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Introduction

Zoë Druick and Deane Williams

Documentary is cheap: it is, on all considerations of public accountancy, safe. If it fails for the theatres it may, by manipulation, be accommodated non-theatrically in one of half a dozen ways. Moreover, by reason of its cheapness, it permits a maximum amount of production and a maximum amount of directorial training against the future, on a limited sum. It even permits the building of an entire production and distribution machine for the price of a single theatrical. These considerations are of some importance where new experiments in cinema are concerned. With one theatrical film you hit or miss; with a machine, if it is reasonably run, the preliminary results may not be immediately notable or important, but they tend to pile up. Piling up they create a freedom impossible on any other policy.¹

John Grierson

John Grierson (1898–1972) was a well-known Scottish film critic, theorist and producer who, while not primarily a film-maker himself, was a central player in the establishment of the British documentary movement. His published work on film, education and democracy is essential reading in film history and communication theory and his travels around the world on behalf of the British government helped to establish a range of film production and distribution units globally. Gregarious and charismatic, he was particularly active in the interwar period when social liberalism attempted to negotiate a third way between planned economies and free markets, and during the command economies of wartime.² Grierson went away to graduate school in Chicago on a Rockefeller scholarship in the mid-1920s and brought back what he learned in the United States (and not just at university) about film, public relations and sociology to a British civil service seeking to engage new media for the kinds of public communication increasingly required of states. In many ways, Grierson helped to forge the field of documentary as it came to be understood in the postwar world as a technique of citizenship by helping to envision and then justify its institutionalisation. Even more significantly, documentary, devised as a technology for modernisation, was pressed into service for nation-building, for bolstering a mediated public sphere and for conveying in a more compelling and immediate manner the problems and concerns of ordinary people as they related to state projects. It was closely connected to modern educational theories and, depending on the context, was circulated in both theatrical and non-theatrical settings. It ended up being a formative aspect of both classroom media and television documentaries, mainstays of media in everyday life in many parts of the world. In short, without

Grierson, today's media culture and its discursive relationship to the public sphere would in all likelihood not look the same.

However, Grierson was no mere functionary. He synthesised a number of philosophical and theoretical traditions, providing a sophisticated concept of realism (as an expression of ideals) gleaned from Immanuel Kant and other enlightenment thinkers that helped to organise the nascent form of documentary.³ The representational strategy of types and the use of the story-form were not, in other words, a result of technological immaturities. They were in Grierson's words 'new forms' that stemmed from a belief in the best way to illustrate today's social problems and tomorrow's solutions.⁴ As far as political theory went, he was a liberal inspired by American pragmatists. Along with many of his day, Grierson believed in the role of the expert in mediating between the complications of the political and social world and the ordinary voter; the civically minded film-maker could be one such expert. As far as educational theory went, Grierson was similar to many reformers of his day in believing that film could engage students (and other audiences) beyond the cognitive realm, making learning more vital and exciting. The particular pastiche of ideas about technology, education and citizenship that converged on a vision of benevolent leaders and malleable masses was understandably palatable to many different political regimes, especially because it came wrapped up in a moral imperative: it was the responsibility of civil servants of all kinds to convey political ideas to their wards in the most appealing manner possible.

Grierson defined realist documentary as 'a troubled and difficult art' but had a clear view of the instrumental uses it should be made to play: as early as 1933 he said, 'I look upon the cinema as a pulpit and use it as a propagandist.'⁵ His enormous influence has turned his name into an adjective commonly paired with lofty terms such as 'legend', 'legacy' and 'tradition'. Very often his name is discussed in conjunction with the British documentary movement, a coterie of progressive film-makers who gathered in the institutional spaces that Grierson helped to establish from the late 1920s to mid-50s (the Empire Marketing Board [EMB], the General Post Office [GPO] Film Unit, the Crown and Colonial Film Units and Group 3 being primary sites). Often this work is connected to the history of British cinema as such. And, even though it has become fairly common to acknowledge the overstatement of his influence and importance, as the centenary of his introduction of the term documentary approaches (first used as an adjective in a 1926 *New York Sun* review of Robert Flaherty's *Moana*), the explanatory and even utopian aspects of film culture that Grierson introduced continue to be an evocative touchstone.⁶

More than the films made by the British documentary film movement, or the crafting of a suggestive definition for documentary, the fact that Grierson affected, through his writings (memoranda, publications and policy papers) as well as the forging of a global network of contacts, the direction of film cultures around the world is the focus here. Rather than contribute to the Grierson legend, then, this collection aims to decentre it. By focusing on the dissemination of his ideas and the ways in which they were materialised in different contexts, we hope to move beyond the freight of the British documentary movement to the many manifestations of film, education and official culture to which Grierson, in various ways, contributed. While at times the focus on Grierson tends to highlight particular stories of national film

successes at the expense of other production histories, it is, we maintain, still valuable to consider the ways in which creative work operated within limitations and constraints. It is precisely this tension between individuals and institutions that animates the Grierson effect. This decentring will insist that work done in the colonies and dominions was as important as that done in the imperial centre rather than secondary to it.

To understand the Grierson effect as it has circulated and taken shape worldwide entails reconsidering Grierson himself as a motivating factor for valorising the means of making, circulating and watching documentary cinema. In particular, his emphasis on the connection between film, propaganda, education and citizenship in a democracy was enormously influential. While there have been numerous historical and biographical accounts of Grierson and his ideas, there has been less attention to and examination of the infinitely more intricate and multifarious Grierson effect: how Grierson (the person) and ‘Griersonian’ (the set of ideas) interacted with local conditions and forces to help bring about legitimising frameworks for documentary and educational film production and circulation.⁷ Most fascinatingly, as this volume attests, Griersonian justifications have been enlisted to support projects by people and groups with radically different political orientations – from colonial agents and nationalists to liberation film-makers. Arguably common to them all is a desire to modernise the state and engage its citizens, or at the very least appear to do so. Moving from imperialist to internationalist, from film to television, and maintaining residues of an eclectic philosophical combination of public relations, New Deal socialism, liberal imperialism and Calvinism, it is no wonder, perhaps, that the Grierson effect has been so impressively elastic.

The British strategy to make and use film in the colonies was rooted in a logic of local autonomy under ultimate British authority not dissimilar from other techniques of colonial governance. Through the Empire Marketing Board and the Imperial Relations Trust, the British pushed for a policy that increased the stock of empire films available in every part of the British sphere of influence. Concretely, this meant the organisation of libraries of educational films for schools and non-theatrical circuits. They also innovated in the area of non-theatrical exhibition, both at home and abroad.⁸ Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the Grierson effect’s particular efficacy in creating film infrastructure – the ‘machine’ referred to in the epigraph to this chapter, including production units and exhibition circuits – that helped to foster spaces for training and engagement with film by locals, usually drawn from elite classes. None of this is taken into account in usual histories of the British documentary film movement, which in the main tend to focus on British film-making, rarely investigating circuits of film distribution, and were certainly never concerned with film-making in the colonies, dominions and elsewhere.⁹

Grierson is perhaps best known for his work with the EMB (1926–33) and the GPO Film Unit (1933–40) in interwar Britain. This institutional and discursive imbrication with discourses of Empire and Commonwealth has meant that his effect has been more recently considered in light of postcolonial cultural histories and film theories.¹⁰ As contributions to this volume by Ian Aitken, Camille Deprez, Martin Stollery and Keyan Tomaselli show, it is because of Grierson’s association with British forces of imperialism that his effect has much to tell us about the quality of colonial encounters.

Their chapters provide a nuanced and productive accounting for the multiple ways in which Grierson was engaged in a range of colonial and nationalist formations across the globe in the mid-twentieth century.¹¹

As Zoë Druick, Simon Sigley and Deane Williams demonstrate in their contributions, in white settler colonies, such as Canada, New Zealand and Australia, Griersonian ideas were foundational for establishing institutions of film production, archiving and exhibition on a national scale. In other contexts, such as Scandinavia, Latin America and Ireland, contributors Ib Bondebjerg, Mariano Mestman/María Luisa Ortega and Jerry White argue, Griersonian ideas helped to forge visions of independent and even revolutionary cinemas. In Japan, Abé Markus Nornes argues, a set of cultural mistranslations made Griersonian ideas, conveyed through the writings of Paul Rotha, at once central and misunderstood in Japanese film culture.

The consideration of Grierson as, in part, the producer of a set of effects, therefore, has something to offer not only studies of British and Commonwealth cinema, past and present. It also aims to contribute to a new transnational vision of educational and documentary cinema.¹² In many of the cases under consideration, not least Britain, film activity occurred before and after Grierson's influence. It is not the purpose of this book to downplay those other aspects of any national cinema. On the contrary, the hope is that, in tracing a network of influence across the globe, the reader will become more aware of the way in which transnational currents intersect with any given national cinema history, perhaps enlivening new approaches and indicating productive points of contact between previously unconnected national stories.

This project is informed by – and aims to contribute to – a series of recent developments in film studies that are challenging its dominant paradigms and considering films in postnational and extratextual ways. As cinema struggles to recalibrate its new position as a residual medium in the digital age, a new interest has been awakened in accounting for the emergence of the field of cinema studies and reassessing its historically dominant foci. Volumes such as *Uncharted Territory* (1997), *Films of Fact* (2008), *Films That Work* (2009), *Useful Cinema* (2011) and *Learning with the Lights Off* (2012) have illuminated formerly marginal film texts, considering how the discipline of film studies has systematically exscribed and ignored the vast majority of the film material encountered in most people's everyday lives. These include engagements with industrial, documentary, educational, amateur, scientific and governmental films, to name only a few. In addition, these studies have drawn our attention to the importance of moving beyond national paradigms to consider the international ambitions and realities of cinematic circulation. And recent re-examinations of British cinema, such as *Shadows of Progress* (2010), *The Projection of Britain* (2011), *Empire and Film* (2011) and *Film and the End of Empire* (2011), are bringing much needed attention to this corpus of films.

The Grierson Effect is offered as a contribution to the project of revitalising film studies through new approaches to film history that emphasise the material cultural conditions of its production and circulation. As already alluded to, one of the most significant results of the Grierson effect was the establishment of institutions dedicated to the production and dissemination of documentary and educational film, including film boards and other agencies, journals and festivals. However, the fact that Grierson advocated for such institutions – or 'machines' – is insufficient, we maintain,

to explain their foundation. Rather, a compelling case may be made that Grierson's ideas were taken up and mobilised by a variety of groups and constituents, from governments and industry to film-makers and cultural nationalists. It is precisely the details of how such forces were aggregated and sustained over time that make the story worth investigating.

The contributions follow as closely as possible Grierson's movements chronologically, from the United Kingdom to the United States, back to London and then on to the colonies and dominions, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, India, South Africa, before returning to the UK (Ireland, Scotland) and thence to other realms, such as Latin America. Sometimes, as with Japan, Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, Ghana and Scandinavia, Griersonian ideas travelled through published material or the exchange of interested individuals. In the case of Latin America, a context apparently far removed from the British sphere of influence, the Grierson effect was still going strong in the 1950s and 60s.

In this volume, Brian Winston discusses the limits of the British style of documentary film-making. British documentary, he contends, was never really comfortable with either storytelling or film experimentation, and its representations of the working class are famously stilted. Nevertheless, the British documentary movement became an essential aspect of British cinema history, giving its films an unwarranted significance, he argues. One of the reasons we have turned our attention away from the British documentary movement as such and towards the Grierson effect is because of the astonishing international reach of the ideas of film production and circulation that he inspired. If British workingmen and women were stilted on the screen, as Winston claims, so too were the locals depicted in colonial film projects undertaken by the Colonial Film Unit, India's Films Division, Canada's National Film Board, the Hong Kong Film Unit and others. By broadening our scope to consider the relation of all of these film-producing agencies, we are able to go beyond assessments of the calibre of the films themselves, or their place in any one national context, to consider the underlying logics of their production.

When looked at in this way, we see Griersonian ideas involved in a range of projects that Stephen Charbonneau characterises in his chapter as 'managing modernity'; these projects were not limited to the British sphere of influence and nor were they the purview of the British documentary movement alone. In the extant literature, it is not uncommon to find an aesthetic and political distinction – made by some contributors to this volume – that pits a true Griersonianism, meant to signify a more poetically ambitious documentary, against more prosaic and propagandistic forms of official cinema. We argue that whether or not there may be films deemed more successful or politically apposite within this tradition we would be remiss to dismiss the more colonial or propagandistic films out of hand. On the contrary, by doing so we miss the ambiguity of the Grierson effect and risk enacting a wishful revisionism. After all, Grierson himself repeatedly called for propaganda and, at the end of his life, counted educational health films for the developing world among his most precious accomplishments.¹³ Rosaleen Smyth reasons that this distinction between poetic and prosaic amounts to one between 'high' and 'low' cultural forms, one which Grierson himself promoted, but that historians and critics need not accept.¹⁴

As Ib Bondebjerg aptly notes in his contribution, the creative treatment of actuality always takes place in ‘compromised conditions’. Indeed, following Abé Markus Nornes, we might say that all translation also involves transformation. In this way, Grierson’s ideas have been able to appeal to the entire political spectrum and have manifested an array of aesthetic forms. In each context where the Grierson effect has taken hold, there have been improvised practices and ‘selective readings’ (Tomaselli). As Mariano Mestman and María Luisa Ortega write, rather than a cinema of protest, Grierson’s was a ‘cinema with proposals’. It is precisely in attending to what the proposals were in the various locations where his ideas were translated that we are able to see the Grierson effect at work. The creation of networks of individuals and organisations through journals, conferences, film festivals and associations was one of the very concrete effects of such a ‘cinema of proposals’.

As Stephen Charbonneau traces in his chapter, in the 1920s, Grierson made a study of American politics and film culture; he also came into contact with revolutionary Russian cinema. In examining the Grierson effect in the United States Charbonneau articulates an issue that is often overlooked in the insistence on Grierson as the father of British documentary, namely the ways in which Grierson influenced and, more importantly here, was influenced: not just by American films and film-making but by American ideals as well. While the ways in which Grierson drew on Walter Lippmann and the Hearst press are well known to Grierson scholars, Charbonneau extends these factors to consider how America, in the form of the initial Rockefeller grant obtained to study in the US, provided a model of internationalism which, as much as anything else, may well have gone on to have a lasting influence on his orientation toward the world.

Upon his return to the United Kingdom, Grierson fell in with the group of film-makers and social activists who made up the London Film Society and the British documentary movement; they became the receiving committee for Soviet cinema in Britain. As Julia Vassilieva shows, their interest in Soviet cinema was almost as strong as their fear of it. Vassilieva’s account reverses the notion of influence, utilising the subtitle ‘an uneasy dialogue’ to account for the way that the Soviet cinema had a broader effect on British documentary than can be accounted for by looking at the influence of Sergei Eisenstein on Grierson’s directorial debut *Drifters* (1929). In this way the Soviet concern for the role of cinema in general and documentary realism in particular in shaping society inspired many who attended the lectures and screenings at the Film Society. Grierson himself increasingly dismissed the modernist impulses of the Soviets, paradoxically shadowing the criticisms that arose in the Soviet Union itself that led to a more didactic and less radical role for documentary there in the 1930s.

Abé Markus Nornes traces the influence of Paul Rotha’s book, *Documentary Film* (1935), in the Japanese context to invoke the issues of cultural translation often elided in accounts of the Grierson legacy. For Nornes, Rotha’s work is the conduit through which Grierson emerges in Japanese film studies, coinciding with particular politicised definitions of documentary film, yet operating in very different ways for different film-makers. Nornes shows how the historical forces at work on Rotha’s, and by extension, therefore, Grierson’s ideas, led to a peculiar and telling effect in the Japanese context. Ib Bondebjerg’s chapter on Scandinavian documentary utilises the figure of Danish film enthusiast Theodor Christensen to map out the inspirational

force of Griersonian ideas in the 1930s. He finds a tension between film aesthetics and an ‘institutional production culture with very specific assignments for the theme and content of documentaries’ in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Bondebjerg traces this tension between documentary journalism and documentary as a creative art form into the postwar domain of television, a story that has resonance in many of the other cases under examination here as well.

Turning to the colonial work that was such a major part of the Grierson effect, Ian Aitken’s chapter argues that there was a divide between the more propagandistic work of the Colonial Film Unit and British poetic documentary aspirations in film work undertaken in Britain’s colonies in Southeast Asia: Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong. The influence of what he calls the ‘anti-Griersonian troika’ of William Sellers, Tom Hodge and John Lawrence Murray determined the style and production methods of official documentary film across this region until 1973. Nevertheless, in a theme that re-emerges in several chapters, Aitken shows how ultimately compatible the Grierson effect was with the colonial mandate.

The dominions, to which Grierson went next, offer a study in contrasts. There, it was hoped, a countercinema could be forged to resist the Hollywood juggernaut. In her chapter, Zoë Druick pays close attention to the Grierson effect in Canada in order to explore the reasons for the solidity of the Canadian Film Board as the most successful adaptation of the Grierson vision, one that would go on to serve as a model for Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India and many other countries. Yet, paradoxically, in many ways, the success of the Grierson effect in Canada was somewhat stultifying and came, in some ways, at the cost of diminishing other aspects of Canadian cinema culture and history. In a similar vein, Simon Sigley’s chapter considers Grierson’s visit to New Zealand and furnishes an account of the Grierson effect in that country, which included the establishment of a National Film Library. Attending to the economic and cultural milieu into which Grierson arrived illuminates the needs Grierson filled for New Zealand’s Labour Party, especially in the face of the challenges of World War II.

Deane Williams’s contribution echoes Ian Aitken’s account of the contradictory impulses of the Grierson effect. In Australia, it was a case of Griersonians, such as Professor Alan Stout, and John Heyer, whose more expansive vision for documentary film was challenged by the continuing influence of the stodgier work of the Department of Information, which had maintained a film unit since the 1920s. Williams argues that this ambivalence was smoothed over by naming the national theatre in Melbourne the Grierson Cinema.

There was considerable activity in the colonies after the war, as national independence became the new political ideal for the colonial world. Camille Deprez describes the storied history of the Films Division in India, which straddled phases of colonialism and independence in that country. The shift from British rule to the government of Nehru saw the maintenance of Griersonian principles for governmental film-making: in this regard, as Deprez observes, ‘the Films Division appropriated Grierson’s notion of integration and consensus, rather than individualism, to fit in the social context of national heterogeneity of young independent India. The nation was to be placed before the self.’ Nevertheless, the legacy of the Films Division has continued to be complex and contested.

In the late 1940s, Grierson lectured in Ireland, proving a surprisingly powerful influence on Irish nationalist film-making, argues Jerry White. Despite the ‘steely Scot’s’ association with colonial masters, and despite anger aroused by his American colleague Robert Flaherty’s romantic rendition of Irish folk in *Man of Aran* (1934), Irish film-makers, such as Liam Ó Laoghaire, Louis Marcus and Bob Quinn, were paradoxically inspired by Grierson’s consideration of both realism and strategies for small national cinemas. The case of Ireland highlights best, perhaps, the capacious and contradictory aspects of the Grierson effect.

Martin Stollery’s chapter examines the case of the Grierson-produced and Cyril Frankel-directed film *Man of Africa* (1953) in relation to a paper delivered by Grierson at a UNESCO-sponsored conference in 1948, *The Film in British Colonial Development*. These texts are examined in relation to the continued involvement of the British Colonial Office in both the Gold Coast Film Unit and the transition to Ghanaian independence. Stollery takes an insightful look at Grierson’s ambivalent vision for film-making in the former African colonies. This theme is continued in Keyan Tomaselli’s chapter, which provides a critical accounting of Grierson’s engagement with emergent Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa. In 1954, Grierson visited the country, which was undergoing deep political and cultural shifts, and wrote a report on the extant state film services. Although his suggestions were largely rejected by the ascendant Afrikaner nationalist forces, they did go on to establish a state film institution that helped set the scene for the emergence of the apartheid regime.

As the foregoing indicates, Grierson’s ideas were affected by and incorporated into a range of political contexts. In a completely different way, the Grierson effect helped manifest a documentary of liberation in Latin America. Mariano Mestman and María Luisa Ortega sketch the continent’s emerging film culture in the late 1950s and early 60s, which took ‘neorealism and the Griersonian documentary as ... cardinal points’. In seeking to fashion a cinema that would represent real social conditions and experiences, Grierson operated as a local figurehead. For the Latin Americans Grierson’s persona, his experiences in bringing film-makers together, of promoting alternate distribution and production systems as well as his links with cine clubs and state bureaucracies, served as a model for thinking about the effect of local circumstances on documentary film production and culture.

Although we are very pleased to gather the discussion of such diverse national and regional contexts in a single volume, realistically not every country touched by the Grierson effect could be included. There is certainly more research to be done about this particular aspect of film culture in South Asia. And, while the British influence in the Middle East no doubt affected film cultures there, definitive research has yet to be published in English. The one notable exception is Iran where, through its use of film for postcolonial nation-building, Hamid Naficy has clearly shown the Grierson effect in operation.¹⁵ Scotland itself is also left out of this selection although, given that Grierson’s last post was as the producer of *This Wonderful World* (1957–65), a documentary series for Scottish television, his effect there was inarguably significant.¹⁶

Despite these inevitable limitations, the volume gathers together records of the host of ways in which the Grierson effect manifested on a global scale. As well as

considering the ongoing legacy of Grierson's encounters with a diverse array of film communities, the book provides what we see as a much-needed critical engagement with the multifaceted and often problematic encounters that occurred as part of the Grierson effect. The collection assembles fourteen original essays that, together, offer a global perspective on the Grierson effect. Individual chapters critically examine the influence, in its many forms, of Grierson – as a figurehead, official emissary, representative of British colonialism and British culture, and most importantly, perhaps, as shorthand for a set of ideas – on documentary film-making culture in a number of key countries and regions. It is our hope that this new constellation of international scholarship will open up expanded perspectives on trans/national cinema cultures and histories.

NOTES

1. John Grierson, 'The EMB Film Unit', in Forsyth Hardy (ed.), *Grierson on Documentary* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966), p. 50.
2. John Grierson, 'Education and the New Order', in Hardy, *Grierson on Documentary*, p. 127; Ian Aitken, *Film and Reform: John Grierson and the Documentary Film Movement* (London: Routledge, 1992).
3. See John Grierson, 'First Principles of Documentary', in Hardy, *Grierson on Documentary*, p. 37.
4. Grierson, 'The Russian Example', in Hardy, *Grierson on Documentary*, p. 23.
5. John Grierson, 'Documentary(2): Symphonies', *Cinema Quarterly* vol. 1 no. 3 (Spring 1933); John Grierson, 'Propaganda: A Problem for Educational Theory and for Cinema', *Sight and Sound* vol. 3 no. 8 (Winter 1933–4), p. 119.
6. Nicolas Pronay, 'John Grierson and the Documentary – 60 Years On', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* vol. 9 no. 3 (1989), pp. 227–46.
7. Forsyth Hardy, *John Grierson: A Documentary Biography* (London: Faber and Faber, 1979); Joyce Nelson, *The Colonized Eye: Rethinking the Grierson Legend* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 1988); Peter Morris, "'Praxis into Process": John Grierson and the National Film Board of Canada', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* vol. 3 no. 9 (1989), pp. 269–82; Brian Winston, *Claiming the Real: Documentary: Grierson and Beyond* (London: BFI, 1995); Ian Aitken, *The Documentary Film Movement: An Anthology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998); Jack C. Ellis, *John Grierson: Life, Contributions, Influence* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000); Gary Evans, *John Grierson: Trailblazer of Documentary Film* (Montreal: XYZ Publications, 2005).
8. T. J. Hollins, 'The Conservative Party and Film Propaganda between the Wars', *English Historical Review* vol. 96 no. 379 (April 1981), pp. 359–69; Helen Foreman, 'The Non-theatrical Distribution of Films by the Ministry of Information', in Nicholas Pronay and D. W. Spring (eds), *Propaganda, Politics and Film, 1918–45* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 221–33; Zoë Druick, 'Mobile Cinema in Canada in Relation to British Mobile Film Practices', in Wolfram R. Keller and Gene Walz (eds), *Screening Canadians: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Canadian Film* (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek, 2008), pp. 13–33.
9. Paul Swann, *The British Documentary Film Movement, 1926–1946* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Aitken, *Film and Reform*.

10. See Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe (eds), *Empire and Film* (London: BFI, 2011); and Lee Grieveson and Colin MacCabe (eds), *Film and the End of Empire* (London: BFI, 2011).
11. See also Anuja Jain, 'The Curious Case of the Films Division', *Velvet Light Trap* (Spring 2013), pp. 15–26.
12. Will Higbee and Song Hwee Lim, 'Concepts of Transnational Cinema: Towards a Critical Transnationalism in Film Studies', *Transnational Cinemas* vol. 1 no. 1 (2010), pp. 7–21.
13. Rosaleen Smyth, 'Grierson, the British Documentary Movement, and Colonial Cinema in British Colonial Africa', *Film History* vol. 25 no. 14 (2013), p. 82.
14. Grierson, 'First Principles of Documentary', p. 35. See also Martin Stollery, *Alternative Empires: European Modernist Cinemas and Cultures of Imperialism* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000), chapter 6; and Smyth, 'Grierson, the British Documentary Movement, and Colonial Cinema in British Colonial Africa', pp. 82–113.
15. Hamid Naficy, *A Social History of Iranian Cinema, Vol. 2* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 12–15.
16. Jo Fox, 'From Documentary Film to Television Documentaries: John Grierson and *This Wonderful World*', *Journal of British Cinema and Television* vol. 10 no. 3 (2013), pp. 498–523.

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Foreign-language films are indexed under their English titles (where these are given), with country of origin.

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