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The child as addressee, viewer and consumer in mid-1960s *Doctor Who*

Jonathan Bignell

This chapter draws on archival research, analysis of programmes and theoretical approaches to childhood and children's culture.¹ It discusses three aspects of the mid-1960s Dalek serials using these methodologies. First, it presents an analysis of the design of the programme format for children watching with their parents, and locates the assumptions about children as addressees that this involved. This issue is connected to conceptions of Public Service Broadcasting, the capabilities and interests of children, and relationships with other programme forms. Second, the essay shows how the figure of Susan Foreman in particular, but also other humanoid characters and the monstrous Daleks, offer patterns of identification and disidentification which construct the place of the child as a valued proto-adult, but also an alien creature. Finally, the chapter discusses the invocation of children as consumers of *Doctor Who*-related merchandise, especially products relating to Daleks, and how the domestic consumption of television and merchandise remodulates the two other parts of the argument.

Addressing the audience

Doctor Who was conceived, scheduled and advertised to address mixed adult and child audiences. British Public Service Broadcasting has aimed to provide educative or improving programmes as well as entertaining ones, and to offer a range of different

programme types at different levels of accessibility (Scannell, 1990). *Doctor Who* claimed all of these qualities, through its historical and scientific content, its focus on adventure, mystery and exploration, and its address to mixed family audiences of different age groups, sexes and social classes. However, *Doctor Who* was not produced for solely altruistic and paternalistic motives. The BBC Head of Television Drama Sydney Newman created the programme because of his concern with ratings, in a slot poised between different audience constituencies. Newman (*Radio Times* 1983: unpaginated) described the target audience:

I wanted to bridge the gap on a Saturday between the afternoon's sports coverage, which attracted a huge adult audience, and *Juke Box Jury*, which had a very large teenage following. It was never intended to be simply a children's programme, but something that would appeal to people who were in a rather child-like frame of mind!

Juke Box Jury (1959-67) was a light-hearted panel game in which celebrities were invited to listen to a newly released record and predict whether it would be a 'hit' or a 'miss'. Its primary audience was teenagers, of a similar age to the Doctor's first companion, Susan Foreman (Carole Ann Ford). The audience for BBC's sports coverage was mainly adult men. It was known that children were already viewing programmes in the early Saturday evening slot, such as the BBC's literary adaptations of classic literature that formerly occupied the place in the schedule that *Doctor Who* would take. So as Newman explained, the task of the programme that would become *Doctor Who* was to gather these different audience constituencies together at a transitional point in the BBC schedule. *Doctor Who* was being planned in relation to BBC output in other genres, and moreover

in the context of BBC's rivalry with the commercial ITV channel over ratings and public profile.

These institutional imperatives shaped the decisions made about the format of *Doctor Who*: its characters, kinds of storyline, serial structure and its tone or mode of address to the viewer. In March 1963, BBC staff writer Bunny Webber wrote a long memo (BBC WAC T5/647/1) arguing that the central characters in the new series could not be children because child viewers were thought to dislike characters younger than themselves.² But Newman was keen to provide a figure of identification for children, hence the central role of the Doctor's teenage companion Susan. An older woman should be included and an older man, Webber proposed, because adult viewers would also be watching and because the adult characters could embody the scientific and historical knowledge that storylines would dramatise. This argument led to the specification of the Doctor (William Hartnell) as an irascible old man, and the roles of Barbara Wright (Jacqueline Hill) and Ian Chesterton (William Russell) who were history and science teachers respectively. BBC Audience Research Reports provide a glimpse of how well the format succeeded in bringing the BBC a large audience composed of family groups, who could use *Doctor Who* as part of collective familial home life at weekend tea-time, and enjoy it both for its own aesthetic qualities and for its role in mediating relationships between adults and children. In an Audience Research Report (BBC WAC T5/1243/1) dated 22 July 1965, on episode six of the Dalek adventure 'The Chase' (1965), a 'Housewife' reported that her children 'sit fixed before the television as though hypnotised'. A grandmother recounted: 'I don't like it but if my grandchildren are here it gives me a peaceful half hour or so as they sit enthralled', and a 'Salesman' reported 'I

wouldn't miss it for anything and nor would the children'. The function of *Doctor Who* was to offer pleasures to both children and adults, and ways of using the programme in family viewing contexts that suited the needs and desires of different audiences. As the quotations from viewers show, *Doctor Who* was sometimes enjoyed by adults and children simultaneously, or adults used it as a kind of child-minder to give themselves a break, or children adopted the programme as something that was 'their property' and gave them control over domestic space and the choice of what to watch. It is worth remembering that in the mid-1960s households would have only one television set, usually positioned in the main living room. Negotiations and arguments over which programmes to watch, and an expectation that most programming would be watched collectively by all the members of a family, clearly affected the design of *Doctor Who*'s programme format and the ways it was experienced by actual viewers.

Despite the deeply-felt concern of members of its production team that *Doctor Who* should educate and inform children (and also adults) about history and authentic scientific subjects, the programme was always intended to be exciting. The form of the series was specifically designed to engage audiences with the question of what would happen next, through the division of stories into multi-part serials, with cliff-hanger turning-points concluding the storylines of each episode, and teaser sequences introducing the next serial at the end of each final episode in a story. These cliff-hangers usually took the form of a plot development that imperilled the main characters, in the manner of an adventure serial for children, but the pleasure of setting up a crisis in the expectation of its resolution next week is only one aspect of television's broader promise of excitement and entertainment. According to John Hartley (1992: 17), broadcasters:

appeal to the playful, imaginative, fantasy, irresponsible aspects of adult behaviour. They seek the common personal ground that unites diverse and often directly antagonistic groupings in a given population. What better, then, than a fictional version of everyone's supposed childlike tendencies which might be understood as predating such social groupings?

The Doctor and his companions' adventures in time, space and dimension were planned from the start to provide open-ended possibilities of mystery, fantasy and imagination that the serial form could develop week to week, alongside coherent and naturalistic characterisation and the incorporation into storylines of historical and scientific plausibility. This mix of fact and fiction with fantasy and naturalism offered pleasures to both child and adult audiences, and most significantly, each different component could have an appeal that overlapped between child and adult viewers and brought them together in shared experiences of engagement with the programme. Despite the assumption that children were the main target audience for *Doctor Who*, the childlike pleasures of watching it were available to adults too, and Audience Research Reports provide evidence that adults did adopt a mode of viewing that enabled them to share viewing pleasures with their children, at least some of the time.

For the audience of the 1960s, television science fiction would have been seen largely as a genre for children. Science fiction in the cinema, going back to the film serials of the 1930s and 1940s, was a comparatively low-budget, low quality form. There had been considerable anxiety and moral panics about the science fiction and horror comics imported from America in the 1950s onwards, which were thought to be both trashy and damaging to children (see, for example Wertham, 1954). Although this

negative evaluation of television science fiction had been challenged by the mid-evening serial *Quatermass and the Pit* (1958-9) and the anthologies *Out of this World* (1962) and *Out of the Unknown* (1965-71), both science fiction and fantasy on television (*The Prisoner* [1967-8], for example) were subject to widespread criticism for their supposed implausibility or sensationalism, partly because of their association with American media culture and pulp paperback publishing. With the knowledge that the audience for *Doctor Who* contained a significant number of child viewers, the production team needed to imagine the potential reactions of children to what they saw in the programme, and the possible effects it could have on them. Some aspects of this issue were governed by official BBC policy and legal regulation: since *Doctor Who* was screened before the 9.00pm watershed it would never be possible to show explicit physical violence or sexual scenes or to use offensive language. More subtly, however, the producers had to make finely judged decisions about how frightening some scenes in *Doctor Who* could be. As is the case with all television for children, this meant that adults had to imagine themselves in the position of vulnerable child viewers, as well as exercising their adult professional judgement about the most exciting ways to dramatise thrilling moments in a script. So the imperative to make *Doctor Who* ‘quality television’ (see Bignell, 2005) could entail a conflict between the responsible attitude to the audience (especially children) that was consistently claimed by the BBC, and the desire to make programmes that had a powerful and memorable effect on the audience.

When the producer Verity Lambert made notes on the draft scripts that the screenwriter Terry Nation had sent in for ‘The Chase’, for example (BBC WAC T5/1241/1), she commented about episode one: ‘I think that the mire beast should be a

mere suggestion of tentacles. I do not think that, at any time, we should see the whole thing.’ Her primary reason was that ‘if it works as well as it should, it will be too horrifying.’ Here, Lambert expected that making this scene well would conflict with the expectation that *Doctor Who* should never damage children emotionally (as some commercial products for children, especially US comics, were thought to do). Similarly, in episode two, she noted:

I think Terry has gone too far in making the Aridians unpleasant looking. It does not serve any purpose in the script. It seems to me that this is just presenting unpleasantness for the sake of unpleasantness and I feel very strongly about this particular thing. If we want to dehumanise them, we must find some less revolting way to do so.

The dramatic objective was to dehumanise the Aridian characters, which Lambert thought was a valid way of giving meaning to the story. But she believed that Nation’s realisation of this objective was opportunistic and irresponsible. This concern was sometimes corroborated by Audience Research Reports. In a report (BBC WAC T5/1248/1) on ‘Destruction of Time’, the final episode of ‘The Daleks’ Master Plan’ (1966), members of the audience panel commented that although they particularly enjoyed the rapid ageing of the Doctor’s companion in this story (achieved through make-up effects and time-delay recording), many respondents thought this was too scary for children, especially when the character disintegrated into dust. However, Verity Lambert commented in the *Radio Times Doctor Who 20th Anniversary Special* (1983: unpaginated), referring to parents’ complaints that *Doctor Who* was too frightening: ‘But I believe children love being scared, provided they are in safe, protected circumstances,

and not simply dumped on their own in front of the television.’ She imagined the programme to be viewed by a family audience of both parents and children, and *Doctor Who* encouraged this familial culture in its own format by the inclusion of adult and child characters. The programme negotiated its address to the audience partly by imagining the needs and competencies of children within the context of a family viewing situation, and by offering ways of viewing that could be shared by children and adults.

Children, adults and monsters

Doctor Who is about growing up, not only in the programmes themselves but also in the ways that audiences learnt to watch them. For example, ‘The Dalek Invasion of Earth’ (1964) was the last story in which Carole Ann Ford appeared as Susan Foreman. In the final episode, Susan makes a transition from being an independent and mischievous teenager, yet still somewhat childlike and vulnerable, into being a more mature woman who decides to stay with the human resistance leader David Campbell after the Doctor discovers them in an embrace as he returns to the TARDIS. The Doctor concludes, ‘I’ve been taking care of you and you’ve been taking care of me. [...] You’re still my grandchild and always will be, but now you’re a woman too.’ The Doctor’s concern is for her to find her adult identity in a heterosexual couple, thus exiling her from the rootless picaresque ensemble of characters in the series, and establishing her in one place and time. The Doctor locks her out of the TARDIS and it dematerialises, leaving Susan to drop the key to its door on the ground and move off with her new companion. The camera shot emphasises this by tilting down to a close up on the falling key, then tilting up again to see Susan walking away with her arm around her lover. In a reversal of the

British tradition that people become independent at 18 and gain ‘the key to the door’, Susan’s independence from the Doctor consists in her losing the key to her surrogate home. She is passed from one man to another, from grandfather to lover, and she begins to establish an independent life. The representation of home and the demands of growing up away from it are consistent in *Doctor Who* because of the presence of the TARDIS as the place of home-like safety and familiarity, and the pseudo-parental relationship between the Doctor and the companions. One of the ways that the programme could address its audience of both children and adults was by building storylines that dealt with the mutually-defining roles of child and adult, and with overlaps or slippages between those roles.

Despite the significance of more public spaces like the playground or the classroom in providing frameworks for children’s experience of television, the home is the space where most of their interaction with the medium takes place. It is also the site where children’s sense of their own identity (as individuals framed in gender, race and class categories, for example) is first formed. The sense of self not only consists in establishing what that self is in its own right, but also how it is defined against other people and things which it is not, such as adult masculine and feminine roles, and in relation to the outside world. The experience of childhood as a process of identity-formation involves shifting, moment to moment, from one role or sense of self to another, and negotiating the boundaries between self and other. Television plays a part in this, because it is embedded in day-to-day household experience, and because it brings visions of the outside into the space of the home. The home is criss-crossed by different uses of television by parents and children, and the television functions as a parental delegate,

substitute and babysitter, and as a representative of public space beyond the home.

Doctor Who not only takes part in the general function of television as a homely medium that links the domestic space to the world beyond, but also has specific characteristics that reflect on the dualism of familiar and alien.

As a programme that featured off-world adventure, yet contained this in a stable format, *Doctor Who* mediated between the unfamiliar and the homely. *Doctor Who* gained homely familiarity because it was a long-running series, broadcast for most of the year and persisting in the schedules at a regular viewing time. Despite the regenerations of the Doctor as new actors arrived to take on the role, and the changes in the companions and the opponents that the hero team faced, the format remained very stable. This was not only because of *Doctor Who*'s use of continuing characters, and repeated narrative forms such as the quest or the journey, but also consistent visual strategies. For periods of months or years, the setting of the TARDIS remained the same, and the design and costume choices for the main characters established the programme's familiarity. Against the background of familiarity and repetition, storylines were able to represent alien settings and monstrous antagonists, horrifying or shocking moments, and incorporate suspense and defer resolution to storyline enigmas.

The 1960s Dalek stories represent the Daleks themselves as somewhat childlike, and therefore as both familiar but also uncanny. The Daleks share the powerful drives to get what they want that children experience, and like children they are often incapable of adopting the social codes of politeness, deferral of satisfaction and empathy with others that adult life, and especially family life, require. They are outsiders who are stigmatised as different, and who stigmatise others who are different from them. As creatures who are

differentiated from the adult main characters in *Doctor Who* (as well as other humanoids and youthful companions) they can also represent the otherness that children may feel as beings who are not yet privileged to take part in adult life and its social and sexual roles. So although the Daleks exhibit many human adult characteristics, such as a generally rational approach to problems, competence with technology and advanced knowledge, and interest in political control and the administration of societies, their uncanny and alien properties in particular may predispose child viewers to identify with them. Since the Daleks are always defeated by the humanoid heroes, *Doctor Who* demonstrates the ultimate failure of their strategies, so they are certainly not role models for children in any obvious sense. But their brash self-confidence, physical power and determination may have many attractions for children, whose role it is to be relatively powerless, physically undeveloped and uncertain. Furthermore, the Daleks' capitulation to the liberal humanist values demonstrated to succeed in the narratives of *Doctor Who* stories as a whole does not stop them from being attractive figures of identification for children at particular moments within those narratives. It is well-known that children played at being Daleks throughout their 1960s heyday and thereafter, and this adoption of a Dalek role by children was made possible by some of the visually arresting ways in which they were represented in the episodes.

Television scholarship has defined the medium as one in which a distracted domestic viewer glances at relatively simple image compositions with low density of visual information, where sound predominates over image (see Ellis 1982, for example). But television science fiction and fantasy can both use and surpass the restriction of television to the dialogue and intimate, small-scale storytelling that this characterisation

of the medium suggests. Terry Nation's early Dalek scripts took advantage of the knowledge that Mervyn Pinfield, *Doctor Who*'s associate producer, had gained in using Inlay and feedback for example. Within technical and budgetary constraints, the visual revelation of monsters and their embedding within the domestic reception of popular television is crucial to their meaning. Nation's storyline for 'The Daleks' (1963-4) (BBC WAC T5/647/1) described them as hideous, legless machine-like creatures with no human features, a lens on a flexible shaft replacing eyes, and arms with mechanical grips and strange weapons. The Daleks were intended to be uncannily monstrous, drawing on science fiction's popular forms, especially in visual media. While 'The Daleks' contained motifs and narrative structures that linked it to literary science fiction, it was also conceived as an opportunity for specifically visual revelation of alien and thrilling creatures and physical action, in the tradition of low-budget US cinema and comics.

Images of science fiction settings, creatures and technologies, as well as punctual narrative moments which foreground spectacular effects, are aesthetic components that are crucial to *Doctor Who*. The Dalek stories make use of the intimacy of multi-character, multi-camera performance 'as if live' in the restricted space of the television studio, but also provide opportunities for spectacle, thus connecting the serial with both conventional television's naturalistic characters and interior settings, and cinematic science fiction.

Doctor Who's production team aimed for the visual emphasis that cinema was reputed to do better than television, yet also the sense of immediacy and closeness to the action that distinguished television from cinema. This combination of spectacle and intimacy can lead to contrasting ways of experiencing *Doctor Who* stories. There may be moments that seem shocking or disturbing to the extent that their meaning is not contained and

controlled by the onward movement of narrative, or the removal of the threat apparently posed. For example, the final shot of episode one of 'The Daleks', where Barbara is menaced by an as yet unknown creature cannot be contextualised by an explanation or by her rescue because it is the last shot of the episode. This moment was certainly one that many viewers (not only children) found both exciting and disturbing (see Bignell and O'Day, 2004: 87-8). Alternatively, the introduction of a visual moment that arrests the narrative and is potentially spectacular or disturbing can lose its affect if it is too easily assimilated into the audience's knowledge and expectations of the programme. This was the case for adult viewers of some Dalek stories when the repetition of narrative motifs (such as Susan getting lost and apparently threatened by an alien creature) had become established as regular storyline features (see Bignell and O'Day, 2004: 93-8). Clearly, the viewer's competence in evaluating the significance of such a moment in relation to his or her strategies for interpreting television, and *Doctor Who* narratives in particular, is the determining factor here.

Defences against the argument that monster stories are too scary for children draw on the concept of media literacy, which concerns children's knowledge of media codes and conventions, genre, narrative, and production processes (see Hodge and Tripp, 1986, for example). This approach emphasises the acquisition of viewing skills and the drive for rational control by the child over media interactions, arguing for the possibility of children's role as active agents rather than victims of television. David Buckingham (1996) focuses on the other hand on children's and parents' emotional responses to television. What Buckingham discovers is that watching scary television and talking about it are important means for children to understand themselves and others. This

involves gaining and deploying media literacy. Children sometimes seek out disturbing programmes in order to test their own maturity at coping with troubling emotions. This coping is achieved partly by gaining the understanding of modality (the conventions of narrative and genre specific to a medium) which will allow them to repudiate and manage these emotions, and the awareness of modality is itself a characteristic of adults' relationships with media texts. By including the relatively vulnerable and/or childlike figures of the Doctor, Susan, Barbara and Ian, *Doctor Who* could offer identifications for children where the characters could alternately embody the child's wish to exercise adult rationality and control, and also the child's own sense of vulnerability and powerlessness. The *Radio Times* of 21 November 1963 carried the feature 'DR. WHO' to announce the new series, which explained that Doctor Who 'has a grand-daughter Susan, a strange amalgam of teenage normality and uncanny intelligence'. Susan was designed to be both normal and alien, a figure for both aspirational identification and also a vulnerable child like the child viewer. The TARDIS crew's opponents such as the Daleks could also represent both the dictatorial and technological adult world, and children's own desire for mastery, power and freedom of action. The duality of the Daleks' meanings, as both monstrously different from the child and yet also figures for children's identification, was strongly supported by their visibility beyond the television episodes, and especially in merchandise and publicity.

Dalek mania: alien and familiar

Television science fiction not only draws on other texts (such as the similarities between 'The Daleks' and H.G. Wells's story *The Time Machine*), but also creates them, and this

affects the ways that programmes' meanings are shaped and how they are remembered. Spin-off texts and merchandising change the meaning of the programme. The BBC was initially slow to capitalise on Dalek merchandising, turning down an offer by entrepreneur Walter Tuckwell to sell licences for products because the Daleks would not last long in *Doctor Who* storylines. But when BBC realised what a success it had on its hands, it fuelled the 'Dalek mania' that swept Britain in the mid-1960s. The publication of *Doctor Who* novels and annuals began at Christmas 1964, and badges, Dalek costumes, comics, toy Daleks, and sweet cigarettes with collector cards were produced. These activities raised and maintained *Doctor Who*'s profile, but also supported the BBC's brand identity, gained income for BBC from merchandising agreements, and promoted viewer interaction with and loyalty to the programme. Strategies for interaction with a programme brand had already been developed for children's programming very successfully by the BBC, for example in the opportunities for interaction with *Blue Peter* (1958-) through writing letters to the programme, making toys or foods, or taking part in charity appeals. Though *Blue Peter* also had commercial merchandising spin-offs such as annuals, the promotion for *Doctor Who* had much closer connections with the toy and media industries.

The effect of these merchandising and publicity efforts was that although the Daleks were established by the television text as threatening, scary and alien, they also became extremely familiar and homely because of the merchandising and publicity generated around them. Daleks could be seen 'in real life' on the streets of Birmingham in December 1964, and they featured in the *Daily Mail* Boys and Girls Exhibition in late December and early January 1964-5, for example. Press coverage, toys and comics

brought the Daleks into the familiar and usually safe space of the home, and this embedding into viewers' lives complicates their meaning beyond how they are represented in the television episodes. Inasmuch as they concretise and express social meanings for children, toys are totemic objects around which children's difference from adults can be organised, and which can represent aspects of the child himself or herself, or aspects of the world around the child that he or she can manipulate during play.³ Playing with a toy Dalek extends the possible meanings of the creatures outlined above, as either representations of the child's own desires or as representations of those forces outside him or her with which the child has to negotiate.

Memorable moments in Dalek stories are given form by social interaction and their placing in viewers' lived experience. Here are two examples of memories of 'The Dalek Invasion of Earth' (1964), both of which refer to the end of episode one. In a characteristic use of the cliff-hanger in which a Dalek is revealed at the end of an episode, in this case the creature unexpectedly emerges from the waters of the Thames, moving directly towards the camera: 'My earliest memory of *Doctor Who* is my terror at the sight of the Dalek's head coming out of the water. Its eye bobbing up and down, and its other arms, one of which my brother told me was a weapon' (quoted in Mulkern, 1988: 19). This was contributed by Esther Flyte of Kendal, and draws attention to three points. First, the memory is one of uncanniness and terror, as the monstrous Dalek appears in the midst of a familiar setting. Second, the fact that this woman was watching with her brother in the room shows the extent to which commentary and explanation was significant to young viewers' experience since they normally watched with other children or adults. Third, the memory is specifically visual. It is not a memory of a narrative

sequence or plot development, but of a spectacular visual revelation. Another memory of the same episode was described by James Robertson of Swansea (in Mulkern, 1988: 19-20):

The return of the Daleks was looked forward to with great excitement by me, and my friends. I can remember everyone cutting out pictures from the paper and *The Radio Times* and playing Daleks after school. Then on that Saturday afternoon, about five of us went round to my friend's house and we all watched in silence as the episode was shown [...] the ending when the Dalek appeared out of the Thames had us all cheering.

Collective play and gathering supporting media materials shaped the meaning of one striking image from the story, so the revelation of the monster became both pleasurable and shocking, and its possible scariness was tamed by being expected and watched collectively. The emergence of *Doctor Who* as a 'cult' programme and the growth of Dalek-related merchandise was significantly dependent on the visual aesthetic developed in the televisual form of the episodic serial, and its collective and domestic viewing context that included other texts and products as well.

Children's television, toys and play are not separate from the discourses of culture as whole. Children's media culture is not produced by children, but for them, and thus encodes the pressures and contradictions of adult culture (see Bignell, 2002). As Dan Fleming (1996: 147) has shown, the manifestations of children's culture 'take as their jumping-off point the bleakest features of a post-liberal reality: social disintegration, the isolation of groups defined by their own ritualised difference from each other, an *anomie* that justifies the existence of militaristic saviours, *ninja* experts and awesome

technological solutions.’ For Fleming, the objects, products and practices within children’s media ‘belong in a system of meanings with the potential to tell stories which transcend that bleakness, while nevertheless recognising it. Such recognition is vital to the effective object relations that play depends on if it is to be an antidote to bewilderment.’ The hopelessness of individual action, the uncertainties of social role and the ever-present threats of violence and environmental degradation which both adult and child audiences felt about contemporary society are present in *Doctor Who* in a coded form. These problems are both granted spectacular power as threats, but also symbolically tamed both within the story and by the narrative structure of the serials themselves, where repeated tropes of capture, pursuit and technological danger are given reassuring and sometimes spectacular resolutions. The uncanny, monstrous and other are brought into the domestic viewing experience by the programme text, but are also tamed by the text and by that viewing context. Part of that context is the peripheral culture of toys, play and consumption related to the programme and selected features of its imagery, characters and themes. In the case of *Doctor Who*, it was possible in the mid-1960s (and also today) to watch the programme while playing with toy Daleks, gazing at images of Daleks and talking about them with fellow viewers, for example. For the children who were a key audience for the programme, they were addressees, viewers and consumers whose experience of it had multiple points of connection with ways of understanding themselves and the domestic and public worlds in which they lived; worlds in which television was itself a crucial participant.

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¹ Some of the research presented here is discussed in the context of Terry Nation's writing for *Doctor Who* in Bignell and O'Day (2004).

² References to BBC Written Archives Centre files are shown in the text as BBC WAC followed by the file number. The titles of files are given in the References.

³ For discussion of toys in relation to children's development of identity, especially in terms of gender and aggression, see Bignell 1996, 2000, 2003.