



Historical Narratives and the Politics of Identity: A Comparative Analysis of *Hotel Rwanda*, *Shooting Dogs* and *Sometimes in April*

Florence Nyarenchi, George Obara Nyandoro & Evans Mecha

Department of Linguistics, Languages and Literature
Kisii University, Kenya.

Email: flonyarenchi@gmail.com

International Journal of
Research and Scholarly
Communication

Volume 2, Issue 2, 2019

© 2019 The Author(s).

This open access article is distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) 4.0 license.

Article Information

Submitted: 7th February 2019

Accepted: 1st June 2019

Published: 14th October 2019

Conflict of Interest: No conflict of interest was reported by the authors

Funding: None

Additional information is available at the end of the article



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

ISSN 2415-6949 (Print)

ISSN: 2707-2177 (Online)

Abstract

Identity is a contested construct grounded in various narratives such as history. As a result of that, it appears to have stable and fixed borders. However, characters with multiple identities cross their borders in different contexts to co-exist, hence disavowing the assumed fixity. The study used exploratory research design to explain its findings. Data analysis and presentation was guided by tenets of the theory of nationalism: primordialism; instrumentalism and constructivism by Ernest Gellner (1964) and structuralist film theory by Leo Kuleshov (1920). This study concluded that history is among the multiple narratives that can be used to mark identity. However, identity is a fluid construct that keeps refashioning in different contexts.

1.0 Introduction

Europeans ushered in colonial rule in Rwanda with the mind-set that Africans were always divided into tribes. Even so, they found a relatively homogeneous society bound by language, religion, political hierarchy and culture. In precolonial times, one would become Tutsi through three processes: first, by marrying a Tutsi woman and being appointed to a leadership position. Second, by entering into *Ubugake*, a contract between a patron and client, regarding rearing a cow, because cows were reared by the Tutsi and third, by being offered land by the king through the process known as *Igikingi* which meant that they had been made Tutsi and therefore entered royalty (Herik, 2005). These processes of becoming Tutsi did not cause disquiet among the Hutu because they were not politicised. Colonialists disrupted the system by turning the titles Hutu and Tutsi into rigid ethnicities to divide and rule them. They favoured the Tutsi with leadership positions because they believed they were Caucasians and disfavoured the Hutu with subject positions because to them, they were Negroids. This resulted in strife among the two groups and ultimately, the Hutu began to struggle for liberation using History as their identity marker.

2.0 Literature Review

Renan (1990) argues that constructing the nation using history is complicated because the nation is relatively new. He explains that in medieval times, countries like Egypt and China were defined by integration of the people and not nations. He cites two possible situations that are likely to change ethnicities into a nation: First, when the conqueror or conquered share a religion or when the conqueror adopts the religion of the conquered and second, when the conquerors forget their language and adopt the one belonging to the conquered. He singles out forgetting and historical error as key factors in constructing the nation. According to him, historical inquiry highlights past instances of violence to disrupt unity, while erring in facts leads to unity. This study shares Renan's sentiments that the nation is arbitrary because it cannot be defined by any definite narrative. However, the study focuses on explaining the construction of the Hutu nation using history. The study also highlights the porousness of identity borders when some Hutu characters cross their borders to co-exist with the Tutsi who are deemed to belong to a different nation. Smith (1996) espouses the view that history can be used to narrate the nation because the modern state and ethnicity work concurrently to construct ethnic groups. He explains that nationalists get the impetus to mobilise, unify and legitimate the goals of their groups in their quest for power, by invoking the nation. According to him, nationalists use history to construct the nation in order to solve the crises created by modernity. In the same vein, Petzold (2001) avers that history is more powerful than language in constructing the nation especially in multilingual nations. Using South Africa as a case study, he argues that the country will never qualify to be called the

rainbow nation that it purports to be, because a nation implies some sort of shared identity, got from a binding force that enables a seemingly heterogeneous group of people to imagine themselves as a nation. This study concurs with both Smith and Petzold that history is one of the many narratives that can be used to construct the nation. Even so, this study argues that the nation is an ambivalent construct that cannot be narrated by any one narrative such as history.

3.0 Methodology

This study used exploratory research design because it is qualitative in nature. Exploratory research design as defined by Saunders & Thornhill (2012) is a study that explores a research area without giving conclusive solutions to an existing problem, because its aim is to study a problem that has not been clearly defined in order to make the problem better understood. The study preferred this design because identity politics is an emerging issue that has been explained by many theorists, yet still remains ambiguous because it keeps refashioning with emergent identities. Data analysis and presentation was done qualitatively and presented in narrative structure. The analysis of the cinematic texts was done through an eclectic theoretical frame. Tenets of the theory of Nationalism; primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism guided the analysis of marking difference through history in the cinematic texts. Primordialism was used to explain the construction of fixed identities while Instrumentalism facilitated the analysis of constructing ethnic alliances based on mutual gain. Constructivism guided the analysis of the ethnic ambivalences witnessed in the primary texts. Structuralist Film theory by Lev Kuleshov guided the analysis of the cinematic texts. Cinematographic techniques such as combination of shots, shot sizes, repetition of shots, framing, camera movement, juxtaposition, sound, colour and music among other techniques were used to highlight the identity politics playing out in the films.

4.0 Analysis of Findings

4.1 History as an Ethnic Identity Marker

Sometimes in April uses voice over narration to highlight the construction of identities in the film. The voice narrator nostalgically explains the role of colonialists in antagonising the Rwandese due to materialism and greed. They pigeon holed the pre-colonial Hutu and Tutsi titles into static ethnic identities, which escalated into an embittered power struggle lasting through to the post-colonial period. The quest for absolute control of Rwanda made the colonialists work towards further fragmenting the Hutu and Tutsi to avoid any coalitions that would curtail their conquest. The voice narrator refers to the Tutsi as colonial collaborators because they were accorded special treatment than the Hutu. According to Simbi (2012) colonialists tampered with the balance of power that existed between the Tutsi and Hutu in

precolonial Rwanda. They therefore increased Tutsi domination and Hutu repression. They replaced Hutu chiefs with Tutsi ones and ensured that the Hutu only served as sub chiefs. As a result of that, the Tutsi became more powerful and wealthy than the Hutu. With time, this colonial political strategy degenerated into a fierce supremacy battle between the two ethnicities because while the Tutsi enjoyed their political privileges, the Hutu suffered prolonged psychological trauma due to their subject position. They developed profound bitterness and hatred for the Tutsi and regarded them as collaborators of the White man and therefore referred to them as colonisers. The Hutu took advantage of their numbers and fought their way to power at independence. They then began the process of restoring their ethnic pride by getting the Tutsi out of their way because they were the major barrier to their accessing political and economic power. Post-colonial Rwanda saw the Hutu embark on a distinct identity reconstruction process by othering the Tutsi. Mengiste (2011) explains that reconstruction of any identity requires the shading off of a shared identity because the process of othering requires that the 'self' sheds off their shared identity with the 'other' because it is considered impure.

The Hutu, led by the few elites who had benefited from colonial education began their liberation struggle. They propounded the Bahutu manifesto, which propagated dual liberation from the Tutsi and Colonialists. They drafted the Bahutu Ten Commandments which mainly barred Hutu men from socialising or having any dealings with Tutsi women whether in marriage, business or workplace. They also banned Tutsi men from joining the army and encouraged Hutu women to fight for their husbands, children and fathers to protect them from being lured into marriage by Tutsi women. The Hutu also formed the Interahamwe militia group which was exclusively Hutu, to end monopoly of rule by the Tutsi. They then used the Bahutu manifesto, the Ten Commandments and the Interahamwe militia to sever all links with the Tutsi because as (Hughes, 2010) explains, ideologies of genocidal intent are concerned with identity, purity and security based on notions of insiders and outsiders. The Hutu liberation struggle did not end there. It undoubtedly ignited a Tutsi struggle to protect their political and economic power because difference is a continuous site of contestation. The Hutu liberation struggle split Rwanda into three distinct nations, demarcated by imaginary borders. The first one was the Hutu nation, constructed to empower them politically and economically, then, the Tutsi nation which was constructed to protect their political and economic benefits, albeit at the margins, and lastly, the Rwandan nation constituted by the moderate Tutsi and Hutu who avoided identifying with either side because they were defined by their shared heritage.

The voice narrator further insinuates that the Tutsi undermined the king by forming an alliance with colonialists. On the contrary, colonial entry to Rwanda was politically motivated because the Whites manipulated the unsuspecting Tutsi to win

the trust of King Rwabagiri in order to get easy access to Rwanda. Soon after, the king died under mysterious circumstances and colonialists immediately seized power. Afterwards, they implemented their divide and rule policy through Tutsi chiefs. In essence, colonialists were at the centre of the identity politics playing out in Rwanda, albeit at the background. The conniving trait of colonialists and their role in fragmenting the Rwandese is further underscored when they foresee an imminent win by the Hutu due to their numbers during the struggle for independence and quickly switch their patronage to them. Their aim is to continue offering patronage to those in power so as to sustain their industrial project in Europe. The ease with which colonialists switch their patronage from the Tutsi to the Hutu puts to test the fixed criteria they earlier used to ethicise them. The voice narrator revisits the genesis of the tensions in Rwanda to justify the decision by the Hutu to exterminate the Tutsi through genocide. He uses propaganda to paint the Tutsi as the architects of the Hutu condition, and the Hutu as the victims who silently bore the brunt of the Tutsi enriching project. By so doing, he hopes to invoke the sense of solidarity among the Hutu so that they can willingly join the liberation struggle. The voice narrator uses an agitated, nostalgic, yet condescending tone to whip up the emotions of his Hutu listeners so that they can join the band wagon. He uses the first person point of view 'we', to invoke mob psychology and make them work towards toppling the Tutsi who are deemed to be autocratic.

The voice narrator parallels the Rwandan creation myth with that of the human settlements that follow to underscore that the Hutu are the natives of Rwanda, while the Tutsi are foreigners. He contrasts the pre-colonial and colonial epochs for effect because, according to him, Rwanda was peaceful until the onset of colonialism which marked the start of Hutu woes. He fondly portrays the period preceding colonialism as serene to the point of inviting the presence of *Imana* every night. He mythologises his narration to make it believable to his listeners. The film uses montage and framing to back up the voice narration for clarity. Montage shots graphically narrate the arrival of colonialists in Rwanda through a conquest, the unwillingness and anxiety of the Rwandese to welcome them as seen through King Rwabagiri's reluctance to shake the hand of the white man, and their subsequent conniving installation of their rule. The film director combines sound and montage to capture the dramatic moment that completely revolutionises the history of Rwanda. He uses montage to vividly compliment the historical moment being described by the pensive voice narration. According to Barsam (2007) montage controls the presentation of time by showing a condensed series of events. The film director uses black and white shots to contextualise the scene. Klarer (2013) explains that the black and white shots are inserted in a contemporary colour movie to defy context and create the impression of a historical flashback; in this case, the historical arrival of colonialists in Rwanda.



Fig 1: A black and white shot of the arrival of colonialists in Rwanda (source: Sometimes in April 2005).

The film director combines mid close-ups and long shots to foreground the master slave relationship between colonialists and Africans in colonial Rwanda. The dark skinned, bare chested Africans, who could probably be Hutu, are captured in long shot to symbolise their vulnerability. Moreover, the blacks are juxtaposed with a White man in larger frame (mid long shot) to symbolise his power, majesty and dominance over the blacks. The combination of camera shots and voice narration to explain the process of colonisation gives credence to the voice narration and also depicts the colonizers as domineering and power thirsty. According to Wesonga (2017) picture combines with point of view to demonstrate the disequilibrium of power between master and servant and also enhance the atmosphere of the horrific adventure the film director hopes to highlight. The towering magnificent frame of the colonialist, dressed in white, amidst the smaller, almost invisible dark skinned Africans with bare chests, equally foregrounds the colonial civilizing mission. The White man's attire is contrasted with the dark skinned Africans to symbolise light verses darkness; the White attire represents the light the White man supposedly illuminates on the Dark Continent, symbolised by the dark skin. The impact of the White man's assumed civilisation is underscored in later images in the same scene, where Africans are supposedly transformed from nakedness to military uniform. The installation of colonial autocratic rule is equally explained by the shot that captures the White man inspecting a guard of honour of Africans in military gear. The shot further communicates the forceful entry of colonisers to Rwanda with the help of the Tutsi chiefs, which revolutionises the peaceful coexistence in pre-colonial Rwanda.

Fig 2 a black and white shot of a White man inspecting a guard of honour (source: Sometimes in April 2005)

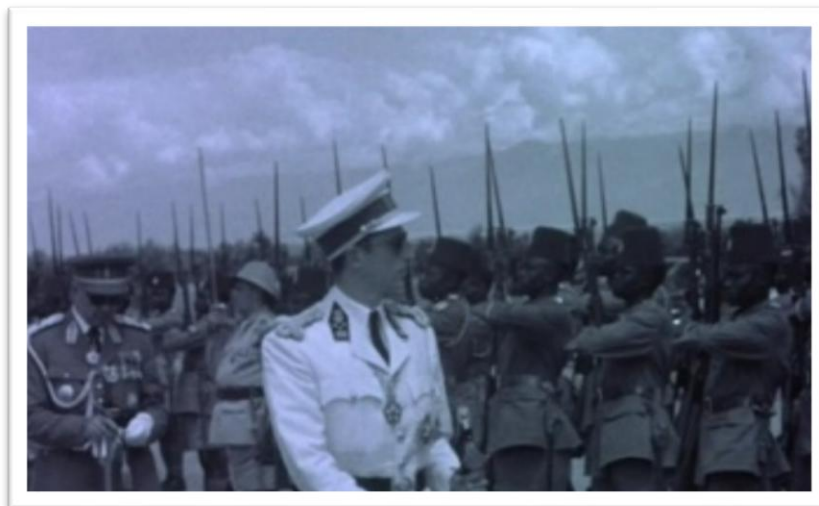


Fig 2: A montage Shot of the arrival of the White man in white surrounded by bare chested Africans (Source: Sometimes in April, 2005)

The alliance between colonialists and the Tutsi is vividly highlighted in mid-close up shot as follows: A tall man, who is probably Tutsi, is seen with a spear, leading the White man's way, followed by a young boy with a bow and arrow, then the Whiteman and finally a woman who could be the black man's wife. African weapons are used in the scene to symbolise security and power for the White man as he goes to meet the king. The tight security accorded the White man, yet there is no impending threat, is a sign of his aggression to seize power in Rwanda even if there is already a king. He befriends the Tutsi to win the trust of the king and so settle with little opposition. The king's anxiety and reluctance to shake the White man's hand,

however, foreshadows the silent coup that follows and his mysterious death to pave way for colonialists take full control of Rwanda. *Hotel Rwanda* equally uses voice over narration to explain the genesis of the rivalry between the Hutu and Tutsi ethnicities. The hateful and satirical voice of the radio announcer is heard from the background of a dark screen. The dark screen portends an incoming threat. He says:

When people ask me good listeners, why do I hate all the Tutsi?
I say; read our history:
The Tutsi were collaborators of the Belgian colonialists
They stole our Hutu land! They whipped us!
Now, they have come back; these Tutsi rebels.
They are cockroaches! They are murderers!
Rwanda is our Hutu land! We are the majority!
They are minority Tutsi invaders! We will squash the infestation!
RTL M Hutu power radio. Watch your neighbours!

The voice narrator exposes the underlying causes behind the long term enmity between the Hutu and Tutsi. He constructs the Hutu and Tutsi as distinct ethnicities using the same ethno genesis myth that was used by colonialists to construct them as the Negroid and the Tutsi as Caucasians. The narrator further qualifies the Hutu as the natives of Rwanda, given their big numbers and the Tutsi as foreigners due to their small number. This assumption is questionable because in precolonial Rwanda, the terms Tutsi and Hutu were fluid titles based on wealth and not on numbers or migratory hierarchy. Just like *Sometimes in April*, the voice narrator in this film uses a melancholic tone to draw sympathy of his Hutu listeners and make them see the urgency of joining hands to reconstruct their ethnicity, which has been distorted by the Tutsi and Belgians. He gives his Hutu audience an elaborate description of the autocratic entry of the Tutsi and colonialists to Rwanda to appeal to their sense of self-preservation. He therefore gives the impression that the Hutu are the threatened group, yet they are the natives Rwanda. His aim is to incite his listeners to retaliate in the same measure by eradicating the said foreigners from Rwanda through genocide so that they can reclaim their identity. Rwafa (2010) explains that the first person point of view is used to emphasise that the events being narrated are eye witness accounts because facts are being told as they were. This makes the narrative viable. Even so, the irony of using the 'I' narrative position is that, it enables the narrator to monopolise the language of truths, contributing to the univocal position of enunciation. It also undermines other narratives of collective 'voices' of the Rwandese and plays more of a manipulative role rather than giving a truthful account. The narrator employs paradox to arrest the attention of his audience. He

refers to the Tutsi as both a minority and an infestation. The term infestation in its literal sense refers to a large number of diseased pests such as cockroaches, which are present where they are not wanted. The use of infestation in this context, therefore, can be interpreted as centering its meaning on disease and encroachment of the Tutsi on the Hutu nation rather than their numbers. The narrator uses infestation as a weapon to manipulate his listeners to agree with him that the Tutsi are indeed infectious pests that must be eradicated, if the Hutu have to stay healthy and alive in their country. The narrator's diction reveals his cynical attitude towards the Tutsi.

5.0 Fluidity of Identity Borders

Although the Hutu in the two films extensively use voiceover narrations to sensitise their listeners on their plight in the hands of the Tutsi and colonialists, not all Hutu accept the narrative that the Tutsi are cruel foreigners who should be eradicated from Rwanda. Some characters deviate from the norm and protect the Tutsi instead of killing them during the genocide. Such characters test the viability of invoking the past to mark identity. Various characters in the films contest the historical narratives constructed to suggest linearity in identity construction. *Sometimes in April* presents Augustine as a diligent Hutu army official who is training the Interahamwe for the genocide, yet he is married to a Tutsi woman. His more sensitive Tutsi friend and colleague Xavier, cautions him about the impending Tutsi massacre, but he trivialises it because he thinks he has the advantage of being Hutu. Therefore imagines that nothing would happen to him in his own country. The film director contrasts Augustine and Xavier's attitudes in order to reveal the overall state of mind of the Hutu and Tutsi in the film. Augustine is depicted as confident and composed because he is Hutu. He dismisses Xavier's genuine sentiments that there are Tutsi massacres going on in the country and refers to them as mere rumours, but ends up losing his family to the genocide. Xavier, who is portrayed as fearful and uncertain probably because he is Tutsi, strikes us as more informed about the on-going matters in the country. Nevertheless, Augustine's composure is interrupted when he realises that his ethnicity cannot save his family from the genocide. It is ironic that Augustine is Hutu and his children are supposedly Hutu because the identity of children is given patrilineally in Rwanda, yet they are killed by the Interahamwe. Augustine's situation highlights the constructedness of identity borders because one is Hutu only when they rigidly stick to the required norms but the moment they slip out, not even their shared history with the perpetrators can exonerate them from their troubles.

The fluidity of identity borders is further foregrounded when some characters inhabit liminal spaces because they are unable to identify with any of the opposing ethnicities. For instance, when Augustine trains the Interahamwe for the genocide, he is not doing it because he is extremist Hutu, but because he is a patriotic Rwandese

soldier, who is working hard to protect his country against the RPF invasion. He is so blinded by his patriotism that he does not bother to find out the real intention of the trainings. He is too trusting of his fellow Hutu to notice their schemes. He belittles the sensitizations about exterminating the Tutsi that have been going on over the radio for a long time. The film director further uses dialogue to foreground Augustine's pride in his country. He downplays numerous warnings from his wife Jean and friend Xavier that they are not safe in Rwanda. He thinks they are paranoid because they are Tutsi. Augustine's liminality makes him lose his entire family during the genocide. The ambivalences of identity construction are further foregrounded when Honore, Augustine's brother who is extremist Hutu most of the film, suffers the same fate as that of Augustine and other Tutsi. Despite diligently spearheading Hutu course most of the film; the consequences of his actions of spreading hate speech against the Tutsi, come to haunt him when he cannot save his brother's family who are also his family. It is ironic that the language Honore uses to ferment violence against the Tutsi throughout the film, affects him and his family too. Honore's ethnic ambivalence makes him cross his identity borders from extremist Hutu to moderate Hutu to try and save his brother's family. His border crossings question the fixity of identity borders. The fact that extremist Hutu, Moderate Hutu and the Tutsi suffer the same penalty during the genocide explains the porousness of identity borders. Augustine's ethnic ambivalence equally depicts him as both a victim and villain in the film. He comes off as a villain when he inadvertently brews violence in Rwanda by training the Interahamwe in preparation for the genocide. Later, he ironically becomes a victim of his own doings when he loses his entire family.

Augustine's transient identity is seen in a different scene when he is engaged in a heated argument with his brother about the signing of the Arusha agreement by the president. Augustine and Honore hold contrasting views regarding the issue at hand because on the one hand, Augustine supports the signing of the Arusha accords because he values peace in Rwanda, while on the other hand, Honore does not assent to it because he views it as a strategy the Tutsi are using to return to power. The scene, shot in mid-close ups highlights the flaring tempers of the two brothers. Augustine vehemently opposes his brother's view that the president should abandon the signing of the Arusha agreement such that he temporarily forgets that he is Hutu. He says: "your people will drag this country over the edge, what matters to you is power, gaining power!" Augustine renounces his Hutuness when he refers to the extremist Hutu as Honore's people. He does this to foreground his dissenting view that they should wedge a war against the Tutsi to stop them from ascending to power. Nevertheless, as the argument continues, his ethnic ambivalence emerges. He recants his earlier stance that the president should sign the Arusha agreement and dons his Hutu identity. He joins Honore in denouncing the Arusha agreement because he fears losing his job to a Tutsi. Augustine's stand may not be as explicit as

Honore's, but his ambivalence regarding the Tutsi is unmistakable. He identifies with the Tutsi because his sense of self-preservation overrides his sense of solidarity with the Hutu. His wish to protect his family and friend from the genocide supersedes his ethnicity. Augustine's ethnic ambivalence subjects him to fear and vulnerability throughout the genocide period. His quest to protect his family and friend makes his fellow Hutu regard him as a traitor. In one of the scenes, he and Xavier are forced to hide in the ceiling of his house to avoid being killed by the Interahamwe. The film further foregrounds Augustine's insecurity and confusion through his littered house, which has been ransacked by the Interahamwe in one of their routine searches for any Tutsi hiding in his house. The film uses low key lighting to capture the terror engulfing the scene.

Augustine's border crossings deprive him of his Hutuness, making him experience the same emotional distress as that of his Tutsi counterparts. Although he is Hutu, he goes through the same agonising experience as that of Xavier as seen in the scene where he is seen jumping from the ceiling to avoid being killed by his fellow Hutu. According to Rwafa (2010), Augustine's emotional state is depicted through serialization of film shots to present him as a vulnerable figure jumping from his ceiling to inspect his littered house after the Interahamwe have left. His vulnerability is further propounded when he contemplates his next move after being trapped in a dilapidated building together with his Tutsi friend Xavier. Augustine, like Xavier, has also been stripped of any trace of security. His association with the Tutsi has made him be subjected to the same treatment as them, a situation that challenges fixity of identity borders. The Hutu catholic priest at St Marie School in the same film undergoes trauma because of his transient identity. When the Interahamwe invade the school, he displays an identity crisis because he cannot choose where he belongs. He tells Martina to hand in the 'rebels', referring to the Tutsi girls, whom he has all along nurtured as his own children. His sudden realisation that the children he has treated as his own have suddenly turned rebels, underscores his ambivalent identity. At that point, his sense of solidarity with his fellow Hutu, overrides his religious identity. Martina, who has a more stable identity, startles him back to his calling as a catholic father. He crosses his borders from extremist Hutu, back to his religious identity and sheepishly asks Martina, 'what should I do my child? We must pray'. His frame in mid close up shot displays the confusion in his entire being because he is in an identity crisis. He no longer recognises himself because he is somewhere between being a priest and being Hutu.

6.0 Conclusion

The study concludes that ethnicity is ambivalent and can be constructed by various narratives such as history. Even so, the borders that mark difference are fluid because characters with multiple identities cross their borders to co-exist with characters from their rival ethnicities. These border crossings highlight the porousness of identity borders.

References

- Barsam, R. (2007). *Looking at Movies An Introduction to Film*. 2nd edition. Norton and Company Inc USA.
- Belton, D., Cross, P. & Maurer, J. (Producers), Jones, C, M (director). (2005). *Shooting Dogs*. BBC Films, Adirondack pictures. United Kingdom.
- Delume, D. (producer) & Peck, R (director.) (2005). *Sometimes in April*. HBO Films. A Time Warner company. United States.
- Gellner, E. (1964). *Thought and Change*. University of Chicago Press.
- George, T. (producer & director). (2004). *Hotel Rwanda*. United Artists. Lion Gates Films. United States
- Herik, V. L. (2005). *The Contribution of the Rwanda Tribunal to the Development of International Law*. Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Hughes, J. (2010). *Genocide and Ethnic Conflict*. Rutledge. Originally published in Cordell, Karl & Wolff Stefan (Eds) *Rutledge handbook of Ethnic Conflict*. Rutledge, Abington. ISBN 9780415476256.
- Klarer, M. (2013). (Ed) *An Introduction to Literary Studies* London. Rutledge
- Kuleshov, L. (1974). *Kuleshov on Film: Translated and Edited with an introduction by Ronald Levaco*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Mengiste, S. (2011). *Constructing of Otherness and the Role of Education: The case Study of Ethiopia*. Journal of Education, Culture and Society no 2.2011. Doi:10.15503/jecs20112-7-15. Rutgers University Press.
- Petzold, J. (2001). *A Critique of recent writings on Ethnicity and Nationalism*. *Research in African Literatures journal* Vol 32 no 3 Fall. Indiana University Press in cooperation with the college of Humanities, The Ohio State University.
- Renan, E. (1990). *What is a Nation?* Translated and annotated by Thorn, M. *Nation and Narration*. Homi Bhabha (Ed). Rutledge Taylor and Francis Group. London and New York. (Pp. 8-22).
- Rwafa, U. (2010). *Contesting Cultural and Political Stereotypes of Language of Genocide in Selected Rwanda Films*. (Master's Thesis). University of South Africa.
- Simbi, R. F. (2012). *Genocide, Citizenship and Political Identity Crisis in Postcolonial Africa: Rwanda as a case Study*. (Masters Thesis). University of Kwazulu Natal Petersburg, South Africa.
- Smith, D. A. (1996). *Culture, Community and Territory: the Politics of Ethnicity and Nationalism*. *International Affairs*, Vol 72, issue (12). Pgs. 445-458.
- Wesonga, R, O. (2017). *Nexus between Literary Texts and Corresponding Film Adaptations: A Reading on Inter-Textuality*. (PHD Dissertation) Kenyatta University.