Humanitarianism and Media

Introduction to an Entangled History

Johannes Paulmann

'The media' are an essential feature of humanitarianism – and they have been ever since individuals or organizations began to undertake humanitarian action over long distances and across frontiers. A prerequisite for understanding why someone gives assistance to distant sufferers, media play a crucial role in providing information about other people's plight and setting public agendas. They bear witness and may serve those who are seeking to receive aid as a means to gain attention. They are also salient in representing and framing the bad fortune of some and the good deeds of others. Finally, media reports lead to action by those who learn about human beings in need; they evoke emotions and stir public debate. While the fundamental importance of media for humanitarianism is widely acknowledged, media and communication scholars have only recently started to refine and complicate our understanding of the role of media for relief, aid and humanitarianism. In academic and indeed public debate, scholars and pundits consequently often claim that their object of analysis was a 'first' and that something 'new' is happening right now. A lack of knowledge about historical precedents and continuities characterizes many publications, which seldom reach back to the period before the 1990s if they consider history at all. This is in part due to the relative novelty of the disciplines involved and the narrow focus on current issues. This said, exploring the history of humanitarianism as well as its relations to media is a comparatively new field of historiographical inquiry too. Moreover, those historians who specialize in these topics are only beginning to study the crucial relationship between humanitarianism and media in a more systematic way.

This volume reflects the complex interplay between the history of humanitarianism and media based on archival research and informed by theoretical debates.

It brings together historians, anthropologists, and media and communication scholars. Altogether, the case studies provide an overview reaching back more than a century. The story in fact starts before what has been called the 'Century of the Image'.[1] It begins in the nineteenth century, when Christian missionary publications created images of people in colonial territories and foreign countries whom they considered needy in spiritual as well as material respects.[2] It continues with the analysis of humanitarian imagery in photography and film during the period of the two World Wars covering atrocities, the work of aid agencies and particular visions of humanity. Further chapters investigate the media strategies of international organizations since the 1960s and television broadcasting and audience reactions to media reports of humanitarian crises in the present. While highlighting visual media, the studies presented here contextualize them in three ways. First, attention is paid to the interaction with textual forms and other cultural productions. Second, the historical studies focus on people and institutions who produce, use and distribute media images in specific circumstances for particular aims and purposes rather than engaging in a critique of the effects of the modern visual culture or studying images as actors in their own right.[3] Third, the contributions regard images only as one dimension of the media in a more general sense.

'Media' is indeed a broad term. Understood very widely, it also covers food parcels or money transfers as media of exchange and power relations between donors and recipients.[4] The present investigations follow a more limited definition as used in media and communication studies.[5] Media are (1) the *material forms* in which a content is presented and which carry different sign systems (textual, visual, audio and audiovisual), for example, an illustrated newspaper, a poster, a film or a commemorative plaque. In the sense of technologically based products, media thus form part of the history of technology. Media are (2) *organizations* that produce those material forms; they are, for example, broadcasting corporations, publishing and marketing companies, or humanitarian agencies themselves. Media as organizations have an institutional history and produce and publish in specific economic contexts. They include individual employees and representatives who work as journalists or public relations officers. Media comprise (3) an *institutionalized system* with legal and ethical norms, regulations, and standards that govern production, distribution and reception, and that form a structure with its own logic. All three aspects mentioned play a role in relation to humanitarianism, and when using the term 'media', we should keep in mind that it may refer to a product, a producer or a system of production, distribution and reception.

The volume reflects these various dimensions of media. Part I, 'Humanitarian Imagery', focuses primarily on media forms and their content, with a particular interest in visuals, since the late nineteenth century. Humanitarian actors and journalists have since used different technologies from printed texts, illustrations and photographic images to radio, cinematic films, television and internet media.[6] Although technological development has consecutively added new forms

and thus opened different possibilities to communicate suffering and relief, it has not replaced 'older' media altogether. Indeed, a mixture of different media technologies characterized the twentieth century as much as it does the present media system.[7] At its best, a full historical analysis therefore encompasses the interplay between different forms, between text and image in books or magazines, in photos and captions, and on film. It investigates whether and how humanitarian imagery has changed since the end of the nineteenth century, assuming that specifically 'humanitarian' media forms actually existed.[8] Part II, 'Humanitarian Media Regimes', deals primarily with the actors in the field. Contributions focus on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), newspaper companies, broadcasting corporations and audiences. By analysing who produced imagery under which conditions and for what purpose, the chapters also throw light on the evolving media system. They debate whether and how exactly the media have shaped and framed not only the processes and discourse of communication on humanitarian aid, but also the humanitarian agencies and their activities. The two parts of the book imply by no means a sharp separation of imagery and media regimes; rather, they stem from the particular focus of the authors' research. Indeed, all the different facets of 'the media' have a bearing on humanitarianism during the last century and a half.

Regarding the Pain of Others: Fatigue and Irony?

Since the 1990s, the relationship between humanitarian action and the communication of distant suffering has inspired some theories, abstract generalizations and speculative statements, as well as evidence-based research. Key works from media and communication scholars, anthropologists and sociologists provide a valuable starting point for historical inquiries, even if some of their hypotheses are to be questioned in the light of thorough empirical findings. Debates focus on the representation of distant suffering, on the effects of the imagery on donors and recipients of aid, and on the role of media as agents in the humanitarian field.

Susan Sontag's book *Regarding the Pain of Others* regularly serves as a reference point for inquiries into the representations of distant suffering and its effects.[9] The publication had its origins in the 2001 Oxford Amnesty Lecture, an event in a series that since the early 1990s has raised funds for Amnesty International and at the same time seeks to highlight the profile of human rights in the academic and wider communities.[10] It is thus in itself an example of the support given by intellectuals and scholars to organizations in their efforts to collect money and publicize their humanitarian cause more widely. In substance, Sontag explores photos of war victims by discussing issues such as the iconography of suffering, the double aspect of photos showing an 'objective' reality and a 'subjective' perspective, censorship and varying standards in the depiction of suffering, the phenomenon of voyeurism, and finally the memorial function of representing suffering.[11] Two arguments are worth highlighting here. First,

Sontag affirms that images of suffering are open to different interpretations; there is no direct connection between the representation of suffering and a feeling of pity sufficient to trigger humanitarian action.[12] Her case rests on war victims, a case where partisan perspectives are common by nature and different emotions – for example, a desire for revenge – may result from seeing photographs of mutilated bodies. For historians, context-specific interpretations and questions as to who uses photos for what purpose should be part of their everyday toolbox. Yet Sontag's point is worth remembering not only because humanitarian action often responds to suffering caused by war., but also because it is useful as an antidote against assuming unidirectional and universal effects set off by 'shocking' pictures and the impression they may make on scholars as individuals.

Second, when musing about the effects of the plethora of images shown of suffering, writers sometimes also refer to Sontag's essay on *Regarding the Pain of Others*. They quote her suggestion that the numerous visual campaigns that aid agencies run today actually numb viewers, who feel saturated and as a consequence fail to respond emotionally as well as in terms of donations.[13] Yet Sontag made a quite different point in 2003 when she discussed the possibility that shocking images might lose their impact on viewers. Indeed, she appears to retract her own position from the 1970s and now rejects the thesis she once vocally advocated by arguing that some images keep their force in terms of moving viewers.[14] Images of cruelty or suffering, according to Sontag, exemplify and reinforce existing notions. Sometimes they also evoke other, earlier images of sufferers; photographs taken during the Bosnian War in 1992 at the Omarska camp recalled images of the liberated concentration camps in 1945,[15] while images of suffering may play on Christian iconography and evoke the sufferings of Christian martyrs or even Jesus.[16] If the viewer is a 'believer' or has a prior disposition and the image fits an existing interpretative frame, it moves repeatedly no matter how often it appears on screen or paper. While Sontag considers empathy an unstable emotional reaction, she contends that it is the impotence to change anything, rather than the quantity of images, that leads to passivity. Yet the viewer remains passionate in terms of anger and frustration.[17] Based on Luc Boltanski's analysis, studies on audience research distinguish several forms of emotional commitment: denunciation (indignation and anger towards perpetrators of unjust suffering); sentiment (being touched by compassion and sympathy towards victims and benefactors); aesthetics (experiencing the sublime in the horror of suffering on display); shame (feeling conscious about one's own comfort and guilty of inaction); and powerlessness (feeling helpless through subjective awareness of the spectator's limits to prevent the suffering of others).[18] The argument worth highlighting is that by 2003, Sontag has come to consider the idea of 'compassion fatigue' together with that of the 'society of the spectacle' a very conventional criticism of modern society. In her opinion, these concepts universalize the viewing experience merely of a small elite living in the rich parts of the world; they are 'a cliché of the cosmopolitan discussion'.[19] To Sontag, keeping emotional distance to suffering is not a reaction that needs explanation;

rather, she considers it normal and a standard mode for individuals and collectives to keep fear or helplessness at bay.[20]

The discussion on the spectatorship of distant suffering has been advanced through the work of Lilie Chouliaraki, a professor of media and communications. In *Spectatorship of Suffering* (2006), Chouliaraki deals with the ethical role of the media by analysing how certain scenes of suffering are construed in television as capable of arousing the spectators' emotions, or alternatively being of no concern to Western viewers.[21] Rather than news production or audience reaction, Chouliaraki focuses on the choices made regarding the portrayal of sufferers on screen and how scenes of suffering are narrated. She distinguishes between 'adventure news' and 'emergency news' on the one hand, which displays suffering without pity, and 'ecstatic news' on the other, which links suffering to the identification of the viewers.[22] In general, she calls for a critical analysis of the reproduction of injustice, symbolic inequalities and representational hierarchies in the mediation of disasters and suffering. Her book is aimed at the conditions under which the media would be able to cultivate a disposition for care or, in other words 'an ideal identity for the spectator as a citizen of the world – a cosmo-politan'.[23] It claims that the dominant contemporary discourse is 'out of pace with our contemporary experience of suffering, which is thoroughly mediated'; therefore, to act in a compassionate manner – that is, in an on-the-spot manner – has become impossible. Instead, action is needed in the shape of pity that incorporates the dimension of distance. Cosmopolitan citizenship should therefore replace the dominant and by implication outdated ideal moral citizen modelled on the Good Samaritan.[24]

Chouliaraki moves between the critique of social theory and the empirical analysis of how contemporary television news portrays suffering and frames it narratively. However, acknowledging that public action has always been action at a distance, she identifies a new aspect in that the mass media have intensified the problem of distance through constantly confronting viewers with events that occur too far away from everyday life for Western audiences to feel that they can make a difference. Continuing her examination of the contemporary media display of suffering, Chouliaraki has recently published *The Ironic Spectator* (2013). Her key term describes 'an impure or ambivalent figure that stands, at once, as sceptical towards any moral appeal to solidarity action and, yet, open to doing something about those who suffer'.[25] The figure of the ironic spectator is clearly the opposite of the cosmopolitan who was the ideal of her 2006 book. The media conditions appear *not* to have moved towards a communicative structure that has the capacity 'to stage human vulnerability as an object of our empathy as well as of critical reflection and deliberation'. Chouliaraki wishes to advance a form of communication that employs narrative and visual resources in order to connect the feeling for the distant other with critical judgement as to why action on other people's suffering is necessary; sufferers themselves ought to have a voice in this. She argues for a 'theatricality of humanitarian communication' that places a solidarity of agonism at the centre –

that is, a connectivity between the other and us that creates collective action to change the conditions of suffering.[26]

This ideal shows a remarkable reliance on the notion of the 'theatre as a moral institution' (Friedrich Schiller), reaching back to eighteenth-century aesthetic ideals of a bourgeois elite and standing in stark contrast to Chouliaraki's analysis of the present state of humanitarian communication. According to Chouliaraki, the communication of solidarity has fundamentally shifted during the last three decades from 'solidarity as pity' to 'solidarity as irony'. A 'post-humanitarian' disposition oriented at the self has replaced the traditional humanitarian moral focus on the suffering of others. Expressing empathy by attending a charity concert or liking tweets by celebrities visiting refugee camps is more about the self than engaging with distant sufferers. 'Ironic solidarity', as Chouliaraki calls these activities, 'situates the pleasures of the self at the heart of moral action.' This is 'cool activism', which individualizes people and discourages commitment and political justification.[27] The emergence of the ironic disposition of simultaneous scepticism concerning the efficiency of aid and noncommitting activity is explained (based on secondary literature and theories) by changes in the humanitarian sphere since the 1980s: (1) The 'instrumentalization' of the aid and development field by the imperative of profitable performance.[28] As a consequence of the proliferation of nongovernmental and international organizations, the marketization of humanitarian practice has characterized the aid and development sector; branding and selling one's image are said to have become aims in themselves, distracting from real priorities in the Global South. (2) The retreat of the two grand narratives of solidarity, i.e. the solidarity of salvation and the solidarity of revolution. Both had been informed by universal norms of morality and have been replaced by a new morality of solidarity, which is anti-political because it adheres to an individualistic morality of 'a neoliberal lifestyle of "feel good" altruism' attempting to manage the present rather than striving for a better world.[29] (3) The 'technologization' of communication that has made the diffusion of this new morality possible, because the interactive use of the internet invites self-expression. It triggers a response without posing the question 'why we should act' and therefore leads to an absence of normative morality.[30] While the title of Chouliaraki's book places the spectator at the centre, the empirical analysis of appeals by humanitarian agencies, celebrity performances, aid concerts and television as well as social media news deals with the construction of solidarity and spectators in these various media forms. However, donors responding to appeals, humanitarian workers or indeed recipients of aid are absent as actors from the analysis; they appear only as 'Western audiences', 'the aid industry' or 'the Global South'. At least in their self-perception, none of these groups is likely to recognize themselves as 'ironic spectators'. The term leaves no space for sincere feelings or varying grades of commitment. It seems to be a judgement (and wishes to be one) as much as a heuristic or scholarly term. Instructive as Chouliaraki's empirical studies are for under-

standing the moral and political meaning of the communication of solidarity for suffering people, the conclusion of a fundamental shift in the relation between humanitarianism and the media is not fully convincing. There ought to be a more thorough investigation of the links with the contemporary history of society and international as well as national politics, and the theses put forward need scrutiny beyond the narrow focus on the Anglo-American sector of humanitarianism. At the same time, a longer historical perspective may help to question the significance of the perceived changes in the present.

Humanitarian Action: A Media Regime?

The observation that humanitarianism is inextricably linked to media reports of disasters and suffering has been expanded into the thesis of 'mediatization' of the aid and development sector. This claims that the media not only shape the ways in which human suffering and humanitarian action are communicated, but also that the media system today directly affects the work and activities of humanitarian agencies. These scholarly considerations reflect changes in the humanitarian sector that appear to have become central to the discussion in the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1993, the anthropologist Jonathan Benthall published *Disasters, Relief and the Media.* This book carefully investigates the relationship between relief agencies and the media, concentrating on Britain, but including comparison with French and American NGOs. It has benefited from the author's advisory role on a number of committees for Save the Children as well as numerous conversations with representatives from several NGOs, television stations, and the press. Benthall's aim is to understand better the emergence since the late 1960s of 'what may be called a media regime, to which the humanitarian agencies and politicians are increasingly having to adapt'.[31]

Benthall explicitly argues against simplified views of complicated issues. He acknowledges the crucial role of the media in the 'construction' of disasters for a Western audience and the pressure on governments and relief agencies to respond, particularly to those emergencies that make it into the headlines.[32] With government cuts and the end of the Cold War, demand for development and emergency funding has risen. The structural factor, however, effecting a larger role of the media is competition between NGOs that attempt to raise donations for themselves through increased media attention. Yet it is not simply about donations. All organizations that rely on government funds, but particularly international organizations like the United Nations (UN) agencies or the International Committee of the Red Cross, use media to spread information to the public, which in turn puts pressure on politicians to support aid and development. For Benthall, the growing importance of media is not an inescapable compulsion for aid agencies to conduct their business only in the way the media obliges them.

Rather, he describes various ways to cope with 'the dilemmas which face the agencies when fundraising priorities, developmental strategies and educational values do not harmonize'.[33]

With regard to limiting competition, a system of cooperation between major relief agencies and the broadcasting authorities has been in place in Britain since 1966; representatives meet in the Disasters Emergency Committee with the BBC and the Independent Television Commission to decide on and broadcast appeals by television and radio.[34] The system works discreetly behind closed doors, excludes all smaller organizations in favour of a few large ones, and ensures that television appeals remain mostly apolitical in character. The latter is easier in the case of natural disasters than in those regarded as manmade. According to Benthall, it also puts the agencies in a strong position with regard to the broadcasting authorities, so much so that it becomes difficult for them to resist moral pressure. The BBC, for example, on occasion had to insist on maintaining its editorial control – in other words, the humanitarian agencies exercise pressure on the media organization rather than vice versa.

Besides this form of regulating competition, Benthall analyses how the different character of humanitarian agencies results in different media relations.[35] For all of them, regular donors are essential and need to be cultivated beyond exceptional fundraising campaigns in the wake of major disasters. For religious charities such as Christian Aid or the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, church and congregations connect them routinely with potential donors. Oxfam, on the other hand, originally had strong links with universities and students. Early on, it emphasized the need to develop poor people's resources and has been deemed left of centre in political terms, closely related to the readership of liberal newspapers like *The Guardian.* In the 1970s, its publicity played on feelings of responsibility and conscience, emphasizing guilt rather than compassion. Save the Children (UK) has an extensive branch network cultivating loyal supporters. In comparison with church-based organizations or Oxfam, its particular focus on children makes it easier to target a broader spectrum of opinion. Yet children easily suggest an apolitical imagery and impede arguments regarding the improvement of social systems rather than aid for individual children, opening up a potential gap between fundraising topics and field operations.[36] More generally, Benthall's analysis suggest the conclusion that the less focus there is on emergency relief and the more on rehabilitation and development, the greater the use of educational material and other media rather than advertisements in the mass media, television and press, or charity 'fun' events. Organizationally, development education is associated with public relations, not fundraising. Besides donations from the public, the collection of money also relies on sales in charity shops, payroll giving, corporate membership schemes, company sponsoring and legacies, as well as direct mailing.

Finally, Benthall points out that, at the time of writing in the early 1990s, there were NGOs for whom the media were of less relevance. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), for example, he saw in transition. It had

been evolving from a 'pre-media' organization that relied on confidentiality and private communication with governments in order to successfully protect prisoners and casualties of war as well as political detainees, and to negotiate truces in internal conflicts, towards a humanitarian agency that has to justify how it spends the government funds it largely relies on. Moreover, the expansion of relief work by national Red Cross Societies, the proliferation of humanitarian NGOs and the blurring of conflicts (war between states, civil war and humanitarian intervention)[37] all make it imperative for the Geneva ICRC to explain its peculiar position to a larger public and therefore open up to the media. Two other organizations also seem at present not to have to pay much attention to the media. CARE and the Malteser International are both among the largest humanitarian organizations; they secure almost all of their funding from governments or have access to private wealth and can thus afford to ignore the competition for public support.

Compared to Benthall's differentiated analysis of contemporary changes during the 1980s and early 1990s, the field of Media and Communication Studies has discussed the relationship between aid and development agencies and the media in a more pointed manner. The issue of whether 'mediatization' is taking place first came up concerning politics – that is, the orientation of political activities in general to conform to the logic of the media.[38] More specifically, Patrick Donges distinguishes several levels: an increasingly mediated experience and perception of politics (micro-level), an adaption of organizational structure, resources and rules to media requirements (mid-level), an impact on behaviour, rules and norms in politics (mid- to macro-level), and finally the systemic orientation of political actors to a media logic.[39] Mediatization thus concerns policy, politics and polity. In 2007, Simon Cottle and David Nolan applied the mediatization thesis to the field of humanitarian aid. In what may be read as a pointed, if limited extrapolation of Benthall's questions from the early 1990s regarding the emergence of a media regime, they contend that the communication strategies of the major aid agencies to raise awareness, funds and support have 'assimilated to today's pervasive "media logic"', thereby being 'detracted from their principle remit of humanitarian provision'.[40] They base these claims empirically on semi-structured interviews with communication managers and media officers in Australia working in six leading international aid NGOs. However, the authors do not consider whether the data reflects the concerns and interests of the special departments as well as the tensions within the organizations rather than describing processes and actors in the humanitarian field, let alone its general structure.

Contrary to the common interpretation of mediatization, the journalism scholar Lutz Mükke turns the claim that the media directed the humanitarian organizations upside down. In his study on German news reports on Africa, he goes beyond merely asserting a 'symbiotic link' between aid agencies and foreign correspondents.[41] He ascribes a major role to humanitarian NGOs for the work of Western journalists in Africa, whom he describes as a kind of 'embedded journalists'. In terms of organization and logistics, the NGOs help correspondents

with travel; they provide security, shelter and supplies, as well as local contacts. Individual correspondents do not have the financial and institutional means to go out on their own, so the argument goes, or have no easy access to crisis-torn regions. Furthermore, the content and information they gather is heavily influenced by the NGO through exaggerated briefings, event days like World Hunger Day or World Aids Day, celebrity involvement and free visual material. The aid industry is partially able to establish 'a monopoly on information and communication', Mükke concludes.[42] He bases his study on interviews with active and former German correspondents in Africa, all conducted in 2006. It is not too surprising that the results therefore read as the reverse of Cottle's and Nolan's arguments taken from NGO press officers. From these two contradictory perspectives, we may actually conclude that public relations and journalists serve as each other's counterparts rather than one governing the other.

The issue of a humanitarian media regime clearly merits further discussion that is more specific and openly framed. Has the manner in which human suffering and humanitarian relief is represented changed or has it shown continuities and perhaps cyclical repetitions? Has the establishment of PR departments and the work of press officers marked a significant departure, or is it more appropriate to speak of the professionalization of media relations rather than a process of 'mediatization'? How far has the lead in the interaction between media and humanitarian organizations changed, or has it not always been a cooperative, if sometimes tense or strained relationship? Finally, the general question of structural changes in the field induced by media logic appears so vague that it merely underlines other arguments or even borders on cultural criticism of contemporary issues. In terms of evidence, the analysis of disasters as media events, which describes the construction of emergencies calling for aid as a product of media attention, has a limited reach. It focuses on mass media and on exceptional cases, ascribing their prominence to media reporting.[43] This emphasis tends to ignore other factors that shape audiences and public action, such as cultural stereotypes, ideological forces tied to specific local, regional or national contexts of domestic politics, foreign policy and geopolitical interests.[44] All these questions and the general issues regarding the relationship between humanitarian agencies, the media and the public raised by Benthall during the early 1990s will benefit from further empirically based and historical analysis, lest we too easily declare the media to govern humanitarianism.

Humanitarian Imagery and Media Use: Historical Insights from the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-First Century

The relationship between humanitarianism and media has only recently become a topic of historical inquiry, as has the whole field of the history of humanitarianism.[45] Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno have edited a stimulating collection of essays on *Humanitarian Photography,* which specifically investigates

one particular medium and its use – that is, 'the mobilization of photography in the service of humanitarian initiatives across state borders'.[46] The volume moves the debate beyond fatigue, irony and mediatization by exploring how the medium emerged as part of the visual history of humanitarianism and how it has functioned in changing political, institutional and social contexts. With the economical application of new photographic and printing technologies in the 1890s (the convenient Kodak camera with film and the halftone printing method),[47] reformers, missionaries and journalists could produce images and transform episodes of human privation and suffering into reform campaigns. Photography thus played an important role in the emergence of a 'recognizable, if not unitary, "humanitarian imaginary"' around 1900.[48] Following visual conventions of ethnographic photography and resting on notions of scientific photography, the humanitarian images were (and are) at the same time evidence *and* rhetoric. Via the directness of their emotional address, the photos focus attention on suffering, which appears as unjust yet salutary and is isolated from political or social context: 'In this sense', Fehrenbach and Rodogno conclude, 'humanitarian imagery is *moral rhetoric* masquerading as visual evidence.'[49]

The historical studies in this recent volume and others demonstrate the power of photography as a medium, but also show that photography has been implicated in power relations, conflicts of interest and competing ideologies. Furthermore, they explain that humanitarian images function and take effect in the often-intertwined spheres of the domestic, the imperial and the international since the late nineteenth century.[50] The particular chronology of the use of photography presents humanitarian imagery as emerging out of missionary work before and around the First World War.[51] Yet it was not only part of moral campaigns, such as the relief of famine in India of 1876–78 and again in the late 1890s or the Congo Reform Association of 1903–13.[52] Humanitarian imagery also emerged in the context of a new mass culture and politics. It was therefore, so the argument of Kevin Rozario goes, a 'creation of a sensational mass culture' for consumers who wished to be entertained – a thesis that may sound familiar to readers of Chouliaraki's studies of more recent times and should be subjected to further scrutiny lest we too easily conflate context, content and audience reception.[53] Humanitarian photography expanded within various international organizations in the aftermath of the two World Wars. Examples studied are the Red Cross movement, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the World Health Organization.[54] These international organizations had the means to professionalize media work and collaborate with prominent photographic agencies. By the 1980s, a professional field had developed in which photographers received prizes for 'humanitarian' images and where those involved discussed the ethics of showing suffering, as well as the need for dialogue with recipients of aid.[55] In photography, so we may conclude from existing work, a defined field seems to have emerged over the course of more than a century from the first irregular use of the technology in humanitarian campaigns to today's professional image strategy of humanitarian organizations.

However, we need to investigate how the particular medium of photography and its epistemologies fit into the general history of humanitarianism and the media. What, for example, were key moments or basic elements of non-photographic imagery?[56] How did the various organizations from missionaries and international NGOs to governments and media organizations define and practise a 'humanitarian' use of media? Yet, the twentieth century is more than just a century of the image. We therefore need to pursue our inquiries beyond the analysis of the (visual) media products and the actors' self-perception, by seeing media also as organizations producing humanitarian images and as an institutionalized system with norms and regulations that govern distribution and reception. The immediate and wider historical contexts ought to be considered as well as historical developments, rather than focusing merely on what appears as new to contemporaries. We will thus gain a deeper insight into the humanitarian imagery and media use.

With regard to humanitarian imagery, this volume starts by correcting the predominant focus of available historical studies on the visualization of the vulnerable, suffering or mutilated human body.[57] Several case studies have analysed the portrayal of atrocities, genocide, famine or 'ideal victims' such as children or women, as well as the cultural, social or political notions connected with this kind of incident.[58] *Katharina Stornig* in her chapter revises prevailing ideas regarding the emergence of children in humanitarian imagery and specifies the effects of photography. Her scrutiny of Christian imagery in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrates that a complementary or alternative representational model existed and remained in use, as other chapters show; rather than physical suffering and pain, the images shared among Christian missionary communities presented moments of rescue and saved human beings.[59] Children were central to the humanitarian efforts from the mid nineteenth century and were well established in Christian publications before 1900.[60] Christian organizations, such as the Holy Childhood Association founded in France in 1843,[61] promoted a visual practice of child saving that relied on a clearly gendered European notion of childhood and established the young as innocents whose spiritual salvation and concomitant physical rescue was a Christian duty that at the same time benefited the saviour's soul. Promotional campaigns employed mass prints and artefacts before photographic reproductions appeared in the 1890s. The new technology did not change the imagery, as Stornig explains, but picture postcards served as 'visual exchange objects' and an effective and readily available medium for imagining a personal communication between European donors and non-European sponsored children.

After the First World War, when pictures of emaciated children from Central Europe and Russia attracted public attention,[62] these did not replace deserving and healthy children as objects of humanitarian efforts. In her study on photography in the Spanish Civil War, *Rose Holmes* explains that while the British popular press hardly showed children at all, the humanitarian agencies like the Friends' Service Committee did so in their publications and during lectures. Yet

they considered it unacceptable to show the physical and emotional suffering of Spanish children. Instead, deserving children and the aid work for them figured prominently; the young in need usually appeared on their own without families in order to indicate their unstable existence. The Friends took this decision together with Save the Children International Union because they felt that shock images had lost their value and because they sought to avoid becoming part of leftist propaganda. Even the Trades Union Congress (TUC) followed this pattern because tensions with Catholic workers proved an obstacle for relief works and children were regarded as neutral objects of care. When in 1937 around 4,000 Basque children received temporary refuge in Britain, several agencies cooperated closely; the Basque Children's Committee of the National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief (NJC) brought together representatives from the TUC, the Labour Party, the Society of Friends, Save the Children, Spanish Medical Aid, and the Catholic Church. They took great care to represent these children as thoroughly screened, healthy and 'white' to allay fears voiced in the press that they might carry infectious diseases. Holmes concludes that the choice of imagery depends on various factors: contemporary judgements on taste, expediency and cost, religion, domestic politics and diplomacy. Those involved took the decision for a nonpolitical and reassuring visual narrative about deserving children consciously and without necessarily abandoning their politics regarding the Spanish Civil War or their religious motivation.

With cinematic films, a medium became available that was much more expensive to produce and required technical equipment and logistics, which made it less ready at hand than a photo camera. This may partially explain why the ICRC produced no films in the 1930s after it had commissioned several between 1921 and 1923, and only returned to the medium in the 1940s. Why then did the ICRC invest in productions at all? *Daniel Palmieri* sees the main reason in the necessity for the Swiss-based organization to position itself within the Red Cross movement. With the creation of the League of Red Cross Societies, in which national Red Cross societies organized from 1919 and that was backed foremost by the American Red Cross, there was a force with which to reckon politically.[63] This is a case not so much of the proliferation of aid agencies or of public fundraising, but, as it were, of intra-organizational rivalry. The ICRC sought to prove its value by depicting its continuing work after the end of the First World War with repatriated prisoners of war, refugees and civilians who were victims of the social and economic turmoil. The films were mainly aimed at a Swiss audience and delegates at Red Cross conferences. It seems that the negotiated agreement with the League in 1928 made this unnecessary, the need resurfacing only in the aftermath of the Second World War with new challenges coming from Red Cross societies in communist countries and accusations of an earlier lack of neutrality and impartiality towards fascist regimes. The content of the films focused on the humanitarian work done on behalf of the ICRC, with delegates, doctors and logistical operations emphasizing the male strength of the organization.[64] Victims did not figure prominently unless as beneficiaries; the one exception, a 1948 film

with shocking scenes from postwar Germany, was not shown publicly because the ICRC regarded these as too disturbing and feared they would make the Committee appear too pro-German. The cinematic productions were, Palmieri concludes, more about the solidarity of the audience with the ICRC than with the victims, whose depiction often reflected hierarchies of civilization within Europe and colonial stereotypes. At the same time, they illustrate that horror images did not solely define 'humanitarian cinema', at least until the 1960s.

Yet atrocities were by no means absent from film and perhaps supplied the foil for the use of positive images by humanitarian organizations. *Ulrike Weckel* analyses one of the pivotal moments in the depiction of human suffering meant not to mobilize, but to moralize by its message of accusation and shame. The films made of liberated concentration camps in 1944–46 by the Western Allies need to be historicised, she asserts, to avoid misinterpreting their intentions and the particular image of the victims. Subsequent critics have reproached the films for supposedly perpetuating the dehumanization of the former inmates by failing to individualize them and not giving them a voice, instead making them appear as helpless, passive victims.[65] In fact, the survivors wanted the horror to be known, often re-enacted drills and were keen to demonstrate the worst camp conditions. With a view towards the intended German audience, maximizing the shock was a deliberate choice made by the filmmakers. The aim was to end the disbelief in the extent of the German crimes by 'shock pedagogy'. Weckel further refutes the suggestion that the films were anti-Semitic because they did not mention Jews other than in passing. Although the Western Allies thus failed to grasp the centrality of the Shoah, this was partially because they liberated camps predominately occupied by forced labourers and opponents of the regime. Yet more to the point is their intention to underline the victims' humanity by focusing on their dehumanization. Moreover, they attempted to counter the expectation on the part of German audiences that they would be accused of murdering the Jews. Undermining anti-Semitic attitudes seemed best achieved by speaking not about the Jewish 'race', but about 'political opponents' or victims from 'all over Europe'. In short, the films targeted a particular audience and deliberately showed crimes against humanity rather than particular segments of it or individuals. Scholars ought to carefully reconstruct contemporary intentions and context and avoid applying later knowledge or values.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the images of victory over evil and inhuman perpetrators could change to images of pity and suffering. *Paul Betts* studies British photographs of defeated Germany after 1945 aimed at a British public, ranging from newspaper images to amateur army snapshots to photographs by humanitarian activists, such as London publisher Victor Gollancz.[66] The images that presented suffering German refugees and malnourished children rather than relief measures connected in the British public mind with the shocking images from the liberated Belsen concentration camp – and yet they seem to have affected attitudes towards Germans as perpetrators, transforming judgement into pity. Betts argues that the polemics of pity in the photographs

and accompanying texts aimed, in fact, at the moral and civilizational standard the British claimed for themselves. The kind of humanitarian imagery thus created was very much self-reflective, appeared nonpolitical and emphasized the universal. It fitted not only with the notion Britain held of itself, but also sat comfortably alongside Cold War ideologies and served, in the case of Germany, Cold War alliances. Pity was therefore also polemical in a wider sense beyond the specific crisis – and it formed a new universalist sentiment that found expression in the postwar constellation.

Tobias Weidner analyses this moment in the visual representation of humanity, for which photography was crucial. It found prominent expression in the 1955 exhibition, *The Family of Man,* conceived by the photographer and curator Edward Steichen in collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and seen by over nine million visitors. It aimed to show 'the essential one-ness of mankind throughout the world',[67] portraying peoples from across the globe in a kind of family album against the background of the excesses of inhumanity of the past decades and suspicions about the ideological character of the spoken as much as the written word. The exhibition exemplifies what Weidner proposes to call the 'human gaze' – a specific manner of visualizing humanity linked to a repertoire of assumptions about the 'authentic' potential of photography. He studies the popular diffusion and institutionalization of this vision, for which new photo agencies, particularly Magnum, were as decisive as museum curators, magazines or handbooks for amateur photographers. The basic visual patterns were the focus on humans, the themes of family, everyday life and leisure, as well as an interest in expressions of emotions and interaction (with the camera). The human gaze drew on French *photographie humaniste* of the interwar period and New Deal documentary photography. The experience of embedded war photographers affected the depiction of the darker sides of humanity in a reverse manner. Avoiding seemingly hopeless images of cruelty, representations of famine, revolt or even lynching were included, but were framed in a humanitarian narrative of prevailing human goodness. The photojournalism, especially in 1950s magazines, narrated human stories at a deliberate distance from politics. Steichen, for example, discarded the idea of explicitly invoking human rights because the topic had become, in his view, an 'international political football'.[68] In addition, this humanist vision constructed the 'concerned' photographer – committed, audacious, authentic and usually male. Contemporary and later critics such as Roland Barthes, Susan Sontag or Diane Arbus pointed out that this sentimental humanism stabilized social inequality and propagated the bourgeois nuclear family. It was immediately compatible with the Western ideology of a Christian and modernist character.[69] Nevertheless, this vision from the mid twentieth century continued in humanitarian imagery and even some photographers from the Global South adapted it. Similar to Christian imagery from the late nineteenth century, the repeated focus on rescue and the good deeds of humanitarian agencies, this unifying display of a shared humanity, has coexisted

and seems to alternate with images intended to shock viewers. The emergence of humanitarian imagery in the twentieth century intertwined several threads reflecting different shades of humanity available for use according to political and economic interests in specific social and cultural circumstances.

After the Second World War, the founding of new organizations in the context of the UN such as the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), UNICEF or the World Food Programme required new negotiations at the international and national levels as media coverage of these agencies cut across boundaries. *Heike Wieters* analyses the conflicts over the legitimacy of international fundraising campaigns in the United States as some UN agencies, which governments were to finance directly, began to look for private resources. The problem emerged in the context of the *Freedom from Hunger* (FFH) campaign initiated by the FAO Director General Binay R. Sen (1898–1993), a former Indian Civil Service officer and diplomat. When he was unsuccessful in convincing governments to fund a World Food Congress in 1958, he appealed to NGOs all over the world to join a five-year campaign against hunger. The initiative unsettled the existing national arrangement in the United States. By the 1950s, most large American humanitarian agencies such as CARE, the American Friends Service Committee, the YMCA, Catholic Relief Services, Lutheran World Relief, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and Church World Service were members of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service (ACVAFS). Founded in 1942, the umbrella organization had agreed on basic rules to promote best practices for public relations regarding unwanted soliciting and the decency and accuracy of slogans and pictures. It thereby also limited competition. The American Council protested against the direct contact the FAO sought in 1960 with the donor base of its member organizations. Eventually, the parties arrived at a mode of cooperation. This prescribed that international campaigns would include the national American NGOs as joint players that solicited donations under the FFH banner and used them in their own aid projects, while the FFH provided merely an administrative network and publicity hub. The case demonstrates how powerful private NGOs and new international organizations settled conflicts over the competing claims to access of relief organizations to the national public in the 1960s. The FFH proved an important step regarding cooperation across the national and international spheres. It confirmed the position of national organizations, which in addition benefited in terms of publicity, and it enabled the FAO to enlist support beyond governments from nongovernmental actors.

From the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, humanitarian organizations had applied some basic means in their campaigns to influence governments and other stakeholders. Besides discrete humanitarian diplomacy, particularly that practised by the ICRC, these had included winning support from celebrities in the arts, science and entertainment, fostering close relationships with journalists, and the diffusion of their causes and principles through various media. *Valérie Gorin* distinguishes two advocacy strategies, which evolved

among Western humanitarian from the 1960s and established organizations of markedly different public characters and self-images. One she calls 'educational advocacy' as practised by the Save the Children Fund (SCF) and Oxfam in the United Kingdom, and the other 'political advocacy' as applied by Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) in France. The decisive frame for the first strategy was British charity legislation that threatened the loss of charitable status for agencies spreading political propaganda. When SCF participated in the first FFH campaign, it feared that it might become too political. It therefore decided to concentrate on local rather than national activities to create awareness of the growing dangers from hunger and focused on the countries where it worked. The self-evaluation at the end of the campaign emphasized the commitment to an educational role. It prioritized addressing teachers, producing its own bulletin or specialized journals, and cooperating with voluntary youth agencies. Consequently, the SCF also participated in the second FAO (1967) campaign targeting experts and social leaders such as students, professors and business leaders. However, it declined to take part in the Fast for World Justice in 1972 because of what those responsible deemed militant public strategies. The example of Oxfam's involvement in the Baby Milk Campaign (1979–88) to end bottle-feeding in Third World countries demonstrates that the agenda set in UN special agencies strongly influenced advocacy campaigns in the 1970s and furthered the establishment by the NGO of a campaign unit in 1979 and a Public Affairs Unit in the 1980s.[70]

The second model of political advocacy had also emerged by the 1980s. Contrary to its own foundational myth of the experience in the Nigerian Civil War, the strategy of 'speaking out' and 'witnessing' pursued by MSF only evolved in stages and from experience after it was founded in 1971, particularly during the crises of the Vietnamese boat people (1978–79), a refugee crisis and famine in Cambodia (1979–80) and the Ethiopian famine (1984–85).[71] Prominent media appearances by one of its founders, Bernard Kouchner, and the blurring of lines between political operations and MSF's aid work in fact split the organization in 1979. Media issues again provoked divisions in the movement in the late 1980s when MSF developed its style of political advocacy in emergency settings, focusing on access and protection. Within the international aid community, the leading role played by MSF in publicizing and criticizing the political origins of the Ethiopian famine in 1984, and consequently leaving the country, led to wider debates about going public or alternatively negotiating behind closed doors. The line taken by MSF proved controversial and partially isolated it. The practical dilemmas of advocacy strategies, going public or not and how to balance emergency and educational goals have remained issues to the present day.

Elsewhere the line between charitable relief and political commitment could be drawn very differently from the way it was in Western metropoles. *Ilana Feldman* investigates Palestinian humanitarian activities during the 1970s – a case that moves the focus into a region outside Europe and looks at groups that occupied the dual position of aid providers and recipients. After being expelled from Jordan, two agencies of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) were ac-

tive in Lebanon from 1970 to 1982: the Palestinian Martyrs Society (Samed), an economic institution running workshops in refugee camps, and the Palestinian Red Crescent Society (PRCS), which provided free health care and hospitals to Palestinian and Lebanese people. Both published journals to explain their mission to followers and to spread information on their work in the wider humanitarian field. Especially in later years, the journals included research articles on Palestinian economic, social and health conditions, and thus provided information and analysis for planners and activists. At the same time, they proclaimed and propagated the PLO, the Palestinian revolution and the institutions of that revolution – that is, they served political propaganda. Feldman places the activities at the intersection of humanitarianism and revolution. The PRCS journal highlighted that the humanitarian health work followed the principles of international humanitarian work. For example, it portrayed the Gaza hospital in Beirut as a place that worked impartially and as a centre of steadfastness stronger than tragedy, while interviews with patients stressed people's right to life and dignity. The magazine thereby claimed a place for the PRCS in the international humanitarian community and at the same time put forward claims for the Palestinian people among nation states. Conventional Western humanitarianism was not challenged, but was framed differently. Samed, on the other hand, defied humanitarianism through its aim of self-sufficiency in economic terms or, as Feldman puts it, by the efforts to break out of 'a life lived in relief'. The Samed magazine expanded the definition of the humanitarian clearly beyond relief. It rejected the hierarchies of assistance and of capitalist labour. Trying to transform people from objects of pity to subjects of solidarity, human beings appeared as the most valuable means of production as well as the revolutionary struggle. The notion of a full Palestinian subject also applied to women. The media work of Samed clearly highlighted the civil face of the Palestinian people. It addressed other Third World countries, as did the organization's practical projects of agricultural development in Africa. Samed and the PRCS positioned themselves in their press production in relation to both politics and humanitarianism. By emphasizing solidarity, one challenged the notion that relief as a mode of intervention creates hierarchies of 'victims' and 'relief agents', while the other proved that a political position does not prevent humanitarian actors from delivering aid in a neutral manner. With Feldman, we may conclude that both agencies in their journals shifted the political terrain of humanitarianism – a movement apparently not limited to Western actors such as MSF.

Contemporary observers and later scholars like to identify key moments of humanitarian action that they believe have changed relations with the media. In the later part of the twentieth century, the Nigerian Civil War (1967–70) and the pictures of suffering Biafran people has attracted interpretations of this kind. With regard to West Germany, *Patrick Merziger* contends that the images appearing in 1968 in the Western press and on TV showing extremely malnourished children with hunger oedema constituted a turning point in the media regime, because this was the first catastrophe in which media institutions took the lead-

ing role in the initiation of relief action.[72] From this perspective, the period from 1968 to 1985 constituted the heyday of media influence on humanitarian aid. Magazines such as *Stern* identified and 'constructed' disasters by emphasizing the suddenness of famine, for example, in 1973 in the Sahel. Merziger attributes great consequences to media reports. A prominent and well-known case was the BBC report by Michael Buerk on the famine in Ethiopia in 1984, which moved many viewers and affected fieldwork by making some agencies apparently shift their work from development to short-term relief. In addition, those aid agencies profited from public attention and donations who were willing to follow the media logic of decontextualized representation of suffering in camps, which was ideal for capturing shocking images on film. Yet, mediatization does not seem to have been an ever-intensifying process as Merziger sees politicization returning during the 1990s.

Archival sources show that the mediation of events was criticized at the very moment it occurred and from inside media organizations themselves as well as from existing NGOs, not to mention other public critics. Triggered by the huge success of Bob Geldof's Band Aid recording, when the musicians had managed to receive airtime against the rules, and the ensuing Live Aid concerts, those responsible at the BBC, for example, worried that the Corporation was not fulfilling its mission to inform and educate, but left matters to pop stars, acting as intermediaries.[73] *Matthias Kuhnert* studies the reaction by two British NGOs to the simplistic media accounts of the famine in Ethiopia and the public success of 'celebrity humanitarianism' during the 1980s. War on Want, associated with the Labour movement, and Christian Aid, founded by the British Council of Churches, were both most uncomfortable with the nonpolitical, stereotypical and paternalistic frame set by Buerk's report, spread widely by Band Aid and echoed by the press. They had been positing for some time a link between poverty, famine and political action. However, it proved to be very difficult to correct the media perception. In reaction, War on Want published leaflets, brochures and advertisements countering the narrative of a natural disaster by explaining the humanitarian disaster through a combination of factors from colonial agricultural practices, political and military strife in contemporary Ethiopia, and Cold War conflicts of interest. The leftist NGO used photographs that illustrated the development help for Ethiopian people to provide them with machinery, work and education. The frame deployed was one of solidarity with African partners rather than that of compassion for poor victims. These were attempts to counteract the images that dominated television and press, which probably managed to reassure those members of the public who already adhered to the perspective taken by War on Want.

Faced with the enormous financial success of Band Aid and the impossibility of changing public perception in general, the NGOs adapted and eventually tried to cooperate with Geldof's project. Despite corresponding reservations on its side, Band Aid also could not shun working with established charities because it depended on their expertise in identifying projects and indeed spending the

money on specific projects. Christian Aid, along with others like Oxfam and Save the Children, tried and largely succeeded to convince Band Aid of the need to use its funds to support long-term projects of the kind that these NGOs pursued rather than short-term food deliveries, the ultimate recipient of which might even have been the military rather than the starving.[74] In the years following Band Aid, both War on Want and Christian Aid also adapted their own campaigns directing some of their fundraising efforts (if only a fraction) towards youth and pop magazines and recruiting celebrities. They are likely to have thereby reached a broader public than before, but also changed the perception held about them, possibly to the detriment of the analysis of humanitarian causes. Kuhnert's chapter corrects the widely held interpretation that NGOs willingly used simplistic messages about disasters in Africa in order to maximize their humanitarian 'business'. It also demonstrates that scholars need to analyse not just the images produced but also the institutional records reflecting the production process. In addition, considering more than one kind of media and their interaction – mass and quality press, broadcasting, publicity material and educational as well as scholarly publications – is necessary in order to grasp the role of the media as a changing system interacting with evolving humanitarianism.

The dimension that is most difficult to investigate, particularly from a historical point of view, is audience reaction, unless we simply take donation figures as a measure of successful campaigning. Media and communication scholars at least have the chance to conduct surveys and sample views.[75] Rather than conceptualizing reactions in terms of a general compassion-action model, *Maria Kyriakidou* maintains that audiences are locally situated actors in specific national, cultural and social contexts. Based on her study of the response of Greek audiences to telethons, she moves the discussion beyond the 'compassion fatigue' and 'denial' theses.[76] Telethons are televised fundraising events that last several hours or even days and ask audiences to pledge donations via telephone or the internet, or by participating in organized events throughout the country. They first appeared in the United States in the 1950s and later elsewhere for specific domestic charitable causes, whereas the collaboration with humanitarian aid organizations mostly began in the mid 1980s. The Greek focus group discussions reveal that the celebrities involved in the telethons make a bigger impression than the charitable cause; viewers engage with the media spectacle rather than with the suffering human beings. Kyriakidou further explores how members of the audience construct their moral agency vis-à-vis human suffering on television. One way to justify individual inaction is via a culture of mistrust that manifests itself in lacking trust in how the deliverers of aid will handle contributions. Moreover, mistrust is part of the broader political culture of Greece characterized by political cynicism and the placement of responsibilities with institutions rather than individual citizens. This culture is intertwined with a notion of powerlessness, in which Greece appears as the underdog, inferior to and a victim of the 'West'. In societal terms, this translates into small people versus powerful people, the rich at home and foreigners abroad. These notions, Kyriakidou concludes, form part of

a broader sociological denial and help to explain the low level of charitable giving in Greece. Applying the hypothesis of her study to other cultures of humanitarianism redirects attention from the assumption of a direct relationship between the media texts and audience response to specific contemporary understandings of agency and public action – that is, to structures and processes very much at the centre of historical scholarship.

Towards an Entangled History of Humanitarianism and Media

The contributions to this volume demonstrate that the interplay between humanitarianism and media has always been complex. Thus, empirical historical analysis is squarely at odds with some of the wisdoms of current theoretical debates. If we analyse media not simply as images with a message, we can grasp the different shapes of media as material products carrying specific contents, as organizations with a history and economic interests, and as an institutional system with various actors who negotiate and apply norms and regulations for distribution and reception. Instead of emphatic declarations of the alleged novelty of the phenomena under study, it is necessary to thoroughly contextualize the relationship between humanitarianism and media, thereby opening it up for historical perspectives and explanations. As a consequence, theoretical concepts such as compassion fatigue or ironic spectatorship need to be taken with a grain of salt and applied in a more nuanced manner. It also becomes clear that humanitarian images as well as media and humanitarian organizations and systems were deeply implicated in power relations, conflicts of interests and competing ideologies during the course of the long twentieth century. In short, humanitarianism and media have an entangled history: entangled between them as well as intertwined with changing domestic, imperial and international spheres, to the evolution of which they also contributed.

Several essential conclusions emerge from the collection:

(1) *Patterns of humanitarian imagery:* the historical analyses have shown that, from the nineteenth century to the two decades following the Second World War, relief workers, missionaries, reformers, photographers and journalists developed a set of humanitarian imagery. It made up the visual and semantic web in existence until today, which we might call the Western humanitarian imaginary. Christian images, journals and campaigns strongly informed this development by the employment of mass prints and artefacts even before photographic reproductions.[77] Contrary to the scholarly focus on atrocities and suffering, the studies in this volume demonstrate that an alternative motif coexisted presenting *saved* human beings and their saviours. Probably more strongly gendered, the uplifting images have been in continuous use: as the narrative end of humanitarian action, as a visible and sometimes not visible foil to the plight

of people, and as a confirmation of the hope for a better world.[78] The use of both patterns varied throughout the twentieth century according to respective tastes, the availability of images, previous and simultaneous campaigns by others, and political expediency.

(2) *Professionalization of humanitarian imagery:* early humanitarian organizations may not yet all have had a public relations department, employed external agencies and used professional media analysis. Yet describing the existing media relations around the mid twentieth century as amateurish or intuitive and improvised underestimates the long experience of the philanthropic sector as well as the professionalism of the press, filmmakers and photographers.[79] It also tends to perpetuate the belittling of female expertise in this field compared to male professionalism. It further neglects the strategic communication of missionary societies, which reflected carefully about their internal and external media use and whose communication compares well with later twentieth-century NGOs.

(3) *The (non-)political character of humanitarian imagery:* misery and relief may have expressed themselves in seemingly apolitical representations of children and women. However, it would be too simple to equate an obvious message with the allegedly nonpolitical character of humanitarianism. British photographs of Germany, for example, demonstrate the reverse, in the change from images of perpetrators to those of suffering Germans in the aftermath of the Second World War.[80] The depiction of victims often presented hierarchies not only between those providing and those receiving aid, but also among the sufferers.[81] The films made by the Allied forces after the liberation of concentration camps in 1945 and the journals by the Palestinian humanitarian institutions during the 1970s show not only the involvement of those in need, but also ways of moralizing or revolutionizing asymmetrical relations.[82] Besides fundraising, humanitarian organizations such as Oxfam or the SCF also pursued 'educational advocacy' for the 'Third World', which was political in a wider sense and employed other channels than the mass media and advertising.[83] In addition, we should bear in mind that national laws regulated charitable fundraising. These regulations generally limited access to the charity market and restricted openly political campaigns even after liberalization measures.[84] The political character of humanitarianism in the media was therefore also a matter of negotiating what those involved regarded as political or nonpolitical.

(4) *The politics of aid and media:* negotiations and dealings within the aid polity, involving the growth of organizations in terms of size, number and outreach, and their relations amongst each other and with governments has certainly been a characteristic feature of the field since the first half of the twentieth century. Aid has therefore been political and this has affected media relations. Humanitarian organizations established their

own media culture and expertise, the instruments of which they used to create an imagined humanitarian community. The Red Cross movement of the interwar period was a case in point, directing media towards its own members to rally audiences behind its cause.[85] Organizations developed media relations based on expertise in fundraising and the spreading of information to potential donors, governments and the public at large. When international organizations arrived on the scene, particularly in the context of the UN, the established national actors defended their claim on the national public.[86] Today, social media may again be changing the politics of aid.[87] We can observe that even the ICRC, for a long time a very discreet humanitarian organization without the need or urge for public relations, is running a Twitter account and its president tweets from sites of humanitarian intervention that he occasionally visits.[88] What is even more significant is that, on the one hand, social media multiply the number of humanitarian advocates and make it easier for small groups and individuals, without much organizational and financial power, to quickly spread news about humanitarian emergencies. Yet, this pluralised capability to raise issues does not automatically entail a capacity to act by providing relief. Established aid organizations, on the other hand, which have that capacity, may counter the challenge of or indeed tie in with the pluralization of humanitarian advocacy by emphasizing their proper experience; trust therefore becomes an important element. Thus, social media may have made the humanitarian field more complex, but this may well benefit the expertise and experience of established organizations. If these organizations capitalize on their history, their professionalism and their experience, they may well emerge strengthened by the social media activities of others.

(5) *Mediatization and mediation of humanitarianism:* media relations of humanitarian organizations were far more complex than the almost exclusive focus of scholarship on the role of the illustrated mass press and television with their apparently simple messages of suffering would have it. Researching the institutional records of humanitarian agencies and media organizations allows historians to better understand the evolving relation between them. The practice in Britain of coordinating emergency appeals in broadcasting since the 1960s is but one example of a joint humanitarian media regime, which has endured in spite of occasional friction.[89] It also shows that media entrepreneurs and journalists seldom take over the reins.[90] 'Mediatization' conceived in the late 1990s as a linear process that – in its pointed form – supposedly makes humanitarian actors increasingly follow the logic of the media lacks analytical conviction in a field where the actors and the forms of representation have had an entangled history for more than a century. An alternative concept, sometimes regarded as complementary, is 'mediation'. This recognizes that media power is diffuse and understands mediation as 'a pro-

cess in which producers, subjects and audiences take part, and take part together'.[91] Roger Silverstone's term emphasizes the basic function of media to mediate between distant people and matters. In this social process, meanings are constructed, negotiated or contested. This involves ethical reflection on values, experience and expectations. Mediation is dialectic and uneven at the same time. It is dialectic as tensions may exist between producers, subjects and audiences, and as listeners and viewers engage in a creative manner with the products of mass communication. It is uneven because the power to work with, or against, the meanings that the media provide is, as Silverstone notes, unevenly distributed across and within societies.[92]

Drawing on the idea of mediation, which helps us to grasp the role of media in specific social, cultural, economic and political contexts and in periods of technologically changing mass communication,[93] we can identify characteristic features of the entangled history of humanitarianism and media from the late nineteenth century to the present day. The relationship has been based on *transformative* processes that resulted from the production, circulation and reception of humanitarian imagery, which constructed meanings of human suffering and humanitarian aid. It has not been a linear but a *multiple* history in which various actors in media and humanitarian organizations, but also outside of them, were involved. The history has been shaped throughout by *technological* changes where new technologies such as the Kodak camera or social media on the internet offered certain new means, but also became part of existing media systems with developed norms and regulations. As humanitarian mediation constructed and gave meanings to relations with distant others and established certain forms of conduct, it always had strong *ethical* implications. The very subject of humanitarianism affected media as much as media may have affected humanitarianism. Finally, manifold *asymmetric* relations have characterized an entangled history of tensions, negotiations and conflicts. The power of producing and questioning humanitarian imagery was distributed unequally within media systems, in the polity of humanitarian organizations and between the two. Asymmetries of access and power also existed in relation to domestic, national, imperial or international politics. Finally, humanitarianism at its very core harbours a fundamental asymmetry between beneficiaries and providers of succour. The kind of humanitarian imagery created and used by the media defined the needy as well as the humanitarian worker and partially determined their agency. For the period since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this has for the most part been a feature of the uneven relationship between European and Western societies on the one hand and large parts of the rest of the world on the other. An unequal world communication order braced this general asymmetry. A critical history of the entangled relationship of humanitarianism with media may perhaps help to challenge some of these asymmetries and strengthen those who advocate a new cosmopolitan consciousness recognizing the dignity and rights of others.

Johannes Paulmann is Director at the Leibniz Institute of European History in Mainz. In 2014–15, he held the Richard von Weizsäcker Fellowship at St Antony's College, Oxford. His research interests cover European and International History. Among his publications is *The Mechanics of Internationalism: Culture, Society and Politics from the 1840s to the First World War* (coedited with Martin H. Geyer, 2001). He is joint Editor in Chief of *European History Online* (http://www.ieg-ego.eu), a transnational history of Europe. His current research focuses on the history of humanitarianism, on which he recently published 'Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century', *Humanity* 4(2) (2013), 215–38, and edited *The Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

Notes

1. G. Paul, *Das Jahrhundert der Bilder.* Vol. I: *1900 bis 1949,* vol. II: *1949 bis heute* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008). I am very grateful to Bernhard Gissibl for several helpful comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.
2. For a 'deep' history of humanitarianism placing the origins in the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, cf. P. Stamatov, *The Origins of Global Humanitarianism: Religion, Empires, and Advocacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2013), 8–11. Stamatov emphasizes 'issue entrepreneurs', the 'orchestration of organized support', particularly by religious actors and organizations, through existing institutions and networks, and the solidified practices in standardized and reproducible scripts of action. However, his work does not reflect on the role of media.
3. See A. Vowinckel, *Agenten der Bilder: Fotografisches Handeln im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016), 7–30, 15, who uses the term 'Bildhandeln' (acting with images).
4. This extremely wide definition is used by J. Hörisch, *Der Sinn und die Sinne: Eine Geschichte der Medien* (Frankfurt am Main: Eichborn Verlag, 2001) (paperback ed.: *Eine Geschichte der Medien.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004).
5. Cf. U. Saxer, 'Der Forschungsgegenstand der Medienwissenschaft', in J.-L. Leonhard et al. (eds), *Medienwissenschaft: Ein Handbuch zur Entwicklung der Medien und Kommunikationsformen,* vol. 15.1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999); and J.B. Thompson, *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 26–31; H. Bonfadelli, O. Jarren and G. Siegert (eds), *Einführung in die Publizistikwissenschaft,* 3rd ed. (Bern: Haupt, 2010); and further discussions in M. Künzler et al. (eds), *Medien als Institutionen und Organisationen: Institutionalistische Ansätze in der Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2013).
6. For an early use of photography by abolitionists, see M. Fox-Amato, 'An Abolitionist Daguerreotype, New York, 1850', in J.E. Hill and V.R. Schwartz (eds), *Getting the Picture: The Visual Culture of the News* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 22–25. Fox-Amato has a book under contract based on his dissertation, 'Exposing Humanity: Slavery, Antislavery, and Early Photography in America, 1839–1865', which highlights how photos were made and used by civil society activist and by (former) slaves; on consumer products and cultural objects as media in the anti-slavery campaign, see C. Midgley, 'Slave Sugar Boycotts, Female Activism and the Domestic Base of British Anti-slavery Culture', *Slavery and*

Abolition 17(3) (1996), 143–44; and M. Guyatt, 'The Wedgwood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth-Century Design', *Journal of Design History* 13(2) (2000), 93–105. For the early usage of anti-slavery imagery in a different contexts, see also J. Lydon, 'Anti-slavery in Australia: Picturing the 1838 Myall Creek Massacre', *History Compass* 15(5) (2017). doi: 10.1111/hic3.12330.

7. For an overview, see A. Schildt, 'Das Jahrhundert der Massenmedien: Ansichten zu einer künftigen Geschichte der Öffentlichkeit', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 27(2) (2001), 177–206; J. Chapman, *Comparative Media History: An Introduction, 1789 to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005); and F. Bösch, *Mediengeschichte*: *Vom asiatischen Buchdruck bis zum Fernsehen* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2011), 109–226.

8. Cf. M. Scott, 'What Makes News Humanitarian' (21 April 2017), retrieved 29 September 2018 from http://humanitarian-journalims.net/blog/what-makes-news-humanitarian.

9. S. Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Penguin, 2004).

10. S. Shute and S. Hurley (eds), *On Human Rights: The Oxford Amnesty Lectures* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), vii.

11. Although Sontag's work is self-consciously essayistic rather than scholarly, scholars have repeatedly discussed and criticized her arguments. See, for example, Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance*, 3–31, at 13, who engages with her and other twentieth-century postmodern and poststructuralist critics sceptical of photography's 'victimization' of its objects and false claim to objectivity, and instead argues that emotion and feeling from viewing photos could enhance rather than undermine critical thinking.

12. Sontag, *Pain of Others,* 5–15. See the careful thoughts on the widely held notion of 'the power of images' by C. Brink, 'Überlegungen zum Zusammenhang von Fotografie und Emotionen', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 37(1) (2011), 104–29.

13. See, for example, the otherwise instructive essays by R. Hölzl, '"Mitleid" über große Distanz: Zur Fabrikation globaler Gefühle in Medien der katholischen Mission, 1890–1940', in R. Habermas and R. Hölzl (eds), *Mission global: Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2014), 265–94, at 266; P. Balakian, 'Photography, Visual Culture, and the Armenian Genocide', in H. Fehrenbach and D. Rodogno (eds), *Humanitarian Photography: A History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 89–114, at 109.

14. Sontag, *Pain of Others,* 72–80. For Sontag's earlier position, see S. Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 19–21; and on the change of opinion, D. Campbell, 'The Myth of Compassion Fatigue' (2012), retrieved 9 August 2018 from https://www.david-campbell.org/wp-content/documents/DC_Myth_of_Compassion_Fatigue_Feb_2012.pdf.

15. For a similar argument relating to the Nigerian Civil War, cf. L. Heerten, '"A" as in Auschwitz, "B" as in Biafra: The Nigerian Civil War, Visual Narratives of Genocide, and the Fragmented Universalization of the Holocaust', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 249–74.

16. See, for example, F. Piana, 'Photography, Cinema, and the Quest for Influence: The International Committee of the Red Cross in the Wake of the First World War', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 140–64, at 153; K. Halttunnen, 'Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture', *American Historical Review* 100(2) (1995), 303–34, at 307.

17. Sontag, *Pain of Others,* 90–92.

18. For basic audience reactions with evidence from Swedish data, see B. Höijer, 'The Discourse of Global Compassion: The Audience and Media Reporting of Human Suffering',

Media, Culture & Society 24(4) (2004), 513–31; see also L. Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1999), Part II, 'The Topics of Suffering' (first published as *La souffrance à distance: Morale humanitaire, médias et politique* (Paris: Métailié, 1993).

19. Sontag, *Pain of Others*, 97–101, at 99. Cf. S.D. Moeller, *Compassion Fatigue: How the Media Sell Disease, Famine, War and Death* (London: Routledge 1999), who criticizes the idea that the media industry, through market orientation, proliferation and sensationalism, supply a plethora of disaster images to viewers who, inured to the horrors, become mere apathetic spectators. Moeller's use of the term 'compassion fatigue' for various concerns of media critique make it an indiscriminate term of abuse.

20. Sontag, *Pain of Others,* 88–90.

21. L. Chouliaraki, *The Spectatorship of Suffering* (London: Sage, 2006), 7.

22. Under 'adventure news', she treats the shootings of two Americans in Indonesia, a boat accident in India and flooding in Bangladesh; under 'emergency news', which calls for immediate action, the rescuing of African refugees at Malta, a famine in Argentina and the sentencing to death by stoning of a Nigerian woman (all events reported in 2002–3). Chouliaraki does find some potential for pity in emergency news, as well as potential for action, on the condition that the scene of suffering is historicized (Chouliaraki, *Spectatorship,* 150). Her case for 'ecstatic news' is the 9/11 terrorist attack in New York.

23. Chouliaraki, *Spectatorship,* 2.

24. On the concept of cosmopolitanism as usefully adapted from the social sciences for historical research, cf. B. Gissibl and I. Löhr (eds), *Bessere Welten: Kosmopolitismus in den Geschichtswissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2017).

25. L. Chouliaraki, *The Ironic Spectator: Solidarity in the Age of Post-humanitarianism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 2.

26. Ibid., 22, 52–53, 188–203. Underlying this critique is the concept of agonistics; see C. Mouffe, *Agonistics: Thinking the World Politically* (London: Verso, 2013).

27. Chouliaraki, *Ironic Spectator,* 4, 76–77.

28. Ibid., 5. The administrative knowledge produced in the discipline of Development Studies ultimately also legitimizes, so the further arguments, neoliberal governance of the sector and in the field, marginalizing the moral and political content of aid and development.

29. Ibid., 4, 9–15.

30. Ibid., 15–16.

31. J. Benthall, *Disasters, Relief and the Media* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993), 2.

32. Ibid., 26–29, 36–40.

33. Ibid., 3.

34. Ibid., 42–55; see also A. Jones, 'The Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) and the Humanitarian Industry in Britain, 1963–85', *Twentieth Century British History* 14(3) (2014), 264–85.

35. The following passage summarizes Benthall, *Disasters*, 56–76.

36. See also L. Malkki, 'Children, Humanity, and the Infantilization of Peace', in I. Feldman and M. Ticktin (eds), *In the Name of Humanity: The Government of Threat and Care* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 58–85.

37. On humanitarian intervention, see F. Klose (ed.), *The Emergence of Humanitarian Intervention: Ideas and Practice from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

38. J.G. Blumler and D. Kavanagh, 'The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features', *Political Communication* 16(3) (1999), 209–30; G. Mazzoleni and

W. Schulz, '"Mediatization" of Politics: A Challenge for Democracy?', *Political Communication* 16(3) (1999), 247–61; H.M. Kepplinger, 'Mediatization of Politics: Theory and Data', *Journal of Communication* 52(4) (2002), 972–86; W. Schulz, 'Reconstructing Mediatization as an Analytical Concept', *European Journal of Communication* 19(1) (2004), 87–101. Cf. also T. Meyer, *Mediokratie: Die Kolonisierung der Politik durch die Medien* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2011); and A. Dörner, *Politainment: Politik in der medialen Erlebnisgesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2001).

39. P. Donges, 'Medialisierung der Politik – Vorschlag einer Differenzierung', in P. Rössler and F. Krotz (eds), *Mythen der Mediengesellschaft* (Konstanz: UVK-Verl.-Ges., 2005), 321–39; see also G. Vowe, 'Mediatisierung der Politik? Ein theoretischer Ansatz auf dem Prüfstand', *Publizistik* 51(4) (2006), 437–55. Cf. the all-encompassing 'meta-level' perspective by F. Krotz, 'Metaprozesse sozialen und kulturellen Wandels und die Medien', *Medien Journal* 27(1) (2003), 7–19. The reference to 'media logic' dates back to D.L. Altheide and R.P. Snow, *Media Logic* (Beverly Hills: Sage 1979), and D.L. Altheide and R.P. Snow, 'Towards a Theory of Mediation', *Communication Yearbook* 11 (1989), 194–223.

40. S. Cottle and D. Nolan, 'Global Humanitarianism and the Changing Aid-Media Field: "Everyone was Dying for Footage"', *Journalism Studies* 8(6) (2007), 862–78, at 862 and 863; cf. Patrick Merziger's chapter in the present volume.

41. L. Mükke, *'Journalisten der Finsternis': Akteure, Strukturen und Potenziale deutscher Afrika-Berichterstattung* (Cologne: Herbert von Halem Verlag, 2009), 256–91, at 264.

42. Ibid., 271.

43. On media events, see D. Dayan and E. Katz, *Media Events: The Live Broadcasting of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); E. Katz and T. Liebes, '"No More Peace". How Disaster, Terror and War Have Upstaged Media Events', *International Journal of Communication* 1 (2007), 157–66; and N. Couldry, A. Hepp and F. Krotz (eds), *Media Events in a Global Age* (London: Routledge, 2010). For historical case studies, see F. Lenger and A. Nünning (eds), *Medienereignisse der Moderne* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008); C. Vogel, H. Schneider and H. Carl (eds), *Medienereignisse im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Beiträge einer interdisziplinären Tagung aus Anlass des 65. Geburtstages von Rolf Reichardt* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2014). T. Scholz, *Distanziertes Mitleid: Mediale Bilder, Emotionen und Solidarität angesichts von Katastrophen* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2012) regards media events as a ritual instrument of social integration, starting his analysis with the images of the Lisbon earthquake in 1755.

44. See M. Kyriakidou, 'Rethinking Media Events in the Context of a Global Public Sphere: Exploring the Audience of Global Disasters in Greece', *Communications* 33(3) (2008), 273–91, 288.

45. See the recent works by M. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); S. Salvatici, *Nel nome degli altri: Storia dell' umanitarismo internazionale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2015); J. Paulmann (ed.), *Dilemmas of Humanitarian Aid in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); F. Klose and M. Thulin (eds), *Humanity: A History of European Concepts in Practice from the Sixteenth Century to the Present* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016); and the critical review of recent scholarship by E. Dal Lago and K. O'Sullivan, 'Introduction: Towards a New History of Humanitarianism', *Moving the Social – Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements* 57 (2017), 5–20.

46. H. Fehrenbach and D. Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography: A History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1.

47. See S. Sliwinski, 'The Childhood of Human Rights: The Kodak on the Congo', *Journal of Visual Culture* 5(3) (2006), 333–63; S. de Laat, 'Congo Free State, 1904: Humanitarian Photographs', in F. Klose et al. (eds), *Online Atlas on the History of Humanitarianism and Human Rights* (December 2015). Retrieved 9 August 2018 from http://hhr-atlas.ieg-mainz.de/articles/de_laat-congo.

48. Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 5–6.

49. Ibid., 6.

50. For the imperial and religious interplay from which humanitarianism emerged during the early modern period through to the nineteenth century, see Stamatov, *Origins*; and J. Paulmann, 'Humanitarianism and Empire', in J.M. MacKenzie (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Empire,* vol. II (Oxford: Wiley, 2016), 1112–23.

51. See K. Grant, 'Anti-slavery, Refugee Relief, and the Missionary Origins of Humanitarian Photography ca. 1900–1960', *History Compass* 15(5) (2017). doi: 10.1111/hic3.12383; cf. also J. Becker and K. Stornig (eds), *Menschen – Bilder – Eine Welt: Ordnungen von Vielfalt in der religiösen Publizistik um 1900* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018).

52. See H.D. Curtis, 'Picturing Pain: Evangelicals and the Politics of Pictorial Humanitarianism in an Imperial Age', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 22–46; C. Twomey, 'Framing Atrocity: Photography and Humanitarianism', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 47–63; K. Grant, 'The Limits of Exposure: Atrocity Photographs in the Congo Reform Campaign', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 64–88.

53. K. Rozario, '"Delicious Horrors": Mass Culture, the Red Cross, and the Appeal of Modern Humanitarianism', *American Quarterly* 55(3) (2003), 417–55, at 418–19; see also Halttunnen, 'Pornography of Pain', 303–34.

54. C. Reeves, 'Developing the Humanitarian Image in Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth- Century China', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 115–39; F. Piana, 'Photography, Cinema and the Quest for Influence: The International Committee of the Red Cross in the Wake of the First World War', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 140–64; and D. Rodogno and T. David, 'All the World Loves a Picture: The World Health Organization's Visual Politics, 1948–1973', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 223–48.

55. H. Lidchi, 'Finding the Right Image: British Development NGOs and the Regulation of Imagery', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 275–96; S. Nissinen, 'Dilemmas of Ethical Practice in the Production of Contemporary Humanitarian Photography', in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography,* 297–321.

56. See the review by Katharina Stornig in *Humanitarianism & Human Rights,* 1 April 2016. Retrieved 9 August 2018 from http://hhr.hypotheses.org//1321.

57. Cf. the chronology based on economic and political factors by J. Paulmann, 'Conjunctures in the History of International Humanitarian Aid during the Twentieth Century', *Humanity* 4(2) (2013), 215–38.

58. For children, see Malkki, 'Children'; and on 'ideal victims', see M. Breen-Smyth and S. Cooke, 'A Critical Approach: Violence, "Victims" and "Innocents"', in C. Kennedy-Pipe, G. Clubb and S. Mabon (eds), *Terrorism and Political Violence: The Evolution of Contemporary Insecurity* (London: Sage, 2015), 69–84.

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61. On the Holy Childhood Association, see also H. Harrison, '"A Penny for the Little Chinese": The French Holy Childhood Association in China, 1843–1951', *American Historical Review* 113(1) (2008), 72–92.

62. Fehrenbach, 'Children', 176–85; P.E. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child and the Changing Image of Childhood* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992), 88–91; C. Mulley, *The Woman Who Saved the Children: A Biography of Eglantyne Jebb, Founder of Save the Children* (Oxford: Oneworld Books, 2009), 239–41; and D. Marshall, 'Children's Rights and Children's Action in International Relief and Domestic Welfare: The Work of Herbert Hoover between 1914 and 1950', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1(3) (2008), 351–88; see also E. Baughan, '"Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!": Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-war Britain', *Historical Research* 86(231) (2013), 116–37; E. Baughan, 'The Imperial War Relief Fund and the All British Appeal: Commonwealth, Conflict and Conservatism within the British Humanitarian Movement, 1920–1925', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40(5) (2012), 845–61; E. Baughan and J. Fiori, 'Towards a New Politics of Humanitarian Solidarity: Assessing the Contemporary Import of Dorothy Buxton's Vision for Save the Children', *Disasters* 39(2) (2015), 129–45.

63. See I. Herrmann, 'Décripter la concurrence humanitaire: Le conflit entre Croix-Rouge(s) après 1918', *Relations Internationales* 151 (2012), 91–192.

64. See Piana, 'Photography', 149–52, 158; for photos, see V. Gorin, 'Looking Back over 150 Years of Humanitarian Action: The Photographic Archives of the ICRC', *International Review of the Red Cross* 888 (2012), 1–31.

65. Cf. L. Malkki, 'Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism and Dehistoricization', *Cultural Anthropology* 11(3) (1996), 377–404.

66. On Victor Gollancz and other humanitarian organization in occupied Germany, see also M. Frank, 'The New Morality: Victor Gollancz, "Save Europe Now" and the German Refugee Crisis, 1945–46', *Twentieth Century British History* 17(2) (2006), 230–56; M. Frank, 'Working for the Germans: British Voluntary Societies and the German Refugee Crisis, 1945–50', *Historical Research* 82(215) (2009), 157–75; and P. Weindling, '"For the Love of Christ": Strategies of International Catholic Relief and the Allied Occupation of Germany, 1945–1948', *Journal of Contemporary History* 43(3) (2008), 477–92.

67. E. Steichen (ed.), *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 4; for the controversy on exhibiting photojournalism in an art museum, see K. Gresh, 'An Era or Photographic Controversy: Edward Steichen at the MoMA', in Hill and Schwartz, *Getting the Picture,* 259–65.

68. K. Gresh, *Steichen: A Life in Photography* (New York: Harmony Books, 1963), 228.

69. Cf. J. Paulmann, 'Humanity – Humanitarian Reason – Imperial Humanitarianism: European Concepts in Practice', in Klose and Thulin, *Humanity,* 288–311, at 307–11.

70. On the campaign, see also T. Sasson, 'Milking the Third World? Humanitarianism, Capitalism, and the Moral Economy of the Nestlé Boycott', *American Historical Review* 121(4) (2016), 1196–224.

71. For the emergence of the MSF expert witness, see M. Givoni, 'Humanitarian Dilemmas, Concern for Others, and Care of the Self: The Case of Médecins Sans Frontières', in Paulmann, *Dilemmas,* 371–92.

72. The literature the Nigerian Civil War is large and growing, for other countries and actors, cf. E. Staunton, 'The Case of Biafra: Ireland and the Nigerian Civil War', *Irish Historical Studies* 31(124) (1999), 513–35; K. Waters, 'Influencing the Message: The Role of Catholic Missionaries in Media Coverage of the Nigerian Civil War', *Catholic Historical Review* 90(4) (2004), 697–718; M.-L. Desgrandchamps, 'Entre coopération et concurrence: CICR, Unicef et organisations religieuses au Biafra', *Relations internationales* 152(4) (2012), 51–62; R. Doron, 'Marketing Genocide: Biafran Propaganda Strategies during the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–70', *Journal of Genocide Research* 16(2–3) (2014), 227–46; L. Heerten and D. Moses, 'The Nigeria–Biafra War: Postcolonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide', *Journal of Genocide Research* 16(2–3) (2014), 169–203.

73. See S. Franks, *Reporting Disasters: Famine, Aid, Politics and the Media* (London: Hurst, 2013), 11–30.

74. For the debate over diversion of food aid, see S. Franks, 'Why Bob Geldof Has Got it Wrong', *British Journalism Review* 21 (2010), 51–56.

75. For a historical case study based on letters written by West German citizens to various government department on aid to Biafra, see F. Hannig, 'Mitleid mit Biafranern in Westdeutschland: Eine Historisierung von Empathie', *WerkstattGeschichte* 68 (2014), 65–67.

76. For the denial thesis, see S. Cohen, *States of Denial: Knowing about Atrocities and Suffering* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2001); and S. Cohen and I.B. Seu, 'Knowing Enough Not to Feel Too Much: Emotional Thinking about Human Rights Appeals', in M.P. Bradley and P. Petro (eds), *Truth Claims: Representations and Human Rights* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 187–204; I.B. Seu, '"Your Stomach Makes You Feel That You Don't Want to Know Anything about it": Desensitization, Defence Mechanisms and Rhetoric in Response to Human Rights Abuses', *Journal of Human Rights* 2(2) (2003), 183–96; I.B. Seu, '"Doing Denial": Audience Reaction to Human Rights Appeals', *Discourse & Society* 2(2) (2010), 438–57. For compassion fatigue, see above in this introduction.

77. See Katharina Stornig's chapter in the present volume.

78. See the chapters by Rose Holmes, Tobias Weidner and Ilana Feldman in the present volume. For the (in)visibility of human rights, cf. S. Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 33, 37–39; and M.P. Bradley, *The World Reimagined: Americans and Human Rights in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

79. For a debate on professionalism and varying national traditions of relief, see S. Salvatici, 'Professions of Humanitarianism: UNRRA Relief Officers in Post-War Europe', in Paulmann, *Dilemmas,* 236–59; and H. Fehrenbach, 'From Aid to Intimacy: The Humanitarian Origins and Media Culture of International Adoption', in Paulmann, *Dilemmas,* 206–33, at 211–16.

80. See Paul Betts' chapter in the present volume.

81. See Maria Kyriakidou's chapter in the present volume for notions of powerlessness with Greek audiences.

82. See the chapters by Ulrike Weckel and Ilana Feldman in the present volume.

83. See the chapters by Valerie Gorin and Matthias Kuhnert in the present volume.

84. Cf. S. Roddy, J.-M. Strange and B. Taithe, 'The Charity-Mongers of Modern Babylon: Bureaucracy, Scandal, and the Transformation of the Philanthropic Marketplace, c.1870–

1912', *Journal of British Studies* 54(1) (2015), 118–37; G. Lingelbach, 'Die Entwicklung des Spendenmarktes in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Von der staatlichen Regulierung zur medialen Lenkung', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 33(1) (2007), 127–57.

85. See the chapters by Daniel Palmieri and Ilana Feldman in the present volume.

86. See the chapter by Heike Wieters in the present volume.

87. For recent discussions of various effects of social media in media, communication and journalism studies, see M. Madianou, 'Humanitarian Campaigns in Social Media: Network Architecture and Polymedia Events', *Journalism Studies* 14(2) (2013), 249–66; M. Scott, 'Distant Suffering Online. The Unfortunate Irony of Cyber-utopian Narratives', *International Communication Gazette* 77(7) (2015), 637–53; G. Cooper and S. Cottle, 'Humanitarianism, Communications, and Change: Final Reflections', in G. Cooper and S. Cottle (eds), *Humanitarianism, Communications, and Change* (New York: Peter Lang, 2015), 251–64.

88. See https://twitter.com/ICRC and https://twitter.com/PMaurerICRC.

89. See Benthall, *Disasters,* 42–55.

90. See the chapters by Patrick Merziger and Matthias Kuhnert in the present volume.

91. R. Silverstone, *Media and Morality: On the Rise of the Mediapolis* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 38; see also N. Couldry, N. 'Mediatization or Mediation? Alternative Understandings of the Emergent Space of Digital Storytelling', *New Media & Society* 10(3) (2008), 373–91; A. Hepp, 'Mediatisierung und Kulturwandel: Kulturelle Kontextfelder und die Prägkräfte der Medien', in M. Hartmann and A. Hepp (eds), *Mediatisierung der Alltagswelt* (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010), 65–84; and M. Hartmann, 'Mediatisierung als Mediation: Vom Normativen und Diskursen', in Hartmann and Hepp, *Mediatisierung der Alltagswelt,* 35–47.

92. R. Silverstone, 'Complicity and Collusion in the Mediation of Everyday Life', *New Literary History* 33(4) (2002), 761–80, at 762.

93. See M. Serelle, 'The Ethics of Mediation: Aspects of Media Criticism in Roger Silverstone's Works', *Matrizes* 10(2) (2016), 75–90.

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