

# **Appearances – Studies in Visual Research**

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Edited by  
Tim Allender, Inés Dussel, Ian Grosvenor, Karin Priem

**Vol. 2**

# **Appearances Matter**

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The Visual in Educational History

Edited by  
Tim Allender, Inés Dussel, Ian Grosvenor,  
and Karin Priem

**DE GRUYTER**  
OLDENBOURG

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## Chapter 8

# Humanitarian Photography Beyond the Picture: David “CHIM” Seymour’s *Children of Europe*

For me, some of the best images live somewhere between a still photograph and what a book can become with a series of images and lots of different layers and sometimes even other media.

– Susan Meiselas<sup>1</sup>

Chim’s photographs of the children are his family album. This spiritual family will remain his only one: the man who loved children would never have any of his own.

– Carole Naggar<sup>2</sup>

## Introduction

In its May 1948 edition, the *UNESCO Courier* featured a short article with the headline “Unesco Begins Photo Survey of War-Hit Nations.”<sup>3</sup> The purpose of this initiative was to visually document the “needs and problems of children” who had survived the war and, in many cases, were traumatized, physically handicapped, and had lost one or both parents.<sup>4</sup> The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) commissioned David Seymour, one of the founders of the international photo cooperative Magnum, for this project.<sup>5</sup> In a 1999 book on Seymour, his assignment for UNESCO is described as a “labor of love”;

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1 Susan Meiselas, “Style Can’t Sustain You: Notes from the Field,” interview by Coralie Kraft, *lensculture*, <https://www.lensculture.com/articles/susan-meiselas-style-can-t-sustain-you-notes-from-the-field>.

2 Carole Naggar, *CHIM: Children of War* (New York: Umbrage Editions, 2013), 21.

3 “Unesco Begins Photo Survey of War-Hit Nations,” *UNESCO Courier* 1, no. 4 (May 1948): 3. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000073741>.

4 “Unesco Begins Photo Survey of War-Hit Nations,” 3.

5 David Seymour was commissioned for a second UNESCO mission in the context of the fight against illiteracy in Southern Italy; see Giovanna Hendel, Carole Naggar, and Karin Priem, eds.,

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this also applied to his earnings, “for instead of paying the usual magazine rate of at least one hundred dollars a day,” UNESCO offered twenty-six dollars.<sup>6</sup> Seymour’s three-month mission took him to his former home country Poland, as well as to Greece, Italy, Hungary, and Austria, where he visited villages and cities ravaged by war, refugee camps, schools, an international children’s village, orphanages, homes for “disturbed” or disabled children, and hospitals. He focused on children and young adults: how they suffered as a result of the destruction and the physical and emotional damage induced by the war, how they coped with poverty, desolation, and abandonment, and how the interventions carried out by United Nations agencies, such as UNESCO and UNICEF, affected their situation.<sup>7</sup> It was UNESCO’s intention to publish Seymour’s photographs “in the form of five photographic stories in the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Canada and Latin America” to raise funds in some of its member states.<sup>8</sup> A first selection of Seymour’s images appeared in December 1948 in *Life* magazine,<sup>9</sup> followed by an article in the *UNESCO Courier* in February 1949 and a book entitled *Children of Europe* published by UNESCO in 1949 in three languages (French, English, and Spanish).<sup>10</sup> Many other reproductions of David Seymour’s photo journey have since been published again and again because of their extraordinary quality and ongoing appeal.

In his 2016 book *The Documentary Impulse*, Stuart Franklin explores the urge to visually document the world, and this was certainly one motive for the photography project announced by UNESCO and carried out by Seymour.<sup>11</sup> However, there was also a second, *humanitarian impulse*, the “imperative to reduce suffering,” as described and analyzed by Craig Calhoun in 2008.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Seymour’s

*They Did Not Stop at Eboli: UNESCO and the Campaign against Illiteracy in a Reportage by David “Chim” Seymour and Texts by Carlo Levi (1950)* (Paris: UNESCO; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020).

<sup>6</sup> Inge Bondi, *CHIM: The Photographs of David Seymour* (London: André Deutsch, 1996), 90. Bondi mistakenly assumed that Seymour only worked for the United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

<sup>7</sup> See Carole Naggar, *A Second Look: Chim’s Children of War*, <http://time.com/3796013/a-second-look-chims-children-of-war/#1>.

<sup>8</sup> “Unesco Begins Photo Survey of War-Hit Nations,” 3.

<sup>9</sup> “Children of Europe: Christmas Finds Many of Them Still in Great Need of Help,” *Life*, December 27, 1948, 13–19.

<sup>10</sup> See “The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story,” *UNESCO Courier* 2, no. 1 (February 1949): 1, 5–9, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000073912>; *Children of Europe: Photos by David Seymour*, publication no. 403 of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Paris: UNESCO, 1949).

<sup>11</sup> Stuart Franklin, *The Documentary Impulse* (London: Phaidon Press, 2016).

<sup>12</sup> Craig Calhoun, “The Imperative to Reduce Suffering: Charity, Progress, and Emergencies in the Field of Humanitarian Action,” in *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*, ed. Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 73–97.

photographs were not only made for reasons of documentation but also for promotional purposes; they were made to circulate across different media, shape public opinion, and prompt humanitarian action. Both aspects – the documentary and the humanitarian impulse – imply engagement and action, and they are usually enhanced when children are involved.<sup>13</sup> This chapter thus focuses on the role of documentary photography in the context of UNESCO’s child rescue and childcare campaigns and examines how photography as a technology became a crucial part of mediating and promoting humanitarianism. We will start by mapping the broader context of our study and discussing some of the main trends of humanitarianism. We will then focus on photography as an institutional and material practice of humanitarian ‘propaganda’ and how notions of childhood intensified the urgency of humanitarian campaigns. Next, we will trace how David Seymour’s photographs were carefully selected and edited, and how UNESCO appropriated his photographs in its publications.<sup>14</sup> Finally, we will also look beyond UNESCO and humanitarian aid; by tracing one of Seymour’s most iconic photographs, we will explore the picture’s long life up to the present day.<sup>15</sup>

## Humanitarianism and the Formation of “Ethical Communities”

Seymour’s photographs of the *Children of Europe* are historically situated in the aftermath of World War II, when a wave of complex and sometimes contradictory humanitarian initiatives established a new international order. Humanitarianism and the history of human rights have been the focus of much research. Many histories of humanitarianism emphasize liberalism, capitalism, and related ethics as

<sup>13</sup> In their book *Humanitarian Photography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Heide Fehrenbach and Davide Rodogno also use the term “humanitarian impulse,” which may have been inspired by Stuart Franklin.

<sup>14</sup> A recently discovered UNESCO photo album including contact sheets and texts by David Seymour reveals how his photographs were edited in the context of another UNESCO media campaign. See Karin Priem, “David Seymour’s Album on the Fight against Illiteracy in Calabria as a Tool of Mediatization: Material Traces and Visual Storytelling,” in Hendel, Naggar, and Priem, *They Did Not Stop at Eboli*, 263–74.

<sup>15</sup> Another example of the long life of a photograph taken in the aftermath of WWII is Werner Bischof’s picture of the “The Boy from Roermond.” See Karin Priem, “Beyond the Collapse of Language? Photographs of Children in Postwar Europe as Performances and Relational Objects,” *Paedagogica Historica* 53, no. 6 (2017): 683–96.

the most significant and interconnected forces in the shaping of humanitarian action and the desire to reduce suffering.

One of the most prominent, and critical, voices in the field is Michael Barnett. He concludes his 2011 book *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* by pointing out major ideological, ethical, and political dilemmas concerning humanitarian practices.<sup>16</sup> In Barnett's view, humanitarianism necessarily involves paternalistic authority, power, and control, even if its purpose is to provide care and help for marginalized and suffering populations. Humanitarian agencies often claim to act neutrally and to adopt a universal ethical approach with the aim of creating a better world. However, the involvement of strong nation-states representing Western interests and their attitudes of cultural, social, and political superiority in terms of knowledge, expertise, and standards of civilization often run counter to this officially neutral agenda. Barnett argues that "[f]ew humanitarians enter a world of ruin with the goal of putting the pieces back together the way they were; instead they treat the ruin as an opportunity to seek justice and human improvement."<sup>17</sup> The humanitarian impulse, according to Barnett, is not only inspired by visions of liberty, progress, growth, social engineering, and human perfection, but also depends on experiences of catastrophe and destruction. The "spectacular growth of humanitarianism," especially in the wake of World Wars I and II, was often a result of the fear of losing ethical and/or ideological superiority and a "sense of purpose" on the side of the "givers" and the "compassionate."<sup>18</sup> In addition, catastrophe and destruction were perceived as a threat, not only to national or international security but also, equally importantly, to economic interests, which in turn triggered humanitarian engagement.<sup>19</sup>

Thomas Haskell's two-part essay "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility" testifies to strong connections between economic markets and humanitarianism. In Haskell's view, humanitarianism is not so much about control; rather he sees it as having emerged hand in hand with liberalism during the eighteenth century. Haskell argues that humanitarianism was erected on the pillars of liberal economic rationales that forged "bonds created not by class interest but by the subtle isomorphisms and homologies that arise from a cognitive style common to economic affairs, judgments of moral responsibility,

<sup>16</sup> Michael Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 227.

<sup>18</sup> Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 224–27.

<sup>19</sup> Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, "Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the Present," in Barnett and Weiss, *Humanitarianism in Question*, 1–48.

and much else."<sup>20</sup> He posits that the principles of the market and its entangled spheres of interest altered "perceptions of causation in human affairs," which in turn also led to humanitarianism.<sup>21</sup> According to Haskell, the mutual promises, interests, and dependencies embedded in a contract between business partners encouraged an attitude of achievement by acknowledging responsibilities and acting consciously to fulfill specific agreements and obligations. As such, the rationales of the market created compassionate engagement and humanitarianism in a scenario of mutual dependencies via a causal structure. In other words, a flourishing liberal market-based society was established on the basis of an approach which focused on the ability to take part in processes of exchange – and this ability was guaranteed by humanitarian intervention.

Thomas W. Laqueur similarly posits that a specific causal thinking changed mentalities and strongly influenced humanitarian narration, but he emphasizes the existential presence of the human body. He argues that "humanitarian narratives" in history referred mostly to the functioning of the human body and the causalities of pain and agony. According to Laqueur, it is indeed the human body and its suffering that triggers humanitarian action by creating bonds "between those who suffer and those who would help."<sup>22</sup>

In line with what has been said we would like to argue that humanitarianism, when based on economic rationales, human experiences, and causality, can be compared to an "ethical community," to use the term coined by Jacques Rancière. According to Rancière, an "ethical community" perceives those who suffer as a threat and views alienated outsiders as people "to whom the community must extend a hand in order to re-establish the 'social bond.'"<sup>23</sup> Indeed, until the end of the Cold War, humanitarianism represented a phenomenon that combined economic interests and the need for security with showcasing empathy and promoting Western values and action in order to foster a more peaceful and economically healthy world order based on shared Western values. Relevant humanitarian campaigns were usually carefully crafted in terms of their messages and contents.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 2," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 3 (June 1985): 547–66, quotation on 547.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility, Part 1," *American Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (April 1985): 339–61, quotation on 343.

<sup>22</sup> Thomas W. Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and the Humanitarian Narrative," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 177. See also Luc Boltanski, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

<sup>23</sup> Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics* (London: Continuum, 2011), 189.

## Photography as an Institutional and Material Practice to Create Public Consent

During and after World War II, promotional materials and books issued by humanitarian agencies, as well as many cultural and popular media, featured photographs dedicated to humanitarian causes. Many of these photographs were performing across different media. Due to their “media plasticity,” photographic images were included or excluded and/or (re-)appeared in various media campaigns.<sup>24</sup> These campaigns and their specific regime of visibility were launched to invite debate, to convince, to shape opinions, and to define what mattered in the public sphere.<sup>25</sup> Photography played a key role in this process. Photography’s power derives from its capacity to capture and make visible – and to provide a human face to – events and occurrences otherwise forgotten in the flow of real time, while its technological dimensions at the same time facilitated and determined the institutional production and management of visibility and knowledge. Photography was a central element of the mediation of humanitarianism and the “engineering of consent” within a wider public.<sup>26</sup> Therefore, analyzing how humanitarian photography works means looking beyond the picture; it means that we also need to analyze the media ecologies, institutional usages, and circulation practices and processes that the photographs were part of.

Photographic pictures commissioned by humanitarian agencies were indeed specifically made to establish public consent and were (re-)used – often in refashioned ways – within many contexts and media. Several works can help us gain a better understanding of these processes. Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin’s 1999 book *Remediation* – the term referring to “the representation of one medium in another” – is a pioneering work on how different media interact with and borrow from each other, mutually making and remaking themselves and each other.<sup>27</sup> According to Bolter and Grusin, both old (e.g., analogue photography) and new (digital) media tend to erase their making and “mediated character” and pretend

to provide “transparency” and “immediacy” by presenting what there is to see.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it is important to trace and make visible that which was erased in selection and editing processes to shed new light on how photography works as a technology and an institutional practice.

Mediation processes and the making of visibility are also the focus of recent research in journalism studies. Lilie Chouliaraki has analyzed the “symbolic power” of transnational media “to manage the visibility of suffering” and the conditions that make it possible to produce “cosmopolitan communities of emotion and action.”<sup>29</sup> It must be stressed, however, that it is equally important to analyze the making and management of visibility from a different point of view. This point of view implies putting a focus on the material hermeneutics of photography and exploring how the humanitarian field edited and ‘engineered’ its purpose by means of specific media technologies. In fact, photography was an omnipresent technology, which after the Second World War was expected to facilitate transnational if not universal humanitarian concerns and related messages as “ongoing moments.”<sup>30</sup> David Phillips’ description of photography “as an interpretative rather than a transcriptive medium” highlights the persuasive qualities of the medium.<sup>31</sup> He describes documentary photography as representing a “combination of evidence and instruction,” which “necessarily entails various rhetorical and aesthetic techniques that combine fact with feeling, information with effect, and factuality with polemic.”<sup>32</sup>

The marketing committees of humanitarian agencies were well aware of these qualities of photographs and used them in a carefully selected way as “authorities” of evidence and truth and as a means of showcasing international crises, social concerns, and emergencies with the intention of influencing the public.<sup>33</sup> According to Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, humanitarian photographs can be labeled as public images – that is, as images specifically made for the public – and “as means for continually making sense of the world.”<sup>34</sup> They suggest that a public image is not fine art but rather “a real artefact, not a fabricated reality” and that researchers should start “to consider what it can do on its own terms.”<sup>35</sup>

24 Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites, *The Public Image: Photography and Civic Spectatorship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 13.

25 See Lilie Chouliaraki and Tijana Stolic, “Rethinking Media Responsibility in the Refugee ‘Crisis’: A Visual Typology of European News,” *Media, Culture & Society* 39, no. 8 (2017): 1162–77; Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008).

26 See Edward Bernays, *The Engineering of Consent* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955); see also Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988).

27 Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999), 45.

28 Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 24.

29 Lilie Chouliaraki, “The Symbolic Power of Transnational Media: Managing the Visibility of Suffering,” *Global Media and Communication* 4, no. 3 (2008): 329–51, quotations on 329.

30 Geoff Dyer, *The Ongoing Moment* (New York: Vintage, 2007).

31 David Phillips, “Actuality and Affect in Documentary Photography,” in *Using Visual Evidence*, ed. Richard Howells and Robert S. Mattson (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2009), 56.

32 Phillips, “Actuality and Affect in Documentary Photography,” 64.

33 Phillips, “Actuality and Affect in Documentary Photography,” 58.

34 Hariman and Lucaites, *The Public Image*, 3.

35 Hariman and Lucaites, *The Public Image*, 5.

Analyzing photographs as public images sheds new light on the controversial debates about atrocity photographs. Atrocity photographs have been described as voyeuristic, pornographic, disrespectful, polemical, and sentimental, as a means of ideological control and as signs of the power of the visualizer, as objects of consumption, and, finally, as a mode of domination through the act of representation.<sup>36</sup> Countering the arguments of critics who see suffering as an experience that should not be exposed to those who claim the “right to look,”<sup>37</sup> Susie Linfield has argued that atrocity photographs may well serve as “incubators” of human rights; in her view, they raise empathy and political concern by showing human faces and the “real” nature of the body.<sup>38</sup> In a bid to break away from morally inflected debates that see photography as a pornographic “spectacle,” John Roberts suggests looking at the “ecology of the photograph.”<sup>39</sup> In this reading, analyzing the contexts of photographs is as important as analyzing their content.<sup>40</sup> This also echoes Hariman and Lucaites’ argument that the moral, or ethical, analysis of public images does not do full justice to what images do and how they frame judgments while circulating in the public world. Instead, they argue that it is “important . . . to reaffirm that photography is not only a medium of representation but also one that operates performatively. It not only records something but also displays it to a spectator for dedicated, artistically enhanced observation and response” while putting on display “performances” of social life and “adding viewers along with other potential spectators to the audience.”<sup>41</sup> In line with Ariella Azoulay and her study on *The Civil Contract of Photography*,<sup>42</sup> Hariman and Lucaites define spectatorship as a “civic capability,” and it is photography as a public medium that offers this

mode of watching and establishes a public space of relations between the photographer, those who have been photographed, and the audience.<sup>43</sup>

Therefore, the agency of photography builds long-lasting relationships with audiences and is intensified when the photographs depict children. From the early twentieth century to the present day, the need to care for children has generated worldwide interest and competition for leadership among humanitarian agencies such as the League of Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Save the Children Fund in the UK, initiatives launched after World War II by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and UNESCO, Schweizer Spende, UNICEF, and many non-governmental organizations. For humanitarian agencies, childhood represents a neutral ground based on universal ethics. Social work and childcare are seen as a means of enhancing prestige, eliciting sympathy, and convincing audiences to take immediate action.<sup>44</sup> Children suffering from traumatic war experiences were and still are a key focus of humanitarian activities. It was no accident that the photographer Werner Bischof noted in his diary while on a photo journey through Western Europe for the Swiss monthly *Du* in 1945: “On the one side lies the East – on the other the West. Both powers have serious problems of various kinds. If I succeed in representing this in and with children, I will have achieved a purely social, and at the same time European work of art.”<sup>45</sup> Bischof’s ambitions – to draw upon the power of photography and images of children to present, make, and articulate histories and to promote international relations – echoed those of many other postwar humanitarian photographers.

If we look at the history of childhood, it has been strongly influenced by the invention of the child as a pedagogical idea and a target of adults’ affectionate care. Egle Becchi and Dominique Julia have emphasized that childhood is a concept created by adults.<sup>46</sup> Childhood has been shaped not only by visual practices but also by educational concepts, scientific theories, and a whole array of objects that have been made specifically for children.<sup>47</sup> With the rise of mass education and the nation-state during the nineteenth century, children were also perceived as future citizens. They were increasingly seen as a force that would not only

36 See Susan Sontag, *Regarding the Pain of Others* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2003); Susie Linfield, “The Ethics of Vision: Photojournalism and Human Rights,” in *My Brother’s Keeper: Documentary Photographers and Human Rights*, ed. Alessandro Mauro (Rome: Contrasto, 2007), 12–29; Susie Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance: Photography and Political Violence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); Nicholas Mirzoeff, “The Right to Look,” *Critical Inquiry* 37, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 473–96; Geoffrey Batchen, Mick Gidley, Nancy K. Miller, and Jay Prosser, eds., *Picturing Atrocity: Photography in Crisis* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); John Roberts, *Photography and Its Violations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). See also Priem, “Beyond the Collapse of Language?,” 691, for a very similar argument, although in a different context.

37 Mirzoeff, “The Right to Look.”

38 Linfield, *The Cruel Radiance*, 34, 39.

39 Roberts, *Photography and Its Violations*, 9.

40 Christina Twomey, “Severed Hands: Authenticating Atrocity in the Congo, 1904–13,” in Batchen et al., *Picturing Atrocity*, 39–50.

41 Hariman and Lucaites, *The Public Image*, 14.

42 Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*.

43 Hariman and Lucaites, *The Public Image*, 14.

44 Dominique Marshall, “The Construction of Children as an Object of International Relations: The Declaration of Children’s Rights and the Child Welfare Committee of League of Nations, 1900–1924,” *International Journal of Children’s Rights* 7, no. 2 (January 1999): 103–47.

45 Werner Bischof, *After the War* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 1997), x.

46 See Egle Becchi and Dominique Julia, *Histoire de l’enfance en Occident*, vols. 1 and 2 (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1998).

47 See Philippe Aries, *L’enfant et la vie familiale sous l’Ancien Régime* (Paris: Plon, 1960).

shape the destiny of nations but also help establish international harmony. Liisa Malkki has suggested that “children occupy a key place in dominant imaginations of the human and the ‘world community.’”<sup>48</sup> In her view, this allows us to perceive childcare as “suprapolitical” even if based on political rationales.<sup>49</sup> Malkki has identified five interrelated dimensions that make modern notions of childhood and photographic images of children the most powerful elements in the field of international humanitarianism: children are perceived “(1) as embodiments of a basic human goodness and innocence; (2) as sufferers; (3) as seers of truth; (4) as ambassadors of peace (and symbols of world harmony); and (5) as embodiments of the future.”<sup>50</sup> Likewise, Susan D. Moeller has argued that children are used in the media to “bring moral clarity,” draw attention, motivate action, “lend fervor” and moral rigor “to an argument for (or against) a public policy position,” and “dramatize the righteousness of a cause,” even if this cause is not directly related to children’s issues.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, Moeller sees children as “proxies” used to “invoke an audience’s sympathy on a plane that appears apolitical or suprapolitical” and to “reframe a political issue.”<sup>52</sup>

Among many examples confirming Malkki’s and Moeller’s analyses is a 2018 photograph of a “Honduran asylum seeker, 2, and her mother” by John Moore that went viral in the social media and that is said to have changed U.S. President Donald Trump’s mind on the issue of separating migrant children from their parents. The picture also appeared in a collage on the cover of *Time* magazine on July 2, 2018.<sup>53</sup> The image was mediated, remediated, and transmediated as a “proxy” of U.S. migrant policy. To fully understand why this photograph of a crying girl facing separation from her mother stands out, we should not only analyze the image within the context of John Moore’s other images of the U.S.-Mexican border in May and June 2018; we should also study how the image’s various appearances across different media created a network of meaning-making and impacted public debate.

<sup>48</sup> Liisa Malkki, “Children, Humanity, and the Infantilization of Peace,” in *In the Name of Humanity: The Government of Threat and Care*, ed. Ilana Feldman and Miriam Ticktin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 59. See also Heide Fehrenbach, “Children and Other Civilians: Photography and the Politics of Humanitarian Image-Making,” in Fehrenbach and Rodogno, *Humanitarian Photography*, 165–99.

<sup>49</sup> Malkki, “Children, Humanity and the Infantilization of Peace,” 59.

<sup>50</sup> Liisa Malkki, *The Need to Help: The Domestic Arts of International Humanitarianism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), Google Play Books, chap. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Susan D. Moeller, “A Hierarchy of Innocence: The Media’s Use of Children in the Telling of International News,” *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 7, no. 1 (2002): 36, 39.

<sup>52</sup> Moeller, “A Hierarchy of Innocence,” 46, 48.

<sup>53</sup> <https://time.com/magazine/us/5318226/july-2nd-2018-vol-192-no-1-u-s/>.

Lilie Chouliaraki has argued that media practices referring to the innocence of children constitute an “infantilization” of refugees, as these practices stress the power of those who are able to act on behalf of those who suffer.<sup>54</sup> At the same time, it should be noted that the motif of the innocent child in Western culture also has a flipside, which largely originated from Christianity and the notion of children as “inheritors of original sin.”<sup>55</sup> Children were not only seen as innocent victims and angel-like creatures guaranteeing peace and harmony; they also provoked suspicion. They were perceived as a threat to society, undermining established concepts of citizenship, moral conventions, and intergenerational agreements.<sup>56</sup> Both imaginaries – the innocent child and the child as a threat – have played a crucial role in humanitarian aid.

Finally, there is yet another notion of childhood which strongly emerged during the interwar and post-WWII periods: at the time, the argument for the particular vulnerability of children was framed and bolstered by scientific-psychological, socio-economic, and political influences. Humanitarian agencies had strong ties with international scholars in experimental psychology and educational practitioners who advocated a learner-centered and emancipatory New Education designed to foster individuality, activity, democracy, and the transformation of society. Strong emphasis was put on establishing children’s colonies. This educational model was based on the community model and was built on the assumption that every children’s colony would transform into a self-sufficient community of teachers and students while becoming a model for society. The New Education movement and humanitarian agencies at the time were forming a conceptual alliance, not only because they shared similar concerns and interests, but because they also unanimously perceived photography as a mode of ‘objective’ observation or documentation of their activities and engagement.

In a nutshell, caring for children was seen as an investment that would yield not only economic but also social and political returns. Images of destruction and suffering children were perceived as a threat and, therefore, triggered moral responsibility and reasoning. Much like the rationales of the market with its entangled spheres of interest, the intertwined narrative threads of images altered or at least brought into focus “perceptions of causations in human affairs” and paved the way to humanitarian engagement.<sup>57</sup> Images of children in particular were able

<sup>54</sup> Chouliaraki and Stolic, “Rethinking Media Responsibility in the Refugee ‘Crisis,’” 1168.

<sup>55</sup> Malkki, “Children, Humanity and the Infantilization of Peace,” 60.

<sup>56</sup> Anne Higonet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998).

<sup>57</sup> Haskell, “Capitalism and the Origins of the Human Sensibility,” 343.

to attract concern, empathy, and involvement and thus gave rise to ethical “communities of emotion and action.”<sup>58</sup>

## David Seymour's *Children of Europe*: From UNESCO into the World

While travelling through war-ravaged Europe on assignment by UNESCO, David Seymour is said to have used “a total of two hundred and fifty seven rolls of film to take photos on his Rollei and Leica.”<sup>59</sup> Not all of these images have been published, although Seymour's contact and caption sheets live on in the Magnum Archives in New York. As mentioned earlier, nine of Seymour's photographs from his travels were published in *Life* magazine in December 1948.<sup>60</sup> In 1949, another body of the photographer's work was published in the *UNESCO Courier* (Fig. 8.1), followed by an official UNESCO book publication entitled *Children of Europe* (Fig. 8.2), with only two images overlapping with those in *Life* magazine.<sup>61</sup> The UNESCO publication *Children of Europe* featured fifty-two images by Seymour and explicitly mentioned him as the author of the photographs.

A selection of Seymour's pictures was also included in another UNESCO book published in 1950 on *Homeless Children*.<sup>62</sup> In addition, two images from Seymour's photo journey were on display in *The Family of Man* exhibition which was shown at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1955 before traveling the world. Curated by Edward Steichen, the exhibition was designed to promote universal humanism by means of U.S. cultural diplomacy in times of Cold War. Not surprisingly, the two pictures included in *The Family of Man* were rather cheerful photographs. One of them shows girls of an orphanage run by Catholic nuns at Monte Cassino (Italy) playing ball and ring-a-ring-a-roses in

58 Lilie Chouliarki, “The Symbolic Power of Transnational Media: Managing the Visibility of Suffering,” *Global Media and Communication* 4, no. 3 (2008): 329–51.

59 Dario Cimorelli and Alessandra Olivari, eds., *David Seymour* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2014), 87.

60 “Children of Europe: Christmas Finds Many of Them Still in Great Need of Help.”

61 “The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story”; *Children of Europe*.

62 Thérèse Bosse, *Homeless Children: Report of the Proceedings of the Conference of Directors of Children's Communities*, publication no. 573 of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Paris: Paul Dupont, 1950).



Fig. 8.1: Front page of the *UNESCO Courier* 2, no. 1 (February 1949).

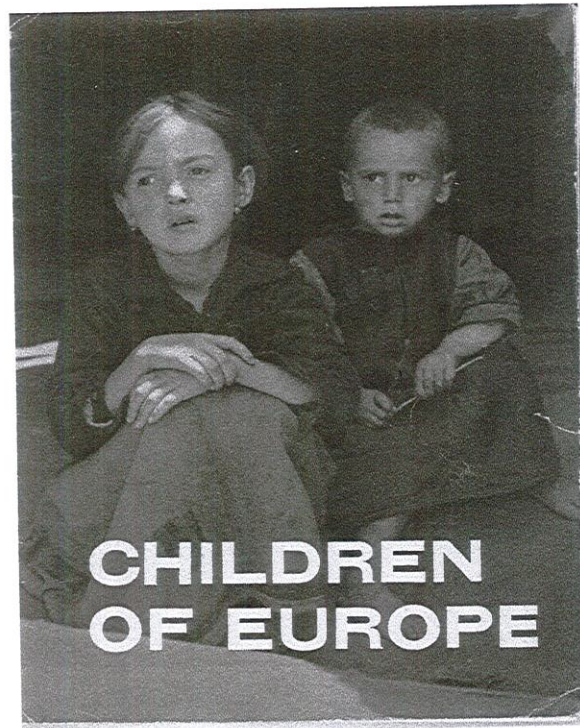


Fig. 8.2: Front cover of *Children of Europe: Photos by David Seymour*, publication no. 403 of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Paris: UNESCO, 1949).

ruins, and the second one features a young female teacher playing the violin and acting as a cheerleader while being followed by a bunch of happy toddlers.<sup>63</sup>

The 1949 article in the *UNESCO Courier* included fifteen photographs by David Seymour and is about the urgency and purpose of humanitarian and educational interventions in post-war Europe: “Gradually, against the ruins, there is a reaching out. For the physically handicapped must be given both the skill and the will to life. The deaf must communicate with the hearing. The crippled must learn first to walk. And the blind too must be given the faith to reach out in the darkness.”<sup>64</sup>

<sup>63</sup> It is worth noting that Seymour took several photographs of the girls at Monte Cassino. This makes available to viewers an almost cinematically documented sequence in history which lives on in many published versions and on contact sheets. Pictures of this sequence can be found in *Children of Europe*, n.p.; Bosse, *Homeless Children*, n.p.; *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 94.

<sup>64</sup> “The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story,” 1.

Moreover, the article mentions an additional group of endangered children: “But there is another reaching and another darkness: the delinquent, the lost, the orphaned – they too reach out.”<sup>65</sup> In a highlighted box the article asks if the world could “coldly ignore these children’s plight.”<sup>66</sup> Interestingly, the *UNESCO Courier* also offered space for the photographer’s voice; it is difficult to judge, however, if and how the quotes by David Seymour have been edited by UNESCO. Seymour’s most authentic remarks most probably are the photographs’ captions, as they are phrased in a style that Magnum members routinely used to create and comment on their photo stories.<sup>67</sup> In sum, Seymour’s photographs have been edited to support the textual message: they show children playing in ruins, children collecting money to survive, children in overcrowded classrooms, and a juvenile court in Italy, and these worrying scenes are juxtaposed with photographs of schools for ‘handicapped’ children in Poland and Italy, of newly erected school buildings, self-made teaching materials, children being vaccinated, children’s colonies, and a girl selecting books in a library for children in Poland.

The actual book *Children of Europe* starts with a “Letter to a grown up” written by a fictional child representing all the children of Europe. This letter was most likely not written by Seymour but carefully crafted and edited by one of UNESCO’s public relations officers. The letter contains facts and figures intertwined with a standardized biography of a ten-year-old child who presents the issues of child rescue and childcare to an international audience. It is obvious that the book was made for promotional purposes and, again, Seymour’s photographs selected for print were meant to support the campaign. The letter begins with a description of a happy childhood that this child will never experience because of war, and talks about the “13,000,000 abandoned children in Europe who had their first experience of life in an atmosphere of death and destruction.”<sup>68</sup> It then points out that these children grew up in fear and that many of them were deported to refugee and concentration camps, where they became witnesses of violence. It goes on to explain how this in turn caused moral and emotional disorders, even more so as circumstances forced them to live a life of self-protection, with lying, cheating, stealing, and being cruel as necessary survival strategies. The letter posits that the disastrous situation of abandoned and deported children did not end after the war and that the vast majority “have

<sup>65</sup> “The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story,” 1.

<sup>66</sup> “The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story,” 5.

<sup>67</sup> See Priem, “David Seymour’s Album on the Fight against Illiteracy in Calabria as a Tool of Mediatization.”

<sup>68</sup> *Children of Europe*, 5.

found nothing but loneliness and want.”<sup>69</sup> It explains that this has led children to live in groups and make their living by selling items illegally on the black market, with some girls even turning to prostitution. After this lengthy description of the problems these children faced, the fictional young author of the letter openly asks for support “to make up for lost time.”<sup>70</sup> This support should focus on schooling, vocational education, and the many independent “children’s villages” that had emerged all over Europe. The letter explicitly refers to UNESCO’s efforts to monitor these initiatives, mentioning that, thanks to UNESCO’s work, an “International Federation of Children’s Communities” was founded and an international conference of directors of children’s communities was hosted by the Pestalozzi Children’s Village Association in Trogen, Switzerland.<sup>71</sup>

As already mentioned, the photography section of the UNESCO publication *Children of Europe* features fifty-two images. The provided captions perfectly harmonize with the letter, and this result was achieved by a complex process of mediatization, storytelling, and editing. The visual story starts with children walking through and living in ruins under disastrous conditions and without the support of adults. This is followed by a section on how children survive in cities by engaging in illegal activities such as selling cigarettes and other found or stolen commodities on the black market. In the next section, the police, worried parents, social workers, and Juvenile Courts enter the picture. We then see images of girls and boys living in young offenders’ institutions (referred to at the time as “reformatories”) with one image hinting at sexually transmitted diseases. However, this section, while emphasizing the transformation from childhood to adolescence, also includes some emotionally appealing portraits in a more artistic style. The book then goes on to show poor housing conditions before highlighting the success of humanitarian interventions in areas such as mother and child care; the distribution of food, shoes, and clothes; medical care; care for disabled children; schooling and vocational education. The photographic section of the book ends with children building their own colonies and villages and dancing in a circle, holding hands. The very last section of the book ends with a call to readers to offer their support: “Share your world with us. We too shall be grown-up people in a few years. Do not abandon us a second time and make us lose forever our faith in the ideals for which you fought.”<sup>72</sup>

The mediation of Seymour’s pictures and the story featured in the UNESCO book, which combines a fictional child’s letter with photographs and explanatory captions, is very similar to the UNESCO conference report on children’s villages. The report was richly illustrated with photographs, but it included only very brief credits at the end of the book. Alongside the institutional photographs, David Seymour’s pictures were the only ones assigned to an individual author. Seymour’s photographs of his journey through Europe not only linked these two publications and their basic rationales on childcare, but they were also intertwined with institutional images in a mediated network of meaning-making. Seymour’s images were subsequently published elsewhere in various media and have continued to be reproduced up to the present day: some of them have taken on an iconic status and have been published many times, while others only came to life at a later stage.

## Seymour’s Photographs as Living Objects and Triggers of Historical Imagination

One of the most disturbing and emotionally charged images from Seymour’s *Children of Europe* documentary project is a photograph that has been reproduced numerous times.<sup>73</sup> It shows a girl from Warsaw in front of a blackboard with her drawing on it. The image was published for the first time in December 1948 in *Life* magazine – an appropriate time to donate and demonstrate empathy with mentally disabled child victims of the war – and also appeared in the already mentioned *UNESCO Courier* article and the report on the children’s villages conference in Switzerland published in 1950. The caption in *Life* magazine read as follows:

TERESKA DRAWS HER HOME. Children’s wounds are not all outward. Those made in the mind by years of sorrow will take years to heal. In Warsaw, at an institute which cares for some of Europe’s thousands of “disturbed” children, a Polish girl named Tereska was asked to make a picture of her home. These terrible scratches are what she drew.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Children of Europe*, 6.

<sup>70</sup> *Children of Europe*, 8.

<sup>71</sup> Held in July 1948, the conference was summarized in a conference report published by UNESCO; see Brosse, *Homeless Children*.

<sup>72</sup> *Children of Europe*, n.p.

<sup>73</sup> See, e.g., Cimorelli and Olivari, *David Seymour*, 86–113; Cynthia Young, ed., *We Went Back: Photographs from Europe 1933–1956 by CHIM* (Munich: Prestel; London: DelMonico Books; New York: International Center of Photography, 2013), 168–205.

<sup>74</sup> “Children of Europe: Christmas Finds Many of Them Still in Great Need of Help,” 16.

In the *UNESCO Courier* article, Tereska's photograph was edited as a cover image and accompanied by a text box referring to the purpose of Seymour's photo journey:

In this issue the *Unesco Courier* presents a small selection from over five-thousand photographs, taken for Unesco last year by Mr. David Seymour, a U.S. photographer, during a visit to Austria, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Poland.

They show some of the problems of Europe's war-handicapped children – the physically handicapped, the morally handicapped, the emotionally handicapped, and the mentally handicapped – and the efforts being made to educate them. For the main task is to educate them, to replace the powerful memory of violence which still haunts their lives, and to feed the living root of self-expression in them which is eager for nourishment.<sup>75</sup>

The caption of the image in *Life* magazine identified an individual child's situation while referring to psychological damage created by war. It indicated that the girl's name was Tereska and that she was drawing her home at a Warsaw initiative for "disturbed" children. The *UNESCO Courier* combined a general description of a troubling situation in a text box with an individualized section that appeared in bold letters right next to the text box. In order to reinforce its broader public call for humanitarian action, UNESCO thus 'engineered' public opinion by juxtaposing more generalized information with a moving story of a girl named Tereska:

Tereska, a small girl at a special school for war-handicapped children recently constructed in Warsaw, Poland, was asked to draw her house and family. She produced this representation of her confused mind – wavering chicken-track lines crisscrossing each other. What is it that she sees when the teacher says "draw a house"? Is it the memory of terror and the fact of ruin? Are not the chicken-track lines of this little child's drawing but the reflection of an uprooted life, the mirror of disorder and chaos which the war has strewn over Europe?<sup>76</sup>

In the UNESCO report on the children's villages conference, the caption stated: "A tangle of scrawls on the blackboard, a look of remembered horror in her eyes: this girl of Warsaw tries to draw her home."<sup>77</sup> Here, Tereska was depicted by UNESCO as a nameless representative of handicapped child victims or as an example of "remembered horror" intertwined with a text advocating new education

as a "living foundry for the shaping of humanity."<sup>78</sup> Finally, it is essential to stress that the photograph of Tereska was not included in the 1949 UNESCO publication *Children of Europe*. Perhaps the picture was perceived as too discouraging for potential donators and the forward-looking orientation of the book as outlined by the fictive child's letter.

We also found Tereska's image in a 1961 edition of *Madame Express*, a supplement to the French journal *L'Express* where it was mentioned in the context of an international photography exhibition in Paris. The accompanying text box informed the reader that the photograph, which the journal labeled as "Le tableau noir de David Seymour," was not exhibited due to a lack of space. In any case, the editors of *L'Express* obviously felt the urge to publish the picture because, in their opinion, it captured a tragic and significant moment in history.<sup>79</sup> Again, the extraordinary photograph and its discomfiting message most probably were perceived as too disruptive and disillusioning in view of managing public opinion. Still, Tereska's photograph continued to travel in time and space, appearing, for example, on a website and blog called "rarehistoricalphotos.com." When accessed in July 2017, the blog post dedicated to Seymour's photograph was entitled "A girl who grew up in a concentration camp draws a picture of 'home' while living in a residence for disturbed children, 1948."<sup>80</sup> The accompanying text informed readers that the image had been reproduced in many versions and with different captions; one example mentioned was an exhibition on *War/Photography* at the Brooklyn Museum in New York (November 8, 2013 – February 2, 2014) where Tereska was introduced as a survivor of a concentration camp. The blog included twenty-eight comments written between April 2015 and June 2017. Most of them reflected on anti-Semitism, the Warsaw ghetto, the holocaust, and the slaughter caused by the Germans. There was also a long debate about the diverse ethnic backgrounds of those who were killed and persecuted by the Nazis and which population suffered the most. In addition, there was an exchange on responsibility for humanitarian damage by looking at collaboration and resistance against the Nazi terror. Many comments included speculations about the identity and background of the girl – was she Jewish or Polish, and what kind of experiences might she have suffered? Other comments showed empathy and concern for her gruesome fate, and there was even a psychological diagnosis. Many commentators wondered what

75 "The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story," 1. See also fig. 1 in this chapter.

76 "The Children of Europe: A Unesco Photo Story," 1.

77 "Children of Europe: Christmas Finds Many of Them Still in Great Need of Help," 16; the reproduction of the image in Brosse, *Homeless Children*, is inserted between text pages 32 and 33.

78 Brosse, *Homeless Children*, 33.

79 "L'Enfant, l'homme et la guerre," *L'Express*, November 9, 1961, 48.

80 See "A Girl Who Grew Up in a War Zone Draws a Picture of 'Home' While Living in a Residence for Disturbed Children," *Rare Historical Photos*, January 25, 2015, <http://rarehistoricalphotos.com/girl-concentration-camp-disturbed-children-1948/>.

happened to the girl. A comment dated April 5, 2017, seemed to reveal the true story of Tereska. It said that Tereska was a Polish child who lived through the Warsaw Uprising that began in August 1944. The comment also revealed that the Germans shot Tereska's grandmother, forcing Tereska and her sister to find their relatives by walking through the streets of Warsaw, a city that at the time was a place of terror, bombings, and mass executions. According to the entry, Tereska was finally placed in a mental institution, where she died. At the time, it was difficult to judge if the story was accurate.

What was evident, however, was that Seymour's photograph triggered storytelling, controversial debates and exchanges, and many imagined scenarios. This engagement all started with an image that has travelled a long way since it first appeared in *Life* magazine and in various UNESCO publications. Many people have since participated in a long process of meaning-making across time and space and in many media.<sup>81</sup> In the meantime, the introductory text of the blog post has been updated as a result of further research done by Patryk Grażewicz, Aneta Wawrzyńczak, Matt Murphey, and Carole Naggar.<sup>82</sup> Tereska's story was discovered by checking "Chim's original contact sheets and captions to reconstruct his Warsaw itinerary of September 1948" (Fig. 8.3) and by linking this to sources from a school archive, oral testimonies, and ego documents originating from Tereska's family (Fig. 8.4).<sup>83</sup> In a nutshell, we know today that Chim took his photograph in Tereska Adwentowska's primary school, a school for special needs in Ulica Tarczyńska 27 in Warsaw. Tereska had a sister and a younger brother. During the bombing of Warsaw she was injured by shrapnel when still a child. She and her sister were fleeing Warsaw to reach their relatives and were suffering from starvation. In the mid-1950s she was sent to a mental asylum. Tereska died at the age of 37 in the Tworzy Psychiatric Hospital near Warsaw where she had lived since the 1960s.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>81</sup> In 2008 Georg Siebenkotten established the Tereska Foundation which was inspired by David Seymour's iconic photograph. The foundation is dedicated to supporting disabled children. See Carole Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer* (New York: Russet Lederman, 2019), 4.

<sup>82</sup> See "A Girl Who Grew Up in a War Zone Draws a Picture of 'Home' While Living in a Residence for Disturbed Children," *Rare Historical Photos*, January 25, 2015, <https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/girl-concentration-camp-disturbed-children-1948/>.

<sup>83</sup> Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer*, 5. See also Carole Naggar, "Unraveling a 70-Year-Old Photographic Mystery," *Time Lightbox*, April 12, 2017, <https://time.com/4735368/tereska-david-chim-seymour/>.

<sup>84</sup> See Naggar, "Unraveling a 70-Year-Old Photographic Mystery."

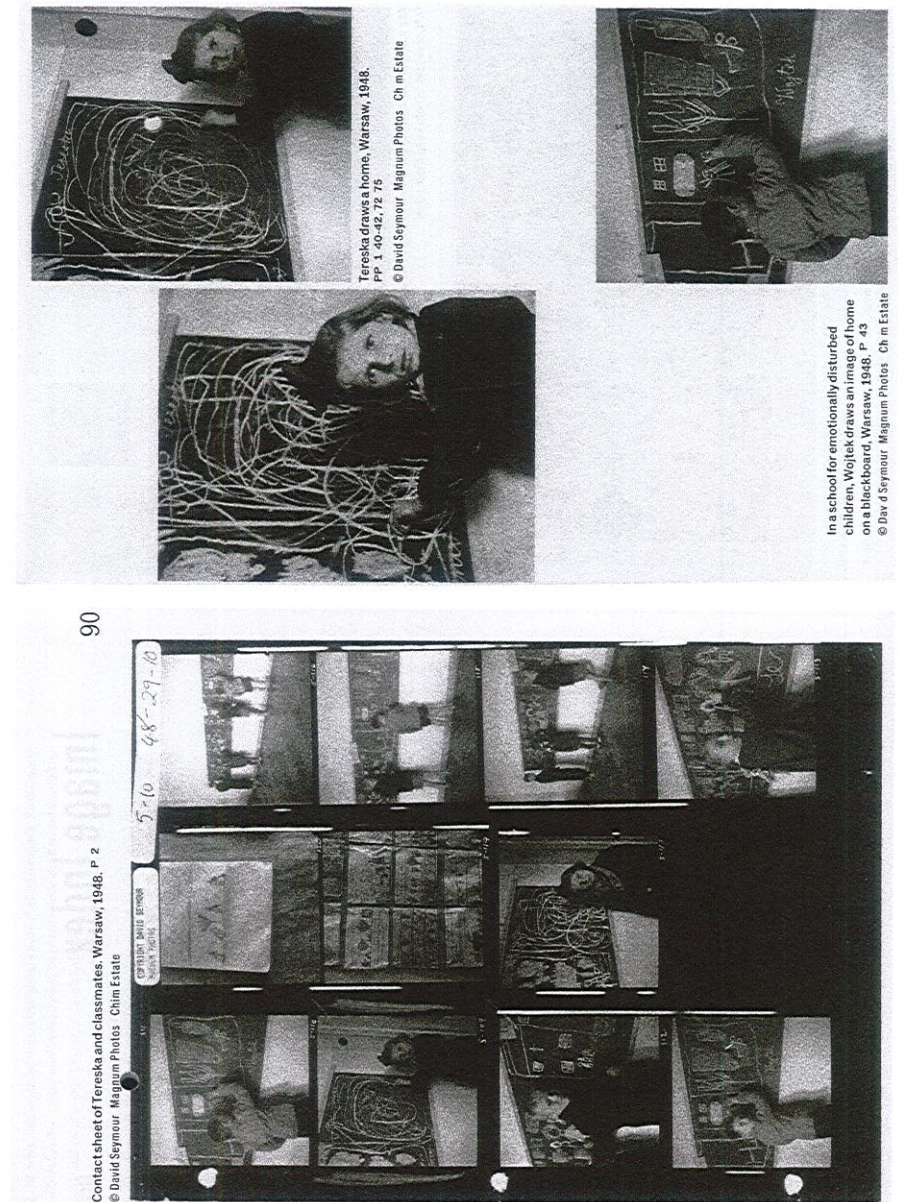


Fig. 8.3: Double spread from Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer*, 90–91.



Fig. 8.4: Double spread from Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer*, 104–105.

By revealing the photographer's itinerary, Seymour's contacts sheets offered an almost filmic access to history, and Tereska's photograph thus became part of a new historical context that gave more weight to individual experiences and a full life story. This also inspired a fictional text by Carole Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer*, published in 2019.

Naggar's book is an outstanding example of historical imagination, of photography beyond the image, and of how historical storytelling based on a photograph's wider context (e.g., the filmic structure of contact prints) and on how archival research can help us presence the past.<sup>85</sup>

## Conclusion

Humanitarian organizations saw photographs as powerful agents of meaning-making that would help promote their specific humanitarian narratives. By establishing an institutional practice of photography, documentation, mediatization, and public relations, by editing photographs and combining them with texts, the marketing committees of humanitarian agencies developed a flexible 'propaganda' strategy and fine-tuned management of public consent that would elicit a certain causality,

<sup>85</sup> In her fictional story, Carole Naggar imagines Chim's thoughts about his encounter with Tereska and her classmates as follows: "Among all the photographs I took during my trip to Austria, Greece, Hungary and Italy, the picture of Tereska – that I made in Warsaw after I came back from Otwock – is the one that always haunts me. Upon my return, I printed it dozen of times. I could not tear myself away from her look . . . The classroom was sunny and pleasant, with small, child-sized writing desks, waxed wooden floors, white walls with a dark baseboard and a horizontal blackboard. At first I photographed drawings by five children: Genia, Henio, Jóso, Tadzio and Wojtek. I thought that their creations were strange, because apart from Henio's drawing, where you could see large stains representing bombs and a human stick figure falling, all the others were peaceful: stylized houses with tiled roofs and smoking chimneys, smiling mothers surrounded by children as they worked in their kitchen, tables and chairs, gardens with daisies and above them chubby-cheeked suns. How was that possible? These children were in Warsaw during the uprising. Their houses had been bombed and destroyed. These had to be dream homes. But Tereska's drawing was completely different. I first noticed that she was drawing chalk lines with her left hand, her right arm hung down her side. She was wearing a dark-blue smock, and in her hair was a grosgrain ribbon that seemed too heavy for her face. Her left sleeve was stained with chalk. Then, when she turned to look at me, as if to invite me as her witness, I saw her face. Her light eyes were full of terror and her expression disconsolate. She had a small half-moon scar near her hairline and the left side of her forehead. I pressed the shutter without at first seeing she had drawn. Then I saw it: a tangled ball, a labyrinth of muddled lines – a maelstrom that seemed to grow out of her hand and extend it." Naggar, *Tereska and Her Photographer*, 33–34.

affective responses, and active engagement and would also illustrate the outcome of their interventions. Looking at David Seymour's photograph of Tereska reveals yet other important aspects of the life and biographies of photographic images.

When the image of Tereska was first published in December 1948, the emotional weight and individual quality of the photograph may have immediately convinced the editors of *Life* magazine of its power to engage the public. Nevertheless, Tereska's picture was often excluded from publication and public exposure, including the 1949 UNESCO book whose scope was more general and universal. The editors may have felt that the photograph would have upset readers and sabotaged their story of healing and reconciliation. The photograph of Tereska only gradually and falteringly made its way as an agent of meaning-making along with other images and texts before achieving its present-day iconic status. As a fascinating example of humanitarian photography, Seymour's picture traveled beyond the confines of UNESCO, also with the help of the infrastructure of Magnum Photo and the Magnum Archives. It is important to note that, in this process, Seymour's contact sheets and their cinematic quality were playing a crucial role as historical sources. It is because of these photographic traces and the information that could be deduced from them that Tereska now has a full life story and will be remembered. Her picture has become a photographic icon and continues to trigger research, public engagement, and historical imagination. Even now, when Tereska's full story seems to have been revealed, this as well as countless other humanitarian photographs continue to live on as powerful historical moments in the present, breaking silences and bearing witness to human experiences.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> See also Priem, "Beyond the Collapse of Language?"

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