The Effect of Affect

How Fans Relate to Their Objects

Paul Mason

Abstract

Fans relate to their objects of interest in numerous ways, far more complex than the simple devotion so often expected of them. These ways bear comparison with the religious impulses which led to the use of the word "fan" in the first place, and yet they extend also into different areas. Even though definitions of fans based on essentialist discourses of personal differences are mistaken, and better replaced by considering fan behaviour and attitudes, the lens of identity is one way in which fan impulses are expressed, along with the pursuits of pleasure and knowledge. Underlying all of these is the attachment towards the fan object which operates on the level of affect. Examples of these can be observed in the response to the 50th anniversary of the TV show *Doctor Who* in 2013.

Introduction

The popular conception of a "fan" is of someone who very much likes something. The word commonly has connotations of uncritical admiration. There is thus often confusion when "fans" express extremely negative opinions about the thing they are supposed to be fans of (henceforth termed the "fan object"). It is clear that the relationship between fan and object is more complex than the popular conception, and is certainly more than uncritical admiration. Previous papers have explored the extent to which this kind of relationship is increasingly prominent in contemporary discourse thanks to the influence of the internet (Mason, 2012), and how the fan relationship can be found in an extraordinarily wide, though often interconnected, range of areas (Mason, 2013).

This paper will begin to explore the relationship between fan and fan object in more detail. An understanding of the relationship can help us obtain a more generalized understanding of the ways in which we interact with and approach culture. That this goes far beyond the relatively superficial relationship implied by the word "consumption" should be already evident, though in the wake of Baudrillard, such an approach has become increasingly influential (Sandvoss,

2005). The task will be to explore some of the dimensions of the human response to culture. The response is approached through the concept of "affect," which as Grossberg (1992) explains, is a constructive understanding of mood: "Affect is what gives 'color,' 'tone' or 'texture' to our experiences." (p. 57).

Problems

The first problem to overcome is approaching the field. As already noted, it is extremely wide-ranging and ill-defined. Exploring every niche of fandom would require such an investment of time and other resources that it would likely preclude any depth of analysis. Conversely, choosing one area and claiming that it is representative is methodologically indefensible. This paper will adopt a compromise. Fan response to the *Doctor Who* television program will be considered in depth, and the results compared with research on other fields. The choice of *Doctor Who* here has been made for a number of reasons. Firstly, in 2013 the programme celebrated its 50th anniversary; the resulting blitz of programming led to a correspondingly massive wave of fan activity. Secondly, the programme allows international comparisons. The 50th anniversary special was broadcast simultaneously in 94 nations, and shown in cinemas in many (Japan, thanks to perverse programming decisions by NHK several years ago, was not one of the 94). Thirdly, *Doctor Who* has for many years had both an active fandom, and scholarship related to that fandom (see, for example, Tulloch & Alvarado, 1983). Finally, I have considerable personal experience both of the programme itself, and of its associated fandom.

The latter point may be considered controversial in an academic context. Nevertheless, when the academic ideal of objectivity leads to ignorance of the subject matter under examination, it is hard to defend that ideal. One of the leading proponents of fan studies has addressed this issue: "To me, the essence of being methodologically self-conscious is to be honest about how you know what you know. And most of what I am writing about here I know from the inside out." (Jenkins, 2006) In my case, I have watched the *Doctor Who* television programme since the late 1960s. Moreover, two coincidences in my background provide me with knowledge of the field without an active involvement: I attended university with three leading fans of *Doctor Who*, all of whom went on to write supplementary material for the programme. Furthermore, in my first job upon graduation, my two immediate superiors were both involved: one as a fan with little involvement in the community of *Doctor Who* fandom, and the other, subsequently, as the editor of the associated range of books. Thus I am fully prepared for research into the world of *Doctor Who*, even though I never participated in an active manner within its fandom.

On the other hand, scholarship in this field has fallen victim to the recent realization that academia cannot be "objective" in the sense of not taking sides. Failure to evaluate the object of

study implicitly endorses the status quo, which is, in itself, taking sides. Thus the field of cultural studies within which fan studies operate has assertively identified "problematic" areas (to such an extent that this word risks becoming a parodic emblem), and fan studies has been co-opted into cultural, economic, racial and gender critiques. This is hardly a bad thing in itself; on the other hand when academics are doing this out of embarrassment at examining the "frivolous", "pleasure-orientated" aspects of fandom, they risk eviscerating their own analysis.

Zubernis and Larsen (2012, p. 228) note the lack of attention paid to emotion in fan theory. The great lengths to which fan studies often go to explain fan response in terms of cultural production, socio-political antagonisms and counter-readings are all very well, but surely it is dangerous to fail to examine the apparently obvious conclusion that fans are in pursuit of pleasure? Would it not be preferable to explore this pleasure, both to understand more deeply how it interacts with the aforementioned "serious" concerns, and in its own right. Karl Marx famously derided religion as the "opium of the people". Surely, if this is true, it is even more important to examine the appeal, both of opium and religion?

The reluctance to examine affect also derives from a long-held insistence on the separation of emotional and cognitive systems. In the light of recent developments in the field of cognitive psychology, however, such a position is indefensible.

> Emotions have long been conceived of as arising from a functionally separate system that is at best orthogonal to, or, more likely, at odds with effective reasoning and intellectual functioning. This view has been supplanted by an emerging acknowledgement of the elaborately coordinated interactions and, indeed, indispensable collaboration between the cognitive and affective systems. (Bodenhausen, Mussweiler, Gabriel, & Moreno, 2001)

The fan's emotional connection with the fan object is part of this collaboration between cognitive and affective systems. And it is intimately connected with the formation of identity.

The meaning of fan

The most widely accepted origin of the term "fan" is that it is an abbreviation of "fanatic", and that it was originally applied to baseball aficionados in late 19th century America (Jenkins, 1992). "Fanatic," in turn, comes to us from Latin, in which it is cognate with *fanum*, a religious shrine or sanctum. Thus, we can understand that there is a religious overlay to the sense in which it was used when it entered the English language in the 16th century, to indicate a person prone to madness, frenzy or excessive enthusiasm. Indeed, as with the word "enthusiasm" itself, it formerly indicated the idea of possession by a god or spirit. Its use was generally pejorative, seemingly motivated by fear of behaviour considered beyond normative standards.

Although it has softened considerable, some of this pejorative connotation remains. "Fans" have often been considered socially deviant, with their excessive attachment to the fan object treated as a stigma. On the other hand, fans themselves have embraced the term for self-labelling. A point of comparison may be made here with the (later) appropriation of the term "queer" by those with alternative sexual orientations. The appropriation has been considered such a significant development that the term "Queer Theory" was adopted (de Lauretis, 1991) for a branch of post-structuralist theory which questions essentialism, as well as notions of normality and deviance. [1]

Unsurprisingly, Queer Theory is one of the prisms through which fan activity has been examined. Since the notion of the fan has been constructed as a challenge to societal norms, it has been subjected to intense scrutiny and analysis to see what it can tell us about those norms, and about the deviance they imply. In the case of the fan, one specific deviance appears to be *excess*. Music, television, movies, sport, games, hobbies: all of these are normal activities. The threat of deviance which the word *fan* identifies is when these normal activities are taken to excess. Here it is evident why this is a fruitful area of study: the fan forces us to confront our concepts of normality. In many cases, this challenge is seen as a threat. Jensen (1992) has explored the ways in which fan activity is seen as a "psychological symptom of a presumed social dysfunction." An extreme example of this is Miyazaki Tsutomu, who raped and murdered four young girls, and was found to be deeply involved in *otaku* ("Japanese fan") culture (Azuma, 2009). Similarly, Mark David Chapman – the murderer of John Lennon – has been characterised as a fan, as if this forms a sufficient explanation of his actions. In fact his pathological behaviour manifest in many ways, among which the most immediately present at the scene of the murder was his obsession with J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in The Rye*, and the most powerful, his Christianity (Jones, 1992). Literature, being high culture, is often excluded from identification with fan activity, even though the behaviour of its aficionados matches that of fans of most populist material (Tulloch, 2007; Pearson, 2007). However the reference to the highest of all high cultures returns us to the link between the fan and states associated with the religious, which will be considered in the next section.

The religious connection

As noted earlier, there is an inevitable connection between fandom and religion deriving from etymology. In addition to the terms already commented on, much fan activity concerns so-called "cult" media, yet another example of the application of a term from religion. All of this, of course, does not mean that such a connection is literal. It may be purely metaphoric, and even counterproductive in terms of understanding the true nature of fan affect. Yet this is no excuse for

the "…embarrassment [that] has been clearly on show in recent studies of fandom." (Hills, 2002)

Cavicchi (1998) tentatively asserts that "…while religion and fandom are arguably different realms of meaning, they are both centred around acts of devotion, which may create similarities of experience." This seems an unarguable proposition, so we must reflect on whether the only point of commonality is indeed "devotion." Here we face the difficulty that the nature of religion itself is far from clear.

Durkheim's (1965) concept of the distinction between the sacred and the profane has been massively influential on writing about myth and religion. Significantly, this distinction evades the problem that many Western definitions of religion face, that a focus on the "divine" appears to exclude religions such as Buddhism that do not necessarily revolve around gods. Durkheim's analysis is primarily sociological rather than experiential, but it did lead (albeit without acknowledgement), to Eliade (1996) using it to explore the experiential dimension of myth and religion. For Eliade, the profane is the everyday experience of life, while the sacred is the transcendent realm associated with gods and myths, as well as ecstatic religious experience. Eliade argues that the profane world offers no guiding discourse; such can only be obtained from the realm of the sacred.

Superficially it might appear that the social aspect of religion also identified by Durkheim occupies the realm of the profane, standing in sharp contrast to the sacred. However this is not necessarily the case: there is an overlap between the social and the sacred in the form of ritual. Eliade writes about the "eternal return", in which religious behaviour – especially ritual behavior – is not only an imitation of, but also a participation in, sacred events. In this respect it matches fan behaviour. "[T]here is something in common between fannishness and religious feeling and that thing is perhaps best thought of as an interest in spirituality, or at least a sense of transcendence." (Kaveney, 2009) Eliade suggests that the realm of the sacred offers transcendence, providing us with a guiding discourse; in a world in which the truth claims of the supernatural have been widely discounted, it is hardly surprising that the "realm of the sacred" should extend away from myth and the supernatural, to other man-made agglomerations of meaning – including what theorists of postmodernism call grand narratives – and arguably even including fan objects.

Religious behaviour has been a fundamental component of human social life since earliest times. Specific forms may have been proscribed or repressed, but religion itself has almost always been accepted. While religion may permit excess in its "sacred" space, fan activity applies a similar principle to an area which is explicitly man-made, and is therefore subject to stigma. Moreover, this is a stigma that explicitly references religious terminology. We may hypothesize that some of the stigma which attaches to the fan derives from this "abnormal"

application of religious behaviour. To a devotee of religion, treating something other than the divine as a recipient of religious behaviour can be a very serious offence. And although fans are commonly portrayed as over-serious, this is not always the case; even a superficial acquaintance with YouTube will reveal a host of fans making fun of their fan object, and their attitude toward it (see the discussion on *Doctor Who*, below, for a highly successful example) in a way that is extremely rare among the religious.

The interaction between the sacred and profane is managed by, amongst other devices, ritual. The element of identification in ritual has already been alluded to. For fans, identification is often an important element of the relationship with the object. This can manifest in a number of forms. In extreme cases, identification can involve assuming an identity. Such is the case with, for example, Elvis impersonators (Hills, 2002; Lockyer, 2010) and much of cosplay. I myself knew a fan of the silent actor Louise Brooks who expressed her admiration by styling herself in imitation of Brooks, not simply for special occasions (part of the "sacred space") but in everyday life. Similarly, we are familiar with fans who wear T-Shirts or accessories adorned with a fan object, or guitarists who use the same guitar and amplifier as their heroes.

Identification operates on more subtle levels, however, which can be expressed through linguistic and behavioural habits, especially where there is a ritualistic dimension.

> But before mid-century, attending a concert more often than not meant attending a special event that was as much social as musical, an opportunity for people in a community to come together in a ritual space. (Cavicchi, 2007)

Cavicchi is writing about the origins of music fandom in America in the nineteenth century. There is an implication in his work that the undoubted passion for music exhibited by the subjects of his research somehow precludes the existence of the "ritual space" to which he refers in the above quotation. Reading further, however, it is evident that what Cavicchi is describing is characterized not so much as a withdrawal of music from the ritual space, but as its expansion into other spaces such as the commercial one.

> Fans and music lovers represent those who have refused to accept the anonymity and limited involvement of audiences necessitated by the large-scale commercialization of musical experience; they both instead seek to creatively imbue their participation in musical life with a lasting personal connection and depth of feeling. (Cavicchi, 2007)

Cavicchi goes on to argue that the stigma directed at fans derives from this desire to go beyond what was deemed normal: namely the passive consumption of music in a commercial form. The fan looks for personal connection with the fan object; in short, the fan attempts to undermine the

alienation of modern consumer culture. Once again, we find the fan's quest for a transcendent guiding discourse.

It is hard to look at many aspects of contemporary music fandom without seeing social aspects, a community, and aspects of ritual. For example, the music fanzine *Frank's APA* (O'Dowd), like all amateur press associations, functions as a form of community-in-writing, as it consists of contributions by participants, who are also its readers. The "mailing comments" which participants address to each other resemble the discussions in online forums and newsgroups. Indeed, it is evident from many cases of direct continuity that the two media are functionally the same: the fan activity prefigured the burgeoning world of social networks (Mason, 2012).

Furthermore, the abovementioned aspects are also features of a large proportion of fan behavior. *Frank's APA* was itself started by fans of role-playing games who were also involved with fanzines in that field. It soon attracted contributors affiliated with science fiction fandom, *Diplomacy* fandom and music fandom, all of whom found the format and practice represented by the magazine a familiar means of fan expression – a familiar form of ritual.

The pleasure principle

Despite the foregoing discussion of the rarefied realms of religion and ritual, in some ways, analysing fan affect is one of the easiest things one could imagine. The answer is so obvious, and yet so often obscured by detail. Yet communication with fans themselves, spoken or written,[2] overwhelmingly reveals that fans pursue fan activities because they derive pleasure from so doing. It is important to note that the pleasure is derived from the fan *activity*. Out of the window go all the analyses which focus exclusively on some sort of worshipful attitude towards the fan object. At a stroke, a viable explanation for the tendency of fans to be hypercritical of the object of their fandom arises: they do so in pursuit of pleasure (for more on the connection between criticism and pleasure, see the quotation from Sandifer, below).

Even if we succeed in persuading a reader that pleasure is an important object of study, we nevertheless often run into a second level of the same form of academic distaste. The pleasures of religion, of high art, of drugs, of sex: we may concede that these are socially significant factors, worthy of research. But what of mere fun? What of trivia, of *manga* and TV and electronic games which amuse and entertain? Once again, these must be looked down upon in order to maintain our academic seriousness, as if fun were somehow an infectious disease. But it isn't (a disease, that is: it can be highly infectious, thank goodness). It is possible to study fun while remaining serious. How else are we to understand what fun – an extremely important drive in the lives of so many human beings – actually is, and how it operates? If we start with a presumption of unimportance, then we will not be able to examine the topic objectively.

McKee (2008) addresses the place of fun in cultural studies, and uses an analogy from *Doctor Who* fandom to describe it: on the one hand is the "gun" approach, which is serious, and on the other is the "frock" approach, which is frivolous. McKee shows how one or other of these attitudes permeate much cultural research. We have already identified Marx as a "gun", critiquing both religion and drugs. Marx's notion that both are inauthentic experiences is taken up in more extreme form by Adorno and Horkheimer:

> Pleasure always means not to think about anything, to forget suffering even where it is shown. Basically it is helplessness. It is flight … from the last remaining thought of resistance. (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1972)

Here the "gun" mentality is distilled into its purest form: the medieval flagellant dismissing happiness and pleasure as inherently wrong. Adorno and Horkheimer regard pleasure as a distraction from the important issue of overthrowing the capitalist system and eradicating man's alienation from his own labour. But a fair question might be: why go to all the trouble of doing so if it is at the expense of pleasure? And come to that, what of the pleasure derived from an honest day's work?

McKee traces the same line of thinking through other prominent figures such as Fredric Jameson (1991). He also shows how many "frocks" have, while stressing the importance of pleasure in entertainment and the significance of the audience, nevertheless relegated pleasure to the function of a means of resistance to capitalism. This approach is demonstrated by the massive influence of Michel de Certeau on the development of fan studies (see, for example, Jenkins, 1992).

Within fan studies, this "resistance discourse" has led to a problem of analysis.

> This goes beyond merely acknowledging that fans are active producers who collaboratively produce transformative works, be they fan fiction, fan videos, or providing subtitling or translation services to foreign texts. Fans are mobilised as active participants in social and political movements because they are united by a common factor: their (consumption of) popular culture. At the same time, they equally "have become part-time collaborators with official producers seeking to incite and retain dedicated fan audiences, and part-time co-opted word-of-mouth marketers for beloved brands" (Hills, 2010: 58), resulting in the "curious co-existence within fan cultures of both anti-commercial ideologies and commodity-completist practices" (Hills, 2002: 28) that has come to characterise contemporary fan cultures. An insistence on seeing these seemingly contradictory tendencies not as two sides of the same (fannish) coin, but as two separate coins altogether, effectively pitches us into the "moral dualism" (Hills, 2002: 8)

of "resistance" discourse, within which fans and fan activities are divided into good/bad practices. (Chin & Morimoto, 2013)

As Chin and Morimoto make plain, the problem here is caused by the imposition of a totalising discourse on a complex phenomenon. There are, of course, "gun" elements to fandom, but the "frocks" should not be ignored. Discounting, or even disparaging, the role of sheer pleasure in fan activity weakens the scholar's capacity to comprehend the phenomenon in its totality. Again, as Chin and Morimoto point out, the "moral dualism" is a false division: it is perfectly possible for fans to combine resistance and pleasure in their fan activities.

Moreover, pleasure itself is far from singular in character. Duffett (2013) identifies three forms of pleasure derived from fan activity: the pleasure of connection, the pleasure of appropriation, and the pleasure of performance. Connection refers to interaction with others through the object of fandom; appropriation to making use of the object of fandom for one's own purposes, for example writing fan fiction; performance covers expressive fan activity such as costuming. A similar analysis based on "vectors" of fan activity is suggested by Mason (2013). All of these pleasures can be seen to be intimately related to personal identity.

Identity formation

In a discussion of different types of fans, Roberta Pearson reports the analysis of her MIT professor William Uricchio that the distinctive feature of the fan response to texts is that fans "incorporate the cultural texts as part of their self-identity, often going on to build social networks on the basis of shared fandoms." (Pearson, 2007) Pearson goes on to note that this very tendency leads to fans being fans in multiple areas, a conclusion which appears to fly in the face of the popular conception of fan as unitary obsessive, but which has nevertheless been widely observed, including by the present author (Mason, 2013). Yet it has another obvious corollary: construction of identity and social networks are not fan-specific activities. These are fundamental human behaviors. And as we know from research on identity across a wide range of disciplines, from the sociological approach of Burke & Stets (2009) to the Queer Theory of Judith Butler (1990) and beyond, identity is constructed in complex ways on multiple levels.

Grossberg (1992) describes how affect has a "power to invest difference." This is because it is affect which determines the importance we place on differences.

> In social identity theory and identity theory, the self is reflexive in that it looks back on itself as an object and categorizes, classifies, or names itself in particular ways that contrasts itself with other social categories or classifications. This is the process of self-categorization. (Burke & Stets, 2000)

Since identity depends on the investment we place in these contrasts or differences, it can be seen that a fan identity is constructed by the importance placed on the difference between what the fan does and says, and what other people – who are not fans – do and say. Identities are not necessarily consciously constructed, but we can see cases where fans express their affect in such a way as to consciously construct an identity; an example would be wearing a T-shirt of a favorite band.

On the other hand, less overtly constructed identities may operate in areas of gender and sexuality. Here, as Butler (1990) and many others have explained, we are often at the mercy of social constructed norms which are presented to us as natural phenomenon. The artificial nature of such essentialism is suggested, however, by the performative nature of fans' approaches to pleasure and fantasy. In fantasy, writes Constance Penley, "the subject participates in and restages a scenario in which crucial questions about desire, knowledge, and identity can be posed, and in which the subject can hold a number of identificatory positions." (Penley, 1992) This is an important consideration in her analysis of slash fiction: fan fiction based on erotic couplings of characters in certain media franchises. These forms of fan activity reveal deceptively complex patterns of identification. For example, the earliest slash fictions were fantasies about Kirk and Spock, two characters from *Star Trek*. And yet the adherents of such fan fiction were predominantly heterosexual women. Slash (which derives from the abbreviation for fiction involving Kirk and Spock: K/S) has spawned many other forms which are equally resistant to simplistic explication. For example, hurt/comfort (h/c) stories are based on one character being injured in some way and tended to by another.

> This is why I cannot – and think I should not – attempt a totalizing theory of h/c. Its affect needs to be interpreted through these social/personal histories, parts of which must necessarily escape us. We can theorize its potential and effects; we can describe our experiences of it to each other, look for more or less frequently recurring patterns in its pleasures and problems, and try to understand what that tells us about ourselves and our communities in the context in which we live. But the attempt to say what it is, and why people like it, will only lead us back to the exhausted, self-consuming mystery of an individual human nature detached from politics. (Fathallah, 2011)

Fan-created fiction of this sort is by no means limited to the English-speaking media: the Japanese phenomenon of boys' love manga closely resembles it, and has itself spread around the world. (Nagaike & Suganuma, 2013). And if we turn to the home of manga, we can find another angle from which to view fan affect.

Database animals

The Japanese *otaku* are now well-known around the world. We should be wary of the elementary translation mistake of treating *otaku* as an exact equivalent of "fan". At the same time, however, we should be wary of the often ideologically-driven desire to assert Japanese uniqueness. For our purposes it is clear that there is considerable conceptual overlap between the terms "fan" and "*otaku*" and that will suffice for our purposes. In an interesting contrast with Uricchio, cited above, Azuma (2009) hypothesizes that modern *otaku* are distinguished by a difference in the way in which they approach the material in which they are interested. In simple terms, the *otaku* do not approach a narrative in purely linear terms, but in a manner for which Azuma uses the metaphor of the "database". At the same time, Azuma links these characteristics to changes in use of language, and thereby describes *otaku* as animalistic. Even allowing for the recognition that this is intended as a metaphorical analysis, it is an unfortunate way of approaching the issue. People are sensitive to being compared to animals. For example, a Japanese student to whom I jokingly referred as a "teacher's pet" became furious: he was not familiar with the term, and assumed I was calling him an animal. It was an innocent failing on my part, though it necessitated my learning an important lesson. In the case of Azuma, it appears there is an element of deliberate provocation.

> I am not in the position to comment on the present state of creating derivative works out of the actual data taken from the original, but I wish to draw the reader's attention to the fact that such a desire to create derivative works is not an aberration but a desire necessarily born out of the essence of the novel games (and, ultimately, the essence of postmodernity). (Azuma, 2009)

Saying that a desire is born out of the essence of postmodernity makes for a dramatic academic statement of position, but it doesn't help us to understand that desire on a more human level. Ironically, while writing about how postmodernity structures human culture following the collapse of grand narratives, Azuma seems to be erecting postmodernity itself as a form of explicatory grand narrative. Yet Azuma's observations on the specifics of the *otaku* appreciation and manipulation of what he terms "databases" is pertinent. His argument is that while modern human cultural pleasures were formerly structured by narratives, constructed by authors, the narratives are now a constituent element rather than the guiding principle. For the *otaku*, and by extension the fan, no longer derives meaning from culture by relating it to an overarching grand narrative. Instead, culture is related to itself, being reshuffled and rearranged in order to create new combinations.

Azuma goes on to claim that this behavior is "animalistic", based on the assertion that while humans have "desires" – which are intersubjective and unsatiated by fulfilment – animals have "needs" which are satiable cravings. He uses this distinction to differentiate otaku behavior from others:

> [T]his sort of otaku behavioral principle can be thought of as differing from that of intellectual aficionados (conscious people), whose interest is based on cool judgment, and from that of fetishistically indulgent sexual subjects (unconscious people). But rather, more simply and directly, the otaku behavioral principle can be seen as close to the behavioral principle of drug addicts. (Azuma, 2009)

That this is another in a long line of attempts to stigmatise the fan is clear when it is noticed how Azuma, while identifying fan consumption with postmodern consumerism, glosses over one of the defining characteristics of the latter: that it is perpetually unsatiable. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of otaku is that, in contrast to the former narrative model of consumption, they have little or no sense of completion. The database is ever-expanding.

The comparison with "aficionados" who exhibit "cool judgment" is equally spurious, as the work of Tulloch and Pearson demonstrates (Pearson, 2007; Tulloch, Fans of Chekhov: Re-approaching "High Culture", 2007). The "snobbish" intellectuals noted by Azuma in modernist contrast to postmodern otaku cannot be so easily distinguished in terms of behavior. What differs is the cultural value society accords to the object of fandom, and this is in the process of changing. Azuma goes on to draw an analogy between the behavior of otaku, and the licentious consumerism of the so-called *kogal* of the 1990s. On the one hand, the latter is largely a media phenomenon. On the other, while the behaviors are, of course, reactions to the same social environment, this does not automatically mean that they are the same.

Azuma's argument also suffers the indignity of being eroded by hindsight. "A novel game can never be a multi-player game," he offers, as part of an argument that otaku have no sociality at the level of the simulacra. And yet the rise of multi-player games since 2001 demonstrates that there is a form of sociality being practised here. Azuma's argument resolves to a notion that traditional "normal" social interaction is necessary in some absolute form, rather than being necessary in a personal, voluntary, sense like that of the "database sociality" which he ascribes to the otaku. And revealing the snobbery directing his argument, stray barbs are directed at "Hollywood films and techno music" as being equivalents to the otaku's database.

Despite these problems arising out of Azuma's polemical angle, his insight into the fan's attachment to a "database" is fruitful, and worthy of development.

The desire to know

At a conference in Cambridge in 2012, I addressed a room of fans on the subject of what fandom meant, and initiated a discussion. The results were revealing in several ways. Firstly, the definition of "fan" and the meaning of "fandom" were hotly debated. Clearly, there is no single accepted definition even among a group of people who shared a specific form of fandom (science fiction in this case). Secondly, the level of the discussion itself, and comments by some participants, who were firm in asserting that I did not need to say anything about the characteristics of academic enquiry as there were a number of PhDs in the audience, provided a dynamic example of the way in which fans themselves operate as scholars. Indeed, the relationship between fans and academia has received attention over the years, often from academics who are themselves fans.

One of the largest fan gatherings in the world is the science fiction WorldCon (World Science Fiction Society, 2013). The programme of this convention is extensive, including discussions and panels featuring famous writers and producers, as well as entertainments and commercial activities. It even includes an academic conference within its programming.[3] Azuma's description of the "database" of the otaku has already highlighted the profound relationship which fans have with knowledge, but here we find ourselves drawing increasing parallels between fans and academics. "In the current landscape that I see in LiveJournal and elsewhere, fans are consummate theorists – they're always explaining, analyzing, conjecturing about fan culture." (Cryptoxin, 2006)

TARDIS Eruditorum (Sandifer, 2013) is without question a scholarly text: analysing the whole of *Doctor Who* in the context of the time in which it was made. And yet it is also a fan artefact: the result of fan activity. Its author describes in an interview the relationship between the fan and the critic:

> For instance, a month or so ago I rewatched The Eleventh Hour so I could cover it on the blog. This is an episode of television I must have seen a dozen times now, because for two years it was my go-to starting point when introducing someone to Doctor Who. It's long since past the point where I just idly recite the dialogue alongside the episode. And this is not a problem, because I love it dearly and think it's a marvelous piece of television. I mean, really, we can say what we want about the Moffat era, but for me, personally, it made me love Doctor Who like I was eleven again. There is nothing close to ironic detachment going on here – this is just flat out one of my favorite hours of television ever. But the point where its jokes and surprises can land is long since gone for me, and probably never coming back, precisely because I love it so much.
>
> But through criticism I can keep experiencing my love of the episode. I can ask

questions like "why is this bit so good" and "what is this episode trying to do in the first place." And I can answer them, and study the episodes, and not only sustain my enjoyment but deepen it. I mean, it's really strange to me that we have this strange idea that understanding how art works somehow means it stops working. It's not like people imagine biologists like pictures of kittens less because they happen to understand a bit more about their inner workings. But art we have this bizarre idea that if we try to understand why it makes us feel the way we do then we're going to ruin it somehow. (Greenlee & Sandifer, 2014)

Henry Jenkins, whose *Textual Poachers* is one of the establishing texts of fan studies, coined the term "aca-fan" to refer to academics who are also fans. His blog (Jenkins, Confessions of an aca-fan), though predominantly academic in orientation, nevertheless self-identifies Jenkins as one. The fan of Louise Brooks to whom I referred above was, coincidentally, also something of an authority on her, studying her work at postgraduate level; she is now a university lecturer.

The ways in which the fan and the academic can be mutually implicated is also explored by McKee (2007) in describing the behavior and feelings of many academics towards the "stars" of cultural theory. There are different processes at work here, however. Just as the academics described by McKee can experience the pleasures associated with appreciating stars (pleasures which may have religious and identity-related dimensions), fans may experience the scholar's "desire to know". Such epistephilia (Nichols, 2010) lies behind the appeal of documentaries, and to a certain extent that of news sources.

As already noted, fans are highly self-reflexive, and there is thus a large body of literature on the Internet concerned with fans and fandom which can be categorized as "aca-fan." Hills warns against the uncritical acceptance of self-analysis by fans, however, and notes how fan knowledgeability has been used as an "excuse" for ethnography. He argues that fan knowledge and analysis is itself colored by fan affect. Of course similar arguments can be made of the various affective distortions which bear on academic discourse.

In any case, the important part that knowledge has to play in a fan's relationship with the fan object is undisputed. It also connects with the various other manifestations of fan affect discussed so far. The place of knowledge within religion – especially in terms of its relationship with power – has been clear since Eve offered Adam the fruit of the tree of knowledge. To know something is to identify with it, to make it a part of one's self, one's identity. And humans, being thinking animals, derive pleasure from exercising their mental faculties.

The question remains, however, how does all this differ from the everyday conduct of human life for the non-fan? There have already been some tentative explorations of the ways in

which fan activity goes beyond the "norm" in terms of exploring the above relationships. One of the problems is raised by an essentialist position that attempts to understand the topic in terms of "the fan" and wonders how "the fan" differs from the normal person. I would argue that this approach is fundamentally misconceived. Every time such differences are analysed in detail, they break down. Cavicchi's point, for example, doesn't really differentiate between types of people, so much as types of activity. Although there are those who call themselves fans, and those who don't, who perhaps present us with clear differences, in fact we may find "non-fans" occasionally exhibiting behavior which we consider to define fans. A more fruitful approach, therefore, is to consider what we have described so far as being fan behaviours or vectors (Mason, 2013), which may be exhibited to a greater or lesser extent by people. Some exhibit them all the time, and conspicuously adopt them as part of their identity. For others, they are an occasional affectation (I would place myself in this category). But in all cases they provide a means of examining the ways in which people react to objects or activities in which they are deeply interested.

The Doctor Who 50th anniversary

"Seemingly paradoxically, being a fan means being disappointed by the object of fandom as much as it means appreciating it." (Hills, 2010)

As a specific example of the workings of fan affect, it is instructive to examine the context of the above quotation, the TV show *Doctor Who*, which in 2013 celebrated the 50th anniversary of its first broadcast in November, 1963. As already mentioned, the programme is useful, as it is unequivocally one with a large subculture of fans attached to it, and moreover one which has attracted academic attention. Significantly, however, it is not by any means simply a fan phenomenon or, as it is sometimes termed, a "cult". At various times in its history it has been one of the most popular television programmes in the UK; at present, a case could be made for it being one of the more popular English-language programmes in the world. It therefore gives the lie to the idea that fan objects are inevitably far from the mainstream, and enables us to examine the fan response in contrast to the response of that mainstream, and the ways in which "non-fans" may exhibit signs of fan affect in their behaviour.

First, a little background on the programme is necessary. When it was first broadcast, *Doctor Who* was conceived as a programme for children that was nevertheless accessible to the whole family. It was designed to contain educational elements – most particularly in the fields of science and history – and yet be adventurous and entertaining. The programme was not the product of a single unifying vision, and therefore its earliest days set the pattern for the subsequent 50: being pulled in various directions by those involved in its creation (Mason, 2012). As an example, the BBC executive who commissioned it, Sydney Newman, specified that although it had science

fiction elements, there should be no "Bug-Eyed Monsters" (Pixley, 2013), nevertheless, at the insistence of the programme's first producer Verity Lambert, the second story broadcast featured the monstrous Daleks, which have become one of its defining features and an important part of the cultural fabric of the UK.

Thanks to the Daleks, the programme quickly became a popular fixture of Saturday evening television programming. But they do introduce a confusion about the nature of the show. Many believe that *Doctor Who* is science fiction, because it has such alien monsters, and because its protagonist travels in a ship capable of going anywhere in time and space. And yet a close reading demonstrates that the show is not simply science fiction: it could be more accurately described as genre-hopping. It can mix historical costume drama and horrific science fiction as easily as it blends comedy and political comment. This is one reason for its longevity: it can constantly reinvent itself. Indeed such reinvention is built into the show, as a result of the notion that the Doctor, the protagonist, can escape death by "regenerating" his body. Extra-diegetically, this enables the show to recast the principal actor without alienating a significant proportion of the audience. This enabled *Doctor Who* to survive the failing health of the first actor to play the Doctor, William Hartnell, as he was replaced by Patrick Troughton. The show's ratings went up and down, picking up with the third Doctor, Jon Pertwee's, appearance in colour broadcasts for the first time, and reaching a peak with the fourth Doctor, Tom Baker, who achieved some cult success in the US.

Following Tom Baker, the ratings went into decline. There are numerous explanations for this, including the reluctance of the BBC to maintain the show's budget. One of the most frequently cited explanations for this decline, however, is that the show was increasingly being made for fans, rather than for the mainstream audience (Hills, 2010). Evidence for this includes the employment by producer John Nathan-Turner of a "fan advisor," Ian Levine. This provides us with an opportunity to infer what such a difference may be. There is a danger, of course, that the dichotomy may be false; as Hills points out, it may be that it is perfectly possible for a show to simultaneously be a cult show for fans, and a mainstream success (the present state of *Doctor Who* would suggest this). Nevertheless, bearing this caveat in mind, comparisons can be made. From the 20th anniversary year on, *Doctor Who* became increasingly entangled in "continuity." In simple terms, continuity is the reappearance of previously employed elements of the show. It offers pleasure to the fan by referring to established knowledge which the fan possesses.

In a work with as many creators as *Doctor Who*, however, continuity raises multiple problems. Since the show is continually redefining and reinventing itself, it becomes very difficult to reconcile certain present elements of the show with its past. Fan knowledge exceeds that of the people who are actually writing and producing the show, who are less concerned with

continuity. To choose a simple example: during the period of the Third Doctor, it was established that he was a Time Lord with two hearts. His origins had previously been shrouded in mystery. Yet there were references in programmes of the original Doctor to him having only one heart. This was not such a problem when the show was primarily an "on-air" phenomenon; early episodes were generally not repeated, and so memories would fade. During the 1980s, however, as use of VCRs became more common, such contradictions became more glaring. In this period, *Doctor Who* sought to please fans by bringing back elements from the past. On the one hand, the expectation of familiarity alienated casual viewers who were not, in fact, familiar with the returning elements. On the other hand, in almost every case the returning element was altered in some way, introducing even more contradictions.

In some cases the alterations are cosmetic. In other cases they can be profound. For example, the final foe faced by the original Doctor was the race of Cybermen, inhabitants of a twin planet of Earth which had departed from the solar system long ago. To survive the bleakness of space, this race had replaced its failing organs with machine parts, becoming in the process a hollowed out parody of humanity. The original Cybermen exhibited this qlippothic quality in their appearance, speech and actions. On each successive reappearance, however, their nature was altered. Their first return saw them repurposed as "replacement Daleks" (it seemed, for a while, that the writer who invented the Daleks would not permit their reuse in *Doctor Who*), which is to say, evil robotic cyborgs. Over the years, even their alleged cold logic and lack of emotion was replaced by megalomania, expressed in standard villainous phrasing; after the success of *Star Wars* their voices switched from cold, machine-like sounds to close facsimiles of Darth Vader.

1985's serial "Attack of the Cybermen" (BBC) is a perfect example of the problem. In order to make any sense of the complex plot, one must be familiar with 1966's "The Tenth Planet," (BBC) the first appearance of the Cybermen. And yet not only are the Cybermen of the former significantly different in appearance from the Cybermen of the latter (see figures 1 and 2), there are multiple contradictions in motivation, behaviour and plot.
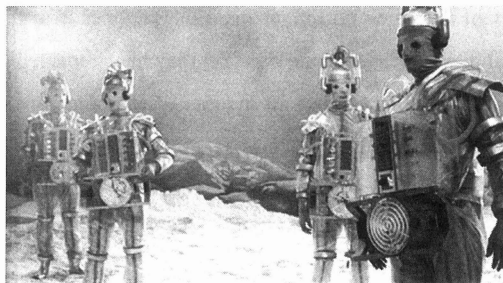

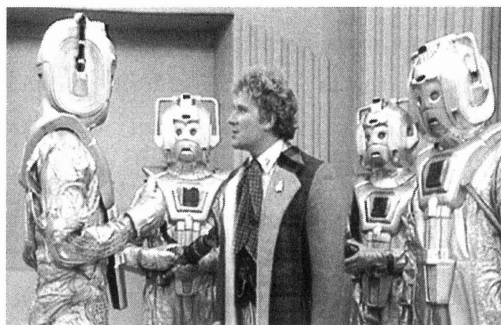Figure 1. Cybermen from 1966's "The Tenth Planet"

Figure 2. Cybermen from 1985's "Attack of the Cybermen"

In the face of hostility from BBC management, and relatively low (though still respectable) ratings, the programme was cancelled in 1989. It then continued in the form of books and audio plays only, with novelisations of broadcast episodes steadily giving way to original stories, written by fans – and if truth be told, though published commercially by Virgin Books, mostly read by fans.

In 1996 a television movie was co-produced with an American company, as a possible precursor to a new series. The producer, Philip Segal, had moved to the US from Britain in his teens. He was a fan, and this affected the way he approached the project (Segal & Russell, 2000). Here, again, continuity problems raised their heads. On the one hand, Segal claimed to be re-inventing the programme for a new audience (particularly, a new American audience); on the other, it was full of obscure continuity references. Yet this continuity was altered in such a way as to infuriate fans. Although the movie's ratings were good in the UK, in the US the inept scheduling and obscure continuity meant that the option for a follow-up series was not taken up.

The show continued in its non-televised incarnations until 2005, when it returned as a prestige production. Since then it has continued to prosper, and now stands as one of the BBC's most reliable sources of foreign earnings, as well as of domestic viewing figures. Interestingly, however, the producers of the show no longer need the services of a fan advisor such as Ian Levine; like Philip Segal they are fans themselves. Yet they have repeatedly commented that they are not making the programme for fans, but for the mainstream audience (Hills, 2010). Viewing figures suggest that they have succeeded.

The fiftieth anniversary year was celebrated in a number of ways. Most significantly, the actual anniversary was marked by "The Day of the Doctor," a special edition of the programme, shown in cinemas as well as on television, and produced in 3D. This special took advantage of the Doctor being a time traveller to enable him to "meet himself": in other words, it saw the

return of actors who had previously played the role. This particular form of continuity, the "multi-Doctor" story, is beloved of fans, and in the run-up to the anniversary there were countless online comments by fans to the effect that they wanted all of the still-living actors who had played the Doctor to somehow appear in the special. In non-fan terms, of course, this would be nonsensical. How could a coherent plot be constructed around eight different versions of the same character? In practice, the producers of the show succeeded, as they have since 2005, by refusing to meet the fans' expectations, yet offering, in passing, brief references.

The anniversary year saw a "mini-episode" of the eighth Doctor (BBC, 2013) – whose sole televisual appearance had been the 1996 TV movie, and yet who had featured in numerous books and audio adventures – continuing to do so even after the return of the programme to television screens. The special edition, "The Day of the Doctor," featured only the three most recent Doctors, and yet at the very end a brief, climactic scene involved not only every previous Doctor, but the Doctor-to-come, in cameos made possible through use of existing footage, and computer graphics (The Day of the Doctor, 2013).

The fan desire to see former Doctors was also exploited by one of the former Doctors himself, Peter Davison (the fifth Doctor), who made a drama based around the efforts of the fifth, sixth and seventh incumbents' attempts to appear in the fiftieth anniversary special (The Five(ish) Doctors Reboot, 2013). By deliberately deriving humour from the fan hope, while simultaneously partly fulfilling it, Davison's drama succeeded in appealing not only to fans, but also to mainstream audiences aware of the image of such fans.

The 50th anniversary special also saw the return of a monster beloved by fans: the Zygons had appeared in a single story, in the 70s period of the Fourth Doctor. Yet their return was the occasion for widespread online rejoicing by fans. Similarly, during the 50th anniversary year, the Ice Warriors made a reappearance after some four decades. It appears that, for fans, the appearance of familiar elements is a significant factor in fan affect.

The anniversary was marked by many other official releases, including novel series, special editions of magazines and screenings at the British Film institute with question and answer sessions. These were matched, however, by fan activity ranging from conventions to YouTube videos to knitting patterns. The cinema screenings of the special were attended by many people in costume. But fan activity was not only celebratory. One of the characteristics of the series since 2010 is the animosity directed at the current showrunner, Steven Moffat, by certain fans. Probably the most widely known example of this is the STFU Moffat Tumblr (Hallor, SH, & C, 2012). The earliest posts on this Tumblr noted that it would be identifying "problematic things" about Moffat's work. But those who run the site are clear that they are fans of Moffat's work – not only *Doctor Who*, but his other successful series *Sherlock*. The criticism derives from an

emotional investment in the work, an identification with it, a need to know and understand; and, it has to be said, from the sheer pleasure of self-expression.

Conclusion

Fans respond to their fan object in diverse ways and to diverse degrees. Yet those responses derive from an affective relationship with the fan object, a response of closeness, even of identity. This relationship has something in common with the religious response to the sacred. Differences here reflect differences in the societal valuation of the religious, compared with that of most fan objects. Similarly, devotees of high culture, and academics, share affective dispositions with fans. In the latter two cases, changes over the last few years in the way that high culture and scholarship are understood and valued have made the affinities all the more evident.

Fan Studies have so far often taken a narrow focus on their topic, concentrating on singular fan objects (generally in the media), and approaching them from the point of view of discourses of power, resistance and so on. From now, it may be productive to consider fan response across a wider range of interests, focusing on the spectrum of fan affect.

Notes

[1] It is worth noting that the fans who embraced the term in this way were those who were stigmatised by attachment to "low culture" fan objects. As the paper later considers, those who devoted themselves to Shakespeare, Mozart, Chess or some other high culture interest were less stigmatized, and correspondingly less willing to be referred to as fans.

[2] This communication extends via email to fans of such forms as *Doctor Who*, *Fighting Fantasy*, music and animé in many countries, as well as through personal encounters at a range of conventions and meets, mostly in the United Kingdom.

[3] I attended the 2005 Worldcon in Glasgow, which had a conference on the topic of the real and mythic nation of Britain. I will be attending the 2014 Worldcon in London, at which the conference theme is "Diversity in Speculative Fiction" but at which, more importantly, one of the keynote speakers is a leading academic authority on fan studies.

References

Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. (1972). *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. New York: Continuum/Seabury Press.

Azuma, H. (2009). *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*. (J. E. Abel, & S. Kono, Trans.) Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

BBC. (2013, December 22). *The Day of the Doctor*. Retrieved from BBC: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p01l1z04

BBC. (2013, November 23). *The Five(ish) Doctors Reboot*. Retrieved from BBC: http://www.bbc.co.uk/

programmes/b03lv3mj

BBC. (2013, November 14). *The Night of the Doctor*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-U3jrS-uhuo

BBC. (n.d.). *Attack of the Cybermen*. Retrieved from Doctor Who: The classic series: http://www.bbc.co.uk/doctorwho/classic/episodeguide/attackcybermen/

BBC. (n.d.). *The Tenth Planet*. Retrieved from Doctor Who: The classic series: http://www.bbc.co.uk/doctorwho/classic/episodeguide/tenthplanet/

Bodenhausen, G. V., Mussweiler, T., Gabriel, S., & Moreno, K. N. (2001). Affective influences on stereotyping and intergroup relations. In J. P. Forgas (Ed.), *Handbook of affect and social cognition* (pp. 319-343). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Burke, P. J., & Stets, J. E. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 63(3), 224-237.

Burke, P. J., & Stets, J. E. (2009). *Identity theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.

Cavicchi, D. (1998). *Tramps like us: Music and meaning among Springsteen fans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cavicchi, D. (2007). Loving music: Listeners, entertainments, and the origins of music fandom in nineteenth century America. In J. Gray, C. Sandvoss, & C. L. Harrington (Eds.), *Fandom: Identities and communities in a mediated world* (pp. 235-249). New York, New York University Press.

Chin, B., & Morimoto, L. H. (2013, May). Towards a theory of transcultural fandom. *Participations, 10*(1).

Cryptoxin. (2006, September 25). *Blogging Matt Hills – Meta Criticisms*. Retrieved from Livejournal: http://cryptoxin.livejournal.com/1546.html

de Lauretis, T. (1991). Queer theory: Lesbian and gay sexualities. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies, 3*.

Duffett, M. (2013). *Understanding fandom: An introduction to the study of media fan culture*. New York: Bloomsbury.

Durkheim, E. (1965). *The elementary forms of religious life*. (J. W. Swain, Trans.) New York: The Free Press.

Eliade, M. (1996). *Patterns of Comparative Religion*. (R. Sheed, Trans.) Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Fathallah, J. M. (2011). H/c and me: And autoethnographic account of a troubled love affair. *Transformative Works and Cultures, 7*. doi:doi:10.3983/twc.2011.0252

Greenlee, J., & Sandifer, P. (2014, May 5). *Philip Sandifer talks of Doctor Who, The Last War in Albion, and psychochronography*. Retrieved from Fanboy Nation: http://fanboynation.com/philip-sandifer/

Grossberg, L. (1992). The affective sensibility of fandom. In L. Lewis (Ed.), *The Adoring Audience*. London: Routledge.

Hallor, SH, & C. (2012, May 18). Retrieved from STFU Moffat: http://stfu-moffat.tumblr.com/

Hills, M. (2002). *Fan cultures*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Hills, M. (2010). *Triumph of a time lord: Regenerating Doctor Who in the twenty-first century*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Jameson, F. (1991). *Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism*. Durham: Duke University

Press.

Jenkins, H. (n.d.). Retrieved from Confessions of an aca-fan: http://henryjenkins.org/

Jenkins, H. (1992). *Textual poachers: Television fans and participatory culture*. New York: Routledge.

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Fans, bloggers, and gamers: exploring participatory culture*. New York: New York University Press.

Jensen, J. (1992). Fandom as pathology: The consequences of characterization. In L. Lewis (Ed.), *The adoring audience*. London: Routledge.

Jones, J. (1992). *Let me take you down – Inside the mind of Mark David Chapman, the man who shot John Lennon*. New York: Villard Books.

Kaveney, R. (2009, July 20). Far from fanatic. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian. com/commentisfree/belief/2009/jul/20/fans-religion-buffy

Lockyer, S. (2010). *'Elvis ain't dead!' An investigation into identification, fandom and religion*. M.Phil. thesis. University of Birmingham. Retrieved from http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/1261/

Mason, P. (2012). Role-playing games, fandom and participatory culture. *Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Aichi Gakuin University*(42), 99-109.

Mason, P. (2013). Towards a topography of fandom(s). *Journal of the Institute for Cultural Studies, Aichi Gakuin University*(28), 53-69.

McKee, A. (2007). The fans of cultural theory. In J. Gray, C. Sandvoss, & C. L. Harrington (Eds.), *Fandom: Identities and communities in a mediated world* (pp. 88-97). New York: New York University Press.

McKee, A. (2008). Looking for fun in Cultural Science. *Cultural Science, 1*(2).

Nagaike, K., & Suganuma, K. (2013). Transnational boys' love fan studies. *Transformative Works and Cultures*. doi:10.3983/twc.2013.0504

Nichols, B. (2010). *Introduction to documentary*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

O'Dowd, I. (Ed.). (n.d.). *Frank's APA*.

Pearson, R. (2007). Bachies, Bardies, Trekkies, and Sherlockians. In J. Gray, C. Sandvoss, & C. L. Harrington (Eds.), *Fandom: Identities and communities in a mediated world* (pp. 98-109). New York: New York University Press.

Penley, C. (1992). Feminism, psychoanalysis, and the study of popular culture. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson, & P. A. Treichler (Eds.), *Cultural studies* (pp. 479-500). New York: Routledge.

Pixley, A. (2013, December). New man at the BBC! *Doctor Who Magazine*(466), pp. 48-53.

Sandifer, P. (2013). *TARDIS eruditorum: An Unofficial Critical History of Doctor Who*. Eruditorum Press.

Sandvoss, C. (2005). *Fans: The mirror of consumption*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Segal, P., & Russell, G. (2000). *Regeneration*. London: HarperCollins.

Tulloch, J. (2007). Fans of Chekhov: Re-approaching "High Culture". In J. Gray, C. Sandvoss, & C. L. Harrington (Eds.), *Fandom: Identities and communities in a mediated world* (pp. 110-122). New York: New York University Press.

Tulloch, J., & Alvarado, M. (1983). *Doctor Who: The unfolding text*. London: Macmillan Press.

World Science Fiction Society. (2013, September 5). *Worldcon*. Retrieved from Worldcon: http://www. worldcon.org/

Zubernis, L., & Larsen, K. (2012). *Fandom at the crossroads: Celebration, shame and fan/producer relationships*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.