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## PREFACE

In 1994, the small central African country Rwanda hosted the worst massacres and atrocities in recent times. People from all walks of life from the ethnic tribe called 'Hutus' carried out one of the most horrendous extermination attempts ever seen – killing more than 800.000 people from the 'Tutsi' tribe in only 100 days. Before this, the 'Hutus' and their ethnic counterpart called 'Tutsis' had shared the same soil, culture and language. When the genocide ended in July 1994, more than two million people from the 'Hutu' tribe fled to the neighboring country of Congo in fear of reprisals from the 'Tutsi'-led RPF army that seized power amidst the chaos. In fear of reprisals, tens of thousands have remained in the Rwandese-Congolese borderlands ever since and thus never returned to their homeland. Recently, a growing number of 'Hutus' have decided to come back.

The following report deals with the documentary *'Ingando – when enemies return'* – a documentary carried out in 2006 with the aim of portraying some of the long-lasting social consequences of the genocide...

## 1. FRAME OF PROBLEM

In 1994, when Rwanda became battleground for the worst genocidal atrocities since WW2, international media were quickly on the spot to report back the carnage that took place. Reports with on-the spot interviews and footage showing decapitated people, weapons of all sorts and mourning survivors seized hours of prime-time television in 1994. Since then, numerous reports, articles, books and documentaries have been done on the Rwandan genocide.

War, conflict and disaster have for long been highly prioritized in the international media, but as the news medias have intensified this type of coverage the last decades, more and more people have lost interest, as the coverage seldom leave open the possibility for in-depth coverage of the personal tragedies. The lack of personal stories often results in a shallow and sometimes static picture of the actual events. Usually the ‘catastrophe-news’ fades out, and few people ever hear about the aftermath of conflicts like the one in Rwanda again. Few people rarely get to know what happens in the days, weeks and months after the conflict or disaster has peaked – as it happened in Rwanda in 1994.

The documentary *‘Ingando – When enemies return’* has been in process for more than 1½ years. During my previous stays in Rwanda, I realized that not one day passes where one doesn’t hear, see or note someone discussing, reflecting, arguing or memorizing the genocide in 1994, and how this is affecting their everyday lives. The previously mentioned Medias did cover the Rwanda genocide, and did indeed try to portray some of the complexity that eventually led to this horrible event. But few - if any - have done any real attempt to report back some of the long lasting effects and consequences of the genocide. In the pursue of filling the ‘documentation’-gap, my immediate research on the media-coverage revealed, I took the decision to try to portray this aftermath of the Rwanda genocide in a documentary

The overall theme of the aftermath of genocide opens a large range of possibilities and perspectives for telling an interesting story, but it is the return and homecoming of a number of former Rwandese combatants, genocide perpetrators or not, that constitute the underlying basis for the film *‘Ingando – when enemies return’*. The combatants have lived in the Rwandese-Congolese borderlands for years, fighting in various ‘Hutu’ militias hoping to ‘reclaim’ their motherland Rwanda, which they were forced to leave when the ‘Tutsi’ lead RPF<sup>1</sup> army finally brought an end to the genocide in July 1994. After

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<sup>1</sup> RPF (Rwanda Patriotic Front). The RPF was the tutsi-dominated army which brought an end to the genocide in 1994. It is estimated that more than 1.5 million ‘hutus’ fled to neighbouring countries in fear of retaliations from the RPF.

years of unsuccessful and violent attempts to 'reclaim' their motherland, the combatants are now returning home to Rwanda - voluntarily and unarmed. The film this report deals with, focuses on these ex-combatants stay in an 'Ingando-camp' in Rwanda, a three month transit-camp, where the former combatants are disciplined, educated and prepared to enter the Rwandese society as civilians. The film follows 2 ex-combatants' lives in the Ingando-camp and gives voice to their thoughts, dreams and hopes of a positive return to Rwandan society. Dreams that later are challenged by two genocide survivors who are very skeptic about their homecoming.

Reporting and documenting the aftermath of genocide is a great challenge, as it involves cautious planning with large awareness to both the goal of presenting the good 'personal' story as well as to balancing the 'target group', 'content' and 'means for identification' correctly. Furthermore ethical and anthropological considerations are of greatest importance when working with sensitive matters like genocide and reconciliation – and especially as the documentary was shot on location in a very challenging and sometimes hostile environment in rural Rwanda.

The above mentioned considerations and reflections lead me to the following problem formulation

**How can one prepare and carry out a personal and informative documentary about the aftermath of genocide in Rwanda?**

In order to answer the above I will focus on following key-questions

- Which theoretical and practical considerations should be included when organizing a personal and informative documentary?
- Which anthropologic and journalistic considerations should the film maker include, when he seeks to portray the 'good' and 'personal' story without violating or disturbing the private sphere and integrity of the people he aims to portray?
- How can the film maker represent and portray 'the other', when he himself obviously is embedded in a completely different culture and reality, than the one he seeks to portray and communicate in his film?

## 1.1 THEORY AND METHOD

The theory I will include and present continuously shall contribute with different perspectives on the experiences I have had during the process of preparing and executing the filming, thus adding a theoretical aspect to the practical experiences. The theories and methods are not presented in a ‘single’ paragraph or chapter of its own, but instead included where found relevant. Below are some of the theories and methods I will include – as well as the particular purpose they serve.

### **Media/Communication theory:**

About preparing information and communication, target groups and means.

### **Representation theory/methodology:**

About the role of the film maker/anthropologist when trying to portray and represent ‘the other’, as well as theory related to the issue of objectivity and authenticity.

### **Interview theory/method:**

About ethical considerations, confidentiality and mutual trust

## 1.2 REPORT PROCEDURE

In this report, I have divided the chapters into a number of sub-chapters serving particular purposes. Below is a very short outline of the different chapters, and the purpose they serve.

**Chapter 2:** *Preparations and planning*, and its sub-chapters serve as an introduction to some of the preliminary theoretical considerations and ideas in the film process regarding objective, content of the film, target groups, means of manipulation and more. **Chapter 3:** *Encountering Reality*, and its sub-chapters serve as an introduction to some of the practical considerations and challenges when encountering reality in Rwanda. The sub-chapters give attention both the anthropological approach as well as interview and observation methods etc. **Chapter 4:** *Post Production*, and its sub-chapters serve as an introduction to both theoretical and practical consideration regarding the categorization of content, dynamics and structure in the film. **Chapter 5:** *Theoretical Reflections*, and its many sub-chapters include numerous theoretical and practical discussions regarding anthropological challenges and issues related to making film in a different cultural environment.

## **2. PREPARATIONS AND PLANNING**

### **2.1 THE PRELIMINARY FILM PROCESS**

Due to my previous stays in Rwanda, and my hereof naturally gained network, I had made an agreement with Safari Gaspard, the President of the Rwandese Journalist Association. This agreement was signed in order to ensure cooperation with the relevant officials and civilians which were needed in the preliminary process. As former chief editor of the government controlled print media he should help to obtain the correct permissions and gain unrestricted access to geographical areas of particular interest as well as to a number of museums and genocide archives. Furthermore, and most important, he was the man to get us the permissions to enter the Ingando<sup>2</sup> camp for demobilized soldiers in Mutobo - a transit camp usually closed to the public, and especially to foreigners. In both the preliminary and actual period of filming he should function as media fixer, line-producer and later also interpreter and translator.

Due to the sensitive topic of genocide aftermath and peace and reconciliation in Rwanda, a number of ministries and commissions also had to be involved in the process. This was necessary, as the authorities in Rwanda, due to previous bad 'reviews' from various foreign journalists and human rights experts, are very careful with the foreign information that is channeled on to the West. A very 'positive' document describing our objectives and synopsis was therefore handed on to the relevant officials. These documents were accompanied by a detailed shooting plan, so authorities could follow and if found necessary interrupt our activities. This was a precondition for even being allowed through the airport, so all these things were sorted out beforehand, with help from our media fixer.

### **2.2 CONTENT, TARGET GROUP AND MEANS OF MANIPULATION**

One of the most essential issues to address before setting of to Rwanda was how to balance the content of the film with the target group's approaches/wishes and the use of various means and mechanism in order to reach this particular target group. As the goal was to 'reach' and satisfy a broad audience, an elaborate number of elements and mechanisms were considered.

The first and foremost important for the film was to find interesting characters in Rwanda which could illustrate and personalize the aftermath of genocide. It was of greatest important that the characters could 'carry' the story and awake the curiosity and interest of the audience. In order to fulfill this

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<sup>2</sup> Ingando is the local name for the demobilization / transit-camps where returned soldiers and former prisoners are 'educated' and 'disciplined' for 3 months before being allowed into Rwandese society again as civilians.

criterion, I aimed at finding different people who were positive and hopeful about the future of Rwanda as well as finding people who could portray the less positive part of the population regarding the aftermath of genocide and the future of Rwanda.

### **2.1 THE INGANDO AND THE EX-COMBATANTS**

I imagined some of the most positive people would be the newcomers in Rwanda. I had narrowed them down to people who were outside the country during the genocide or people who for various reasons hadn't been emotionally tormented by the atrocities in 1994. I imagined that the perfect place to find these people was in the Ingando camps in Rwanda. The Ingando camps are three month educative transit-camps for former 'Hutu' combatants who have given up their military activities in rebellion groups in the neighboring country of Congo. As mentioned earlier, a great number of these soldiers have lived in Rwanda until 1994, but in fear of retaliations from the 'Tutsi'-led RPF army they and some two million other 'Hutus' fled to Congo when the genocide was stopped by the RPF. As both civilians and soldiers were among the more than two million people who fled into Congo, there was a great chance that among the returned combatants, there would be several who had participated in the genocide killings.

### **2.2 THE GENOCIDE SURVIVORS**

On the other hand, I imagined I would find the most negative people with the most reluctant attitude to genocide aftermath, reconciliation and the future of Rwanda among some of the genocide survivors. As Rwanda is extremely densely populated, many of the genocide survivors are forced to live next door to their ethnic counterpart called 'Hutus', who may (or may not) have participated in the genocide. Due to this fact, a great number of survivors are emotionally 'tormented' on a daily basis, as they are confronted with 'the killers'. Furthermore, a great part of the survivors have not only lived through a horrible period, they have also lost families and friends, but what's most important - lost faith and confidence in their ethnic counterpart – the 'Hutus'.

### **2.3 THE RIGHT CHARACTERS AND MEANS FOR IDENTIFICATION**

As mentioned earlier, I aimed at finding 'powerful' characters that could 'carry' the overall story and theme of the film. Therefore I had to find both former soldiers as well as genocide survivors with substantial 'background' stories, which could be of adventurous, extremely violent and/or emotional character. As the audience I was aiming for was of a broad character, there was a need to bring into play numerous types of stories and characters instead of focusing on only 'sad' and 'emotional' stories and characters.

As the initial objective of the film was to give voice to different approaches and thoughts regarding the aftermath of genocide, I aimed at interviewing both the ex-combatant and the genocide survivors about topics which regarded their past, their future and the reconciliation among them. This should hopefully give me good statements from the former soldiers and the genocide survivors, who could later help illustrate the period of 'transition' that Rwanda and its population is living in. I aimed at illustrating these dichotomies by a setup of dialogues where the involved could express their views and thoughts about certain themes and topics which related to the overall theme of genocide aftermath.

I also believed that body and face features were of great importance. Therefore I aimed at both finding repulsive and sympathetic characters in order to be able to illustrate any potential conflicts through human agency instead of pure facts and text-boxes. Therefore I aimed at finding soldiers, who at the same time could appear controversial as well as pure and genuine humans, just as I sought to find genocide survivors, whom with the audience could both feel empathy with as well as survivors whom the audience could distance themselves from. As the story aimed at giving a balanced and somewhat reasonable picture of the situation in Rwanda, I had an obligation to the ones involved as well as to my personal consciousness to leave open the interpretation of 'the nature' of the involved to the audience, and not beforehand stage the good and the bad guys. Therefore it was necessary to find different characters with whom the audience could either identify themselves with and/or distance themselves from, as well keeping an eye open to possible characters who at first sight didn't seem to fall within the pro/con categories - both what regards facial features and statements

#### **2.4 BACKGROUND AND THE PAST**

Despite my initial idea of making a film about the aftermath of the genocide and not digging in the past, I was determined to include some historical facts about the genocide as well as comprise footage from various genocide memorials, graveyards and museums in order to illustrate some of the atrocities that took place in 1994. Some of the information and details of genocide could easily be told by text-boxes, but I believed that cruel footage and photos of buildings, skeletons and cadavers from the genocide could illustrate the inhumanness of 1994 in a much more powerful way.

#### **2.5 RWANDA TODAY**

As the story of genocide and its aftermath is a grave theme, I also aimed at including footage from Rwandan everyday life. I wanted to show, that despite all the despair and historical conflicts, Rwanda is developing quickly and its people continue to live and work hard. Therefore I planned to record Rwandan everyday life - in the countryside as well as in the cities.

### 3. ENCOUNTERING REALITY

In the following I will explain some of the issues which were considered regarding the actual practices and encounters that had be carried out and solved once in Rwanda. More specifically I will explain my considerations and thoughts about the involvement of, and interaction with, both the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors, whom I intended to include in the film.

#### 3.1 THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

In order to get to the very 'genuine' and 'true' story without 'to much' interfering with their everyday lives, I planned to exercise some anthropological/ethnographic research methods (O'Reily 2004) The approach I chose, entails an understanding of 'reality' as something measurable - by being able to classify some 'reality' as more genuine, deep and true than something else. As described later, I believed I could gain access to an otherwise closed 'area' of knowledge and truth, by approaching they people I aimed to portray, by anthropological manners.

Due to the complexity and sensitiveness of the topic of genocide and reconciliation, I felt a need to build up confidentiality between the involved and myself. Some of the classic anthropological approaches argue that the researcher or filmmaker can achieve what can be defined as a '*connaissance du membre*' (Lappasade 1996: 45). This thesis argues, that by achieving the status of 'being a member of the reality' that is to be portrayed; he/she is guaranteed an otherwise impossible access to this particular reality and life. I believed that by achieving a superficial 'friendship' or confidentiality with the involved, I could get them to tell me more about their experiences, thoughts and dreams, and thereby I could gain access to a true and genuine reality, which was otherwise inaccessible. I believed that the genuine 'reality' could best be observed and portrayed if I and the film crew became 'silent' members of the ex-combatants' everyday life in the Ingando camp. I planned on using this approach, as it was of great importance to the film, that the people who were to be involved not were 'scared' off, or felt uncomfortable with me and my film crew's presence. Therefore I aimed at following as many of their daily activities; their meals, their classes, their spare time and more. My experiences and reflections regarding this approach are discussed further in **chapter 5. 2.**

As the topics of genocide and its aftermath are of very sensitive nature, there was a great need to reflect on some of the ethical considerations that inevitably were related to the film, such as the possible emotional turmoil, that could be caused by our presence.

One of the techniques to make the ex-combatants feel comfortable was that, I explicitly explained them that the overall purpose of film, and later the interviews I carried out, was to illustrate the aftermath of genocide, and not to drill in the past and the causes to the genocide, as many people have done before. This should ensure them that my intentions **NOT** were to find out **how** or **whether** they had been engaged in the genocide or not, but instead ensure them it was a film about Rwanda today and the future, which hopefully could make them feel more relaxed and comfortable. This approach was chosen, as I was sure that many of these returned ex-combatants had participated in the genocide and other extremely violent attacks, and therefore could be very reluctant to talk to me, as they are in ‘denial’ of their past activities due to fear reprisals.

What regards the survivors, I chose the contrary approach as I wanted the genocide survivors to ‘control’ the amount of horrors they would tell me. Having said this, I did emphasize the importance of ‘documenting’ the horrors of genocide, in order to educate and inform ‘the outside world’ about such crimes and acts, so they could see a genuine and valid reason to tell me their stories. As I was well aware of the fact that the interviews with the genocide survivors, could have their ‘traumas’ reappear, I postponed the interviews several times, so they didn’t interfere practically and ‘emotionally’ with their final exams which were taking place when I was there. Moreover, I constantly asked the involved if they were comfortable during the interviews and ensured them that it was of no problem, if they refused to answer some of my questions for whatever reason. This was done, to avoid any possible crossings of personal and emotional borders of the involved, which were not agreed upon in advance, or appeared unacceptable to the involved afterwards. These ethical considerations were of great importance for the whole film process as well as my personal conscience, but this conscientious and cautious approach did indeed also set up some barriers, as my role as an investigative interviewer/observant was scaled down. This dilemma is further investigated in the following chapter.

### **3.2 THE SENSITIVE INTERVIEW**

The anthropological approach had great influence on my interview-methods, as this approach aimed at ‘obtaining’ the outmost and most genuine ‘reality’ during the interviews with both the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors while still maintaining good ethics. As the topics of genocide and reconciliation are very sensitive matters, I had made great considerations regarding the interviews I had to carry out. The interviews with the film’s main characters; two former combatants in the Ingando-camp and two genocide survivors in Kigali were to constitute the overall confrontation and conflict in

the film, as I believed these two groups of people would have very different approaches and thoughts of the ex-combatants' homecoming and regarding the issue of peace and reconciliation.

I had a strong idea that some of these returned combatants did indeed participate in the genocide - and therefore their thoughts and ideas would be an inevitable counterpart to the ideas and thoughts of the genocide survivors, who are still mourning the loss of their relatives. As the interviews were to constitute the overall conflict and confrontation in the film, they were of great importance and needed to be personal, emotional, and trustworthy and at the same time neither to direct, nor to private in a way that it would emotionally 'torment' or annoy the interviewed. As mentioned in the previous chapter/sub-chapter, I made great effort not to cross any personal boundaries, but still aimed at getting the very 'truth'. In the interview-situation this resulted in a dilemma between at one hand trying to maintain good ethics and conscientious practices while on the other trying to achieve the 'good' and personal story by investigative interview-methods. Several times I found myself crossing my own criteria for 'good ethics' in pursue of good and/or controversial statements from the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors.

One of the reasons to this was that my criteria for the film and interviews to be successful, was that the involved had to tell the truth – and hopefully by powerful statements. I believed that this very 'truth' could turn out not only to be controversial but also difficult – especially for the former combatants – to admit. I expected most of the ex-combatants to deny all/any relation to (or responsibility for) the genocide, as this could possibly have them imprisoned if authorities found out. In order to overcome this issue, I tried to strengthen the confidentiality between the ex-combatants and myself by various means, as mentioned in **chapter 3.1**. In the interview situation this was further emphasized by conducting very elaborate interviews; starting with 'superficial' themes and questions leading to very descriptive answers. Slowly by slowly I decided to move towards the more sensitive and controversial themes and questions, hoping that the already passed time and questions had made the involved more comfortable with me, the camera and the interview situation.

As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, I had numerous considerations with interviewing the genocide survivors, as I was well aware of the fact that the horrors they have lived through in the genocide, indeed could affect them emotionally and mentally, when I started questioning them about their background and their opinion on the peace and reconciliation process. As it turned out with interviews with ex-combatants, I found myself – once again – caught up in the dilemma between not

crossing the survivors' personal and emotional boundaries while also trying to get to the very true and genuine statements.

One of the most important means to overcome the possible 'problem' of genuine truth, was conducting numerous observations, interviews and follow-up interviews with the ex-combatants and the young genocide survivors several times, as suggested by Alan Brymann (**Brymann 2004**). This approach was chosen, as the ethnographic interview/observation methods argue 'the more elaborate interviews – the more genuine and true statements will appear'. This interview approach matched the approach of obtaining a '*connaissance du membre*' by spending several days, if not weeks, together with the ex-combatants conducting observations and interviews. Thereby I continued my quest to reach the very core of the involved peoples' lives, backgrounds, thoughts and dreams. The combination of numerous visits, observations and interviews also aimed at getting as many facts and statements from the involved, as I was confident this later would give me the most genuine, true and complete story.

### 3.3 THE LINE PRODUCER AS SILENT 'CENSOR'

As the common East African language 'Kiswahili' is only sporadically spoken in Rwanda<sup>3</sup>, our line-producer and media fixer, Safari Gaspard also had to function as a our interpreter and translator when my English, French and Kiswahili didn't suffice. Along the way, as I continued to pursue the outmost level of truth and genuineness, I realized that the language was a greater obstacle than expected. Even though our media fixer had done similar tasks before and I had great experience with interviewing, every time I carried out interviews with our characters, I had a feeling 'something' went missing every single time. The many small hints, the idea of following their statements while taking notice of their facial features and more, all added up to a constant feeling of missing the nuances.

I was sure that the language was an immediate barrier as everything had to be guided through my translator, but also I had a very strong idea that not only did things 'go missing' in the translation, there was also a great chance that my translator was 'redefining' and reinterpreting each and every question and answer during the interviews. As mentioned earlier, the topic of genocide and reconciliation is on everyone's tongue in Rwanda, and every Rwandese citizen has an opinion they would like to speak out. Despite having visited Rwanda several times, I am still a stranger in their country and I and my film crew were therefore obvious targets for manipulation. Despite a good cooperation with our media fixer, we did not know if he had any hidden agendas when he accepted the task and agreed upon

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<sup>3</sup> Rwanda, unlike any other African country, share only one common language - named Kinyarwanda. Kiswahili, the 'common' East African language is only spoken in major towns and cities.

helping us with realizing the film. It is not sure whether we will ever know, but as most people continue to identify themselves with either the ‘Hutu’ or ‘Tutsi’ tribe, it is possible that our media fixer who was a ‘Tutsi’ (from the tribe that was massacred), was guiding questions and answers in a direction that would accentuate his own personal interests and opinions. This assumption was later verified when I involved a female ‘post-translator’ in the end of the editing process. This translation opened up for new perspectives and hints that our first translator didn’t give attention to, but yet again these perspectives could also be a result her own personal interests.

In order to overcome some the above mentioned problems, I tried to search for people who had at least some basic knowledge of English or French. Luckily, the few we did manage to find among the ex-combatants, turned out be very interesting characters that in addition turned out to be great on camera. But these were also the most important, as they were all ‘Hutus’ - the ethnic and tribal counterpart to our media fixer who was from the ‘Tutsi’ tribe. I believe there was a greater risk of ‘manipulation’ when our ‘Tutsi’ media fixer was translating the interviews with the ‘Hutu’ ex-combatants, than with the interviews with the genocide survivors who were also from the ‘Tutsi’ tribe.

#### 4. POST PRODUCTION

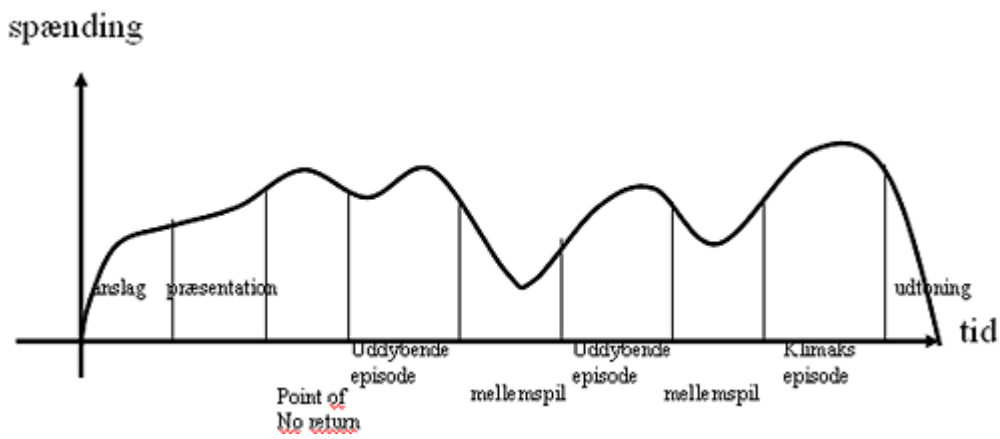
Once back in Denmark, several considerations were taken, both outside and inside the editing room. As already mentioned, I had a general idea for the film, but trying to narrow 30 hours of film down to an ‘editing’ script – including some 20-40 minutes, soon turned out to be quite a challenge

##### 4.1 NARRATION AND DYNAMICS OF THE FILM

Logging in the material soon proved to be a very time consuming part of the process. But as this was finally over it was time to draw an outline for film design and dynamics in the film. The traditional ‘narration’ models soon proved to be irrelevant for this type of film, as the material included vast and somewhat heavy information, partly due to the length and amounts of interviews with the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors. The material seemed suitable for a film which, contrary to the classic ‘Hollywood’ narration, doesn’t have a specific ‘*point-of-no-return*’ or specific ‘*climax*’ episode, with a set chronology. Instead, the material was ideal for a film with a moderate, but continuous progress, where the audience is presented to facts and information in a moderate speed/evolution. For this purpose the ‘*bolgemodel*’ seemed suitable.

The model can be seen as an alternative ‘suspense/pay-off’ model, which gives greater attention to the ‘amount’ of facts and background information that has to be presented. As a consequence, it

allows less attention to the classic narration, with a good, bad and/or additional key character whose interaction/interplay and advancement make up the story. The advancement and evolution of the film is therefore not a result of suspense, but rather a result of the ‘investigation’ of the theme.



As mentioned, the above shown ‘bølgemodel’ doesn’t have the classical point-of-no-return, nor a good vs. bad guy dichotomy, but instead gives room to a number of investigative sections/parts which is connected by a number of ‘intermezzos’ (‘mellemspil’ in figure). The model or figure can also be characterized as circular, where the elaborate episodes and informative ‘intermezzos’ are repeat a certain number of times, and finally rounded off after an ‘alternative’ climax episode.

#### 4.2 EDITING AND STORYBOARD

As seen in the film *‘Ingando – when enemies return’*, the model is not followed firmly. In the following, the brief and superficial outline/storyboard that served as guideline in the editing process is presented. The names in **bold** font are names of specific episodes in the film, as shown in the figure above. The texts in the parentheses below explain the content of the specific episode and how they the footage contribute to the ‘informative’ content.

Following the storyboard is a little explanatory introduction to the various ‘key-elements’ that constitute the structure of the documentary. As mentioned in the previous sub-chapter, these ‘key-elements’ or ‘structures’ are repeated a number of times.

#### Storyboard:

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.fsknet.dk/berettermodel>

**Anslag 1:** Dichotomist ‘dialogue’ on the theme: ‘*Soldiers returning*’ (two dichotomist statements from the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors – no picture)

**Anslag 2:** Introduction to Rwanda and the genocide aftermath (text boxes + mourning fire)

**Præsentation1:** Introduction to the ex-combatants (statements from ex-combatants + footage from their everyday life)

**Mellemspil X:** (Pre-) introduction to Ingando (textboxes with info about the Ingando camp)

**Præsentation2:** Introduction to Ingando (statements from ex-combatants + footage from Ingando)

**Mellemspil X:** (Pre-) introduction to genocide survivors (textboxes with info about the survivors + relevant background footage)

**Præsentation 3:** Introduction to genocide survivors (statements + footage from their everyday life)

**Mellemspil X:** (Pre-) introduction to the 1<sup>st</sup> theme/debate of the film: ‘*Ethnicity*’ (textboxes with info leading to the theme + relevant background footage)

**Uddybende episode 1:** Dichotomist ‘dialogue’ on the theme ‘*Ethnicity*’ (4-5 short contrasting statements from the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors)

**Mellemspil Y:** Brief and joyful footage from everyday life in Rwanda -

**Mellemspil X:** (pre-) introduction to the 2<sup>nd</sup> theme of the film: ‘*Reconciliation*’ (textboxes with info leading to the theme + relevant background footage)

**Uddybende episode 2:** Dichotomist ‘dialogue’ on the theme ‘*Reconciliation*’ (4-5 short contrasting statements from both the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors)

**Mellemspil Y:** Brief and joyful footage from everyday life in Rwanda

**Mellemspil X:** (Pre-) introduction to the 3<sup>rd</sup> theme of the film: ‘*Forgiveness and forgetting*’ (textboxes with info leading to the theme + relevant background footage)

**Uddybende episode 3:** Dichotomist ‘dialogue’ on the theme ‘*Forgiveness and forgetting*’ (4-5 short contrasting statements from both the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors)

**Mellemspil Y:** Brief and joyful footage from everyday life in Rwanda

**Mellemspil X:** (Pre-) introduction to the 4<sup>th</sup> theme (climax) of the film: ‘*Soldiers returning*’

**Uddybende episode 4 / Klimaks episode:** Dichotomist ‘dialogue’ on the theme ‘*Soldiers returning*’ (4-5 short contrasting statements from both the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors)

**Mellemspil Y:** Brief and joyful footage from everyday life in Rwanda – ‘children playing’

**Klimaks episode 2 / Udtoning:** Round-off ‘dialogue’ on the future of Rwanda (2 very short statements from the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors)

**Udtoning 2:** Round-off statements on the future of Rwanda (short statements from kids born in 1994)  
The ‘**anslag**’ is the teaser. It serves both as a figurative and informative appetizer.

The **'præsentation'** episodes are parts of the film, where characters are given a voice to express themselves about their backgrounds and past and present lives. The **'præsentation'** serve as both an informative introduction to the people involved and portrayed, but also as a 'figurative' introduction, in which they are 'personalized' and established for the audience.

The **'mellemspil X'** are parts that give a short break to the people in the film, and instead serve as a launch pad to the following events/episodes in the film. This is done with informative text boxes combined with good 'establishing' shots which 'relate' to the content of the text-boxes and the following parts and/or 'Theme'.

The **'uddybende episode'** are long and elaborate episodes which include the important dichotomist 'dialogues' between the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors on a number of themes. The statements are separated by black screen to give the audience a chance to digest the statements.

The **'mellemspil Y'** are parts that give a short break to the people in the film as well as a short break to the audience following the emotional and heavy 'dialogues'. The **'mellemspil Y'** includes footage from everyday life, and is spiced with joyful music to 'restore' hope and positivism.

The **'klimaks episode'** is the very 'climax' of the documentary, in which the audience is introduced to the core challenges/problems that Rwanda and its population are facing.

The **'udtoning'** episode is a very short 'round-off' of the documentaries where the important objective and statement of the film is repeated. Following the 'heavy' and tormenting dialogues, the audience is presented to positive and open minded statements from children born in 1994, the year the genocide took place. Statements which emphasize that despite hopelessness and challenges, there is still hope....

The above described 'structures' or 'elements' are parts in the film which are repeated a number of times. Which parts are repeated where, and how many times, can be seen in the storyboard on the previous page

## 5. THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS

In this chapter I will follow up theoretically on some of the experiences I have had in the film process. Where found relevant, I have involved important statements from already known theorists and filmmakers who are working within the field of (ethnographic) documentaries. Their standpoints help to underpin or in some cases oppose some of my own experiences and hereof given knowledge and standpoints. In this chapter I have given great attention to some of the ‘ethnographic’ considerations related to the film *‘Ingando – when enemies return’*. As the documentary encircles sensitive matters like genocide and reconciliation, and is shot on location in a very challenging environment in rural Rwanda, most of the challenges I was faced with were of ethical, cultural and ethnographic character.

### 5.1 REPRESENTING OTHERNESS

How can one portray a ‘reality’ completely different from your own? And which possibilities and limitations should one consider when working with a sensitive topic like genocide and reconciliation?

One of the main challenges in documentary film making has over time been the one of portraying individuals or communities despite and sometimes across cultural, social and linguistic barriers. Many theories and approaches have been suggested and practiced resulting in a genre within documentary film tradition itself named ethnographic documentary, founded and inspired by anthropological practices and research methods. Based on my experiences in planning this film, which takes place in one of the poorest countries in the world, I will focus on a few very important theoretical and practical challenges I have encountered in this process of cultural encounters. I believe several of these aspects are relevant for both social researchers and film makers when planning and carrying out ethnographic documentaries.

### 5.2 OBJECTIVITY AND AUTHENTICITY

As mentioned earlier in the **chapter 3.1**, one of my initial quests and purposes with the film was to depict the aftermath of genocide in a genuine and proper way. In order to do this I found it extremely important that, the main characters of the film were telling the truth, and furthermore were living and acting as if I and my film crew were not there. I believed that, the ‘reality’ in the Ingando camp and elsewhere could be portrayed in a completely ‘genuine’ and ‘true’ manner, if some specific precautions were taken.

My initial idea and approach when filming and interviewing both the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors was embedded in the anthropological social research tradition, entailing a theoretical

approach which aims at noticing and achieving a genuine “reality” through not only observation but also interaction. According to some classic anthropological approaches, the researcher and/or filmmaker is encouraged to step into ‘the reality’ and live and act on the same grounds and by the same principles of the ones which the ‘researcher’ seeks to observe, understand and portray. Hereby the researcher will get access to an otherwise “inaccessible” and more authentic ‘reality’ which is formulated in the following:

*“I udforskningen af kultur drejer (...) sig om at finde ind til kernen og tage udgangspunkt deri, og ikke om at observere udefra”* (Broby Madsen 1997: 94)

I soon realized this approach was appropriate, as the otherwise ‘stiff’ relationship between ‘us’ and ‘them’ could be eased up, when we started interacting with for example the ex-combatants in the Ingando camp. As mentioned earlier, I made several other attempts to make the people we were filming comfortable with our presence. Despite this, many continued to be not only skeptical but also reluctant to talk with us, even though I had explained them our ‘good’ intentions. I was well aware that many probably were afraid they could be recognized if someone saw the film – and possible later be imprisoned if someone found out they have come back to Rwanda. Therefore the idea of ‘stepping into reality’ and try to live and act on the same grounds turned out to be a suitable approach

Some theorists argue that in order to access the genuine ‘reality’ of a given culture or community, the researcher needs to have empathy with the people he is observing, as well as get recognized as a ‘member’ of the ‘reality’ he seeks to portray as stated by Lappasade in the following:

*“ L’observateur participant va s’efforcer d’acquérir une ‘Connaissance de Membre’ (...) Une empathie, une capacité de voir ‘choses’ du dedans”* (Lapassade 1996: 45)

The above mentioned ‘membership’ approach later contributed to a greater understanding between ‘us’ and ‘them’, which also led to greater intimacy and confidentiality between us. I believed that by engaging myself ‘the membership’ - way, there was a chance that the filming and future interviews would be not only easier but also more genuine and honest, as they would not feel as intimidated or alienated to us as before.

This proved true, as the more time I and the film crew spent in the Ingando camp, the ex-combatant turned friendlier and at several occasions they invited me and my co-producer to dine, dance and do sports with them. I soon realized that the more we took part in their lives and put down the camera, the more eager they became to talk to us and appear on the camera. As I am thinking it over, it was an open invitation from them. It was a great chance for us to step into their ‘reality’ and everyday life, but maybe the ex-combatant also saw a unique chance to show and explain us their everyday lives in a manner ‘they’ found it relevant to portray it, instead of just letting us represent them and their lives without giving them a genuine opportunity to raise their voice. One can argue that this invitation indeed could be an indicator of a greater ‘interaction’ as it was not only benefiting me and the film (as they felt more comfortable and eager to speak out), the ex-combatant also benefited in a manner that gave them a chance to ‘control’ the recordings, when they explained and showed us what they found interesting and relevant to portray. The idea of ‘ownership’ and ‘controlling’ the film and its content is further discussed in **chapter 5.4**.

The above mentioned approach can be seen as an attempt to describe and portray the ex-combatants’ life and ‘reality’ from within (the inside) instead portraying it from an ‘outsiders’ view as suggested by Blaikie:

*“...the social world is the world perceived and experienced by its members, from the ‘inside’. Hence the task [of the person who wants to mediate this ‘social and cultural world’ through film] is to discover and describe this ‘insider’ view, not impose an outsider view” (Blaikie 1993)*

Whether this approach was an actual prerequisite to access ‘the insiders view’ can be discussed forever, but one thing is sure; the approach prompted new interesting and otherwise unknown perspectives to the ‘reality’ I was aiming at portraying.

### **5.3 QUESTIONING OBJECTIVITY AND REALITY**

The idea of authenticity, among them achieving an ‘insider-view’, has been eagerly criticized, as many social researchers argue that no ‘reality’ is more real than any other, but instead that ‘reality’ is a mere question of the way one interprets or represents a given social structure, culture or ‘reality’. According to these theorists, by no means the above mentioned ‘insider’ approach can enable the researcher/film maker to access any genuine ‘reality’ nor enable him/her to portray any given culture or community more ‘true’ than else. Thereby genuine ‘reality’ is not a matter of genuine observation or interaction, but

instead a term to be challenged by different ways of interpreting and representing a given social structure as illustrated in the following:

*”Virkeligheden er altid iscenesat for os, og vi deltager selv i iscenesættelsen (...). Vi har aldrig adgang til en anden virkelighed end den, vi ser med vores biologiske og kulturelt iscenesatte sanseapparat. Vi kan kun formidle vore indtryk og oplevelser via en eller anden iscenesættelse i ord, mimik, billeder, på tryk eller anden vis. Iscenesættelse er menneskeligt vilkår, og vi behøver ikke frygte den som sådan.”* (Bondebjerg 1993: 111)

Ib Bondebjerg argues that one can never gain access to another ‘reality’ than the one we by nature decode through our own subjective and cultural sense-making system. Access to any ‘authentic reality’ will therefore always be decoded by our own relativistic glasses, which gives room for multiple interpretations of reality. As already stated, the ‘reality’ therefore is not an issue to be addressed by the researcher or film maker, but instead an issue and entity to be defined and dealt with by the audience.

In addition to this Crawford states that the film maker should:

*“... leave open the interpretation of the codes that form an inherent part of the film material (...) allowing the audience to ‘see’ for themselves, this being made possible by the camera’s ‘watching how things really happen’...”*

(Crawford 1992: 73)

This also gives room for a more interactionist perspective on the ‘reality’, as it can be suggested that the ‘reality’ and story mediated by the filmmaker is a mere result of a number of contextual and influential factors that encircled the ex-combatants and genocide-survivors in Rwanda. Among the most important factors that could have an impact was the presence of me and the film crew.

As I was inspired by the anthropologic research methods, I made numerous attempts to gain access to the very ‘genuine’ reality and truth. This approach involved several techniques to get as close as possible to the main characters of the film – hoping this would reveal otherwise inaccessible ‘truths’. Some techniques were indeed helpful and rewarding, but subsequently I have realized the naivety that this approach is founded within. I have realized, that no truth or ‘reality’ is more genuine or truer than others, but that ‘reality’ may be seen as a mere contextual ‘product’ – influenced by numerous elements; be it my presence, bad weather og other....

Therefore one should not reflect or aim at ‘finding’ one single ‘truth’, as my experience showed such one is not possible to attain, but instead recognize the multiple realities that may exist. The ‘reality’ or realities are not ‘already there’ as natural and genuine entities but instead, as mentioned before constantly shaped and re-shaped by and through interaction with numerous elements and factors.

#### 5.4 WHO IS REPRESENTING WHO?

As mentioned **chapter 5.2**, the question and discussion of ownership of the film appeared early in the process. I quickly understood the need to give attention to the impact, we as a ‘white’ film crew potentially had on the involved and the ‘reality’, we were aiming at portraying. The very fact that we were a ‘white’ film crew trying to portray ‘black’ ex-combatants and genocide survivors also gives attention to the discussion of power-relations, as I and the film crew are trying to portray a very different culture and ‘reality’ than his own.

Within these types of documentaries, which can be labeled ‘ethnographic’ documentaries, the discussion of ‘one-way communication’ versus ‘two-way communication’ has been present for decades. The example with the ‘invitation’ from ex-combatants, as mentioned in **chapter 5.2**, illustrates one of the key issues within this tradition. It illustrates the matter of whether the people portrayed are given the chance to affect and change the content of the film, or whether the documentary is a sole representation of the people portrayed according to the desires and wishes of the film maker.

During our stay with the ex-combatants in the Ingando and later also the genocide survivors, I and my film crew continued to explain our agenda with the film, thus hoping to incite our characters to speak out even more. Furthermore, I showed the ex-combatants and the genocide survivors extracts from the interviews as well as extracts from the footage of their everyday activities. I had to get their final approval of the interviews and footage in make sure they were comfortable seeing themselves on tape and once again accept the possibility that the footage could later be included in the documentary. This was as an attempt to give at least some sense of ‘ownership’ to the people portrayed, by giving them cart' blanch to - and furthermore an attempt to please my personal conscience, by not being one of the countless ‘white’ tourists or anthropologists who pass by an ‘African’ community and after having taken the compulsory pictures leave the place in a hurry, without having asked anyone for consent.

As illustrated in the following quote, some theories argue that the film process is a natural ‘both-ways’ representation of ‘the ones being portrayed’. In the following, Perle Møhl argues that the

representation-process includes a natural voice to the ones who are portrayed, rather than being a simplified one-way representation staged by the film maker alone.

*“I et relationelt og etisk perspektiv giver filmmediet altså de mennesker, hvis liv studeres (filmes), en ganske særlig indflydelse på det repræsentative resultat. De er på sin vis med til at ”trykke” det. I reflektiv forstand afspejler produktet dermed ikke blot etnografens deltagelse i felten, men også de repræsenteredes deltagelse i repræsentationsprocessen; etnografen bliver blot én blandt adskillige ”skrivende” subjekter” (Møhl 1995)*

Many theories disagree with this approach as they argue that the ones being portrayed are only given ‘voice’ through ‘our’ film, and under ‘our’ conditions, and thus not a representation of the ‘reality’ as the people who are portrayed may see and perceive it. Furthermore this underlines that the power relation the film maker and the ones being portrayed in between by no means is equal.

#### **5.5 PARTICIPATORY DOCUMENTARY – AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH**

As a result of this, a number of theorists and ethnographic film makers have developed an approach of its own called ‘participatory’ documentary (Nichols 1992) This approach entails that the people, communities or cases which one seeks to portray are more involved in the film process in order to give greater ownership of the film to the ones involved, giving ‘them’ a better chance to address issues important to them and their everyday life. The participatory approach is a result of numerous discussions among ethnographic film makers and film theorists, which conclude that the traditional ethnographic documentary always has aimed at serving and satisfying ‘us’ and ‘our’ desire, instead of asking ‘the people portrayed’ what ‘they’ themselves would like to show ‘us’ – and thereby opening up for a ‘two-way’ communication. Opponents to this approach may argue that the participatory documentary is mere repetition of ‘old-fashioned’ anthropology, and that the main objective not is to give greater ownership, but instead is a naive attempt to once again gain access to an otherwise inaccessible ‘reality’ of ‘the people portrayed’ – a ‘reality’ many anthropologist continue their pursue of. Nevertheless, the participatory approach may comply with the following critique:

*”ethnographic film tradition (...) has sought to represent other when, ‘we’ have been told, they could not represent themselves” (Nichols 1992: 69)*

This leads me to the next paragraph in which I discuss the very problem of planning and maintaining ‘control’ of the film process while also involving ‘the people portrayed’ in the process. It soon proves

that involving ‘the people to be portrayed’ in the film process, gives base for a whole new set of challenges.

### 5.6 ETHNOGRAPHIC VS. PARTICIPATORY DOCUMENTARY

Why is it that since the very beginning of anthropological research, we have continued to focus on ways of portraying ‘the other’, rather than letting ‘them’ represent themselves? One of the reasons is of course a matter of interest, but another important factor is the one of planning communication.

When film makers like myself make the great journey to different continents and completely different cultures in order to carry out an (ethnographic) documentary, it is usually difficult as well as extremely time and money consuming. Despite the fact that the documentary tradition generally has been somewhat open to unexpected inputs, the film maker is usually restricted by synopsis and treatment beforehand. The above mentioned circumstances seldom ‘allow’ too much interference with the story the film maker intends to stage and film, which was also the case during my stay in Rwanda. Even though I did have a set idea for the documentary, many events and challenges arose throughout the process which resulted in a somewhat different story and perspective than first expected. One of these challenges was the one of involving our ‘line producer’ in numerous stages of the process. Yes, it did indeed result in a more ‘participatory’ approach, but as already mentioned in **chapter 3.3**, this also resulted in two somewhat contrasting agendas - my initial ‘planned’ synopsis and the story our line-producer found most interesting.

Involving the ones to be portrayed throughout the representation/film process can imply letting them control - if not the entire process - then a whole great deal of it. This can involve everything from angling the story, choosing characters, filming, editing and so forth. Well, if one aims at involving the ‘people who are to be portrayed’, can one still call it an (ethnographic) documentary then? In this context, I refer to an understanding of an ethnographic documentary as a mediated ‘product’ that can be compared with an anthropologic observation report, in which the anthropologist observes without ‘interfering’ with the local culture and files a report (with his own observations and interpretations) which hopefully contributes to a greater understanding of this particular issue and/or culture. The initial aim with these reports, and later films, was always to serve and satisfy ‘us’ and ‘our’ desires for knowledge of foreign and different issues and/or cultures. Originally the ethnographic documentary involved a ‘fly on the wall’ approach, and as it was the case with my film project it always involved a synopsis or treatment with a number of subjects/topics that had to be addressed. Therefore throughout

the history of ethnographic film tradition, the director and/or film maker has always had the final word when filming, angling or editing the documentary. Then what may happen if ‘we’ - the ones who have represented ‘them’ for decades – decide to involve people we seek to portray in the process of representation? If ‘we’ let ‘them’ control the entire process will that mean the end of the ethnographic documentary tradition?

Not necessarily, but one needs to consider and discuss the future role of the ethnographic film maker and whether he can accept- and comprise on the above mentioned ‘participatory’ documentary concept, while he continues to maintain his own ethnographic approach, in the pursue of the good and interesting story? This dilemma leads to the question of ‘what’ and ‘who’ is defining ‘the good story’, and to the very central question of ownership of the story and film. The ‘people portrayed’ may have a very different idea of what the good and interesting story is, than the initial one staged and planned by the filmmaker. This was the case when I was ‘invited’ into the ex-combatants everyday life, as this invitation opened up for new perspectives to the story, I had not planned beforehand. For me, this was a small, but rewarding ‘interference’ with my initial idea, but some of the more radical film theorists argue this is not enough, but that ‘we’ as ‘westerners’ should leave ALL ownership of the film to the ‘people portrayed’ themselves, as they are more capable of representing themselves, than ‘we’ are at representing ‘them’. Taking this approach in consideration, the ethnographic film maker’s era may be over, as letting ‘them’ control the greatest deal of action, may leave the ethnographic film maker as a ‘facilitator’ of the film. A change I believe few ethnographic film makers are willing to comprise on.

### 5.7 DESIRES AND AUDIENCE

As mentioned in **chapter 5.4**, an important issue arises when relating the issue of ownership to the the issues possible audiences. Even though one decides to leave all ownership and control to ‘the people portrayed’, I believe there may be great methodological differences between staging a documentary for a ‘western’ and staging it for a ‘local’ audience. There may be a great difference between what ‘they’ find important when trying to represent themselves to a ‘western’ audience and the content ‘they’ will accentuate when staging it for a local audience. This leads us again to the discussion of ownership and whether leaving the ethnographic film maker to a mere role of ‘facilitator’, solves the problem of ‘ownership’ – and to the mentioned critique of the participatory approach. Regarding the critique that the participatory approach is a ‘cover’ to gain access to an otherwise inaccessible ‘reality’, I see no evidence that leaving the ownership to ‘the people to be portrayed’ will result in a more genuine representation of ‘reality’. Instead I will regard their representation of themselves as only one way,

among several, to stage and represent their ‘reality’. As mentioned in **chapter 5.3**, this representation can be regarded as one among several realities – none truer than others – the ‘participatory’ ‘reality’ will just be of a different character. According to Bill Nichols, they all have one thing in common:

*“Looking at others in order to represent them may not be so easily rationalized by strictly scientific motives as some anthropologists believe (...) many different ways of seeing surround the use of a camera. As long as human agency comes in to play it will do so in relation to desire and the unconscious as well as reason and science”* (Nichols 1992: 45)

Film theorist Bill Nichols argues that human agency inevitably will act according to reason, desire and science when involved in film – be it consciously or unconsciously. Thereby he argues that the film maker always will be drifted by his own interests when doing the filming, despite his (supposed) initial attempt to portray the given social structure objectively. One may argue that diminishing the ethnographic film maker to mere ‘facilitator’ will give the ‘local’ a greater sense of ownership, but even this may not solve the problem, as the role of facilitator leaves a certain ‘directors power vacuum’ which leaves the ‘ownership’ and idea of control open to interpretation.

This relates again to the discussion of gaining access to ‘reality’. As the above mentioned quote exemplifies, the film maker himself as well as the ‘ones to be portrayed’ or to be portraying themselves will act and stage their ‘reality’ according to their relativistic sense-making system. The two methods are not easily combined as they have their foundation in two very different epistemological and ontological approaches entailing their respective methodological practices.

Therefore - as already mentioned - a compromise between ‘the initially desired’ story of the ethnographic film maker and the desires of ‘the ones to be portrayed’ may not be solved as easily. An interesting idea to a greater exchange between the ethnographic film maker and the ones involved (and the epistemologies in between) could be experiments where both the ethnographic film maker and the ‘locals’ stage their own story – but with a similar overall theme/synopsis – and prepare it for ‘their’ respective audiences. This could indeed open for interesting perspectives and hopefully a greater understanding of both the film maker as well as a greater understanding of the ones being portrayed.

This may very well be the best way to gain access to each others ‘reality’ and thereby understand each other, - a knowledge and understanding some argue is the very foundation if not aim of ethnography.

## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the past pages, I have strived to uncover the most important issues and challenges; I came across in the preliminary, the continuous and finalizing work process. The aim of presenting a personal and informative documentary about the long-lasting effects of genocide in Rwanda has involved a greater number of considerations than anyone can imagine. The nature of '*concluding remarks*' doesn't allow me to summarize all of them, which explains why I have chosen to emphasize only a few.

Among the many important lessons that were learnt, the issue and dilemma between maintaining the anthropological and culture-sensitive approach while also striving to attain the 'good' and revealing story by investigative means, has been the one that has occupied me the most. As I see it, my underlying motives for occasionally crossing my personal and methodological boundaries as an ethnographic film maker, and initiate investigative and subversive journalistic methods, can be explained as a matter of desire. As already mentioned, the good and controversial story (in my view) was a greater desire for me personally - than maintaining the culture-sensitive approach. An approach, I believe is already practiced by (too) many film makers, who otherwise claim that their documentaries are strictly culture-sensitive.

Another important issue that has occupied me throughout the process was my initial attempt to gain access to the very 'genuine' 'reality' and truth. As already mentioned, I staged numerous techniques to get as close as possible to the main characters of the film – hoping this would reveal otherwise inaccessible 'truths'. Some techniques were indeed helpful and rewarding, but subsequently I have realized the naivety that this approach is founded within. I have realized, that no truth or 'reality' is more genuine or truer than others, but that 'reality' may be seen as a mere contextual 'product' – influenced by numerous elements – be it my presence, bad weather or other.

I have also given great attention to the matter of portraying 'the others', and the hereof naturally given discussion of ownership of the film. I have realized that changing or modifying the ethnographic documentary tradition is a greater challenge than one may think. Giving the people who one seeks to portray a chance to express themselves on matters 'they' find interesting (a participatory approach), while maintaining the traditional role as an ethnographic film maker involves two very different research and film methods, which are hard to integrate. A better interaction between the film maker and the people who are to be portrayed could involve a partnership with a common synopsis and

treatment, where 'we' and 'they' stage each our own story, which are later revealed for a 'western' and 'local' audience. This can hopefully contribute to a greater understanding of each others practices

The last and maybe most interesting part of the process has yet to come, as the film has yet to be revealed to the Danish public. Initially the film will be launched as an educative documentary to Danish High School students, where the film will form part of a greater educative and informative 'package' - involving an interactive website with live streaming, pictures, teaching materials and more. If time allows it, this 'package' will be ready by mid-January and could maybe be an interesting starting point for my examination the 19'th of January...

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