



**Seeing the Other:
the Depiction of China in British Documentary Films**

Gina Plana Espinet

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Email: ginaplana@gmail.com

Keywords

China

Documentary

UK

Representation

West

Image

Abstract

The Western world has been contemplating China since the early times of Marco Polo. Recent and former researchers have approached East-West relationships and much attention has been paid to the Western portrayal of the country. However, little has been said about how Chinese culture has traditionally been depicted in audiovisual media and analysis of the images of China in documentary films is particularly scarce. From the first *Attack on a China Mission* (1900) to *The dying rooms* (1995), British filmmakers have portrayed China in many different ways. The aim of this paper is to outline general patterns of representation in documentary films on China produced in the UK, looking at some of the most outstanding films of the century. We find that positive and negative images of the country and the people have successively been on the screens and that the balance between them has traditionally depended more on international relationships between China and the UK, than on China's reality itself. Access to information and changes in the documentary production sector have proved to be determining too. More than ever before, our understanding of China is of crucial importance today, and the results of this paper show how media practices can either hinder or smooth the path to mutual comprehension.

Contributor Note

Gina Plana is a postgraduate student at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona where she works with a scholarship within the Research Group in Image, Sound and Synthesis. Between 2008 and 2012 she graduated in Audiovisual Communication, in Humanities and in East Asian Studies and has an M.A in Television Quality and Innovation and in Research in Contents in the Digital Age. She is currently finishing her dissertation focused on the image of China in contemporary British documentaries. Other areas of scientific interest are television programming, public service media, cultural studies, Chinese studies and documentary film.

The representation of China in the West has been widely discussed in academia, especially in regard to the period between the eighteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Most studies have embraced a historical perspective based on text (Dawson 1967; Bodde 1972; Isaacs 1980; Mackerras 1989; Mosher 1990; Jespersen 1996; Mungello 1999; Jones 2001; Hung 2003; Richmond Ellis 2006; Millar 2007; etc.), many of which suggest that the image of China in Western thought and culture has suffered constant ups and downs, from the most positive to the most negative. As Harold Isaacs notes 'Down through time, from Marco Polo to Mao Tse-Tung, the Chinese have appeared to us as superior people and inferior people, outrageous heathen and attractive humanists. In the long history of our association with China these two sets of images rise and fall, move in and out of the centre of people's minds over time' (Isaacs 1980: xxi).

Few studies, however, have calculated the importance of the media in the generation of this representation patterns, and there's a particular shortage of research committed to documentaries as units of analysis. The existing tradition in media studies has usually had the objective of analysing the depiction of China in the press (Bennett 1990; Farmer 1990; Rand 1995; Yan 1998; Peng 2004; Huang & Chi Mei Leung 2005; Sparks 2010; Zhang, 2010; Wilke & Achatzi, 2011), television news (Seib & Powers 2010; Willnat & Luo 2011; Zhang 2011) and fiction films (Jones 1955; Berry 2006).

In this day and age, it is becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the prominent role of audiovisuals in transmitting and even generating images of certain cultural groups. From the first

half of the twentieth century to the present the interest of the academy to determine media effects has been sustained and diversified and has led to the gradual emergence of different theories that have attempted to resolve the terms and the intensity of the phenomenon. Within the Framing theory, for example (with strong sociological roots) Gay Tuchman considers that 'media set the frame in which citizens discuss public events' (Tuchman 1983: ix), and Irving Goffman assumes that media frames are used to give answer to the question *Under what circumstances do we think things are real?* (Goffman 1986: 2) In the documentary field, works like Annete Hill's *Restiling factual TV* (2007) show how audiovisuals constitute important sources for viewers to construct their own sense of reality, assuming that 'factual content is perceived as authentic and true to life' (Hill 2007: 3). In the words of Bill Nichols (2010) 'We take not only pleasure from documentary but direction as well' (Nichols 2010: 2) and Louise Pouliot and Paul S. Cowen support the idea that documentary stimuli are perceived as more real than their fictional counterparts, both at a semantic and syntactic level (Pouliot y Cowen 2007).

However, very few studies have approached the image of China in documentaries, although there are some examples. Marrylin Fitzpatrick's 'China images abroad: the representation of China in Western documentary films' (1983) analyses a sample of Western films (including American and Australian) on China, and focuses as much on images as it does on descriptions of the shooting techniques and resources; Qing Cao's doctoral thesis 'Discourse Across Cultures: A Study of the Representation of China in British Television Documentaries, 1980-2000' (2001)

explores the representation of China according to narrative structures, focusing on the 1980-2000 period. Interesting as they both are, we consider that a historical analysis of the positive and negative images of the country in documentary films is still needed.

This paper seeks to contribute to this task by analysing British documentaries on China, produced by major filmmakers or broadcasters during a period spanning from 1900 to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Until mid-1970s, the sample comprises most British documentaries on China while in subsequent periods the selection criteria follows the recommendations of previous authors like Jenkins (1983, 1986) and Cao (2001), who embrace geographical, sociological and historical criteria, which are key in terms of cultural representation. In addition, this article reviews some of the most prominent literature on these films, to generate a broader knowledge about their production conditions in order to elucidate motivations behind depictions. The aim of this exploratory study is to analyse the content of old and current British documentary films to identify general trends and major viewpoints, distinguishing positive and negative images of China.

Early Encounters between British Filmmakers and China

'Attack on a China Mission' (1900), by James Williamson, has been traditionally considered the first appearance of 'Chineseness' in British footage, despite the fact that the Warkick Trading Company had previously circulated movies of China that same year (British Film Institute 2008). The 4-minute footage shows a boxer military division

attacking a foreign missionary family. To some extent, this work could well be the embryo of Western documentaries about China (if we consider the label 'actuality film' given to it by the British Film Institute¹), as well as the first example of an image of China strongly influenced by historical events in audiovisuals. The Boxer Rebellion was an anti-occupation movement that culminated in June 1900 with serious riots in Beijing and Tianjin, and other cities (Cohen 1997) and it certainly had a negative impact on the image of China in the West (Mackerras 1989). *Attack on a China Mission* portrays a far from impartial account of the events, showing a Boxer squadron attacking a missionary and his daughter, who bravely fight a hand-to-hand combat against outraging Chinese and are finally saved by British soldiers. But, even though the BFI claims it to be an 'actuality' the scene remains a fictionalized recreation, shot in Hove by a British director who never visited China. So it is necessary to move forward a bit in history to reach the first proper documentary representation of the country.

The first fifty years of the twentieth century were strongly marked by armed conflicts in China. From the Boxer Rebellion (1899-1901) to the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, instability prevailed throughout a country that witnessed the fall of the last imperial dynasty (1919), the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) and the on-going struggle between Kuomintang and the Communist Party to control the territory. Wars, coupled with the censorship imposed by the Republic

¹ British Film Institute. (2008), *Attack on a China Mission* (1900), Retrieved from <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/film/id/520615/>

of Chiang Kai-Shek, discouraged many foreigners, though eager to go to China to film; therefore very few documentaries were recorded until 1949 (Fitzpatrick 1983).

The founding of the PRC brought political and social stabilization of the country. Still, foreign filmmakers were rarely received by Mao's government, which maintained strict control over the media and the international dissemination of national realities. However, the Maoist period produced some of the earliest and most memorable cinematic encounters between China and the West, with some examples made by directors of lofty reputation, like Chris Marker (*Dimanche à Peking*, 1956), Michelangelo Antonioni (*Chung Kuo Cina*, 1972) and Joris Ivens (*Comment Yukong déplaça les Montagnes*, 1976).

Among British directors, particularly outstanding was Felix Greene, who first visited China for the BBC in 1957. At that time, post-war documentaries in Britain chronicled an era of welfare provision and peace, mostly supported by corporations from the oil and steel industry. 'Enlightened corporate sponsorship would see the prestige documentary become a significant constituent part of post-war British cinema as the growth of television began to squeeze the market for documentary film' (Anthony 2010: 3). In fact, the birth of the first commercial broadcaster in the UK (the Independent Television Authority) resulted in the creation of BBC2 and the transference of most of the cultural programs to the second channel. This stood for a drastic decrease in the number of documentaries scheduled on BBC1 but also involved the emergence of great documentary series for BBC2. (Francés 2003).

Discovering China through British Lenses: the 1970s

British independent documentary entered the 70s in good health but television in-depth reporting advanced at its expense, as industry itself began to falter (Russell 2010). The architects of post-war Britain had hopped that modern capitalism would give people prosperity and security, but by the 1970s this comfortable model was in trouble. In 1972 Greene visited the PCR to record a completely different paradigm, and conducted his most famous documentary, *One man's China*, although he shot other films about the PCR before and after this: *China*, 1965; *Peking Symphony Orchestra*, 1965; *One man's China*, 1972; *Freedom Railway*, 1974 and *Tibet!*, 1976. Filmed during his sixth visit to the country, the documentary was completed in five months and resulted in a series of five episodes, designed to explore major aspects of China at the time: health, arts and entertainment, education, the communes and the army. The documentary was narrated by Greene himself, and was broadcasted by the BBC, but never received much international recognition. His assessments of China expressed admiration as well as immense respect for the communal system, which he spoke of in terms of 'brilliant innovation'. No less laudatory was his view of Chinese healthcare system and the documentary included statements like the following: 'In the new China the flowers bloom the thoughts of Chairman Mao. Dumb people can now speak and we have friends from all over the world'.

Besides Greene, other television teams and independent production companies from the UK visited China in order to make documentaries during the 1970s. As Ellis and McLane have noted, unlike in

the U.S., the government-supported broadcasting tradition in the UK allowed many social critical documentaries to appear regularly on television (Ellis & McLane 2009), and we have a number of examples of China-based films.

In 1972 the BBC journalist Anthony Lawrence travelled to the south of China with a team to shoot *Lawrence in China*, a 40-minute documentary on the city of Canton and its surrounding areas. Although he had moved to Hong Kong in 1958, at that time the BBC correspondent visited Mainland China for the first time, during the last years of the Cultural Revolution. *Lawrence in China* described various aspects of the country, from industry to agriculture, passing through education and trade from the journalist's point of view. As Jenkins (1983) also notices, Lawrence's voice denoted sympathy for the host country and its improvements although he constantly highlighted the limitations imposed by the Chinese government to his free will on recording. 'When we arrived in Canton we met the authorities and they asked us what we wanted to see. I gave them two pages of typewritten requests. They nodded politely and said 'Now we will tell you what you are going to get' (Lawrence, 1983 in Jenkins, 1983: 168).

Lawrence's sympathy became devotion in Gael Donahy and Michael Chanan's *Daily Life in China's Communes* (1975). The film portrayed 'Maoist China in very positive terms' (Jenkins 1983: 168), a fact that is clear from the documentary voiceover: 'in the end the real reason for studying the Chinese example is to realize that only the release of this kind of revolutionary energy can lead us, as well as the Chinese, to articulate and define what we want in our socialist future'. The film showed life in some of

the 70,000 communes of China, comparing the situation of the peasants with those of Siberia, for example, or with those of the industrial workers. The documentary sang the virtues of Chinese social structure, contrasting it with Stalinist socialism, which, it claimed, had betrayed the peasants. Chinese communes were seen as a way of development for the third world and a source of inspiration for the countries of the socialist sphere and Western countries (Jenkins 1983).

Another example of this was the documentary *Barefoot Doctors of Rural China* (1975), directed by the American Diana Li but distributed by the British company Contemporary Films. The documentary took a journey through rural China explaining and checking the health benefits of the innovations introduced during the Maoist period. Throughout various regions Li praised the advantages of measures such as the creation of the 'barefoot doctors'; local paramedics receiving the necessary training from the government to overcome the shortage of doctors in rural areas. She also spoke of the implementation of various measures of family planning, the provision of free health service for workers in communes and factories, the importance of women in the medical services, the combination of Western and Eastern medicine, etc. 'Before the establishment of the PRC, medical services were almost non-existent here, as in most agricultural areas throughout China. Malnutrition and epidemics were widespread. In 1949 China had only 20,000 doctors; today there are nearly 200,000'.

In general terms, it was very difficult for Western filmmakers to have access to China's reality during the 1970s and not many documentaries were shot during

this period. As we've seen in the examples above, those who did were generally sympathetic to the communist party (Jenkins, 1986), held an explicit invitation and had to undergo strict supervision of the Chinese government (Fitzpatrick 1983). Hence, most films accounted for a positive and laudatory image of China, although it is difficult to estimate the impact of these documentaries on a social level, as they were scarce and not always welcome in a West at war with communism during the Cold War. A good proof of this was the fatal destiny of the documentary *How Yukong Moved the Mountains* by the celebrated Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens. Defending the Cultural Revolution, the film was harshly criticized by Western journalists, who even called him a 'liar, propagandist, Chinese lunatic, communist blind, trumpeter for inhuman system, like a Nazi filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl' (Hogenkamp 1998: 183).

China in Series: the 1980s

In 1978, a change of leadership headed by Deng Xiaoping and his allies marked the starting point of a long political process of dismantling the Maoist legacy and creating a strong and modernized economy (Bailey: 2002). In the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Deng reported the slogan that would characterize its policy thereafter: 'reform and opening', and Mackerras (1989) states that it was from this time that images of China diversified exponentially. This new governmental attitude towards the rest of the world welcomed the presence of foreigners in China, so Western filmmakers began to engage in the cinematic discovery of the country. British broadcasters' interest in China arose, and eight series were issued during this period: 'The Heart of

the Dragon' (1983), 'Inside China' (1983), 'Spirits, Ghosts and Demons' (1983), 'Behind the Bamboo Screen' (1986), 'Long Bow Trilogy' (1986), 'Silk Road' (1987), 'Yellow River' (1988) and 'Red Dynasty' (1989). In just a decade, Cao (2001) counted as many as 77 documentaries on China, a number rising to 127 in the 1990s. Of the above-mentioned series, we briefly analyse here the first two, chosen under in-depth analysis, variety of topics, length and export revenue criteria.

Commissioned by Channel 4, 'The Heart of the Dragon' was a 12-part series, claimed by Cao to be the 'longest and most comprehensive documentary on China' (Cao 2001: 79). Each of the 12 episodes had an average length of 50 minutes and a defining verb as subtitles that led the content of the part: Understanding, Working, Correcting, Caring, Living, Marrying, Mediating, Eating, Trading, Creating, Remembering, and Believing. In general terms, every one of these aspects was explored and explained by the expositive voice-over with a constant analytic will to understand: 'To understand a man, you must know his memories; the same happens with a country'; 'what are the important things in life for Mrs Hu? Where and how does she live?' Confucianism, for example, was presented as a conduct code based on 'humanity and benevolence' ruled by the assumption that 'Social and political harmony depend on the moral conduct of every member of society'. Images of families enjoying local festivities and proudly declaring equality between family members, joyful pensioners, philanthropic singers for imprisoned criminals, talented painters and cooks, avid workers and educated village children were some of the protagonists of the documentary, and the Communist

Party was also repeatedly praised for its measures in regards to labour work, peasantry and education: 'In the past, few village children went to school. Now the government's just hoping there will be primary education for every child in the country within ten years'. It was a curious and admiring vision of a new world, considered by Cao to be among those series offering an absolute positive point of view of the country (Cao 2004).

Inside China, meanwhile, was a documentary series originally conceived as part of another larger series, 'Disappearing World', produced by the independent company Granada Television. As Jenkins notes, to Granada's Managing Director Sir Denis Forman, China was 'a place of immense importance ignored and grossly underestimated by most of the rest of the world' and he considered that it was Granada's responsibility to make films about China, although obtaining access required extensive negotiations and an detailed explanation of the intended content (Jenkins 1986), The goal was to make anthropological films with access to minority areas. The final result, however, was a series of three films, of which only one, 'The Kasakhs of China', concentrated on the initial premise of portraying China's ethnic minorities, while the other two focused on the changes experienced during Maoism, and the impact of post Maoist economic and social policies, respectively. In this sense, 'Inside China' shared with 'The Heart of the Dragon' an explicit will to understand Chinese reality, this time, by peering into particular live history cases. What really stood out, therefore, was their intimate approach to the three protagonist families, who directly spoke to camera about their everyday lives during various periods of China's recent past. Cultural particularities were not as

important here as the characters' feelings as human beings.

In addition to the other series mentioned above, the 1980s also produced single documentaries of high quality on China, such as 'Voices of China' (1986), 'The Making of Empire of the Sun' (1987) and 'Enter the Dragon' (1989), A general overview of the films produced during the decade shows a wide variety of topics (mainly cultural) and styles but what most of them have in common is a curious attitude when looking at China. And it's not difficult to find parallelisms between this engaging image of China in the West and the historical background of the 1980s. After a large period of closeness to the rest of the world, Deng Xiaoping's reforms made China a much more appealing subject than ever before, not just culturally but also at an economic and political level. China ceased to be a threat to Western interests to become a huge potential market as well as 'an important ally of the United States to counterbalance the 'threat' from the Soviet Union (Cao 2004: 242). Especially in the US, the engagement of China with the West resulted in a 'love-fest atmosphere' and 'western journalists and communications gear were flown to China for lavish, globally televised rituals of friendship'. (Barnouw 1993: 298).

Suspicious Cameras in China: the 1990s

Contrary to the series in the 1980s, however, mainly focused on Chinese culture and history, documentaries about China in the 1990s adopted a different perspective, both concerning the chosen topics and the journalistic approach. On one hand, suspicion became a repeated attitude towards China, as tabloid

investigations widely proliferated; on the other, local and international conflicts were constantly addressed, like the Tibetan discontent, the Tiananmen riots or the Hong Kong handover.

Among British productions on China were some that went around the world as 'The Dying rooms' (1995), 'Laogai: Inside China's Gulag' (1993) and 'Return of the Dying Rooms' (1996), All were hidden camera documentaries in which Western journalists went to China to reveal shocking crimes against humanity. In 'The Dying Rooms' Kate Blewett and Brian Wood toured some of the most important state orphanages in China looking for evidence of voluntary murder of baby girls. In a significant number of cases the girls were confined in rooms and deprived of food and drink, until they died by starvation. The film presented the facts as events directly related to the one-child policy, introduced in the country in 1978 and effectively exposed cultural clash and misunderstanding: 'Little girls are simply taken at birth and plunged into a bucket of water before they have a chance to take their first breath. That's a direct result of the one-child-policy'. Another documentary of the same reporting style was 'Laogai: Inside China's Gulag'. The underlying theme of this was the atrocities committed in the Laogai camps, a kind of jail for political dissidents where prisoners were routinely subjected to torture, in behalf of re-education. In both cases, the view taken by the journalists was a harsh and savage criticism of the Chinese government and its policies. Yet it would be a mistake to think that all documentaries in the 1990s followed the same pattern, but a certain sense of failure emanates from all of them and there are few examples in the last decade of the 20th century, in which the

interest lies in the cultural exploration of the country.

Another case of this attitude was the 1990 series *Road to Xanadu*, a documentary in four parts written by John Merson, considered by Cao to be 'the most comprehensive documentary ever broadcast in Britain dealing with Chinese history from Marco Polo's time (South Song Dynasty, 1127-1279) to early 1990s' (Cao 2001: 90). This movie was a good example of the paradigm shift in China's image in the West because, despite showing historical contents similar to those noted by previous documentaries in the 1980s, the perspective was voiced differently. Confucianism, for example, appeared characterized in terms of 'irrationality' and 'emotion', in contrast to the Western 'knowledge'. Similarly, European colonialism was explained on the basis of 'technological progresses and the expansion of Western values in the twentieth century was described as 'democratic capitalist liberalization.' 'Road to Xanadu' built, ultimately, a rather pessimistic picture of China in all aspects (social, cultural, and political) and was characterized by the exaltation of Western values over Orientals. 'The People's Dictator' (1994), 'Death Row Stories' (1995) or 'The silent minority' (1995) also assumed this perspective.

These documentary films are examples of the worsening of China's image during the last decade of the twentieth century. They were released in a world scenario different from that in the 1980s: after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the USSR, the CCP had become the only standard of world communism; audiences from all over the planet had watched the events in Tiananmen Square and British relations with China

had worsened in the run-up to the handover of Hong Kong, following Chris Patten's governorship (Cao 2004), Furthermore, due to international condemnation of the Tiananmen actions, bilateral relations with many Western countries froze and sanctions were imposed by the European Union (Dai 2006). The tense international relations clearly influenced how British filmmakers portrayed China at the time and, in fact, although the respect for human rights and social development improved significantly, China seemed much friendlier to Europeans in the 1980s than in the 1990s (Cao 2004), Other factors played a role here too: liberalization and global economic integration altered the production context for media producers in the UK, commercializing the processes and commodifying the contents (Zoellner 2009); hybrid factual genres emerged, often replacing traditional documentaries (Brundson 2001) and competition among independent documentary producers for the attention of the commissioning editors of major broadcasters started increasing exponentially.

Conclusion

So far, this paper has presented an overview of some of the most in-depth British television documentaries on China, from the Maoist era to the present, to accomplish the overall objective of developing a comprehensive retrospective, emphasizing the positive or negative connotations of each of these films. With this, we want to contribute to the debate on cultural translation of East Asia, looking at what values are given to China in its audio-visual representations at different times.

The first conclusion that can be drawn of

this exploratory work is that chronological trends in China's depiction exist a in regards to documentary films, although it is evident that different views have existed in all ages and 'images of China are always complex, entangled, multi-faceted, contradictory and interrelated' (Cao 2004: 242), This, in fact, confirms other pre-existing theories about the changing nature of China's image in Europe. Some authors such as Dawson (1967), Isaacs (1980) and Mosher (1990) have agreed that the paradigms of favourable and unfavourable representation of China have successively been *en vogue* throughout history, not only in the audio-visual field but in other forms of cultural exploration, like literature, journalism or feature film. In regards to British documentaries, it is noteworthy that there were large numbers of series during the 1980s, many of which focused on providing a broad and detailed knowledge of that part of the world, and positive images prevailed. The 1990s, however, witnessed a completely different description of China in documentary films, with undercover investigations and harsh critics at the heart (Cao 2004: 242).

In relation to this, the second major conclusion to be drawn is that these constant ups and downs are strongly related (although not only) to specific historical events and political relations between East and West at all times. As Cao states, 'A number of major studies on Western images of China conclude that the single most important determinant of change in our image of China are the structural relations between China and the West (Cao 2004), Hence, this study supports Mackerras argument according to which 'government on popular images is usually more important than the

converse' (1989: 187), with a series of positive images following China's political opening to the West in the 1980s and a general trend to negative images after the Tiananmen square protests and the subsequent self-enclosure of the country.

On the other hand, however, analysis of this sample of documentaries also acknowledges that other factors are implicated when talking about films, such as access to information, political stand of the producers and recording limitations and monitoring. The most vivid examples of this are the filmic testimonies of the 1970s, which had to undergo strict limitations and prove political implication. Changes experienced by the audiovisual sector itself and new production and broadcasting strategies have proved to be determining too. Since the 1990s, public service broadcasters have become major distribution platforms for independent documentary producers in countries like the UK (Zoellner 2002), but they do compete with commercial broadcasters for audience and revenues, and documentaries are not cost-effective programs (Kilborn 2003; Zoellner 2009). In the UK (and elsewhere) documentaries try to survive in an economy-led televisual context (Chapman 2009) that puts reality – and celebrity – based

factual entertainment over auteur non-fiction films (Zoellner 2009; Killborn 2003).

Probably more than to any other region in the world, the last 15 years have been crucial to China. The ten-year tenure of Hu Jintao catapulted the country's economy to new heights, from having a slightly weaker economy than the UK's in 2001 to becoming the second largest economy in the world in 2010. (Torrás 2013), China has strengthened its role in the international arena (Rios 2012) and it is more than possible that images of China have ceased to be as unanimous as they used to a few decades ago. What stands out, in any case, is that cultural representation processes analysed above have undoubtedly been influenced by factors other than the reality of China itself at all times, most of them strongly related to the attitude of the ones looking at the country and its society. As Charles Taylor raises, it looks like it is difficult for us in the West to understand our social imaginary is one among others (Taylor 2002), For Qing Cao 'cross-cultural representation follows a logic that is yet to be fully uncovered and understood' (Cao 2004: p.242) but in-depth research of the factors that lay beyond cultural representation may smooth the way to mutual comprehension.

References

- Anthony, S. (2010), 'The Island. An introduction to documentary filmmaking in post-war Britain'. In White, J; Weir, D. *Shadows of Progress*. British Film Institute.
- Bailey, P. J. (2002), *China en el siglo XX*. Barcelona: Ariel.
- Barnouw, E. (1974), *Documentary: A history of the non-fiction film*. London etc.: Oxford University Press.

- Bennett, A. (1990), 'American reporters in China: romantics and cynics'. In: C. Lee, ed., *Voices of China: the interplay of politics and journalism*. New York: The Guilford Press, 263-76.
- Berry, C. (2006), *China on screen: Cinema and nation*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bodde, D. (1972), *Chinese ideas in the West*. Washington: American Council on Education.
- Brundson, C; Johnsn, C; Moseley, R; Wheatley, H. (2001), 'Factual entertainment on British television: The Midlands TV Research Group's "8-9 Project"'. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 2001 4:29.
- Cao, Q. (2001), *Discourse Across Cultures: A Study of the Representation of China in British Television Documentaries, 1980-2000*. Nottingham: Trent University.
- Cao, Q. (2004) 'The Two Faces of Confucianism: Narrative construction of Cross-Cultural Images in Television Documentaries'. *Concentric: Literary and Cultural Studies*, 30.2, 223-48.
- Chapman, J., & Allison, K. (2009), *Issues in contemporary documentary*. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity.
- Cohen, P. A. (1997), *History in three keys*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dai, X. (2006), 'Understanding EU-China Relations: An Uncertain Partnership in the Making'. Research Paper 1/2006, Centre for European Union Studies, the University of Hull UK.
- Dawson, R. (1967), *The Chinese Chameleon: An analysis of European conceptions of Chinese civilization*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Farmer, E. L. (1990), 'Shifting truth from facts: the report as interpreter of China' In: C. Lee, ed., *Voices of China: the interplay of politics and journalism*. New York: The Guilford Press, 263-76.
- Ellis, J. C.; McLane, B. A. (2009), *A new history of documentary film*. New York: Continuum.
- Fitzpatrick, M. (1983), 'China images abroad: the representation of China in Western documentary films'. *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, 9, pp.87- 98.
- Francés, M. (2003), *La producción de documentales en la era digital: Modalidades, historia y multidifusión*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Goffman, E. (1986), 'Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience'. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Hill, A. (2007), *Restyling factual TV. Audience and news, documentary and reality genres*. Routledge: London
- Hogenkamp, B., 1998 'A special Relationship: Joris Ivens and the Netherland'. *Joris Evens and the Documentary Context*; edited by Kees Bakker, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Huang, Y.; Chi Mei Leung, C. (2005), 'Western-Led Pres Coverage of Mainland China and Vietnam during the SARS Crisis: Reassessing the Concept of Media Representation for the Other'. *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 15, No, 3, 302-318.

- Hung, H. (2003), 'Orientalist knowledge and social theories: China and the European conceptions of east-West differences from 1600 to 1900'. *Sociological Theory*, 21(3), pp.254-280.
- Isaacs, H. R. (1980), *Scratches on our minds: American views of china and India*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe Inc.
- Jenkins, A. (1983), 'Seeing beyond seeing: films on contemporary China'. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 7(2), 166-178.
- Jenkins, A. (1986), 'Disappearing World Goes to China: A Production Study of Anthropological Films'. *Anthropology Today* 2(3), 6-13.
- Jespersen, T. (1996), *American images of China, 1931-1949*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Jones, D. B. (1995), *The portrayal of China and India on the American screen. 1896-1955: the evolution of Chinese and Indian themes, locales, and characters as portrayed on the American Screen*. Massachusetts: Centre for International Studies Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Jones, D.M. (2001), *The Image of China In Western Social and Political Thought*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Kilborn, R. W. (2003), *Staging the real: Factual TV programming in the age of big brother*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press.
- Mackerras, C. (1989), *Western images of China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Millar, A.E. (2007) 'The Jesuits as Knowledge Brokers Between Europe and China (1582-1773): Shaping European views of the Middle Kingdom'. *Economic History Working Paper Series*, 105/07. London: London School of Economics and Political Science.
- Mosher, S. W. (1990), *China misperceived: American illusions and Chinese reality*. New York: Basic Books.
- Mungello, D. E., 1999. *The great encounter of China and the West:1500-1800*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Nichols, B. (2010), *Introduction to documentary*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis
- Peng, Z. (2004), 'Representation of China: An Across Time Analysis of Coverage in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times*'. *Asian Journal of Communication*. Vol. 14, N^o 1, pp. 53-67.
- Pouliot, L.; Cowen, P. S. (2007), 'Does perceived realism really matter in media effects?' *Media Psychology*, 9, 241-259.
- Rand, P. (1995), *China hand: the adventures and ordeals of the American journalists who joined forces with the great China Revolution*. New York and London: Simon & Schuster.

- Richmond Ellis, R. (2006), 'The middle kingdom through Spanish eyes: Depictions of China in the writings of Juan González de Mendoza and Domingo Fernández Navarrete'. *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 83(6), pp.469-483. Icaria Editorial.
- Russel, P. (2010) In White, J; Weir, D. *Shadows of Progress*. British Film Institute.
- Seib, P.; Powers, S. (2010), 'China In The News. A Comparative Analysis of the China Coverage of BBC World, CNN International and Deutsche Welle'. *USC Center on Public Diplomacy*.
- Sparks, C. (2010), 'Coverage of China in the UK national press'. *Chinese Journal of Communication*. Vol. 3, No. 3, September 2010, pp. 347-365.
- Taylor, C. (2002), 'Modern social imaginaries'. *Public culture*, 14 (1), pp. 91-124.
- Torras, L. (2013), *El despertar de China. Claves para entender el gigante asiático en el siglo XXI*. Madrid: instituto de estudios economicos.
- Tuchman, G. (1983), *La producción de la noticia*. Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili.
- Willnat, L.; Luo, Y. (2011) 'Watching the dragon: global television news about China' *Chinese Journal of Communication*. Vol.4, No. 3, pp. 255-273.
- Wilke, J.; Achatzi, J. (2011), 'From Tian'anmen Square to the global world stage: framing China in the German press, 1986-2006'. *Chinese Journal of Communication*. Vol.4, No3, pp.348-364.
- Yan, W. (1998), 'A structural analysis of the changing image of China in The York Times from 1949 through 1988'. *Quality and Quantity*, 32, pp.47-62.
- Zhang, L. (2010), 'The Rise of China: media perception and implications for international politics'. *Journal of Contemporary China*. Vol. 19, No 64., pp.233-254.
- Zhang, L. (2011), *News Media and EU-China relations*. Palgrave Macmillan series in International Political Communication. New York.
- Zoellner, A. (2002), 'Der dokumentarische Film im deutschen und britischen Fernsehen 2000: Eine vergleichende Programmanalyse' [Documentary Film in German and British Television 2000: A comparative programme analysis']. Unpublished master's thesis, Universita't Leipzig, Leipzig Germany.
- Zoellner, A. (2009), 'Professional Ideology and Program Conventions: Documentary Development in Independent British Television Production'. *Mass Communication and Society*, 12:4, 505-536.



This article was first published in *JOMECE Journal*

JOMECE Journal is an online, open-access and peer reviewed journal dedicated to publishing the highest quality innovative academic work in Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies. It is run by an editorial collective based in the School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies at Cardiff University, committed both to open-access publication and to maintaining the highest standards of rigour and academic integrity. *JOMECE Journal* is peer reviewed with an international, multi-disciplinary Editorial Board and Advisory Panel. It welcomes work that is located in any one of these disciplines, as well as interdisciplinary work that approaches Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies as overlapping and interlocking fields. It is particularly interested in work that addresses the political and ethical dimensions, stakes, problematics and possibilities of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies.

To submit a paper or to discuss publication, please contact:

Dr Paul Bowman: BowmanP@cf.ac.uk

www.cf.ac.uk/jomecejournal

Twitter: @JOMECEjournal

ISSN: ISSN 2049-2340

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License. Based on a work at www.cf.ac.uk/jomecejournal.

