# Icons of Zimbabwe's Crisis and their Interpretation by European Union Officials

**A Thesis**

**submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy in Media Studies**

**by**

**Charles Moyo**

**to**

**Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS),
University of Bayreuth,
Germany**

**Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ivo Ritzer
Media Studies (Media in Africa)
University of Bayreuth, Germany**

**Mentors:**

**Prof. Dr. Ute Fendler, University of Bayreuth, Germany
Francophone Literatures, Cultures and Media in Africa**

**Prof. Dr. Bernhard Stahl, University of Passau, Germany
International Politics**

**October 2018**

## Declaration of Scientific Integrity

I do hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and effort and that it has not been submitted for any awards or any other purpose. Where other sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

Bayreuth, 13.10.2018

Charles Moyo

## Dedication

To my loving wife Caroline and the entire family for their immense sacrifice and unwavering support.

# Acknowledgements

The success of this project is a collective effort in terms of individual and institutional support. Special mention goes to my Supervisor, Prof. Ivo Ritzer for his guidance throughout the research. His suggested reading list and astute insights were key throughout the writing of this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge my mentors; Prof. Ute Fendler and Prof. Bernhard Stahl, especially for their helpful comments and shrewd mentorship.

Special mention also goes to the BIGSAS Academic Committee, Management Board and the Administration Team for the financial and administrative support which made the successful completion of this thesis possible. I would also like to acknowledge the significant role that was played by the Katholischer Akademischer Ausländer Dienst (KAAD) Staff particularly in terms of financial and spiritual support. To that end, special mention goes to Dr. Marko Kuhn, Dr. Hermann Weber, Ms. Jana Geerken, Ms. Pia Schievink and Ms. Miriam Rossmerkel. At the Katholische Hochshule Gemeinde (KHG), special mention goes to Ms. Barbara Goeb and Mr Thomas Ries for their assistance, kindness and encouragement during the writing of this manuscript. Special mention also goes to Mr Bjorn Hultin and Ms. Dorothe Grebe for facilitating interviews for me in Belgium and Zimbabwe respectively.

At the University of Zimbabwe, I would like to single out Prof. Charity Manyeruke, Dr. Donald Chimanikire, Dr. Rose Jaji, Prof. Lloyd Sachikonye, Mr. Greg. Linington, Dr Solomon Muqayi and Ms. Oripha Chimwara for their support and encouragement. I would also like to acknowledge the support and encouragement I got from BIGSAS Junior Fellows, friends and colleagues. Special mention goes to Edknowledge Mandikwaza, Samuel Sibanda, Isaac Jonas, Jeff Goodner, Nkosana Ndlovu, Knowledge Mwonzora, Gift Mwonzora, Welcome Zimuto, Musawenkosi Ncube, Patricia Madzivanzira, Christian Beitlich, Sixpence Pedzisai, Samuel Asamoah, Ghadafi Saibu, Takudzwa Madzimure, Thamsanqa Dangazela, Emmerson Chivhenge, Tawanda Gara, Clifford Hlatywayo, Tawanda Pilo, Knowledge Handirade, Timothy Dube, Goodluck Kiwori, Yvette Ngum, Simbarashe Makunde, Gemechu Abeshu, Prosper Maguchu, Daniel Osieko, Emmnuel Sackey, Brian Hungwe, Alexander Klein, Katharina McLaren, Dina Falten, Siyabusa Mkhuhlani, Locardia Shayamunda, Georgina Maxim, Alouis Chilunjika, Prolific Mataruse, Simbarashe Nyamukachi, Bennedict Arko, Misheck Gondo, Trust Mpofu and Jonah Marawako. Above all, I thank God for watching over me throughout the writing of this manuscript.

# Abstract

This study focused on how EU officials interpret iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, especially in light of the country's national image and economic dynamics. Generally, the study centred on the respondents' feelings, memories, descriptions and remarks about the above-mentioned pictures. Specifically, the study explored the respondents' remarks about the pictures in question vis-à-vis Zimbabwe's national image and economic trajectory.

This study was motivated by the fact that, despite the existence of numerous pictures depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic predicament, studies focusing on such pictorial material remain extremely scant. Instead, there is a widespread tendency by scholars to focus on the verbal, rhetorical and statistical narrative of Zimbabwe's Crisis at the expense of its pictorial dimension. Such a tendency has relegated the pictures in question to the periphery, yet they could augment the Zimbabwe Crisis debate. Therefore, this study sought to bridge such a scholarship lacuna by delving on Zimbabwe's Crisis from a visual-cultural perspective in general, and from a pictorial point of view, in particular. Studying the afore-mentioned pictures dovetails with the theoretical discourse of image science/*Bildwissenschaft* and iconology which underpin this study.

The data collection exercise for this study was twofold: (1) collection of pictures, and; (2) data collection through interviews. Accordingly, eight iconic (still) pictures and two moving pictures (videos) were collected from *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *France 24's* online archives. Thereafter, 25 key informant interviews based on the same pictures were conducted with Members of the European Parliament (Brussels), officials from the European Commission (Brussels) and EU's diplomatic post in Zimbabwe. Before the interviews, the researcher studied the pictures in question using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis. This was done to understand the pictures from a "scientific" perspective and to subtly compare the results with those from the EU officials. The studying of the pictures using the above-mentioned model revealed their capacity to stir emotions, especially anger, fear, horror, sympathy and helplessness. It was also concluded that that the pictures in question projected symbols related to Marxism, police state, war, Zimbabwean culture and extreme suffering. Also, in the two videos studied; the ironic, artistic and aesthetic use of metapictures to portray violence and suffering stands out.

After the analysis of the data collected through key informant interviews, the study established several findings and conclusions. In sync with the school of thought which advances the nexus between pictures and emotions, the study concluded that the pictures under study, evoked deep emotions and public outcry. The study also observed the dominance of the pictures in question over verbal and statistical narratives, particularly from an emotional and memorial point of view. Ironically, the study concluded that due to their viral nature and repeated broadcasting, the pictures under study lost their impact over time as their consumers became "insulated" from their emotive capabilities. Concerning the respondents' remarks on the pictures under study, the analysis of the collected data revealed that, the pictures in question provoked state sponsored iconoclasm in Zimbabwe. Another conclusion emanating from what the respondents said about the pictures in question, indicated that the pictures under study led to the emergence of two antagonistic camps which can be described as; (1) the iconophobes and iconoclasts (represented by the state) and; (2) journalists who leaned towards the iconophilic and iconodules camp. The former group represent those who destroyed and suppressed images whereas the latter represent those who pictorially documented Zimbabwe's Crisis and exposed its pictures to the outside world. Also, it was concluded that the state, through colossal propaganda, created a counter image, in an effort to counteract physical and metaphorical

images about Zimbabwe in the international media. In addition, racial and gender bias in terms of pictorial representation of the victims by the international media houses in question, was also underlined.

In addition, the study also established that the pictorial images that were studied represented the reality on the ground which somehow influenced the EU's decision to impose "smart" sanctions, travel restrictions and investment warnings on Zimbabwe. Importantly, the study concluded that, apart from painting a gloom and grim image about Zimbabwe, the pictures under study also acted as a mirror which projected multiple and negative images ranging from racism, violence and hostility, lawlessness, failed state, to inflation and economic meltdown. Such a scenario was argued to be an antithesis to tourism and foreign direct investment. The study also observed that since the respondents interpreted the pictures from an institutional and authoritative position, they therefore "read" the pictures from a "straitjacket" or "blinkered" point of view, which most likely blurred their interpretation. Despite different ideological and political affiliations, there were no significant variations in the way Members of the European Parliament (Brussels), officials from the European Commission (Brussels) and EU Delegation to Zimbabwe (Harare) interpreted the pictures under study.

In line with the respondents' remarks vis-à-vis the pictures selected for this study, pitfalls associated with pictures were highlighted. In the same wavelength, it was pointed out that technological advancement has exposed pictures to manipulation or "photoshopping," which ultimately affects their interpretation and perception by their consumers. Also, it was pointed out that pictures do not always portray the "full picture" of any given scenario since they are prone to the vices of subjectivity and selectivity. Selectivity, which leads to subjective perceptions, is a process whereby journalists select certain pictures for broadcasting at the expense of others, according to personal and institutional expediency.

In terms of academic contribution, this study is one of the foremost to study pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. It therefore represents an academic paradigm shift from the traditional study of the country's crisis which is largely verbal, narrative and statistical in nature. Therefore, this study is directly the opposite of the traditional approach which tends to reduce the pictures in question to footnotes of the country's crisis debate. Moreover, the study used image science as its theoretical yardstick, hence, its unique "scientific" contribution in that respect. From a political point of view, conclusions related to the nexus between and among pictures, Zimbabwe's national image and economic trajectory could be of interest to policymakers, civic society, diplomats and political parties in Zimbabwe.

# Table of Contents

## List of Tables

## List of Figures

# Acronyms

ACP- African Caribbean Pacific
AU- African Union
BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation
BIGSAS- Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies
CIO- Central Intelligence Organization
CNN- Cable News Network
EU- European Union
IFIs- International Financial Institution
IMF- International Monetary Fund
MDC- Movement for Democratic Change
MEPs- Members of European Parliament
NCA- National Constitutional Assembly
NGOs- Non-Governmental Organisations
SADC- Southern African Development Community
UN- United Nations
UNISA- University of South Africa
WTO- World Trade Organisation
ZANU PF- Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZBC- Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZNA- Zimbabwe National Army
ZRP- Zimbabwe Republic Police

**Chapter 1**: **Introduction and Background to the Study**

## 1 Introduction

Also known as Zimbabwe's Crisis, the political and economic predicament which has plagued Zimbabwe for almost two decades, has oftentimes drawn significant international media coverage over the years.[1] Consequently, the widespread media coverage of Zimbabwe's Crisis has led to the emergence of an array of pictures depicting the country's political and economic crisis.[2] Some of the pictures in question could be described as iconic in some respects.[3] In light of the afore-mentioned pictures, some of the fundamental questions which beg for answers are: what should be done with these pictures? What is their meaning? How do people feel about them? What do people think and remember about them? Do they influence the country's national image and economic trajectory? Are these pictures the missing link in the understanding of Zimbabwe's Crisis? How should they be studied? The questions above indicate a puzzle that needs to be deciphered in as much as the pictures in question are concerned. Apart from being an under researched phenomenon, it is against this obscure background associated with the afore-mentioned pictorial images that this study sought to explore how iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis are interpreted by EU officials, particularly in light of the country's national image and economic trajectory.[4] This chapter therefore serves as the introduction of this study. In this introductory chapter; the background and context, aim, research questions, delimitation, rationale, ethical considerations and methodology of this study are discussed. The chapter concludes by outlining the structural overview of this thesis.

---

[1] The terms "Zimbabwe's Crisis" and "The Zimbabwe Crisis" are often used interchangeably to refer to the political and economic crisis that plagued Zimbabwe from the year 2000. The crisis reached its crescendo between 2007 and 2008. For the purposes of this study, "Zimbabwe's Crisis" is dominantly used.

[2] A picture is different from an image since the former is physical and tangible whereas the latter is an intangible, "metaphysical," and fluid entity, hence, Mitchell's (2015:6) observation that, a picture is a material object, a thing you can break, burn or tear whereas an image survives the destruction of a picture (in memory, in narratives and traces in other media). It is crucial to draw a line between pictures and images since they are oftentimes referred to in a synonymous manner.

[3] In this context, "Iconic" pictures refer to exceptional and outstanding pictures that depict Zimbabwe's Crisis.

[4] In the context of this study, EU officials refers to members of the European Parliament (MEPs) (Brussels), officials from the EU Commission (Brussels) and EU diplomats who are part of the EU Delegation in Zimbabwe (Harare). The EU officials in question were also respondents (or interviewees) to this study. Furthermore, "interpretation" of the pictures refers to the respondents' feelings, perceptions, utterances and memories about the pictures under study. Overall, interpretation in the context of this research is wide and involves meaning derived from the pictures by the respondents to this study.

## 1.1  Background and Context

Despite the existence of numerous pictures and videos depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis in the media, researchers and scholars tend to overlook them. Instead, the country's crisis has often been studied from a verbal, rhetorical and statistical point of view. As shall be shown in the literature review section of this thesis, a closer look at the work of scholars who have written about Zimbabwe's Crisis such as Makumbe (2002; 2006; 2009), Ndlela (2005), Masunungure (2009), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2004; 2009), Badza (2009), Linington (2009), Sachikonye (2011; 2003), Bratton and Masunungure (2011), Willem (2011) and Magaisa (2015) among many others, would reveal that the issue of pictures is not only obscure but also located at the periphery of their debate. Such a tendency to gravitate towards statistical, rhetorical and verbal narratives by scholars has reduced the pictorial aspect of the country's crisis to a footnote in the context of its study. Therefore, this study was motivated by the fact that studies focusing on Zimbabwe's Crisis from a visual cultural perspective in general and from a pictorial point of view in particular, are extremely scant. This study therefore sought to bridge such a scholarship lacuna.

Pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis remain an under-researched phenomenon worth to be accorded adequate attention. Despite Mitchell (1986:1) alerting us to the fact that there is a possibility of studying what people say about images; no known study has been conducted to determine what people say, feel, think or remember about the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. The "evasion" of the pictures in question by scholars and researchers runs contrary to growing calls by some scholars who emphasise on the need to prioritise the study of images. For instance, Cope (2015:6) emphasises on the need to prioritise the study of images due to their vitality in art, education, cognitive science, communications, computer science, cultural studies, design, education, film studies, history, linguistics, management, marketing, media studies, museums studies, philosophy, photography, psychology, religious studies and semiotics, among other fields.

Another protruding scholar in relation to the call for the study of images is Mitchell (2015:26) who emphasises not only on the need to study images but also to study them in a "scientific" manner, hence, his suggestion on the employment of what he calls "image

science"/*Bildwissenschaft*.[5] In essence; image science treats images as "the object of science, something to be tested, experimented with, described and explained, in accordance with the most rigorous scientific methods" (Mitchell, 2015:26). Therefore, image science could be described as the antithesis of a general, vague and ill-defined approach to the study of images. This study therefore followed the image science trajectory, as opposed to a general approach to the study of images.

In relation to image science, the pressing question which cries out for attention is: what is the best way of "scientifically" studying images (including those selected for this study)? Mitchell (2015:26) attempts to tackle this question by posing a number of rhetorical questions. The questions range from whether an image is something to be tested, experimented with, described and explained, in accordance with the most rigorous scientific methods or whether to run an experiment on it, to whether to investigate material particles in an oil painting. The questions above give us a window of opportunity in terms of the exploration of ways of studying images. Against the backdrop of the above-mentioned questions and considering that image science offers us the possibility to study what people say about images and how they describe them, this study sought to investigate how the respondents to this study interpret the pictures under study in general and how they specifically interpret them vis-a-vis Zimbabwe's national image and economic trajectory. To that end, the exploration of the respondents' thoughts, feelings, memories, descriptions and utterances in relation to the pictures in question was of paramount importance. In the same vein, respondents' remarks about the pictures in question in light of Zimbabwe's national image and economy were equally crucial.

Moreover, Mitchell (2015:24) also alerts us to the fact that there are a number of researchers committed to image science who are studying images under the rubric of iconology. This study was therefore inspired by Mitchell's (2015) image science and therefore deals with the pictures under study from an image science perspective, under the rubric of iconology. As Mitchell (2015:8) notes, image science falls under what is termed "critical iconology," which is basically a new form of iconology in the post-Panofsky era. In his insightful interview at the Central European University, Mitchell (2013) defines iconology as the "study of images across the media, images that move between television, painting, photography, sculpture, the digital image in the computer and what is involved in the study of those kinds of images...how to interpret their meanings, how to track the way they move from one place to another, how they

---

[5] *Bildwissenschaft* is a German term for "image science."

affect us emotionally, intellectually, cognitively- all aspects of iconology." In line with the aim of this research and from an iconological point of view, this study dealt with both still and moving pictures (videos) in the television and how they affect the respondents emotionally, intellectually and cognitively.

Another important scholarly contribution that was considered in relation to the study of the pictures selected for this study was Mitchell's (1980) seminal article which dwells on what he terms "the language of images." Accordingly, the language of images is concerned about three issues: (1) language about images (the words we use to talk about pictures); (2) images regarded as a language: the semantic, syntactic, communicative power of images to encode messages, tell stories, express ideas and emotions, raise questions and "speak" to us; (3) verbal language as a system informed by images, literally in the graphic form of writing systems or "visible language" (Mitchell, 1980:3). A closer look at the above submission by Mitchell (1980) would reveal that the concept of the language of images is not only about the language used to describe images but also their potency to communicate messages and induce emotions. To that end, the concept of the language of images and the aim of this study and its research questions, seem to dovetail, hence, its employment as a yardstick in the study of the pictures selected for this study.

Another theory which is in sync with the aim of this study and which also falls under the critical iconology theoretical discourse is picture theory. Mitchell (1994) dissects the phenomenon of picture theory in finer detail. By the same token, in an interview at the Central European University, Mitchell (2013) summarises picture theory in the following terms: "Picture theory is kind of a double meaning, on one hand, we construct theories about pictures that they are science by likeness, that they have certain effects on us but I am interested in the way that pictures can theorise themselves and other things, so the pictures become a theoretical discourse in their own right and not just an animate object that has to be explained by language." In the context of picture theory, this study is related with the trajectory of the construction of theories about pictures and the study of their effects on us.

Accordingly, Mitchell's works highlighted above, among others, not only acted as a yardstick in the study of the pictures selected for this study but constitute the critical iconology theoretical and conceptual discourse that underpin this study. In short, image science and iconology inspired this study and it is against such an inspirational backdrop that this study sought to explore how pictorial images associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis are interpreted by EU

officials, especially in relation to the country's national image and economic dynamics. In light of the principal aim of the study cited above, three fundamental questions emerged and are outlined in the next section below.

## 1.2     Research Questions

The main research question of this study which is derived from its aim is: how are iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis interpreted by EU officials especially in light of Zimbabwe's national image and economic trajectory? In light of this central question, three research questions emerged;

1.  What are the respondents' feelings, thoughts, descriptions, remarks and memories about the pictures under study?

2.  What are the respondents' views on the pictures under study in light of Zimbabwe's national image?

3.  What are the respondents' remarks on the pictures in question vis-à-vis Zimbabwe's economy?

In relation to the questions above, the first research question sought to probe the respondents' thoughts, perceptions, feelings, memories, descriptions and utterances about the pictures in question in general. The second question specifically investigated EU officials' perspective about the pictures under study vis-à-vis the image of Zimbabwe as a nation. In other words, this research question is anchored on what the respondents say about the pictures in question, in relation to the country's national image. The third question sought to examine the respondents' remarks about the pictures under study in light of the country's economic dynamics. As it shall be later revealed, there is a nexus between the national image of Zimbabwe and the country's economic performance, hence, the study's focus on the pictorial images under study vis-à-vis Zimbabwe's national image and economic dynamics. Also, the issue of Zimbabwe's national image and the economy is linked to its political and economic crisis which the pictures under study depict.

## 1.3     Delimitation of the Study

It is important to spell out boundaries in as much as the scope of this research is concerned. The political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, popularly known as Zimbabwe's Crisis, unfolded in the year 2000 with the advent of the oftentimes violent land reform programme and violent parliamentary elections that took place in the same year. Therefore, the period of

study chosen for this study is between 2000 and 2017. The year 2000 was chosen for the beginning of the study due to its importance in as much Zimbabwe's political crisis and the accompanying media publicity is concerned. In the year 2000, the opposition MDC which had been formed in 1999 contested the 2000 parliamentary election which resulted in massive violence as cited by Makumbe (2000; 2002; 2009). Also, it is during the year 2000 that the violent land reform programme which claimed lives of several white commercial farmers and some of their workers was launched.

Due to the above-mentioned events, there was significant international media attention on Zimbabwe and numerous pictures depicting violence appeared on the international media, as observed by Ndlela (2005). Some of the iconic images selected for this study can be traced back to the year 2000, hence, its selection as the beginning of the study. The period of study ends in the year 2017 because it is the period when former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, was unceremoniously removed from power through a military coup that was supported by Zimbabwean from across the political divide. Therefore, the year 2017 marked the end of the Mugabe era and gave a "new complexion" to the country's politics and the media coverage thereof.

This study did not focus on all pictures associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis. Instead, it focused on "iconic pictures." However, the study did not totally relegate other pictures associated with the country's crisis, as the iconic images under study cannot be divorced from the larger group of pictures that depict Zimbabwe's Crisis. In terms of their definition, Sturken and Cartwright (2009:36) view iconic images as those images that carry great symbolic meaning in relation to certain events. History reveals that each historical epoch has its own exceptional images which could be deemed iconic. The American civil rights movement, Apartheid in South Africa, Zimbabwe's liberation struggle, the 9/11 attacks, US Apollo 11's moon landing, the Cuban Revolution and the Holocaust are a few examples of periods which produced notable and distinct images. As will be shown in the next chapter, not all iconic images are at the same level due to the fact that levels of iconicity are determined by cultural, historical, racial, political persuasions etc.

 In terms of iconic images, Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis is not an exception. There are several images associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis that could be deemed iconic. Accordingly, this study focused on eight still pictures and two videos which are deemed iconic.

The criterion that was used to select iconic pictures in question was premised on the essential characteristics associated with iconic images and these include; symbolism, time factor, ability to arouse emotions and public outcry, rarity and the capacity to go viral, among other essential features. The concept of iconic images and their characteristics thereof is discussed later in this thesis. Respondents were also asked to list pictorial images that depict Zimbabwe's Crisis which they deemed iconic. Accordingly, the respondents' list largely tallied with the researcher's list which based iconicity of the pictures under study on the key characteristics of iconic images.

The above-mentioned iconic pictures chosen for this study were drawn from four international television (news) stations: *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *France 24 English*. The study attempted to geographically spread the international media houses in question, hence, one from the Middle East (*Aljazeera English*), one from North America (*CNN*) and two from Europe (*BBC* and *France 24 English*). The geographical spreading of the media houses was done in a bid to avoid bias and what Ngozi (2009) terms "the danger of a single story." Also, the afore-mentioned news stations were chosen due to their widespread, consistent and persistent coverage of Zimbabwe's Crisis over the years. It is also worth mentioning that this study only focused on television pictures. Therefore, newspapers and social media platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter, are beyond its scope.

The study did not choose any news station from Africa because it sought an "outsider perspective," hence the choosing of EU officials as respondents. The principal reason why the study sought the perspective of the EU officials about the pictorial pictures in question is due to the importance of the European bloc to Zimbabwe in the context of political and economic cooperation. Since 2000, the relationship between the EU and Zimbabwe has been deteriorating due to the latter's poor record of human rights and the breakdown of the rule of law. Therefore, such a background of cooperation and relatively strained relations raised curiosity about how officials from the EU interpret pictorial images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis.

Respondents from this study were drawn from the European Parliament (Brussels), EU Commission (Brussels) and the European Delegation to Zimbabwe (Harare). These three institutions of the EU were chosen because of accessibility reasons. Members of the European Parliament that were interviewed in Brussels were from the following parties; Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats), Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament, European Conservatives and Reformists Group,

Group of the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance and Confederal Group of the European United Left - Nordic Green Left.

Although some of the data gathered for this study revealed the impact of pictures in question on its consumers (EU officials), it was not the purpose of this study to seek to measure such an impact. The focus of this study was heavily tilted towards the iconic pictures selected for this study compared to the verbal, rhetorical and statistical study of Zimbabwe's Crisis as this has received adequate scholarly attention over the years. However, the pictures depicting the country's crisis have been marginalised, hence, this study's bias towards them.

## 1.4    Rationale for the Study

Pictures associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis remain peripheral especially in terms of the study of the country's crisis. In other words, the visual cultural and "pictorial aspect" of the country's political and economic crisis remains a mystery that is extremely under researched and obscure. For instance, up to date, no significant research has been conducted to determine the people's feelings, perceptions, utterances, thoughts or even memories in relation to the above-mentioned pictures. The reason for Zimbabwe's images of political crisis to remain under researched could be explained by Ignatowitsch and Stahl's (2015:2) standpoint that the discursive meaning of images is generally seen as being "under-researched," particularly because "the interpretation of images is a lot harder than interpreting rhetoric." Therefore, this study sought to focus on this "unchartered" path or under-researched component of the country's crisis in order to bridge the knowledge gap in that regard.

Considering that the pictorial images under study are under researched, the fundamental question which begs for an answer would be: could the pictures under study be the missing link in terms of understanding Zimbabwe's Crisis? This question partly justifies the undertaking of this study. For many years the country's political and economic crisis has been dealt with from a statistical, verbal and rhetorical point of view. May be, until we understand the role, place, meaning and impact of pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, an otherwise important aspect of the country's crisis will remain a puzzle and outside the range of the "mainstream" debate about the country's crisis. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the meaning of the pictures in question, in the jigsaw puzzle of Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis, hence, the importance of exploring how the outside world, in this case EU officials, interpret the pictures in question vis-à-vis the country's national image and economic dynamics. Therefore, the study

of the pictures in question could assist in the understanding of Zimbabwe's political and economic predicament.

This study chose the EU officials as its respondents because of the importance of the European bloc to the country's political and economic life. Accordingly, the EU is Zimbabwe's biggest trading partner and also supports the country's judiciary, civic society and several humanitarian initiatives (European Delegation to Zimbabwe, 2017). To that end, the way the country is viewed by some EU officials, in this case from a visual or pictorial point of view, is important considering such cooperation and relatively frosty relations between the two and the underway efforts to mend the relationship. Also, this study touches on the perspectives of the same officials in the context of the pictures under study vis-à-vis the country's national image and economic progress. Anholt (2005) emphasises on the importance of a nation's image and calls it "the country's brand." Therefore, findings in relation to the pictures under study and Zimbabwe's national image could be of interest especially to policymakers, civic society organisations and thinks tanks in Zimbabwe, hence, the justification of the undertaking of this study.

In addition to that, this study was also worth undertaking due to its potential to contribute to academic debate, particularly in media studies, specifically in the sphere of visual culture. The study is likely to be one of the foremost to deal with pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis from the point of view of image science, under the rubric of iconology. Findings from such a study could be of interest in the context of theory and debate especially in the sphere of the theoretical discourse of iconology. Also, the findings from this study could be a window of opportunity for the recommendation of other areas for further research.

Other questions that were asked by interested parties during the research were: why focus on images of political and economic crisis? Why not focus on images of other things in Zimbabwe? The answer to these question lies on the longevity and gravity of Zimbabwe's Crisis. Since 2000, the country's political and economic crisis became a national, regional and international issue, hence, the need to pay attention to it. In highlighting the gravity of Zimbabwe's Crisis, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2004:297) notes that apart from dividing academics into two antagonistic camps, the country's deep crisis strained the country's relations with Britain and other Western powers. For instance, in the early 2000s, the EU, USA, Australia and Canada imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe in response to political violence and economic

mismanagement. In short, Zimbabwe's Crisis is a topical international issue, and this justifies the study of images depicting it. The country's crisis has been extensively covered, except for the "pictorial" component of it, hence, the justification of its study from a visual cultural perspective in general and from pictorial angle in particular. The next section focuses on the methodology of the study.

## 1.5 Methodology- Data Collection, Presentation and Analysis

This section deals with the methodological trajectories that underpin this study. Accordingly, the section discusses the nature of the methodological approach, sampling techniques, data gathering, presentation and analysis. In addition to that, the section discusses ethical principles that guided this study. To that end, ethical principles that were observed before, during and after the research are discussed.

This study employed qualitative research techniques in terms of its data collection, presentation and analysis. Creswell (2007) differentiates qualitative and quantitative research by observing that qualitative research is framed in terms of using words (qualitative) rather than numbers (quantitative) or using closed ended questions (quantitative hypotheses) rather than open ended questions (qualitative interview questions). In addition, Creswell (2007) notes that the process of qualitative research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participants' setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of data. Therefore, this research followed the qualitative trajectory as described above.

Creswell (2007) also notes that qualitative research is associated with the inductive reasoning-oriented research. However, the inductive approach go hand in glove with the deductive approach as the two seem to be two opposite sides of the same coin. Gabriel (2013) emphasises that qualitative research is more associated with inductive reasoning compared to the deductive model which is associated with quantitative studies. Since this study is qualitative by nature, it is largely associated with the inductive reasoning model.

Burney (2008:7) observes that induction is usually described as moving from the specifics to the general, while deduction begins with the general and ends with the specific. Correspondingly, Gabriel (2013) notes that "the main differences between inductive and deductive approaches is that whilst a deductive approach is aimed at testing theory, an inductive approach is concerned with the generation of a new theory emerging from the data." This study

came up with new findings and that is in line with the inductive approach. Importantly, Gabriel (2013) also mentions that a deductive approach usually begins with a hypothesis, whilst an inductive approach uses research questions to narrow the scope of the study. Therefore, this study used research questions as opposed to a hypothesis. In a nutshell, Burney (2008:5) points out that inductive reasoning moves from specific observations to broader generalisations and theories, is a "bottom up" approach, bases its conclusions on premises and involves a degree of uncertainty.

Furthermore, this study employed pre-testing in order to determine the efficiency of the data collection instruments, among other reasons. Hurst (2015) underlines the importance of pre-testing in qualitative research and defines it in the following terms: "By definition, pretesting involves simulating the formal data collection process on a small scale to identify practical problems with regard to data collection instruments, sessions, and methodology." In addition to that, Hurst (2015) also cites the following as the main reasons for conducting a pre-test:

> Evaluating language competency and content validity of data collection materials; Estimating time length of full interview delivery and marking periods of respondent fatigue; Maximizing methodological skills and achieving proficiency standards for qualitative data collection; and, Assessing the feasibility and fidelity of translation and transcription protocols in preparation of the interview text for qualitative analysis.

It is against the above-mentioned backdrop that this study utilized the pretesting procedure. Therefore, the researcher conducted 10 key informant interviews with diplomats from European countries based in Harare selected through convenience sampling. Creswell (2009:155) notes that: "In many researches, however, only a convenience sample is possible because the investigator must use naturally formed groups (e.g. Classroom, an organization, a family unit) ..." To that regard, the researcher used a "naturally formed group" (diplomats from EU countries in Harare) for the purposes of convenience sampling for the pre-test.

Importantly, some lessons were drawn from the pre-test. One of the lessons that were derived from the pre-test is related to time management and control during the interviews. Considering the oftentimes tight schedule of the respondents, the researcher had allocated 20 minutes for each interview. However, after the pretesting process, the researcher realised that the 20 minutes were inadequate, hence, the revision of the time from 20 minutes to between 30 and 40 minutes.

In addition to that, the pre-test procedure also helped to determine coherence in relation to the interview questions and to that regard, research questions in the interview guide were rearranged after the pre-test. Furthermore, the pre-test process also helped to prepare the

researcher to be accustomed with the interviewing process in preparation for the main key informant interviews. Also, the pre-test also assisted in terms of evaluating the language competency in relation to the interview guide. The data from the pre-test process was used to determine the time needed for the transcription process for each interview. It is also worth underlining that during the pre-test process, the respondents suggested more potential respondents; a process linked to snowballing that was used in the selection of the respondents for this study.

Pretesting differs from a pilot study. According to UNISA (2006:256), "A pilot study is a mini-version of a full-scale study or a trial run done in preparation of the complete study." Therefore, a pilot study is like the actual version of the research but done in a small scale. Pilot studies are usually associated with quantitative research as opposed to qualitative research. As previously highlighted in this section, pretesting is heavily tilted towards the testing of the data gathering instruments in order to determine their efficiency. Pretesting is also suitable for quantitative research. In line with qualitative and inductive research approaches, this study employed key informant interviews and observation as its data collection instruments. In terms of sources for the purposes of data collection, the study utilized archives, books, journals, documents and internet sources, among many other sources.

For data gathering, this study utilized key informant interviews. Key informant interviews are "qualitative, in-depth interviews of about 15 to 35 people selected because of their first-hand knowledge about a topic of interest" (USAID, 1996:1). Therefore, 25 interviews were conducted with key informants who are privy to the topic at hand. The interviewees were drawn from the European Parliament (Brussels), European Commission (Brussels) and the European Delegation to Zimbabwe (Harare). The key informant interviews were conducted in three phases. The first phase of interviews was conducted with diplomats accredited to the European Delegation to Zimbabwe and took place in Zimbabwe during the period August to October 2015. It is worth mentioning that the first phase of the interviews also included the pre-test procedure discussed in the previous section. The second phase also took place in Zimbabwe from September to December 2017. The last and final phase took place in Brussels during the month of October 2017. The interviews in Brussels were conducted with Members of the European Parliament and officials from the European Commission.

The population and sample size for this study was regulated by the dictates of the nature of key informant interviews which stipulate that the number of respondents should range from 15 to

35. Therefore, the number of informants for this study fell within that range. The researcher had targeted to interview 30 key informants but ultimately interviewed 25 respondents. Moreover, a combination of judgmental (or purposive) and snowball sampling was employed in the selection of the respondents for the key informant interviews. Key informant interviews and judgmental (purposive) sampling seem to jelly as they both target informants due to their knowledge of the situation at hand. Accordingly, Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim (2016:2) observe that purposive sampling "is typically used in qualitative research to identify and select the information-rich cases for the most proper utilization of available resources. This involves identification and selection of individuals or groups of individuals that are proficient and well-informed with a phenomenon of interest." Therefore, EU officials with proficient knowledge about Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis and its coverage by the international media were selected through non-probability purposive sampling.

The study also utilized snowball sampling. Katz (2006) defines snowball sampling in the following terms:

> Snowball sampling is a special nonprobability method for developing a research sample where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. This sampling technique is often used in hidden populations which are difficult for researchers to access…or in cases where a sampling frame is hard to establish and it is assumed that cases are affiliated through links that can be exploited to locate other respondents based on existing ones.

The snowball sampling technique is used for respondents that are hidden or difficult to find. Respondents of this study fall under such a category, hence the employment of the technique.

In addition to key informant interviews, observation was used. Burney (2008) and Gabriel (2013) link observation to inductive and qualitative studies. The University of Colorado (2000:2) defines systematic observation as a process of recording the behavioural patterns of people, objects and occurrences as they are witnessed. Since the year 2000, the researcher has been following (observing) how international media stations have been reporting about Zimbabwe's Crisis. Accordingly, the researcher has been observing how frequent the above-mentioned media stations reported on Zimbabwe's political and economic situation and the pictures (still and moving) that were used in their reportage. Moreover, the University of Colorado (2000:2) also alerts us to the fact that during systematic observation, the researcher gathers data through witnessing and recording events as they occur, as well as through compiling evidence from records of the past. An important point about the above viewpoint is that observation can be conducted also through compiling records of the past and this study followed such a trajectory.

The iconic pictures selected for this study are drawn from online archives four television (news) stations: *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *France 24*. Also, the researcher got some of the pictorial material from the correspondents of the above-mentioned television stations. This study also relied on documentary research where analysis of documents relating to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis was done. In the same vein, documents related to EU-Zimbabwe relations in the context of sanctions, travel and investment warnings and statements from the EU in relation to Zimbabwe's Crisis were consulted. In relation to documentary research, Mogalakwe (2006: 221) notes that:

> The use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon we wish to study (Bailey 1994). Payne and Payne (2004) describe the documentary method as the techniques used to categorize, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain.

In light of documentary research, the website of the European Delegation to Zimbabwe played an important role in terms of the provision of documents with important information in relation to this study. Also, the library at the European Parliament in Brussels played a key role in terms of the documents in question. In addition to that, newspapers, textbooks and journals articles also played a critical role. It is also worth underlining that the internet played an important role as a source, including for the gathering of pictures selected for this study. After the data gathering process the data was analyzed and presented.

Since the data gathering process was two-fold, it therefore follows that even the data presentation and analysis process is double pronged: (1) the analysis and presentation of the data gathered from key informant interviews and; (2) the analysis of pictures (still and moving) gathered from online archives of the news stations under study. In terms of the analysis and presentation of data gathered through key informant interviews, the study utilised thematic analysis. In relation to the analysis of pictures, the study employed models and paradigms of pictorial analysis mainly from Marotzki and Stoetzer (2006) and from Mitchell's (1996; 2015) insights. The study of the pictures in question was done under the auspices of iconology in general, and image science, in particular.

Since they are both key for the purposes of this study, it is important to highlight on the onset, the relationship between Mitchell's (2015) approach (image science) and Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of studying pictures. Mitchell's (2015) image science follows a defined, systematic or "scientific" trajectory to the study of images (and/or pictures). Therefore, the relationship between Mitchell's (2015) image science and Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006)

model is that both are "scientific" in character, in the sense that, the latter consists of four clearly defined stages of analysing pictures; something in line with the dictates of the former. Therefore, it could be said that the two approaches operate hand in hand. Chapter four of this thesis deals in detail with Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model and its application thereof. The reason why the researcher studied the pictures under study at a personal level using the afore-mentioned model was to understand their meaning and also to eliminate bias. Besides, using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model also gave the researcher the opportunity to compare, albeit in a tacit manner, how he interprets the pictures under study vis-à-vis how the same pictures are interpreted by the respondents.

For the purposes of data presentation and analysis related to key informant interviews, thematic analysis was used. Thematic analysis is a data analysis method which involves encoding data into themes for the purposes of its subsequent analysis and presentation. Accordingly, Boyatzis (1998) observes that the first step involves the encoding of data into themes. Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2008:82) notes that after the encoding of the data, "the emerging themes become categories for analysis." After data collection from the key informants, the researcher encoded the data into dominant themes that emerged from the data, which was then followed by its analysis. In line with the dictates of thematic analysis, the data in this study is presented in form of themes that emerged from the collected data. In scientific research, there are certain ethical principles that need to be observed. The following section deals with ethical considerations in relation to this study.

## 1.6   Ethical Considerations

For ethical reasons, there are several guiding principles that should be followed especially when one is carrying out academic research. The consequences of violating such principles are usually dire. This study was conducted within the confines of ethical principles to be observed before, during research and after research. The ethical principles in question are discussed in this section below.

The Helsinki Declaration of 1964 and 2013 is key in relation to ethical principles. Houston (2016:3) observes that, The Helsinki Declaration of 1964 and 2013 principles include but not limited to; the importance of preserving the accuracy of results, protection of privacy of research subjects and preservation of their personal information, protection of vulnerable

groups and seeking consent before conducting any research. In addition to that, the Academy of Social Science (2016) also stresses out that researchers should respect the privacy, autonomy, diversity, values, and dignity of individuals, groups and communities; be conducted with integrity throughout, employing the most appropriate methods for the research purpose; and, be socially responsible in conducting and disseminating their findings, among other principles.

Rodriguez, Valdebenito and Mondragón (2004:3) outline a mixture of ethical principles and some risks associated with their violation:

> Revelation of purveyed information can put the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability, or damage to their economic condition, employment or reputation; Actual or potential breach of confidentiality; Violation of privacy, even when confidentiality is assured; Validation of inappropriate or undesirable behaviours, possibly based on misunderstanding the intention of the investigator; Presentation of results in a form that does not respect the interests of the subjects; Possible damage to individuals that do not participate directly in the investigation, but from whom information is obtained indirectly or that they belong to the class or group from which subjects are selected; and; Damage to the dignity, image or innocence of the subject, as result of indiscrete or inappropriate questions for the age in interviews or questionnaires.

In light of the above principles, the researcher tried his best to be as transparent as possible. As such, he had a letter of introduction from BIGSAS which introduced him and his topic to the potential respondents. Also, the researcher did not falsify the purpose of the research. In addition to that, the researcher also promised the respondents that the findings of the study would be published and be accessible not only to them but to the public at large.

This study also protected the anonymity of its respondents by using numbers to refer to them. Sex and age of the respondents was also kept anonymous. Also, the majority of the respondents did not want to be recorded with a voice recorder and the researcher respected such a request by avoiding audio recording. Instead, the researcher resorted to notes taking during some key informant interviews. Importantly, during the writing of the thesis, three issues were avoided: fabrication, falsification and plagiarism. Kamat (2006) comments on the afore-mentioned acts: (a) Fabrication is making up data or results and recording or reporting them; (b) Falsification is manipulating research materials, equipment, or processes, or changing or omitting data or results such that the research is not accurately represented in the research record; and (c) Plagiarism is the appropriation of another person's ideas, processes, results, or words without giving appropriate credit. This study avoided plagiarism by acknowledging all the consulted sources. Consequences of plagiarism are dire as evidenced by the stripping of a doctorate degree from the then German Defence Minister, Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg by the University

of Bayreuth on plagiarism reasons in 2011 (*BBC* 2011, February 24). The researcher did not fabricate data that was used in this study. The researcher used the collected data in its original form and did not "make up" the data in any way. In sum, this researcher respected ethical principles before, during and after the research.

## 1.7    Overview of Chapters

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter is the introduction to the study and it includes the introduction, aim of the study, research questions, motivation of the study, background and context, delimitation, rationale of the study, methodological approaches and ethical principles that guided this research. The second chapter is centred on literature review. The aim of the literature review and theoretical framework chapters differ. Unlike the literature section (chapter two) whose aims are outlined below in this paragraph, the theoretical framework segment (chapter three) specifically deals with the specificities of the theoretical and conceptual discourse that underpin this study, in a fine-grained fashion. On the other hand, the literature review chapter reviews strengths and shortcomings of the body of literature in question vis-à-vis the aims and objectives of this study. Also, the chapter delves on areas of consensus and divergence of the reviewed literature in light of this study. Importantly, the chapter in question also identifies the gaps in the reviewed literature and how this study will contribute in terms of filling up such gaps.

The third chapter of this thesis dissects the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study. Therefore, theories such as image science, iconology, iconography, visual culture, the CNN effect and the theory of framing are discussed. Concepts discussed in this section include; the idea of imagery, iconic images, iconoclasm, iconophobia and iconophilism. Also, the above mentioned theoretical and conceptual discourse is discussed in relation to the relevance and aim of this study. Chapter four gives a brief overview of the events associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis and how they attracted international media attention and their pictorial depiction. Therefore, the land reform programme; political and electoral violence; economic decline and inflation; persecution and harassing of journalists; government officials' hate speech and Operation Restore Order/*Murambatsvina* are discussed.

In chapter five of the thesis, and in line with image science, the iconic pictures selected for this study are studied using Marotzki and Stoetzer' (2006) model of pictorial analysis. Therefore, eight still pictures and two moving pictures (videos) depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis are studied. The study of these pictures is conducted in order to understand the

pictures under study vis-à-vis their interpretation by the respondents. The results of such analysis are compared with those from the respondents albeit in a tacit or subtle manner. It was important for the researcher to understand the meaning of the pictures selected for this study, hence, their analysis using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis. Chapter six tackles the first research question which deals with how the pictures under study are generally interpreted by the respondents. As such, the chapter is concerned about the discussion and analysis of the data gathered from the respondents. Therefore, chapter six covers among other issues; respondents' thoughts, feelings, memories, descriptions and remarks in relation to the pictures under study. The chapter also discusses the pitfalls of relying on pictures. The chapter also contains a section which compares the way the researcher and the respondents interpreted the pictorial material in question.

Equally crucial to this thesis is chapter seven which tackles the second and third research questions of this study. Accordingly, the chapter focuses on the pictures under study vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe and economic dynamics. In short, the chapter focuses on the respondents' views about the pictorial images in question, in light of the national image of Zimbabwe the country's economic trajectory. Crucially, it is worth the chapter tackles the second research question of the study which is premised on the respondents' remarks vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. Also, chapter seven focuses on the third and last research question of the study which focuses on the respondents' remarks in relation to Zimbabwe's economy. Thus, chapter seven of this study is important as it addresses two research question of this study. Chapter eight is the conclusion of the study and therefore summarises the findings of this study. Also, the chapter highlights the significance of the study as well as recommending areas for further research. The chapter also includes some concluding remarks.

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

*"If ever I have seen further [than certain other people], it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants," [Isaac Newton to Robert hook in 1675] (Knopf and McMenamin, 1998: 101).*

## 2    Introduction

Newton's statement above has been generally interpreted as an acknowledgement that his discoveries were made possible due to existing knowledge and writings of his fellow scientists. It is rare for one to come up with ground breaking research findings without any reference to existing knowledge in his or her field. Therefore, this study is of no exception. The purpose of this chapter is to review literature that is associated with the theoretical, conceptual, methodological and key thematic trajectories that underpin this study. Accordingly, various scholarly works are reviewed in a bid to identify their relevance, convergence, divergence, shortcomings or gaps and how this study will bridge such a scholarship lacuna. Only sources that are of paramount significance in terms of relevance to this study are reviewed.

## 2.1    The Study of Images

The pictures under study were not dealt with from a general and vague perspective. To that end, the work of iconologist, W.J.T. Mitchell, who is a leading name in the area of the study of images and visual culture, became essential in terms of theoretical and conceptual insights. The pictures under study were analysed from an image science (under the rubric of iconology) point of view and to that end, Mitchell's (2015) book entitled: *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture and Media Aesthetics* was essential. In terms of the analysis of pictures, the afore-mentioned text by Mitchell (2015) provides a detailed account on iconology; what it is and its evolution over space and time. In terms of the definition of iconology, Mitchell's (2013) interview at the Central European University in Budapest stands out. In the interview in question, he defines iconology as the study of images across the media which include; images that move between television, painting, photography, sculpture, the digital image in the computer and what how they affect us emotionally, intellectually and cognitively.

In *Iconology*, *Text* and *Ideology*, Mitchell (1986) also tackles iconology and the idea of imagery (including the definition of images and the image family tree). Therefore, Mitchell's (1986) work provides a foundation in the understanding of the genesis of the idea of images, hence its relevance to this study.

In *What do Pictures Really Want?* Mitchell (1996) treats pictures as living or biological entities with needs, wants and desires worth interrogating. The idea that pictures could be treated as

biological entities is related to another work by Mitchell (1994) which dwells on "Picture Theory" which is basically an attempt to tackle the problem of having "a thousand words about pictures" and "not...yet a satisfactory theory about them." *The Language of Images*, is Mitchell's (1980:3) articles which dwells on three issues: (1) language about images (the words we use to talk about pictures); (2) images regarded as a language: the semantic, syntactic, communicative power of images to encode messages, tell stories, express ideas and emotions, raise questions and "speak" to us; (3) verbal language as a system informed by images, literally in the graphic form of writing systems or "visible language."  The above-mentioned article by Mitchell (1980) dovetails with the aim and research questions of this study as it focuses on the words used to describe images and their effects; hence, its relevance to the study. In *There Are No Visual Media*, Mitchell (1998) advances the thesis that there are no media that are "purely visual" because all media are mixed due to their inherent tendency to combine sound, pictures, gestures, and text.

Another key figure in visual culture and iconology is Erwin Panofsky. In relation to this study, Panofsky's (1939) seminal book entitled: *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* is key as it provides an important baseline for the study of the pictures selected for this study. The book contains a three-layered model for the study of art work (including pictures): (1) primary or natural subject matter (pre-iconographic level); (2) secondary or conventional subject matter (iconographic analysis); and (3) intrinsic meaning or content (iconological interpretation). Panofsky's model is illustrated and applied in chapter five of this thesis. Despite Panofsky's (1939) three-step model is often accused of having overlooked *mise-en-scene* which is also crucial when it comes to the study of images. Basically, *mise-en-scene* deals with lighting, colour, background, distance, position of the camera, etc. In a bid to bridge Panofsky's (1939) omission, Marotzki and Stoetzer (2006) developed a four-step model of pictorial analysis inclusive of *mise-en-scene*, which the former is often accused of having overlooked. The four steps in the afore-mentioned model are; (1) denotation/*Objektebene*; (2) connotation/*Ordnung der Objekte*; (3) *mise-en-scene*/orchestration and (4) synthesis. Marotzki and Stoeter's (2006) model has been employed in chapter five as a tool of analysing the pictures under study. Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model was also employed by Heinrich and Stahl (2013) in their work which deals with pictorial stereotypes in the Euro Debt Crisis.

Concerning the effects of images on their consumers, Fishman's (2017) work entitled: *Death Makes the News: How the Media Censor and Display the Dead*, is crucial. Fishman's (2017) central argument is that whenever a disaster occurs, photojournalists always choose a photo that "will make a cut" from amongst a pool of numerous photos because such photos "sell." Fishman's (2017) idea of photos that "make a cut" fits neatly into Sturken and Cartwright's (2009) idea of iconic images employed both as a concept and method for the selection of pictures under study. Fishman's (2017) work, just like this study, also tackles videos. Fishman's (2017) work is also related to the "CNN effect." A towering figure in relation the CNN effect is Robinson (2005:344) who describes it as a phenomenon encapsulated by the idea of a media-driven foreign policy associated with the 24-hour news cycle from international news stations such as the CNN. The CNN effect scholars emphasize on the importance of television imagery in relation to this phenomenon. Therefore, the work of Robinson (2002; 20005), Perlmutter (2005), Sharkey (1992), Vilmer (2013), Havens (2001) and Ammon (2001) should is key in terms of the CNN effect.

This study also deals with the pictures under study vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. Literature relating to national images is therefore key. Apart from defining what a national image is, Kunczik (2013) discusses the politics of national currencies on the national image of countries, using Germany as its case study. Congruently, Boulding (1961) defines national images and elaborates on how they develop through social interactions (through family members and friends) over time and through propaganda and state institutions. Importantly, Boulding (1961) also talks about national images that are imposed through propaganda and state institutions. However, Boulding's (1961) work suffers from lack of specificity in as much as pictures and this study is concerned. In their article entitled: "Reframing national image: A methodological framework," Li and Chitty (2009) advance the theory of framing as a model for the analysis of national images. The model includes public frames (media representation) and private frames (public perception).

The issue of memory is of paramount importance especially when it comes to pictures related to violence and state atrocities. An important text in that regard is by Assmann (2015) and is entitled "Theories of Cultural Memory and the Concept of 'Afterlife'" and mainly deals with the issue of cultural memory vis-à-vis the past, present and the future especially in the context of the holocaust.

## 2.1.1 Visual Culture

Although this study borrows from political science, it is largely grounded in media studies, specifically in visual cultures. To that end, reviewing literature related to visual culture is crucial. Two important names that often protrude in relation to visual culture are Nicholas Mirzoeff and W.J.T Mitchell. In his book entitled: *An Introduction to Visual Culture*, Mirzeoff (1998) elucidates on what visual culture is. From his perspective, visual culture is "concerned with visual events in which information, meaning or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology." He adds that: "By visual technology, I mean any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision from oil painting to television and the internet" (Mirzeoff, 1998). Therefore, Mirzeoff's work on visual culture especially his definition thereof, is key to this study, particularly when it is borne in mind that this thesis deals with how information, meaning and pleasure (pictures under study) is sought by the consumer (respondents/EU officials) in an interface with visual technology (television). *Showing Seeing: A Critique of Visual Culture* by Mitchell (1998) is another important work in visual culture as it differentiates between visual culture and visual studies.

Another important work is a book edited by Evan and Hall (1999) entitled: *Visual Culture: the reader*. The text in question contains an introductory chapter written by Evan and Hall (1999) entitled "What is Visual Culture?" which deals with what visual culture is and the importance of the image in both visual and popular cultures. In an article entitled: "The Image World," Evan and Hall (1999) accord much emphasis on the importance of images not only in the context of visual culture but also in the construction of meaning and reality of social situations. Evan and Hall's (1999) book also contains: "The social definition of photography" by Bourdieu (1999) which gravitates around the idea that photography is considered to be a perfectly realistic and objective recording of the visible world which makes photographs more "realistic" and "objective." Another important concept linked to visual culture and also employed in this study, is the concept of iconic images, a concept borrowed from Sturken and Cartwright's (2009) seminal work entitled: *Practices of Looking*: *An Introduction to Visual Culture.* Congruently, this study focuses on iconic images. Sontag's (2013) work, *Regarding the Pain of Others*, deals with the perception and manipulation of war images. The text puts into consideration themes such as gender, culture and social hierarchy vis-à-vis the war imagery in question. Sontag's (2013) text which focuses on war victims from Israel and Afghanistan emphasizes on how such images could lead to peace and revenge.

## 2.1.2   Zimbabwe's Crisis and International Media Publicity

Since this study deals with pictures related to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis, literature related to events (land reform exercise, political violence and economic decline) associated with the afore-mentioned crisis is worth reviewing. Mandikwaza (2016), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) and (2006; 2009) underscores the violence that was associated with the land reform programme. In addition, Ndlela (2005) also gives an account of the land reform programme and the violence that was associated with it which consequently attracted significant international media attention. However, the work of the afore-mentioned scholars does not put any emphasis on the images of violence from the land reform programme, let alone their effects to their consumers (EU officials in this case). This is despite the fact that Willem (2011) highlights the massive media attention on Zimbabwe which included the production of documentaries by international media stations, particularly the *BBC*. Even Ndlela's (2005) work mentions albeit in a subtle manner, the aspect of images (from the international media) depicting violence during the land reform programme. However, such pictures are largely in the periphery of his work. This study therefore seeks to delve on this missing link.

Makumbe's (2006) article entitled: "Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe: Authoritarianism Versus the People," is key as it highlights the history of electoral violence in Zimbabwe. Correspondingly, Bratton and Masunungure's (2011) work traces among other issues, political violence from as early as the 1980s during the Gukurahundi epoch to the early and late 2000s. Importantly, Bratton and Masunungure (2011) highlights the effect of pictures of opposition MDC leader, the late Morgan Tsvangirai and his colleagues after their brutal attack at a rally in Harare in March 2007. The two authors specifically mention that the above-mentioned images (broadcasted on international media) caused public outcry from the EU and other western powers. This makes their work relevant to this study. A book edited by Masunungure (2009) entitled: *Defying the Winds of Change: Zimbabwe's 2008 Elections*, which includes contributions by Masunungure (2009), Linington (2009) and Makumbe (2009) is key in unpacking political and electoral violence that was unleashed on opposition supporters by the ruling party in Zimbabwe, ZANU PF in 2007. However, the book does not delve on pictures, let alone the reaction of the EU thereof.

Makumbe's (2009) article entitled: "The impact of democracy in Zimbabwe: Assessing political, social and economic developments since the dawn of democracy," accords adequate attention to the economic woes (including hyperinflation) that have bedevilled Zimbabwe since the late 1990s. In the same vein, Bratton and Masunungure's (2011) provide a clear account on the state of the country's economy and how it declined over space and time. In addition to that, Magaisa's (2015) work reveals how Zimbabwe's intervention in the DRC War (1998-1999) destabilized the country's economic fortunes. Moreover, the literature which tackles the country's economic decline also accords scant attention to pictures depicting the same economic quagmire.

Fanon's (1965) work, "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" help to a larger extent to understand the challenges of post-independence Africa such as corruption and political violence. Fanon (1965) traces such problems to the lack of skills, political will and impoverished backgrounds of the African leadership which assumes after independence. His text is important in terms of understanding the context of Zimbabwe's economic decline and political violence. However, his works make no mention of pictures. From the reviewed literature in this section, only Ndlela (2009), Willem (2011) and Bratton and Masungure (2011) highlight the issue of media images vis-à-vis the Zimbabwe Crisis. This study therefore intends to fill such a scholarship gap.

## 2.2    Summary

This section reviewed literature that was essential for this study. As such the chapter dealt with the work of scholars whose work tackles visual culture and iconology such as Mitchell, Evan, Hall, Mirzeoff, Panofsky, Marotzki and Stotzer and Heinrich and Stahl. In addition, the chapter reviewed literature associated with the land reform programme, political violence and economic decline in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the work of scholars such as Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Bratton and Masunungure, Willem, Makumbe, Magaisa, Linington and Mandikwaza, among others, was reviewed. The purpose of the literature was to identify the strengths and shortcomings of the literature in question vis-à-vis its relevance to the study.

## Chapter 3: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

**3 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual discourse of this study in a detailed and specific fashion. The main theory that was utilised in this study is image science/*Bildwissenschaft* applied under the rubric of iconology. In addition, the chapter attempts to draw a distinction between iconology and iconography. The idea of imagery which includes the image family tree is also discussed. This chapter further discusses the concept of "iconic images" and the key features or characteristics of iconic images which were also used as a criterion for the selection of the pictures in question under study. Other concepts that are discussed in this chapter include; iconoclasm, iconophobia, iconophilia and iconodules. Since this study is rooted in visual culture, this chapter begins by discussing this academic and social paradigm. The CNN effect and the theory of framing and the concept of national images are also discussed in this chapter. The theoretical and conceptual discourses mentioned above are discussed in relation to the aims and objectives of this study. Apart from discussing the synergies that exist between and among the above-mentioned theories and concepts, this section also discusses how the theoretical and conceptual framework in question is relevant to this study.

**3.1 Visual Culture**

This section therefore seeks to discuss visual culture in a detailed and specific manner. Irvine (2011) observes that visual culture's focus is twofold as it merges popular and "low" cultural forms (media and communications) and "high" cultural forms (fine art, design, and architecture). By the same token, this study focused on the former dimension of visual culture as it dealt with iconic pictures from international television stations and how they are interpreted by EU officials. Since the pictures in question were drawn from the television, they are therefore associated with the media and popular culture that is associated with "low" cultural forms of visual culture. But what exactly is visual culture? This section seeks to answer this question, as well as highlighting visual culture's relevance to the study. Also, the relationship between visual culture and the broader theoretical and conceptual discourse that underpin this study will be discussed in this section.

Mitchell (2015:9) claims that visual culture, in contrast to iconology, is a fairly recent object of study. Accordingly, Mitchell (2015:6) defines visual culture as: "the study of visual perception and representation, especially the social construction of the field of visibility..." A

more nuanced definition of visual culture is by Mirzoeff (1998:3) who notes that: "Visual culture is concerned with visual events in which information, meaning or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology. By visual technology, I mean any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision from oil painting to television and the internet." Mirzoeff's (1998:3) definition seem to fit neatly in the context of this research considering that the researcher is concerned about visual events (depicted by images under study) that are sought by the consumer (EU officials) in an interface with visual technology (television).

The study of images (or pictures in the case of this study) cannot be divorced from visual culture. To that end, Morgan (2005:33) posits that: "The study of visual culture is the analysis and interpretation of images and the ways of seeing (or gazes) that configure the agents, practices, conceptualities, and institutions that put images to work." In addition, the study of visual culture can also lead to the understanding of the meaning of images in the context of social situations. "Images are produced by and in turn help construct the social realities that shape the lives of human beings. The study of visual culture scrutinizes not only images but also the practices that put images to use. This means social, cultural, intellectual, and artistic practices, since all of these helps make images meaningful" (Morgan, 2005:33). Accordingly, visual culture is crucial in the study of images (including those under study) vis-à-vis social and cultural dynamics of any given situation.

It is also worth mentioning that visual culture is a very broad in scope and character and is not only associated with visual studies and humans, hence, Mitchell (2011) observes in a presentation that:

> My sense of visual culture is that visual culture is also non-academic, non-disciplinary. Like language, like storytelling, like any other cultural activity, it is not an academic matter. It permeates the entire sphere of social activity from entertainment to daily life to media...We share vision with other living organism...vision transcends the animal kingdom as John Burges says.

Futhermore, Mitchell (1998:87) clearly differentiates between visual culture and visual studies: "Visual studies is the study of visual culture." Therefore, visual studies is the discipline whereas visual culture is the target of the study.

Partly due to its broadness in scope and character, visual culture has become associated with a plethora of myths and misconceptions. Consequently, Mitchell (1998:90-91) highlights these popular myths and counter-theses about visual culture in a bid to demystify it:

**Ten myths about visual culture**

1. Visual culture entails the liquidation of art as we have known it.
2. Visual culture accepts without question the view that art is to be defined by its working exclusively through the optical faculties.
3. Visual culture transforms the history of art into a history of images.
4. Visual culture implies that the difference between a literary text and a painting is a non-problem. Words and images dissolve into undifferentiated 'representation.'
5. Visual culture implies a predilection for the disembodied, dematerialised image.
6. We live in a predominantly visual era. Modernity entails the hegemony of vision and visual media.
7. There is a coherent class of things called 'visual media.'
8. Visual culture is fundamentally about the social construction of the visual field. What we see, and the manner in which we come to see it, is not simply part of a natural ability.
9. Visual culture entails an anthropological, and therefore unhistorical, approach to vision.
10. Visual culture consists of 'scopic regimes' and mystifying images to be overthrown by political critique.

**Eight counter-theses about visual culture**

1. Visual culture encourages reflection on the differences between art and non-art, visual and verbal signs, and ratios between sensory and semiotic modes.
2. Visual culture entails a meditation on blindness, the invisible, the unseen, the unseable, and the overlooked; and also on deafness and the visible language of gesture; it also compels the attention to the tactile, the auditory, the haptic, and the phenomenon of synethesia.
3. Visual culture is not limited to the study of images or media, but extends to everyday practices of seeing and showing, especially those that we take to be unmediated. It is less concerned with the meaning of images than with their lives and loves.
4. There are no visual media. All media are mixed, with varying ratios of senses and sign-types.
5. The disembodied image and the embodied artefact are permanent elements in the dialectics of visual culture. Images are to pictures and works of art as species are to specimens in biology.
6. We do not live in a uniquely visual era. The 'visual' or 'pictorial turn' is a recurrent trope that displaces moral and political panic onto images and so-called visual media. Images are convenient scapegoats, and the offensive eye is ritually plucked out by ruthless clique.
7. Visual culture is the visual construction of the social, not just the social construction of vision. The question of visual nature is therefore a central and unavoidable issue, along with the role of animals as images and spectators.
8. The political task of visual culture is to perform critique without the comforts of iconoclasm.

From the myths and counter-theses of visual culture above, there are some that are notable in terms of their relevance to this study. One of them is the standpoint that "all media are mixed." Television images like those selected for this study are accompanied by gestures (visible language), sound, pictures and text. These properties make television images important even to the blind and the deaf. For instance, the blind can listen to the television and attempt to "visualise" the content whereas the deaf can see the gestures, text and pictures. As this study will later reveal, the mixture of sound, text, audio, pictures and gestures makes television

pictures "potent" in terms of their effects, compared to other forms of media. The television is a classic example of a "mixed media" hybrid.

Another notable point is the demystification of the notion that we live in a uniquely visual era as well as the association of the 'visual' or 'pictorial turn' with the so-called 'visual media' and modernity. Accordingly, Mitchell (2015:15) posits that:

> The idea of a "turn" toward the pictorial is not confined to modernity or to contemporary visual culture. Arrival of easel painting, the invention of photography were greeted as "pictorial turns" and were seen as either wonderful or threatening, often both at the same time. The turn to idolatry is often grounded on the fear that masses are being led by a false image, whether it is an ideological concept or the figure of a charismatic leader...Pictorial turns are often linked with the anxiety about the "new dominance" of the image...The pictorial turn...is not unique to our time.

It is therefore important to understand that the "pictorial turn" is not unique to our time as there are several pictorial turns throughout the history of visual culture. As mentioned above, the pictorial turn is also not a phenomenon that is solely fixed to modernity, contemporary visual culture or the television image.

Since iconology is a key theory in as much as this study is concerned, the relationship between visual culture and iconology is worth highlighting. Mitchell (2015:6-7) observes that: "Iconology opens the border to the image, the fundamental unit of effect and meaning in art history. Visual culture opens the border to the specific sensory channel through which the "visual arts" necessarily operate...visual culture provides one of the principal channels for the circulation of images, constituting the primary (but not exclusive) domain of their appearance and disappearance…" Therefore, there are synergies between and among images, iconology and visual culture which makes the three important to this study especially when the aim of this research is borne in mind. Therefore, it could be said that visual culture, images and iconology are deeply interconnected.

### 3.1.1 Visual Culture, Technology and Perception

This section discusses the nexus between and among visual culture, technology and perception in relation to this study. There is a close link between and among visual culture, technology and perception. In the preceding section, Mirzoef's (1998:3) definition of visual culture revealed that visual culture is concerned with visual events in which information, meaning or pleasure is sought by the consumer in an interface with visual technology. In the same breath, Mirzoef (1998:3) elaborated the term "visual technology" as a reference to any form of apparatus designed either to be looked at or to enhance natural vision from oil painting to

television and the internet. Therefore, Mirzoef's description shows the intimacy that exists between visual culture and technology. In turn, technology impacts on our perception of situations and events, hence, Wiegel's (2010:3) observation and argument that, technology has permeated every aspect of our society to the extent that it has become impossible to evade its effects. One of the effects of technology that is mentioned by scholars such as Wiegel (2010), Mamur (2012) and Mitchell (1992) is its ability to shape perceptions on its consumers. Therefore, this section discusses this phenomenon.

Since this study focuses on television pictures, technology related the pictures in question and how it affects perception will be discussed. Perlmutter (2005:112) mentions technological advancement which has facilitated the production and movement of television pictures: the invention of photography (1840s); the miniature still camera, and roll film (1880s); radio-wireless transmissions of data (1895); Leica single-lens reflex camera (1925); the "wire" (1930s); colour photography (1950s); satellite transmission (1962); video and fibre-optic glass tubing (1970s); and the commercial use of Internet, digital photography, and cell phones (1990s). As shall be shortly discussed, such inventions affected the way we perceive events and situations around the world.

The invention of the camera, satellite, television and internet has accelerated the movement of pictures through space and time; a phenomenon related to viral images. As chapter six of this thesis will show, pictures selected for this study went viral, stirred emotions and caused public outcry. Technology played an important role to that effect. As shall also be indicated in chapter seven of this study, such images also caused a negative perception about Zimbabwe, from the point of view of the respondents. Also, technology has made it possible for international television stations like the *CNN* to broadcast live images during broadcasting. This study revealed that live images are more live and have a tendency to bring the viewers closer to the situations and consequently impact on their perception.

In addition to that, technology has made it easy to "manipulate" pictures according to expediency. By the same token, Perlmutter (2005:114) notes that: "Now that pictures are amalgamations of pixels, any foreign scene can be faked or altered via "Photoshopping" digital-editing software. Many such doctored shots now fly through the Internet and e-mail, and some have even broken into traditional media, to the embarrassment of newspapers and broadcasters." The fact that pictures can be "faked" means that even the perception of their consumers is affected especially when it remains unknown to the viewers that they consumed

"fake" images. Chapter six of this thesis also discusses how pictures can be manipulated for parochial gain.

Technology also assists journalists during the process of framing, in terms of editing of pictures, which pictures to broadcast, how to present them, when and how many times. In line with the theory of framing, Li and Chitty (2012) mention projected images of nations which basically refers to countries' perception through in relation to their projection in the media. This shows a link between technology and perception and how technology ultimately impacts on perception. Closely linked to perception is ideology which is also shaped by technology (Viegel, 2010:3). In the same wavelength, Martin Heidegger cited in Viegel (2010:3) argues that: "It is impossible for man to imagine a position outside technology." In relation to this study, it can be said that technology shaped the perceptions and ideological inclinations of the respondents vis-à-vis the pictures selected for this study.

## 3.2    Image Science/*Bildwissenschaft*

Image science mainly guided this study. As highlighted earlier on, this study explored how iconic pictures selected for this study were interpreted by the respondents. Therefore, the pictures in question were dealt with from an image science perspective. W.J.T Mitchell is a key proponent of image science. From an image science point of view, images are treated as "the object of science, something to be tested, experimented with, described and explained, in accordance with the most rigorous scientific methods" (Mitchell, 2015:23). In the same vein, Mitchell (2015:23) adds that image science "treats images as objects of scientific investigation and not merely as useful tools in the service of scientific knowledge." Therefore, image science is a "scientific" approach to the study of images as opposed to a general, speculative and undefined trajectory. The "scientific" study of images including iconic images selected for this study was important in the context of the avoidance of reaching generalised or "unscientific" conclusions.  Importantly, as revealed by Mitchell (2015) above, image science also involves the description and explanation of images in a "scientific" fashion. This is dovetails with the aim of this study which is to explore how the pictures selected for this study are interpreted by the respondents.

Since image science falls under the post-Panofsky era of iconology, it is classified under what Mitchell (2015:8) calls "critical iconology." As highlighted above in this section, image science gives researchers and scholars a window of opportunity to "scientifically" study images. Therefore, the fundamental question which cries out for a response is: how should images be

scientifically studied or analysed? In a bid to tackle this question, Mitchell (2015:26) poses other questions which include; whether an image is something to be tested, experimented with, described and explained, in accordance with the most rigorous scientific methods or whether to run an experiment on it, or investigate material particles in an oil painting. After posing these questions, Mitchell (2015:26-27) attempts to provide an answer by proposing what the study of images should put into consideration in its approach:

> The science appropriate to the study of images ...also has to be an optical science, one that pays attention to visual perception and imagination, to optical illusions, reflections, transparency and translucence. The science of images then would have to consider not just material objects but also the spaces between objects and the light that is transmitted from one thing to another. In so far as images appear in non-visual media like language, a science of images would have to engage with linguistics, with psycholinguistics, and with the study of logical as well as spatial relations. Since images are generally defined as icons or signs by similarity, it would have to be a science of similitude, analogy, and likeness, as well as dissimilarity, adjacency, and difference. ...Image science would have to be ...an empirical study of the conditions of human perception, of the centres of pattern recognition, image formation, and transformation in the brain and the mind...The science of imagery could be about a pattern of recognition. It would have to include misrecognition, fantasy, dreaming and hallucination. It would have to be about memory images, and also about false memory, and the dubious status of "recovered memory."

From Mitchell's (2015) submission above, it can be deduced that image science is a broad theoretical paradigm consisting of an array of methods of "scientific" enquiry which cut across different fields and disciplines. Also, image science involves the study of images vis-a-vis memory, language, perceptions, and icons, among others. This is in line with this study which was also interested in the respondents' utterances, thoughts, memories and feelings in relation to the iconic pictures selected for this study. The following section deals with iconology and iconography.

## 3.3    Iconology and Iconography

Iconology, which is also known as "the theory of images," is "the study of the "logos" (the words, ideas, discourse or "science") of "icons" (images, pictures, or likenesses)" (Mitchell, 1986:1). In his interview at the Central European University in Budapest, Mitchell (2013) defined iconology as the study of images across the media (television, painting, photography, sculpture, and computer), how to interpret the meaning of such images, and how they affect us emotionally, intellectually, and cognitively. In short, iconology is the study of the multidimensional aspects of images which includes their movement, description, appearance and effects. Therefore, iconology dovetails with this study since it focused on the respondents' interpretation of iconic images related to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis.

Iconology, which nowadays includes the study of non-artistic images including biological images, is very ancient. Mitchell (2015:7) traces it back to at least the Renaissance Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, and to Philostratus' *Imagines*. Equally important to mention is iconology's acknowledgment that apart from the visual image, there are also verbal and acoustic images and that iconology is also concerned about tropes, figures, and metaphors as with visual and graphic motifs, as much as with formal gestures in auditory time, sculptural-architectural space as with pictures on a wall or screen (Mitchell, 2015:7). In many respects, visual culture and iconology dovetail considering the fact that they both focus on various kinds of images including verbal and other forms of intangible images like mental images.

Although W.T.J Mitchell is an iconologist of note, Erwin Panofsky is regarded as one of the leading scholars in iconology, hence Mitchell's (1986:8) admission that: "If linguistic has its Saussure and Chomsky, iconology has its Panofsky..." For the analysis and interpretation of artwork (images), Panofsky (1939) developed a three-layered model which consists of the three stages of studying images: (1) primary or natural subject matter (pre-iconographic analysis); (2) secondary or conventional subject matter (iconographic analysis); and (3) intrinsic meaning or content (iconological interpretation). One of the striking features of Panofsky's model is the fusion of iconology and iconography, hence, Mitchell (2015:7-8) observes that in Erwin Panofsky's classical formulation (restricted to the visual image) iconology includes the study of iconography, the historical study of the meanings of specific images, and goes beyond it to explore the ontology of images as such, and the conditions under which images attain historical significance. Therefore, Panofsky's also focused on the meaning of images vis-à-vis their historical and cultural contexts. As shall be shown in the fifth chapter, Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of analysing pictures, borrows heavily from Panofsky (1939).

In the post Panofsky era, iconology has undergone a fundamental evolution. According to Mitchell (2015:8), Post Panofsky era iconology, also known as "critical iconology," includes "metapictures" or reflexive, self-critical forms of imagery, the relation of images to language, mental imagery, fantasy and memory; the theological and political status of images in the phenomena of iconoclasm and iconophobia; and the distinction between images and pictures. In the same breath, Mitchell (2015:8) adds that:

> Iconology is now linked to the realm of sciences, investigating the role of images in scientific research in the phenomenon of the "natural" image...advancement of life science has revolutionised the ancient conception of the image as an "imitation of life." Biotechnology has made it possible to make a living image of life-form in the process known as cloning...invention

of computers have led to "biocybernetic reproduction" characterised by the appearance of the "biodigital picture."

From the above submission, it could be deduced that iconology in the post-Panofsky era (critical iconology) has become broad in scope and character, hence, its association with "natural" images and processes like "cloning," "biocybernetic reproduction" and "biodigital pictures." However, "natural images" are outside the scope of this study. Since image science is an important theoretical discourse of this study, it is worth mentioning that it is also categorised under critical iconology.

The post-Panofsky or critical iconology theoretical paradigm draws a demarcating line between iconology and iconography. Guilini (n.d) notes that, for centuries, the terms iconography and iconology were used interchangeably to mean one and the same thing. In the same vein, Giulini (n.d) observes that, the terms iconology and iconography were studied from a historical, etymological, and artistic point of view which assumed that the two were equivalents (Giulini, n.d). However, it is Erwin Panofsky who later made a clear distinction between the two, hence, Giulini (n.d) notes that Panofsky's definition which treats iconography as the study and identification of subject matter in an art and iconology as the study of their intrinsic meaning, is widely accepted. By the same token, iconography is the description, classification, and interpretation of the subject matter of a work of art or image (Encyclopedia.com, 2005:1). On the other hand, iconology is "the description, classification, or analysis of meaning or symbolism in the visual arts that takes into account the tradition of pictorial motifs and their historical, cultural, and social meaning" (Baca, 2002:89).

Additionally, Mitchell (2015) observes that iconology is the theory of images whereas iconography is the lexical sorting of different kinds of images. In short, iconography leans towards content and subject matter of work of art (or images) whereas iconology is concerned with meaning and symbolism of a work of art (or images), from a historical and cultural point of view. Iconology and iconography could also be described as two sides of the same coin, hence, Mitchell (2015:7) mentions that iconology includes the study of iconography. This study focused on the meaning of the pictures under study from the point of view of the respondents, hence, the relevance of iconology as it deals with the meaning and symbolism of the works of art or images.

**3.4    The Idea of Imagery, Image Family Tree and Forms of Images**

Since this study deals with pictorial and other forms of images, it is therefore important to understand the origins of the idea of imagery. The idea of imagery is a concept associated with Mitchell (1986:31) who traces it from the biblical Book of Genesis where the account of man's creation in the "image" and "likeness" of God is outlined. What is important is the word "likeness" as it is related to similitude or resemblance. Thus, the image is the perception of a relationship of likeness or resemblance or analogous form-what C.S Peirce defined as the "iconic sign," a sign whose intrinsic sensuous qualities resemble those of some other object (Mitchell, 2015:16). However, in the case of man being created in the "image" of God, caution should be taken as Mitchell (1986:31) warns that many commentators have cautioned that the word "image" is to be understood not as a "picture" but as "likeness," a matter of spiritual similarity.

**Fig. 1: The Image Family Tree**
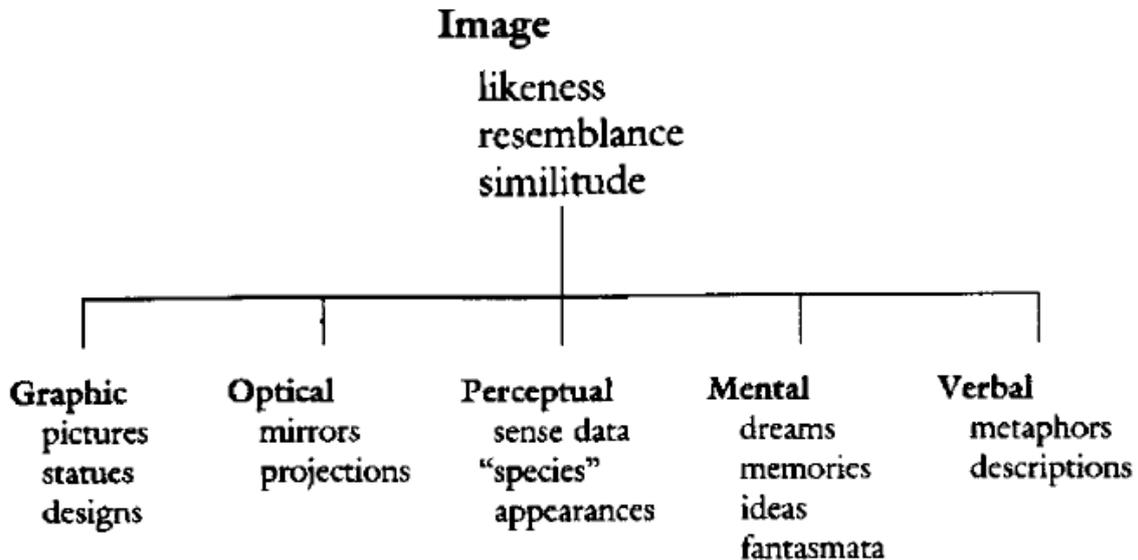


**Source:** Mitchell (1986:10)

The diagram above is a graphic illustration of the idea of imagery and the image family tree. The diagram shows how broad images are in terms of scope and character. The idea of imagery is associated with various kinds of images. In his description of images, Mitchell (1986:10) outlines the different kinds of images: "We speak of pictures, statues, optical illusions, maps,

diagrams, dreams, hallucinations, spectacles, projections, poems, patterns, memories, and even ideas as images." The multiplicity of images is also confirmed by Berger (2008) who observes that: "Like fish, we "swim" in a sea of images, and these images help shape our perceptions of the world and of ourselves." The diagram above shows five main families of images (optical, graphic, mental, perceptual and verbal) which are also divided into sub units. The pictorial images selected for this study fall under graphic images in the image family tree. However, the most relevant types of images to this study are; mental, verbal, perceptual, optical, pictorial and biological images.

Mental images manifest themselves in form of memories, dreams and hallucinations. Unlike real pictures, mental images are abstract and not tangible; hence, we cannot point to them and say: "There- that is a mental image" (1986:17). By the same token, Mitchell (1986:13) adds that: "Mental images don't seem to be stable and permanent the way real images are, and they vary from one person to the next: if I say "green," some listeners may see green in the mind's eye, but some may see a word, or nothing at all." This indicates the subjectivity and fluidity associated with mental images.

Most respondents to the study remembered the pictures under study in form of mental images which makes them an important part of this study. As shown in the image family tree above, mental images consist of ideas, dreams, memories and fantasmata. Also, Mitchell (2015:27) links image science to the study of images in the context of fantasy, dreaming and hallucination, memory images, false memory, and the dubious status of "recovered memory." Therefore, mental images are important in the realm of image science, which is important particularly when it is born in mind that image science is the main theory utilized for the purposes of this study.

Another important form of images are verbal images. Mitchell (1986:24) notes that accurate, precise descriptions produce images that "come from verbal expressions" more vividly than the "images which flow from objects" themselves. In the diagram above (image family tree) verbal images consist of metaphors and descriptions. Mitchell (1986:21) describes verbal imagery as: "metaphoric, figurative, or ornamented language." Inflammatory rhetoric against political opponents by Zimbabwe's former President, Robert Mugabe could be classified under verbal imagery. Also, graphic images are important for this study considering the fact that they include pictures, designs and statues in Mitchell's (1986:10) image family tree.

Other relevant images that are oftentimes confused with mental images are perceptual images. In the image family tree shown above, perceptual images are linked to "sense data," "species" and "appearance." Therefore, it is worth highlighting that, sensation and perception are key components of perceptual images. Perceptual images are reliant on the interconnected processes of sensation and perception. Since perceptual images are often confused with mental images, the following table shows the distinction between the two:

**Table 1: Differences between Perceptual and Mental Images**

| Perceptual Images | Mental Images |
|---|---|
| With the body's eye | In the mind's eye |
| Vision: something present | Envisioning: something absent |
| Here and now (a bit like speaking) | Distant (a bit like writing) |
| In the present | Of the past (memory) |
| Inexhaustible detail | Criterial features |
| Finding meaning in the scene | Creating meaning from memory |
| Recognition | Remembering |
| The real | The imaginary (...and freedom) |

**Source:** Kalantzis and Cope (2016)

## 3.5   Iconic Images and their Features

This section discusses the concept of iconic images and how it was used to select the pictures for this study. As such, the definition, characteristics and criterion that was used to select the iconic pictures for the study, is discussed. Although numerous pictures are taken and shared on social media, television, movie theaters, newspapers, billboards, pamphlets, books and magazines among other forms of media; not all pictures become eye catching, distinct, or outstanding. Such exceptional and extraordinary pictures are termed "iconic" images. In light of iconic images, Fishman (2017:1) observes:

> As disaster, disease, accidents and violence persistently strikes, death makes a good copy. But the words do not tell the whole story and so, as reports emerge, cameras are there at the epicentre. At the scene, the camera creates an infinite number of images but only one or two will get published.....With each catastrophe, photo editors at major news organisations will examine thousands of images of devastation, looking for one that will make a cut.

Therefore, the photo that makes a "cut" becomes an iconic picture in relation to the event in question. In relation to the definition of iconic images, Sturken and Cartwright (2009:36) posit: "An icon is an image that refers to something outside of its individual components, something (or someone) that has great symbolic meaning." Therefore, an iconic image is an image that carries significant and symbolic meaning in relation to certain events, situations, individuals or objects. In the same wavelength, Almond (2013) notes that: "These are the dramatic images that are embedded in our culture. They have come to define a historical event, a famous person

-- or maybe even an entire generation." Accordingly, "They're the proud images you see on postage stamps, like the flag raisings at Iwo Jima and, later, Ground Zero. They are also the images that depict terrible tragedies…We see these photos reproduced time and time again" (Almond, 2013). Thus, iconic images are embedded in history and are images that portray significant political, cultural and economic events.

Moreover, iconic images have portrayed happy and sad times throughout history. This is evidenced by the diversity of situations and events that they portray: war, poverty, disease, love, death, scientific discoveries, etc. Perlmutter (2005:110) describes some of the notable iconic images throughout history: "Marines raising the flag at Iwo Jima," "Saigon"..."Rabin-Arafat handshake," "Man standing against the tanks near Tiananmen," "Desecrated bodies of American soldiers in Mogadishu," "World Trade Centre struck," "Toppling of Saddam's statue," "Abuse of prisoners at Abu Ghraib,"..." A closer look at the afore-mentioned iconic images reveals that they depict extraordinary and exceptional events.

When it comes to iconic images, Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis is not an exception. There are distinct images that are associated with the country's crisis. Therefore, the fundamental question which begs for an answer is: what qualifies images, including those selected for this study, to be deemed iconic? The answer to this question lies on the characteristics or central features of iconic images. This study used such features or characteristics to determine the iconicity of the pictures in question. The study also put into consideration the pictures that the respondents believed were iconic in the context of Zimbabwe's Crisis.

There are several characteristics that qualify images, including those selected for this study, to be classified as iconic. These factors range from symbolism, rarity, emotionalism, repetition, viral and the capacity to withstand the test of time, among other characteristics. Symbolism is regarded by some scholars as a key characteristic of an iconic image. The image should be significantly symbolic in relation to certain events, situations, individuals or objects for it to be deemed iconic. For instance, Perlmutter (2005:117) notes that symbolism is an important characteristic of an iconic image and that the image of a Chinese student standing in front of the tanks in Tiananmen Square "came to symbolize the entire Tiananmen Spring movement." By the same token, the *CNN* (2016, September 27) notes that Che Guevara's image taken at a memorial service in Havana in 1960 has evolved into a "global symbol of rebellion against social justice." Another example of an image associated with symbolism is the image of the

late Zimbabwe's opposition MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, after his assault by police in Zimbabwe in March 2007. *The Economist* (2007, March 15) describes Tsvangirai's battered and swollen face in the image as "the face of oppression." In other words, Tsvangirai's image became the symbol of state oppression in Zimbabwe. Sturken and Cartwright (2009:36) also highlight "great symbolic meaning" as a key feature of an iconic image. Thus, symbolism is one of the protruding characteristics of an iconic image. Below is an iconic image from the CNN's (2016, September 27) list of iconic images which became symbolic to the dire situation during the Vietnam War in 1972.

**Picture A**



Children caught up in battle during the Vietnam War in 1972. The naked girl (middle) in the photograph is Phan Thi Kim Phuc, informally known as the Napalm girl. The Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph was taken at Trang Bang on June 8, 1972 (*CNN* (2016)/Nick Ut).

Another important characteristic of an iconic image is time factor. An iconic image usually remains memorable for a lengthy period of time. Irby (2016) accords importance to memory and time as important characteristics of an iconic image and cites the image of a man standing in front of a tank in Tiananmen Square in 1989 and Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat on a segregated city bus in the US in 1955 as examples of how memorable iconic images are over an extended period of time. Thus, iconic images have the capacity to withstand the test of time.

Some images are deemed iconic because of the feelings or reactions that they arouse. Sturken and Cartwright (2009: 9) observe that: "These images can produce in us a wide array of emotions and responses." In relation to emotions as a characteristic of iconic images, Peter

Howe cited in Almond (2013) notes that: "I think the most important common denominator is that they strike us on a very deep emotional level, and the emotions are usually some of the deepest emotions that a human being can feel: heroism, fear, grief, joy." This view holds water considering the amount of emotion aroused by images of "twin towers" bombings in relation to the 9/11 attacks; a dead Syrian toddler who drowned in Turkey in 2015 and children under siege during the US-Vietnam War, among other emotional iconic images. Also, some iconic images are associated with anxiety. For instance, former Barrack Obama's White House photographer, Pete Souza who shot the Bin Laden raid image in the White House situation room noted that the image represents: "one of the most anxiety filled periods of time, I think, in the lives of the people who were assembled" (*CNN*, 2016, September 27). Therefore, iconic images have the capacity to trigger an array of emotions on individuals.

Linked to emotions are iconic images' capability to induce public outcry which sometimes ultimately alter policymaking and implementation trajectories. To that end, Perlmutter (2005:110) argues that: "The claims about the powers of these icons are almost unlimited: they drive public opinion, they overturn government agendas, they force policy, they make history-they change the world." A case in point are iconic images of starving children in Somalia which caused the US to intervene and those of dead US soldiers being dragged on the streets of Mogadishu which forced the US to abort the same mission in 1993 (Sharkey, 1993; Perlmutter, 2005). Perlmutter (2005:118) describes the images and the reaction they caused to the US as "Entrance Icons vs. Exit Icons." In Zimbabwe, Bratton and Masunungure (2011) observe that the image of Morgan Tsvangirai and his colleagues after their attack by state security agents in 2007 caused public outcry especially with the US and the EU. The following image was taken in Apartheid South Africa in 1976 and caused public outcry not only in South Africa but around the world.

**Picture B**



Eighteen-year-old Mbuyisa Makhubo carries away the lifeless body of 13-year-old Hector Peterson after being shot by police in Apartheid South Africa during the "Soweto Uprising" of 1976. The photograph was taken by *The World* photojournalist, Sam Nzima during a students' protest in Soweto on 16 June 1976 (Time (2016)/Sam Nzima).

The iconic picture above was taken by the late Sam Nzima amid a student protest during the Apartheid era in South Africa. The image depicts 13-year-old Hector Peterson after being shot by the police. *Time* (2016, June 15) notes that the picture galvanised the struggle against Apartheid and that Nelson Mandela commented on the picture and said: "When we saw this picture, we said enough is enough!" The Hector Peterson Museum was opened in honour of the victim in the picture and many others who were not spared by the Apartheid regime's brutal machinery.

Some iconic images have a "celebrity" status associated with them as a defining iconic feature. The *CNN* (2016, September 27) gives an example of Albert Einstein with his tongue stuck out as such an image. Also, *CNN* (2016, September 27) notes that Einstein liked the image and requested that eight copies be printed out for him; in a "celebrity" style, he signed the copies which were later sold for vast amounts of money after his death. By the same logic, one could also argue that the image of Armstrong and his colleagues (US astronauts who were the first to land on the moon) carries a celebrity status considering its levels of popularity and admiration around the world. In addition to that, Che Guevara's image taken at a memorial service in

Havana in 1960, which has also become a fashion sensation, could also be described as an iconic image carrying a celebrity status.

Another characteristic of an iconic image that should not be overlooked is rarity. There are numerous images that have been taken and distributed around the world, but iconic images remain rare. In fact, Irby (2016) argues that, "The true iconic image is rare and unlike any other. It is the sum of many elements, vetted against cultural, professional and historic standards. It carries the weight of an entire story, even movement, in one photograph. It transports. Audiences instantly share it and reporters tell stories using it as a critical visual backdrop." Thus, rarity is another important feature of an iconic image. Although there are numerous images depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis, only a few protrude above the rest.

Lovelace (2010:35) mentions that repetition of images by the media as an iconic defining characteristic: "These iconic photos have appeared repeatedly in the media, they have been reused and repurposed by popular culture, and they appear in history books as visual representations." The repetition of iconic images by media houses is intimately linked with the concept of viral images. A closer look indicates that the images selected for this study have been repeatedly broadcasted by many international television channels and are arguably "viral" images. In sum, iconic images, evoke emotions and public outcry, are rare, viral, symbolic and withstand the test of time.

### 3.5.1  Iconoclasm, Iconophobia, Iconophilism and Iconodules

This section discusses iconoclasm, iconophobia, iconophilism and iconodules in relation to this study. Mitchell (2015:27) defines iconoclasm as: "The effort to destroy images, usually for political and religious reasons." Iconoclasm is a very ancient phenomenon and scholars such as Mitchell (2015) trace it back to the Bible's Old Testament narrative where the Israelites' Golden Calf was destroyed in a bid to roll back idolatry and debauchery: "And he took the calf the people had made and burned it in the fire; then he ground it to powder, scattered it on the water and made the Israelites drink it," reads Exodus 32 Vs. 20 (*The Holy Bible*, *New International Version*). In fact, before the Golden Calf iconoclasm scenario in Exodus 32, the Israelites had been strongly and clearly warned against making any graven images in Exodus 20 Vs. 4 of the same books: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water beneath the earth," reads one of the Ten Commandments.

Another classic example of ancient iconoclasm is the popular iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium which is alluded to by scholars such as Kastner (1980), Crone (1998), Freedberg (1990) and May (2012). The iconoclasm in question, which is chronicled in a fine-grained fashion by Kastner (1980:140-144), occurred in two distinct phases: 726-780 c.e. and 814-843 c.e. The first phase was characterized by the famous decree to abolish icons by Emperor Leo III in 726. Four years later, the 726 decree was followed by another which paved way for the actual destruction of icons. Thereafter, violence broke out between the iconoclasts (destroyers of icons) and the iconodules (venerators of icons). Iconoclasm in Byzantium stopped when Empress Irene ascended to the throne in 780. However, a second and mildly violent phase of iconoclasm in Byzantium emerged under Leo V in 814 and dissipated with the ascension to power of Empress Theodora (an iconodule) in 842. Crone (1998) cites Islam as a catalyst in terms of triggering iconoclasm in Byzantium.

Apart from the Byzantium iconoclasm classic example, Freedberg (1990) observes that post Byzantium Europe's iconoclasm especially in the Reformation in countries like England, France and Germany remain a neglected phenomenon. In recent years, outside Europe, religious fundamentalist and extremist groups like the Islamic State have been destroying religious and political symbols and icons in Iraq and Syria (*The New York Times*, 2016, January 20). Terrorist organizations such as *Boko Haram* and *Al-Shabaab* are also associated with acts of iconoclasm especially in Nigeria and Somalia respectively. In what fits neatly into iconoclasm, islamophobic and right-wing extremist groups in the US have been accused of vandalising mosques and other Islamic symbols (*The Washington Post*, 2017, August 8). Also, Mitchell (2006) alerts us to the fact that the extremist Taliban fighters became notorious for the destruction of sacred Buddhist icons in Afghanistan. In a bid to "decolonise" the University of Cape Town and other public spaces in South Africa, students under the banner of the #RhodesMustFall movement, toppled the statue of the late imperialist Cecil John Rhodes in 2015. Thus, iconoclasm remains a notable phenomenon even in the 21st century.

Acts of iconoclasm are not only limited to images but also to verbal and textual discourses. By the same token, Mitchell (2015:32) posits that iconoclasm is not just the destruction of graven images but also the purging of words and ideas to arrive at a purified language. In this regard, one can say that even censorship of the press for political and religious gain could be classified as an act of iconoclasm. As it shall be revealed in chapter six of this thesis, in Zimbabwe, at the height of the land reform programme in the early 2000s most foreign and independent

media houses were banned in the country (Willem, 2011). Some copies of newspapers critical of the government were destroyed on the streets by the ruling party's (ZANU PF) fanatics and supporters. Probably, the worst case was the bombing of the *Daily News* premises by suspected state security agents in 2001 (*BBC News*, 2001, January 28). Such acts of destruction of newspapers, images, cameras and censorship amount to what Mitchell's (2015:32) terms the "purging of words and ideas to arrive at a purified language" and fits neatly into the iconoclasm grid.

In a lecture, and citing the image of the Taliban fighters during the destruction of Buddhist sacred statues in 2001, Mitchell (2006) alerts us to the perspective that iconoclasm is always double: it destroys an image but at the same time creates one, hence, "The destruction of an image is also the production of an image" (Mitchell, 2006). Therefore, iconoclasm is not only about destroying things but about producing an image of destruction as an ominous warning to those who are concerned about the image being destroyed. The image of the bombing of the *Daily News* printing premises in Zimbabwe in 2001 is a text book example of how an image from an act of iconoclasm was used by the bombers as a warning to the private media and other media houses deemed "hostile" to the government. Accordingly, Mitchell (2006) observes that: "Iconoclasm is not to be a private act; the image of the destruction itself has to be seen to create an impact." The images of the bombing of the World Trade Centre during the 9/11 attacks is also another classic example of how the destruction of an image created another image which also served the purpose of instilling "terror" in the US and the broader Western world.

It is also important to note that acts of iconoclasm lead to reincarnation of the destroyed images. Therefore, Michael Taussig argues that iconoclasm (the destruction or suppression of images) is a sure way of guaranteeing them an even more potent presence in memory, or as reincarnated in new forms, hence, the fundamental law of the physics of the image is that images cannot be destroyed (Mitchell, 2015:32). As this research will later reveal, acts of iconoclasm (persecution of journalists, destruction of their cameras and images, mutilation of newspapers etc) by the state in Zimbabwe led to more media attention and the production of more documentaries (and images) about the political and economic crisis in the country (Willems, 2011:94). This is arguably an example of how difficult it is to suppress visual and verbal images even through brazen acts of iconoclasm.

Apart from the antagonistic iconoclastic and iconodule leaning camps, there are also two other opposed camps that feature prominently in iconology and visual culture in general: the iconophobes and the iconophiles. Mitchell (1986:3) posits that: "Iconology turned out to be, not just the science of icons, but the political psychology of icons, the study of iconophobia, iconophilia, and the struggle between iconoclasm and idolatry." Also, iconoclasm cannot be discussed in isolation from iconopobia and iconophilia. Mitchell (2015) also suggests that image science should address iconoclastic and iconophile camps. Since iconoclasm has been addressed above, it is befitting to turn to iconophobia and iconophilia.

Iconophobia, which generally refers to the repugnance of icons and images, operates hand in glove with iconoclasm: iconophobia leads to iconoclasm. Larsson (2012) posits that:

> If iconophobia is defined as the suspicion and anxiety towards the power exerted by images, its history is an ancient one in all of its Platonic, Christian, and Judaic forms. At its most radical, iconophobia results in an act of iconoclasm, or the total destruction of the image. At the other end of the spectrum, contemporary iconophobia may be more subtle. Images are simply withdrawn from circulation with the aim of eliminating their visibility.

Three critical points protrude from the above quotation: (1) iconophobia causes suspicion and anxiety about images; (2) iconophobia is a "highway" that leads to iconoclasm; and (3) modern forms of iconophobia are subtle and include withdrawal of images from circulation (censorship) in a bid to eliminate their visibility. In the context of Zimbabwe, one can say that the government was anxious and suspicious about the images under study, hence, the resort to eliminating such images especially from the state media. Oftentimes, the state in Zimbabwe behaved in an iconophobic and iconoclastic fashion. Even iconoclastic acts by the state (e.g., bombing of the *Daily News* premises, destruction of journalists' cameras and images) can be traced back to iconophobia as the chief source which waters iconoclasm. Therefore, all the cases of iconoclasm discussed in this chapter are deeply rooted in iconophobia.

On the other hand, iconophilia is directly the opposite of iconophobia. The *Thesaurus Dictionary* defines an iconophile as: "one who loves icons, illustrations, pictures" as opposed to one who hates and is anxious about icons and pictures (iconophobe). Moreover, iconoclasm and iconophilism are related albeit in a contrary and antagonistic fashion, hence, Lendon (2016) observes that: "Iconoclasm may be defined either as what attacks idolatry or as what destroys iconophilia, two very different goals...the iconoclast dreams of an unmediated access to truth, of a complete absence of images." Accordingly, one can say that iconoclasm is the anti-thesis of iconophilism. Iconophilia is intimately related with the idea of an iconodule (one who

reveres images and can take extreme measures to protect them). Therefore, when it comes to the love and disdain of images, there are two opposed and antagonistic camps and dialectics: iconoclasts and iconophobes on one hand and iconophiles and iconodules on the other. The emergence of the camps mentioned above in Zimbabwe's Crisis is discussed in chapter six of this thesis. The following section discusses the CNN effect.

## 3.6   The CNN Effect

Since this study focuses on television pictures (still and moving) from 24-hour news channels (*CNN*, *Aljazeera*, *France 24* and *BBC*), the CNN effect should not be overlooked. Robinson (2013) defines the "CNN effect" as shorthand for the notion that mainstream news media and its imagery, not just CNN, were having an increased effect upon foreign policy formulation. Vilmar (2012) talks of the "Aljazeera effect" which is equivalent to the CNN effect. From the same point of view, one can talk of the "France 24 effect," "CCT effect" or "BBC effect" etc. Sharkey (1993) and Vilmer (2012) highlight how the CNN effect works: firstly, the media shows disturbing images which in turn cause public outcry. Consequently, policymakers act on the situation based on the public outcry and pressure. In short, the CNN effect is the impact or effect of television news imagery on policymaking and implementation. In the context of the CNN effect, Ammon (2001) labels the impact of television news imagery on policymaking "telediplomacy." This study is also interested on the impact of television imagery about Zimbabwe's political violence and economic collapse to the respondents, hence, the relevance of the CNN effect. The central question would be centred on what the respondents said in light of the images under study vis-à-vis the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe. The answer to this question lies in chapter five and six of this thesis.

There is a wide range of scholarly work that supports the phenomenon of the CNN effect. For instance, the CNN effect is often associated with the US' intervention and pull-out of Somalia in 1992 and 1993 respectively. Photos of starving children in Somalia and those of desecrated bodies of US soldiers triggered US intervention and the subsequent pull-out of Somalia, respectively; hence, Perlmutter (2005:118) dubs the Somali images: "Entrance Icons vs. Exit Icons." Furthermore, Sharkey (1993) argues that the photos from Somalia are an example of how visual images can affect foreign policy. The CNN effect also took centre stage in Ethiopia during its famine of the 1980s. For instance, Michira (2002) alludes to the view that the images of starvation splashed by the western media during the 1984 Ethiopian famine led to an international response called Band Aid. Apart from Ethiopia and Somalia, Vilmer (2012) cites

the US intervention in Libya (2011) as having been influenced by images depicting Ghadaffi's repression against protestors during the Libyan revolution.

Another example of the impact of television news imagery on policymaking is when the US President, Donald Trump, intervened in Syria after the Syrian government allegedly used chemical weapons against its citizens. *The Washington Post* (2017 April 7) notes that: "This week, it was the images- gruesome photos of a chemical weapons attack on Syrian civilians — that moved Trump, pushing the president, who ran on an "America first" platform of non-intervention, to authorize the launch of 59 Tomahawk cruise missiles at Syrian targets Thursday night." Thus, television imagery can cause public outcry which in turn could "force" policymakers to act accordingly.

Although scholars such as Sharkey (1993), Vilmer (2012), Perlmutter (2005), Ammon (2001), Michira (2002), Hoge (1994), Minear etal (1996), Gilbao (2005) and Robinson (2013) acknowledge the powerful effect of television news images (the CNN effect); Haven (2001) tends to differ and to that end; accuses Ammon (2001) of overstating the effect of television imagery and uses the Rwandan genocide case as his launch pad for such an attack. The Rwandan scenario did not attract timely international intervention despite the horrific television images depicting the genocide. One school of thought is that the CNN effect has no direct bearing on policymaking. For instance, Gilbao (2005:28) notes that, Colin Powell in McNulty (1993:80) observed that "live television coverage doesn't change the policy, but it does create the environment in which the policy is made." Another school of thought is tilted toward feasibility and costs of any intervention, hence, Gilabao (2005:28) cites Anthony Lake, a scholar and Bill Clinton's first national security adviser, acknowledging that public pressure, driven by televised images, increasingly played a role in decision making on humanitarian crises, but added that other factors such as cost, and feasibility were as important.

Against a background of varying schools of thought especially on the extent of the impact of the CNN effect, Robinson in Vilmer (2012) postulates the "strong effect," "weak effect" and "zero effect" model of analysis of the effect of the CNN effect. From the point of view of Robinson and Vilmer's (2012), the "strong effect" is related to television imagery that cause public outcry and possibly followed by concrete political action like the Somali, Ethiopian, Libyan and Syrian cases. The "weak effect" can be linked to those cases where television news pictures did not warrant intervention like in the Rwandan case. Importantly, both Robinson and Vilmer (2012) acknowledge that the "zero effect" scenario does not exist. This means that

television pictures either produces a "strong effect" or "weak effect." The fact that this research to some extent deals with the effects of television pictures makes the CNN effect relevant.

In relation to Zimbabwe, an observation would reveal that since 2000, the iconic pictures selected for this study were repeatedly broadcast and also went viral across local, regional and international media networks. In line with the dictates of the CNN effect, chapter six of this thesis reveals the effect of such repeated broadcasting of the pictures in question, from the point of view of the respondents. What is also eye catching is how the CNN effect jellies with other theoretical and conceptual discourses discussed in this study. Since they all focus on images and sometimes their effects thereof; a link exists between and among visual culture, image science, iconology, the idea of imagery, iconoclasm, iconophobia, iconophilia, iconodules, the concept of iconic images and the CNN effect.

## 3.7   National Images

Chapter seven of this thesis deals with what respondents thought in relation to the iconic images selected for this study vis-a-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. Therefore, this section deals with the concept of national images. Michira (2002) is concerned about the negative way the international media (especially western media houses) pictorially covers Africa and notes that such coverage perpetuates the stereotype and an image of an Africa that is a "dark continent" riddled with disease, poverty, famine and conflict. Correspondingly, Okgibo (2007:109) notes that international media houses always focus on "the bizarre and absurd" when covering Africa which consequently damages the national images of African countries. Such a claim by the two authors seem to hold water considering the fact that bad news usually "sells" compared to the opposite. Therefore, media coverage (buttressed by pictures) can shape an image of any given country. One of the important questions that this study will later tackle is: what is a national image and how do pictures selected for this study relate to the national image of Zimbabwe, from the perspective of the respondents?

Boulding (1961) elaborates the concept of a national image. Accordingly, "The "image" then, must be thought of as the total cognitive, affective and evaluative structure of the behaviour unit, or its internal view of itself and its universe" (Boulding, 1961:391). In the same vein, Kunczik (1990:44) in Okigbo (2007:108) posits: "an image of a nation constitutes the totality of attributes that a person recognises (or imagines) when he contemplates that nation."

Therefore, it could be said that a national image is what one thinks or his/her perception about a certain country. Thus, it can be said that national images are intangible and abstract entities by nature. Furthermore, Boulding (1961:392) stresses out that national images are formed mostly in childhood and usually in the family group and public instruction and propaganda merely reinforce images derived from family culture, hence, imposed images are fragile by comparison with those which are deeply internalised and transmitted through family and other intimate sources. Did the iconic pictures under study impact on Zimbabwe's image from the perspective of the respondents? This question is answered in chapter seven of this study.

## 3.8    The Theory of Framing

Li and Chitty (2009:6) note that framing can both be adopted as a theory and as a methodology in relation to the analysis of national images. Accordingly, Li and Chitty (2009) developed a model for the analysis of national images. The model in question is important in relation to this study.

Framing and the concept of national images operate hand in glove. In fact, in their definition of a frame, Li and Chitty (2009:6) interweave a national image and a frame:

> Therefore, we have defined national image as 'privately held frames in the minds of individuals and public frames as discernible in media. In a world politics context, frames may include stereotypes such as ally, enemy, barbarian, imperialist, or dependent. Each of these frames is associated with particular types of international dyadic relationships and behaviour such as cooperation, conflict, exploitation, invasion or sabotage respectively.

In addition to the above, Li and Chitty (2009:6) also mentions that a country's national image is composed of private frames that are held in the minds of the public (referring to perceived national images), and public frames that are displayed in media, (related to projected media national images) and add that: "The study of both frames should be positioned in the present as well as the historical world politics context with the associated stereotypes" as shown in the diagram below;

**Figure 2: Model for the Analysis of National Images**
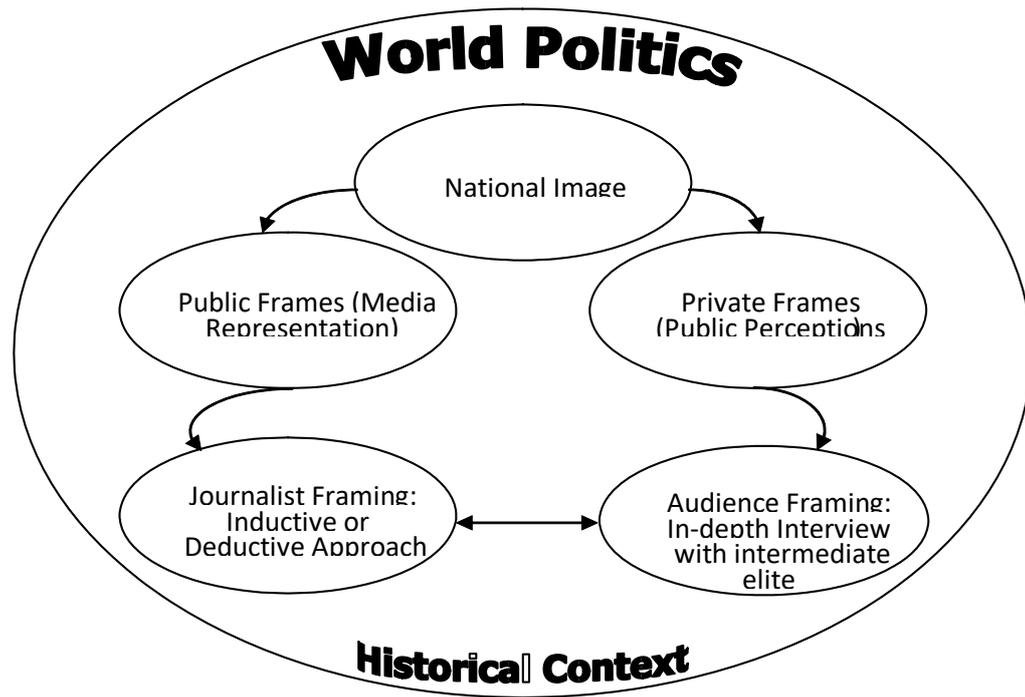


**Source:** Li and Chitty (2009:7)

The diagram shows that, a national image is shaped or framed, by the media (public frames) and also by "stereotypical" private frames. Such framing occurs in a historical and global political context. The pictures under study were projected by the public media and are therefore related to public frames. As this study shall also confirm, public framing creates national images referred to by Li and Chitty (2009) as "projected media images of other nations" as opposed to "perceived national images" that result from preconceived, premeditated and stereotypical "private" frames. Since this study deals with pictures from the public media in relation to Zimbabwe's national image, public framing is therefore crucial. However, private frames should not also be overlooked as the two operate in conjunction.

### 3.9    Conclusion

This chapter delved on the theoretical and conceptual discourse of this study and as such, theories such as; image science/*Bildwissenschaft*, iconology, the CNN effect, and the theory of framing, were discussed. The chapter also delved on concepts such as; visual culture, the idea of imagery, iconic images, iconoclasm, iconophobia, iconophilism, iconodules and national images. Moreover, the chapter revealed the relationship between this study and the discussed theoretical and conceptual paradigms.

## Chapter 4: Zimbabwe's Crisis, Media Publicity and the Emergence of Iconic Pictures

*"Despite the government's refusal to accredit BBC correspondents, the broadcaster still managed to produce at least seven documentaries on the country, apart from regular feature stories on the news. According to a report published by a BBC watchdog, out of 48 documentaries shown on the BBC from November 2000 to January 2004, Zimbabwe received most attention with seven documentaries…"* (Willems, 2011:19).

## 4    Introduction

Zimbabwe became a haven for international news stations such due to its political and economic crisis. From 2000 up to 2008, regional and international news stations were awash with pictures (still and moving) depicting political violence, human rights violations and economic collapse in Zimbabwe. Although this study is primarily interested in the afore-mentioned pictures, it is crucial to trace events that led to the proliferation of such pictures in the local, regional and international media arena. Therefore, this chapter traces events and incidents that heightened international media's attention on Zimbabwe and the consequent emergence of "iconic" pictures which this study is focused on. Accordingly, the chapter discusses the fast-track land reform programme of 2000; political and electoral violence; economic meltdown and inflation; expulsion, banning and harassment of local and foreign journalists, Operation Restore Order/*Murambatsvina* and government officials' use confrontational rhetoric against local, regional and international political players, the so-called "enemies of the state" or "detractors."

## 4.1    The Rise in International Media Attention on Zimbabwe

International and local media stations are usually interested in negative news stories compared to positive ones.  For instance, in 2007, the Pew Research Centre data showed that media houses and American citizens were mainly interested in news stories associated with war, terrorism, crime, social violence, harsh weather, human-made and natural disasters (*Pacific Standard*, 2015, April 22). The American scenario rhymes with the African context in which droughts, civil strife, diseases (mainly HIV/AIDS and Ebola) and corruption dominate Africa news on Africa. Also, some Western media houses have a tendency to cover African countries in a negative fashion; hence, Biney (1997) observes that Africa is covered by Western newspapers, radio and TV stations as a "crisis and pitiable Africa." Correspondingly, Okgibo (2007:109) notes that international media houses always focus on "the bizarre and absurd" when covering Africa.  However, it is important to note that the media also plays a vital role in terms of raising awareness about injustices, disasters and humanitarian crisis not only in Africa but around the

whole globe. Accordingly, Psychologist, Tom Stafford notes that: "So our attraction to bad news may be more complex than just journalistic cynicism or a hunger springing from the darkness within. And that, on another bad news day, gives me a little bit of hope for humanity" (*BBC*, 2014, July 29). Although negative media publicity is harmful to the African continent, it sometimes plays a crucial awareness role especially in areas where gross injustices occur.

In Africa, the on-going DRC civil strife, 2014 to 2015 Ebola crisis (in Sierra Leon, Liberia and Guinea), xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Somalia's political crisis, Boko Haram's terrorist agenda in Nigeria, the Kenyan political violence of 2007 and Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis are some of the events that have been widely covered by local, regional and international media stations.[6] What is eye catching about international media reports from TV channels are pictures (still and moving) depicting crises in the afore-mentioned countries. This study is interested in such pictures in the context of Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis.

Zimbabwe's negative human rights situation and economic collapse has attracted avalanche volumes of international media attention especially from 2000 up to 2008. For instance, Milne (2008), Burnett (2008), Winter (2013) and Muleya (2014) all concur that Zimbabwe's human rights and economic crisis attracted unprecedented levels of international media attention and coverage. Milne (2008) and Burnett (2008) highlight the fact that Zimbabwe has been covered more by the international media compared to terrorism and war plagued Somalia. In the same vein, Ndlela (2005:71) notes that: "Since 2000...media networks have devoted more time and space to the coverage of the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe." Likewise, ASSECAA (2011) acknowledges that Zimbabwe continues to make headlines for negative reasons. The reasons for such negative publicity in Ndlela's (2005:71) perspective are; the constitutional referendum of February 2000, the controversial seizure of white-owned farms, and the disputed parliamentary and presidential elections. Ndlela's account dovetails with Milne's (2008) which summarises the reasons that led to heightened media attention on Zimbabwe as; the takeover of white-owned farms, economic breakdown, and hyperinflation and electoral irregularities. The above-mentioned events and the subsequent media attention gave birth to "iconic" images that characterized Zimbabwe's crisis. In fact, Ndlela (2005) acknowledges such images in relation to the violent land reform programme.

---

[6] Boko Haram is a terrorist organization in Northern Nigeria which has its footprints in neighbouring countries such a Niger, Cameroon and Chad. The term "Boko Haram" literally means that non-Islamic or Western Education is immoral.

### 4.1.1   The Fast-Track Land Reform Programme

The British colonial government disposed Africans of their land in Zimbabwe; a situation that fuelled racial economic inequality and injustice which led to the armed struggle (1964-1979) against British colonial rule in the then Southern Rhodesia. Even by the year 2000; 20 years after independence, McGreal (2002) observes that 6,000 white farmers occupied half of Zimbabwe's 81 million acres of arable land with about 850,000 black farmers crammed into the rest and only 10% of arable land had been legally moved from white to black hands since 1980. In relation to the land question in Zimbabwe, Sir Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth (1975 – 1990), argued that: "It was about land in the beginning; it was about land during the struggle; it has remained about land today. The land issue in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe is not ancient history. It is modern history" (African All-Party Parliamentary Group, 2009:3).

Negotiations took place between Britain (Thatcher Administration) and the Zimbabwean government in order to settle the land question. Thatcher agreed that Britain was to provide funds to the Zimbabwean government to buy the land from the white commercial farmers on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis, a position that was later rejected by the New Labour Party under Tony Blair in 1997 (Mupandawana, 2013). Blair argued that his party was not responsible for Britain's colonial wrongdoings and therefore not obligated to fund the land reform exercise in Zimbabwe. Then Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, under pressure from war veterans and a rising tide of opposition politics; amended the constitution and embarked on the Fast-Track Land Reform program in 2000 which entailed seizing land from white commercial farmers.[7] Makumbe (2009:1) describes the chaotic and violent land reform programme as Zimbabwe's "major setback in its transition to democracy."

The violent land reform programme was a violent exercise. The African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights (2007:5) noted that at least seven white farmers had been killed by March 2002. Correspondingly, Mandikwaza (2016:33) notes that violence also increased in Zimbabwe with the implementation of the fast-track land reform policy. Consequently, iconic

---

[7] The term "Fast-Track Land Reform Programme" was adopted to describe Zimbabwe ruling party's (ZANU PF) "speedily" implemented land reform programme that started in the year 2000. Through the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme, Zimbabwean (white) commercial farmers lost their land to the "indigenous/black" Zimbabweans.

pictures related to the land reform programme emerged from the media. In describing the pictures in question, Hanlon (2013) observes:

> The images are burnt into our consciousness: farm buildings set alight; white farmers, blood streaming down their faces, their wives and children fleeing in terror. All around a baying mob, the war veterans of President Robert Mugabe sent to drive them from their homes; loyal black farm workers beaten and abused for daring to stand up to the political thugs. These scenes were shown on television screens around the world following Zimbabwe's land invasions of 2000.

The *BBC* also produced several documentaries concerning the crisis in Zimbabwe. Willems (2011:94) notes that, according to a report published by a *BBC* watchdog, out of 48 documentaries shown on the *BBC* from November 2000 to January 2004, Zimbabwe received most attention with seven documentaries. Correspondingly, Ndlela (2005:75) notes that: "The violent nature in which the farms were taken from their owners attracted bad publicity as the international media showed images of destruction of property, torture, injury and dead bodies of white farmers." This is in tandem with Sturken and Cartwright's (2009:9) view that: "The role of images in providing views of violence, and of voyeurism and fascination with violence is countered by a history of using images to expose the devastating aspects of violence."

The government of Zimbabwe tried to counteract negative media publicity associated with the violent land reform programme, by embarking on a well calculated propaganda campaign. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) describes Jonathan Moyo (then Information Minister) as "an able articulator and promoter" of such a propaganda campaign between 2000 and 2004. In the same vein, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) cites an example of one propaganda jingle engineered by Moyo and which was crafted along theological lines and went as: "In the beginning was the land. The people were on the land. The people owned the land. As it was in the beginning, so shall it always be. Welcome to Zimbabwe. We are down to earth!" Chitando cited in Gatsheni (2009) argues that Jonathan Moyo "masterminded one of the most sustained propaganda campaigns in postcolonial Africa." Moyo's propaganda programme faced a stern challenge from private and international media stations.

### 4.1.2   Political and Electoral Violence

The history violence in independent Zimbabwe can be traced back to the state sponsored *Gukurahundi* genocide which claimed more than 20 000 lives in Matabeleland and Midlands

provinces from 1982 to 1987(Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, 1997).[8] Also, since the 1990s, elections in Zimbabwe have always been marred by electoral irregularities including political violence and intimidation. For instance, Sachikonye (1990) and Moyo (1992) observe that the 1990 elections in Zimbabwe were marred with violence and intimidation. By the same token, Makumbe & Compagnon (2000) detail the massive violence and intimidation that characterised the 1995 general elections in Zimbabwe.

In 1999, the opposition MDC was formed. The new party unsettled the government of former President, Robert Mugabe. Consequently, the government not only unleashed a reign of terror against MDC supporters but also violently took over white owned commercial farms in order to patronise black Zimbabweans that were associated with the ruling party, ZANU PF. The period before, during and after the June 2000 parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe, was characterised by massive state sponsored violence and intimidation. Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2001:3) cited in Makumbe (2006) quotes former President Mugabe's chilling words at a ceremony for the opening of the water pipeline between Pungwe River and Mutare: "Those who try to cause disunity among our people must watch out because death will befall them." Mugabe's speech incited massive violence against opposition members. The table below shows statistics of human rights violations related to the 2000 parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe:

**Table 2: Politically Motivated Human Rights Violations, 2000-2001**

|  | February-June 2000 | July-December 2000 | January-June 2001 | July-November 2001 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Murder | 8 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Assault | 569 | 176 | 192 | 548 |
| Abduction | 142 | 9 | 70 | 35 |
| Assault threats | 439 | 33 | 199 | 805 |
| Death Threats | 567 | 10 | 71 | 73 |
| Property Offenses | 263 | 74 | 66 | 360 |
| Displacement | >2000 | 57 | 174 | >4000 |
| Percent- State Sponsored | 94.5 | 93.2 | 88.7 | 92.1 |

**Source:** Masunungure (2002) in Barry (2004:9)

---

[8] Gukurahundi is a shona term for the rain that washes away the dirt. Gukurahundi became a code name for a military operation (or genocide) which was meant to deal with dissidents (rebels) in the Matabeleland and Midlands provinces of Zimbabwe from 1982 to 1987. During the Gukurahundi period, the ZANU PF government led by Robert Mugabe, unleashed the North Korean trained Fifth Brigade regiment on the defenceless citizens in the provinces in question, leaving at least 20 000 dead (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, 1997).

From the above violations, the international media managed to produce documentaries as Willem (2011) notes. The presidential elections held after the parliamentary elections in 2002 were equally violent and chaotic as noted by Vollan (2002:2). The EU condemned the 2002 presidential elections in Zimbabwe. Similarly, the 2005 parliamentary elections were also characterised by political violence and voter intimidation by the ruling party, ZANU PF. Moreover, a landmark political violence incident took place in March 2007 when the state security agents brutalized opposition and civic society organizations and killed Gift Tandare in Harare. Opposition MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai was also brutalized. In relation to the incident, Bratton and Masunungure (2011) note that:

> Leaders of the opposition, including Morgan Tsvangirai, were brutally assaulted; one person was killed; 50 were hospitalized; and nearly 200 were arrested. Media coverage of these events evoked an international outcry, not only from the governments of Great Britain, the European Union and the United States, but also from the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

Morgan Tsvangirai's picture which shows his battered face became viral across media networks. In the same vein, Winter (2013) notes that the world was shocked by pictures of Tsvangirai after he was assaulted in 2007. *The Economist* (2007, March 15) describes Tsvangirai's battered and swollen face as "the face of oppression." The late Morgan Tsvangirai's picture became iconic and symbolic in relation to the Zimbabwe Crisis.

**Picture C**



MDC President, the late Morgan in front of the Harare Magistrate Court soon after his brutal attack by police in Highfields (Harare) on 11 March 2007 (*BBC* (2007)/Brian Hungwe).

The 2008 harmonized elections (presidential, senatorial, lower house and council) also drew media attention in Zimbabwe. The first round of the presidential elections was held on 29 March and Morgan Tsvangirai won 47.9% of the vote, Robert Mugabe 43.2% and the remainder were shared by other small political parties. According to Zimbabwean law, for one to be declared a winner, he/she should garner 50% plus one vote. Therefore, this meant that there was no winner and there was need for a second round of elections. It is during this time that Mugabe and his ruling ZANU PF party unleashed an orgy of violence against perceived political opponents in Zimbabwe. Most analysts argue that the second round of elections which were held on 27 June 2008 were the bloodiest in the history of Zimbabwe. For instance, Makumbe (2009:2) notes that:

> In the run-up to the run-off, ZANU-PF unleashed a wave of countrywide violence, which resulted in the deaths of nearly 100 MDC supporters, the displacement of more than 50 000 people from their rural homes, and the burning of many homes by the ZANU-PF militia working in cahoots with elements of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Zimbabwe Prison Service (ZPS), and the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO).

Masunungure (2009:98) concludes that "the 27 June 2008 presidential runoff election was a militarized election without a choice." The 2008 presidential election was controversially won by Robert Mugabe. He forged a unity government with Morgan Tsvangirai for legitimacy purposes. Levels of political violence were very low during the 2013 harmonized elections. However, there were reports of rigging as noted by ZESN (2013). Economic decay in Zimbabwe also attracted media attention.

### 4.1.3   Economic Collapse and Inflation

Zimbabwe's economic decline drew attention from media houses. (2008) summarises the reasons for such media as: "The catastrophic nature of the country's economic decline in recent years that has led to an inflation rate of 100,000%, an unemployment rate estimated to be 80%, and millions of people leaving the country in search of work, the story merits coverage." Before delving on the media attention and the images that were broadcasted in relation to Zimbabwe's economic crisis, it is important to give a background of how the economic crisis in question unfolded.

Zimbabwe's economic woes began to mount in the late in the early 1990s. Bratton & Masunungure (2011:18) note that by 1990, Zimbabwe was facing economic challenges: the government's fiscal deficit was over 10%, there was lack of foreign investment, over 100,000

graduates were leaving secondary school each year and the economy generated little employment. Consequently, the Zimbabwean government was forced to abandon its Marxist-Leninist-Maoist approach of economic management and adopted the World Bank's and IMF's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991.[9] Among other scholars, Dibbie (2000) and Bratton & Masunungure (2011) acknowledge the negative impact of ESAP`s austerity measures on Zimbabwe's economy. ESAP's economic impact was worsened by government corruption.

In addition, the Mugabe administration committed two economic policy blunders: the involvement of Zimbabwe in the Democratic Republic of Congo war in 1998 and the compensation of war veterans the previous year.[10] Bratton & Masunungure (2011:26) note that: "In 1998, the President deployed the Zimbabwe National Army to prop up the fragile regime of Laurent Kabila in the Democratic Republic of Congo, an ill-advised move partly motivated by a search for new sources of national income." The DRC military intervention drained Zimbabwe's fiscus. Correspondingly, Magaisa (2015) observes that:

> In the end, Zimbabwe became a key actor in the DRC war, which caused serious problems back home. The war was costly – in human and financial terms. In November 1999, the BBC quoted a report in the Financial Gazette, a Zimbabwean weekly, stating that equipment worth $200 million had been lost during the war. The British Financial Times had also reported a leaked Zimbabwe Government internal memo showing that $166 million had been spent on the war over a 6-month period between January and June 1999, an average of $25 million per month. These costs were not in the budget and seriously drained the fiscus.

In 1997, the Zimbabwean government agreed to compensate war veterans who fought the war of independence from British colonial rule. Makumbe (2009:11) posits that: "In 1997 the war veterans had successfully coerced the Mugabe regime to grant them monthly pensions and a Zw$50 000 compensation for each of them." The pay-outs in question damaged Zimbabwe's economy. In addition, the land reform programme of 2000 seriously hurt the economy of Zimbabwe. The violent land reform programme coupled with political violence led to the sanctioning of the country by the US, EU and their allies. Government corruption made matters worse.

---

[9] ESAP refers to World Bank and IMF inspired and prescribed austerity programme that was adopted by the government of Zimbabwe in 1991.

[10] The Congo War (1998-2003) was a war in the DRC which involved nine African countries (including Zimbabwe) and 25 armed groups. Zimbabwe's economic decline is heavily linked the Congo War.

Bratton and Masunungure (2011:8) give an overview of the country's economic woes from 2000 to 2008:

> As for development outcomes, the period 2000-2008 ended in a full-blown economic crisis. At a time when real per capita incomes were beginning to rise in the rest of Africa and inflation was dropping in neighbouring countries, Zimbabwe was battered by the world's lowest growth and highest inflation rates. The economy experienced negative growth in every year between 1998 and 2008, shrinking by half over the whole period; by the latter year it was close to collapse. The last official report on inflation in mid-2008 pegged the rate at 231 million percent, though private economists estimated far higher numbers.

In light of the astronomical levels of inflation, the international media was awash with images of the Zimbabwean worthless currency. The biggest note was one hundred trillion dollars. Images of people carrying stakes of money in Zimbabwe like the one shown below became a common sight especially on international media news stations such as the *BBC*, *CNN*, *France 24* and *Aljazeera*.

**Picture D**



A man stands behind piles of worthless Zimbabwean dollar notes as he makes a deposit at a bank in Zimbabwe in 2008 (*The Economist*, 2016).

*France 24 English* (2017, January 20) pegged the inflation at 80 billion percent in Zimbabwe in 2008. The period of hyperinflation under Mugabe was known as "Mugabenomics" in many circles.[11] However, during the period of inclusive government in Zimbabwe (2009-2013), the

---

[11] "Mugabenomics" refers to the unorthodox and ruinous economic policies that were characterized by corruption, nepotism, and overprinting of money under the leadership of Zimbabwe's former President, Robert Mugabe. A key hallmark of Mugabenomics was galloping inflation.

economy became relatively stable. However, the situation changed with the end of the GNU after another controversial election in 2013 which was won by the ruling party ZANU PF through unorthodox means according to MDC Zimbabwe (2017).

After the 2013 elections, the economic situation declined drastically and as of 2016, Zimbabwe was plagued by astronomical levels of unemployment, food shortages, soaring prices, protests and acute cash shortages. *CNN* (2016, May 6) carried a report where the levels of economic decline in Zimbabwe were discussed. A flash back on inflation and currencies that were used was made. Furthermore, in November 2016, in its programme called *Africa Business Report*, th*e BBC* (2016, November 12) carried a grim report about cash shortages triggered by the anticipated introduction of bond notes as a currency in Zimbabwe. What is important about the above-mentioned reports and many others that were broadcasted by international news stations are pictures that depict economic decay in Zimbabwe: pictures of people queuing for fuel, cash, and bread; as well as pictures of hyperinflation riddled notes, among others.

### 4.1.4 Persecution, Banning and Expulsion of Foreign Journalists

The political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe attracted significant media attention. The Zimbabwean state was not pleased about such negative publicity. Consequently, the ruling party, ZANU PF adopted a well calculated strategy of harassing and banning Western media houses from operating in Zimbabwe as its modus operandi for suppressing negative reports and pictures about Zimbabwe's Crisis. This strategy witnessed the arrest and expulsion of foreign journalists, particularly from the US, Europe, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia.

Willem (2011:93) notes that, in July 2001, the government suspended all accreditation of *BBC* correspondents in Zimbabwe. In the same vein, Butcher (2001) reported that: "President Robert Mugabe's government has banned the *BBC* from sending journalists to Zimbabwe a month after the regime forced the Harare correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* to leave." Apart from the *BBC* and *The Telegraph, France 24*, *CNN*, *Sky News*, *Reuters* and *Aljazeera* among others, were also not welcome in the country. The banning, expulsion and sometimes the destruction of journalists' cameras and pictures that occurred in Zimbabwe is related to iconoclasm which Mitchell (2015) defines as the destruction or suppression of images for religious and political purposes.

The persecution and expulsion of journalists from Zimbabwe seem to have created zeal and curiosity by their counterparts to cover the political and economic crisis in the country. Willems (2011:94) concurs with this perspective and notes that:

> Despite the government's refusal to accredit *BBC* correspondents, the broadcaster still managed to produce at least seven documentaries on the country, apart from regular feature stories on the news. According to a report published by a *BBC* watchdog, out of 48 documentaries shown on the *BBC* from November 2000 to January 2004, Zimbabwe received most attention with seven documentaries. Zimbabwe came after the Israel/Palestine conflict which was covered in 16 documentaries. Apart from regular news features, programmes like *Correspondent*, *Panorama*, *Hard Talk* and *Breakfast with Frost* carried several editions on Zimbabwe. Most documentaries were made by reporters not officially accredited by the Zimbabwean authorities. Both John Sweeney and Fergal Keane came to Zimbabwe on tourist visas which further seemed to dramatize the content of programmes.

Local media houses and journalists were also not spared from the state policy of aggression against journalists and media houses. In 2001 and in a classic and textbook example of iconoclasm, *The Daily News* premises were bombed by suspected state security agents (*BBC News*, 2001 January 28). Due to the bombing; printing equipment, newspapers, and cameras were destroyed. The same daily paper's licence was later cancelled. Such aggression against the private and independent media also contributed to the country's negative coverage at a local level. Also, local and international journalist worked in conjunction to "externalise" Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis.

### 4.1.5 Controversial and Inflammatory Rhetoric

Another issue which attracted attention of the media in relation to Zimbabwe is confrontational rhetoric by then President, Robert Mugabe and other senior government officials. This venomous rhetoric was directed against the so-called internal and external "detractors." Opposition leaders, especially the late Morgan Tsvangirai, civic society, students and church leaders were the perceived internal enemies who became victims of such vitriolic language. Perceived external detractors were the US and its Western allies. Such hate speech and foul rhetoric attracted significant media attention around the world. Funerals, political rallies, and international forums such at the African Union (AU) and the UN General Assembly, among others, became fertile grounds for the articulation of such violent rhetoric and hate speech.

Former Zimbabwe's President, Robert Mugabe has been accused of inciting violence against his opponents. For instance, Makumbe (2009) refer to Mugabe's speech where he threatened that those who tried to cause disunity among Zimbabweans must watch out because death was

going to befall them. Furthermore, since 2000, white Zimbabweans have been subjected to name calling and racial slurs by the former President of Zimbabwe. For instance, Gatsheni (2009: 1151) notes that: "The white settlers, many of them born in Zimbabwe, found themselves described as 'amabhunu/Boers' rather than citizens. Citizenship was redefined in nativist terms that excluded white races."[12] Robert Mugabe is once said: "The only man you can trust is a dead white man" (*Independent*, 2014, February 21). Such remarks which carried international headlines were not only racist but also incited violence against white Zimbabweans. As a result of Mugabe's racist behaviour, Archbishop of York, Dr John Sentamu labelled him "the worst kind of racist dictator" and likened him to former Ugandan dictator, Idi Amin (*BBC*, 2007, September 17). Moreover, *BBC* (2014, July 3) quotes Mugabe saying whites should not own any land in Zimbabwe and they should go back to Europe. Consequently, Anand (2007) labelled Mugabe a "racist." What is important to this study is the media attention and public outcry that was attracted by Mugabe's obnoxious rhetoric.

Mugabe once boasted that he holds degrees in violence (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009:1149). In a shocking comparison, Mugabe once likened himself to Adolf Hitler. "I am still the Hitler of the time…" (*Independent*, 2014, February 21; *BBC*, 2008, December 12; *CNN*, 2001, June 5; Hentoff, 2012). The United States "accused Zimbabwe's government of unleashing a new wave of violence against the opposition, which it said was incited when President Robert Mugabe compared himself to Adolf Hitler" (*The Mail & Guardian Online*, March 25, 2003; Hentoff, 2012). In 2008, before the 27 June presidential election, in remarks that shocked the world, former President Mugabe threatened that ZANU PF could not be removed from power through an X (through voting or an election) because it is the party that fought for independence (*The Sunday Mail* 19 June 2008 cited in Zinyama, 2009). Such remarks attracted widespread media attention and condemnation at home and abroad.

Other top government officials during the same period also used confrontational rhetoric. The late Vice-President Joseph Msika, cited by *The Manica Post* (20 June 2008) in Zinyama (2009:141) remarked:

> Tsvangirai is a traitor. I came here to warn you about the machinations of the Rhodesians and their imperialist allies who we dislodged through the protracted armed struggle, but now they intend to come back using one of our fellow Zimbabweans Tsvangirai, as their running dog-

---

[12] Boers/*Amabhunu* is a derogatory word that was used to describe white commercial farmers during the colonial period.

*chimbwasungata*. If you vote for Tsvangirai on June 27, you are voting for the former Rhodesians and thus you are voting for war.

Similarly, during the 2008 elections, Samuel Mumbengegwi, former Finance Minister said: "This is up to you; if you want peace, you should vote for us. If you vote for the MDC, we will go to war" (Zinyama, 2012:141). Moreover, Masunungure (2009:85) cites Army Chief of Staff Major-General Martin Chedondo who addressed soldiers: "Soldiers are not apolitical. Only mercenaries are apolitical. We have signed and agreed to fight and protect the ruling party's principles of defending the revolution. If you have other thoughts, then you should remove that uniform. This is a choice with no choice. It's either you vote for war or peace." Even during the 2002 Presidential elections, the former Commissioner of Police, Augustine Chihuri said: "To this end, let it be known that the highest office in the land is a 'straitjacket' whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will, therefore, not accept, let alone support or salute anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty" (Masunungure, 2009). Such violent rhetoric was widely reported by the international media.

### 4.1.6   Operation Restore Order/*Murambatsvina*

Another incident which put Zimbabwe under international media limelight is Operation Restore Order that was popularly referred to in Shona language as *Murambatsvina.*[13] Operation Restore Order was a government policy that was meant to "clean up" the cities in order to combat crime, diseases and overcrowding. The operation in question began on the 19th of May 2005 and involved the demolition of what the government termed "illegal structures" across all cities in Zimbabwe. Operation Restore Order was implemented by municipal police in cahoots with the Zimbabwe Republic Police. As a result, a significant number of urban dwellers lost their homes, were displaced and their livelihoods went up in smoke. In fact, the United Nations (2005:8) pegs the number of people who lost their homes and livelihoods at 700 000. This is a significant number especially when it is borne in mind that Zimbabwe's population is about 14 million.

---

[13] Murambatsvina is a Shona word which means cleaning the dirt. The word was used as a code name of an operation that was implemented in 2005 by the government of Zimbabwe to destroy "illegal structures" (houses, tuckshops, schools etc). The UN Nations (2005) pegs the number of those who lost their homes and livelihoods through this "Clean-Up Campaign" at 700 000.

**Picture E**



A family in Harare carries a wardrobe after the destruction of their home by local government security agents during "Operation Murambatsvina" in July 2005 (*BBC*, 2005).

Operation Restore Order went viral on international news. Examples of reports linked to this incident came from the *BBC* (2005, July 26), *Aljazeera* (2005, June 8), *The New York Times* (2005, June 11), and *CNN* (2006, December 19), among others.


## 4.2   Conclusion

This chapter traced events and incidents associated with the pictures under study. As such, the (often violent) fast-track land reform programme, political and electoral violence, persecution of journalists, Operation Restore Order/*Murambatsvina*, government officials' obnoxious rhetoric and economic meltdown and inflation were discussed. An overview of these events and incidents was important considering the fact that they are the ones which attracted local, regional and international media attention on Zimbabwe and the subsequent proliferation of pictures, including the "iconic" pictures which this study focused on.

## Chapter 5: Iconology, Image Science and Iconic Pictures

## 5 Introduction

The last chapter focused on international media's attention on Zimbabwe's Crisis and the subsequent emergence of pictures, including the iconic pictures selected for this study. Taking a leaf from image science/*Bildwissenschaft* and using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis which falls under "critical iconology," this chapter studies eight (still) iconic pictures and two videos (moving pictures) related to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. The iconic status of the pictures in question was established by putting into consideration perspectives of different scholars on the characteristics or central features that define iconic images. Also, respondents were asked to list what they believed were iconic pictures related to Zimbabwe's Crisis. Accordingly, the respondents' list of iconic pictures was blended and tallied with the list of pictures selected due to their iconic characteristics according to scholars to reach the criterion that was used for the final selection. The iconic pictures analysed in this chapter were drawn from *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *France 24 English* and *CNN*. Importantly, online archives, websites, YouTube and live streaming sites associated with the above-mentioned international television news channels played a vital role in terms of provision of the selected iconic pictures. The researcher analysed the iconic pictures in question using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis in order to deduce their meaning and to subtly and tacitly compare the results with the respondents' interpretation of the same pictures.

## 5.1 Distinction between a Picture and an Image

Oftentimes, the terms "image" and "picture" are used interchangeably, even by scholars and intellectuals, to refer to one and the same thing. However, scholars such as Mitchell (1986; 2015) make a clear distinction between the two. Mitchell (2015:6) observes that: "You can hang a picture, but you can't hang an image." Therefore, a picture is tangible whereas an image is an intangible or a "metaphysical" object, hence, Mitchell (2015:6) adds that a picture is a material object, a thing you can burn or break or tear whereas an image survives the destruction of a picture (in memory, in narratives, in copies and traces in other media). Thus, images could exist in memory and verbal narratives, hence, their capacity to survive physical destruction. An example cited by some scholars, including Mitchell (2015:6), of how images survive destruction, is the Israelites' Golden Calf which was destroyed in a classic case of iconoclasm but survived in memory, verbal narratives and pictorial depictions. Michael Taussig in Mitchell (2015) argues that the destruction of material images (including pictures) is a sure way of

guaranteeing them an even more potent presence in memory, or as reincarnated in new forms, hence the fundamental law of the physics of the images which states that images cannot be destroyed.

In his presentation, Mitchell (2012) noted that an image is "imaginary, speculative and metaphorical" and "something that appears in the picture, something that could be copied from the picture, remembered, transmitted into a different medium." Therefore, unlike pictures that can be destroyed, images could live on as memories and verbal narratives for centuries like the famous Golden Calf in the Bible. Also, pictures are part of a broader family of images as elucidated by Mitchell (1986:9): "We speak of pictures, statues, optical illusions, maps, diagrams, dreams, hallucinations, spectacles, projections, poems, patterns, memories, and even ideas as images." In short, pictures are material and tangible objects that can be destroyed whereas images are intangible, metaphorical and subjective entities. Also, pictures belong to the broader family of images.

## 5.2    Marotzki and Stoetzer's Model of Pictorial Analysis

This section analyses the iconic pictures selected for this study using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis.[14] The model in question is applied in line with the dictums of image science and iconology. Mitchell (2013) views iconology as basically the study of images and how they affect us, which this makes the above-mentioned model important considering the fact that it deals with the study of images (including pictures). Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model is also "systematic" as it contains four clearly defined steps of studying images. Therefore, the "systematic" nature of the model dovetails with image science/*Bildwissenschaft*, which according to Mitchell (2015), is opposed to a general and unsystematic approach to the study of images. This section is divided into two distinct parts. The first part deals with the study of eight (still) pictures whereas the second part focuses on two moving pictures (videos). The pictures in question, which were selected due to their iconicity, were extracted from online platform of the *BBC*, *CNN*, *France 24 English* and *Aljazeera English*. Some of the pictures were made available by correspondents.

In order to comprehend Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis, it is important to highlight the work of Panofsky (1939) as the former borrowed heavily from the latter. Panofsky's (1939) model of describing and analysing art work consists of three stages:

---

[14] Marotzki and Stoetzers' (2006) work is written in the German language and some important parts of it (especially the four stages) were translated by Heinrich and Stahl (2013).

(1) primary or natural subject matter; (2) secondary or conventional subject matter; and (3) intrinsic meaning or content. Also known as the pre-iconographic stage, Panofsky (1939:5) describes the first stage of analysis as concerned with "identifying pure forms" from a work of art. This stage is mainly about the identification and naming of features from a work of art. In Panofsky's (1939:6) words, the second stage which he also calls the "iconographic analysis" is concerned about "subject matter as opposed to form." The last stage, known as iconological interpretation, is concerned about "ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion-- unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work" (Panofsky, 1939:7). This stage involves the synthesis of the image or work of art in relation to the period, religion, race, gender, political situation, race etc.

Marotziki and Stoetzer's (2006) model is a modification of Panofsky's method and it includes *mise-en-scene* which Panofsky has often been accused of having overlooked in his work. Thus, Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) is a four-layered model of pictorial description and analysis. Heinrich and Stahl (2013:9) aptly observe that Marotzki and Stoetzer "have advanced Panofsky's iconological method by integrating findings from film studies; hence their model seems particularly well suited to deal with pictorial analyses of social situations." Therefore, such a model is suitable for the study of the iconic pictures selected for this study considering that they depict a political and socio-economic condition. Also, the model is related to film studies and pictures (still and moving) play an important role to that end. The model by Marotzki and Stoetzer (2006) is written in the German language and some important parts of it were translated by Heinrich and Stahl (2013). The four levels of analysis in the model are; (1) denotation/*Objektebene*; (2) connotation/*Ordnung der Objekte*; (3) *mise-en-scene*/orchestration and (4) synthesis. Below is an explanation of the four levels of analysis in the model:

i.      **Denotation**

Heinrich and Stahl (2013:6) notes that this simple requires a simple description of what can be seen on the picture without reflecting on any deeper context knowledge. Marotzki and Stoetzer (2006:17) cited in Heinrich and Stahl (2013:6) notes that this stage is about the identification of the most evident objects on the picture. In short, the denotation stage is basically about describing what one sees on an image or work of art without any analysis or giving of background knowledge.

ii.     **Connotation**

Heinrich and Stahl (2013:6) note that in this step, the culturally specific meaning is crucial and give an example of a man with a black suit which could be interpreted as for business or funeral purposes. In addition to that, connotation also involves the cultural symbolism portrayed in the image.

iii.    *Mise-en-scene*

This stage mainly deals with the "technical" aspects of the picture. Heinrich and Stahl (2013:6) note that this stage is "devoted to how the objects are placed." Correspondingly, Ignatowitsch and Stahl (2015:10) note that this level:

> Essentially deals with three determinants- colour, line and form yet including open and closed forms, image limitations, image framings, "margins," foreground-middle, ground- background, dominance of lines, forms, symmetries, image divisions, position of the object/figure to each other, sharpness, depth of focus, colour codes, light and lighting. In addition, we include the camera distance (e.g. close-up, long shot, panorama) and the perspective (e.g. line of sight angle, horizontal angle) as well as the interaction of the pictured objects with the viewer (e.g. eye contact).

Thus, the *mise-en-scene* deals with an array of "technical" aspects of the photograph. Iganatowitsch and Stahl (2015:12) note that Panofsky is often accused of neglecting this stage as it is missing in his model.

iv.    **Synthesis**

The fourth level of analysis in the model is the synthesis stage. The final step of image interpretation finally carves out "the societal content of the image" (Ignatowitsch and Stahl, 2015:12). This stage is associated with the socio-historical context of the picture. Furthermore, Marotzki and Stoetzer (2006:26) note that at this stage, "The image therefore gets a meaning, which can be accounted as a person, an environment, and a society, or culture bound, historically contingent mentality" (Ignatowitsch and Stahl, 2015:12). The following section involves the application of Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis to the pictures under investigation.

### 5.2.1  Zimbabwe Crisis' Pictures and Moritzki and Stoetzer's Model

Zimbabwe's Crisis gave birth to iconic pictures in the media. This section seeks to analyse such pictorial imagery using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model. The iconic pictures in question are drawn from the *BBC*, *Aljazeera English*, *France 24 English* and *CNN*. Some of the pictures are digital material from correspondents of the above-mentioned news stations.  The first part

of this section deals with eight (still) pictures whereas the second part deals with two moving pictures (videos).

**Picture F**



Terry Ford's body after his assassination by suspected state security agents and ZANU PF militias at his Gowrie farm in Norton outside Harare on 18 March 2002(*CNN*, 2002)

### i.      Denotation

Picture F shows an object on the ground covered with what looks like a white sheet. Next to the big object is another small object which is white and brown in colour. There is also another white smaller object next to the bigger object. In the background is a brownish physical barrier. The ground, which is brown in colour, is also visible in the photograph. There is a small black line on the margins of the photograph. Also, on the bottom-right corner of the image are words which read "(CNN)". The whole picture is mostly dim although there is some small light in the middle-right side of the image.

### ii.     Connotation

The object covered with a white sheet in photograph F is the dead body of Terry Ford after his assassination by suspected state security agents in Zimbabwe at the height of the land reform programme in March 2002. Terry Ford was a Zimbabwean commercial farmer of European descent. Ford's body is covered in a blue sheet although the colour appears to be black in the photograph. Next to Ford's dead body is his dog which was his closest pet.

The fact that Ford's dead body is left lying on the ground shows disrespect for the dead. This largely contradicts both African and European values that emphasize on treating the dead with utmost respect and dignity. Importantly, as shall be discussed in chapter six of this thesis,

picture F has become a symbol of the violence, human rights violations and racial profiling that was associated with the land reform programme in Zimbabwe. Also, Picture F depicts murder which is generally considered as the gravest form of violence.

### iii.    *Mise-en-scene*

Picture F was captured to reveal the gravity of violence during the land reform programme in Zimbabwe. Terry Ford's dog seated next to his body stirs deep emotions and it is such emotions and violence that the photographer sought to relay to the viewers. In terms clarity, Picture F is blurred and not very clear which could be in line with the prevailing camera technology at that time. The small light on the right side of the picture shows that the picture was taken during the day and not night or cloudy day. Also, the picture has a black lining on the margins which shows that it was edited probably by the photographer. In addition to that, the words "(CNN)" on the bottom right of the picture are also a clear sign of editing of the photograph. Furthermore, Ford's body is not fully captured in the photograph. It is cut on the bottom right corner of the photo and this could mean that the photograph was taken from a very close range where it was impossible to capture the whole body due to the angle and position of the camera.

### iv.    **Synthesis**

This picture which was broadcasted by *CNN* (2002, 18 March) and was taken in 2002 during the fast-track land reform programme in Zimbabwe. Ford was shot in the head and killed in his farm just outside Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe. The image of Terry Ford's dead body shows the violence that was associated with the fast track- land reform programme which was launched by Zimbabwe's ruling party (ZANU PF) in 2000. In addition to that, Ford is part of the 10 white commercial farmers who were killed in Zimbabwe from 2000 to 2002 (*The Telegraph*, 2002, March 19). The fact that he was killed by suspected state security agents also portrays an image of lawlessness, lack of rule of law and state brutality in Zimbabwe. Most white commercial farmers were also targeted because they were accused of being associated with the opposition MDC party.

**Picture G**



A white commercial farmer holds her two children during the seizure of her farm by ZANU PF militias during the Fast-Track Land Reform programme in Zimbabwe ca.2002 (*BBC,* 2002).

### i.      Denotation

On the left side of the picture, is a standing woman who is holding a small child on her left arm. She is also holding the hand of another child who is standing on her own. The woman is putting on a light-blue dress and some greenish shoes. The two children whom she is holding are dressed in pink dresses and have no shoes. The woman and the children seem to be of European descent. There is a silver gate dividing the woman and the children with a group of people of African descent on the other side of the gate. The gate is locked with a huge chain. Among the group of people on the other side of the gate, five men can be clearly seen. The first man is seated and is on the bottom right corner of the picture. He is beating a drum and looking at the woman and her children. The man is putting on a greyish shirt and shorts and brown shoes. Next to the man beating a drum is another man putting on a T-shirt with maroon and blue colours. He is holding a white object on his left hand. The man is putting on brown trousers. Behind him is another man holding up an axe with his right hand. His mouth is open and he is jumping with his right leg up. He is wearing a green jacket. Additionally, he is putting on brownish trousers and white and green T-shirt inside his green jacket.

The third person in line from the man beating a drum is another man putting on a greenish cap, grey T-shirt, brown trousers and light brown shoes. His mouth is open and he is lifting his clenched fist with his left hand and appears to be dancing. Next to him is another man with a yellow jacket, white-T-shirt, blue trousers and black shoes. He is looking at his left side. Furthermore, next to him is a woman with a red head tie, light blue skirt and a white blouse. Her mouth is open. Next to the afore-described woman is another woman with a purple dress and whitish head tie. She appears to be dancing.

Behind the afore-described individuals appears only a head of a woman wearing a colourful head tie and another one with also a colourful head tie, white blouse and a skirt with black and greyish colours. On the upper right of the picture appear two hands of people who are not fully captured in the photograph. The background of the picture consists of green vegetation with grass and trees. The ground is also visible in the picture.

## ii.       Connotation

Picture G captures a scene of an eviction from a farm of a Zimbabwean commercial farmer of European descent by Zimbabweans of African ancestry. To some extent, Picture G carries certain aspects that are symbolic. The drum in picture G is a symbol of African culture and is significant in the context of Zimbabwean culture. In Zimbabwe, a drum is usually used in both good and sad times. Drums are beaten at funerals, weddings, parties, African religious ceremonies and churches, among other settings. In picture G, the man beating a drum could signal a celebration that they were about to take over the farm from its owners or it could be used a threat especially when it is borne in mind that drums are beaten at funerals particularly in the cultural context of Shona culture.

In addition, some of the people in the picture are displaying clenched fists. A clenched fist is the ruling party, ZANU PF's symbol. Initially, it symbolised the fight against colonial domination. The clenched fist is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology that was used by ZANU PF and ZIPRA military wings as the guiding ideology during the fight against colonialism. Thus, the clenched fist could be viewed as a communist symbol. The clenched fist is also associated with the ruling party's violence especially against political opponents, a view that is in harmony with the scenario in Picture G. The axe in the photo could also be described as a symbol of violence. Moreover, one could say that the gate separating the woman (together with her children) and the group on the other side of the gate could also symbolise the racial

segregation that was experienced during the colonial period, which also resurfaced during the land reform programme.

### iii.    *Mise-en-scene*

A closer look at picture G would reveal that the photographer who shot this image was inside the gate, on the side where the woman with her two children were. This is also the reason why the photographer managed to capture the faces of the individuals who had come to seize the farm. Also, it seems the photographer focused more on capturing the woman and the armed individuals on the other side of the gate and this could be the reason why some people partly appear on the picture. The picture is also a bit dim, blurred and not very clear which could be explained by the quality of the photographing device that was used. However, it is most likely that the picture was taken during the day considering the sufficiency of the light.

### iv.    Synthesis

Picture G was taking in the early 2000s during the fast-track land reform programme in Zimbabwe. The woman in picture G is a white Zimbabwean commercial farmer and she is with her two children trying to avert the invasion of her farm by a group of ZANU PF supporters consisting mainly of war veterans and youth militias. The picture is also an indication of the trying times the white commercial farmers went through. The fact that she is defencelessly standing with two children (who look very scared) against a group of armed and potentially violent farm invaders shows the gravity of violence and lawlessness that characterised the land reform programme in Zimbabwe. Apart from the man wielding an axe, the singing, chanting, and dancing by ZANU PF supporters aims at intimidating the farm owners. This picture cements the widely-held view that the land reform programme in Zimbabwe was largely chaotic and associated with gross human rights violations. Such a view is shared by scholars such as Makumbe (2006; 2009); Bratton and Masunungure (2011); Gatsheni (2009) and Ndlela (2005), among others. Moreover, the photograph is also practical evidence of the intimidation and human rights violations in the country which is in line with what some respondents said in the sixth chapter of this thesis.

**Photograph H**



Late MDC President, Morgan Tsvangirai (middle [front row]) with other opposition leaders in front of the Harare Magistrate Court after their brutal attack by the police at a rally in Highfields (Harare) on 11 March 2007 (*BBC* (2007)/Brian Hungwe).

### i.    Denotation

Photograph H shows a group of sad looking men and a woman walking down the steps. In the photograph in question, leading the group, are three men. One of the three men in the middle has a swollen face and a partly shaven head. The upper part of his shirt is not buttoned. Next to him, on the right side of the picture, putting on a blue shirt is a man with a white bandage around his head and right arm. The man in question is also putting on some spectacles. The third man on the left side of the picture is dressed in all black: black suit, black T-shirt and black beret. Behind these three men, one can see three individuals dressed in what appears to be uniforms that are blue in colour. They are also putting on helmets with transparent masks. A woman among the three individuals on uniform has handcuffs dangling on her right hip. Besides the three men on the front row and the three uniformed individuals; there are five more men in the picture whose faces are also clearly visible. On the upper left and right of the photograph are metal rods-like structures like a prison cage. There is a face that also appears

behind the metal rods on the upper left side of the picture. A door and two pillars at the background of the photograph are also visible.

### ii. Connotation

The individual with a swollen face, shaven head and unbuttoned shirt is the late Morgan Tsvangirai, the leader of the Zimbabwean opposition party, Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). He was also the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe in a power sharing arrangement with former President Robert Mugabe from 2009 to 2013. The man in bandages on the right side of Morgan Tsvangirai is Lovemore Madhuku, a Law Professor and Lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe. He is currently the leader of the opposition political party called the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA).

The man dressed in black is Professor Arthur Mutambara, former President of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-M). He is the former Deputy Prime Minister of Zimbabwe from 2009 to 2013. The three individuals in uniform are members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). They are from the riot department as evidenced by their helmets. In a golf T-shirt, standing right behind Morgan Tsvangirai, is the current MDC-T President, Nelson Chamisa. Next to Chamisa, in a red and stripped golf T-shirt is Job Sikhala the former MDC Secretary for Defence and the current Deputy National chairperson. He is also a Member of the Zimbabwean Parliament. Photograph H was taken at the Harare Magistrate Court in March 2007 after the brutal attack of the individuals in the picture by state security agents at a rally in Highfields.

The dressing of Arthur Mutambara in all black in photograph H is symbolic in the sense that in African and even in Western culture, black clothing is sometimes put on during funerals. Mutambara's all black attire could signify the dearth of the rule of law and democracy in Zimbabwe. Mutambara's beret is synonymous to socialism and is associated with figures such as Thomas Sankara, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, among others. The riot police in the picture are symbolic to police brutality and oppression in Zimbabwe. In the same vein, Tsvangirai's battered face in photograph H also symbolises state violence and oppression. It is therefore not surprising why *The Economist* (2007, March 15) describes Tsvangirai's battered and swollen face in the picture as "the face of oppression."

### iii. *Mise-en-scene*

The photo in question was undoubtedly taken from the front of the group. The photographer managed to capture the faces of the group which means that it is most likely that the photographer was in the middle position when he/she took the photograph. In addition to that, the photographer seems to have taken the photograph from a close range as evidenced by the photo which shows the upper half of the photographed individuals. It is also possible that the photographer concentrated on the upper parts of the photographed individuals to show the injuries specifically on their heads and hands. Also, it is possible that the photographer zoomed the individuals in the photograph from a distant position. The photograph is also of high quality as evidenced by its clarity. The superior quality could be directly proportionate to the quality of the camera that was used to take the photograph. From the lighting, one could tell that the photograph was taken during the day.

### iv.    Synthesis

Picture H was captured on 13 March 2017 after Morgan Tsvangirai, Lovemore Madhuku, Arthur Mutambara and other civic society and opposition figures like Grace Kwinjeh and Sekai Holland were savagely attacked by members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police on 11 March 2007 in Highfields (Harare). The attack took place during the Save Zimbabwe Campaign prayer gathering which the police declared illegal and physically attacked its organisers. One NCA activist, Gift Tandare was shot dead during the attack. After the attack, Tsvangirai, Madhuku, Mutambara, Grace Kwinjeh, Sekai Holland and others, were arrested for breaching peace and photograph H was shot by a *BBC* correspondent as the accused left the court room at the Harare Magistrates Court in Zimbabwe.

Moreover, photograph H became an iconic image with regards to human rights violations and rule of law deficiency in Zimbabwe. In light of picture H, Bratton and Masunungure (2011) note that the pictorial depiction of the violence suffered by Morgan Tsvangirai and his colleagues, evoked an international outcry, not only from the governments of Great Britain, the European Union and the United States, but also from the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

Morgan Tsvangirai's image shown in photograph H became iconic particularly due to his political stature in national and global politics. Importantly, the image H reflects state of brutality, lack of rule of law and the shrinking democratic space during that time and up to the present moment in Zimbabwe. An observation also reveals that Picture H became viral, was

repeatedly broadcasted by various media houses and caused public outcry. These are essential features of an iconic image, hence, the iconic status associated with Picture H.

**Photograph I**



MDC President, Nelson Chamisa after his savage attack on his way to Brussels by suspected state security agents at the Harare International Airport on 18 March 2007 (*BBC*, 2007).

### i.      Denotation

Picture I shows a man with a bloodied face. His eyes are closed as if he is either asleep or dead. The man in question is leaning against a white pillow and is wearing a blood-stained whitish shirt and a black jacket. The photo only shows the upper part of the man's body. The man is facing upwards. A white background is also visible on the upper right part of the photo. Photograph I has a black line on its margins and the words "AP" appear on the lower right corner.

### ii.      Connotation

The man on the photograph above is Nelson Chamisa, the current President of the opposition Movement for Democratic. Chamisa is also the former Minister for Information Communication Technology. The photograph was taken in March 2007 at a private hospital in Harare after Chamisa's brutal attack at the then Harare International Airport by suspected state

security operatives. Despite the severity of the physical attack, Chamisa survived. In Picture I, Chamisa appears as if he is dead especially considering that his eyes are closed, he is facing upwards and his face is bloodied. Chamisa's image is another symbol of state oppression in Zimbabwe during that time. Observation also reveals that Picture I has been dominant in international news especially in relation to political violence in Zimbabwe.

### iii.     *Mise-en-scene*

Photograph I is most likely to have been taken from a close range considering the fact that it shows small features like blood stains on the shirt. The photographer also captured the upper body of Nelson Chamisa which could also point to the view that the picture was taken from a close range. Also, the angle chosen by the photographer makes Chamisa to appear as if he is dead. This could have been done to stir emotions and to magnify the state of human rights violations in Zimbabwe. The quality of the photograph is also good which could show that the lighting was sufficient, and it is most likely that a technologically advanced camera device was used. The image also has a black line on the margins which shows that it was edited. In addition to that, the words "AP" on the image indicate that it was taken from the *Associated Press*. Maybe a full picture of Chamisa's body was taken and the photographer edited the original image to make it half. Moreover, from the position of Nelson Chamisa, the photographer appears to have taken the photograph from the side of the bed.

### iv.     Synthesis

The image shows the then Movement for Democratic Change Spokesperson, Member of Parliament and the current opposition MDC President, Nelson Chamisa, after he was savagely attacked at Harare International Airport on March 17, 2007. Chamisa was attacked on his way to attend an Africa Caribbean Pacific-EU meeting at the European Parliament in Belgium. *BBC* (2007, March 18) which broadcasted photograph I reported that Chamisa was attacked by eight men who fled on an unmarked car after the attack. It is important to note that Chamisa was attacked a few days after Morgan Tsvangirai, Lovemore Madhuku, Grace Kwinjeh, Sekai Holland, Gift Tandare (killed) and others were also savagely attacked by state security agents in Harare. The period in which Chamisa was attacked was a period where state brutality had reached alarming levels that attracted international condemnation from the EU, US and the African Union (*BBC*, 2007, March 18). Thus, Chamisa's image represents the targeting of opposition and civic society leaders by state security agents in Zimbabwe. The image also portrays Zimbabwe's lawlessness, violence, insecurity and impunity.

**Picture J**



Police brutalize protestors in Harare in July 2016 (*Aljazeera English* (2016)/Haru Mutasa).

### i.    Denotation

Photograph J shows three men in blue and grey uniform and another one who seems to be in the same uniform but is not clearly visible as he or she is covered in what looks like smoke. On the right side of the picture, one of the men in uniform is stepping on the head of another who is lying on the ground. The same man stepping on the head of another is also pointing a long gun to the front where another man in uniform is chasing and beating another individual with a button stick. At the centre of the image, one of the individuals in uniform is running and is carrying what looks like a transparent shield written in blue, on a white ink the word "POLICE." The same individual with a shield is also putting on a blue helmet.

In the picture, from the left side, almost a quarter of the image is covered in smoke. Moreover, on the left side also, there is a bicycle placed against what looks like a huge rock. About a quarter of the bicycle is visible on the photograph. On the background are makeshift structures made of metal sheets. There is also relatively green grass on the side of the road where the attack is taking place. On the road is an orange and round object that looks like a football.

**ii.    Connation**

The individuals in blue and grey uniform in the photograph in question are police officers from the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). The one putting on a helmet and carrying a shield written "POLICE" is from the riot section of the police. The huge smoke on the photograph is teargas that had been fired through canisters by the police officers in question. Furthermore, the police officer stepping on the head of another individual is carrying an AK47 riffle. In Africa and Zimbabwe in particular, the AK47 is usually associated with the liberation war of independence and is therefore is symbol of freedom. Ironically, in the case of picture J, the AK47 riffle is being used for the purposes of oppression by members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police. Also, police brutality shown in this image is reminiscent of colonial police brutality which was manifest during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

**iii.    *Mise-en-scene***

Photograph J appears to have been taken by someone who was neither in front nor behind of his/her target but by the side of the individuals captured in the photograph. The image was also not captured from above due to the appearance and the position of individuals in the photo. Furthermore, the photo is of high quality which could indicate that the camera device that was used is also of excellent quality. The image was most likely taken during the day considering the adequate lighting and the consequent clarity thereof.

**iv.    Synthesis**

Picture J was taken in a town called Epworth located in Harare in Zimbabwe in July 2016. The image was broadcast on *Aljazeera English* and other international media networks. Furthermore, the image was taken during a demonstration by commuter omnibus drivers and conductors against police corruption and brutality in July 2016. In response to the demonstration, police officers fired teargas, beat up protestors and shot some of them but there were no fatalities. Photograph J is associated with many instances of police brutality against the demonstrations and resistance campaigns in Zimbabwe which gained momentum in early 2016.

**Picture K**



Police officer attacks Bopoto Nyandoro on the streets of Harare during a National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) demonstration on 5 November 2005 (*BBC* (2005)/Brian Hungwe).

### i.    Denotation

Picture K shows a man who seem to be extremely furious, chasing another individual. The man being chased is putting on a black shirt with some white spots. The individual chasing the man in question is putting on a uniform that is blue and grey in colour. He seems to be attacking the man that he is chasing with a black stick. The uniformed man is also holding a blue object on his left hand. There is a short distance separating the two men. In the background is a man seated on the ground and putting on a white shirt. There are two uniformed individuals also appearing in the background: a man putting on a blue and grey uniform and another putting on a khaki uniform. There are also several people appearing in the background. In addition, there are three white pillar-like objects appearing in front of what looks like a sliding door in the background.

### ii.    Connotation

The individual being attacked in the picture is Monday Bopoto Nyadoro. He is being attacked with a button stick by an officer from the Zimbabwe Republic Police. The blue object that the officer in question is carrying on his left hand is a hat. In the background, an individual seated

on the ground has been detained by the two police officers in uniform. The picture was taken in 2005 during a demonstration for a new constitution by the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA). Observation also revealed that this image has been broadcast numerous times by regional and international media stations to show police brutality in Zimbabwe. Thus, the image is symbolic in the context of police brutality in Zimbabwe. According to Sturken and Cartwright (2009), symbolism is one of the key characteristics of an iconic image. Apart from being symbolic, Picture K also went viral, is emotional and caused public outcry which qualifies it to be classified under iconic images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis.

### iii.    Mise-en-scene

Picture K seem to have been carefully shot by the photographer in order to for it to make what Fishman (2017:1) calls a "cut." The picture was taken at the right moment as the policeman was about to thrust his button stick on the protestor. The picture in question was taken from the side of the police officer and the protestor that he is attacking. The picture has adequate light and is clear which might mean that it was taken during the day using a technologically advanced camera. Considering the violence associated with it, it is most likely that the picture in question was taken from a relatively far away distance through zooming. The black border line on the picture also serves as evidence that it was edited.

### iv.    Synthesis

The picture in question was taken in 2005 when the economic crisis in Zimbabwe was prevalent. Like other pictures described and analysed above, picture F also shows the level of police brutality and repression that existed in Zimbabwe during that time. Picture F also symbolises Zimbabwe as a police state. Many observers including Humphreys (2013) argued that Zimbabwe had become a police state where the police had unlimited power over the citizens. Therefore, Picture K is symbolic in that regard.

**Picture L**



One hundred trillion Zimbabwean dollar note during the 2008 hyperinflation period (*CNN* (2016)/Earl Nurse)

### i. Denotation

Photograph L shows a banknote. On the upper left and right of the note is the figure "100 000 000 000 000." In between the figures are words "RESERVE BANK OF ZIMBABWE." Also, on the upper left side of the note, below the number 100 000 000 000 000 are words in italics "*I promise to pay the bearer on demand*." Below the italicised words are words in block letters that read, "ONE HUNDRED TRILLION DOLLARS." Immediately after these words in the downward direction are words in italics which read, "*for the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe*." Below the words in question, is a signature which has the following words below it: "Dr. G. Gono Governor." The last words on the left side of the note in the downward direction read "HARARE 2008."

In addition to that, next to the words "Dr. G. Gono" on the left side, it is written "100 000 000 000 000." Also, on the left side of the note are letters and figures in red colour written downwards which read "AA0007512" and the same appear below a picture of what appears like a bird on the bottom corner of the note. In the middle of the picture are three huge rocks on top of each other. There is also some vegetation on the foot of the rocks. On the left side, in the middle, is a feature that appears like a brown ribbon whilst on the centre-right is a blue-ribbon feature that is diamond shaped like the previously mentioned brown ribbon. On the right bottom side are four Xs written in a downward direction. A careful and closer look reveals that

on the right side of the note is a water mark with a huge animal that looks like an elephant. The features of the note including the background are largely blue and light-blue. The brown colour also appears in the middle of the note on the background.

## ii.    Connotation

Photograph L is a picture of a one hundred trillion (100 000 000 000 000) Zimbabwean note that was released by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe during the period of hyperinflation in Zimbabwe in 2008. This was the biggest note ever released in the history of Zimbabwe which makes it a classic symbol of hyperinflation. Notably, the bird that appears on the right bottom part of the note is what is popularly known in Zimbabwe as the "Zimbabwe Bird" which is the African fish eagle. The image represents one of the eight stone carved birds that were found at Great Zimbabwe, one of Africa's oldest ruins before the country's independence in 1980. The Zimbabwe Bird is the national emblem of Zimbabwe, and it features on the national flag, coats of arms, banknotes and coins. The same emblem was also used during the colonial period in the then Southern Rhodesia. What is important to note is that this stone carved bird was found in Great Zimbabwe where the country's name, Zimbabwe, was derived from. The Zimbabwe bird is therefore a symbol of cultural heritage and national identity in Zimbabwe. It is therefore ironic that a national symbol which is generally associated with the Zimbabwe's "greatness" appears on a worthless and valueless note.

Another notable and symbolic feature in photograph L are the three rocks on top of each other also known as balancing rocks. These rocks are found in Matobo National Park near Bulawayo in Zimbabwe. Besides being a tourist resort area, the Matobo is also a place of African traditional spiritualism where some Zimbabweans practice and perform rituals related to African traditional religion (ATR). The place is also home to the famous *Njelele* "rain-making" shrine where some Zimbabweans pray for rains through ancestral spirits. Thus, the balancing rocks on the one hundred trillion-dollar note can be linked to Zimbabwean culture, African traditional religion and tourism.

## iii.    *Mise-en-scene*

The photograph seems to have been taken by a high-quality camera device considering its excellent quality and clarity. It is most likely that it was taken from a close range due to its small size which can be effectively captured from a close range. Also, it is likely that the note was captured from above while it lay on a supporting surface.

iv.     **Synthesis**

Photograph L which according to observation has repeatedly appeared in many international media stations including *CNN* (2016, May 6) is a note that was released by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe in 2008. The note was released when Dr. Gideon Gono was the Governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. The photograph is iconic because it represents the zenith of the hyperinflationary period in Zimbabwe that reached its crescendo in 2008, the same year the note in question was released. The one hundred trillion Zimbabwean dollars note in photograph L is the highest note ever to be released in the history of Zimbabwe. Moreover, photograph L is symptomatic of the prevailing inflationary environment particularly from 2006 to 2008 in Zimbabwe. A report by *France 24 English* (2017, January 20) pegged the inflation in Zimbabwe in 2008 at 80 billion percent. Mandaza (2014) notes that Zimbabwe's economic woes emanated from government corruption, IMF and World Bank's austerity measures as well as the country's economic siege through sanctions by the US and its Western allies. Therefore, the 100 trillion-dollar note is a testimony to inflation driven by the economic collapse during that time.

**Picture M**



A boy holds numerous Zimbabwean dollar notes on the streets of Harare in Zimbabwe during the country's hyperinflation period in 2008 (*Aljazeera English*, 2008).

### i.      Denotation

Photograph M shows a young boy of African descent carrying a lot of money in form of notes. A closer look at the upper and lower part of the notes reveals the number 200 000. The boy is putting on a yellow T-shirt and he is smiling. Only the upper part of the boy is shown on the picture. Next to him, on the left side of the image is a pole that is black and white in colour. On the background appears what looks like a concrete pavement and a person (with only legs visible) walking. On the upper left part of the picture appears only legs of a person putting on a grey trousers and white shoes.

### ii.      Connotation

The photograph in question was taken in Zimbabwe during the hyperinflationary period in the country in late 2000s. The boy in photograph M is carrying 200 000 Zimbabwean dollar notes that were also known as bearer cheques. The picture reflects the level of the inflation that prevailed at that time. Firstly, the fact that a young boy is carrying such a large amount of money on the streets shows how valueless the money was. Valuable money cannot be carried on the streets in enormous quantities without endangering the life of the person carrying it. Secondly, the boy's appearance (particularly in terms of dressing) shows that he is a victim of poverty, yet he is carrying piles of money. Ironically, the child is smiling amid a huge monetary and fiscal crisis that mainly affected women and children. Therefore, Picture M reveals and symbolises inflation and poverty that prevailed in Zimbabwe during that time.

### iii.      *Mise-en-scene*

From the look of the pictures, one could assume that the boy in question was aware that he was being photographed considering that he looks as if he was pausing and smiling for the camera. In addition to that, the photographer seems to have shot the photo at close range considering that it is a half photograph. The other reason why only the upper parts of the boy appear could be that the photographer was more interested on the pile of the banknotes and the boy's face more than anything else. The photograph is also clear and could have been taken with a good quality camera device. It is most likely that the photo was taken during the day considering the adequate lighting.

### iv.      Synthesis

Photograph M was taken during the hyperinflationary period (2006-2008) in the country. The photograph was taken during an era where the then Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Governor, Gideon Gono tried to sustain the economic crisis in the country by the printing of money which

fuelled hyperinflation. Photograph M falls under President Robert Mugabe's worst economic performance period which political and economic analysts have termed "Mugabenomics." In the peak of this inflationary period in 2008, inflation reached 80 billion percent (*France 24 English*, 2017, January 20). Corruption, gross incompetence as well as sanctions against Zimbabwe by the US and its Western allies contributed to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The then Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Governor, Gideon Gono's unorthodox economic managements style (especially overprinting of money) worsened the situation and heightened hyperinflation.

### 5.2.2    Moving Pictures (Videos)

This section focuses on videos depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. Accordingly, two videos from *Aljazeera English* and *France 24 English* are described and analysed. The visual imagery in question is analysed using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis. The two videos were chosen due to their familiarity among the respondents and according to the characteristics of iconic images.  Also, the two videos are also extensive in covering the political crisis in Zimbabwe. The (still) iconic pictures discussed in the previous section also feature prominently in the two videos, hence, their iconicity.


**Video A**

**i.    Denotation**

Video A was published by Aljazeera English (2010, April 15) and is entitled: "The Rageh Omaar Report: Zimbabwe - State of Denial." The video, which is 47 minutes and 57 seconds long, is a documentary that was done by *Aljazeera English's* Correspondent, Rageh Omaar. The video begins by showing the afore-mentioned correspondent's face and a note book written in capital letters, "THE RAGEH OMAAR REPORT." The correspondent highlights that although Zimbabwe got independence after a brutal war; opposition or dissent is still crushed by the government. The video then shows individuals in grey and blue uniform engaged in running battles with what looks like protesters. The armed individuals in uniform are throwing teargas and some of them are viciously attacking people with button sticks in what looks like a police vehicle.

Moments later, the video shows a group of African men and women carrying logs, clubs and metal rods and one of them telling some white people that Zimbabwe is for black people not for whites. The place where this is happening looks like a farm. Later, in what looks like a

formal meeting, the video shows a white man violently pushing down a black man and saying in Shona language "wandijairira" (You took me for granted). Another black man tries to restrain him but he also violently pushes him and falls down as well.

A while later, frail and sick looking individuals are shown being pushed in wheelbarrows into what looks like a hospital. Afterwards, the narrator mentions the 2008 political violence in Zimbabwe and 13 badly injured victims of political violence are shown. The video further shows a group of people attacking others in a big open space that looks like a football field. The attackers are armed with huge sticks and the beatings are thorough. Thereafter, the narrator shows a Zimbabwean 50-million-dollar banknote and explains how worthless it is. The video further shows lots of notes being counted by a machine as well as people carrying vast amounts of banknotes.

Furthermore, the narrator starts talking about the genocide that was perpetrated by the government in Matabeleland and Midlands from 1983 to 1987. And numerous dead and decomposing bodies are then shown. The reporter then mentions the 1997 riots in Zimbabwe and shows individuals dressed in blue and grey uniform brutally attacking what looks like protestors. One individual is struck on the head with a baton stick and collapses and wakes up seconds later profusely bleeding from the head.

In addition to that, the video shows a group of men armed with logs breaking into compounds and setting homesteads ablaze. The individuals are chanting and armed with axes, clubs, metal bars and logs. Momentarily, a man addressing this group of armed individuals is shown saying they will remain in that place until they die. In the same breath, a white man is being forced to perform what looks like a slogan. Moments later, the video shows a person lying on the ground looking as if he is dead and is wrapped in a white cloth. The video also shows more white persons who are heavily injured and some of them looking as if they are dead.

Afterwards, the video shows men offloading sacks inscribed with an American flag from a huge haulage truck. Furthermore, the video shows African men armed with clubs, axes, logs and metal bars chanting and chasing away a white person who is in a car that is leaving a certain homestead. Afterwards, an African man with a group of fellow African men is shown in what looks like a confrontation with white individuals. Moments later the reporter talks about the 2008 electoral violence and shows a woman being savagely beaten by a group of people. The woman is injured on the head and her clothes have some blood stains. Afterwards, the video repeats the scenario of what looks like a formal meeting where one white man is exchanging

harsh words with an African man and he pushes him over and when another man tries to restrain him, he pushes him down and he falls down as well. Moments later, the video shows seven badly injured persons and the narrator mentions that they are victims of the 2008 political violence.

## ii.       Connotation

The documentary in question shows Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis and was made and narrated by *Aljazeera English* correspondent, Rageh Omaar in Zimbabwe in 2010. The individuals in blue and grey uniform that are attacking people and throwing teargas in the beginning of the video are members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police who are attacking protestors on the streets of Harare during the 1997 jobs and food riots. Furthermore, a group of African men and women carrying logs, clubs and metal rods with one of them telling some white people that Zimbabwe is for black people are war veterans and ZANU PF youths who were forcefully taking away farms from white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe during the land reform programme in 2002. This scene was taken from a farm that was being invaded.

 The white man violently pushing down a black man and saying in Shona language "wandijairira" (You took me for granted) is the late former Movement for Democratic Change Treasurer General, Roy Bennet. The clip shows a hotly heated 2004 parliamentary debate in which Roy Bennet pushed down Patrick Chinamasa, the former Minister of Finance in Zimbabwe. In addition to that, the people that are being pushed in wheelbarrows into a certain institution are patients being pushed into a hospital.

The 13 badly injured individuals shown on the video are victims of the 2008 electoral violence and torture. Correspondingly, the people that that are being attacked in what looks like a football stadium are supporters of the opposition MDC who were attacked by supporters of the ruling party ZANU PF during the 2008 violent elections. Furthermore, the narrator shows the inflationary environment in Zimbabwe by showing a 50 million dollar note, a machine counting numerous notes and people carrying stakes of money in Zimbabwe.

The numerous dead and decomposed bodies of the people that are shown are from victims of the Gukurahundi genocide which took place from 1982 to 1987 in Matabeleland and Midlands provinces of Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the video clip repeated by the narrator shows the 1997 riots in Zimbabwe and the individuals shown in blue and grey uniform are Zimbabwe Republic Police members brutally attacking protestors and striking one individual on the head with a

baton stick in the process. This attack happened at Harare gardens in Harare. Moreover, a group of chanting men armed with logs, metal bars, axes and clubs who are breaking into compounds and setting the houses ablaze are war veterans led by Joseph Chinotimba, a war veteran leader of the liberation struggle and current Member of the Zimbabwean Parliament.

The person shown moments later who is lying on the ground and wrapped in a white cloth is Terry Ford after his assassination by suspected state security agents and war veterans at his farm outside Harare in March 2002. Terry Ford was a Zimbabwean commercial farmer of European descent. More white persons who are heavily injured in the video are Zimbabwean commercial farmers after their brutalisation by war veterans and supporters of the ruling party, ZANU PF during the period of farm invasions.

The video clip that is shown afterwards which shows men offloading sacks inscribed with an American flag from a huge haulage truck are maize sack donations from USAID meant for the alleviation of hunger in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the African men armed with clubs, axes, logs and metal bars chanting and chasing away a white person who is in a car that is leaving a certain homestead are war veterans who had evicted a white commercial farmer from his farm. The African man shown afterwards with a group of other armed African men in a confrontation with white individuals is the former Anglican Bishop, Nobert Kunonga during a farm invasion. Mr Kunonga is a staunch supporter of the ruling party, ZANU PF in Zimbabwe. The woman shown after the Kunonga saga is a victim of the 2008 electoral violence. The narrator also repeats the attack of Patrick Chinamasa by Roy Bennet in parliament in 2004. The seven badly injured persons shown afterwards are victims of the 2008 political violence and one of them is Morgan Tsvangirai, the leader of the opposition MDC and former Prime Minister of Zimbabwe during the government of national unity (GNU) which existed between 2009 and 2013. Morgan Tsvangirai was brutally assaulted by police together with civic society and opposition leaders in March 2007. The image of Morgan Tsvangirai is one of the iconic pictures dealt with in the previous section of this chapter.

**iii.** *Mise-en-scene*

The most dominant feature in the video is the use of pre-recorded moving and still pictures from as early as the time of Matabeleland and Midlands genocide (1982-1987) to pictures of the 2008 electoral violence. The Video clip showing running battles between the police and the protestors during the 1997 riots was taken from a close range as this is revealed at one point

when the policeman attempts to cover the screen of the camera to stop the camera man(woman) from filming police brutality.

Another dominant feature in the video is the use of metapictures. This is mainly shown when still pictures of victims of the 2008 violence and farm seizure are shown in the video through another television in the television. Mitchell (2015:27) defines metapictures as "images of images" and notes that metapictures "appear whenever an image appears inside another image, whenever a picture presents a scene of depiction or appearance of an image, as when a painting appears on a wall in a movie or a television set shows up a as a prop in a television show" (Mitchell, 2015:18-19). Therefore, there is use of metapictures in video A.

Furthermore, the pictures showing victims of the 2008 electoral violence and farm seizures seem to have been taken from a close range considering how vivid they are. Some were taken from behind and in front of the victims. Some of the pictures were taken by the bedsides whilst others only show the injured part of the body. It is also possible that these pictures could have been zoomed from afar. Dead and decomposing bodies filmed during the Gukurahundi genocide were also likely to be filmed from a close range considering the clarity and quality of the pictures. The images of people being beaten up at the Harare Show Ground appear to have been taken from above: most likely from a tall building as the images show the aerial view of the scene. Another part of the video which shows an aerial view is the one which shows the reporter flying over some fields with declined yields because of the land reform programme. The clarity and superior quality of the aerial pictures shows the effectiveness of the camera that was used for filming. There is also a part of the video which shows the reporter showing a 50 million Zimbabwean dollar note. This part was also taken from a close range as the words on the note are clearly visible.

iv.     **Synthesis**

Although the reporter uses flash back by showing the Matabeleland massacres of the 80s and the food riots of 1997, the main events covered in the video centre on the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe which arguably reached its apex between 2000 and 2008. The year 2000 was a turning point in the history of Zimbabwe as it witnessed the land reform programme, and the 2000 parliamentary elections in which the newly formed MDC party nearly defeated the ruling party, ZANU PF. The video shows war veterans and ruling party supporters invading white owned commercial farms through force, physical attacks and arson from around 2000 to

2002. The African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights (2007:5) notes that: "War veterans and associated ZANU-PF militia occupying commercial farms intimidated and assaulted white farm owners in the course of occupying commercial farms. By March 2002, at least seven white farmers had been killed." In the same vein, Ndlela (2005:75) notes that: "The violent nature in which the farms were taken from their owners attracted bad publicity as the international media showed images of destruction of property, torture, injury and dead bodies of white farmers." The images that Ndlela (2005:75) is describing rhyme with images in the video in question. The land reform programme also heightened international media's attention on Zimbabwe. Terry Ford, who was assassinated in March 2002 is one of the white commercial farmers murdered in cold blood during the land reform programme shown in the video.

Another important phenomenon shown in the video is politically related violence especially from 2007 to 2008. The picture shown in the video of Morgan Tsvangirai with a battered face was taken in 2007 after he was attacked in Harare together with other opposition and civic society leaders such as Grace Kwinjeh, Sekai Holland, and Lovemore Madhuku. During the same attack, Gift Tandare was shot dead by the police. Tsvangirai's 2007 picture with a battered face was described by *The Economist* (2007, March 15) as the face of oppression. The picture is arguably an iconic image in relation to political violence in Zimbabwe. Pictures of people with horrific injuries on their backs, legs and hands shown in the video are some of the victims of the 2008 elections which Masunungure (2009) describes as militarised election due to the terror and violence that was unleashed by the security forces against perceived opposition supporters.

Some analysts like Masunungure (2009) and Makumbe (2009) argue that the 2008 second round of elections, was the most violent in the history of Zimbabwe. Makumbe (2009:2) notes that:

> In the run-up to the run-off, ZANU-PF unleashed a wave of countrywide violence, which resulted in the deaths of nearly 100 MDC supporters, the displacement of more than 50 000 people from their rural homes, and the burning of many homes by the ZANU-PF militia working in cahoots with elements of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA), the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), the Zimbabwe Prison Service (ZPS), and the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO).

Therefore, the images in the video dovetail with Makumbe's (2009:2) assertions in terms of the violence against opposition supporters during the period in question. It is also worth mentioning that political violence and state sponsored violence on the farms damaged

Zimbabwe's relations particularly with the West as Bratton and Masunungure (2011) note. It is therefore not surprising that the EU, US, Canada and Australia, imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe in a bid to "force" the government of Zimbabwe to return to the path of democracy and the rule of law.

The battered farmers of European descent shown in the video are Zimbabweans who lost their land during the land reform programme and seven of them had been killed by 2002 (African Commission for Human and Peoples' Rights, 2007:5). Most of the commercial farmers moved to other African countries such as Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa and Nigeria and are reportedly boosting agricultural production in those countries. Furthermore, Makumbe (2009) argues that the land reform programme destroyed Zimbabwe's agricultural system.

Another pertinent issue portrayed in the video that has to be looked at is the issue of economic collapse exhibited by inflation in Zimbabwe. *France 24 English* (2017, January 20) pegged the inflation at 80 billion percent in Zimbabwe in 2008. Even up to now, Zimbabwe still struggles economically especially from deindustrialisation, which in turn, has led to an exodus of most of its skilled workers (*France 24 English*, 2017, January 20). This arguably worsens Zimbabwe's economic prospects. Thus, the entire video projects economic decline, politically motivated violence and state sponsored brutality against white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe. Just like the still videos dealt with in the previous section, the Video A contains emotional scenes that induce fear, sympathy, and anger, among others. This is in line with Perlmutter's (2005) observation that iconic images are emotional.

**Video B**

**i.    Denotation**

Entitled "Video: threat of economic crisis still looms in Zimbabwe," Video B was published by *France 24 English* (2017, January 10) under the title: "Harare Revisited." The video in question is 16 minutes 28 seconds. Video B is presented by Stuart Norval through what looks like a huge television screen. The video starts by showing a fifty billion banknote. Thereafter, a man of African descent is shown holding numerous banknotes each written: "One hundred million dollars." On the screen, people standing on queues including women with children are also shown. Additionally, shops are also shown with empty shelves. On the upper top of the screen appears the words: "80 BILLION PERCENT INFLATION."

Furthermore, the video shows a homestead and a group of man of African descent led by another man with a grass hat and in confrontation with white individuals. The group is armed with clubs, knobkerries, axes and metal rods. In addition to that, the video shows what looks like a supermarket cashier counting United State dollar notes. Thereafter, the video shows a man saying that there is need to maintain vigilance in the face of British machinations and other detractors. The video goes further to show the same man with another one who lifts a black book.

In addition to that, the video proceeds to show a man throwing away huge piles of money (notes). The reporter also mentions that the Zimbabwean government has introduced bond notes and shows some people counting some notes. The video also shows notes and coins as well. Furthermore, the video shows people queuing in front of a building with a sign above them written "FBC Bank."

Thereafter, the presenter shifts the scene to Harare to Caroline Dumay who reports from Harare. In Harare, a musician named Oliver Mtukudzi is shown performing in a live show. He is interviewed during the show and acknowledges the economic crisis in Zimbabwe but says he has no plans to settle elsewhere as Zimbabwe is his home and home is always the best. Furthermore, people are shown in a very long queue. One of the people standing in the queue, Nelson, is interviewed and complains that there is no money at the bank and he cannot access his pension funds. The same man is later shown at his home plucking some vegetables in his garden.

The video shows what it says is the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and mentions that the RBZ recently issued two-dollar bond notes but there are serious shortages of cash. The reporter shows an interview with a lady called Fadzayi Mahere who is a lawyer and who had been recently arrested for her political activism. The video of Mahere and her colleagues' arrest is shown on her laptop. Thereafter the reporter mentions that 93-year-old former Zimbabwe's President, Robert Mugabe has announced that he would be contesting the 2018 elections which prompted opposition especially from online and cyber activists. Mugabe is also shown condemning violent protests in Zimbabwe.

The reporter shows an interview with an Economist named John Robertson at his house. Robertson produces all the past currencies related to inflation up to a 100 trillion note. He argues that changing currencies and printing more money can never solve Zimbabwe's economic crisis. Furthermore, the reporter shows a green field with some women working on

it. The reporter then shows a white commercial farmer named Stoffel Hawgood detailing how agriculture has declined since the advent of the land reform programme. Hawgood also shows what he calls bond notes and United States dollars and argues that the two cannot be equal in value. The video concludes by showing people in a long queue.

## ii.     Connotation

The video in question covers the period of Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis which became prominent from the year 2000. The money shown in the video was used mostly from 2006 to 2008, a period of hyperinflation in Zimbabwe. The first note shown is the 50 billion followed by numerous 50 million notes. These notes were called bearer's cheques and were prominent from 2006 until their phasing out in 2009 when the inclusive government adopted the multi-currency system which entailed the usage of the US dollar, Indian Rupee, Chinese Yuen, Botswana Pula and the South African Rand as the currency of exchange in Zimbabwe. The highest note that was introduced during the period in question is the 100 trillion dollars note which is displayed by John Robertson in Video B.

The people shown queuing at the beginning of the video are people queuing for basic food stuffs like rice, corn, cooking oil, and bread during the 2006 to 2008 shortage of basic commodities. The evidence of shortages of groceries in supermarkets is evidenced by empty supermarket shelves shown in the video. In addition to that, the people shown queuing at a building with the words "FBC Bank" are people queuing to withdraw their money at the FBC Bank in Harare amid acute cash shortages after the introduction of the local currency called bond notes in 2016. The crisis continued up to the time of writing of this thesis. In the same wavelength, towards the end of the video, people are shown queuing for money at the P.O.S.B bank at the Net One building in the capital, Harare.

The man shown in the video saying that there is need to maintain vigilance in the face of British machinations and other detractors; is Zimbabwe's former President, Robert Mugabe and the leader of the ruling party, ZANU PF. The video also exhibits inflation as shown by the words on the top right corner of the screen which read "80 PERCENT INFLATION." The period in which inflation reached 80 billion percent was in 2008 according to *France 24 English* (2017, January 20). Correspondingly, the video shows Economist, John Robertson showing valueless notes with big figures including the 100 trillion dollars note, which was the largest currency during the era of hyperinflation in Zimbabwe. Likewise, the video shows a man dumping stakes of valueless Zimbabwean currency. This was most likely after the introduction of the multi-

currency regime in 2009, during the period of the inclusive. The cashier counting US dollar notes is from 2009, soon after the introduction of the multi-currency regime in Zimbabwe.

The man putting on a hat made of grass and leading a group of armed man at a homestead is Joseph Chinotimba, one of the leaders of the war veterans of the liberation struggle and a Member of Parliament in Zimbabwe. Chinotimba, together with his armed colleagues (war veterans and ZANU PF supporters) were invading a farm belonging to one of the white commercial farmers. The group was also oftentimes violent as shown by the weapons that they are carrying in the video which include; axes, clubs, metal rods, and knobkerries. In the video, reduced capacity for production after the land reform programme is shown through a field where women are working on the land with machines for commercial agriculture.

There is also some symbolism in the video. The image of opposition MDC leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, with a battered face after his brutal attack by the police in 2007 is arguably symbolic to the political violence and the breakdown of rule of law in the country. The 100 trillion dollars note in the video also symbolises the inflation and the economic abyss in which the nation of Zimbabwe was and is still sunk in.

### iii.    *Mise-en-scene*

There is the use of metapictures in the video as shown by the presenter who appears in a television whilst using another television screen to show images relating the economic situation in Zimbabwe. Likewise, metapictures are also shown where the reporter shows a video of Fadzayi Mahere and her groups' arrest on her laptop through the television. Mitchell (2015) describes metapictures as images of images and notes that that usually appear whenever an image appears inside another image. In addition to that, there is also use of still pictures in the video. Still pictures could have been extracted elsewhere and incorporated into the videos for illustration purposes.

Although the pictures that were presented by Stuart Norval are still pictures extracted from other sources, the ones presented by Caroline Dumay are mostly moving pictures taken from a close range on the streets of Harare. An example of live and moving pictures taken on the streets of Harare are those of people queuing for cash at the banks and Economist Robertson displaying valueless Zimbabwean dollar notes. Furthermore, the images of queues at the P.O.S.B bank were taken from behind those in the queue as their backs are shown. Some were taken from the front, as indicated by the faces. However, the last image which shows cars and

houses was taken from above; most likely from a helicopter or aeroplane. The camera(s) used throughout the whole video demonstrate high quality as shown by the clarity and enhanced quality of the images.

### iv.    Synthesis

Video B mainly covers the period from 2000 up to 2017. The video mainly depicts the political and economic crisis that obtained in Zimbabwe. The video also covers the land reform programme as shown by images of war veterans and ZANU PF supporters invading farms belonging to white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe. The oftentimes violent land reform programme strained the country's democratic transition, and Zimbabwe's relations with the West as noted by Makumbe (2009). Correspondingly, scholars such as Roach (2012), Badza (2009), Mandikwaza (2016) and Gatsheni (2009) also acknowledge violence, among other pitfalls of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe.

Another important issue covered by Video B is the economic crisis which became manifest from 2000 and reached its crescendo in 2008. In the video, stakes of valueless Zimbabwean currency are shown. In the same wavelength, in the video, Economist John Robertson shows a series of these notes up to 100 trillion dollars. Moreover, *France 24 English* (2017, January 20) alludes to the fact that in 2008, inflation reached 80 billion percent in Zimbabwe. Just like the empty shelves, the inflationary currency shown in the video is symptomatic of the economic crisis that persists up to date in Zimbabwe. The people standing in bank queues are an indication of the current cash shortages which began after the introduction of bond notes in 2016.

There are several similarities between Video A and Video B. In relation to the land reform programme, Video A and Video B show similar pictures of armed men and violently seizing farms. In both videos, the men are led by Joseph Chinotimba, a war veteran of the liberation struggle and a Member of Parliament for Buhera. The declining yields in the farms emanating from the land reform programme are also shown in both videos. Other points of similarity include the showing of Morgan Tsvangirai's image after his attack by the police in 2007 and the 100 trillion dollars note. These iconic pictures are also discussed in the previous section of this chapter. There is also the use of metapictures in both videos. Also, the fact that there are similar pictures in both Video A and Video B despite being made seven years apart also shows

repetition of the pictures in question. As discussed in chapter three, repeated broadcasting of images is a feature of iconic images. Both videos are also symbolic in relation to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis.

## 5.3    Conclusion

Using image science, iconology and Marotzi and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis as instruments of analysis, this chapter analysed eight still pictures and two videos depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. The analysis of the selected iconic pictures (still and moving) revealed that the pictures in question depict grave politically inspired violence and economic collapse in Zimbabwe. As such, the pictorial material in question evoked emotions of sympathy, anger and horror on the part of the researcher. Iconic images are also known for evoking emotions. What is also striking is the fact that most of the still pictures discussed in this chapter, also feature in the videos (moving pictures) discussed in the same chapter which shows that the iconic images in question, were repeatedly broadcasted by the concerned international media stations. Also, it was observed in the discussion that the two video that were analysed possess more communicative "power" due to their "mixed media" (pictures, sound, gestures and audio) element compared to still pictures. Another outstanding phenomenon in the videos dealt with in this chapter is the use of metapictures in the videos in question.

**Chapter 6: What do Pictures Do?**

*"The images are burnt into our consciousness: farm buildings set alight; white farmers, blood streaming down their faces, their wives and children fleeing in terror. All around a baying mob, the war veterans of President Robert Mugabe sent to drive them from their homes; loyal black farm workers beaten and abused for daring to stand up to the political thugs. These scenes were shown on television screens around the world following Zimbabwe's land invasions of 2000,"* (Hanlon, 2013).

## 6    Introduction

In the previous chapter, iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis were studied using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006). In light of the first research question of this study, this chapter focuses on how the respondents interpret the same iconic pictures dealt with in the previous chapter, hence the title: "What Do Pictures Do?" Accordingly, the crux of this chapter is about the exploration of the respondents' feelings, thoughts, memories, descriptions and remarks vis-à-vis the iconic pictures in question. Additionally, this chapter also compares the respondents' interpretation of the pictures in question with the author's interpretation of the same pictures. In terms of theoretical insights, the chapter takes a leaf mainly from image science/*Bildwissenschaft* and iconology. Since this chapter deals with pictures from 24-hour news stations and their interpretation by the respondents of this study, the CNN effect is significant. In line with thematic analysis, the discussion in this chapter is largely related to themes that emerged from the respondents' responses during the key informant interviews. In terms of structure, this chapter is divided into four main parts. The first part discusses the respondents' interpretation of the iconic pictures under study in the context of their feelings, thoughts, descriptions, memories and remarks in light of the pictures in question. The second part tackles the pitfalls associated with pictures, especially the ones under study, from the point of view of the respondents. Taking a leaf from Mitchell's (1996) concept of "What Do Pictures Really Want?", the third part treats the pictures under study as biological entities with needs and wants and therefore seeks to explore "what they really want." The last part before the conclusion compares the interpretation of the pictures by the respondents with the author's own interpretation.

## 6.1    What do Iconic Pictures Do?

Since the main aim of this study is to explore how EU officials interpret the pictorial images under study, the question worth asking is: what do these images actually do to the respondents? To tackle this question, it is beneficial to revisit Mitchell's (1980) seminal article which centres on what he terms "the language of images." Accordingly, the language of images is concerned about three key issues: (1) language about images (the words we use to talk about pictures); (2)

images regarded as a language: the semantic, syntactic, communicative power of images to encode messages, tell stories, express ideas and emotions, raise questions and "speak" to us; (3) verbal language as a system informed by images, literally in the graphic form of writing systems or "visible language" (Mitchell, 1980:3). Considering that this chapter focuses on the respondents' thoughts, feelings, memories, descriptions and remarks about the iconic pictures selected for this study, the second key point from Mitchell's (1980) submission is important to this chapter as it touches on the communicative capacity of images to induce feelings, tell stories, and express ideas. The following discussion is premised on the effects of images to the respondents.

### 6.1.1    Feelings and Public Outcry

Pictures and other images in generally, are known for their impact on their consumers; hence, Sturken and Cartwright (2009:9) posit that: "We live in cultures that are increasingly permeated by visual images with a variety of purposes and intended effects." One of the effects of pictures alluded to by scholars such as Perlmutter (2005); Sassatelli (2011); Mitchell (1980); Sturken and Cartwright (2009); and Fishman (2017), is their ability to evoke emotions and public outcry. For instance, Sturken and Cartwright (2009:9) observe that images can produce in us a wide array of emotions and responses. However, not all pictures are associated with such emotions: iconic pictures or images are usually the ones characterised by emotions. Iconic images are defined by Sturken and Cartwright (2009:36) as images that refer to something outside of their individual components, something (or someone) that has great symbolic meaning. Alluding to iconic images, Peter Howe cited in Almond (2013) argues that their common denominator is that they strike us on a very deep emotional level, especially in terms of fear, grief and joy. Iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis are not an exception.

Iconic pictures portraying Zimbabwe's Crisis depict the often-violent land reform programme, politically motivated violence and economic decline in Zimbabwe. In light of such pictures, Ndlela (2005:75) highlights that the violent nature in which the farms were taken from their owners attracted bad publicity as the international media showed images of destruction of property, torture, injury and dead bodies of white farmers.  One picture which fits neatly into Ndlela's (2005) account is that of the dead body of white commercial farmer, Terry Ford, after his assassination by suspected state security agents at his farm near Harare in March 2002. Another iconic picture which fits into such a category is that of the late opposition MDC leader,

Morgan Tsvangirai after his brutal attack by members of the police force in 2007. The picture in question is broadly analysed in the previous chapter. Tsvangirai's face in the picture is described by *The Economist* (2007, March 15) as the face of oppression. Respondents were asked how they felt about such pictures. Their responses were in harmony with the thesis that iconic images evoke feelings and public outcry. Accordingly, respondent six (2015) stated that:

> Most of these images were really moving as they depicted violence and suffering. I naturally felt very pity especially when I saw images of the killed white commercial farmers; some of them were badly beaten and had blood all over. The image of Terry Ford after his assassination at his farm in March 2002 was very disturbing. I was moved to tears when I saw his dog seated next to his corpse. I think the dog had not realised that he was already dead. I also felt pity and horrified by images that depicted political violence especially between 2007 and 2008. The images of Nelson Chamisa and Morgan Tsvangirai after their attack in the same period were outstanding in that regard. I was also deeply sympathetic about images of women with children on their backs who were queuing for basic commodities. Images of political violence especially in 2008 affected me in a big way, they never escaped my mind, sometimes I could even dream of the victims and at times these images were flashing in my mind even during the day. The feeling and the experience were very bad.

The above response from respondent six (2015) is significant in many respects. First, it shows the capacity of television pictures in inducing emotions which dovetails with Sassateli's (2011) claim that the pictures and videos that we watch on the screen elicit emotions, pleasure and pain. To that end, the iconic pictures in question induced sympathy, pain and horror on the part of respondent six (2015). Secondly, the respondent's response brings to light the issue of mental images. When the afore-mentioned respondent says that the images never escaped his mind and that he used to even dream about them; he is referring to memories and dreams which are categories of mental images. This also shows the capacity of images to live on in form of memories and verbal narratives like the Israelites' Golden Calf that was destroyed in an act of iconoclasm but survived in form of memory, verbal narratives and other forms of reincarnation (Mitchell, 2015). Mental images reside in the mind. The third issue that is worth mentioning in respondent six's (2015) submission is that he specifically mentioned three iconic pictures selected for this study as having evoked emotions on him. This reveals the emotive potency and iconicity of the pictures in question.

Similarly, respondent five (2015) remarked: "I was really moved. The image of Terry Ford's dead body moved me to tears. Most of the images were horrible. The violence that they depicted was too shocking to believe. I therefore felt pity and angry at the same time. I wish I could help but there was nothing that I could do. It was a political matter and that was very problematic." A look at respondent five's (2015) response reveals that the pictures in question induced an array of feelings which ranged from sympathy, horror, shock to anger. The way the pictures in

question emotionally affected respondent 5 (2015) seem to dovetail with Burri's (2008) perspective in Ignatowitsch and Stahl (2015:2) that: "Images can have a special impact and persuasive power..." It is not only respondents 5 (2015) and 6 (2015) who were emotionally affected by the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis.

Respondent seven (2016) also noted that some iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis were extremely emotional and evoked emotions on him. To that end, the respondent noted that:

> I felt very sorry especially for the dead victims of political violence and those who were killed on the farms like Terry Ford or had their properties burnt or violently taken over by marauding war veterans, ZANU PF youths and other functionaries that were loyal to the Mugabe regime. I felt very pity and was deeply moved especially by the image of Morgan Tsvangirai and his colleagues. I felt sympathetic and I think that was an understandable feeling. I wish I could have helped more but as a diplomat, my hands were tied to some extent. Images of wailing women after their loved ones had been killed in state-sponsored political violence were heart-breaking just like those of pregnant women lining up for basic commodities like sugar, salt, cooking oil, petrol and mealie-meal, among other basic needs. The image of a 100 trillion-dollar note was symbolic and summed up the whole crisis especially in terms of inflation that prevailed during that time.

All the 25 respondents to the study mentioned that they felt emotional after seeing some of the iconic pictures used in this study. Closely related to the issue of pictures' ability to evoke emotions, is their capacity to trigger public outcry. There is scholarly work which supports the idea that pictures have the ability to induce outcry particularly in public circles. For instance, Fishman (2017:9) alerts us to the viewpoint that pictures "stir emotions and foster public outcry like no other means of expression." Correspondingly, Perlmutter (2005) also cites how iconic images of dead US soldiers that were pulled on the streets of Mogadishu during the US' intervention in Somalia, caused public outcry particularly in the US.

Likewise, respondents 15 (2017) observed that the images of white commercial farmers who were attacked and those of victims of political violence in Zimbabwe caused a lot of public outcry especially in the UK. Most of the farmers who lost their farms were connected to the UK in terms of ancestry, hence, the public outcry. The issue of public outcry in relation to some of the iconic pictures under study is also cited by Bratton and Masunungure (2011) who note that the iconic image of Morgan Tsvangirai and his colleagues after their brutal attack by state security agents in Harare in 2007, caused international public outcry, particularly in the US, EU and African Union. Another issue that was highlighted by the respondents in relation to the pictures under study is their connection to memory and political history of Zimbabwe.

## 6.1.2 Pictures, Memory and Political History

Apart from inducing feelings, pictures also have a tendency of sticking on people's minds in form of memories. To that end, Fishman (2017:9) observes that studies suggest that "images persist in memory longer and more vividly." Correspondingly, Michael Taussig in Mitchell (2015:32) argues that even after destruction, images may continue to be present in form of memory for a prolonged period. A dissection of the data collected from the respondents revealed that the pictures under study were memorable in their minds. This was established after respondents were asked what they remembered about the iconic pictures in question. By the same token, respondents were asked to name and describe the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis that they remembered. It is also worth mentioning that the study of images in relation to memory is linked to image science which is also associated with "memory images, and also about false memory, and the dubious status of "recovered memory" (Mitchell, 2015:27). Thus, the study of the iconic pictures selected for this study vis-à-vis the memory of the respondents, is in harmony with the dictates of image science/*Bildwissenschaft* and iconology.

In light of the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe' economic meltdown and the memories of the respondents thereof, respondent nine (2016) said: "I remember a young boy who used to appear on *BBC* carrying stakes and stakes of money in form of notes. I also vividly remember the one hundred trillion dollars note which I think was the biggest note at that time. One cannot forget the winding queues for food and fuel especially in Harare." The first two images described by respondent nine (2016) are iconic pictures selected for this study. However, what is important to highlight is that such pictures still existed in the minds of the respondents. Some of the pictures described by the respondents like that of Terry Ford date back to the year 2002 yet the respondents still remembered them. This shows the capacity of pictures to stick in the memory of their consumers.  In remembrance of pictures depicting the (violent) land reform programmes and political violence in Zimbabwe, respondent 10 (2016) said:

> I remember the image of Morgan Tsvangirai. You cannot run away from it. It is quite prominent that you cannot run away from it. You can see him with a torn shirt, shaven head with some wounds. I also remember images of white commercial farmers who were displaced from their properties, some with wounds and in some cases, dead. I remember the dead body of Terry Ford on CNN after his brutal assassination by suspected ZANU PF supporters. This caught the attention of the international media. We also have these images of opposition political parties' members who were being beaten and some even dead and this showed the level of human rights violations by the state and the ruling party, ZANU PF.

The picture of Morgan Tsvangirai after his attack by the police in 2007 was repeatedly mentioned and described by the respondents; no wonder why the picture gained iconicity. Also, the image of Terry Ford's dead body is also remembered and repeatedly mentioned by the respondents. In the same vein, respondent 11 (2016) noted:

> I remember in 2007 the image of a battered and bandaged Morgan Tsvangirai with his head shaven and full of horrible wounds. He was with Professors Lovemore Madhuku and Arthur Oliver Guseni Mutambara. There is also the image of Nelson Chamisa after his attack at the airport during the same year. The images were too horrible to look at. Grace Kwinjeh and Sekai Holland were also attacked together with Morgan Tsvangirai in 2007 and their images are still fresh in my mind. In relation to the land reform programme, I cannot forget the image of Terry Ford's body lying on the ground after his assassination by suspected state security agents. In relation to inflation and economic meltdown, there were images on *BBC* and *Aljazeera* of people carrying stakes of valueless money. One of these images includes that of a very young boy on the streets of Harare.

From the descriptions of the respondents above, it is clear that they still have vivid memories of the pictures that they are describing. What is worth mentioning is that most of the pictures that were described by the respondents were selected for this study and are widely discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. Moreover, respondent 14 (2017) gave a more detailed and lengthy account concerning the images that she remembered:

> I remember the images of commercial farmers being evicted and their property being burnt. There was also an image from the BBC of a scared woman standing with her children amid an altercation with war veterans and ZANU PF youths who wanted to take over her farm. It was a pitiful image. In relation to political violence, it is not easy to forget Morgan Tsvangirai's battered face and head after being beaten to pulp by the police in 2007 together with Lovemore Madhuku, Sekai Holland and Grace Kwinjeh. Also horrible is the image of Nelson Chamisa after his vicious attack by alleged state security agents at the Harare International Airport in 2007. Chamisa's image went viral and was all over international news stations such as *BBC*, *CNN*, *Aljazeera* and even on *France 24*, if I am not mistaken. Then, you come to the issue of the so-called Operation Murambatsvina where the government demolished houses of mostly the poor in 2005. I remember photos of stranded urban citizens. I could not look at the photos twice. They were too brutal to be true. Some of the photographs are still flashing in my mind. The images which showed the dire economic situation are also still fresh in my mind. I remember images of children carrying or playing with loads of money. On BBC, I watched empty shelves in the supermarkets, there was absolutely nothing. I also remember long queues of people waiting for fuel, bread, oil, paraffin, salt and mealie-meal. I will never forget those images.

In addition to the above respondents, all the respondents remembered some pictures and managed to give detailed descriptive accounts in relation to them. The descriptive accounts of the respondents about the pictures in question is evidence that images have the capacity to continue existing as memories in the minds of individuals. Memories fall under mental images in Mitchell's (1986:10) image family tree which is encapsulated in the idea of imagery. The descriptive accounts of the respondents also tally with some of the pictures selected for this

study: Tsvangirai picture with a battered face in 2007; Nelson Chamisa after his attack in 2007; female commercial farmer standing with her children by the gate and a young boy carrying stakes of money in 2008, among others, discussed in the preceding chapter.

Another protruding point that emanated from the respondents' responses is that they associated the iconic pictures selected for this study with the country's political and economic history. For instance, respondent two (2015) argued that: "Pictures play a key role in representing and revealing different epochs across history. Pictures from different historical episodes such as the Holocaust, Apartheid in South Africa and 9/11 attacks in the United States, play a significant role in capturing these historical events. Therefore, pictures are important in the carving of history of any nation and Zimbabwe is of no exception." In the same vein, 13 out 25 respondents mentioned that the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis are now deeply embedded in the country's history.

Respondent eight (2016) noted that the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis have become "an indelible part of Zimbabwe's history and will last for generations to come." Furthermore, the respondent noted that the history of Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis cannot be written without the images in questions. In addition to that, respondent three argued that: "Pictures depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic predicament are part of the country's history, just like those that depict the country's liberation struggle and other historical periods of the country." Therefore, it could be said that the iconic pictures selected for this study, play an important role in the carving of Zimbabwe's history.

### 6.1.3 Pictures versus Statistics and Words

Another issue which protruded during the interviews was the comparison between pictures on one hand, and verbal and statistical discourses on the other hand. From a comparative point of view, the fundamental question especially in relation to this study is: which has more impact pictures or words and statistics? Studies have been done in a bid to tackle this question. For instance, Davies (2017) attempts to tackle this question by citing empirical data that reveals that 68% of Donald Trump's supporters distrust government statistics on immigration whilst 55% of the UK's population believe that the government is hiding something on the same issue. Interestingly, the same individuals believe in photographs about immigration as opposed to statistics. Therefore, this could be evidence of how statistics and words are losing value in the face of pictures and images. By the same token, Fishman (2017:9) observes that: "As a form of communication, pictures greatly matter because our brains generally prefer pictures above

words. Eye-tracking studies show that people read few news articles but do pay a lot of attention to the accompanying photographs." Therefore, this could be related to Mirzoeff's (1999:3) view that: "Seeing is a great deal more than believing these days." Did EU officials prioritize the pictures selected for this study over verbal and statistical narratives about Zimbabwe's Crisis? This section seeks to answer this question by outlining and assessing what the respondents said about the pictures in question vis-à-vis words and statistics relating to the country's crisis.

Some respondents regarded pictorial images as a more pronounced physical evidence of Zimbabwe's Crisis compared to verbal and statistical reports. To that end, respondent one (2015) argued that: "Unlike statistical reports which can be manipulated, images are important in the sense that they are physical evidence of Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. They can be sent to Brussels as evidence of political violence and economic decline." In relation to pictures being tangible evidence of political violence and economic collapse in Zimbabwe, it is important to highlight Bourdieu's (1999:162-163) assertion that: "Photography is considered to be a perfectly realistic and objective recording of the visible world because (from its origin) it has been assigned social uses that are held to be "realistic" and "objective" ...because that which is visible is only ever that which is legible." This statement supports the view that the iconic pictures related to Zimbabwe's Crisis play an important role in terms of reflecting the reality on the ground. However, as it shall be later revealed in this chapter, pictorial images are also prone to manipulation according to parochial expediency. For one to get a full picture a given situation, it is advantageous to merge the pictorial and verbal narratives to come up with a "full picture."

In addition to that, respondent one (2015) noted that although the EU values statistical reports as empirical evidence relating to Zimbabwe's Crisis, statistics lack the emotive power of pictures to stir anger, grief, sympathy and fear, among others. In line with the afore-mentioned respondent's submission, Mitchell's (1980:3) concept of "the language of images" is closely linked with images' ability to "express ideas and emotions." Correspondingly, Fishman (2017:9) alerts us to the fact that, psychologists found that, "the impact of a story is more determined by the photograph than the story itself because images "stir emotions and foster public outcry like no other means of expression." Therefore, it could be said that pictures possess more emotive strength compared to words and statistics. In the same wavelength, respondent 20 (2017) noted that pictures are "livelier" compared to statistics and therefore, their impact is significant.

In the same wavelength, other respondents were of the view that the pictures selected for this study (or iconic pictures in general), have a pronounced capacity to express messages compared to rhetoric and statistics. For instance, respondent 15 (2017) pointed out that: "No words or statistical report can adequately describe the battered face of Morgan Tsvangirai after his attack by the police in 2007 or the image of Terry Ford after his horrific murder by state security agents in 2002. Pictures portray political and socio-economic events and situations better than words and statistics." More than half of the respondents shared the same perspective with respondent 15 (2017). Therefore, this indicates the communicative or expressional ability of pictures compared to words and statistics. Although pictures such as the iconic pictures selected for this study possess "communicative power," the potency of verbal narratives should not be overlooked. In some cases, some reports provide vivid verbal narratives and descriptions which in turn promote clarity and comprehension on the part of the reader. Such vivid language could be categorised under "verbal images" cited by Mitchell (1986:10). It is also worth mentioning that verbal images also dovetail with visual culture especially when it is born in mind that visual culture is not limited to the "visual." In the same vein, Mitchell (2015:26) mentions that image science should also consider language and verbal images in its approach.

Another important trend the emerged from the discussion with the respondents is that pictures live longer in memory compared to statistics. In that regard, respondent 18 (2017) noted that although verbal and statistical reports are important and give more explanations compared to pictures, it is important to note that "pictures stick to memory" for longer periods of time compared to statistics and words. The same respondent went further to highlight that she still remembers pictures of the victims of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe in the early 2000s but cannot recall verbal and statistical reports that she read during the same period. More than half of all the respondents shared the same sentiments. Therefore, one can say that pictures exist in the mind for longer periods of time compared to words and statistics.

Another school of thought that came up during the interviews with respondents is that pictures are somehow "universally understood," a view that Stahl and Ignatowitsch (2015:2) seem to share. For instance, respondent 11 (2016) explained what he meant by saying that "pictures are universally understood" and to that end, argued that pictures can be understood across different social groups within the society compared to statistical and verbal reports which are more "intellectual" by nature. The afore-mentioned respondent noted that even the illiterate can relate to a picture and make a meaning out of it. In relation to that, respondent five (2015) noted

that if one sees the image of Morgan Tsvangirai with a battered face after his attack by the police, those who know him might identify him and whether you know him or not, it would be evident that his face is injured, and he is in pain. Thus, from such a perspective, one might say that "images are universally understood" although they are subject to varying interpretations. However, the point worth underlying is that despite being subject to varied interpretations, pictures can be "read" even by the illiterate compared to words and statistics.

### 6.1.4 The Impact of Television Pictures- "Mixed Media"

Television pictures are characterised by a blend of pictures, text, gestures, and sound. This phenomenon is linked to Mitchell's (1998:89) observation that "all media are mixed." In the same vein, Mitchell (2015:114) posits that: "Media are always a mixture of sensory and semiotic elements, and all the so-called "visual media" are mixed or hybrid formations, combining sound and sight, text and image." In the context of this study, it is important to highlight that most respondents to the study cited these mixed elements (pictures, sound, gestures and text) as key in terms of the effects of the iconic pictures under study to their consumers. Therefore, this section seeks to discuss such responses.

Respondent 11 (2016) to the study observed television imagery including the iconic pictures selected for this study, combine sound, audio and body language and that is why they stick to memory compared to radio and newspaper stories. The same respondent said this could be probably why she still remembers the images of the 2000 land reform program and yet had forgotten many stories that she heard or read about it during the same time. Respondent 12 (2016) also mentioned that the effects of the iconic pictures under study especially in the context of memory and emotions was accentuated by live coverage of pictures accompanied by text and sound. Therefore, the mixture of audio-visual properties of television pictures (videos), gives them leverage in as far as their effects especially in terms of memory and evoking emotions on the part of the respondents are concerned.

Furthermore, respondent 19 (2017) also noted that television images (including those under study) are "livelier" because of their motion, sound, and body language which produces a powerful effect on the part of the viewers. This viewpoint seems to be important considering that there is a tendency to overlook the "mixed media" element especially when focusing on television imagery. Mitchell (1998:93) strongly dispels the notion that: "We watch television, we don't listen to it…the remote control has a mute button, but no control to blank out the picture." Although Mitchell's (1986) argument is premised on the notion of "mixed media," it

can be stretched to television pictures and the importance of sound, gestures, and text thereof. From the above discussion, one could say that, because television images are conveyed through "mixed media," this amplifies their effects on the viewers, in this case, EU officials. The effect of pictures on their consumer is also at the core of iconology.

### 6.1.5 Iconoclasm, Conflicting Camps and Counter Images

This section is related to what the respondents said about the pictures under study. A dissection of the data collected from the respondents also revealed that there were acts of iconoclasm in relation to pictures depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. Mitchell (2015:27) defines iconoclasm as the effort to destroy images, particularly for political and religious expediency. Moreover, it is also worth highlighting that iconoclasm is not only limited to images but also to verbal and textual discourses, hence, Mitchell (2015:32) adds that iconoclasm is not just the destruction of graven images but also the purging of words and ideas to arrive at a purified language. The biblical narrative of the destruction of the Golden Calf in a bid to fight idolatry by the Israelites represents a classic example of iconoclasm. Cases of iconoclasm in Byzantium, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, USA, South Africa and Nigeria are highlighted in the third chapter of this thesis. Acts of iconoclasm are triggered by iconophobia which is defined by Larsson (2012) as the suspicion and anxiety towards the power exerted by images. Accordingly, this section discusses iconoclasm in Zimbabwe's Crisis from the point of view of the respondents. Also, the state's efforts to counteract pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis will also be discussed. Since the analysis of data reveals that pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis led to the emergence of two diametrically opposed camps: (1) journalists and (2) government officials; this chapter will also discuss about these two antagonistic camps, from the point of view of the respondents.

Although the respondent did not specifically mention the word "iconoclasm" in their responses, their responses and descriptions rhyme with iconoclasm in many respects. For instance, 20 out of 25 respondents acknowledged that since 2000 up to 2008, the state was hostile to foreign journalists and went to the extent of damaging their cameras and images in order to suppress the image of violence and economic collapse in Zimbabwe. Such anxiety and hostility towards images fit neatly into the iconoclasm grid. In the same vein, respondent 18 (2017) argued that the hostility of the Zimbabwean government towards journalists is an acknowledgement of the power of images as the government was afraid that foreign journalists were going to report (pictorially and verbally) what was happening in the country. The same respondent noted that

local and international journalists covering Zimbabwe during the land reform programme were in many cases forced to delete some "sensitive" pictures (still and moving) they had taken by state security agents.

The narrative of the persecution of journalists is also corroborated by Willem's (2011) account which reveals that the government of Zimbabwe tried to suppress the images of political violence and economic collapse in the country through cancellation of media houses' operating licenses, destruction of photographs and videos, expulsion and physical persecution of international journalists mainly from *BBC*, *CNN*, *France 24*, and *AP*, among other international media stations. Also, Willem's (2011) account is in harmony with the dictates of iconophobia and iconoclasm by Zimbabwe's government.

Local journalists and media houses were not spared from the state's hostile attitude. A case in point is the bombing of the *Daily News* premises in Harare by suspected state security agents in 2001 (*BBC News*, 2001, January 28). Such a hostile attitude by the Zimbabwean government in a bid to suppress images, including through the destruction of journalists' cameras, newspapers and their premises, dovetails with the concept of iconoclasm. In his presentation at the *Haus der Kunst*, Mitchell (2012) cites three phases related to iconoclasm: the first phase involves the existence of an image before its destruction (past), the second phase relates to the images during its destruction (present) whilst the third phase relates to the re-emergence or reincarnation of the same image after its destruction (future). However, the argument that protruded from the respondents is that the government of Zimbabwe was fully aware of the "power" of images, hence, the attempt to suppress and destroy them, as well as the gagging, expelling and persecution of local and international journalists. For instance, respondent seven (2016) argued that it is most likely that some of the iconic pictures selected for this study triggered fury and hostility from the government of Zimbabwe. Therefore, it could be said that the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis triggered acts of iconoclasm from the state.

Acts of iconoclasm by the Zimbabwean government seem not to have been a well calculated move. For instance, respondent 25 (2017) noted that: "The government of Zimbabwe made a mistake by expelling and persecuting international journalists as this led to increased international media attention on the country and consequently, the emergence of numerous negative pictures and videos about the country. The government's actions were tantamount to "shooting the messenger." In fact, seven respondents to this study also observed that

government's actions in the context of the persecution of journalists and suppression of images depicting the (violent) land reform programme, political violence and economic collapse backfired as this led to more media attention on the country and the proliferation of images which the government sought to suppress.

Some respondents noted that even after the expulsion of foreign journalists by the government, some foreign journalists working in cahoots with civic society members and local journalists in Zimbabwe managed to take more pictures and make documentaries in relation to the country's political and economic crisis. Willems (2011:94) concurs with this perspective and notes that:

> Despite the government's refusal to accredit *BBC* correspondents, the broadcaster still managed to produce at least seven documentaries on the country, apart from regular feature stories on the news. According to a report published by a *BBC* watchdog, out of 48 documentaries shown on the *BBC* from November 2000 to January 2004, Zimbabwe received most attention with seven documentaries. Zimbabwe came after the Israel/Palestine conflict which was covered in 16 documentaries. Apart from regular news features, programmes like *Correspondent*, *Panorama*, *Hard Talk* and *Breakfast with Frost* carried several editions on Zimbabwe. Most documentaries were made by reporters not officially accredited by the Zimbabwean authorities. Both John Sweeney and Fergal Keane came to Zimbabwe on tourist visas which further seemed to dramatize the content of programmes.

From Willem's (2011) observation above, it can be deduced that the more the Zimbabwean government tried to suppress the news (including images); more documentaries (images) were actually made about the country. This scenario dovetails with the thesis by Michael Taussig that the destruction or suppression of images, is a sure way of guaranteeing them an even more potent presence in memory, or as reincarnated in new forms, hence, the fundamental law of the physics of the image is that images cannot be destroyed (Mitchell, 2015:32). More than half of the respondents cited attempts by the government to suppress the images pertaining to the political and economic crisis in the country as straightforward evidence that they knew the negative effect of these images, especially on the national image of Zimbabwe, hence, their desperate attempt to suppress them.

From the above discussion, it can be deduced that the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, including the iconic pictures selected for this study, created two diametrically opposed and ideologically conflicting groups: (1) government officials who suppressed and destroyed images and; (2) journalists who wanted to expose the images in question in order for the international community to be aware of Zimbabwe's Crisis. The former group can be best described as the iconophobes and iconoclasts whereas the latter could be associated with the

iconodules and iconophiles. As indicated in the theoretical and conceptual framework chapter, an iconodule is the one who reveres images whereas an iconophile according to the *Thesaurus Dictionary* is the: "one who loves icons, illustrations, pictures." Although the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis were not "revered" or loved by journalists due to their graphic nature, the same journalists did not want them suppressed and destroyed. Such journalists are arguably closer to iconodules and iconophiles, as opposed to iconophobes and iconoclasts. Citing the case of Byzantium, the discussion in chapter three also showed that iconodules were willing to take extreme measures to promote the preservation of images and to avert their destruction. In Zimbabwe's scenario, Willem (2011:94) mentions that international journalists took extreme measures including disguising themselves as tourists in order to make documentaries related to Zimbabwe's Crisis.

More than half of the respondents to the study highlighted the hostility between the government and international journalists. Therefore, it could be said that, pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis led to the emergence of two conflicting groups: (1) iconophobes and iconoclasts and (2) iconophiles and iconodules. It is also important to highlight that both iconology and image science are associated with the above-mentioned groups. Accordingly, Mitchell (1986:3) observes that: "Iconology turned out to be, not just the science of icons, but the political psychology of icons, the study of iconophobia, iconophilia, and the struggle between iconoclasm and idolatry." In relation to image science, Mitchell (2015:26) also points out that image science should address the divisions between iconoclastic and iconophilic camps, hence, the discussion of these camps in this chapter.

Importantly, it was also observed by some respondents that apart from attempts to suppress and destroy images related to Zimbabwe's Crisis, the state also tried to counteract negative international media publicity and images through propaganda and other counter images. For instance, all the respondents cited state propaganda and the accompanying pictures especially on national broadcaster (ZBC) as an effort to counteract pictures from the international media and negative publicity in general. State propaganda during that time is associated with the then Information Minister, Jonathan Moyo. For instance, Gatsheni (2009:1150) describes Moyo as "an able articulator and promoter" of such a propaganda campaign between 2000 and 2004. In the same breath, Gatsheni (2009:1150) cites an example of one propaganda jingle related to the land reform programme, engineered by Moyo and crafted along theological lines: "In the beginning was the land. The people were on the land. The people owned the land. As it was in

the beginning, so shall it always be. Welcome to Zimbabwe. We are down to earth!" In fact, Chitando cited in Gatsheni (2009:1150) argues that Jonathan Moyo "masterminded one of the most sustained propaganda campaigns in postcolonial Africa." A closer look at the above jingle shows that it is also linked to verbal imagery.

An observation by the researcher also reveals that state propaganda during that time heavily relied on songs, speeches and pictures which qualify as verbal and pictorial images respectively. The purpose of such propaganda was to create a "counter image" in reaction to the international media's image about Zimbabwe. This is in line with Mitchell's (2012) thesis that "every image creates a counter-image." Thus, the international media publicity which was characterised by pictures in relation to Zimbabwe, led to the intensification of state propaganda which could be described as an effort to create a counter image by the state.

### 6.1.6   Viral and Repeated Pictures

Iconic pictures have a tendency to go viral and be repeatedly broadcast across different forms of media. This school of thought is supported by scholars such as Perlmutter (2005) and Lovelace (2010). Also, Perlmutter (1998; 2005) alert us to the fact that the advancement in technology has made it easy to reproduce, share and broadcast images. Some pictures, including those selected for this study, assumed the status of "viral" images because of the numerous times they have been shared across different kinds of media. As highlighted by Mitchell (2013), iconology is also concerned with the movement of images across the media; a phenomenon related to viral images. The author of the thesis observed that the iconic pictures under study went viral and were repeatedly broadcast by 24-hour news stations like *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *France 24 English*, among others. Repeated and viral images are also associated with the CNN effect. Since this study is also interested in what respondents said about the iconic pictures under study, it is therefore worth discussing respondents' views about the viral iconic pictures selected for this study vis-a-vis their effects.

The popular perspective that is in line with scholarly viewpoints and the dictates of the CNN effect is that viral and repeatedly broadcast pictures have more impact on their consumers. Such a thesis supported by CNN effect leaning scholars such as Robinson (2013); Ammon (2001); Sharkey (1993); Vilmer (2012) and Perlmutter (2005), among others. However, a discussion with the respondents revealed a counter-thesis to this widely held standpoint as some

respondents to this study argued that the effects of viral and repeatedly broadcast images (specifically those selected for this study) diminished over time due to excessive repetition.

 Respondent 15 (2017) was of the view that Zimbabwean stories accompanied by images depicting violence on the farms, in political processes and in relation to economic meltdown dominated the international news especially around 2000 to 2008 to the extent that the images ended up "losing impact" due to massive repetition and their viral nature. Additionally, the respondent noted that in the beginning, the images stoked public emotions and provoked public outcry, but the situation changed along the way as people "got used to the images." Therefore, this could show that viral and repeatedly broadcast images have the potential to lose their impact with time due to the viewers' "adaptation" to the graphic nature of such pictures.

Moreover, respondent 16 (2017) noted that the (viral) iconic pictures and their repetition thereof on international television news stations created "boredom" which consequently curtailed the effects and "value" of such television imagery. The view that the repetition of pictures by television station makes them lose their impact is related to an *Aljazeera* (2017, September 30) report broadcast in 2017. In the report in question, it was noted that the overproduction, repetition and sharing of Che Guevara's iconic image has diluted the image's message. Therefore, this arguably shows that repeated and viral photos suffer from the risk of losing value or getting their message diluted and pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis are not an exception, as evidenced by some respondents' responses.

Furthermore, respondent 20 (2017) concurred with respondent 15 (2017) and noted that viral and repeated images create "emotional resistant" on the part of the viewers. In relation to that, the respondent cited the case of Syria and observed that during the start of the conflict, there was a lot of public outcry in relation to the atrocities that were taking place during the on-going Syrian conflict. The respondent added that however, with time, policymakers and the public in general, seem to have developed "insulators" against the emotions evoked by the images in question. Thus, it can be said that real-time news images and viral images make the viewers to be used to, accustomed or "comfortable" with them, with the passage of time. In the same wavelength, 10 respondents mentioned that pictures depicting Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis lost their impact especially in terms of inducing emotions and public outcry, due to over repetition by international media stations.

### 6.1.7   Gender and Racial Bias

As shown in the theoretical and conceptual chapter of this thesis, both image science and iconology give us the possibility of studying what people say about images (Mitchell, 2015; 1986). In line with the aim of this study of exploring how the pictures selected for this study are interpreted by the respondents (EU officials); respondents were asked to make any remarks in relation to iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. It is against this backdrop that the issue of gender and racial bias in light of the pictures in question emerged. Therefore, this section discusses what the respondents said in the context of gender and racial bias vis-à-vis the iconic pictures selected for this study.

Ten respondents were of the view that there was gender bias in the pictorial coverage of Zimbabwe's Crisis by international media stations as the pictures that characterise the country's crisis, largely depict men at the expense of women. For instance, respondent 18 (2017) noted that an observation would reveal that although Morgan Tsvangirai was attacked by the police with women such as Grace Kwinjeh and Sekai Holland, his image became the most dominant in international news at the expense of that of his afore-mentioned female colleagues. In addition to that, respondent 20 (2017) noted that although known female activists such as Lucia Matibenga, Beatrice Mtetwa and Johana Mamombe have been brutally attacked by the police and ZANU PF functionaries many times, their images did not become as dominant as their male counterparts like Lovemore Madhuku and Nelson Chamisa. It is against such a backdrop that the respondents argued that the pictures under study mirror gender bias by the international news networks in question. Such an argument is also in line with observation by the author of this thesis.

The gender bias in relation to the pictures selected for this study fits into the patriarchal narrative that is often accentuated by the way in which the media represent women. This is in harmony with Wood's (1994:31) observation that:

> First, women are underrepresented, which falsely implies that men are the cultural standard and women are unimportant or invisible. Second, men and women are portrayed in stereotypical ways that reflect and sustain socially endorsed views of gender. Third, depictions of relationships between men and women emphasize traditional roles and normalize violence against women.

In light of the above submission by Wood (1994) and in the context of this study, it could be said that the iconic pictures under study reflect the underrepresentation of women which also makes them "invisible" in light of the political violence meted out against them. The danger with such underrepresentation and "invisibility" of women in the media in general is that it

could normalise violence against them. However, in the case of Morgan Tsvangirai, it could be said that his picture probably became prominent due to his political stature as he was the leader of the main opposition party, the MDC. However, the prominence of Nelson Chamisa and Lovemore Madhuku's pictures, smacks of gender bias in terms of female pictorial representation.

In addition to gender bias mirrored by the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, some respondents also cited racial bias specifically in relation to pictures associated with the land reform programme. To that end, eleven respondents cited racial bias associated with iconic pictures depicting the land reform exercise in Zimbabwe. The crux of their argument was that not only white Zimbabweans were victims of the land reform programme yet the international media and particularly the pictures under study, tend to overlook black farm workers who worked on the same farms that were seized during the land reform programme. Respondent 22 (2017) noted that scores of black farm workers were killed during the land reform programme, yet their pictures remain extremely scant and nowhere near gaining an iconic status like the two iconic pictures selected for this study which depict violence during the land reform programme against white commercial farmers.

The argument above by the respondents corroborates observations by the researcher which also revealed that there was indeed racial bias in the pictorial coverage and representation of black farm workers in the international media in the context of the land reform programme in Zimbabwe. Although scholars such as Sachikonye (2003) chronicle the predicaments that befell black farm workers during the land reform programme which include; destruction of property, loss of livelihood, violence and death; there are no significant and dominant pictures from the international media depicting such predicaments. According to some respondents, such "racial bias" is mirrored by the iconic pictures selected for this study. In the context of observation, one could say that the fate of black farm workers in terms of international media coverage, specifically in terms of pictorial coverage, remained in the periphery. This is despite reports by *Independent* (2000, April 24) as early as 2000 that black farm workers were being killed during the land reform programme in Zimbabwe. Considering such reports and scholarly evidence, one could concur with the respondents that mention racial bias in relation to the iconic pictures under study. In short, it is worth to underline that respondents' submissions coupled with the researcher's observations reveal that the pictures relating to the land reform programme reveals racial bias against black farm workers. The reason behind that could be that

the international media stations in question, could have wanted to raise awareness about the situation particularly in the EU, US and broader Western world.

## 6.2    Pictures and Foreign Policy

Another theme that emerged from the data collected from the respondents relates to pictures selected for this study vis-à-vis the EU's policy attitude towards Zimbabwe. The discussion about the pictures under study and the EU-Zimbabwe relations nexus is in harmony with this chapter's heading: "What Do Pictures Do," and also in line with the exploration of the effects of the pictures under study on the respondents. The study of the effects of pictures on its consumers is one of the several aspects of iconology. As mentioned earlier on, Mitchell's (2013) interview in Budapest teaches us that iconology is the study of the interpretation of images' meanings and how they affect us emotionally, intellectually, and cognitively. The discussion of the pictures under study and the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe vis-à-vis the respondents' views is also in line with the phenomenon called the "CNN effect" which is defined by Robinson (2013) as shorthand for the notion that mainstream news media (including its images) were having an increased effect upon foreign policy formulation. As this discussion shall shortly reveal, some of the respondents believed that the graphic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis from international news stations, somehow swayed the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe.

Although the idea that television pictures can influence foreign policy trajectories has remained a subject of debate among scholars and policymakers; scholars such as Vilmer (2012), Perlmutter (1998; 2005), Ammon (2001) and Sharkey (1993) believe that the CNN effect, which largely hinges on television pictures, has a bearing on foreign policy formulation and implementation especially in global politics. However, Havens (2001) remains sceptical about the impact of pictures on foreign policy and even accuses Ammon (2001) of tending to "overstate the power of television imagery." Mitchell (1986) also cautions against the overemphasis of the effects of images. In concurrence with Havens (2001) and Mitchell's school of thought, it can be highlighted that, some respondents also cautioned on the dangers of overemphasis of the "power" of the pictures under study since verbal and statistical narratives about Zimbabwe's Crisis are also influential.

In making a case for images and foreign policy nexus, the afore-mentioned scholars cite the Somali, Libyan and Syrian cases as evidence that television imagery has the capacity to alter

foreign policy trajectories in global politics. Before discussing the respondents' standpoints about the pictures under study vis-à-vis Zimbabwe-EU relations; it is worth briefly focusing on the Somali, Libyan and Syrian examples. Such a discussion is necessary as some respondents also drew parallels between and among the Zimbabwean, Syrian, Somali and Libyan cases.

### 6.2.1   The Somali, Libyan and Syrian Cases

Before delving much into the discussion, it is important to highlight what foreign policy entails. Modelski (1962:6-7) defines foreign policy as: "The system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment." From a general perspective, foreign policy is a set of rules and guidelines that guide states, regional or international organisations in their relations with each other. Does television imagery affect foreign policy formulation and implementation in any way? This section seeks to tackle this question by discussing the Somali, Libyan and Syrian scenarios.

Sharkey (1993) argues that television pictures "drive foreign policy." In a bid to support such a stand point, Sharkey (1993) cites the example of the US intervention and pull-out of Somalia in 1992 and 1993 respectively. In light of the Somali case, both Perlmutter (2005) and Sharkey (1993) argue that the US intervened in Somalia because of televised pictures of starving children and pulled out because of images of dead US soldiers who were pulled on the streets of Mogadishu. Perlmutter (2005:118) dubs the Somali images: "Entrance Icons vs. Exit Icons." Therefore, it is important to note that images that sway foreign policy are usually associated with an iconic status, hence, Perlmutter's (2005:118) "Entrance vs. Exit Icons" label. In light of the CNN effect and icons related to Somalia, Holmes (2010) observes that: "For a war that began with memorable images, it is both fitting and ironic that it ended because of another set of dramatic images." Therefore, the US intervened and pulled out of Somalia due to television imagery which evoked feelings and caused public outcry in the US thereby forcing the Clinton administration to act on the situation.

Furthermore, Sharkey (1993) argues that that: "The photos from Somalia are...the ...example of how visual images can affect foreign policy" and adds that: "The photographs and the reactions they evoked sparked a nationwide debate about the political and ethical implications of the pictures and the media's influence on foreign policy." Correspondingly, Perlmutter

(1998:1) classifies such images as "icons of outrage." A sift through Sharkey's (1993) work reveals that images or pictures cause outcry on the part of the public and government officials which could lead to a seismic shift in foreign policy as evidenced by the Somali case. This in line with the dictates of the CNN effect. Holmes (2010) categorises iconic images into two categories: the famous and the infamous. The following is one of the "infamous" iconic images related to the Somali case study that is shown by Holmes (2010) which appeared on the CNN, among other international news channels.

**Picture N**



A US soldier's dead body is dragged on the streets in Somalia in 1992 (Holmes, 2010).

Apart from the Somali case, Vilmar (2012) cites images of brutalised protesters during the Libyan revolution as having played a role in the US and its allies' intervention in Libya in 2011. In relation to Libya and Somalia and the role of the pictures thereof, Vilmar (2012) cites the "CNN effect" as an important element to that regard. What is important to highlight is that the "CNN effect" relies heavily on the picture as Vilmer (2012) notes. Another case where the impact of pictures and the CNN effect was at play is when the Syrian government allegedly used chemical weapons against women and children in April 2017. At least 80 people were killed and the images of their horrific dead bodies where broadcast on international media platforms and attracted international condemnation and action specifically from the US. In light of the same incident, *The Washington Post* (2017 April 7) notes that: "This week, it was the images- gruesome photos of a chemical weapons attack on Syrian civilians — that moved

Trump, pushing the president, who ran on an "America first" platform of non-intervention, to authorize the launch of 59 Tomahawk cruise missiles at Syrian targets Thursday night." This is arguably one of the notable examples of the impact of pictures on policymaking.

Furthermore, another picture which appeared in the international media and which caused a lot of public outcry even amongst world leaders, including in the US, is the picture of a Syrian toddler named Alan Kurdi who drowned in Turkey in September 2015. The picture, which went viral, was shown on *CNN* (2015 September 12), among numerous television news stations. After seeing the picture, the then US President, Barrack Obama, called for urgent action in dealing with the Syrian refugee crisis. *CNN* (2015 September 12) reported that: "President Barack Obama said Friday that the image of a lifeless toddler who washed ashore on a Turkish beach after he and his family fled Syria should prompt action from the rest of the world, including the United States." By the same token, "Obama said every country needed to do more to help alleviate the crisis, and that the United States would accept at least 10,000 Syrian refugees in the next fiscal year. He also said the U.S. would try to eliminate some bureaucratic hurdles toward entering the country" (*CNN*, September 12). This incident shows a clear relationship between the impact of the mentioned televised picture and the US foreign policy trajectory in Syria, specifically in relation to the refugee crisis. Below is the picture of Alan Kurdi's lifeless body which evoked public outcry around the globe.

**Picture O**



Allan Kurd on the shores of Turkey after his death on 2 September 2015. He died when he and his family were fleeing the Syrian Civil War (*CNN* (2015) /Nilufer Demir).

According to some scholars, the effect of pictures and the resultant action thereof (CNN effect) varies. In the same vein, Robison in Vilmer (2012) proposes the "strong," "weak" and "Zero effect" model as an instrument of gauging the CNN effect. Accordingly, the "strong effect" is related to television imagery that causes public outcry and possibly followed by concrete political action like the Somali case in the early 1990s. The "weak effect" scenario relates to those cases which raise relative public outcry and relative action. However, Robinson in Vilmer (2012) argues that there is no "zero effect" scenario since all images are associated with effects albeit in varying degrees. However, the Rwandan Genocide case study runs contrary to the dictates of the "strong effect" argument. For instance, Havens (2001) notes that: "a flood of images of human suffering did not change US policy, providing a limit case of television's diplomatic influence. Here, the horrific images of machete-hacked bodies did not sway public opinion..." Therefore, the Rwandan scenario is not in line with the dictums of the CNN effect in general and the "strong effect" argument in particular. What about television imagery depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis? Did it change the country's relationship trajectory with the EU? The next chapter tackles this question from the point of view of the respondents.

### 6.2.2    Pictures and the EU's Attitude towards Zimbabwe

This section seeks to discuss respondents' remarks about the iconic pictures under study vis-à-vis the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe. Such a discussion is line with studying what respondents say about pictures, which is in harmony with the dictates of iconology and image science/*Bildwissenschaft*. Since this section is also associated with the effects of pictures on the respondents, the CNN effect becomes essential. However, before getting into the details of the discussion, it is important to briefly highlight the natures of the EU-Zimbabwe relations matrix and its regulatory framework.

The EU-Zimbabwe relations or cooperation fall under the broader EU-Africa relations spectrum. In the same vein, Babaud and Ndung'u (2012:16) alert us to the fact that current EU-Africa relations hinge on two instruments of cooperation which are; the Cotonou Agreement (2000) and the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (2007). Furthermore, Babaud and Ndung'u (2012:16) add that the Cotonou Agreement is a partnership agreement between the EU and 79 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries, which builds on the four Lomé Conventions which governed EC-ACP cooperation between 1975 and 2000 whereas the Joint Africa-EU Strategy is meant to deal with issues of common concern like peace and security, migration, trade, and

regional economic integration. Therefore, Zimbabwe-EU relations and cooperation are traceable to these frameworks of cooperation.

In addition, Gara (2009:19) traces Zimbabwe-EU relations from 1980 and notes that the relationship broke down in 2002 as evidenced by the EU's imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe. Due to the violent land reform and elections of 2000 and 2002, the EU imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2002 citing, among other things "strong polarisation, political violence and .... severe shortcomings" (Vollan cited in CNN, 2002, March 12). The EU's sanctions against Zimbabwe included: an arms embargo; a ban on technical assistance; financing and financial assistance related to military activities; a ban on the supply of equipment that could be used for internal repression; a visa ban for ministers and government officials and their spouses; and freeze of the assets belonging to ministers and government officials (Treasury Customs and Excise Division, 2006:3). Although the EU has been reviewing its sanctions on Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe's former President, Robert Mugabe, his wife and the Zimbabwe Defence Industries remained on the sanctions list at the time of writing this thesis. However, the EU has lifted most of its political and economic restriction on Zimbabwe. Efforts to normalise the relations are currently underway, especially in light of the assumption of power by the new President, Emmerson Mnangagwa after the unceremonious removal of Robert Mugabe by the army from the political scene. Despite the relatively frosty relations, EU remains Zimbabwe's biggest trading and humanitarian aid partner (European Commission, 2017). It is against such a background of political and economic cooperation that the study was interested in exploring how EU officials interpret iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis.

Pictures play an important role in any organisation's progression, hence, Evans and Hall (1999:2) observe that it is hard to think of one institution in society that does not use reproduced images. As this discussion will shortly reveal, the EU is not an exception. In addition to that, scholars such as Naveh (2002:1) argue that the media (including its images) is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation processes and political leaders take the media into consideration in its national and international aspects. All the respondents to this study acknowledged the essentiality of pictures, including those from the media, in their everyday work. In the same vein, Baum and Potter (2008) also link the media, foreign policy and public opinion, among other variables. In line with the first research question of this study, respondents were asked how they generally interpret the pictures under study, the issue of how the afore-mentioned pictures impacted on the EU-Zimbabwe relations matrix cropped up. For instance, respondent one (2015) pointed out that:

> The images affected the way the country is perceived by the EU and they acted as straightforward
> or empirical evidence that there are no property rights in Zimbabwe and the rule of law had broken

down to unbelievable and unacceptable levels. This is contrary to the EU value system and as a result, trust and mutual friendship began to deteriorate. No wonder why the EU imposed targeted measures against Zimbabwe in 2002. These targeted measures can also be related to political violence which was also witnessed during the farm invasions. Although there are reengagement efforts, the relationship has remained sour. In addition to the images, statistics especially from reputable NGOs and civic society organisations in relation to political violence and farm occupations also played a significant role in shaping the EU's attitude and foreign policy towards Zimbabwe.

What is important to note in the above quotation is the acknowledgement by the respondent that the images projected violence and a result, are partly to blame for the EU's imposition of sanctions on Zimbabwe. It is also important to note that when it comes to foreign policy issues, images are only a small part of the bigger picture. For instance, Sharkey (1993) notes that although television pictures could drive foreign policy to some extent; culture, economic and political interests should also be put into consideration as they also play a significant role. Correspondingly, Havens (2001) also notes that a host of historical and cultural factors including race, economics and history of relations ought not be overlooked when dealing with the effect of images especially in relation to their influence on foreign policy. As shall be later revealed, apart from pictures, there are other factors that influenced EU's stance on Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, respondent three (2015) noted that the images discouraged investors from EU countries to invest in Zimbabwe and noted that: "The dark cloud painted by these images made investors to be reluctant to visit the country and this lowered EU foreign direct investment (FDI) into Zimbabwe in a big way. In many instances, the EU discouraged member states and individuals from investing in Zimbabwe." Additionally, the same respondent also noted that even inflation was evident on some of the images especially those of people carrying stakes of notes and this also whittled down the zeal to invest in Zimbabwe by the business community from the European Union. Considering such a point of view, it could be said the pictures in question had a bearing on EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe as noted by some respondents.

In addition to that, respondent four (2015) strongly agreed that the pictures from the international media had a bearing on the EU-Zimbabwe relations. To that end, the respondent in question noted that:

> I think that the images had a bearing especially if you consider the fact that Zimbabwe was sanctioned by the EU, US, Canada and Australia due to its disregard for human rights and civil liberties. These human rights violations were largely reported by the media and the images that portrayed them were evidence of these abuses. So, the media especially through its pictorial evidence played a vital role in the decision leading to the sanctioning of the country. However, it should also be highlighted that diplomats through their cables also played a key role. Importantly, diplomatic cables sometimes rely on pictorial images.

Although they differed on the extent, 12 respondents to the study noted that the decision by the EU to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2002 was somehow related to television pictures portraying violence particularly on the farms and during election times. In the same wavelength, one of the respondents cited the image of Terry Ford who was assassinated by suspected state security agents in 2002 as one of the images which swayed the EU foreign policy on Zimbabwe, considering the public outcry that the image generated. In addition to that, respondent five (2015) noted that apart from the imposition of restrictive measures on Zimbabwe by the EU in 2002, the European bloc also issued travel warnings, and this affected both tourism and FDI from the EU. "I remember the EU issued several travel warnings to tourists in relation to political violence in the country. Such violence, which was also pictorially portrayed in the international media is part of the reason why the EU imposed travel restrictions on the country in 2002," noted respondent five (2015). Furthermore, another EU diplomat based in Harare noted that pictures play an important role in their work and they sometimes send pictorial evidence even to the EU headquarters in Brussels; hence the importance of pictures in foreign policy issues. However, despite the acknowledgement by all respondents that the pictures in question somehow influenced the EU policy stance and trajectory on Zimbabwe, the same respondents also cited several other important factors.

According to the respondents, other key factors shaping the EU foreign policy and attitude towards Zimbabwe include; reports from local and international NGOs, government officials' inflammatory rhetoric, hostile investment policies and the diaspora lobby, among others. In relation to NGOs and civic society lobby, respondent 12 (2016) argued that reports from reputable and local and international organisations such as Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, Lawyers for Human Rights, Transparency International, and Amnesty International, among others, oftentimes provided reliable and "scientific data" about the situation in Zimbabwe compared to pictures that can be subjected to different meanings, interpretations and manipulation. The respondent argued that such reports played a crucial role in shaping the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe.

Another factor that influences EU-Zimbabwe relations according to some respondents are Zimbabweans who leave abroad and who have persistently and consistently lobbied the European Parliament and the EU Commission in relation to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. In the same wavelength, respondent two (2015) argued that the diaspora lobby plays a significant role not only in the externalisation of Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis but also in raising awareness and lobbying the EU and the broader international

community to act on the situation in the country. In this regard, respondent 13 (2016) gave examples of demonstrations and petitions to the EU headquarters in Brussels of organisations such as *Tajamuka/Sesijikile*, *Sokwanele/Zvakwana* and Restoration of Human Rights in recent years and noted that besides the international media and its "ugly" pictures about Zimbabwe, such petitions by diaspora lobby groups also play an important role in providing valuable information in relation to lobbying and information provision to the EU. One could therefore argue that such lobbies could impact on EU's commitment to FDI and tourism in Zimbabwe. It is also worth mentioning that, Zimbabweans that are involved in the lobbies are mainly based in South Africa, UK, US, Belgium, Australia, among other countries. Most of these Zimbabweans in the diaspora fled political repression and shrinking economic opportunity in Zimbabwe.

However, it is also worth mentioning that most of these lobby organisations by Zimbabweans in the diaspora use pictures and videos to illustrate political violence and economic decline in Zimbabwe. Some of the pictures used by these lobby organisations in the diaspora are the same as the ones the international media has been showing over the years including the iconic pictures selected for this study. A closer look at the websites and activities of *Sokwanele/Zvakwana* and Restoration of Human Rights, among other diaspora lobby organisations, will reveal that pictures form an integral part of the diaspora lobby project. Citing the popular adage that a picture is worth more than a thousand words, respondent 12 (2016) noted that even some of the petitions submitted by some lobby groups to the EU embassy in Brussels contains pictures revealing deep-seated political violence and economic collapse; hence the importance of pictures. Therefore, pictures cut across televisions screens, websites, reports and petitions.

All the respondents to the study cited policies that were unfriendly to investors such as the land reform programme and the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (2007) as stumbling blocks to EU-Zimbabwe relations, specifically in the areas of tourism and investment. Respondent 19 (2017) noted that the indigenisation law drives away investors from the EU whilst the land reform programmes indicates that Zimbabwe is a country that does not respect property rights, hence the discouragement of EU nationals and companies to invest in Zimbabwe. According to the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (2007), foreign companies and potential investors must cede 51% of their shareholding to "indigenous" or black Zimbabweans. This means that every foreign company or potential investor must have a

maximum shareholding of 49%. Violation of the indigenous law is liable to five years imprisonment.

However, efforts are underway to revise the indigenisation law by the new government led by Emmerson Mnangagwa. This is being done to make the law investor friendly. On the other hand, the land reform programme which started in 2000 which entailed the compulsory acquisition of land in the hands of white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe seem to have been put to a halt by the current regime in Zimbabwe. However, the respondents emphasised more on the above factors as compared to the images under study. In light of the respondents' remarks, one could associate the pictures under study vis-à-vis their impact on EU-Zimbabwe, with the "weak effect" phenomenon. However, their impact should not be overlooked.

## 6.3    The Pitfalls of Pictures

According to most respondents of this study and several scholars such Robinson (2013), Perlmutter (1998; 2005), Vilmer (2012) and Ammon (2001) and Sharkey (1993), among others; pictures have a powerful effect on individuals especially due to their capacity to stick to memory, carve history, stir emotions and public outcry, entrench stereotypes and sometimes trigger action from policymakers. However, despite their "power," pictures are not immune from drawbacks and shortcomings. Therefore, this section seeks to discuss these pitfalls or shortcomings of the pictures under study and pictures in general, particularly from the point of view of the respondents.

### 6.3.1    Manipulation, "Fake News," Subjectivity, Selectivity and the "Missing" Picture

From the discussions with the respondents during the research, a number of shortcomings associated with the pictures under study and pictures in general which emerged include; pictures' susceptibility to manipulation, selectivity and subjectivity and their inability to tell a complete story. A sift through the responses of the respondents reveals that some of them were wary of the fact that pictures could be manipulated. In the same vein, respondent seven (2016) noted that: "Whilst modern technology has made it easier to produce and distribute numerous pictures across space and time, the same technology has also made it possible for pictures to be "photoshoped," "doctored" or manipulated in pursuit of narrow individual and institutional interests." As evidence to these claims, respondent seven (2016) cited the example of the Jewish Orthodox newspaper called *Di Tzeitung* which manipulated the famous White House Situation Room iconic picture taken during the Bin Laden raid by deleting Hilary Clinton and

another woman from the photograph. Therefore, this is clear evidence that pictures are not immune from editing or "manipulation" for personal and institutional expediency.

**Picture P**



Bin Laden's capture image "photoshopped" by *Di Tzeitung* newspaper by removing Hillary Clinton (Doble (2010)/*Di Tzeitung*).

Respondent 16 (2017) also pointed out that in the digital age of advanced technology and "fake news," it could be possible that some of the pictures that were shown on *BBC* and *CNN* were manipulated for the purposes of political expediency. Six respondents to the study mentioned that pictures run the risk of manipulation and the iconic pictures under study should not be treated as an exception. However, respondent 20 (2017) argued that although pictures are subject to manipulation, "reputable" media houses such as the *BBC*, *Aljazeera*, *France 24* and *CNN* are less likely to manipulate images as they have a reputation to protect.

Some scholars alert us to the fact that, apart from being prone to manipulation, pictures are also subjected to acts of "selectivity" by journalists and media houses. This means that journalists and media houses choose, sometimes in a biased fashion, the pictures that they want to broadcast according to institutional expediency. In the same wavelength, Fishman (2017:1) notes that: "At the scene, the camera creates an infinite number of images but only one or two will get published.....With each catastrophe, photo editors at major news organisations will examine thousands of images of devastation, looking for one that will make a cut." This shows that photojournalist tend to select images that they think best depict the situation or in line with their agenda. In the same vein, Charaudeau, Lochard and Saoulages in Vilmer (2012) argue

that: "the priority given (...) to spectacular images and unifying subjects with high emotional impact such as the exhibiting and relating of the victims' lives, reveals bias in the way the conflict is dealt with..." This selection of images from a pool of others is what Vilmer (2012) labels "selectivity." In light of selectivity, 11 respondents argued that the iconic pictures depicting violence during the land reform programme extremely overlook the plight of black farm workers in favour of the white commercial farmers. This shows a selective approach to the broadcasting of images, hence, selectivity.

However, the challenge with selectivity is that it has the potential to distort the reality on the ground. For instance, Sharkey (1993) notes that in the Somali case; the images distorted the situation on the ground as they were one-sided since they did not show food being delivered in Mogadishu as well as Somalis who demonstrated in support of the slain US soldiers. One could say that, had these "positive images" been shown, the perception of the situation would have taken a different dimension. By the same token, the same argument can be extended to Zimbabwe where a closer look could reveal that the international media seem to have been obsessed with showing negative pictures at the expense of the positive ones. This could be linked to the wider negative publicity problem that African countries still face from international media stations. For instance, Okgibo (2007:109) observes that international media houses always focus on "the bizarre and absurd" when covering Africa. This means that there is a deliberate selectivity approach in terms of stories and accompanying pictures of the media houses in question. Another challenge with selectivity is that it creates a scenario characterised by "missing pictures" which portrays an incomplete story. In one of her speeches, Nigerian Novelist and Storyteller, Ngozi (2009) warns of "the danger of a single story" as it might lead to stereotypes due to the overlooking of the other side of the story. Therefore, there is a danger that selectivity in Zimbabwe which could be associated with the "single story" pictorial narrative.

Another challenge which is associated with the pictures under study is that they are also subjective as they are subjected to different interpretations and meanings. In light of subjectivity and varying interpretations, Bonnell (1998:11) posits: "Like books, images and their combinations may be "read" in unpredictable ways. Pictures meant to emphasize class identity also conveyed—often unintentionally and subliminally—ideas about gender and gender relations, ethnicity, and other forms of cultural and social identification." By the same token, two respondents interpreted the image of a woman with two children being evicted from her farm differently. One respondent said it showed boldness on the part of the woman whilst

another said it was one of the most pitiful images depicting the land reform programme. The two-conflicting interpretations of the same picture show that pictures are prone to multiple interpretations and meanings, hence, subjectivity. Sharkey (1993) warns that real time images of violence and conflict are also subjective and have the potential to distort public opinion and government priorities. The next section deals with pictures vis-a-vis perception hurdles, optical illusions and blindness.

## 6.3.2 Optical illusions, Perception Hurdles, Blindness and Deafness

In addition to other challenges discussed above, pictures are also associated with optical illusions which could affect even their perception by the viewer. For instance, Yale (2014) alerts us to a condition called prosopagnosia (a neurological disorder that impairs a person's ability to perceive or recognise faces; also known as face blindness). People suffering from this condition have nothing wrong with their vision but their perception. Therefore, individuals suffering from this condition might have challenges to perceive certain faces on pictures. Perception challenges could also be associated with optical illusions. Therefore, consumers of pictures, even those selected for this study, could face such a challenge. However, no respondent to this study suffered from the prosopagnosia condition.

Another drawback related with pictures is that those who are visually impaired (blind) cannot see them. Even if someone else was to describe the picture to them, it would be impossible for them to reproduce the exact image in their mind. In addition to that, the blind cannot see the gestures especially in relation to moving images (videos). Although the deaf cannot hear the sound (in relation to videos) they can actually see the moving images, gestures and the text. Although pictures subject the blind and deaf to such challenges, it is important to note that visual culture in general does not overlook deafness and blindness. In the same vein, Mitchell (1998:90) notes that: "Visual culture entails a meditation on blindness, the invisible, the unseen, the unseeable, and the overlooked; also, on deafness and the visible language of gesture; it also compels the attention to the tactile, the auditory, the haptic, and the phenomenon of synesthesia." Thus, blindness and deafness limit the affected individuals to fully consume television images but such individuals remain in the realm of visual culture.

## 6.4 What do Pictures Want? The Biological Aspect of Pictures

When it comes to the study or analysis of pictures, there is a tendency by scholars and researchers to gravitate towards the study of their effects. In that regard, focus is usually on their emotive capabilities, their description and the language used to describe them, their

movement, how they are perceived, and the memories associated with them, among various aspects. However, one of Mitchell's (1996) seminal articles runs contrary to this conventional approach by treating pictures as biological or living organisms with desires, needs and wants. In light of the biological dimension of pictures, Mitchell (1996:74) poses the question: what do pictures really want? In the same wavelength, Mitchell (1996:74) adds that, if one could interview pictures one encounters in a year, what answers would they give? Surely, many of the pictures would give Chaucer's "wrong answers": that is, pictures would want to be worth a lot of money; to be admired and praised as beautiful; to be adored..., they would want a kind of mastery over the beholder (Mitchell, 1996:74). Against the above backdrop, one could also pose the question: what do iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis really want? Taking a leaf from Mitchell's (1996) work cited above, this section seeks to tackle this question.

Since the pictures under study depict victims of political violence and economic collapse, maybe they want to be seen by many relevant authorities (including the international community) who can intervene to salvage the situation. In that regard, they might desire to go viral since Mitchell (1996:73) argues that "some images…have legs." As discussed in chapter three of the thesis, scholarly evidence, observations and respondents all pointed to the fact that, the iconic pictures under study went viral and were repeated several times on international television news stations such as the *BBC*, *CNN*, *France 24 English* and *Aljazeera English*. In this regard, it could therefore be a coincidence that these pictures wanted to be repeated and to go viral in order to be "heard" by the concerned stakeholders, including EU officials. On the other hand, since these pictures painted a gloomy picture about Zimbabwe, maybe they did not want to go viral in order to "protect" the national image of Zimbabwe from the damaging effects of negative international media publicity and scrutiny.

Furthermore, part of the discussion in this chapter revealed the pictures' ability (specifically those under study) to induce emotions and even provoke public outcry. A sift through the responses of the respondents reveal that their feelings towards the pictures ranged from; anger, hopelessness, fear, horror, pity and sympathy. However, Mitchell (1996:81) argues that: "What pictures want is not the…effect they produce." Therefore, if one stretches Mitchell's (1996:81) standpoint, one can argue that the pictures under study might not even be interested in the effects that they produce. Contrariwise, the same pictures could want to induce feelings such as fear, anger, pain and sympathy to warrant attention and intervention from concerned parties.

Moreover, Mitchell (1996:82) concludes his work by arguing that pictures might want nothing: "What pictures want then is not to be interpreted, decoded, worshiped, smashed, exposed, demystified, or to enthral their beholders. They may not even want to be granted subjectivity or personhood by well-meaning commentators who think that humanness is the greatest compliment they could pay to pictures." Therefore, even the pictures under this study might want nothing after all; including being asked what they want. In the same vein, the pictures under study may want to be left alone. However, such a scenario is almost impossible considering the facts that, the pictures in question, portray acts of massive political violence and economic suffering which makes ignoring them almost impossible.

## 6.5    Pictures of Zimbabwe Crisis and their Interpretation: A Comparative View

In the previous chapter of this thesis, still and moving pictures selected for this study were studied (interpreted) using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis. On the other hand, this chapter sought to assess how the respondents (EU officials) interpreted the same pictorial material. Therefore, this section seeks to compare how the author of the thesis and the respondents interpreted the above-mentioned pictures. In addition to that, this section also assesses whether there were any variations in the way officials from different EU institutions (European Parliament, European Commission and EU Delegation to Zimbabwe) interpreted the pictures in question.

As indicated in the preceding chapter, the study of the pictures selected for this study using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis demonstrated the ability of such pictures to provoke deep emotions; especially anger, horror, hopelessness and sympathy. Similarly, respondents to this study also indicated that the same pictures stirred the same emotions on their part. The pictures of Terry Ford's dead body, Morgan Tsvangirai's battered face, and a woman helplessly standing by the gate with her children during the seizure of her farm, stood out in that respect. Also, Scholars such as Perlmutter (2005), Sharkey (1992) and Vilmer (2012), among others, advance the claim that pictures have the capacity stir emotions and sometimes, public outcry.

Another point of convergence between the author's interpretation of the pictures and that of the respondents relates to the "power" of moving pictures (videos) over still pictures. The analysis from Marotzi and Stoetzer's model showed that, in terms of impact, videos are more potent compared to still pictures; a conclusion that is in harmony with the viewpoint of most

respondents. The potency of videos over still pictures emanated from the fact that videos consist of a combination of sound, gestures, text and pictures which produces a "powerful" effect compared to still pictures, hence, their potency. Another point of convergence that is worth highlighting is that apart from stirring emotions, the pictures in question paint a grim and gloom picture on the national image of Zimbabwe which could potentially curtail tourism and foreign direct investment in the country. Both the respondents and the author identified gender and racial bias in terms of media representation of women and blacks vis-à-vis political violence and suffering in Zimbabwe; an issue that borders on patriarchal hegemony and racial bias, respectively.

However, there are some conclusions which the author reached but which the respondents did not establish. For instance, the author established symbolism as a dominant phenomenon in most of the pictures that were dealt with in the last chapter. Such symbolism was overlooked by the respondents in their interpretation of the same pictures. As the discussion in the last chapter revealed, symbolism associated with the pictures under study relates to communism, war, cultural heritage, suffering and a police state.

The study of the pictures in question also established the use of metapictures in an artistic and ironic form to portray violence and extreme suffering in Zimbabwe. Metapictures are pictures inside other pictures and a television that appears inside another television set is an example of a metapicture (see Mitchell, 2015). As shown in the last chapter, a number of metapictures were identified in the two videos that were selected for this study. Despite their existence, the respondents did not mention any metapictures. Additionally, there were no significant variations in the way the respondents interpreted the pictures under study despite their varied political backgrounds, ideological inclinations and geographical location.

## 6.6 Conclusion

This chapter tackled the first research question of this study which is premised on how the pictures selected for this study are generally interpreted by EU officials. Accordingly, the respondents' feelings, thoughts, perceptions, memories, remarks and descriptions vis-à-vis the pictures in question were analysed. Therefore, an array of emotions (fear, pity, horror, anger, and hopelessness etc.) invoked by these pictures was underlined. Also, it was revealed that the pictures under study stuck in the memory of the respondents for longer periods compared to

verbal and statistical narratives. In addition, it was noted that moving television pictures are "livelier" and more potent compared to still images due to the former's ability to combine sound, text, gestures and pictures; as illustrated by Mitchell's (1998). The chapter revealed iconophobia and iconoclasm and the two ideologically conflicting camps: those who were anxious about the pictures and wanted them destroyed and those who wanted them preserved and exposed to the public: iconophobes and iconoclasts and iconodules and iconophiles, respectively. In addition, the pictures also led to the emergence of a counter image in form of colossal state propaganda. Additionally, it was noted that the over-repetition and viral nature of the pictures under study diluted their message, contrary to the CNN effect trajectory. Racial and gender bias projected by the pictures under study was also underlined. Also, it was established that the pictures in question, swayed the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe as evidenced by EU's sanctions on Zimbabwe, and travel and investment warnings. However, the EU's interest, diaspora lobby, NGO and civic society reports were largely cited as major shapers of the EU-Zimbabwe relations matrix. Moreover, this chapter also revealed some pitfalls related to pictures such as; overestimation of their power, proneness to manipulation (e.g. "photo-shopping"), subjectivity (e.g. varying interpretations) and selectivity which distorts their meaning. The next section discusses the pictures under study in light of Zimbabwe's national image and economic trajectory.

**Chapter 7: Pictures, Zimbabwe's National Image and Economic Trajectory**

*A country's image or brand "impacts virtually every aspect of its international engagement, and thus plays a critical role in its economic, social, political and cultural progress,"* Anholt (2005).

## 7 Introduction

The previous chapter explored how respondents interpreted the iconic pictures selected for this study. As such, the chapter discussed the respondents' feelings, thoughts, memories, remarks, perceptions and descriptions in light of the pictures in question. This chapter focuses on the respondents' views about the pictures under study vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. In addition to that, the chapter also focuses on the respondents' perspectives about the pictorial images in question in light of the economic trajectory. This chapter seeks to tackle the second and third research questions of this study. The second research question deals with respondents' views about the pictures under study vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe whereas the third research question is premised on the respondents' remarks about the pictures in question in the context of Zimbabwe's economy. In terms of theoretical insights, the chapter utilises image science/*Bildwissenschaft*, iconology, theory of framing and the concept of national images. This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part deals with pictures and the national image of Zimbabwe whereas the second part deals with the pictures in question and Zimbabwe's economy. Accordingly, the chapter begins by discussing the definition of a national image and its significance. This is followed by a discussion on the respondents' views about the same pictures vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. The second and last segment of the chapter delves on the respondents' views about the afore-mentioned pictures in light of the country's economic dynamics.

## 7.1 What is a National Image?

Kunczik (2013:13) traces national images from the term "image," which became popular in the 1950s when it was popularly used to describe the aura of a person in public life, a party, a product, a nation, a people, and so forth. Accordingly, Kunczik (2013:14) defines a national image as "the cognitive representation that a person holds of a given country, what a person believes to be true about a nation and its people." Also, Kunczik's definition dovetails with Boulding's (1961:391) postulation which treats a national image as "the total cognitive, affective and evaluative structure of the behaviour unit, or its internal view of itself and its universe." Therefore, the inclusion of the word "cognitive" in the above definitions indicates that national images are associated with perceptions, judgements and contemplations about

given countries. Moreover, a more simplified definition of a national image by Kunczik (1990:44) in Okigbo (2007:108) views an image of a nation as constituting "the totality of attributes that a person recognises (or imagines) when he contemplates that nation." In short, a national image is what people think and believe about a nation. National images are therefore intangible entities and as this discussion will shortly reveal, their forms differ from individual to individuals depending on each individual's thoughts, beliefs and contemplations about a certain country.

It is also important to differentiate a national and national identity. Kunczik (2013:13) alerts us to the perspective that national identity is defined as what is believed by the (majority of the) people about their own nation and is intimately intertwined with people's values, customs, and norms. Therefore, one could say that national identity is what people think, feel and believe about themselves whereas a national image is what other people think about a certain nation. Therefore, national identity tends to be inward looking compared to the concept of national images.

Turning back to national images, Boulding (1961:392) makes an observation that national images are formed mostly in childhood, mostly in the family group and public instruction and media propaganda merely reinforce images derived from family culture, hence, imposed images are fragile by comparison with those which are deeply internalised and transmitted through family and other intimate sources. This chapter is mostly interested in "imposed" national image of Zimbabwe cultivated in the minds of the respondents through the pictures under study. The pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis fall under Boulding's (1961:392) "public instruction and propaganda" as they are extracted from international media stations. However, this study does not overlook images that are formed outside "public instruction and propaganda."

It is also important to highlight the nature of national images. Accordingly, a national image neatly fits in Mitchell's (2015:6) expression that: "You can't hang an image." Therefore, unlike pictures that are tangible, national images are intangible and mental entities that exist in the minds of their beholders. A national image is also in sync with another Mitchell's (1986:10) description which treats an image as something "imaginary, speculative and metaphorical." In his definition of images, Mitchell (1986:10) notes that images include; pictures, statues, optical illusions, maps, diagrams, dreams, hallucinations, spectacles, projections, poems, patterns,

memories, and even ideas. In light of the above definition of images, national images seem to fall under ideas and memories as they are mental entities.

In addition to that, Mitchell's (1986:10) idea of imagery includes an image family tree which consists of five families of images: (1) graphic images (pictures, statues and designs); (2) optical images (mirrors and projections); (3) perceptual images (sense data "species" and appearance); (4) mental images (dreams, memories, ideas and fantasmata); and (5) verbal images (metaphors and descriptions). A closer look at each "family" of images will reveal that national images fall under mental images (dreams, memories, ideas and fantasmata). The mental nature of images could explain why different individuals could have different images about the same country. For instance, in relation to this study, the researcher asked the respondents to comment about the pictures under study in relation to Zimbabwe's national image. The responses varied and ranged from violence, lawlessness, poverty, racism, dictatorship etc. The varied responses also revealed how subjective, fluid, abstract, and multi-dimensional national images are.

### 7.1.1 Perceived National Images versus Projected Media Images of Nations

Li and Chitty (2009) classify national images into two distinct camps: (1) perceived images of other nations and; (2) projected media images of other nations. Accordingly, Li and Chitty (2009:1) posit that: "Perceived images of nations can be identified as the pictures of other nations in the minds of people from the perspective of social psychology. Such an image is tied up with the attributes of the object and those of its beholders." Therefore, perceived images of other nations are "preconceived" and "premeditated" beliefs, thoughts, contemplations and perceptions people hold in relation to other nations. Moreover, Li and Chitty (2009:2) also argue that stereotypes are intimately related to perceived images of other nations. In addition to that, Kuncizik (2013:14) concurs by postulating that "images of nations, at least partly, can be understood as hardened prejudices...that have mostly grown through long historical processes." Therefore, stereotypes and prejudices are closely linked with perceived images of other nations.

In addition to that, Alexander and Levin in Li and Chitty (2009:2) assert that the images (especially perceived images) or stereotypes that a nation has of another depend on three structural features of interstate relations: goal compatibility, relative power/capability, and

relative cultural status, or sophistication. Therefore, the assessments towards these structural relations will determine the kind of images that are classified as ally, enemy, barbarian, imperialist, and dependent (colonial) images, and subsequently can influence compatible international behaviours as shown in the following table;

**Table 3: Status, Image and Possible Action**

| Relationship Pattern of other Nation | Image of other Nation | Potential Action |
|---|---|---|
| Goal Compatibility<br>Status Equal<br>Power Equal | Ally | Cooperation |
| Goal Incompatibility<br>Status Equal<br>Power Equal | Enemy | Attack or Conflict |
| Goal Incompatibility<br>Status Lower<br>Power Lower | Dependent | Control |
| Goal Incompatibility<br>Status Lower<br>Power Higher | Barbarian | Potential Invader |
| Goal Incompatibility<br>Status Higher<br>Power Higher | Imperialist | Sabotage |

Images of other nations as a function of goal compatibility, relative status, and relative power (Herrmann & Fischerkeller, as cited in Alexander et al. (2005:30) in Li and Chitty (2009:2)

From the information on the above table, one can say perceived images of other nations play an important role as they ultimately determine the attitude and action to be taken by one country on another. However, there is a second type of national images called projected images of other nations which also operate in conjunction with perceived images of other nations.

Projected media images of other nations are projected through the media and could be classified under what Boulding (1961:392) calls "imposed national images" through "public instruction and propaganda." These kinds of national images are linked to the media, hence, Li and Chitty (2009:4) observe that experts such as Kunczik (1997); Smith (1973); Galtung & Ruge (1965) and Tunstall (1970) insist that the media can be the strongest international image former. In the same wavelength, empirical evidence from scholars such as Saleem (2007); Chyi & McCombs (2004); Dell'Orto, Dong, Moore & Schneeweis (2004); Brewer, Graf & Willnat (2003); Nwuneli, Okyoye, Okunna & Ayo (1993) and Manheim & Albritton (1983) reveal that exposure to media reports can increase audiences' attention on foreign countries (Li and Chitty, 2009:4).

Projected media images of other nations relate with this study considering the fact that this chapter seeks to explore the respondents' views about pictures from the international media vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. The media, in this case through its pictures, could play a key role in shaping the image of Zimbabwe. In the same vein, Li and Chitty's (2009:3) argue that: "Media as the essential channel for people to get information on international issues, contribute heavily to national image projection" Thus, the media plays an important role on its audiences in as much as projected media images of any nation are concerned.  National image development is also related to the theory of framing which is discussed at length in the theoretical and conceptual framework section of this thesis.

It is also important to highlight that Li and Chitty (2009:7) developed a model for analysing national images within the context of the theory of framing. What is eye catching in their model is that it consists of public frames (media representation) and private frames (public perceptions) which are related to projected national images of nations and perceived national images of nations, respectively. Public frames are important to this study especially when it is borne in mind that this study focused on iconic images from the international media. However, private frames should not be overlooked as the two frames often operate in conjunction.

### 7.1.2   The Significance of National Images

As discussed before, national images are mainly about perceptions, beliefs and contemplations about a certain country, no matter how subjective these attributes may be. Labelling the national image of any country as a "country's brand," Anholt (2005) stresses on the importance of the maintenance of a positive national image for developmental purposes and argues that a country's image or brand "impacts virtually every aspect of its international engagement, and thus plays a critical role in its economic, social, political and cultural progress." Li and Chitty (2009) underscore the importance of a positive national image for any country and prescribe strategic public relations as a way of maintaining a favourable national image. Therefore, the vitality of any nation's image including Zimbabwe should not be overlooked.

One significant perspective with regard to the vitality of national images is that decisions made in relation to certain countries are influenced by the national images (real or perceived) of those particular countries. There is literature which supports this perspective. For instance, Boulding (1961:391) alerts us to the view that:

> We must recognise that the people whose decisions determine the policies and actions of nations, do not respond to "objective" facts of the situation, whatever that may mean, but to their "image" of the situation. It is what we think the world is like, not what it is really like, that determines our behaviour. If our image of the world is in some sense "wrong," of course, we may be disappointed in our expectations and we may therefore revise our image; if this revision is in the direction of "truth," there is presumably a long-run tendency for the "image" and the "truth" to coincide. Whether this is so or not, it is always the image not the truth that immediately determines behaviour. We act according to the way the world appears to us, not necessarily according to the way it is

In addition to that, Li and Chitty (2009:1) concur with Boulding and argue that: "How a country is perceived and projected by other countries can result in changes in their mutual relationships and to their strategic responses." Moreover, a host of scholars who include Anholt (2005); Holsti (1962, 1968); White (1965); Rosenberg (1965); Hoffmann (1968); Alexander et al. (2005); Kunczik (1997) and Boulding (1958) agree that how decision-makers perceive other countries influences their decision-making in foreign policy formulation and consequently bilateral relations of states (Li and Chitty, 2009:2). Therefore, national images, whether perceived rightly or wrongly, have a bearing on any country's foreign relations and engagement.

As this discussion will shortly reveal; from the point of view of the respondents, the pictures under study, together with other factors, tainted Zimbabwe's national image which ultimately compromised the country's relations with the EU and its Western allies. Generally speaking, other countries that suffer from a negative national image particularly in the eyes of the West include; Iran, Russia, Syria, Sudan and North Korea, among others. Worryingly, although countries make decisions and policies based on other countries' images, in some cases such images do not depict the real situation on the ground, a view supported by Boulding (1961:391). Anholt (2005) also shares the same view and notes that: "The brand images of countries, whether good or bad, are seldom an entirely accurate reflection of the reality of the country. In the case of developing countries, the most common reason for this is time: the country may change quite quickly, but its image lags behind by years or decades and sometimes even centuries." This perspective seems to hold water. For instance, one respondent to this study argued that although the situation on the ground in Zimbabwe has improved compared to what it was in 2008, many people still associate the country with the period 2008, when the country was at the peak of its political and economic crisis. Thus, national images are not always in sync with the actual situation on the ground of a given country.

Furthermore, Scott (1965:100) in Li and Chitty (2009:5) observes that an image of a nation comprises of three layers: cognitive attributes (the perceived characteristics of the nation),

affective attributes (the liking or disliking of the object), and action attributes (the responses to the object). The three attributes are intimately interlinked and could influence state perceptions and relations in a big way. For instance, the table above shown by Li and Chitty (2009:9) indicates that nations perceived by others as enemies are prone to attack whereas those perceived as allies enjoy friendly relations and cooperation. This reveals the vitality of national images in international relations and cooperation.

Importantly, one school of thought views national images as engines for economic growth and development, hence, Li and Chitty's (2009:4) claim that: "The nation's reputation can politically and economically be an asset or liability." Correspondingly, Anholt (2005) concurs by pointing out that without a powerful and positive reputation or "nation-brand," no country can consistently compete for consumers, tourists, investors, immigrants and the respect and attention of other countries and the world's media. In the same vein, Kunczik (1997) and Boulding (1958) cited in Li and Chitty (2009:4) postulate that positive reputations help countries to attain foreign goals, attract overseas investment, tourists and education whereas images of nations in permanent crisis or showing economic unreliability, can discourage investment, cause future crises, even military conflicts. As this discussion shall shortly reveal, since the year 2000, the damaged national image of Zimbabwe (partly due to the pictures under study) curtailed foreign direct investment and drove away tourists especially from the EU and the broader Western world. Discussions with the respondents also revealed that the EU discouraged its citizens from investing and visiting Zimbabwe especially at the zenith of the country's crisis (2000 to 2008).

Moreover, another perspective views national images as critical in terms of global power and influence. Li and Chitty (2009:1) argue that positive national images not only create domestic political support but also enlarge a country's international influence which in turn accelerates integration into global markets, participation in global affairs, and the enhancement of a country's status on the world stage. Correspondingly, Leonard in Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade (2007:18) cited in Li and Chitty (2009:4) observes that national images, in fact, are one part of a state's soft power and are also public goods that can serve to generate either a favourable or an unfavourable environment for the public and the state. To that end, although debatable, respondent seven to the study cited the US as an example of a country that has managed to brand itself as a democracy that abides by the rule of law,

hence its dominance in global politics and economic affairs. Therefore, national images are important in the carving of global influence by nation states.

Also, Anholt (2005) emphasises on the importance of "branding" for the achievement of a reputable national image and asserts that: "In short, nation branding ensures a faster and surer return on the investment which countries, their donors and foreign investors are making in their development." By the same token, Wang (2008) cited in Li and Chitty (2009:4) observes that the concept of branding and the pursuit of branding communication strategy have been introduced in national image management to attract international audiences' attention and forge their engagement. Li and Chitty (2009) also concur with Wang (2008) and Anholt (2005) and observe that since the 20th century, particularly in the Cold War era, governments became aware of the significance of systematic image construction and globalized communication, has promoted a surge in national image construction. Thus, the importance of national images in the context of reputation, global influence and economic growth and development should not be overlooked. In fact, Anholt (2005) argues that a good national image is "the single most valuable item any nation possesses" and should be protected, developed and exploited for meaningful economic growth and development.

Another perspective worth mentioning is that national images can be distorted to achieve parochial agendas and interests. Accordingly, Boulding (1961:393) laments: "The national image is basically a lie, or at least a perspective distortion of the truth, which perhaps accounts for the ease with which it can be perverted to justify monstrous cruelties and wickedness." Therefore, national images can be manipulated to suit parochial political, religious, economic and cultural interests. However, the importance of national images to nation states is worth underlining.

## 7.2    Pictures and the National Image of Zimbabwe

This section discusses the respondents' perspectives about the pictures under study vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe. Such a discussion is in line which iconology which deals with how images affect us cognitively, intellectually and emotionally (Mitchell, 2013). The word "cognitive" is associated with perception and therefore closely linked to national images which are partly shaped by perception as indicated in the previous section of this chapter. This section is also in harmony with the dictums of image science which emphasises on the "scientific" and systematic study of images. As it shall be shortly revealed, the pictures under study created an

array of perceptions or images in relation to Zimbabwe's national image. Such an array of perceptions or images on a single nation dovetails with Boulding's (1961:391) observation that: "A nation is some complex of the images of the persons who contemplate it, as there are many different persons, so there are many different images." The images that were associated with the pictures under study by the respondents range from violence, hostility, lawlessness, poverty, racism, suffering to inflation, among others and are discussed in the section below.

### 7.2.1 The Image of Violence and Hostility

An important issue which protruded during discussions with respondents is that the pictures under study projected a violent and hostile national image about Zimbabwe. Boulding (1961:393) warns against a violent national image and alerts us to the view that hostility or friendliness is an important dimension of a national image. Respondent two argued that: "These images of violence reinforce the perception that Zimbabwe is a country with a government that thrives on violence. The national image created is that of violence and hostility. These images are not doing any good to the national image of Zimbabwe and the way the country is perceived even by the European Union." Correspondingly, respondent four noted that the pictures in question "presented a negative picture about the country: a picture of an ageing despot (former President Robert Mugabe) and war veterans who were energetic, intolerant, unrestrained and violent. The image was of a country not at peace with itself." Thus, from the above responses, a link could be established between the pictures under study and violence and hostility as attributes of Zimbabwe's national image. This is a cause for concern considering that Anholt (2005) encourages nations to portray an image of "stable and responsible governance" like Sweden in order to promote economic growth and development through tourism, FDI and attracting foreign labour.

Respondent 15 (2017) also concurred with the viewpoints of the two respondents cited above as he pointed out that: "Since 2000, Zimbabwe gained notoriety for its violence related to the land reform programme, electoral and other political processes. Such violence was pictorially depicted in the media. The images of Terry Ford's dead body, Morgan Tsvangirai, and Lovemore Madhuku after their brutal attack by state security agents paints a picture of violence about Zimbabwe." In the same vein, respondent 16 (2017) argued that: "The coverage of Zimbabwe mainly by both the local media and some international media stations tarnished the image of Zimbabwe in a very big way. The horrendous images from the same media houses

portrayed Zimbabwe as a horror state, a state that is inhumane and does not take care of its own citizens, a violent state that is motivated by power rather than humanity." What is important is that such an image of violence was projected through the media in form of pictures selected for this study. This is in line with public frames (media representation) and projected images of nations associated with the theory of framing. All the respondents to this study were of the view that the pictures under study, mirrored an image of violence about Zimbabwe.

The matter of Zimbabwe being a violent state under Mugabe is not only a matter of perception (national image) but also reality. State violence in Zimbabwe is well documented by scholars such as Makumbe (2009; 2006); Ndlela (2005); Roach (2012); Badza (2009); Bratton and Masunungure (2011); Mandikwaza (2016); and Gatsheni (2004), among many other others. However, the danger with the perception of Zimbabwe by EU officials as a hostile or violent nation is that the country might be perceived (national image) as a "barbarian" or "enemy" which exposes it to "invasion" and "attack/conflict" respectively as shown in the above table in the previous section (see Li and Chitty, 2009:2). An example that could back this school of thought is when the then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, asked for South Africa's help to invade Zimbabwe during the violent land reform programme in 2000 (*The Telegraph*, 2013, November 27). The EU also imposed "smart sanctions" on Zimbabwe in 2002, a decision which seem to have been based on both perception and reality. Therefore, an image of violence, whether real or perceived, could expose a country to foreign invasion and hostility. Another image associated with the pictures in question, which also protruded during the interviews is the image of lawlessness which is also linked with the image of a failed state.

### 7.2.2  The Image of Lawlessness and a Failed State

Several respondents cited lawlessness and a failed state as another image of Zimbabwe that is projected through the pictures under study. For instance, respondent three (2015) noted that the pictures in question projected Zimbabwe as a country characterised by "violence and lawlessness and disrespect for human rights." Respondent three's (2015) viewpoint is in line with respondent four's (2015) view as he noted that: "As the popular saying that a picture is worth a thousand words, these pictures portrayed Zimbabwe as a violent and lawless country that does not respect property rights." One could concur with both respondents as the pictures under study depict political violence and the forceful seizure of white owned commercial farms. Some of the pictures depict death like the picture of Terry Ford after his assassination by suspected state security agents at his farm in March 2002.

Respondent five (2015) also echoed the sentiments that are in line with that of the afore-mentioned respondents and noted that the images in question "portrayed Zimbabwe as a violent state characterised by lawlessness and lack of property rights" and that "the country must return to the rule of law to regain its image and place in the international system." Therefore, from the standpoint of the above-mentioned respondents, the pictures relating to the forceful seizure of commercial farms and political violence portrays Zimbabwe's national image as that of a country characterised by lawlessness, and devoid of property rights, rule of law and constitutionalism. In line with the above-mentioned respondents, respondent six (2015) noted that "the pictures portrayed Zimbabwe as a lawless state, a state on the brink of collapse." A state on the brink of collapse is close to be a failed state. All in all, 20 respondents observed that the pictures under study portrayed Zimbabwe as a lawlessness state.

Closely related to the issue of lawlessness and the image of Zimbabwe is the issue of a failed state. Some respondents to this study argued that the pictures in question projected Zimbabwe as a failed state considering the levels of violence and lawlessness depicted by the same pictures. For instance, respondent three (2015) was of the opinion that the pictures under study "damaged the image of the country in a very big way and that it will take years for Zimbabwe to clean up its extremely negative image as the country was portrayed as a failed state." In relation to failed states, Rotberg (2003:1) notes that "nation-states fail because they are convulsed by internal violence and can no longer deliver positive political goods to their inhabitants. Their governments lose legitimacy, and the very nature of the particular nation-state itself becomes illegitimate." Thus, failed states are those nations which are overwhelmed by violence and do not have the capacity to provide public services to their citizens. In most cases like in the Somali scenario, the central government disintegrates and the whole country is plunged into the abyss of chaos.

Considering the levels of political violence and chaos during the land reform programme and the state's failure to provide security and other essential public goods for most of its citizens, it can be said that between 2000 and 2008, Zimbabwe was on the brink of earning the tag of a failed state. However, one can say that Zimbabwe became a weak state rather than a failed state considering that it did not descend into a civil war and that unlike in Somalia, the central government in Zimbabwe managed to keep the state intact despite severe shortcomings in terms of service delivery.

However, some respondents maintained that the pictures under study projected a failed or pariah state. Respondent four (2015) noted that the pictures represented a pariah or a failed state and that the image that was projected by these pictures and videos was very negative and authorities should do their best to try to clean up the image. Respondent eight (2016) concurred by noting that: "The image of the country took a significant battering because of those images. Zimbabwe was seen as a failed and pariah state with a dictator who is relentless; a murderer of some sort, with no respect for human rights and that perception still exists and no amount of deodorant can extinguish it. It is still there." Thus, through the images under study, some respondents to this study viewed or perceived Zimbabwe as a failed state. This is a cause for concern as no investor will invest in a country perceived as a failed state. Such a perception is also harmful to tourism especially from Europe where the respondents come from. Overall, 10 respondents mentioned that the pictures in question portrayed the country as a failed state.

### 7.2.3   The Image of Racism

In addition to an image of lawlessness and a failed state, some respondents also noted that the pictures in question especially those depicting the violent land reform, smack of racism and portrayed Zimbabwe as a racist country. In the same vein, referring to the images of brutalised white commercial farmers in Zimbabwe, the Archbishop of York, Dr John Sentamu bemoaned the racist nation of Zimbabwe and labelled former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe "a worst kind of racist dictator" (*BBC World News*, 2007, September 16).  Reflecting on the pictures under study, some respondents to this study were also of the same view as mentioned above as they noted that the afore-mentioned pictures represent an image of a racially intolerant state.

Respondent two (2015) to the study noted that the fact that the pictures in question depict state sanctioned violence during the land reform programme perpetrated mainly against white Zimbabweans is a testimony of a racist state during that time. Respondent 13 (2016) noted that although some black farm workers were killed during the land reform program, the stories and images that were dominant on the international media were that of white commercial farmers and this painted Zimbabwe as a racist and intolerant country. The same respondent cited the picture on *CNN* and *BBC* of Terry Ford after his brutal assassination by suspected state security agents in March 2002, as a testimony of the "crudely racist nation state" that Zimbabwe had become. Moreover, respondent 15 (2017) also noted that the iconic image of a woman standing with his small children at the gate of her farm amid the process of the seizure of her farm by

black Zimbabweans also painted a racist and gloomy national image about Zimbabwe. Fifteen respondents mentioned the image of racism projected by the iconic pictures under study.

### 7.2.4   The Image of Economic Meltdown and Inflation

From the perspective of the respondents, another image that protrudes from the pictures in question is that of economic meltdown and inflation. By the same token, respondent 22 (2017) noted that: "Images from the *BBC*, *CNN* and *Aljazeera*, among other TV stations showed Zimbabweans carrying stakes of valueless notes. Consequently, there is a strong perception of Zimbabwe as a hyperinflationary country even though inflation was contained in 2009. These images harmed the economic image of Zimbabwe not only from the EU's perspective but from the entire international community." Therefore, the iconic pictures relating to economic collapse and inflation in Zimbabwe led to the perception of the country as a country under inflationary and economic distress. In emphasising the importance of currencies to national images of nations, Kunczik (2013:15) talks about what he refers to as the "image of currency" related to strengths and weaknesses of currencies of nations. However, apart from pictures of economic distress and inflation, economic reports from local and international NGOs must also not be overlooked as they also shaped the economic outlook of Zimbabwe in some respects.

Respondent 11 (2016) cited the image of a child carrying stakes of notes around 2007 as an example of how a picture can cast a shadow of inflation and economic distress on the national image of Zimbabwe. In addition to that, respondent 13 (2016) noted that the picture of a hundred trillion dollar note that was repeatedly shown on international media stations such the *BBC*, *CNN*, *Aljazeera* and *France 24* painted Zimbabwe not only as a country dogged by inflation but also as a country under acute economic distress.

Respondent one (2015) likened the image (perceived and actual) of Zimbabwe to that of the Weimer Republic where inflation was also astronomical. The largest note in terms of value during the Weimer Republic was 50 billion Deutsche Marks. Thus, as noted by some respondents to this study, although inflation is no longer rampant in Zimbabwe, the pictures under study created a strong perception of Zimbabwe as a hyperinflationary country. Such a perception will be difficult to reverse and there is need for the government of Zimbabwe to double its efforts in sprucing up the country's image. Also, pictures showing empty shelves in shops and people queuing for fuel and other basic commodities also painted an image of a

country in economic doldrums according to respondent 14 (2017) of this study. Overall, from the views of the afore-mentioned respondents, it is evident that the pictures under study somehow shaped the economic image of Zimbabwe. All respondents cited the image of economic collapse in relation to the pictures under study. The following diagram is an illustration of the above discussion and shows several images projected by the pictures under study in as much as the national image of Zimbabwe is concerned.

**Figure 3: Pictures as Mirrors of Zimbabwe's National Image**
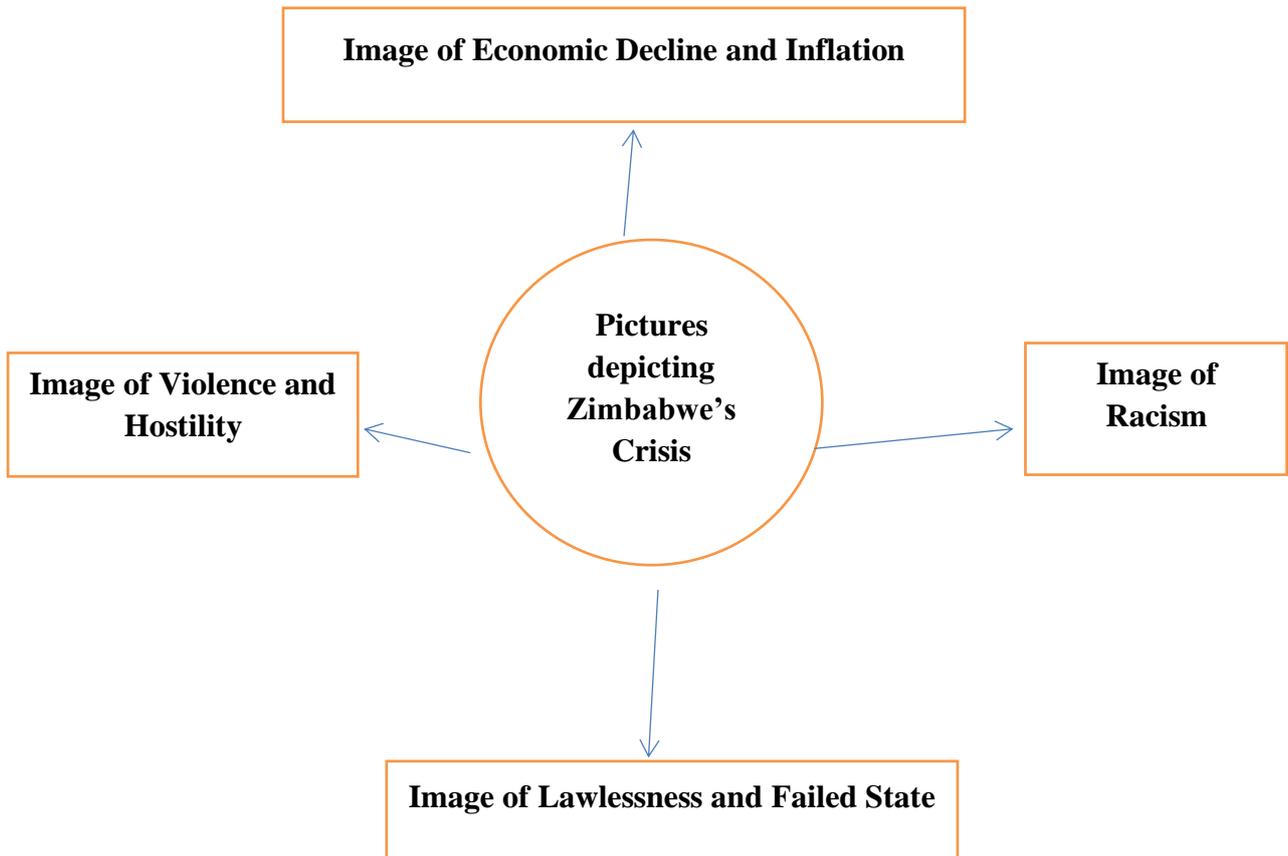


The above diagram represents the perspectives of the respondents on the pictures under study in light of Zimbabwe's national image. From the diagram, it can be seen that, the pictures in question act as a mirror which projects a number of images in the context of Zimbabwe's national image trajectory. Through the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, images of violence, hostility, lawlessness, failed state, racism, economic decline and inflation are projected. What is important to highlight is that the national image of Zimbabwe, just like of any other nation, is multidimensional and can exist in several facets in the mind of a single individual. However, besides the pictures under study, there were other factors that were cited by the respondents which also impacted on the national image of Zimbabwe. It is also important

to highlight that the respondents underlined the point that the pictures under study had a very negative impact on the national image of Zimbabwe.

## 7.3     Other Factors that impacted on Zimbabwe's National Image

Apart from the pictures under study as having impacted negatively on the national image of Zimbabwe, a number of other factors raised by the respondents that were also influential in shaping the country's national image should not be overlooked. These factors range from Mugabe's dominance and dictatorial tendencies, government officials' inflammatory rhetoric and hate speech, Zimbabwe's history of violence, other forms of media and oral tradition, among others. It is important to note that these factors are more related to the private frames and perceived images of nations in the context of the theory of framing.

### 7.3.1     Mugabe's Dominance and Dictatorial Tendencies

Several respondents to this study were of the opinion that besides the pictures under study, former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, who ruled the country in an authoritarian style for 37 years, had an extremely negative bearing on the national image of the country. Due to his conflation of his person, state and ruling party, Mugabe had arguably become symbolic synonymous to Zimbabwe. Gatsheni (2009:1139) propounds what he terms "Mugabeism" which he elucidates as a "summation of a constellation of political controversies, political behaviour, political ideas, utterances, rhetoric and actions that have crystallised around Mugabe's political life." Accordingly, Gatsheni (2009:1139) adds that a neo-liberal perspective views Mugabeism as a form of racial chauvinism and authoritarianism marked by disdain for human rights and democracy whereas a Pan-African perspective views Mugabeism as a redemptive ideology opposed to the neo-colonialism project. Therefore, in relation to Mugabe (or Mugabeism) some of the respondents to this study shared the neo-liberal perspective that Robert Mugabe was a brutal dictator who thrived on political violence, electoral fraud and inflammatory rhetoric and his actions consequently tainted the national image of Zimbabwe in a significant way.

Respondent eight (2016) acknowledged the role that was played by Robert Mugabe in shaping the national image of Zimbabwe and noted that Zimbabwe was seen as a failed state with a dictator who is relentless; a murderer of some sort, with no respect for human rights and that the perception still exists, and no amount of deodorant can extinguish that perception. In

addition to that, respondent 15 also cited Mugabe's violent rhetoric especially since 2000 as having damaged the national image of Zimbabwe in a significant way. To buttress this, the same respondent cited Mugabe's hate speech cited in Makumbe (2009) when he said that those who try to cause disunity among his people must watch out because death will befall them. The respondent argued that such a statement portrayed Zimbabwe as an intolerant and violent country especially considering that the statement was coming from the "CEO'' of the country.

Also, respondent 14 (2017) also said Mugabe's rhetoric which also bordered on racism, portrayed Zimbabwe as a racist state. The issue of racism is raised by Gatsheni (2009:1151) who notes that when the land reform programme started in Zimbabwe, Mugabe repeatedly referred to Zimbabweans of European ancestry as "*amabhunu*/Boers'' as opposed to citizens of Zimbabwe. "*Amabhunu*/Boers'' is a derogatory term that was used to describe white settlers and farmers by Africans during the colonial period. It is therefore not surprising that the Archbishop of York, Dr John Sentamu described Robert Mugabe as a worst kind of racist dictator (*BBC World News*, 2007, September 16). Thus, from the perspective of some respondents to this study, it can be said that Mugabe's controversial rhetoric which bordered on violence and racism, cast a very negative shadow on the national image of Zimbabwe.

In addition to that, respondent 13 (2016) argued that Robert Mugabe had absolute control over the state and the ruling party (ZANU PF) and he presided over political patronage, economic decay, political violence and the chaotic land reform programme and therefore it would be amiss to exonerate him from the role he played in the deterioration of Zimbabwe's national image. The same respondent noted that when Mugabe described himself as the "Hitler of the time," he projected an image of violence, intolerance and racism that was associated with Adolf Hitler during the Nazi era. Mugabe's likening himself to Hitler is on public record: "I am still the Hitler of the time…that is what we stand for" (*Independent*, 2014, February 21; *BBC*, 2008, December 12; *CNN*, 2001, June 5; Hentoff, 2012). Some of Mugabe's rhetoric like the one where he describes himself as Hitler, fits under verbal images.

 Therefore, it is important to underline that, besides the pictures under study, Robert Mugabe's actions and rhetoric also known as "Mugabeism" also affected the national image of Zimbabwe especially from the perspective of the outside world.  Ten respondents to this study argued that Mugabe, as a controversial and authoritarian ruler, cast a very negative shadow on the national image of Zimbabwe. Accordingly, one can say that, due to "Mugabeism," Zimbabwe was perceived as an undemocratic, racist and violent nation.

### 7.3.2 Inflammatory Rhetoric and Hate Speech

The issue of inflammatory language and hate speech cannot be solely associated with Mugabe alone. Some senior government officials and members of the security forces were also implicated. Such kind of rhetoric was also cited by some respondents as having caused damage on Zimbabwe's national image. The respondents argued that such rhetoric portrayed Zimbabwe as a violent state. As previously mentioned, some of the rhetoric in question is in sync with verbal images.

Respondents 10 (2016), 13 (2016) and 14 (2017) cited the leadership of the security forces' frightening rhetoric as also damaging to the national image of Zimbabwe. The afore-mentioned respondents cited a speech by the Army Chief of Staff Major-General Martin Chedondo during the 2008 elections as an example of rhetoric that was toxic to the national image of Zimbabwe. In 2008, Martin Chedondo, intimidated soldiers by saying: "Soldiers are not apolitical. Only mercenaries are apolitical. We have signed and agreed to fight and protect the ruling party's principles of defending the revolution. If you have other thoughts, then you should remove that uniform. This is a choice with no choice. It's either you vote for war or peace." Respondent 13 (2016) noted that Chedondo's statement painted a gloomy picture about Zimbabwe and portrayed the country as a violent state. On the other hand, respondent 10 (2016) observed that such "toxic" rhetoric which tainted Zimbabwe's national image began to emerge as early as in the 2000s as evidenced by Police Commissioner Augustine Chihuri's example when he said that the security forces were not going to accept anyone without liberation war credentials to be the president of Zimbabwe.

To support what the above respondents highlighted, one can highlight some of the rhetoric by senior government officials that bordered on violence and intimidation. For instance, during the 2008 elections, the late Vice-President Joseph Msika, cited by *The Manica Post* (2008, June 20) in Zinyama (2009:141) remarked:

> Tsvangirai is a traitor. I came here to warn you about the machinations of the Rhodesians and their imperialist allies who we dislodged through the protracted armed struggle, but now they intend to come back using one of our fellow Zimbabweans Tsvangirai, as their running dog-*chimbwasungata*. If you vote for Tsvangirai on June 27, you are voting for the former Rhodesians and thus you are voting for war.

Morgan Tsvangirai being verbally attacked above is the late and former President of the opposition MDC. Closely related to the late Joseph Musika's remarks is a statement that was made during the same time by Samuel Mbengegwi, former Finance Minister who said that: "This is up to you; if you want peace, you should vote for us. If you vote for the MDC, we will

go to war" (*The Financial Gazette*, 2008, June 19 cited in Zinyama, 2012:141). One can say that such statements by senior government officials could have a negative bearing to the national image of the country; hence, seven respondents were of the view that not only the pictures under but also such inflammatory language also damaged the national image of the country. It is also worth mentioning that such inflammatory rhetoric was also harmful to the country's FDI prospects and to the tourism sector. Also, Zimbabwe's history of political violence seems to be still casting a dark shadow on the country's image.

### 7.3.3    Zimbabwe's History of Violence

The history of nations plays an important role in shaping their national images and this view is shared by some scholars. For instance, Boulding (1961:391) puts emphasis on the role played by history in the carving of nations' images. By the same token, Li and Chitty (2009:5) alerts us to the view that: "Images of other nations are affected by history as well. An individual's image of an object at the present is correlated to his/her views of its past and future." In the same wavelength, Kunczik (1997:3) in Li and Chitty (2009:5) postulates: "Many prejudices about nations are carried forward through generations, so that historical events of long ago remain decisive in a nation's image." In the same vein, respondent 17 cited how Germany is still making efforts to reconstruct its image that was damaged by the Nazis during the Second World War. As shall shortly be revealed, some respondents were of the view that the national image of Zimbabwe is also deeply entrenched in the country's history of political violence. Therefore, the nexus between Zimbabwe's violent political history and its national image should not be overlooked.

Before reflecting on the views of the respondents on the relationship between the country's violent past and its national image, it is important to briefly summarise the country's dark past associated with politically motivated violence. In his presentation at SAPES Trust, Malunga (2017) observes that Zimbabwe's history of violence predates the colonial times and stretches up to the country's post-independence era. To concur, Beach (2009) acknowledges the violence that was perpetrated by the Ndebele Kingdom on the Shona communities at around 1873 but also cautions that oral tradition and historians oftentimes exaggerate the events of that time. The violence that was perpetrated on the blacks by the colonial government in Zimbabwe before the country's independence in 1980 is well documented by Banana (1989). Zimbabwe's liberation struggle (1964-1979) was also a bloody war. After independence, in the pretext of fighting "dissidents," the government of Robert Mugabe implemented the *Gukurahundi* policy

which left more 20 000 civilians dead in the Matebeleland and Midlands provinces of Zimbabwe (Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, 1997). The *Gukurahundi* massacres started in 1982 and ended with the signing of the so-called Unity Accord between ZANLA and PF ZAPU to form ZANU PF in 1987.

In addition to that, Moyo (1992) cites the state sponsored violence that was associated with 1990 elections in Zimbabwe whereas Makumbe and Compagnon (2000) chronicle the massive violence that was perpetrated by the ruling party's (ZANU PF) supporters and state security agents during the 1995 general elections in Zimbabwe. The violence of the 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2008 elections is well documented by scholars such as Makumbe (2002; 2009); Masunungure (2008) and Linington (2008), among others. The afore-mentioned authors also mention the violent land reform programme which was initiated in 2000 by the ruling party, ZANU PF which also left scores of white commercial farmers dead. Some blacks who worked at the farms were never spared from such brutality during the land reform programme. In short, the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history of Zimbabwe is marred with political violence.

It is against the above-described history of violence of Zimbabwe that some respondents to this study cited as having a significant impact on the national image of Zimbabwe. For instance, respondent 11 (2016) noted that: "The history of political violence is deeply rooted in the Zimbabwe's past and the impact of such history on the nation state of Zimbabwe must not be overlooked. When I was growing up, I used to watch on television how the British colonial government used to brutalise Africans in the then Southern Rhodesia. In the post-independence era, I watched on the news the *Gukurahundi* atrocities, violent land reform program and massive electoral violence." The same respondent added that: "The images of political violence that we saw in recent years were merely reinforcing the perception of Zimbabwe as violent country. We have known this since the colonial times. Zimbabwe's national image as a violent country is a historic image with roots deeply rooted in the past." Therefore, the violent history of the country should not be overlooked as its shadow remains visible on its current national image.

Furthermore, respondent 12 (2016) also noted that the history of a nation is very critical in terms of shaping its national image. The same respondent added that countries like Germany still suffer from the image of racism which can be traced back to Hitler's Nazi era. By the same

token, the respondent argued that Zimbabwe has a history of violence which can be linked to the colonial government, the brutal war of independence as well as post-independence atrocities like the *Gukurahundi* genocide, the land reform programme and massive electoral violence which left hundreds dead especially in 2008. The respondent argued that such history of violence is key in shaping the national image of the country. Therefore, the pictures under study are not the only factor that contributed to the tarnishing of the national image of Zimbabwe. However, it should also be stressed out that such history of political violence is also embedded in images taken over the years. Images are therefore important in terms of the shaping of political history.

Correspondingly, respondent 15 (2017) also cited the history of Zimbabwe as having a bearing in the way the country is perceived especially by the outside world. The respondent also argued that the pictures under study and others from the past have a large bearing on the image of Zimbabwe in relation to political violence. Accordingly, the respondent also said that you cannot divorce pictures of political violence in Zimbabwe from the country's history and national image. This is in line with Mitchell's (2012) lecture at the *Haus der Kunst* in which he postulated that "an image has a past, present and the future; an image that it comes from, that it is in the present and that it produces or reproduces in the future." Zimbabwe's image of violence (both physical and metaphorical) from the past still has an impact in the present and is likely to continue shaping the way the country is perceived in the future.

In the same vein, respondents 16 (2017), 19 (2017) and 20 (2017) also echoed the same sentiments as the above-mentioned respondents. The three respondents noted that Zimbabwe's history of violence should not be overlooked in the shaping of the country's national image. They also noted that the pictures under study are part and parcel of the country's history of political violence. The same respondents also stated that oral tradition and different forms of media play a critical role in the shaping of the country's image and therefore should not be underestimated.

### 7.3.4    Oral Tradition

Some respondents also argued that apart the from the pictures under study, oral tradition also plays an important role in the shaping of any country's image and Zimbabwe's national image

is therefore not an exception.[15] To that end, it was argued that conversations in the context of families and friends have a strong bearing on Zimbabwe's national image. This is in line with Boulding's (9161:391) viewpoint that:

> In the formation of the national images, it must be emphasised that impressions of nationality are formed mostly in childhood and usually in the family group. It would quite be fallacious to think of the images as having been cleverly imposed on the masses by the powerful...The image is essentially a mass image or folk image transmitted through the family and the intimate face to face group...Public instruction and propaganda merely reinforce images derived from family culture.

By the same token, respondent 10 (2016) pointed out that the role played by oral tradition in shaping the country's image should not be overlooked. However, the same respondent was quick to point out that television (including the pictures under study) internet, newspapers, radios and social media also influence the conversations that people make about Zimbabwe which consequently shapes the national image of the country. When it comes to the shaping of the national image of any country including Zimbabwe, oral tradition and other forms of media present a "hen and egg" situation in terms of which comes first, and which influences the other. However, one could say that the impact of the media on oral tradition seem to be significant compared to the other way round. Most people including some of the respondents to this study have never been to Zimbabwe but know about the country's political and economic history and situation through various forms of media especially the television.

Respondent 16 (2017) said that stories about Zimbabwe especially from Zimbabweans also shape the country's image in a big way. The same respondent mentioned that he met some commercial farmers who lost their farms during the land reform programme and they told him about the horrific experiences which they had encountered during that period. In the same vein, the same respondent noted that the conversation in question changed his perception about Zimbabwe as a country as some of the farmers had vividly described the racism and atrocities including murder that were perpetrated by state security agents and ruling party supporters during the land reform programme. To that end, respondent 16 (2017) underlined the importance of oral tradition in the context of the shaping of the national image of Zimbabwe.

Respondent 20 (2017) concurred with respondent 16 (2017) and stated that apart from the media, his perspective about Zimbabwe has mostly been shaped by Zimbabwean students and activists whom he had met at conferences and workshops around the world. The respondent also cited Zimbabweans in the diaspora as critical players in as much as oral tradition and the

---

[15] Oral tradition is the process whereby information and knowledge from the past is passed from one generation to the next through the word of mouth.

subsequent shaping of the national image of the country are concerned. This is in line with Anholt's (2005) argument that each ordinary citizen – not just diplomats, media stars and politicians – could play an important role in shaping his/her country's national brand/image. Six respondents to the study cited the importance of oral tradition in the shaping of the national image of Zimbabwe.

### 7.3.5   Other forms of Media

Apart from the television and its images, other forms of media also play an important role in shaping the perception people have about Zimbabwe. In this digital age, the internet plays an important role in terms of promoting the use of social media platforms such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, WhatsApp, and Instagram, among a host of social media platforms. Apart from social media platforms, respondents also cited the radio and newspapers as important players in terms of the shaping of Zimbabwe's national image.

Accordingly, respondent 13 (2016) noted that social media platforms and other media channels such as the radio and newspapers play an important role in terms of shaping the national image of Zimbabwe. However, the respondent noted that apart from the radio and newspapers; social media platforms have the capacity to project pictures even those under study, hence the importance of these pictures as they have the ability to cut across different forms of media. Respondents six (2015) and seven (2016) also observed that the national image of Zimbabwe has been shaped by different forms of media over time. Therefore, the role played by various forms of media besides the television (and its pictures) should not be undermined.

Respondent 18 (2017) also underlined the importance of social media platforms like YouTube and Facebook in relation to the hosting of international news channels. Accordingly, the same respondent observed that the *BBC*, *Aljazeera English*, *France 24 English* and *CNN* stream live news from Facebook, Twitter and YouTube and therefore social media platforms play some role in the shaping of Zimbabwe's national image to that regard. Eight respondents to the study cited other forms of media mentioned in this section as having contributed to the shaping of the national image of Zimbabwe.

### 7.4   Pictures and Zimbabwe's Economic Trajectory

The third research question of this study is premised on the respondent's remarks about the pictures under study vis-à-vis the economy of Zimbabwe. Therefore, this section deals with the

respondents' comments with regard to the nexus between the pictures under study and the economy of Zimbabwe. An examination of the responses from the respondents in relation to the above subject reveals that the pictures under study affected two economic sectors in Zimbabwe: (1) foreign direct investment, and; (2) tourism. Therefore, the following discussion is about the pictures selected for this study in light of the above-mentioned two economic sectors, from the point of view of the respondents.

### 7.4.1   Foreign Direct Investment

The OECD (2008:14) places great emphasis on the vitality of foreign direct investment (FDI) as a key driver of international economic integration, important vehicle for local enterprise development, as well as in terms of empowering the recipient (host) and the foreign (investing) economy. Apart from being Zimbabwe's largest trading partner, the EU through its member states have traditionally played a significant role in terms of FDI in Zimbabwe. However, the situation took a turn in the year 2000 with the inception of the chaotic (and sometimes violent) land reform programme, political violence and mismanagement of the economy by the ZANU PF government led by former President of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe.

Empirical evidence backs the fact that FDI (including from EU countries) has been declining in Zimbabwe since 2000. For instance, *The Financial Gazette* (2016, October 11) reports that, FDI largely from the EU dropped 23 percent to US$421 million in 2015 and was expected to continue dropping according to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. The same paper noted that FDI inflows had been dwindling since the year 2000. Therefore, the fundamental question is: did the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis play a role in the FDI trajectory into Zimbabwe? Taking a leaf from the perspectives of the respondents, the discussion below seeks to tackle this question.

Respondent one (2015) argued that apart from tarnishing the national image of Zimbabwe, the pictures in question repelled FDI: "Those pictures depicting violence on the farms reflected a country that does not respect property rights and that was unfortunate because investors like investing in countries where they know that their capital and assets are secure. Capital gravitates towards where there is stability." Accordingly, the same responded added that: "The violence that was pictorially shown on the media during the land reform programme was an assault on foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Can you imagine what the investors thought when they saw the dead body of Terry Ford or the brutalised faces of opposition leaders including

Morgan Tsvangirai?" By the same token, respondent one's (2015) perspective was shared by responded two (2015) who pointed out that:

> The pictures portray Zimbabwe as a violent and lawless state which does not respect property rights. No sane investor will invest in a country that does not respect property rights. It is therefore not surprising that some companies have been leaving Zimbabwe since the controversial land reform programme began. These images make investors nervous to invest in the country. Another issue that is worth mentioning is that the pictures that showed massive inflation and acute economic meltdown also drove away investors as they depicted an economically hostile country that was not fit for investment. However, it should be highlighted that investors also follow business and statistical reports especially from the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) like the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organisation (WTO). Therefore, the impact of these pictures on Zimbabwe's economy should not be read in isolation from other critical factors.

From the above standpoint, one can concur with the respondents especially considering the fact that the pictures in question depict graphic violence and, in some cases, murder, like in the case of Terry Ford whose dead body was repeatedly shown on international media stations such as *CNN*, *France 24 English*, *Aljazeera English* and *BBC* in March 2002. Besides showing lack of property rights, such kind of images also showed the deficiency of personal security in Zimbabwe. Such pictures made investors nervous. In other words, one can say that such pictures were an anti-thesis to FDI.

However, it is also important not to overlook the role played by economic reports from reputable IFIs such as IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organisation as well as popular economic news sites and magazines like *Bloomberg* and *The Economist*, respectively. Investors follow financial reports, newspapers and economic magazines closely which consequently influence their decision whether to invest in a certain country or not.

Respondent three's (2015) perspective was in line with the viewpoints of the afore-mentioned respondents. Accordingly, the respondent was of the view that: "The dark cloud painted by these images made investors to be reluctant to invest in the country which consequently lowered foreign direct investment (FDI) in a way. Many Dutch farmers lost their farms and Germans lost ranches and this was covered by the media even pictorially." Correspondingly, respondent four (2015) also concurred with respondent three (2015): "Yes of course, I think no investor would be willing to come to invest in Zimbabwe especially those from EU and the US who emphasize much on democracy and the rule of law. The images portraying farm invasions simply indicated unambiguous evidence that Zimbabwe is country that does not respect property rights and human rights in general." It is therefore not surprising that the respondents observed that such pictorial imagery repelled potential foreign investors in Zimbabwe. It is also

important to stress that the EU and investors from EU value the rule of law and stability and uses them as yardsticks for engagement including in the area of investment in any country and Zimbabwe is of no exception.

Furthermore, respondents five (2015), six (2015) and seven (2016) also believed that the pictures under study were a hurdle to FDI prospects especially from the EU countries and the western world in general and to that end argued that:

> Such images are not good for the political economy of Zimbabwe as they have the potential to curtail foreign direct invest. Investors would be sceptical in investing in a country depicted as violent and lawless in the media because through its images, the media oftentimes represent the reality on the ground. It is not surprising therefore that FDI has been declining in Zimbabwe since 2000. However, it should be noted that investment policies such as the indigenisation policy in Zimbabwe also drives away investors and foreign companies.

To concur with respondent five (2015), respondent six (2015) was of the opinion that the pictures in question "drove away investors and tourists and that is a blow to the fragile economy of the country" whereas respondent seven (2016) noted that as a result of these pictures and other reasons, foreign direct investment dropped significantly in Zimbabwe since 2000 and that, even up to now, it is still very low. The same respondent noted that there were farmers who used to export horticultural products to Europe and that stopped. Also, Zimbabwean beef used to be preferred in the EU and trade in that direction also stopped. All the respondents to the study argued that the pictures under study somehow played a role in driving away foreign investors which consequently hurt Zimbabwe's fragile economy.

However, it is equally important to stress out that other factors that curtailed FDI in Zimbabwe were also cited by the respondents and these include; government officials' inflammatory rhetoric, political violence, economic sanctions and awkward investment laws like the indigenisation policy. For instance, before its revision by the Emmerson Mnangagwa government, the indigenisation policy required foreign companies and potential investors to cede 51% of the shareholding to "indigenous" or black Zimbabweans. This meant that every foreign company or potential investor was supposed to have a maximum shareholding of 49%. Violation of the indigenous law was liable to five years imprisonment. This clearly drove away many foreign investors.

Another point worth underlining is that, as discussed before in this chapter, the pictures under study tainted the national image of Zimbabwe which in turn made investors reluctant to invest

in Zimbabwe. Anholt (2005), Kunczik (2013) and Boulding (1961) are among a host of scholars who emphasise on the importance of a positive national image in attracting foreign direct investment. As some respondents to this study revealed, the battered national image of Zimbabwe became a stumbling block to the country's FDI prospects and should therefore not be overlooked.

It is also worth mentioning that the EU's "smart sanctions" also known as "targeted measures" which were imposed in 2002 on the country's ruling elite and companies associated with them were also a stumbling block to Zimbabwe's FDI inflows from EU countries. As such, respondents 18 (2017) observed that the "smart sanctions" on Zimbabwe also drove away investors from the EU as the sanctions created a "stigma" against Zimbabwe. Three more respondents shared the same view with respondent 18 (2017). All in all, it is important to highlight that although the pictures under study somehow drove away foreign investors, other factors such as awkward investment policies, country reports, "targeted" sanctions, and the negative national image should not be overlooked as they were also cited by the respondents.

### 7.4.2  Tourism

Another school of thought that emerged from the respondents was that apart from hindering the country's FDI inflows especially from EU countries, the pictures under study were very harmful to Zimbabwe's tourism prospects. Although they cited other factors such as EU's "smart sanctions" against Zimbabwe, travel warnings, awkward investment policies and inflammatory rhetoric, all the respondents to this study concurred that the pictures under study negatively impacted on Zimbabwe's tourism sector. Moreover, empirical evidence indicates that the tourism sector has been declining in Zimbabwe since 2000. For instance, Karambakuwa etal (2011:1) note that despite tourism being an integral component of Zimbabwe's GDP which saw a 35% increase in 1995, this position changed since 2000 due to political instability and the accompanying negative media publicity. Equally, Gweshe (2015) is of the view that Zimbabwe's tourism sector suffered heavily due to negative international media publicity linked to the land reform programme of 2000 which consequently strained EU-Zimbabwe relations.

By the same token, *The Financial Gazette* (2000) alluded to the fact that in 2000 tourist arrivals mainly from the EU and other western countries to Zimbabwe declined significantly due to negative publicity accompanied by graphic images of political violence in the international

media. Likewise, a report by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Tourism and Hospitality Industry of Zimbabwe revealed that Zimbabwe has been outmanoeuvred by other countries in the region in terms of attracting tourists from European Union countries, with the country attracting 97, 380 tourists against South Africa's 920, 706 in 2016 (*New Zimbabwe*, 3 July 2017). The critical question for this section is whether the pictures under study played any role in the decline of EU tourists' numbers to Zimbabwe, chiefly from the point of view of the respondents.

Respondent one (2015) was of the view that the pictures under study "portrayed Zimbabwe as an unstable country yet tourism is an industry that depends on the stability of the destination country." Accordingly, the same respondent added that: "Since 2000, tourist numbers to Zimbabwe have been declining. If people see images of violence on the farms and at political rallies, they become very reluctant to visit the country. Basically, the images affected the country in terms of foreign direct investment and tourism." Respondent two (2015) concurred with respondent one and noted that "tourism numbers in relation to tourists from Europe has plummeted since 2000 up to date, although there has been a recent steady rise in the numbers. When citizens from European countries see such images, they become afraid to travel to Zimbabwe." Therefore, from the perspective of the afore-mentioned respondents, the pictures under study affected Zimbabwe's tourism sector.

In addition to that, respondent four (2015) argued that the images under study had "great potential to inhibit tourists from travelling into the country considering the fact that the violence on the farms portrayed in the pictures mainly targeted individuals of European ancestry." Correspondingly, respondent six (2015) observed that as a result of such images of violence and other reasons, we witnessed a significant drop of tourist coming to Zimbabwe from the European Union. Moreover, respondent eight argued that the pictures in question tainted the national image of Zimbabwe in a significant way, which in turn kept many tourists at bay. The respondent stressed out that therefore, the issue of the country's national image which is also intricately linked to the country's diminishing tourist numbers should not be overlooked.

However, respondents also pointed out that besides the negative international media publicity characterised by the pictures under study, there are also some factors that hindered tourists from visiting Zimbabwe. For instance, respondent 20 (2017) cited travel warnings that were issued by the EU to their countries against travelling to Zimbabwe. Accordingly, respondent 20 (2017) observed: "From 2000 to 2008, the EU issued several travel warnings to EU citizens

against travelling to Zimbabwe. Violence was the main reason behind such travel warnings. This definitely discouraged a lot of EU citizens from traveling to Zimbabwe." In that regard, travel warnings also played a role in discouraging EU tourists from visiting Zimbabwe.

In addition to that, respondent 16 (2017) noted that the meltdown of the economy and the consequent deterioration of service delivery in the country also hindered many tourists from visiting Zimbabwe. The same respondent noted that between 2007 and 2008, there were acute water shortages in Harare, litter was not collected and there was an outbreak of cholera which claimed numerous lives. In the same breath, the afore-mentioned respondent argued that tourists from EU countries read about such a decline of the economy and service delivery and were therefore discouraged from visiting the country.

Looking how the respondents generally interpreted the pictures under study, as well as their remarks about the pictures in question vis-à-vis the national image and Zimbabwe's economic prospects, one could say that the respondents are interpreting the pictures in question from a preconceived and stereotypical point of view. This point can be supported by the fact that the respondents have a lot of background information from oral tradition, diaspora lobby groups, diplomatic cables, civic society organisation, and reports from reputable institutions like the UN in relation to the situation in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the way they interpret the pictures and their effects thereof on the image and economy of the country is also influenced by these "private frames" as Li and Chitty (2009) calls them. Therefore, it could be said that the respondents used compromised "spectacles" to "read" the pictorial imagery under study. This could have potentially affected their perception (image) of Zimbabwe.

Another issue that is worth highlighting is that the respondents seem to have interpreted the pictures under study from a "power" and "institutional" point of view as opposed to a personal and "objective" perspective. This point is derived from the way the respondents repeatedly mentioned EU interests, values and principles vis-à-vis the pictorial material under study. The fact that the respondents are part of a "powerful" institution like the EU, also means that their interpretation of the pictures in question is from a "power" perspective and in line with the EU value system and beliefs. This might also have compromised the objectivity of their interpretations.

## 7.5   Conclusion

This chapter discussed the respondents' remarks about the pictures under study in light of Zimbabwe's national image and economic dynamics. In light of the pictures under study and

the national image of Zimbabwe, respondents noted that the pictures in question mirror an array of negative images about Zimbabwe which range from racism, violence and hostility, economic meltdown and inflation, as well as lawlessness and failed state. In relation to the pictures and the economy, respondents were of the view that the pictures under study drove away foreign investors and potential tourists from visiting Zimbabwe which consequently hurt the country's fragile economy. Moreover, the findings in this chapter revealed that apart from the pictures under study, other factors such as oral tradition, reports from NGOs, Zimbabwe's historical background and social media platforms, among others, also played an important role in shaping the national image of Zimbabwe. Pictures are therefore part of other many factors that shaped the country's image.

## Chapter 8: Conclusions

**8      Summary**

Motivated by the fact that pictorial images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis remain an obscure, peripheral and neglected phenomenon, this study sought to explore how iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis are interpreted by EU officials, especially in relation to the country's national image and economic dynamics. Accordingly, the study focused on the respondents' (EU officials) thoughts, memories, feelings, and descriptions about the pictures in question in general, as well as their remarks about the same pictures vis-à-vis Zimbabwe's national image and economic trajectory. Against this backdrop, the study sought to tackle three fundamental questions: (1) What are the respondents' thoughts, feelings, descriptions, memories and remarks about the pictures under study? (2) What are the respondents' views on the pictures under study in light of Zimbabwe's national image? (3) What are the respondents' remarks on the pictures in question vis-à-vis Zimbabwe's economic dynamics? Before addressing these key questions, the researcher first employed Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis to study the pictures in question.  The study of the pictures in question using the above-mentioned model was done to "read" them from an informed or scientific point of view in line with the dictates of the theoretical discourses of image science/*Bildwissenschaft* and iconology. The results from the study of the pictures using the afore-mentioned model were compared with those established from the respondents' interpretation of the same pictorial images. The period of the study is between 2000 and 2017 and the eight iconic pictures and two videos that were dealt with were drawn from the *BBC*, *CNN*, *France 24 English* and *Aljazeera English*. Outlined in this chapter is the summary of key conclusions drawn from the study. The conclusions are divided into two categories: (1) conclusions related to the study of the pictures in question using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis, and; (2) conclusions related to the interpretation of the same pictures by the respondents. The former category also includes a comparison of conclusions related to the manner in which the respondents and the researcher interpreted the above-mentioned pictures. In addition to that, this chapter seeks to highlight the contribution of this study as well as proffering areas for further research. Concluding remarks are also included at the end of the chapter.

**8.1    Conclusions Related to Marotzki and Stoetzer's Model**

Within the ambit of image science and iconology, the researcher utilized Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model of pictorial analysis to deal with eight iconic pictures and two videos

depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. Accordingly, several conclusions were reached. One of the protruding conclusions is that the pictorial images in question, stirred emotions particularly in form of anger, fear, horror, hopelessness and sympathy on the part of the researcher. As previously revealed in chapter five of this thesis, the same emotions were also evoked by the same pictorial images on the part of the respondents of this study. This is in harmony with the widely held scholarly view that pictures evoke emotions on the part of their consumers. Among several others, scholars who support the thesis that pictures evoke feelings include; Perlmutter (1998; 2005); Sharkey (1993); Robinson (2013); Ammon (2001) and Vilmer (2012). Pictures of victims of violence like that of the dead body of Terry Ford and victims of state security agents' brutality like Morgan Tsvangirai, Nelson Chamisa and Lovemore Madhuku evoke anger, fear and sympathy, among other emotions. The fact that the pictorial images under study evoked emotions on both the researcher and the respondents is in sync with the idea that images are sometimes "universally" interpreted.

In addition to that, the study of the pictures in question using the above-mentioned model also revealed an element of symbolism in relation to Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis. As shown in the second chapter of this thesis, symbolism is an essential feature of an iconic image. For instance, the iconic picture of a one hundred trillion-dollar note dealt with in chapter four of the thesis is symbolic to inflation that prevailed in Zimbabwe especially between 2007 and 2008. Similarly, pictures showing members of the Zimbabwe Republic Police attacking citizens are also symbolic and symptomatic of an authoritarian and police state. The ZANU PF's clenched fist symbol, green "military" attire and the AK47 riffle that appears in some pictures depicting violence, is symbolic and associated with the Marxist-Leninist-Moist and/or communist ideology that underpinned the party's ideological orientation especially during the liberation struggle against British colonial rule. However, the respondents seem to have overlooked the symbolism projected in the pictures under study, as they did not mention the phenomenon in question.

A striking feature in relation to the two videos studied in chapter four of this study is the employment of metapictures in the videos in question. As previously highlighted in this thesis, metapictures are pictures inside other pictures or pictures of pictures (see Mitchell, 2015). The use of metapictures in the above-mentioned videos ironically adds an "aesthetic" and "artistic" element to the videos that depict extreme violence and suffering in Zimbabwe. However, the issue of metapictures was not mentioned by the respondents during the key informant

interviews. Also, the eight iconic pictures selected for this study also appear in the two videos dealt with in chapter four which could also confirm their popularity, hence, their iconicity. In addition to that, the study of the pictures in question showed that videos possess more impact compared to still pictures. This is due to the videos' features of a mixture of sound, gestures, text and pictures which are related to Mitchell's (1998) concept of "mixed media" previously discussed in this thesis. The view that the videos under study possess more impact compared to still pictures was shared by both the researcher and the respondents. It is also important to highlight that, despite backgrounds of conflicting political ideology of the respondents, their interpretation of the pictures in question largely dovetailed.

## 8.2   Key Conclusions of the Study

The conclusions discussed in this section are related the aim and research questions of the study and are also associated with the discussion and findings outlined in chapters six and seven of this thesis. Chapter six tackles the first research question whereas chapter seven deals with the second and third research questions of this study. After the analysis of the data collected for this research, several conclusions were drawn. Accordingly, the discussion below centres on the main conclusions of this study.

The discussion in chapter five established that the pictures selected for this study evoked an array of emotions including fear, horror, hopelessness, sympathy and helplessness on the part of all the respondents. The capacity of pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis to induce emotions on the respondents corroborates the results of the study of the same pictures using Marotzki and Stoetzer's (2006) model by the researcher. This shows that the pictorial images in question are largely emotional. Terry Ford, Morgan Tsvangirai and Nelson Chamisa's pictures stand out in terms of evoking emotions. For instance, some respondents even mentioned that they were moved to tears by some of the pictorial images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. The effect of pictures on their consumers is also at the heart of iconology, as the discussion in the third chapter of this thesis revealed that; iconology also deals with how pictures affect us emotionally, intellectually and cognitively.

Closely related to the narrative of pictures' ability to induce emotions, is their capacity to evoke public outcry. This view was shared by most respondents and is also supported by scholars such as Bratton and Masunungure (2011). Moreover, there is scholarly work that supports the existence of the nexus between pictures on one hand, and their ability to evoke feelings and

public outcry on the other. Fishman (2017); Perlmutter (1998; 2005); Sharkey (1993); Robinson (2013); Ammon (2001) and Vilmer (2012) constitute such a category of scholars. The conclusion relating to pictures and emotions is associated with the first research question of this study. What is also important is to mention that the fact that the pictures in question were deeply emotional on the part of the respondents shows how significance they are and the "danger" associated with their relegation to the periphery of the debate of Zimbabwe's Crisis by scholars and researchers.

Another notable perspective which emerged from the research findings is the dominance of the pictures under study over statistical, verbal and rhetorical narratives. This perspective, which seem to dovetail with the popular idiom that a picture is worth a thousand words, hinges on the idea that pictures stick to memory (in form of mental images) for a lengthy period compared to words and statistics. For instance, more than half of the respondents still remembered pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, yet they had forgotten about most of the reports that they had read in relation to the same crisis. The explanation for this phenomenon could be that verbal and statistical narratives lack deep emotions associated with pictures (including the ones selected for this study), hence, their limited ability to stick to memory compared to pictorial images. Scholars such as Fishman (2017) support the thesis that pictorial images dominate verbal and statistical narratives in terms of effects on their consumers. The above-mentioned conclusion therefore rhymes with such a thesis.

Another perspective which emphasises on the importance of pictures, including the ones selected for this study, over verbal, rhetorical and statistical narratives; views pictures as projectors of the real or actual situation on the ground. However, a counter thesis to this viewpoint is a school of thought by some respondents which advances the argument that pictures, including the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, are prone to manipulation according to political expediency. A textbook example that was cited on how pictures can be manipulated for the sake of parochial interests is the case of the iconic picture taken at the White House in the so-called Situation Room during the Osama bin Laden raid in 2011. In an act that smacks of sexism and patriarchal hegemony in the media, an Orthodox Jewish newspaper, *Di Tzeitung*, manipulated the above-mentioned image by deleting former US Secretary for State, Hillary Clinton. This shows that pictures are not immune from manipulation for parochial gain.

Furthermore, Clinton's example also shows that pictorial images, including those selected for this study, could be used as "political weapons" by media houses. However, it is unlikely that "reputable" international news stations like *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *France 24 English* would have manipulated the pictures under study because such news stations have a reputation to protect and would not want to be associated with the "fake news" debacle. However, journalists are the ones who have the discretion to choose the most outstanding or iconic images from a pool of many other images to broadcast. As highlighted in chapter six of this thesis, the process of journalists choosing images for broadcasting (selectivity) leads to subjectivity, as the selected pictures would only show one side of the story at the expense of the other. Such a phenomenon is also associated with framing and the consequent "projected" images of nations that emanate from the media.

Another school of thought which also emerged in the discussion in chapter five of this thesis emphasises on the "empirical" or "scientific" dimension of verbal and statistical reports which makes them more reliable compared to pictures which are subject to manipulation and varying interpretations. Therefore, as Plato warned against the overreliance of images in the ancient times, some respondents also highlighted the loopholes associated with the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis and other pictures in general. It is in such a context that the reliance on statistics was emphasised. However, the shortcomings associated with the pictures under study does not override the fact that they convey feelings and stick to memory compared to verbal and statistical reports as the findings of this research revealed. Also, just like pictures, statistical and verbal narratives related to Zimbabwe's Crisis, are not absolutely insulated from manipulation for parochial gain.

One of the notable themes to emerge from the interviews with the respondents relates to the viral nature of the iconic images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. As discussed in chapter three of this thesis, the iconic pictures selected for this study went viral and were repeatedly broadcast (sometimes live) by international media stations such as *Aljazeera English*, *BBC*, *CNN* and *France 24 English*, among others. Repeatedly broadcast and viral pictures are intimately linked with the CNN effect. According to the dictates of the CNN effect; viral and repeatedly broadcast pictures induce emotions and public outcry which is usually followed by concrete political action. This thesis, which emphasises on the impact of pictures, is usually upheld by CNN scholars such as Perlmutter (1998; 2005); Sharkey (1993) and Vilmer (2012), among others. The important question therefore is: for how long can pictures sustain the emotions that

they induce on their consumers? In light of this question, a counter thesis which runs contrary to the dictates of the CNN effect emerged.

A dissection of the data collected from the respondents revealed that the effects of the iconic pictures selected for this study diminished over time due to their viral nature and over-repetition in terms of broadcasting by international media stations. To that end, it was established that, despite their graphic nature, the viral nature and the repeated broadcasting of the pictures in question, made the respondents to get "accustomed" to them or develop "emotional insulators" against their effects. To back up this viewpoint, parallels were drawn between the iconic pictures related to Zimbabwe' Crisis and those depicting the violent Syrian Civil War. Therefore, it was noted that just like the Zimbabwean scenario, the Syrian pictorial images have also lost their value in terms of their effects. In short, the viral nature and the repeated broadcasting of the iconic pictures selected for this study diluted their message and emotions.

The discussion in chapter five indicated that the iconic pictures under study triggered acts of iconophobia and iconoclasm. In the same vein, the study revealed a pattern of systematic aggression by the state towards journalists in Zimbabwe. In some instances, journalists' cameras, recorders, and images were destroyed by state security agents who wanted to suppress the physical and verbal images associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis. As previously highlighted in this thesis, most international media houses lost their licenses, international journalists were expelled from the country and newspapers destroyed. In 2001, suspected state security agents bombed the *Daily News* premises; destroying newspapers, cameras and printers during such a horrific act. Therefore, the study indicated that such actions by the state in Zimbabwe fit neatly into the iconophobia and iconoclasm grid. The iconic pictures under study unsettled the state, hence, the consequent hostile attitude towards journalists and images.

Iconophobia generally refers to the anxiety created by images whereas iconoclasm is the suppression or destruction of images for political and religious expediency (see Mitchell, 2015). This study also revealed that iconoclasm is not just the physical annihilation, suppression and prevention of the circulation of images but also the purging of words and ideas (censorship) to arrive at the "correct" or so-called "purified" language. An observation revealed that the iconic pictures under study were never broadcast on the state-controlled television channel in Zimbabwe. Therefore, such deliberate prevention of circulation of the pictures in question falls under the iconoclasm trajectory.

However, the state did not manage to suppress both the physical and metaphorical images related to the country's crisis. This is evidenced by massive international media publicity about Zimbabwe's Crisis and the proliferation of pictures associated with it. The failure by the state to suppress images related to the country's crisis, is in sync with Michael Taussig's postulation that the destruction or suppression of images, is a sure way of guaranteeing them an even more potent presence in memory, or as reincarnation in new forms, hence, the fundamental law of the physics of the image is that images cannot be destroyed or suppressed (see Mitchell, 2015).

This study also revealed that the pictorial pictures under study, led to the emergence of two diametrically opposed and antagonistic camps. One camp is presented by the state which was hostile to journalists and their images whereas the other camp represents journalists, who employed every trick in the book to make documentaries, take pictures and expose them to the outside world. Most international journalists came to Zimbabwe disguised as tourists to clandestinely document the country's crisis especially during the period between 2002 and 2008. The hostile attitude of the state towards journalists led to a situation that could be described as "journalists versus the state." Therefore, the attitude of the state was largely iconophobic and iconoclastic in many respects. On the other hand, the attitude of the journalists who took, documented and exposed images related to Zimbabwe's Crisis could be described in the context of the iconodule and iconophilic camp. As highlighted in the second chapter of this thesis, iconodules are those who revere images whereas iconophiles are those support images. Accordingly, this study concluded that, in light of the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, the state represented the iconophobic and iconoclastic camp whereas some local and international journalists were leaning towards the iconodule and iconophilic camp. Therefore, when it comes to the love and hate of pictures in the context of Zimbabwe's Crisis, there are two conflicting camps which emerged: (1) the iconophiles and iconodules (journalists), and; (2) the iconophobes and iconoclasts (state and government officials). The capacity of pictures to divide people along ideological lines indicates the severity of their impact on their consumers.

The study also concluded that, in a bid to counteract negative publicity (including through pictorial images), the Zimbabwean government embarked on a sustained propaganda programme especially from the year 2000 to 2008. The study observed that such propaganda was conveyed mainly through the state television broadcaster (*ZBC TV*) in form of verbal and

pictorial narratives. Therefore, the study argued that the efforts by the state to counteract international media publicity about Zimbabwe's Crisis, led to the creation of a counter image in as much as the country's political and economic crisis is concerned. This is in sync with Mitchell's (2012) postulation that every image produces a counter image. State propaganda in Zimbabwe during the country's political and economic crisis is well documented by scholars such as Chitando and Gatsheni (2009) who are of the view that Zimbabwe's propaganda programme which was crafted by former Information Minister, Jonathan Moyo, was calculated and probably the most sustained in post-independent Africa. However, what is important to highlight is the viewpoint that such propaganda represents a counter image to physical and metaphorical images associated with Zimbabwe's Crisis. The research findings and conclusions about iconoclasm, emergence of ideologically opposed and antagonistic camps and counter images, are related to what the respondents said about the pictorial images under study. This is also in line with the aim and the first research question of this study.

In relation to the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, the study also established the existence of racial and gender bias in terms of representation by the media houses in question. Moreover, this study alluded to the fact that the violence during the land reform programme did not only affect white commercial farmers but also their black workers, yet the international media was awash with pictures of the former compared to those of the latter. This observation holds much water considering that even from the "iconic" pictures (still and moving) related to the land reform programme selected for this study; there are no black victims, yet a close observation will reveal that a notable portion of black farm workers and their families were never spared from the violent scourge of the land reform programme. In fact, there is abundant literature from scholars such as Sachikonye (2003) who chronicle the brunt that was borne by black farm workers during the land reform, yet they are not represented in the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. It is from such a background that this study cited racial bias in relation to the pictorial images in question. Part of the reason that could be used to explain such racial bias could be that maybe the media house which broadcasted these images wanted to draw attention from Western countries.

In addition to racial bias, this study also revealed that the pictorial images under study also mirror gender bias in terms of gender representation by the international media stations in question. In the same vein, it was noted that although there were female political activists who were tortured and badly injured during the 2007 state sponsored violence, only images of male

victims such as Morgan Tsvangirai, Lovemore Madhuku and Nelson Chamisa featured prominently in international media circles. This was despite the fact female political activists like Grace Kwinjeh, Sekai Holland and Beatrice Mtetwa, among others, were also savagely attacked by state security agents. Apart from the projection of an incomplete picture, the underrepresentation of female activists by the media houses in question plays into the patriarchal gallery. Another danger is that the overlooking of female victims of political violence by the media, could "normalise" violence against women. Besides, the gender and racially biased pictures represent an incomplete and single narrative about Zimbabwe's Crisis, yet Ngozi (2009) gives a stern warning about the dangers of a single story. The conclusion related to pictures and gender and racial bias is associated with the first research question of the study.

In terms of the EU attitude towards Zimbabwe, this study established that the pictures under study somehow influenced the EU foreign policy posture towards the country. For instance, the study argued that the decision to impose "smart" sanctions or "targeted measures" on Zimbabwe by the EU in 2002 was to some extent influenced by images from international media depicting violence during the land reform programme and the 2002 presidential elections. In the same vein, the study indicated that the images in question were "tangible evidence" of political violence in Zimbabwe. In addition to the "targeted" sanctions, travel and investments warnings that were issued by the EU to their citizens in relation to the situation in Zimbabwe were somehow linked to the pictures which depicted human rights violations.

However, although the study argued that the television pictures under study somehow influenced EU's policy stance on Zimbabwe, it is worth highlighting that the pictorial images in question should not be "read" in isolation of several other factors that also shaped the EU-Zimbabwe relations matrix. Reports concerning Zimbabwe's political and economic condition from reputable NGOs, think tanks, international financial institutions (e.g. World Bank, IMF and WTO), academics and the diaspora community should not be overlooked. Therefore, pictures are only a single factor among many other factors that shaped the European bloc's attitude towards Zimbabwe. However, it is worth mentioning that the conclusion that the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis somehow swayed the EU's attitude towards the country is in sync with the CNN effect scholarship. Overall, it could be said that, to a relative degree, the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis shaped the EU's attitude towards Zimbabwe.

Research questions two and three of this study dealt with the respondents' remarks about the pictures under study vis-à-vis the national image of Zimbabwe and the country's economic dynamics, respectively. These two questions were addressed in the discussion in the seventh chapter of this thesis. Accordingly, the study established that the pictorial images in question had a pronounced effect on the country's national image and economic trajectory. It was concluded that the pictures in question not only damaged the national image of the country but also painted a gloom and adverse picture about Zimbabwe. Importantly, the data revealed that the negative national image of Zimbabwe projected by the afore-mentioned pictures drove away investors and tourists especially from the EU countries. Therefore, this conclusion reveals the nexus that exists between and among the pictures in question, Zimbabwe's national image and its economic trajectory. The study argued that the violent nature of some of the pictures under study would naturally make investors and tourists from the EU hesitant to visit the country. Thus, such pictures are a threat to the tourism industry and FDI as these two sectors depend on stability and the rule of law.

Another conclusion which emerged from the study is the idea that the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis act as a mirror projecting a multidimensional image in as much as Zimbabwe is concerned. As shown in chapter six of this thesis of this thesis, the pictures under study were associated with images of violence and hostility, lawlessness and failed state, racism and inflation and economic meltdown. Most of the respondents mentioned the multiple images about Zimbabwe reflected by the pictures under study. Hence the conclusion that the pictures under study project a fluid, multidimensional and sometimes metaphorical image about Zimbabwe. This finding is in sync with the nature of national images as the discussion in the previous chapter revealed that national images are mental, metaphorical, intangible, abstract, fluid and subjective entities whose perception differs from one individual to another. Also, the study concluded that the pictures in question acts as a mirror which reflects multiple images in relation to Zimbabwe which include the images of lawlessness, violence, failed state, economic collapse and inflation and suffering, among others. The conclusion which relates Zimbabwe's national image with multiple dimensions rhymes with Boulding's (1961) observation that just as there are many individuals, there are also many national images depending on the beholder. In addition to that, the perception of Zimbabwe's image through the pictures from the international media fits into projected images of nations under the realm of public frames (media representation) within the context of the theory of framing.

Considering the overall interpretation of the iconic pictures selected for this study by the respondents, it seems inescapable to conclude that the way the respondents interpreted the pictorial images in question, boils down to issues related to institutional power, interest and background information about Zimbabwe, which in turn compromised the lenses that the respondents used to interpret or "read" the pictures in question. Since the respondents were drawn from the EU, an institution associated with power and influence, it could mean that even the way they interpret the pictorial images under study is from a powerful and institutional point of view. For instance, during the interviews, the respondents kept on referring to EU principles vis-à-vis the pictures under study. This shows that their interpretation was somehow tied to the blinkers of institutional frameworks and principles. In that regard, it could be said that the respondents interpreted the pictures in question, from a straitjacket point of view which to some extent "compromised" their overall interpretation.

To support the straitjacket thesis mentioned above, respondents mentioned that apart from the media and its images, they also knew about Zimbabwe's Crisis through NGOs' reports, oral tradition, diaspora community and Zimbabwe's history in general. This shows that before the interpretation of the pictures under study, respondents had preconceived ideas and stereotypes about Zimbabwe which most likely "contaminated" the lenses that they used to interpret the pictures in question. It is also worth mentioning that the perception of Zimbabwe from a preconceived and stereotypical point of view rhymes with perceived images of nations which is in sync with private frames in the context of the theory of framing. However, it is important to underline that the way the respondents interpreted the pictures under study is likely to have been clouded by background knowledge about Zimbabwe, institutional interest and power.

## 8.3 Contribution of the Study

The contribution of this study could be looked at from a double perspective: (1) its academic contribution, and; (2) Political debate vis-à-vis Zimbabwe's Crisis. In relation to academic contribution, this study is one of the foremost to deal with Zimbabwe's Crisis from a visual cultural and pictorial point of view. For instance, by focusing on the pictorial narrative of Zimbabwe's Crisis, the study marks a departure from the traditional trajectory which relegates pictorial images to the periphery due to its tendency to gravitate towards verbal, rhetorical and statistical elements of the country's crisis. Apart from bridging the mentioned scholarship lacuna by addressing an under researched area, the study also represents an academic paradigm

shift by carving its own niche and venturing on a route that has been rarely taken, hence, its unique contribution in that respect.

Another important aspect about this study is that it was not undertaken from a general point of view but rather from a "systematic" and "scientific" point of view in line with the dictums of image science/*Bildwissenschaft*. Therefore, it could be said that even the results of the study are "scientific" since the study did not follow an ill-defined, vague and generalised approach to the study of iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis. Accordingly, this study contributes in terms of the "scientific" study of images.

As previously discussed, other important findings related to this study are associated with the pictures under study vis-à-vis gender and racial representation in the media. The two afore-mentioned issues are important especially in the context of the fight for gender and racial equality. Therefore, this contributes to the gender and racial inequality discourse to some extent. The debate on race and gender is topical in both academic and political circles.

From a political point of view, the findings from this study could be helpful in terms of the understanding of the Zimbabwe's Crisis. As indicated earlier on, Zimbabwe's political and economic crisis has always been analysed from a verbal and statistical point of view. Therefore, by focusing on pictures, this study could have promoted the understanding of Zimbabwe's Crisis from another angle: the visual cultural and pictorial angle. In that regard, this study helped to answer the question whether the pictures under study were the missing link in the understanding of Zimbabwe's Crisis. In addition to that, the findings of this research are important in the context of EU-Zimbabwe relations and cooperation. Despite efforts towards constructive engagement, Zimbabwe-EU relations remain relatively frosty, yet the EU is Zimbabwe's largest trading partner. Apart from trade, the EU also supports the civil society, judiciary and provides humanitarian aid to Zimbabwe. Therefore, it is of paramount importance for interested parties to fully comprehend the political and socio-economic dynamics that underpin the way in which the country is perceived by some officials from the afore-mentioned European bloc. As previously indicated in this chapter, this study established that the pictures under study damaged the national image of Zimbabwe as they mirror a gloomy picture associated with racism, violence, hostility, economic meltdown and lawlessness in relation to the country's national image. Such a finding is important especially when the vitality of a nation's image or "nation's brand" is borne in mind. In the same vein, the pictures under study had the capacity to drive away tourists and foreign direct investment and potentially provoked

dire economic consequences. The study also established that the pictures under study to some extent shifted the EU foreign policy pendulum on Zimbabwe. All this information is critical in terms of policymaking in as much as Zimbabwe is concerned.

## 8.4    Recommendations for further research

This research, just like others, can be used as a window of opportunity for conducting other research projects in the future. As the study revealed especially in the fifth and sixth chapters of this thesis, not only pictorial images but also verbal images specifically in the mould of government officials' inflammatory rhetoric against the opposition, EU, US and their allies impacted on Zimbabwe's Crisis. Since such inflammatory rhetoric or hate speech fits into the verbal images' family, there is therefore an avenue for researchers in the future to examine how the verbal images in question are "interpreted" by the same officials from the EU, hence; this could be another area worth examining.

Since this study focused on how EU officials interpret pictorial images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, the data collected was associated with a European institution. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine how the same pictures are interpreted by officials from other continental and regional organisations in Africa. For instance, one could study how the above-mentioned pictures are interpreted by officials from the African Union or from other regional bodies such as SADC or ECOWAS. Also, results from such a study could be compared with the results of this study.

## 8.5    Concluding Remarks

Considering the entire discussion in this chapter, it could be said that, this study managed to fulfil its aim. One important lesson that protrudes from this study is that pictures are not as general as they appear. This lesson is in line with the dictates of image science which emphasise on the scientific and systematic study of images as opposed to a general and undefined trajectory. The "scientific" study of the iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis led to findings and conclusions that would not have been reached through a general and "unscientific" approach. Judging from this study, it could be said that the scientific study of images seems to be the most appropriate approach. Also, the pictorial images depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis have been embedded into the country's history and will exist for generations to come. Therefore, such pictorial images should not be taken at face value as they have serious political and economic repercussions.

**Bibliography**

Academy of Social Sciences (2016) Five Ethical Principles for Social Science Research, Academy of Social Sciences [Online] Available at: https://www.acss.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/5-Ethics-Principles-for-Social-Science-Research-Flyer.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Africa All Party Parliamentary Group (2009) Land in Zimbabwe: past mistakes, future Prospects: *A Report by Africa All Party Parliamentary Group*. London: Africa All Party Parliamentary Group [Online] Available at: http://www.royalafricansociety.org/sites/default/files/reports/aappg_report_land_in_zimbabwe.pdf [6 March 2017]

African Commission for Human and People's Rights (2007) *Zimbabwe: human Rights in Crisis*, Banjul: ACHPR

Aljazeera (2005) Zimbabwe poor suffer under Mugabe clampdown. *Aljazeera* [Online] Available: https://www.aljazeera.com/archive/2005/06/2008410134615365194.html [Accessed 19 March 2017]

Almond, K (2016) What makes an image unforgettable? *CNN*, Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/01/us/the-flag-iconic-images/ [Accessed 13 April 2017]

Amanpour, C (2016) Iconic photos bring about change. *CNN* [Online] Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2016/12/06/pkg-syria-aleppo-pleitgen-amanpour.cnn/video/playlists/pleitgen-aleppo-syria-reporting/ [Accessed 19 March 2017]

Ammon. R, J (2001) *Global Television and the Shaping of World Politics: CNN, Telediplomacy and Foreign Policy*, London: McFarland & Company

Anand, A (2007) Mugabe is racist. *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/worldhaveyoursay/2007/09/mugabe_is_racist_1.html [Accessed 6 March 2017]

Anholt, S (2005) Nation Branding and Economic Development, *WIPO Magazine* [Online] Available at: http://www.wipo.int/wipo_magazine/en/2005/04/article_0001.html [Accessed 27 February 2018]

ASSECAA (2011) Tourism Information about Zimbabwe, ASSECAA, Rabat [Online] Available at: http://www.assecaa.org/English/E_TourismInZimbabwe.htm [Accessed 20 December 2014]

Babaud, S and Ndung'u, J (2012) *Early Warning and Conflict Prevention by the EU: Learning lessons from the 2008 post-election violence in Kenya*, Nairobi: Initiative Peace Building

Baca, M (2002) An Introduction to Art Image Access: Issues, Tools, Standards, Strategies, Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute

Badza, S (2009) Zimbabwe's 2008 Harmonized Elections Regional & International Reaction, In: E.V, Masunungure (Ed.) Defying *the Winds of Change*, Harare: Weaver Press

Banana, C (1989) *Turmoil and tenacity*: *Zimbabwe 1890-1990*, Harare: College Press

Baum, A, M and Potter, K, B, P (2008) The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis, *Annual Review Political Science* (11). Pp. 39-65

BBC (2016) Africa Business Report, *BBC* [Live TV Programme]

BBC (2014) Why are newspapers and TV broadcasts filled with disaster, corruption and Incompetence: It may be because we're drawn to depressing stories without realising, says psychologist Tom Stafford, *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20140728-why-is-all-the-news-bad [Accessed 27 February 2017]

BBC (2014) Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe tells white farmers 'to go,' *BBC*, Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-28152477 [Accessed 27 February 2017]

BBC News (2011) German minister loses doctorate after plagiarism row, *BBC*, Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-12566502 [Accessed 26 March 2017]

BBC (2008) Mugabe is a 'modern-day Hitler,' *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7779142.stm [Accessed 27 February 2017]

BBC World News (2002) EU Agrees Zimbabwe Sanctions, *BBC*. [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1827827.stm. [Accessed 26 February 2017]

BBC (2001) Zimbabwe newspaper bombed, *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1141168.stm. [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Beach, N.D (2009) Ndebele Raiders and Shona Power, *The Journal of African History*, 15(4), pp. 633-651

Belknap, M (2001) *The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?* Pennsylvania: U.S Army War College

Biney, A (1997) The Western Media and Africa: Issues of Information and Images, *Journal of International Affairs*, Available at: http://www.inquiriesjournal.com/articles/1156/the-western-media-and-africa-issues-of-information-and-images [Accessed 28 October 2017]

Borchert. William, J (2013) Pushing the pictorial turn: Mitchell, Benjamin, and religion, *MA Thesis*, New York: Syracuse University [Online] Available at: http://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1002&context=rel_thesis [Accessed 28 October 2017]

Boulding, K, E (1961) National Images and International Systems, *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, 3 (2) pp. 391-398

Bourdieu, P (1999) The social definition of photography, In: Evan, J and Hall, S. (Ed). *Visual Culture: the reader*. London: SAGE Publications

Bratton, M & Masunungure, E (2011) *The Anatomy of Political Predation: Leaders, Elites and Coalitions in Zimbabwe, 1980-2010*, Harare: The Development Leadership Programme

Burney. Aqil. M, S (2008) *Inductive and Deductive Research Approach*, Karachi: University of Karachi Available at: http://drburney.net/INDUCTIVE%20&%20DEDUCTIVE%20RESEARCH%20APPROACH%2006032008.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Butcher, T (2001) Mugabe Steps up Media Pressure with BBC ban, *The Telegraph*, Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1335544/Mugabe-steps-up-media-pressure-with-BBC-ban.html [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Burnett, A (2008) Overemphasis on Zimbabwe? *BBC*, Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/theeditors/2008/04/overemphasis_on_zimbabwe.html [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Bonnel. E, V (1998) *Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters under Lenin and Stalin*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1997) *Report on the 1980s Disturbances in Matabeleland and Midlands*, CCJP: Harare. Available at: http://www.rhodesia.nl/Matabeleland%20Report.pdf [Accessed 27 January 2017]

CNN (2018) President Mnangagwa: 'Zimbabwe is open for business,' *CNN* [Online] Available at: https://edition.cnn.com/2018/01/24/africa/zimbabwe-president-emmerson-mnangagwa-davos-intl/index.html [Accessed 27 February 2018]

CNN (2006) Living off rats to survive in Zimbabwe, *CNN* [Online] Available at:

http://edition.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/africa/12/19/koinange.zimbabwe/index.html
[Accessed 27 January 2017]

CNN (2002) Zimbabwe Land Reform Original CNN Report, *CNN* [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2COCapZTaA8&t=528s [Accessed 27 January 2017]

CNN (2002) Zimbabwe vote flawed – observers, *CNN*, Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/africa/03/12/zimbabwe.poll/index.html [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Cope. Kalantzis, P (2015) The Image. Sixth International Conference on the Image- Media Materiality: Towards Critical Economies of "New" Media, Berkeley: University of California

Crone, P (1998) *Religion, Law and Political Thought in the near East, c.600- c.1100*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing

Creswell, J.W (2007) *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five Approaches (2nd Ed.)*, California: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Creswell, J. W (2009) *Research Design: Qualitative and Mixed Methods*, London: SAGE Publication Inc., London

Davies, W (2017) How Statistics Lost their Relevance and why we should all be concerned, *The Guardian*, Available: https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jan/19/crisis-of-statistics-big-data-democracy [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Dibbie, R (2000) The Impact of Economic Structural Adjustment Programs [ESAPs] on Women and Children: Implications for Social Welfare in Zimbabwe, *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*. 27(4): 79-107

Douglas, J (2017) Mass Communication Theory: Framing Theory, *WorldPress.com* Available at: https://masscommtheory.com/theory-overviews/framing-theory/ [Accessed 27 February 2018]

Etikan. I, Musa A.S and Alkassim, S. R (2016) Sampling Techniques, *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics* 5(1): 1-4 [Online] Available at: http://article.sciencepublishinggroup.com/pdf/10.11648.j.ajtas.20160501.11.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Encyclopedia.com (2005) Iconography and Iconology, Farmington Hills: The Gale Group, Inc., Available at: file:///E:/Iconography%20and%20Iconology.pdf [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Evan, J and Hall, S (1999) *Visual Culture: the reader*, London: SAGE Publications

European Union Delegation to the Republic of Zimbabwe (2017) Zimbabwe and the EU, Harare: European Union Delegation to the Republic of Zimbabwe [Online] Available at: https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/zimbabwe/1867/zimbabwe-and-eu_en [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Fanon, F (1963) The Pitfalls of National Consciousness, In: Frantz Fanon (ed.) *The Wretched Of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press, pp.148-205

Fishman M, J (2017) *Death Makes the News: How the Media Censor and Display the Dead*, New York: New York University Press

Feldges, B (2008) *American icons: the genesis of a national visual language*. New York: Routledge

France 24 English (2008) Zimbabwe: nightmare of violence, France *24 English*, Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ljwrsx5Xlao [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Fredberg, D (1990) The Structure of the Byzantine and European Iconoclasm [Online] Available at: http://www.columbia.edu/cu/arthistory/faculty/Freedberg/Structure-byzantine-european-iconoclasm.pdf

Gabriel, D (2013) Inductive and Deductive Approaches to Research, London: University of London Available at: http://deborahgabriel.com/2013/03/17/inductive-and-deductive-approaches-to-research/#comment-1312 [Accessed 26 March 2017].

Gara, H (2009) An Analysis of EU Aid to Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2000. *MSc Thesis*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe

Giulini, L (no date) A Cryptic Dimension in Visual Culture [Online] Available at: http://mintwiki.pbworks.com/f/A+Cryptic+Dimension+in+Visual+Art+-+Iconography+adn+Iconology.pdf [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Gweshe, E (2015) ZTA fights to erase Zim's negative image, *Newsday* [Online] Available at: https://www.newsday.co.zw/2015/02/23/zta-fights-erase-zims-negative-image/ [Accessed 18 August 2017]

Hanlon, J, Manjengwa, J, Smart, T. Press, K and Virginian, S (2013) Zimbabwe takes back its land – a review by Martin Plaut, *African Arguments* [Online] Available at: http://africanarguments.org/2013/03/21/zimbabwe-takes-back-its-land-a-review-by-martin-plaut/ [Accessed 3 June 2018]

Haven, T (2001) *Review: Global Television and the Shaping of World Politics: CNN, Telediplomacy and Foreign Policy*, Iowa: University of Iowa

Heinrich A, H and Stahl, B (2017) Pictorial Stereotypes in the Euro Debt Crisis, National Identities (19):1 In: *Dividing united Europe. Stereotypes, prejudices and the European (economic) crisis* pp. 109-127

Hentoff, N (2012) The 'Hitler of Africa' Still Rules. Commentary, Washington DC: CATO Institute [Online] Available at: https://www.cato.org/publications/commentary/hitler-africa-still-rules [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Houston, M (2016) The Ethics of Research in the Social Science: An Overview. Presentation made at the University of Glasgow [Online] Available at: https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_487728_en.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Humphreys, J (2013) Is Zimbabwe a Police State? Blog [Online] Available at: https://johnhumphreys.com.au/2013/10/30/is-zimbabwe-a-police-state/ [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Hurst, S (2015) Pre-testing Qualitative Data Collection Procedures to Facilitate Methodological Adherence and Team Building in Nigeria, *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 14: 53–64

Ignatowitsch, J and Stahl, B (2015) Pictures and Foreign Policy: Pacifism in the German Discourse on Afghanistan, Paper presented at the ECPR General conference in Montreal (26 -29 August)

Independent (2014) Robert Mugabe's most eccentric quotes: from Hitler to Jesus Christ to being gay, *Independent*. [Online] Available at: http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/robert-mugabes-most-eccentric-quotes-9143930.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Independent (2000) Two more Zimbabwe farm workers killed, *Independent* [Online] Available at: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/two-more-zimbabwe-farm-workers-killed-282105.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act 2007 (IEEA) (Zimbabwe)

Irby, K (2014). Is Baton Rouge protest photo really iconic? CNN [Online] Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/13/opinions/baton-rouge-photo-irby/index.html. [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Irvine, M (2011) Introducing Visual Culture: Ways of Looking at All Things Visual [Online] Available: http://faculty.georgetown.edu/irvinem/visualarts/Intro-VisualCulture.html [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Jackobsen. Viggo, P (2000) Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect. *2000 Journal of Peace Research*, 37: (2) pp. 131–143

Kamat. V, P (2006) Research Ethics. Paper presented at in the Symposium on Scientific Publishing, ACS National Meeting, Atlanta, GA March 2006 [Online] Available at: https://www3.nd.edu/~pkamat/pdf/ethics.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Karambukwa, T (2011) The Impact of Zimbabwe Tourism Authority Initiatives on Tourism Arrivals in Zimbabwe (2008-2009), *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa* (13(6) pp. 68-77

Kastner. Wilson, P (1980) A note on the iconoclastic controversy: Greek and Latin Controversy about matter and deification, *Andrews University seminar studies*, 18(2). pp. 139-148

Katz, H 2006 Global surveys or multi-national surveys, On Sampling for Global Surveys: Thoughts for the Globalization and Social Science Data Workshop UCSB, 9 November, Israeli Center for Third-sector Research (ICTR) and Department of Business Administration, Ben Gurion University of the Negev.

Knopf. W, J and McMenamin, I (1998) How to Write a Literature Review, In: Yoder, S. (1998) *Publishing Political Science*, American Political Science Association State of the Profession Series

Kunczik, M (2013) Currencies, National Images and National Identities: Public Relations for and against Currencies – Historical Experiences from Germany, the Case of the Euro and the Role of Rating Agencies, EDIJSKE STUDIJE MEDIA STUDIES. 4(7) pp.12-3

Lancaster House Agreement (1979) SOUTHERN RHODESIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE HELD AT LANCASTER HOUSE, LONDON SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 1979 REPORT. [Online] Available at: http://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/5847/5/1979_Lancaster_House_Agreement.pdf [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Larsson, C (2012) Suspicious Images: Iconophobia and the Ethical Gaze, *Journal of Media and Culture*, **15** (1)

Lendon, N. (2016) Iconophilia. Blog [Online] Available at: http://www.iconophilia.net/about/ [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Lovelace, M (2010) Iconic photos of the Vietnam War era: A semiotic analysis as a means of Understanding, *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications*, 1 (1)

Li, X and Chitty, N (2009) Reframing national image: A methodological framework, *Conflict & Communication online* 8(2) pp. 1-11

Lynch, T (2014). Writing up Your PhD (Qualitative Research), Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh [Online] Available at: https://www.ed.ac.uk/files/atoms/files/writing_up_your_phd_qualitative_research.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Magaisa, A (2015) Kabila & Mugabe: Another Congolese Adventure Beckoning? *Nehanda Radio* [Online] Available at: http://nehandaradio.com/2015/11/14/kabila-mugabe-another-congolese-adventure-beckoning/ [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Makumbe, J (2009). Theft by Numbers- ZEC's role in the 2008 Elections, In: *Defying the Winds of Change*, Harare: Weaver Press.

Makumbe, J (2009) *The Impact of Democracy in Zimbabwe: Assessing Political, Social and Economic Developments since the Dawn of Democracy*, Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies

Makumbe, J (2006) Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe: Authoritarianism versus the People,

*Africa Development,* 31 (3), pp. 45–61

Makumbe, J and Compagon, D (2000) *Behind The Smoke Screen: The Politics of Zimbabwe's 1995 General Election*, Harare, University of Zimbabwe Publications

Malunga, S (2018) Gukurahundi: Towards a National Dialogue, Contribution made at a Dialogue Meeting organised by SAPES TRUST in Harare. [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-_Rj5CKrBpE [Accessed 27 February 2018]

Mamur, N (2012) Perceptions Concerning Visual Culture Dialogues of Visual Art Pre-Service Teachers, *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*, 12 (3) p. 2166-2173 [Online] Available at: https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1000913.pdf [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Mandaza, I (2014) Zanu PF congress — The rise and triumph of the securocratic state, *Zimbabwe Independent* [Online] Available at: https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2014/12/15/zanu-pf-congress-rise-triumph-securocratic-state/ [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Mandikwaza, E (2016) The Place for Amnesty in Zimbabwe's Transitional Justice Process, *Conflict Trends* (2) p. 28-35

Marotzki, W and Stoetzer, K (2006) Die Geschichten hinter Den Bildernnnäherungen an eine Methode und Methodologie der Bildinterpretation in biographie- und bildungstheoretischer Absicht. Wiesbaden

Masunungure, E (2009) A Militarised Election: The 27 June Presidential Run-Off, In: Masunungure. V, E. (Ed.), *Defying the Winds of Change*. Harare: Weaver Press

May. Naomi, M (2012*) Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*. Chicago: Oriental Institute of Chicago

McGreal, C (2002) The Trail from Lancaster House, *The Guardian* [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/jan/16/zimbabwe.chrismcgreal[Accessed 14 March 2017]

MDC Zimbabwe (2017) President Morgan Tsvangirai's statement to the press, Facebook, [Online] Available at: https://www.facebook.com/zimbabwemdc/?hc_ref=SEARCH [Accessed 19 March 2017]

Milne, S (2008) How come Zimbabwe and Tibet get all the attention? *The Guardian* [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2008/apr/17/zimbabwe.tibet [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Michira, J (2010) Images of Africa in the Western Media, Blog [Online] Available at: https://profiles.uonbi.ac.ke/j_michira/publications/images-africa-western-media. [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Mitchell, W.J.T (2015) *Image Science: Iconology, Visual Culture and Media Aesthetics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Mitchell, W.J.T (2013) Current Theoretical Interfaces: Iconicity, Semiotics and Historicity, Presentation made at the conference themed *Iconology Old and New: Transregional Conference on the move*, and the Central European University in Budapest, 27-29 May. [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4Uoml_itvtY [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Mitchell, W.T.J (2012) Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to the present, Presentation at a Symposium at the Haus der Kunst on 9 June [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c-cXdkcBkPY&t=1075s [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Mitchell, WJT (2011) Seeing Madness: Insanity, Media and Visual Culture, Visual Culture

Today: The Power of Images. Presentation made at the Clarke Art Institute. [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QyWXVh3NMdU [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Mitchell, W.T.J (2006) Cloning Terror: The War of Images, 9/11 to Abhu Ghraib, Lecture delivered at the Case Western Reserve University on 30 November. [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yqb8eTK1aMs [Accessed 26 March 2017].

Mitchell, W.J.T (1996) What do Pictures Really Want? *The MIT Press*, 77 (Summer 1996) pp. 71-82

Mitchell, W.J.T (1994) *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Mitchell, W. J. T (1986) *Iconology: Image, text, ideology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Mitchell, W. J. T (1980) *The Language of Images*, Chicago: University of Chicago

Modelski. G (1962) *A Theory of Foreign Policy*, London: Pall Mall Press

Mogalakwe, M (2006) The Use of Documentary Research Methods in Social Research, *African Sociological Review*, 10 (1) pp. 221-230

Morgan, D. (2005) *The Sacred Gaze: Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press

Moyo, J (1992) *Voting for Democracy: A Study of Electoral Politics in Zimbabwe*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications

Mupandawana, M (2013) Britain's Colonial Obligations and Land Reform in Zimbabwe, Think IR [Online] Available at:http://www.thinkir.co.uk/of-britains-colonial-obligations-and-land-reform-in-zimbabwe/

Naveh, C (2002) The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision-Making: A Theoretical Framework, *Conflict and Communication Online* 2(2), Pp. 1-14. [Online] Available at: http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2002_2/pdf_2002_2/naveh.pdf [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Ngozi. Adichie, C (2009) The danger of a single story, Speech delivered at a TEDx talk in Euston [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Ndlela, N (2005) *The African Paradigm: The Coverage of the Zimbabwean Crisis in the Norwegian Media*, University College of Denmark (Special Issue) pp. 71-90 [Online] Available:https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/134164/Ndlela_Nkosi_african%20paradigm_wpcc2005.pdf?sequence=1 [Accessed 18 August 2017]

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S (2009) Making Sense of Mugabeism in Local and Global Politics: 'So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe,' *Third World Quarterly*. 30 (6) pp. 1139–1158

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S (2004) Putting People First- from Regime Security to Human Security: A Quest for Social Peace in Zimbabwe, 1980-2002. In: Nhema. G, A. (Ed.). *The Quest for Peace in Africa: Transformations, Democracy and Public Policy*. Addis Ababa: OSSREA

New Zimbabwe (2017) Zimbabwe struggling to attract foreign tourists- report, New *Zimbabwe* [Online] Available at:http://www.newzimbabwe.com/business-35106-Zim+dismally+fails+to+attract+EU+tourists/business.aspx [Accessed 18 August 2017]

Newsday (2013) New Dawn Uncertain over Indigenisation, Newsday [Online] Available at: http://www.newsday.co.zw/2013/05/16/new-dawn-uncertain-over-indigenisation/ (25-07-2013) [Accessed 26 March 2017]

OECD (2008) *OECD Benchmark Definition of Foreign Direct Investment*, Washington:

OECD [Online] Available at:
https://www.oecd.org/daf/inv/investmentstatisticsandanalysis/40193734.pdf
[Accessed 18 August 2017]

Okgibo, C (2007). *National Images in the Age of the Information Superhighway: African Perspectives*, Michigan: Michigan State University Libraries [Online] Available at: https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/61a1/a86071760d7e4d51e19245fc4b5b199cf650.pdf [Accessed 18 August 2017]

Pacific Standard (2015) Why Bad News is Good News. *Pacific Standard* [Online] Available: https://psmag.com/why-bad-news-is-good-news-57c9ecd4ee5e#.pe5cue1uu [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Pan, Z and Kosicki, G (1993) Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse, *Political Communication* (1).24

Panofsky, E. (1939). *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press [Online] Available at: https://www.educacion-holistica.org/notepad/documentos/Arte/Panofsky%20-%20Studies%20in%20Iconology.pdf [Accessed 21 October 2017]

Perlmutter. D, D (2005) Photojournalism and Foreign Affairs, *Orbis*. (49):1 [Online] Available:http://www.davidperlmutter-research.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/2005.-Perlmutter.-PHOTOJOURNALISM-AND-FOREIGN-AFFAIRS-Orbis.-49-1-2005.pdf [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Perlmutter. D, D (1998) *Photojournalism and Foreign Policy: Icons of Outrage in International Crises,* Westport: Praeger Publisher

Rizwan, A (2009) An Introduction to foreign policy: Nature and Determinants, Blog [Online] Available:http://amerrizwan.blogspot.de/2009/08/introduction-to-foreign-policy.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Roach. Lorraine, M (2012) Zimbabwe: Sanctions Should Stand, *Issue Brief*. Washington DC: Foundation Leadership for America

Robinson, P (2013) Media as a Driving Force in International Politics: The CNN Effect and Related Debates, E-International Relations [Online] Available at: http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/17/media-as-a-driving-force-in-international-politics-the-cnn-effect-and-related-debates/ [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Robinson, P (2005) The CNN effect Revisited, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22 :( 4) pp.344-349 DOI: 10.1080/07393180500288519 [Online] Available at: file:///C:/Users/charlie/Downloads/TheCNNEffectrevisited.pdf [Accessed 21 October 2017]

Robinson, P (2002) *THE CNN EFFECT: The myth of news, foreign policy and intervention*, London: Routledge

Robert, R. I (2003) *Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators*: *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror*, Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press

Rodriguez. E, Valdebenito, C and Mondragon, L (2004) Ethics of Research in Social Sciences, *Research in Social Science*, Leuven: University of Leuven [Online] Available:file:///C:/Users/charl/Downloads/ethics%20of%20research%20in%20social%20sciences%20 (1).pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Sachikonye, L (2011) *When a State Turns on its Citizens: Institutionalised Violence and Political Culture*, Harare: Weaver Press

Sachikonye, L (2003) *The Situation of Commercial Farm Workers after Land Reform in Zimbabwe- A report prepared for the Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe*. London: CIIR

Sharkey, E, J (1993) When Pictures Drive Foreign Policy, *AJR, Philip Merrill of Journalism*

[Online] Available at: http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=1579 [Accessed 18 March 2017]

Sassatelli, R (2011) Interview with Laura Mulvey: Gender, Gaze and Technology in Film Culture, *Theory, Culture & Society* (28)5: 123-43

Sayllow, M (2014) Media Played a major Role in the 2007/2008 Post Elections Violence in Kenya [Online] Available at: https://hubpages.com/politics/Media-Played-a-major-Role-in-the-20072008-Post-Elections-Violence-in-Kenya [Accessed 18 March 2017]

Siegert, N (2017) The Art(s) of Revolution: Images, Figurations and Iconographies of Radical Change in the Digital Change, *Creation et actulite en Afrique*, Bayreuth: BIGSAS

Sontag, S (2003) *Regarding the Pain of Others*, New York: Ferrar Strauss Giroux

Sontag, S (1999) The Image World, In: Evan, J and Hall, S. (1999). *Visual Culture: the reader*. London. SAGE Publications

The New York Times (2005) Zimbabwe's 'Clean-up' Takes a Vast Human Toll, *The New York Times* [Online] Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/11/world/africa/zimbabwes-cleanup-takes-a-vast-human-toll.html [Accessed 19 March 2017]

The Economist (2007) The face of oppression: Another ugly political crackdown: But also signs of hope, *The Economist* [Online] Available at: //www.economist.com/node/8855967 [Accessed 14 March 2017]

The Financial Gazette (2016) Zimbabwe to dispatch delegation to Portugal to drum up FDI, *The Financial Gazette* [Online] Available at: http://www.financialgazette.co.zw/zimbabwe-to-dispatch-delegation-to-portugal-to-drum-up-fdi/ [Accessed 18 August 2017]

The Financial Gazette (2000) Zimbabwe: Tourism Facing a Bleak Future, *The Financial Gazette* [Online] Available at: http://allafrica.com/stories/200005180212.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

The Guardian (2018) Zimbabwe president promises 'free and fair' election in five months, *The Guardian* [Online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jan/18/zimbabwe-president-pledges-free-and-fair-vote-in-four-to-five-months [Accessed 27 February 2018]

The Herald (2018) 99-year leases for white commercial farmers, *The Herald* [Online] Available at: https://www.herald.co.zw/99-year-leases-for-white-farmers/ [Accessed 27 February 2018]

The Holy Bible (no date) New International Version, Bible Hub [Online] Available at: http://biblehub.com/exodus/32-20.htm [Accessed 27 January 2017]

The New York Times (2016) ISIS has destroyed one of Iraq's oldest Christian sites. *The New York Times* [Online] Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/21/world/middleeast/isis-iraq-st-elijahs-monastery.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

The Telegraph (2013) "Tony Blair asked me to 'help invade Zimbabwe', says Thabo Mbeki," *The Telegraph* [Online] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/10477809/Tony-Blair-asked-me-to-help-invade-Zimbabwe-says-Thabo-Mbeki.html[Accessed 27 February 2018]

The Telegraph (2002) White farmer murdered as the police slept, *The Telegraph* [Online] Available at: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1388224/White-farmer-murdered-as-the-police-slept.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

The Washington Post (2017) American mosques — and American Muslims — are being

Targeted for hate like never before, *The Washington Post* [Online] Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2017/08/08/american-mosques-and-american-muslims-are-being-targeted-for-hate-like-never-before/?utm_term=.012341b69af0 [Accessed 27 November 2017]

The Washington Post (2017) Horrible' pictures of suffering moved Trump to action on Syria, *The Washington Post* [Online] Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/horrible-pictures-of-suffering-moved-trump-to-action-on-syria/2017/04/07/9aa9fcc8-1bce-11e7-8003 f55b4c1cfae2_story.html?utm_term=.04837b1b1c1c [Accessed 27 November 2017]

The Zimbabwe Mail (2018) Mnangagwa's 100-day target turns out another dumb squid, *The Zimbabwe Mail* [Online] Available at: http://www.thezimbabwemail.com/main/mnangagwas-100-day-target-turns-out-another-dumb-squid/ [Accessed 27 February 2018]

Treasury Customs and Excise Division (2006) "European Union Sanctions on Zimbabwe," London: Custom House. [Online] Available at: https://www.gov.im/media/88829/sanctions_notice_20_-_zimbabwe__10-04-13_.pdf [Accessed 27 January 2017]

University of South Africa (2006) *Pilot Study*, Pretoria: University of South Africa

USAID (1996) *Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Tips: Conducting Key Informant Interviews*, New York: USAID Centre for Information and Development

United Nations (2005) *Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina by the UN Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe-Mrs. Anna Kajumulo Tibaijuka*, New York: United Nations [Online] Available at: http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_rpt.pdf [Accessed 19 March 2017]

University of Colorado (2002) Observation Methods, Colorado: University of Colorado [Online] Available at: https://faculty1.coloradocollege.edu/~afenn/web/EC303_8_04/FALL07/READINGS/ Observation.pdf [Accessed 26 March 2017]

Viegel, L (2010) *Perception in the Digital Age: Analysing Aesthetic Awareness of Changing Modes of Perception*, RMA Thesis [Online] Available at: file:///C:/Users/charl/Downloads/thesislw%20(1).pdf [Accessed 30 August 2018]

Vilmer, Jeangene, Baptiste, J (2012) Does the CNN effect exist? Military intervention and the media, *ina global*. [Online] Available at: http://www.inaglobal.fr/en/ideas/article/does-cnn-effect-exist-military-intervention-and-media [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Vollan, K (2002) Zimbabwe: Presidential Elections 2002, *NORDEM Report 05/2002* [Online] Available at: http://www.jus.uio.no/smr/english/about/programmes/nordem/publications/nordem-report/2002/0502.pdf [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Willems, W (2005) "Remnants of Empire? British media reporting on Zimbabwe," In: Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture, Special Issue on Zimbabwe, October 2005: 91-108

Winter, J (2013) Zimbabwe's Morgan Tsvangirai, *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-19883387 [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Wood, T. J (1994) *Gendered Media: The Influence of Media on Views of Gender*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina

Yale, K (2014) Sensation & Perception - Crash Course Psychology #5 [Online] Available at:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=unWnZvXJH2o&t=242s [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (2012) Zimbabwe: A World of Wonders, Zimbabwe Tourism Authority [Online] Available at: http://www.zimbabwetourism.net/ [Accessed 15 March 2017]

Zinyama, T (2012) The Complexity of Democratic Transition: The Zimbabwe Case, 1999 to 2011. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*. (2) 12

**Pictures**

Picture A

CNN (2016) 25 of the most iconic photographs, *CNN* [Online] Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/01/world/gallery/iconic-images/index.html [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Picture B

Time (2016) Soweto Uprising, *Time* [Online] Available at: http://100photos.time.com/photos/sam-nzima-soweto-uprising [Accessed 21 October 2017]

Picture C

BBC (2007) Defiant Tsvangirai to "fight on, *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6463653.stm [Accessed 26 February 2017]

Picture D

The Economist (2016) Who wants to be a trillionaire? *The Economist* [Online] Available at: http://www.economist.com/news/middle-east-and-africa/21698658-lock-up-your-dollars-right-now-mugabenomics-back-who-wants-be [Accessed 19 March 2017]

Picture E

BBC (2005) Zimbabwe slum demolitions resume, *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6448559.stm [Accessed 28 February 2017]

Picture F

CNN (2002) White Zimbabwe farmer killed. *CNN* [Online] Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2002/WORLD/africa/03/18/zimbabwe.farmer/ [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Picture G

BBC (2002) Woman holds her children during invasion of her farm, *BBC* [File Photo]

Picture H

Hungwe, B (2007) Morgan Tsvangirai and other opposition leaders after their attack by Police in 2007, *BBC* [File Photo]

Picture I

BBC News (2007) Zimbabwe stops activists leaving, *BBC* [Online] Available at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6463653.stm [Accessed 26 February 2017]

Picture J

Mutasa, H (2016) Police attack protestors in Harare. *Aljazeera English* [File Photo]

Picture K

Hungwe, B (2006) Police officer attacks NCA protestor on the streets of Harare, *BBC* [File Photo]

Picture L

Nurse, E (2016) The 100 trillion bank note that is nearly worthless, *CNN* [Online] Available: https://www.cnn.com/2016/05/06/africa/zimbabwe-trillion-dollar-note/index.html [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Picture M

Aljazeera English (2008) Boy carries stakes of Zimbabwean dollar notes, *Aljazeera English*

[File Photo]

Picture N

Holmes. Selwyn, A (2010) Iconic Photos-Famous, Infamous and Iconic Photos: US soldier dragged through Mogadishu. Blog [Online] Available at: https://iconicphotos.wordpress.com/2010/03/10/u-s-marine-dragged-through-mogadishu/ [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Picture O

CNN (2015) Obama says U.S must do more to aid Syrians, *CNN* [Online] Available at: http://edition.cnn.com/2015/09/11/politics/obama-refugees-syria/index.html [Accessed 27 January 2017]

Picture P

Doble, A (2011) White House bin Laden situation room: where's Hillary? *4 News,* [Online] Available at: https://www.channel4.com/news/white-house-bin-laden-situation-room-wheres-hillary [Accessed 27 January 2017]


**Videos**

Video A

Omaar, R (2010) The Rageh Omaar Report: Zimbabwe - State of Denial, *Aljazeera English* [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNkrkDQXwpc. [Accessed 14 March 2017]

Video B

France 24 English (2017) Video: Threat of economic crisis still looms in Zimbabwe, *France 24 English* [Online] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WzWD6nBMrEg [Accessed 27 January 2017]


**Key Informant Interviews**

Respondent 1 (2015) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 15 August, 10:00 am

Respondent 2 (2015) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 20 August, 13:00 pm

Respondent 3 (2015) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 25 August 11:00 am

Respondent 4 (2015) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 10 September, 14:00 pm

Respondent 5 (2015) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 15 September, 10:00 am

Respondent 6 (2015) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 15 September, 10:00 am

Respondent 7 (2016) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 15 September, 10am

Respondent 8 (2016) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 15 September, 16:00 pm

Respondent 9 (2016) PhD Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 10 October, 12 pm

Respondent 10 (2016) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 15 October, 15:00 pm

Respondent 11 (2016) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles moyo, 15 October, 17:00 pm

Respondent 12 (2016) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 20 November, 11:00 am

Respondent 13 (2016) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 28 November,

09:00 am

Respondent 14 (2017) PhD Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 8 October, 10:00 am

Respondent 15 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 10 October, 09:00 am

Respondent 17 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 10 October, 12:00 pm

Respondent 18 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Chares Moyo, 14 October, 09:00 am

Respondent 19 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 18 October, 11:00 am

Respondent 20 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 20 October, 11:00 am

Respondent 21 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 21 October, 10:00 am

Respondent 22 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 22 October, 11:00 am

Respondent 23 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 22 October, 12:00 pm

Respondent 24 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 22 October, 14:00 pm

Respondent 25 (2017) PhD Project Interview, Interview by Charles Moyo, 23 October, 11:00 am

**Appendix 1: Interview Guide**

Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies
University of Bayreuth

## SECTION A: RESEARCHER'S INFORMATION

My name is Charles Moyo. I am a PhD student at the Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies at the University of Bayreuth in Germany. My project is mainly about how officials from the EU generally interpret iconic pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis, as well as their views on the same pictures in light of the country's national image and the economy. It is against such a backdrop that I asked you to be one of my respondents. I will respect confidentiality and your responses will not be used for purposes other than this research study.

**Thesis Title:** "Icons of Zimbabwe's Crisis and their interpretation by EU officials."

## SECTION B: CONTEXT & QUESTIONS

Since 2000, Zimbabwe has been on the international news particularly due to its crisis political and economic crisis that is associated with political violence and economic collapse. The international media (mainly BBC, CNN, Aljazeera; France 24 etc) has been awash with pictures and videos depicting political violence and economic collapse in the country. Therefore, this research seeks to assess how the pictures in question are interpreted by EU officials. Therefore, it is in that context that the following questions are asked:

1. How often do you watch international news and which stations do you usually watch?

2. The increased international media attention on Zimbabwe since 2000 led to the emergence of pictures depicting the (violent) land reform programme, political violence and economic decline. Do you remember any specific pictures (still and moving) related to these events? If yes, which ones?

3. Could you please describe the pictures you mentioned above?

4. How did you feel when you saw these pictures?

5. Which pictures do you think are iconic or exceptional in relation to Zimbabwe's Crisis and why?

6. Do you think that these pictures managed to tell the Zimbabwean story in the context of the country's political and economic crisis?

7. What are your thoughts about these pictures?

8. What to these pictures generally mean to you?

9. How important are these pictures in relation to your work?

10. Do you think these images had any impact on the relationship between Zimbabwe and the EU in anyway?

11. What are your comments on these pictures in light of Zimbabwe's national image?

12. What is your view on these pictures in relation to the country's economy?

13. Do you remember any of these pictures? (Eight iconic pictures selected for the study will be shown to the interviewee). From which year are they from? Could you give any background knowledge about them?

14. Do you have any other comments or remarks in relation to the pictures depicting Zimbabwe's Crisis?