainstream consumer, and the producer, they had to allow *Doctor Who* to change because a wider range of audiences promised higher ratings and ideally the show’s longevity. Newer audiences, however, remained willing to share their opinions publicly using new technology, interacting with producers and highlighting this omnipresent divide between old and “Nu *Who*.”

Still, in Hadas and Shifman’s model (2013), fandom remained as exclusive as it did in the past, existing as something apart from the mainstream. However, if the Internet and television has exposed fandom to the mainstream, perhaps the mainstream ought to be considered along with it. Duckworth (2006) thus proposed spectrums of investment in *Doctor Who* fandom, allowing fans to rank themselves in areas such as financial investment and participatory investment. Therefore, in his more general model, different degrees of fan involvement could occur, creating a hierarchy of sorts. It did not limit the *Doctor Who* fandom to the traditional

group of elites, and it did not view fandom as exclusive. Rather, it allowed participation from all individuals who simply enjoyed the program and extended the definition of “fan” to include the growing mainstream audience who simply enjoyed the show.

Rogers (1995) provides an interesting and useful lens for examining this phenomenon. As he describes (1995), when an innovation, such as a new piece of technology, comes into being, its widespread acceptance follows a bell curve. While the so-called innovators comprise a small group of initial enthusiasts, the majority eventually welcomes the innovation as well.

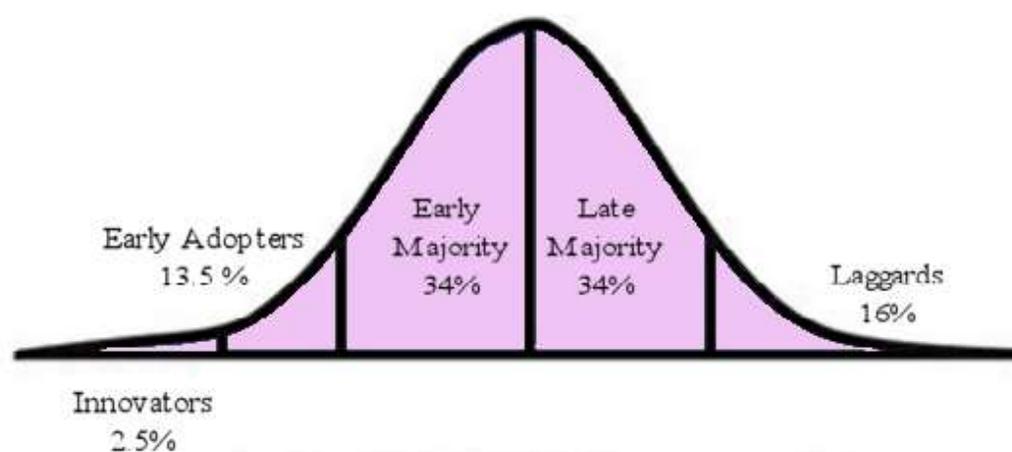


Figure 1. Categories of Innovativeness (Rogers, 1995)

One can thus argue that fandom itself is an innovation, something which sprung into being and later gained wider acceptance. As Brown (2009) describes, Sherlock Holmes enthusiasts began writing original fan fiction as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps, therefore, the famous detective sparked the first fandom, the first community of consumer-producers interacting with a media text and making it their own. In his introduction to *The Complete Sherlock Holmes*, Morley (1930) writes that Holmes “is a triumphant illustration of art’s supremacy over life. Perhaps no fiction character ever created has become so charmingly real to his readers” (para 8). Therefore, Holmes arguably represents the first fiction character to triumph

over his author and to gain a new, separate life among his fans, whose own work, in turn, claimed him as its own. If these are the innovators, then the casual fans of today are the majority, the natural inheritors of the innovation that is fandom. Accordingly, perhaps their presence, especially in the world of *Doctor Who*, is earning the ire of the early adopters, the fans of the 20<sup>th</sup> century about whom Jenkins (1992) first wrote.

Still, this paper does not attempt to solve the divides apparently inherent in the *Doctor Who* fan community. It does, however, more closely examine the newer members, the younger “Nu *Who*” fans, and the fan practices in which they participate. While past research has examined the transition to the Internet for older fans, this paper focuses on those newer, perhaps less invested, fans and on how the Internet’s existence has influenced them from the beginning.

## **II. Research Question**

Hence, the ultimate question remains: what are the differences in how male members and female members of the “Nu *Who*” *Doctor Who* fandom interact and behave as fans, especially on the Internet, in terms of partaking in and creating original content, and what role, if any, does age play in these practices, assuming older fans came to the series at an earlier date?

## **III. Design Methodology**

Essentially, this research is comprised of two convenience samples, which were surveyed from October 2014 through March 2015. While the former survey, consisting of 57 respondents, was administered in person, the latter, consisting of 345 respondents, was administered through the social media website Tumblr.com, utilizing an external electronic survey to which responders were linked. For this reason, one cannot guarantee that the respondents in each sample are

unique. Anonymity entails the possibility that participants from the first sample may have participated in the second as well, and for that reason, the samples were considered separately.

### The First Sample

The initial sample consisted of 57 survey respondents, 25 of whom were male and 32 of whom were female. All respondents currently live in the United States. However, no survey responses allowed individuals to indicate if they had grown up elsewhere, and given *Doctor Who*'s British roots, such concessions may have proven useful.

Nevertheless, respondents were gathered through three distinct American venues. In all cases, they were asked if they were *Doctor Who* fans before receiving a survey and were thus given the opportunity to self-identify themselves. Surveys were first delivered in the line waiting to enter New York Comic Con on October 9, 2014. Ultimately, this venue was chosen as a large-scale fan gathering at which one would expect *Doctor Who* fans to be present and for its geographical nearness. In total, 33 respondents were reached in this fashion, and all participants were delivered a 17-question survey in an unmarked envelope which they then completed in person, sealed, and returned to the researcher to conceal their identity. This sample was not random or all-inclusive. Fans were identified solely through *Doctor Who* merchandise they were either wearing or carrying, and inclusion in the study was limited to individuals 18 years of age and older to avoid necessitating parental consent. Moreover, one must consider that this sample only includes individuals who could afford to and were willing to pay to attend Comic Con.

While geographical diversity did become apparent among the entire sample, the majority of the total sample from all venues expectedly hailed from the New York/New Jersey area (68%). Other respondents included three people from Tennessee, five from Pennsylvania, three

from Connecticut, and one each from Maryland, Arkansas, Texas, Georgia, Rhode Island, Washington D.C., and California.

The second subset of the complete sample was gathered at Saint Peter's University in Jersey City, N.J., throughout November 2014. In total, 14 respondents were gathered in this way. This convenience sample, chosen for immediate accessibility, was not random. Rather, it involved attending meetings of the university's Japanese Anime and Manga Club, of the Argus Eyes Drama Society, and of the Aiden C. McMullen Chorale and asking the individuals present if they identified *as Doctor Who* fans. These organizations were chosen for involving some type of media at their cores—whether cartoons and comics, theatre, or music. A 26-question survey was delivered to these individuals in an envelope, but for this paper, only the 17 questions answered by Comic Con attendees will be under scrutiny. The initial shorter survey existed to more easily compel attendees at the crowded Comic Con to stop and participate in this research.

The final subset of this study's overall sample was gathered through snowball sampling. Saint Peter's University participants who voiced an unprompted interest in surveying their own acquaintances were given either sealed surveys they distributed in-person and then returned in person or electronic copies they distributed digitally and then returned via email. In total, 10 participants were gathered in this way, and this process allowed for minimal inclusion of fans living outside the eastern United States.

Overall, the average age of respondents proved relatively young ( $M=25$ ,  $SD=5.63$ ), but participants ranged from 18 years old to 46 years old. Only one participant opted not to include his age. In total, 35 respondents were between 18 and 25 years old, 26 respondents were between 26 and 32 years old, and only four respondents were 33 and older. Hence, the sample is once again lacking. It does not necessarily equally represent *Doctor Who* fans of all ages, regardless of

when they came to the series, but at the same time, it does perhaps include more individuals invested in the “Nu *Who*” incarnation of the series. A majority (84%) indicated that their first version of the Doctor, the one who introduced them to the series, was one of the four that have appeared since 2005. More than half the sample (54%) named the Ninth Doctor, the first of the new series, as their first introduction to *Doctor Who*.

The purpose of this question was to gauge how long participants have been a fan of the series. Still, because an individual could potentially watch the series out of order, this method does not prove wholly satisfactory. Nevertheless, this question does allow the potential for relationships between one’s first Doctor and one’s favorite Doctor to emerge. Because the Doctor “regenerates” into a new body (and thus a new actor) when he dies, fans could foreseeably grow attached to one in particular.

Beyond these questions, the survey asked fans to identify how strongly they identified as a fan of *Doctor Who* on a scale of one to five, with one being a casual fan and five being the biggest fan. Additionally, respondents were asked to rate their enthusiasm for the show itself and how actively they considered themselves involved in the fandom on similar scales. Such questions ultimately allowed for the inclusion of fans of all degrees of investment. Moreover, it did not restrict fandom to one definition but rather allowed respondents to define it for themselves. Furthermore, these considerations would eventually allow for comparisons between how much of a fan participants considered themselves and in which practices they engaged.

Thus, the remainder of the survey focused on these practices, especially as they occur on the Internet. Likert scales were used to determine either the frequency with which fans engaged in particular practices or how strongly they felt about certain topics. Questions were asked about avoiding spoilers, about reading and publishing fan fiction online, about seeking out and

publishing fan art online, about how rigidly fan content should adhere to the show's canon, and about owning official merchandise. Notably, these questions stressed the act of publishing and did not ask about private fan content fans may create and share with personal friends.

In addition to the surveys, six follow-up interviews were conducted via email. The purpose of conducting them in this way was to allow participants time to form thoughtful responses rather than being forced to answer immediately in person. These individuals were chosen randomly through convenience from a list of individuals whose email addresses could easily be accessed and who had already answered the survey. Three men and three women were chosen for equal gender representation and granted inconsequential pseudonyms by which they would be referred throughout the research process: Catherine, Robin, Samantha, Ian, Phillip, and Jerome.

Interview questions followed a similar structure as the survey questions by asking participants their first and favorite Doctor, how strongly they identified as a fan, how active they considered themselves in the fandom, and in which fan practices they engaged. Additionally, however, the interview process allowed further questions about why respondents thought of themselves in a particular way and about why they do or do not engage in certain activities as a self-identified fan. These responses were in no way linked to survey response due to anonymity.

### The Second Sample

The second sample, gathered electronically throughout March 2015, was generated via a link posted on the social media website Tumblr. This link led to an external survey which participants could complete online. In order to proceed, participants had to provide anonymous electronic consent. For the purposes of this research, an online blog, or base of operations, was

created via Tumblr (<http://thedoctorwhostudy.tumblr.com>). This page outlined the research and invited users to participate in the survey by clicking the link redirecting them to it. For a period of two weeks, a new link was posted every two hours daily to gain social media traction. No particular users were chosen specifically to participate, and in order to respond to the survey, participants had to find the link themselves by perusing the “*Doctor Who*” tag or following blogs who had reposted the link of their own volition. Following the two-week period, survey responses were closed.

Tumblr was chosen for this sample due to its large community of young fans. Future research may find pursuing a similar methodology on a website such as Reddit’s *Doctor Who* community (<https://www.reddit.com/r/doctorwho>) useful. However, Tumblr remains the sole focus of this research, and for that reason, this study may not prove descriptive of the *Doctor Who* fan community as a whole.

Overall, the second sample consisted of 345 survey respondents, 32 of whom were male, 299 of whom were female, and 14 of whom identified as “non-binary.” Evidently, this sample, therefore, has an overwhelming bias in favor of female respondents and may serve to illuminate the behaviors in which they specifically engage. Most respondents (62%) resided in the United States. Respondents hailed from all 50 states, but no significant majority resided in any particular one.

The second largest group of respondents (13%) resided in the United Kingdom, and the third (5.1%) resided in Canada. Still, the survey itself did bear international reach, and small numbers of respondents resided in Armenia (0.3%), Australia (3.4%), Austria (0.6%), Belgium (1.1%), Brazil (1.4%), the Czech Republic (0.3%), Finland (1.1%), France (1.4%), Germany (2.6%), Greece (0.3%), Indonesia (0.3%), Israel (0.3%), Italy (1.1%), Macedonia (0.3%),

Mexico (0.3%), the Netherlands (0.9%), New Zealand (0.9%), the Philippines(0.3%), Saudi Arabia (0.3%), Singapore (0.6%), Sweden (0.6%), Turkey (0.3%), the United Arab Emirates (0.3%), and Uruguay (0.3%). Still, no survey responses allowed individuals to indicate if they had grown up elsewhere and then relocated, and given *Doctor Who*'s British roots, such concessions may have once again proven useful.

All participants completed an anonymous 26-question survey including the 17 questions answered by the first sample in addition to nine more questions about attending fan gatherings and shipping practices. Once again, inclusion in the study was limited to individuals 18 years of age and older to avoid necessitating parental consent. For this reason, nearly 40 respondents who identified themselves as younger were excluded during analysis, allowing the usable sample of 345 persons. Furthermore, one must consider that this sample only includes individuals who own or who have means to access a device with Internet access. For that reason, it could exclude individuals who cannot afford such a device.

Overall, the average age of respondents once again proved relatively young ( $M=24$ ,  $SD=8.0$ ), but the second sample perhaps included a wider range of respondents in this regard. While the youngest participant was 18 years old, the oldest was 67. Only three individuals did not include their age. Still, one must consider that the website utilized may have provided a youth bias. In total, 289 respondents were younger than 30. Thirty-five respondents were between 30 and 40. A minority of 18 respondents were older than 40, and only two were older than 60.

Hence, this sample, like the first, is once again lacking. It does not necessarily equally represent *Doctor Who* fans of all ages, regardless of when they came to the series, but at the same time, it does perhaps include more individuals invested in the "Nu *Who*" incarnation of the

series. A majority (85.7%) indicated that their first version of the Doctor, the one who introduced them to the series, was one of the four that have appeared since 2005. More than half the sample (54%) once again named the Ninth Doctor, the first of the new series, as their first introduction to *Doctor Who*.

The purpose of this question was again to measure how long participants have been a fan of the series. Still, because an individual could potentially watch the series out of order, this method still does not prove wholly satisfactory. Nevertheless, this question does allow the potential for relationships between one's first Doctor and one's favorite Doctor to emerge.

Beyond these questions, the survey again asked fans to identify how strongly they identified as a fan of *Doctor Who* on a scale of one to five, with one being a casual fan and five being the biggest fan. Additionally, respondents were again asked to rate their enthusiasm for the show itself and how actively they considered themselves involved in the fandom on similar scales. Such questions ultimately allowed for the inclusion of fans of all degrees of investment. Additional questions not included in the first sample included how strongly respondents identified as "shippers," if they shipped characters not romantically involved on the show itself, if they feel fans may justifiably engage in such behavior, and if they seek out content based upon their own ships. Because Hadas (2009) discovered a divide among shippers and non-shippers on LiveJournal, these questions served to investigate if that same divide existed on Tumblr. Moreover, these questions served to determine if shippers were more likely to seek out fan-made content as the fulfillment of a desire the television program would not fulfill.

Likert scales were once again utilized to determine either the frequency with which fans engaged in particular practices or how strongly they felt about certain topics. Questions were again asked about avoiding spoilers, about reading and publishing fan fiction online, about

seeking out and publishing fan art online, about how rigidly fan content should adhere to the show's canon, and about owning official merchandise. Notably, these questions stressed the act of publishing and did not ask about private content fans may create and share with personal friends.

Due to the level of anonymity the Internet provides, no members of this sample were subject to interviews. While the first sample involved interacting directly with participants, this sample did not. Still, future research may find targeting fandom blogs on Tumblr useful for the purpose of gathering qualitative data to supplement the quantitative data presented here.

#### **IV. Results**

Because one cannot wholly guarantee that respondents from the first sample did not include themselves in the second sample, each sample was examined separately rather than as a whole. Although some individuals from the first sample did answer the additional eight questions on shipping practices, their responses to those questions were excluded rather than combined with the larger second sample. The purpose of this decision was to minimize both the potential for overlap among participants in each group and the risk of counting one respondent twice.

##### The First Sample

Overall, more than half (58%) of the survey respondents ranked themselves at a four on the provided scale of fan identity, one step below being "the biggest fan." The second most frequent answer was, however, "the biggest fan," with one fifth of respondents answering as such. Only two participants ranked themselves at a 2, compared to four participants who ranked themselves at a one, "a casual fan." A similar pattern occurred when participants were asked to

rank their enthusiasm for the *Doctor Who* television series. Most individuals (46%) placed themselves at a four, one step below the show being their “favorite of all time.” Twenty individuals chose the higher option, however, and no one chose the lowest option on the scale, a one, indicating “it’s an okay show.” Additionally, a majority (70%) of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that they were active in the *Doctor Who* fandom. Only one person disagreed, leaving 16 respondents who took a neutral stance.

Phillip described: “I would consider myself a fan, and therefore a part of the fandom, but I wouldn't necessarily consider myself ‘active’ in the fandom.”

Although most of the sample named the Ninth Doctor, the one who revived the series in 2005, their first, more than half (56%) named the Tenth Doctor as their favorite. Ian said:

My favorite Doctor is the Tenth, David Tennant. It is the easy answer since that is pretty much everybody's favorite Doctor. Tennant I think brought the greatest balance of quickness and seriousness. He was funny when the moment needed him to be funny, and serious when the moment needed him to be serious.

No one named the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, or Eighth Doctor in this category.



Figure 2. Favorite Doctor frequencies from the first sample.

However, one tenth of the sample claimed to have no particular favorite.

In regard to the websites fans use to discuss *Doctor Who* online, 30 respondents utilize Facebook, and 26 respondents utilize Tumblr. Only nine respondents do not discuss *Doctor Who* with other fans online, and the remaining members of the sample utilize a combination of the two aforementioned sites and other message boards like Reddit and Fanfiction.net

A majority of survey responders (52%) strongly agree that they make a conscious effort to avoid spoilers at all costs. Ten more agreed, leaving nine participants to either strongly disagree or disagree. Samantha said: “I don't go out of my way to avoid spoilers with this show, or any, because I like knowing what's going to happen next.” Jerome disagreed:

I most definitely avoid spoilers when I don't get to watch it when it is aired for the first time. I personally like to be shocked or surprised on my own and then discuss with other people when I am done watching the episode.

Seven participants took a more neutral stance. Robin said: “I avoid some spoilers, but not all of them. If I were that passionate about avoiding spoilers, I would just watch the new episode.”

A notable majority of participants (86%) never write or share *Doctor Who* fan fiction online. The majority (65%) that never reads *Doctor Who* fan fiction online proves smaller but nevertheless significant.

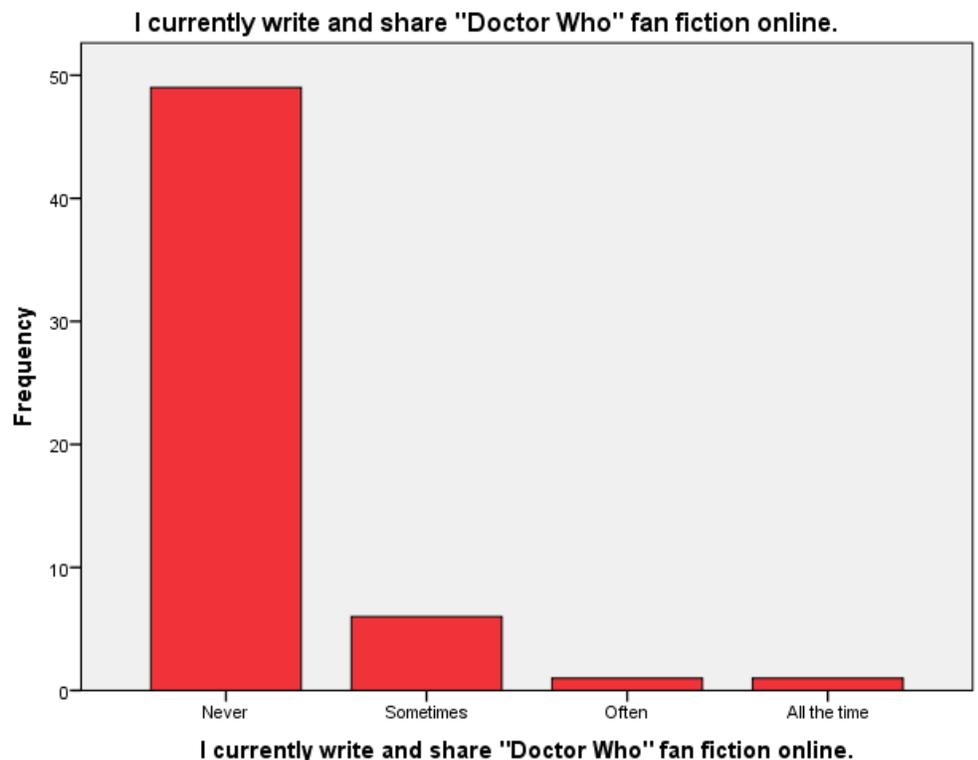
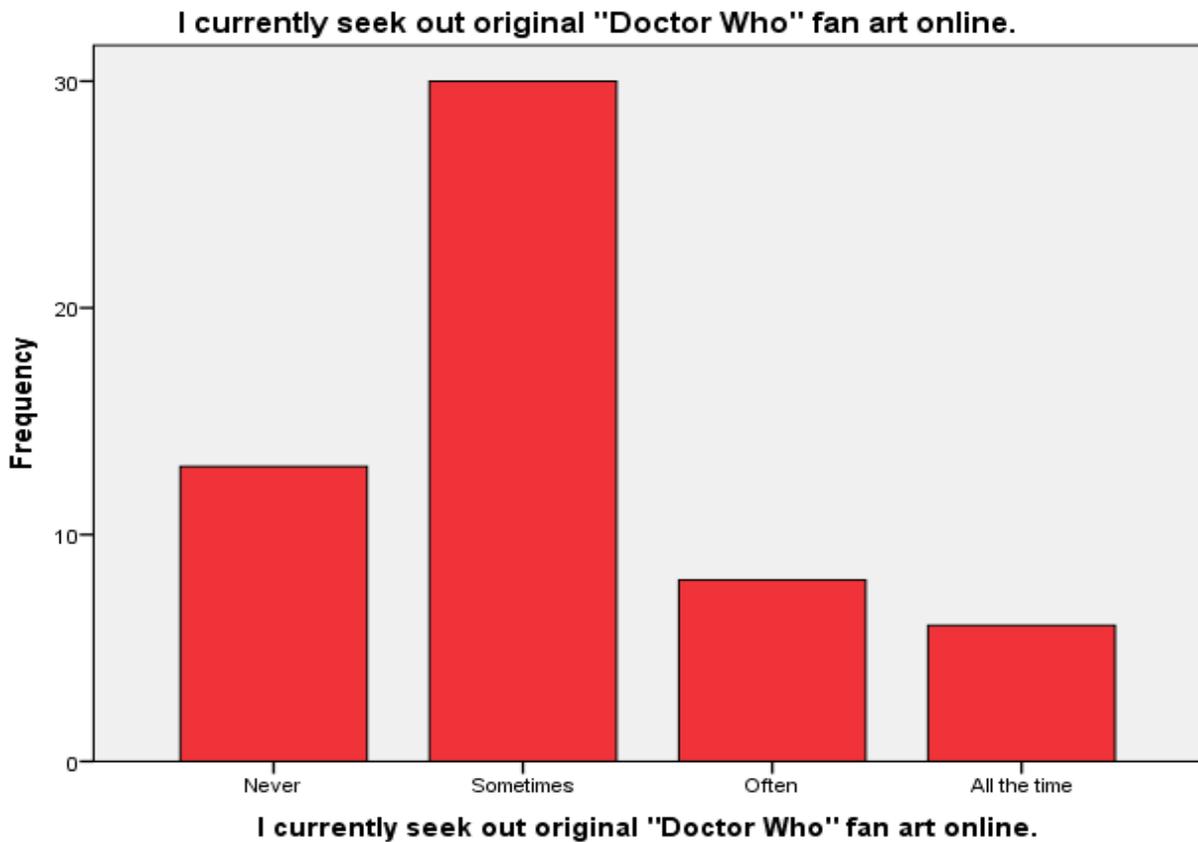


Figure 3. Fan fiction writing frequencies from the first sample.

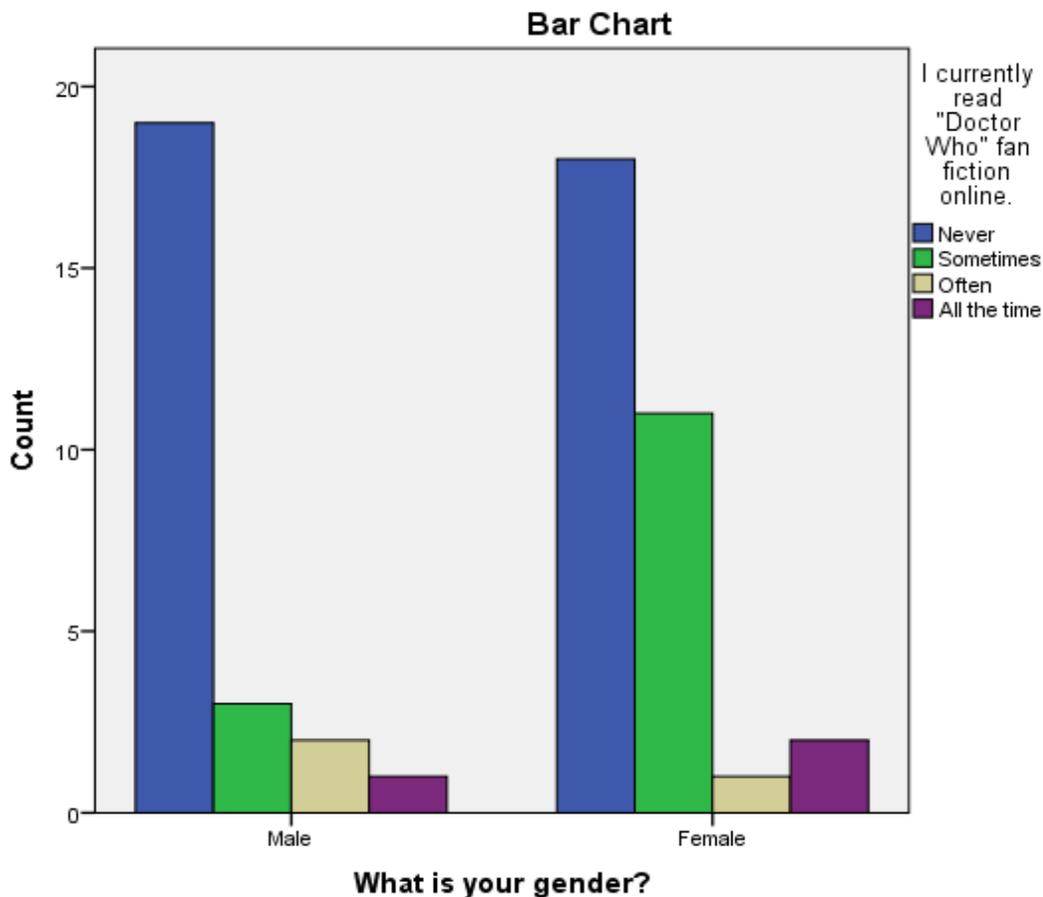
A larger number (52%) of survey takers admitted to sometimes seeking out fan art, but the overwhelming majority (92%) does not create and share it. Despite not necessarily seeking out fan content, however, survey responders (44%) generally disagreed or strongly disagreed that such content should strictly adhere to the canonical text of the program at all times. An equal percentage neither agreed nor disagreed, leaving a minority (12%) that thought adhering to canon was important.



**Figure 4. Fan art consumer frequencies from the first sample.**

In regard to buying, collecting, or owning merchandise from the television series, a majority (92%) of survey takers did so in some capacity, whether sometimes, often, or all the time. Only five people never purchased merchandise.

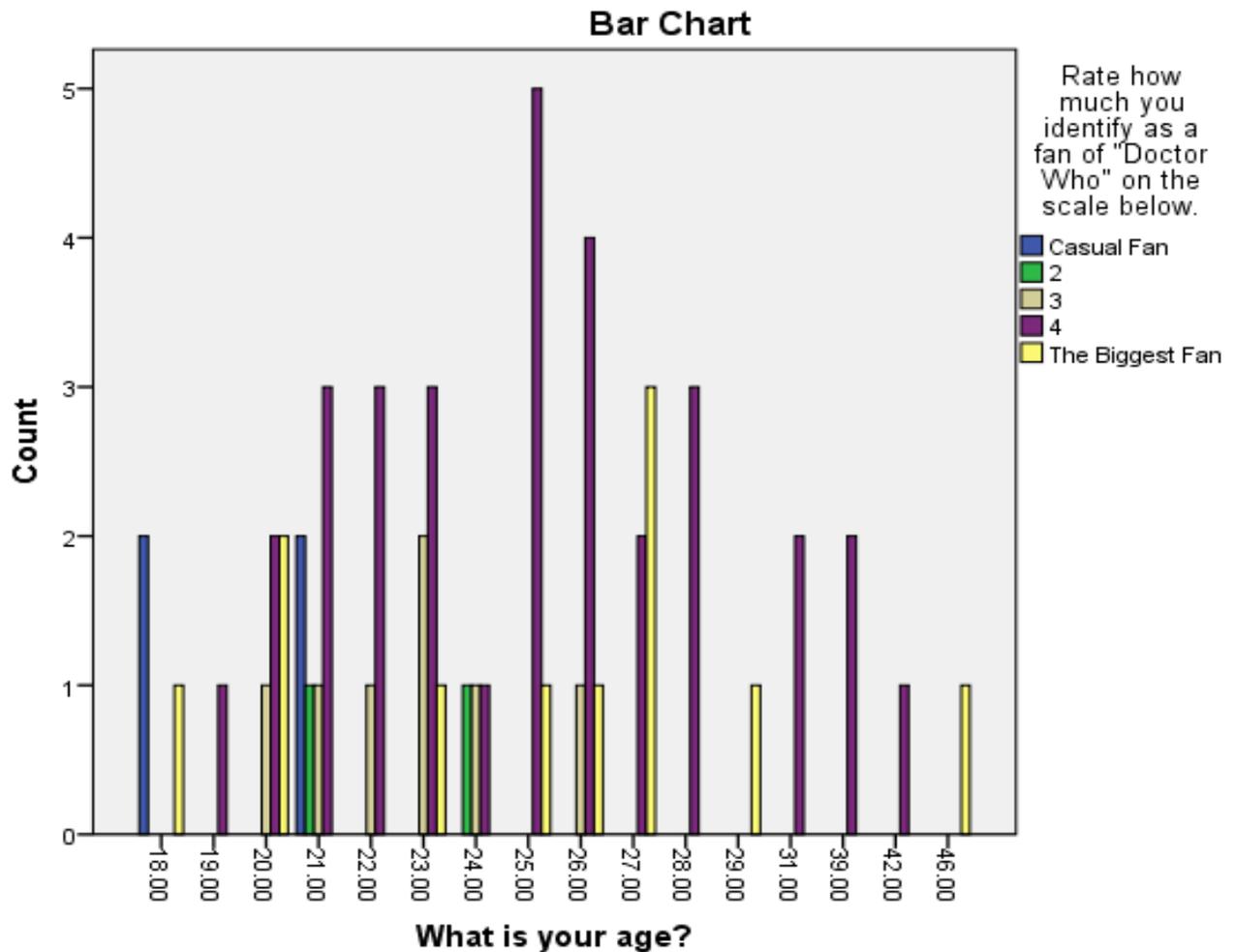
Throughout this sample, no significant correlations existed in regard to gender. While women seemed slightly more likely to read fan fiction, men seemed slightly more likely to write it. Nevertheless, the correlation between these variables did not prove statistically significant, and the majority of respondents were simply engaging in neither activity.



**Figure 5. Fan fiction readers by gender from the first sample.**

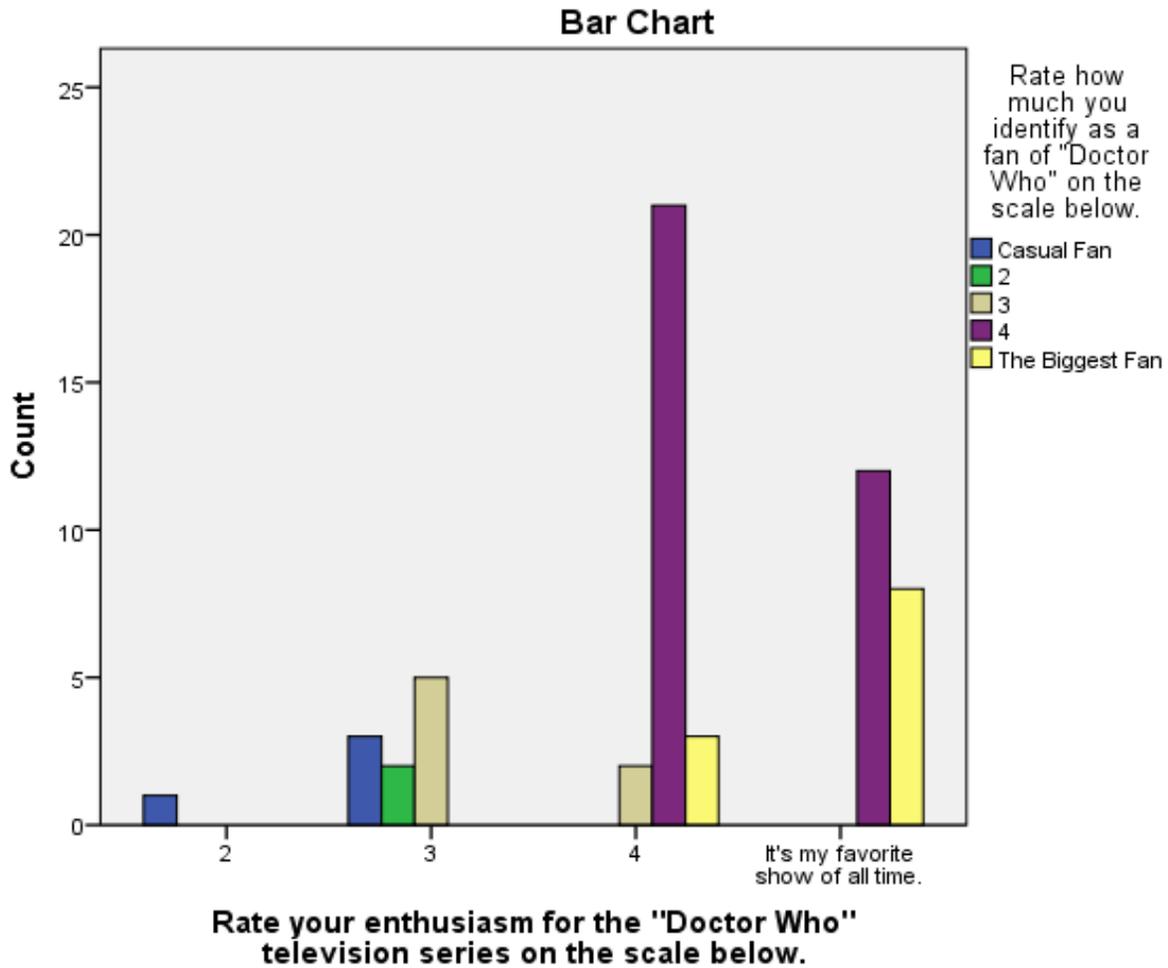
One noteworthy correlation did, however, exist in terms of age. The relationship between age and how strongly and individual identified as a fan of *Doctor Who* was significant ( $p < .05$ ) and moderate ( $r = .33$ ). This correlation emerges when classifying age as a scale, but it also exists when examining age categorically by dividing people into age groups (18-25, 25-32, 33+). In that

scenario, the relationship is still significant ( $p < .05$ ) but slightly weaker ( $r = .31$ ).



**Figure 6. Fan identity by age for the first sample.**

Another correlation existed between self-identifying as a fan and ranking one's enthusiasm for the television show itself. Individuals who ranked themselves as bigger fans were more likely to be more enthusiastic about the *Doctor Who* television series. The relationship was significant ( $p < .001$ ) and strong ( $r = .76$ ).



**Figure 7. Correlation between fan identity and show enthusiasm for the first sample.**

Individuals who considered themselves bigger fans were also more likely to consider themselves active in the fandom. However, while the relationship was significant ( $p < .001$ ), it was relatively moderate ( $r = .52$ ). Another moderate relationship occurred between bigger fans and individuals who seek out fan art—in that bigger self-identified fans were more likely to do so. The correlation was notable ( $p < .001$ ) but modest in strength ( $r = .42$ ).

Additionally, individuals who identified as bigger fans and who were more enthusiastic about the show were also more likely to own merchandise. The relationship between bigger fans and owning merchandise was significant ( $p < .001$ ) and moderate ( $r = .50$ ). The relationship

between show enthusiasm and owning merchandise was equally as significant ( $p < .001$ ) but slightly stronger ( $r = .55$ ). A minor correlation also seemed to exist between owning merchandise and actively seeking out fan art, but the confounding variable in that situation mostly likely remains that those people seeking out fan art are simply more enthusiastic about the show and thus more likely to purchase *Doctor Who* collectibles.

### The Second Sample

Unlike the participants in the first sample, the respondents in the second sample seemed to less strongly identify as *Doctor Who* fans. In contrast to the majority apparent in the earlier sample, less than half of these respondents (42.6%) ranked themselves at a four on the provided scale of fan identity, one step below being “the biggest fan.” The second most frequent answer (29%) was a three, with a smaller number (14%) ranking themselves as “the biggest fan.” A minority (12%) ranked themselves lower than a three, with a rank of one representing “a casual fan.”

Notably, however, when asked about their enthusiasm for the *Doctor Who* television series, these respondents followed a pattern very similar to the one from the first sample. Once again, most individuals (47%) placed themselves at a four, one step below the show being their “favorite of all time.” More than one-third of participants (35%) chose the higher option, and only five participants chose a one, indicating “it’s an okay show.” Notably, however, this sample once again proved more moderate in terms of gauging their fandom activity. As opposed to the larger majority (70%) of the first sample, a smaller percentage (59.2%) of this sample agreed or strongly agreed in considering itself active in the *Doctor Who* fandom. Nearly a quarter (24.6%) neither agreed nor disagreed, and only eight respondents strongly disagreed.

Once again, most of this sample (54.5%) named the Ninth Doctor, the one who revived the series in 2005, their first. Still, unlike in the earlier sample, less than half (41%) named the Tenth Doctor as their favorite. A moderate number (28%) named the Eleventh Doctor as their favorite. Unlike in the smaller sample, however, no incarnation of the Doctor received zero responses—although only one respondent chose the First Doctor. No one claimed to lack a particular favorite.

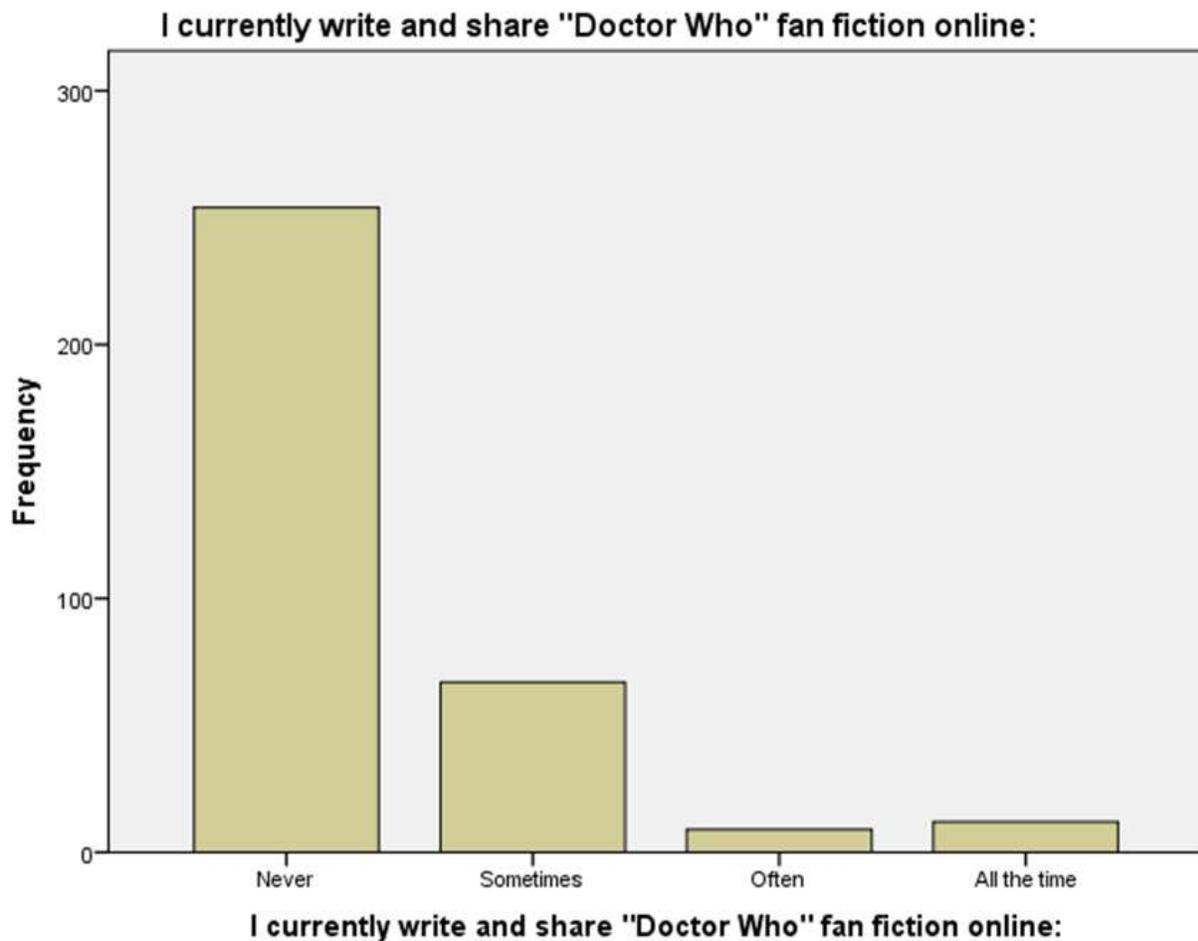
Interestingly, despite the dissemination of this survey through the Internet, a portion of responders (16.6%) claim to not discuss *Doctor Who* online. Still, a predictable majority (82%) do utilize Tumblr to do so. More than a third utilized Facebook (36%) in the same way. Use of websites geared specifically toward fan fiction seemed relatively minimal. A small number of participants (15.5%) utilize Fanfiction.net. Only twenty-one participants utilize Archive of Our Own, and only two individuals use DeviantArt.com.

Unlike the members of the first sample, the participants in this sample seemed less likely to avoid spoilers. A moderate number (21%) strongly agreed that they avoid spoilers at all costs, but a slightly larger number (22%) disagreed. Still, the largest portion (24%) agreed. Sixty respondents (17%) neither agreed nor disagreed, and a minority (13%) strongly disagreed.

Unlike in the first sample, in which fans displayed minimal activity, the consumption and production of fan content seemed moderate in this sample, but some similarities still did become apparent. A notable majority of participants (73%) never write or share *Doctor Who* fan fiction online. However, slightly more than one-fourth (27%), as compared to the majority (65%) from the first sample, never reads *Doctor Who* fan fiction online. Nearly half (45%) of the respondents in the second sample admitted that they do sometimes read fan fiction, with a combined quarter of participants stating they do so often or all the time. In regard to untelevised content, a

moderate number of respondents (41%) sometimes read licensed *Doctor Who* novels or listen to audio books. However, more than one-third (36.6%) never do.

An equal percentage (52%) of survey takers to the first sample admitted to sometimes seeking out fan art, but a majority (75%) once again does not create and share it. Some individuals (18%) do so sometimes. Furthermore, despite discernible but wholly moderate



**Figure 8. Fan fiction writing in the second sample.**

consumption of fan content, most survey responders (77%) generally disagreed or strongly disagreed that such content should strictly adhere to the canonical text of the program at all

times. A smaller number (15.7%) took a neutral stance, leaving a minority (4.3%) that thought adhering to canon was important.

In regard to buying, collecting, or owning merchandise from the television series, a majority (87.5%) of survey takers do so in some capacity, whether sometimes, often, or all the time. More than half of the respondents (54.6%) do so sometimes, and a small number (10%) never do so.

Interestingly, a majority of respondents do not attend conventions. Most participants (76.5%) do not attend gatherings related specifically to *Doctor Who*, and nearly half (49%) do not attend general pop culture gatherings. Still, one-third attend sometimes do attend these types of conventions, and nine respondents also attended New York Comic Con in 2014.

In regard to shipping practices, a majority (62%) of participants agreed or strongly agreed that they would consider themselves *Doctor Who* shippers. A smaller number (18.3%) neither agreed nor disagreed, and the remainder (15.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed. A moderate number of participants (46.3%) only sometimes shipped characters not involved on the show, and a notable number (30%) never did so. Accordingly, a combined minority (20.6%) did so often or all the time. Still, a notable majority of respondents (84.5%) thought that doing so was acceptable, and only four participants strongly disagreed. Likewise, most respondents (71.4%) agreed or strongly agreed that compromising canon for the sake of shipping remains acceptable. Only eight people strongly disagreed. Interestingly, in regard to seeking out fan-made content related to specific ships, no clear consensus of opinion or practice emerged. Less than one-third of individuals (31.4%) do so sometimes, while a smaller number (21.7%) do so never and less (22.6%) do so often. Less than one-fourth the sample (21%) seeks out such content all the time.

In analyzing this data for correlations, gender perhaps proves an inadequate marker, given the nature of the sample. Because a majority of the respondents (87%) identified as female, no meaningful connections between gender and fan behavior can readily emerge. Furthermore, unlike in the previous sample, in the second sample, age did not seem to play a role in how strongly individuals identified as fans of *Doctor Who*, and no correlation seemed to exist in those two areas. Still, other similar connections resembling the results of the first sample did ultimately emerge.

Foremost, individuals who expressed a higher degree of enthusiasm for the television program did seem to more strongly identify as fans. The relationship was significant ( $p < .001$ ) and somewhat strong ( $r = .63$ ).

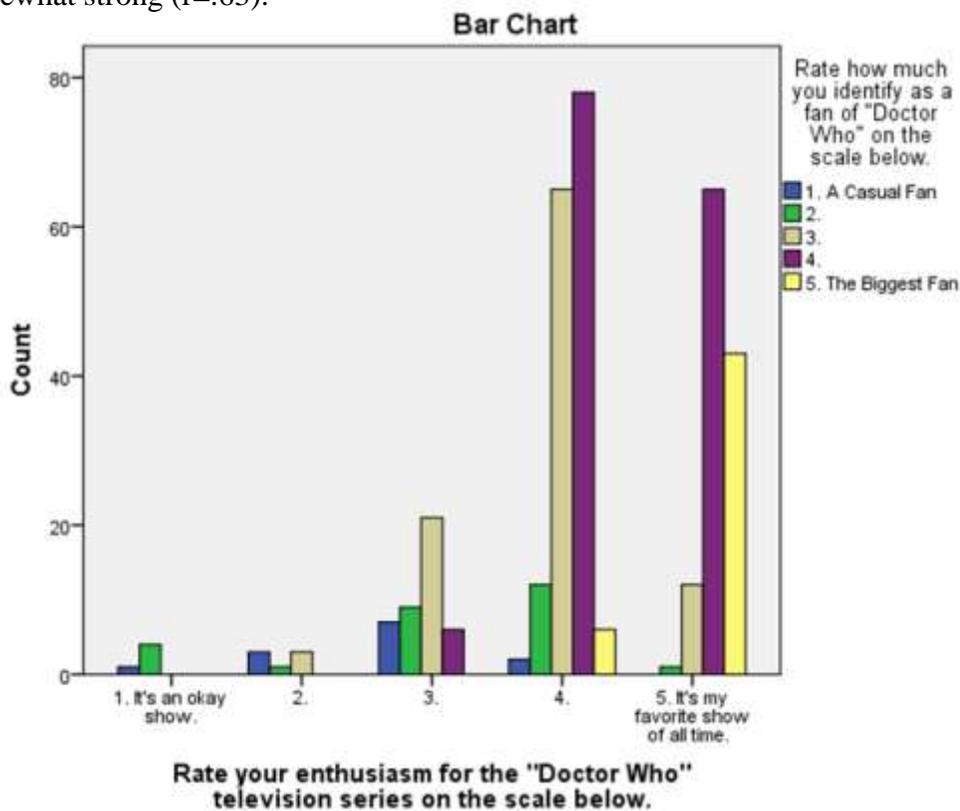
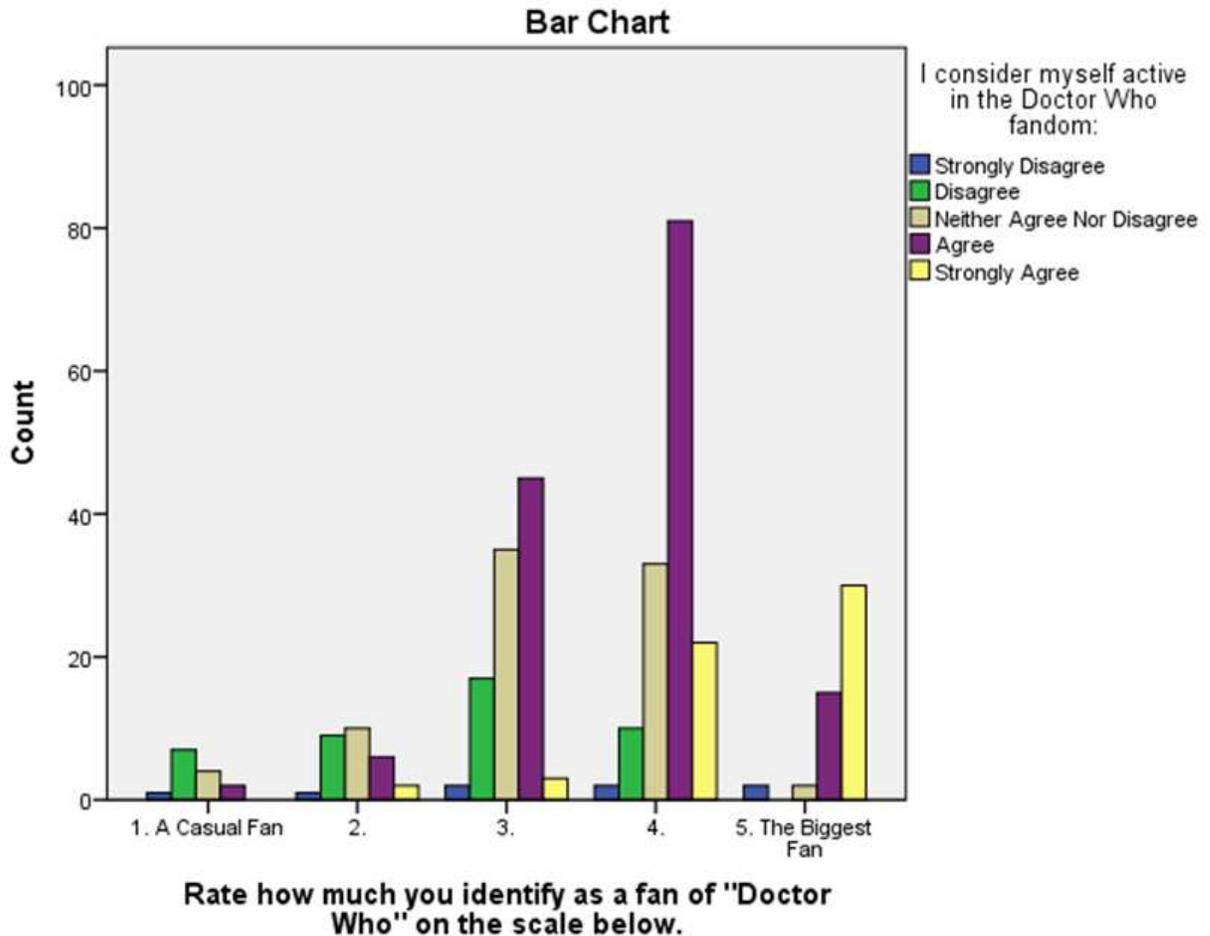


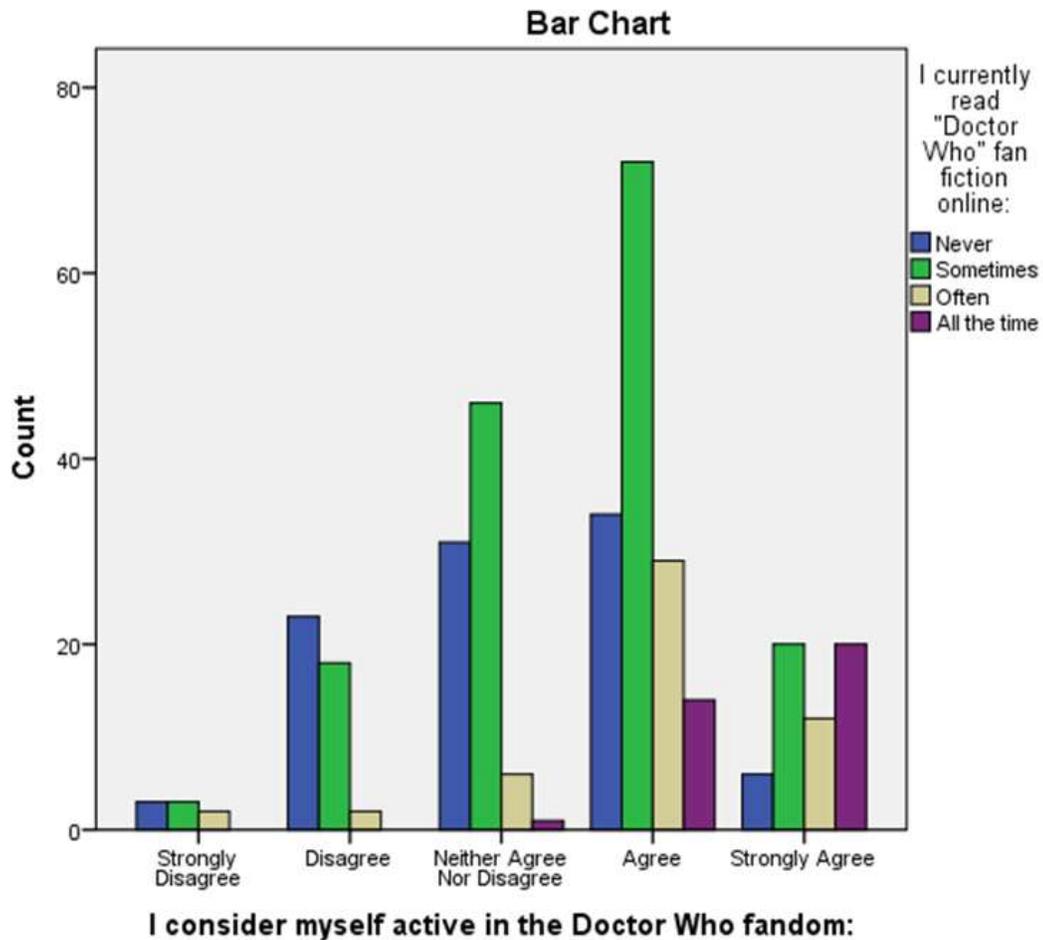
Figure 9. Fan identify and show enthusiasm for the second sample.



**Figure 10. Fandom activity and fan identity in the second sample.**

Furthermore, individuals who identified themselves as larger fans remained more likely to consider themselves active in the fandom. This relationship was significant ( $p < .001$ ) and moderate ( $r = .49$ ). Once again, individuals with a greater enthusiasm for the show were also more likely to seek out fan art. The relationship proved significant ( $p < .001$ ) and slightly moderate ( $r = .29$ ). Another significant ( $p < .001$ ) but stronger ( $r = .37$ ) relationship emerged in regard to fandom activity. People who more strongly considered themselves active in the fandom were more likely to seek out fan art. Likewise, those people were also more likely to seek out fan fiction. That relationship also proved significant ( $p < .001$ ) and moderate ( $r = .40$ ). The same individuals were also more likely to attend fan gatherings related to *Doctor Who*. Another significant ( $p < .001$ ) but moderately weak ( $r = .29$ ) relationship emerged. The same connection did

not apply to general pop culture gatherings. However, other notable connections did emerge in regard to participants' shipping practices.



**Figure 11. Fandom activity and fan fiction reading in the second sample.**

Specifically, individuals who more strongly considered themselves shippers were more likely to consider shipping characters not romantically involved on the show acceptable. This connection was significant ( $p < .001$ ) but weak ( $r = .24$ ). However, individuals who admitted to shipping such characters themselves were more likely to approve of others doing so well. Thus, this relationship proved significant ( $p < .001$ ) and moderate ( $r = .43$ ). Another significant ( $r < .001$ ) but moderate ( $r = .31$ ) relationship occurred in regard to fan-made content. Individuals who

shipped characters not romantically involved on the *Doctor Who* television program were more likely to seek out fan content based around those ships.

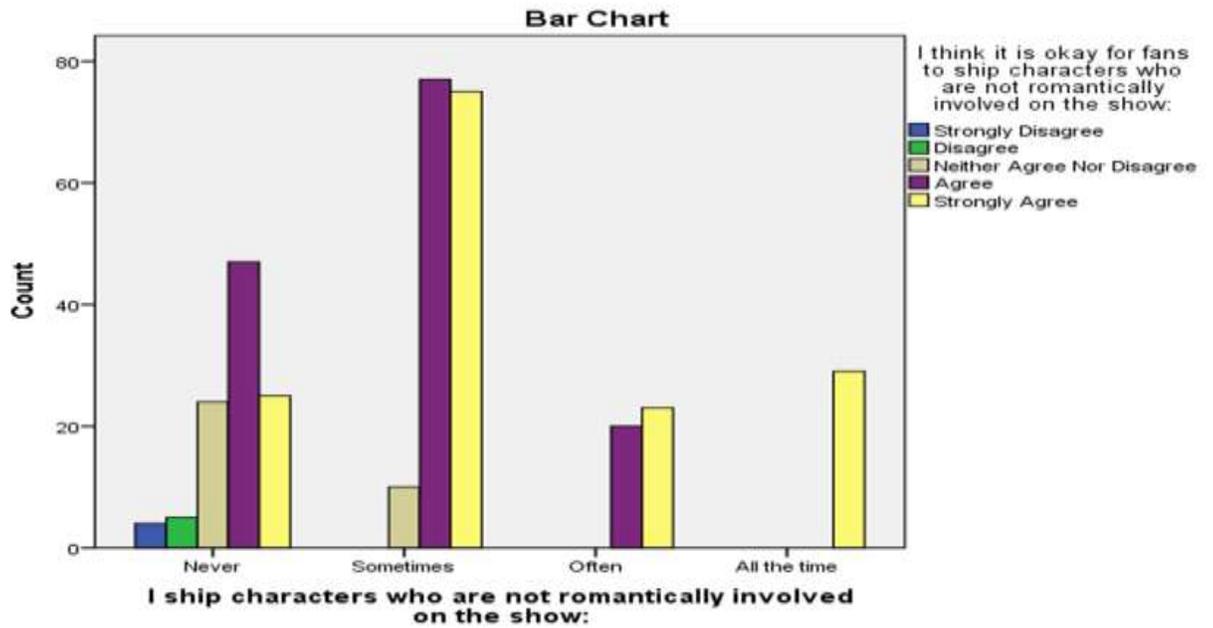


Figure 12. Shipping practices and opinions in the second sample.

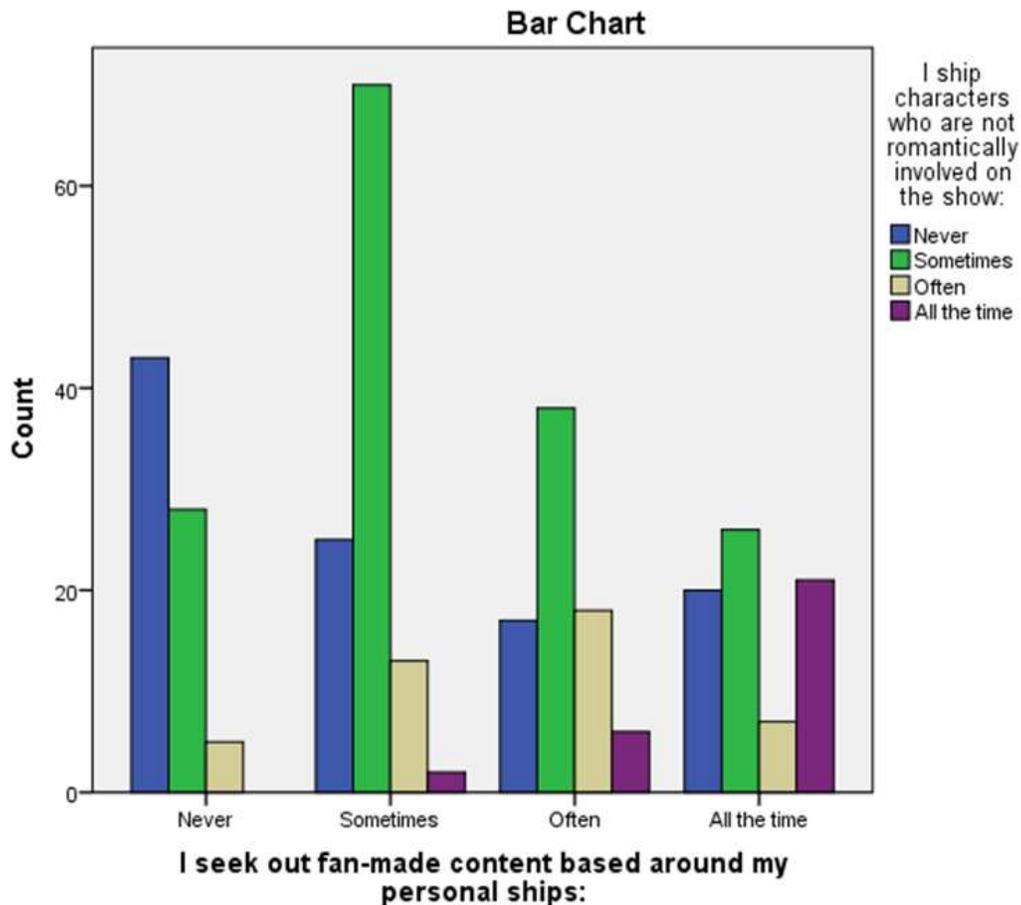


Figure 13. Shipping and fan content in the second sample.

## V. Discussion

Overall, these results raise further questions about what being a “fan” means and about the practices one engages in either before or after identifying himself or herself as such. The lack of distinction between male and female activities in the first sample proves interesting, although no comparisons to the second sample can be made, given the extremely large number of female respondents. Perhaps age, therefore, is what distinguishes *Doctor Who* fans from each other. Older fans, although only slightly, have potentially been with the show longer and would thus naturally consider themselves bigger fans, as the correlation in the initial sample could suggest. Still, no such correlation exists in the second sample. Perhaps, therefore, this data also suffers from Tumblr’s largely young population. Future research could, therefore, pursue samples on websites such as LiveJournal for a broader view of the *Doctor Who* fandom as a whole. Moreover, beyond watching the program and owning merchandise, the older fans in the initial sample are evidently not actively engaging in other fan activities.

However, because such a large amount of *Doctor Who* fan fiction exists online, someone must be writing it, and Hadas (2009) noted several past incidents wherein fan fiction created tensions swithin the fandom. Still, very few people in these samples seem to be engaging in this particular fan practice, and therefore, the logical assumption is that the writers were simply not represented here rather than that fan fiction plays no role in forging and maintaining an identity as *Doctor Who* fan. Another avenue of research, therefore, would be reaching out to younger fans—considering that the young adult demographic, even the largely female demographic from the second sample, seems mostly inactive in this particular area. While some individuals in the second sample do read it, they remain consumers rather than producers.

Potential explanations for this phenomenon appear manifold. Perhaps general satisfaction with the show's path partially explains it. Catherine noted: "No, I do not read or write *Doctor Who* fan fiction. I am not invested enough to write it myself, and I am satisfied enough with the series' storyline that I do not need to read it." Likewise, Jerome said:

Fan fiction never really called to me as a form of expressing my love for any show or movie. The way I see it, I'd like to leave the storytelling to the people who know how to do it and are hired to do so.

Still, both these individuals still consider themselves fans, and perhaps, therefore, forging a fan-identity in the "Nu *Who*" era only requires an enjoyment for the television program. Catherine said: "I call myself a fan only because I enjoy watching the show."

Ian repeated almost verbatim: "I call myself a fan of *Doctor Who* simply because I enjoy watching the show."

Therefore, the strong correlation between show enthusiasm and fan identity seems unsurprising. Therefore, one could argue that for the "Nu *Who*" generation of fans, watching and enjoying the show proves reason enough for calling oneself a fan. Yet, in the larger second sample, a little less than half of the participants admitted to shipping characters not romantically involved in the show itself, and therefore, complete satisfaction with the canonical narrative cannot logically be unanimous.

Interestingly, individuals who shipped characters not involved in the show were also more likely to seek out fan content based on their ships. Such behavior seems unsurprising. Because those ships will not appear on television, they gain life through the fandom's own creativity, and those who long to see them can do so through fan content. All the same, surprisingly few fans admit, in both samples, to reading and writing fan fiction

Ian said: “I have never been able to get into fan fiction. Certain types of fan art though I do enjoy a little bit. But again, this is if I happen to stumble upon it on Tumblr. I do not actively go seek it out.”

Catherine said: “The most that I do in the way of ‘fan practices’ is reblog something *Doctor Who*-related on Tumblr from time to time.”

Samantha said: “I do not read or write fan fic. I have never thought to look it up to read, and I am not a writer. Sometimes I come across fan art on Pinterest.”

While these individuals all consider themselves strong *Doctor Who* fans, their investment in fandom remains somewhat passive. Perhaps, therefore, this phenomenon is the “mainstreaming” of fandom culture some have described (Hadas, 2013, p. 1). Being a fan no longer necessarily entails an intensive investment in consciously engaging and interacting with the text—at least not for the “Nu *Who*” fans in these samples. Consequently, some of them feel detached from more blatant displays of fan activity. Robin, for example, noted feeling some fans were “too much.” For that reason, she discusses *Doctor Who* online only “sparingly.”

Nevertheless, the second sample does prove interesting in regard to fandom activity. Those individuals who considered themselves more active in the fandom were more likely to write fan fiction, seek out fan art, and attend connections. Individuals who did not consider themselves active in the fandom were less likely, despite maintaining a fan identity. Fandom community, therefore, remains closely tied to those who choose to actively engage in it, namely through traditional fan practices such as those previously listed.

Perhaps, then, the classical notion of the powerless elite still bears some importance (Tulloch 1995). Three groups exist: the elite, actively involved fans; the mainstream, casual fans; and the producers themselves. Therefore, the Internet has not entirely eradicated this model from

the *Doctor Who* fandom. Yet, despite not engaging in fandom activities, these passive fans, in both samples, call themselves “big fans” without hesitation.

One model that provides an interesting lens through which to view this phenomenon is Rogers’ (2010) model of the diffusion of innovations. This analogy works on two levels. Foremost, if one considers that fandom itself is an innovation, as something which did not exist and then came into existence, perhaps through the popularity of Sherlock Holmes (Brown 2009), its general “mainstreaming” seems logical. Early fans, the innovators, engaged in rigid, definable activity, and over time, those practices diffused more passively into the later majority of today, the casual fans.

On another level, the innovators of today, those engaged in a fandom such as *Doctor Who* and who consider themselves active in it, represent a small segment which does write fan fiction and does create fan content. They use and borrow a piece of media in innovative ways to create something new. That content then diffuses to the majority, the passive “rebloggers” and “likers” on social media, for example. These individuals are those fans without a fandom, who enjoy a program as a consumer but do not claim it as producers. Through the Internet, they can wait for content to find them rather than searching for it. This scenario seemingly allows for the separation of the fan and fandom. One can be the former but not a part of the latter, but one cannot be a part of the latter without identifying as the former.

As a whole, perhaps notions of fandom really are changing, or perhaps the *Doctor Who* fandom merely remains difficult to define, given its long history and the diversity of self-proclaimed fans who take part in it. Interestingly, in both samples, no particular practice or sentiment prevailed among the others. On Tumblr, no war between shippers and non-shippers

seems to exist, and even if individuals do not engage in activities, such as compromising canon for the sake of shipping, they do not dislike others doing so.

Hence, another logical extension of this research would include asking fans how they identify other fans as “true fans.” One must wonder if the traditional fans, the heavily invested individuals—those who consistently create and partake in fan content, who attend conventions, who actively engage the media text, and who were perhaps fans of the show before its 2005 revival—would as readily call the casual viewer “the biggest *Doctor Who* fan” as the casual viewer would call himself or herself. Thus far, one could suggest that the more mainstreamed “Nu Who” fandom do not function as exclusively toward one another as Hadas (2009) suggests older fans have functioned toward younger ones. The second sample in this research suggests that younger fans do not overwhelmingly care how other fans treat canon, and if one does have concerns about a fan’s treatment of the show’s story, the Internet foreseeably allows him or her to simply look elsewhere.

Ultimately, more qualitative data is needed. While this research has allowed an overview of the diverse and complex practices through which fans identify themselves as such, more specific questions still remain. The boundaries of what is and is not acceptable in fandom seem to have become vague, at least for *Doctor Who*, especially now that self-professed fans seemingly no longer have to engage one another in community. Overall, as technology continues to link the world, as evident through the wealth of countries represented in this paper’s second sample, perhaps an opposite degree of isolation is also occurring. Rather than creating and sharing, new fans seem perhaps slightly more likely to consume and enjoy.

**Appendix**

1. My age is: \_\_\_\_\_

2. My gender is:

Male \_\_\_ Female \_\_\_

3. The country in which I currently reside is: \_\_\_\_\_

4. If the U.S., the state in which I currently reside is: \_\_\_\_\_

5. Rate how much you identify as a fan of *Doctor Who* on the scale below:



A Casual Fan

The Biggest Fan

6. Rate your enthusiasm for the *Doctor Who* television series on the scale below:



It's an ok show.

It's my favorite show  
of all time

7. I consider myself active in the *Doctor Who* fandom:



Strongly  
Disagree

Disagree

Neither Agree  
Nor Disagree

Agree

Strongly  
Agree

8. My first Doctor, the one whose episodes introduced me to the television series was:

The First Doctor (William Hartnell)

The Second Doctor (Patrick Troughton)

The Third Doctor (Jon Pertwee)

The Fourth Doctor (Tom Baker)

The Fifth Doctor (Peter Davison)

The Sixth Doctor (Colin Baker)

The Seventh Doctor (Sylvester McCoy)

The Eighth Doctor (Paul McGann)

The Ninth Doctor (Christopher Eccleston)

The Tenth Doctor (David Tennant)

The Eleventh Doctor (Matt Smith)

The Twelfth Doctor (Peter Capaldi)

**9. My favorite Doctor from the television series is:**

The First Doctor (William Hartnell)

The Second Doctor (Patrick Troughton)

The Third Doctor (Jon Pertwee)

The Fourth Doctor (Tom Baker)

The Fifth Doctor (Peter Davison)

The Sixth Doctor (Colin Baker)

The Seventh Doctor (Sylvester McCoy)

The Eighth Doctor (Paul McGann)

The Ninth Doctor (Christopher Eccleston)

The Tenth Doctor (David Tennant)

The Eleventh Doctor (Matt Smith)

The Twelfth Doctor (Peter Capaldi)

I have no favorite

**10. I currently discuss *Doctor Who* with other users utilizing the following websites (Check all that apply):**



LiveJournal



Tumblr



Facebook



Twitter



Fanfiction.net

Others: \_\_\_\_\_

I do not discuss Doctor Who Online



**11. I make a conscious effort to avoid spoilers at all costs:**



Strongly  
Disagree



Disagree



Neither Agree  
Nor Disagree



Agree



Strongly  
Agree

12. I currently read *Doctor Who* fan fiction online:



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

13. I currently write and share *Doctor Who* fan fiction online:



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

14. I currently seek out original *Doctor Who* fan art online:



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

15. I currently create and share *Doctor Who* fan art online:



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

16. I believe *Doctor Who* fan works should strictly follow the show's canon at all times:



Strongly  
Disagree



Disagree



Neither Agree  
Nor Disagree



Agree



Strongly  
Agree

17. I buy/collect/own official merchandise from *Doctor Who*:



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

**18. I read licensed *Doctor Who* novels or listen to licensed audio books:**



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

**19. I attend fan gatherings or conventions devoted exclusively to *Doctor Who*:**



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

**20. I attend fan gatherings or conventions devoted to general pop culture:**



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

**21. I would consider myself a “shipper” when it comes to *Doctor Who*:**



Strongly  
Disagree



Disagree



Neither Agree  
Nor Disagree



Agree



Strongly  
Agree

**22. I ship characters who are not romantically involved on the show:**



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

**23. I think it is okay for fans to ship characters who are not romantically involved on the show:**



Strongly  
Disagree



Disagree



Neither Agree  
Nor Disagree



Agree



Strongly  
Agree

**24. I seek out fan-made content based around my personal ships:**



Never



Sometimes



Often



All the time

**25. I think it is okay for fans to create fan fiction or fan art that compromises *Doctor Who's* established canon for the sake of shipping:**



Strongly  
Disagree



Disagree



Neither Agree  
Nor Disagree



Agree



Strongly  
Agree

## Interview Questions:

1. How did you become a fan of Doctor Who? Who was your first Doctor? Why do you call yourself a fan? Is it just because you enjoy watching the show?
2. Who is your favorite Doctor? Why?
3. Do you watch new episodes on television as soon they are released? Do you avoid spoilers? Why or why not?
4. Would you consider yourself active in the fandom? Why or why not?
5. What fan practices do you take part in as a member of the fandom and why? (Chatting online with fans, talking with friends in person, etc.)
6. Do you read or write *Doctor Who* fan fiction? Why or why not? What about fan art?

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