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The (re)construction of history through fictional and non-fictional narratives. *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to all the people who contributed in my humble success story. Special dedication goes to my late parents Tsungai Mashavakure and Enoch Mudzingwa.

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I would like to acknowledge the contribution of my supervisor Dr. O. Ureke who made sterling contributions in guiding me to come up with this study. May God continue to multiply his wisdom so that he can continue to make a difference in students' academic careers.

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Above all, I want to thank God for seeing me through my tertiary education phase. Without him, my success story would never have been possible.

DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I R137200H, hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and that it has not been previously submitted to any other University. I also declare that proper citations and acknowledgements in accordance with copyright law and ethical requirements have been strictly adhered to in writing this dissertation.

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ABSTRACT

This study is about the construction and reconstruction of ‘reality’ in fictional and non-fictional films *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda’s Untold Story* (Terry, 2014). The study explores, and explains how cinematographic and narrative techniques are used to (re)construct the history of the Rwanda genocide. Political Economy of Film and the Gaze theory were employed to provide a theoretical base for this research. The study employed qualitative research methods, archival research and critical discourse analysis to collect and analyse data. Among other things, the study found out that both filmic accounts have a predominant Western gaze. In *Hotel Rwanda* Africa is viewed as a continent of chaos, corruption and senseless barbarity through the massacres and corruption that is dramatized therein. In *Rwanda’s Untold Story*, Rwanda is described as a country dominated by its dark history and the genocide is described as senseless barbarity. The study recommends ‘African’ filmmakers to start making films that deconstruct the colonial gaze.

Acronyms

BBC **British Broadcasting Corporation**

TV **Television**

UN **United Nations**

USA **United States of America**

RPF **Rwanda Patriotic Front**

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This research focuses on how a Hollywood movie called *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and a British Broadcasting Corporation documentary *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014) portrayed the “reality” of what transpired during the Rwanda genocide of 1994.

According to Bartware (2012), an estimated 800 000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed in what is commonly called the Rwanda genocide in 1994. In this study, attention is paid to the cinematographic and narrative techniques used by fictional film and non-fictional film to portray this historical subject. In film, the term fictional narrative refers to the use of creative imagination and fantasy to try and recreate reality. The expression non-fictional narrative refers to a film called documentary that bases on purportedly real characters and locations to recreate reality (Rwafa 2010).

1.1 Background to the study

Rwanda went through a period marked by rigorous purge of the minority Tutsis together with moderate Hutus by Hutu extremists. This has resulted in films being created to recount the “history” of what happened during the 1994 genocide. Most film studies have focused on the role played by the media in igniting the Rwandan genocide (Mamdani, 2001; Thompson, 2007). These studies have concentrated on how RTLM Hutu-Power radio station and local newspapers incited violence against the Tutsi through hate language, and how this ultimately caused the 1994 genocide. Rwafa (2010) argues that language has been used in films in a way that hides cultural stereotypes through fake experience. His study relates to this study in that it focuses on unpacking the role of language in fictional films portraying the Rwanda genocide in creating and resisting cultural and political stereotypes. The current study, however, focuses on how cinematographic and narrative techniques are used to recreate and communicate reality in both fictional and non-fictional film.

The study explores how Western films and other media texts portray Africa. Mboti (2009) observes that film text is not innocent because it has an agenda attached to it. He goes on to

propose that film text should be thoroughly engaged with to unveil the hidden meanings in it, an endeavor that is a central concern of this study. Despite the importance of Mboti's work, he does not substantially deal with non-fictional narratives. Shaw (2009) presents what she terms the Hollywood world cinema gaze within a commercial Hollywood context. She argues that it favours western ideologies at the expense of the Third world even though it pretends not to, as evidenced in a film called *Babel* that she was studying. Both Mboti and Shaw do not substantially cover how reality is reconstructed and communicated in non-fictional film compared to fictional film. This study seeks to build from the work of Mboti and Shaw by exploring the cinematographic and narrative techniques employed by *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* and the role played by political economy in the construction of reality.

Fictional and non-fictional films share more common objectives than differences. According to McLane (2012), fictional film and non-fictional film can be taken as "two sides of the same coin" because they follow the same rule of thumb, which spells out that audiences must support one thing and hate the other in a film. This is achieved by lighting, shades, effects and dramatic motivation in both fictional and non-fictional narratives. From the foregoing, one can argue that everything branded under the name 'film' is some form of documentary (Dunne, 1946, Courtemanche 2004; Nichols 2001). The difference between the two genres on how they attempt to (re)construct reality is very minimal. Roberta Sapino (2011), however, argues that documentary possesses unique features that sets it apart from fictional film in its pursuit of communicating reality. The scholar points out how documentary employs evidentiary editing, 'the voice of God' and how unprofessional 'real-life' people with pertinent testimonies offer information. It is in this context that this study juxtaposes *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) with *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014) to find how reality is constructed in these two different film genres.

Hotel Rwanda (George, 2004) is a historic film about how Paul Rusesabagina, a manager at five star Sabena Hotel des Mille Collines courageously saves thousands of Tutsi refugees from being killed by the ferocious Hutu militia called the Interahamwe who are on a genocidal rampage. The film portrays a corrupt and chaotic Rwanda where money and beer can save lives. Paul Rusesabagina manages to establish connections with the leader of the Interahamwe militia

George Rutaganda who sells him food and wine to feed the 'guests'. Paul also manages to gain protection from an influential general of the Rwandan Army Augustin Bizimungu through bribes in form of United States dollars and beer.

With the Interahamwe on the rampage killing Tutsi civilians, the United Nations sends a small Belgian Peace keeping force with orders not to shoot at the Interahamwe militia. Later, in the movie, Tutsi rebels intervene and the Tutsi refugees are saved by Paul and find safety behind the rebel lines. The movie ends with statistics revealing that Paul Rusesabagina saved 1 268 Rwandan refugees and is in exile in Belgium. The statistics also reveal that George Rutaganda and General Augustin Bizimungu were tried and convicted by the United Nations Tribunal for war crimes in 2002.

Show (2009) is of the notion that films produced in a commercial Hollywood framework, portraying the Third World are largely influenced by United States of America's funding and control. She goes on to say that, Hollywood world cinema text in film is a vehicle for western ideology. This study tries to find out if the argument presented by Show is valid and applicable by investigating how cinematographic and narrative techniques are employed in *Hotel Rwanda*.

Rwanda's Untold Story (Conroy, 2014) is a documentary narrated by a BBC reporter Jane Corbin. *Rwanda's Untold Story* comes up with a different account of what transpired during the 1994 Rwandan Genocide compared to *Hotel Rwanda*. The documentary starts by placing the narratives that have been told about the Rwandan genocide into jeopardy. "We think we know the story, but do we?" asks Corbin. The documentary launches a massive deconstruction of the official story known by the world that the Hutus were responsible for the killings during the genocide. Corbin first shows how the current president of Rwanda has received credit for stopping the killings of his people the Tutsi's and how he enjoys the support of the international community. She then questions the personality of the President of Rwanda Paul Kagame.

Corbin interviews Kagame's former henchmen who label him as a killer who enjoys killing his citizens and a man whose intention was not to stop the genocide but to win power from the late and the then President of Rwanda Juvénal Habyarimana. Academics including Belgian historian

Filip Reyntejens (2014) suggest that Paul Kagame may be one of the most wanted war criminals still in office today.

Documentary's role is to communicate reality. Per McLane (2012), documentaries gain more factuality from their unique and distinctive production techniques like using 'real people' involved, shooting on location and avoiding setting up scenes. However, Nichols (2001) warns that, there is a very thin line between fictional film and documentary. Assumptions that documentary images and sounds have the authenticity of evidence are worrisome and should be treated with caution. *Rwanda's Untold Story*, despite being a documentary, has received its fair share of criticism for its presentation of what its claims to be facts of what happened during the Rwandan genocide. This justifies this study in that, it attempts to find the similarities and differences between fictional and non-fictional narratives and the role played by political economy in constructing reality.

From the foregoing, it is evident that there is need to have a deeper understanding of how non-fictional and fictional film use cinematographic and narrative techniques to communicate and recreate reality. There is need to explore the influence of political economy on the way these cinematographic and narrative techniques are employed.

1.2 Statement of the problem

This study explores how reality is communicated through fictional and non-fictional film. The research is more interested in the cinematographic and narrative techniques used in the documentary and fiction film genres using two case studies representative of each genre. The study also focuses on how political economy is implicated in the way these two film narratives reproduce and represent reality.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Few studies have focused on juxtaposing and analysing how non-fictional films and fictional films communicate 'reality'. Rwafa (2010) has tentatively focused on the existence of stereotypes in the language used in the film re-presenting the story of the Rwandan genocide. Mboti (2009) has also dwelt much on fictional film scrutinizing the Hollywood gaze on the

issues of genocide in his PhD thesis. Linda Melvern (2006) has concentrated on *Rwanda's Untold Story's* (Conroy, 2014) denial of a genocide against the Tutsi from a historical perspective. This research analyzes how 'reality' about the 1994 genocide has been communicated and reconstructed in both non-fictional and fictional film through cinematographic and narrative techniques and the role of political economy in this construction.

This study looks at different ways in which both fictional and non-fictional film can be used as tools to make or break ethnic disparities in Africa using *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) as cases of reference. According to Rwafa, (2007:12), "Film is a cultural weapon with the potential of bringing conflicting parties together so that they can iron out their differences." The study does not only unravel how history and ethnicities are created and contested in the two films but it also shows the potential of these two film genres in conflict resolution and nation building. This study adds to the already existing body of knowledge on how filmmakers may construct their own history by fighting for an African gaze which promotes peace progress.

1.4 Research objectives

The objectives of the study are;

- To explore the cinematographic and narrative techniques used by *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) to account for what happened during the 1994 Rwandan genocide.
- To explain the similarities and differences between the accounts portrayed in *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) of the Rwandan genocide.
- To find out the influence of political economy on the two narratives.

1.5 Research Questions

- What are the cinematographic and narrative techniques used by *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) in depicting the reality of what transpired during the Rwandan genocide?

- What are the similarities and differences between the narratives of *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) in portraying the Rwanda genocide?
- What role does political economy play in the two narratives?

1.6 Assumptions of the study

The study is premised on the assumptions that the documentary *Rwanda's Untold Story* provides more accurate facts on genocide topics than the fictional film *Hotel Rwanda*. It will also be informed by the assumption that Political Economy influences the choices on cinematographic and narrative techniques used by filmmakers and the western camera gaze still views Africa as the home of strife, contention, civil war, corruption, greed and chaos.

1.7 Delimitations

This study is based on textual analysis of the films *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. It engages with the images, sound, camera shots and angles, lighting and narrations used in the films. The main goal here is to find out how these have been used to tell the story of the Rwandan genocide and how they represent ethnic relations between the Hutu's and Tutsis. This study is not an audience study, therefore, it focuses entirely on the textual analysis of the concerned films.

1.8 Limitations

The methods used in this study have their own weaknesses. Online archival collection, which is one of the key methods of data collection, makes it difficult to get the relevant information required during the period under study because there is so much that needs to be surfed until relevant information remains. There is a chance that some important information may be left out also in the process of surfing. The researcher managed to narrow down their search to what enables the study to fulfill its objectives. The researcher would have cherished the opportunity to meet the directors and participants of *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014). However, it was not feasible to meet them because of their distant location. The

research, however managed to get some of the vital information through previous interviews that are available online.

1.9 Dissertation Structure

This research has been organised into six chapters and they attend to different issues. Chapter One is the introduction to the study. It gives vital background information on issues to be studied. The statement of the problem is stated as well as the research objectives and research questions. The significance of the study and the delimitations of the study are included in Chapter One. Chapter Two includes the review of literature relevant to the study. It also discusses the theoretical framework informing the research. Chapter Three is on the research methodology. It discusses the methods used to collect and analysing data for the study. Ethical considerations are also included in this chapter. Chapter four is the organisational structure and analyses of Hollywood and the British Broadcasting Corporation. Research findings and analysis of data have been presented in Chapter Five. Chapter six gives a resume of the findings and the study's conclusions. This is also where recommendations based on the findings of the study are discussed.

1.10 Conclusion

Chapter One has introduced my research in terms of the background to my study meaning exploring what has and has not been done, research objectives, research questions, research assumptions that inform the study, limitations and delimitations. This provided a foundation on which the study to build on.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter introduced the research by giving its background, statement of the problem, significance of the study, objectives and questions. The current chapter reviews literature related to the study in addition to discussing the theoretical framework. This chapter explores two theories that make up the theoretical framework. The theories that will be employed are, the Gaze theory and the Political Economy of Film

2.2 Literature Review

Literature review helps the researcher in identifying issues that have been studied before and those yet to be studied. According to Hart (1998), literature review can be defined as making use of a certain way of thinking in already existing literature to justify the selection and approach to the topic, the selection of methods and to show that this study has something new to contribute. Reviewing literature is vital because it helps in creating a framework for the researcher to relate his findings to those which already exist. Literature review is essential because it shows the researcher's knowledge on a certain area of study.

2.2.1 Media language and construction of cultural stereotypes.

The use of language that creates cultural stereotypes can be traced back to the media in Rwanda before and after the Rwanda Genocide. Melvern (2006) argues that the influence of hate media in Rwanda led to the catastrophic genocide that transpired in 1994. She points out how the Hutus were mobilized by the RTLM radio station to murder the Tutsis on the grounds of ethnic differences. Melvern's argument focuses more on how particularly radio language created cultural stereotypes that led to the 1994 genocide. This is also applicable in film's pursuit to reconstruct reality. Film creates new perspectives, removes the normal habits and suggests new ways of viewing, feeling and thinking (Bordwell and Thompson, 2008). The argument is that film in its pursuit to recreate reality ends up creating cultural stereotypes either intentionally or unintentionally. The above does not clearly reveal how these cultural stereotypes occur. This study goes on to explore the narrative and cinematographic technics used in fictional and non-fictional film in reconstructing reality, in addition to finding out the role of political economy in

that scenario. This study examines the extent to which the cinematographic and narrative techniques employed in *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) also have in them embedded meta-text that carry cultural stereotypes.

Media language (of which film is part) promotes cultural stereotypes spread by the ideologies of the elite. According to Barthes (1978), ruling class culture and ideas are regularized and made commonly acceptable in the cultural productions in media programmes and advertising. The ideas of the presiding class preserve the cultural stereotypes found in the media (film). "The lens through which we receive these images is not neutral but evinces the power and point of view of the political and economic elites who operate and focus it" (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson 1992:374). This further strengthens the claim that media language leads to the construction of cultural stereotypes.

This, research focuses mainly on the production of media text. Therefore, it explores how the cinematographic and narrative techniques (language is part of the narrative techniques) used in fictional and non-fictional narratives attempt to construct reality. It also explores if political economy plays a part in influencing the way the techniques are employed in *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014). This is through unravelling the kinds of language used by the characters in both films using semiotic analysis. The idea is to unpack the meaning of film language that communicates reality at a subtext level embedded during production.

Hajvard (2004) rejects the notion of media language creating cultural stereotypes in a negative manner as argued in the preceding paragraphs. According to Hajvard (2004:106), "The media are at once a part of the fabric of society and culture and an independent institution that stands between other cultural and social institutions and coordinate their mutual understanding." This means the media can act as an independent institution, which serves to deconstruct the cultural differences between social groups by acting as a catalyst for unity and togetherness. Thus, the media (film included) can be viewed as an independent and powerful agent in refining social relations through deconstruction of cultural stereotypes. Meanwhile the above study focuses on the effects of media text, this study seeks to explore the techniques used to produce the text by finding the cinematographic and narrative techniques used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda*

and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. It also seeks to explore the role of ownership and control of production resources on the emergent filmic texts.

The depiction of history and how the ethnic factor is debated in film has always been a subject of contestation. Films on Rwanda overwhelmingly base on imaginative creativity which still depicts Africa as the home of senseless barbarity and irrational civil confrontations and there is language of whiteness inherent in films portraying Rwanda which views Africa as a continent of chaos and madness (Rwafa, 2010; Steyn, 2001). In other words, film language promotes cultural stereotypes as in the case of the Western world against Africa. The perspective however focuses mainly on the use of narrative techniques in films portraying Rwanda and how they create cultural stereotypes. According to Percy (2007), narrative techniques refer to the art or methods used to communicate a story of something that existed before or an imagined story. Language, storyline, character, narration, point of view amongst many others are part of narrative techniques. The studies also focus on non-fictional film, but this study will expand further to also explore the cinematographic and narrative techniques used in non-fictional film juxtaposed to fictional film in constructing reality focusing on *Rwanda's Untold Story* and *Hotel Rwanda*.

The media in Rwanda used hate language to construct reality. According to Desforges (1999), the media in Rwanda precipitated the 1994 genocide by misinforming the public on how the Tutsi were plotting to murder Hutu leaders in Bugusera. Rwafa (2010) argues that most studies have focused mainly on language and how it tries to hide cultural stereotypes through simulated experiences. The research acknowledges the attempt made by previous studies to explore the hate language used in the media to construct the reality of what happened in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. It adds and further explores other types of narrative techniques used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. This study also seeks to interrogate the role played by ownership and in the production of these techniques through analysing the ownership patterns and organisational structures of the production companies that produced the films under study.

Mboti (2009) manages to pay some attention to the issue of how cinematographic and narrative techniques are used in depicting reality in fictional film. He argues that, if one critically analyses the camera movement in *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) it speaks volumes on the gaze of the

director and producer as the camera has been manipulated define the protagonists and antagonists of the film. The camera clearly focuses on Paul Rusesabagina whilst giving less attention to other figures in the frame. This study complements Mboti's research in the sense that it also seeks to explore the cinematographic and narrative techniques that have been used in constructing reality in fictional and non-fictional film. This study seeks to juxtapose and analyse how the camera, lighting, sound, language, character creation amongst several other techniques are employed by *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

2.2.2 Film and construction of a colonial gaze

It is important to also appreciate studies that look at how films about Africa reflect the colonial ideologies of the West in their pursuit to reconstruct reality. Colonial ideologies are defined by racism and dehumanizing of the colonized or former colony. According to Fanon (1967), He further argues that the black man is targeted by Western cultural burden and finds himself misrepresented, as blacks do not have a gaze of their own. "Western films created myths and cultural stereotypes which viewed Africa as a land occupied by savages who kill for fun and boil human flesh in clay pots" (Meyer, 2002:20).

The above argument shows that films created in the West perceive Africa as a land inhabited by lunatics who make a hobby out of killing each other. This reveals that Western made films still impose dehumanizing identities on Africa in their attempt to reconstruct reality. However, the scholarly work cited above does not reveal explicitly how cinematographic and narrative techniques are used in achieving this colonial gaze and juxtaposing how fictional and non-fictional film reconstruct reality using these techniques. This study will seek to add on the existence of the western colonial gaze in fictional and non-fictional film. The study explores how the cinematographic and narrative techniques used in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* were employed. This study also seeks to find out if the political economy of Metro-Mayer-Goldwyn, Lionsgate and the British Broadcasting Corporation influenced how these techniques have been employed in the two films under study

It is also vital to trace the roots of the Western colonial gaze that is affecting films about Africa in their pursuit of reconstructing reality. According to Tyrell (2010), "The media which covered the Rwanda genocide from Great Britain, France and the USA had different political affiliations,

national influences..., different understandings of Rwanda and vendettas concerning interventions and international responsibility.” He further argues that, this led to racial stereotypes, which influenced the West to view Africa as a home of senseless civil wars. Mamdani (2001) adds that the media also exacerbated conflict through their colonial ideologies of othering and reckless choice of words. The above arguments show how the media during the genocide perpetuated the colonial gaze that led to the misinterpretation of the Rwanda situation in 1994. This research further explores how *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* employs cinematographic and narrative techniques to construct reality of the 1994 Rwanda genocide.

Barlet (2000) argues that there is need to decolonize the gaze. He further argues that the African audience is homogenous meaning that the African filmmakers should quickly move away from western values of film to more local ones. This means that the African filmmakers must make a deliberate effort to decolonize the gaze and make films that tell the African story. However, decomposing the colonial gaze has not done much to help in generating an African representation. Instead there are more problems rising on defining what distinguishes African cinema from western cinema. African films trying to construct an African gaze have tumbled out of favour with sponsors hence failure of African cinema to establish themselves. (Mudimbe, 1988; Barlet, 2000). The above studies argue that, Africa cannot make films that represent Africa because of lack of corporate sponsorship hence it will always be represented by the western films. This research seeks to go into detail of how political economy influences the construction of reality in the production of text in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

The media also use theoretical text and ideologies to cast a gaze at Africa. According to Mudimbe (1988), there are three ways of understanding how the Western colonial masters implemented the regeneration of African space through theoretical texts and ideologies. There is “...the domination of physical space, the reformation of native minds and the integration of local economic histories into the western perspective.” This study is suggesting that the west makes use of the media to dominate Africa and making the Africans accept their servitude to the western colonial masters. One can argue that this can only be achieved through imbedding dehumanizing texts in films striving to construct African history. This study seeks to complement Mudimbe's research by showing how cinematographic and narrative techniques

have been employed in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* are used to construct reality of what happened in Rwanda in 1994. It explores the role of ownership, control and sponsorship in the employment of these techniques to construct the African identity in the pursuit to construct reality in the films under study.

Film as a genre is a tool for communicating ruling class ideology. "The notion that genres can manifest "unconscious dynamics" which contradicts the ideological values implied by their narratives suggests that they are both symptomatic and ideologically structured" (Flint, 1999 cited in Miller, 2004:37).

The argument is that film as a genre is characterized by ideologies that are embedded in its text that seeks to influence the society to accept certain world views. Flint goes on to argue that melodrama advances propaganda through advocating for the conquest of moral virtue over villainy in Hollywood films. In other words, the state makes use of film to communicate their ideologies to the audience. For instance, it is anticipated to see the police busting a thief who would have caused trouble throughout the movie. Eventually good conquers evil. This research compliments the above study as it analyses how the storylines of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* have been constructed and it also juxtaposes and explains how and why reality is constructed and communicated in the films understudy.

2.2.3 Film and construction of racial and ethnic silence

There are studies that tend to give priority to one ethnic group and silencing the other. Mamdani (2001) argues that, there is a 'conspiracy of silence that result in the black body being an object of segregation. Although Mamdani (2001) recognizes the problem of exclusion, he excludes pertinent issues of how fictional film or documentary engage in the politics of exclusion of certain ethnic groups. There are no indications that reveal the role of political economy in these exclusions. This study goes on to explore how the cinematographic and narrative techniques in fictional and non-fictional film are employed in reconstructing ethnic identities in the story of the Rwanda genocide. This is done by exploring *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* and explore if the techniques used similarly or in different ways construct any racial or ethnic discrimination by giving one race or ethnic group a voice over others.

The issue of the 'conspiracy of silence' also extends to how even the historians do not address the issue of the role of the media in forging a sense of belonging among the Rwandan citizens. Concentration is put on what caused and who should be responsible for the genocide. Language used in the films portraying the Rwandan genocide have challenged the role of radio and print media in the outbreak of the genocide in 1994 (Mamdani, 2001 and Thompson, 2007.) Per Gourevitch (1998), the Hutus and Tutsis were united before the advent of colonialism came and split them necessitating the genocide. The above studies are noticeably quiet when it comes to solutions that must be brought forth to heal Rwanda.

Mamdani (2001) argues that there are three silences that are inherent in the reconstruction of reality about the Rwanda genocide but in this research focus will be on two. He argues that, many writers treat genocide as if it has no history and as if the Rwanda genocide existed in its own space and as the first of its own kind. "For Africans, it turns into a Rwanda oddity; and for non-Africans, the aberration is Africa" (Mamdani 2001:7). The Rwandan genocide therefore has not been represented fairly as it has been treated in isolation, forgetting about such atrocities like the Holocaust. This first silence has inspired the study to go on and explore further on the authenticity of this claim by exploring *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* to find out if this silence exists in fictional and non-fictional films' pursuit to reconstruct reality. The study also explores if political economy has a role to play in this reconstruction of reality process.

The other silence is on the how killings of 1994 in Rwanda were taken as initiatives from the top excluding the role of the commoners. According to Mamdani (2001), previous studies only focus on the role played by those from above (leaders) excluding the participation of those from below. There is therefore a deliberate silence on the role played by the masses in the 1994 Rwanda genocide and blame is laid at the feet of the leaders or presumed organizers of the genocide. The argument does not specifically refer to the silences posed by film or media. However, the two silences are worthy looking for in fictional and non-fictional films' pursuit to reconstruct reality because they help us understand the role of political economy in giving some historical 'facts' a voice over others.

Razawa (2015) argues that some of the silences by film on sensitive issues like genocide are done for the public good. He states that in a bid to tell the story of the Rwanda genocide, *Hotel*

Rwanda used some images showing the actual killing of the victims and this leads to audiences panicking and getting emotionally hurt. Therefore, some of the silences in film are deliberately created by the producers to avoid hurting emotions and refreshing wounds of those hurt by the mass killings of 1994. This is dismissed by Mboti (2009) who argues that, media texts should be treated with caution as they are not innocent. He is arguing that silences are deliberately created by someone who seeks to influence the meaning in the production of film text. This study seeks to complement Mboti's notion by exploring the role of political economy in the employing of cinematographic and narrative techniques in fictional and non-fictional film. It puts comparisons and contrasts on how these two narratives reconstruct reality looking specifically at *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014).

2.2.4 Fiction versus reality in film

Documentaries are known for employing unique production methods in their quest to construct reality (McLane, 2012). He further argues that, documentary makes use of non-actors (real people) and shooting on location is a distinguishing factor from fictional film thus accruing credibility. Therefore, documentary is taken as more credible than fictional film because of its use of real characters narrating their ordeals and the actual locations. Thus, it can give the historical accounts that are more accurate. However, Melvern (2006), argues that *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) besides being a documentary has spent money producing a fictitious account about the 1994 Rwanda genocide and that it fools the people and deprives them of the truth. She is arguing that the non-fictional narrative is a fraud and it may stir the ethnic tensions again. This study will seek to explore how fictional film and non-fictional film reconstruct reality by locating and juxtaposing the cinematographic and narrative techniques employed by *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) to reconstruct reality.

Documentaries cannot be viewed as reproductions of reality but as a genre that represent a certain world and this makes them unique (Nichols, 2001). From this view, documentary represents the world in a way available and preferred by the producer, that is through the camera shots, camera angles, lighting, accurate chronology of events and archival material. Documentary is assumed to represent the world in a better way through real life evidence and use

of editing to try and communicate reality. However, Sapino (2011) argues that documentary and fictional film are almost similar as every film is a documentary because it shows the culture that produces it. Therefore, there is no big difference between fictional and non-fictional film as they are both influenced by certain economic and political powers to represent their ideologies. This study will seek to investigate if fictional and non-fictional film are similar in the way they construct reality by juxtaposing the cinematographic and narrative techniques used by *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* to construct reality.

The media uses representation to define identities.

“Representations sometimes call our very own identities into question. We struggle over them because they matter and these are contests from which serious consequences can flow. They define what is normal, who belongs, who is excluded” (Hall 1997:10)

Hall is arguing that representations have room for exclusions, they have power to define, include and exclude identities in the media. Mboti (2009), asserts that, it is the camera in *Hotel Rwanda* that defines who is a Hutu and who is a Tutsi. He further argues that Hutus are portrayed as short, violent and street men who are always making noise with machetes in their hands ready to strike whilst Tutsis are portrayed as tall and light in complexion and are always looking vulnerable. The argument here is that from the gaze of the camera, representations become inherent. Some are given a voice over others thus the exclusion and inclusion. This research goes on to look at how the cinematographic technics employed by *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* to construct reality.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

The researcher employed the Political Economy of Film and Gaze theory in this research to complement each other in fulfilling the objectives of this research and providing a theoretical framework upon which this research is based.

2.3.1 The Political Economy of Film

This theory is of great importance to the study as it assists in exploring the influence of political economy on filmmakers and the way they express themselves through their works. Wasko (2003) observes that political economy represents a unique way of studying film and has not

received much recognition within cinema studies. She contends that, motion pictures are commodities produced and disseminated in the interior of a capitalistic structure where generating revenue and gaining supremacy in the media sector is the top priority. In other words, the suggestion is that films are made for profit and to gain political mileage. According to Mast (1992), in Hollywood, commercial values are more important than artistic ones as films are produced based on profit they can retain. Therefore, film making is now more concerned with making profit than communicating reality. Content that appeals to the audiences matter most. This research is guided by this theory in analysing the construction of reality by a Hollywood movie *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and a BBC documentary *Rwanda's Untold Story* by critically analyzing the organisational structures of the production companies and their funding mechanisms.

Media texts are not innocent. Mboti (2009) argues that film texts cannot be taken for granted as they have underlying meanings attached to them. They always reflect the priorities of the funders. Wasko (2003) is of the notion that, Hollywood film reflects the American society, its dreams and its fears. She goes on to say that, Hollywood films promotes the American dream, myths and ideology. Schiller (1989) adds that, media imagery has become a site of contestation where the elite compete for control over cultural industries. The above shows that political economy of film reflects the ideologies of those that own the global media industries, sponsors and the economically powerful. This leads to what Baudrillard (1988) argues as the implosion of meaning in the media. The assumption is, media messages are now dynamic and have several meanings which depend on how they are decoded.

The research explores the use of cinematographic and narrative techniques in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* and how they are influenced by the ideas of those who govern the production companies and the countries in which the films were produced. Like in the case of *Rwanda's Untold Story*, the study analyses how the public interests, commercial ventures of the BBC and the decisions made by the Executive Board of directors influences the construction of reality in the documentary. The same applies for *Hotel Rwanda*.

Curran and Gurevitch (2005) view political economy in three ways which they term the 'three core tasks' which are, Production of meaning as exercise of power, Political economy and textual

analysis and Consumerism or Sovereignty. This study focuses on the first two since it focuses on the production and textual analysis level. The first task is the Production of meaning and exercise of power. Curran and Gurevitch (2005: 66) argue that, "Political economy attaches importance in its presumption of linking (but not completely determining) impact of cultural production on the range of cultural consumption." The assumption is that, ownership and control do not outrightly determine how media text is produced and distributed. Producers of media text return a level of autonomy in making decisions on how shots ought to be framed, conversations ought to flow and many other things.

The Political Economy of Film theory was used to explore if Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Lionsgate and the BBC determined the production of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* by analysing the way these production companies are governed and funded. The study seeks to find out if *Hotel Rwanda* is influenced by American ideologies which is inherent in films produced under the banner of Hollywood. *Rwanda's Untold Story* will also be analysed to see if the public service model, which mainly advocates for broadcasting programming that in public interest, influences it and also explore the source of funding for the documentary.

Owners of big media institutions use their muscle to break down competition in the production of cultural products. According to Curran and Gurevitch (2005:68)

"In addition to the power they exercise over their own companies, the major media moguls also have considerable indirect power over smaller ones operating in their markets or seeking to break into them. They use their financial power to drive away new entries through launching expensive promotional campaigns and offering discounts to major advertisers."

The above shows that large media corporations or conglomerates gain power in the production of meaning through using their financial muscle to scare of competitors. This would inevitably lead to monopolization of information by a few elite who go on to spread their own ideologies in the cultural productions they create.

This theory is relevant to the current research because it has assumptions that appear to suit this study. *Hotel Rwanda* is a film produced by production companies under the Hollywood banner and *Rwanda's Untold Story* by the British Broadcasting Corporation which is arguably one of the largest broadcasters in the world. These two narratives produced by two of the largest media

corporations in the world tell the Rwanda genocide story. It is therefore vital to interrogate the two films and see if the theory of political economy is vital in understanding how they employ cinematographic and narrative techniques to reconstruct reality of what happened during the 1994 Rwanda genocide. This has been done through employing a semiotic analysis of the conversations and choice of characters inherent in *Hotel Rwanda*, narration and testimonies given in *Rwanda's Untold Story*. One can argue that, the selection of actors or testimony givers is not a random process but a meditated move that seeks to produce and authenticate a certain storyline.

Under the second core task; Political Economy and Textual analysis, there are two dimensions in the process of using cultural forms to regulate public discourse. According to Murdoch and Golding cited in Curran and Gurevitch (2005) media firms have discourses that they allow into play; whether they are organised wholly around endorsed discourses or they offer space for enunciation of counter discourses. They go on to argue that in the second process, it is important to look at how the discourses handled within the texts; whether they follow a certain order of integrity which urges the audiences to prefer one over the other or they are treated they are treated as equal to leave room for choice. This means that the media owners have the power to package text in a way that suits their interests and how they want it to be received. This research will also test this hypothesis by exploring the role of political economy on the packaging of text in *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014).

However Political economy as a theory has its own weaknesses. According to Miller (1999), political economy as a theory restricts the idea of a free market where there is free flow of ideas. It calls for government intervention to curb abuse of power by some media companies who can monopolize information at the expense of the public good. This means that, political economy gives governments power to restrain the free flow of information which they turn to abuse later as they use the media to propagate their hegemony (Curran and Gurevitch 2005). For instance, the USA government uses American films to portray the superiority of the Americans over other races.

Despite of the above weaknesses, the study will go on to be informed by the Political Economy of Film theory as it will help in understanding the reason why certain cinematographic techniques were used over others in the two films under study.

2.3.2 The Western Gaze theory

The theory's roots form the work of the work of Jean Jacques Lacan. According to Krips (2010:93) argues that Lacan describes the gaze as a condition where the mature autonomous subject observes "the observation of himself" in a mirror. The psychological effect is that the subject loses some sense of self-sufficiency upon comprehending that he or she is visible to other viewers and can be viewed. This is not to say that the object acts substantially as a mirror; instead it means that to fully distinguish an object one must envision the insight of one's self in relation to it. This research applies the gaze theory to ascertain how the camera is used to construct reality in fictional and non-fictional film.

Mboti (2009) is of the notion that the Hollywood gaze reduces other non-western gazes into 'petite perceptions' as it asserts itself as a dominant world-view. He argues that Hollywood portrays reality in a way that it wants the world to view it. According to Shaw and Robertson (1997), Hollywood films have in them imbedded messages that favour the Western ideologies even when they seem not to. The films produced in the West serve as vehicles for transporting the hegemony of the dominant Western culture. The voices of other cultures are shut out this public sphere which means non-western views are being suppressed. This theory is vital to the study because it helps understand the how reality is communicated through cinematographic and narrative techniques in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. It helps the research analyse the influence posed by the corporate sponsors and owners of the Film and TV production studios that produced the films under study.

Mudimbe (1988) argues that the western gaze inherent in western films is mise-en-prespective. He further argues that, colonialists turn places out of Europe into European inventions and constructs which in turn become images that serve the interests of the dominant class. Western film images are therefore constructed to hail the west through denigrating the non-western cultures either misrepresenting them or distorting their history through motion pictures. Razawa (2015) argues that Hollywood often produces films that try to soften the horror of what happened

in areas affected by genocide by simplifying it through its representations. This means that the western colonial gaze that seeks to misrepresent Africa is still inherent in the western produced films and it affects how reality is constructed. This study uses this theory to find out the extent to which it is relevant in understanding the reconstruction of reality in fictional and non-fictional film.

The gaze can also be understood from the perspective of camera language. According to Branigan (2006), a camera's movement is motivated and the cameraperson has power over those standing in front of the camera. He further argues that; the camera can objectify a person through the way it portrays him. The above is pointing at what can be termed the camera gaze. According to Mboti (2009), Terry George's camera is the greatest culprit in *Hotel Rwanda*. It defines who is a Hutu and who is a Tutsi. Bratic and Schirch (2007) argue that the media typically covers conflict, not peacebuilding. The inclination to cover conflict and violence misrepresents realism and many people to contemplate that conflict is inescapable and peace is abnormal.

Therefore, the camera chooses what is newsworthy and what is not through what it focuses on and what it does not focus on. Grierson cited in Cousins, Mark, Macdonald and Kevin (2006) postulates that documentary is an artistic way of revealing the truth. He further argues that the beauty of documentaries is having the ability to creatively inform and educate in the context of having real live references. In other words, the documentary creates reality using creative techniques. This theory becomes relevant in analysing how the camera in *Rwanda's Untold Story* and *Hotel Rwanda* is used to construct reality through the interrogation of the cinematographic and narrative techniques.

Fanon (1967) argues that this colonial or western gaze has the weakness of misrepresenting the black man and making him a target of cultural imposition. Mboti (2009) also argues that, the Hollywood camera's gaze at Africa is distorted and it gives weight to numerous inaccurate stereotypes because it lacks the capability to deal with the many truths which are outside Europe and America. These perceived weaknesses of the gaze theory do not reduce the efficiency of the theory in assisting the researcher to analyse how reality is constructed through cinematographic and narrative techniques employed in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

Wasko (2003) argues that, Hollywood deliberately ignore the non-western values to promote American hegemony. She argues that, the political function of Hollywood is to sell the important values of heterosexuality, romance, marriage being proper social norms, violence is justified to destroy any threats against the system and American values and institutions are sound, effective and efficient and beneficial to society. The western gaze deliberately excludes non-European or American experiences to promote the Western supremacy ideology as its core function.

2.4 Conclusion

The literature review section has managed to establish the context of the research problem. It has assisted to clearly bring out the significance of this research by providing an academic overview of what other scholars in the film studies area have studied on the role of film in reconstructing reality. The Theoretical framework section managed to bring forth conceptual ideas by various academics on the significance of Political Economy of film theory and the Gaze in understanding how reality is communicated in film. The above-mentioned theories help in providing a framework which will be used in this study. The following chapter explores the research methods and methodology to be used by the researcher in this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter reviewed literature and discussed the theoretical framework of the study, which has helped the researcher to establish the context of the study. In this Chapter, the researcher discusses the various methods employed in collecting, analysing and presenting data. It goes on to present the research paradigm, sampling techniques, unit of analysis, instruments used to collect data, methods of data analysis and methods of data presentation.

3.2 Research Approach

This research is located within the qualitative paradigm. Qualitative research seeks to increase the deeper understanding of human processes and to develop them (Bryman and Burgess, 1996; Savenye and Robinson, 2003). Qualitative research is a dynamic process, which strives to explore a certain research problem from the perspective of a certain population (Yin 2011; Mack et al 2005). One can argue that qualitative research seeks to explain certain phenomenon and to explore why things are the way they are. This study seeks a deeper understanding of how techniques are used in constructing reality in fictional and non-fictional film and to find out if political economy influences how these two are employed in the process of reality reconstruction.

Qualitative research methodology assists researchers to have better knowledge and understanding of the social context of the world they live in through in-depth analysis of how language, imagery and sound are used (Corbin and Strauss, 2015; Deacon et al, 1999). Hence, qualitative research helped the researcher to explore how text, imagery, sound, lighting and various other cinematographic technics as well as narrative techniques are used in the construction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014).

Qualitative research is suitable for this study because it is flexible and links together problems theories and methods. According to Yin (2011), qualitative research is fluid in the sense that, it strives to use multiple sources of information than depending on a single source. This study gets

its information from two sources which are *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. This research paradigm thus becomes relevant to this study as it seeks to explore the how reality is reconstructed in both fictional and non-fictional film and to account for any similarities or differences in how reality is constructed in both films.

3.2 Multiple Case Study Design

This study is guided by the multiple case study research design. According to Bryman and Burgess (1996:40), "A case study explores predefined phenomena but does not explicitly control or manipulation of variables; the focus is on in-depth understanding of phenomenon and its content." According to Zainal (2007), it allows for a deeper understanding of complex issues and is taken as a robust method especially when a holistic thorough research is needed. The reason for selecting the multiple case study research design was that it was flexible and it allowed the researcher to explore and analyze phenomena in-depth. It allowed the researcher to probe questions on how cinematographic and narrative techniques were used to construct reality in fictional and non-fictional film by analyzing *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

When dealing with a case study or multiple-case study the researcher must answer the following questions; "What is my case a case of?", "what is my case made up of?" "what is the function of my case?". This study is about exploring how reality is constructed in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*, it also seeks to compare the techniques used in constructing reality and also to find the role played by political economy in influencing how these techniques are employed. These questions must be answered to gather robust, adequate and relevant data of the subject understudy (Dumez 2015). This research will embark on an exploratory multiple case study design. This reason is that, the study seeks to explain and explore in-depth how reality is constructed through cinematographic and narrative techniques in *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* Conroy (2014), find out if there are any differences in how these techniques are applied and if political economy has a role to play.

The multiple-case study offers fluctuating levels of evidence that can be used in exploring and explaining certain phenomena. The multiple-case study can be utilized in real-life situations that reveal many sources of evidence through replication rather than sampling logic (Zainal 2007).

The argument is that a multiple-case study research design helps the study to have a wider scope or range of information sources that will help explore, explain or understand the subject under study in tandem with the research objectives of the study. This study is a multiple case study because it involves two cases (*Hotel Rwanda and Rwanda's Untold Story*) representing fictional and no-fictional film which are vital in fulfilling the objectives of the study.

This study uses a multiple case study because it allows the researcher to interact with archival information. The advantage of using a multiple-case study is its ability to combine data collection techniques like archived information. (Cavaye, 1996, Byman and Burgess, 1996). This allowed this research to collect data relevant to this study from *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* to find out how reality is constructed in fictional and non-fictional film. However, Zainal (2007), argues that, the major weakness of a multiple-case study is that, it only allows little room for scientific generalization as there is use of only a few cases or subjects to represent a wider range. This means that the collected data cannot be generalized to a wider population. This implies that, the data that would have been gathered in this study could be of no value to other researches because of its lack of relevance. For instance, data collected from the *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* under study may not be relevant for another researcher studying different genres of film. It is important to note that, despite the weaknesses outlined above, the multiple-case study research design will be used for this study because it helps in achieving the aims and objectives of the study

3.4 Research Population

Population refers to the totally quantity of things or cases which are the subject of a research (Kothari 2014, Etikan et al, 2016). The population in this research consists of all films that have as their main subject the story of what happened during the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. The number is not known but a sample of two films, *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* has been selected to represent the population.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study comprises of the camera shots, camera angles, camera movements, lighting techniques, editing, sound, choice of characters, and narrations in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* that are used to try and construct reality. A unit of analysis is the tool used in analysing and this can come in the manner of images, words, themes or the whole narrative (Gunter, 2000). This helps the researcher to choose the research design, methods of data collection and data analysis accordingly.

3.6 Sampling

This study uses a non-probability sampling technique called purposive sampling. Gentles, Charles, Ploeg and MCKibbon (2015) state that, sampling is the method of choosing an illustrative part of a population for determining restrictions or features of the whole population. This means that the researcher will have to collect information from a subset that of given population. This study focused on *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* as the samples from which the findings of this research were drawn. It is virtually impossible to collect information from the whole population that is all the films about the Rwanda genocide hence choosing the above films to come up with valid and more accurate findings.

This study focused on two films, one fictional *Hotel Rwanda* and a non-fictional *Rwanda's Untold Story* and how the two different types of film strive to construct reality. According to Gunter (2000), the decision to choose a sample must be motivated by the researcher's objectives and characteristics of the population he is studying. Choosing one fictional film and one non-fictional film instead of including more helps the researcher to analyze the subject understudy in detail and this can be time consuming.

3.6.1 Purposive Sampling

This study makes use of purposive sampling to select two films *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* that were analysed in a bid to find out how reality is constructed in fictional and non-fictional film. Purposive sampling is a nonprobability technique where the researcher decides on what needs to be known (Yin, 2011). The researcher purposively selected the above-mentioned films because they can help in answering the research questions by analyzing the

cinematographic and narrative techniques used to construct reality in fictional and non-fictional film.

Purposive sampling emphasizes on rigorous accumulation of information and does not generalize information like convenience sampling. “Purposive sampling methods place primary emphasis on saturation (i.e., obtaining a comprehensive understanding by continuing to sample until no new substantive information is acquired)” (Etikan et al, 2016:4). The possibility of getting more detailed information from the *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* helped in providing answers to the study's research questions instead of just making mere generalizations. This study explores and explains how reality is constructed and communicated in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* through cinematographic and narrative techniques employed therein. The study sought to explore if political economy plays a role in influencing how reality is constructed in the two films and if it attorns for either the similarities or differences of historical construction by the films under study.

Purposive Sampling also assists the researcher to select the appropriate and hypothetically result bearing sample. This chosen sample must also be able to assist the researcher in achieving the research objectives and responding to the research questions (Morse and Niehaus, 2009, Marshall, 1996). This study focuses on analysing the cinematographic and narrative techniques used in *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014), which means the researcher purposively selected the films to help fulfill the research's objectives. Patton (2015) states that, the strength of purposive sampling lies in selecting cases which have the most relevant information that enables an in-depth study. This caters for deeper understanding of important issues in the purpose of inquiry.

The researcher chose the two films as samples because they are relatively cheaper to access and the researcher cannot interview the personnel involved in the production of the two films because of distance between Zimbabwe and the United States of America and England. Part of the knowledge that influenced the researcher's judgement to select these two films, is his knowledge on filmic and televisual production. This knowledge was important in distinguishing between

fictional and documentary narratives and therefore important in selecting the two particular films.

3.7 Methods of data collection

3.7.1 Archival Research

Since the study is limited to a textual analysis of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* the researcher deliberately used archival collection. Archival research refers to the study of historical documents that would have been created in the past. This study depends on information that has been collected from *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. Kothari (2004) is of the notion that archival research is relatively inexpensive. In this case, the researcher utilized online British Broadcast Corporation YouTube archives to get *Rwanda's Untold Story* and Extratorrentz for *Hotel Rwanda* which were analysed in-depth in line with the objectives of the study and to answer research questions.

Archival research is a good source of background information and it is largely unobtrusive and may reveal other important issues as the research progresses (Kothari 2004, Marshall, 2006). This means that, it creates room for collection of data that is necessary to help the researcher answer the research questions. Data that was collected from *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* is vital in the sense that it helps the researcher fulfill the objectives of this research.

Archives are a vital part of our cultural heritage. They help people, communities and nations make sense of the present and discover a shared sense of the past. They are evidence of events and decisions, of past lives, ideas and communications, and of people's own identities. (Morley 2012:1). This means that, archival research assists researchers in finding information that is relevant to make sense of past events and analyze reconstructions of history. This study sought to utilise archival research to collect data from *Hotel Rwanda* (George, 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy, 2014) that helped the researcher analyze how reality is constructed is fictional and non-fictional film through the cinematic and narrative techniques used in the two films.

When selecting archival data for analysis the researcher must seriously consider the aspect of answering research questions in the process. According to Marshall (2006), when choosing the archived data for analysis, the researcher must consider the research questions and research

objectives outlined in Chapter One of this research. This study explores the techniques that have been used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

Archival research consumes much of the researcher's time as he strives to collect, review and analyze the data, and some of the information may be biased because of selective choice of information (Ghauri 2005). The researcher carefully analyzed the data in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*, emphasizing on trying to answer the research questions and the study did not bother pursue documented stuff which is not relevant or does not help in answering research questions that drive this study. The findings for this study have been drawn from a textual analysis of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

Methods of data analysis are ways used to analyse the data that would have been collected by the researcher. This study employs semiotic analysis and critical discourse analysis as the methods of data analysis.

3.8.1 Semiotic Analysis

This study employed semiotic analysis to analyse data. Semiotics can be referred to as the study of signs. It examines how signs and symbols are manipulated to create meaning. (Chandler, 2001). The cinematographic and narrative techniques used in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* can be taken as signs and symbols that can be manipulated to represent certain historical facts about the Rwanda genocide that transpired in 1994. Semiotic analysis can help the researcher to explore how reality is constructed in fictional and non-fictional film through unpacking the signs and symbols that are inherent in the employed in the films the researcher is studying.

Semiotic analysis seeks to explore the underlying meanings found in media texts. The mass media carefully selects what to put forth as a message be it in objects, images, words, sounds or colour. The media are engaged in signifying practices "a kind of symbolic work" that gives meaning to things and communicates that meaning to something else. (Hall, 1997: 14, Chandler, 2002). This means that the messages that are inherent in film texts are not innocent, they communicate the ideas of the owners and the funders. It is the role of semiotic analysis to unpack

these hidden meanings in text. Therefore, this study uses semiotic analysis to explore how reality is constructed and communicated in fictional and non-fictional film by scrutinizing the techniques used in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

The study also utilised semiotic analysis to explore whether political economy has any influence on how the techniques in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* were employed in the quest to construct reality of what happened in the Rwanda genocide of 1994. According to Du Plooy (2011), everything can be a sign that stands for something. A semiotic analysis of how the imagery, sound, lighting, words, characters, setting and other cinematographic and narrative techniques assisted the researcher to find out how reality is constructed and communicated in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

Ferdinand De Saussure proposed a two-part model of the sign. There is a signifier which is the physical form that a sign takes. This can refer to the images that one sees on screen of physical objects or human beings. There is also the signified which is the object or concept that the signifier refers. The signifier and signified connect to each other through the process of signification. (Chandler, 2001). In other words, it is through this process of signification that one can get to understand the use of cinematographic and narrative techniques to construct reality in fictional and non-fictional film. The researcher will analyze how the process of signification applies to how the cinematographic and narrative techniques are used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

In semiotics, codes assist individuals to draw out meanings out the signs. "A code is a rule governed system of a sign, whose rules are shared amongst members of a culture and which is used to generate and circulate meaning within a culture" (Fiske 1987:4) One can argue that language is a code that helps people to make sense of the things that happen in the societies they live in. According to Chandler (2001:25), "...language does not reflect reality but rather constructs it. Semiotic analysis was used to analyse the deeper cultural meanings endowed in the techniques used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* by exploring the conversations, narrations, written text that is found in the two films.

3.8.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

This study also employed critical discourse analysis, which focuses on how social power abuse, dominance and inequality are negotiated and contested through verbal and non-verbal texts in social or political context (Van Dijk 1998). Critical discourse analysis aided the researcher to critically explore and analyze the hidden meanings embedded in the texts or images in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. It assisted in unpacking the meanings attached in the techniques used to construct reality in the two films. This method of data analysis helped the researcher to also critically look at the role of political economy in the employment of these techniques by analysing the ownership, control and funding of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

Critical discourse analysis also helps in exploring how language can be a tool to reveal how social relations of power are contested and negotiate. Critical discourse analysis looks at the usefulness of language in expressing ideology and socio-cultural change (Fairclough, 2001, Bryman, 2012). This study explored the use of language in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* to construct reality of what happened during the 1994 Rwanda genocide. The ideologies of the elite are often embedded in film text. It is in this sense that the researcher used critical discourse analysis to unravel meanings that was attached in the conversations and narrations encountered in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

The question that CDA asks is: what is the relationship between texts, their producers and consumers, and the social environment in which text production and consumption occurs? (Haig 2001). In other words, critical discourse analysis is more concerned with analysing how power is contested and negotiated in the production of media text. In the case of this research, critical discourse analysis assisted the researcher to explore the role of political economy in how cinematographic and narrative technics are employed in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* to construct reality of what the Rwanda genocide of 1994. This study looked at how film text is constructed and reveals the ideologies that influence the construction of history in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

Critical discourse analysis is not restricted to the level of language alone, it also extends to “semiotic dimensions like pictures, film and sound (Van Dijk, 1995). This means that critical

discourse analysis can also be used in analysing motion pictures. This is suitable for this research it seeks to explore the cinematographic and narrative techniques used in constructing reality in fictional and non-fictional film focusing on *Hotel Rwanda and Rwanda's Untold Story*. Critical discourse analysis will help the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of how power is contested and negotiated in the process of production of media text that attempt to recreate reality by helping unravel the hidden meanings in images and language used in the films under study.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

The researcher made sure that all the material used in the study was acknowledged. The researcher pursued the values of honesty and truthfulness and avoided plagiarism in this study. The ideas and arguments presented in this study, therefore, are originally the author's and where they were sources, due acknowledgement was given.

3.10 Conclusion

This Chapter brought forth the research paradigm and design utilized by the researcher in this study. It also discussed the sampling techniques, methods of data collection, methods of data analysis and presentation that the research will use. The methods and methodology discussed in this chapter will be of great significance in assisting to obtain findings which are going to be analysed and presented in Chapter 5. The following chapter seeks to explore the organisational structures of United Artists and the British Broadcasting Corporation and how these influences the construction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014).

CHAPTER 4: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter discussed the research methods and methodology employed in this study. It delineated the methods of data collection, research design, sampling techniques and methods of data analysis. This chapter explores the organisational structures of Metro Goldwyn Mayer and Lionsgate Entertainment Company who co-produced *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) who produced *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014). This chapter also explores the mission, vision and core values of these production companies. This will give an in-depth historical understanding of how reality is constructed in the two films under study.

4.2 Organisational Analysis of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) was formed in April 1924 by Marcus Loew. He managed to facilitate the merger of Metro Pictures Corp, Goldwyn Pictures and Luis B. Mayer Productions. Under the leadership of Louis B. Mayer and Irving Thalberg, MGM became the dynamo of creativity and cinematography proficiency. MGM have a reputation of collecting a multiplicity of Best Picture awards and Oscars. MGM has won more than 175 Academy Awards for its productions, including *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) which scooped the satellite award for Best Motion Picture Drama in 2005 (www.mgm.com).

According to Wasko, Murdock and Sousa (2011), Hollywood film production has been subjected to the domination of big studios which monopolize the patents necessary for film production and the aim is to gaining profit. *Hotel Rwanda* was tailor-made to suit the American standard of reconstructing reality regardless of the danger to compromise the reality of what happened in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Therefore, the history of a co-production company (MGM as in this instance) can help the researcher to understand the influential factors behind the reconstruction of history in fictional film

4.3.1 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Organisational Structure

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) regards the post of Chairman as the highest position one can occupy. MGM is currently under the auspices of Gary Barber who is serving as the Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of this global film and television content production and distribution company. The chairman retains the right to make the overall decisions affecting the production and distribution of the film and television content produced by this company. Under the chairperson is the President of the Motion Picture Group for MGM Studios. He runs the studio's development and global production operations and directs the company's theatrical production division as well as on-stage productions. The current President for Motion Picture Group is Jonathan Glickman who joined the company in February 2011. Glickman serves on the National Board of the Posse Foundation and Story Pirates, as well as the Foreign Policy Roundtable Advisory Council (www.mgm.com).

MGM's accounts and finances are handled by a Chief Financial Officer. The role of the Chief Financial Officer is to make sure that the company does not incur losses as the company is a profit oriented entity which thrives on the revenue it generates. The company also provides debt and equity capital as well as management consulting/advisory services to small and medium sized businesses. It is his role to make sure that this job is executed with diligence, as his department is one of the most important at MGM. The company also employs a Chief Legal Officer to deal with any legal issues that may rise that threaten its profit-making endeavors. (www.mgm.com) Lesley Freeman the current Chief Legal Officers joined MGM in July 2016 as Chief Legal Officer. She oversees all legal matters on behalf of the company. The company has the position of the President of LightWorkers Media currently headed by Roma Downey who joined the company 2016 (www.mgm.com).

The office of the Chief Financial Officer has implications on the construction of reality in Hotel Rwanda. The office is more concerned with retaining profits for the company therefore content that interferes with the buying mood will be censored. According to Curran and Gurevitch (2005), media organisation have since moved from their normative role and are now profit driven leading to creation of synergies that exploit the overlays between the company's different

media interests. The above statement suggests that, media companies are now more concerned with making profit and this affects the production process.

MGM has a President who oversees its Worldwide Television Distribution and Acquisitions department. The current president Chris Ottinger leads the global distribution strategy and operations for MGM's collection of television series, feature films and formats on a worldwide basis including handling MGM's branded premium film channels, over-the-air broadcast networks and on-demand services (www.mgm.com). The organisational structure of MGM is such that it enables efficient production of film and television services that can bring profit to the company. MGM's corporate structure has an impact on how the construction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda* as it emphasizes on profit accrual at whatever costs. The establishment of departments such as Legal Affairs and Finance may indicate the intentions of the company to safeguard its products from any elements that may endanger the interests of MGM. According to Golding and Murdoch (1995) quoted in Curran and Gurevitch (2000), there is probable danger that the motive gain profit may lead to direct interference and influence by the owners of media conglomerates in editorial decisions. This means that the structure of MGM governance has the power to influence its production to further its interests.

MGM is also the home of several subsidiaries. It boasts twenty-four production and distribution subsidiaries which include MGM Home entertainment, MGM Pictures, MGM Studios Inc, MGM Consumer products, MGM Digital Development Inc, MGM Distribution Co, MGM Domestic Networks LLC, MGM Domestic Television Distribution LLC, MGM Home Entertainment, MGM Interactive, MGM International Television Distribution Inc, MGM music, MGM Networks, Inc, MGM Networks, MGM on Stage, MGM Pictures, Inc, MGM Studios, Inc, MGM Television Entertainment, Inc, MGM Worldwide Digital Media, MGM-NBC Media Sales, LLC, Orion Pictures Corporation, United Artists Corporation, United Artists Films, Inc and United Artists Films Ltd which is the main distributor of the fictional film *Hotel Rwanda* that is under study in this research (www.mgm.com).

4.3.2 Core Values

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer is a leading entertainment company focused on the production and global distribution of film and television content across all platforms. The company is driven by the need to effectively produce films that can find international appeal and global acceptance (www.mgm.com). The main thrust being that, MGM needs to extend its market base all over the world to make profit from the film and television products it distributes. The core values of the company are worthy analysing because they played a pivotal role in getting a deeper understanding of how the fictional film *Hotel Rwanda* portrays reality of what happened in 1994 during the Rwanda genocide. The idea of creating a narrative that focused on the heroics of the movie's protagonist Paul Rusesabagina at Hotel Rwanda instead of the full picture of what happened in Rwanda is evidenced selective retention of facts to suit the company's interests.

4.3.3 Motto/Slogan

MGM's official motto is "Ars Gratia Artis" a latin phrase translated to Arts for Art's Sake. This motto was coined by Howard Deitz a former MGM chief publicist (www.mgm.com). The slogan is backed it is accompanied by a roaring sound. The logo was made in 1916 for Goldwyn Pictures and updated in 1924 for use by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's motto indicates the desires of the company for making the film industry great through elevation of artistic talent (www.mgm.com). One can argue that, the roaring lion surrounded by a ring of film denotes the desire for the company to dominate the film industry worldwide. One can argue that the lion is taken as symbol of dominion or rather "king of the jungle". MGM's hope is to be the dominant players in the film industry through the production and distribution of internationally acclaimed films and television programming (www.mgm.com).

Big production companies like MGM seek to continuously dominate the film industry by dominating the market with sales. According to Golding and Murdoch (1995), big media companies have significant indirect power over less established companies in their market or those that seek to enter through establishment of rules that govern manner of conduct which in most cases would be in their favour. This means that, to keep its image and safeguard its fame in Hollywood, MGM is careful about its productions and always make sure that what it produces is

top-class. In the case of *Hotel Rwanda*, this control over production by the owners is inevitable thus the risk of altering reality in the dramatization of the Rwanda genocide of 1994.

4.4 Lionsgate Films

Lionsgate Entertainment Corporation was initiated by Frank Giustra in 1997 with the aim of becoming a top independent film and television production company based in Canada. Lionsgate has numerous subsidiaries both in Canada and the United States of America. Lionsgate purchased Cinepix Film one of the top motion pictures companies. Lionsgate also purchased North Shore Studios which was later renamed Lionsgate Studios. Lionsgate has several principal subsidiaries which are as follows, Avalanche Films, Cinepix Animation, Inc., LG Pictures, Inc., Lionsgate Entertainment Inc., Lionsgate Films Corp amongst many others (www.lionsgate.com).

Lionsgate has Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc. as one of their principal competitors. However, the two collaborated to co-produce *Hotel Rwanda*. This unlikely alliance was driven by the need to come up with a sound financial resource base which would enable the production of a marketable film that would retain profit. Bakker (2008) argues that, cinema entertainment has been standardized, made tradeable and this has consequently led to competition between entertainment production companies which has altered the structure of the entertainment market. In other words, film industry is now characterized by stiff competition which must be fend off by producing quality films. Thus, one can argue that MGM and Lionsgate partnered to produce *Hotel Rwanda* to produce a film of high quality which was going to be a success in the Box Office.

4.4.1 Lionsgate Organisational Structure

Lionsgate is headed by a Chief Executive officer whose role is to make the overall decisions that affect the company. The Chief Executive Officer's main mandate is to lead Lionsgate to become an internationally acclaimed production company capable of challenging other major Hollywood studios. The current Chief Executive Officer is Feltheimer (www.lionsgate.com). The Chief Executive Officer is assisted by his deputy to execute the final decisions of the deliberations that

would have been made by the board of directors. The current Deputy Chairperson is Michael Burns (www.Lionsgate.com).

There is a board of directors that is also involved in the governance of Lionsgate. Lionsgate employs fourteen board members depending on existing conditions. If need be, these can be increased or reduced. The board of directors is responsible for reviewing and regularly monitoring the effectiveness of the company's fundamental operating, financial, and other business plans, policies and decisions, including the execution of its strategies and objectives (www.lionsgate.com). One can note that, the board of directors are influential in endorsing what can and cannot be produced as part of Lionsgate final film and television products that are released for market consumption. Therefore, this organisational structure assisted the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of the conditions under which *Hotel Rwanda* portrayed reality of the Rwanda genocide by showing the channels through which it passed before it was eventually released to the world in 2004.

4.4.2 Lionsgate Main Line of Business.

Lionsgate focuses on production of television programming, feature films and digital content which is aimed at captivating international markets. The company was turned into a vertically integrated universal content podium of cumulative diversity, reach and scale. The company's collection of properties includes one of the prime self-governing television businesses in the world, a 16,000-title film and television library, a superlative film business and an escalating global distribution footmark (www.lionsgate.com). One can note that, Lionsgate also concentrates on consolidating its growing reputation. Therefore, *Hotel Rwanda's* production was in line with its main line of business and would further its interests by bringing in profit and fame after dominating the Box Office.

With its acquisition of Starz, a media and entertainment leader whose flagship STARZ® premium pay service reaches nearly 25 million U.S. subscribers, Lionsgate has evolved into a next generation global content leader renowned for its novelty. Lionsgate's market capitalization has fully-fledged from \$80 million in 2000 to more than \$3 billion today, and its revenue has

increased more than 15 times over. Lionsgate's success has been driven by a 16,000-title library, a feature film slate that has generated an average of nearly \$2 billion at the global box office each of the past four years and a television business that encompasses nearly 80 shows on 40 different networks (www.lionsgate.com).

The Company encourages an entrepreneurial culture where invention and risk-taking are encouraged, executives are authorized to make their own decisions and close collaboration between operating units has resulted in a slate of exciting multiplatform properties (www.lionsgate.com). One can argue that, the autonomy given to the executives to make their own interests would lead to manipulation of content. Marx quoted in Boyd-Barret and Newbold, (1995) claims that, in any era, the dominant ideas are the ideas of the ruling class. In this case, the ideas of the autonomous Lionsgate executive would be reflected in the films that the company produces. The above also enables the researcher to understand that, *Hotel Rwanda's* narrative of what happened in the 1994 Rwanda genocide is not only driven by the need to tell the sorry story to the world. It is also influenced by the profitable creativity and risking certain facts of what really happened during the 1994 Rwanda genocide through how the cinematographic and narrative techniques are employed.

Studying Lionsgate's main line of business helped the researcher to have a deeper of the factors beyond production that have an impact on the reconstruction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda*. One can argue that, Lionsgate main line of business is profit oriented. The main thrust is to make as much money as possible from any television programming or film released. This affected how the non-fictional film *Hotel Rwanda* attempted to recreate reality as the story line was tailormade to suit the demands of Hollywood competition and to make as much money in Box Office. Therefore, one can accentuate that studying Lionsgate and its core objectives in business has assisted this study to have a deeper insight on how historical reality is communicated through non-fictional film.

4.5 The intricacies of Co-production

The film *Hotel Rwanda* was co-produced by MGM and Lionsgate Films. According to Staines, Travers and Chung (2011:9) “A co-production in the performing of arts involves two or more producing partners entering into a contractual agreement to support the creation and distribution of a production or process oriented project.” In other words, a co-production refers to the collective contractual collaboration of two producers to produce and distribute a certain production. According to Baltruschat (2002:1), “Co-productions have the potential to reflect upon globalization processes, such as the hybridization of cultures and their diversification; however, due to their commercial focus, they target international audiences as consumers rather than citizens.” Co-productions therefore can compromise the truth in their attempt to recreate reality because the films that they produce are meant to generate revenue. *Hotel Rwanda* finds itself in such a situation as it was co-produced by Lionsgate Films and MGM. The two companies that produced this fictional film are direct competitors in the film industry. Therefore, their coming together to co-produce *Hotel Rwanda* is driven more by the need to generate more revenue and profit than anything.

International Co-productions also exploit what is known as the co-financing model. According to Staines et al (2011) co-financing models involve the company being supported by several stakeholders with finance or infrastructure. The contractual agreement between co-producers takes place before the creative process to provide a pre-financing for the project. One can argue that, although co-productions open opportunities for a company to receive aid in the form of financing and infrastructure, it also compromises the narrative especially in cases like *Hotel Rwanda*. Both co-producers have differing perspectives on the topic under discussion in the film hence they should compromise to reach a consensus in the creative process thus altering facts in the process.

Co-productions present a situation where the strongest production companies come together to produce films that involve certain historical facts that took place in distant places from where they are based increasing the chance of producing unsubstantiated historical information.

Co-productions, initially, promised to enhance and strengthen indigenous film industries and protect cultural interests from the dominance of foreign programs, especially from the US. Co-productions also seemed to offer an opportunity for small producers in countries with less developed culture industries. However, co-productions, now predominate between countries with strong economies and large media production centers (Taylor, 1995:414).

Hotel Rwanda was co-produced by two American companies MGM and Lionsgate. The fact that these two production companies are American casts into doubt how reality is reconstructed in the film. The constant recurrence of the Americans as the only capable force to stop the brutal killings in Rwanda in Paul Rusesabagina's conversations in the film shows how the dominant co-production companies may also turn out to spread cultural superiority of their parent nation in the film discourses.

Core-productions tend to be influenced by the desire to retain profit in the creative process. This desire to generate more revenue inevitably influences how reality is constructed in the non-fictional narratives. The production mode is primarily used to increase production budgets and to create programs with an international appeal. The commercial focus of co-productions limits their potential to reflect upon current globalization processes and issues of international concern. (Powell 2000, Murdoch 1996). The above is applicable to this research in the sense that, *Hotel Rwanda* was made in such a way that it draws international appeal because of its compelling narrative of what it claims to have happened in Rwanda. The idea of focusing on Paul Rusesabagina saving nearly a million lives of endangered Tutsis and moderate Hutus instead of addressing the real issue of what really caused the 1994 Rwanda genocide is a good example of how commercial focus compromises how reality is reconstructed in *Hotel Rwanda*.

4.6 Organisational Analysis of the British Broadcasting Corporation

The British Broadcasting Corporation ((BBC) was formed was formed on 18 October 1922 by some wireless manufacturers including Guglielmo Marconi who was famous for inserting radio. Daily broadcasting by the BBC began in Marconi's London Studio, 2LO, in the Strand, on November 14, 1922. The first director for the BBC was John Charles Walsham Reith. The BBC initially started operating in London through its daily radio services in 2LO following the closure of a plethora of amateur stations. AT the time, there were no governing conventions or rules

hence Reith had to be innovative. He was assisted by Chief engineer, Peter Eckersley. Soon after, the BBC established a Royal Charter to help them define their objectives, powers and obligations (www.bbc.co.uk).

John Logie Baird, broadcast some of his first untried television broadcasts from studios nearby Convent Garden in London. The first pictures were in black and white, created by mechanical means, and flickered, consisting of just lines definition (www.ukessays.com). The BBC was built on the concept of Educating, Informing and Entertaining coined by John Reith. The BBC underwent a transition from being a private company to a public service from 1923 to 1926. John Reith was insisting on the BBC becoming a public service entity than a commercial entity.

BBC Broadcast was made a separate company in 2002 and in 2005 it was sold to Australian-based Macquarie Capital Alliance Group and Macquarie Bank. The remaining BBC resources were reorganized as BBC Studios and Post Production (www.bbc.co.uk).

To understand how the BBC constructs history in film, the researcher must unpack the public service model. According to Watson and Hill cited in Chari (2003;88), public service broadcasting refers to any broadcasting system whose duty is to serve the public in a democracy through informing, educate and entertaining and not to follow commercial ventures. In other words, the public service broadcast follows the Reithan model where the public broadcaster must broadcast content that is in the interest of the public. Rumphorst (2003) says that, the "public" is the whole population of the country or area which the public broadcaster is responsible for serving. It means all groups and segments of the British society should be served by this public broadcasting service. However, since the BBC broadcasts are now consumed worldwide it is now in the public interest of the world to know what happened in the 1994 Rwanda genocide.

One can argue that one cannot watch BBC broadcasts without subscribing hence the corporation diverted to commercialization. Thus, prompting the argument that these commercial interests have an influence on how *Rwanda's Untold Story* was produced. The BBC's journalistic standards and impartiality have been called into question by critics of *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014). Melvern (2006) argues that, the BBC trivialized a serious issue of a mass murder of nearly a million Tutsis by trying to deflect attention to Paul Kagame. In other words, the BBC

has been accused of pursuing vendetta journalism by blatantly accusing Paul Kagame of causing the genocide without sufficient evidence.

4.7 BBC Organisational Structure

BBC's operations and government structure are commandeered by the Royal Charter which came into effect on 1 January 2017. This Charter expires on the 31st of December 2026 (www.bbc.co.uk). The Royal Charter spells out that, the BBC must be run by a board of directors called the BBC Trust. The mandate of the board is to establish the strategy for the corporation, assesses the performance of the BBC executive Board in executing the BBC services. (www.bbc.co.uk). One can note that, although the public service broadcast is said to be free of external influences, it is subject to the control of those who control from within. They are the executives that make the decisions on behalf of the public. They define what is and what is not of public interests. The same is applicable on the production of *Rwanda's Untold Story*. The executive board had might have had the privilege to determine the angle from which the reality of Rwanda's genocide was going to be constructed from.

The Corporation also has an Executive Board and committee responsible for its everyday operations. The Executive Board is made up of Executive and Non-Executive directors with no-executive directors being outsourced. BBC also has in-house divisions covering the its output and operations. There is the Content division headed by Charlotte Moore. This division deals with the corporation's television channels including commissioning of programming. There is also the BBC Studios headed by Mark Linsey which is an in-house television production; entertainment, music and events, factual and scripted entity (www.bbc.co.uk). BBC Studioworks is another important division which leases out BBC Studio facilities to productions from within and without the corporation (www.ukessays.com). One can note that, this organisational structure is vital in this research because it assisted the researcher to have a deeper knowledge on the background influential factors in how content is produced at BBC. This helped the researcher establish how reality is reconstructed in *Rwanda's Untold story* and to also explore the influence of political economy.

4.7.1 BBC's Core Values

BBC seeks to provide world-class programmes and services, and be a trusted guide, for everyone. According to Director-General Tony Hall, BBC is committed to being open and transparent and to regularly publish information about how the BBC works including programme statements, salaries and expenses disclosures, board meeting minutes, and fair-trading complaints and responses (www.bbc.co.uk). However, one can argue that, the BBC has been criticised by Melvern (2006) for their lack of professionalism and responsible reporting in the production of *Rwanda's Untold Story*. She argues, that, the corporation produced a historical account of the Rwanda genocide that was incomplete as it lacked the voice of the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and Paul Kagame. In other words, the BBC was not fair and partial in its coverage of the Rwanda genocide. This therefore presents the base to criticize the claim to being open and transparent by the BBC in their core values.

The British Broadcasting Corporation views trust as the foundation of the corporation and independence, impartiality and honesty as the pillars of their success. BBC takes pride in delivering quality and value for money and creativity is at the centre of the organisation (www.bbc.co.uk). One can say that, the fact that BBC values profit generation makes it probable that the content they produce will be tailormade to appease consumers. This is problematic especially in the case of *Rwanda's Untold Story* as the desire to produce revenue generating content may lead to certain biases in the process of construction of reality by manipulating the cinematographic and narrative techniques employed in the production process.

4.7.2 Mission

The mission of the British Broadcasting Corporation is to enrich people's lives with programmes and services that inform, educate and entertain (www.bbc.co.uk). One can say that the BBC tried to keep up with their mission in *Rwanda's Untold Story* as they produced a version of their own of the massacres in Rwanda 1994.

4.7.3 Vision

The vision of the British Broadcasting Corporation is to be the most creative organisation in the world (www.bbc.co.uk). One can say that; the process of creation puts the issue of constructing reality into jeopardy. Once creativity is applied there is bound to be some alteration of facts and

the productions cease to maintain their originality. In the case of *Rwanda's Untold Story*, the public were expecting to hear a correct account of what really happened during the genocide without dramatization involved. Thus, one can argue that in as much as creativity enables the BBC to create attractive and marketable content, it also compromises the process of constructing reality.

4.7.4 Funding Mechanism of the BBC

The British Broadcasting Corporation is mainly funded through television license fees. It costs 145.50 Pounds per year per household since April 2010 (www.bbc.co.uk). The cost of this television license is determined by the UK government and is enforced by the Criminal Law. The revenue is collected and paid into the central government Consolidated Fund, a process defined in the Communications Act of 2003. The payment of this license fee is also equated to tax payment and any attempt to avert tax is punishable (www.bbc.co.uk).

More funds are generated from BBC's commercial arm BBC Worldwide who generate profit from selling programmes to the whole world. Some of the programmes sold by BBC Worldwide to foreign television stations are comedies, historical drama productions and documentaries (www.bbc.co.uk). *Rwanda's Untold Story* is part of these documentaries that are produced by BBC for global consumption. Therefore, including the funding mechanism was helpful to the researcher in the sense that it helps understand the processes involved in the reconstruction of reality in non-fictional film, in this case *Rwanda's Untold Story*. The BBC would not want to create content that is not marketable therefore they produce content that competes on the global film market.

The British Broadcasting Corporation also gets its funding from government grants which amounts to 244.6 million Pounds per year, of which 238.5 million comes from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office for the BBC World Service (www.bbc.co.uk). One can argue that this governmental funding may result in government influencing content being produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation especially on issues related to foreign policy. One of the main objectives in this research is to find out if political economy has an impact on how reality is

reconstructed in *Rwanda's Untold Story* hence studying the funding mechanism of the BBC assisted in achieving this objective a will be shown in Chapter 5.

4.8 Political Economy of Film Production

This section seeks to show how the concept of political economy applies to the analysis of how reality is constructed in fictional and non-fictional film. Although political economy theory has also been used as the theoretical lens of the study, it is discussed here again to better understand how ownership of resources of the particular production companies affected the making of the two films. Political Economy is the study of power relations between capitalistic enterprises and public intervention in the production, distribution and consumption of media products Curran and Gurevitch (2000:77). The researcher analysed how power relations played out in the production of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* in their quest to reconstruct reality.

Government and corporate sponsors often seek to control or influence content produced by the media. Film and TV production companies like MGM, Lionsgate and the BBC are not an exception. For example, *Hotel Rwanda* is filled with pro-American ideology. It makes use of American characters as the main characters in enacting African History. According to Curran and Gurevitch (2005), the state is not only a regulator of communication industries but it also has interests in controlling them by being the dominant communicator in the media. This shows that, the states in which these films are produced end up manipulating the media to communicate their own interests. According Reith (1924), there has been contention between the BBC and UK government as the latter has always wanted to censor information much against the ideals of an ideal public broadcaster.

This research is a textual analysis of *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. The idea is to find out how reality is constructed in fictional and non-fictional film and to explore the role of Political economy. Media texts are crafted to suit the particular expressive form being used. Outside televised political speeches, discourses are seldom available for public consumption in their raw state. The media get information and construe it in a way which echoes their interests and encrypt texts on numerous podiums to audiences who at times translate it as being true albeit people have divergent ways of interpreting messages (Curran and Gurevitch 2005, Golding and

Murdock 1979). This reveals that the media engage in the process of reconstructing reality. The researcher applied this understanding of political economy to gain a deeper understanding of how ideologies are embedded in media text to serve the ideologies of those who own or control the media.

Political economy theory enables the researcher to understand how dominators of production companies embed their hegemony and ideologies in films by influencing how reality is communicated through cinematographic and narrative techniques employed. Wasko (2003) argues that Hollywood intentionally indorses American hegemony. She argues that, the political function of Hollywood is to sell the important values of heterosexuality, romance, marriage being proper social norms, violence is justified to destroy any threats against the system and American values and institutions are all-encompassing, effective and well-organized and beneficial to society. In the two films under study, elements of embedded ideologies are visible in how the cinematographic and narrative techniques were employed to come up with two differing versions of what happened in Rwanda in 1994. These has been revealed in finer detail in Chapter 5

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter explored the organisational structures of the co-producers of *Hotel Rwanda* Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Lionsgate Films. There was a discussion on the tenants of co-productions and how they influence the construction of reality in fictional film. This chapter also explored the organisational structure of the British Broadcasting Corporation, reviewing its mission, vision and core values and how they relate to this study. The Chapter also discussed the concept of political economy and how it influences the reconstruction of reality in fictional and non-fictional film. The next chapter presents and analyses the data that has been collected in this study.

CHAPTER 5: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. The two films used as case studies are comparatively analysed to explore how reality is portrayed in fictional and non-fictional film. This study sought to answer the research questions alluded to in Chapter 1. The research is qualitative and it employs critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis to analyse the text in the films under study.

The multiplication of hate language in re-imaging the Rwanda genocide

The study found out that *Hotel Rwanda* multiplies the hate language that allegedly ignited the Rwandan genocide in reality. Repetition of the same hate language in the film is akin to 'opening fresh wounds' because it revisits the harsh realities of the genocide. This hate language manifests in various forms, which include character conversation and voice overs imitating the RTLM radio broadcasts. Right at the beginning of *Hotel Rwanda* there is a voice making a radio announcements inciting Hutus against the Tutsi. The voice says:

When people ask me good listeners why do I hate the Tutsi, I say he dies. The Tutsi were collaborators for the Belgian colonists, they stole our Hutu land, they whipped us. Now they have come back these Tutsi rebels...They are cockroaches. They are murderous. Rwanda is our Hutu land. We are the majority and they are a minority of traitors and invaders. We will squash the infestation. We will wipe out the RPF rebels. This is RTLM Hutu power radio stay alert. Watch your neighbours!

There is a historical anecdote to this morbid introduction. The speech at the beginning attempts to revive within viewers memories of the colonial days when Tutsis were favoured over the Hutus. This is a clear attempt to retrace where the conflict between the Hutus and Tutsis emerged. However, the utmost surprise in this attempt to revisit history is the use of hate language against the Tutsi. This portrays the Hutu as cruel and a human species motivate by revenge. The film thus creates, at the beginning, binaries of good versus evil and aggressors (Hutu) versus victims (Tutsi).

Similarly, the documentary *Rwanda's Untold Story* makes use of hate and pessimistic language in the form of a voice over by Jane Corbin to try and report about the reality of what happened in

the 1994 Rwanda genocide. The first statement that comes right at the beginning of the documentary establishes the tragic nature of Rwanda's story. The narration goes,

“Rwanda, a country dominated by its dark history. The senseless barbarity of the genocide still shocks us. We think we know the story, but do we?”

This statement by Corbin reveals so many things that exist in the story of Rwanda and the relations of Africa and the West. The opening statement “Rwanda, a country dominated by its dark history” hints at the tragic story that viewers are about to see on a literal level. However, on a subtext level that statement may be taken as a portrayal of how the West views Africa in general. The words ‘dark history’, ‘senseless barbarity’ remind one of the words of Joseph Conrad (1999) who says that Africa is a dark continent characterized by barbarism, civil war, strife and disease. In the process of trying to tell the Rwandan story, deeper meanings that reveal how Africa is viewed by the West (ironically where the documentary was produced) begins to surface.

Rwanda's Untold Story goes a step further by asking rhetoric questions which casts into doubt the widely known story of the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Corbin asks, “We think we know the story, but do we?” This question is deliberately constructed to pose questions on the authenticity of the widely accepted story about the Rwandan genocide. The researcher found out that the above rhetoric question seeks to relegate other world views about the Rwanda genocide and establish *Rwanda's Untold Story's* version as true as supported by Stam (an interviewee in the documentary) who says at the beginning of the documentary, “What the world believes and what actually happened are quite different.” Therefore, one can argue that rhetorical questions used by *Rwanda's Untold Story* can be taken as one of the techniques used by non-fictional film to (re)construct reality by probing existing facts as shown in this paragraph.

Hate language is used to define ethnic identities in *Hotel Rwanda*. It is used to show who belonged and who did not belong to Rwanda during the time of the 1994 massacres in Rwanda. This is evident when the Hutus constantly refer to the Tutsis as ‘cockroaches’. According to Hall (1997), the media deliberately create signifying texts that are symbolic, attach meanings to things and communicate the meaning to something else. In other words, the media use symbols that need to be analysed to unpack the underlying meanings. In this case the term cockroach must be

unpacked in connection to its literal characteristics and relationship to human beings and then coming up with the meaning of how it was used in *Hotel Rwanda*.

A cockroach is an unwanted pest in the households of human beings hence it is killed either by brutal crushing or poisoning using pesticides. Therefore, one can argue that *Hotel Rwanda* tries to give the picture of Hutus who killed the Tutsis not because they are human beings but are unwanted cockroaches. The opening voice on the RTLM radio stations screams, "They are cockroaches" and by doing so it gives an impression of how the Hutus viewed the Tutsis. General Buzimhungu (Fana Mokoena) a Hutu who is a general in the Army in one scene reminds Paul that he must pay him to protect the Tutsis whom he also refers to as cockroaches. Do you know the trouble I have to protect these cockroaches?, he asked Paul.

Other hardline members of the Hutu movement also make constant reference to the Tutsi as cockroaches to justify their actions to kill them. One good example is that of the head of the Interahamwe George Rutaganda (Hakeem Kae-Kazim) who says he wants to kill all the rich cockroaches at Hotel Rwanda in a conversation with the hotel's manager Paul Rusesabagina (Don Cheadle) "Your rich cockroaches at the hotel, their money is no good to them now. Soon all the Tutsis will be dead," said George in *Hotel Rwanda*

The emphasis on the use of the word cockroach by the Hutus brings two major things to the surface. Firstly, it reveals the dehumanization of the Tutsi that existed in Rwanda before and during the Rwanda genocide. The film tries to show how the inability by the Hutus to view their fellow Tutsi as human beings led to their justification of the mass killings of the latter. Secondly, it shows the depth and intensity of the hatred that existed between the Hutus and Tutsis because of the elevated positions that the Tutsi held during the colonial days. The Hutus thus were pushed by their motive to avenge not human beings but invader cockroaches.

This study found out that *Hotel Rwanda* failed to censor the hate language used in the film. In fact, they blatantly perpetuated it by returning some of the disturbing and dehumanizing terms which described the Tutsi as 'Cockroaches', 'traitors', 'invaders' and 'tall tress'. Though it can be argued that it was an attempt to portray what transpired in the 1994 genocide, the researcher is of the notion that censorship of some inflictive words should have been practiced. Historical

films should be able to bring solutions to ethnic problems faced by nations. The explicit hate language in *Hotel Rwanda* creates a time bomb in the sense that, it may inflict pain on the healing wounds of those hurt most by the genocide. Therefore, these findings add to the already existing body of knowledge on the impact that hate language in films has on the construction of reality and its impact on post genocide nations.

Similarly, *Rwanda's Untold Story* portrays the Tutsi especially, Paul Kagame the current president of Rwanda and the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) as a murderer who killed the Hutus for fun. This is evidenced by the words of Paul Kagame's former Chief of Staff General Kunyumba Nyamwasa when he says,

We have a dictator, we have a man who is a serial killer who enjoys killing his citizens

The choice of words here is worrying. Paul Kagame is referred to as a man who 'enjoys' killing his citizens equating him thus creating an image of a 21st century Hitler. The researcher realized that inflammatory and allegation language is used in *Rwanda's Untold Story* also to communicate what BBC and Conroy feel like the untold truth about the 1994 genocide. That is the marginalised contribution of Paul Kagame in the massacre of the Hutus in Rwanda, Burundi and Congo. The above findings answer the research questions raised in Chapter One that seek to reveal the techniques used in constructing reality in fictional and non-fictional film.

Use of classic narrative structure in reconstructing reality

One of the major findings of this research is that, *Hotel Rwanda* makes use of classic narrative structure to (re)construct reality of what happened in Rwanda in 1994. The classic narrative structure is defined by a common structure of storytelling in most Hollywood films using fictional characters which has three components which are the setup, the development and the resolution. The setup is the introductory part which presents the protagonist and antagonist and the main conflict, the development refers to the problems that the main character faces and how he or she seemingly reaches a resolution and the resolution is when solution to the conflict is found and the hero dominates. This classic narrative structure is used by George in *Hotel Rwanda* as he establishes Paul Rusesabagina (Don Cheadle) as the main character against the Hutu aggressors and makes him suffer as he fights to defend the Tutsis in the hotel. There comes

a time when the United Nations Soldiers seem to have found a way to get the refugees out of the hotel but it fails as they get interrupted by the Hutu militia. The resolution finally comes when the UN soldiers safely get the refugees across the Tutsi rebel line.

Paul Rusesabagina (Don Cheadle) can be heard saying, "It's the rebels, we are crossing the red line," and another voice screaming with delight, "We are safe, we are safe!" The idea of crossing the redline in this context needs to be thoroughly cross-examined using semiotic analysis. According to Du Plooy (2011), everything can be a sign that signifies something. In other words, the phrase redline needs to be unpacked to get its hidden meaning and its significance in the process of recreating reality. A redline usually refers to a prohibited place or achieving something impossible. In the context of Rusesabagina's situation, the redline meant his success against what seemed impossible to achieve in the beginning that is to save almost a thousand endangered Tutsi lives and moderate Hutus. Therefore, one can argue that, George successfully used the classic narrative structure to reflect the reality of what happened during the 1994 Rwanda genocide.

Use of real-life characters and their testimonies to authenticate facts

The study found out that, contrary to the use of the classic narrative structure, *Rwanda's Untold Story* was constructed based on real-life characters who were involved in the fateful proceedings of the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Asked whether Paul Kagame instructed the shooting down of the then President of Rwanda Habyarimana, Gen Konyumba Nyamwasa had this to say, "Paul Kagame undoubtedly..." The use of real characters gives the film a touch of realism as testimonies from the actual people involved are likely to be more realistic than those used in fictional film (See appendices 1 and 2). This finding helps address the research question which seeks the similarities and differences of the cinematographic and narrative techniques used to construct history in fictional and non-fictional film.

Another former staff member of Paul Kagame Alois Ruyenzi also gave his testimony claiming that it was Paul Kagame that was responsible for the gunning down of the presidential plane which led to the outbreak of the 1994 Rwanda genocide. In an interview within the film with Jane Corbin, Ruyenzi confirms, "The president approved the plan and ordered it be implemented". This leads to a certain level of historical authenticity until one raises the argument

that oral evidence is problematic as the informer may exaggerate or deliberately taint information. According to Moss and Mazikana (1986), oral tradition's major weakness is that the holders of information can deliberately misinform or exaggerate on a certain historical issue. This means that the accounts given by both Runyenzi and Nyamwasa may be motivated by the need to have Paul Kagame nabbed since he is the reason why they are in exile.

The use of testimonies also helps in revealing some unknown information about the Rwanda genocide. In *Rwanda's Untold Story*, Dr Stam and Dr Davenport concluded in their inquiry on the Rwanda genocide that the killings by the Hutus and it ended before the entry of the Rwanda Patriotic Front. Hence, they concluded in the documentary that nearly a million people who died after 1994 were Paul Kagame and the RPF's responsibility.

The information we have from the Rwandan government clearly shows that, the killings began and ended throughout the country before the RPF arrived...Paul Kagame, his ability to stay in power, his ability to hold on to that country depends on all of us believing that he was the one who saved Rwanda instead of invading and conquering Rwanda.

The use of testimonies was instrumental in deconstructing the other realities that have been constructed on the Rwandan genocide and (re)constructing 'real' reality which is different from the one dramatized by Hollywood film *Hotel Rwanda*.

The BBC is taking a stance of defending their mandate as a public broadcaster by unveiling the 'unknown truths' about the genocide that might be of public interest as highlighted by Avery.

Public service broadcasting is based on the principles of universality of service, diversity of programming, provision for minority audiences including the disadvantaged, sustaining an informed electorate, and cultural and educational enrichment. The concept was conceived and fostered within an overarching ideal of cultural and intellectual enlightenment of society (Avery 1993).

The above quote applies to the situation of *Rwanda's Untold Story*. The documentary attempts to construct reality in a manner that seeks to make the audience understand what happened in Rwanda from the testimonials of those who worked with Kagame in committing the crimes. It also makes use of academic research to authenticate its claims as been highlighted before. However, its inability to get to interview Paul Kagame to answer the allegations and reliance on

file footage with negatives leaves their construction unbalanced as it only has one voice of those accusing.

Politics of the camera gaze and construction of reality

The camera in *Hotel Rwanda* does communicate on its own. In the opening scene of *Hotel Rwanda* where the title appears on the screen, there is an aerial shot that appears of a place that is assumed to be Rwanda in the movie. Aerial shots resemble vulnerability of the subject that has been shot from above. One can argue that this is a western gaze which views Africa as wretched and underdeveloped since *Hotel Rwanda* was co-produced by Hollywood-based Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Lionsgate which always reflect the American dream.



Fig 1: Aerial shot in the opening scene of *Hotel Rwanda* which resembles how West views Africa as small and underdeveloped. (*Hotel Rwanda*)

The research found out that, the camera in *Hotel Rwanda* has a predominantly colonial gaze. The beliefs and values of the United States of America are all shown on Paul Rusesabagina (Don Cheadle). Paul Rusesabagina appears on screen more than any other actor. This is highlighted in his conversations when he is talking to General Bizimungu when he constantly uses the bargaining stance that the Americans are watching to gain protection from him against the Interahamwe

“General, you sit there with five stars on your chest. Who do you think the Americans are after?”

Paul also makes fun out of General Bizimungu with his wife, laughing at how he lied to general Bizimungu about American spies who are watching him and his movements. Branigan (2006) argues that camera movements and shifts in position are motivated. In other words, filmmakers communicate through the movement and positioning of the camera.

“What was I supposed to say kkk? That the Americans are hiding in the trees?”

The colonial gaze can be seen throughout *Hotel Rwanda*. The Hutus are portrayed as idle individuals who have no brains for education but for lunaticism and massacre. They are always pictured in the Interahamwe regalia, soldier uniforms, holding machetes and sitting in the streets listening to the RTLM Hutu Power radio propaganda humming war chants and slogans (See appendices 4 and 5). Western films continue to bring back the colonial discourse where Africa is misrepresented as a continent of corruption, civil strife, war and disease (Fanon 1967, Meyer 2002). Consequently, the views of Fanon and Meyer are provided to be on point as this is exactly what is depicted in *Hotel Rwanda*. Therefore, one can say that the construction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda* is motivated by how the West views Africa. Consequently, the techniques used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* bear a western colonial gaze because of the values of the country in which the film was produced.

Hollywood genre films promote the American dream, myths and ideology (Wasko 2003). Applying this to this research, one can argue that the American dream and ideology are communicated through the frequent appearance of Paul Rusesabagina and his conversations. This can be seen in the image below when he was ordering general Bizimungu to take him back to his family after successfully bribing him.



Fig 2: Paul Rusesabagina pointing in a commanding way to general Bizimungu to take him back to the Hotel or else he threatens not to vouch for him when the Americans come to arrest the aggressors. (*Hotel Rwanda*)

Hotel Rwanda is film that was co-produced by two film production companies that are affiliated to the United States based Hollywood. Therefore, it carries a story that reflects American ideologies, belief systems and values. A good example can be cited from the scene where General Bizimungu (Fana Mokoena) refuses to take Rwandan Francs for a bribe from Paul Rusesabagina clearly showing that he values American dollars than his own country's currency.

Rwandan Francs! These are only good enough for wiping your ass

Taking media messages for granted is dangerous. In a film of *Hotel Rwanda's* nature, nothing should be taken for granted (Mboti, 2009). The above statement by Bizimungu cannot be taken for granted as it carries some hidden American ideology that is the power of the United States dollar. The way he throws the Rwandan currency to the ground and how it scatters around also symbolizes the worthlessness of Africa as a continent. Therefore, one can say that the construction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda* is influenced by the dominating Hollywood values that seek to raise the American flag higher than any other flag.

Paul Rusesabagina is given more focus than anyone else by the camera. He is the Protagonist of the movie *Hotel Rwanda* and consequently the symbol of American values. The choosing of Don Cheadle to play the part of Paul Rusesabagina is not coincidental. It could have been a South

African, it could as well have been a Rwandan National but Don is chosen because he comes from the United States of America. He is likely to act the part of hailing the Americans without any hard feelings because he knows the values and principles he is supposed to stand for.



Fig 3: Paul Rusesabagina (Don Cheadle- left) is given more focus by the camera throughout the movie (Hotel Rwanda)

However, there is use of racist language directed at Paul Rusesabagina by the head of the UN Mission to Rwanda when he tells him that they were not going to get any help because they are Africans. The UN general says,

You are black, you are not even a nigga, you are an African. They are not going to stay Paul. They are not going to stop this slaughter.

The words uttered towards Paul are racists in every sense and reveals how the West views Africa. The message contains extremely racist language that shows that a black man is not worth saving especially those from Africa. It also brings out the racist relationship that exists in the United States of America between white people and the black branded niggas. This is a clear indication of the communication of Western ideology through film. This answers the research question which ponders whether political economy has a role in influencing how cinematographic and narrative techniques are employed in constructing history in fictional and non-fictional film.

The camera in *Hotel Rwanda* has been used to draw ethnic differences in ethnic identities in Rwanda. The Hutus have been framed as short and dark individuals. The Hutus have also been

framed by the camera in *Hotel Rwanda* as military men always wearing a stern, angry or disgusted look on their faces as shown below



Fig 4: Hutus presented as short, military men and always putting an angry face. (*Hotel Rwanda*)

One can argue that the framing through casting of the Hutu as short, dark and stern looking individuals also has an underlying meaning which seeks to construct their ethnic identities. Darkness symbolizes the uncertainty and evil. Stern faces represent hostility, brutality and cruelty. Therefore, it needs no second invitation to conclude that, framing the Hutu as per the above descriptions is an attempt to lay the blame of what happened during the 1994 genocide on the Hutus.

The Tutsi are cast as tall, thin, long nosed, weak and traumatized victims throughout the film. One can barely come across a scene where the Tutsis are smiling. They are always on the run, frightened about something or rather wearing a sad face almost bursting into tears of fear and vulnerability. This seen when Tatiana Rusesabagina (Sofie Okenedo) and other neighbouring Tutsi friends are found by Paul Rusesabagina hiding in the house after receiving news that the president of Rwanda had been murdered by Tutsi rebels. This can also be evidenced by a scene where Tatiana and her Tutsi neighbours are pulled out of the house by members of the army who are looking for the so-called Tutsi spies. They are seen cuddling and wearing traumatized faces as shown below,



Fig 5: The Tutsi are always framed as tall, light, thin nosed, weak, vulnerable and victims. Here they are cuddling not for warmth but out of fear of the ‘almighty’ Hutus. (*Hotel Rwanda*)

On another scene, an old man whom the camera focuses on symbolizes the vulnerability of the Tutsi. He is biting his lips and holding his folded knees, which is a sign of fear. (see appendices section) The boy next to the old man who has been given prominence as well is looking traumatized, a look that is much more associated with victims than victimizers. The above shows that the camera has been used to frame characters in a way that defines ethnic identities and what they went through to recreate reality. It defines who is Hutu (the aggressor) and who is Tutsi (The victim) to clearly show who was responsible for the outbreak of the Rwanda genocide.

Similarly, *Rwanda's Untold Story* makes use of the camera to try and recreate reality. The portrayal of Paul Kagame as evil and intentionally igniting the Rwanda genocide by shooting down the President's plane is summed up in one image.



Fig 6: Paul Kagame (RPF Leader) drinks a glass of orange juice after hearing that the President Habyarimana's plane had been shot. (*Rwanda's Untold Story*)

Upon the reception of sad news, death in this instance, one would be expected to drop that glass full of orange juice and start mourning. Not even enmity would make one continue to enjoy drinking some orange juice. However, it is crucial to note that Paul Kagame is not interviewed to confirm this as his reaction thus casting Conroy's allegations into doubt. One can argue that *Rwanda's Untold Story* sets the tone by firstly defining Kagame as cruel and a person without empathy by providing that close shot as his reaction to the president's death. Secondly, this image seems to legitimate *Rwanda's Untold Story's* claim that it was Paul Kagame and the RPF who were responsible for the death of Habyarimana. It is noteworthy that although the claims of who started the genocide are different from *Hotel Rwanda's*, it is evident that they both use the camera to construct reality and identities through certain frames that make them appear guilty or not. Therefore, one can say that fictional and non-fictional film use nearly the same cinematographic techniques to construct reality but what differs is the gaze of the production companies.

However, the researcher found out that, *Rwanda's Untold Story* uses real-life characters and file footage of real events to differentiate documentary from the fictional way of constructing reality.

Rwanda's Untold Story provided file footage of the dead bodies in the streets and killings happening in public filmed by Rwanda TV (See appendix 6). This was a clear attempt to authenticate their version of reality they were constructing as the audiences were likely to believe the source from which the images were coming from. According to Klaen (200), sources of information determine what is and what is not newsworthy. In other words, a public broadcast such as Rwanda TV is more likely to increase chances of believability of Conroy and the BBC's story.



Fig 7: Piles of dead bodies during the 1994 Rwanda genocide sourced from Rwanda TV

The researcher also realized that, *Hotel Rwanda* also used a similar sourcing technique in their quest to be regarded as authentic constructors of what happened during the 1994 genocide. They acknowledged to have used Paul Rusesabagina himself as a consultant before reconstructing what happened in Rwanda. This was a clear move to be regarded authentic sources of information because they had the first-hand version of information from the person who was on the ground as things happened. The table below is a concise summary of what is depicted in the films against the accounts given in orthodox sources of history.

THE RE)CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY THROUGH FICTIONAL AND NON-FICTIONAL FILM NARRATIVES. HOTEL RWANDA AND RWANDA'S UNTOLD STORY

What ‘actually’ Happened. (Prunier 1997)	How it is portrayed in <i>Rwanda’s Untold Story</i>	How it is portrayed in <i>Hotel Rwanda</i>	Conclusion
Hutu targeted Tutsi’s long before 1994 with the Hutus having murdered 100 000 Tutsis in from 1963-1967. Long term cause of the Rwandan genocide.	The Rwanda genocide was caused by the senseless invasion of Rwanda by the Tutsi-dominated Rwanda Patriotic Front led by Paul Kagame.	The Hutu started the Rwandan genocide out of hatred of the Tutsi. They named the Tutsi as cockroaches to justify butchering them.	Both films neglect the long-term causes of the Rwandan genocide and do not mention that Rwanda just needed a final spark to ignite the genocide. The hostilities between the Hutu and Tutsi can be traced from the pre-colonial era
The Hutus were the instigators of the 1994 genocide. They massacred the Tutsi using machetes, knives, spears and hippopotamus hide whips. It is not clear who shot the presidential plane but the Hutu hastily blamed the Tutsi to justify their massacre.	The Rwandan genocide was Paul Kagame’s and the RPF’s responsibility. Paul Kagame and the RPF shot down the Presidential plane. Therefore, it is Paul Kagame and the RPF who instigated the Rwandan genocide.	The Hutu were already preparing for war as they were purchasing machetes to slaughter Tutsis way before the presidential plane was shot. The Hutu militia leaders are partially blamed for shooting down the presidential plane. But the whole blame is put on the Tutsi as an excuse to murder them.	What <i>Hotel Rwanda</i> Portrays is more accurate when compared to the historical account of what really happened. The Hutus were the instigators of the genocide as they were already targeting the Tutsi since the colonial era.

THE RE)CONSTRUCTION OF HISTORY THROUGH FICTIONAL AND NON-FICTIONAL FILM NARRATIVES. HOTEL RWANDA AND RWANDA'S UNTOLD STORY

<p>The Interahamwe militia comprising of the Hutus was trained by the Rwandan army dominated by the Hutu to massacre civilians.</p>	<p>The RPF came and murdered thousands of Hutu civilians leading to Hutus fleeing the country, seeking asylum in Congo. Paul Kagame and the RPF murdered approximately five million Hutus</p>	<p>Paul Kagame and the RPF rebels saved more than one thousand refugees trapped at Hotel Rwanda. They were on the verge of being killed by the Hutu militia</p>	<p>Hotel Rwanda is more accurate again as it acknowledges that the Hutu militia murdered Tutsi civilians. Rwanda's Untold Story bases on allegations without historic evidence.</p>
<p>The genocide did not occur in Kigali alone but in the whole of Rwanda.</p>	<p>The genocide was a national catastrophe caused by Paul Kagame and the RPF.</p>	<p>The killings occur in the streets of Kigali and the neighbouring city Guitarama is considered to be free of war.</p>	<p>Hotel Rwanda creates the false illusion that the killings only took part in Kigali. The genocide happened throughout Rwanda as noted by Rwanda's Untold Story.</p>
<p>Approximately five hundred to one million people died in Rwanda during the genocide.</p>	<p>More than one million people died during the genocide.</p>	<p>There were almost a million corpses when the genocide ended.</p>	<p>Both films agree that almost a million-people died. What differs is whether they were Hutu or Tutsi. Hotel Rwanda claims that they were Tutsi whilst Rwanda's Untold Story claims they were Hutu. History says Rwandans died.</p>

Table 1: Summary of comparison between the filmic representations and 'common' historical accounts (Source: Author).

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the cinematic and narrative techniques used by *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* in (re)constructing reality. It has managed to show the similarities and differences of how these techniques are employed and the role of political economy. The findings in this chapter have successfully answered the questions of this study and shown the applicability of the Political Economy of Film and Gaze theory to the subject under study. The next chapter will conclude the study and give recommendations for future studies and filmmakers.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

6.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to summarise and conclude all the research activities that have been undertaken. The chapter sums up information that has been compiled and analyzed from Chapter One, which is the introduction. This chapter will also provide recommendations for future studies and assist filmmakers as the researcher concludes this chapter.

6.1 Summary of Research

This research sought to explore how reality is constructed in fictional and non-fictional film focusing on *Hotel Rwanda* (George 2004) and *Rwanda's Untold Story* (Conroy 2014). The study mainly focused on revealing the cinematographic and narrative techniques, finding the similarities and differences of the techniques and the role of Political Economy in influencing how these techniques are employed in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. Literature on the construction of reality by the media was reviewed and it assisted to put the study into context. The literature was divided into four themes which are, media language and construction of cultural stereotypes, film and construction of a colonial gaze, film and the construction of racial and ethnic silence and fiction versus reality in film. There are many other arguments that have been raised concerning the construction of history in film by other scholars. While the researcher admits that there are studies that have been conducted on film and construction of reality, this study is unique in the sense that it specifically seeks to find the cinematographic and narrative techniques used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. It also specifically set out to explore the similarities and differences of how these techniques are employed and the role of political economy in the process of constructing reality.

The Political Economy of Film and the Gaze theory have been used in this study to provide a framework to guide this study. Apparently these two theories have proved to be relevant to this study as revealed in the findings of this study. Qualitative research was employed to carry the study as it enabled the researcher to explore and explain how cinematographic and narrative techniques have been used to construct reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story*. The study also used Archival research as a method of data collection for this study. Purposive

sampling was employed to select the films that were suitable for this study. A critical review of co-production companies for Hotel Rwanda, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and Lionsgate as well the British Broadcasting Corporation which produced Rwanda's Untold Story was conducted. This critical analysis was carried out to examine how ownership and control of the production companies had direct influence on the employment of techniques used to reconstruct history. The researcher employed critical discourse analysis and semiotic analysis to analyse data that was presented in Chapter 5. The researcher also referred to the theoretical framework, literature review and research questions and objectives to support the findings.

Conclusions

Both Hotel Rwanda and Rwanda's Untold Story make use of hate language to construct reality of what happened in the 1994 Rwanda genocide. Hotel Rwanda's hate language surfaces in conversations between the Hutu and Tutsi and it is used to construct ethnic identities. In Rwanda's Untold Story hate language comes out through testimonies from the interviewees that were once close associates of Paul Kagame.

Rwanda's Untold Story goes a step further in using rhetorical questions to interrogate the widely accepted historical accounts about the 1994 Rwanda genocide. These rhetorical questions come from Jane Corbin who does the voice over in the documentary.

Hotel Rwanda employs the classic narrative structure in reconstructing reality. The film focuses on the heroics of Paul Rusesabagina as he is portrayed as a man who fights all odds to save the Tutsi from the Hutu militia and Rwanda's army. However, the reconstructed reality is biased as the 1994 genocide did not only evolve around Paul Rusesabagina and the beleaguered Tutsi at the hotel.

In contrast, Rwanda's Untold Story makes use of real-life characters and their testimonies to authenticate facts. This can be owed to their obligation to follow a public service values to inform and educate. However, the use of testimonies from supposed real-life characters compromises the sources could easily exaggerate or alter their experiences to get Paul Kagame to be prosecuted by the international community.

Both *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* make use camera positioning, angles, lighting and sound to communicate reality. The difference of reality that emerges from both films can be attributed to the influence of American ideology on Hollywood film and that of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Both *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* have a colonial gaze inherent in them. Africa is viewed as a continent of civil and ethnic wars, senseless barbarity, corruption and strife. This is reflected through conversations in *Hotel Rwanda* and in the narrations in *Rwanda's Untold Story*.

6.2 Conclusion

The research found out that documentary and non-fictional film use relatively the same cinematographic and narrative techniques to construct reality. *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* make use of camera shots, angles, positioning, and follow a storyline in constructing reality. The research has found out that fictional film and non-fictional film both are creative constructions of reality only distinguished by the means they use to dramatize the story of the Rwanda genocide. For instance, *Hotel Rwanda* makes use of fictional characters and character conversations meanwhile *Rwanda's Untold Story* employs real-life characters and voice over narration to authenticate their narrative. The research also found out that the two filmic narratives offer differing accounts with the widely accepted history of the Rwandan genocide. The differences that surface in the imaginative construction of reality in *Hotel Rwanda* and *Rwanda's Untold Story* can be owed to the ownership and control of the production companies that produced these two filmic narratives. Therefore, one can conclude that reality still remains a contested terrain and what the two filmic narratives produce is creative construction of history since reality can never be portrayed in its fullness.

6.3 Recommendations to Filmmakers

The constructors of films in the Western countries should try to minimize the use of hate and inflammatory language in their pursuit to construct reality. Filmmakers must tread carefully when dealing especially with nations who have a history of civil war and ethnic conflicts. The

idea is to educate the world to desist from committing atrocities without inflicting pain on the healing wounds of those who would have been affected. In as much as filmmakers want to make money, it is important not to widen the rifts that exist between ethnic groups.

Hollywood filmmakers must avoid using racist language in their pursuit to reconstruct reality. Racism is a major cancer that the world is fighting. Therefore, the film industry must play their part in discouraging the world in engaging in racist activities and racist utterances. The racist language that exists in *Hotel Rwanda* cannot be condoned. Although it was meant to communicate the racist reasons that caused the West and the superpowers, it might be decoded by the consumers in the wrong way. Therefore, the filmmakers must try and avoid racist language.

6.3.1 Recommendations to 'African' filmmakers

Africa has been a subject of dramatization and headlines in western media. The west pictures Africa as the home of war, crime, corruption, disease and civil strife and Africans always complain about this portrayal. The media in Africa must also start deconstructing the sick image of an ailing, war-stricken, poverty ridden and corruption infested Africa that was constructed by western films and news agencies. This study recommends African filmmakers to step up and start making films about their own history.

6.3.2 Recommendations to institutions that teach film in Africa

I recommend that African institutions that Media or Film studies create specific modules meant to educate and drill young filmmakers on cinematography and the narrative aspect. The institutions must go beyond just teaching about these techniques but also how to apply them practically. This will help in producing more holistic filmmakers who will be able to make films that thrive on deconstructing the colonial tag on Africa. What Africa needs are films that restore its identity and films by Africans that tell the African story. Therefore, I recommend film institutions and other subsequent educational institutions to cultivate interest in young African filmmakers to make films that uphold African values, beliefs and principles.

6.3.3 Recommendations to African governments

African film has not excelled because of the poorly performing economies in Africa. However, in face of these challenges, countries like Nigeria and Ghana have tried to support their film industries which have been a success. Thus, I recommend that all African governments to support and not repress their film industries and encourage the production of local content as in the case of Zimbabwe.

6.4 Suggestions for future studies

I strongly recommend that more researches be conducted on the (re)construction of history through fictional and non-fictional film. I recommend so because there is enormous potential to broaden the study and focus more on the influence posed by market factors on the production film text. researches on this subject can help filmmakers to be aware of the best way to produce their films at a profit and responsibly. Film needs to inform, educate and entertain and where possible it must avoid stirring ethnic hostility.

6.5 Conclusion

This Chapter summed up the study by presenting a summary of the findings obtained from the research. A summary of the research methods and methodology used in carrying out this research were provided. This chapter also offered recommendations to both western and African filmmakers, film institutions and African governments. It also provided suggestions for future studies.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1



General Kunyumba Nyamwasa giving his testimony against Paul Kagame. (*Rwanda's Untold Story*)

APPENDIX 2



File footage from Rwanda TV of the Late Rwanda President Juvenal Habyarimana (*Rwanda's Untold Story*)

Appendix 3



Hutus portrayed as idle. (*Hotel Rwanda*)

Appendix 4



Hutu militia Interahamwe holding machetes in the streets (*Hotel Rwanda*).

Appendix 5



Hutus portrayed as blood thirsty and war craving imbeciles (*Hotel Rwanda*)

Appendix 6



File footage from Rwanda TV used in the documentary (*Rwanda's Untold Story*).