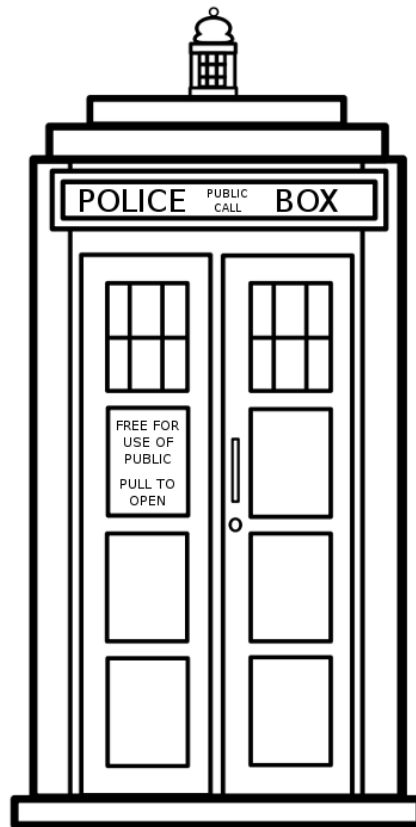


***Doctor Who* and the Decline of the British Empire:**

Colonialism and Postcolonialism in *Doctor Who*

“There's something that doesn't make sense. Let's go and poke it with a stick”

(Amy's choice)



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Introduction

This thesis will explore the colonial and postcolonial elements in *Doctor Who*. In considering this subject, I shall argue that the show and the Doctor embody the ambiguities of Britain's relation to empire and (colonial) intervention, and that the traces of cultural ambivalence imbue the Doctor and permeate the show. After World War II, Britain lost most of her colonies – when India attained independence, Britain was removed entirely from that section of the world. However, Deborah Pless rightly states that: “though this was a blow to the Empire, Britain at this time still ruled numerous countries in Africa and Asia” (353). It took some time before the other colonies followed, and from 1957 to 1964 Britain granted most of her African colonies independence, possibly because it was the right thing to do, but mostly due to pragmatic reasons – they were simply too expensive to keep (Pless 353). Interestingly enough, during this period of decolonization the British government enacted a piece of legislation which made all citizens of the British Empire equal, whether they lived in the UK or in one of the colonies (Pless 354). This law was meant to get people from Canada and Australia to migrate to the United Kingdom. However, from 1948 up until 1962, this law resulted in a massive influx of foreigners coming from all corners of the Empire to the UK which brought the British Empire very close to the people of the United Kingdom.

This provides some context for the emergence of *Doctor Who* in 1963. Pless argues that: “the Doctor is strongly anti-imperial... [P]roudly British [a British icon] while rejecting Britain's exploitative past” (Pless 354). However, due to the nature of the Doctor's character, this seems contradictory. It is valid to state that the Doctor disagrees with colonialism, and at various occasions *Doctor Who* reflects on the colonial period. However, at the same time, the Doctor is a very imperial character – not necessarily in the way he thinks but in the way he acts. Ania Loomba argues that: “imperialism... is the highest stage of colonialism” and can be divided into various aspects, one of these being “interference with political and cultural

structures of another territory or nation” (6). Even though the Doctor never sticks around to interfere after he saved the planet, he still meddles at a certain moment in the history of another culture. Moreover, despite the fact that various episodes reflect on colonialism, “all the peoples of the Earth form a vast monolithic community with no pockets of divergent culture... There are no battles for cultural dominance; it seems the West has already won that fight, because the future most closely resembles the West” (Orthia 214). Even though the show prominently features international organisations such as UNIT, which is a United Nations force, culturally it seems as if a western lifestyle prevails. In addition, the part of the Doctor is always performed by a white, male actor. The importance of the Doctor is pointed out in the episode *Turn Left* (2008) where the death of the Doctor is “explicitly link[ed]... to [the success of] an oppressive xenophobic regime in which everybody suffers” (Orthia 217), suggesting that the Doctor plays an important role in the universe, and should therefore not be ignored.

In order to explore those ideas, I shall make use of notions derived from postcolonial studies. The postcolonial does not solely encompass the period after colonialism, but it is more fitting to think of it as a means of focussing “the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism” (Loomba 12). Ania Loomba argues that postcolonialism is not a direct break with the colonial. Instead, she points out the complex relation between the two concepts. In her book *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (1998), Loomba argues that: “it might seem that because the age of colonialism is over, and because descendants of once colonised peoples live everywhere, the whole world is postcolonial” (7). However, the term postcolonialism is problematized because “the inequities of colonial rule have not been erased, [and] it is [therefore] perhaps premature to proclaim the demise of colonialism. A country may be both postcolonial (in the sense of being formally independent) and neo-colonial (in the sense of remaining economically and/or culturally dependent) at the same

time” (7). The postcolonial exists alongside and within the colonial and this complexity is also to be found throughout the series.

On top of that, as stated in Erica Hoagland’s and Reema Sarwal’s *Science Fiction Imperialism and the Third World* (2001), science fiction and postcolonial literature have many similarities: “The ‘Other’ is one of the most well-known markers that science fiction and postcolonial literature share in common” (10). Loomba argues that: “the individuation of subjects that took place in Europe was denied colonised people” (52) as “that is the right of the norm only ... The function of the “Other” consolidates difference as well as solidifies the norm”, and the “Other” can be used to justify issues such as “the exploitation and annihilation of peoples” (Hoagland and Sarwal 10). Yet, “the most significant function the “Other” serves in both [sci-fi and postcolonial literature] is that encountering the Other forces us to encounter ourselves” (Roberts quoted. in Hoagland and Sarwal 10). This encounter surfaces regularly in *Doctor Who*, as the Doctor often finds himself by an alien force that simultaneously mirrors his own actions. Moreover, Gaylard argues that “[p]roblems of empire and power are central structuring concerns of much [science fiction], just as they are in postcolonialism” (22). What is more, “[b]oth genres are inherently moralistic and ethics-driven; each genre may force upon its readers difficult questions regarding complicity, loyalty, responsibility, and obligation” (6). To conclude, Loomba argues that “many anti-colonial and postcolonial critiques are preoccupied with uncovering the way in which [binary and implacable discursive] oppositions [between races] work in colonialist representations” (104) and these oppositions usually play an important role in *Doctor Who* narratives. These are all reasons why I believe postcolonial studies is a reasonable and indeed essential critical way to approach the series.

To explore the (post)colonial presence in *Doctor Who*, this thesis will be divided into four chronologically ordered chapters, all of which will explore different themes and aspects

of the show. I shall discuss serials from all decennia it has been broadcast as *Doctor Who* has changed considerably over the years. As Matt Hills in his *New Dimensions of Doctor Who: Adventures in Space, Time and Television* (2013) states: “*Doctor Who* has ... displayed and traversed many new dimensions across its history” (1). Therefore, Chapter One will focus on the ways in which technological understanding operates in the 60s serials; Chapter Two will explore colonial narratives in the 70s serials; Chapter Three will look into the Dalek narrative throughout the 70s, 80s, and post-2005 serials, considering it in relation to postcolonial critique; and Chapter Four will analyse the Doctor’s interference in the post-2005 serials. In each chapter, I shall look at how the episodes reflect on the British colonial period and demonstrate how they fail to break away from colonial concepts. Intrinsic to this is a reading of the central role of the Doctor himself. In the end, *Doctor Who* shows us a westernised view of the universe that still implies a certain western superiority over other cultures. Lindy Orthia argument adds that: “in each case colonizers [in *Doctor Who*] use science and technology to exploit the colonized world, evidence of worthiness often comes in the form of conformity to Western-style ‘scientific enlightenment’” (211). This thesis will argue that even though *Doctor Who* rejects and reflects on Britain’s colonial past, at the same time many episodes, and the Doctor himself, do not manage to completely break away from colonial concepts. *Doctor Who* acts both a site of nostalgia and self-justification but also of debate and anxiety and this ambivalence makes it a fascinating show.

Chapter One: “It’s Bigger on the Inside”: Understanding Technology in the 60s serials of *Doctor Who*

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I shall discuss the two episodes from the early years of *Doctor Who*. I shall particularly focus on two stories: *An Unearthly Child* (1963) and *The Aztecs* (1964). The main reason to start with *An Unearthly Child* might seem obvious, because it is the first *Doctor Who* episode to be broadcast. However, I also believe that this story establishes the idea of the West being technologically advanced, a thought that will recur throughout the series. As stated in the introduction, Lindy Orthia’s argument consists of the idea that the science and technology used to exploit a colonized world in *Doctor Who* conform to a “Western-style ‘scientific enlightenment’” (211). She provides various examples from serials including *The Mutants* (1972), *Kinda* (1982), and *The Curse of Peladon* (1972) where the colonists’ perception of the native people undergoes a change after the latter turn out to be scientifically advanced. I shall also argue that the theme of technology is already introduced in the very first episode, which tells us something about the nature of the Doctor’s personality: this theme does not solely show up in colonial settings of the series but it is a characteristic that the Doctor will retain throughout the series. This can be explained due to the fact that the 60s were a time in which Britain was to be modernised – the Doctor is hypermodern, but at the same time he also embodies Victorian characteristics traced back to his manners. Therefore, the Doctor becomes both a figure of nostalgia and futurology. In addition, *The Aztecs* introduces the issue of colonialism and western superiority when Barbara interferes in a religious ritual.

1.2 Technological Understanding and the Savage in *An Unearthly Child*

The serial *An Unearthly Child* consists of four episodes: *An Unearthly Child*, *The Cave of Skulls*, *The Forest of Fear* and *The Firemaker*. However, some *Who* historians see the first episode as a stand-alone introduction followed by a three-part serial. I have decided to treat the four episodes together because of the recurring theme that unites these episodes, that is technological understanding. The first serial immediately sets the tone for the entire series because the Doctor's judgement is often influenced by someone's understanding of technology.

In the first episode, two teachers at Coal Hill School, Ian and Barbara, are concerned about their pupil Susan as she is behaving rather strangely. They follow Susan home, and they discover the TARDIS. Barbara and Ian are startled as they find out that it is bigger on the inside. At this very moment, the Doctor is portrayed as a superior being - he refuses to see Barbara and Ian as equals due to their lack of technological understanding. The following conversation takes place:

IAN: But it was a police telephone box, I walked all round it. Barbara you saw me!

THE DOCTOR: You don't deserve any explanations, you pushed your way in here uninvited, non-welcome.

BARBARA: I think we ought to leave.

IAN: No, just a minute... I walked all round it.

THE DOCTOR:... It stopped again, you know, and I've tried, hmm? Oh, you wouldn't understand, of course.

IAN: But I want to understand.

THE DOCTOR: Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. Oh, by the way Susan, I managed to find a replacement... I think it'll serve.

IAN: It's an illusion, it must be!

THE DOCTOR: What is he talking about now?

SUSAN: What are you doing here?

THE DOCTOR: You don't understand, so you find excuses. Illusions indeed... Not quite clear is it. I can see by your face that you're not certain, you don't understand. Haha! And I know you wouldn't, never mind... (*An Unearthly Child*).

Even though Barbara and Ian have a hard time understanding the mechanics of time travel due to the fact that it is outside their frame of experience, the Doctor's reply implies an indifference to or sense of superiority regarding people who are less knowledgeable than he

is. Due to this indifference, he places Barbara and Ian even lower than Susan, who is just an adolescent girl. This is further emphasised when the Doctor tells Susan that he found a replacement for a certain defect with the TARDIS, leaving Ian and Barbara puzzled. The Doctor then adds that he knew they would never understand. In comparison to The Doctor and Susan, Barbara and Ian are in a primitive state of mind, and it is interesting to note how the Doctor reacts differently to someone who is scientifically advanced and to someone who is not. A link between this and the colonial discourse is established in the following conversation by using the word ‘savage’:

SUSAN: Why won't they believe us?

BARBARA: Well how can we?

THE DOCTOR: Now, now, don't get exasperated Susan. Remember the red Indian. When he saw the first steam train, his savage mind thought it an illusion too.

IAN: You are treating us like children.

THE DOCTOR: Am I? Children of my civilization would be insulted.

IAN: Your civilisation?

THE DOCTOR: Yes, my civilisation. I tolerate this century but I don't enjoy it (An Unearthly Child).

The word ‘savage’ was often used to describe the native inhabitants of a colonised country yet in this case it is applied to two white western people. The usage of the word ‘savage’ is relativizing, but it might also imply that the Doctor sees the minds of Barbara and Ian as ‘savage’ because in intellectual and technological terms they are primitive compared to himself. This is stressed when Ian rightly states that the Doctor is treating them “like children” – a statement which is then challenged by the Doctor’s reply that the children of his civilisation would take that as an insult, making it very explicit that he is from another (superior) civilisation. That the TARDIS functions is something Barbara and Ian soon find out as they set off to travel in time.

The other three episodes take place in the stone age – the Doctor, Barbara, Ian and Susan are imprisoned by a tribe which finds itself in the middle of a power struggle. In *The Cave of Skulls*, the following conversation takes places between two people of the tribe:

ZA: He showed me how to sharpen the stones; entrap the bear and the tiger, he should have shown me this too.

OLD MOTHER: So that everyone would bow to you as they did to him? (*The Cave of Skulls*).

Power comes to the man who is most suitable to ensure the survival of the tribe, and in this episode it comes to the person who is able to make fire. Clearly, Za is nowhere near to acquiring the skill to make fire, as one of his futile attempts is to “put on more of the dead fire” (*The Cave of Skulls*) in order to light the pieces of wood. The Doctor is taken to the tribe, and he tries to negotiate with the leader – he promises them to make fire if he can collect his matches from the TARDIS. However, the tribe does not allow him to leave, and the Doctor has to admit that he cannot make fire by saying: “I have no matches, I cannot make fire. I cannot make fire!” (*The Cave of Skulls*). The Doctor cannot save himself without his, for that time, technological advanced matches and he finds himself in a very peculiar situation – this shows his dependence on technology. At this moment, the Doctor grows fonder of Barbara and Ian as the Doctor finds himself in more or less the same situation.

THE DOCTOR: Try to remember if you can, how you and the others found your way here. Concentrate on that please.

BARBARA: Yes, I'll try. You're trying to help me.

THE DOCTOR: Fear makes companions of all of us.

BARBARA: I never once thought you were afraid.

THE DOCTOR: Fear is with all of us and always will be, just like that other sensation that lives with it.

BARBARA: What's that?

THE DOCTOR: Your companion referred to it: hope (*The Forest of Fear*).

The Doctor seems to regard Barbara and Ian as equals in this passage, but one should take into account that it is an emotion which binds the four together. As the show goes on, the Doctor loses this cantankerous characteristic, but it seems as if he has to come to terms with the fact that even though he usually is the cleverest person around, he needs other people to assist him in the features where he seems to be falling short. This becomes more explicit as the show continues to develop. The Doctor's initial difficulties with this issue show when the tables are turned as the four flee from the tribe. The Doctor, being the oldest member of the

party, struggles to keep up with them. Ian asks him how he is doing to which the Doctor replies: “Oh, I’m alright. Don’t keep on looking upon me as the weakest link of the party” (*The Forest of Fear*). The Doctor went from scientifically advanced to physically inferior, and he has difficulties to come to terms with the fact that he becomes a feeble member of the party. Even though the Doctor is in many ways more knowledgeable and intellectually superior in most cases, he seems to struggle to accept that others might be better than he is in other ways:

IAN: We’ll change the order. You and Susan go in front; Barbara and I bring up the rear. Susan seems to remember the way better than any of us.

THE DOCTOR: Oh! You seem to have elected yourself leader of this little party.

IAN: There isn’t time to vote on it.

THE DOCTOR: Just as long as you understand that I won’t follow your orders blindly (*The Forest of Fear*).

The Doctor consents, however, he finds it very difficult to accept Ian as the leader of the party – perhaps because he has always been in a situation in which he was in control.

After they escape, Za and Hur track them down, and during the pursuit, Za gets severely injured. Barbara’s feelings of humanity take over, and she rushes out of the bushes to help him. The Doctor does not seem to understand. He says “what exactly do you think you are doing?... One minute ago we were trying desperately to get away from these savages” (*The Forest of Fear*). The Doctor still fails to fully recognise the members of the tribe as human probably because their primitive state of mind, whereas Barbara is able to see the suffering of Za and Hur. After this, Barbara finally dares to speak up to the Doctor and exclaims: “Why, you treat everybody and everything as something less important than yourself” (*The Forest of Fear*).

As they resume their journey, the party, including Hur and a wounded Za, are caught and brought back to the tribe. Upon their return, the Doctor is able to use reason and wit to out-smart the tribe. Kal accuses Za of the murder of the Old Woman:

KAL: Here is the knife he killed her with.

THE DOCTOR: This knife has no blood on it. I said, this knife has no blood on it.

KAL: It is a bad knife. It does not show the things it does.

THE DOCTOR: It is a finer knife than yours.

KAL: I curse it is a bad knife.

THE DOCTOR: This knife can cut and stab, I have never seen a better knife.

KAL: I will show you one.

THE DOCTOR: This knife shows what it has done. There is blood on it! Who has killed the Old Woman?

ZA: I did not kill her

THE DOCTOR (to Kal): You killed the Old Woman.

KAL: Yes! She set them free (*The Firemaker*).

The Doctor, finally being back in a situation which he has under control, manages to portray Kal as a weak leader who kills the old female members of the tribe, and this enables the Doctor to drive Kal out. Afterwards, they are brought back to the Cave of Skulls where Ian makes fire in order to please Za and ensure their survival. Ian and the Doctor had to cooperate to work out their scheme. When Za does not release them, Susan comes up with an idea to scare the tribe by putting a torch inside one of the skulls – this way they can pretend to be dead in order to escape and make their way for the TARDIS. The Doctor needed the help of others; he could not have escaped on his own.

When they are all safe and sound in the TARDIS, it turns out that something has changed in the Doctor's discourse. He does not treat Barbara and Ian as inferior beings with 'savage' minds – the Doctor admits that he is unable to bring them back to their own time, he even explains why it is not possible. If you compare this chastened declaration to the conversation the Doctor had with Ian and Barbara in the first episode, you cannot but notice the alteration in the way the Doctor regards them. Instead of dismissing them straight away by telling them they do not deserve any explanation, he actually takes the time to explain. What is more, Barbara's reply also indicates the transformed relation between them and the Doctor. She says: "are you saying that you don't know how to work this thing" (*The Firemaker*), which came a long way from "I think we ought to leave" (*An Unearthly Child*). In fact, this gives us an interesting view of the Doctor's knowledge. Even though his

companions supposedly never get to understand how the TARDIS works, the Doctor's knowledge of the TARDIS does not always suffice either.

These four episodes indicate the Doctor's habit of judging people in relation to their understanding. If someone is not able to keep up with the Doctor, he may dismiss them as 'savage'. In his essay "On the Disadvantages of Intellectual Superiority" (1846), William Hazlitt argues the following: "the chief disadvantage of knowing more and seeing farther than others, is not to be generally understood" (123). This can be applied to the Doctor's situation and it might shed some light on the manner in which the Doctor comes across to the audience. The Doctor is often misunderstood by his companions, which leaves not only them, but also the audience puzzled by his behaviour. However, Hazlitt goes on to argue that:

Intellectual is not like bodily strength. You have no hold of the understanding of others but by their sympathy. Your knowing, in fact, so much more about a subject does not give you a superiority, that is, a power over them, but only renders it the more impossible for you to make the least impression on them. Is it then an advantage to you? It may be, as it relates to your own private satisfaction but it places a greater gulf between you and society (126).

Hazlitt is talking about a kind of loneliness experience by the bright as not many people get what they mean. The Doctor's knowledge and wisdom do not necessarily make him superior. Whereas the Doctor might be more knowledgeable, he falls short in his bodily strength. However, his intellectual capabilities set him apart from his companions, which may explain the use of the word 'savage' and even though it does not necessarily make him superior, he still acts like he is. This issue, combined with a colonial way of thinking, most particularly framed by thinking in terms of us and them, is something with which the Doctor struggles throughout the series, and this is further explained in *the Aztecs*.

1.3 Colonialism in Doctor Who's *the Aztecs*

While colonial discourse occasionally pops up in the serial *An Unearthly Child*, it becomes more prominent and indeed central in *the Aztecs*. As Edward Said states in his *Culture and Imperialism*: “culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates “us” from “them”, almost always with some degree of xenophobia” (xiii). In the serial *An Unearthly Child*, the Doctor sometimes thinks in this distancing manner which is shown in the way he talks about “these people” and “their minds” (*The Forest of Fear*). The Doctor’s way of thinking about “us” and “them” certainly comes with curiosity about the ‘other’, however in this serial, it comes with a certain element of contempt. Even though this is a distinctive Hartnell characteristic, which he loses over time, this scornfulness is even further explored in combination to a more obvious colonial discourse in *The Aztecs*. Despite the fact that the Doctor has no interest in establishing bases to settle down, *the Aztecs* nonetheless can be felt to deal with colonialism in a figurative sense. Ania Loomba argues that: “in the modern world, we can distinguish between colonisation as the take-over of territory, appropriation of material resources, exploitation of labour and interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation” (6). The latter applies to this serial, and even though to live is to intervene in the world, the Doctor and his companions meddle in a world, and time, where they are not supposed to be.

Historically speaking, the Aztecs themselves were a people of colonisers but also a colonised people by the Spanish. Tzvetan Todorov states that when Columbus arrives at the Americas, he observes “with astonishment that, although naked, the Indians seem closer to men than to animals” (35). Todorov goes on to argue that: “the Indians are also, to Columbus’s eyes, deprived of all cultural property: they are characterized, in a sense by the absence of customs, rites, religion (which has a certain logic, since for a man like Columbus, human beings wear clothes following their expulsion from Paradise, itself at the source of

their cultural identity)” (35) – in fact, Aztec culture was complex with many religious traditions, yet due to the ignorance of the native culture, this description is to be expected (36). “[Colombus] finds nothing astonishing in the fact that all these Indians, culturally virgin, a blank page awaiting the Spanish and Christian inscription, resemble each other” (35-36). Todorov is writing about an inability to read another culture when the signs and conventions intrinsic to it do not cohere to our own expectations. In many ways *the Aztecs* explores these issues, albeit in a milder form. The Aztec people became a colonised people and by reading the episode with this context this provides us with some ideas that can prove useful for an understanding of the serial.

Barbara and Ian are still travelling together with the Doctor and Susan as they arrive in Mexico during the time of the Aztec Empire. *The Aztecs* consists of four episodes: *The Temple of Evil*, *The Warriors of Death*, *The Bride of Sacrifice* and *The Day of Darkness*. Orthia argues that *The Aztecs* “implicitly justif[ies] colonialism on the grounds that the colonized are “savages” in need of “civilisation” (2010). However, it is not as straightforward as that due to the stance the Doctor takes on the matter.

In the first episode, the TARDIS materialises in a tomb and the Aztecs believe Barbara to be the reincarnation of Yetaxa, a high priest, who is buried there. When Barbara and Susan leave the TARDIS, they have a conversation about the Aztecs:

BARBARA: All these things belonged to the Aztec’s early period.

SUSAN: That’s what I call really knowing your subject.

BARBARA: Ah well, that was one of my specialities Susan.

SUSAN: What little I know about them doesn’t impress me. Cutting out people’s hearts.

BARBARA: Oh, that is only one side to their nature, the other side was highly civilised.

SUSAN: Well, the Spanish didn’t think so.

BARBARA: Oh they only saw the acts of sacrifice. That was the tragedy of the Aztecs. The whole civilisation was entirely destroyed, the good as well as the evil (*The Temple of Evil*).

Barbara seems very knowledgeable about Aztec culture, and she does not condemn the Aztec civilisation straight away as Susan does. On the one hand, Barbara is able to see good in the Aztec culture, yet on the other hand she also sees evil from her western point of view. This is permissible, as people are entitled to their own opinions, however Barbara takes it a step further when she decides to act on it. She fails to recognize the fact that for the Aztecs sacrifice was a crucial part of their religious tradition – she relies on colonial ideas because she not only voices her own opinion, she tries to enforce her idea of what should be morally good to a culture that is not her own. This is strengthened by the fact that the Aztecs take the Doctor and his companions to be superior, since in their eyes Barbara is a reincarnation of the high priest. Barbara finds herself in a position of power which she then tries to use in order to better the Aztecs' culture according to her western beliefs. Moreover, the Doctor and his companions exploit the position they find themselves in at the moments they trick the Aztecs in order to get out in one piece. When Barbara pretends to be Yetaxa, the Doctor praises her by saying: “a wonderful performance my dear. Congratulations! We now have anything we want exactly” (*The Temple of Evil*), implying that the Aztecs are gullible and easily deceived by their cunning.

However, when Ian has to assist with a human sacrifice Barbara decides to act on her feelings – instead of acting like Yetaxa, she decided to exploit her position of power. Ian appeals to the Doctor, however, the Doctor replies by saying: “human sacrifice is essential here and it's their tradition then let them get on with it. But for our sakes, don't interfere” (*The Temple of Evil*). A discussion between Barbara and the Doctor follows. One could argue that this is not only a colonialist versus anti-colonialist debate, but also a genuine moral debate because it is morally complex to argue about saving someone's life when you are in a position to do so, or otherwise to let them die as they might want to be sacrificed. Yet, even though the Doctor says that they should not interfere, he does not say this because he solely

wants to protect the values of Aztec tradition, but he thinks they should not interfere for their own sake because otherwise they may be caught as imposters.

BARBARA: I can't just sit by and watch.

THE DOCTOR: No Barbara, Ian agrees with me. He's got to escort the victim to the altar...

BARBARA: Well, they've made me a goddess, and I forbid it.

THE DOCTOR: Barbara no!

BARBARA: There will be no sacrifice this afternoon Doctor, or ever again... Don't you see? If I could start the destruction of everything that's evil here, then everything that is good would survive (*The Temple of Evil*).

Barbara wants to use her newly acquired power to change the Aztecs according to her beliefs – even though this is a moral issue, she still exploits her power to shape the Aztecs to her western beliefs. The Doctor's counterargument, "what you are trying to do is utterly impossible, I know" (*The Temple of Evil*), implies that the Doctor has already tried to change history before. The Doctor's argument seems to be anti-colonial as his argument can be interpreted as an attack on ideas of western superiority - he deems Barbara unable to be the judge of all that is good and evil in a culture that is not her own. However, I think that the Doctor's argumentation also implies that the Doctor has already tried to change history. By saying that he knows that it is impossible to do, he evokes the idea of a previous failed attempt of cleansing the Aztecs, or any other culture, of their so-called wrongdoings. The issue of judging customs in other cultures is a complex one. In a famous philosophical paper on the subject, *Trying Out One's New Sword*, Mary Midgley argues against a so called "moral isolationism" (160). She explains the problems with the argument that one is unable to judge a different culture when one does not know that culture well enough. This reasoning implies "that the world is sharply divided into separate societies, sealed units, each with its own system of thought" (160). People who stick to this reasoning usually try to contradict someone who is judging a custom by justifying the tradition: "He will try to fill in the background, to make me understand the custom... An objector who talks like this is implying that it *is* possible to understand alien customs" (163). Applying this to the discussion between

Barbara and the Doctor leads to three different interpretations: it is at once a moral debate or a debate about colonialism, or it is a moral debate that seems necessarily to become a debate about colonialism. In a way, Barbara sticks to her morals and, taking Midgley's argument into account, this can be seen to be a reasonable thing to do. However, as this debate moves beyond judging towards actual interference, I think this also becomes a debate very much concerned with the issue of colonialism. After watching *The Temple of Evil*, the audience is left puzzled – the episode perfectly reflects the ambivalent stance regarding the British Empire in that time. On the one hand, we are to sympathise with Barbara who tries to better the Aztecs, be it by means of interference from her position of power, which turns the episode into a justification of, and an opportunity for nostalgic feelings towards, the colonial period. On the other hand, we see the Doctor making an appeal for non-interference, which makes it a site of debate and anxiety towards the same period.

In the episodes following *The Temple of Evil*, this struggle between the colonial and the postcolonial is continued, which is to be expected due to the complex relation these terms have. Ania Loomba defines colonisation not only as the taking over of territory, but also as the “interference with political and cultural structures of another territory or nation” (6). This is exactly what Barbara has done, indirectly making the Doctor and his companions colonisers. However, the following conversation takes place after Barbara's interference:

BARBARA: I couldn't stand by and watch that man being sacrificed.

THE DOCTOR: Do you think we thought in a different way?

BARBARA: Oh, of course not.

THE DOCTOR: Then why not leave it alone? Human sacrifice is their tradition, their religion! There is nothing we can do about it.

BARBARA: I had to try.

THE DOCTOR: Yes, and what happened? Tloxl lost faith in you, our lives are in danger, and Susan is locked up in some kind of seminary... don't you realise he wanted to be offered to the gods?...

BARBARA: I just didn't think about it (*The Warriors of Death*).

Even though Barbara knows a great deal about the Aztecs, she fails to move beyond her own point of view. Her ignorance and the consequences of her decision are pointed out by the

Doctor. He voices his own opinion, namely that he agrees with Barbara, yet he opposes her decision to interfere. This is possibly because the Doctor has one aim, to get everyone back to the TARDIS, which is now rendered problematic because of Barbara's loss of integrity. The Doctor quickly moves past this problem by saying that Barbara now has to play out Autloc and Tlotoxl against each other. In the meantime, Susan is taught the customs of the Aztec people:

SUSAN: How will I know... that he is to be my future husband?

AUTLOC: You'll be told

SUSAN: Told? I'm not going to be told who to marry.

AUTLOC: What say have you in the matter?

SUSAN: It's my life. I'll spend it with someone I choose (*The Warriors of Death*).

Susan is forced to marry the man who is about to be sacrificed but she does not consent.

Autloc replies by saying "it's the Aztec law, Susan", to which Susan replies with "well, it's barbaric" (*The Bride of Sacrifice*). Having broken the law, she needs to be punished.

Everything seems to go wrong when, in addition, Ian is accused of an attempted murder. The Doctor shows a different side to his original opinion:

THE DOCTOR: He is innocent.

CAMECA: Yet he is to die.

THE DOCTOR: Yes, butchered by Ixta.

CAMECA: If it is your wish, let our marriage be postponed. What is it you're making?

THE DOCTOR: Oh, just something to take my mind off the problems.

CAMECA: Let me intercede with Autloc on your friend's behalf.

THE DOCTOR: ... he [Tlotoxl] and his kind will destroy all of this one day.

CAMECA: How can it be prevented if it is the will of the gods?

THE DOCTOR: It isn't the will of Yetaxa

CAMECA: The gods wish an end to sacrifice?

THE DOCTOR: Yes, and Yetaxa speaks for them, but Autloc is needed here (*The Day of Darkness*).

Now that everything seems to be failing, the Doctor does not stick to the advice he gave Barbara. At first, the Doctor just wanted to get back to his TARDIS safely, and the best way to achieve that was by staying away from interference. However, now that Susan and Ian are to be punished, he lets go of his initial statement of non-interference. He openly voices his

opinion on human sacrifice and he convinces a native to end sacrifices. By convincing Cameca that it is the will of the gods, exploiting her love for him, he manages to get an ally who in turn helps freeing Ian and Susan. This implies that it has never been about the values of Aztec culture – the sole reason the Doctor tried to prevent Barbara from interfering in the first place was because it would make leaving more difficult if Barbara was discredited. In the last episode of the serial, interference would work out for the better and that is what the Doctor tries to achieve – the seemingly anti-colonial discourse of the Doctor disappears completely when he notices that it would be beneficial to interfere in the Aztec's religious tradition of sacrificing human blood. Initially, the Doctor seemed to be strongly against colonialism, yet this idea is broken down in the last episode of the serials – the struggle between colonial ideas, and anti-colonial ideas is clearly there, however, in the end the Doctor decided to do what is best for his purpose, disregarding the effect it might have on the natives.

Chapter Two: “We Have As Much Right to Be Here As Anybody Else”: Invading and Invasion in the 70s serials of *Doctor Who*.

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter was mainly concerned with the issue of (technological) superiority. Though this theme will occasionally reappear in this chapter, its main focus will move on to a consideration of invasion narratives in *Doctor Who*. I shall explore three serials broadcast during the 1970s: *Colony in Space* (1971), *The Mutants* (1972), and *The Terror of the Zygons* (1975). It is central to my thesis that these invasion stories prove to be sites in which the show’s intrinsic ambivalence about colonialism can be particularly starkly explored. The first two serials are stories in which the human race has colonised a different planet. *Colony in Space* and *The Mutants* seem similar, however, the difference between the two serials is considerable. *Colony in Space* is set at the early stages of the colonisation of a planet, whereas *the Mutants* is set at the brink of giving the colony independence, and more concerned about racial segregation, which undoubtedly resonates the political environment of that time. In *The Terror of the Zygons*, aliens try to take over earth for their own purposes. This chapter will mainly focus on how the Doctor behaves in these different settings, and how his behaviour reveals a fundamental disquiet about colonial enterprises. Moreover, I shall show, by close analysis of these stories, how to some extent the Doctor himself might be tainted by colonialist discourses and concepts.

2.2 Early Stages of Colonisation in *Colony in Space*

In the serial *Colony in Space*, the Master, another Time Lord, is after the Doomsday Weapon. The Time Lords set the Doctor free from his exile in order to deal with the situation. The TARDIS dematerialises spontaneously, taking the Doctor and his companion Jo with him to a place they do not know without any explanation of the purpose of their visit. They

arrive on a planet which is occupied by colonists from Earth in the year 2472 and they find themselves amid a power struggle between the agrarian colonists and a mining corporation – a scenario which recalls classic Westerns. The corporation wants to control the planet in order to exploit its rich minerals for Earth's sake whereas the agrarian colonists just tried to escape the problems which occur on the overpopulated Earth.

Once the Doctor and Jo arrive, the colonists mistake them for mineralogists. The Doctor asks why they are so hostile towards him and his companion:

WINTON: Because we don't want our world to be gutted. This is our world, you have no right to be here.

THE DOCTOR: We have as much right to be here as anybody else.

ASHE: This planet has been classified as suitable for colonisation. Once your big mining combines move in you'll reduce it to a galactic slap heap.

THE DOCTOR: Haven't you got laws to deal with this kind of thing?

WINSTON: Oh yes there are laws. We can complain to Earth's government just like all the others. By the time they I'll get a final decision, the planet is useless.

THE DOCTOR: I see, that's why I can sympathise with you gentlemen (*Colony in Space, episode one*).

Various problems are already introduced into this relatively early conversation. Apparently, we are dealing with an inefficient government on Earth, and mining corporations who rush through the galaxy in search of minerals. Most importantly, it is Earth's government who classifies planets suitable for colonisation, probably with resemblances to free land in the west of America before the westward expansion, and the Doctor is seemingly okay with this fact. It turns out that the colonists have serious problems, as, for instance, their supplies are running low. On the other hand, the mining corporation seems to have no trouble at all, except for the fact that they need to get rid of the colonists. The Doctor chooses sides and sets out to help the colonists, which makes sense as the colonists just want to build a new simple life on the colony which is pointed out in the following conversation:

THE DOCTOR: What those people need, my dear sir, are new worlds to live in like this one. Worlds where they can live like human beings not battery hens.

CAPTAIN DENT: That's not my concern. Minerals are needed and it's my job to find them.

THE DOCTOR: Even if it means turning this planet into a slag heap?

The Doctor opposes this kind of colonial exploitation, yet he remains in favour of colonies for the sake of human comfort – places where human beings can live like human beings. The real intentions of Captain Dent are corrupt - he does not want to mine for Earth's sake, but because “the exploitation of this planet could make us both rich” (*Colony in Space*). The serial comes down to a power struggle over the governance of the planet between the colonists and the mining company. Interestingly, the Doctor still supports the colonists even after he finds out about the native life forms who are still present on the planet.

The natives' civilisation is hidden under the surface of the planet, and the inhabitants, called ‘the primitives’, occasionally show up at the colony. Even though some colonists have warmer feelings towards the primitives, they are still referred to in inferior terms:

DAVID: Robert, we can't keep feeding these savages.

ROBERT: ...While I'm leader of this colony, we will treat the primitives in my way (*Colony in Space*).

Despite the fact that Robert favours the natives, he still refers to them as ‘primitives’. The Doctor soon discovers that there is more to the primitives than initially implied, finding out that over time their science and scientific culture transformed into a ‘savage’ religion. This dwindling picks up Cold War anxieties and alludes to the possible effects on human culture of a nuclear war. Jo gets kidnapped and the Doctor follows her into the city of the primitives:

THE DOCTOR: Judging by the room and this machinery, this could have been a highly advanced civilisation.

JO: Then what happened to it?

THE DOCTOR: It went into a decline. These primitives could be descendants of a tremendously advanced race.

JO: That just what I was thinking. Come take a look at this.

THE DOCTOR: Ah that's extraordinary. A sort of cornice, a history. Buildings, cities, machines, they even invented flight.

JO: What happened here?

THE DOCTOR: Ah, building in ruins and people laying dead. A great catastrophe I should think. After that everything changes. Look at this Jo, a completely different style and design. Much cruder, more primitive... Looks like some sort of sacrifice.

The rise and fall of a mighty empire is pictured in that room, which could be a parable for Earth, but it also is a nineteenth-century trope from colonialist narratives – the decayed race. After this scene, Doctor’s attitude towards the kidnapping of Jo changes. Originally, the Doctor wanted to buy Jo back, and he saw it merely as a “simple business transaction” (*Colony in Space*). However, with his newly acquired knowledge he talks to the leader of the primitives in a different manner, namely with respect and appeal to their glorious past: “We have no wish to offend your laws. The race that built this city were intelligent, civilised – they wouldn’t condemn the innocent ... Surely the basis of all true law is justice” (*Colony in Space*). This could tie in with what has been argued in the previous chapter, the Doctor uses technology and civilisation in order to judge a species – he adapts his manners and moves from a simple business transaction, which also has several implications of a slave market, to persuading the leader by using a civilised concept such as justice. Interestingly enough, in the primitive city, justice prevails whereas the conflict between the colonists and the mining company escalates into a violent conflict. This is also explained by Douglas Harris in his *Fish, Law and Colonialism: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia* (2001). He writes that: “law was understood by the British in the late nineteenth century as a means of securing order and obedience [in the colonies] with rules rather than violence” (188). Due to the fact that the law fails on the surface, as the adjudicator turns out to be the Master who does not care about the law, the conflict escalates into a violent battle.

The Master desires the Doomsday weapon that the primitives are supposed to possess in order to become ruler of the universe. He keeps Jo hostage which forces the Doctor to come with him to the city. As they arrive, the Master tells the Doctor about his plans – they go to the leader of the primitives and the following conversation takes place:

THE MASTER: I want to restore this city and this planet to their former glory.

THE DOCTOR: Don’t listen to him, sir.

THE MASTER: You have here a wonderful weapon, with it you can bring good and peace to every world in the galaxy.

THE DOCTOR: On the contrary! He'll bring only death and destruction.

THE MASTER: This planet of yours could be the centre of a mighty empire. The greatest the cosmos has ever known!

THE DOCTOR: Tell me sir, has this weapon of yours ever brought good to your planet?

THE GUARDIAN: Once the weapon was built, our race began to decay. The radiation from the weapons power source poisoned the soil of our planet.

THE DOCTOR: Exactly, the weapon has only brought death, and yet he wants to spread that death throughout the galaxy. Unless you destroy this weapon sir, he'll use it for evil.

THE MASTER: No... we could be gods (*Colony in Space: Episode Six*)!

The Doctor and the Master are taking sides: the Master that of a mighty Empire, whereas the Doctor adopts an anti-colonial stance, declaring that absolute power can only be evil. The Master tries to convince the Doctor, and eventually also The Guardian, to come over to his side by the promise of sharing in the power which he would acquire by using the Doomsday weapon invented by the super race. The writer, Malcolm Hulke, is clearly thinking of our own nuclear bombs. The Guardian knows from experience that such a powerful weapon only brought death and destruction, and sides with the Doctor. He makes the ultimate sacrifice, telling the Doctor how to self-destruct the weapon, which in turn destroys the city together with his entire species. The Doomsday weapon, which could be used to rule the universe, instead led to the downfall of a once mighty empire.

In the end, the Doctor, with his anti-colonial argument, prevails. The Master escapes and the colonists defeat the miners. Interestingly enough, even though the Doctor has been anti-colonial throughout the entire serial, as shown in his opposition of the mining company and the Master's plan, the Doctor "leaves the planet conveniently empty for colonization by the Earthlings" (Orthia 211). This might not have been the Doctor's intention, yet it evokes fantasies of 'empty land' nonetheless. The radiation from the primitive city no longer pollutes the soil, which leaves the colonist in a superb position: a planet once home to a superior civilisation is now empty and fertile. It is obvious that the native inhabitants spoiled the planet, and that the mining company would make matters only worse - in that case the new

colonisers are able to make the planet flourish again which seems like the best option.

However, it seems contradictory that the Doctor opposes one form of colonialism, yet perhaps inadvertently supports the other.

In addition, this serial is structured like a Western, with a nuclear bomb allegory thrown in. Uxarieus has a lot of similarities with America in the sense the planet could be the new land of promise. What is more, the colonisers and the Puritans have much in common. The Puritans, like the colonists, were dissatisfied with matters in their own country. They left their homes in order to build a life somewhere else, yet more contemporary migration to Canada, Australia and New Zealand may also be being evoked. Just as the colonists in *Colony in Space* are in alliance with the primitives, the Puritans befriended native tribes in order to help fight hostile native American tribes. Their settlement would later become the Thirteen Colonies who became independent in the 1770s which was followed by the westward expansion of the United States. This could imply that the colonisation of Uxarieus could be expanded in the future, both on the planet as well as to other planets. However, at these early stages, Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis proves applicable to the serial, as we are dealing with a new frontier where law ceases to pertain; where law falls into question. People are struggling to find out how to organise themselves, and in American history, the frontier is considered to be the place where people would Americanise themselves – where they would take up the new way of American thinking. In his *The Western Parables of the American Dream* (1999), Jeffrey Wallmann argues that “westerns are fundamentally allegories of the American Dream” (17). These American ideals are still explicitly Western ideals which the narrative brings to a new planet. It seems clear that even though the mining corporation and the primitives have not been good for the planet, the colonisers, who were just trying to escape a troubled home planet, can still be seen as a colonial power. This division in approach – being both pro- and anti-colonialism makes this

an interesting episode: the Doctor opposes two forms of colonialism, namely exploitation and oppression, yet nonetheless allows the “cultural” colonisation of the planet.

2.3 The Later Stages of Colonisation in *The Mutants*

In contrary to *Colony in Space*, *The Mutants* is set at the end of a colonial era. One of the main themes of the serial is the racial segregation between the Overlords and the Solonians, and the latter’s struggle for independence. We find ourselves in the 30th century Empire. Jo asks which empire it is and the Doctor replies by explaining how the Earthlings are great colonists and that they moved on to colonise other planets and solar systems. This could be a matter of convenience, as a way of explaining why there are so many human beings in outer space, but it is very likely that there is a political and ideological basis for this fact. The Doctor and Jo are orbiting around Solos, one of the last colonies of the Empire, and he tells Jo that “empires rise and empires fall, and... this one has obviously crumbled” (*The Mutants*). The main reason for the independence of the Solonians is because Earth cannot afford an empire anymore – the administrator tells the Marshall that Earth’s resources are depleted: politically, economically, and biologically. The Marshall refuses to accept his loss and proposes to make Solos habitable for humans – in order to do so he only has to change the atmosphere on the planet and wipe out the natives, because in his view genocide is just a side effect of what is necessary for human beings to survive. On top of that, the Solonians are mutating which sparks fear amongst the Overlords. It is interesting to look at how the Doctor’s stance on the matter differs considerably from the serial *Colony in Space*. In that episode, as discussed in the previous paragraph, the Doctor seems to find colonisation justified when it serves to make the lives of the human colonist better, and in *the Mutants* we are presented with a similar situation. Now that the planet has been fully exploited for its minerals, the Marshall wants to convert the planet into a New Earth so that people can be

saved from the overpopulated ‘mother planet’. Yet in this case, even though in *Colony in Space* an entire species has been wiped out as well, the Doctor defends the natives and is against the colonial power of the Marshall.

There are a few possible explanations for this contrast, one of them being the racial segregation that is in place. As Loomba states, “different colonial regimes tried (to varying extents) to maintain cultural and racial segregation precisely because, in practice, the interactions between colonising and colonised peoples constantly challenged any neat division between races and cultures” (69). The segregation between the Overlords and the Solonians shows in their way of transportation between Solos and Skybase One – they use different systems with signs clearly indicating which portal the Solonians cannot use, as they are intended for the Overlords – South Africa’s apartheid is probably on the programme’s mind. To my knowledge, there is no difference between the two transporters, yet their usage is limited to one race. This racial segregation surfaces at various occasions, one being when Jo tries to convince Ky that she is not an Overlord. Ky replies with “my people know Earthmen only as Overlords, it is difficult to think otherwise (*The Mutants*). As the segregation has been in place for a while, the natives, and colonists, think in a polarised way. You are either an Overlord or a Solonian. The Doctor and Jo find themselves in an awkward position because they are both seen as Overlords even though they do not identify with Overlords. By being labelled as Overlords, they are indirectly associated with the colonists, and in particular the Marshall, who want to wipe out the natives. In *Colony in Space*, the Doctor is seen as a traveller, whereas in this situation he is thrown in the middle of the conflict by being seen as an Overlord with a capsule which has to be delivered to the Solonians. In a way, the Doctor is forced to take sides and he decides to help the Solonians, probably because of the Marshall’s wicked ideas, but also because the Time Lords intended him to deliver the pod to the Solonians.

The Marshall does not only want to exterminate the Solonians because he wants to keep on ruling the planet, he also believes that the mutations to which the Solonians are subjected to are impure. His belief comes forth from ignorance, as the Overlords have destroyed most of the Solonian culture they do not know why the natives are mutating. The pod intended for Ky contains ancient Solonian writings which explain the nature of the mutations. The tablets turn out to represent the seasons – the common belief was that there were no seasons on Solos, however, they discover that every season lasts five hundred years and the Doctor realises that the Solonians are meant to mutate as part of their evolution because “their environment changes every five hundred years” (*The Mutants*). The Mutants at the moment are “an intermediate form” – they are still in the process of mutating and now the Marshall threatens to make them extinct because of his misunderstanding of the species as he sees them as diseased. Radiation turns out to be key to the mutation process. Jo, Sondergard, Cotton and Ky are trapped in a refuelling section which is flooded with radiation, and the radiation transformed Ky into a spiritual life form, fully completing the transformation and destroying the Marshall.

By using scientific reasoning, the Doctor prevents the Solonians from becoming extinct, and compared to *Colony in Space*, the Doctor’s stance is very anti-colonial. Especially by taking into account that in the aforementioned serial the Doctor voiced an argument in favour of colonialism if that would enable humans to live like human beings. However, I am aware of the fact that the mining company in *Colony in Space*, which sparked the Doctor’s aversion, and the Marshall’s governance at Solos have more in common than the colonists in *Colony in Space* have with the Marshall. What is more, the Marshall proposes a totalitarian way of government with himself as head of state which is something that the colonists in *Colony in Space* did not do. Maybe it has something to do with the colonist’s intent to settle down peacefully, with western values such as democracy. The Marshall, on

the other hand, proposes a totalitarian state which is not in line with the western way of government. Despite all this, it still seems contradictory that the Doctor helps the colonists to settle down on an already inhabited planet in one serial, and that he helps the natives to preserve their planet in the other.

2.4 Invasion of Planet Earth in the serial *the Terror of the Zygons*

The Doctor is willing to be flexible in his views on humans who colonise other planets, but when it comes down to aliens trying to colonise Earth, the Doctor is always very resolute in his thinking: the invasion of Earth is something that should be avoided and humans should not be subjected to (colonial) governance. To be frank, most invasions of Earth have more similarities to the colonial setting of *The Mutants* than *Colony in Space* – they are usually violent with the main aim being to destroy, enslave, or exploit humanity, often because we are looked down upon as intellectually or technologically inferior. It is interesting to look at how alien invasions of Earth are not justified whereas some human invasions of other planets are justified. In this paragraph I shall be looking at the serials *The Terror of the Zygons*. The Zygons, an alien race with the capability of taking on someone else's form, are on the lookout for a new planet as their home planet has been destroyed. The episode is set in Scotland which, to some, is a colonised place overwhelmed by its southern neighbour. The Doctor and UNIT, the Unified Intelligence Taskforce, fight for the human race, without sympathy for the Zygons' cause.

UNIT reaches out to The Doctor because there are odd accounts of attacks on various oil rigs. UNIT is an international military organisation with its main purposes being extra-terrestrial investigation and fighting off alien threats. The Doctor is heavily involved with UNIT and he is usually needed to save the day – by being associated with UNIT, which is linked to the military, he clearly chooses sides and therefore it comes to no surprise that the

Doctor usually supports the human cause. After the Doctor arrives in Scotland, he quickly discovers that there is more to the destroyed oil rigs than people initially thought. Soon, the audience gets acquainted with the creatures responsible for the attacks. Harry, one of the Doctor's companions who is taken hostage by the Zygons, has the following conversation with the leader of the Zygons:

HARRY: What is this place, why have you brought me here?

BROTON: You could be of value.

HARRY: What are you?

BROTON: I am Broton, warlord of the Zygons

HARRY: Zygons?

BROTON: A name you once will learn to fear.... Our world has been destroyed in a stellar explosion. We can never return.

ZYGON: So now we must make this planet ours.

HARRY: Why, why must you take...

BROTON: All resistance will be crushed. We shall change the destiny of Earth (*Terror of the Zygons*).

After this conversation the Zygons show Harry the sea monster and thus linking their presence to the attacks on the oil rigs. Together with this conversation, the hostile intentions of the Zygons are made clear. Even though the reason for the Zygon's attempt to conquer Earth are similar to those of the humans in *Colony in Space*, the Zygons as colonisers are clearly marked as the enemy, whereas when we deal with human colonisers it often takes a while, or a political or moral conflict, in order to figure out who has to be stopped. It is the Doctor who decides who has to be helped, and usually the party the Doctor favours prevails. Pless suggests that *Doctor Who* "serves as a more perfect mirror for Britain, showing how the nation wishes it were, and how it thinks it ought to be" (359). It would explain the shape of the TARDIS as well – a British Police Phone-Box with a man patrolling the universe to make sure the virtues and right people prevail. This could link back to Britain trying to come to terms with the decline of their empire as "filling a supporting role did not come easily to the servants of a nation which had grown accustomed to being at the centre of the stage" (Lawrence 529).

In *The Doctor's Burden: Racial Superiority and Panoptic Privilege in New Doctor Who* (2010), Christine Gilroy mostly focusses on the post-2005 series. However, I think some of her statements are also applicable to the earlier serials of *Doctor Who* because the Doctor places himself in “a position of correctional authority which echoes” a certain imperial rule (Gilroy 26). The Doctor favours the human race over other species because “[t]he Doctor’s affection for the human race rests on his ability to watch [over] them, as well as to better them” (Gilroy 26), which also shows in the following conversation the Doctor has with Broton:

BROTON: When our planet was destroyed in a recent catastrophe, a great refugee fleet was assembled.

THE DOCTOR: Hmm, and they’re coming here at your invitation.

BROTON: Exactly Doctor. It will be many centuries before the fleet arrives. In that time, the whole of this Earth must be restructured... I shall recreate my own planet here on Earth.

THE DOCTOR: Using forced labour.

BROTON That is my intention: human labour, and Zygon technology. The task is challenging, but not impossible.

THE DOCTOR: You are underestimating human beings, Broton (*Terror of the Zygons*)

It is the Doctor’s firm belief in the virtue of human beings, expressed in the last line quoted above, what keeps him going – he does not want the human race to be enslaved and sacrificed for the survival of another species, and nor do we. It seems as if there is no compromise possible, however, it is interesting to see how, forty years later, *The Zygon Invasion / The Zygon Inversion* (2015) show how the Zygons and humans eventually share the Earth in peace. Initially, there is a conflict in which a small group of Zygons feel as if human do not accept the way they are, and therefore they believe that the ceasefire between the two races should be broken. They feel that the human fear who they really are, and that it is unfair that the Zygons have to disguise themselves as humans. Most Zygons, on the other hand, do not agree with this and they are happy to live amongst mankind in peace. In the end, the Doctor is able to persuade Bonnie, the rebel learder, to put the cease fire back in place by

means of the Osgood Box and a great speech. The Osgood Box is a safeguard to keep the peace, and in the end Bonnie, a Zygon and Petronella, a human, both take on the same form and together the two Osgoods make sure the ceasefire will stay in place. However, moving back to *Terror of the Zygons* (1975), the Doctor believes that there is no compromise possible, even though apparently there is room for this pointed out in the post-2005 serials. Yet, the Doctor rather destroys the Zygons in *Terror of the Zygons* because that most certainly will be favourable for mankind.

2.5 Conclusion

It is interesting to look at how the Doctor is always opposed to colonisation when extra-terrestrials try to colonise Earth. However, when mankind colonises a planet his views are sometimes ambiguous. We, human beings, have apparently the right to live freely and explore the galaxy, whereas other species such as the Zygons do not have that privilege. In *Pyramids of Mars* (1975) there is again an alien, Sutekh the Destroyer, who wants to sacrifice humanity for his own good. The Doctor stops him as well, once again taking up the role of a policeman of the universe – the human race is exceptionally lucky to have the Doctor on their side as otherwise, as is suggested in that episode, humanity will be destroyed. The Doctor takes Sarah, his companion, to the future to show what will happen if they do not stop Sutekh and Sarah witnesses nothing but destruction. The Doctor favours humanity, but it is to be questioned whereas that is always the right approach, which is an issue further explored in the post-2005 serials. In a way, *Doctor Who* forces its audience to agree with the Doctor due to the fact that in these situations the extra-terrestrials are often portrayed as hostile. What is more, in *The Mutants* mankind is not portrayed negatively, it is just a few people such as the Marshall who have hostile intentions and are judged. The guards are happy to leave, and they actually believe that it is something they should have done a long time ago. In contrary to *The*

Mutants, the Zygon species in *the Terror of the Zygons* are condemned in its entirety measured by a few of its living beings. All of this makes for an interesting issue which resonates throughout the show as we progress through time, and I shall further explore this concept in the following two chapters.

Chapter Three: “We Have Grown Stronger in Fear of You”: The Daleks in the 70s, 80s, and Post-2005 Serials of *Doctor Who*

3.1 Introduction

The Daleks have always filled a prominent role in *Doctor Who*. We got to know them straightaway in 1963 and there are many episodes that feature the Daleks, all the way up to the most recent series broadcast in 2015. During the first appearance of the Daleks in 1963, we see how they fight to gain domination of the planet Skaro. It is shown that they are willing to destroy their enemies, the Thals, by all means, with various implicit references to the threats of the Cold War. However, it does not take long before “the Daleks have set their sights on dominating much more than just the planet Skaro” (Webb and Wardecker 177). The Daleks have much in common with Nazism due to the fact that they hold to ideals of a pure race – everyone else is to be exterminated or subjected to the will of the Daleks. What is more, “[f]or the Daleks eliminating what they perceive as an inferior species isn’t murder, but a much less personal, more industrialized ‘extermination’ of a pest” (Webb and Wardecker 179). Sarah Honeychurch and Niall Barr argue that the Daleks “embody an ethics based merely on similarity of body, similarity of beliefs, or level of intelligence” which is not suitable to our contemporary world. This is due to the “level of information we have, and the amount of interaction with other cultures”. As the Daleks are clearly the arch-enemies of the Doctor, it is implied that these ethics are to be avoided, however, even though we “disagree with other cultures, species or non-human aliens, it doesn’t warrant or justify imposing our own personal human standards on everybody else” (192). This brings us back to the previous chapters, more specifically to the debate on judging customs in different cultures. However, the Daleks take that concept a step further as they not only judge other cultures and species, but they leave no room for other beliefs as they view themselves as the superior beings. The

only possible future they can imagine is one where the Daleks are the only remaining (intelligent) beings, and the Doctor fights them to prevent the Dalek Empire from becoming reality. The anti-colonial discourse is perhaps expressed strongest in the episodes concerning the Daleks. However, it is to be taken into account that the Daleks take their colonising desires a step further by exterminating everyone who is not a Dalek.

In this chapter, I shall deviate slightly from the chronological structure used in the previous chapters by discussing serials from 1975 up until 2008. I have decided to do so because these serials, *Genesis of the Daleks* (1975), *Destiny of the Daleks* (1979), *Resurrection of the Daleks* (1984), *Remembrance of Daleks* (1988) and *The Stolen Earth/Journey's End* (2008) have a common thread running through them. The *Genesis of the Daleks* introduces Davros, the creator of the Daleks, for the first time, and by doing so it reimagines the origin of the Daleks (Webb and Wardecker 180). Davros keeps turning up in the above-mentioned serials, and, even though the first three serials show a weakened Dalek fleet with the desire to be rebuilt into a great empire, every serial shows how the Daleks try to fulfil their goal of exterminating all other beings in order to become the superior life form of the universe, yet they keep failing. While I am excluding from my analysis *Revelation of the Daleks* (1985), a serial which also features Davros, however, I believe that the selected serials provide us with an origin story of the Daleks but also the future stages of their conquest for superiority. Moreover, *The Stolen Earth / Journey's End* tells a similar story to *Genesis of the Daleks* and therefore shapes the narrative into a circle.

3.2 The Origin of the Daleks

In *Genesis of the Daleks* we see how Davros, a scientist, creates the Daleks. The Time Lords send the Doctor on a mission in order to prevent this creation from happening, to make the Daleks good or to find out how to defeat the Daleks. The Doctor is sent back to Skaro and

together with Sarah Jane and Harry, they find themselves in the wastelands which is the result of the war between the Thals and the Kaleds. There are various references to the Great War due to the use of trenches and gas shells, the Second World War given the Nazi imagery, and the cold war due to the Mutually Assured Destruction idea. After a gas shell detonates, the Doctor and Harry are taken back to the Kaled's dome, whereas Sarah eventually ends up at the Thals' base. We see how Davros, the Kaled's greatest scientist, is working on his "Mark III travel machines", which are to become the Daleks. Even though they fail to stop the Daleks from being created, the Doctor, Sarah Jane and Harry still manage to slow down their evolution with a thousand years.

The purpose of the Doctor's visit to Skaro is immediately established through the following conversation:

TIME LORD: We foresee a time, when they [the Daleks] will have destroyed all other life forms and become the dominant creature in the universe... We'd like you to return to Skaro at a point in time before the Daleks evolved.

THE DOCTOR: Do you mean: avert their creation?

TIME LORD: Or affect their genetic development so that they evolve into less aggressive creatures (*Genesis of the Daleks: Episode One*).

The Dalek Empire needs to be prevented because their idea of superiority is directly linked to the destruction of everything else in the universe. It is difficult to see how someone cannot be against this kind of empire and the Doctor therefore initially complies with the request of the Time Lords, even though he had sworn never again to interfere in history. The gruesome future of a Dalek Empire also explains the allusion to Nazism. However, condemning the Kaleds because of the association with Nazism is not as easy as it seems because the serial turns out to be highly complex. The Thals are "almost as despicable, genocidal and totalitarian as the Kaleds" (Webb and Wardecker 180). They force mutants to labour under lethal circumstances and they build a weapon that would completely obliterate their enemies. It is difficult to choose sides in this conflict because, even though we know how the Daleks will turn out to be, the Thals might be capable of creating similar creatures. However, even

though there are two genocidal races, Davros takes it a step further as he is prepared to help the Thals to exterminate the Kaleds. The Thals built a rocket which should be able to wipe out their enemy and without Davros' help they would not have been able to launch their rocket successfully. In doing so, Davros is responsible for the genocide of his own people, in order to ensure the survival of the Daleks because the Kaled's counsel started to doubt the Dalek project:

DAVROS: The counsel has signed the death warrant for the whole of the Kaled people. Only we, the elite, we and the Daleks will go on.

NYDER: The whole of the Kaled people, you would go that far?

DAVROS: Did you ever doubt it (*Genesis of the Daleks, Episode Three*).

It shows the determination of Davros; his utter indifference to people's lives and, on top of that, it also emphasises Davros' firm belief that what he is doing is the right thing as he is willing to take these drastic steps to pursue his ideals.

Davros imposes his colonial and racist ideals and ideas of superiority through the Daleks. In Davros' eyes, the Daleks are superior over all other beings and therefore the others beings should be exterminated. After the extermination of the Kaled people, Davros describes the Daleks as "the supreme creature, the ultimate conqueror of the universe" (*Genesis of the Daleks: Episode Four*). Davros himself does not see the evil of his creation and he acts out of the belief that what he is doing is the best thing to do.

THE DOCTOR: It's not the machines, it's the minds of the creatures inside them. The minds that you created, they are totally evil.

DAVROS: Evil? No, I will not accept that. They are conditioned simply to survive. They can survive only by becoming the dominant species. When all other life forms are suppressed; when the Daleks are the supreme rulers of the universe, then we will have peace. Wars will end. They are the power not of evil, but of good! (*Genesis of the Daleks: Episode Five*)

By building the Daleks, Davros wants to subject the entire universe to his ideals of purity and eventually he believes this will bring peace to the universe. The Daleks can only survive by becoming the dominant species, and therefore they are creatures who will not rest until they

have achieved that goal. They will always have to urge to dominate because it is in their nature and Davros, in that way, has created the perfect imperial power.

3.3 The Doctor's Resistance

Genesis of the Daleks provides us with some context as to why the Daleks are who they are, but it also questions the role of the Doctor. The Doctor has a chance to stop the evolution of the Daleks, but this decision turns out to be more complex than he initially thought it would be. The Doctor finds himself in a position where he can easily destroy the Daleks, but instead he lets them live:

THE DOCTOR: Do I have the right? Simply touch one wire against the other and that's it. The Daleks cease to exist. Hundreds of millions of people, thousands of generations can live without fear, in peace, and never even know the word Dalek.
SARAH JANE: Then why wait? If it was a disease or some sort of bacteria you were destroying, you wouldn't hesitate.

THE DOCTOR: But if I kill, wipe out a whole intelligent life form, then I become like them. I'd be no better than the Daleks (*Genesis of the Daleks: Episode Six*)

First of all, the matter is problematic because it would create a paradox - when the Doctor would destroy the Daleks his future self would have no reason to be sent back to Skaro in order to destroy the Daleks. However, it seems as if the morality of his actions are a bigger concern to the Doctor. He would become like the Daleks if he would exterminate them all – he would be just as genocidal as the Daleks. Webb and Wardecker's argument could shed some more light on this matter. They argue that:

We [the audience] *are* the Daleks, at least potentially. What we can and must do is guard against the Dalek tendency within. That means guarding against the harnessing of the survival imperative, and the fears it fuels, to the dangerous politics of xenophobia and illusions of our own perfectibility. It means accepting and protecting difference, not pursuing uniformity" (Webb and Wardecker 187-188).

In a way, the Daleks can be seen as humans with certain emotions and feelings suppressed, such as compassion and pity, yet with others amplified such as hatred and feelings of superiority. By making the Daleks the archenemy of the Doctor, the show clearly criticises

those feelings. What is more, by implicitly linking the Daleks to the ideas of Nazism, it shows that human beings are indeed capable of pursuing the same goals as the Dalek race. If the Doctor would completely obliterate the Daleks, he would be no better, which is possibly why the Doctor always tries to stick to his humane traits such as curiosity and empathy. This is further emphasised in the serial *Destiny of the Daleks* (1979) which shows how a weakened Dalek fleet is trying to regain its former glory. The Daleks are fighting against the Movellans, and the two races are locked in a stalemate because they are both creatures of logic – they keep on outsmarting the other. Both parties have realised that they need imagination: the Daleks try to utilise Davros and the Movellans try to use the Doctor for that purpose. Meanwhile, the Daleks are portrayed as oppressive slaveholders and the Movellans see themselves as soon to be conquerors of the galaxy – these are two potential colonial powers who are only held back by each other, and the only way they can win is by using some of the humane traits they so eagerly tried to get rid of. In the end, it is the Doctor who outwits both the Movellans and the Daleks which results in the imprisonment of Davros. By battling the Daleks, the Doctor becomes a fighter for freedom. On top of that, by refusing to resort to the methods of the Daleks, the Doctor emphasises his anti-colonial ideals.

Even though the Doctor has been fighting the Daleks in the abovementioned serials, his actual views on colonialism are explicitly pointed out in the *Resurrection of the Daleks* (1979) serial. In these episodes, the Doctor is forced to land the TARDIS on Earth in the 20th century. The Daleks try to find a cure for the Movellan virus and they think that Davros will provide them with a cure. Meanwhile, the Daleks claim that they have people serving the Daleks all over the Earth and that it will not be long until we shall be subjected to Dalek rule. In the following dialogue between Davros and the Doctor, his ideas on colonialism are made explicit:

DAVROS: The universe is at war Doctor. Name one planet whose history is not littered with atrocities and ambition for empire. It is a universal way of life.

THE DOCTOR: Which I do not accept (*Resurrection of the Daleks: Episode Two*).

Davros sees the ambition for empire as inevitable – he believes it is a universal way of life. The Doctor, on the other hand, sees that it is the case, but he refuses to approve of it. Davros continues by saying that the Doctor denies reality and he offers him a chance of acquiring total power. In turn, the Doctor responds by holding a gun to Davros' head but he fails to kill him – probably because of similar reasons which held him back in *Genesis of the Daleks*.

3.3.1 The Dalek Empire

All in all, these three episodes are highly useful to exploring the way the Doctor responds to the threat of a Dalek Empire as the Daleks are still weakened – they feature a Dalek fleet which is definitely not in a position of conquering the galaxy and ruling an empire. These situations evoke a response to these ideas, but the Doctor also has the freedom not to act on it because the threat is relatively low. The next serial, *Remembrance of the Daleks* (1988), shows a stronger Dalek fleet, with true colonial potential, which forces the Doctor to act. Even though the Dalek Empire is divided, the threat of Dalek domination seems bigger which makes the Doctor act differently than he has done before.

In *Remembrance of the Daleks*, the Doctor comes back to the same place of the very first episode of the show, namely Coal Hill School. The Doctor finds out that the Daleks are looking for the Hand of Omega, an ancient piece of Time Lord technology which will enable them to perfect their time-travelling abilities so that they can conquer the universe. There are two factions of Daleks fighting over the possession of the Hand of Omega: the Imperial Daleks, pledging loyalty to Davros, and the Renegade Daleks who are loyal to the Supreme Dalek. In this Civil War, the Doctor plays a manipulative role.

THE DOCTOR: What they [the Daleks] want is the power that Time Lords have, and they'll get that with the Hand of Omega. Or so they think.

ACE: And you have to try and stop them.

THE DOCTOR: No, I want them to have it!

ACE: Aye?

THE DOCTOR: My problem is trying to stop group captain Gilmore and his men getting diced in the crossfire ... So all this is a massive deception, yes ... Just one thing, I didn't expect two Dalek factions. And now I have got to make sure the wrong ones don't get their grubby little protuberances on it (*Remembrance of the Daleks: Episode Three*).

The Doctor knows the disastrous effect the Hand of Omega has – it will turn a star into a supernova as he himself has sabotaged the device. He wants to make sure the Daleks use it to destroy their Empire themselves – it is the Doctor's intention to completely obliterate the Dalek Empire, however, by manipulating the events he is able to keep a clear conscience nonetheless. Eventually, the Hand of Omega is acquired by the Imperial Daleks and it is taken up to their spaceship. The Doctor sets up a video connection and the following conversation takes place between him and Davros:

THE DOCTOR: Davros, the Hand of Omega is not to be trifled with ...

DAVROS: Does it worry you, Doctor, that with it I will transform Skaro's sun into a source of unimaginable power? And with that power at my disposal ... we shall become all

THE DOCTOR: [interrupting] Powerful! Crush the lesser races! Conquer the galaxy! Unimaginable power! Unlimited rice pudding! Et cetera! Et cetera!

DAVROS: Do not anger me, Doctor, I can destroy you! And this miserable insignificant planet ... I will teach you the folly of your words Doctor!

THE DOCTOR: Davros, I beg of you, don't use the hand!

DAVROS: Ah, Doctor, now you begin to fear! Activate the Omega Device (*Remembrance of the Daleks: Episode Four*).

The Doctor knows precisely what to say in order to infuriate Davros. He mocks Davros' ambitions for empire, and as a result Davros wants to prove the Doctor wrong. Davros immediately activates the Hand of Omega, which has conveniently been brought to the Imperial Daleks instead of the Renegade Daleks because the latter would have been less susceptible to the Doctor's manipulation. Skaro's sun turns into a supernova and the Dalek's home planet vaporises. Davros exclaims: "you have tricked me", to which the Doctor replies with "[n]o Davros, you have tricked yourself" (*Remembrance of the Daleks: Episode Four*). This is perhaps why the Doctor was able to cope with what happened as destroying an entire

planet populated with an intelligent life form should not be taken lightly even though it happens to be the planet of the Daleks. The doubt we saw in *Genesis of the Daleks* has almost completely disappeared. However, the following conversation still implies that the Doctor is unsure of his actions:

ACE: Doctor, we did good didn't we?

THE DOCTOR: Perhaps – time will tell. It always does (*Remembrance of the Daleks: Episode Four*).

On top of that, the fact that the Doctor had to manipulate Davros in using the Omega Device shows us that he might not be able to bear the burden of his actions. It seems as if he is still struggling with the question whether he has the right to kill the Daleks. As Roman Altshuler argues: “if he [the Doctor] attacks beings that clearly meant harm to others ... that might still be evil – but it might be the lesser evil, and thus might be the right thing to do” (288). Even though the Daleks very much emphasise the Doctor's aversion to empire as they embody all the negative characteristic of a colonial power, it also renders the Doctor's resistance problematic, as he resorts to Dalek methods, which in turn would make him like a Dalek.

3.3.2 The New Dalek Empire

Whereas in *Remembrance of the Daleks*, the Doctor tries to keep a clear conscience despite the fact that he is partly responsible for the extermination of an entire planet, we come across an entire different version of the Doctor in the *The Stolen Earth/Journey's End* (2008). In this serial, planets have been disappearing, including the Earth, and the Doctor sets out to find them. It takes him a while before he finally ends up at the Medusa Cascade where he finds the planets hidden away in a tiny pocket universe which has made the search more difficult. Due to this fact, a couple of old companions, including Martha Jones, Rose Tyler, and Sarah Jane Smith, have been united in order to find the Doctor. Once the Doctor reaches the Earth, he is shot by a Dalek but he channels his regeneration energy into his hand which

eventually results in a clone of the Doctor who is part human and part Time Lord. In the events following this, the Doctor tries to stop the Daleks from firing the Reality Bomb which would destroy all matter in the universe except for the Daleks. Meanwhile, we are all waiting to see if Dalek Caan's prophesy is about to be fulfilled – namely that the true nature of the Doctor will be revealed. In the end, the Doctor's is once more faced with an opportunity to wipe out the Daleks. This serial brings us back to a similar situation we find in *Genesis of the Daleks* (1975) and thus makes the story line into a full circle, however, the only difference is that “last time we fought the Daleks, they were scavengers, hybrid and mad. This is a fully fledged Dalek Empire at the height of his power” (*Journey's End*) which results in a different turn of events.

Davros remarks himself that the events are very similar to their previous encounter.

He says:

DAVROS: Impossible, that face after all these years.

SARAH JANE: Davros, that's been quite a while. Sarah Jane Smith, remember?

DAVROS: Oh, this is meant to be. The circle of time is closing. You were there on Skaro at the very beginning of my creation.

SARAH JANE: And I've learned how to fight since then. You let the Doctor go or this warp star, it gets opened (*Journey's End*).

The fact that Sarah Jane Smith happens to be there emphasises the fact that this is a similar situation and it is interesting to see how she has changed. She states herself that she has learned how to fight since then, which has happened without the Doctor as a reference to her own TV show, but the Doctor probably played a significant part in her development nonetheless. This happens simultaneously with another video message from Martha Jones who says that she will blow up planet Earth if Davros does not retreat immediately. The Doctor suddenly realises what the Dalek Caan means by saying that his true self will be revealed, and Davros is more than willing to point that out to him.

DAVROS: And the prophesy unfolds.

DALEK CAAN: The Doctor's soul is revealed. See him! See the heart of him!

DAVROS: The man who abhors violence, never carrying a gun. But this is the truth Doctor: you take ordinary people and you fashion them into weapons. Behold your children of time transformed into murderers. I made the Daleks; you made this.

THE DOCTOR: I was just trying to help.

DAVROS: Oh really... How many more? Just think... The Doctor, the man who keeps running – never looking back because he dares not out of shame. This is my final victory Doctor; I have shown you yourself (*Journey's End*).

Both companions are willing to commit genocide – Martha is willing to blow up the Earth with all humans on it to stop the Daleks, albeit to serve the greater good. The Daleks need the Earth to fire the Reality Bomb, and Sarah Jane Smith, together with Jack Harkness, Mickey and Jackie Tyler, are willing to rip the entire spaceship apart and in turn they would wipe out the Daleks. By establishing a link to Davros' Daleks and the Doctor's companions, it makes the role of the Doctor highly complex because suddenly the deeds of the Doctor are linked to that of Davros and his Daleks. This is not the only time the Doctor has been associated with the Daleks. In the stand-alone Eccleston story "*Dalek*" (2005), we come across an infuriated version of the Doctor. When a Dalek confronts the Doctor with the fact that he destroyed the Daleks and the Time Lords in the Time war, the Doctor nostalgically justifies his deeds by saying that he had no choice. Eventually, the Doctor shouts furiously at a Dalek: "Why don't you just die?!" (*Dalek, 2005*), which in turn enables the Dalek to point out that the Doctor would make a good Dalek. As Matt Hills states in his *Triumph of a Time Lord* (2010) that: "where he [the Doctor] expresses such a view ... this results in a mirroring of Dalek and Doctor, the Time Lord being represented highly unusually, as filled with rage and hatred" (134).

Even though these events can be seen as a critique on the Doctor, it can also be read as a critique of humanity. In *Journey's End*, we see how the Doctor's human clone is the one who, without any doubt, blows up the Dalek Empire, leaving the 'real' Doctor terrified – whether he is abhorred by the actual deed, or the fact that it is a part of him which committed suicide remains unexplained.

DALEK CAAN: I have seen the end of everything Dalek, and you must make it happen Doctor!

THE DOCTOR (2): He's right, because with or without a reality bomb, this Dalek Empire is big enough to slaughter the cosmos. They've got to be stopped!

DONNA: Just, just wait for the Doctor.

THE DOCTOR (2): I am the Doctor ...

THE DOCTOR: What have you done ... Now get in the TARDIS ... Davros! Come with me, I promise I can save you!

DAVROS: Never forget Doctor! You did this! I name you, forever, you are the destroyer of the worlds (*Journey's End*)!

The Doctor finds himself in a peculiar position due to the fact that his clone, who theoretically is him as he has the same memories and knowledge, committed genocide. The 'real' Doctor tries to save Davros, who interestingly enough is only able to call him names, but to Davros the 'real' Doctor is just as responsible for the genocide of the Daleks as his clone is. However, there is one big difference between the Doctor and his clone, namely that his clone is part human which in turn implies that it is perhaps the human traits within the Doctor which enable him to commit genocide. As Web and Wardecker argue, "just as Sarah Jane urged the Doctor to abort the Daleks at the dawn of their existence, not seeing past their evil deeds to the larger picture that troubled the Doctor, so now it's the human within that enables the Doctor to commit genocide" (187). This would also explain the violence of the Doctor's companions – they go through the same experiences as the Doctor, however they still remain human.

The serial points out that all humans, and other beings, might carry a little bit of the Daleks characteristics within themselves. Xenophobia is very present and the companions, the Daleks, and even the Doctor's clone subject to the fear of the other. Even though our fear of the Daleks is a legitimate fear, as the sole purpose of their existence is to exterminate us, these xenophobic feelings within ourselves are still amplified through the Daleks. However, the serial ends on a hopeful note when the Doctor brings back Rose to the parallel universe. It

shows that there is both hope for the Doctor, as there is also still virtue to be found in humanity. The Doctor and Rose have the following conversation:

THE DOCTOR: He [the Doctor (2)] destroyed the Daleks, he committed genocide. He is too dangerous to be left on his own.

THE DOCTOR (2): You made me.

THE DOCTOR: Exactly, and you were born in battle. Full of blood, and anger, and revenge. Remind you of someone? That's me, when we first met. And you [Rose] made me better. Now you can do the same for him ... he needs you, that's very me.

It implies that, be it with the help of others, we can suppress xenophobia and in turn take into account the differences we might have with other species. The fact that two different species, humans and Time Lords, cooperate in order to support each other points out the main difference between us and the Daleks. What is more, in this case the Doctor is not necessarily superior to his companions – we need the Doctor and the Doctor needs us. As Sarah Honeychurch and Niall Barr argue, “because the Doctor has developed a sense of empathy, which other Time Lords, and most Daleks ... lack, he's able to respond appropriately and work with other species” (197). In contrary, a Dalek strives for purity, exterminating everything that gets in the way, which might be why the Daleks will never be able to beat us.

3.4 Conclusion

All in all, this chapter has tried to shed some light on how the Doctor responds to the threat of an all-powerful Dalek Empire. By making the Daleks so despicable, it is easy to be against the idea of their empire conquering the universe. The Daleks think that they are superior to other species “because of their belief that superiority is based solely on logical ability and similarity of appearance – and that these are the only two things that are worthy of consideration ... They don't understand that other species might be subjects worthy of moral consideration, too” (Honeychurch and Barr 189). The Doctor's resistance shows the Doctor's aversion to these ruthless colonial powers, and as the Doctor always defeats the Daleks it also shows that the Dalek's way is definitely not the right one. However, the Doctor's interference

makes for a problematic situation. As seen in the five serials discussed in this chapter, the Doctor acts differently when he comes across the Daleks at different stages of their Empire. In the serials such as *Genesis of the Daleks* and *Resurrection of the Daleks*, the threat of Dalek superiority is still relatively low which enables the Doctor to stick to his morals: he is able to voice his opinion but he has got the freedom not to act on it. In other serials such as *Remembrance of the Daleks*, we see how the Doctor relies on different methods to stop the Daleks such as manipulation which resulted in the destruction of Skaro. What is more, even though it is a clone of the Doctor who commits genocide in *Journey's End*, it is still the Doctor who presses the button to exterminate the Daleks. Either way, the Doctor's and our resistance to the Daleks have something to do with our own ideas of superiority. As Honeychurch and Barr rightly state: "Daleks would hate to be told, by mere humans, that we consider ourselves culturally and morally superior to Daleks, but we do think this"; in the end, we are probably right to think so as it is hard to imagine the Daleks having a Shakespeare, Rembrandt or Jane Austen. The Daleks have a concept of beauty, however, it turns out to be death and destruction. "Our capacity for emotions is why we... humans and the Doctor, together, continue to beat those pesky tin machines" (190). In addition, we finally get to see the events through a Dalek perspective in *The Asylum of the Daleks* (2012). Oswin, a human girl, has been transformed into a Dalek. Oswin is on the brink of losing her human side as the Doctor confronts her with the fact that she is a Dalek, but her human emotions turned out to be stronger. As she is a Dalek, she knows what they all think and she confronts the Doctor with in the following dialogue:

OSWIN: Why do they hate you so much? They hate you so much. Why?

THE DOCTOR: I have fought them, many, many times.

OSWIN: We have grown stronger in fear of you.

THE DOCTOR: I know. I tried to stop (*The Asylum of the Daleks*).

The Doctor has defeated the Daleks again and again; in turn he saved the universe many times, but as it turns out this also resulted in a stronger Dalek race. For us, the Doctor is our

hero, however, for the Daleks he is the arch enemy who keeps on exterminating them. Our ideas of superiority, even though they are also self-questioning and rather modest, clash with those of the Daleks which in the end only results in conflict. However, at the same time, our morals and values enable us to fight and defeat the Daleks. In the end, our xenophobia, which is almost the only thing that we are able to feel when we think of the Daleks, results in an ever escalating conflict, and even though we are fighting creatures of pure hatred who easily inspire resistance, all of this may still raise questions concerning our colonial discourses, since both parties act out of the same notions of superiority.

Chapter Four: “When a Good Man Goes to War”: The Critique and the Justification of the Doctor’s Interference in the Post-2005 Serials

4.1 Introduction

In the first chapter, I have discussed the Doctor’s feelings of superiority. The Doctor uses his superiority in order to intervene in the universe, and in a way by doing so, he imposes his ideals on other living creatures. In this chapter, I am going to have a closer look at whether his superiority, and thus his right to intervene and shape the universe, is justified in the show. As discussed in the previous chapter, in *The Asylum of the Daleks* (2012) the consequences of his acts of interference confront the Doctor – something that recurs as a theme and a trope throughout the post-2005 serials. Christine Gilroy argues that: “there is an inherent contradiction in the Doctor’s belief in his right to intervene” (25). A possible and logical explanation would be to link this development to the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York on 9/11 which drastically changed our attitude to empire, colonialism and intervention in foreign affairs. The new series often show how we cannot do without the Doctor’s involvement, but it also offers us narratives which makes us doubt the Doctor’s interference – the programme in this way reflects on the Doctor’s deeds. In the episode *A Good Man Goes to War* (2011), the Doctor is faced with the fear which has been sparked by his influence on the universe. However, at the same time, the Doctor’s intervention is justified by episodes such as *Turn Left* (2008) which shows us an alternative turn of events where the Doctor is not around to save the world. Lastly, the serial *Kill the Moon* (2014) is maybe one of the few where the Doctor refuses to interfere as he leaves an important decision up to us humans. In this chapter, I shall discuss the episodes *A Good Man Goes to War*, *Kill the Moon* and *Turn Left* since they reflect most fully on the Doctor’s interference. In turn, I

shall argue that even though there are debates on the positive value of the Doctor's interference, his actions are still justified.

4.2 Questioning the Doctor's Interference

The Doctor's meddling leaves trails throughout the universe and it seems as if the Doctor loses his awareness of the effects of his decisions overtime. In *Genesis of the Daleks* (1975), the Doctor realises that, by exterminating the Daleks before they are fully developed, many good events will not happen either. People who are unified through their fear of the Daleks might never come together when the Daleks do not exist. However, as explored in the previous chapter, almost forty years later in *Asylum of the Daleks* (2012), the Doctor is confronted with the actual consequences of his interference with the Dalek race. The consequences of the Doctor's interference are also set out in the episode *A Good Man Goes to War* (2011), however, whereas in *Asylum of the Daleks* the main focus lies on the effect his intervention has on the Daleks, this episode comments on the side-effects of the Doctor's behaviour on the entire universe.

The episode *A Good Man Goes to War* (2011) examines the traces of the Doctor's meddling throughout his entire life; the episode presents us with a different view of our 'heroic' Doctor, and it condemns retaliation and interference. Amy and Rory, the Doctor's companions, are expecting a baby. However, it turns out that Amy has been somewhere else for a long while whilst a flesh avatar took her place in the TARDIS. Actually, she has been on the asteroid Demon's Run, and after she gave birth, her baby gets taken away by Madame Kovarian and the religious order of the Headless Monks. The Doctor and Rory assemble an army, which is exactly the reason why Amy's baby has been kidnapped in the first place:

DORIUM: There are people all over this galaxy that owe that man a debt. By now, a few of them will have found a blue box waiting for them on their doorstep. Poor devils.

COLONEL MANTON: You think he's raising an army?

DORIUM: You think he isn't? If that man is finally collecting on his debts, God help you. And God help his debtors... All those stories you've heard about him, they're not stories, they're true (*A Good Man Goes to War*).

Dorium says that many people owe the Doctor a debt because the Doctor has touched many lives, and it shows how influential the Doctor actually is. He abhors violence yet he is able to raise an army. The Doctor does not understand why Madame Kovarian has taken Amy's child. Her child is part Time Lord because she has been conceived on the TARDIS, and the Doctor fails to see how a Time Lord could be a weapon. Vastra explains to him that it has happened because "they've seen you", a statement which is backed up by the narrative of the episode. It portrays the Doctor as a warrior, which otherwise he is not. By raising an army to retrieve Amy's baby, he is doing exactly what has started "the endless bitter war" against the Doctor – his involvement has made him very influential and therefore very dangerous to the people who have different values than the Doctor.

However, he still has a hard time understanding, and he needs River to confront him with the consequences of his interference in the universe. She does so in the following speech:

THE DOCTOR: You think I wanted this? I didn't do this. This, this wasn't me!
 RIVER: This was exactly you. All this. All of it. You make them so afraid. When you began all those years ago, sailing off to see the universe, did you ever think you'd become this? The man who can turn an army around at the mention of his name. Doctor. The word for "healer" and "wise man" throughout the universe. We get that word from you, you know. But if you carry on the way you are, what might that word come to mean? To the people of the Gamma Forests, the word "doctor" means "mighty warrior". How far you've come. And now they've taken a child. The child of your best friends. And they're going to turn her into a weapon just to bring you down. And all this, my love, in fear of you (*A Good Man Goes to War*).

River's speech takes the Doctor all the way back to him setting off for the first time, which implies that everything the Doctor has done in his life in order to "save" the universe also has its negative counterparts. By helping out one species, he scares off the other, to such an extent that they want to use a child in order to bring the Doctor down. He has become a mighty being which, even though it might not have been his intention, inevitably also leads to

resistance. When you are on the Doctor's side, you are safe. On the other hand, when the Doctor is your enemy, you have many reasons to be afraid. As seen in *Asylum of the Daleks* (2012), this fear makes the Doctor's enemies stronger, and eventually it results in violence, which is the very thing that the Doctor loathes. When the Doctor finds himself in a colonial setting, the superiors are often faced with (violent) resistance, yet in *A Good Man Goes to War*, it is the Doctor's superiority which sparks fear and violence, and his superiority shows from his engaging in the universe. However, River's speech also implies that it is not too late for the Doctor to change, expressed by the line: "But if you carry on the way you are, what might that word [Doctor] come to mean". His enemies are usually unable to change and are stripped down from human emotion. The Headless Monks are in many ways like the Daleks – by sacrificing their head they are only able to serve their faith, and therefore, not likely to change. This episode critiques the Doctor's behaviour, but it also ends on a hopeful note because it implies that the Doctor still has time to set things right. The Doctor is not necessarily portrayed as a villain, but the programme makers want to question the Doctor's role in the universe - they want to show that he is more ambiguous than we think. When *Doctor Who* was first broadcast, the Second World War was still very recent – it was set in a world in which there were very clear boundaries between 'good' and 'evil'. However, this distinction becomes blurred over the years because of events such as the Gulf War and 9/11, and this shows in the later serials of *Doctor Who*, and *A Good Man Goes to War* makes for a prime example.

Therefore, a better understanding of this episode could be gained by reading it in a post-9/11 context, for the cataclysmic events on September 11 have resonated throughout the world, and in turn also influenced Britain. The attacks made us reconsider our views on empire and western superiority. In this regard, Richard Gray's "Open doors, Closed Minds" (2009) and Michael Rothberg's "A Failure of Imagination" (2009) help us to focus discussion

on the (American) literature dealing with the attacks on the World Trade Centre. Even though these articles are based on American responses to the attacks, I believe their theories are also applicable to *Doctor Who*. Gray argues that post-9/11 literature initially fails to work through and represent the events as the writers are unable to move beyond “the preliminary stages of trauma” (13). He believes that novels should use a “strategy of deterritorialisation” in order to deal properly with the traumatic experience. This means that writers should write from “a transcultural space in which different cultures reflect and refract each other” (141) - they should build their work on the immigration novel. Even though Michael Rothberg agrees with Gray, he believes that Gray’s solution of “a deterritorialized grappling with otherness” (153) does not suffice in a post-9/11 world. Rothberg believes that this way of writing about 9/11 enables the writer to remain within the borders of the United States, whereas he is convinced that writers should look beyond the borders of their own country through “a fiction of international relations and extraterritorial citizenship” (153). Post-9/11 literature should not only focus on the influence of other cultures within the United States, but it should also address the way the United States, or any country for that matter, influences other cultures. Rothberg states: “What we need from 9/11 novels are cognitive maps that imagine how US citizenship looks and feels beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, both for Americans and for others” (158).

I believe this is exactly what this episode of *Doctor Who* is doing, namely imagining how the Doctor’s involvement feels when seen by those beyond the boundaries of our experience. In this light, *A Good Man Goes to War* is not only self-reflexive on the Doctor’s intervention, but it also turns out to be a reflection of current affairs. Just as many post-9/11 do not justify the attacks on September 11, this episode does not justify the wrongdoings of the villains in *Doctor Who*. However, as with various post-9/11 novels which try to put the events in a bigger perspective, and in turn attempt to gain an understanding as to why the

attacks happened in the first place, *A Good Man Goes to War* puts the intervention of the Doctor in a broader perspective and it tries to give us valuable insight into the drive of the Doctor's enemies. The episode attempts to show how not only the villains influence the Doctor, but also how the Doctor's involvement effects them and in turn makes us reconsider the Doctor's interference in the world, just as our opinion on colonialism and intervention has been reconsidered after 9/11.

4.3 Justifying the Doctor's Interference

The events on September 11 and the subsequent failed interventions in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya can be felt to have a considerable impact on the show, not only resurfacing in the episode *A Good Man Goes to War*, but in many episodes such as the ones featuring an 'invisible invasion'. Some prime examples are *the Zygon Invasion/Inversion* (2015), serials featuring the Silence and episodes featuring the Weeping Angels – all of which play on our fear of 'the other'. On top of that *A Good Man Goes to War* is not the only episode which reflects on the Doctor's interference. However, not all of the episodes reimagining the Doctor's role in the universe condemn the Doctor's meddling in someone else's affairs. In *Kill the Moon* (2012), the Doctor decides to leave the events entirely in the hands of the human race without interfering, which shows that he tries to change his ways after the confrontation in *A Good Man Goes to War*. I am aware of the fact that this episode features a 'different' Doctor, and is broadcast almost a year after *A Good Man Goes to War* (2011). However, Peter Harness, the writer of the episode, states in an interview that he: "developed it [*Kill the Moon*] ... for Matt Smith's Doctor" (Bryher, 23) which would make for a logical response to *A Good Man Goes to War*.

In *Kill the Moon*, the moon is getting heavier which is disastrous for our planet. The moon turns out to be a giant egg about to hatch and humanity faces a choice: they can either

let the moon live or kill the moon. Clara, the Doctor's companion, and Lundvik, an astronaut, reach the moon and they have to make the decision as the Doctor chooses not to interfere:

CLARA: So, what do we do? Doctor? Huh? Doctor, what do we do?

THE DOCTOR: Nothing.

CLARA: What?

THE DOCTOR: We don't do anything. I'm sorry, Clara. I can't help you.

CLARA: Of course you can help.

THE DOCTOR: The Earth isn't my home, the moon's not my moon. Sorry ... Kill it, or let it live. I can't make this decision for you.

CLARA: Well, I can't make it... I am asking you for help...

THE DOCTOR: It's time to take the stabilisers off your bike. It's your moon, womankind. It's your choice (*Kill the Moon*).

The Doctor completely removes himself from the scene by flying away in his TARDIS. Even though Clara begs him to stay, he still refuses to interfere in this matter, and it almost feels as though the Doctor is experimenting to see what the outcome would be. Clara is able to make a broadcast to Earth and she tells everyone to turn off their lights if they think the creature should be killed. If they want to let the creature live, they have to leave their lights on.

Despite the fact that mankind wants Clara and Lundvik to destroy the egg, Clara ignores their decision last minute and saves the creature. Albeit an anti-democratic gesture, it seems as if Clara is the only one who is able to make the right decision. This is possibly a result of her time with the Doctor – Clara is not different to all the other human beings on Earth, but she is one of the few who has travelled with the Doctor and this implies that her time with the Doctor enables her to have the kindness and wisdom to let the creature live. One could argue that Clara is kind and thoughtful anyway, which is the case, but to me it seems unlikely that this could be the sole reason for she would be the only one who in the whole-wide world to think this way. In turn, this could be read as a justification of the Doctor's interference, as his influence on Clara's life has clearly left its marks in her decision to let the creature live. On top of that, the following conversation further plays on the Doctor's (non-)interference:

THE DOCTOR: I knew ... that you would always make the best choice. I had faith that you'd always make the right choice ... It wasn't my decision to make.

CLARA: Oh, shut up. I'm so sick of listening to you ... You know what? It was cheap. It was pathetic. No, no, no. It was patronising. That was you patting us on the back and saying, "you're big enough to go to the shops by yourself now, go on, toddle along".

THE DOCTOR: That was me allowing you to make a choice about your own future

...

CLARA: I nearly didn't press that button, I nearly got it wrong. That was you, my friend, making me scared, making me feel like a bloody idiot ... Don't you ever tell me to take the stabilisers off my bike! And don't you dare lump me in with the rest of all the little humans that you think are so tiny and silly and predictable. You walk our Earth, Doctor. You breathe our air, you make us your friend and that is your moon too, and you can damn well help us when we need it (*Kill the Moon*).

It seems as if the Doctor cannot get it right, however this conversation shows that the Doctor is still in search of a middle ground. He seems certain that Clara would make the best choice – he trusts that their time together has provided Clara with enough knowledge and experience to make the right decision. The Doctor thinks he is doing humanity a favour by letting themselves decide about their future. Yet, Clara does not see it this way. In fact, she thinks that the Doctor's non-interference actually emphasises his superiority. Her final speech highlights that the Doctor's help is needed, because the entire scenario could have played out very differently if Clara would have stuck to humanity's decision by killing the creature.

Kill the Moon shows us a scenario where the Doctor is temporarily not around to save the day. However, the episode *Turn Left* (2008) presents a scenario where the Doctor is not around for a longer period of time, which results in a chaotic dystopian world. In this episode, Donna Noble, the Doctor's companion, returns to her past where she is forced to turn right instead of left. By turning right, she never meets the Doctor and as a result she is not able to save the Doctor during an alien invasion. Because the Doctor died, all the disasters that he prevented afterwards happened anyway. His former companions such as Martha Jones and Sarah Jane Smith die and London gets wiped off the surface of the planet because the Doctor was not around. "The whole of Southern England is flooded with radiation" (*Turn Left*) which results in millions of people being relocated to the North. Eventually, parliament passes a new law which forces all the immigrants, including the ones with whom Donna and

her family is staying, to be transported to labour camps: “England for the English” (*Turn Left*). In the following conversation between Rose and Donna, Rose says that the Doctor prevented all of this from happening, and that he is the only one who can save us:

ROSE: None of this was meant to happen. There was a man, this wonderful man and he stopped it. The titanic, the Adipose, the Atmos, he stopped them all from happening.

DONNA: That Doctor.

ROSE: You knew him ... He died underneath the Thames on Christmas Eve but you were meant to be there. He needed someone to stop him and that was you. You made him leave. You saved his life ... Trust me, we need the Doctor more than ever ... Every single universe is in danger (*Turn Left*).

Matt Hills argues that: “rather than monsters coding us [in *Turn Left*], we are the monsters” (138). Jack Graham adds to that: “there’s no hint that their [the Emergency Government’s] policy of ‘English for the English’ (and labour camps for the rest) is actually being fed to them by the evil, mind-controlling Zargoids” (quoted in Hills, 138). The Doctor not only saves us from alien threats, he also rescues us from the monster within ourselves and *Turn Left* provides us with a scenario where these fascist traits can fully develop in Britain. On top of that, many people have died because the Doctor was not there to intervene in the first place, and England is not the only country in ruins. The Adipose threaten American cities and the Atmos causes trouble in Europe and Asia. In the end, the people of the Earth are coping with the situation, but solutions to the problems are found at a high cost. Many of the Doctor’s former companions have to sacrifice themselves and the nation is ruled by xenophobic people who pass laws similar to the ones which were enforced by Germany during World War II. At the end of the episode, they send Donna back to change the course of events so that “a better world takes its [this alternative world] place, the Doctor’s world” – they bring the Doctor back which implies that we cannot do without the Doctor. The episode has shown us the world without him, and I think it is fair to say that it is a world in which very few would like to live.

4.4 Conclusion

There is no denying, the Doctor has left his footprints throughout the universe and due to his interference, the universe more or less conforms to his ideals, and when it does not, the Doctor comes around to fix it. Even though the universe is a big place, and despite the fact that the Doctor usually acts locally, the Doctor's intervention in a certain place seems to effect a bigger reality. As the Doctor says in *Remembrance of the Daleks: Part Two* (1988): "Every great decision creates ripples, like a huge boulder dropped in a lake. The ripples merge, rebound of the banks in unforeseeable ways. The heavier the decision, the larger the waves, the more uncertain the consequences". *Doctor Who* points out that we cannot do without the Doctor's intervention, yet at the same time, the authority on which the Doctor acts is called into question by showing the negative side-effects his actions may have. In the real world, everything might be shades of grey, but in the (early) world of *Doctor Who*, villains used to be villains, and the Doctor used to be morally good. It is a post-9/11 phenomenon, however, where these dividing lines between 'good' and 'bad' are blurred which is, among other things, shown through the narratives of *A Good Man Goes to War* (2011) and *The Asylum of the Daleks* (2012) where the consequences of the Doctor's meddling are explored. The Doctor's interference definitely comes with negative side-effects and these episodes give us an outsider's perspective on the Doctor's interference. To us, he is the man who saves the day; in many ways he is our saviour. To others, he is a superior being who wants to subject them to his rules, and even though the Doctor's rules turn out to be the morally right ones, his presence also evokes resistance of his enemies against those very rules. This is emphasised in *A Good Man Goes to War* when an innocent child is turned into a weapon because of the Doctor's influence on the universe. He fights superior powers, who want to subject the universe to their ideals, but by doing so he turns himself into the same threat he very often fights. After the Second World War, Britain, very clearly, was a good

and righteous country. However, as we progress through time, Britain ends up in certain situations where they could be seen as the villain. An example would be the misbehaviour of the British government in colonial conflicts - the conflict in Kenya makes for a prime example. After World War II, Britain's position slowly becomes a grey mess in which it is not so easy to tell whether they are good or bad – other colonial conflicts, the Gulf War, and the attacks on the World Trade Centre add on to this confusion. However, in the end the show still justifies the Doctor's behaviour despite the consequences to his intervention. It seems as if there has to be a balance between interference and non-interference, and the episodes *When a Good Man Goes to War* and *Kill the Moon* reflect on the changes the Doctor has to make. These episodes also expand on the idea that he is still struggling to find a proper solution to his problems. Roman Altshuler argues that the Doctor keeps running from his past because it “is filled with choices, many of them terrible... [and] the Doctor must live with the knowledge of the suffering he has caused” (293). The suffering implied by Altshuler is possibly of those who die fighting his enemies alongside him, which would also explain why the Doctor keeps on saying “I am so sorry” whenever someone is in pain. It remains debatable whether this suffering is the Doctor's fault, but he clearly holds himself responsible, and by questioning himself, the Doctor in turn also questions his authority to intervene. However, as shown in *Turn Left*, the Doctor is always needed to save the universe. No matter what the consequences of his intervention are, without the Doctor our world would be in ruins and therefore *Doctor Who* justifies the Doctor's interference, albeit with the help of his companions who are able to help him improve his weaknesses. The issue of the Doctor's meddling is relevant to my thesis because it seems as if *Doctor Who* is figuring out a new way to look at concepts of colonialism and our intervention in other parts of the world. This can be explained by linking this to the attacks on September 11 as this event changed

our attitude to those concepts, which in turn reflects in various narratives of post-2005 *Doctor Who*.

Conclusion

For over fifty years, *Doctor Who* has always occupied a prominent role in popular British culture, and albeit with a diminishing impact, it will continue to do so for the time being as new episodes are still being produced. It comes to no surprise that such an important show reflects issues that the nation deals with, and considering the fact that the series were established in the decolonisation period it is understandable that we should see colonialism as a recurring theme. Due to the fact that there is so much primary material I am aware of the fact that this thesis has barely scratched the surface of what might have been discussed here. There are many interesting individual stories which lend themselves well for this thesis. Yet, due to the restrictions of space I have unfortunately not been able to include these narratives. Nevertheless, I have selected those episodes which I think best reflect the issues which came with the decline of the British Empire. The concepts of colonialism and postcolonialism are complexly intertwined and this resurfaces in the various narratives discussed in this thesis – it is impossible to say that the Doctor is an anti-colonial figure, or a colonialist figure for the same matter. The Doctor takes an ambiguous stance regarding colonialism, sometimes arguing in favour of a human empire, yet almost always fighting against an alien power trying to colonise Earth. First of all, by fighting the Daleks, their, the Doctor's, and our, only natural, drive to survive result in an ever-escalating conflict – we have a legitimate fear and hate for the Daleks caused by the fact that they certainly want to kill us, and the fact that the Doctor usually wins implies that the Daleks' view of the universe is not the most fruitful one. However, by fighting the Daleks the Doctor does not solely become a fighter for freedom, it also brings about a moral conflict as the Doctor sometimes resorts to the same (genocidal) means as the Daleks which in turn results in a corrupt or compromised version of the Doctor – in the episode *Dalek* (2005), for example, it is easier to sympathise with the Dalek than it is with the Doctor. Yet, one major difference between the Doctor and the Daleks is that the

Doctor usually acts out of compassion and empathy. On top of that, he is willing to adapt his ways when his flaws are pointed out by his companions. We need the Doctor, but the Doctor needs us as well. Nevertheless, there is no denying that the Doctor is highly superior to most other beings in terms of knowledge and intelligence. This does not necessarily mean that the Doctor therefore becomes a superior being, but this places him in a position in which he feels as if he has the obligation to police the universe in his TARDIS disguised as Police Box. The show is confused, and perhaps this confusion arises out of the fact that the Doctor is an ambivalent figure. Britain's sense of itself as a good place is in him, but the last twenty years he also embodies the sense of Britain as a morally culpable place. All in all, the Doctor resembles not only the complexity of (post)colonialism, but he also symbolises the struggle of a nation trying to come to terms with a new world order in which they are not the (colonial) power that they used to be.

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