University of Sussex

A University of Sussex DPhil thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

"Here everything is possible": forensic specialists' work with human remains in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina

Andrea Michelle Szkil

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology

University of Sussex

Submitted August 2012

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature _____

University of Sussex

Andrea Michelle Szkil

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Anthropology

"Here everything is possible": forensic specialists' work with human remains in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina

Summary

This thesis explores the work carried out by forensic specialists employed by the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). Headquartered in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), ICMP assists the work of local governments around the world in addressing the issue of missing persons following armed conflict, atrocities, and natural disasters. This thesis focuses on ICMP's efforts to aid the Bosnian government in locating, exhuming, and identifying the remains of the individuals who went missing during the country's recent war (1992-1995). Utilising data obtained via interviews with and observations of ICMP staff members, it primarily represents a study of the management of professional identity in emotionally charged situations, examining the experiences of the forensic specialists who work in the organisation's three mortuary facilities throughout BiH. It explores forensic specialists' work with human remains, their interactions with victims' family members, and their attendance at events in which victims are commemorated and/or buried. Discussion of forensic specialists' experiences with the deceased brings into consideration their varying responses to the remains, emphasising the prevalence and perceived importance of emotional detachment. Situations in which emotional detachment from the remains may prove challenging are considered, as are the varying techniques forensic specialists utilise in managing emotional responses to their work. Examination of forensic specialists' interactions with the living suggests their general dislike of these encounters, although the positive aspects of these interactions are also examined. Exploration of forensic specialists' opinions of attending burials and/or commemorations brings into further consideration the balance between emotional attachment and detachment. While respondents noted the importance of maintaining an emotional connection to their work, they nevertheless emphasised the importance of avoiding such responses while in the mortuary. Commemorations and/or burials become 'safe spaces' for forensic specialists to express and experience emotional responses to their work that are not overtly professional.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements

This research project would not have been possible without the support and input of countless individuals. First, I would like to extend my thanks and appreciation to the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP), especially the Director of the Forensic Sciences Division, for granting me access to the organisation's staff and facilities in order to conduct the research for my thesis. I would also like to express my gratitude towards each of my informants. I appreciate their willingness to take time out of their busy schedules to answer my numerous questions about their lives and work. I feel privileged to have been able to glance inside their world. I am also thankful for the countless ways in which they helped me adjust to life in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH).

Throughout my time in BiH, I was also aided by countless other people. Sunny introduced me to life in BiH and provided me with a place to live while I finished organising my fieldwork. In true Bosnian style, my landlords, Mišo and Marica, treated me as a member of the family and made sure that I was safe, happy, and never wanted for food. Beba, Alison, and the other women at BOSFAM welcomed me into their lives, and taught me a great deal about the aftermath of war. I am also grateful to the numerous other people throughout the country who assisted me in a variety of ways during my fieldwork.

I am also indebted Drs. Nigel Eltringham and Simon Coleman for supervising my research. It has been a long and frequently difficult journey, and I am grateful for the countless hours they dedicated to assisting me in successfully completing this thesis. Their input and support has been invaluable throughout the research process. I am also extremely appreciative of the administrative support provided by Julie Carr and Jayne Paulin throughout my time at the University of Sussex. They patiently answered my endless questions and were always ready and willing to help me.

I would also like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my family and friends for their love and support. I am especially thankful to my parents, Kevin, Aunt Donna, and Tom for their unwavering support as I completed my studies. In America, Becky, Bryan, Gary, Lisa, Lydia, and Stephanie frequently provided me with emotional and academic support as I worked through the trials and tribulations of my thesis. This project would also not

All views and opinions expressed in this thesis arising from the research agreed to with ICMP are mine alone and are not necessarily shared with ICMP.

List of abbreviations

AFDIL   Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory

AMDB   Antemortem database

ARK   Autonomous Region of Krajina

BiH   Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Bosna i Hercegovina*)

BSA   Bosnian Serb Army

CEN   Central Records of Missing Persons (*Centralna Evidencija Nestalih*)

CSI   Civil Society Initiatives

DMORT   Disaster Mortuary Operational Response Teams

DPA   Dayton Peace Agreement

EC   European Community

EU   European Union

EUFOR   European Union Force

FBiH   Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine*)

HDZ   Croatian Democratic Union (*Hrvatska demokratska zajednica*)

HR   High Representative

HVO   Croat Defence Council (*Hrvatsko vijeće obrane*)

ICAED   International Coalition Against Enforced Disappearances

ICD   Identification Coordination Division

ICJ   International Court of Justice

ICMP   International Commission on Missing Persons

ICRC   International Committee of the Red Cross

ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IFOR	Implementation Force
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army (*Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija*)
LCY	League of Communists of Yugoslavia
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDH	Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna država Hrvatska*)
NFDA	National Funeral Directors Association
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OP	Observation post
PAHO	Pan American Health Organisation
PHR	Physicians for Human Rights
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
RS	Republika Srpska
SB	Steering Board (of the Peace Implementation Council)
SDA	Party of Democratic Action (*Stranka demokratske akcije*)
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party (*Srpska demokratska stranka*)
SerBiH	Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SFOR	Stabilisation Force
SRBiH	Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Socijalistička Republika Bosna i Hercegovina*)
SRK	Sarajevo-Romanija Corps

UN	United Nations
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPROFOR	UN Protection Force
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USACHPPM	United States Army Centre for Health Promotion and Preventative Medicine
VRS	Bosnian Serb Army (*Vojska Republike Srpske*); also abbreviated as BSA

Preface
A day in the life of a forensic specialist

When I arrive at Mortuary B, located in Korman[1], a small town in northeast Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), shortly after 09:00, Munira, Sarah, Emir, Ibro, Anesa, and Kristina are already immersed in the day's activities, having come to the facility an hour earlier. The staff generally arrives at 08:00, taking around 15 minutes to change into their scrubs and share a cup of coffee and a cigarette with their colleagues. After tucking my lunch into the refrigerator, I sort through the scrubs Ibro washed the day before, changing my clothes before entering the mortuary. As it is a snowy December day and the facility lacks central heating – space heaters provide warmth – the mortuary is extremely cold. I hope that the power does not go out, as is a common occurrence, or else it will become even colder in the room. Like always, music is playing from Emir's computer, a mix of regional music as well as songs from elsewhere in the world. Shakira's "Shewolf" is the current song. I take my usual seat at a small table in the alcove behind Munira's computer desk, pulling out my notebook and pen shortly after I sit down.

During my initial tour of Mortuary B in October 2009, I was informed that the facility would close at the beginning of 2010 and its operations transferred to Mortuary A, located in the nearby town of Slatina. Thus, many of the daily activities now centre on preparing for this event in conjunction with the regular work of re-associating[2] the remains of those individuals killed in the Srebrenica genocide. Accordingly, Anesa is inventorying the remains currently housed in the facility and placing smaller bags of remains into large ossuary bags.[3] Emir and Kristina assist with the inventory, quietly chatting with each other in Bosnian as they carry on with their work. They take the small bags out of the large ossuary bags, lay them out on the floor and record the numbers in a computer database.

---

[1] The towns in which the mortuaries are located have been fictionalised.

[2] As will be explored in greater detail in Chapters One and Two, Mortuary B was responsible for re-associating the remains of Srebrenica genocide victims and functioned as part of Mortuary A. Re-association refers to the process by which forensic anthropologists and osteologists reassemble the body of a single individual from commingled remains. At ICMP, this is accomplished through DNA matches and forensic examinations of the remains. Following re-association, the remains are returned to Mortuary A for identification by the court-appointed forensic specialist (see Chapter Two).

[3] Staff members referred to the bags as "ossuary bags" rather than "body bags".

Munira is busily re-writing labels on clear plastic bags filled with bones, stapling them shut as she finishes with each set. Having been outside shovelling snow, Ibro re-enters the mortuary and begins to tidy up, one of his daily tasks as the facility's mortuary technician. He cleans dirt and old numbers off of the bags and sweeps dirt and dust from the metal trays on which the remains are laid out for examinations. Munira takes a brief respite from her work to speak with Ibro, joking with him as she gives him a hug.

Sarah, who has been speaking (in English) on the phone with someone at Mortuary A, interrupts Anesa's work. A case needs to be transferred back to Mortuary A as soon as possible; the remains have been positively identified, and the family has requested a private burial instead of waiting for the mass burial on July 11 in the Srebrenica Genocide Memorial and Cemetery in Potočari. Case number in hand, Anesa searches the mortuary for the set of remains. Upon locating the deceased, she carefully lays out the remains on the metal table, ensuring everything is in order for the transfer, and fills out the appropriate transfer form. While she is doing this, Sarah leaves the mortuary to make a private phone call, and the staff briefly chat with one another.

At 10:00, the staff decides to have a *pauza*, and I follow suit. We exit the mortuary, walking along the exterior passageway that leads to the breakroom. The staff chat with one another in Bosnian as they make and drink coffee. I quickly make a cup of coffee – instant Nescafe as I still do not find the thick and bitter 'traditional' Bosnian coffee appealing – and join the rest of the staff members in the blissful warmth of the breakroom. The large space heater efficiently heats the room, and we make sure to close the door between the breakroom and the kitchen, giving us a chance to defrost before returning to the cold mortuary. The air is heavy with cigarette smoke as Kristina and Sarah have lit their cigarettes. As a non-smoker I find the room a bit stifling. Like most other mornings, the staff and I watch television during the break; although the programming varies, today we watch a British sitcom whose name I never quite catch. Like many British and American television programmes aired on Bosnian television, the show is in English with Bosnian subtitles run across the bottom of the screen. However, the television is largely ignored today as the staff converse with each other, first in Bosnian and then in English as a means of including Sarah and me. The topic has turned to smoking – Ibro speaks about his successful efforts to quit smoking, and Bosnian members of staff recall the lack of tobacco

during the war, explaining that anything that could be found, including grass and chestnuts, served as a substitute. After about 20 minutes, we finish our coffee and prepare to return to the mortuary. Staff members take turns washing coffee cups after each *pauza* – today Kristina stays behind as the rest of us return to the mortuary.

After the *pauza*, staff members begin moving full ossuary bags in front of the door as a van from the Slatina commemoration centre[4] will soon be arriving to transfer them to Mortuary A. Included within this group is the individual whose remains will soon be returned to his family for burial. As they wait for the van to arrive, staff members resume their work. Munira continues re-labelling plastic bags; Ibro, Kristina, and Emir return to their inventory work; and Anesa pulls documents from various files and places them on a table. Sarah is on the phone with Katie, one of the forensic anthropologists at Mortuary A, requesting information about the measurement of a bone. Kristina changes the music on the computer, playing Johnny Nash's version of "I can see clearly now". Munira begins laughing and gives Kristina a high-five. She dances to the music as she continues her work. When the van arrives, the driver, a man in his late forties or early fifties, greets the staff with familiarity; he seems to have been here numerous times before. The staff is happy to see him, enthusiastically greeting him. There is a great deal of laughter and joking around as the bags are placed in the van.

Work is temporarily put on hold as Munira looks at her watch and calls out, "*Ručak* [lunch]"! The staff and the man from the commemoration centre make their way into the breakroom for lunch. Munira frequently cooks lunch for the staff, and today she quickly prepares vegetable soup on the stove while Anesa and Kristina set the table, laying out bread, cheese, and various spreads, along with the glasses, crockery and cutlery. Emir and Ibro contribute beverages to the spread. The man from the commemoration centre joins us for our meal. He is a jovial man and enjoys telling funny stories – the Bosnian members of staff spend most of the lunch period laughing at his jokes and stories, though I cannot understand the discussion. He inquires about me, and Munira and Kristina explain that I am a researcher. He is fascinated that I am American and although I explain that my

---

[4] Throughout BiH, commemoration centres provide a variety of funeral services to the public. The local government primarily owns the commemoration centre in Slatina. In accordance with the relationship between ICMP and local authorities, the commemoration centre is also involved in the process of identifying missing persons. Thanks to Marko Stojic for the clarification.

Bosnian is severely limited, we realise that we both speak German. We have time to briefly converse – he explains that he learned German because his wife lived in Germany for a year, and I mention that I studied it in school – before lunch ends.

The work continues after lunch. I return to 'my' desk in the mortuary and resume observations as staff members load the remaining ossuary bags into the commemoration centre van. The staff members say their goodbyes as the driver departs from the mortuary. Kristina returns to her inventory work, sitting on the floor and sorting through small bags of bones. Ibro and Emir are also involved in inventorying remains, placing them on metal trays as they organise them. Anesa inputs information into the computer database as Sarah engages in administrative duties, making numerous phone calls to other ICMP facilities regarding cases. Having finished her earlier work of re-labelling the plastic bags, Munira has moved on to re-organising the blue binders that hold the paperwork for each case. She explains to me that the impending move has initiated this work: the staff needs to know where all of the information is located. Additionally, Munira adds, some binders contain information on cases for which they have completed all possible re-associations so far but are nevertheless considered active because they could have another match at any time. Thus, the staff requires ready access to the data, and Munira must go through each group of documents and see where they are and what is going on with them. Munira laughs and jokes that she is doing this because she has obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD). I cannot say for certain whether or not she does have OCD, but since beginning fieldwork, I have noticed her preference for orderliness.

Then, as anticipated, the power goes out shortly after 14:00. Munira comments that the mortuary will soon become very cold, and Emir and Ibro head outside and attempt to turn on the generator. I learn that while it will provide power for the computers and the lights, it does not run the space heaters. Emir and Ibro report back that they are unable to start the generator as the lock on it has frozen, and Emir heads to the nearby petrol station to obtain lock defroster. Although an inconvenience, this lack of electricity does not prevent the staff from continuing with their work. Munira carries on with the binders, sorting through and hole-punching the various documents within them. Anesa retrieves more plastic bags and Sarah continues working on her laptop. However, without electricity, the mortuary quickly becomes very cold, and we take turns going into the

breakroom to retrieve our coats, scarves, hats, and gloves. Emir soon returns from outside, having been successful in his efforts to start the generator.

We break for a second *pauza* around 15:00, although the lack of electricity means that we cannot make coffee or watch television. Instead, we sit in the breakroom and briefly chat with one another in English. The topic turns to 'ethnic humour' as Sarah observes how she does not think she will ever be able to understand Balkan humour. Kristina, Anesa, and Munira explain how jokes about Slovenia are common; Kristina comments that even when it was still a part of the former Yugoslavia, it was always sort of separate from the rest of the nation. One of the women gives us an example of a Slovenian joke, "Because Slovenia is so small, a tour of it would go, 'And to your right, we have Slovenia and to your left is Austria'". Kristina quickly jumps in with a joke about BiH:

> The American, German, and Bosnian heads of state die and go to Hell. The American president wants to make a phone call home and the Devil agrees but tells him it will cost one million dollars. The American president agrees, pays the money, and makes his call. The German chancellor also wants to make a call, and the Devil tells him that it will cost her one million Euros. The German chancellor also agrees, pays, and makes her call. Then, the Bosnian presidents say they want to make a call, and the Devil agrees, saying they do not have to pay anything. The American president and German chancellor are upset by this and ask the Devil why the Bosnian presidents do not have to pay. The Devil replies, "That's because it's a local call".

Everyone laughs at the joke, and we begin heading back into the mortuary, the break slightly shortened owing to the lack of electricity.

The mortuary seems colder than before, and we all hope the power returns soon. It is also eerily quiet. Since the power outage, no one has bothered to turn on the music again. The only sounds are the chatter of the staff, the occasional car outside, and the various noises the staff makes as they carry out their work: the scraping sound of ossuary bags being dragged across the floor; the clicks of the computer mice and the keyboards; and the occasional quiet clatter as bones come into contact with metal trays. Anesa places an ossuary bag on the floor, writes a series of identifying numbers on it, and begins lining up smaller bags of remains near it. Having completed this, Anesa tucks the smaller bags inside the ossuary bag. She then asks Ibro to help her move the ossuary bag closer to the mortuary door. Anesa repeats this process several times throughout the remainder of the

afternoon. Emir lays out a set of remains on a table, and consults the computer database for further information about the case before re-bagging the bones, duplicating this process with each additional case. Anesa occasionally consults with Emir regarding a case. When not assisting Anesa, Ibro works with small bags of remains, stapling them closed. Munira continues sorting through the binders and the documents contained within them, occasionally consulting the database on her computer. She talks quietly to herself as she flips through the binders. Kristina and Sarah are both at their respective computers, concentrating on the databases in front of them. Emir briefly interrupts Kristina, asking, "Who is this? A ninja?", commenting on the black scarf she has wrapped around her nose and mouth. I glance outside and notice that it has finally stopped snowing. With any luck, the power will return soon. Sarah comments that she is absolutely freezing and we all agree with her. Emir asks her a question in English about the case he has laid out on the table just as the power returns. He quickly runs outside to turn off the generator. We are all thrilled by this development, slowly peeling off our layers as the mortuary becomes a bit warmer.

As it happens, the power returns shortly after 16:00, just as the day at Mortuary B is beginning to wind down. Sarah, Kristina, Emir, Anesa, and Munira save the work they have been carrying out on the databases, shutting down their computers after they have done so. The bags of remains and the bodies laid out on the tables stay there overnight. As the facility is locked and secured every evening and the staff will return to work on them the next day, it is not considered necessary to put the remains away at the end of the working day. One-by-one, we change out of our scrubs and into our street clothes. Ibro locks up the mortuary once we have all left it. As Sarah, Anesa, Kristina, and I all live in Slatina, Sarah usually gives us a ride back to town at the end of the day. We pile into her car, saying our goodbyes to the rest of the staff as we drive through the snow. It has been a long day and we are quiet, occasionally singing along with the music playing on Sarah's iPod. She drops us off near the town centre, and we say goodbye, knowing that we will see each other again tomorrow in the mortuary.

Chapter One
Introduction

When I describe my research project to most people, they are shocked that I would willingly spend time in a mortuary in BiH surrounded by the remains of people who died horrific deaths during a war. However, this project follows the trajectory of my prior studies and academic interests. I previously obtained degrees in Holocaust and genocide studies and had long-standing interests in forensic science, especially forensic anthropology, and death studies. I subsequently became increasingly interested in combining these subjects and determined that my doctoral research would somehow encompass the fate of genocide victims' remains. Knowing forensic scientists had been recovering the bodies of individuals killed during the Rwandan genocide and the Bosnian war, I began researching their work, hoping to come across an organisation overseeing these efforts. I soon began seeing references to the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). As ICMP's website states,

> Its primary role is to ensure the cooperation of governments in locating and identifying those who have disappeared during armed conflict or as a result of human rights violations. ICMP also supports the work of other organisations, encourages public involvement in its activities and contributes to the development of appropriate expressions of commemoration and tribute to the missing. The organisation was established to support the Dayton Peace Agreement, which ended the conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. ICMP is currently headquartered in Sarajevo (ICMP n.d.*a*: n.p.).

After further researching ICMP, I determined that conducting research with the organisation would allow me to pursue my interests. The question remained, however, of the specific nature of my inquiries. Although interested forensic science, I felt my lack of a substantial scientific background would prove problematic. Instead, I turned my attention to the forensic specialists themselves, particularly the individuals responsible for working with the remains of the deceased.

While, over the years, I had read numerous forensic anthropologists' memoirs, overall, I found that the subject of forensic specialists' and other body handlers'[5] work received limited attention within existing ethnographic literature. While numerous scholars have examined medical professionals' work with human remains, much of this literature focuses on medical students' experiences with their anatomy lab cadavers or the treatment of dead patients by nurses (e.g. Hadders 2007; Hafferty 1991; Lella & Pawluch 1988; Quested & Rudge 2003; Sinclair 1997). Even literature specifically addressing mortuary settings fails to fully examine pathologists' and autopsy technicians' experiences with human corpses (e.g. Horsley 2008; Timmermans 2006). The literature that does exist frequently focuses on the psychological effects of recovery efforts on body handlers following mass disasters, such as airplane crashes and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing (e.g. McCarroll *et al.* 1993; Tucker *et al.* 2002), and does not consider post-conflict contexts. Accordingly, this literature fails to address the specific challenges of work with human remains following armed conflict, such as the logistical issues of recovering and identifying large numbers of remains spread throughout a country and the difficulties of working in an area in which tensions still exist between former combatants. Instead, it frequently focuses on individuals who locate and recover victims' bodies. Nevertheless, this literature has proved useful in my own study, providing insight into such topics as body handlers' emotional responses to working with human remains, how they manage (or fail to manage) these emotional responses, and the rewards and challenges of their work with the deceased.

Likewise, literature concerned with the work of forensic anthropologists and archaeologists (in both 'normal' and post-conflict settings) generally does not take as its focus the relations of practitioners with remains, but is concerned with practical issues, such as identifying human remains, determining the weapon used to inflict a wound, locating and exhuming bodies, and the difficulties of working with commingled remains (e.g. Barabya & Gasior 2006; Blau *et al.* 2008; Byrd & Adams 2003; Killam 1990, Thompson & Inglis 2009; Williams & Crews 2003). Where there is discussion of the forensic workers themselves, this generally takes the form of memoirs, biographies or

---

[5] Throughout this thesis, I will employ 'body handlers' as a general term describing the various individuals who may work with human remains, including physicians, nurses, pathologists, forensic anthropologists, archaeologists, funeral home employees, rescue workers, osteologists, and mortuary technicians.

journalistic-style pieces that lack sustained analysis (e.g. Bass & Jefferson 2004; Brkic 2004; Koff 2005; Maples & Browning 1995; Neuffer 2002; Stover & Peress 1998). The closest pre-cursor is Wagner's (2008) study of ICMP, based on fieldwork beginning in 2003. Although Wagner interviewed forensic specialists at ICMP and carried out fieldwork in some of the same settings as I did, the focus of her work differs. She does not concentrate on the experiences of ICMP forensic specialists; instead, her study "is about why people seek out the remains of their loved ones—what it means to them—and how the advent of a DNA-based system of post-mortem identification has helped transform this process of recovery, remembering, and reckoning" (ibid.: 266). Thus, Wagner focuses on the survivors who benefit from ICMP's work rather than the organisation's forensic workers. Accordingly, the existing literature leaves many questions unexplored. For example, while it provides insights into how forensic specialists navigate the practical issues of excavating human remains following conflict, the literature only contains a vague understanding of these individuals' responses to their work and how they are able to continue carrying out their professions under such challenging circumstances.

This thesis responds to this gap in the existing literature, examining forensic specialists' work in the aftermath of mass death. It does *not* seek to analyse ICMP as an organisation. Although I discuss the establishment, organisation, and work of ICMP (see Chapter Two), I focus instead on the experiences of those individuals who work with the remains of the people who went missing during the course of the 1992 to 1995 conflict in BiH. Accordingly, this thesis asks, "What does it mean to be a forensic specialist working in a post-conflict setting?" In responding to this query, I focus on forensic specialists' efforts to construct and maintain a professional identity within an emotionally charged situation. I emphasise that doing so is not a straightforward task. For example, it may require the forensic specialist to navigate between emotional attachment and detachment in accordance with several factors, such as the characteristics of the deceased, the forensic specialist's personal experiences, and the specific situation in the mortuary. Furthermore, in exploring this question, I also seek to provide insight into the work these individuals carry out on a daily basis, bringing into consideration such topics as their motivations for entering this field; their emotional responses to their work and how they manage those responses (or why they sometimes fail to do so); their attitudes towards and perceptions of

the human remains in the mortuary; the challenges and rewards of interacting with victims' family members; and their experiences of grief, mourning, and attending events commemorating the deceased.

Moreover, as I found during my fieldwork, ICMP forensic specialists play a challenging and sometimes thankless role both in Bosnian society and beyond, and it is my hope that this thesis serves as an appreciation of their labours. Thus, I also view this research project as potentially having wider implications. With the inevitable continuation of mass death will also come the need for societies to address the issue of human remains. As will be discussed throughout this thesis, the arduous nature of this type of work requires that forensic specialists and other body handlers receive support from various government officials, NGOs (non-governmental organisations), victims' family members, and others. I hope that by demystifying forensic specialists' and others' work and presenting them not as scientists devoid of empathy but as complex human beings attempting to carry out a challenging line of work to the best of their abilities, I will assist them in receiving this support. With this, I believe, body handlers will become more effective in their work with human remains. In turn, communities and individuals affected by mass death will have greater success in rebuilding their lives in the aftermath of these tragedies. As Fatima, a case manager at ICMP whose mother and husband were killed during the conflict in BiH, explained, "we all need to know the truth about our family members to find…our peace and finally to move on with our lives. Without that we are always going to doubt".

Dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and the war in BiH (1992-1995)[6]

ICMP was founded in the aftermath of the 1992 to 1995 conflict in BiH in which an estimated 200,000 people died and over 30,000 individuals went missing (ICMP n.d.*d*: n.p.; Power 2002: 327).[7] In what follows, I present a brief history of the events that

---

[6] When spelling the names of people, places, groups, etc., some authors do not use the accented letters (e.g. č and ć) that are part of the Bosnian alphabet. However, I endeavour to use these characters unless directly quoting a secondary source. In those instances, I reproduce the author's/s' spelling.

[7] Although there are minority groups in BiH, such as Jews and Roma ('Gypsies'), the country has historically consisted of three main ethnic groups: Croats, Serbs, and Muslims (also referred to as 'Bosniaks'). As Sacco (2000: 19) notes: "Each of these ethnic groups has a particular history and cultural background, but they are

brought about the necessity of ICMP's work in BiH. As the mortuaries in which I conducted fieldwork dealt with the remains of individuals who were killed in Srebrenica and the Bosanska Krajina, I also discuss the atrocities committed in those regions. However, there is not 'one' history of the war in BiH. As I found both during my fieldwork and through perusing the academic literature, there exist many varying and dissenting opinions about the conflict. For some, it was a war of aggression, for others a civil war or a war between the ethnicities. Commenting on her interviews with women from Srebrenica, Leydesdorff (2011: 21) writes, "They also refused to call it a 'civil war,' as is common in the West when talking about the former Yugoslavia; rather, they call it a 'war'. The aggressors came from the outside […]". Denich (1994: 368) describes the conflict as both an "ethnic war" and a "civil war". Similarly, Power (2002: 261) writes, "Although Serbia's aggression against the internationally recognised state of Bosnia clearly made the Bosnian war an international conflict, top U.S. officials viewed it as a civil war". In his memoir of life in Sarajevo during the siege (see below), Dizdarevic (1993: 4), publisher of the *Oslobodenje* newspaper, asserts,

> But what is happening in Bosnia-Herzegovina is *not* a civil war – even though it may now, after all that has occurred, manifest some characteristics of one. This state, admitted to the United Nations and officially recognised by a large number of countries, has become a victim of aggression from the outside. The aggressors are Serbia and Montenegro […].

Similarly, the director of an NGO with which I volunteered during my fieldwork once explained to me that she would always view the war as a 'war of aggression' as she had seen armoured vehicles enter BiH from Serbia. Furthermore, there are also varying narratives of victimhood, with the three main ethnic groups highlighting their respective suffering during the war (see Broz 2005; Judah 1997: 285-294; Miller 2006; Neuffer 2002: 44-47, 293-312; Rohde 1997: 14-17).

In discussing the history of BiH and the recent war, it is also important to emphasise that although violence did occur in the region prior to 1992, especially during

---

all South Slavs and speak essentially the same language. Their chief distinguishing characteristic is religious. Croats are Roman Catholic; Serbs are Orthodox Christians; and Muslims are generally descended from the Slavs who converted to Islam during a 500-year Ottoman occupation". In a survey taken in 1991, just prior to the start of the war, out of a population of 4.3 million, 43.7% (1.9 million) described themselves as Muslim, 31.3% (1.3 million) as Serbian, and 17.3% (753,400) as Croats (Bringa 1995: 26).

World War II (see below), conflict between the ethnic groups was not frequent. As Burg & Shoup (2000: 17) write, "Bosnians shared a common language, ethnic origin, and lifestyles. In urban areas after World War II, they intermarried. The horror of 1992-1995 lay in the manner in which this functional society was deliberately destroyed and a war of each against all, along ethnic lines, was introduced in its place". Bosnians frequently reiterate that this was the case. Dizdarevic (1993: 6) commented, "Before the war, no one in Sarajevo made much of ethnic or religious allegiances". Leydesdorff found that women from Srebrenica also emphasised the prevalence of coexistence throughout BiH prior to 1992 (2009: 30, 37; see also Leydesdorff 2011: 13-14, 21). Similarly, in many of the testimonies gathered by Broz (2005), men and women from all backgrounds described the lack of hostility between Muslims, Croats, and Serbs (e.g. xxi-xxii, 3, 46, 101, 180-181, 188, 300).

Nevertheless, it is important to avoid oversimplifying the nature of hostilities and coexistence in pre-war BiH. To this end, in discussing this discourse of coexistence, Broz (2005: xxi-xxii) notes, "It is in many ways a true observation, but it also eclipses some of the important pre-war social tensions – for example, between city people and rural people, or between classes – that characterise all societies" (ibid.). Although he also dismisses the myth of the existence of 'age-old hostilities' within BiH, Bennett (1995: 6; see also ibid.: 27, 35, 182) likewise notes, "That is not to say that there is no historical dimension to today's conflict. There certainly is". Thus, consideration of the history of BiH requires an understanding that conflict did periodically occur throughout the country. However, its manifestation varied. As Malcolm (1994: xxi) writes,

> That hatreds and rivalries existed in Bosnia's past is certainly true; those writers who have reacted in the past two years by portraying Bosnia was a wonderland of permanent inter-religious harmony have over-reacted. But a closer inspection of Bosnia's history will show that the animosities, which did exist, were not absolute and unchanging. Nor were they inevitable consequences of the mixing together of different religious communities.

In the introduction to her ethnographic study of a rural village outside of Sarajevo, Bringa (1995: 3) also cautions against both overly romanticising coexistence in pre-1992 BiH or refuting its existence,

The media has been focusing on the 'age-old' hatreds in the Balkans of which Bosnia-Herzegovina is assumed to be the prime example. In the media coverage of the war there seems to be two approaches. The first is that the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina have always hated each other and whatever tolerance and coexistence there was had been imposed by the communist regime. The other is the idealised approach that Bosnia-Herzegovina…was the ideal example of a harmonious and tolerant multicultural society, where people did not classify each other in terms of 'Serb,' 'Muslim,' or 'Croat'.

Neither of these approaches reflects the Bosnia I experienced during the five years before war broke out in April 1992. There was both coexistence and conflict, tolerance and prejudice, suspicion and friendship. To some a person's name (which usually indicates a person's ethno-religious affiliation) was important and implied a barrier to social intimacy and trust; to others, however, it did not matter. Attitudes depended on age and the sociocultural environment in which a person had grown up. To the generations who grew up in the fifties and sixties it was not usually an issue, while to pre-World War II generations it often was, and it was starting to become important among young people in the eighties.

Born after World War II, Bosnian journalist Ljiljana Smaljovic (1995) is also very critical of this 'black or white' approach to pre-1992 social relations in BiH. She (ibid.: 102, 103) writes, "A number of respectable historians have turned out volumes asserting that there is no historical precedent for ethnic or religious clashes among Bosnia's three peoples. According to such wisdom, nothing I remember is in reality as I remember it", noting how she grew up hearing stories of the atrocities committed by both Serbs and Croats during World War II. Thus, generational differences may account for variations in perceptions of ethnic tension and/or peaceful coexistence in BiH prior to 1992.

A brief history of BiH

Throughout its history, BiH assumed numerous forms. First settled by the Illyrians, the region was under Roman control by 9 AD (Malcolm 1994: 2). The Germanic Goths frequently raided the region between the third and sixth centuries, at which time Emperor Justinian forced them out of the Balkan region; consequently, BiH was ostensibly within the Byzantine Empire (ibid.: 4-5). Then, in the late sixth century, Slav tribes, including the

Serbs and Croats, migrated to the region (ibid.: 6). BiH found itself under Croatian control from approximately 960 to 1019, at which time it was alternately ruled by Croatian and Serbian governments (ibid.: 10). It was briefly controlled by Hungary until 1180 when "it was able to stand, for the first time, as a more or less independent state" (ibid.: 11). During the Middle Ages (approximately 1180-1463), BiH was ruled by numerous kings; by the latter half of the fourteenth century, "Bosnia was the most powerful state within the western Balkans" (ibid.: 13).

The events of this period are worthy of further consideration as they played a significant role in the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia and the recent war in BiH. This era saw the end of Bosnia's sovereignty with the invasion and eventual conquering of Bosnia by the Ottoman Turkish armies. When Ottoman forces began raiding Serbia in the 1380s, its leader, Lazar Hrebeljanivić, refused to submit to Turkish rule. Aided by troops from what is now Bosnia, Hungary, and Germany, Lazar met Ottoman forces in battle at Kosovo Polje ('Field of the Blackbirds') on 28 June 1389. After two days of fighting, Lazar and his forces eventually lost the Battle of Kosovo (Volkan 1997: 50-51 and 57-59; Malcolm 1994: 20). As will be explored below, memory of this defeat by the Muslim Turks was maintained within Serbian society and later exploited by Serb nationalists in the twentieth century. However,

> though Serbian myth and poetry have presented this battle as a cataclysmic defeat in which the flower of Balkan chivalry perished on the field and the Turks swept on through the rest of Bosnia, the truth is a little less dramatic…It was not the battle itself which brought about the fall of Serbia to the Turks, but the fact that while the Serbs had needed all the forces they could muster to hold the Turks to an expensive and temporary draw, the Turks were finally able to return, year after year, in ever increasing strength (Fine 1987: 408-411 and Emmert 1991: 19-40; cited in Malcolm 1994: 20).

Thus, Serbia did not fall completely under Ottoman control until 1459 (Volkan 1994: 61). Ottoman forces conquered Bosnia in the summer of 1463 (Malcolm 1994: 43).

Bosnia remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until its occupation by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1878 (Malcolm 1994: 136). Then, in 1908, it was officially annexed by Austria-Hungary (Bennett 1995: 23). The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the wake of World War I brought instability to the region but it ultimately led to

unification and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918. As Bennett (1995: 28) writes, "unification came at high speed in the wake of the spectacular disintegration of Austria-Hungary and was a reflex reaction to avert chaos". Denitch (1994: 24) further comments on the perceived necessity of unification of the region,

> Peace proposals by the United States, known as President Wilson's Fourteen Points, emphasised that self-determination and ethnic criteria be used to determine new frontiers, but there was much ambiguity to the plan. Italy claimed strategic frontiers that had been offered to it by the allies in the secret clauses of the Treaty of London in 1915 as an inducement to join in the war against Austria-Hungary and Germany. […] The pressure was therefore great for the temporary states of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs…to move quickly, and without too much negotiating, with Serbia and Montenegro, which were among the victorious powers and could offer some minimal protection against very visible and real Italian nationalist rapacity. The South Slav provinces of Austria-Hungary, which had never been united before, thus merged with Montenegro and Serbia […].[8]

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia, as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was renamed in 1929, remained in existence until surrendering to Axis forces in 1941 (ibid.; Malcolm 1994: 173).

The events that transpired in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia during World War II are worthy of further consideration. Although the number of Yugoslavs who died in World War II is subject to debate, the majority of these individuals were killed by other Yugoslavs rather than Axis forces (Sacco 2000: 21; Malcolm 1994: 174).[9] After occupying the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Axis powers divided up the country,

> Slovenia was split in two; Italy annexing the south-west, including Ljubljana, and Germany grabbing the plum industrial areas in the north-east. As part of the deal which saw the Ustaše[10] come to power in Croatia with Italian help, Italy seized Dalmatia, the Adriatic islands and a large part of Istria. The Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna država Hrvatska – NDH*) included all of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it was also divided into Italian and German military zones (Glenny 1999: 485).

---

[8] See also Woodward 1995: 22-23.
[9] See also Malcolm 1994: 174, 286-287n1.
[10] Meaning 'rebels', Ustaše were a group of "extreme Croatian nationalists…formed by the lawyer Ante Pavelić" who opposed the Yugoslavian monarchy (Glenny 1999: 418). In its anglicised forms, "Ustaše" is also spelled "Ustasha" and "Ustashe".

Ustaše forces committed numerous crimes against the region's Serb, Jewish, and 'Gypsy', populations, murdering them *en masse,* forcing them to convert to Catholicism, and expelling them from their homes (Sacco 2000: 21; Wagner 2008: 190; see also Glenny 1999: 498). For example, between June and August 1941,

> bands of Ustašas turned up unannounced at Serb villages and wiped out every last man, woman, and child. The orgy of violence then continued at concentration camps which the Ustašas set up to eliminate their remaining opponents, both Serbs and non-Serbs. At Jasenovac, the most infamous camp…extermination was not a regulated process along Nazi lines. There were no gas chambers, nor were the Ustašas willing to waste bullets on their victims. Instead death was by beating, starvation or knives (Bennett 1995: 46).

Consequently, "Ustasha victims fed the ranks of two competing resistance groups, the Chetniks[11] and the Partisans" (Sacco: 2000: 21). In return, Četnik (Serbian royalist) forces killed both Muslims and Partisans, viewing the latter "as likely post-war rivals" (ibid.). Led by the half Croat, half Slovene Josip Broz Tito,

> [t]he Partisans, the Communist resistance force…were a predominantly Serb group…but they welcomed a growing number of Muslim and Croatian recruits as disillusionment with the Ustasha regime increased and Chetnik outrages continued. The Partisans fought a generally defensive war against the Axis forces and waged an aggressive campaign against the Chetniks, whom they eventually crushed (ibid.).

Bosnian Muslims' allegiances varied. Some collaborated with the Ustaše and committed atrocities against Bosnian Serbs (Wagner 2008: 190). Others allied themselves with the Četniks or the German occupiers, enlisting in a Muslim S.S. division (Sacco 2000: 22). In 1945, Tito's Partisans emerged as the victors of the conflict in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. As Malcolm (1994: 191) explains, "Sarajevo was liberated by the Partisans on 6 April 1945; within a few weeks the whole territory of Bosnia was under their full control. A 'People's Government for Bosnia' was appointed on 28 April". However, violence in this region continued even after the war ended "as anti-communists of all nationalities

---

[11] "Chetnik" is the anglicised spelling of "Četnik".

attempted to fight their way out of the country", desiring to surrender to Allied troops, fearing reprisals from Tito (Bennett 1995: 49). This fear was justified,

> Communist power was imposed on Yugoslavia at a very heavy price. What has now become the best-known instance of this was the treatment meted out to the remnants of various anti-Partisan forces (and associated civilians) who had taken refuge in Allied-controlled Austria in April and May 1945…More than 18,000 were sent back to Yugoslavia by the British at Tito's insistence; most were massacred within hours of their arrival on Yugoslav soil (Malcolm 1994: 193).

As will be explored shortly, nationalist political parties later exploited memories of the atrocities committed during World War II, thereby contributing to the former Yugoslavia's descent into war.

After his Partisan forces liberated the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia from Axis forces in 1945, Tito established the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). It consisted of six republics: BiH[12], Slovenia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Serbia, and the autonomous regions of Vojvodina and Kosovo (Volkan 1997: 54-55). In creating the SFRY "Tito developed a constitution that assured no single ethnic group could dominate all of Yugoslavia. Power was to be shared by representatives of the six republics. Even though the Serbs held the numerical majority…under this constitution they would share power with other groups" (ibid.: 11). While these measures did not prevent discord among the three groups, frustrations could not be voiced. Instead, as a means of ameliorating any problems, "the communists promoted the concept of the Yugoslav Man, similar to the Soviet ideal of the Soviet Man in which all peoples were connected through the higher objectives of communist ideology and so were equal" (ibid.: 53). Grievances, therefore, still remained in place and were later exploited by nationalist leaders following Tito's death in 1980 (ibid.; see also Glenny 1999: 574).

The most immediate causes of the war in BiH emerged during this period. Economic and political uncertainties ran rife as communism in Eastern Europe slowly collapsed in the years following Tito's death in 1980 (Neuffer 2002: 7). Moreover, due to recession across Europe, the thousands of Yugoslavs who worked abroad lost their jobs as inflation rose (ibid.: 7-8). Furthermore, as Malcolm (1994: 210) explains, "there was a

---

[12] BiH eventually became known as the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SRBH) (International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia [ICTY] 2004*a*: 24).

general breakdown of a ramshackle economic situation which had only been able to boom on borrowed money". The Yugoslav government struggled to recover from Tito's death: "The collective presidency Tito created to succeed him swiftly proved unworkable. It failed to keep hold of Yugoslavia, allowing power to devolve back to republics – many of which were dominated by one ethnicity – whose relations dissolved into political backbiting and feuding" (Neuffer 2002: 8). Furthermore, in 1990, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), the country's main political party, dissolved, causing "a power vacuum and the emergence of nationalist parties throughout the country" (ICTY*a* 2004: 24).

Thus, the rise of nationalism, particularly among Croats and Serbs, must also be considered within the context of the recent war in BiH. Nationalism began emerging prior to Tito's death. The 'Croatian Spring' of 1969-1971 brought with it "demands for greater autonomy" throughout Croatia (Denitch 1994: 53). There were also calls for the preservation of Croatian culture (Malcolm 1994: 203). Gradually, however, the movement became militant and anti-Serb in nature (Bennett 1995: 73). Eventually, Tito interceded and "the Croatian Spring petered out in a series of arrests, the banning of certain nationalist publications and a thorough purge of Croatian society" (ibid.). Tito's purge of the LCY in Croatia brought numerous Serbs in Croatia to power, evoking resentment among the republic's Croats (ibid.).

There was also a resurgence of nationalism among Serbs during this period. The "lack of a unified Serbian state led to minor nationalist complaints" (Denitch 1994: 116). However, it was the issue of Kosovo that proved most influential in the rise of Serb nationalism. Tito's decision to emancipate Kosovo from Serbia by declaring it an autonomous region in 1974 angered Serbs. As Bennett (1995: 86-87) notes, this resentment originates in Serb attachment to Kosovo:

> as far as many Serbs…are concerned, Kosovo is sacred land which is destined to remain Serbian forever. This emotional attachment to Kosovo…can be explained only as part of a collective sense of disappointment among Serbs at what might have been, had the medieval Serbian Empire not been destroyed by the Turkish assault on Europe. It is rooted within the Serbian Orthodox Church, which

cultivated and preserved national consciousness under Ottoman rule, and in stories from Serb folklore which have been passed from generation through the ages.[13]

Then, in an event that would have profound repercussions for the entire region,

> on 11 March 1981 students at Pristina University in Kosovo organised a demonstration against poor living conditions on campus…When the police used excessive force against the demonstrators, unrest spread throughout Kosovo, the local communists appealed to Belgrade for help and on 3 April martial law was imposed (ibid.: 89).

Several months later, "ethnic Albanians took to the streets, demanding independence from Serbia and that Kosovo become the seventh republic. The protests were crushed by the Yugoslav Army and federal police" (Silber & Little 1996: 34). These events worsened already tense relations between Kosovo's Serbs and Albanians. In response, Serbian president Ivan Stambolić, a nationalist set on "recentralis[ing] authority both within Serbia and within Yugoslavia" sent Slobodan Milošević[14] to Kosovo to hear the Serbs' complaints (Bennett 1995: 90). Upon arrival, Milošević, too, began to realise the power of nationalism, employing it in his speech in Kosovo Polje on 24 April 1987 (Silber & Little 1996: 37, 38). Through exploiting both Serb resentments and economic and political instability in the SFRY, Milošević was able to assume a great following in Serbia and beyond.

Following his speech in Kosovo Polje and "propelled into the limelight, Milošević and his followers gained power, purging the media of critics and winning over sympathetic journalists as allies in state television and the principal newspapers" (Neuffer 2002: 9). Through poetry, myths, legends, and with the extensive use of the media, Milošević sought to portray the Serbs as victims of oppression, particularly at the hands of Muslims (ibid.) He also promoted the idea of a 'Greater Serbia', "a centralised Serbian state encompassing the Serb-populated areas of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and all of Kosovo" (ICTY 2001*b*: 5). Moreover, "[m]emories of wartime atrocities…constituted a central element in the strategies of the post-Yugoslav nationalist regimes that inserted them into

---

[13] Although considered part of Serbia, Kosovo's population consists mostly of Muslim, ethnic Albanians (Bennett 1995: 88-89).

[14] At that time, Milošević was "the leader of the Serbian Communist Party" (Silber & Little 1996: 33).

reinterpretations of Yugoslav history that rewrote multicultural co-existence as a litany of national victimization" (Jansen 2002: 77). Anti-Croat rhetoric also accompanied Serb nationalism, with Serb nationalisms revitalising the use of the term 'Ustaše' when referring to Croat leaders (Malcolm 1994: 214). Thus, "all the old Croatian grievances came to the surface again, and in the new atmosphere of breaking taboos about the second world war, many were beginning to resent both the automatic linking of Croats and the Ustasha" (ibid.). Thus, nationalism among Croats also experienced a resurgence at this time. Croatian President Tudjman also "began to speak of a greater Croatia" (Neuffer 2002: 20). Eventually, both Tudjman and Milošević, the latter of whom became president of Serbia in 1990, "turned their backs on the Yugoslav ideal of an ethnically mixed federal state and set about carving out their own ethnically homogenous States" (Hartmann 2007: 67-68).[15]

In light of this, ethnically divided political parties formed across the country. Bennett (1995: 182) notes, "As communism disintegrated, Bosnians again sought security within their own ethnic group and 75 per cent of those who voted at the November 1990 elections…opted for nationalist parties". They included "the Muslim Nationalist Party of Democratic Action (SDA), founded by…Alija Izetbegović, an Islamic scholar jailed by Tito. Then the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), headed by Radovan Karadžić …and then the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ], the Bosnian Branch of Tudjman's party" (Neuffer 2002: 21). The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) (2004*a*: 25) notes, "cooperation of the three nationalist parties was initially good, even enthusiastic, in the euphoria that followed the defeat of the League of Communists".[16] However, the situation quickly deteriorated. Fighting between the nine members of the Yugoslav presidency resulted in its dissolution (Neuffer 2002: 23). Then, "Milošević, having recruited the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) to his side, declared that the Republic of

---

[15] The exhumation of World War II- and Tito-era mass graves in the 1980s may also have "helped sharpen enthnonational antagonism" (Ballinger 2004: 148). These exhumations,

> informed an increasingly fragmented memory of that conflict as entailing not only a war of Resistance against the Axis occupiers but also a fratricidal war. […] In the former Yugoslavia, then, these unburials of the past…informed claims to victimhood that…refused to acknowledge that some members of the 'perpetrator' group may also have suffered at the hands of some of the 'victim' group (ibid.: 148; see also Hayden 1994, Denich 1994, and Verdery 1999: 95-127).

[16] Established in 1993 and based in The Hague, the Netherlands, the ICTY is "a United Nations court of law dealing with war crimes that took place during the conflicts in the Balkans in the 1990's" (ICTY n.d.*a*.: n.p.).

Serbia would no longer recognize any decisions issued on a federal level" (ibid.). The situation further deteriorated after Slovenia and Croatia declared their independence from the SFRY on 25 June 1991 (Stover & Peress 1998: 103).

The outbreak of war in the former SFRY

Shortly after Croatia and Slovenia seceded from the SFRY, armed warfare commenced between Serbia and Croatia as "Milošević ordered the Yugoslav National Army [JNA]…composed mostly of Serbian officers, to subdue the breakaway republics" (Neuffer 2002: 103-104). Slovene forces resisted the JNA's attack, forcing the latter to instead focus on Croatia (ibid.: 104). Five months later, one-third of Croatian territory was under Serbian control (Wagner 2008: 25). BiH was quite literally caught in the middle: "Embroiled in a war whose front lines were pushing into the multiethnic territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia began to seek the partition of the land and people that lay between their two states" (ibid.). Bosnians were thus faced with a dilemma, "With conflict breaking out among their neighbours, Bosnians from all three groups were forced to contemplate their future status within an independent Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Croat-controlled territory, or a territory that remained part of the rump state of Yugoslavia" (ibid.). Bennett (1995: 185) argues that for Bosnians, their choice was obvious:

> In October 1991 the EC [European Community] Conference on Yugoslavia asked Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia whether, they too, wanted to be independent states. Since neither Muslims nor Croats could stomach becoming a minority within a Greater Serbia, the HDZ and SDA as well as the republic's minor parties opted for independence. In protest, Karadžić withdrew the SDS deputies from the Sarajevo parliament warning that moves towards Bosnian independence were leading the republic 'into a hell in which the Muslims will perhaps perish'.

Later that same month, "the SDS Deputies in the Assembly of the SRBH…established a separate Assembly of the Serbian People in Bosnia and Herzegovina ('SerBiH')" (ICTY 2004*a*: 27). However, Bosnian Serb leaders sought to go beyond the creation of a separate assembly as "the Bosnian Serb leadership…as well as Bosnian Serb representatives of the armed forces, formed a plan to link Serb-populated areas in BiH together, to gain control

over these areas and to create a separate Bosnian Serb state, from which most non-Serbs would be permanently removed ('Strategic Plan')" (ibid.: 28-29). Then, "[o]n 11 December 1991, the SerBiH Assembly voted to recommend the establishment of separate Serbian municipalities" (ibid.: 29). Thus, while the international community sought to resolve the issue of BiH, "the Bosnian Serb leadership enforced its plan to separate the territories claimed by them from the existing structures of the SRBiH and to create a separate Serb state. On 9 January 1992, the SerBiH Assembly proclaimed the SerBiH, which on 12 August 1992, was renamed Republika Srpska [RS]" (ibid.: 30). Finally, after much consideration, Bosnians chose independence in a referendum held on 29 February and 1 March 1992 (Malcolm 1994: 231).

> [H]owever, the 1.2 million Serbs in Bosnian territory, who made up 31 percent of the population, boycotted the referendum, and their leader, Radovan Karadžić, warned of civil war between the ethnic groups if the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognised. Bosnian Serbs did not want to become second-class citizens in a newly independent Bosnia-Herzegovina. Talks concerning the possibility of partitioning Bosnia-Herzegovina failed in March 1992 (Volkan 1997: 54).

In April, the United States government and European Community acknowledged BiH's sovereignty (ibid.). Armed conflict erupted soon after: "JNA troops stationed in Bosnia joined Serb militias in attacks against Bosnian defence forces. At the same time… Milošević began sending military groups across the Drina River into Bosnia" (Stover & Peress 1998: 113). Violence also erupted in Sarajevo, with the JNA setting up roadblocks throughout the city (ICTY 2003*a*: Paragraph 199). Then, on 12 May 1992, "the parliament of Republika Srpska…ordered the formation of the Bosnian-Serb Army ('VRS'), designating General Ratko Mladić Chief of its General Staff" (ibid: Paragraph 201). In September 1992, Sarajevo fell under siege by forces from the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps (SRK), a branch of the VRS established on 22 May 1992 (ibid.; ICTY 2003*b*: 1).[17]

---

[17] Sarajevo remained under siege until the end of autumn 1995; those "who survived the 44 months of the siege of Sarajevo were victims of a campaign of sniping, artillery, and mortar attacks, all part of a widespread systematic attack directed against a civilian population. The basics of life…were all affected by the siege" (Ivković & Hagan 2006: 375, 377). For descriptions of daily life in the siege of Sarajevo, see Dizdarevic 1993; Filipović 1994; Halilbegovich 2006; ICTY 2003*a*: Paragraphs 210-597; Karahasan 1994. Stanislav Galić commanded the VRS between September 1992 and November 1994 and in 2003 was found guilty by the ICTY of committing "acts of violence the primary purpose of which is to spread terror among the civilian

Furthermore, soon after the siege of Sarajevo commenced, "violence erupted in the northern and eastern parts of Bosnia" (Wagner 2008: 26). Serbian forces pushed westwards from there, and by the end of 1992, Bosnian Serb forces controlled 70% of BiH (Ramet 2002: 207).

As Neuffer (2002: 32) explains, "It was war, and it was war aimed at civilians. [Its] initial goal was 'ethnic cleansing', moving vast numbers of Bosnia's Muslims and Croats out of key parts of Bosnia so that they could be populated by Serbs […]". Accordingly, "[t]he 'cleansing' was the goal of the war, not the unintended consequence" (Hartmann 2007: 68). With the support of the JNA, paramilitary groups, such as Arkan's Tigers[18]:

> 'ethnically cleansed' hundreds of thousands of Muslims and Croats in a frenzy of murder, looting, and torture…Once a Muslim town had been selected for cleansing, JNA troops would block all roads leading to it and warn Serb residents to evacuate. When they were gone, heavy artillery and mortars would open fire on the remaining inhabitants. Such bombardments lasted from a few hours to several days. Once a town was judged to have been softened up sufficiently by the JNA's artillery, the militias would move in. […] [P]aramilitaries, wearing black ski masks and with AK-47s cradled in their arms, would move from house to house, apartment to apartment, forcing residents on the streets (Stover & Peress 1998: 114-115).

As will be examined below, non-Serbs were also deported from their homes to concentration camps and otherwise subjected to discrimination and violence, such as torture, rape, and other forms of sexual assault, throughout the course of the war.

Although this thesis will focus on aftermath of the crimes committed by Serb and Bosnian Serb forces against Croats and Bosniaks, it is important to recognise that individuals in these latter two groups also committed various crimes during the war. In the wake of Serb forces' military victories in BiH, Croatian forces also began an assault on the country. Croatian leaders "were encouraged by…Milošević's support for a Greater Croatia (which would include western Herzegovina and a part of central Bosnia, where a majority

---

populations" and "murder and inhumane acts – other than murder" for his involvement in the siege of Sarajevo (ICTY n.d.*c*: 5). He is currently serving a life sentence in Germany (ibid.).

[18] Led by Željko Ražnatović, a criminal who had "a number of international arrest warrants outstanding for, among other things, armed robbery, murder, and car theft", Arkan's Tigers was one of the most notorious paramilitary groups during the war (Honig & Both 1996: 74). In 1997, Ražnatović was indicted by the ICTY for numerous charges, including "murder, other inhumane acts"; "murder; cruel treatment, rape"; and "wilfully causing great suffering, wilful killing"; however, he was killed in Belgrade in January 2000 before he could stand trial (ICTY n.d.*b*: 2).

of 800,000 Bosnian Croats lived)", as well as the international community's indifference to the crimes being carried out in the country (Hartmann 2007: 71). Tudjman "funnelled troops and weapons into the Bosnian Croat militia known as the 'Croat Defense Council' or HVO, which went on to terrorise Muslims and Serb villages throughout central and western Bosnia" (Stover & Peress 1998: 113). In doing so, these troops employed the same techniques as Serb forces, namely "terror, deportations, concentration camps, indiscriminate bombardments of civilians" (Hartmann 2007: 72). 'Ethnic cleansing' does not appear to have served as a "cardinal policy" of the Sarajevo-based Bosniak government; nevertheless, assassinations, torture, and the imprisonment of non-Bosniaks in concentration camps did occur (ibid.: 72).[19]

While Western officials were aware of the atrocities being committed throughout BiH, they were hesitant to intervene militarily. Instead, they sought to end the conflict through diplomacy (Neuffer 2002: 33; Power 2002: 252, 259-260, 269). Accordingly, nationalist leaders throughout the former Yugoslavia "faced few obstacles to their efforts to play upon fear, to mobilise ethnic solidarity, and thereby to orchestrate the descent into violence that produced catastrophe for their peoples" (Burg & Shoup 2000: 17).[20] However, the embarrassment of having failed to intervene in the Srebrenica genocide in 1995 (see below) eventually pressured Western leaders, particularly United States president Bill Clinton, into reconsidering military involvement in BiH (Power 2002: 437). A bombing campaign by NATO planes against Bosnian Serb troops successfully prompted

---

[19] Similarly, in a statement on 9 August 1995, CIA Deputy Director for Intelligence John Gannon said, "Our analysis shows that the vast majority of ethnic cleansing carried out in Bosnia since 1992 can be attributed to the Bosnian Serbs. We base this judgment on a large body of evidence from a wide range of sources, including press accounts, reports from international human rights and relief organisations, and public statements by refugees. We know that Croats and Muslims in Bosnia have also committed atrocities and have forced Serb civilians to flee, but ethnic cleansing actions carried out by the Bosnian Serbs are unequal in their scale and intensity" (CIA 1995: n.p.; see also Power 2002: 310 and 565n127). A leaked CIA report "concluded that 90 percent of the acts of 'ethnic cleansing' were carried out by Serbs" (Cohen 1995: n.p.; see also Hartmann 2007: 72 and Power 2002: 310;). Moreover, in 1994, a UN Commission of Experts (UN Security Council 1994: 36-37) noted violations of the Geneva Conventions by all warring parties. However, the Commission found that while 'ethnic cleansing' by Serb forces constituted "a policy conducted in furtherance of the political doctrines relating to 'Greater Serbia', 'ethnic cleansing' by Croat forces was not carried out in accordance with governmental policies" (ibid.: 33, 36). Regarding 'ethnic cleansing' by Bosniaks forces, the Commission also noted that these acts were not committed "as a part of a policy of 'ethnic cleansing'. The number of these violations, as reported, is significantly less than the reported violations allegedly committed by the other warring factions" (ibid.: 36; see also Hartmann 2007: 72).
[20] Debates during and since the war have suggested that foreign military action could have arrested the violence in BiH (see Burg & Shoup 2000: 398, 401-404; Hevesi 1992; Holbrooke 1998; Neuffer 2002: 65; Power 2002: 263, 286, 296-297, 428, 434-435; Rieff 1995; and Sharp & Baronovsky 1993).

the three warring parties to begin negotiating a peace settlement (ibid.: 440). Negotiations began in November 1995 in Dayton, Ohio with Milošević, Tudjman, and Izetbegović in attendance. A peace settlement was reached on 21 November 1995 (Volkan 1997: 55). The Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) contained numerous measures, including maintaining BiH's existing boundaries, prohibiting war criminals from holding political office, guaranteeing refugees the right to return to their homes, establishing a Commission on Human Rights, and outlining the country's new government and constitution (U.S. Department of State 1995: n.p.). It also divided the country into two entities: the Republika Srpska (RS), a Bosnian Serb state, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), a Muslim-Croat state (ibid.; see also Volkan 1997: 55).[21]

The international community has sought to support the peace agreement in numerous ways, involvement generally conceived of as aiding in post-war reconstruction and development in BiH. For example, "NATO was given the mandate to implement the military aspects of the Peace Agreement", leading to the establishment of a "multinational force, called the Implementation Force (IFOR)" (SFOR n.d.: n.p.). Although successful, NATO recognised a need "to provide support for the establishment of a secure environment after the end of IFOR's mandate […]" (ibid.). Accordingly, it established a Stabilisation Force (SFOR), responsible for sustaining peace in BiH from 20 December 1996 until 2 December 2004 (ibid.). Following the expiration of SFOR's mandate, "[o]n 2 December 2004 the European Union…launched a EU-led military operation in…BiH – Operation EUFOR ALTHEA, as part of the Common Security and Defence Policy in support to BiH" (EUFOR n.d.: n.p.). EUFOR's current mandate extends until November 2012 (ibid.).

The DPA also established the Office of the High Representative (OHR). Headed by the High Representative[22], the OHR is intended to "coordinate and facilitate civilian aspects of the peace settlement, such as humanitarian aid, economic reconstruction, protection of human rights, and the holding of free elections" (U.S. Department of State

---

[21] The Brčko District constitutes the third part of BiH. During the negotiation of the DPA, "[t]he parties...failed to reach agreement…on the allocation of Entity-control in the…area" (OHR 1997: n.p.). It was not officially established until 8 March 2000 (OHR 2000*b*: n.p.).

[22] To date, seven individuals have served in this capacity: Carl Bildt (December 1995 to June 1997), Carlos Westendorp (June 1997 to July 1999), Wolfgang Petritsch (August 1999 to May 2002), Paddy Ashdown (May 2002 to January 2006), Christian Schwartz-Schilling (February 2006 to June 2007), Miroslav Lajcák (July 2007 to May 2009) and Valentin Inzko (May 2009 to present) (OHR n.d.: n.p.).

1995: n.p.; see also OHR 2012*a*; OHR 2012*b*). Moreover, the Peace Implementation Council (PIC), consisting of members from 55 nations, and its Steering Board (SB) also work in close conjunction with the OHR to support the DPA through various activities, including "assisting financially, providing troops for EUFOR, or directly running operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina" (OHR 2012*c*: n.p.). Furthermore, the Steering Board (SB) "work[s] under the chairmanship of the High Representative as the executive arm of the PIC" (ibid.). Thus, ICMP's establishment in post-war BiH must also be seen in the context of this continued foreign involvement in BiH, a topic I will return to later in this chapter.[23]

Srebrenica

Forensic specialists at two of my fieldwork sites worked with the remains of those individuals who were killed in the 1995 genocide in Srebrenica. In the interest of contextualising their work, what follows is a brief history of the genocide. Srebrenica's pre-war population of approximately 5,800 consisted of mostly Muslims (1990 Yugoslavian census, cited in Wagner 2008: 28). However, its location in northeast BiH near the Serbian border made the town a target for Serbian and Bosnian Serb forces: "The Bosnian Serbs were desperate to gain Srebrenica – home to one of the largest concentrations of Bosnian Muslims remaining in eastern Bosnia and threatening to ruin Serb hopes of annexing that part of Bosnia to their 'greater Serbia'" (Neuffer 2002: 51). After suffering a series of attacks from Bosnian Serb forces beginning in April 1992, the UN passed Resolution 819 on 16 April 1993, deeming Srebrenica a 'safe area' (UN Security Council 1993*b*).[24] Then, on 4 June 1993, "the Security Council passed Resolution

---

[23] The OHR was envisioned as a temporary measure (OHR 2012*b*: n.p.). However, its closure is subject to the achievement of five objectives (Resolution of State Property, Resolution of Defence Property, Completion of Brčko Final Award, Fiscal Sustainability of the State, and Entrenchment of the Rule of Law) and two conditions: the "signing of the SAA [Stabilisation and Association Agreement] and a positive assessment of the situation in BiH by the PIC SB" (OHR 2008: n.p.). While BiH has made some progress toward achieving these objectives and conditions (such as signing the SAA in 2008), it has yet to complete all of these requirements (Inzko 2012: 4, 6-8 and Woehrel 2012: 8).

[24] UN Security Council Resolution 824 later established Tuzla, Goražde, Sarajevo, Bihać, and Žepa as 'safe areas' (UN Security Council 1993*c*).

836, which formally extended the mandate of the UN mission to the safe areas" (Rohde 1997: 393-394n8). According to this, this mandate UNPROFOR was,

> to deter attacks against [the safe areas], monitor the cease-fire, to promote the withdrawal of military or paramilitary units other than those of the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to occupy some key points on the ground, in addition to participating in the delivery of humanitarian relief to the population as provided for in resolution 776 (1992 of 14 September 1992) (UN Security Council 1993*d*: 3).

Resolution 836 is especially noteworthy because it authorised the military force to uphold the mandate of protecting the safe areas. Paragraph 9

> [a]uthorises UNPROFOR…in carrying out the mandate…acting in self-defence, to take the necessary measures, including the use of force, in reply to the bombardments against the safe areas by any of the parties or to armed incursion into them or in the event of any deliberate obstruction in or around those areas to the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR or of protected humanitarian convoys (ibid.).

Paragraph 10 further permitted the use of military force,

> Member States, acting nationally or through regional organisations or arrangements, may take, under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR, all necessary measures, through the use of air power, in and around the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to support UNPROFOR in the performance of its mandate […] (ibid.).

Despite permitting the use of military force to protect the safe areas, the vague language of resolution 836 eventually proved problematic. Rohde (1997: 78) notes that "[o]fficials interpreted the mandate however they wanted to. […] In the end, the decision was political". In most instances, the UN and NATO hesitated to utilise air strikes in order to prevent Serb advances for a number of reasons:

> We believed that by using air power against the Serbs we would be perceived as having entered the war against them, something not authorised by the Security Council and potentially fatal for a peacekeeping operation. Second, we risked

losing control over the process – once the key was turned we did not know if we would be able to turn it back, with grave consequences for the safety of the troops entrusted to us by Member States. Third, we believed that the use of air power would disrupt the primary mission of UNPROFOR as we saw it: the creation of an environment in which humanitarian aid could be delivered to the civilian population of the city. Fourth, we feared Serb reprisal against our peacekeepers. Member states had placed thousands of their troops under United Nations command. We, and many of the troop-contributing countries, considered the security of those troops to be of fundamental importance in the implementation of the mandate (UN General Assembly 1999: 104).[25]

As will be discussed below, while UNPROFOR could utilise force in order to fulfil its mandate of protecting Srebrenica, these concerns about the negative consequences of such actions influenced UN officials' decision to avoid authorising air strikes. Combined with the uncertainty over when military force was permitted and the limited strength of UNPROFOR troops in Srebrenica (see below), this hesitancy would prove disastrous for Srebrenica's inhabitants.

A shortage of troops also negatively impacted UNPROFOR's ability to protect Srebrenica. In his report addressing Security Council Resolution 836, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated that an additional 34,000 troops would be needed in order to fully protect all of the safe areas, though he conceded that "it would be possible to start implementing the resolution under a 'light option' envisaging a minimal troop reinforcement of around 7,600" (UN Security Council 1993*a*: 3). However, "[t]hanks largely to the American refusal to contribute soldiers and fatigue among European states with troops already in Bosnia, only a tiny fraction of the forces needed to man, monitor, and defend these pockets arrived" (Power 2002: 303). While approximately 30,000 additional troops *did* arrive in BiH by the middle of 1995, the number of troops in Srebrenica remained small, consisting of two to three companies (UN General Assembly 1999: 29). Thus, Canadian and later Dutch troops were assigned "the formidable, if unrealistic task of disarming the town's Muslim defenders and deterring Bosnian Serb attacks against it" (Stover & Peress 1995: 121).[26] By July 1995, Dutch troops numbered

---

[25] See also Neuffer 2002: 81-82, 139; Power 2002: 283, 302, 306, 395-396, 406-407; and Rohde 1997: 25-28, 78, 81-82, 166, 364-368 for further discussion about the UN and NATO's concerns regarding air strikes against Serb troops.

[26] The Canadian contingent consisted of "750 lightly armed soldiers" (Wagner 2008: 42). "Although some concerns were raised about force levels, UNPROFOR reported that the Canadian presence was sufficient to

only 780 soldiers, and approximately 600 of these soldiers were stationed in Srebrenica (UN General Assembly 1999: 53).

Moreover, in addition to limited troop strength, Dutch soldiers stationed in Srebrenica also had limited resources. Only 300 of the troops were actually infantry; the remaining soldiers provided support services (UN General Assembly 1999: 53). Although the Dutch maintained eight observation posts (OPs) in the area surrounding Srebrenica, there "were not constructed as defensive positions from which to block or repel an attack into the enclave, but rather as positions from which to observe movements in the area" (ibid.). Furthermore, only seven soldiers were assigned to each OP; this "shortage of manpower" meant that "complete coverage of the enclave perimeter was not possible" (ibid.). Dutch troops were also only lightly armed and suffered from a lack of supplies due to Bosnian Serb troops preventing aid convoys from entering the area (Honig & Both 1997: 133-136; Neuffer 2002: 140; UN General Assembly 1999: 54). In comparison, Bosnian Serb troops were heavily armed and had sufficient access to supplies (UN General Assembly 1999: 54). As the UN General Assembly's report on the fall of Srebrenica (1999: 104) states, "The lightly armed forces in the enclaves would be no match for (and were not intended to resist) a Serb attack supported by infantry and armour". Thus, when Bosnian Serb forces recommenced their attacks on Srebrenica in July 1995, UNPROFOR troops could do little to protect the town without NATO air strikes.

However, following the declaration of Srebrenica as a safe area in April 1993, Serb forces waited to attack the town (Stover & Peress 1998: 121). Accordingly, "life for the estimated 40,000[27] people residing in the enclave remained relatively stable as the threat of NATO air strikes and the presence of the UNPROFOR troops kept the surrounding Bosnian Serb forces in check" (Wagner 2008: 32-33). Nevertheless, the new attacks began in July 1995. By this point, Neuffer (2002: 139-140) argues, there were two signs that such an attack was imminent: Bosnian Serb leaders had become increasingly vocal about

carry out the tasks assigned to UNPROFOR in the enclave" (UN General Assembly 1999: 29). The Canadian battalion remained in Srebrenica until 3 March 1994 when a Dutch battalion, known as Dutchbat-2, assumed responsibility for Srebrenica's safety (ibid: 44; Wagner 2008: 33). Dutchbat-2 consisted of 570 soldiers and remained in Srebrenica until 18 January 1995 when it was relieved by Dutchbat-3 (UN General Assembly 1999: 44; Wagner 2008: 33).

[27] As Bosnian Serb troops had begun attacking villages and towns in the vicinity of Srebrenica, Muslim refugees from these places fled to Srebrenica for safety, significantly increasing its population (ICTY 2001*a*: 5).

wanting Muslims to vacate the area and Bosnian Serb troops had also begun preventing aid convoys from reaching the city (see also UN General Assembly 1999: 54). The 600 personnel of Dutchbat-3, now responsible for the security of Srebrenica, were also impacted by these developments. Their food supplies and ammunition ran low and fuel was rationed, forcing soldiers to patrol the region on foot (Honig & Both 1997: 133-136; Neuffer 2002: 140; UN General Assembly 1999: 54). Soldiers who were away on leave were prohibited from returning to their base by Bosnian Serb forces, reducing the number of Dutchbat troops to 450 (Neuffer 2002: 140).

Although the attacks on Srebrenica did not commence until July 1995, Karadžić ordered combat operations for them beginning in March 1995 (ICTY 2001*a*: 10; Neuffer 2002: 143). General Radislav Krstić then "spent months planning Operatije Krivaja 95, assembling men and training them" (Neuffer 2002: 143; see also ICTY 2001*a*: 10-11). Previously, Srebrenica's perimeter had been protected by "elderly Serb farmer[s] and shepherds"; Krstić replaced them with soldiers from his Drina Corps[28] (Neuffer 2002: 143; see also ICTY 2001*a*: 10-11). The artillery barrage of Srebrenica commenced on July 6; some of the fighting occurred in the vicinity of the Dutch battalion's OPs, causing concern for Lt Colonel Thom Karremans, commander of the Dutchbat troops (Neuffer 2002: 143). Karremans requested direct air support from NATO planes (UN General Assembly 1999: 57-58). However, Brigadier General Cees Nicolai, the chief of staff for UNPROFOR, denied this request; he believed that "a NATO attack could disrupt a new European Union peace initiative" (Rohde 1997: 23). Furthermore, as the UN General Assembly's report on the fall of Srebrenica (1999: 58) states, he "did not believe that the Force Commander's criteria on the use of air power…(to be used only as a last resort), had been met". Thus, neither NATO nor the Dutch troops responded to the attacks, and Bosnian Serb forces continued their bombardment of the enclave (Neuffer 2002: 144).

The situation worsened and "[b]y sundown on…the second day of the attack, Bosnian Serb troops had taken control of the southern half of the enclave and were holding 30 Dutch soldiers hostage" (Stover & Peress 1998: 123). Bosnian Serb troops had also

---

[28] As the ICTY (2001*a*: 32) writes, "the Drina Corps of the VRS was formed in 1992 with the specific objective of 'improving' the situation of the Bosnian Serb people living in the middle of the Podrinje region, of which Srebrenica was an important part". Radislav Krstić became the commander and chief of staff for the Drina Corps in 1995 (Neuffer 2002: 143). The ICTY found that members of the Drina Corps were variously involved and/or had knowledge of the events that transpired in Srebrenica (ICTY n.d.*f*: 5-6).

taken control of two Dutch OPs and surrounded a third (Neuffer 2002: 144). Karremans
radioed headquarters, begging for assistance, as Serbs forces advanced into the town
(Stover & Peress 1998: 123). Further requests for air support by Karremans were denied,
and he was instead ordered to evacuate the surrounded OP (UN General Assembly 1999:
59). As Neuffer (2002: 144-145) explains,

> no one in the UN's higher echelons was informed about the continuing attack on
> Srebrenica. When [UN] Secretary General Boutros-Ghali convened the UN
> officials in Geneva on July 8, there was no discussion of the enclave. Not until the
> next day…when news of the Srebrenica attack was finally relayed to Akashi…and
> General Janvier[29]…did Srebrenica get their attention (Neuffer 2002: 144-145).

However, Janvier merely threatened Bosnian Serb leaders with military intervention; such
admonitions had little impact (Neuffer 2002: 145).[30] Consequently, Bosnian Serb troops
met with little resistance as they moved towards Srebrenica. By the end of July 8, the
Drina Corps had taken control of a total of five Dutch OPs, still held 30 Dutch troops
hostage, and had driven approximately 3,000 refugees from the vicinities of Srebrenica
into the town (Neuffer 2002: 145).

Thus, "on 9 July 1995, emboldened by the military success and the surprising lack
of resistance from the Bosnian Muslims, as well as the absence of any significant reaction
from the international community, Radovan Karadžić issued a new order authorising the
VRS Drina Corps to capture the town of Srebrenica" (ICTY n.d.*f*: 4). Thus, Bosnian Serb
troops continued to attack the Dutch OPs (UN General Assembly 1999: 61-62).
Karremans, reportedly unaware of Karadžić's new orders, was hesitant to request further
air strikes (Rohde 1997: 76). However, Janvier, having learned about recent developments
in the area, "instructed UNPROFOR to assemble target information for close air support"
(UN General Assembly 1999: 62). Furthermore, this plan also allowed Karremans to
request air support if needed (ibid.). Early in the evening, Nicolai contacted General
Zdravko Tolimir, "one of Ratko Mladić's top generals" warning him that "if the BSA
[Bosnian Serb Army] troops did not withdraw…within two hours, UNPROFOR would be

---

[29] At this time, Yasushi Akashi served as the UN Special Envoy for the former Yugoslavia and General
Bernard Janvier was the UN Force Commander in the former Yugoslavia (Neuffer 2002: 141).
[30] As discussed above, Bosnian Serb leaders were well aware of UN and NATO's fear of casualties and
hesistancy to use military force, especially air strikes (see Neuffer 2002: 81-82, 134, 139, 141-142; Power
2002: 285-286; and Rohde 1997: 162, 188).

forced to respond with all available means" (ibid.: 63). Despite such warnings, by that evening, Bosnian Serbs forces "were only a half mile south of Srebrenica" (Rohde 1997: 84).

As the ICTY (2001*a*: 11) notes, "on the morning of 10 July 1995, the situation in Srebrenica town was tense". Seeking to prevent the Bosnian Serb advance, Karremans ordered his troops into blocking positions (UN General Assembly 1999: 63). His actions had limited impact, however, and the attacks strengthened throughout the day (Neuffer 2002: 146). Once again, NATO and UN assistance did not arrive: in New York, Akashi incorrectly notified the UN Security Council that the attacks on Srebrenica had ceased and "he repeated an inaccurate report made earlier in the day that it was the Bosnian Muslims who had attacked a Dutch armoured personnel carrier" (ibid.: 146). Thus, Srebrenica was nearly under Bosnian Serb control by the evening of July 10, causing Karremans to once more request air support (Rohde 1997: 118). Janvier again declined this request, noting instead that "as of 0600 hours the following day NATO aircraft would be airborne and ready to conduct close air support at shorter notice, and against infantry if necessary, if called on to do so" (UN General Assembly 1999: 66).

On the morning of July 11, Bosnian Serb forces "were half a mile outside of Srebrenica" (Stover & Peress 1998: 123). Dutch forces began preparing to evacuate their troops and the civilians from the town (ibid.). A NATO aircraft from Italy began circling the city at 06:00 but did not drop any bombs; Karremans soon learned that he was expected to file a request for the bombing to begin, and by 07:44 had submitted two such requests (Neuffer 2002: 148). These requests did not reach his superiors in Sarajevo for over three hours, and by that point the NATO planes had to return to Italy for refuelling (ibid.). At 14:30, two NATO planes dropped bombs on Serb tanks but to little avail (Rohde 1997: 158-160). Moreover, Bosnian Serbs began threatening to kill the hostages if the bombings did not cease, and, afraid of casualties, UN officials elected to negotiate their surrender (Power 2002: 400).

Thus, the BSA, led by Ratko Mladić, freely entered Srebrenica shortly after 16:00 (Stover & Peress 1998: 124). UN soldiers and civilians fled to the Dutch base in Potočari, located two miles outside of Srebrenica (ibid.). By the end of the day, approximately 20,000 refugees had gathered inside of and in the area surrounding the Dutchbat base

(Neuffer 2002: 150). These refugees consisted mostly of women, children, and the elderly, although approximately 1,000 men were among them (Stover & Peress 1998: 129). In light of these developments,

> [t]he Dutch were under orders to protect the refugees. That evening, the UN in Zagreb issued strict guidelines to the peacekeepers: Negotiate for a cease-fire. Do not give up your weapons. Concentrate forces in the Potočari camp. Defend your forces with all possible means, including the use of close air support. Be prepared to receive and coordinate delivery of medical and other relief supplies (Neuffer 2002: 150).

However, these orders soon proved challenging to follow. Twice on the night of 11 July Mladić summoned Karremans to the Hotel Fortuna in Bratunac to discuss the fate of the Dutch Battalion and Srebrenica refugees (UN General Assembly 1999: 69-70). "In the two meetings….Mladić pledged to evacuate the wounded according to the Geneva Conventions and to evacuate all the other Bosnian Muslims as soon as they surrendered their arms. He vowed to establish a cease-fire" (Neuffer 2002: 151; see also UN General Assembly 1999: 70). On July 12, Mladić met with the refugees for a third time, reiterating his orders from the previous night (Neuffer 2002: 151-152; see also UN General Assembly 1999: 73). He announced that the refugees would be released once they were disarmed, but also asserted that "all able-bodied men between the ages of seventeen and sixty must be screened against a list of war criminals. Then the Dutch battalion and their employees will be evacuated" (Neuffer 2002: 152). The Dutch troops decided that they had no choice but to follow Mladić's orders (ibid.:153).

Furthermore, beginning on the night of July 11, the majority of the town's approximately 10-15,000 men and boys fled from Srebrenica to Šušnajri; there, they met up in order to organize a march to Tuzla[31] (Stover & Peress 1998: 127; UN General Assembly 1999: 69). They progressed slowly towards Tuzla; as Wagner (2008: 40) explains: "Because the men had to make their way through Serb minefields located at the periphery of the enclave, they were forced at points to walk in single file, forming a long column that spread out over miles" (see also UN General Assembly 1999: 70). This escape route to Tuzla became know as the 'Trail of Life and Death' because Bosnian Serb forces

---

[31] Tuzla had been declared a 'safe area' in 1993 and was held by Bosnian Muslim forces (Power 2002: 403).

frequently attacked those who fled (Stover & Peress 1998: 127). They also called upon the men and boys to surrender; those who did so were killed (ibid.: 128). Although many of the men who attempted to reach Tuzla did not survive the trek, approximately 4,700 successfully reached the town, some arriving as late as October or November (ibid.: 132; Rohde 1997: 343).

Meanwhile, on July 12, "Serb scouts arrived at Potočari …[they] assured the peacekeepers that an orderly evacuation of the refugees would begin once their commanders arrived. The women and children would be bussed to Bosnian-held territory, the men to POW camps" (Stover & Peress 1998: 129). To this end, Krstić had ordered approximately 50 to 60 buses and trucks sent to Potočari for use in evacuating the civilians (Power 2002: 401)[32]; however, as the refugees lined up to board the buses, Bosnian Serb soldiers separated males aged 15 to 69 from the women and children (Neuffer 2002: 154). Dutch troops observed and sometimes assisted in these separations (ibid.). Furthermore, numerous atrocities, such as the killing of males and the raping of young women, were committed beginning on 12 July (see ibid.; Power 2002: 402; UN General Assembly 1999: 76-77). Some of the Dutch soldiers recognised this violence and the separation of the men and the women as a cause for concern:

> Inside the base, the Dutch peacekeepers passed on reports to their commanding officers that they had seen Bosnian Muslim men separated from the women and that several had been executed. Major Franklin, [deputy commander of the Dutch battalion] informed that men had been pulled aside, called ahead to Kladanj, where the first buses had arrived, to see if only women had arrived. To his dismay, he learned that the Dutch peacekeepers who were to escort the buses with refugees had been taken prisoner by the Bosnian Serbs, who had stolen their weapons and their cars. UN staff in Kladanj also told Franklin that although no men had arrived on the buses, they weren't overly worried (Neuffer 2002: 154-155).

Franken quickly determined that the men had been executed, though he failed to inform his superiors of his concerns (ibid.: 155).

---

[32] In 2001, Krstić was found guilty of numerous crimes for his involvement in the Srebrenica genocide, including "aiding and abetting genocide, aiding and abetting murder (violation of the laws or customs of war), aiding and abetting extermination, aiding and abetting persecutions on political, racial and religious grounds (crimes against humanity)" (ICTY n.d.f: 1). He was originally sentenced to serve 46 years' imprisonment, though this was reduced to 35 years in 2004 (ibid.).

As Franken assumed, the majority of the men from Srebrenica captured by Bosnian Serb troops were indeed summarily executed. In all, approximately 8,000 to 8,100 Bosniak men from Srebrenica died at the hands of Bosnian Serb troops (ICMP 2012*a*: n.p.).[33] Some of these executioners were members of the Drina Corps. Other units of the VRS, such as the 10th Sabotage Detachment, the Zvornik Brigade, and the Bratunac Brigade, were also brought in for the purpose of carrying out these executions (ICTY 2001*a*: 86, 137; ICTY n.d.*e*: 4). As noted by the ICTY (n.d.*f*: 5),

> [s]ome [men] were killed individually or in small groups by those who captured them and some were killed in the places where they were temporarily detained. Most, however, were slaughtered in carefully orchestrated mass executions, commencing on 13 July 1995, in the region just north of Srebrenica. Prisoners not killed on 13 July 1995 were subsequently bussed to execution sites further north of Bratunac […]. The large-scale executions in the north took place between 14 and 17 July 1995.

Although the location of these mass executions varied, each was conducted in a similar manner:

> The men were taken first to empty schools or warehouses. After being detained there for some hours, they were loaded onto buses or trucks and taken to another site for execution. Usually, the execution fields were in isolated locations. Once at the killing fields, the men were taken off the trucks in small groups, lined up and shot. Those who survived the initial round of gunfire were individually shot with an extra round, though sometimes only after they had been left to suffer for a time. Immediately afterwards, and sometimes even during the executions, earth moving equipment arrived and the bodies were buried, either on the spot where they were killed or in another nearby location (ibid.).

Later, "Bosnian Serb forces attempted to conceal the primary mass graves…by digging up and removing some or all of the bodies contained within them to a second location—hence

---

[33] The ICTY found, "Although there is evidence that a small number of killings in Potočari and afterwards involved women, children and elderly, virtually all of the persons killed in the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica were Bosnian Muslim males of military age" (ICTY 2001*a*: 179). A minority of the victims were under the age of 15 or older than 65 (ibid.: n1149). During my fieldwork, I alternately heard that two and five women had been reported missing following the Srebrenica genocide. At least one Catholic man, Rudolf Hren, was also a victim of the genocide; he was buried in the Potočari Memorial Centre in 2010 (Šarić 2010: n.p.).

the term 'secondary mass gravesite'" (Wagner 2008: 51). The ICTY (2001*a*: 25) commented that the existence of these secondary mass graves serves as further evidence that the majority of the deceased had been executed,

> The reburial evidence demonstrates a concerted campaign to conceal the bodies of the men in these primarily gravesites, which was undoubtedly prompted by increasing international scrutiny of the events following the take-over of Srebrenica. Such extreme measure would not have been necessary had the majority of the bodies in these primary graves been combat victims.

The majority of these exhumations and reburials appear to have occurred over several weeks, from September until early October 1995; oftentimes, the remains were re-interred in "still more remote locations" (ICTY 2001*a*: 25).

The women and children of Srebrenica met with a different fate. As they were deported from the enclave, they saw Muslim men standing alongside the road in groups; bodies of men, some with their throats slit, also lay next to the road (McCarthy 2000: 50; Power 2002: 403). Furthermore "the departing buses [were] sometimes stopped and boarded by Serbian soldiers who demand[ed] money…At some of the stops, younger women [were] pulled off the buses and [were] never seen again" (McCarthy 2000: 52). Eventually, the buses carrying the women and children arrived in Tuzla, flooding the city with refugees (Neuffer 2002: 160). There, they waited to reunite with or hear news of their male loved ones.

Although it occurred too late for those killed in and around Srebrenica, "[t]he news of the genocide and the disgrace of the UN peacekeeping mission in Srebrenica finally began to affect the Western governments' political will" (Wagner 2008: 55). President Clinton eventually agreed to employ military force in BiH (ibid.). NATO bombing began again on 30 August 1995 "and in three weeks its planes had flown 3,400 sorties and carried out 750 attacks against 56 targets"; these attacks eventually forced Bosnian Serb officials to negotiate peace within BiH, an action which culminated in the signing of the DPA on 14 December 1995 (ibid.).

In 2001, the ICTY found Krstić guilty committing genocide in the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica, thereby ruling that genocide had occurred in the enclave (ICTY n.d.*f*: 7). Although this conviction was later overturned and he was instead found guilty of aiding

and abetting genocide, the court nevertheless upheld the previous ruling that genocide happened in Srebrenica (ibid.: 8). Furthermore, in 2007, the International Court of Justice (ICJ)[34] ruled that while Serbia and Montenegro were not responsible for committing genocide in Srebrenica, they *were* responsible for failing to prevent it from occurring (ICJ 2007: 186).[35] Accordingly, the ICJ's ruling also confirms the incidence of genocide in Srebrenica.

The Srebrenica genocide constitutes perhaps the most infamous event of the war in BiH. The perceived failure of the international community to prevent the atrocity has received widespread attention. The concluding paragraph of the UN General Assembly's (1999: 108) report on Srebrenica describes the genocide as "a horror without parallel in the history of Europe since the Second World War" and asserts, "[t]he men who have been charged with this crime against humanity reminded the world and, in particular, the United Nations, that evil exists in the world. They taught us that the United Nations global commitment to ending conflict does not preclude moral judgements, but makes them necessary". Likewise, Rohde (1997: 353) argues,

> The fall of Srebrenica did not to have to happen. There is no need for thousands of skeletons to be strewn across eastern Bosnia. There is no need for thousands of Muslim children to be raised on stories of their fathers, grandfathers, uncles and brothers slaughtered by Serbs. The fall of Srebrenica could have been prevented.

As it will be argued below, it appears that this sense of international responsibility is one of the reasons why foreign donors have supported forensic investigations in BiH. First carried

---

[34] "The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations (UN). It was established in June 1945 by the Charter of the United Nations and began work in April 1946. […] The Court's role is to settle, in accordance with international law, legal disputes submitted to it by States and to give advisory opinions on legal questions referred to it by authorised United Nations organs and specialised agencies" (ICJ n.d.: n.p.).

[35] This case initially came before the ICJ

> [o]n 20 March 1993, [when] the Government of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina…filed in the Registry of the Court an Application instituting proceedings against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (with effect from 4 February 2003, 'Serbia and Montenegro' and with effect from 3 June 2006, the Republic of Serbia…) in respect of a dispute concerning alleged violations on the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 9 December 1948…, as well as various matters which Bosnia and Herzegovina claimed were connected therewith (ICJ 2007: 10).

The 1995 killings in Srebrenica were considered during this case (ibid.: 116-127 and 159-219).

out in order to gather evidence for prosecuting the perpetrators of the genocide and later with the aim of identifying and repatriating victims' remains to family members, these forensic investigations may be seen as an attempt by the international community to make amends for its grievous error.

Furthermore, this forensic work represents a significant challenge. Forensic specialists have been responsible for helping locate approximately 8,000 bodies spread out over a vast and mountainous geographic area. Moreover, due to efforts by Bosnian Serb troops to hide their crimes, the body of one individual may be located in several graves. Accordingly, forensic specialists have been required to re-associate these remains, effectively putting pieces of a puzzle back together again. In many instances, victims' bodies will never be fully re-associated and families receive incomplete remains. Finally, as is the focus of this thesis, forensic specialists must also face and successfully navigate, on a daily basis, the emotions associated with working with the remains of thousands of men and boys who died under horrific circumstances.

Bosanska Krajina

Although I spent the majority of my fieldwork in a mortuary that housed the remains of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide, I also conducted interviews and observations in ICMP's mortuary in the Bosanska Krajina. Located in Bresnica, a small town in northwest BiH, Mortuary C was responsible for examining and identifying the remains of the individuals killed in this region during the war. In Bosanska Krajina, tensions between Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Muslims rose prior to the war, due in part to the region's close proximity to Croatia; towards the end of the summer in 1991, "many military aged men from BiH were mobilised to join the JNA in order to fight in Croatia. A large number of Bosnian Serbs responded, but Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats…generally did not" (ICTY 2004*a*: 26). Further problems arose in the autumn as troops returned to their homes after having fought in Croatia. They frequently intimidated Bosnian Croats and Muslims, shooting at their stores, homes, and places of worship; some Bosnian Muslims were also killed by Bosnian Serb troops (ibid.). Finally,

the influx of Serb refugees from Croatia in large numbers caused housing problems […]. Their stories about the war in Croatia and how they were dismissed from their jobs and expelled from their homes contributed to the build-up of fear amongst Bosnian Serbs and to the rise of tensions between the ethnic communities (ibid.).

As occurred elsewhere in BiH, propaganda by Bosnian Serb officials directed against Bosnian Croats and Muslims exacerbated these tensions. For example,

> [t]elevision programmes would be interrupted with news breaks giving accounts of fresh threats to the Serbs from Muslim 'extremists' and Croatian 'Ustasha'. Terms like '*jihad*', 'Muslim warriors,' and 'Ustasha massacres' were tossed around as if they were fact. The not-so-subtle message was that Serbs were going to join together and arm themselves, because the Muslims were going to attack (Neuffer 2002: 34).

Such propaganda intensified in late spring 1992, and it "began suggesting that non-Serbs should move out from Bosnian Serb territory, and that only a small percentage of non-Serbs could remain in the area" (ICTY 2004*a*: 36). Once the war began, the media occasionally encouraged Bosnian Serbs to kill non-Serbs (ibid.). This propaganda served its purpose: "[w]hile influencing the Bosnian Serb population to perceive and treat the non-Serb inhabitants as enemies…it also instilled fear among the non-Serb population and created an atmosphere of terror, which contributed to the subsequent massive exodus of non-Serbs" (ICTY 2004*a*: 36). This 'massive exodus' of the non-Serb population from the Bosnian Krajina was viewed as necessary for the establishment of a separate Serb state,

> ethnic cleansing was not a by-product of the criminal activity; it was its very aim […] The conditions of life imposed on the non-Serb population of the Bosnian Krajina and the military operations against towns and villages which were not military targets were undertaken for the sole people of driving people away (ICTY 2004*a*: 52-53).[36]

These "conditions of life" varied throughout the region and included the dismissal of non-Serbs from jobs to the killing of non-Serbs by paramilitary groups, the Bosnian Serb army,

---

[36] As a result of the 'successful' ethnic cleansing in the region, the majority of the crimes directed again non-Serbs ended after 1992. However, the remaining non-Serb inhabitants continued to be targets of discrimination, violence, and deportations for the remainder of the war (see Fontbonne University n.d.; Human Rights Watch 1994*a*; Human Rights Watch 1994*b*; Rieff 1995: 208-209).

and members of the police force (ICTY 2004*b*: n.p.). While the sheer number of crimes committed in this region prevents me from providing a complete history, what follows represents a condensed summary of events.

Throughout the Bosanska Krajina, "Bosnian Serb authorities exerted undue pressure on Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats in an organised manner to make them leave the area" (ICTY 2004*a*: 37). For example, from the spring of 1992 onwards, non-Serbs were dismissed from their jobs in the army, police, and other public institutions (ibid.: 36). Non-Serbs also did not receive the same health care at hospitals, and their freedom of movement was limited due to checkpoints and curfews (ibid.: 186). Bosnian Serb authorities sometimes appropriated non-Serb property for use by Bosnian Serbs (ibid.: 222-223). Then, beginning in the spring of 1992, "active and systematic repression and expulsion of Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats was carried out by the Bosnian Serb authorities" (ICTY 2004*b*: n.p.). For example, non-Serbs were "rounded up and often separated" after Bosnian Serb forces attacked their village or town (ICTY 2004*a*: 206). Bosnian Serb leaders also organised convoys to remove non-Serbs from the region (ICTY 2004*b*: n.p.). Although non-Serbs sometimes asked for such convoys, these individuals "did not leave of their own free will, but were forced to do so due to the conditions imposed on them" (ibid.).

For many deportees, their next destination was one of several concentration camps located in the region, such as Omarska, Keraterm, Manjaca, or Trnopolje. These camps were established in spring 1992 in a variety of facilities, including schools, sports centres, army barracks, police stations and factories (ICTY 2004*a*: 51, 206). Members of the Bosnian Serb army, police force, and civilian authorities ran these camps; although some prisoners were high-ranking officials, most of the prisoners were 'ordinary' people (ibid.: 37). They were frequently arrested *en masse* and then deported to various camps (ibid.: 51). Conditions within the camps were appalling as "[i]nmates were interrogated, beaten, subjected to inhuman and degrading conditions of life and tortured. Women were raped and killings occurred on a regular basis" (ibid.). An estimated 10,000 prisoners died in these camps (Power 2002: 269).

Outside of the camps and throughout the region, non-Serbs were also subjected to various other forms of physical and emotional abuse and/or torture. In Banja Luka, for

instance, soldiers and members of paramilitary groups could request to see an individual's papers at any time and beat people at will (Udovički and Štitkovac 1997: 186). Non-Serbs did not have any protection from such mistreatment and abuse (ICTY 2004*a*: 37). Non-Serbs detained for interrogations were also frequently beaten as a means of both attaining information and terrorising prisoners (ibid.: 196-197). Bosnian Croats and Muslims were sometimes forced to watch executions or "collect the bodies of their neighbours and friends and bury them" (ibid.: 193, 194, 195). Women also experienced various forms of sexual violence (ibid.: 195-196). Finally, non-Serbs were sometimes exterminated *en masse*. For example,

> [o]n August 21, 1992, between 150 and 200 Muslims, just released from Trnopolje and driven away from the camp in a truck, were stopped in the vicinity of Vlasic village by a group of Bosnian Serb soldiers […]. The men were ordered to line up facing a ravine and shot in the back of the head. Some were shot more than once as they fell (Udovički and Štitkovac 1997: 187-188).

Similarly, when fighting commenced in the Prijedor municipality in spring 1992, a group of approximately 100 Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats attempted to flee, but were soon arrested by armed Bosnian Serbs and taken to a detention camp (ICTY 2004*a*: 162). There,

> [t]he detained group was ordered to line up in front of a building, and a Bosnian Serb soldier…singled out four persons. They were taken to one of the rooms inside the building and shot dead. […] In the course of the day, 60 individuals were taken out to the woods in groups, from where one could hear bursts of gunfire (ibid.).

The ICTY ruled that these 60 individuals had been killed (ibid.).

Although the atrocities committed in the Bosnian Krajina have been described as genocide,[37] none of the ICTY judgments for the region have defined the events as such. This is in accordance with the legal definition of genocide laid out in the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which states that genocide can only been said to have occurred when the perpetrator/s act/s with the "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group" (UN 1948: n.p.). For

---

[37] See also Fontbonne University n.d. and McCarthy n.d.

example, in its judgement of Radoslav Brđanin,[38] who was accused of genocide and complicity in genocide for crimes committed in the Bosanska Krajina between 1 April 1992 and 31 December 1992, the court ruled:

> Although the factors raised by the Prosecution have been examined on an individual basis, the Trial Chamber finds that, even if they were taken together, they do not allow the Trial Chamber to legitimately draw the inference that the underlying offences were committed with the specific intent required for the crime of genocide. On the basis of the evidence presented in this case, the Trial Chamber has not found beyond reasonable doubt that genocide was committed in the relevant ARK [Autonomous Region of Krajina] municipalities, in April to December 1992 (ICTY 2004*a*: 322).

Regardless of the term applied to the crimes committed in the Bosanska Krajina, as in the case of Srebrenica, the perpetrators left behind their victims' remains. Accordingly, forensic specialists working in this region have also been responsible for locating, exhuming, and identifying the remains of the deceased. Thus, they are subject to many of the same challenges as forensic specialists working in the Srebrenica region.

History of ICMP and forensic work in BiH

In the aftermath of the war, efforts were made to identify the remains of the missing, a task that fell to numerous organisations, including the Federal Commission for Missing Persons, the ICTY, Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the University Clinical Centre in Tuzla, and ICMP (Wagner 2008: 93). By 2003, however, most of the recovery and identification efforts fell to the ICMP, ICRC, and the Federal Commission for Missing Persons (ibid.). The involvement of so many organisations in the post-war forensic investigations in BiH makes it difficult to present a simple description of the reasons/objectives that motivated

---

[38] Brđanin served as a "[l]eading political figure in the Autonomous Region of Krajina (ARK) and held key positions at the municipal, regional and republic levels […]" (ICTY 2004*b*: n.p.). In 2007, he was found guilty "of persecutions; torture; deportation; inhumane acts (forcible transfer)…[w]anton destruction of cities, towns or villages or devastation not justified by military necessity; destruction or wilful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion…wilful killing; torture" (ICTY n.d.*d*: 1-2). Brđanin was sentenced to serve 30 years in prison (ibid.: 1).

involvement or the methods that were employed. As Wagner (ibid.) found during her fieldwork with ICMP, "There is a complicated history behind the current relationship among these organisations, one with several offshoots that concern evolving practise, consolidated authority and knowledge, and institutional rivalry". In what follows, I briefly examine these relationships, tracing the history of efforts to locate, recover, and identify the remains of those killed during the war in BiH and the diverse reasons behind these actions.

On 25 July 1995, the ICTY issued arrest warrants for Mladić and Karadžić, charging them "with genocide and other crimes against humanity…for crimes perpetrated against the civilian population throughout Bosnia-and-Herzegovina" (ICTY 1995*a*: n.p.). A second indictment followed on 16 November 1995, addressing their responsibility for the atrocities committed in Srebrenica (ICTY 1995*b*: n.p.). With these indictments came the need to gather forensic evidence of the crimes, leading the ICTY to enlist the assistance of PHR in gathering a team of forensic scientists (Vollen 2001: 336-337). Accordingly, in April 1996, forensic anthropologist Dr William Haglund travelled to BiH in order to conduct initial investigations of the mass graves in the Srebrenica area (Stover & Peress 1998: 142).

Although the creation of ICMP was announced after Haglund left for BiH, the need for an entity like ICMP to address the issue of missing persons in BiH was recognised prior to the end of the war,

> The UN Special Process on missing persons in the territory of the former Yugoslavia was established on 9 March 1994 by [UN] Commission on Human Rights resolution 1994/72 and extended by resolutions 1995/35 and 1996/71. It is entrusted to one expert member [Nowak] of the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances…and aims at determining the fate and whereabouts of the missing and at alleviating the suffering of their relatives (Nowak 1998: 111).

Nowak's role as the expert member changed in 1996, and he henceforth "concentrated his activities on facilitating the excavation of mass graves and exhumation of mortal remains. This includes fund raising for a comprehensive programme of forensic activities, as requested in UN Commission on Human Rights resolution 1996/71 of April 1996" (ibid.). In his 4 March 1996 report to the UN Commission on Human Rights, Nowak

recommended the establishment of "a multilateral commission on missing persons"
(Nowak 1996: 23). He stated,

> the expert, during his recent visit to Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, proposed
> the establishment of a high-level multilateral commission on missing persons…The
> commission would have a mandate to mediate between the parties concerned, to
> encourage all parties to cooperate and to disclose information on the whereabouts
> of the missing persons, to compile updated lists of all missing and detained persons,
> and to coordinate the excavation of mass graves in close consultations with the
> International Criminal Tribunal (Nowak 1996: 24).

Thus, "in conformity with" this proposal, the United States government initiated the
creation of ICMP (Nowak 1998: 113). On 29 June 1996 at a G-7 Summit in Lyons, France,
President Bill Clinton announced the establishment of ICMP:

> Uncertainty about the fate of the missing is a source of anguish for their families
> and a cause of tension between the parties to the Dayton peace agreement. Only a
> handful of the nearly 12,000 missing-person cases thus far certified by the
> International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have been resolved to date.[39]
> This initiative will help to promote a full and timely accounting of the missing.
>
> The new commission will work closely with representatives from the United
> Nations, the ICRC, the Office of the High Representative, Physicians for Human
> Rights, and other organisations to accomplish its primary task: to secure the full
> cooperation of the parties to the Dayton peace agreement in locating the missing
> from the 4-year conflict and to assist them in doing so. This initiative aims to
> support and enhance the work of the ICRC and the Office of High Representative,
> which have exerted significant effort and leadership in dealing with this very
> difficult issue.
>
> The commission will encourage public involvement in its activities and will take
> firm steps to see that the parties devote the attention and resources necessary to
> produce early, significant progress on missing-person cases. It will also reinforce
> efforts to ensure that exhumations, when necessary to identify the fate of missing
> persons, are conducted under international supervision and in accordance with
> international standards. In addition, the commission will facilitate the development
> of an ante mortem data base to support exhumation efforts.

---

[39] Nowak (1998: 110) explains, "In 1995, the ICRC began systematically to collect tracing requests from the
families of missing persons and, on 12 June 1996, it launched a tracing campaign, *inter alia*, publishing a
book with the names of missing persons on its file and inviting the families to react to the information
contained in the book and to submit further tracing requests" (see ICRC 1996).

In the longer term, and with the help and guidance of affected families, the commission will work to develop appropriate expressions of commemoration and tribute to the lost and the missing and their loved ones.

Although the commission will be an international effort, the United States will make a startup contribution of $2 million (Clinton 1996: 997-998).

Thus, ICMP's main purpose was to support the DPA, specifically Annex 7 which addresses the issue of missing persons (U.S. Department of State 1995: n.p.). As its name suggests, ICMP was also intended as an internationally supported organisation, thus presenting another example of foreign involvement in post-conflict reconstruction in BiH. Furthermore, while ICMP's creation was announced in June, it was not officially established until 11 October 1996 (Nowak 1998: 113). Also, although ICMP has grown substantially since its founding, it is important to note that "[d]uring the initial stages of the identification efforts, ICMP's mandate was carried out by…Physicians for Human Rights, whose personnel worked closely with ICTY investigators and forensic specialists in the exhumation of the Srebrenica graves" (Wagner 2011: 45n6). I will expand upon the work of the ICTY and PHR below.

Returning to BiH, excavations commenced on 7 July 1996 (Neuffer 2002: 231). Over a period of three months, four mass graves, each containing the bodies of individuals killed during the Srebrenica genocide, were excavated. Together, the bodies of approximately 517 boys and men, as well as various body parts, were recovered (Stover & Peress 1998:177). Although this represented only a small portion of the missing persons, these graves provided strong evidence of the atrocities committed there – many of the bodies were found blindfolded with their hands bound behind their backs; others were found in the grave on their knees, "having fallen face forward when shot by a high-velocity weapon" (ibid.: 150; see also Koff 2005: 137).

However, the ICTY had little interest in identifying and returning the remains of the deceased to their families, instead focusing their efforts on the collection of evidence that could be used prosecute the perpetrators (Vollen 2001: 337.). Having accomplished this task, by October 1996 the ICTY-sponsored forensic scientists departed BiH, transferring authority of the excavated remains to Zdenko Cihlarz, director of the forensic institute of the University of Tuzla. There, he and his colleagues attempted to identify the

bodies in order to return them to their families for burial, responding to the need of Srebrenica families for information regarding the fate of their missing loved ones (Stover & Peress 1998: 178-181, 194-199). As Wagner (2008: 68) writes, "families began to demand answers from international authorities such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees], and the UN peacekeeping mission in Bosnia". Furthermore, on

> February 2, 1996…hundreds of women [from Srebrenica] stormed the headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Tuzla, shattering windows and occupying offices. They demanded that greater efforts be made to find the missing men who, the women claimed, were prisoners or working as slave labourers in mines in Serbia (Stover & Peress 1998: 195).[40]

Individuals from this group of women later formed a citizens' organisation in 1999, known as Women of Srebrenica[41], demanding "a complete investigation of the massacre, the opening of mass graves and the identification and burial of their sons, husbands and fathers who vanished in July 1995" (Simic 2009: 224-225). Accordingly,

> realising the importance of scientifically sound identification for families who felt betrayed by the international community, and absent a local political will to serve the Srebrenica survivors, PHR began what evolved into an extensive effort to develop an identification system for the Srebrenica remains (Vollen 2001: 338).

Thus, in July 1996, the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, an Austrian NGO, began collecting information from families of the missing in order to create an antemortem database (AMDB). It was hoped that information about missing individuals' physical appearance and personal items could be compared to analyses conducted by forensic scientists (Keough *et al.* 2000: 72; PHR 1997: n.p.). By 1997, PHR controlled the AMDB project (Keough *et al*. 2000: 73). Progress, however, was slow. By 1998, for example, over 3,000 bodies had been excavated from the Srebrenica region, but only 30 individuals had been identified (Vollen 2001: 339). In response to these delays, "PHR…proposed that the

---

[40] See also Gendercide Watch 2003: n.p.; Leydesdorff 2011: 192-194.
[41] As the organisation's website states, "The task of this NGO is not to fight for women's rights. The task is to search for the more than 10,000 people missing in European [sic] largest massacre, committed by Bosnian Serb army, on July 11, 1995, in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina" (Women of Srebrenica n.d.: n.p.).

international community assist Bosnian authorities to establish a locally operated Srebrenica identification system that included a local forensic pathologist, adequate facilities, and a DNA lab" (ibid.). Through the assistance of ICMP "[i]n early 1999…a local team, led by a Bosnian forensic pathologist, was in place" (ibid.)

Then, in 2000, ICMP built a storage facility and mortuary, and aimed to construct multiple DNA labs throughout BiH in order to launch "a DNA reference database of all of the families of Bosnia's missing" that could be utilised to identify remains excavated from mass graves (Vollen 2001: 339-340). These plans slowly came to fruition; by 2001, ICMP scientists had successfully developed "a local DNA-based identification system" that could be utilised following mass death (Wagner 2008: 101; ICMP n.d.*a*: n.p.). This technology was brought to the ICMP with the aid of American scientist Ed Huffine, who began working with ICMP in 1999. Prior to joining ICMP, Huffine worked at the United State's Army's Armed Forces DNA Identification Laboratory (AFDIL) identifying the remains of missing American soldiers (Wagner 2008: 101). Wagner (ibid.: 102) explains that scientists at the AFDIL "were just beginning to learn the potential of DNA testing for identifying multiple sets of human remains…Thus, with Huffine's expertise, along with other technicians recruited into the project, ICMP soon proposed a cutting-edge, wide-scale model of DNA testing". The ICMP website emphasises the success of this new technology, asserting,

> ICMP has developed a database of **89,086** relatives of **29,109** missing people, and more than 36,000 bone samples taken from mortal remains exhumed from clandestine graves in the countries of former Yugoslavia. By matching DNA from blood and bone samples, ICMP has been able to identify **16,289** people who were missing from the conflicts and whose mortal remains were found in hidden graves. The effective use of DNA as a means of mass identification has transformed ICMP from a small organisation operating on an essentially political level into the biggest identification programme in the world. ICMP currently operates the world's largest high-throughput DNA human identification facility [emphasis in original] (ICMP n.d.*a*: n.p.).

However, as will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Two, although DNA plays a critical role in identifying remains of the deceased, in many instances, other forms of analyses completed by forensic anthropologists and antemortem data provided by family

members of the missing are utilised in order to confirm a possible match (Wagner 2008: 127). Thus, forensic scientists remain crucial in the identification process.

Locating, exhuming, and identifying the dead also occur within the context of the political aims of the Bosnian government. Thus, both the FBiH and the RS previously maintained their own respective organisations for collecting information about, locating, and identifying 'their' dead: the Federation Commission for Missing Persons in the FBiH and the RS Office for Tracing Detained and Missing Persons (Wagner 2008: 87). However, in the interest of encouraging cooperation between these two organisations, ICMP initiated the creation of the Missing Person's Institute (MPI) in 2000 (Wagner 2008: 262; see also ICMP n.d.*c*). ICMP envisioned MPI as its "local successor", "[a]s with most internationally funded post-conflict reconstruction projects, a long-term aim of ICMP's identification efforts was to develop local capacities to carry out the process" (Wagner 2011: 35). However, in the interest of encouraging cooperation between these two organisations,

> [i]n 1998 a proposal was made to create Missing Persons Institute (MPI) for BiH. This proposal built upon an initiative launched by the Office of the High Representative (OHR) in 1997 called the "Joint Exhumation Process" that permitted the three former warring parties to conduct exhumations relevant to their own missing persons on the "opposing side's" territory (ICMP n.d.*d*: n.p.).

ICMP later received responsibility for managing the Joint Exhumation Process, founding MPI in 2000 (ibid.; see also Wagner 2008: 262). Then, in 2003, "the ICMP Chairman, James V. Kimsey, and Commission Member, Her Majesty Queen Noor, met the members of the tripartite Presidency of BiH and invited BiH to become the co-founder of the MPI along with ICMP" (ICMP n.d.*d*: n.p.; see also ICMP n.d.*c*). The presidency accepted this invitation, and 2005 saw ICMP and the Bosnian Council of Ministers co-signing of the Agreement on Assuming the Role of Co-Founders of the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ibid.). However, MPI did not become fully operational in 2008 (Personal communication, 25 September 2009). Like ICMP, MPI has numerous responsibilities. For example, MPI,

- collects, processes and systematises information on missing persons, individuals and mass graves;

- established and manages the CEN [Central Records of Missing Persons]; keeps records and notifies families of missing persons, including issuing certificates on disappearance and identity of victims as stipulated by the Law on Missing Persons[42];
- finds, checks and marks the locations of mass and individual graves;
- informs judicial authorities about the possible location of graves and requests a Court Order for investigation;
- participates in excavations and exhumations of mass and individual graves (ICMP n.d.*o*: 6).

During my fieldwork (2009-2010), ICMP began the process of transferring some of its responsibilities to MPI in preparation to discontinue its work in BiH.[43]

Furthermore, the work conducted by the ICMP must also be viewed critically in the context of international intervention in BiH during and following the war. Clinton's establishment of ICMP also coincides with Western governments' preference to provide humanitarian assistance rather than military assistance during the war. As Burg & Shoup (2000: 398) note, "Up until virtually the end of the conflict, the international presence in Bosnia was characterised by efforts at humanitarian intervention; that is, by efforts to ameliorate the impact of the war on the civilian population without taking sides in the conflict". For example, following the first attacks in Srebrenica in 1992 to 1993, alarming reports began emerging from the town:

> Refugees were camped out on snowbound streets. Starving families were gnawing on tree roots and eating leaves. Scabies and lice were rampant. A World Health Organisation doctor…estimated people were dying at a rate of twenty to thirty a day, and recommended that at least 18,000 women and children be evacuated" (Neuffer 2002: 55-56).

Phillippe Morillon, the UN commander in BiH, ordered U.S. cargo planes to drop food into the enclave (Stover & Peress 1998: 118). Between March and June 1993, 1,900 tons of food and medicine were parachuted into the area (ibid.). Similarly, although the international community refused to intervene militarily during the 1995 Srebrenica genocide, "[t]he United States and its European allies responded generously to the 20,000

---

[42] See Chapter Four for further details about the Law on Missing Persons.

[43] In June 2012, "ICMP Chairman, Thomas Miller…met Vjekoslav Bevanda, the Bosnian Prime Minister, in Sarajevo to discuss the ways of bringing its mission to an end" (Jukic 2012). Although ICMP intends to transfer control of its activities in BiH to MPI, it most likely will retain control over its DNA facilities (see ICMP 2010*f*; Juhl 2009: 253).

Muslim refugees who were arriving harried but alive in Muslim territory. They erected a sprawling tent city on the Tuzla air base, where Muslim women and children were fed, sheltered, and given medical care" (Power 2002: 410).

This emphasis on humanitarian aid to BiH from the international community continued in the aftermath of the war. Such actions can be viewed as a form of atonement for the international community's failure to intervene militarily in the Bosnian war, especially during the Srebrenica genocide. As Wagner notes in discussing ICMP's use of DNA technology to identify Srebrenica's dead,

> helping Bosnians acquire and implement this cutting-edge application of forensic science…demonstrated the international community's responsiveness to the surviving families, who held the UN responsible for failing to protect the enclave and who had demanded the technoscientific resource be made available to identify their missing relatives (Wagner 2008: 89).

The establishment and ongoing activities of ICMP represents just one example of this trend. The creation of the ICTY by the UN Security Council in 1993 represents another example of this (Stover & Peress 1998: 92). Similarly, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) seeks to "create a multi-ethnic, stable, prosperous and democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina irreversibly on the road to Euro-Atlantic integration" through promoting democratisation, economic growth, and security and peace within the country (USAID n.d.: n.p.). Moreover, in the aftermath of the war, Western European leaders have sought "to integrate Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bosnians into their 'rightful' place in Europe"; that is, inducting the country into the European Union (Coles 2007: 257). Thus, since 2002, the EU has worked closely with the OHR to achieve this goal (OHR n.d.: n.p.). Before this can occur however, social stability and reconstruction must first be achieved in Bosnia (Coles 2007: 257). According to this internationally sponsored vision, recovering and identifying the remains of those killed during the war is viewed as supporting this goal. Wagner (2008: 89) notes that within this international humanitarian vision, identifying those killed during the war through the use of modern science was considered an appropriate form of intervention for the sake of social repair in two ways:

> 1. cast as science in the service of 'truth,' it promised to transcend the politics of the region, counteracting the hyperbole, myth, and manipulation often associated with the task of recovering and identifying victims of ethno-national violence.
> 2. it was manifestly humanitarian. Who, aside from the perpetrators themselves, could object to returning the bones of a missing son to his grieving mother? Framed in this light, the work of identifying Srebrenica's missing, Bosnia's missing, and the former Yugoslavia's missing became a dynamic project gathering support from a range of different actors, all of whom saw its potential results serving their own needs.

In this way, the ICMP can be viewed as a presenting itself as an apolitical organisation while at the same time promoting a distinct political agenda (Ferguson 1994: 256).

ICMP and its work must also be placed within the context of other organisations assisting in recovering and identifying the remains of the deceased following mass death. Although the issue of the fate of human remains following mass death has concerned societies since the ancient world[44], it is only during the second half of the nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century that this topic has received widespread attention. Soon after its founding in 1864, the International Red Cross began considering deceased soldiers' remains, advocating for their respectful treatment and creating guidelines outlining this; such documents were eventually incorporated into the Geneva Conventions (Capdevila & Voldman 2006: 6-10, 25, 76-80). Echoing these earlier developments, following World War I, the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field and the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War both addressed the issue of deceased soldiers' remains (ICRC 1929*a*; ICRC 1929*b*; Capdevila & Voldman 2006: 24-25, 77-80). Given the increase in civilian casualties during World War II, later conventions, including the Convention (IV) Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949) and Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I) (1977) addressed the issue of noncombatants' remains (Capdevila & Voldman 2006: 30, 79; ICRC 1949; ICRC 1977). Furthermore, "the 1949 conventions reinforced those of 1929 relating to the treatment of bodies" (Capdevila & Voldman 2006: 79). As the twentieth century

---

[44] In *The Republic*, for example, Plato raises the question of what should be done with the bodies of soldiers killed in battle (Plato 1985: 160-161).

progressed, the fate of human remains following mass death received consideration outside of the Geneva Conventions. For example, the ICRC and the Pan American Health Organisation (PAHO) have developed and published various documents and guidelines outlining the treatment of human remains following natural disasters and conflict (ICRC 2004*a*; ICRC 2004*b*; PAHO 2004; Morgan *et al.* 2006). Furthermore, PHR's International Forensic Program "mobilises the skills of medical and scientific professionals to investigate human rights violations, war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide" (PHR 2009: n.p.). DMORT (Disaster Mortuary Operational Response Teams), a programme managed by the United States Department of Health and Human Services, responds to mass fatalities in the United States. First established in the 1980s as "a committee…within the National Funeral Directors Association (NFDA) to address disaster situations and specifically, mass fatality incidents", it grew to become a "multi-faceted nonprofit organisation open to all forensic practitioners…support[ing] the idea of a national level response protocol for all related professions" (DMORT n.d.: n.p.). Thus, the formalisation of body recovery appears to have initially emerged in the nineteenth century but has accelerated with the development of DNA technology and in conjunction with the increase in conflict beginning in the 1990s.

Research methodology

Key research questions

In order to appreciate the specifics of working with human remains in a post-conflict setting, I initially proposed conducting research in two different contexts. First, I planned to carry out initial fieldwork in a UK mortuary, studying the daily activities of the local pathologist and the anatomical pathology technicians. Following the completion of this brief stage of research, the majority of my research would then take place with ICMP in BiH, where I would study the work done by various forensic specialists. Thus, the central research questions for this project were limited, facilitating me in comparing and

contrasting the same things in the context of differing circumstances. Accordingly, the initial key research questions of this project were:

1. Under 'normal' circumstances, when handling, examining and analysing human remains, do pathologists and anatomical pathology technicians:

- 'Disidentify' with the human remains or strive to maintain a sense of the deceased individual's humanity?
- Use technical or other forms of language as coping mechanisms?
- Undergo changes in their religious or spiritual beliefs, attitudes towards death and their prior position regarding the disposal of human remains?

2. Are there specific differences in 'post-conflict' settings regarding:

- Identification with the remains?
- The language employed as coping mechanisms?
- Changes in professional/religious/spiritual attitudes to the disposal of remains?

3. How do the practicalities of working in a post-conflict environment impact the work of forensic specialists?

- How do they navigate issues regarding security, funding and staffing shortages and obtaining supplies, as well as their relations with their national and international colleagues?
- How are ongoing tensions within the impacted communities navigated and security ensured while working in unstable regions?
- What allows forensic specialists to uphold their commitment to scientific objectivism in the face of pressures from various international and national interests?

However, as I could not secure research permission for the UK mortuary, my research instead focused solely on ICMP.

My research questions further changed shortly after I began fieldwork in BiH, and my final key research questions were as follows:

1. How and to what extent do forensic specialists respond emotionally to human remains during the course of their work in ICMP's mortuaries?
  - Do different types of remains (e.g. fleshed bodies vs. skeletonised remains) or different parts of the body elicit different emotional responses in the forensic specialist?

> - To what extent are these emotional responses considered problematic and undesirable?
> 2. When necessary, what techniques do forensic specialists employ in order to manage their emotional responses to the remains?
> 3. How do forensic specialists perceive their interactions with family members of the deceased?
> 4. Do forensic specialists view attendance at commemorations and/or burials of victims' remains as desirable and/or beneficial?

My central research questions altered for several reasons. Soon after beginning my interviews, I realised that although I had perceived the issues raised by my original Question Three as a concern, my informants did not share these sentiments. While the practicalities of working in a post-conflict setting were raised occasionally during interviews, ICMP forensic specialists generally underplayed these concerns and spoke only briefly about them. Instead, my respondents more readily addressed the main theme of my research: their experiences with human remains. Their discussions of this topic proved fascinating and insightful, and, accordingly, I elected to focus on this topic for the remainder of my fieldwork. In order to clarify my research, I also re-phrased my original research questions to focus on forensic specialists' emotional responses to human remains and their management of these reactions.[45] Furthermore, I became interested in exploring forensic specialists' interactions with family members of the deceased after one of my informants spoke about the challenges of these encounters during the course of her interview. Noticing a stark contrast in how my informant spoke about her experiences with the living and the dead and wondering if other forensic specialists might have similar responses, I began asking Question Three during my subsequent interviews. As explored in Chapter Four, this line of inquiry provided significant insights into forensic specialists' work with human remains. My focus on forensic specialists' attendance at commemorations and/or burials emerged in a similar manner. While I had planned to ask my informants about this topic in order to better contextualise their work in the mortuary, I was struck by the way in which some forensic specialists juxtaposed their experiences of

---

[45] Throughout my fieldwork, I spoke of forensic specialists' 'coping mechanisms' rather than their 'management of emotional responses'. I began utilising this latter term during the data analysis and writing-up phases of my thesis because I found the term 'coping mechanisms' more appropriate to the field of psychology rather than social anthropology. As I am not a psychologist, I felt uncomfortable with this term and sought an alternative phrase. Moreover, I felt the phrase 'management of emotional responses' was more applicable to my informants' experiences.

and emotional responses to the bodies in the mortuary and at commemorations and/or burials. Accordingly, I chose to highlight this topic in the thesis (see Chapter Five).

I also made two additional alterations to my original key research questions. Given the language barrier I encountered during my fieldwork (see below), I found it difficult to analyse the use of technical or other specific language in the mortuary. Thus, I generally disregarded this aspect of my original questions. Furthermore, while I did ask some of my informants about how their work with human remains impacted their religious/spiritual beliefs and thoughts on death and the disposal of remains, as my informants had little to say on this topic, I also decided to abandon this line of inquiry. As explored in the remainder of this thesis, these alterations to my original research questions proved beneficial and ultimately allowed me to examine how my informants managed their professional identities in emotionally charged situations.

Research methods

Prior to commencing fieldwork, I secured research permission with ICMP from the Director of the Forensic Sciences Division and then sought informed consent from individual employees at the three ICMP mortuaries. The majority of these individuals agreed to participate in my project. In the interest of protecting my informants, I have, to the best of my abilities, anonymised them. Data were obtained via qualitative research methods. Upon commencing fieldwork with ICMP, I received a tour of ICMP headquarters in Sarajevo and met with multiple ICMP employees, including a forensic anthropologist, a translator, the head of the DNA laboratories division, and a representative of the Civil Society Initiatives (CSI) programme, all of whom provided me with information regarding such topics as ICMP's establishment, past and current activities, organisation, and the future direction of its work. I also received a tour of the DNA lab in Sarajevo, the Identification Coordination Division (ICD) in Tuzla (see Chapter Two), and each of the mortuaries prior to commencing fieldwork. However, the majority of my data were obtained through interviews with and observations of junior osteologists, forensic

anthropologists, and mortuary technicians[46] at three of ICMP's mortuary facilities: Mortuary A, located in Slatina (northeast BiH); Mortuary B, situated in Korman (northeast BiH); and Mortuary C, located in Bresnica (Bosanska Krajina)[47]. Although many of my informants were fluent in English, several were not. Given my limited knowledge of Bosnian, in these instances, another ICMP employee served as my translator. As these individuals were highly fluent in English, I am confident in the accuracy of their translations. Respondents were informed that information provided in interviews would be kept confidential and anonymised. All of my informants, save one, granted me permission to record their interviews, and I later transcribed these recordings. I also wrote extensive notes during the interviews. Although I initially intended to conduct multiple group interviews, after carrying out one group interview, I realised these interviews were impractical due to variations in English proficiency and the busy schedules of my respondents. Instead, I carried out individual interviews for the remainder of my fieldwork.

In developing this research project, I had anticipated conducting extensive observations of forensic specialists during their work at three different mortuaries. While I was able to successfully carry out some observations, I was limited in my ability to gather data through this method for several reasons. First, although I initially believed that English would be frequently spoken in the mortuaries due to the high number of non-Bosnian employees at ICMP, I soon learned that most of the foreigners employed in these facilities had recently left or were in the process of ending their work with ICMP. With two exceptions, my informants were Bosnian and thus carried out their daily activities in their native language. Accordingly, in some instances, my limited Bosnian language skills negatively impacted my ability to understand events transpiring in the mortuaries. However, the presence of Sarah, a North American forensic anthropologist (see Chapter Two), at Mortuary B oftentimes proved beneficial. As her Bosnian language skills were also limited, any conversation involving Sarah necessarily took place in English. Furthermore, at both Mortuaries B and C, staff members occasionally spoke in English as a

---

[46] I will also explore the experiences of two case managers. Although I do not consider these individuals forensic specialists *per se* because they do not work directly with the remains, I nevertheless decided to include their experiences. As I will address throughout this thesis, they are exposed to the remains almost as frequently as the 'forensic specialists'. Due to this, they have a unique perspective on the remains, one that serves to highlight the experiences of ICMP's body handlers, especially in regards to interactions with victims' family members (see Chapter Three).

[47] See Chapter Two for a detailed description of these mortuary facilities.

way of including me in their activities. Sometimes, staff members would readily offer translations of conversations or explanations of what events were transpiring/had transpired in the mortuary. Whenever possible, I also asked my informants to clarify their activities or act as translators, although I was careful to not interrupt their work.

Furthermore, I commenced my research at a time in which ICMP was in a transitional phase. Shortly after arriving in BiH in late September 2009, I learned that Mortuary B would be closing in early 2010. Accordingly, I was only able to carry out observations at this facility for one-and-a-half months (early November to mid-December 2009). I could not conduct observations at Mortuary A for two reasons. First, Mortuary B staff members were transferred to Mortuary A following the closure of the former site. This move doubled the number of people working in the already-small facility; consequently, staff members could not spare any room for me. Additionally, as only one of the original Mortuary A employees consented to participate in my research project, it would be extremely difficult to conduct observations in the facility. Thus, I spent limited time at Mortuary A, only visiting the site during my initial tour of the facility and when I returned to the site to schedule or conduct interviews. I spent approximately two weeks at Mortuary C, although its location in northwest Bosnia also limited my ability to conduct observations in that facility. Having anticipated being able to spend a significant amount of time in Mortuaries A and B, I obtained my temporary residence permit for Slatina. The difficulty of obtaining a new residence permit for residing in Bresnica and the cost of repeatedly travelling between the two regions thus limited the time I spent at Mortuary C. Accordingly, in lieu of observations, I rely heavily on information gathered from interviews, both in person and via email.

To a limited extent, participant observation also provided me with additional data. Like many staff members, I chose to wear scrubs during my time in Mortuary B as a means of protecting my clothing. At both Mortuary B and Mortuary C, I joined staff members for lunch and coffee breaks and assisted them with several minor housekeeping activities. More significantly, I also found that my emotional responses (or lack thereof) to the human remains in the mortuary and my management of these were reminiscent of those experienced by ICMP employees. This may be the result of my having been socialised into

the same environment as my informants. As will be discussed in later chapters, this proved useful in analysing my informants' experiences.

A discussion of the research context

A further discussion of the research context and my situation within it is warranted. As briefly noted at the beginning of this chapter, I elected to carry out my fieldwork in ICMP's mortuaries as a result of my longstanding interests in both genocide and death studies. For example, my undergraduate coursework focused, in part, on Holocaust and genocide studies; I later obtained a Master's degree in Holocaust and Genocide Studies. Furthermore, I also completed a forensic anthropology class during my undergraduate studies, and my undergraduate thesis explored the inclusion of human remains in memorials and museums commemorating the Cambodian genocide. My master's thesis also combined my interests in both genocide studies and human remains as it explored evolving practices surrounding the treatment of human remains following mass death. As a result of my previous studies, I began my fieldwork with a thorough understanding of the history of BiH and of the events that transpired during the recent war. I was also familiar with some of the challenges ICMP's forensic specialists had faced and continued to face during their efforts to locate, exhume, and identify the remains of those individuals who went missing during the war. Furthermore, I also had a basic understanding of the practices and techniques of forensic anthropology. While I had to learn the specifics of ICMP's procedures, this prior knowledge nevertheless proved beneficial, especially in light of the language barrier I faced during the course of my research. Thus, although I could not always understand exactly what my informants were saying, I nevertheless possessed a general understanding of their actions.

Two additional aspects of my academic background further influenced my approach to my research. As I will consider further in Chapter Two, I also spent a significant portion of my undergraduate studies working in an archaeology laboratory. Thus, I was extremely familiar with the processes of cleaning, analysing, recording, and storing archaeological artefacts. As I realised soon after beginning fieldwork, ICMP forensic specialists' processing of human remains is reminiscent of these archaeological

techniques. As a result, although I was a newcomer to the mortuaries and the daily activities therein, my previous work in the archaeology lab led me to feel as though I was in 'familiar territory' and provided me with further insight into my informants' experiences. Secondly, due to my background in genocide studies, I also began my fieldwork already accustomed to studying emotionally difficult subjects on a regular basis. Moreover, having completed an internship in the Collections Division of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, I entered the mortuary having had prior experience working with and being surrounded by emotionally trying objects. Accordingly, I approached my research project from the perspective of having learned various techniques for managing my emotional responses to my work, something that would later aid my analyses of my informants' experiences.

Despite my prior knowledge and experiences, I nevertheless carried out my fieldwork as an 'outsider'. To begin, prior to my fieldwork, I had never been inside of a morgue or mortuary. Thus, I had only previously encountered skeletons, mummies, or anatomical specimens in museums and embalmed corpses at funeral homes. Likewise, I am not a physical or forensic anthropologist, and while I have a general understanding of the techniques and practices of that field, my perspective is nevertheless one of an amateur. Furthermore, although I was familiar with the history of the events that transpired in BiH during the recent war, having been born and raised in the United States, I conducted my research in ICMP's mortuaries in BiH as a foreigner. My nationality further meant that I approached my research from the perspective of a non-European. Almost everything about life in BiH, such as the language, food, and even how to buy a bus ticket constituted something new and unfamiliar. I had also never before been to a country that had so recently experienced a war; I was unaccustomed to the sights of death and destruction – bullet-riddled buildings; plastic tape, fences, and signs demarcating minefields; cemeteries filled with victims of the war – that are a constant presence throughout BiH. Within the context of the mortuary, I was especially struck by my status as a foreigner. Although I was appalled by the numerous atrocities that had been committed during the war and saddened by so much senseless death, unlike the majority of my informants, I lacked any personal connection to the remains. To borrow the words of one of my informants, the

individuals whose bodies lay on the trays in the mortuaries were not "my people". Thus, I was automatically distanced from the subject of my research.

Finally, this project must be viewed in the context of the nature of my fieldwork. For the duration of my time in BiH, I conducted research in an office-like setting, working closely with a small group of forensic specialists. I did not interact with my informants outside of the context of the mortuary; consequently, my analyses of their experiences are based solely on my interactions with and observations of them within the mortuary. This impacted my research in three central ways. First, I can only speak to how my informants presented themselves at their place of employment (see Chapter Three for further discussion of performance management). It is possible, therefore, that they would have reflected differently on their work had I interviewed them outside of the mortuary. Additionally, as my interviews with and observations of my informants occurred at their place of work, it limited my direct interactions with them. Although the forensic specialists were aware of my presence and its purpose, on the whole, their workload meant that they generally conducted their daily activities with limited regard for my presence. This, in turn, provided me with ample time in which to conduct my observations. Furthermore, my fieldwork sites were rather contained, consisting primarily of three different mortuaries throughout BiH. Combined with the limited number of my informants, this facilitated me in more easily observing the activities of multiple people. Consequently, I was able to become familiar with my informants' 'normal' activities relatively soon after commencing fieldwork.

Thesis structure

The structure of this thesis reflects the data obtained from these research questions. Chapter Two further introduces ICMP, providing additional information regarding its procedures, structure, facilities, achievements, and funding. This chapter also introduces my informants and provides detailed information about the three mortuary facilities in which I conducted my research. Forensic specialists' work with human remains will be addressed in Chapter Three. Here, I first consider my respondents' efforts to create and

maintain their professional identity as forensic specialists working in an emotionally difficult context. In doing so, I note their emphasis on the necessity of emotional detachment in allowing them to continue with their work. This chapter also suggests situations in which forensic specialists may struggle to remain emotionally disengaged from their work and the consequences of these reactions. Thus, techniques for managing emotional responses will also be considered. Chapter Four brings into consideration forensic specialists' experiences interacting with victims' family members. It examines why my respondents primarily spoke of these encounters as emotionally challenging and thereby potentially threatening to their professional identities. Chapter Five once again focuses on forensic specialists' experiences with the deceased, exploring their attendance at events and places commemorating and memorialising the deceased. Here, I focus on why they generally spoke of attending these events as desirable and beneficial. Finally, although I stress my respondents' perceptions of emotional detachment as necessary, each of my ethnographic chapters also considers various ways in which ICMP's forensic specialists are attached to the remains with which they work. As a result, my informants are not necessarily as detached from their work as they emphasised during their interviews. However, as I will explore throughout this thesis, these particular forms of emotional engagement do not appear to threaten their professional identities.

Chapter Two
Setting the scene

I cursed under my breath as I quickly walked down the streets of Sarajevo. While I had left my hotel well in advance, it was nevertheless nearing the time for my first appointment at ICMP Headquarters, and I could not find the building! I repeatedly asked directions along the way, hoping someone could be of assistance. After countless wrong turns, I eventually sought assistance from the guards at the American embassy. One guard recognised the address and directed me further down the street. Feeling a little silly that I had been unable to find it, I entered through the glass doors unsure of exactly what to expect. While I had familiarised myself with ICMP to the best of my abilities, I nevertheless felt, well, a little lost.

Just as I eventually found my way to ICMP's headquarters, I slowly began to comprehend the structure, organisation, and work of ICMP. As I learned during my initial meetings with ICMP staff members, ICMP's activities are complex and numerous. Although my research focuses on some of the people who work within ICMP, an understanding of the organisation is necessary to further contextualise my study. Accordingly, this chapter serves as a further introduction to my fieldwork. It provides a more detailed description of ICMP and its work, exploring such topics as the organisation's structure, activities, and funding. Here, I also explore the three mortuaries in which I conducted research and introduce my key informants.

As briefly discussed in Chapter One, American president Bill Clinton founded ICMP with the intention that it would support the DPA (Clinton 1996: 997). Although established in 1996, it spent little time engaging in the field until 2001; following the ICTY's withdrawal from BiH, Bosnian government officials requested ICMP's assistance in addressing the issue of missing persons (Personal communication, 25 September 2009). Since then, ICMP has successfully identified the remains of 13,964 missing persons in BiH (ICMP 2012*a*: n.p.). In addition to its work in BiH, ICMP is increasingly involved in responding to mass disasters around the world (see below). ICMP intends to continue expanding these efforts. For example, in April 2010, ICMP announced its intention to

establish global headquarters in Sarajevo, creating a forensic laboratory to serve the world (ICMP 2010*f*: n.p.).

The practices and techniques of forensic anthropology

As the subject of forensic anthropology assumes a central role in my research, a brief description of its practices and techniques is warranted. The discipline of forensic anthropology has its origins in biological/physical anthropology, a field "concerned overall with the human body and all its variations" (Maples & Browning 1994: 24). More specifically,

> [f]orensic anthropology is the field of study that deals with the analysis of human skeletal remains resulting from unexplained deaths. Experts in this discipline, because of their understanding of skeletal biology and associated subjects, examine human bones with the goal of extracting as much information as possible about the persons represented by skeletal remains and about the circumstances surrounding their deaths (Byers 2005: 1).

Furthermore, forensic anthropology also constitutes a forensic science as it "comes under the jurisdiction of law enforcement and other similar agencies" (ibid.: 1). As a result of this, throughout the course of their work with human remains, forensic anthropologists may also work with other similar experts, such as homicide investigators, forensic pathologists, forensic archaeologists, and forensic odontologists (dentists) (AFBA 2008: n.p.). Thus, "[f]orensic anthropologists usually study skeletons of deceased persons…that the medicolegal community (e.g., medical investigators, coroners) has defined as requiring investigation" (Byers 2005: 2). Forensic anthropologists respond to a variety of death investigations. For example, they may be called upon to examine a single set of unidentified remains in a domestic setting or, as in the case of ICMP's forensic specialists, they may also respond to incidents of mass death.

While the exact nature of their work may vary, these investigations require forensic anthropologists to undertake a number of tasks. First, forensic anthropologists may be involved in locating and exhuming human remains (ABFA 2008: n.p.; Byers 2005: 86-106; Ferllini 2002: 10-11). Once exhumed, forensic anthropologists clean the remains and

begin the analysis process. In examining bones, forensic anthropologists generally seek to obtain a variety of data about the decedent (Byers 2005: 129, 131-147). First, they scrutinise the remains for any features that will assist them in positively identifying the remains (e.g. sex, ancestry, age, stature). In instances

> where there is evidence of traumatic injury (e.g., bullet holes, stab wounds, fractures) to human bone, forensic anthropologists attempt to identify the nature of the traumas and their causative agent(s) with the intent of gathering information pertaining to the cause and manner of death (ibid.: 1).

Due to their "studie[s] [of] the amount of deterioration that occurs in cadavers over time" forensic anthropologists also seek to establish the "postmortem interval; that is, the amount of time that has passed since persons have died" (ibid.: 1). Obtaining all of this information is especially crucial in the case of death investigations as "[t]he findings may be utilised during criminal trials and coroner's investigations where the forensic anthropologist may be called upon to give expert testimony" (Ferllini 2002: 11; see also Byers 2005: 450). Although in other settings forensic anthropologists may carry out all of these activities, I focus solely on the techniques these individuals utilise in attempting to identify the remains of the deceased individual. This is first because although ICMP's forensic specialists are involved in the process of locating and exhuming remains, my research focuses on the work carried out in the organisation's mortuaries, the site of forensic specialists' analyses. I also concentrate on this aspect of the work because as Sarah, the supervisor of anthropological examinations at ICMP, explained, "ICMP is here for identification purposes and so the anthropologists either do not engage or [do so] in a very limited capacity in that role [of the detection and of interpretation of trauma]". Thus, although ICMP's forensic specialists are expected to recognise and record any evidence of trauma on the remains, this does not represent the focal point of their work. Accordingly, they are also not concerned with determining the postmortem interval as this is not an aspect of the identification process. Moreover, as they are working with the remains of individuals who were killed during the 1992-1995 war in BiH, the forensic specialists operate with a rough understanding of when the individuals were killed.

In order to obtain information regarding a decedent's age, sex, ethnicity, and stature, forensic anthropologists most commonly engage in anthroscopy or "the visual

examination of the human body, sometimes with the aid of x-rays or a hand-held lens" (Byers 2005: 13). This technique is beneficial as "there are a number of anthroscopically visible traits of the skeleton that…will lead to the determination of demographic (i.e., ancestry, sex, and age) and other characteristics of the skeleton […]" (ibid.). However, in order to carry this examination out, the remains must first be cleaned, any fragments reconstructed, and the entire body laid out in anatomical position (Byers 2005: 129, 136-140; Ferllini 2002: 24-26). Once in anatomical position, the remains are also checked in order to verify that none of the bones are duplicated; the occurrence of this would indicate the presence of more than one individual (Byers 2005: 140). After this is accomplished, further examination of the remains can commence.

Determining the sex of the deceased individual constitutes one of the key steps in establishing their identity. In determining sex, "forensic anthropologists look for physical landmarks that act as key indicators", generally relying on sexual dimorphism, the "structural or physical differences between a male and female within any species" (Ferllini 2005: 26). For example, forensic anthropologist Dr Douglas Ubelaker (Ubelaker & Scammell 1992: 87) writes,

> As a rule, it's very easy to determine sex in adults if the remains include bones of the pelvis. The pelvis of a woman is generally broader than that of a man; this difference is particularly noticeable in the bone of the anterior [front] pelvic area called the pubis. The lower margin of the pubis forms the border of the subpubic angle; this has to be wider in females because it surrounds the birth canal, and during delivery, a baby's head must pass between these two bones.

Other features of an individual's bones can also indicate their sex. For example, Ferllini (2002: 27) explains how "[i]n humans, the main differences lie in the robustness of the male, who tends to possess more muscle mass and with a resultant potential of greater bone size and physical strength than the female, whose bones are usually smaller" (see also Byers 2005: 182). However, Ubelaker & Scammell (1992: 87) caution, "there's a certain amount of overlap in the middle". Thus, the size and robustness of a decedent's bones may not always correctly indicate their sex.

In attempting to identify a deceased individual, forensic anthropologists also seek to determine the decedent's ancestry. Within biological/physical anthropology, a person's

ancestry is classified as African/black, Caucasian, and Mongloid (this category includes those of Asian and American Indian descent) (Ferllini 2002: 30). As in determining a person's sex, "[t]he visual identification of traits that differ among the ancestral groups remains the main method for assessing ancestry"; the majority of these lie in an individual's skull (Byers 2005: 161; see also Ubelaker & Scammell 1993: 91). For example, "[t]he skulls of Mongloids…tend to have very forward-projecting cheekbones and comparatively flat faces. […] Black or African skulls…usually show little or no projection of the cheekbone" (Ubelaker & Scammell 1992: 91). However, as Ferllini (2002: 30) notes, "Although…ancestry is desirable in forensic cases, in practice it may be quite difficult to prove due to the wide human variability present in some populations. Additionally, different ancestries may present a mixture of characteristics within each affinity" (see also Ubelaker & Scammell 1992: 91). Accordingly, determining a person's ancestry may also prove challenging to the forensic anthropologist.

Forensic specialists also seek to establish a decedent's stature (height) and age. As Ubelaker & Scammell (1992: 88) explain, in calculating stature, forensic anthropologists

> usually turn to bone measurements and regression equations. These mathematical equations, developed from studies of the bones of people of known stature, allow us to predict stature by measuring individual bones. For example, we can measure the length of the thigh bone, multiply it by a certain number, add another fixed number, and…we have the approximate stature.[48]

However, an individual's sex and ancestry can influence their height; thus "one can't apply the formula for a black male…to the femur of a white female" (ibid.; see also Ferllini 2002: 33). Thus, as Ubelaker & Scammell (1992: 88) caution, an individual's sex and ancestry must be determined prior to their stature. Finally, as "[p]eople lose stature with increasing age due to compression of the cartilage between bone joints", the decedent's age must also be taken into consideration when calculating stature (Byers 2005: 270).

In discussing how forensic anthropologists determine a person's age at the time of their death, Ubelaker & Scammell (1992: 95) note that a "first, comprehensive look at all the age indicators of the skeleton draws on the anthropologist's knowledge of how certain

---

[48] See also Byers 2005: 254-273 for a more detailed description of how forensic anthropologists calculate stature.

bones change over time". In determining the age of subadults, forensic anthropologists examine the decedent's bones and teeth for signs of maturation (Byers 2005: 207). As Ferllini (2002: 29) explains,

> [i]nfants, children, and teenagers experience a continued growth process, producing in the process many landmarks throughout the skeleton and the dentition. The dental remains are particularly useful, because the teeth are still in the process of development. […] The maturing process is noticeable in the bones, too, since those of young individuals will not be developed fully or ossified (hardened). To allow the growth process to be completed, the bones are separated into several elements, which do not unify until maturity, when they form a single bone.

However, in the case of adult remains, forensic anthropologists cannot look at an individual's dentition as their teeth have ceased developing (ibid.: 30). Instead, they must rely upon the person's bones, examining how they have deteriorated. Byers (2005: 207) explains, "starting at the time period between 18 and 25 years of age, the skeleton finishes maturation and begins a process of slow deterioration that continues throughout adulthood".

Through their study of human skeletal development, therefore, forensic anthropologists possess a "[k]nowledge of these events [of maturation and deterioration] and the schedule by which they occur", thus enabling them to estimate the age of the deceased individual (Byers 2005: 208). For example, rims on the sternal rib ends[49] become more pronounced as the body deteriorates, and examination of these can assist the forensic anthropologist in estimating a person's age (ibid.: 238-240). Similarly, "adult aging landmarks are provided by the continued knitting of the skull plates to the point where the suture lines joining those bones eventually disappear" (Ubelaker & Scammell 1992: 97). Examining a variety of bones may provide the forensic anthropologist with the most accurate estimation of the decedent's age (ibid.).

Establishing the decedent's sex, ancestry, stature, and age, thus allows forensic anthropologists to construct a "biological profile" of the deceased individual; this information may then be "compared with the characteristics of the alleged victim or those of known missing persons" (Ferllini 2002: 33). However, this information alone is usually insufficient to positively determine a person's identity and other characteristics of the

---

[49] The sternal rib bone is the end of the rib that is attached to the breastbone (Byers 2002: 38).

remains. Accordingly, forensic anthropologists also examine the remains for any unique characteristics that will further aid their identification. As Byers (2005: 441) explains, "[a]ny characteristic proved to vary among people and that is unique to an individual can be used for this purpose. In addition, any physical characteristic that is very rare combined with the demographic profile of a victim may make the probability of misidentification infinitesimally small". Ferllini (2002: 33) further notes, "alterations to certain bones, due to specific and habitual actions that put stress upon the body" may indicate a person's identity. For example, "[b]ecause (especially heavy) use will add bone mass and reshape contours, it is reasoned that the most modified side would indicate handedness (i.e., larger and more modified right arm bones indicate right handedness)" (Byers 2005: 417). Thus, forensic anthropologists may be able to determine if the decedent was left- or right-handed, information that can help support a preliminary identification. Evidence of healed fractures or other signs of medical/dental intervention, such as orthopaedic pins in bones and fillings in teeth, is also beneficial. In these instances, obtaining a known individual's antemortem medical and/or medical records is crucial as they can be compared to the x-rays of a decedent's teeth and bones (Byers 424; Ferllini 2002: 33-35). In instances of a single missing person, facial reproduction, the creation of "a likeness of the person's face…from the skull of the deceased…done either by sculpting clay to the appropriate soft tissue thickness on a skull (or a reproduction of it) or by drawing these soft tissues on a picture of a skull" can also aid in the identification process (Byers 2005: 406). While this recreation of the decedent's face cannot positive identify a body and other forensic techniques must still be utilised, circulation of the reconstruction by law enforcement officials to the public may elicit leads as to the deceased individual's identity (Ubelaker & Scammell 170; see also 167-179). Finally, photographic superimposition may also help identity the remains of an unknown deceased individual. This technique

> involve[s] superimposing pictures of skeletal remains onto photographs or portraits
> of persons when they were alive […]. The two images are compared, point by
> point, both qualitatively and quantitatively for agreement or disagreement. […] If,
> after the analysis, there is significant nonconcordance, then the method provides
> positive evidence of exclusion (i.e., the remains cannot be from the person
> represented in the antemortem picture.) However, if there is significant agreement,
> an identification is only supported, not concluded […] (Byers 2005: 428).

However, while superimposition can serve as a useful tool, it is not entirely reliable (Byers 2002: 430-431; Ubelaker & Scammell 1992: 185). In order to positively identify the remains of the deceased, superimposition must be employed in conjunction with other analyses (Ferllini 2002: 105). Finally, superimposition is generally only useful in instances in which "investigators possess an existing picture of the potential victim" (ibid.: 104).

Finally, as will be explored in detail throughout this thesis, DNA testing may also be crucial in establishing a decedent's identity (Byers 2005: 442; Ferllini 2002: 17, 35). This may be especially true in the case of mass death as large numbers of unknown decedents or the condition of the remains may render the utilisation of other techniques extremely difficult. For example, DNA sampling has been employed in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City "due to the extreme fragmentation of the remains" (Ferllini 2002: 147). Following Hurricane Katrina in Louisiana, USA, "[i]t was obvious from the onset that DNA testing would be critical, especially given the rate of decomposition, which was accelerated by the warm weather that followed the storm as well as the floodwaters themselves" (Wagner 2008: 258). However, as Ferllini (2002: 17) explains, DNA testing must often be used in conjunction with the practices and techniques of forensic anthropology described above,

> Although DNA is a positive means of identifying a body, the cooperation of a forensic anthropologist is often required, particularly if the remains of an individual are mixed with others, as in a mass grave. In such a situation, the remains require proper separation to determine how many bodies are present. If this is not done with care, it may be impossible to determine the biological profile of each individual. This information is essential, since each profile will be compared to a database of missing persons. The relatives of likely individuals from the database may then be contacted, and a DNA comparison carried out.

Although the exact procedures of DNA matching differs from that described by Ferllini, as will be explored throughout this thesis, in positively identifying the remains of missing people in BiH and elsewhere, ICMP relies on forensic specialists' analyses of and DNA extracted from the deceased individual's remains.

ICMP's activities, structure, and funding

Supplying technical assistance to governments through "locating and identifying missing persons, including the use of high-throughput capacity DNA analysis and forensic support in the fields of archaeology and anthropology" constitutes one of ICMP's primary activities (ICMP n.d.*b*: n.p.). In accordance with its mandate to assist local officials, ICMP provides this technical assistance at the *invitation* of governments or organisations (ibid.). Regarding forensic anthropology and archaeology, technical support includes "site reconnaissance, locating the grave and defining its boundaries, stratigraphic excavation to the original sides and bottom of the grave…body recovery, and maintenance of evidence bags…[and] training and capacity building" (ICMP n.d.*h*: n.p.). Furthermore, ICMP also "monitors and reports on" the actions of governments as they "address the issues of persons missing from armed conflict" (ICMP n.d.*p*: n.p.).

Technical assistance falls under the domain of the Forensic Sciences Division, which includes the Excavation and Examination Division (Ex&Ex Division), the Identification Coordination Division (ICD), located in Tuzla, and the DNA laboratories in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. Through the Ex&Ex Division, "ICMP is predominantly involved in the detection and location of sites, the recovery and subsequent examination of mortal remains and the use of scientific methods to compare ante mortem and post mortem records to assist in identifications" (EU 2007: 7). Accordingly, ICMP's mortuaries fall under the auspices of this department. ICMP assists with excavations, exhumations, and identifications under the authority of the Prosecutor's Office and the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina because war crimes fall under their jurisdiction (ICMP n.d.*o*: 6). Furthermore,

> [s]ince January 1, 2011, the Special Department for War Crimes of the BiH Prosecutor's Office is responsible for exhumations and identifications in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In practice that means that the BiH Prosecutor Office's field teams…and the prosecutors carry out exhumations, identifications and other related activities within war crimes investigations. […] The Bosnia and Herzegovina Prosecutor's Office carries out exhumations and identifications on the basis of information received from individuals, MPI, law enforcement agencies, intelligence agencies, or any other sources and in accordance with court orders issued by the court of BiH (ibid.).

ICMP may become involved in these excavations and exhumations following an invitation from MPI. However, permission must also be obtained from the BiH Prosecutor's Office as it regulates attendance at all excavation and exhumation sites (ibid.: 10, 11). Following exhumation, remains are transferred to one of eleven mortuaries in BiH; the Prosecutor's Office selects which mortuary receives the remains. ICMP is currently involved in two of these mortuaries: Mortuary C and Mortuary A. Upon arrival at the mortuary, bone samples and/or teeth are removed from the mortal remains and sent to ICMP for DNA testing (ibid.: 11).

Mortal remains are identified through the combination of DNA matching and forensic anthropology. DNA matching occurs through a database that matches the DNA profiles of the deceased with those of surviving family members. The DNA matching process starts and ends at the ICD (Personal communication, 6 October 2010). This facility "operates as the central nexus for the coordination of samples, data, and DNA matching for all cases processed by the ICMP from any part of the world" (ICMP n.d.*j*: n.p.). ICD coordinates the collection of blood and personal data from surviving family members. Blood samples are taken on paper cards, which are then prepared at ICD. Next, ICD staff members submit these samples to the DNA laboratory in Sarajevo for processing. The DNA profile is then returned to ICD where it is placed into the database (Personal communication, 25 September 2009). Bone or tooth samples may come from either ICMP's mortuaries or other facilities and are taken under the authority of Court Appointed Forensic Specialists (ICMP n.d.*j*: n.p.; ICMP n.d.*o*: 15). At ICD, the samples are cleaned and given a barcode as a means of anonymising the sample (Personal communication, 25 September 2009). The bone samples are then forwarded to the DNA laboratory in Banja Luka where they are once again washed and ground. This powder is then forwarded to the DNA laboratory in Sarajevo for DNA extraction and DNA profiling (Personal communication, 6 October 2009). Once a genetic profile has been obtained, "the DNA profiles are returned to the ICD for genetic matching. Genetic matching is carried out independently from any pre-existing hypothesis of identity, and is applied to very large databases of family reference DNA profiles on a regional scale" (ICMP n.d.*j*: n.p.). A match report is generated if a match is found through this database, and a preliminary statistical calculation is given. A match must

pass the 99.95 percent threshold in order…to advance…into the final stages of identification. If the statistical review shows that the match falls below the threshold, ICD resends a sample (blood or bone, depending on where the impression lies) for a second round of DNA analysis. They may also request an additional sample from the missing person's family, from a relative who has not yet given one (Wagner 2008: 115).

The DNA laboratory in Sarajevo reviews all matches and generates a second statistical review. Next, a final review is made and the report is sent back to ICD (Personal communication, 6 October 2009). Moreover, bone samples are also compared with other bones samples in order to re-associate remains and assist in the identification of siblings (see below) (Personal communication, 25 September 2009). Following the confirmation of a match, the match report is forwarded to the ICMP mortuaries and the MPI. MPI enters the information into the CEN and sends the match report "to the Court appointed specialist who submitted the bone sample and the Prosecutor in charge" (ICMP n.d.*o*: 15). These individuals are responsible for confirming the identification of the deceased. The Court Appointed Forensic Specialist then "[i]nvites family members to [the] identification, issues [the] death certificate for the deceased and hands over identified mortal remains to the family" (ibid.: 15). Finally, it must be emphasised that although DNA is crucial in establishing the identity of the deceased, forensic anthropology nevertheless still plays an important role. For example, as I learned throughout my fieldwork, their expertise can assist in determining if body parts need to be re-associated, and DNA is seen as guiding their re-associations. Furthermore, DNA profiles may not be able to distinguish between same-sex siblings; siblings of different sexes can be differentiated based upon the presence or absence of a Y chromosome as this genetic marker exists only in males.[50] In order to

---

[50] A person inherits half of their nuclear DNA (DNA found in a cell's nucleus) from each of their parents. Thus, they will thus have some of the same DNA sequences as their siblings, children, and parents. Accordingly, ICMP prefers to obtain DNA samples from as many family members as possible when attempting to make a DNA match (Personal communication, 6 October 2009; see also ICMP n.d.*o*: 13-15 and Wagner 2008: 104-105). As Wagner (2008: 104) explains,

> The ideal combination of blood sample donors for a positive nuclear DNA match is that of both parents, a sibling, and, if existent, of the missing person's spouse and any children. The parents' DNA, strengthened by a sibling's sample, would provide the necessary profiles to determine whether the missing person is their child. The spouse's DNA meaning nothing on its own, but in combination with their children's, the missing person's genetic profile can be distinguished from that of any of his siblings.

complete these identifications, the knowledge of a forensic anthropologist is crucial (ICMP n.d.*o*: 14; Personal communication, 6 October 2009).

While my research focused primarily on the work carried out by its Forensic Sciences Division, ICMP's activities extend beyond this type of engagement. For example, it "responds to requests for documentation and expert reports from international and domestic courts on matters related to war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, and other crimes under international law" (ICMP n.d.*b*: n.p.). ICMP also aids governments in "develop[ing] the institutional capacity they need in order to meet their obligations regarding missing persons" (ICMP n.d.*k*: n.p.). ICMP also provides governments with legislative support as a further means of institution building (ICMP n.d.*n*: n.p.). Furthermore, through its Civil Society Initiatives (CSI) programme, ICMP promotes and aids public involvement in the issue of missing persons (ICMP n.d.*r*: n.p.). CSI's work has also included educating victims' families and even some pathologists about the identification process and application of DNA matching technology (Personal communication, October 2009). ICMP has supported numerous public awareness projects, such as photo exhibitions, media outreach, documentaries, memorials, and commemorations (ICMP n.d.*s*: n.p.).

Utilising the techniques and expertise developed during its work in the former Yugoslavia, ICMP now assists governments around the world in addressing the problem of missing persons (ICMP n.d.*a*: n.p.). In the former Yugoslavia, "ICMP has either monitored or provided rigorous forensic anthropological and archaeological assistance at more than 1,000 conflict-related graves in BiH, Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia" (ICMP n.d.*u*: n.p.). In Kuwait, ICMP "assisted in the identification of missing persons from the conflict by providing DNA analysis" in 2006 (ICMP n.d.*m*: n.p.). Involvement in Iraq has included aiding in "the formulation of policy initiatives to address the needs of the families of the missing and to create a technical plan to locate, recover and identify the missing, while at the same time building the institutional and legal capacity necessary to house this process" (ICMP n.d.*l*: n.p.). In Southeast Asia, ICMP helped identify the remains of 8,000 individuals who died following the tsunami in December 2004 (ICMP n.d.*t*: n.p.). Furthermore, ICMP has provided support in both Chile and Colombia. In Chile, ICMP

Many thanks to Dr Linda L. Jagodzinski for clarifying this point.

contributes to a task force designed "to make progress on resolving pending cases of persons who went missing between 11 September 1973 and 10 March 1990" (ICMP n.d.*e*: n.p.). Furthermore, in Colombia, ICMP "conduct[ed] an assessment of the scope of the problem of enforced disappearance and the progress made to date by state institutions and others in addressing the issue" (ICMP n.d.*f*: n.p.). ICMP experts served as consultants following the terrorist attacks on 9/11 (Wagner 2008: 245-246). ICMP also assisted in the identification of some of the victims of Hurricane Katrina (ICMP n.d.*q*: n.p.).[51]

In order to carry out these activities, ICMP receives funding from a variety of bodies. To date, the governments of the following countries have funded ICMP: the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Canada, the Czech Republic, Germany, France, Greece, The Holy See, Chile, Finland, Denmark, The Netherlands, Poland, Norway, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Ireland, Thailand, Sweden, and Iceland; the European Union has also contributed to ICMP. It has received private donations from Cyrus Vance, ICMP Chair from 1996 to 1997 and James V. Kimsey, ICMP chair from 2001 to 2011. Various organisations have also provided funding for special projects, including the UN, the British Metropolitan Police, the State of Louisiana, The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, INTERPOL, The British Council, and the Brčko District Council (ICMP n.d.*i*: n.p.).

Although ICMP began as a small organisation established to address the issue of missing persons in BiH, as discussed above, its activities have significantly expanded since then. However, my research focuses on just one small component of ICMP, the experiences of the forensic specialists who work in three of the organisation's mortuary facilities. In what follows I briefly explore each of these three facilities, addressing such topics as their history, physical appearance, organisation, and the daily activities of each site. Following each of these descriptions, I provide brief biographies of my informants. As will be emphasised below, while these three sites and the staff who work there differ greatly from one another, they all strive to achieve ICMP's goal of resolving the issue of missing persons in BiH and beyond.

---

[51] See also Wagner 2008: 245-250 for further discussion of ICMP's activities outside of the former Yugoslavia.

ICMP's mortuary facilities

Mortuary A

Established in 2000, Mortuary A[52] was one of two mortuaries that handled Srebrenica genocide victims' remains. However, due to the prevalence of comingling, these remains were generally first sent to Mortuary B for re-association (see below). Following the completion of the re-association, remains were then transferred to Mortuary A. Next, forensic specialists at Mortuary A verified that all elements of the body had been gathered, confirmed the re-association/s, and ensured the completion of all necessary documentation and photographs. Once the Court-appointed pathologist officially identified the remains, the body was ready for transfer to another, non-ICMP mortuary facility in preparation for burial. For example, bodies destined for burial in the Srebrenica-Potočari Centre were transferred to a private mortuary in Visoko (Cerkez 2011: n.p.; Wagner 2008: 202-203). As previously discussed, however, this process changed following the closure of Mortuary B in January 2012. Furthermore, in accordance with ICMP's interest in transferring control of its facilities to local officials, in April 2010, MPI and local authorities assumed control of the facility (Personal communication, 27 April 2010). However, as Katie, one of the forensic anthropologists, explained to me, "It just means that someone else is paying the electric bill, basically". Thus, staff anticipated that the transfer of control would have little impact on their daily activities.

Mortuary A consisted of two structures: a UN container serving as the site's breakroom and a warehouse-like structure in which the forensic work was carried out. The former UN container had been elevated on metal poles, and staff members entered it using a metal staircase. Katie informed me that the stairs constituted a later addition. Originally, she explained, staff members accessed the container via a ladder. Facilities inside of the container were limited and consisted primarily of a water cooler, desk, several chairs,

---

[52] As discussed in greater detail in Chapter One, I conducted limited fieldwork at Mortuary A. I received a tour of the facility and briefly visited the facility three additional times for the purpose of conducting interviews. Accordingly, I am not as familiar with the daily operations of this facility, and rely heavily on general information provided to me by my informants. Furthermore, given the limited time I spent at this site, I have not included a diagram of the mortuary facility.

various office supplies, and an oscillating fan. Toilet and shower facilities had been constructed in a ground-level structure underneath the container. The main building consisted of a series of rooms. The cold storage room made up approximately half of the building. Five large, double-sided metal frames took up the entirety of the room. Yellow and blue bags, reminiscent of carrier bags, and white ossuary bags, all filled with remains, rested on metal trays. These trays were stacked in columns of seven, and every metal structure bore approximately 14 columns on each side. On top of these structures rested another set of metal shelves. There, three shelves held brown paper bags containing the clothing found with the remains. The cold temperature of this room preserved the remains and clothing stored there, but it did little to dampen the smell emitted by them. During my initial tour of the facility Katie mentioned that the smell "wasn't too bad" that day, but it was nevertheless distinctive to the unaccustomed nose: it can best be described as musty with notes of decomposition and dirt. This smell also permeated throughout the entirety of the facility; the sealed doors of the cold storage room did little to contain the scent.

A series of smaller rooms lay across the hallway. Remains were laid out and examined in the first of these. The remains I saw during my visits to Mortuary A were almost completely skeletonised, though one still bore some remnants of dried tissue.[53] Bodies were laid out on a series of metal examination tables spread throughout the room. Other tables held examination gloves, paperwork, office supplies, osteological tools, and plastic bags. Metal shelves contained office supplies, potted plants, other miscellaneous items, and binders filled with documentation. An ossuary bag at the front of the room held any medical waste that needed to be incinerated. In one corner of the room sat an electric autopsy saw with a section blade[54] inside of a protective Plexiglas box – there, forensic specialists cut bones samples for DNA extraction. Several computers dotted the room, giving staff members access to the electronic database and their email accounts. Additional rooms lay down the hallway. One such room was utilised for washing clothing. In another, non-clothing personal effects were stored on shelves. Personal effects might also be laid out in this room, either for photographing or viewing by family members. Another room was designed for taking and developing x-rays, although it was not in use, the film having

---

[53] Many of the remains at both Mortuaries A and B had been stored at these facilities for some time. Accordingly, the majority of the remains housed at Mortuaries A and B had already been cleaned.
[54] See Mopec 2012.

expired several years prior to my visit in October 2009. The final room served as an additional office space for staff members, having been equipped with several additional computers.

Mortuary A staff

Katie

As discussed in the previous chapter, the majority of the staff at Mortuary A declined to participate in my research project. However, 35 year-old Katie, one of the facility's forensic anthropologists, agreed to participate. Originally from North America, she noted that her mother was Anglican and her father was Armenian Orthodox, although Katie explained that she did not practise any religion. Her interest in forensic science and anthropology brought her to ICMP in the summer of 2002. Intent on entering medical school in order to become a forensic scientist, Katie began working towards her undergraduate degree in biology. She eventually realised her interests lay primarily in forensic medicine. As she neared completion of her degree, "by chance" she signed up for a summer course in forensic anthropology and thoroughly enjoyed it. Katie thus decided to finish her biology degree before pursuing another undergraduate degree in anthropology. However, although she thoroughly enjoyed forensic anthropology, she recognised that there were few jobs available in the field. Accordingly, Katie decided to pursue a postgraduate degree in forensic science as there were more employment opportunities in forensic science labs. Katie explained that her coursework did not include any work with human remains; instead, she was trained to work in a laboratory setting. However, Katie's interest in forensic anthropology did not diminish, and the opportunity to work with human remains re-emerged when she began preparing for her three-month practicum. One of her colleagues had been considering carrying out his practicum with ICMP, but was eventually unable to do so. Knowing Katie's interest in forensic anthropology, he suggested that she contact the organisation.

Coincidentally, the Forensic Sciences Division was also searching for a forensic anthropology intern, and Katie was able to complete her practicum with ICMP. Working

under the direction of another forensic anthropologist, Katie began at Mortuary A before being sent to Visoko in order to work with the numerous co-mingled remains still in storage. She left BiH after completing her practicum in order to complete her dissertation, eventually returning to work with ICMP as an intern for another three months. During this period, she spent a significant amount of time working in the field recovering surface remains from a road in the Srebrenica region. Katie also assisted with excavations in Belgrade, Serbia before returning to North America. She eventually returned to ICMP after being offered a one-year contract in 2003. Katie continued to work with ICMP under a series of one-year contracts until 2006 or 2007 when she received an open-ended contract from the organisation.

Although Katie served as a forensic anthropologist with ICMP for a number of years, she noted her role altered little during that time. In 2003, she spent a significant amount of time working in the field, though this changed in 2004 with ICMP's decision to have a full-time forensic anthropologist at Mortuary A. Consequently, Katie's new role required her to have a great deal more interaction with the facility's case managers and pathologists. Otherwise, the nature of her work remained constant. At Mortuary A, her tasks ranged from "work[ing] with the pathologist to do the primary examinations of those cases and cut DNA samples", receiving DNA matching reports, re-associating remains, and photographing cases for identification. She also explained, "When we receive lists of failed DNA extraction we go through cases and we cut samples or designate cases as ossuary material if we've sampled as many times as we can".[55] Katie's work also included preparing remains for burial; this task was especially important leading up to the commemoration and burial ceremony on 11 July in Potočari (see Chapter Five). Katie described this period as: "a little bit hectic: packing cases, putting clothing with the bodies, making sure that we have all of the re-associations done and photographs done". Katie's duties also occasionally included speaking with any victims' family members who came to Mortuary A in order to see their loved ones' remains or personal effects.[56] Katie also

---

[55] The term 'ossuary' is utilised in reference to mortal remains that cannot be positively identified through forensic analysis or DNA matching. During my time conducting fieldwork in ICMP's facilities, the ultimate fate of these remains had yet to be determined. In the meantime, they were held in storage until a decision was reached.

[56] In these circumstances, Katie may either work through one of the bilingual case managers or speak to families in Bosnian as she has gained significant language skills during her time in BiH.

emphasised that although her actual work had not changed, the way in which these tasks were carried out improved. She noted several developments, such as the organisation system, the order of examinations, and sampling procedures.

Mortuary B

As discussed in the previous chapter, Bosnian Serb forces frequently dug up the many mass graves in which the victims of the Srebrenica genocide had been buried and relocated the remains, creating secondary and tertiary gravesites. Consequently, the remains of a single individual were sometimes recovered from more than one grave. Some body parts were also recovered from surface graves; in these instances, a person's body was scattered over a large area. Accordingly, ICMP staff members faced the challenge of re-associating the remains of the deceased prior to completing their identifications. In order to ease this process, beginning in 2004, "many of the Srebrenica remains recovered from secondary mass graves…travelled first to an intermediate facility where teams of forensic anthropologists attempt to re-associate the violently disrupted sets of skeletal remains" (Wagner 2008: 109). A warehouse in Visoko served as the first such centre, although, as several of my informants explained, this facility was less than ideal. The warehouse lacked sufficient space, adequate facilities, and was too cold during the winter months. Accordingly, in January 2005, ICMP opened Mortuary B as an extension of Mortuary A. It operated until January 2010, at which time its work was transferred to Mortuary A. During my fieldwork, the facility's staff consisted of the mortuary supervisor, one mortuary technician, and four junior osteologists.

Located in Korman, BiH, Mortuary B was situated above the town's commemoration centre.[57] The facility consisted of three main sections: the basement, the breakroom area, and the room in which examinations were conducted. During my fieldwork, the basement area was utilised primarily for storing remains. Previously, remains and clothing had been washed in the area. The facility's basement consisted of a series of small rooms: two held bags of remains, one was designed as a cold storage

---

[57] The introduction to this thesis provides a glimpse into the daily activities of the forensic specialists employed at this facility.

facility, and one, covered with blue tile, was intended for use in autopsying bodies. Metal shelves held miscellaneous items, and signs on the walls indicated which remains were to be stored in each area. Paper covered the room's windows as a privacy measure.

Upstairs, a large open room (see Diagram A, p. 271) served as the space in which forensic specialists examined the mortal remains. Though the room's setup varied with each day's activities, remains were laid out on trays and/or examination tables throughout the room. One printer and five computers, three for use by the junior osteologists, one for the mortuary supervisor, and one functioning as the server, were arranged around the room. Shelves held miscellaneous items, such as measuring tools and office supplies, as well as binders and files filled with documentation. As in the basement, windows in this room were partially covered with paper. Various posters and documents hung on the grey concrete walls. For example, one demonstrated how to fill out the chain of custody form, while another showed the longitude and latitude of BiH. Other documents were related to physical anthropology, such as a chart demonstrating how bones deteriorate over the course of a person's life. Another poster advertised ICMP's work, stating: *Da li ste s njim nestali i vi? Pomozite da se identifikuju vaši voljeni. Dajte svoj uzorak kvri* [Have you also gone missing with him?[58] Help identify your loved ones. Give your blood sample]. Boards set up around the room explained such topics as ICMP's functions and the history of Srebrenica-related excavations; staff members utilised these when giving tours of the facility. A whiteboard on the wall listed any upcoming special events, such as tours of the facility or important meetings.

Mortuary B boasted the best breakroom as the facility was essentially a small apartment. An exterior corridor connected the examination room to the breakroom. After passing through a small room used to hold coats, books, and other items, one entered a kitchen. Though small, the kitchen was fully stocked with various cooking tools, cutlery, and crockery contributed primarily by the staff. Staff members, especially junior osteologist Munira, frequently utilised this area to cook lunch for the team. From the kitchen, one could either pass down a short corridor or enter the dining and living room. One half of the room consisted of a large dining table, while the other held several couches, a coffee table, a television, a DVD player, and a VCR. Staff members gathered in

---

[58] The English version of this poster translates this line as "Missing you…".

this room during lunchtime and coffee breaks. When Munira (or another member of staff) cooked lunch for everyone, staff members ate together at the large table. The hallway led to a small room used by staff members for storing their belongings, and the female members of staff frequently changed into and out of scrubs in this room. The remainder of the area consisted of a bathroom, complete with a shower and a washing machine, as well as a bedroom occasionally used by staff members when spending the night at the facility.[59] As I explore in greater detail in Chapter Three, this organisation and utilisation of the space is significant. Cooking, eating, and relaxing together in a domestic setting appears to have enabled my respondents to fashion a strong familial relationship, something they spoke of as aiding them in navigating the emotionally challenging aspects of their work. Accordingly, Mortuary B staff members enjoyed having access to this space and, in the weeks prior to the facility's closure, frequently lamented their forthcoming loss.

The daily operations of Mortuary B centred on re-associating the remains from the Srebrenica genocide. Accordingly, staff members' activities included laying out remains in anatomical position on trays, examining the remains and recording their findings both in ICMP's database and on paper forms, photographing the remains, gluing bone fragments together, cutting samples from bones for DNA analysis, and corresponding with other ICMP facilities. Staff members also re-associated body parts upon receiving match reports. Bodies were transferred to Mortuary A once the re-association was complete; members of staff prepared bodies for this transfer, re-packaging the remains and filling out the necessary forms.[60] They also provided tours for a number of groups and individuals, such as government officials from both BiH and abroad, students, representatives of NGOs, diplomats, lawyers, and judges. During my time at the facility, staff members also devoted a significant amount of time to preparing for its impending closure. For example, they inventoried the remains, sorted through the items in the mortuary and determined which should be transported to Mortuary A, and re-organised the mortuary's documents. Finally,

---

[59] Emir, one of the facility's junior osteologists, lived 60 kilometres outside of the town and regularly spent the night at Mortuary C. Ibro occasionally also spent the night in the facility.

[60] All of the remains I encountered at Mortuary B were completely skeletonised (see n53). However, this was not always the case. Kristina and Munira, two junior osteologists at Mortuary B, spoke of working with fleshed remains while at the facility. Emir, another junior osteologist, also noted the presence of fleshed remains at Mortuary B, although he did not work with them. He explained that as the mortuary technician, Ibro was responsible for cleaning them. Aside from these experiences, forensic specialists appeared to work primarily with skeletonised human remains at Mortuary B.

successful completion of their duties required teamwork. For example, staff members frequently consulted each other about cases, worked together to locate specific sets of remains and/or their accompanying paperwork, and assisted each other in carrying out re-associations. Even gluing bone fragments together required teamwork. Kristina and Munira explained that the glue did not work unless they also used an accelerator. Moreover, the glue was extremely runny and burned a person's skin; Munira noted that she had burns on her arms from coming into contact with it. Accordingly, the process of gluing bones together was easier if one person applied the glue and held the fragments together while another person applied the accelerator. This teamwork may facilitate the use of social support by forensic specialists as a means of managing their emotional responses to their work, something I will return to in Chapter Three.

Mortuary B staff members

Sarah

Forty-two year-old Sarah served as the head of Mortuary B and supervised anthropological examinations for all three of the mortuaries. Originally from North America, she described herself as coming from a non-religious background, though she considered herself spiritual. Sarah obtained a diploma in journalism before beginning a university degree in education. However, after taking her first class in anthropology, she immediately changed her course of study, eventually obtaining an undergraduate degree in anthropology. Sarah considered both cultural and physical anthropology for postgraduate work, and initially chose to study the former. After her professor took a two-year sabbatical, she began studying physical anthropology. Her interest in human remains, therefore, began very early. After completing her graduate degree, she began working towards a doctorate in anthropology.[61] While carrying out her postgraduate studies, Sarah worked at the C. A. Pound Human Identification Laboratory in Florida. As a result of this work, Sarah was recruited in 1998 by the UN and sent to BiH. During this time, her tasks

---

[61] In regards to her doctorate, Sarah explained that she is ABD, "All But Dissertation". This term is commonly used in North America in reference to doctoral candidates who have completed all of the requirements for their degree save the completion of their dissertation (thesis).

included washing, inventorying, and conducting limited examinations of remains excavated from mass graves. Between 1998 and 2003, she participated in several UN missions to both BiH and Kosovo. Additionally, Sarah commenced a research programme in Sri Lanka in 2001. There, she worked primarily with the recently dead, attending nearly 600 autopsies. Her activities also included data collection, mortuary recovery work, the examination of graves, and a significant amount of teaching.

Sarah began work with ICMP in 2005, having been hired to start the work of Mortuary B. Between January 2005 and March 2008, she served as the supervisor of Mortuary B before being appointed the head of anthropological examinations for ICMP. As the supervisor of Mortuary B, Sarah was responsible for overseeing the re-association of the remains from Srebrenica, as well as seeing to the daily operations of the mortuary. In her role as the head of anthropological examinations, Sarah supervised the "functioning of… anthropology for [Mortuary A, Mortuary B and Mortuary C], including standard operating procedures, chain of custody procedures, and…all of the anthropology staff also". As will be explored in greater detail in the subsequent chapters, Sarah reflected positively on her job, highlighting what she conceived of as the rewarding aspects of her work with ICMP.

Emir

Thirty-five year-old Emir, a Bosnian Muslim originally from Matuzici, BiH worked as one of the junior osteologists at Mortuary B. He arrived at ICMP with prior experience in the field of health sciences and working with human remains. He completed four years of medical school, finishing three years prior to and one year after the war.[62] Emir noted that although he learned human anatomy from books rather than from cadavers, skeletons were utilised in the classroom. He served as a medical technician for two years in the army and also worked in construction. Emir began working with the Federal Commission for Missing Persons in 2001 after his cousin asked if he was

---

[62] In BiH, the term 'medical school' (*medicinska skola*) refers to a specialised secondary school for students between the ages of 14 and 18. Upon graduation, they are considered medical technicians (nurses), and may continue to study medicine or a related field at the university level. Thanks to Marko Stojic for the clarification.

interested in a position with the organisation. He worked with the Federal Commission until 2003, assisting a physician with the excavation of mass graves and the examination of the remains recovered from them. Furthermore, Emir explained that the Federal Commission was searching for someone who had, minimally, attended medical school, but they were having difficulties finding a person to fill the position; Emir explained that the 'higher ups', those individuals with more advanced degrees, were unwilling to undertake the work required of this position. He also noted that he was not entirely happy with his work for several reasons. First, he described it as an "honorary job", explaining how he would sometimes only work for a few days at a time and then be unemployed for several months. Emir also noted that he did not choose this line of work. Instead, given the dearth of employment opportunities in the country, he accepted the position out of financial necessity rather than interest in the field. Emir began work with ICMP after meeting one of the organisation's forensic anthropologists when she came to assist in the excavation of a grave. She was impressed with Emir's personality and work ethic, and later contacted him with a job offer. Along with his brother, Emir worked with ICMP at the organisation's facility in Visoko from March 2003 until December 2004. There, he served as an assistant anthropologist; his work involved such tasks as laying out cases in anatomical position and taking DNA samples from the remains. Emir worked in Visoko until its closure in December 2004. At that time, both he and the facility's work were transferred to Mortuary B. Initially, Emir continued to serve as an assistant to the other foreign forensic anthropologists hired to work in the facility. Despite his experience, Emir was categorised differently due to his lack of a university degree. However, after "one year, maybe six months", Sarah recognised his expertise in the field, suggesting to ICMP headquarters that he receive a new title. Thereafter, Emir became a 'junior osteologist', and he began "working everything like the rest of the people who…have a degree". This work, Emir explained, included a little bit of everything, such as cutting samples of bones for DNA testing, laying out bones in anatomical position, photographing remains, leading tours of the facility, analysing the remains, and completing all necessary paperwork. Emir spoke with a great deal of pride about his work and experience, noting how Sarah respected and believed in him. He also commented that his colleagues frequently contacted him, asking for his opinion or requesting that he explain something to them.

Anesa

Like Emir, 36 year-old Anesa also worked as a junior osteologist at Mortuary B. Originally from Tuzla, BiH, Anesa described herself as ethnically Muslim although she spoke of having no significant connection with religion, aside from celebrating Islamic holidays. After completing her study of physical therapy in medical school, she enrolled in the medical university in Tuzla. During her third year, war broke out in the country and she ceased her studies. Anesa utilised her medical background during the war, working in a hospital caring for wounded people. However, when I met Anesa, she had recently re-enrolled in university, and was pursuing an undergraduate degree in health science. Anesa worked at a number of other jobs, mostly in administrative or computer-based positions, prior to starting at ICMP. She applied for the junior osteologist position after seeing it advertised on the Internet. As she was unemployed at the time, the position sounded interesting, and she had the required background in health sciences, Anesa applied and was eventually offered the job. As a junior osteologist, her responsibilities varied. She explained how she frequently served in an administrative capacity as all of the data collected during the analysis of the remains needed to be documented through photographs, handwritten forms and/or entering the information into ICMP's database. She had also washed bones and clothing from recently excavated graves and inventoried these remains. Although she had witnessed autopsies and dissections while at medical school, before commencing work with ICMP she had limited exposure to human remains. Overall, Anesa spoke positively about her work with ICMP, emphasising that she was happy to both have a job and to be working a field in which she had the opportunity to help others.

Munira

Out of all of my informants, 25 year-old Munira displayed the most enthusiasm for her work as one of ICMP's junior osteologists. Originally from Sarajevo and raised Muslim, Munira repeatedly expressed her interest in working with human remains, something that originated after she saw autopsies on the *The X-Files*. When I met Munira she was currently still pursuing her undergraduate degree in biology, a course that had not provided her with an opportunity to work with human remains. She explained that she did

not enjoy her coursework, though she hoped to continue with her studies and become a forensic pathologist. Her work with ICMP intensified her dislike for the biology degree as she became particularly interested in forensic anthropology, although, as she commented, there are not many opportunities to study it in BiH. Given her interest in working with human remains, Munira described finding the job with ICMP as an "amazing thing to happen" and a "dream come true". She came across the job vacancy in June 2008 through a friend who had worked in ICMP's excavation division. After applying, she was granted an interview with the Forensic Sciences Division. Munira repeatedly laughed as she recalled her interview, noting that she was probably the only candidate to only express her desire to work with dead people. Shortly after the interview, Munira was offered the position of junior osteologist at Mortuary B. Like the other junior osteologists, Munira's tasks varied. Her daily activities included laying out remains in anatomical positions, conducting tours of the facility, analysing remains, entering information into the database, re-bagging remains, and organising paperwork. Munira commented that she preferred working with the remains, expressing a strong dislike for data entry work. Even after working in the mortuary for over a year, her passion for her work had not diminished.

Kristina

Twenty-six year old Kristina also worked as a junior osteologist at Mortuary B. Although she was originally from Tuzla, BiH and had lived most of her life there, she had also lived in Croatia and Serbia as a result of her father's service in the army. Kristina served as my only Bosnian, non-Muslim informant: her mother was Croatian and her father Serbian. Raised Roman Catholic, Kristina explained that she did not attend church, though she celebrated the holidays. Instead, she believed in the "biological religion". These beliefs emerged as a result of her undergraduate studies in biology. At the time of our interview, Kristina intended to pursue a postgraduate degree in biology in order "to learn something new". She expressed an interest in continuing to study biological anthropology, but like Munira, she noted that she would have to do so outside of BiH. Kristina explained that some of her anthropological studies included forensic anthropology. However, her employment at ICMP represented her first opportunity to work with human remains as her

previous studies consisted primarily of plant and animal anatomy. Nevertheless, she expressed a great love for working with human remains and for her work with ICMP.

When I met Kristina, she had been working for ICMP for approximately one and a half years, having come across the vacancy sometime in 2008. Prior to that, she worked as a DJ and a journalist as a means of supporting herself. Kristina came across the vacancy announcement for ICMP as she was finishing her undergraduate degree. She had heard of ICMP, its DNA lab, and its work locating human remains, though she was unaware of the anthropology work carried out in the organisation's mortuary facilities. Nevertheless, her love of biology and interest in ICMP and its work brought her to apply for the position. Like ICMP's other junior osteologists, Kristina's position required her to "do a little bit of everything", such as administrative work, computer work, conducting tours, as well as laying out, examining, and photographing remains. Kristina also spent six months at Mortuary C. There, she noted, her work centred on anthropology rather than administrative tasks as she carried out the first inventory of newly arrived remains, took DNA samples from bones, and estimated the age of the deceased. She also assisted victims' family members who came to Mortuary C in order to view their loved ones' remains and/or personal effects. Kristina reflected positively on her job, noting that she learned many new things and her knowledge of forensic anthropology had significantly increased.

Ibro

Fifty-six year old Ibro, originally from Goražde, BiH, served as the mortuary technician at Mortuary B. He explained that although from a Muslim family, he was "not a big fan of religion". Ibro studied construction in secondary school, worked as a waiter in Germany, and held several administrative jobs in Croatia. Prior to working with ICMP in 2003, he served as a mortuary technician with the ICTY in Visoko. Ibro obtained the job through a friend who worked for ICTY and was also friends with the man who owned the Visoko facility. Ibro's friend recommended him for a vacancy with ICTY, and, soon after, Ibro assumed the position of mortuary technician with the ICTY. In his capacity as a mortuary technician, Ibro worked with forensic anthropologists, pathologists, and the police, cleaning the bones and clothing found in mass graves, and preparing everything for

the first inventory of the cases. Ibro explained that he was recognised as "a good worker" by ICTY staff members, and, as a result, ICMP invited him to join their staff once the ICTY completed its work in Visoko. Thus, like Emir, Ibro worked for ICMP at Visoko until he was transferred to Mortuary B in early 2005. Ibro explained that his responsibilities as the mortuary technician at Mortuary B varied little from those he assumed in Visoko. For example, he continued washing clothing and bones and assisting the other staff members in their analyses of the remains. Ibro was also responsible for some of the 'housekeeping' duties of the mortuary: collecting rubbish, organising shelves, shovelling snow, re-labelling ossuary bags, and laundering staff members' scrubs. Ibro's work was viewed as crucial in allowing the mortuary to operate at peak efficiency, and he was treated with a great deal of respect from his co-workers; although Sarah supervised the forensic work, as Kristina noted, Ibro was the 'chief' of the staff. Moreover, he served as the father figure of Mortuary B. Finally, although Ibro explained that he enjoyed all aspects of his job, he also demonstrated an element of indifference to it. He was happy to have a job that allowed him to support his family when others in his country were not so fortunate. As he phrased it, "Work is work".

Mortuary C

Located in Bresnica, a small town in the Bosanska Krajina, Mortuary C was responsible for identifying the remains of the estimated 5,138 individuals who were reported missing in that region following the war (Personal communication, 9 December 2009). ICMP established Mortuary C in 2000 through providing local officials with both technical and financial support. Thus, the Cantonal Prosecutor's Office and the Cantonal Police office maintained authority over the identification process. As a result, police inspectors from the Cantonal Police war crimes department were deployed as needed and a police officer was permanently stationed at the mortuary (Personal communication, 9 December 2009). During my first visit to the facility in December 2009, ICMP's staff consisted of one mortuary supervisor/anthropologist, two case managers, three junior osteologists, and one mortuary technician. When I returned to the mortuary in April 2010,

one of the junior osteologists had been transferred to Mortuary A. By May, only one junior osteologist remained employed at Mortuary C.

ICMP has faced numerous challenges in attempting to identify the remains from the Bosanska Krajina. Local officials began exhuming mass graves in 1995, making visual identifications of the remains rather than employing forensic methods to identify the deceased. As a result, numerous misidentifications occurred. For example, a body exhumed in 1996 was visually identified as M. S. However, subsequent forensic analysis determined that the body had been misidentified. Numerous duplicated elements were found with the 'body', including three mandibles (lower jawbone), three craniums (skull), and four right tibias (large bone in the lower leg).[63] Moreover, DNA tests revealed that the remains belonged to four different individuals, none of whom were M.S. Accordingly, ICMP staff members must correct these errors. This frequently requires re-exhuming previously 'identified' remains and subjecting them to further anthropological analysis and DNA profiling. However, custody of these remains lies with the families, requiring ICMP staff members to request their permission in order to re-exhume the bodies. Aside from the logistical considerations of these re-exhumations, this task has an added psychological dimension: ICMP staff members are faced with difficult job of informing family members of the possibility that their loved ones' remains were incorrectly identified and requesting permission to re-exhume their body. ICMP recently undertook numerous actions as a means of addressing the problem of misidentifications. These included the "[s]tandardisation of procedures", such as "raising…anthropological standards"; "re-examin[ing]…available cases" and "SOP development"; "[r]evisi[ng]…all available documentation"; and "[a]ssess[ing]…historical work" (Personal communication, 9 December 2009).

Accordingly, 2009 saw numerous improvements in Mortuary C's daily operations. Anthropological standards were established and 233 cases were subsequently reviewed under these. "Case processing" procedures were also created. Both ICMP and the local police force created electronic back-up copies of all documents, and newly collected data was also re-organised. ICMP also made improvements to the mortuary facility. New organisational equipment allowed for the improved storage of all of the facility's cases.

---

[63] See Byers 2005: 31.

Ossuary remains and personal effects found with the remains were documented and organised and the local police force began guarding the mortuary 24 hours per day, every day of the week. Arrangements were made to annually eradicate pests from the facility. By 2009, the remains of 3,022 individuals had been identified at Mortuary C. Of these, 1,572 were identified through DNA analysis and over 1,450 via visual identifications. Furthermore, 4,330 bones samples had been submitted to ICMP for DNA analysis. Four hundred and ninety-six cases remained at ICMP in 2009; the identification process had been completed for 64 such cases. As with Mortuary A, ICMP sought to transfer authority of Mortuary C to local officials, although this does not appear to have yet occurred (Personal communication, 9 December 2009).

Located on the outskirts of Bresnica, Mortuary C consisted of two main structures: a trailer and large warehouse. Two additional metal storage areas and a small container made up the remainder of the site. The trailer served as the facility's office. Here, the case managers and mortuary supervisor conducted their office work – contacting family members and other ICMP facilities, reviewing reports, entering information into databases, writing emails, and meeting with victims' family members. This facility also contained a break room where staff members gathered during lunch or coffee breaks. The large warehouse contained the facility's human remains (see Diagram B, p. 272). Remains were housed in two separate rooms; shelves of trays held some of the remains and any personal effects found with the body. Other remains rested on ossuary bags lying on the floor. Unlike Mortuary A, this facility contained only one small freezer for cold storage. One of the facility's more poignant characteristics was a poster on the wall of one of these rooms bearing the photographs of the individuals reported missing from the Bosanska Krajina. This type of document appears to be unique to Mortuary C; during my time with ICMP, I did not notice another such personalisation of the deceased. A door from the warehouse led to the room in which the majority of the forensic analyses occurred. Although the layout of the room varied with the day's activities, metal trays generally rested on several of the tables scattered throughout the room. Remains, office supplies, and/or personal effects were all placed on these trays. A shelf held reference materials and office supplies. There were two computers, used for checking email and entering information into ICMP's database, and a printer in the room. Some documents on the wall modelled how forms

should be completed, while others consisted of charts showing human anatomy, how bones alter with age, and the impact of trauma on bones. In contrast with these, photographs of staff members at a picnic surrounded the computers. The facility also included an office space for the cantonal police officer; a reception area; a document storage room; a room for storing personal effects; a large sink, used for washing hands, dishes, and bones; a washing machine; and toilets.

Mortuary C served as a departure from Mortuary A and Mortuary B in several ways. First, some of the remains still bore a significant amount of flesh and/or hair, something I did not see at Mortuaries A and B.[64] In many instances, personal effects were kept alongside the remains, though some were stored separately in another room. The age and sex of the remains also differed. While the majority of the deceased were men, the remains of women, children, and infants were also analysed in the facility. For example, while working at the facility, Kristina examined the remains of a woman and her unborn foetus. Unlike Mortuary B, family members frequently came to this facility in order to meet with case workers and to view the remains and/or personal effects of their loved ones. Furthermore, Mortuary C's facilities were 'basic'. Although the recent changes discussed above improved the facility, they were still conceived of as less than ideal. For example, as the mortuary was formerly a warehouse, temperature regulation proved challenging. The mortuary supervisor expressed frustration at only having access to one small cold storage container. Given the presence of fleshed remains at this site, this resource was inadequate and the impending arrival of warm weather caused concern. Cleanliness of the facility was also difficult to maintain. For example, during my second visit to the facility, the building shook as a result of construction nearby, knocking down dirt and dust from the ceiling.

The daily activities of forensic specialists at Mortuary C echo those at both Mortuaries A and B. When necessary, staff members wash remains and personal effects prior to analysing them. Remains were then laid out on trays and examined by the facility's junior osteologists. They searched for ante- and postmortem trauma to the bones or distinctive characteristics that may aid identification, such as gold teeth or healed fractures.

---

[64] Unlike in the Srebrenica region, excavations in the Bosanska Krajina were ongoing as new information about the location of mass graves became available. Mirna explained that bodies in this region were excavated from a wide variety of environments, some of which are ideal for preserving soft tissue. For a brief discussion of how environmental factors impact the decomposition of human remains see Byers 2005: 107-125.

They also examined certain bones, such as the pelvis, skull sutures, and/or the ends of ribs in order to estimate the deceased's age and sex. Absent and present bones were noted. If all of the pieces were present, the forensic specialists glued fractured bones back together. Staff members also photographed the remains and personal effects as a means of recordkeeping. As the analyses were conducted, staff members filled out paper forms and recorded the information in ICMP's database. Forensic specialists also completed re-associations as necessary because a re-association centre did not exist for the remains from this region. Samples were taken from the bones in order to facilitate identifications or re-associations. Other daily tasks included re-bagging remains, preparing bodies for repatriation to family members, cleaning and organising the facility, as well as retrieving ossuary bags from and returning bags to different rooms in the facility. The mortuary supervisor oversaw these activities, occasionally assisting the junior osteologists and mortuary technician. Teamwork was also crucial at Mortuary C. For example, Lejla and Jasmina, the facility's two junior osteologists, frequently consulted one another as they completed their work. Like Kristina and Munira, they worked together to glue fragmented bones together. They also frequently worked in conjunction with the mortuary technician. For instance, he assisted them in repackaging remains or reconstructing fractured bones and they would help him move bags of bones into other rooms. Thus, as at Mortuary B, this sharing of tasks may also have aided camaraderie at Mortuary C.

Mortuary C staff members

Mirna

Twenty-nine year-old forensic anthropologist Mirna served as the supervisor of Mortuary C. Originally from Novi Travnik, BiH, Mirna described herself as being from a Muslim family, though she explained that she did not have any religious beliefs. After attending secondary school in Travnik and Sanski Most, Mirna completed three years of advanced medical school in Bihać and started her fourth year in Sarajevo but failed to finish due to the war. In 2007, she obtained a postgraduate degree in forensic anthropology from a university in the UK. Mirna began working with ICMP in 2001 as part of the

organisation's blood collection team.[65] She remained there until January 2006, at which time she became an anthropological assistant at Mortuary C. Like several other of my respondents, although Mirna had witnessed autopsies during medical school, her work with ICMP brought her into direct contact with human remains for the first time. After obtaining her postgraduate degree, she was appointed head of Mortuary C. Although Mirna came to ICMP with a health science background, she also began her work with the organisation out of financial need. She explained, "I started to work this job simply because of existence, because of money. Nothing else. If somebody gave me the opportunity to work something else, I probably would have taken that something else". As the supervisor of Mortuary C, Mirna's duties were numerous and included ensuring the proper functioning of everything in the mortuary, such as the electricity and the Internet; coordinating with other ICMP facilities; developing procedures and SOPs; corresponding with local authorities, such as the court-appointed pathologist, regarding identifications; and sorting through previous problems and/or mistakes. She also reviewed DNA reports in order to determine if remains were ready for identification, re-association, or if further tests needed to be conducted. Depending upon the situation, Mirna sometimes spoke with victims' families members, responding to queries about their loved ones' remains. Mirna spoke of her job with some ambiguity. She accepted a position within ICMP out of necessity, but she also expressed a commitment to carrying out her duties to the best of her abilities and found some aspects of the job rewarding.

Lejla

Along with Jasmina, 25 year-old Sarajevo-native Lejla served as one of the junior osteologists at Mortuary C. She described herself as a practising Muslim, explaining that she sought to follow all of the tenets of her faith. Lejla studied biology while an undergraduate student and was pursuing a postgraduate degree in biology while working full-time at ICMP. She explained that although she had studied some physical anthropology and was familiar with human anatomy as a result of her studies, her employment with ICMP brought her into contact with human remains for the first time.

---

[65] Members of ICMP blood collection teams were responsible for collecting blood samples from family members for use in DNA matching.

Lejla was a recent hire, having begun work with ICMP in November 2009. She learned of the job vacancy through an email from a friend; after reading through the announcement and the necessary qualifications, Lejla became interested in the position and decided to apply for it. After completing the interview process, she was offered and accepted the position. As with the junior osteologists at Mortuary B, Lejla's role required her to undertake a number of activities, such as laying out the remains in anatomical position, estimating the age and sex of the deceased, examining the remains for antemortem and postmortem fractures, and measuring some of the bones. Lejla noted that she also had to record her findings on various forms and in ICMP's database, in conjunction with photographing the remains and any personal effects found with them. Lejla spoke of her job in a positive light, explaining how she found it extremely interesting and that she felt confident in carrying out her work because of her knowledge of biology and human anatomy. Furthermore, Lejla explained that she found great satisfaction in her work because it allowed her to assist individuals in locating their missing family members.

Jasmina

Twenty-five year-old Jasmina served as the second junior osteologist at Mortuary C. Originally from Prijedor, BiH, she also described herself as a practising Muslim. Jasmina arrived at ICMP after having attended what she referred to as "higher medical school" where she trained as a laboratory technician. She worked as a laboratory technician for two and a half years in various hospitals and a dentist's office before applying for the position at Mortuary C. Like Lejla, Jasmina learned of the vacancy from a friend and decided to apply for the position. She was hired the day after Lejla, on 2 November 2009. As a junior osteologist, Jasmina's responsibilities in the mortuary echoed Lejla's, and they frequently assisted one another in completing their work. While she had watched her professors dissect body parts during medical school, Jasmina did not have any hand-on experience with human remains until working with ICMP. Furthermore, like Lejla, Jasmina expressed her enjoyment of her work. For example, she spoke of her enthusiasm for furthering her knowledge and was happy with the hands-on experience she received throughout her time in the mortuary. Jasmina further explained that she liked her colleagues and, overall,

enjoyed her duties as a junior osteologist. Furthermore, Jasmina was the first of my informants who had a personal connection to the remains with which she worked: two of her uncles went missing during the war and their remains had yet to be recovered. Additionally, one of her cousin's bodies had been identified at the mortuary.

Alem

Fifty-two year-old Alem worked as the mortuary technician at Mortuary C. He grew up in Sanski Most, graduating from secondary school as a qualified driver. He described himself as a Muslim, noting that although he did not practise the rituals of his faith, he believed in and respected its creeds. Alem worked at the facility since its opening in 2000 and had been under contract with ICMP for three years and six months at the time of my interview with him. Like other of my informants, he began working in Mortuary C out of financial need rather than any interest in the field. His son learned of the opening at the mortuary through a local police officer, and Alem undertook the position as means of supporting his family. Prior to signing the contract with ICMP, Alem worked at the mortuary on an *ad hoc* basis. Thus, he came into work only if needed, though his new contract required him to come in every day. His duties were similar to those carried out by Ibro at Mortuary B. For example, he washed the remains and clothing that arrived at the mortuary from the field and ensured ossuary bags were stored in the correct place and were properly marked. He was also present when victims' families viewed their loved ones' remains or personal effects. Alem's responsibilities increased in 2008 due to changes in procedure at Mortuary C. He began assisting during inventories of remains and personal effects from large mass graves, adhered to newly-established procedures for washing bodies and effects, such as filling in documentation when cleaning them, and photographing any personal effects found with the remains. Finally, out of all of my informants, Alem expressed the most dislike for his job. He maintained that he continued working with ICMP out of financial necessity and would probably resign from the organisation if he could find employment elsewhere. This aversion to his job is most likely the result of his personal connection to the remains at Mortuary C. Alem explained that a large number of his colleagues and lifelong friends were killed during the war, individuals

whose bodies and clothing he later had to wash during his work in the mortuary. Moreover, Alem also witnessed "a lot of killing and war crimes" during the conflict, further adding to the emotional challenges of his work in the mortuary. I will return to his experiences in the following chapter.

Fatima

Forty-year-old Fatima was one of two case managers at Mortuary C. Originally from Prijedor, she described herself as Muslim, explaining that while she did not consider herself 100% Muslim, she still maintained Islamic beliefs. Upon completing primary school, she attended *gimnazija*[66], graduating in 1988 after having qualified as an assistant translator. Along with Mirna and Ibrahim, the other case manager at Mortuary C, Fatima began working with ICMP in 2001 as part of the region's blood collection team. She learned of the vacancy after a colleague inquired if she was interested in a position with the organisation. Following the closure of the blood collection office at the end of 2003, Fatima began working at Mortuary C in January 2004. Fatima explained that her work as a case manager changed upon commencing work at Mortuary C. Instead of having contact with families for the sake of taking blood samples, she was responsible for informing family members that their loved ones' remains had been located. She also spoke with families in order to obtain more information about the deceased or to request that they visit Mortuary C. However, Fatima's duties in the mortuary went beyond interacting with victims' family members. She explained, "My job is connecting the whole process of identification at Mortuary C". For every case that arrived at Mortuary C, Fatima entered the information into ICMP's database, including any information from the DNA samples and family members, updating each case as more information arrived. Fatima would frequently help the junior osteologists, explaining, "I…already have most of this information in my head". As will be explored in subsequent chapters, Fatima spoke of preferring these tasks to working with victims' family members. While acknowledging the positive side of these interactions, Fatima noted her dislike of this aspect of her work.

---

[66] *Gimnazija* constituted another type of secondary school in the former Yugoslavia. In contrast to a vocational school, students attending *gimnazija* studied a wide variety of subjects. It also prepared students for University. Thanks to Marko Stojic for the clarification.

Finally, she also had a personal connection with her work as her husband and mother were killed during the war. Fatima had been through the identification process as the remains of her loved ones were successfully identified in 2006.

Ibrahim

Also from Prijedor, 31-year-old Ibrahim served as the second case manager at Mortuary C. He identified as both Bosnian and Muslim, describing his practise of the faith as "medium", commenting "I am not extreme in my religious beliefs". Ibrahim completed primary school in Prijedor before moving to Germany due to the war. There, he completed secondary school, earning a qualification as a mechanical technician. Ibrahim began working with ICMP in 2000 after hearing the vacancy announcement on a local radio station and from a missing persons family association. He applied for the position out of economic necessity. As Ibrahim explained, "If you have a job, you probably have money and you can exist here in Bosnia". Along with Mirna and Fatima, he began working for ICMP as part of the region's blood collection unit. There, his responsibilities included organising field visits to family members of the missing, gathering information about the missing person/s, filling out questionnaires, and obtaining blood sample/s. Ibrahim was also responsible for managing the facility's budget.

After ICMP ceased the blood collection project at the end of 2003, Ibrahim began working as a case manager at Mortuary C in January 2004. His responsibilities changed shortly thereafter. He worked with one pathologist and several anthropologists and was responsible for informing family members about the results of DNA reports and updating information gathered by the police, pathologists and anthropologists. Like Fatima, his duties also included interviewing families in order to gather any information about the missing person that could aid in the identification of the deceased. Ibrahim seemed relatively neutral about his work with ICMP. As I will address in later chapters, while he spoke of the emotionally challenging aspects of serving as a case manager, Ibrahim equally noted the positive aspects of his work. Ibrahim, too, spoke of having lost several relatives during the war and having been through the identification process at Mortuary C.

Conclusion

Although I never again had trouble locating one of ICMP's facilities after my first time visiting its headquarters in Sarajevo, it took me some time to fully comprehend its structure and how it functioned. As I have explored in this chapter, ICMP is engaged in wide range of activities related to the issue of missing persons both in BiH and abroad. Because ICMP assists and works in *conjunction with* local governments, its activities are further complicated. Moreover, as I quickly realised upon commencing observations and interviews in the three mortuaries, each site varied significantly in terms of location, staffing, function, and facilities, adding another layer of complexity to the daily operations of ICMP. Despite these distinctions, however, the varying facilities and departments within ICMP strive to work together as a single entity in order to address the issue of missing persons within BiH and beyond.

The same may be said of the mortuary staff. As the brief biographies above suggest, staff have numerous characteristics in common. For example, many of them were similar in age: Munira, Kristina, Lejla, Jasmina, and Mirna were all in their mid- to late 20s and Anesa, Katie and Emir were both in their mid-30s. Similarly, at both Mortuaries A and B, the mortuary technicians were the oldest staff members. Furthermore, the junior osteologists came to ICMP with a background in biology and/or health sciences and were thus familiar with human anatomy but had limited training in forensic anthropology. Instead, they experienced on-the-job training. Of the Bosnian staff members, only Mirna possessed a formal qualification in forensic anthropology. With the exception of Munira, the Bosnian staff members also did not anticipate working with human remains. Instead, they began or intended to begin another career trajectory. Thus, my Bosnian informants frequently spoke of seeking employment with ICMP primarily out of financial necessity. Nevertheless, they generally reflected positively about working with ICMP. Moreover, the majority of my informants had limited experience working directly with human remains prior to employment at ICMP. Overall, they either had not previously encountered human remains or had merely witnessed autopsies/dissections during their coursework. Furthermore, except for Kristina, the Bosnian forensic specialists were from Muslim backgrounds. My respondents' discussions of their duties in the mortuaries also suggest a

trend toward the sharing of jobs rather than a strict division of labour, something that, in conjunction with the necessity of teamwork, may also reinforce camaraderie among staff members.[67] My two North American respondents also had several characteristics in common. Unlike most of their Bosnian colleagues, both Katie and Sarah studied forensic anthropology at the university level and possessed formal qualifications. Moreover, they had a committed interest in working with human remains and deliberately chose a career path that would allow them to accomplish this goal. Furthermore, neither considered themselves religious.

Despite these similarities, each one of my respondents also brought something unique to the mortuary. For example, Lejla, Munira, and Anesa were continuing their university coursework while working full-time at ICMP. This commitment required them to make frequent commutes to another city in order to take classes. Although they generally travelled on the weekends, they also occasionally missed work in order to take or prepare for examinations. Furthermore, my respondents' education levels significantly varied. While Katie, Sarah, and Mirna possessed postgraduate degrees and Lejla was working toward one, the remainder of my informants did not have this qualification. Instead, they were either working toward an undergraduate degree or had only completed secondary school. Religious beliefs among my informants also varied. Although most of my Bosnian informants described themselves as coming from Muslim backgrounds, their levels of observance varied significantly. Finally, during my time at Mortuary C I was struck by some of my respondents' personal connections to their work. Prior to commencing fieldwork there, I had yet to encounter this as none of my previous respondents were from the Srebrenica region or had lost family members and/or friends in the genocide. However, the situation was quite different at Mortuary C since several of the staff members and their families were from the Bosanska Krajina and had lost loved ones during the killings in that region. Despite these differences, however, as I found throughout my time observing and interacting with ICMP's forensic specialists, like the organisation

---

[67] A few exceptions to this exist: both Sarah and Mirna had supervisory positions and Ibro's and Alem's roles as mortuary technicians required them to assume more responsibility for maintaining the cleanliness and organisation of the facilities. Thus, Ibro and Alem did not perform examinations of the remains. However, they frequently assisted rest of the staff with their work and vice versa. Sarah and Mirna also assisted their staff as needed. Also, as case managers, Fatima and Ibrahim had very distinctive roles within Mortuary C. Nevertheless, they frequently interacted with the rest of the staff and were a common presence in the mortuaries.

itself, this diverse group of individuals also successfully endeavoured to work as a cohesive unit in order to carry out ICMP's mandate.

During that initial meeting with ICMP, I was informed that the forensic specialists would be glad to hear of my interest in *their* work. 'Outsiders', it seems, were generally far more interested in hearing about the DNA laboratories. This focus on DNA testing is, in many ways, understandable. Utilising cutting-edge technology, it allows for the seemingly impossible: attaching a name/s to a formerly anonymous pile of bones. Moreover, the DNA testing technology and matching software speaks to a public captivated by the crime dramas prevalent on television. Compared to this, the realm of forensic anthropology seems somewhat 'unglamorous' and perhaps a bit dull. However, in what follows I seek to undermine this presumption, providing further insight into the lives of ICMP's forensic specialists as they work in what has the potential to be an emotionally challenging field.

Chapter Three
Forensic specialists' responses to human remains

6.11.09

And Emir just walked by with someone's skull in a large bag. I know this is why I'm here, but it's still a bit strange and is definitely something I'm still adjusting to. But, for the most part, I'm still not really bothered by everything I'm seeing. Maybe if the bones had flesh, hair, or personal effects with them, it would be different. However, for the time being, these are just like the artefacts in the…archaeology lab.[68] However, if I think about it…contemplating the remains and such is emotionally difficult. While I know the origin of these remains and have that in the back of my mind during the day, I try not to think too much about everything. Otherwise, I don't think I could do this.

But (again), it's easy to come at this phase, just to watch as bags [of] dry bones are inventoried [and] placed in lines on the floor in large white ossuary bags. Even a skeleton that has been laid out on a tray lacks the certain emotional impact of a fleshed body. Perhaps the artefacts found with the body would have a greater impact. Perhaps things will often be different at Mortuary A where the artefacts are stored and sometimes laid out for viewing or photography.

I wrote this entry in my fieldnotes just three days after commencing my observations at Mortuary B. Although I was generally confident that I could successfully cope with any emotional difficulties that I experienced as a result of spending my time surrounded by genocide victims' remains, I nevertheless experienced some trepidation. How long would it take me to adjust? Would I even be able to do it? What if I was unsuccessful and therefore unable to carry out my fieldwork? However, as this entry indicates, I was needlessly worried, and I found myself adjusting quite quickly to my new surroundings.

At Mortuary B, I found the emotional component of this work largely absent: the remains were completely skeletonised and fragmented, making them poor human referents. The 'bits and pieces' were stored in plastic bags; instead of bearing a name, the bags were labelled with a series of numbers and letters designating their origin. When moved, the

---

[68] During my undergraduate coursework, I both worked in and took classes at an archaeology laboratory. As an employee, my many duties including examining, cleaning, weighing, and re-packaging artefacts excavated from a nearby site. I was also responsible for cataloguing these objects. In comparing the work carried out by my respondents to that of archaeologists working in a laboratory, I draw from my personal experiences.

bones inside of the bags rattled together, sounding much like the Lincoln Logs[69] I played with as a child. Personal items were absent. Bags of bones were dumped onto tables in much the same way that I used to empty bags of brick, plaster, or shell during my work as an archaeologist. I felt as though I was stepping foot into an archaeology lab, not a mortuary. Thus, my emotional responses to the remains were few. This easy emotional detachment from the remains was only compromised on those rare occasions when I contemplated the circumstances surrounding these individuals' deaths. Even so, such moments passed quickly and the emotional distance returned.

Having quickly grown accustomed to the remains at Mortuary B, I was decidedly more nervous as I prepared to visit Mortuary C for the first time. Kristina, perhaps as a means of preparing me for what I would encounter, had previously explained to me that even though the majority of the remains housed there were skeletonised, I would also encounter fleshed remains (and personal effects) at Mortuary C. I was uncertain as to how I would respond to them. Would the presence of such human referents as hair, skin, and personal effects make it more difficult for me to distance myself? However, my experience at Mortuary C was similar to that at Mortuary B, despite the difference in the condition of the remains housed there. Once again, my emotional reactions were limited – I found myself responding to the remains with disgust rather than anything else. In their poor state of preservation, the remains were grotesque: the skin leathery and abnormally pale, the bodies themselves mangled, clumps of dark hair clung to pale bits of dried scalp. And they smelled – a faint musty, rotten odour emanated from them. The personal effects I saw also provided little in the way of emotional provocation. To me, the tattered remnants of trousers, unidentifiable bits of cloth, and stained socks resembled the carefully preserved fragments of antique fabrics found in museums more than clothing worn by a victim of armed conflict in the early 1990s. The personal effects were similarly malodorous, in many instances even more so than the remains themselves. The fetid odours of decomposition and decay seemed embedded in the fibres of the clothing.

This lack of emotional response to the remains at both Mortuary C and Mortuary B may also be attributed to my preoccupation with other matters during the course of my fieldwork. My excitement at finally commencing with my much-anticipated fieldwork

---

[69] A common toy in the United States, Lincoln Logs are wooden log-shaped building blocks.

overshadowed any emotional distress evoked by the remains housed in the mortuary. As my attention was focused on observing the daily activities of the mortuary, writing my fieldnotes, and conducting interviews, I only rarely had time to reflect on the remains. Given my interest in and previous study of forensic anthropology, I further responded to the remains with scientific interest, for example, attempting to recall and apply my knowledge of how to determine the age and sex of human skeletal remains. I was further concerned with remaining a detached, professional anthropologist. I hoped that accomplishing this would allow me to gain my informants' respect and further aid me in developing a relationship with them. Therefore, when I did experience emotional reactions to the remains in the mortuaries, I actively suppressed them. Over the course of my observations of and interactions with ICMP forensic specialists, I slowly discovered that my responses to the remains in the mortuaries were generally reflective of their experiences.

This chapter, therefore, examines the complexities of ICMP forensic specialists' emotional responses to the human remains with which they work. I begin by exploring the prominence of scientific awe and fascination as a reaction to the remains. Although my informants emphasised the importance and necessity of emotional detachment, I argue that this represents a form of emotional attachment, albeit one that does not threaten their professional identity. This chapter then considers the prevalence of passive emotional detachment among my respondents, providing several explanations for this trend. I then discuss situations in which the characteristics of the remains, such as their age, gender, ethnicity, the presence or absence of trauma on the remains, and the presence of personal effects, challenge this emotional detachment. Discussion of these instances thus brings feeling rules and concepts of professional identity into consideration as I explore my informants' perceptions of the importance of emotional detachment in allowing them to continue with their work. I then explore the variety of techniques that my respondents employ in managing their emotional responses to their work, bringing into consideration the concept of emotion work. In discussing these topics, I also address Goffman's (1959) concept of performance management. As will be explored below, in order to maintain their

professional identities, my informants constantly 'perform'.[70] That is, they are expected to uphold their roles as professional forensic specialists, even in the face of events and/or situations that might challenge their ability to serve in this capacity. Moreover, throughout the course of their work, my research participants might 'perform' to a number of different audiences. For example, as this chapter considers, they must perform for fellow forensic specialists within the mortuary facilities. Furthermore, as I explore in Chapter Four, they must also manage their performances when family members of deceased persons visit the mortuaries. With each of these interactions comes the expectation that forensic specialists will perform in a particular way, a topic I will consider throughout the remainder of this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter introduces and asserts the agency of the deceased human body, describing the various ways in which the remains in the mortuary incite responses by ICMP's forensic specialists. I conclude by presenting Alem's unique situation and its impact on his work in the mortuary. Through exploring all of these themes, this chapter thus presents the fluid nature of human remains and the ways in which my informants must variously respond to this trait so as to successfully uphold their professional identities.

Literature review

This chapter speaks primarily in reference to existing literature addressing body handlers' work with human remains. Overall, this literature falls into four categories: psychological studies of body handlers' work with human remains in post-disaster settings; psychological studies of medical professionals' work in a wide variety of settings; ethnographic studies of medical students' experiences in anatomy labs, and medical examiners' and funeral home employees' work in domestic settings. Other literature is included as relevant. Moreover, this chapter also brings into consideration literature discussing feeling rules, emotion work, and the status of the deceased human body as an object.

---

[70] Here, I focus on the way in which my research participants consciously 'perform', although this may not always be the case (Goffman 1959: 2, 7).

Varying responses to human remains

Previous studies suggest that body handlers exhibit numerous responses to human remains. This variety of responses is noteworthy as it indicates that a standard response to human remains does not exist. To begin, although it does not constitute the most prominent theme within existing literature, existing literature demonstrates that medical professionals may respond to the deceased body with scientific fascination and awe. In his study of medical examiners' investigations of suspicious deaths, Timmermans (2006: 279) notes, "Several pathologists told me that they were personally attracted to solving scientific puzzles". Doctor Brown, one of the medical examiners, explained,

> The first thing that intrigues me about the position is that I rarely know what case I am going to be doing in the morning. Even if I do know what the case is, there is always something unique about it. I learn something new about the case. I just increase my knowledge base on how a particular disease can present itself (ibid.).

Medical students may exhibit similar responses. For example, some found themselves "in awe of the cadaver" or intrigued "by the complexity of the human body" (Lella & Pawluch 1988: 129). Likewise, another medical student explained, "just seeing everything was amazing! I mean wow! Although it is a dead body and you pull muscles and arms and the fingers move, it just shows you we take everything for granted" (Lemp 2005: 321).

However, existing literature especially highlights the 'negative' emotional responses body handlers may experience when working with human remains, such as horror, shock, sadness, and guilt. For example, incidents of mass death may prove challenging if rescue workers feel overwhelmed by the number of the dead (McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 211; Raphael 1986: 235-236; United States Army Centre for Health Promotion and Preventative Medicine (USACHPPM) (n.d.: n.p.). When responding to mass death scenarios, body handlers may also experience feelings of inadequacy or guilt (USACHPPM n.d.: n.p.). For example, McCarroll *et al*. (1993: 212) found some rescue workers experienced "feelings of 'I didn't do enough'". Similarly, a physician who responded to the 1977 rail disaster in Granville, Australia, recalled feeling similarly guilty and questioning whether he had done enough to save his patients (Raphael 1986: 235).

Working with the remains of individuals who died particularly violent or traumatic deaths may also negatively impact the body handler. Koff (2005: 153), a forensic anthropologist who excavated mass graves in Rwanda, BiH, Croatia, and Kosovo, recalled an incident that occurred while she was examining the skeleton of an adolescent male who had been shot and killed in the Srebrenica genocide: "an image came into my mind: I 'saw' this young guy…and I 'felt' the pain of the bullet entering his thigh just above the knee; I could sense his youth and the tragedy of it all and I thought of his family and what they were missing…and I lost an element of self control". A colleague comforted Koff, noting that she experienced a similar breakdown due to entering "homicide" and "bullet, left maxilla"[71] into the forensic database repeatedly throughout the day (ibid.). However, bodies in which the cause of death is not evident and/or those lacking trauma can also prove problematic to the body handler (McCarroll *et al.*1993: 211; Ursano & McCarroll 1990: 397; USACHPPM n.d: n.p.). Leighton (2010: 90) found that, "[a]rticulated remains were also seen as being more recognisable as a person than fragmentary pieces of bone".[72] The recovery of children's remains has been found to be particularly stressful for body handlers (Dyregrov *et al.* 1996: 552; Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992; Howarth 1996: 81; Ursano & McCarroll 1990: 397). As a funeral director explained, "One week all I'd done was small kiddies and it was beginning to wind me up, beginning to get to me. You couldn't relax and do your job in the usual manner" (Howarth 1996: 81). Finally, in her study of archaeologists' conception of human remains, Leighton (2010: 88) writes, "it is the perceived nature of recent remains as being too recognisable and too closely connected to the archaeologist's own sense of self that is disturbing". This suggests that the remains of a recently deceased individual may also prove more problematic to the body handler.

---

[71] In the human body the maxillae are "the floor of…[the eye] orbits" (Byers 2005: 31).

[72] Leighton's study of archaeologists' perceptions of the archaeological body is analogous with my own research as she "specifically seek[s] to understand the conceptualisation of the body by those who work with it regularly […]" (2010: 81). Although some of her arguments are not as relevant to my own research as she frequently speaks of archaeologists' work with historic rather than recent remains, she occasionally considers archaeologists' experiences with the latter. Accordingly, I frequently engage with her article throughout this thesis.

Identification with and humanisation of the deceased

Leighton's (2010: 88) discussion of the impact of "recognisable remains" also brings into consideration identification with the deceased. As defined within psychology, identification refers to the "cognitive process of emotional involvement by which we see other people as being like or similar to ourselves" (Ursano & Fullerton 1990: 1769-1770). Accordingly, identification can humanise the deceased. Here, I speak about passive identification and humanisation, which occurs when the body handler automatically humanises or identifies with the remains, contrasting it with active identification and humanisation. These responses transpire when the body handler makes a *deliberate* attempt to humanise or identify with the deceased.

As discussed in previous research, passive identification may assume two forms. First, the body handler may identify with the deceased as another human being. This commonly occurs when the corpse still resembles a living person. As Leighton (2010: 87) found in her study of archaeologists' perceptions of human remains, "the more the material resembled a living human being, and the closer it was to the self of the archaeologist, the more it was conceptualised as a person. Remains more likely to be recognised as 'people' were…articulated, with soft tissue". Koff (2005: 210) recalled encountering this in a morgue in Kosovo: "Some of the bodies were fully fleshed – preserved by water inside their coffins or blankets…Since I wasn't examining them closely, the bodies looked like people instead of cases". Likewise, in comparing the anatomy lab cadaver and the 'autopsy body', one medical student noted, "[In anatomy] the cadaver is pretty well mummified…As a result, you don't consider the cadaver as a former human being – but as a species of anatomy…But in the autopsy…you can see the whole body…You…have the feeling that here is a person who was alive a few minutes before" (Fox 1979: 57). Furthermore, certain parts of the body, such as the head and hands, may serve as reminders of the cadaver's humanity. As another medical student observed, "There's something about the head that gives life to the dead" (Lella & Pawluch 1988: 132).[73]

Secondly, identification may occur if the deceased individual reminds the body handler of himself/herself or someone they know. Timmermans (2006: 278) notes, "After

---

[73] See also Fox 1989: 64; Hafferty 1991: 90-94; Ursano & Fullerton 1990: 1768.

the case of a two-year-old who ran into traffic, Zachary [one of the mortuary's pathology assistants] told me he was going to give his kids a big hug that night. Dr. Brown was less bothered by autopsying kids: he instead identified with overweight men with heart disease". Furthermore, an archaeologist hypothesised that "she could never do forensic work" because she might identify with them, explaining: "I think all the skeletons from a hundred years ago – they'd be OK because I know their experiences are so totally different from mine. I think, people who've experienced similar lifestyles and music and stuff like that, I don't think I could cope with that" (Leighton 2010: 88). Another archaeologist spoke of identifying with the remains of women who shared her build and age, noting that she would frequently wonder if they had long hair like her (ibid.: 87).

Encountering personal effects of the deceased may humanise the dead and bring about identification. After excavating the remains of a boy in Kosovo who had marbles in his pocket, Koff (2005: 227) began imagining the child's life. She recalled (ibid.), "The boy in my grave had a pocket full of marbles, and that told me more about his life than almost anything else could…in the grave with him I saw beyond the forensic facts to the boy he might have been". Likewise, one rescue worker responding to a fatal bus crash in Norway reported becoming upset after seeing shoes the same size as that of his/her child (Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992: 13).[74] Identification may also occur when body handlers view antemortem pictures of the deceased, read or hear their names in the newspaper or on the television (McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 212). Viewing medical charts of or learning personal details about deceased patients may have a similar impact (Fox 1989: 58-59).

Previous studies indicate that passive identification with and humanisation of the deceased can make it difficult for body handlers to continue with their work. For example, Ursano & McCarroll (1990: 398) argue, "Identification and feelings of 'knowing' the dead appear to heighten the trauma of the experience. Identification may serve to eliminate the unfamiliar and the unknown qualities of the dead – changing what is new and novel into something familiar and part of the past". Similarly, in their study of individuals involved in the recovery of remains from the 1989 explosion of a gun turret on the *USS Iowa*, Ursano *et al*. (1999: 358) found, "identification is not only a risk factor for negative outcomes but also a mechanism by which exposure to the dead leads to disease and symptoms in disaster

---

[74] See also McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 212; USACHPPM n.d.: n.p.; Ursano & McCarroll 1990: 397.

workers". Timmermans (2006: 278) notes the negative impact of identification with the deceased, explaining how "[a] scene investigator took a leave of absence when his sons were teenagers and had learned to drive". Furthermore, in their study of medical students' experiences with living and deceased bodies, Smith III & Kleinman (1989: 59) write, "When the person is somehow reconnected to the body, such as when data about the living patient who died is brought into the autopsy room, students feel less confident and more uneasy".[75] In order to carry out their work, therefore, body handlers may find it necessary to avoid humanising and/or identifying with the deceased. As will be addressed below, this also corresponds to the emphasis body handlers place on remaining objective throughout the course of their work and the necessity of finding 'appropriate' techniques for managing their emotional responses.

However, existing literature also suggests that identification with the deceased may not always occur. This may especially be true in instances in which the human remains do not readily resemble a living human being, such as in the case of skeletal remains or heavily decomposed bodies. This may result in passive emotional detachment from the deceased.[76] For example, funeral home employees sometimes refer to a badly decomposed corpse as "it" or a "thing" (Howarth 1996: 74). Some medical students described their cadavers as appearing non-human. As one student noted, "My cadaver doesn't look real. He's all emaciated and leathery-looking" (Hafferty 1991: 104). Lella & Pawluch (1988: 132) found, "several students stressed…the odour of formaldehyde, the pale colour and 'rubbery' or 'waxy' or 'plastic texture of the cadaver's skin, the absence of blood – all of which rendered the cadaver something far removed from human".[77] In such instances, identification is less likely to occur and may more readily allow both for passive objectification of the deceased and passive emotional detachment.

---

[75] See also Fox 1989: 58-60 & Hafferty 1991: 88-90.

[76] As in the case of identification and humanisation, I also differentiate between passive and active emotional detachment. I will consider active emotional detachment later in this chapter, discussing its use by body handlers as a means of managing their emotional responses to their work.

[77] See also Hafferty 1991:104.

Theoretical approaches to the deceased human body

As Harper (2010: 309) notes, "[t]he dead body has been theorised as many things". Most relevant for my research are studies of the deceased human body as an 'object' and a 'subject', with the latter topic highlighting its agency. I begin by exploring the former of these categories. The subject of the deceased human body as an object has received widespread consideration within the existing literature. Verdery (1999: 27) argues, "Bones and corpses, coffins and cremation urns, are material objects. Most of the time, they are indisputably *there*, as our senses of sight, touch, and smell can confirm". Green & Murray (2009: 370) comment, "At the point of death, the body, such a significant bearer of meaning in life, undergoes a curious transformation. It makes a sudden and startling transformation from animate being to inanimate object". Furthermore, Domanska (2005: 403) describes the deceased body as "'a body of evidence' or, more specifically, the 'evidence of crime'…bearing the marks of a person's experiences before death…and the kind of death…he or she endured, and insofar as it can be used for political purposes or is the object of mourning through which a community is consolidated and reborn". Likewise, in discussing the status of the body within the coroner's system, Hallam *et al.* (1999: 88) argue, "the corpse is the material object over which individuals and groups contest a biography for the deceased, defining natural and non-natural death, deviant and non-deviant life-styles, order, and disorder in society". Archaeological practice may also objectify human remains. Sofaer (2006: xiii) notes, "On one side lie science-based osteological approaches that focus on the skeleton as the material remains of the body". She emphasises, "[p]eople can become objects because they are material", later adding: "bodies move from subjects in life into the realm of objects in death on account of being inanimate" (2006: 64, 69). Leighton (2010: 86) considers this, writing, "some [archaeologists] stated that they felt they *ought* to see them [human remains] as people, but in the course of study they inevitably were treated as objects".

Objectification of the deceased also occurs within the medical field.[78] For example, Sharp (2001: 114) explains that "the rhetoric of transplantation insists that organ recipients

---

[78] This also recalls Foucault's discussion of the medicalisation of the human body. Commenting on *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault 1972), Quested & Rudge (2003: 556) note, "A patient is also a case. A

fragment donors' bodies and objectify their organs, viewing the latter as no more than sophisticated, replaceable mechanical parts in which no attributes of donors can survive". Sadala & Mendes (2000: 791) explore how nurses caring for organ donor patients[79] objectify them, writing, "they speak about things and objects in which there is no life; they no longer speak about people…they speak about the body as objects and about this caring as…a lab activity…drugs and procedures are used to preserve tissues that must last as long as possible to remain viable".[80] This objectification may also occur within the context of the autopsy room; as Timmermans (2006: 53) writes, "Opening the corpse turns the body into a pathological object". As discussed above, within the context of the anatomy lab, the human cadaver may be viewed as a biological specimen, especially if it fails to resemble a living human being.[81] Thus, this perception of the deceased body as a material item frequently serves to facilitate emotional detachment.

More recently, however, academic literature has also begun considering the agency of the human corpse. This approach has emerged in light of scholarship asserting the agency of objects. This represents a theoretical shift as "[t]raditional social science models bind agency with intentionality, arguing that true agency is only manifested in human beings who have the capacity to act upon their own decision-making processes" (Hockey *et al.* 2010: 9). Similarly, Knappett & Malafouris (2010: ix) observe, "we think of agency as not only the capacity to act, but also the capacity to reflect on this capacity". However, social scientists have gradually begun discussing the agency of non-human objects.[82] Utilising this framework in the "theoretical overview" of their edited volume exploring "[h]ow death manifests itself within the western social world", Hockey *et al.* (2010: 1, 9) write,

> If, following Latour (1993), we adopt a model of agency as the capacity to have
> effects, eschewing any separation between human beings and their environments,

case involves the classification and objectification of the patient by medicine on the pathophysiological condition of the body […]". Likewise, "[i]n *The Birth of the Clinic*, Foucault [1973] has argued that in modern medicine the human body becomes an object for scrutiny like any other object" (Segal 1988: 24). However, for the purposes of this thesis, I focus on characterisation of the *deceased* human body as an object.

[79] The term "organ donor patient" refers to "a patient in a state of encephalic [brain] death who is being kept alive for organ donation" (Sadala & Mendes 2000: 789).

[80] However, nurses do not always objectify the deceased patient (see Hadders 2007).

[81] See also Hafferty 1991: 103-104; Lella & Pawluch 1988: 132; Lemp 1989: 66.

[82] See Knappett & Malafouris (2010): x-xii for a brief history of this theoretical approach.

we are likely to discover these effects to be far from uni-directional. Rather, effect happens within networks of human beings, inanimate objects and their surroundings. Appreciating agency in terms of effect therefore allows us to recognize human beings and their environments as co-producers of meaning, a stance that leads us to consider the agency of not only individuals but also the hospitals, coroners' courts, funeral homes, cemeteries, and domestic environments in which they die and grieve.

Alfred Gell's (1998) theoretical work *Art and Agency* has been particularly influential in this re-evaluation material objects' agency. For Gell (1998: 16),

> [a]gency is attributable to those persons (and things)…who/which are seen as initiating causal sequences or a particular type, that is events caused by acts of mind or will or intention, rather than a mere concatenation of physical events. An agent is one who 'causes events to happen' in their vicinity. As a result of this exercise of agency, certain events transpire (not necessarily the specific events which were 'intended' by the agent).

Commenting on Gell's theoretical approach in her discussion of "the expression of agency in the [coroner's] inquest process", Langer (2010: 85, 90) further explains that for Gell (1998), agency,

> is always social and although ultimately located in humans – because only they have intentions – agency is not restricted to them. In the context of human social interaction, objects can have agency attributed to them and human agency can be exercised through these objects. Like humans, objects can make things happen, but unlike humans, no alternative decisions are possible for them. That is why…the agency of objects will always remain what Gell refers to as 'secondary' agency in contrast to the 'primary' agency of humans.[83]

Finally, in their discussion of "material and nonhuman agency", Knappett & Malafouris (2010: ix, xii) employ the term 'material agency', but note that they, "do not want to…say that agency is material rather than human; it is more of a wake-up call, for social scientists and archaeologists, to encourage them to consider agency non-anthroscopocentrically, as a situated process in which material culture is entangled". Thus, they, too, seek further re-consideration of the agency of material objects.

---

[83] See also Gell 1998: 20-21.

Recent scholarship has thus applied and expanded upon these theoretical approaches and considered the agency of the deceased human body. To begin, in her discussion of the presentation of the human corpse in UK "chapels of rest" and American funeral homes, Harper (2010: 308) utilises "Gell's [1998] framework to argue that the dead body can be a social agent within different contemporary Western mortuary rituals". Sørensen (2009: 111) begins his discussion of cremation in Denmark by dismissing the assumption "the corpses cannot do anything" as "dead people do not act". Instead, he (ibid.) asserts,

> First of all, the corpse is in motion; it moves and transforms with the gradual putrefaction of tissues, fluids and gases. Second, the corpse moves the bodies around it; it makes the bereaved act in certain ways, makes them gather, makes them dig a hole in the ground or light a fire, and it may make them shed tears […].

Similarly, in discussing the agency of human bones, Krmpotich *et al*. (2010: 373) argue, "The key question is not 'what do people do with bones?' but rather 'what do bones do to people?' Or more generally, what do bones enable, afford, provoke, constrain, or allow?" Although Krmpotich *et al*. speak specifically about bones, other scholarship suggests that these questions are relevant to all categories of human remains. For example, in their consideration of parental care of stillborn infants, Hallam *et al*. (1999: 75) write,

> the social identities which are conferred upon the bodies of dead babies through practices such as dressing and naming, derive from an imagined future rather than a remembered past. Retrieved from the projections of parents and others, these externally derived identities are imposed upon the residual flesh of the foetus. This practice contrasts with the more common Western model of the self and its agency having their source and locus within the body (Moore, 1994).

Furthermore, Komaromy (2000: 315) comments, "Indeed it is possible to ascribe a degree of agency to the dead body, in that it stimulates responses and actions in others which go beyond that which is minimally required in terms of disposal". Krmpotich *et al*. (2010: 373) draw upon Knappett & Malafouris's (2010) theory of material agency, writing, "bones can also be said to do things, or have 'agency' as materials and things; that is as objects rather than subjects". They further reference Latour (2005), categorising bones as "'non-human actants'" (ibid.). Furthermore, Williams (2004: 265) argues,

the dead (individually or collectively) are often perceived to influence and even control the manner of their treatment, their identities and remembrance through a dialogue with the living. Taking this argument further, it might therefore be suggested that the corporeal presence of the dead provides an agency to affect the experience and actions of mourners and evoke memories of the past, rather than serving as a static and passive set of substances manipulated and disposed of by the mourners to serve their socio-political ends […].

He further notes that "the physicality and materiality of the dead body and its associated artefacts, structures and places can be seen as extensions of the deceased's personhood, actively affecting the remembrance of the deceased by the living and structuring further social action" (ibid.: 266). Moreover, Fontein (2010: 432) describes the remains of victims of political violence in Zimbabwe as "hav[ing] an ambivalent agency: both as extensions of the dead themselves, as restless and demanding spirit subjects/persons, but also as unconscious 'objects'/things that retort to and provoke responses from the living". Commenting on Fontein (2010), Hallam (2010: 470) writes,

> When the living sense the presence of the dead, through skeletal remains, their relationships with the deceased can develop in emotionally and politically significant ways […]. These relationships acknowledge the agency of the dead, their capacity to demand and prompt action, especially with regard to the treatment of their bones.

Finally, the importance of this developing theoretical approach must be considered. Hallam *et al*. (1999: 144) note the importance of this development, asserting that the

> narrow but dominant model of agency currently obscures the dead from the sociological gaze. It mirrors the empiricist, materialist models which lie at the core of Western thought and experience. These relegate the dead to peripheral religious practices and the pathologised longings of lonely widows.

Particularly relevant for my research is the way in which discussions of the agency of the dead body suggest that the deceased body may exist simultaneously as a material 'object' and a person ('subject') (Krmpotich *et al*. 2010: 373; Hallam & Hockey 2001; Harper 2010: 311). Williams (ibid.: 266-267) also notes that Gell's (1998) theoretical framework

> is invaluable in understanding the corpses as holding a special significance by being both person and object. When applied to the mortuary context, [it] allows

both bodies and bones to be regarded as having social agency through their continuing relationship with artefacts, monuments, places, and the bodies of the living. This is because the body in death is often linked biographically and retrospectively to the person as they were in life, as well as prospectively to an aspired ancestral or afterlife existence for the deceased …In this way, the dead body can be conceptualised as a node in the nexus of social relationships, objects and exchanges through which personhood and remembrance are distributed and constituted.[84]

Thus, the nature of the deceased body is not fixed and can therefore "hold a multiplicity of meanings" (Harper 2010: 311).[85]

This discussion of various meanings of the deceased human body thus allows for further consideration of the symbolic nature of human remains. Particularly relevant for my own study is Katherine Verdery's (1999) analysis of human remains in postsocialist societies. To begin, she asserts that human remains do not inherently possess meaning and may instead represent something different to each person, a characteristic that makes them powerful symbols (ibid.: 29, 31). In lieu of inherent meaning, therefore, human remains obtain significance "though culturally established relations to death and…the way a specific dead person's importance is (variously construed)" (ibid.: 28). Thus, "how people think about" a dead body is crucial (ibid.). According to this, therefore, Verdery argues, human remains can hold any number of meanings,

> A body's symbolic effectiveness does not depend on its standing for one particular thing…for among the most important properties of bodies, especially dead ones, is their ambiguity, multivocality, or polysemy. Remains are concrete, yet protean; they do not have a single meaning but are open to many different readings. Because corpses suggest the lived lives of complex human beings, they can be evaluated from many angles and assigned perhaps contradictory virtues, vices, and intentions. […] As with all human beings, one's assessment of them depends on one's disposition, the context one places them in…the selection one makes from their behaviours in order to outline their 'story', and so on (ibid.).

For Verdery, a dead body's 'story' is further significant. She argues that although every deceased person possesses their own résumé or curriculum vitae, human remains also

---

[84] See also Harper 2010 for a further study of how Gell's (1998) theoretical frameworks are applicable in considering the agency of the deceased human body.

[85] See also Young & Light 2013: 137-138 for further discussion of recent scholarship examining the agency of the deceased body.

"lend themselves to analogy with *other people's* résumés. That is, they encourage identification with their life story, from several possible vantage points" (ibid.: 29). Verdery (ibid.: 33) further considers how a living person's biography impacts their perception of dead bodies, noting,

> because all people have bodies, any manipulation of a corpse directly enables one's identification with it through one's own body, thereby tapping into one's reservoirs of feeling. In addition (or as result), such manipulations may mobilise preexisting affect by evoking one's own personal issues or one's identification with specific aspects of a dead person's biography.

Living people may also relate to a more general aspect of a corpse's biography: their status as a former living human being. Thus, Verdery (ibid.: 32) assigns dead bodies a unique status as symbols, writing, "they were once human beings with lives that are to be valued. They are heavy symbols because people cared about them when they were alive and identify with them".

The management of emotional responses

As suggested above, emotional responses to the deceased may negatively impact the body handler. Thus, there exists an expectation that they will remain objective throughout the course of their work (see below). Accordingly, it is argued that body handlers must manage their emotional responses to the deceased in order to conduct their work. Existing literature especially emphasises the employment of cognitive and behavioural distancing (avoidance) by body handlers in the course of working with human remains (McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 214). This may involve actively dehumanising and objectifying the remains of the deceased. Body handlers may not look at the face or hands of the deceased and prefer not to learn the deceased's name as doing so re-humanises the deceased and undermines their efforts at gaining emotional distance (Brkic 2004: 90, 93; McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 214; Ursano & McCarroll 1990: 397; Ursano & Fullerton 1990: 1768). Similarly, rescue workers at a fatal 1988 bus crash in Norway reported viewing corpses as mannequins (Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992: 8). Active dehumanisation may also benefit nurses who care for organ donor patients. For instance, nurses may "dives[t] [the

organ donor patient] of all human capabilities and functions", perhaps comparing the donor to a mannequin (Pelletier-Hibbert 1998: 233). Furthermore, as one nurse explained,

> I have the impression that the individual is no longer considered as an individual, he is thought of as organs, and…the concern…is the kidney and the liver and the heart…you stop thinking…who can that person be…what kind of family does he have, or the intercurrences [complications] that might happen, that happened in his life […] (Sadala and Mendes 2000: 792).

Studies of medical students' experiences with anatomy lab cadavers also indicate the employment of this technique. For example, as the head and neck of the cadaver are considered the most difficult parts of the dissection, medical students frequently keep them covered until they must be dissected (Hafferty 1991: 90, 92, 94; Lella & Pawluch 1988: 132; Sinclair 1997: 194-195). Similarly, forensic anthropologists and funeral home workers may also dehumanise the dead body by employing emotional distance. To this end, one of Leighton's (2010: 92) informants explained,

> When I work on remains…I don't want to know the sort of identity of this person or the family they had, or any of the details of their death. I just want to deal with what I have in front of me. And it's less – it's less a 'gun shot' wound, and more 'trauma'. Look at what happened to the bone here. But when I'm outside and I see a programme on television on the story behind the people, it's certainly much more emotional and much harder to deal with.[86]

Koff also asserts the importance of not learning about the circumstances behind individuals' deaths. In discussing her first night in Kibuye, Rwanda she writes:

> I learned that night not to read witness statements from massacre sites when I'm in the field. I have an active imagination as it is, and have no difficulties picturing how events might have looked and sounded even if I haven't been to the site. After I'd worked on several missions, I could picture how people had looked in the last moments of their lives, down to the details of clothing, hair, fingers, and house keys. The danger is that when I am then working in a grave, I am not able to maintain my anthropological stance of seeing remains as a puzzle I need to solve. Instead, I see the remains as people who experienced great fear, loss, and pain before they were violently killed. I identify with them in their last moments (Koff 2005: 31-32).

---

[86] Leighton (2010: 98) further comments, "[t]he disturbing body that must be objectified before it can be handled has its 'us-ness' removed […]". See also ibid.: 94 for further discussion of "active distancing".

Funeral home employees may similarly dehumanise the deceased. For example, one funeral home worker explained, "You don't think of them as people or anything like that. Once I've seen a body that's it. I don't treat them as if that was once a living person. To me it's no longer. It's just a shell" (Howarth 1996: 73). These body handlers may also prefer not to learn the details of an individual's death in order to further distance themselves from their work (ibid.: 80). Furthermore, funeral home workers may also be hesitant to carry out funerals for people they knew as it may prove extremely difficult for them to remain emotionally detached under those circumstances (ibid.: 82).

Accommodation may aid emotional detachment. Existing literature indicates that as body handlers gain experience working with human remains, detachment may become a natural response. For example, in his observations of medical students' dissections of anatomy lab cadavers, Sinclair (1997: 194) found "that after two weeks everyone settles down, and becomes familiar with their body, leaning an elbow on the covered head when looking in to see the dissection of the thorax, for example". When speaking about their adjustment to the anatomy lab, one student commented, "It's a process of calcification. You get hardened to it" (Hafferty 1991: 106).[87] Similarly, Timmermans (2006: 279) notes, "[d]eath investigators are rarely shocked by the lurid details, noting that they had 'seen it all before'". Thus, desensitisation may minimise body handlers' responses to human remains.

Furthermore, deliberately "escap[ing] into work" may benefit body handlers as "keeping busy afford[s] some distraction from emotional stress" (Coombs & Goldman 1973: 347), thereby facilitating emotional detachment. For example, a responder to the Norwegian bus crash stated, "I tried to avoid what happened around me and concentrated on one passenger" (Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992: 8). For these body handlers, "using *activity to restrict reflection*" served as the most common coping mechanism because "[a]ctivity made it possible to keep feelings and thoughts about what they experienced to a minimum" (ibid.). Similarly, Fox (1979: 65) found that during autopsies, "[s]ome [medical students] also make a self-conscious effort to enhance their objectivity by deliberately focusing on its scientific aspects". McCarroll *et al.* (1993: 214) refer to this technique as

---

[87] See also Hafferty 1991: 92; Lella & Pawluch 1988:132; Sinclair 1997:194.

"intellectualisation", describing it as a technique by which body handlers focus on their duties or the positive impact of their actions.[88]

However, existing literature also suggests the natural occurrence of 'escaping into work'. Body handlers' workload or the concentration needed to carry out their duties may mean that they simply do not have time to reflect on the human remains. Nurses looking after organ donor patients may experience this because,

> caring for brain-dead patients requires the same procedures as those required for the caring of ICU patient: These procedures are extremely technical and accurate, demanding efficiency and promptness. These procedures are a mechanical act…Because it is a mechanical act, it does not permit any feelings from the professionals (Sadala & Mendes 2000: 792-793).

Furthermore, in the anatomy lab, medical students must give great consideration to their dissection techniques if they are to gain knowledge from the experience. For example, medical students commented, "When you're in lab and you're prepared, and you're learning something, lab is really interesting and consuming. You can even forget the smell" and "When you've got your scalpel in hand and everything is all business, then you don't think of anything else" (Hafferty 1991: 105, 106).

As McCarroll *et al*. (1993: 214) note in defining intellectualism, deliberately focusing the rewards and/or positive implications of their work may also benefit body handlers. Likewise, they (ibid.: 212) found that for many body handlers, "the idea that they were performing a significant service for the dead, the families of the dead, and the community was essential". "[T]hinking about the positive aspects of the work" also benefitted the police officers responsible for recovering human remains following the Piper Alpha oil rig disaster in 1988 (Alexander & Wells 1991: 552). Koff (2005: 34) explains that focusing on the positive outcome of her work allowed her to smile while excavating mass graves in Rwanda, "It is because I see not just death – about which I can do *nothing* – but bones and teeth and hair, which I *can* do something about, something that serves the deceased and possibly a greater community, not just theirs but other communities around the world". Nurses caring for organ donor patients may focus on the fact that their work will aid organ recipients' survival (Sadala & Mendes 2000: 792; see also Hibbert 1995:

---

[88] See also Fox 1979: 65.

405). Similarly, a rescue worker who recovered the remains of children following a bus crash in Norway spoke of focusing on what he/she could do to help rather than the children's deaths (Dyregrov 1992: 8). USACHPPM (n.d.: n.p.) advises body handlers to "understand the importance of what you are doing", such as abetting the 'appropriate' disposal of the deceased, creating a clean environment through removing the remains, and providing family members with information about their loved ones' fate, thereby assisting them in the grieving process.

Humour appears to be widely used amongst body handlers in order to manage their emotional responses to the deceased (Alexander & Wells 1991: 552, Hodgkinson & Stewart 1998: 200; McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 212; Raphael 1986: 70; Thompson 1993: 629). As Palmer (1983: 84) notes, "[h]umour and comedy may serve as an escape or safety-valve for persons operating in degrading, conflictual or oppressive situations". For example, during a neuroanatomy lab, Sinclair (1997: 192) observed a medical student saying, "And where's the G spot? *There* it is!" before he jabbed his forceps into the cadaver's brain. Hafferty (1991: 90, 92) notes the increased use of humour during medical students' dissections of the perineum due to its emotionally challenging nature. In her study of the use of humour by emergency personnel in the case of sudden deaths, Scott (2007: 357) recounts how a dead footballer's corpse was "ceremoniously placed in the mortuary by paramedics to the stifled chorus of a popular football chant". Although common, however, the employment of humour may vary with the context of the death/deaths. USACHPPM (n.d.: n.p.) notes, "[humour] is unhelpful when it becomes too gross, too personal (e.g. comments or practical jokes which pick on members of the team), or too disrespectful of the individual dead. Some members of the team may become upset at excessive graveyard humour". Likewise, Scott (2007: 357) notes, "there are accepted levels of expression in that some jokes are restricted to the immediate team for fear of offending someone so generating a fear of reprisal". Finally, body handlers tend not to use humour when working with children's remains (Dyregrov *et al*. 1996: 554).

Body handlers' desire to remain professional may also serve as a further means of managing emotional responses to human remains (McCarroll *et al*. 1995: 72).[89] If a body

---

[89] McCarroll *et al*. (1995: 72) found that "pride and professionalism" assisted staff at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in handling sensitive materials: "Professionalism in preparing the exhibits was

handler or medical professional becomes too emotionally involved in their work, they may be liable to make mistakes. In the context of body handling, mistakes can have severe consequences, such as the incorrect identification of remains. For example, Koff (2005: 32) speaks of how emotional detachment allows her to carry out her work to the best of her abilities: "I need distance from the bodies themselves to learn about their lives, or I can't restrain my own sadness, fear, empathy, and despair enough to do the bodies justice. And doing the bodies justice is my job, my duty". In the course of her research Leighton (2010: 92-93) also found that for archaeologists involved in excavating recent graves, emotional engagement with their work was seen as detrimental to their professional identities. Referring to the archaeologist who expressed the importance of not knowing the identity of the deceased (see above), she observes,

> He described how it was important to disconnect, but while acknowledging it was personally desirable, he primarily referred to i[t] as scientifically important…The stripping of a body to a biological entity instead of a social person is framed as 'scientific', and it is not hard to understand why this is seen as necessary in the context of criminal investigations (ibid.)

Funeral home workers' commitment to professionalism may also lead them to dehumanise human remains as the failure to do so would likely render them unable to carry out their work, thereby threatening their livelihood (Howarth 1996: 82). Furthermore, Howarth (ibid.) notes funeral home workers' preference to avoid conducting funerals for people they know out of fear that "their own sorrow might affect their professionalism".

The role of religious and/or spiritual beliefs in assisting body handlers manage their emotional responses to human remains appears to have received limited attention within the existing literature. Nevertheless, previous studies suggest that these beliefs may benefit body handlers. For example, the role of religion is particularly highlighted in Solomon & Berger's study of the coping mechanisms employed by members of the Identification of Disaster Victims (ZAKA), a "voluntary religious organisation that has been part of the

---

commonly perceived as a method of coping; staff members were dedicated to the goals of the museum and most felt that theirs was 'more than a job'. There was a strong sense of responsibility to interpret the scenes truthfully and with integrity". Although McCarroll *et al.* (1995) do not speak in reference to body handlers' work with human remains, I nevertheless find this approach applicable to my own research.

Israeli rescue forces since the mid 1990s" (2005: 594).[90] "During the current Intifada, ZAKA has played a prominent role in carrying out the tasks of body removal and providing first aid in the aftermath of terrorist attacks" (ibid.). In a study of 87 ZAKA volunteers, Solomon & Berger (ibid.: 598) found that the most common "[m]odes of [c]oping with [t]errorist attacks" were "trusting in God" (98.9%) and "asking for God's help" (94.2%). Likewise, in her study of how the 'caring professions' manage their emotional responses to disasters, Raphael (1986: 70) notes, "[p]rayer…seems to be both a release, a source of appeal, and the vehicle for hope in what may seem a hopeless situation". USACHPPM (n.d.: n.p.) suggests that saying prayers for the deceased or carrying out a personal ceremony that "your own beliefs and background may recommend" may aid body handlers in managing their emotional responses to their work.

Finally, social support may also aid body handlers in carrying out their work. As Raphael (1986: 241) explains,

> The support of family and close friends is one of the main factors that will enable the helper to successfully negotiate the stresses the disaster brings. They are a secure and loving base to which he returns. They offer consolation, succour, security, and ongoing life. They help him heal.

Similarly, Koff (2005: 104) spoke of the importance of her relationship with her co-workers,

> Team identity was a major part of what makes this work bearable for me. […] When I'm sitting in a vehicle at the end of a long, hot day and I reek of decomposing tissue and my back is aching from lifting bodies and I'm trying not to think about everything I just saw wrenched from the ground that day, I feel better looking around me and seeing my teammates, just as grimy and absorbed in their thoughts, people who have just gone through everything I've just gone through. Even if we never talk about it, we understand one another's experiences that day as no one else could. Given that we can't go home at the end of the day, we need support from each other, even if that support is unspoken.

Similarly, responders to the Norwegian bus crash described how social support or contact with fellow workers assisted them in coping with the stress of their work (Dyregrov &

---

[90] ZAKA's "all male members are recruited almost exclusively from the ultra-Orthodox—Haredi—segments of society" (Stadler *et al*. 2005: 624).

Mitchell 1992: 8). "[T]alking with colleagues" also benefited police officers involved in the search for and identification of victims' remains following the 1988 Piper Alpha oil rig disaster (Alexander & Wells 1991: 547, 552). Existing literature also emphasises the importance of this technique among nurses caring for organ donors. One nurse explained how the support she received from her colleagues represented the most "'helpful and comforting sources of support'" (Pelletier-Hibbert 1998: 234). Social support may also arrive in the form of "'praise for the supportive care given to the family'", "'an extra set of hands'", "'relief for a break'", and the provision of a "'safe environment to share feelings and thoughts about the donor'" (ibid.: 234).

Feeling rules and emotion work

Throughout the course of this thesis, I frequently bring into consideration the topic of emotions and emotional responses as it pertains to my informants' professional identities as forensic specialists. As a complete consideration of this literature is well beyond the focus of this thesis,[91] I primarily address how certain emotions and feelings are considered 'appropriate' in certain circumstances and the ways in which people actively strive to ensure that they adhere to these expectations. Although various scholars have considered this topic,[92] I haven chosen to engage with Hochschild's (1976, 1979, 2012) concepts of feeling rules and emotion work as I have found them the most applicable to my own research.

In discussing feeling rules, Hochschild (1976: 288-289) notes that "[s]ocial arrangements introduce a range of feelings. They also, in various ways, control these feelings". Feeling rules thus represent one method of governing people's actions in social situations, ensuring that their emotional reactions are appropriate (ibid: 288-290; Hochschild 1979: 552; see also Hafferty 1991: 15). Hochschild (1979: 566) further notes that "[f]eeling rules reflect patterns of social membership" and while some rules apply to

---

[91] For a more thorough summary of this literature, see Lutz 1988: 53-80; Lutz & White 1986; Svašek 2006: 1-23; Turner & Stets 2006.

[92] For example, see Gaffin 1995; Gaffin 1996; Goffman 1959; Riis & Woodhead 2012: 10, 47-50, 208; Shott 1979; Turner & Stets 2006: 26-32.

everyone within that society, others belong only to members of particular groups. Thus, learning and adhering to a particular profession's feeling work constitutes an important part of developing and managing one's professional identity.[93]

The concept of feeling rules is especially emphasised throughout the existing literature. Hafferty (1991) draws heavily on it, explaining that although students experienced anxieties about their work with cadavers, medical school feeling rules prohibited them from voicing or demonstrating such emotions as "the norm that a tendency toward emotionalism renders one unfit to be a physician, exerted considerable influence over the students" (ibid.:127; see also Lella & Pawluch 133). However, gender variations exist. For example, emotional responses by female medical students may be viewed as acceptable and expected (Hafferty 1991: 128, 139-143).

Although they do not refer to them as such, other examples of existing literature demonstrate the presence and enforcement of feeling rules among body handlers. For example, when one student involved in Sinclair's study (1997:194-195) described the head of his cadaver as "gross", one of his lab mates reminded him of the feeling rules, telling him, "You're supposed to be reacting with scientific interest, not, 'It's gross'" (ibid.). Similarly, Koff (2004) describes her violation of forensic anthropologists' feeling rules. When interviewed by a journalist her thoughts while excavating graves, she replied, "I'm thinking: 'We're coming. We're coming to take you out'" (Koff 2005: 48). Koff's teammates agreed with this sentiment at the time but later teased her about her comments. She recalls feeling puzzled by their response: "I wondered why my team-mates had agreed with me if my statement was so laughable. For me, the conundrum was that I was capable of both scientific detachment and human empathy, but when I revealed the latter, I was made to feel I revealed too much" (ibid.). Koff's statement to the reporter thus effectively violated the feeling rule among forensic specialists requiring that they keep their emotional reactions to their work private, not revealing them to 'outsiders'.

In adhering to feeling rules, individuals engage in emotion work.[94] Hochschild describes emotion work (1979: 561) as "the act of trying to change in degree or quality an

---

[93] Similarly, Leighton (2010: 79) comments, "[t]he ability of a professional to embody an appropriate persona, sometimes discussed as a form of professional morality, has been described as an essential component of the maintenance of professions within the wider society…it is assumed that the processes through which students are initiated into a profession serve to inculcate a sense of appropriate performativity and morality".

emotion or feeling. To 'work on' an emotion or feeling is…the same as 'to manage' an emotion or to do 'deep acting'". She further clarifies that "[e]motion work differs from emotion 'control' or 'suppression'. [...] 'Emotion work' refers more broadly to the act of evoking or shaping, as well as suppressing, feeling in oneself" (ibid.). Hafferty (1991: 16) further clarifies this, noting, "emotion work involves…the evocation of desired or appropriate emotions [...]". Hochschild describes three types of emotion work: cognitive, "the attempt to change images, ideas, or thoughts in the service of changing the feelings associated with them"; bodily, "the attempt to change somatic or physical symptoms of emotion"; and expressive, the attempt "to change expressive gestures in the service of changing inner feelings" (ibid.: 562). Accordingly, attempts to view human remains as mannequins, a shell, or making jokes about the deceased (see above) all constitute examples of cognitive emotion work.

Stigma and performance management

Here, Goffman's discussions of stigma (1986) and performance management (1959) lend further insight into how my research participants manage both their emotional responses to their work and their professional identities as forensic specialists. Goffman (1986: 10) describes stigma as "an attribute that makes [an individual] different from others in the category of persons available for him to be, and of a less desirable kind [...]. He is thus reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one". Although existing literature has focused on the stigmatisation of mortuary workers, pathologists, funeral directors, and others due to their work with the deceased human body

---

[94] For the purposes of this thesis, I employ the term 'emotion work' rather than 'emotional labour' (Hochschild 2012) as I feel the former is more applicable to the experiences of the forensic specialists at ICMP. Hochschild (ibid.: 142) notes that jobs requiring emotional labour have three traits, "First, they require face-to-face or voice-to-voice contact with the public. Second, they require the worker to produce an emotional state in another person [...]. Third, they allow the employer…to exercise a degree of control over the emotional activities of employees". Overall, the work carried out by forensic specialists at ICMP does not fulfil these requirements. Although they occasionally interact with the public, this does not represent the central focus of their work. Thus, I do not consider their jobs as part of the service sector, something central to Hochschild's (2012) description of emotional labour. Secondly, my informants did not speak of needing to elicit particular emotions on others. Finally, with one exception (see Chapter Four), my informants did not speak of "a need to regulate their emotions according to the expectations of that organisation" (Earle *et al.* 2009: 86; see also Bailey 2010: 206). Instead, emotional detachment was viewed as a practical necessity for their work (see Hochschild 2012: 147).

(e.g. Horsley 2012: 542-544 and Thompson 1991), I take a different approach to this topic. Although I have limited insight into whether or not their work is considered stigmatising within Bosnian society, three of my informants indicated that they were not in any way stigmatised due to the nature of their work. For example, Anesa noted that some people wondered how she could carry out that type of work. However, she, along with Mirna and Ibrahim, also emphasised that most people responded positively to her work as it is considered necessary within post-conflict Bosnian society, providing families with answers as to the fate of their loved ones and returning their remains. Moreover, as will be shown throughout this thesis, my informants also reflected positively on the nature of their work, emphasising its importance within BiH. Accordingly, I approach the concept of stigma from a different perspective, suggesting that failing to adhere to the mortuary's feeling rules and 'perform' as expected in the mortuary context constitutes potentially stigmatising behaviour. Accordingly, my informants attempt to manage their professional identities in order to avoid becoming a stigmatised individual within their place of work.

Finally, I also employ Goffman's concept of performance management in discussing the ways in which my informants seek to administer their professional identities. In discussing performance management, Goffman (1959: 4) notes, "when an individual appears in the presence of others, there will usually be some reason for him to mobilise his activity so that it will convey an impression to others which it is in his interests to convey". To this end, "[s]ometimes the individual will act in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing himself in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from them a specific response he is concerned to obtain" (ibid: 6). Goffman (ibid.: 9) stresses each "participant is expected to suppress his immediate heartfelt feelings, conveying a view of the situation which he feels the others will be able to find at least temporarily acceptable". For Goffman, this primarily involves "chang[ing] how we outwardly appear" and thus "the action is in the body language" (Hochschild 2012: 50).[95] In discussing this topic, it must be noted that Hochschild has criticised's Goffman's approach to impression management. She (1979: 557) first

---

[95] Hochschild (2012: 50-51) refers to this as "surface acting", contrasting it with the "deep acting" that constitutes emotion work. See also Hochschild 1979: 558.

observes, "Goffman's actors actively manage outer impressions, but they do not actively manage inner feelings". Later, she expounds upon this, noting,

> Goffman fails to distinguish the first [type of acting] from the second, and the importance of 'deep acting'. Obscuring this, we are left with the impression that social factors pervade only the 'social skin,' the tried-for outer appearances of the individual. We are left underestimating the power of the social (ibid. 558).

While I agree with Hochschild's evaluation – indeed, my informants spoke primarily about the ways in which they "actively manag[ed] their inner feelings" (ibid.: 557) – I nevertheless find it important to consider and engage with Goffman. As this and subsequent chapters will demonstrate, my informants frequently engage in performance management in conjunction with emotion work.

ICMP forensic specialists' responses to human remains

In developing my research project and upon commencing fieldwork, I acted under the assumption that the emotional component of the work carried out by the forensic specialists at ICMP would occupy a prominent place in their thoughts about their job. Accordingly, I expected to hear lengthy, detailed accounts of how they adapted to working in this unique mortuary setting. I also assumed they would speak about the ongoing emotional difficulties with their work. As I progressed with my fieldwork, however, these suppositions were soon proved wrong. Although the forensic specialists did speak to me about these topics, overall, they downplayed the emotional component of their work, emphasising that such responses did not assume a central place in their daily activities. However, I quickly realised that these assertions also did not entirely represent my respondents' experiences at ICMP. As explored below, the story is far more complex.

Scientific enthusiasm

In discussing their encounters with human remains, my respondents frequently spoke about the scientific awe/enthusiasm they experienced throughout the course of their work. This is especially true in the case of those individuals who arrived at ICMP with a background in the biological sciences or forensic anthropology. To begin, Lejla spoke of finding the work scientifically intriguing, noting her interest in exploring "unknown science", such as better understanding variations in how bones deteriorate as the human body ages. Moreover, for Lejla, each new case represented an opportunity to further her knowledge of the human body. She also commented that through encountering others' bodies, she was learning more about hers. Jasmina similarly emphasised the educational aspect of her work. Having trained as a laboratory technician, she expressed an interest in furthering her knowledge of the human body but as she was uninterested in returning to school, working with ICMP allowed to her fulfil her goal. Jasmina further explained that she found learning from books inadequate – that one could learn more from doing than from texts. During my time at Mortuary C, I also noticed this scientific enthusiasm. When uncertain about how to classify the age of an individual or the appearance of a tooth, the two women would consult with one another or a colleague, poring over forensic anthropology or osteology textbooks. Furthermore, Sarah explained that it was her interest in human remains that brought her to study physical anthropology. She commented, "I find the human body extremely interesting and in the context of anthropology, how it's evolved, and how we are the same but also how we are different I find fascinating. …my interests have always been in the estimation of age". Likewise, in discussing her educational history and how she came to work with ICMP, Katie stated,

> Forensic anthropology was just by chance. I took a course when I was doing my biology degree because I…originally wanted to go to medical school to do forensic science and then by the time I was finishing my biology degree I realised that all I was interested in was in forensic medicine. I really didn't care about people's noses, stomachs and toes, …and I took a summer course actually in forensic anthropology that was being offered at the university and just by chance…not sure why I did it…and it was fantastic. It was so interesting. It was great. I thought, wow, this is really interesting. I could really do this. And so I finished my biology

degree…and then went to University to do anthropology. I really enjoyed it […]. It was really good. I liked it a lot.

In recounting her personal story, therefore, Katie also demonstrates a scientific fascination with human remains. Kristina spoke of her great interest in forensic anthropology and human osteology. When I asked her if she had considered further studying the subject at the university level, she answered affirmatively, explaining, "I love bones. […] I think it's the best way to find out about our life, the health conditions, everything". Her love of the subject matter appears to stem in part from her intense interest in the general field of biology. Kristina explained, "Biology is my first love. I really love biology. I'm a typical biologist, I have to say. I'm interested in everything, especially animals".

Munira was particularly vocal about and demonstrative of her passion for her work as a junior osteologist, having wanted work with cadavers since childhood. Although she had ambitions of becoming a forensic pathologist, the lottery system of medical school entrance used throughout BiH meant that her chances were slim, and she instead began studying biology. However, her interest in working with dead bodies remained. Munira described ICMP's opening of their facilities a "kind of like dream come true", though she assumed she would be unable to obtain employment with the organisation. Thus, she immediately jumped at the chance to apply for the position of junior osteologist upon seeing the vacancy announcement on ICMP's website. Munira explained how she emphasised her interest in human remains during her interview with the deputy head of the Forensic Sciences Division, recalling that she told him, "I want to work with dead people. Can I please be related to dead people? Any kind". Munira proudly told me how she most likely contrasted with the other applicants, assuming they spoke of wanting to undertake the job because of the money. She, on the other hand, sought the job purely out her intense desire to have some contact with human remains. Understandably, Munira was thrilled to have been hired by ICMP. Her enthusiasm, she learned, preceded her: "And I know that Emir said that when Sarah came here and told them that four of us are coming, she said, 'And we're gonna get one that's really excited. I don't know why'". Munira emphasised that her enthusiasm for working with human remains was still in place even after working at the organisation for over a year: "And even now…I'm thrilled. Can you please let me do something with bones?" Although she asserted that everyone grumbled when they had to

do database work rather than work with the remains, Munira especially highlighted her preference for the latter work. During my observations at Mortuary B, I also noticed this trend. Even during those moments when she was expected to be doing data entry, Munira would return to the remains laid out on the tray and fiddle with them for a period of time before returning to her computer. She also spoke of this during her interview, noting that she loved arms and legs and would sometimes stop what she was supposed to be working on and "go and fix the legs [and] arms" of the individuals whose remains were laid out on the mortuary trays.

This scientific interest in working with the remains also expressed itself in the way respondents spoke of resolving problems. Mirna described viewing these remains as puzzles, and although her use of this term is a deliberate dehumanising technique (as I will explore below), it is nevertheless an accurate one. Throughout their day-to-day activities, ICMP forensic specialists attempt to re-assemble and re-attach names to thousands of human remains. In the process of doing so, they face a variety of challenges. Remains are frequently co-mingled, especially in the case of those individuals killed during the Srebrenica genocide, thus requiring forensic specialists to devote a great deal of time to correctly re-assembling the body of the deceased individual through utilising both traditional forensic techniques and DNA matches. Accordingly, problem solving constitutes a key aspect of their daily activities. Several of my informants emphasised the satisfaction they receive in completing this task. Munira stated, "I really enjoy making them look the way they are supposed to". Anesa also described the satisfaction she and the rest of her colleagues felt when receiving a DNA match report, "Well, the favourite and I think it's the happiest moments it's when you…get new match and…if you have just…a couple bones and now you have almost complete body, it's…really like a happy moment for all of us". Kristina spoke of "the best part of the job" as working with the remains of siblings, another task that requires problem solving.[96] Furthermore, as briefly addressed above, Emir explained how resolving problems constitutes his favourite aspect of his work with ICMP,

I love resolving problems. When…the DNA, for example, says those body parts…

---

[96] As discussed in Chapter Two, it may not be possible to use the DNA match report in order to differentiate between siblings.

> belong together…but I see with my eye that is not true, something is
> happening…something is…wrong, and after that…I feel I must be included in that
> investigation. Why is that happening? What…is the problem? How do we solve
> that problem?

He went on to explain that he also enjoys the challenge of correcting errors. Emir described how he sometimes examined sets of remains that had been described in the accompanying paperwork as being from one individual, but upon examining them, he discovered this was not the case. In such circumstances, Emir attempted to resolve the problem, determining how many body parts were present, the extent to which co-mingling occurred, and eventually taking DNA samples in order correctly to re-associate the body and later identify the individual.

Prior to commencing fieldwork, I anticipated that many of my respondents would have a scientific or medical background and would therefore speak of finding their work scientifically fascinating. However, I was unprepared for the extent to which some of them stressed this response. Their emphasis is noteworthy. First, my informants' reactions provide the first indication of the agency of the deceased body. For Lejla, Jasmina, Sarah, Katie, and especially Munira, human remains incite responses of fascination and awe, thereby further encouraging them to learn more about the human body and continue with their work as forensic specialists (Fontein 2010: 432). This scientific objectification of the remains also allows for them to be viewed as 'puzzles' which require solving, further prompting the forensic specialist to act so as to accomplish this task. In this way, too, the dead can be said to have influence over the manner in which they are treated by the living (Williams 2004: 265). Although I will later explore the prevalence of emotional *detachment* in the ICMP mortuaries, I believe that the forensic specialists' responses of scientific awe/enthusiasm represent a significant form of emotional *attachment*. Furthermore, unlike other forms of emotional attachment (see below) viewing the remains as scientifically intriguing constitutes something beneficial rather than harmful to the forensic specialist's professional identity. This form of emotional involvement may also prevent other forms of emotional attachment. In viewing the remains as scientifically intriguing, responses such as sadness, guilt, horror, or shock may be minimised. Moreover, although my respondents did not speak of scientific awe/enthusiasm in this way, it is

possible that ICMP forensic specialists may actively view the remains with scientific awe/enthusiasm as a means of obscuring potentially harmful responses, thereby further encouraging emotional detachment (see Fox 1979: 65, 73). Furthermore, scientific awe/enthusiasm seemingly has the effect of objectifying the human remains, allowing for the forensic specialist to view them as biological specimens rather than former living humans. As further explored below, this, in turn, may effectively bring about emotional detachment. Finally, discussion of scientific awe/enthusiasm thus brings into consideration the possibility that the lack of this may prove harmful to the forensic specialist.

Prevalence of emotional detachment

As briefly noted in the introduction to this chapter, emotional detachment represented a significant response to the remains by the forensic specialists. This emotional detachment has developed in response to a number of factors and has a practical purpose (see below), but for now I will simply focus on the prevalence of passive emotional detachment in the mortuary. As in the existing literature, my respondents highlighted the importance of this emotional detachment, repeatedly explaining how emotional involvement prevents them from effectively carrying out their duties. Accordingly, they acknowledged the existence of mortuary feeling rules, and adherence to these was spoken of as crucial in constructing and maintaining their professional identities as forensic specialists.

Objectification of the remains

My respondents primarily spoke of the remains with which they worked as material objects rather than as former living people. To begin, in most instances, the cases consisted primarily of skeletal remains, and can be readily classified as 'objects' (passive objectification). Some of my informants commented on the bones' lack of 'humanness'. Sarah compared her recent work with the remains in ICMP to her first encounter with them

during her work with ICTY in 1998, explaining, "they were fleshed, mainly fleshed back in 1998, so there was more of a humanness, I suppose, to them at the time, like I'm telling you kind of at the lab that is no longer there because they're all completely skeletonised now". Munira hypothesised working with bones to be easier than working with a complete body, noting that she would most likely need to develop coping mechanisms in order to work with the latter. Moreover, she also spoke of Ibro's thoughts on bones versus fleshed remains: "Ibro has a saying when someone asks him, like what's happening in bones and everything. He said it's like a piece of wood because it dries clean and everything. So it doesn't relate to anything". The fragmented nature of the human remains housed in ICMP's mortuaries most likely also plays a role in the forensic specialists' ready dehumanisation of the remains. In missing 'parts', the skeletons may look even less human.

Additionally, as I described in my fieldwork notes and echoing Leighton's (2010: 87) research, the way in which these skeletal remains were handled and processed can result in their automatic classification as 'objects'. Like the artefacts analysed at archaeological laboratories, remains were washed before being placed within plastic bags bearing labels designating the site/s from which they were excavated. Smaller bone fragments were sometimes placed in separate bags within larger ones. When they must examine or lay out the remains, forensic specialists frequently poured the remains out onto the metal trays. The bones are described and documented in a manner similar to how archaeologists catalogue their artefacts. Such perceptions thus resonate with my own experiences of the remains: without such human referents as hair, eyes, skin, and perhaps even the skull, these remains fail to resemble human beings. Moreover, my informants' scientific backgrounds and on-site training as well as their enthusiasm for their work allows for them to view the remains as objects of scientific intrigue. For Munira, moreover, the remains become symbolic of her having finally achieved her goal of working with dead bodies. Accordingly, the remains evoke little emotional response from the forensic specialist. However, this objectification of the remains recalls the questions posed by Krmpotich *et al.* (2010) as to "what…bones enable, afford, provoke, or allow". Here, the skeletonised state of the remains serves to restrict forensic specialists' emotional responses to them. In this way, therefore, even when viewed as 'objects', the remains can be said to

stimulate a reaction by the forensic specialist, therefore further suggesting the social agency of the deceased body.

Focusing on work

"Busyness" within the mortuary also facilitated objectification of and detachment from the remains. My respondents were burdened with a heavy caseload, having to examine and process thousands of human remains. There was always a task that needed to be done, whether it be entering information into the database, laying out remains on the trays in the mortuaries, photographing remains, re-bagging bones, washing remains, gluing fractured bones back together, measuring bones and teeth, participating in staff meetings and training sessions, preparing mortuary facilities for tours, cutting bone samples, packaging bone samples for transport to the DNA laboratory, contacting individuals in other ICMP facilities in order to obtain additional information about a case, developing Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), re-associating remains, and preparing remains for return to their families. The workload may also intensify at certain times of the year. Katie noted that at Mortuary A the end of the year and the months just prior to the commemoration ceremony at Potočari in July were particularly stressful times for staff members. The impending closure of the Mortuary B and the transfer of remains and materials to Mortuary A meant an increase in activity for Mortuary B staff members. They not only had to continue with their regular day-to-day activities but also had to assist in preparations for the move, such as sorting through various items to see what could be discarded and what needed to be transferred. As both Mirna and Jasmina noted during their interview, under these circumstances, ICMP forensic specialists had little time to reflect on the emotional nature of their work. Moreover, the remains simply became another aspect of their work, not something especially significant and therefore worthy of further consideration. Thus, my informants do not appear to have deliberately utilised 'escaping into work' as a means of remaining detached from the remains. Rather, it was a natural outcome of their daily activities.

Furthermore, just as I was frequently preoccupied by thoughts not related to the

remains during my time in the mortuary, this also appears to be the case for many of the forensic specialists. Munira explained, "To me, I have private issues which are kind of like…bigger issues than this here…so…I'm not feeling sadness because of this here, but I'm feeling bad because of some private things that are happening […]". Likewise, Anesa, spoke of how she and her colleagues discussed and thought about "current problems", such as exams or other school-related concerns. This was also true for Munira and Lejla as they were also enrolled in university courses at the time of my fieldwork. Accordingly, they frequently spoke about their study habits, worries about upcoming exams, and frustrations with coursework and professors. Family matters also assumed priority. For example, Emir, Anesa, and Ibro have children and Anesa's husband was frequently away, working overseas in Iraq. Accordingly, they were preoccupied with thoughts about them. Kristina and Sarah both loved to travel and would often spend time thinking about and planning for trips overseas. Furthermore, Bosnia's instability meant that politics and the economy were also frequent concerns. In conjunction with this and their workload, forensic specialists indicated to me that they devoted little time to thinking about the remains as those of former living people. Furthermore, as in the case of 'escaping into work', therefore, my respondents did not speak of actively thinking about other things in order to distance themselves from their work.

Lack of a personal connection

ICMP forensic specialists' lack of direct personal connections with the remains may also limit their emotional responses to them. As Hockey *et al*. (2010: 10) note, "How people react to the apparently intractable corpse reflects their relationship with the individual who has died, and is therefore a socially constructed, rather than a 'given' response". The Bosnian employees all have an *indirect* connection to the remains in the sense that they are all the remains of, as Jasmina phrased it, "their people". However, the majority of the Bosnian forensic specialists did not have a *direct* personal connection to the remains. As foreigners, to Katie and Sarah the tragic events that transpired during the course of the war are a distant occurrence (though they are, of course, sensitive to their co-

workers' feelings). This, in turn, may result in these forensic specialists automatically experiencing emotional distance from the remains. Only two of the forensic specialists, Alem and Jasmina, had any direct personal connection with the remains housed in ICMP's facilities.[97] However, even a personal connection to the remains does not inherently mean that the forensic specialist will experience difficulties with their emotional responses to their work. As I will explore later in this chapter, Alem struggled emotionally with his work whereas Jasmina explained that her personal connection did not impact her feelings towards her work. This appears to be the result of two significant differences between Jasmina and Alem. Jasmina was a child when the war broke out and did not speak of witnessing any tragic events. Moreover, Jasmina's personal connection is different from Alem's. The bodies of two of Jasmina's uncles remain missing and the remains of one of her cousins was identified at Mortuary C. Alem, by contrast, was an adult when the war began. He witnessed the violence in the Bosanska Krajina, seeing some of his friends and work colleagues killed, individuals' whose remains were eventually housed in Mortuary C. Alem's job thus entails processing the remains of individuals he may have known. Accordingly, Jasmina's youth and her lack of direct encounters with the events that led to the deaths of the individuals whose remains she now works may have resulted in her experiencing less of a 'negative' emotional response to her work. Her youth may also have meant that she had limited interaction with the family members who went missing from her family, thereby also making their deaths a less painful event.

My informants' lack of personal connections to the remains also allows for further consideration of the agency of the deceased human body. As discussed earlier in this chapter, Williams (2004: 267) utilises Gell's theoretical concepts of secondary agency to assert that human remains can "be regarded as having social agency through their continuing relationships with…the bodies of the living. This is because the body in death is often linked biographically and retrospectively to the person as they were in life". Thus, a forensic specialists' lack of a personal connection to the deceased may limit their connection with the deceased body, and they may be unable to make that 'biographical link' between the body and the living person. This, in turn, may constrict both the forensic specialist's responses to the deceased individual as well as the agency of the latter

---

[97] I will consider Fatima's and Ibrahim's experiences in Chapters Four and Five.

(Krmpotich *et al*. 2010: 373). However, this is not to say that a personal connection to the deceased is required in order for forensic specialists to respond emotionally to and/or experience the effects of the social agency of the deceased. As Hockey *et al*. (2010: 10) comment, even if a living individual does not have a relationship with the deceased, "the materiality of the dead body can evoke powerful emotions, over and above grief that someone's life has ended". This ability of human remains to elicit emotional responses from living individuals will receive consideration below.

Challenges to emotional detachment

Although my informants emphasised their emotional detachment from the remains, throughout their interviews, they nevertheless noted that this does not always occur. Instead, various characteristics of the remains, such as the decedent's age, gender, and the way in which he or she died, may render emotional disengagement impossible. In these situations, forensic specialists may experience a variety of emotional responses to the remains, such as sadness, guilt, and anger. This, in turn, further highlights the fluid nature of human remains. Moreover, in discussing their emotional responses, my informants demonstrate how the presence of the dead "stimulates responses and actions" (Komaromy 2000: 315), thereby allowing for further examination of the agency of the deceased body.

Furthermore, despite my informants' emphasis on the prevalence of passive emotional detachment in the mortuary, this may not always hold true. Passive *identification* with the remains may occur and prove problematic. Kristina spoke of having difficulty working with the skeleton of a pregnant woman, identifying both with the deceased person's gender and her own aspirations of future motherhood. She explained: "When I went to…work for Mortuary C, I saw a baby skeleton for the first time in my life, and it was really difficult because…that was a mother and child and it was an unborn child still. So it…was difficult because I am a female, and I want to be a mother one day and it…was a difficult…for me". Identification with the age of the deceased can also be a significant factor. Anesa noted, "Well, it's sometimes like when you see the age because we usually have age of the person and you compare with yourself or with somebody of

your relatives and…it's like 'he's my age' or 'he's my brother's age' or something like that". Emir spoke of identifying with 17-year-old teenage boys, comparing his experiences at that age with those of the deceased teenager,

> I always feel too much when I am working on boys who…at the time of death…were 17 years old, and I connect…my age with that genocide in Srebrenica…in the time…that war was starting, I went to Croatia at 17 years old and I was not in Bosnia and I now make a connection with that, too. Those two years in Croatia…I'm going to…the disco, I'm going…swimming, I got to do everything and those young boys were in the war and killed and why did they not get a chance for life?!

For Emir, it seems, part of his reaction to the remains of teenage boys also stems from a sense of survivor's guilt.[98] He seems unsettled knowing that because of his life circumstances, he was safe and leading a 'normal' teenage life in Croatia, while adolescents of his age, gender, and religious background were dying. Emir feels that the skeleton on the table could have been his and seems frustrated because there is no explanation for why he was spared while others died.

Forensic specialists may also otherwise identify with the remains because they both experienced the war. Mirna considers this to be one of the reasons she experienced a strong emotional response to the remains of a teenage boy: "Maybe it's also because I was living in Bosnia all the time of the war…so I'm connecting some situation…stressful situation from…the war period with…what happened to these people". Similarly, Emir noted, "it's very difficult when I am working on cases when it's younger people. That is from maybe 15 to 20 because in that time of war I was that age and I know how I feel in that war". The shared nationality of the deceased individual and the forensic specialist may also result in identification and, consequently, emotional reactions to their work. Mirna addressed this point in her interview, asserting: "I think that if I would go somewhere else, I wouldn't be moved as much as I'm here. All of us from here, from Bosnia, we're looking at what's going on Rwanda and you wouldn't feel so much regret as when you are watching what

---

[98] In his analysis of how Holocaust survivors carry on with their lives in the aftermath of genocide, Hass (1995: 25) defines survivor guilt as, "the term used to describe the feelings of those who fortunately emerge from a disaster which mortally engulfs others. On an irrational level, these individuals wince at their privileged escape from death's clutches".

happened in Srebrenica". In this sense, therefore, this 'biographical link' between the living and the dead allows for the latter to be "both person and object" (Williams 2004: 266-267). Moreover, due to their ability to evoke such responses of sadness, guilt, and shared suffering, these remains can further be said to possess agency (Fontein 2010: 432; Hallam 2010: 470; Komaromy 2000: 315; Williams 2004: 266-267).

These responses to the remains also recall Verdery's (1999: 28-29, 33) analysis of the ways in which the dead body may "evok[e] one's own personal losses" or otherwise result in a person "identify[ying] with specific aspects of a dead person's biography". For example, Kristina identified with the gender of one skeleton, presuming that her own aspirations of motherhood intersected with those of the deceased woman. Likewise, Emir, too, spoke of an analogy between his biography and those of teenage boys, comparing his fortune to the tragedy that befell the individual on the mortuary tray. Thus, for my informants, the dead body becomes a signifier of the self. In the context of ICMP's mortuaries and post-conflict Bosnian society, the self-referential nature of the dead body is especially poignant given the horrific circumstances under which these individuals died. Emir's response in particular suggests a realisation that under other circumstances, he could have shared in the deceased individual's fate.[99] This, in turn, effectively heightens my informants' responses to the dead bodies, requiring further action on behalf of the forensic specialist in order to mitigate their effect.

Various other characteristics of the remains can also evoke emotional responses in the forensic specialist, further demonstrating their agency. They may find the presence or absence of trauma on the remains unsettling. Emir noted, "When I find a skull with gunshot here in the occipital[100] bones, immediately coming in…my head how that man felt if…gun here, what is going through that head. And I try not to think about that but it is coming". It is possible that Emir's identification with the deceased makes this an especially poignant emotional reaction. Likewise, Lejla explained, "one case that I worked on had a lot of injuries from…the gun. First, when I saw it, I said, my God…this man was killed brutally. Or one case…didn't have any injuries, you ask yourself how did he die? There's no injuries. I asked myself and that start, I don't know, to feel some strange

---

[99] See also Hafferty (1991: 118-121) discussion of the deceased body as 'future self'.
[100] The occipital bone is the back of a person's skull (see Byers 2005: 32-33).

feeling…and thinking of it". The age of the deceased may prove problematic in other ways. Lejla further explained,

> You feel…very sad and very touched when you see… a child. It's very…how can I describe that feeling? …disgusting what…happened to him. That's all. Disgusting. Sad of course but more than sad. You're getting angry and furious: how's that possible? And a lot of things you realised here, that are possible, actually. Actually, here everything is possible, you know.

Similarly, Kristina acknowledged, "I still get emotionally involved when…I get someone who is young, very young". Mirna recalled, "if I'm examining a very young guy…16 years old, who was slaughtered or…really unhuman way killed, then it would strike me". Mirna recounted another instance in which the age of the deceased in conjunction with the evidence of trauma on his body made the case difficult, "Our estimates were he was 16 to 18 years [old], and I found traces that he was slaughtered on his cervical vertebrae and it simply struck me because I connected myself with him, thinking how awful it has to be…to get slaughtered so young". Mirna also spoke of her work on the remains of a mother and her one- and two-year-old children extremely difficult. She described her emotional responses to these cases, "So basically what happened to me at those moment I…started to connect myself with moments of their killings and I felt sadness and I was crying and my complete day was ruined. You go home and you simply cannot forget…till you sleep over that fact". Mirna's reaction supports other forensic specialists' assertions that extreme emotional reactions to the human remains can negatively impact their work.

As highlighted in the existing literature, the presence of personal effects on or with the remains may humanise the deceased individual, therefore also elicit emotional responses from the forensic specialist. As will be addressed later in this chapter, because ICMP forensic specialists view emotional detachment as crucial in allowing them to carry out their work, this re-humanisation of the dead may prove problematic. Deeply personal objects can serve to vividly remind the forensic specialist that the remains with which they are working were once living human beings, thereby undermining the forensic specialists' dehumanisation of the deceased. For example, Mirna commented that some artefacts could indicate and/or lead to speculation about aspects of the deceased individual's personality. She explained,

it's not same when you find with body…combat knife and when you find necklace or something really personal that belongs to his wife or his children or, or even photograph of his…kids, and those kind of things, you know. Immediately you connect that, oh, this guy was sensitive…he had strong feelings towards his family, while…for guy who had combat knife…with himself, you would think no, he was prepared maybe…to fight, to kill somebody.

Other forensic specialists described the ways in which personal effects can provide insight into the lives of the deceased, effectively humanising them. Sarah noted,

every now and then the recovery of a very personal effect can kind of put you back in the situation of…the victim. We found a little car at one point. Like a toy car. So clearly, that's a very personal item. And so those ones bring you back to the reality, I suppose, of…not the scientific objectivity but the reality of the last moments of these peoples' lives. Years ago, we recovered a letter from the pocket of a victim, and…it's those items that kind of bring you back. And photographs…which aren't very well preserved anymore. We don't often recover those. But years ago there was money in these people's… hidden in all sorts of place, so, again…that brings the reality of their last days.

Similarly, Anesa explained, "It's… usually a key of the house, so it's amazing…they locked their doors and thought that they're going to come again, and so it's more picture of family". Furthermore, along with effectively humanising the dead, these imagined biographies also speak to Verdery's (1999: 28) discussion of how the deceased human body is "open to many readings". As my informants suggested, they utilise these personal effects to 'interpret' the deceased individual's personality, in some instances placing value judgements on the person based on these items (i.e., 'family man' vs. 'killer'). Thus, the dead person receives a new 'story'.

Aside from suggesting details about the deceased individual's life, these personal effects may also remind the forensic specialist of the horrific circumstances under which these individuals died. As items like house keys and money suggest, these individuals were planning on carrying on with their lives and eventually returning to their homes. Finding such items on victims' bodies serves as a stark reminder that this was not to be their fate. Placed together with their personal effects, therefore, these human remains can come to symbolise the many atrocities committed throughout BiH during the recent war. In placing the victims' deaths within a larger framework, the associated material artefacts have the

added consequence of furthering heightening the emotional impact of the human remains, thereby potentially posing a greater threat to the forensic specialists' professional identity.

The emotional responses evoked by these material objects are worthy of further consideration as they pertain to the agency of the deceased body. In doing so, I draw on Hallam & Hockey (2001) and their discussion of the relationship between material culture, death, and mourning. Here, they (ibid.: 114) explore "contexts in which material objects are attributed powerful, and often disturbing agency". They (ibid.: 120) assert, for instance, "the ways in which singular 'mundane' items, following a death become charged sources of sorrow". Furthermore,

> Through their materiality objects often endure, obstinately, despite the loss of the individual for whom they held meaning, purpose and historical associations. Once bereft of their personalised context, such objects seem to acquire a form of agency. Akin to fetish objects in their powers of evocation – they are 'other', unsettling of familiarity, difficult to control, simultaneously fascinating and disturbing (ibid.: 120-121).

For ICMP's forensic specialists, encounters with commonplace objects, especially "deeply personal" artefacts can indeed evoke feelings of great sorrow. They lead to speculation about the life of the deceased individual, reminding the forensic specialist of the brutal way in which the person's life was cut short and that the deceased individual would never again use their key to open their front door or read the letter from their family. In this way, these artefacts become both "fascinating and disturbing" to the forensic specialist (ibid.). These emotional responses, in turn, may require further action on behalf of the forensic specialist if they are to maintain their professional identities.

Furthermore, Hallam & Hockey (ibid.: 115) observe the particularly strong impact of a deceased individual's clothing, "Clearly clothes, in the context of a painful death, are regarded as a point of material contact with the body of a once-living person. They thus provide a means by which memories of that living body can be generated". In the case of forensic specialists' experiences with the clothing, their lack of a direct personal connection with the deceased may prevent them from producing 'actual' memories of the deceased. However, as my informants suggested, they instead create 'speculative' memories of the deceased, writing a fictional biography of the deceased individual's life.

Furthermore, Hallam & Hockey (ibid.) also note that clothing can become "a material extension of [the deceased individual's] body"; that is, the deceased individual's "personhood is recognised as residing within the clothes". In these ways, therefore, both the human remains and their associated artefacts exert their agency, re-humanising the deceased individual and eliciting emotional responses in the forensic specialist. This, in turn, prompts the forensic specialist to exercise their own agency and seek to control the combined impact of both the human remains and the artefacts (ibid.).

Management of emotional responses

As the section above demonstrates, although my respondents minimised the emotional difficulties posed by working with human remains, certain situations and types of remains may prove challenging. In these instances, human remains become sites of distress for the forensic specialist and threaten to undermine their management of their professional identities as emotionally detached scientists. Acknowledging the potential harm of these reactions, my informants spoke of the various tools and techniques they employed in order to manage or re-direct these emotions. Seeking to control these emotional responses can be viewed as forensic specialists striving to employ their own agency in order to control the agency of the deceased individual's remains (Hallam & Hockey 2001: 115). In addressing the management of emotional responses, this section thus speaks to the presence of feeling rules in ICMP's mortuary facilities, and the ways in which forensic specialists may engage in one or more type of emotion work and/or actively manage their performance in order to adhere to these axioms. Accomplishing this task is thus perceived of as the forensic specialist having successfully managed their professional identity.

Active emotional detachment

Although I have explored the presence of passive emotional detachment in ICMP's mortuaries, my respondents also spoke of actively engaging in emotional detachment as a way of minimising the emotional impact of their work. As previously mentioned, Mirna stressed the importance of viewing the remains as puzzles, thereby actively attempting to view the remains as material items,

> it's the worst what can happen to you as person, to…look on those…bags as filled with human persons. I'm looking at all of them as elements of my work. I'm in that way I'm disconnecting myself, personally, from feelings. […] For me, at the moment all of them are puzzles which have to be solved […]

Munira also spoke of actively dehumanising the deceased, noting,

> it's just you're not considering them as human beings. […] It's just totally normal. […] Because you're trying to…just to leave that to someone else to deal with. […] No, just imagine every surgeon, like a heart surgeon or brain surgeon…he comes and cries […].

Similarly, Alem explained, "I managed to disconnect some parts of daily work from my private life and from my emotions".[101] Furthermore, several of my respondents spoke of the importance of not connecting emotionally with the remains. Mirna explained, "from our point of view, we are every day here, every day working this job. If you connect yourself with that you would be destroyed psychologically". Like Koff (2005: 31-32), Sarah engaged in emotional detachment through not reading personal accounts of the atrocities in BiH,

> I didn't know…a whole lot about the situation in the Balkans. In fact, when I first arrived, I knew very little. …so at that time…I spent a lot of time reading about the situation, about how it came to be that we were here excavating and examining these victims. And I did that for months, trying to get the background. But I had to stop. And I limited my reading to the facts, not the personal accounts, so…that's how I dealt with that because…it was such an enormous burden at that time to work with these remains every day and read personal accounts in the evening and then go back to work the next morning… so that's how, and that's where I

---

[101] However, as I will explore at the end of this chapter, Alem did not always successfully accomplish this.

distanced the personal aspect of the victimology…with the scientific approach that needed to be done.

Moreover, Jasmina described having to repress her emotional responses to her work, noting how she also used that technique when taking blood samples during her time as a laboratory technician. Lejla also spoke of how she actively sought to put emotions aside, realising that she would be unable to carry out her work if she failed to do so,

> [O]vernight…I did decide not to be stressed and realised that this is real and that's…my job. I had to do that every day…eight hours a day and that…is the things that I come across daily, you know, and I just…caught this. I got through. And I talked to myself and explained…if you want to survive, you have to.

Likewise, Emir explained that he would try to prevent himself from humanising the remains. He noted the importance of this, stating, "You must forget your emotional reaction. If you do not forget, you probably crazy for two months". My respondents' reiteration of the importance of emotional detachment suggests that it constitutes a feeling rule among ICMP forensic specialists. Failing to observe these rules may prevent them from carrying out their work in an effective manner, potentially stigmatising them, and therefore harming their professional identities. In order to avoid this, forensic specialists may utilise cognitive emotion work as a means of 'pushing aside' their emotional responses.

Furthermore, Goffman's (1959) discussion of performance management may also be considered here. He notes both that "a performance is 'socialised', moulded, and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented" and "a performance highlights the common official values of the society in which occurs" (ibid.: 35). Accordingly, the emphasis my informants place on emotional detachment when working with human remains suggests that this response constitutes an "officially accredited value" of the mortuary (ibid.). Thus, in order to uphold this value, forensic specialists may strive to remain emotionally detached as they carry out their work. In doing so, therefore, not only does the forensic specialist to present themselves as a 'professional' (see below for a further discussion of professionalism), but they also strengthen what Goffman (ibid.: 82) refers to as the "team-performance". As "any member

of the team has the power to give the show away or to disrupt it by inappropriate conduct",
it is crucial that all ICMP staff members adhere to the mortuary's expectations of
emotional responses (ibid.).

Active emotional detachment may also originate in the forensic specialist's desire
to engage in professionalism, thereby avoiding errors while carrying out their work. Like
Koff (2005: 32) and Howarth's respondents (1996: 82), my informants repeatedly
expressed a desire to perform their duties to the best of their abilities, noting that any errors
could cause pain to the victims' families. They reiterated that strong negative emotions
could cause them to be ineffective and inaccurate in carrying out their work, thereby
harming others. Jasmina, for instance, noted, that one cannot afford to be distracted in this
job, and that they needed to get things right. While the dead cannot be harmed by mistakes,
she asserted, living family members could be impacted. Lejla similarly explained that
although she does have feelings in the course of their work, she has learned to suppress
them. She stated, "I realized it's not good for working. You have to concentrate because
you have to do it correctly". Lejla later reiterated this point, commenting, "generally, I
have no feelings while I'm working. I think they're not good if you want to do your job
correctly".

However, professionalism may serve a further purpose for Bosnian forensic
specialists. BiH remains economically unstable in the aftermath of the war, and obtaining a
job may pose a significant challenge. Unemployment is widespread in BiH; in 2011, the
rate of unemployment was approximately 43.3% (CIA 2012: n.p.). My respondents also
spoke of the challenges in obtaining employment within the country. As addressed in
Chapter Two, several spoke of coming to work at ICMP simply out of economic necessity.
Anesa noted that she had been unemployed for six months and was searching for work
when she came across ICMP's job listing. During my first interview with Emir, I asked
him why he chose to begin working with the Federal Commission for Missing Persons. He
quickly corrected my assumption, "I did not choose. Especially because in Bosnia it's very
difficult…[to find a] job". After serving as a medical technician in the army for two years,
Emir was unemployed for four years, aside from some work in construction. Accordingly,
he quickly accepted employment with the Federal Commission for Missing Persons and

later with ICMP. Similarly, Ibro expounded upon the importance of finding and maintaining employment in BiH,

> As you know Bosnia's in a very bad condition and a lot of people don't work and if you work, you're…really paid like so bad…but you have to live from something, and if you have a job, you feel better. Because you have to feed the family and someone is depending on your work, so no matter what you do, it's better to work than stay…at home.

Given these challenges, in performing to a high standard, therefore, forensic specialists may feel as though they are strengthening their chances of being retained as an employee. This may especially be the case for Alem. As I will examine at the end of this chapter, his personal connection to the remains housed at Mortuary C sometimes evokes strong emotional reactions in him. However, because he has a family to support, he nevertheless attempts to manage these feelings in order to maintain his position with ICMP. Moreover, as Ibro's statement indicates, although they may not particularly enjoy their job, forensic specialists may also focus on the fact that they are fortunate to have a job, thereby again engaging in cognitive emotion work.

Accommodation

My respondents also highlighted the importance of accommodation in assisting them in becoming detached from their work. They frequently spoke of finding the remains emotionally problematic when they first began their work with ICMP but that these feelings gradually dissipated. Alem observed, "in the beginning it was really, really hard for me to accept…what I have to do". Ibro asserted, "The crisis has finished long time ago and I feel okay now". Likewise, Lejla emphasised throughout her interview:

> the first month…everything was very stressful for me because everything was the first, the first time that I saw that, I heard that…And the first touch, the first view, the first sight, these obviously…had a very, very strong influence on me…that was first month. It was very hard. And now it's…really okay. I'm not stressed at all. So there won't be any more November 2009, so no…that kind of feeling again. Here and for now, I think that there is nothing could surprise me anymore. All the

surprises I met like face-to-face, immediately, and accept the situation, how it was
and how it is now and probably how it will be while I'm here.

Likewise, Jasmina noted that the job was much more difficult when she started but that she
"got used to everything". Anesa also spoke of finding the job challenging when she first
began but that she eventually became accustomed to it and stopped thinking about the
emotionally difficult aspects of her work. She further explained that after she learned what
to anticipate upon entering the mortuary every day, the job became routine: "Yeah, in
beginning because you don't know kind of what you can expect. So…probably it was
some kind of…distance…you didn't know how to react on some things. But, after
awhile…it's like every other job". Similarly, Emir explained, "It is coming with time. For
me…start is difficult, especially when you open mass grave, and you see that…grave. Oh,
is scary, really scary, and each day is scary little, little, scary little, little, little, little, little
and now I'm not scared. Start is difficult but now, no". After this initial adjustment period,
therefore, my respondents spoke of experiencing fewer emotional responses to the remains,
thus reducing the need for emotion work.

Religious and/or spiritual beliefs

Religious and/or spiritual beliefs also helped some of my respondents in managing
their responses to their work. Kristina observed how her religious beliefs frequently aided
her, commenting, "I always think that [the deceased] are in better place now". She also
explained how she would sometimes pray for the deceased and believed that her work
"helped them…to find their peace". Furthermore, Mirna noted that her belief in a higher
power sometimes assisted her in her work, "[a]s I'm not religious person, I'm not
practising religion and everything but I believe that there is something, that there is God,
so that's what I'm saying…I think that we will be rewarded for doing our best to…help
families and to…find missing persons". Both Jasmina and Lejla consider themselves
practising Muslims and described the ways in which their religious beliefs assisted them
with their work. Jasmina spoke of believing in God and how everything that transpires was
His will. Of BiH's descent into war and the numerous atrocities committed during it, she

explained, "It was supposed to be like that. It couldn't have been any other way".
Similarly, Lejla stated:

> Well, I know that everything that happened is…everything, generally everything that happens to you, to me, to us, it's basically from God. That was destiny of…people here in Bosni[a]…It was just our – when I say "our" I mean the people here in Bosnia – that's actually our destiny to be in the war, to have many, many, many killed and missing persons. And I believe in justice…I watch the news, the TV about…that and…I believe in justice in this life, in this world…but the big…and true justice…will be in the…new, next life…the life after death, so…beliefs in God really help to get through all the problems and the craziness that catch you here in…this world, life.

Lejla and Jasmina thus rationalise the deaths of those individuals whose remains they process in Mortuary C, asserting that it was God's will that they died. In doing so, they make sense of and ascribe meaning to otherwise seemingly meaningless deaths. Lejla's notions of justice, that the perpetrators of the horrific crimes will be punished both in this world and the next, seem to represent a further attempt to make sense of and cope with the tragic nature of her work.[102] Moreover, she also has faith that God will assist her should she struggle in carrying out her work.

Social support

Social support also aided my respondents in managing their emotional responses to the remains in the mortuary. This social support may be born out of the camaraderie that developed between mortuary staff members (see Chapter Two). Overall, my respondents spoke positively about one another and they frequently displayed their affection for one another throughout the course of their working day. For example, Jasmina explained that she likes the people she works with, especially Lejla. She described Lejla as both a colleague and a friend, noting that their strong bond formed almost immediately. Indeed, their friendship was apparent from the moment I first met them. They frequently joked

---

[102] Lejla was the only respondent who addressed the topic of secular justice in BiH and its connection with her work. This may be due to the fact that their work centred on identifying the remains of the missing for the purpose of returning them to their families rather than gathering evidence for use in war crimes tribunals.

around with, poked fun at, and assisted one another with their respective cases. Moreover, when I was preparing to interview Lejla, I asked her if she would prefer to conduct the interview in private, given that Jasmina was in the mortuary. She declined and I was informed that they did not have any secrets from one another. In my fieldnotes, I frequently described how they seemed to have developed a comedy routine, with Jasmina playing the jovial, outspoken, sometimes goofy partner to Lejla's soft-spoken, dry sense of humour. Jasmina further noted the importance of having a positive relationship with her colleagues. She described the mortuary as a big family, noting that the worse thing that can happen is that they do not "get along". Jasmina stated that the mortuary workers could cry in Mortuary C if they needed to do so. When I spoke to Lejla about her colleagues, she reiterated Jasmina's opinions, describing everyone as very friendly and noting that, "you'd never feel distrust." She further stated, "I'm very satisfied here. They're really okay, really nice, acting nice". Thus, Jasmina and Lejla felt as though they could rely on one another and their colleagues for support as they carried out their work. Similarly, in discussing the importance of laughter and humour in the mortuary (see below) Mirna stated, "If you have a good team, we can one moment laugh and one moment we can share…sad feelings with each other". Mirna, therefore, suggests the importance of having colleagues to turn to for support during times of sorrow, as well as during times of joy. Both Jasmina's and Mirna's statements also suggest that the feeling rules of the mortuary do allow for the expression of sadness by forensic specialists. Furthermore, this may also mean that mortuary feeling rules are not coercive as previous research suggests, such as in the case of medical professionals (see above). These statements also suggest that the rules of performance management in the mortuary do permit some displays of emotional responses to the remains.[103] This apparent fluidity may, in turn, benefit the forensic specialist in carrying out their work. The flexibility of these feeling rules may also lessen the chance that a forensic worker will become stigmatised if they fail to successfully 'perform' as an emotionally detached scientist.

Forensic specialists at Mortuary B similarly spoke of the importance of social support. In discussing her relationship with her colleagues, Kristina explained how it

---

[103] However, as will be explored in Chapter Four, performance management in the mortuary does not seemingly permit this display of emotions in the presence of 'outsiders', "those individuals who are on the outside of the establishment" (Goffman 1959: 135).

helped her adjust to her role at Mortuary B, "It was…it was difficult when I first came here. We had to study…human anatomy and it was quite interesting because we had a great crew here so I didn't feel that pressure that something is bad". She further explained, "we have a very great team wherever you go, really. In…Mortuary C it was such a great team, and here…I love those girls. And we are very close", and "we're like a gang. We're like a family". As with Lejla and Jasmina's bond, the close relationship between Anesa, Kristina, and Munira was clearly evident. They would joke around with one another, hug each other, and discuss various details about their personal lives. Munira and Kristina frequently spent time together outside of work as well. However, there similarly existed a strong bond between the other Mortuary B staff members as well. Sarah, Munira explained to me, wanted staff members to spend their breaks together to assist them in developing a strong relationship, thereby helping them to better carry out their work. Munira was also particularly concerned with making sure that everyone ate lunch together, frequently cooking elaborate meals and compelling her colleagues to come and sit around the table in the breakroom and eat together, thereby mimicking the family unit.

However, male and female forensic specialists may experience different types of camaraderie in the ICMP mortuaries. While the female forensic specialists repeatedly highlighted the importance of social support, their male colleagues did not. Emir spoke briefly about his desire to establish positive relationships with his colleagues, but did not speak of social support as assisting him in carrying out his work. Furthermore, while Ibro acknowledged his use of social support, he downplayed its importance, noting, "The group helped me, but everything is on you". Of the three male forensic specialists, only Alem spoke at length about the importance of the team in helping him manage his emotional responses. For example, as I will explore below, Alem felt comfortable speaking to his colleagues about work-related nightmares. During his interview, he also explained how his Mortuary C colleagues helped him adjust to working in the mortuary, commenting, "people with whom I was working in a team were really supportive and eased everything". This difference in the type of camaraderie may stem from expectations of performance and feeling rules within Bosnian society that prohibit men from openly displaying their

emotions.[104] Accordingly, male forensic specialists may not experience the benefits of having the same natural social support as their female colleagues due to these stereotypes and expectations of behaviour. Thus, they may encounter a dual challenge in managing their emotional responses as they might be both prohibited from openly expressing any emotional distress *and* from seeking support from their colleagues.

Humour

Although previous studies have found humour to be a technique commonly employed by medical professionals and body handlers throughout the course of their work, I am unable to determine its exact prevalence due to the language barrier within the mortuaries. However, my observations indicated that laughter and 'joking around' were extremely common daily occurrences in the mortuaries. For example, during lunch one afternoon, the staff members teased Emir as he danced to the beat of the music of a game on his phone. Sarah jokingly expressed concern, wondered what was wrong with him and mentioned that everyone would *really* have to start worrying about him when he started blasting Celine Dion music. The rest of the staff members began laughing, explaining that this had already occurred. During another lunch break, Sarah was eating her roll when she noticed that one end resembled a fractured bone. She showed all of us and we had a good laugh about it. Furthermore, the importance of laughter and joking around with colleagues was frequently mentioned in interviews and was also noted as an important tool for staving off negative emotions. For example, Anesa commented that making jokes and laughter could keep them from thinking about their work. In discussing the importance of having a "good team", Mirna commented, "I think it's…much easier to work with colleagues with whom you can make jokes and have laughter than with some people who are serious all the time or let's say even depressive…you will become also depressed over time". Thus, although emotional detachment is emphasised, the rules of performance management may

---

[104] See Jansen 2008, Simić 1969, and Simić 1983 for further discussion of gender performance in the former Yugsolavia. See also Goffman 1959: 39, 130-131 for further discussion of gender and impression management.

also dictate that the forensic specialist participate in 'mortuary humour'. Similarly, after noting how she and her colleagues do not think of the remains as former living people, Munira explained, "And you're making jokes…a lot…actually. Which are actually not so nice, but…it's just totally normal". This humour, she implies, serves as a further means of distancing themselves from the remains. Furthermore, Munira admits that while some of their jokes can be viewed as inappropriate or offensive, they are nevertheless acceptable in the context of the mortuary.

The appearance and application of humour in the mortuaries thus also brings into consideration feeling rules, emotion work, and performance management. As I found throughout my fieldwork, 'joking around', making jokes, and laughing constitute acceptable behavioural and emotional responses within the mortuary. Even 'inappropriate' jokes are permitted within the mortuary, jokes that might not be acceptable in another setting or among those who do not work in this field. Moreover, humour is also seemingly encouraged among forensic specialists. It is viewed as necessary to promoting emotional detachment, thereby enabling forensic specialists to continue with their work. Additionally, as Mirna explained, being able to laugh with one's colleagues can serve to create a more pleasant work experience, something necessary given the potential for their work to prove distressing. In these instances, emotion work might involve telling jokes in order to elicit laughter from the rest of the staff, finding something humorous to say about their work, or simply smiling. This importance placed on humour further suggests how forensic specialists are expected to perform during the course of their work. As my informants suggest, displaying a sense of humour is required as part of their identity as forensic specialists. Adhering to this may require the individual to make jokes and/or laugh when considered 'appropriate'. The inability to do so is seemingly frowned upon and could potentially constitute a stigmatising behaviour. In order to avoid group censure, therefore, the forensic specialist may sometimes be required act contrary to their feelings, for example, faking laughter after a colleague tells a joke.

Focusing on the positive

For my respondents, focusing on the positive side of their work represents a secondary technique for managing emotional responses. This can be viewed as another form of cognitive emotion work. To begin, my respondents' perceptions of the beneficiaries of this work varied. Sarah stated, "I'm doing this for them [the deceased]. And if anything, that makes me even more comfortable with what I'm doing and why I'm doing it". Thus, Sarah considered how her work positively impacted the deceased. Lejla and Jasmina, however, both asserted that their work benefitted family members. Jasmina noted that she found it beneficial to know that she's identifying someone's son and/or family members, describing it as the "human part of the job". However, Lejla's response to this query proved slightly more complex. She explained, "Yeah, the fact that your job or what you are doing is helping other families to find their own peace and to find their…lovely sons and husband…it makes you very proud that you can help, know? And that is the least that we can do for them…to identify missing persons". Like Jasmina, Lejla spoke of her work as benefitting family members, and knowledge of this, in turn, helps her. However, Lejla also described her pride in having been involved in this work, something she also considered as assisting her in continuing in her role as a forensic specialist. Finally, Mirna's discussion of this topic presented a stark contrast to those of Sarah, Jasmina, and Lejla. Mirna explained,

> [My job] became really, really complex and I'm thinking of problems, so I don't have time to think every day that I'm doing everything for some higher cause… you get stressed and you don't have time to remind yourself that you are doing that because of…I don't know – something. But when you sit down and if you are stressed, and those are moments mostly during my relaxations after work if I start to think about some problems and something then, again, I like to disconnect myself and say okay, you are doing something which will be rewarded in second life […].

Rather than focusing on the positive impact her work has on the deceased and/or their families, Mirna instead considered how she would someday be rewarded for her efforts. Thus, Mirna connects the rewarding aspects of her work with her spiritual beliefs (see above). Her account also suggests why 'focusing on the positive' may constitute a

secondary technique for managing emotional responses: forensic specialists may simply not have time to reflect on the remains. This once again indicates that the high level of activity in the mortuary facilitates emotional detachment among forensic specialists.

In great contrast to these accounts, however, Munira quickly dismissed my query about whether or not focusing on benefits of their work assisted them in managing their emotional responses to it. She commented,

> That's a huge point, but…we're not related to family in a way that we don't speak to them. […] But…you kind of don't think about it. It's a really good thing to fantasise someone's need to find her son, or father, or anything, or husband, but it's just you try to dehumanise everything you have around you, so because it's easier and…it's…not important. It's not an issue.

Thus, Munira argued that the staff at Mortuary B did not consider the wider implications of their work because they did not interact with the beneficiaries of it. Here, Munira highlights a difference between Mortuaries B and C. As I will explore in greater detail in Chapter Four, family members did not visit Mortuary B but frequently came to Mortuary C. As they thus encountered family members while in the mortuary, Jasmina and Lejla may be more cognizant of the final implications of their work, thus partially accounting for the discrepancies in these individuals' interviews.[105] Furthermore, in stating that, "[i]t's a really good thing to fantasise someone's need to find her son, or father, or anything, or husband […]", Munira briefly suggests that maintaining a sense of emotional connection to their work is important (something I will return to at the end of Chapter Five). More importantly, however, Munira's assertions also reiterate the stance that dehumanisation of the remains *is* preferable as it eases work in the mortuary. Likewise, her statement "it's…not important" to consider the families again suggests that forensic specialists focus on the remains as objects of scientific interest or, as Mirna phrased it, puzzles to be solved. Accordingly, this interest in objectifying the remains may further explain why focusing on the rewards of their work was not emphasised by my respondents.

---

[105] As I will also explore in the next chapter, I believe that Munira's fear of and concerns about interacting with victims' family members also influenced her stance on this issue.

Dirty work

My informants' efforts manage their professional identities as forensic specialists can also be viewed within Hughes's concept of dirty work. He (1958: 49) writes,

> Now every occupation is not one but several activities; some of them are the 'dirty work' of the trade. It may be dirty in one of several ways. It may simply be physically disgusting. It may be a symbol of degradation, something that wounds one's dignity. Finally, it may be dirty work in that it is something that goes counter to the more heroic of our moral conceptions.

ICMP forensic specialists' experiences with human remains can be considered in light of the first of these three categorisations as work in the mortuary is 'dirty' in the most literal sense of the word.[106] My informants occasionally commented on the 'disgusting' nature of their work. For example, Mirna vividly described decomposing human tissue and her experiences working on fleshed bodies,

> It's disgusting. It's stinky. It's so…ugly to see. It's dirty. […] There is just a difference in smell and how dirty you will get working on that case. […] Let's say we had just several time cases where…[bodies] were in…sort of beginning stage of decomposition because of soil and all variables and when you can see…pores on skin, in one case even eyes were there and that's…nasty, that's, stinky, and ugly…it's, it's disastrous.

Katie and Jasmina also commented on the smell of decomposing tissue. Furthermore, Ibro, Anesa, and Kristina spoke about the necessity of cleaning remains prior to carrying out any anthropological analyses.[107] While at Mortuary C I also observed an instance in which Jasmina needed to wash a skull in order to reassemble the fragmented pieces. Residual soft tissue remained on the skull, and the grease prevented the glue from adhering to the pieces. Accordingly, Jasmina had to gently scrub the skull in order to remove the soft tissue and successfully reconstruct it. Furthermore, Ibro described how fleshed bodies were more common during his early days with ICMP, and cleaning them involved removing muscle attachments. For this kind of work, Ibro explained, he was required to wear a mask and a

---

[106] In Chapter Four I consider dirty work in relationship to forensic specialists' interactions with victims' family members.
[107] See discussion of forensic anthropology in Chapter Two.

protective suit over his clothing.[108] Furthermore, despite having been cleaned, some dirt occasionally remained on the bones, and the trays on which remains were laid out required cleaning after use.

While they must address the issue of literal dirt throughout the course of their work, this is less problematic than Hughes's other categorisations of 'dirt' (see also Douglas 2002: 74). Though they occasionally described the remains as "smelly" or "disgusting", my informants did not speak negatively about the physically dirty nature of their work. My informants easily washed away the dirt of the mortuary before leaving work each day; moreover, as my informants frequently wore scrubs over or instead of their 'street clothes', this further eased the process of cleansing themselves after coming into contact with dirt in the mortuary. Accordingly, this physical dirt had limited impact on my informants' professional identities and required little response other than washing and changing/covering clothing. Instead, this type of dirt was considered a natural and benign aspect of their work.

Hughes's two additional categories of dirty work, however, are less relevant as they pertain to my informants' experiences with human remains. As previously discussed in this chapter, my informants did not speak of their work with human remains as negatively impacting their dignity. Similarly, I did not find any evidence to support that their work is in any way considered 'dirty' because it "goes counter to the more heroic of our moral conceptions" (Hughes 1958: 49). Instead, they frequently spoke positively about these activities, espousing an attitude of scientific enthusiasm. Additionally, my informants spoke of the importance of their work, noting that it helped provide individuals with answers about the fate of Bosnia's missing persons.

This, in turn, speaks an additional aspect of Hughes's concept of dirty work. First, he (1958: 52) notes, "The dirty work may be an intimate part of the very activity which gives the occupation its charisma, as is the case with the handling of the human body by the physician. In this case, I suppose the dirty work is somehow integrated into the whole, and into the prestige-bearing role of the person who does it". He (ibid.) further notes, "we might conceive of a classification of occupations involving dirty work into those in which

---

[108] During my time at ICMP, disposable examination gloves constituted the most common form of protective clothing worn by my informants. However, there did not appear to be any regulations dictating their use, and my informants frequently handled bones without wearing gloves.

it is knit into some satisfying and prestige-giving definition of role and those in which it is not". Although I do not believe that forensic specialists' work in BiH is considered 'prestigious', the perceived importance of locating, exhuming, and identifying missing persons in post-conflict BiH by both family members and others (see Chapter Five) places ICMP's work in an important position within Bosnian society. This, in turn, may benefit my informants as they manage their role of forensic specialists. They are able to look upon their professional identities as playing a positive function in BiH, and the physical dirt of the mortuary thus becomes incorporated into this larger framework.

Failing to cope

Drawing upon my observations of and interactions with ICMP forensic specialists, I argue that these individuals are generally successful in their attempts to manage their 'negative' emotional responses to their work. However, Alem appears to be the main exception to this assertion. As I discussed above, Alem's story and his personal connections to the remains housed in Mortuary C placed him in a unique position. He reacted particularly strongly to the nature of his work, as after his first day of work at Mortuary C he did not want to return. However, he did so in order to support his family. Had another job become available, he explained, would have accepted that one. Moreover, although Alem expressed his satisfaction at being able to provide answers to family members about the fate of their loved ones, unlike other of my informants, he did not enjoy his job. However, in order to keep his job and support his family, he has made an effort to manage his emotional responses to his work. As mentioned above, to some extent, he has been successful in this. However, Mirna explained to me that his efforts have not been entirely effective: "I know that Alem comes to work and complains that he was dreaming what he was doing day before or even year before, so he…cannot totally disconnect […]". Thus, while Alem's emotions do not overwhelm him, he is not always able successfully to engage in emotion work. Nevertheless, Alem's practicality dictates that he continue to serve as the mortuary technician at Mortuary C.

Alem's experiences suggest several things regarding ICMP forensic specialists'

168

responses to human remains. My interview with Alem provides further insight into performance management in the mortuary. Alem stressed his ability to overcome his emotional responses to his work, seemingly presenting himself as emotionally detached in order to reflect his adherence to the mortuary's "accredited values" (Goffman 1959: 35). He was, therefore, attempting to present "an idealised version of himself" (ibid.: 48). Furthermore, Alem's case indicates the extent to which an individual's personal background can influence such their responses to human remains. Alem views these remains through the perspective of not only having lost colleagues and friends but also having witnessed the violence of the war. Accordingly, for Alem, these remains may symbolise the full horrors of the war and constantly remind him of what he observed during that time. It also demonstrates the complexity of these responses, suggesting that under various circumstances, one person can experience a wide variety of reactions to human remains, everything from being emotionally disturbed at their presence to feeling satisfaction in knowing that they have been successfully identified and will be returned to their family members. Finally, his account suggests the imperfect nature of the techniques employed by forensic specialists to manage their emotional responses. In some instances, although their effectiveness generally permits the forensic specialist to carry out their work, they may not be so powerful as to make 'negative' emotional responses disappear entirely. However, because of their passion for, interest in, and commitment to their job or out of financial necessity, ICMP forensic specialists nevertheless carry on with their work with the remains of BiH's missing.

Conclusion

Throughout their interviews, my respondents emphasised that their roles as forensic specialists required them to remain emotionally detached from the remains under their care, and they sought to obtain this professional ideal, thus bringing particular attention to Hochschild's (1976; 1979; 2012) concepts of feeling rules and emotion work and Goffman's discussion of performance management (1959) and stigma (1986). Overall, I found that forensic specialists were successful in their attempts to remains emotionally

detached from the remains due to various factors, such as passive and active objectification of the remains, their desire to carry out their work, the lack of time available for reflection, the priority of personal concerns, humour, and considering the rewards of their work. This may be aided by the apparent flexibility of the mortuary's feeling rules as well as their tacit allowance of some display of 'negative' emotional responses. Thus, this does not mean that forensic specialists fail to respond emotionally to the remains, thereby adding a further dimension to their professional identities. Here, an understanding of the agency of the deceased body and its associated artefacts becomes especially crucial as its presence assists in eliciting emotional responses from the forensic specialists. For example, my informants may find the remains scientifically fascinating and develop a sense of attachment to them. This type of emotional engagement may benefit rather than harm my informants. Furthermore, they may also engage with the remains under other circumstances, such as when they identify with or humanise the deceased in light of certain characteristics of the remains. Such responses, however, were generally perceived of as problematic, and my respondents thus employed a variety of techniques to manage these. Accordingly, forensic specialists may exercise their agency in order to control that of the remains (Hallam & Hockey 2001: 115). Furthermore, as Alem's story suggests, this does not mean that such emotions completely disappear. Instead, forensic specialists may simply carry on with their work despite their emotions. However, although work with the deceased can pose a significant challenge, it is generally preferred to working with their surviving loved ones. As the next chapter will explore, the presence of family members in the mortuary frequently proves problematic for and troubling to forensic specialists.

Chapter Four
Interactions with family members in the mortuary

Throughout my preparations for fieldwork in BiH, I was well aware of the potential emotional challenges of being surrounded by the bodies of thousands of individuals who died under horrific circumstances. However, I had given little thought to the possibility that I would also encounter victims' family members during my time in ICMP's mortuaries, and I found myself unprepared for the emotional toll of these encounters. Although I only came across family members twice during my fieldwork in ICMP's mortuaries[109], serving as an accidental witness to these scenes of grief constituted the most emotionally challenging aspect of my fieldwork. In both situations, I felt uncertain as to how to react, and I struggled hold back my own emotional responses in the face of the survivors'. Thus, I felt helpless in the face of the survivors' grief. Nothing anyone at ICMP said to them could ameliorate their sorrow. Yes, with any luck, family members would eventually have definite answers regarding the fate of their missing loved ones, but these individuals would remain dead. My research suddenly seemed pointless and trivial. Moreover, these encounters served as stark reminders of the reality of the work carried out by ICMP: the remains I encountered every day had once been living human beings who had family and friends, living individuals who were now eagerly anticipating news of their missing loved ones' fates. I did not welcome this connection as it made my fieldwork far too emotionally challenging. Instead, I eagerly surrounded myself with the remains of the deceased and hoped to avoid any future encounters with family members at ICMP's mortuaries.

In developing my research project and during my initial time in the field, I also gave little thought to ICMP forensic specialists' encounters with surviving family members, assuming that case managers primarily assumed responsibility for these interactions. Moreover, in describing their responsibilities and daily activities, ICMP's forensic specialists repeatedly emphasised their work with the remains. However, I

---

[109] I had numerous interactions with victims' family members outside of ICMP's mortuary facilities. Although I also found these challenging, the ones inside the mortuary proved especially problematic for me.

gradually learned that the nature of their work sometimes brought them into contact with the families of the deceased.

My respondents spoke of such interactions in various ways. They consistently highlighted the challenges of working with family members, expressing a preference to avoid such interactions, and asserting their happiness that their role as scientists seldom required them to engage with family members. For some ICMP employees, moreover, interactions with victims' families may be especially poignant as they themselves also fall into this category. As explored in Chapter Two, although the majority of my respondents did not have any personal connections to their work, there were a few exceptions. Of these individuals, several spoke of the challenges associated with being both an ICMP employee and a survivor. However, while acknowledging the difficulties of such work, some mortuary employees also spoke of the rewarding nature of these interactions.

This chapter thus explores the complexities of mortuary workers' interactions with family members. It begins by explaining the differences in my respondents' encounters with families, noting how some had limited or no contact with these individuals due to their place of work. Next, I explain why my respondents preferred to avoid these interactions. In their role as 'bearers of bad news', forensic specialists effectively destroy family members' hope that their missing loved one/s is/are alive. This unpleasant task had a significant impact on my respondents. Furthermore, ICMP mortuaries can be the site of intense emotional reactions by family members, and employees may struggle to cope with the aftermath of such outbursts. In discussing these topics, therefore, this chapter once again considers forensic specialists' concepts of professional behaviour, further exploring their struggle to find the balance between emotional attachment and detachment. I also briefly return to the concept of the agency of the deceased body, describing how family members' relationship with the deceased individual ultimately impacts ICMP's forensic specialists. Accordingly, such topics as performance management, mortuary feeling rules, the employees' displays (or lack thereof) of detached concern, and the struggle over what to say to grieving family members will be explored. I also bring into consideration the issue of forensic specialists receiving training on how to best interact with family members. While this chapter emphasises the negative side of mortuary workers' experiences with family members, thereby explaining why it is common for ICMP

employees to prefer not to have these interactions, it also briefly addresses the rewards of such encounters. This chapter concludes by discussing the presence of emotional attachment, once again examining how forensic specialists may be unable to remain completely detached from their work.

This chapter will also take into consideration the experiences of Fatima and Ibrahim, the two case managers at Mortuary C. As discussed in Chapter Two, although I do not consider them 'forensic specialists' *per se*, I have nevertheless included their experiences here for two reasons. First, Ibrahim and Fatima have almost as much exposure to the remains as their colleagues. As noted in Chapter Two, the case managers' office at Mortuary C is situated in a trailer just outside of the mortuary; accordingly, they can and do enter the mortuary on a regular basis. Secondly, as their primary duties centre on interactions with victims' family members, their stories provide additional insight into the challenges and rewards of these encounters.

Literature Review

Existing literature provides limited insight into forensic specialists' interactions with family members of deceased individuals. However, analogous studies are more commonplace. Accordingly, this chapter draws primarily from several types of literature: studies examining medical professionals' experiences interacting with living and deceased patients' family members, literature exploring the 'breaking bad news' process, manuals addressing clinician-patient communication, and studies of other professionals' experiences conducting death notifications and working with bereaved family members.

The challenges of interacting with family members

Existing literature especially references the challenges medical and other professionals (such as social workers, law enforcement officers, and humanitarian workers) experience when, 'breaking bad news', the process of notifying individuals about

such things as diagnoses of serious and/or terminal diseases and the death of a loved one. However, here, I also consider forensic anthropologists' and funeral home workers' interactions with surviving family members. First, previous scholarship frequently highlights the challenges of witnessing bereaved family members' emotional distress. These responses may provoke emotional reactions from the professional, threatening their ability to remain emotionally detached from the situation, and, ultimately, their ability to carry out their work. For example, in their study of professionals who make death notifications, including social workers/counsellors, chaplains, victim advocates, and police officers, Stewart *et al*. (2000: 626) write, "Feelings of anger, guilt, or hopelessness may overcome the survivors such that they attempt to harm themselves or others. Managing these kinds of reactions and responding to the survivors effectively may become distressing and difficult for the notifiers". Furthermore, as a paediatric intensive care unit nurse explained, "It can be an emotionally draining experience when parents have a hard time accepting a diagnosis, and they don't want to believe what is being told to them. Then sometimes they lash out against you" (McGibbon *et al*. 2010: 1358). To this end, Hibbert (1995: 401) argues that "witnessing distraught family members at the bedside or gathered in the waiting room made it difficult for most nurses 'to maintain [their] own emotional composure'". Nurses also spoke of the necessity of maintaining their own composure in order to both avoid distressing family members and demonstrating to them that nursing staff could offer support (Pelletier-Hibbert 1998: 233).

Howarth (1996) also considers funeral service workers' interactions with grieving family members. She first lights upon funeral workers' frustrations with family members, quoting a funeral director's observation that, "It's quite difficult sometimes dealing with people who are grieving and in a way they won't listen to you" (ibid.: 114). Likewise, Roberta, the funeral home's secretary remarked, "Having to deal with upset families – that's another thing that comes into it. Having to try and not get too involved and too upset. […] Some people do get extremely upset and it's very hard not to get upset yourself" (1996: 77). As Howarth (ibid.: 78) comments, although Roberta may find it difficult to remain emotionally detached from her work, it is nevertheless necessary as, "[t]he ability to perform her occupational role would otherwise have been undermined". However, as will be explored below, remaining too emotionally detached in the face of family

members' distress may also be viewed as contrary to the professional's "occupational role" (ibid.).

Intense emotional outbursts by family members may otherwise prove distressing or even frightening for medical professionals. Nurses employed in inpatient clinics in NHS teaching hospitals in the northern UK reported being physically or verbally abused by patients or their relatives after breaking bad news to them (Warnock *et al*. 2010:1547). Similarly, in speaking of her interactions with family members present in the hospital room when invasive procedures and CPR are performed, one nurse noted how family members could turn violent if the situation ended badly. She explained, "I've had people that just lose it. Fists against the walls, screaming, anger – mostly it's a lot of anger. I feel unsafe" (Miller & Stiles 2009: 1439). Unsurprisingly, fear of such emotional outbursts can make informing relatives of bad news a challenging task (Lloyd & Bor 2009: 62).

Secondly, encounters with surviving family members may humanise the deceased and prohibit emotional detachment (see Chapter Three).[110] Sadala & Mendes (2000: 795) note, "The professional becomes personally involved with the patient when he or she comes into contact with the family and gets to know the social being that he represents, his family and social ties. This causes pain". In discussing the experiences of Tom, the manager of a natural burial ground in the UK, Powell *et al*. (2011: 12) also found that familiarity with family members of the deceased may further complicate body handlers' interactions with them: "Tom told us he found it easier to cope with the tears and grief during a client's first visit when they were still relatively 'unknown' to him". Thus,

> it was when Tom came to know the friends and relatives of the deceased and in consequence identified the deceased for himself as a father or mother, sister or brother, son, daughter, or work colleague, that he then had to imaginatively engage with the contents of each 'box' (coffin). […] Effectively, the once-anonymous contents of the box were transformed for Tom into something more tangible; the remains of a once-living person. Without such social and emotional connections Tom may have been more easily able to imagine simply burying matter that would merge over time with the rest of the organic world (ibid.: 12).

---

[110] Thus, while the remains are biologically dead, they may remain socially alive for the family members (see Hallam *et al*.1999; Hadders 2007; Hockey & Draper 2005; Horsley 2008: 133-134; Mulkay 1993).

Similarly, an archaeologist who had been involved in the recovery of remains from mass graves in Kosovo noted how encountering family members could undermine his emotional detachment and the ensuing challenges:

> But in Kosovo, it was very soon after the war, and when we started families were right there, and sometimes grieving. Very seriously. And that's hard. Because then I have trouble objectifying the remains. It's less remains, you know, bones and material, goods, and more [the son] of this grieving woman. I find it more difficult to work (Leighton 2010: 92).

Accordingly, as the archaeologist above suggests, given the perceived importance of emotional detachment in carrying out this type of work, humanisation of the deceased may negatively impact professionals' abilities to carry out their work.

Feelings of helplessness and guilt at inflicting pain on family members may also prove troubling for professionals involved in 'breaking bad news'. *Mourning Processes and Commemoration* (2002), a series of reports and recommendations regarding missing persons issued by the ICRC notes, "The humanitarian workers to whom it falls to transmit information to the families of missing persons are faced with a number of problems and difficulties. They bring the news of death, with or without a body. […] Humanitarian workers are faced with people suddenly deprived of all hope of ever seeing a loved one again" (ICRC 2002: 6). Thus, humanitarian workers may feel guilty for their role in inflicting pain and suffering on the survivors. This may also occur following death notifications in domestic settings. Citing Leash (1994), Stewart *et al*. (2000: 626) note, "deaths [following suicide, drunk driving crashes, and violent crimes] can contribute to the notifier's experience of feeling helpless or somehow responsible for preventing the loss initially, apprehending the perpetrator, or assuring the safety of the surviving family members". The identity of the victim and the cause of death may heighten this fear. Stewart *et al*. (ibid.) also found that "notifiers may be especially vulnerable to such feelings of responsibility following the death of a child in a violent crime or in a drunk driving crash". Additionally, physicians may also find the process of breaking bad news challenging because "[t]he messenger feels responsible and fears being blamed" (Lloyd & Bor 2009: 62).

Finally, interactions may prove challenging if the professional is uncertain of how to respond to family members' grief. In her memoir, Koff (2005: 70-71) describes an encounter with the sister of man killed during the Rwandan genocide: "I didn't know what to do. My first thought was of comfort, but, honestly, I didn't know how to give any. I couldn't think of anything that was good enough; all my ideas fell short". Similarly, Tom, the manager of a natural burial cemetery in the UK, noted struggling to determine what to say to some grieving relatives: "there are some real tragic ones; the baby was a difficult one, meeting the parents. How do you talk to parents who have lost their ten week old baby?" (Powell *et al*. 2011: 11). In their manual on communication skills in medicine, Lloyd & Bor (2009: 62) list as one of the many challenges medical professionals may face when breaking bad news, "uncertainty as to what may happen next and not having answers to some questions". Nurses may also become distressed if they feel helpless in ameliorating family members' pain upon receiving bad news (Hibbert 1995: 402). Likewise, Buckman (1984: 1598) notes in his study of the challenges of breaking bad news for medical professionals, "Not knowing how to deal with the consequences of what we do breaks one of the most important rules of accepted medical behaviour. It makes us inadequate in our eyes and those of others". Thus, this uncertainty may undermine the individual's professional identity.

A matter of training?

Discussion of 'uncertainty' also brings into consideration the issue of training or the lack thereof received by various professionals prior to making death notifications or breaking bad news. For example, existing literature describes how physicians receive limited training on how to carry out this aspect of their profession. Hobgood *et al*. (2009: 207) write, "in our review of the literature, we identified no educational interventions specifically designed to teach death notification skills to medical students". Lloyd and Bor (2009: 60) note that the subject is only rarely taught in medical schools, and surgical, psychiatry, and general medical textbooks fail to address it.

The prevalence of body handlers receiving on-the-job training for how to break bad news and the benefits of this versus formal training is also considered in the literature. For example, in her study of South African hospital mortuaries, Brysiewicz (2007: 91) recalls how two informants explained that they did not receive "any training on how to talk to families etc. but they have just found what works for them after many years in the mortuary". Warnock *et al*.'s (2010: 1551) informants reported having received little or no training in how to break bad news; instead, they learned from informal methods, such as through experience and observing others. Furthermore, over half of these nurses argued that observation and experience represented the best method of learning how to break bad news (ibid.). Dickson *et al*.'s (2002: 334) respondents commented that they felt only experience could assist them in bettering their breaking bad news skills, further asserting that proficiency in breaking bad news was a matter of personality rather than ability.

Other authors and body handlers, however, affirm the benefits of formal training. Boyer *et al*. (2010: 462) comment on the disadvantages of on-the-job training for 'breaking bad news', observing that although common, "this 'on the job – see one do one' training is highly variable as many of the 'teachers' themselves have had no formal training, with the lesson being only as good as the physician being observed". In contrast to their respondents, Dickson *et al*. (2002: 334) argue that medical professionals can improve their breaking bad news skills through training and they promote the education of clinicians in this regard. Brown *et al*. (2011: 5) similarly argue that medical professionals still have much to learn about how to break bad news. Likewise, Pelletier-Hibbert (1998: 236) concludes her study by arguing that nurses would benefit from receiving specific training addressing the care of organ donor patients and their families, training that should include discussion of "the application of crisis, grief, stress, and coping theories in practice". Moreover, Hibbert (1995: 404) writes, "Some nurses reported feeling inadequately prepared to help family members deal with their grief. Some suggested that seminars, courses, or workshops on the grieving process and/or crisis intervention might broaden their knowledge and skills to better assist the families to cope", once again re-emphasising the need for training.

How to break bad news and interact with the families of the deceased

The subject of how to best break bad news has also received widespread attention in the existing literature. These studies frequently question the appropriateness of emotional disengagement by professionals when breaking bad news to family members. This once again brings feeling rules into consideration and introduces the concept of 'detached concern'. As Merton (1957: 74) explains, "The physician must be emotionally detached in his attitudes towards patients, keeping 'his emotions on ice' and not becoming 'overly identified' with his patients. *But:* he must avoid becoming callous through excessive detachment and, and should have compassionate concern for the patient".[111] In accordance with this definition, I consider detached concern distinct from emotional detachment.

Existing literature argues that the professional breaking the bad news should display an attitude of detached concern. For example, a survey of family members whose loved ones died in the Emergency Department (ED) or Trauma Intensive Care Unit (TICU) in Seattle, Washington, found that, "[t]he behaviour that families perceived as most comforting and helpful can be succinctly summarised: a caring attitude of a well-informed, sympathetic caregiver who gives families a clear message and is able to answer their questions" (Jurkovich *et al*. 2000: 865, 868). A study of oncology outpatients at Leicester Royal Infirmary in the UK found that doctors need to tailor the 'bad news' interview to the patient and that "when the facilitative and supportive aspects of the consultation were lacking it resulted in a bad experience for the patient" (Brown *et al*. 2011: 5). A study of haematological cancer patients' experiences with receiving news of their diagnosis found "[p]atients appreciated doctors who behaved in a natural and friendly manner and were sympathetic but were still able to give information honestly and directly" (Randall & Wearn 2005: 596). Furthermore, in their study of the "best practice" of 'breaking bad news', Dickson *et al*. (2002: 334) emphasise the importance of the medical professional's communication skills, commenting, "Amongst such effective skills can be listed for example, empathising and discussing, questioning, explaining, listening, being honest, and adapting management according to individual patient characteristics". Furthermore, one

---

[111] See also Fox 1979: 56 and Fox 1989: 85-86.

nurse explained that it "[h]elps the families when they see us that we are human. […] I sometimes get teary but yet I don't allow myself to fall apart" (ibid.: 233). Similarly, another nurse noted, "It's not that [we] don't show our emotions, but [we] do so in a way which doesn't interfere with our abilities to support the families" (ibid.). Finally, *Mourning process and commemoration* (2002: 6) notes how humanitarian workers may struggle to respond to family members' grief,

> The relationship with other human beings and their suffering is often a major source of psychological stress for humanitarian workers: how are they to strike the balance between empathy for the victims – which means to some degree identifying with them – and maintaining the detachment required to cope with the atrocities of war while fulfilling the objectives of their humanitarian mission?

As this quote suggests, however, maintaining this detached concern is crucial in allowing the humanitarian worker to uphold their professional identity.

Howarth (1996) and Powell *et al*. (2011) also consider detached concern in their respective analyses of body handlers' interactions with surviving family members. Howarth notes (1996: 119) that funeral home workers must not appear too emotionally detached when making funeral arrangements with family members because "[a] completely detached professional role is unsuitable for this type of interaction as it is important for undertakers to appear to be caring toward their client and the deceased". Tom, the manager of a UK woodland burial ground, commented on the importance of not remaining too detached, "'If I feel like I'm getting a bit blasé I shake myself up, and remember how important it was for us [when my parents died]. I try and put myself in their shoes…I don't want to be too detached from my families; I don't want to be too cold" (Powell *et al*. 2011: 12-13). Commenting on this, Powell *et al*. (ibid.: 13) write, "he became entangled in the lives of site users, needing to gain their trust and lend his support through a crisis period, as well as beyond, as they returned to visit and tend the graves of their loved ones…Failure to operate in this way would undermine the successful performance of Tom's 'deathcare' identity". Thus, as a means of managing their professional identities, these body handlers strive to respond to family members with detached concern.

The positive side of interacting with families of the deceased

Although previous studies predominantly highlight the negative aspects of interacting with family members of the deceased, they also suggest the positive sides of these encounters. After struggling to find a verbal expression of sympathy for a woman whose brother was killed in the Rwandan genocide, Koff (2005: 70-71) instead put her hand on the woman's arm. Upon doing so, Koff (ibid.) explained, "I had the true sensation of being on the continuum of history for the Rwandans affected by the genocide. Working with these remains we are irretrievably part of the survivors' process of healing". Although initially troubling, Koff's encounter with this woman later proved therapeutic, providing Koff with a deeper sense of the importance of her work. Participants in Warnock *et al.*'s study (2010: 1550-1551) noted that the experience of breaking bad news "had strengthened their relationships with patients/relatives". Moreover, many of their informants argued that "being involved in breaking bad news had encouraged them to reflect positively on their own priorities and what was important in life" (ibid.: 1551). Moreover, Pelletier-Hibbert (1998: 235) observed, "[c]rying with a family serves to bring people together, which provides support and understanding during times of grief." Finally, Stewart (1999: 303) argues that the manner in which family members receive news regarding the death of a loved one *can* positively impact their grieving process. Therefore, individuals making death notifications may benefit from knowing that their work can assist family members during a difficult time.

Variations in interactions with victims' family members at ICMP

In assessing ICMP forensic specialists' interactions with victims' family members, differences in these encounters must first be addressed. During my time at ICMP's facilities, I found that mortuary employees' direct interaction with families varied in accordance with their work site and position.[112] Family members did not visit Mortuary B

---

[112] I did not find any evidence that forensic specialists had any choice as to whether or not they interacted with family members.

and, accordingly, the staff did not have any one-on-one interactions with family members. Staff members were more likely to interact with family members at either Mortuary A or C. Family members visited both the mortuaries in order to view either their loved ones' remains or the personal effects found with them. At Mortuary C, families also visited the site in order to meet with case managers as their offices were housed there.[113]

Staff member's backgrounds and their role at ICMP further influenced whether or not they interacted with family members. Foreigners were less likely to interact with families due to the language barrier. Katie explained that this was the case for her, especially when she first began working at ICMP and had limited Bosnian language skills. Furthermore, ICMP's forensic specialists see their primary duties as being with the dead rather than with the living. When asked about their interactions with family members, therefore, forensic specialists generally emphasised their limited interaction with families, explaining that this job primarily fell to the case managers because they served as the liaison between ICMP and the families.

However, although their role as forensic specialists primarily required them to work with the remains of the deceased, occasionally, they also had to interact with the living. For example, while working for six months as a junior osteologist at Mortuary C Kristina showed clothing and remains to family members. Similarly, Alem laid out remains and personal effects for families who wished to view them. While case managers could answer many of the questions posed by family members, a forensic specialist sometimes needed to address scientific inquiries. Katie explained, "the family members see me as…like the pathologist, like an expert". She further noted that when a family member chose to view the remains of their loved one, a forensic specialist "sticks around in case they have any questions". Forensic specialists interceded if a family proved especially challenging. Mirna said that while she generally did not work with the families,

> but if we have tough families…families who ask questions…then I would assist th[ose] families and try to explain to them what happened. Often…they have some specific questions, like, why did you find just two or three bones of my son? And you have to explain...everything [to them]: how that happened and why and what [may] possibly…happen in future…etc.

---

[113] This is in contrast to Mortuary A where case managers' offices were separate from the mortuary facility.

Finally, forensic specialists may also encounter family members in other ways while at work in the various mortuaries. They may pass them in the hallway when families arrive at facilities to view remains or personal effects. For example, during my initial tour of Mortuary A with Katie, we were asked to leave a room in order for a case manager to show family members their relative's clothing. As we vacated the room, we passed the family in the hallway, seeing them again later as they departed the mortuary. Furthermore, forensic specialists at Mortuary C may also encounter family members during their lunch and coffee breaks since the breakroom is situated in the same trailer as the case managers' and the mortuary manager's office. Regardless of how and where these interactions occur, however, as will be explored below, they are primarily viewed as problematic and unsettling.

The preference to avoid working with the living

Throughout the course of their interviews, my respondents repeatedly highlighted their preference to avoid interactions with victims' family members and instead work with the deceased. In doing so, forensic specialists sometimes juxtaposed their role with that of case managers, emphasising their professional identities as scientists. For example, Katie explained, "I don't like dealing with family members. I…prefer dealing with…the dead, than the living, grieving relatives. That's the most difficult part…what the case managers do". Munira, who had yet to interact with victims' families due to her employment at Mortuary B, expressed her preference for working with human remains:

> It's an issue…because it's not about working with bones. It's about really actually meeting people that actually have been through all that, so that is the personal thing. That is something I'm not able to cope with. That is an issue. So bones and people that are now here in the mortuary is not a problem; the problem is the ones left behind them to mourn and everything.

Likewise, Emir explained that he had never worked with family members and was glad to have avoided this task, speculating, "That is probably hard for me". Even Fatima, whose job as a case manager required her to work with family members on a daily basis, also

expressed a desire to work with the dead. She explained, "And I'd rather be with…skeletons and bones than with families". As will be explored below, my respondents cited several reasons for this preference, and, in doing so, spoke of the challenges associated with interacting with family members of the deceased.

The burden of destroying hope

In his study of medical examiners' work with suspicious deaths, Timmermans writes, "[t]he central value organising their work is *hope*. By speaking to the living on behalf of the dead, they offer the hope of knowledge" (2007: 12). While the work carried out at ICMP does indeed provide families of the missing with the hope of learning the fate of their loved ones, as discussed in *Mourning process and commemoration* (2002: 6) ICMP's work also necessarily destroys families' hope of finding their loved ones alive. Indeed, in the aftermath of the Bosnian war, families frequently held out hope that this would occur. Wagner (2008: 95) notes how in the years immediately following the Srebrenica genocide, "the hope lingered among relatives that perhaps their loved one was still alive…Stories of survival also encouraged families optimism. A handful of men had managed to survive three or four months in the woods and eventually escaped to free territory". Such rumours of survival also existed outside of the Srebrenica region. While working as part of ICMP's blood collection team in the Bosanska Krajina, Mirna and Ibrahim also battled against similar rumours of survival. Mirna explained that,

> blood collection started in 2000. It was quite fresh after the war. They [families] were hoping that their beloved ones were somewhere in concentration camps in Serbia, in Montenegro. And we had huge problems with some mothers who refused to give blood, believing that their sons are still alive somewhere.

Although most family members now acknowledge the death of their missing loved ones, some still hope this is not the case. Emira, a Sarajevo-based journalist explained of recent interviews with families of the missing, "I heard the stories from some of the victims who still didn't find their [loved ones]. I realized that they still hoped that maybe they are

alive…They still believe that maybe they are somewhere in the mines in Serbia, that they will come back".

In locating, exhuming, and identifying the remains of the dead, forensic specialists and others at ICMP effectively destroy this hope of survival. Although forensic specialists' and case manager's interactions with family members can be construed as 'positive' in the sense that ICMP employees are able to finally provide families with answers about the fate of their missing loved ones, the work conducted in ICMP's mortuaries necessitates that employees' role is one of breaking bad news. They may also inform family members of other bad news, including the possibility that their loved one's complete body may never be found, explaining errors made during the early years of identification, and interpreting injuries found on the bodies.

Serving in this capacity may be difficult for some forensic specialists and even case managers. For example, Mirna noted the ease of working with remains of the deceased when compared to the task of collecting blood from families, an interaction which essentially forced survivors to realise the likelihood of their loved ones' deaths,

> [D]uring blood collection for me it was more stressful to work in the field and to gather blood from families because…at that moment they would realise that their beloved ones are really dead, you know, because when we would go in the field to visit families we would approach that we are from this organisation and what we are doing and then we had to explain why we are taking blood samples and for them, instantly it was: "But how are you taking DNA?" "From where you are taking DNA?" And then you have to explain that we are taking from them DNA from blood and from dead persons, from bones. And for them, you know, that was first they realized that their beloved ones are really dead…So overall it's a little bit easier to work this job [at the mortuary] than the blood collection job, at that time.

Fatima similarly spoke of destroying families' hope of their loved one's survival when carrying out death notifications. She said, "I have more difficulties working with families because we need to tell families that we have found someone that they are searching for but still secretly hoping that he is alive. We are taking from them a last hope". Furthermore, ICMP employees must also inform family members of their loved one's death once a body has been positively identified. As Fatima explained, "we had earlier contact with the families, too, but we had contact for taking blood; here we had contact to tell the families that we found their beloveds".

While breaking bad news to family members represents a central part of the work carried out by ICMP mortuary workers, it is nevertheless a difficult task and one that is frequently upsetting. During her first interview, Fatima expressed her strong dislike for making death notifications, speaking from her own experience of having been through the identification process with the remains of her husband and mother. She told me, "and …that is for me very difficult because I know how it feels when you find out that your beloved one is gone – that, that's horrible. And I don't like it. I don't like to tell… families, but that's part of the job. It's…hard." Regarding taking away family members' hope, she further explained, "that is very painful, we can see or hear that". Inherent within Mirna's (see above) and Fatima's statements are a sense of responsibility and guilt. Such interactions with family members can lead them to feel accountable for bringing tragedy upon family members; there may also be a sense of guilt for removing family members' hope. In Fatima's case, her personal connection to her work seemingly heightens these as she can indeed understand and readily identifies with these family members. Emotional detachment, therefore, may become more difficult.

Moreover, Fatima's comment that she and her colleagues had contact with these same family members during their time with the blood collection unit as well as during the identification process may further complicate their interactions with victims' families. In the case of Mirna, Ibrahim, and Fatima, they may have known some of these families since blood collection began in 2000. Moreover, depending upon how the identification process proceeds, forensic specialists may have repeated contact with family members. Thus, as will be further explored at the end of this chapter, forensic specialists may develop a personal connection with family members due to encounters both inside and outside of the mortuary. This sense of personal connection may also make it more challenging for forensic specialists to assume the position of destroying family members' hope.

Here, we can also return to Hughes's (1959: 49-50) concept of dirty work. In accordance with Hughes's typology, breaking bad news to family members can be considered a 'dirty' facet of their work as it "goes counter to the more heroic of [their]…moral conceptions" (ibid.). As explored above, through serving as the bearers of bad news, forensic specialists may inflict harm on family members of the deceased. However, their role in causing family members pain contradicts with my research

participants' perception of their work as something positive that ultimately benefits family members of deceased individuals. The potential threat to their professional identities posed by their role in breaking bad news may further reinforce forensic specialists' preference to avoid interactions with family members of the deceased.

Family members' distress

Given the horrific circumstances that bring them to interact with ICMP employees, open displays of emotion by family members commonly occur within the organisation's mortuaries. While these responses may vary, my respondents spoke most frequently about the extreme anger and/or sadness demonstrated by these individuals. Mirna explained that although she sometimes had the opportunity to work with "really, really nice people who understand everything, who accept everything", she has also worked with very angry and distraught family members. She explained, "they blame you for mistakes, they attack you, they yell at you, they do not want to accept facts"; other family members have called her names. Furthermore, as a Bosniak, Mirna also recalled experiencing prejudice from non-Bosniak family members when working as part of ICMP's blood collection team,

> I've had a few situations where immediately when I entered house, I was questioned about names, as soon as I said my name, you could see that they are…pissed because you as a Muslim find it…comfortable to come over here in my house and my son was killed by Muslims, you know, those kind of situations, and that is quite hard to take, you know, you…don't know what to do in those kind of situations.[114]

---

[114] Wagner (2008: 164) addresses this issue as it pertains to Srebrenica victims' remains, noting,

> As much as ICMP would like to maintain its reputation for having a multiethnic staff and an ethnicity-blind approach to identification procedures, [Mortuary A] case managers present an important exception to the rule. The case managers' ethnicity plays an integral role in their ability to engage with the families. Simply put, the Srebrenica community would never countenance Bosnian Serbs working in this capacity.

This did not appear to be the case at Mortuary C. Furthermore, Mirna commented that she has a half-Croat, half-Serb friend who still worked as part of ICMP's blood collection team, and she had not experienced any problems with family members due to her ethnicity.

Along with anger, demonstrations of great sadness by family members can also make these interactions difficult. Commenting upon her experiences with family members in Kosovo, Sarah noted needing to learn how "to deal with other people's grief and then possibly my grief later on", suggesting the emotional impact of these interactions. Alem commented, "it's really hard for me when families are coming here. I'm present every time that families are looking at bodies and personal effects because I'm responsible to open bag and to take out everything, so I find that it's really, really hard to accept crying of families and those kind of things". Alem's discomfort with these encounters may be especially poignant due to his personal experiences (see Chapters Two and Three). Finally, Mirna also recounted a particularly difficult encounter with a distressed family member, "we had recently the sister of one missing person coming here, and we made preliminary identification and she was sitting on floor for one hour, crying, holding his skull, you know for me, I don't like to see those kind of situations. It's…quite hard". She further explained that following this and similar situations, "your day is totally destroyed, you cannot pull…yourself together again to properly function and to do every day job". Here, therefore, we can also speak to the agency of the deceased body. The body of the deceased individual (and perhaps any associated artefacts) elicit profound emotional responses from family members of the deceased. And, as Alem, Mirna, and Sarah indicated, family members' reactions can elicit emotional responses in the forensic specialist. These, in turn, can prove problematic and require the forensic specialist to act so as to minimise the impact of his or her own emotional responses.

Thus, emotional responses by family members can prove challenging to ICMP's forensic specialists in two ways. First, witnessing such responses in others can trigger emotional responses in the forensic specialist. This may, as Mirna explained, prove detrimental to their ability to continue carrying out their work. Furthermore, such emotional responses by the forensic specialist may violate the mortuary's feeling rules, thereby undermining their professional identity. These emotional responses may also disrupt the forensic specialist's performance, thereby undermining the impression they wish to convey to their audience (Goffman 1959: 4). As explored below, these emotional responses may be especially problematic as ICMP forensic specialists are seemingly required to present themselves as emotionally detached professionals during their

interactions with victims' family members. Moreover, these displays also serve to humanise the deceased, thereby possibly making it more difficult for the forensic specialist to view the remains as a biological specimen rather than a former living person. Given that my respondents emphasised remaining emotionally detached from their work, it is not surprising that they would prefer to avoid situations and people who could undermine their utilisation of it.

Detached concern and responding to family members' distress

In discussing their experiences with victims' family members, my respondents also brought into consideration their various responses to these individuals' emotional reactions. This discussion once again brings into consideration the nature of feeling rules in ICMP's mortuary facilities. As previously discussed, mortuary workers are generally expected and aspire to carry out their work as emotionally detached scientists. However, when encountering family members, mortuary workers may be expected to espouse a different attitude, one of detached concern. Mirna's experiences suggest this. During my first interview with her, Mirna outlined the rules of interaction with family members that she learned during her work with ICMP's blood collection unit, explaining, "we never cried with families…it wasn't allowed…it doesn't matter how tough you feel at that moment; you were supposed to be tough and supportive to them to, to conciliate them".[115] Accordingly, this suggests that in interacting with victims' family members, ICMP forensic specialists are expected to demonstrate empathy to them, but they are not to become overly emotional in these encounters, thereby retaining an image of professionalism. This statement also suggests that as when they work with the remains of the deceased, forensic specialists may also be expected to uphold certain mortuary feeling rules during their work with the living. Moreover, this also implies that forensic specialists

---

[115] Mirna's statement represents the only account of emotional labour I found during my fieldwork. Here, Hochschild's (2012: 142) three requirements of emotional labour are met. In saying that "cr[ying] with families" was forbidden, Mirna suggests that ICMP may have regulations for how its employees respond emotionally to victims' families. Furthermore, in requiring that its employees console and provide support to families, ICMP employees may, as Hochschild (2012: 145) notes of lawyers, "try to induce calmness in angry and despairing clients".

may be expected to engage in emotion work in order respond to family members' grief in the 'approved' manner. This recalls Goffman's (1959: 41) discussion of impression management as the forensic specialist is "to give expression to ideal standards" thus requiring him/her "to forgo or conceal action which is inconsistent with these standards". Failure to accomplish this is thus inconsistent with their professional identities as forensic specialists.

To a limited extent, my respondents' discussions of their responses to victims' family members suggests an attempt to adhere to these tacit feeling rules. To begin, some forensic specialists may respond to families in a matter-of-fact manner. Recounting her experiences at Mortuary C, Kristina explained how when showing remains to family members she and her colleagues would frequently tell them, "I'm so sorry but that's how it is," effectively expressing sympathy but refraining from any further emotional involvement. Moreover, during my own encounter with grieving family members, I observed how Mirna matter-of-factly provided them with information about their loved one's body.

However, my interviews indicated that these feeling rules may occasionally be violated and that 'professional' performances are not always maintained. Although I witnessed Mirna demonstrating this detached concern, she also spoke of responding to families in anger. She explained,

> Sometimes I would get so pissed at families […] that it's unbelievable. I would be, you know, angry on them how they are on, on…They simply don't want to, to understand you, they blame you for everything and it doesn't matter how much you are trying to explain with simple language to them […] what's going on, they would be rude towards you, call you names, you know, and those kind of things, and then definitely I cannot anymore to feel regret with them. I feel simply angry and I will be pissed with them.

Ibrahim and Fatima, however, spoke of taking slightly more empathetic approaches to family members. This may be the result of both their experience in interacting with victims' family members and their personal connection with their work. Ibrahim explained, "sometimes when I would meet very sad mothers of missing persons that I would…provide them with conciliation through religion, you know". Fatima spoke of

drawing on her experiences as a family member of the deceased in interacting with other survivors. She explained,

> I'm one of those families, too. I lost my man…my husband and my mother and I understand them very good, and perhaps that's why I'm sure I do understand them better. I know…it hurts, but I'm trying to…help them… to…I, I don't know how to say. I do understand them. I do understand. I…know what they mean and maybe I try to help, to say what they want to heard, to explain, to show, whatever.

In responding to emotionally distressed family members, therefore, Fatima draws upon her own experiences of loss in attempting to give families both the information they require and provide them with some consolation. However, given the death of her husband and mother during the war, Fatima especially may be unable to fully engage in detached concern in the course of her work with victims' family members.

As these examples suggest, although there may be an expectation that forensic specialists respond to victims' family members with an attitude of detached concern, this may not always be reflected in the mortuary's daily operations. Individuals who have a personal connection to the deceased may be unable to remain detached from their work as they identify with family members' distress and aspire to ameliorate it. Drawing upon their personal experiences, they may feel as though detached concern is not an appropriate or beneficial response to family members' grief. While this may 'violate' the rules of their professional identity as an ICMP employee, it may nevertheless be in accordance with their personal identity as a victim's/s' family member. Furthermore, interacting with especially challenging family members may result in the forensic specialists/s being unable to remain detached, thereby causing them to respond in turn with anger or frustration. However, my informants did not seem to view these 'violations' of the mortuary's feeling rules as problematic. Instead, they seemingly accepted them as 'normal' and expected. Moreover, while 'inappropriate' responses to family members could also constitute a potentially stigmatising behaviour, the lack of enforcement of the 'rule' minimises the potential for this response to be viewed as such. This 'de-emphasis' on detached concern is in opposition to the findings of Howarth (1996) and Powell *et al.* (2011) discussed above. This may primarily be the result of differences in the body handlers' clientele. Appearing compassionate yet business-like may increase customer satisfaction, something that may,

in turn, increase their business. However, in the case of ICMP's mortuaries, families *must* work with the forensic specialists, regardless of how they are treated. Accordingly, ICMP employees may feel less pressed to respond to families with detached concern.[116] As above, the lack of stress placed on these feeling rules and their apparent flexibility may in turn serve to help forensic specialists in coping with the difficult nature of interactions with victims' family members.

Training

Discussion of forensic specialists' responses to victims' family members also brings into consideration their uncertainty of exactly what to say to these individuals. When discussing her preference to not interact with victims' family members, Munira noted struggling to find appropriate expressions of sympathy for bereaved family members. As noted above, Sarah expressed uncertainty at managing others' grief in conjunction with her own. Finally, in recounting her work with family members, Kristina expressed her occasional insecurities with these interactions:

> you don't know how to react on that because you're standing with them and they're…you're showing them clothes and you're explaining about some injuries on…skeletal remains. And sometimes they cry, sometimes they're very seriously taken, sometimes they're okay, but in most of the time you don't know how to react: Did they…did I, should I put the, my arm on their shoulder and say, 'I'm really sorry" or I should just shut up?

The expression of these uncertainties also brings into consideration the issue of forensic specialists receiving training for how to best interact with victims' family members.

These insecurities may partially be the result of the dearth of formal training for such encounters. Only Ibrahim received any, albeit limited, training for these interfaces. He explained how he attended a one-day seminar sponsored by the ICRC, though it primarily served to teach them how "to cope with everything and…to maintain health"; Fatima did not recall attending this training. I was told that this lack of training is common among

---

[116] However, as a result of my experiences in the mortuaries and interviews with my respondents, I believe that the forensic specialists generally strive to respond to families with detached concern.

ICMP case managers. During her interview, Katie said, "I think the case managers all basically learn as they go…like on the job basically".

Sarah, Ibrahim, and Fatima spoke at length about the issue of training. Their responses varied. Sarah specifically expressed an interest in receiving such training should her job ever again require her to engage in such interactions. This desire was based on her previous experiences in the field of forensic anthropology. As discussed in Chapter Two, prior to commencing work with ICMP, Sarah served on several UN missions to BiH and Kosovo. While in Kosovo, her work identifying the remains of the dead required her to interview family members of the deceased. Sarah expressed the difficulties of this aspect of her job, stating,

> during those interviews, it was difficult for me…because I had neither the training to do so…And I think that for me to engage in that aspect again I would want some training how to, to deal with other people's grief and then possibly my grief later on. I…think that that would be a very important part of that process.

However, while saying that she would like training in order to better learn how to work with grieving family members, Sarah noted that it is rare for anthropologists to receive this:

> But keep in mind that a lot of anthropologists do this sort of thing from the level of investigation, the meeting with families, the location of graves, working with families to come to an identification, and the justice system also, so but they also don't receive training, like I'm talking mainly about the South American groups.[117]

Furthermore, Katie explained that since her interaction with families was limited due to both her role as a forensic anthropologist and position as a foreigner, she did not need any type of training. Fatima also initially stated that she felt as though she did not need this training,

> No, no because that seems to me …for me it's mechanical. No, no. We have here… we're dealing here with the real people, with the grieving people, no. That's for, for

---

[117] Sarah is referring to the various groups such as the Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense, (EAAF) (Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team) and the Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (FAFG) (Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation). These groups have been involved in exhuming and identifying the remains of individuals who were killed as part of 'forced disappearances' in their respective countries (EAAF 2012: n.p. and FAFG n.d.: n.p.).

> me no. I think no. Someone else perhaps, but I wouldn't like that. Perhaps because I already know how to feels and I know those things perhaps.

Thus, Fatima expressed that she felt, having gone through the identification process, she was well poised to assist family members without receiving any training. However, in a follow-up interview via email, Fatima changed her position on this, writing, "[training] it would, it is very helpful because we could find out the original way for us to handle with all the suffer[ing] and other problems of familly members so we can even better do our job and help them". Ibrahim, however, echoed Fatima's first opinion on the topic of training, saying that he did not feel the need to receive formal training, having "managed by himself".

This difference in attitudes toward training is worthy of further consideration as it suggests variations in Bosnian and foreign forensic specialists. Sarah, a North American, felt a need to receive training for interactions with family members, whereas Fatima and Ibrahim, both Bosnians, expressed less of a need for such instruction. Sarah's opinion may emerge from her position as an 'outsider': as a non-Bosnian she may feel as though she cannot relate as well to the people with whom she works. Therefore, Sarah may believe training would alleviate some of her concerns and assist her in learning how to best interact with these individuals. However, Ibrahim and Fatima, as Bosnians, did not feel the need for such instruction. As Fatima's statement above suggests, she feels as though having been in the same situation as the family members, she does not need someone else to tell her how to relate to family members; she is already an 'expert' in the field. Her concern about training possibly being too "mechanical" is also interesting as it suggests a concern that training would advocate an approach to victims' family members that would not be in conjunction with her empathetic approach. Furthermore, this variation may also be reflective of variances in Western and Bosnian perceptions of and attitudes toward 'professionalism'. Western societies emphasise the importance of training, certifications, and degrees whereas, in the aftermath of the conflict in BiH, less weight is placed on this. Instead, relevant experience is considered crucial. For example, while the junior osteologists had backgrounds biology/health sciences, they had limited exposure to physical anthropology due to the lack of availability of this training in BiH. Although Mirna has a Master's degree in forensic anthropology, she obtained this *after* having begun

to work in the mortuary. My Bosnian respondents generally felt the combination of their previous life and/or work experiences and on-the-job training was adequate in allowing them to competently carry out their work. Accordingly, they may not consider formal training as necessary as their non-Bosnian colleagues do, having arrived at the mortuary with various academic qualifications.

The positive side of interactions with family members

While direct interaction with family members frequently proved difficult for my informants, this was not always the case. Although family members may react with great sadness and anger in learning the fate of their missing loved ones, they may also respond in a more positive manner to the mortuary staff. Ibrahim explained, "[a]s this is a small community and I am coming also from here…families usually know us very well and even when they meet me sometimes on the street, they would show how grateful they are to me if the identification is…finished". During her own interview, Mirna re-asserted that interactions with families can be positive experiences, "Sometimes I appreciate a lot that opportunity I had to speak with family because they would show how grateful they are to me for identifying, you know, their beloved ones". Such expressions of gratitude for their work are greatly appreciated by mortuary workers. As Mirna explained, when families offer their thanks, "immediately your vanity would be satisfied…you would feel that you are working for that higher cause…and it…would help me, you know, to go through next month, two months". Ibrahim similarly expressed the importance of feeling rewarded for his work, as "that is also the fact which very much helps me to cope with everything". As Mirna's and Ibrahim's comments suggest, experiencing gratitude from family members may effectively counteract the negative interactions with families, especially those experiences in which survivors verbally abuse the forensic specialists. Furthermore, as explored above, while interactions with family members can remind forensic specialists of the horrific context of their work, expressions of gratitude from these individuals during these encounters can instead remind forensic specialists of its importance and benefits. Accordingly, these positive interactions with family members may assist them in

navigating the emotional challenges of working with bereaved families, thereby allowing them to effectively continue their work.

Emotional attachment and the social context beyond the mortuary

Ibrahim's discussion of encountering victims' family members outside of the mortuary provides further insight into the social context of these encounters. Despite the emphasis my respondents place on remaining emotionally detached from their work, this may not be entirely possible under these circumstances. Interactions with families may not be impersonal if the forensic specialist sees the family member/s on a regular basis outside of the mortuary, thereby becoming further acquainted with them. This, in turn, can make it far more difficult for them to remain disconnected from their work.

However, this may not be the case for all forensic specialists. Ibrahim's connection may be stronger because he is originally from the area in which the mortuary is located. Therefore, victims' family members may feel a greater connection to him, identifying him as one of their own. The connection may also work in the reverse direction – Ibrahim may have a greater sense of connection to these family members because they originate from the same community. Foreigners, and perhaps even other forensic specialists may not have a similar experience. Thus, Ibrahim's experience once again suggests that some of ICMP's forensic specialists have a sense of emotional attachment to their work after all, something that I will return to in the following chapter.

Conclusion

Throughout their interviews, my informants repeatedly emphasised the difficulties of interacting with family members in the mortuary. For example, they frequently faced the burden of 'breaking bad news' to family members, destroying their hopes of finding their missing loved one alive or perhaps of being able to bury their complete body. My respondents also spoke of witnessing strong emotional responses by family members,

something that may, in turn, undermine their own emotional attachment and prevent them from carrying out their work. In some instances, they also spoke of feeling uncertain as to how best to respond to families' grief. To this end, my respondents generally expressed a desire to avoid interactions with the living, preferring to work with the dead. In discussing ICMP employees' interactions with family members, I also revisited the existence of feeling rules in the mortuary. Here, I note that forensic specialists are seemingly expected to respond to families with detached concern. However, as is the case of their work with the remains, there appears to be some flexibility in these rules, potentially benefitting the forensic specialist. Performance management was briefly considered. As my informants explained, emotional responses by family members can undermine their efforts to present themselves as detached professionals. Furthermore, they may also 'fail' to perform this role during their interactions with victims' family members. Moreover, discussion of forensic specialists' uncertainty in responding to family members also brought into consideration my respondents' positions on receiving training for these interactions, and their thoughts indicate a difference between Bosnian and non-Bosnian attitudes towards this matter. Furthermore, although this chapter primarily examined the negative side of mortuary worker-family member interactions, it also acknowledged that these exchanges might occasionally constitute a positive experience for the ICMP employee. Finally, this chapter once again explored how, in some instances, ICMP employees may exhibit emotional attachment to their work. I will further expand upon this topic in Chapter Five as I consider forensic specialists' attendance at events in which the deceased are buried and/or commemorated.

Chapter Five
Attending commemorations and the place of emotions

Throughout my stay in BiH, the nature of my research project meant that I focused on the work carried out by forensic specialists *within* the confines of three of ICMP's mortuary facilities. Although I was present in the mortuary when remains of the deceased were re-packaged and prepared for return to family members, my project did not address what happened to those remains once they left ICMP's aegis.[118] Nevertheless, as I travelled through BiH I could not ignore the various cemeteries erected to serve as the final resting place for those individuals who died during the course of the recent war. Moreover, given my background in genocide studies and the fact that I had spent much of my fieldwork surrounded by the remains of those individuals who had died in the 1995 Srebrenica genocide, I was interested in visiting the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery. I finally did so toward the end of my stay in BiH. Opened in 2003, this site has become the burial site of 5,657 victims of the Srebrenica genocide (Wagner 2008: 201; Šarić 2012: n.p.). While I had seen countless images and videos of this site, I nevertheless felt uncertain as to what to expect during my visit. Overall, I found it to be a strange and unsettling experience. The cemetery was nearly deserted, providing me ample freedom to traverse the area. As I wandered along the various paths, I first began envisioning what lay below the dirt. It did not require much of a stretch of the imagination to do so – having spent so much time in ICMP's mortuaries I had a thorough understanding of the appearance of the remains. However, as I continued to meander through the cemetery, I was struck by the sheer number of headstones, the white stone standing out in stark contrast to the grass and dirt of the cemetery ground. I also began to examine the names and dates listed on both the headstones themselves and the various stone structures bearing the names of the known missing from Srebrenica. Upon more closely examining the latter, I became aware that I was quite possibly seeing the names of individuals whose remains I had earlier seen in Mortuary B and Mortuary A. It was a startling moment and one in

---

[118] In the interest of limiting my research, I elected to focus solely on the work carried out by forensic specialists in ICMP's mortuary facilities.

which I connected the skeletal remains in the mortuary with their former existence as human beings.

Although I was unprepared for my own reactions to the burials at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery, I had anticipated that owing to their role as forensic specialists, my informants might also have strong responses to the various commemorative and burial events held throughout BiH for victims of the 1992-1995 war. Indeed, during their interviews, my respondents spoke in detail about their own experiences of attending these events and/or visiting burial sites or explained why they hoped to attend such an event in the near future. This chapter, therefore, analyses ICMP forensic specialists'[119] thoughts about and experiences of attending commemorations and/or visiting burial sites. I begin by exploring how they generally spoke positively about attending these events, viewing them as an opportunity to pay their final respects to the deceased. This once again brings the subject of emotional attachment into consideration. Furthermore, I examine how attending these events can afford forensic anthropologists with an opportunity to view the results of their work, providing them with both personal and professional satisfaction. Although my informants repeatedly emphasised the importance of emotional detachment, I also consider how these sites may serve as an 'appropriate' space for them to experience emotional responses. This chapter also discusses negative perceptions of commemorations and contrasts the experiences of Bosnian and non-Bosnian experiences at these events. Continuing with the theme of emotional attachment, this chapter concludes by analysing my informants' beliefs that maintaining an emotional connection to their work is important both personally and professionally. Here, I further suggest that, despite my informants' insistence on emotional detachment in the mortuary, emotional attachment within these facilities may sometimes aid forensic specialists in their work.

---

[119] As in Chapter Four, I include Fatima's and Ibrahim's thoughts as relevant.

Literature review

In discussing these topics, in this chapter I engage with a variety of existing literature. I begin with a brief discussion of Islamic funerary and mourning traditions in BiH, thereby contextualising the burial and commemorative events held throughout the country. I also provide a brief summary of the discourse surrounding the return of remains to family members and their subsequent burial, as well as the role of commemorations within societies in the aftermath of mass death. In doing so, this chapter considers these topics from the viewpoints of NGOs, governmental agencies, academics, and survivors of mass death. This section also includes a brief discussion of the various commemorations and burials occurring throughout BiH, paying particular attention to the events that transpired during my time in the country (autumn 2009 to summer 2010).[120] I also consider the literature examining body handlers' attendance at victims'/patients' funerals and/or memorial services and conclude by discussing the importance of body handlers experiencing emotional responses to their work.

Commemoration and burials in the context of Islam in BiH

The issues surrounding burial and commemoration of the deceased in post-conflict BiH must be seen in light of family members' religious beliefs. Here, I focus on Islamic[121] practices surrounding death, burial, and commemoration in BiH as the majority of my informants and the victims whose remains were analysed in the three mortuaries where I conducted fieldwork were Bosniak. Bringa (1995) describes these beliefs and practices in detail in her study of Islamic practices in a small Bosnian village. According to Islamic tradition both in BiH and beyond, ideally, the deceased should be buried as quickly as

---

[120] Information regarding many of these commemorative events is drawn from press release summaries I received via email while conducting my fieldwork. ICMP's press officers compiled news articles in which ICMP was specifically mentioned or addressed topics relevant to the organisation's work, such as successful identifications, the ICTY, exhumations of mass graves, issues regarding missing persons, commemorative events, and burials. News articles from sources both within BiH and abroad were included in these emails. Press officers summarised each article in English.

[121] Bringa (1995: 160) notes that Bosnian Muslims follow the "Hanafi School of Sunni Islam".

possible following death.[122] The body of the deceased is ritually washed by and is then "wrapped in a white shroud and placed in a *tabut* (lidless coffin) covered by a large green cloth with the Islamic profession of faith…printed on it in Arabic" (ibid. 1995: 185). The body is then carried to mosque and, later, the cemetery for burial by male relatives and other men from the community. Traditionally, women remain at home as "[s]toicism is the ideal behaviour in such a situation for this is considered a sign of one's submission to the will of God, which is the essence of being a Muslim" and, as Bringa was informed, "[w]omen do not go to the grave because they cry a lot" (ibid.: 186). Bringa further notes that "[i]n in the villages, Muslims have not traditionally tended the graves of their deceased relatives, focusing all their attention instead on spiritually supporting their dead" (ibid.). Thus, several prayers are said for the deceased throughout the year. Prayers known as *tevhid* are also performed five times following an individual's death:

> The first is held on the day the deceased is carried away from the house: while the men attend the…burial ceremony in the mosque, the women gather in the house of the deceased to say *dova* [supplication] for his or her soul. The ritual is repeated on the seventh and fortieth days (on the fortieth day, when the soul is believed to leave the body, some families also give a *mevlud* [celebration of the Prophet's birth] in conjunction with the *tevhid*, after six months and after a year (Bringa 1995: 188).

Furthermore, "it is also common for participants at the main burial ceremony…to recite prayers for the dead at the grave in order to increase the religious merit of the deceased in the eyes of God" (ibid.: 187).

Burial in accordance with these 'traditional' practices is also important for Bosnia's Muslims. Pollack (2003: 136) observes that "[e]ven though there are prayers that could be said for the people who are missing and considered dead, these do not necessarily take the place of the washing, prayer, and burial".[123] As one Bosniak religious leader noted in

---

[122] Katie observed that the desire for quick burial was common among Bosnian Muslims. In general, this practise appears to be observed by Muslims around the world. For further details of this and other Islamic funeral customs, see Cornell 2007; Gatrad 1994; Jonker 1997; Yasien-Esmael & Rubin 2005; Smith & Haddad 2002.

[123] Pollack (2003: 136n1) also notes, "Prayers for the dead may be said even when there is no body present […]". *Mourning process and commemoration* (ICRC 2002: 21) further states, "In Sunni Islam, when death has been certified but the body not found, the 'prayer for the absent' is usually said once the person's death has been established with certainty. There is no real funeral service". For further discussion of the Bosnian Islamic community's response to the issue of missing persons following the Srebrenica genocide, see Wagner 2008: 215-220.

reference to the victims of the Srebrenica genocide, "And for the religious purpose, it's very important that their remains are found as urgently as possible. And they can be buried so their souls can rest in peace" (ibid.). In speaking about women who lost loved ones in the Srebrenica genocide, Neuffer (2002: 221) also observes, "Those who were religious dreamed about reclaiming their loved one's body, having it ceremoniously washed, wrapped in a shroud, and buried in a cemetery, while they prayed in the traditional Muslim way. At least they would know his soul was at rest". Furthermore, commenting on Bringa's discussion of *tevhids*,[124] Stover & Shigekane (2001: 860) note, "Bosnian Muslims…view bereavement as an experience to be shared, strengthening the solidarity of family and community". The inability to perform 'traditional' religious burial practices, therefore, can be seen as destructive to this cohesion. Finally, in analysing the impact of the Srebrenica genocide on Islamic burial practices in BiH, Wagner (2008: 178-179) comments, "The ritual handling of the bodies of the deceased and the timing and manner of burial have been egregiously violated. Such desecrations throw into disarray the surviving families' responses to the death and, in turn, to the soul of the missing relatives". This statement thus further highlights the importance of surviving family members receiving and burying the remains of their deceased loved ones within the context of Islamic beliefs in BiH.

Returning remains to family members

But this is not just an imperative for Islam. The importance of returning remains of the deceased to surviving family members for disposal as well as the role of commemorations following mass death has been widely examined in existing literature. This literature falls into three different categories: the discourse of NGOs and governmental entities, theoretical commentary from academics, and literature addressing survivors' opinions. Although the three categories may agree with one another, they may also contain differing and opposing viewpoints. Accordingly, different interests may be served (or possibly not served) by the same event. Moreover, this section also places the

---

[124] See also Bringa 1995: 185-196 for further discussion of *tevhids* in BiH.

agency of human remains in a larger context. While I have previously focused on this topic as it pertains to individual forensic specialists, here I also demonstrate how the issue of missing persons in the aftermath of mass violence has prompted responses by governmental agencies, NGOs, academics, and surviving family members.

Perspectives of NGOs and governmental entities

NGOs and governmental entities frequently espouse the importance of returning remains to family members for disposal. First, NGOs speak of the repatriation of remains to family members as enabling them to conduct religiously/culturally appropriate funeral rites and mourn for the deceased. For example, the PAHO (2004: 97-98) notes,

> The lack of identity of the dead…implies that family members cannot bury the body according to valued rituals, or to cry for their loss in order to move ahead with the closure that comes from honoring the corpse. The missing person is remembered as if he or she were still alive; there is no definite confirmation of the events surrounding the death, leaving a void that causes painful and unending speculation. No less important is the need for the death to be certified so that family members can proceed with inheritance and civil procedures.

Mourning process and commemoration (ICRC 2002: 5), also asserts that through obtaining the remains of the deceased, families can perform 'appropriate' death rituals, practices that are beneficial to both the living and the dead. USACHPPM (n.d.: n.p.) observes that the act of recovering human remains following disasters assists survivors in learning the fate of their loved ones, thus enabling them to resolve their grief and continue with their lives.

However, these entities more prominently assert and examine the ways in which the identification and repatriation of remains to family members has positive implications for the larger society rather than just the grieving family. For example, in introducing its International Forensic Programme and justifying its work, PHR (2011: n.p.) states:

> PHR advocates that victims of violations of human rights and/or humanitarian law have a right to justice, the right to know the truth, and to have history recorded accurately in order to establish a historic record grounded in science and resistant to

revisionism. We believe this is a crucial step towards preventing leaders from acting with impunity and violating international humanitarian law.

Thus, PHR emphasises the larger implications of its work.[125] The PAHO argues (2004: 86) that the 'proper' disposal of human remains following mass death may also prevent future violence in the affected region, writing, "The effects of disrupting normal rituals and the unresolved mourning of a society are thought to be decisive factors in the recurrence of episodic outbreaks of violence". Similarly, Stefan Schmitt, founder of the Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Team, the organisation responsible for recovering remains from mass graves in Guatemala, explained,

> A clandestine grave is not so much hidden as it is officially nonexistent. There is therefore no possibility for the families and their communities to ritualise death, as is done in any society. The mere existence of these mass graves…terrorises and oppresses the communities which have to live with them. The official exhumation of the victims is the first step toward peace for these communities. It is then that the survivors and victims of this mechanism of terror finally become activists for their rights (Stover & Ryan 2001: 14).

Furthermore, NGOs frequently speak of mourning in conjunction with 'properly' burying the dead as facilitating reconciliation and societal reconstruction following conflict:

> Mourning is not just an emotional healing process, it is also a process of social reconstruction. […] Indeed, reconciliation starts by giving those most in need, the most sorely tested, the possibility and the means of burying their dead with dignity, of paying homage to them, of giving them the status and dignity of which they were deprived by war and political violence (ICRC 2002: 23).

ICMP likewise asserts:

> In societies confronting political transition or post-conflict reconciliation and rebuilding, uncertainty about the fate of missing persons often obstructs peace building processes, the full implementation of the rule of law, and weakens confidence in democratic and political institutions. Resolving the fate of missing persons is a crucial political concern that is integral to the development of effective, accountable and just institutions (ICMP n.d.*g*: n.p.).

---

[125] Here, PHR also speaks to the governments' legal obligations to address the issue of missing persons (see below).

Furthermore, governmental agencies may also echo this language. For example, in establishing the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery, the OHR (2000*a*: n.p.) stated,

> Conscious of the importance of establishing such a cemetery and memorial as a means of bringing reconciliation to the peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which reconciliation will in turn promote the return of displaced persons and refugees and permanent peace;
>
> Conscious further that such reconciliation and permanent peace require and compel the making now of a Decision on that place of burial and memorial as foresaid.

Commenting on this decision, Pollack (2003: 126) remarked,

> The High Representative feels that this is an important decision for the relatives of those killed, and those that survived. There is now a place where they can mourn their dead, and from where they, and the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina, can try to come to terms with the past and build a future.

However, governmental agencies' employment of the discourse of 'reconciliation and reconstruction' is, however, open to critical interpretation. As Wagner (2008: 17) notes, this is especially the case in Srebrenica:

> The international community also has a deeply rooted interest in naming and reburying Srebrenica's missing. Given the United Nations' negligent role in the fall of the enclave and the ensuing violence, the recovery of the Srebrenica victims remains a top priority for Western governments and their representatives in the Office of the High Representative […]. The concrete numbers yielded by the identification process – bodies exhumed, blood samples collected, successful DNA matches – offer the international actors a means by which to measure their investment – if not on a social level, at least on a concrete material.

For governments, therefore, the exhumation and identification of the deceased may serve as a form of reparation for their failure to prevent atrocities from occurring.

Finally, the return of victims' remains to family members and their subsequent reburial is also required by secular legal mandates to locate, identify, and repatriate remains of the deceased in the aftermath of conflict. According to Article 26 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, "[e]ach Party to the conflict shall facilitate enquiries made by

members of families dispersed owing to the war, with the object of renewing contact with one another and of meeting, if possible. It shall encourage, in particular, the work of organisations engaged on this task […]" (ICRC 1949: n.p.). Likewise, Section III, Articles 32 through 34 of Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions address the issue of dead and missing persons, with Article 32 asserting the "right of families to know the fate of their relatives" (ICRC 1977: n.p.). Similarly, multiple articles under the 2006 International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance[126] also affirm family members' 'right to know' the fate of their missing loved ones following armed conflict (Office of the UNHCR 2006: n.p.). Furthermore, recognising the Conventions discussed above, "[t]his right [to know] is now also codified in the BiH Law on Missing Persons" (Juhl 2009: 250).[127] Adopted in 2004 by the Bosnian Parliamentary Assembly, this law asserts "families' right to know the circumstances, the cause of death, and the place of burial of a missing person proved dead and their right to have the mortal remains of their relatives returned to them […]" (ibid.; see also ICMP 2004).[128]

NGOs, including the ICRC, Amnesty International, and the International Coalition Against Enforced Disappearances (ICAED), also speak to these conventions in justifying some aspects of their work.[129] For example, ICMP engages with them throughout the course of its work. For example, an August 2006 press release from ICMP states,

> On the occasion of August 30, the International Day of the Disappeared, the [ICMP] would like to remind States of their obligation to address the problem of missing persons resulting from armed conflicts…ICMP welcomes the adoption by the United Nations Human Rights Council during its June 2006 session of the "International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance" and its recommendation to the General Assembly for its adoption (ICMP 2006: n.p.).

Similarly, following a conference hosted by ICMP in November 2008 in Belgrade, Serbia, "key conclusions…included a call for regional governments to ratify the 'International

---

[126] The 2006 Convention supersedes the 1992 Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (Office of the UNHCR 2006).
[127] See also Juhl 2009 (especially pp. 249-250) for further discussion of the Law on Missing Persons.
[128] ICRC also supplies other resources regarding the 'right to know' and authorities' obligations to provide information about missing persons following conflict (see ICRC 2012).
[129] For examples, see ICRC 2012: n.p.; Amnesty International 2010: n.p.; Amnesty International 2011: n.p.; ICAED 2009: n.p.; ICAED n.d.: n.p.

Convention for the Protection of all Persons from Enforced Disappearances'" (ICMP 2008: n.p.). More recently, ICMP has also called on the Libyan government to address the issue of missing persons within the country, including passing the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (ICMP 2011: n.d.).

NGOs and governmental entities thus both speak to the importance of locating and returning remains of the deceased to family members in the aftermath of armed conflict. However, they cite different reasons for necessity of this task. Governments may view this as promoting reconstruction and reconciliation in the aftermath of conflict. Furthermore, involvement in these activities may serve as a form of atonement for failing to prevent the deaths from having occurred. Furthermore, in emphasising the 'right to know', secular legal mandates address states' obligations to protect and uphold the rights of its citizens. The mandates also speak to the states' need to legally establish the status of its citizens. NGOs may speak in reference to and strongly support these legal mandates. Like governments, NGOs may also view the repatriation of remains as facilitating reconciliation and reconstruction following armed conflict. They also express concern over the cultural, religious, and social implications of families left uncertain as to their loved ones fate or unable to bury their remains. Finally, in the case of armed conflict, NGOs may also view the return of victims' remains as preventing future violence and/or establishing a factual account of the events that transpired during the conflict.

Academic discourse and survivors' opinions

Throughout the academic literature, authors generally speak of the return and reburial of human remains following mass death as beneficial. Like many NGOs and governmental entities, these authors stress how locating, exhuming, and repatriating remains can provide survivors with proof of their loved one's fate. Williams & Crews (2003: 252) note, "Without a body to bury, without assurance of death, real grieving cannot even begin, because it is viewed as disloyal. This is not denial, but reality. Without the certainty of death, the status of family members remains unclear. The women are not even widows, but widows waiting to happen, an agonising role". Academic discourse also highlights the return of remains as allowing families to engage in 'proper' funerary and

mourning practices. For example, Vollen (2001: 340) states, "[t]he identification of the remains can help families of the missing obtain a means of release from the torment of uncertainty and open a way forward through grief and mourning". Wagner (2008: 183) argues, "[a] grave provides families with a space through which they can now interact with the souls of their dead through prayer, ritual, and remembering. Addressing the issue of missing persons in Guatemala, Gidley & Roberts (2003: 153) likewise note, "for the majority of people the burial ceremony is the most significant part of the process. A dignified burial place finally brings the living into closer contact with the dead…those who are able to rebury their dead then have a place to mourn openly and with certainty". In discussing the need of families to receive answers about the fate of their missing loved ones following armed conflict, Stover & Shigekane (2002: 860) assert, "[w]ithout bodies and funerals, the relatives of the missing are often unable to visualise the death of their loves ones and accept it as real. Nor can they fulfill their religious and communal obligations to the dead". Furthermore, locating, identifying, and returning remains to family members is also conceived of as allowing families to regain authority over their lives. Stover & Ryan (2001: 22) raise this and other points, commenting that during excavations of mass graves in Iraqi Kurdistan and Latin America that,

> encounters [with investigators, scientists, and archaeologists] were extremely important for the emotional lives of the disappeared. For years – and even decades – the military, police and courts had denied them information about their loves ones. Now, in the presence of scientists whose sole aim was to establish the truth, the relatives would begin to regain a sense of control, to close the doors on false hopes, and to begin to grieve.

Furthermore, Wagner (2008: 183) argues, "[a]fter years of having no knowledge of or control over their missing relatives' remains, let alone access to their final moments of life and death, families can once again assume their rightful status as the most intimate guardians of the missing persons' remains and individual identity".

Finally, academics argue that the return and reburial of missing persons' remains following mass death may have positive implications for the society as a whole. Vollen (2001: 340) writes, "collecting and examining the remains to determine the cause and manner of death can serve as a powerful antidote to revisionism and set the stage for

justice". In discussing the symbolic uses of the human body, Verdery (1999: 38, 102, 111) also notes that the exhumation, identification, and repatriation of human remains can be employed "to determine historical truth" and assign accountability for crimes committed under past regimes. Furthermore, in her study of "the relationship between missing persons and post-conflict reconciliation" in BiH, Clark (2010: 425) also considers the importance of locating and repatriating missing persons' remains in the aftermath of armed conflict in BiH. She comments,

> interviewees were unable to move on with their lives and to think about the future, and this is likely to remain the case as long as they are denied the right to bury those they have lost. […] If lack of closure is a potential impediment to reconciliation, it stems not only from the absence of a body but also from the feelings of trauma which that absence fuels and prolongs" (ibid.: 430).

Clark further writes, "[t]hat families of the missing are not able to fully grieve and mourn…necessarily prolongs their trauma"; this trauma, she argues, has a significant impact on post-conflict reconciliation (ibid.). It may, she argues, prevent families with missing persons "from being able to accept and to acknowledge the suffering of others" and to "easily open up to others", two actions she considers necessary prerequisites for reconciliation (ibid.). Finally, Verdery (1999: 107) notes, "[b]urials and reburials serve both to create and to reorder the community". However, she also notes the potential for burials to become exclusionary events,

> I suggest that in the post-Yugoslav context they serve not just to *reaffirm* community but also to *narrow* and *bound* it. A (re)burial creates an audience of 'mourners' all of whom think they have some relation to the dead person. The question is, *Which* aggregate of people is brought together…for this event? Whom does the gathering of mourners leave out […]? For political reburials, this becomes, Who is to be included in or excluded from the new national society that is being made? Thus, post-Yugoslav burials create new, narrower national communities, as the group of participants has come to be monoethnic. […] Burials bring people together, reminding them of the reason for the their collective presence – relatedness – but that relatedness has now becomes ethnically exclusive (ibid. 1999: 108).

Thus, following armed conflict, reburials may potentially further reinforce schisms between former combatants, effectively arresting post-conflict reconciliation and

reconstruction. I will return to this point later in discussing academic discourse of commemorations.

Survivors' opinions regarding the repatriation and reburial of remains have also been explored in existing literature. To begin, previous studies have especially stressed families' desires to obtain the remains of their loved ones in order to provide them with a 'proper' burial in accordance with their religious beliefs and/or practices. As one survivor of political violence in Guatemala stated, "We want a Christian burial for our families because they aren't dogs and we don't want them piled up in the graves like dogs" (Sanford 2003: 39). Similarly, Gidley & Roberts (2003: 151) found that, "denial of their spiritual customs and needs weighed heavily on the survivors. Many had disturbed and anguished dreams that continued for years because they were unable to fulfill their familial responsibilities towards their dead". In the context of Cyprus, Sant Cassia (2005: 97) explains,

> In modern…Greek culture, it is considered one of the worst fates possible for an individual's body not to be buried with proper religious rites. The remains of the missing thus need to be recovered because they were not buried properly by their loved ones, and are believed to be still roaming the earth.

Some survivors of the Rwandan genocide articulated a similar fear. As one individual explained, "According to Rwandese culture if you don't bury relatives they haunt you. This brings relief" (Ibreck 2010: 336). The burial of the deceased is thus spoken of as therapeutic. As one woman explained, "If you bury someone it's like a medicine you have taken" (ibid.: 336). Eppel (2001: n.p.) notes that Matabeleland where the AMANI Trust works, ("a non governmental organisation that is concerned with the rehabilitation of survivors of torture and organised violence (TOV) in the western half of Zimbabwe"), the spirit of the dead requires a funeral. Without this, the spirit becomes irate and inflicts much harm on its family and the larger community (ibid.). Likewise, for survivors of the Srebrenica genocide, "the burial of loved ones was, above all, a burial to mourn the tremendous losses. In all the stories, the survivors expressed concern for a proper burial as prescribed by Muslim custom, for identifying their loved ones, and having a place to visit" (Pollack 2003: 132).

Survivors also speak of locating, receiving and disposing of their loved one's remains as allowing them to learn the 'truth' about their fate and removing them from a state of limbo. Eppel (2001: n.p.) notes of survivors in Matabelemand that:

> All are left to languish in a kind of limbo, and relatives are left with many heart breaking and unanswerable questions in their minds – is the person really dead? If so, at what point did s/he die? Did s/he suffer a great deal first? Where is the body now? Most of all, people are unclear as to what to do next. At what point should the family finally accept the person is never coming back and how should this acceptance be expressed? How does one mourn when there is no body to weep over?

Sant Cassia addresses some of the problems with this state of limbo in considering missing persons in Cyprus. In this region, he (2005: 105) explains,

> [b]ecause the missing are not formally considered to be dead, relatives have not been given the social license to individually interpret their situation and to familially negotiate any meanings they wish to give it. Up until 1999, there had been no institutionally sanctioned or licensed opportunity to perform the burial services for the missing (Sant Cassia 2005: 105).

Similarly, in BiH, a psychiatrist explained that Srebrenica refugees desired 'truth' above all else, "They want to know exactly what happened to their missing husbands and fathers and sons. It consumes them day and night. Until they know the truth, they will never grieve properly" (Stover & Peress 1998: 192-193).[130]

In the aftermath of conflict or political violence, some survivors also consider the return and burial of remains as a means of reminding perpetrators and others about the atrocities that resulted in the individuals' deaths and to prevent the reoccurrence of such events. Similarly, the exhumation of mass graves may also serve to prove that the mass atrocities did in fact occur. As Pollack (2003: 134) notes,

> For the representatives of advocacy groups…the purpose of the burial work was recognition of the massacre and the way the massacre had shaped the current living and political situation. […] Recognition was by the Serbs, the international community, and the world and would work toward dissolving Serb power and preventing future massacres.

---

[130] See also Winter 1995: 36.

A Bosnian university student who lost her father in the Srebrenica genocide "believed that the burial itself would lead the viewer to remember the events that led up to the killings" (Pollack 2003: 132). Damir, a Bosnian man whose father and brother were killed in the Srebrenica genocide, felt that "[t]hrough the burial, the Serbs must recognize the massacre at Srebrenica" and that the interments served as punishment for their crimes (ibid.: 132, 133). Likewise, Gidley & Roberts (2003: 152) found that in Guatemala the "exhumation of mass graves…was vital to be able to prove that the massacres happened, that the army had killed thousands of civilians and that there were hundreds of secret mass gravesites throughout the country". Furthermore, a woman whose nephew and brother-in-law were killed in the Srebrenica genocide, stated, "If the people who got killed in Srebrenica are not identified, not buried in a human way…then I deeply believe that there is not real justice, and that Srebrenica will, as a result, happen someplace else, some day" (Neuffer 2002: 216). Thus, locating, identifying, and returning victims' remains to family members may be viewed as a form of justice and as a means of preventing future atrocities.

However, it must be recognised that not all survivors speak of the exhumation, identification, and disposal of the deceased as positive. For example, Gidley & Roberts (2003: 153) found that "sometimes people lose their special place to mourn or are left with nothing if no remains can be found or identified". As explored in the previous chapter, survivors may view exhumations and identifications negatively because they destroy their hope that their loved one is still alive. For example, the exhumation and identification of those individuals who were kidnapped, tortured, and killed under Argentina's military regime from 1976 to 1983 has been met with resistance from *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) (Femenía 1987: 9, 12). Consisting of "mothers and other relatives of kidnapped Argentines", the organisation spoke out against the military regime, demanding the return of their missing loved ones (ibid.: 10, 12). However, members of the organisation "could not concede that the disappeared were actually dead during the years of the military regime" (ibid.: 13). One Mother explained, "We cannot and do not want to admit it…To admit their death would be to kill them a second time, and it would play into the hands of the assassins" (ibid.). Exhumation of the dead, therefore, was undesirable as it would provide tangible evidence of their deaths. Similarly, Wagner (2008: 117-118; 169-173) recounts instances in which DNA and

forensic evidence had identified the remains of an individual but victims' family member/s refused to accept the identification. In these instances, families refuse to accept the death of their loved one and instead cling to the belief that they are still alive.

Thus, academic discourse about and survivors' opinions of the return and reburial of remains both coincides with and diverges from the rhetoric of governmental agencies and NGOs. Unlike NGOs and governments, survivors and academics place less emphasis on the "right to know" and instead highlight the social, religious, and cultural implications of missing persons. In this way, therefore, academics and survivors also echo NGOs' discourse. Moreover, academic literature brings into consideration one unique point, that of repatriation and burial as allowing families to regain control and influence over the fate of their loved ones' lives. Finally, survivors' perspectives provide divergent points. First, they may view burial both as a form of justice and as a way of reminding perpetrators of their crimes. Additionally, although academics, NGOs, and governmental agencies stress the positive aspects of exhuming, identifying, and reburying the deceased, survivor accounts demonstrate how doing so may sometimes harm victims' family members.

Role of commemorations

Perspectives of NGOs and governmental entities

NGOs and governmental entities also assert the positive role of commemorations following mass death. For example, ICMP (2012*b*: 2) argues,

> a societal dialogue about how we pay tribute to missing persons – through the development of appropriate memorials and days of commemoration – may actually invigorate the process by keeping the issue of missing persons firmly within the public eye. In this way, a societal dialogue on how the countries of the region might best pay tribute to missing persons irrespective of national, ethnic or religious belonging can only serve to bring the issue of missing persons from the margins to occupy a more prominent space in public policy. And this can only have a beneficial impact on the actual process of locating, recovering and identifying missing persons.

Thus, ICMP views commemorations as both complementing and furthering their forensic work. The PAHO (2004: 105) also speaks of the potential benefits of commemorations, writing,

> When disasters strike a community, a city, or a nation, there is mass public mourning that involves large numbers of people, often of heterogeneous characteristics. Despite this, when such an event is properly managed, it is possible to create such an environment that allows commiseration, expressions of sympathy, and consolation through collective commemorations that offer the release ritual provides.

The ICRC, however, is more cautious, noting that commemorations, like burials, "can foster or inhibit reconciliation at the individual and national levels" but "can also remind the public of past inhumanities and thus help prevent their reoccurrence and future human rights violations" (ICRC 2003: 60). The ICRC further asserts that a commemoration may play several roles in post-conflict societies, such as "act[ing] as a form of redress, restoring honour to those who have been wronged" and "highlight[ing] the significance of past events" (ibid.).

Governmental agencies may view commemorations in a similar light. In the aftermath of genocide, commemorations may provide an opportunity for governments to re-assert their commitment to preventing future atrocities from occurring. Stressing a commitment to prevent future violence may be especially important in those instances in which the government's failure to act is considered to have played a role in the allowing the violence to occur and/or continue. For example, on Holocaust Remembrance Day in 2004, United States Congressman Gary L. Ackerman (2004: E640) stated,

> The shame of this country's refusal to either admit Jewish refugees from Nazi persecution or even to bomb the railway lines to the concentration camps will forever remain a blackmark on our national honour. While this loathsome chapter of our national history cannot be unwritten we can and must pursue policies that ensure such tragedies never occur again.

Likewise, as part of the UN's commemoration of the 13th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon (2007: n.p.) stated,

> Since those horrendous weeks 13 years ago, the United Nations has learned
> profound lessons. […] All the world's Governments have agreed in principle to the
> responsibility to protect. Our challenge now is to give real meaning to the concept,
> by taking steps to make it operational. Only then will it truly give hope to those
> facing genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.
> Preventing genocide is a collective and individual responsibility […].

Under these circumstances, governments may view commemorations as a form of
atonement. Furthermore, governments may speak of commemorations as reminding
societies of important events that should not be forgotten, as well as providing an
opportunity for people to learn the lessons of these events. For example, in his "Statement
on the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust",
President George W. Bush (2007: 71) said, "we must continue to educate ourselves about
the lessons of the Holocaust and honour those whose lives were taken as a result of a racist
policy that embraced a national policy of violent hatred and bigotry".

Finally, in conjunction with these functions, governments may also speak of
commemorations as promoting reconciliation and reconstruction in the aftermath of
conflict. In a speech read at the first burial at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and
Cemetery on 31 March 2003, OHR High Representative Paddy Ashdown stated, "And for
those who watch, let this be a moment to re-dedicate ourselves to the ongoing struggle for
truth, justice, reconciliation and recovery" (OHR 2003: n.p.). Similarly, in the statement on
the 2012 commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide, the EU High Representative to BiH
and the EU Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy stated,

> Today's commemoration underlines the responsibility of those in positions of
> authority both inside Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the region to contribute to the
> process of justice, reconciliation and recognition of what happened. We look to
> them to make further progress towards a future in which events like those in
> Srebrenica are unimaginable and the victims of past crimes are honoured by all (EU
> 2012: n.p.).

Thus, both NGOs and governmental agencies view commemorations as serving similar
functions: publicly acknowledging the atrocity and perhaps responsibility for it, preventing
future atrocities from occurring, bringing attention to the need for justice in the aftermath
of crimes against humanity, and assisting in reconciliation and social reconstruction.

However, unlike NGOs, governments place less emphasis on commemorations providing an opportunity for bereaved families to mourn for their deceased loved ones, instead highlighting their other functions.

Academic discourse and survivors' opinions

Academics have more frequently considered the nature and function of commemorations. Schwartz (1982: 377) places commemorations within the context of chronicling historical events, arguing:

> Our memory of the past is preserved mainly by means of chronicling, the direct recording of events and their sequence. However, the events selected for chronicling are not all evaluated in the same way. To some of these events we remain morally indifferent; other events are commemorated, i.e., invested with an extraordinary significance and assigned a qualitatively distinct place in our conception of the past. …chronicling allows for the marking and preservation of the historically real; commemoration, which is the evaluative aspect of chronicling, celebrates and safeguards the ideal. Commemoration lifts from an ordinary historical sequence those extraordinary events which embody our deepest and most fundamental values. Commemoration…is this sense of sacred history.

Thus, the commemoration of mass atrocities effectively elevates them to the status of something "extraordinarily significant", thereby requiring us to not remain "emotionally indifferent" to the events that transpired (ibid.). In doing so, commemorations may be utilised to draw attention to the horrific consequences of the violation of a society's values. Reminiscent of this, Runia (2007: 316) suggests, "commemoration is trying to answer the question 'who are we that this could have happened'"; commemoration, therefore, constitutes a form of self-exploration. She further argues,

> commemorative self-exploration is a confrontation with what we don't like to be confronted with: with the fact that occasionally we behave in utter contradiction to what we regard as our identity. In fact, it might be argued that it is precisely events in which we did things we didn't think we were capable of doing that we later want to commemorate (ibid.: 317).

Although she speaks about the commemoration of deceased soldiers on World War I-era battlefields, her arguments are also applicable to the commemoration of mass atrocities. Moreover, her assertions are especially noteworthy when considered within the context of the annual commemoration at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery and the international community's support of this event (see above) because commemoration can be interpreted as providing an opportunity for the international community to confront its failure to prevent and/or intervene in the genocide. Furthermore, Wagner (2008: 214) states, "The July 11 ceremonies held at Potočari are collective events that seek to build order from the chaotic experiences of the war and the genocide at Srebrenica". Such commemorative ceremonies, therefore, may echo the function of burial in the aftermath of mass death. For example, they may allow for the reconstruction of a community and its identity following armed conflict. They also bring attention to the events that transpired, facilitating public discussion of the 'truth' of what happened during the violence. Finally, commemorations may also provide survivors with a place in which to grieve the loss of their loved ones.

Unlike NGOs and governmental organisations, academics generally have been far more critical of the importance and effectiveness of commemorations in post-conflict societies. For example, academic discourse also brings into consideration the role of commemorations in establishing community identity, as well as identifying and excluding 'outsiders'. Winter notes this in describing the functions of commemoration during and after World War I. He writes (1995: 80), "After August 1914, commemoration was an act of citizenship. To remember was to affirm community, to assert its moral character, and to exclude from it those values, groups, or individuals that placed it under threat". Similarly, commemorations may give rise to nationalism. For example, Wagner (2008: 8) writes of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery that "[t]he commemorative space and activities of the memorial centre have also helped forge a new sense of nationalism among Bosniaks in the region and beyond, as members of the diaspora return to Srebrenica each year to participate in the July 11 memorial celebrations". Thus, as Schwartz & Bayma (1999: 959) argue, "[r]emembrance of common suffering is the stuff on which national unity is made". However, as Wagner (2008: 8), suggests, this "national unity" may not actually be inclusive. Accordingly, although commemorations are frequently conceived of

as aiding social reconstruction and reconciliation, especially in the aftermath of mass violence, they may also be divisive and exclusionary. As Viejo-Rose (2011: 472) notes of memorials and commemorations in BiH,

> The new memorial sites and the events performed at them, also give ground for new contentions as each side accuses the other of not attending their respective memorial events. This is not to say that a significant memorial should not have been built at Srebrenica to create both a place of mourning and a reminder. However, the observation of events does raise questions about who are the intended 'beneficiaries' of such sites and about the fact that the messages that they send are not necessarily about reconciliation.

This also brings into consideration the possibility that commemorations may actively encourage future hostilities/violence rather than prevent their reoccurrence.

Survivors are also divided on the issue of commemorations. Some view these events as beneficial and constructive. A former representative of the Ibuka, a survivors' organisation involved in memorialising the Rwandan genocide explained, "The period of commemoration is an opportunity to give dignity to the victims and also to find out about people's economic and psychosocial situation…This is the opportunity for survivors to express themselves" (Ibreck 2010: 335; see also Mukanoheli 2009: 187). Commemorations may provide survivors with a political platform (ibid.: 336). Similarly, commemorations can draw attention to the issue of missing persons. For example, the Women of Srebrenica, a "survivors' advocacy group" based in Tuzla, stages a protest in the city's centre on the 11th of every month (Wagner 2008: 6, 71-76). Pillowcases embroidered with the names of the victims of the Srebrenica genocide serve as "public testimony to their relatives' unaccounted-for absence" (ibid.: 73).[131] However, other survivors view commemorations as less important or of limited benefit. As one survivor of the Rwandan genocide explained, "when survivors go back home after testimony they have nothing" (Ibreck 2010: 336). Commemorations may also be viewed as having the potential to further inflict psychological trauma on survivors (ibid.: 337).

---

[131] I participated in one of these protests during my fieldwork. A large number of people gradually joined the protest as participants made their way to the city centre. Once there, the event drew a significant crowd and garnered some media attention.

As in the case of the return and reburial of victims' remains, NGOs, governmental agencies, academics and survivors present varying interpretations of the role of commemorations. All of these entities emphasise the potential for commemorations to bring attention to significant events, thereby allowing for a public acknowledgement of what happened, something viewed as especially crucial in the aftermath of armed conflict. This, in turn, has the potential to assist in societal reconstruction and prevent future violence. However, unlike NGOs and governments, both academics and survivors note the limitations of commemorations. For example, the creation of a communal identity through commemorations can be exclusionary, something that may actually instigate violence in the future. Furthermore, survivors may find commemorations emotionally distressing or that they do not fulfill other voids in their lives.

Commemorations and burial ceremonies in BiH

Throughout BiH, numerous events commemorate the individuals who died or went missing over the course of the conflict. These commemorations assume many forms, with some events including the burial of the deceased and others serving as times to speak about and remember those who were killed or went missing. Moreover, as will be briefly explored below, some commemorations in BiH espouse political agendas. Given the attention placed on the 1995 genocide in Srebrenica, the most famous of these commemorations is the annual ceremony held at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Centre. Situated across from the former Dutchbat headquarters, the centre both serves as a memorial to and a cemetery for the majority of those who were killed during the genocide (OHR 2000*a*; Wagner 2008: 200). The first commemoration and burial ceremony occurred on 31 March 2003, and the remains of 600 individuals were interred (OHR 2003; Wagner 2008: 201). Held annually since then on 11 July, the anniversary of the fall of Srebrenica, the commemoration attracts tens of thousands of individuals. Although some elements of the event, such as the number of individuals interred, may vary, since its inception the commemoration "ha[s] followed a similar format, combining public address with religious ritual and musical performance. Each conclud[e] with the interment of the coffins by

individual gatherings of families, friends, and clerics at the gravesites" (Wagner 2008: 215). For example, in the case of the 2012 commemoration, an estimated 30,000 individuals attended the ceremony and the remains of 520 individuals were buried (BBC 2012: n.p.; Šarić 2012: n.p.). Unlike in previous years, political speeches were not a part of the 2012 commemorations, although Arthur Schneier, a Holocaust survivor and rabbi from New York City, spoke at the event (Šarić 2012: n.p.; The Economist 2012: n.p.). Various politicians and community leaders from BiH and beyond attended, as did HR Inzko, the EUFOR commander, and EU Special Representative Peter Sørensen (Šarić 2012: n.p.; EUFOR 2012: n.p.).

Other similar events occur throughout the country. For example, the 71 people killed in Kapija, Tuzla on 25 May 1995 by a Serbian projectile are annually commemorated. This event generally involves the laying of flowers and wreaths at both the memorial commemorating the victims in the Tuzla city centre and the Slana banja cemetery, the site in which most victims were buried. Names of the deceased are also read during the ceremony (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) 2010*a*). In the Visegrad region, individuals gather annually "to remember friends and relatives killed there by forces led by Ratko Mladic at the start of the country's 1992-1995 war" (Niksic 2011). Former detainees of the Omarska concentration camp in Prijedor annually commemorate the closing of the camp on 6 August 1992 (BIRN 2010*b*; Vulliamy 2005). Similarly, on 14 November 2009, survivors of the Manjaca concentration camp, located near Banja Luka, gathered to commemorate the seventeenth anniversary of its closure. The commemoration included "[a] simple flower laying ceremony and short statements by three former inmates" (Šarić 2009).

Bosnian Serbs in the Srebrenica region similarly commemorate their dead on 12 July, traditionally known as Petrovdan (St. Peter's Day) in the Serbian Orthodox calendar. In 2005, "Bosnian Serbs in Kravica, Srebrenica, Bratunac, and other villages in the region held memorial ceremonies for the Bosnian Serb people killed in the region from the period of 1992 to 1995" (Wagner 2008: 238). This commemoration has continued – a similar event was held 12 July 2010 at the Bratunac military cemetery, "where a holy mass was served for 3.267 Serbian soldiers and civilians from the region who were killed in the 'defensive-patriotic war', including 69 killed and 20 missing Serbs from Bratunac, who

fell victims on St Peter's Day 18 years ago" (ICMP 2010*b*). Commemorative events included a mass, the lighting of candles for victims' souls, and a speech by Milorad Dodik, the Prime Minister of the RS (ibid.).[132] Furthermore, on 5 May 2010:

> [f]or the first time in 18 years the death of Yugoslav National Army, JNA, soldiers in the former Dobrovoljacka Street has been formally commemorated in Sarajevo. …about a hundred citizens, who arrived by bus from Republika Srpska, RS, marked the events that took place in Dobrovljacka Street in Sarajevo. The ceremony was organised by the RS Government's Board for Fostering the Tradition of the Liberation Wars. A convoy of the Yugoslav National Army, JNA, was attacked in the street as it was withdrawing from the city on May 3, 1992 (BIRN 2010*a*).

Participants lit candles and laid wreaths on the street in memory of the deceased JNA soldiers (ibid.). Another commemorative event was held 16 January 2010 in Skelani, Srebrenica municipality, marking the deaths of 68 Serb civilians in the area. This event included a church service and the laying of wreaths on a memorial plate by members of the Srebrenica and Bratunac municipalities, an RS combat organisation, and others (ICMP 2010*a*).

As with the July 11 commemoration in Srebrenica, these events may also include the burial of victims' remains. For example, at the end of April 2010, the remains of 33 Bosniak victims from the town of Vlasensica and its surrounding villages were interred in Rakita Cemetery, Vlasenica (ICMP 2010*e*). Similarly, 31 Bosniak victims from Bratunac were interred on 13 May 2010 at Veljaci Cemetery, Bratunac, and seven victims from the Brćko region were buried in mid-June 2010 (ICMP 2010*d*). Bosnian Muslim leader Mustafa effendi Cerić oversaw the burial of 29 individuals from Zvornik in Gornja Kalesija Cemetery, Zvornik on 6 June 2010 (ICMP 2010*c*).[133]

As has been presented here, commemorative events in BiH appear to be divided along ethnic lines, with a few exceptions. For example, in April 2012, Bosniak and Bosnian Croat military officials and politicians attended a joint commemoration in Trusina

---

[132] Unsurprisingly, these commemorations of Bosnian Serb victims, held the day after the commemoration at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Centre and Cemetery, have been highly controversial (see Wagner 2008: 237-240).

[133] As briefly addressed in previous chapters, not all individuals whose remains are identified through ICMP are buried in public events as some family members chose to have their loved ones buried privately. Accordingly, not all burials receive media attention. During my fieldwork, it was repeatedly emphasised to me that families have a choice regarding the fate of their loved ones' remains.

(located in southern BiH) (Oman Daily Observer 2012: n.p.). The event commemorated the "kill[ing] [of] 18 civilians and four military prisoners, all ethnic Croats" by members of the Bosnian army during the war. However, the most notable exception to ethnically divided commemorations has been the participation of the Women in Black (*Žene u crnom*) in events commemorating victims of all backgrounds. Describing themselves as a "women's feminist – antimilitarist organisation", Women in Black consists of Serbian women (Women in Black 2012: n.p.). They promote a number of causes, such as the role of women in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, and security; antifascism and antisemitism; "supporting the victims of war and oppression", conscientious objectivism, and "confronting the past" (ibid). Within BiH, Women in Black has been especially involved in events commemorating Bosniak victims. For example, members of the organisation began attending events commemorating the Srebrenica genocide prior to the establishment of the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery (Women in Black 2007: n.p.). Members view attending these commemorations as both a crucial step in "confronting the past", as well as providing an opportunity for Serbs to speak out against "crimes committed in [their] name" (ibid.).

Body handlers' attendance at funerals

As this existing literature suggests, issues surrounding the commemoration and burial of the deceased following mass death have both been variously addressed and claimed by both academics and organisations. However, the experiences of the individuals responsible for facilitating commemorations have received less attention. Instead, analogous literature centres on the appropriateness of body handlers attending funerals and/or memorials ceremonies of the deceased and contacting family members to express their sympathies. Attendance at funerals/memorial services or contacting bereaved relatives is frequently seen as providing closure for the medical professional or body handler. Medical students, for example, may benefit from attendance at 'anatomy ceremonies', events held by medical schools in commemoration of those individuals who donated their bodies for dissection in the anatomy lab (Kim & Sandoval 2005: 87-88).

Aside from providing closure for medical students, these events may also serve as an acceptable venue in which students may openly express their emotional responses to the anatomy lab experience (ibid.). Physicians may find attending patients' funerals similarly therapeutic. As one Australian palliative care specialist explained, "Sometimes it's actually closure for me and I think that needs to be acknowledged" (Collins-Tracey *et al.* 2007: 812). Similarly, a physician (Roy 2007) recalled the positive impact of receiving a letter of thanks after sending flowers to the funeral of a deceased patient, Jake. She writes:

> I keep [this letter] as a reminder of my own blindness to the meaning of my service to this child and family. I felt I was a failure because I could not cure Jake, but now I can see and connect to a new definition of service. […] Through their letter, their love of their child, and their appreciation of my efforts they have taught me new truths about healing. And in doing so, they have healed me (ibid.: 278).

Arroll & Falloon (2007: 1322) also note that aside from serving as a "gesture of respect", attending a patient's funeral "enables a personal expression of grief".

Although existing literature emphasises the potential benefits of attending funerals and memorial services, it briefly considers the possible negative repercussions of participation in such activities. As McCarroll *et al.* (1993: 213) explain, because memorial services effectively humanise the dead, they may undermine the emotional detachment body handlers develop in order to carry out their work (see Chapter Three). As one rescue worker explained, "Memorial services interfere with coping. At that point it's no longer a job; it gets to be a name, a human being. It all comes together" (ibid.). Contacting bereaved family members may also be avoided owing to the potentially mentally and physically draining nature of these interactions (Collins-Tracey *et al.* 2009: 813).

Body handlers and the importance of emotions

As discussed above, this chapter considers the positive implications of body handlers experiencing emotional responses to their work. However, this literature is limited. It primarily focuses on medical students' assertions that experiencing emotions

during anatomy lab prepares them for their future professional identities as physicians who must treat patients with detached concern (see Fox 1979: 68; Gustavson 1988: 62; Lella & Pawluch 1988: 133; Hafferty 1991: 107-109). Similarly, Hadders (2007) describes nurses' emotional engagement with deceased patients in an Intensive Care Unit at a Norwegian hospital, noting that "[i]t seems as if the nurses often prefer to continue to relate to the dead patient as a person, in order to render to them what they perceive as a humane treatment of the deceased" (ibid. 2008: 212). Thus, this form of emotional engagement with the deceased serves as an extension of their other nursing duties, thereby permitting them to continue upholding their professional identities. However, given that this literature considers medical professionals who work/will work primarily with the *living*, it is of limited use for my own research.

ICMP forensic specialists' experiences of commemorations and burial ceremonies

Paying respects to and honouring the dead

In discussing their thoughts on commemorations and burials, several of my respondents spoke of these events as providing them with a chance to pay their respects to and/or honour the living and the deceased. For example, although she had yet to attend a commemoration, Jasmina spoke of desiring to do so primarily for this reason. Fatima commented that for her, attending commemorations and burials represented "the last honour from my side". Emir explained that although he found it difficult to attend these events, he nevertheless did so for the sake of the families. As in other circumstances throughout his work, Emir connected the commemorations and burials to his own life. His mother had died approximately eight months before our first interview, and he spoke of wondering what it would be like if had he not been able to bury her. For Emir, attending commemorations and burials appears to be a demonstration of support for those who have not been as fortunate regarding the postmortem fate of their loved ones. Mirna spoke at length on this topic, drawing upon her experiences of having attended such events in the Prijedor region. She explained that unlike some of her colleagues, she attended these

events as someone who was fortunate not to have any missing relatives. Nevertheless, Mirna felt a responsibility to attend these events as means of showing respect to both the relatives of the deceased and the deceased. Interestingly, she commented that she felt a responsibility to "show respect towards…identified persons even more than families".

The importance my respondents placed on showing respect to the living and the deceased is significant for several reasons. They rarely spoke of their attendance at these events as required of them by ICMP, though they may occasionally attend in an official capacity.[134] Rather, they emphasised that they *chose* to attend or hoped to attend such events in order to show respect for the living and the dead. Furthermore, the comments made by some forensic specialists that attendance at such events derives in part from a responsibility to show respect to family members is significant when considered against my informants' general preference to avoid interactions with them. Although they particularly emphasised their dislike for interactions with family members, my informants nevertheless viewed paying respect to them as crucial. In doing so, they demonstrate that despite their frustrations with the living (see Chapter Four), they are nevertheless empathetic and sympathetic towards their situation.

The emphasis some forensic specialists placed on importance of showing respect for the deceased is also noteworthy because it indicates that the forensic specialist may develop an emotional connection with the remains due to their daily encounters with them. This connection may prompt further action from the forensic specialist: attendance at commemorations and/or burials. The nature of anthropological analysis (see Chapter Two) may further this connection between the living and the deceased individuals. As Leighton (2010: 80) notes, "To touch another body is to initiate an intimacy". Thus, such analyses and examinations are inherently intimate actions, revealing personal details about an individual's life and death and, to some extent, enabling this connection. In death, forensic specialists may be more intimate with the individual than their family members. Mirna's statement that she felt a need to "show respect towards…identified persons even more than families" (see above) demonstrates this sense of attachment to the deceased. Kristina also alluded to such an attachment, noting, "I would like to say goodbye to them. That's the final phase of your work. So why not? For me, why not"? Like Mirna, Ibrahim and Fatima

---

[134] Sarah was the only one of my informants who noted attending a commemoration in an official capacity.

expressed an attachment to and responsibility for the remains. Ibrahim commented, "I feel a responsibility towards all victims to attend". Likewise, Fatima noted, "I even feel duty to go because…we found those bones and those bodies, and gave them the names and…I need to go". Recalling Mirna's comment that different personal effects found with the body can lead to speculation about their personality (see Chapter Four), examination of these items may also further feelings of intimacy. Commemorations and burials may thus provide an opportunity for these forensic specialists to pay respect and say their farewells to individuals with whom they have become 'familiar' with in the mortuary.

'Fruits of their labour'

Kristina's observation above that commemorations and/or burials represent the "final phase" of forensic specialists' work suggests that attending these events may allow forensic specialists to view the 'fruits of their labour'. For example, in commenting on his experiences at commemorations and private burials, Alem noted, "I feel …satisfaction or… happiness if I've helped in complete process to reach that stage for any of [the] victims". Similarly, Mirna stated, "I helped that they are buried…respectfully and that they have known place where they are buried". Sarah explained,

> You have to keep in mind that the bodies that we work on here now, I worked on in 1998…for me, I've seen it evolve over the years so from the early years when there wasn't an attempt to make an identity, that troubled me back then. However, now, working on those same bodies ten years later, to be able to participate in the means to identification is cathartic. It has been something that I'm…very pleased to have been a part of and I'm very proud to be a part of. […] But to follow through that process towards their identification, that's really the cathartic part.

Speaking of her experiences attending the July commemoration at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery, later in the interview Sarah commented, "So for me, to see the hundreds of graves with names where family members can go…indicates to me that…we are achieving our goals". Accordingly, for Sarah, viewing the terminal point of the identification process is significant to her on both the professional and personal level.

Hence, at this phase, the remains represent successful fulfilment of ICMP's

mandate. Moreover, if the successful identification and burial of these remains is viewed as furthering social repair in BiH, each burial can thus symbolically represent one further step in reconciliation and reconstruction. For my informants, however, burial sites may remind them of the positive impact of their actions (as discussed above). Through carrying out this sometimes emotionally and physically challenging work, they are able to return remains to family members in order that the latter may bury them in accordance with any religious beliefs/practices. Furthermore, forensic specialists' actions can thus remove families from a state of limbo following the disappearance of a loved one, providing them with answers regarding the fate of a loved one. Accordingly, for forensic specialists, attending burials provides tangible proof that their actions are yielding positive results. This, in turn, may be rewarding for the forensic specialist; as Mirna noted: "when burial is finished you would even find some satisfactions". Thus, as discussed in Chapter Three, this rewarding aspect of burials and/or commemorations may assist forensic specialists in continuing with their work.

A 'safe' space

Attendance at these commemorations and/or burials may also represent a 'safe' way in which forensic specialists can engage with victims' family members and experience emotional responses to their work. Unlike in the mortuaries, interactions with families at commemorations and burials may be indirect as forensic specialists may simply see family members but do not have to engage with them 'professionally'. The activity surrounding commemorations and burials may also make any direct interactions brief. Moreover, as will be further explored below, sites of burials and/or commemorations are considered appropriate places in which emotional responses can be experienced and expressed. Accordingly, any emotional outbursts by family members may not prove as distressing and/or threatening to the forensic specialist as they would in the mortuary in which a detached and unemotional atmosphere is cultivated (See Chapter Three).

Throughout her first interview, Mirna consistently contrasted the context of the mortuary with that of the commemorative events. For her, the remains of the deceased

undergo two transformations during these occasions. At the gravesite, Mirna explained, the remains of the deceased are transformed from bodies into coffins. These mostly skeletonised remains are thus further objectified; however, in this case, the physical object of the coffin becomes a more obvious sign of death, a characteristic frequently lacking from the remains housed in ICMP. For the forensic specialists, therefore, this coffin becomes a stark reminder of the nature of their work because it evokes a container that holds 'full remains'. Furthermore, Mirna explained that for her, these remains also undergo a second type of transformation in the context of commemorative events: "It is the moment when you finally can go from that stage [of] puzzle to person […]. They are not anymore puzzles, they are now persons who were killed without any reason". This transformation, the setting in which it occurs, and the presence of coffins rather than bodies is especially significant in considering forensic specialists' experiences at burials and commemorations. Mirna explained:

> When you see so many coffins lying in one place going for burial, then you can connect the scale of that sad event. […] I simply cannot connect 500 cases with 500 individuals because I, as I told you, I am disconnecting those two facts…simply it's much more easier for me to cope with everything but, when burial comes, then you finally connect…names…with your cases.

For Mirna, therefore, these events serve to re-humanise the deceased, allowing her to make a connection between the bones in the mortuary and the people they were in life. However, as Mirna points out, this connection cannot occur within the mortuary setting as the emotional impact of this would threaten the detachment necessary for her to carry out her work. Moreover, unless she is attending a burial/commemoration as an official representative of ICMP, Mirna is not subject to the mortuary rules of performance; that is, she is not expected to foster the impression of a detached forensic specialist. Thus, the display of emotional responses at a commemoration and/or burial does not have the potential to become a stigmatising action. Accordingly, commemorative spaces and/or burial events provide a 'safe' and 'appropriate' context in which the deceased can be humanised. Later in her interview, Mirna re-emphasised the role of burial events in allowing her to make this connection with the dead. After speaking about the difficulties of

being present when family members arrive at Mortuary C to view the remains and/or personal effects of their loved ones, Mirna remarked:

> For me, it's much more easier to see the end of the story. When I see the burial of all of them…in one place and instead of going through process 300 times, individually, you are going one day through that process […]. Because if I would go look every time identification that's, let's say, at least 100 days looking at sorrow and be…disturbed, moved, by…family reactions…for me it's easier to sacrifice one day of my life and I will pay them respect. I can then mourn also with families on proper way.

Thus, Mirna once again highlighted the emotional impact of humanising the deceased and the importance of compartmentalising such reactions, in this case avoiding such emotional connections until the appropriate setting and occasion: events in which the deceased are remembered and/or buried. In these settings, the agency of the deceased is less problematic and its effects may be felt without attempts at controlling it. Mirna's use of the word 'sacrifice' here is noteworthy, further emphasising the emotional impact the re-humanisation of the deceased can have on the forensic specialists and thereby the importance of ensuring it occurs only on select occasions. Furthermore, Mirna's comment that attending commemorative events provides her with an opportunity to mourn in a "proper way" is crucial. It further suggests that despite their efforts to remain detached from their work, forensic specialists may nevertheless engage emotionally with their work (see below). In accordance with this attachment, like family members, forensic specialists at ICMP may also mourn the deceased. However, as Mirna suggests, the importance of remaining emotionally detached generally prohibits forensic specialists from engaging in this behaviour while in the mortuary. Thus, attending commemorative/burial events or visiting cemeteries independently of any occasion may serve to 'appropriately' facilitate their grief, thereby further implying another feeling rule for ICMP's forensic specialists.

Negative perceptions of commemorations

Though the majority of my respondents highlighted the positive aspects of attending burials and/or commemorations, they also spoke of the difficulties of these

events. Burials and commemorations may benefit survivors, the affected community, and others but they are nevertheless inherently sad events. Ibro spoke of attending the 2005 commemoration at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery, explaining, "I went…once and…saw how it looks, and there was no need for me to go again. It's a very sad moment. So…it was a very difficult moment. Yeah, you see families how they react burying them, so…it was a little bit difficult for me". Munira explained how she had also attended the 2005 commemoration in Potočari and struggled with the experience because it brought her into contact with victims' family members. Although he spoke of the importance of attending burials and/or commemorations, Emir nevertheless described doing so as "difficult". In discussing seeing victims' graves and their names listed one-by-one, he stated, "it is simply too much". For those individuals who have a personal connection to the individual/s being buried or commemorated, these events may be even more poignant. Ibrahim compared attending ceremonies in which he did not have a personal connection to the deceased with those in which he did, explaining, "if I have some…relatives to be buried in that group, I will feel more sad". Similarly, Alem noted that he experiences a "huge sadness" when attending burials of his friends and colleagues; these events are most likely made more emotionally challenging for Alem given that he witnessed numerous killings during the war.

Furthermore, although Sarah spoke positively about the July 11 commemoration at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery, she was careful to note that she would have preferred not to attend this event. She explained: "I don't like to go when it's so busy and hot. It's simply because of that that reason. And not only that when I am there, I do like to reflect, so... for me, the more quiet the better. […] It is so busy. It's really busy". Thus, the busyness of the site during commemorations precludes Sarah from utilising it in a way that most benefits her, thereby fostering a preference to avoid the event. Katie also preferred to avoid this event owing to the number of people in attendance. Thus, practical considerations may also influence forensic specialists' dislike of attending burials and/or commemorations. Finally, unlike some of my other informants, Katie did not feel a need to attend the burial sites in order to obtain a sense of finality with her work. She explained, "And anyway I've seen every single one of those guys go through this place, so I've…already had as much interaction as I need to". This, in turn, may indicate a need for

some forensic specialists to place a limit on their attachment to the remains with which they work.

The experiences of Bosnians vs. foreigners

Examination of their attitudes towards attending commemorations and/or burials allows for further comparison of the experiences of Bosnian and foreign forensic specialists at ICMP. Although my respondents, regardless of nationality, frequently demonstrated attachment to and concern for the remains stored in the mortuaries, Bosnian forensic specialists experience this differently to their foreign colleagues. As Mirna stated,

> But here, this is…my country, all of them are part of my society and…as a Bosnian (it's my personal belief) but I think that Bosnians can feel much more with Bosnians than American who…came here and worked all the time. […] If I would go in the U.S. and do this kind of tragedy, maybe I wouldn't be so moved as I am here.

She later expanded upon this in her interview, further speculating, "I simply think that nobody can care more than I or Ibrahim or Fatima for our neighbours, our, you know, co-living people…because, as I said, I think that if I would go somewhere else, I wouldn't be moved as much as I'm here". Mirna's statements thus once again bring identification into consideration (see Chapter Three). Because of their shared nationality, Bosnian forensic specialists may identify with the deceased, recognising that they or their loved ones could have met a similar fate during the war. Moreover, for some of these forensic specialists, there also exists the possibility that the remains *could* be those of someone they knew. This especially may be true for forensic specialists who still have missing relatives. By virtue of their nationality, foreigners most likely will not have the same connection to the remains of the deceased, though they may still develop a sense of attachment to the remains.[135]

---

[135] However, this does not mean that Bosnian forensic specialists are better suited to work with the remains. Conversely, this also does not mean that Bosnian forensic specialists' scientific objectivity is threatened because of their connection to the remains, thereby implying that foreign nationals are better suited to this work. Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I found that both Bosnian and foreign forensic specialists conducted their work professionally, competently, and with great respect to the deceased. Rather, I suggest that nationality of the forensic specialist may influence their perception of and connection to the remains.

Furthermore, in discussing her preference for avoiding the July 11 commemoration, Sarah explained, "And you know, honestly, for me, that's the day of the families. That's when they need to be there. It's not for us, it's for them". Sarah's drawing of a distinction between 'us' and 'them' is significant. While Mirna's status as a Bosnian from a Muslim background allows her to attend these events as a member of the larger community even though her relatives are not among the missing, Sarah's status as a North American excludes her from this group. Moreover, while Mirna mourns the loss of her fellow Bosnians, Sarah mourns for the death of foreigners – thus, Sarah cannot possess the same personal connection expressed by Mirna. Furthermore, although Sarah had first come to BiH in the late 1990s with the UN and worked for ICMP since 2005, she had limited use of the language and was less familiar with the culture, whereas Mirna's status as a Bosniak once again placed her in the role of an 'insider'. Moreover, Sarah's assertion that July 11 is a day for the families is likewise significant. Here, she draws a further line between the role of the forensic specialists and the victims' families. As Sarah indicated, events like the commemoration held at the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial and Cemetery mark the end of the forensic specialists' work. While they may attend such events, either for official or personal reasons, they have fulfilled their role and are thus required to stand aside and allow victims' family members to regain control of the fate of the deceased. In this sense, Sarah and other forensic specialists, including Mirna, are all (irrespective of nationality) relegated to the role of 'outsider'.

The importance of emotional connections

As I have discussed throughout this thesis, both my respondents and the existing literature repeatedly emphasised the importance of emotional detachment in allowing body handlers to carry out their work. However, as I have considered in this chapter, the type and manner of emotional engagement that occurred during commemorations and/or burials was reflected on as positive and desirable. In addressing this topic, several of my informants also began discussing the importance of maintaining an emotional connection

to their work. Emir spoke of his anger and frustration at hearing inaccurate information about the Srebrenica genocide in the media.

> And especially I am…angry when I see that there's incorrect information on TV […]. It said, for example, Karadžić said that in…ICTY only 800 people were killed in Srebrenica. How were there 800 when at two execution sites, I worked here on 2,000? […] You lie and this true and it is…facts! But that is only (I think) propaganda. […] And after that propaganda I always try better work my job.

Accordingly, these emotions encouraged him in his work with ICMP. Furthermore, when discussing her encounters with personal effects and the impact of them on her, Sarah noted:

> And so those ones bring you back to the reality…of…not the scientific objectivity but the reality of the last moments of these peoples' lives. […] And, I think it's important to say that I let myself feel those moments. I don't hide them away. …I respect myself enough to accept that that is the reality and that's why I'm here. But at the same time, I'm doing this for them. And if anything, that makes me even more comfortable with what I'm doing and why I'm doing it.

Although forensic specialists' emotional responses to their work has been previously presented as problematic, in commenting on her emotional responses to personal effects, Sarah demonstrates that this is not always the case. Instead, through considering "the last moments of these people's lives" and the horrific circumstances under which they died, Sarah is reminded of the importance of her work. As discussed above, for Sarah, this constitutes successfully identifying the deceased. Furthermore, in speaking of "doing this for them", Sarah demonstrates an emotional attachment to the remains under her care. Once again, however, she does not conceive of this attachment as negative. In both instances, therefore, this emotional attachment allows Sarah to maintain her professional identity as a forensic anthropologist. Moreover, Jasmina noted that having a human connection allowed her to "give the maximum" when carrying out her duties. She further drew on her prior experiences as a lab technician in speaking about this, noting how her fear of hurting someone when drawing blood made her less likely to inflict pain on them. Within the context of the mortuary, Jasmina's fear of causing emotional distress to victims' family members through making mistakes prompted her to carry out her work to

the best of her abilities. In this sense, too, the agency of human remains may also exert a positive impact on the forensic specialist's professional identity, aiding them as they carry out their work.

However, for forensic specialists, maintaining an emotional connection with their work may also be crucial for managing their identities as human beings. Jasmina asserted it was "always better to feel something" and thus it was important for her always to have a human connection to her work. Furthermore, Mirna also spoke in brief about the importance of connecting the deceased to a living person. She explained that doing this, "would make me a better person…and I think it's… important to connect". Thus, as these statements suggest, maintaining an emotional connection to one's work can benefit the forensic specialist. As Jasmina and Mirna especially imply, the lack of emotional involvement with one's work can make the individual both a 'bad' person and forensic specialist. In this sense, therefore, complete emotional detachment can be conceived of as a potentially stigmatising behaviour that threatens a forensic specialist's professional identity.

Finally, while Mirna spoke of burials and/or commemorations as the only 'safe space' in which to experience emotional connections to their work, the statements above indicate that this is not always the case. Instead, experiencing emotional attachment to their work while in the mortuary can constitute a positive experience for the forensic specialist and abet rather than impede their work. Nevertheless, such emotional responses must still be controlled within the mortuary: Jasmina, who spoke at length about the importance of emotions aiding her work, nevertheless made sure to emphasise that she "doesn't get out of control with emotions". This, in turn, reiterates the importance of feeling rules and performance management within ICMP's mortuaries.

Conclusion

As this chapter has suggested, commemorations may serve a variety of functions for ICMP's forensic specialists. Although they may attend these events for official

purposes, they primarily elect to attend these events or visit burial sites for personal reasons. These events and/or sites may provide forensic specialists with an opportunity to mourn for the deceased, thereby further indicating my respondents' attachment to the remains. Moreover, in the case of Bosnian workers, attending these events may also allow them to engage in communal mourning. Here, the context can be crucial: while the mortuaries' feeling rules and expectations of performance means that such emotions may be problematic within the mortuary, commemorations and/or burial sites provide a 'safe' place in which feelings of sadness and grief may be expressed. In this sense, the agency of the deceased body can be construed of as less problematic. Visiting burial sites may also remind the forensic specialists that ICMP has been successful in achieving its goals of identifying and repatriating the remains of missing people in BiH, thereby providing the forensic specialist with a sense of satisfaction and helping them to continue with their work. However, despite these beneficial aspects of commemorations and burials, forensic specialists may nevertheless find them difficult to attend. Aside from issues regarding the weather and crowds, they are also deeply sad events and seeing the emotional responses of victims' family members may prove challenging to forensic specialists, even within the 'safe' setting of the burial or commemoration site. Finally, this chapter has also explored how my respondents viewed emotional responses to their work as something desirable and beneficial, thereby also suggesting the positive role of the deceased body's agency. Despite their earlier assertions, emotional connections need not always be relegated to commemorations. Rather, they can, to a limited extent, safely occur within the mortuary. Thus, this chapter has also sought to emphasise that although ICMP forensic specialists consistently reiterated the importance of not experiencing emotional reactions (especially in the mortuary), their emotions nevertheless serve a purpose for both their personal and professional identities. This in turn serves to further demonstrate the complexities of forensic specialists' experiences with and reactions to the human remains in their care.

Conclusion

Lejla's observation of how in the context of the mortuary "here everything is possible" has resonated with me since her interview. To me, this simple, concise statement effectively summarised the violence of and atrocities committed during the recent war in BiH. As my respondents learned throughout the course of their work with the remains of the deceased, horrific acts that one would think could not be possible were indeed possible. However, the work carried out by ICMP's forensic specialists shows that the seemingly impossible task of locating, identifying, and repatriating the remains of missing people is also possible. Thus, my respondents' work can provide answers to family members about the fate of their loved ones and allow for them to bury their dead in accordance with their religious beliefs and cultural practices. However, this work is certainly not easy. As I have emphasised in this thesis, it requires them to uphold their professional identities as forensic specialists while working in what can be an emotionally challenging context.

Responding to the existing literature

This thesis has thus sought to explore the numerous complexities and contradictions of ICMP forensic specialists' work with both the living and the dead. This study is unique in that while previous studies of body handlers' responses to mass death have primarily focused on the experiences of these individuals' work following disasters or terrorist attacks (e.g. Alexander & Wells 1991; McCarroll *et al*. 1993, Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992; Raphael 1986; Ursano & Mitchell 1990), less work has been done on their experiences working in post-conflict settings. However, ICMP forensic specialists' experiences with the dead can still be considered in the context of analogous literature. To begin, as in the existing literature (e.g. Timmermans 2006: 279; Lella & Pawluch 1988: 129; Lemp 2005: 321), my respondents also spoke of viewing their work with scientific awe and/or enthusiasm. However, my respondents emphasised these reactions to a greater extent than previous studies as scientific awe/fascination constituted one of their primary

responses to the remains. Moreover, in contrast to these analogous studies, I found that responding to human remains in this manner constituted a form of emotional attachment, one that benefitted my informants. This, in turn, challenges the presumption that body handlers require complete emotional detachment in order to carry out their work (see below).

Furthermore, previous studies have particularly stressed the prevalence of body handlers' 'negative' emotional responses to the remains and, in accordance with this, the necessity of body handlers actively dehumanising the remains in order to carry out their work (e.g. McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 214; Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992: 8; Ursano & McCarroll 1990: 397). In contrast, my respondents did not emphasise the need for this approach due to the presence of skeletal remains rather than fully fleshed bodies, the amount of work they needed to carry out on a daily basis, and their preoccupation with other concerns, such as school and family matters. This, in turn, also supports previous studies asserting that the deceased human body may be considered an object (e.g. Domanska 2006: 403; Green & Murray 2009: 370; Hallam *et al*. 1999: 88; Verdery 1999: 27). Furthermore, as in the existing literature, my research also suggests that the manner in which the body is handled can also bring about its objectification (see e.g. Leighton 2010: 86; Sadala & Mendes: 791; Sharp 2001: 114; Sofaer 2006: xiii, 64, 69; Timmermans 2006: 53). However, as in the existing literature, my own research demonstrates that certain remains (such as those both demonstrating and lacking trauma and the remains of children) or identification with the remains may elicit emotional responses in the body handler (e.g. Howarth 1996: 81; Koff 2005: 153; Leighton 2010: 88; McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 211; Ursano & McCarroll *et al*. 1990: 397; USACHPPM n.d.: n.p.). Furthermore, like in previous studies (e.g. Smith III & Kleinman 1989: 59; Timmermans 2006: 278; Ursano & McCarroll 1990: 398; Ursano *et al*. 1999: 358), my respondents emphasised that such emotional responses are problematic and that emotional detachment constitutes a necessary part of their professional identities.

In discussing forensic specialists' emotional responses, however, I also considered the agency of the deceased human body. Utilising literature asserting the agency of non-human objects (e.g. Gell 1998 and Knappett & Malfouris 2010), previous scholars have asserted the agency of human remains, noting their ability to evoke responses from living individuals. (see e.g. Fontein 2010, Hallam 2010, Hallam et al. 2010, Harper 2010,

Komaromy 2000, Krmpotich et al. 2010, Sørensen 2009, and Williams 2004). Throughout the course of my fieldwork, I also noted the agency of the deceased human body. For example, some of my informants spoke of human remains as scientifically fascinating, effectively encouraging them to further their knowledge of the human body. However, the human remains also evoked such feelings as sadness, guilt, and anger in my research participants. Personal effects found with the remains may be similarly poignant, leading forensic specialists to speculate about the deceased individual's life and death. This recalls Hallam & Hockey's (2001: 114) discussion of "contexts in which material objects are attributed powerful, and often disturbing agency". Accordingly, personal objects may also elicit emotional responses from ICMP's forensic specialists.

Thus, as in the analogous literature, in order to carry out their work, my respondents sometimes needed to utilise different techniques to manage their emotional responses. That is, my research participants exercise their own agency in order to control that of the human remains (and any associated objects) (Hallam & Hockey 2001: 115). In many instances, my findings echo those in existing literature. However, in other instances, my thesis contrasts with or presents more nuanced findings than this literature. For example, my respondents highlighted the use of humour in assisting them in carrying out their work (see e.g. Alexander & Wells 1991: 552; Hodgkinson & Stewart 1998: 200; Scott 2007; Thompson 1993: 629; USACHPPM n.d.: n.p.). Furthermore, as in previous studies (e.g. Hafferty 1991: 90, 92, 94; Lella & Pawluch 1988: 132; McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 211; Pelletier-Hibbert 1998: 233; Sinclair 1997: 194-195) my informants occasionally spoke of utilising active emotional detachment as a means of distancing themselves from the remains. Like McCarroll *et al*. (1995: 72), I found that my informants' use of active emotional detachment coincides with their desire to remain professional throughout the course of their work. However, my informants' need to conduct their work in a professional manner may also be the result of their desire to remain employed by ICMP, something that is not considered by McCarroll *et al*. (1995: 72). Furthermore, my informants particularly highlighted the importance of accommodation in assisting them in becoming emotionally detached from their work. While other scholars consider the employment of this technique (e.g. Hafferty 1991: 92, 106; Sinclair 1997: 194; Timmermans 2006: 279), its use is not similarly emphasised. Next, while this may be the

result of my particular research context, I found that the use of religious and/or spiritual beliefs by body handlers to be a more prominent technique than emphasised in the existing literature (Raphael 1986: 70, Solomon & Berger 2005, USACHPPM n.d.: n.p). Moreover, while previous studies have explored how focusing on the positive aspects of their work benefits body handlers (e.g. Alexander & Wells 1991: 552; Koff 2005: 34; McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 212, 214; Sadala & Mendes 2000: 792), my informants deemphasised this technique, placing it secondary to other tools. Furthermore, while my respondents explained how their workload prevented them from reflecting on the remains, they did not speak of deliberately focusing on their work as a means of preventing this contemplation (see Coombs & Goldman 1973: 347; Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992: 8; Fox 1979: 65, McCarroll *et al*. 1993: 214). Finally, while my respondents noted the importance of social support, my research also suggests the gender dimensions of this technique, something not considered in the analogous literature (e.g. Alexander & Wells 1991: 547, 552; Dyregrov & Mitchell 1992: 8; Koff 2005: 104; Pelletier-Hibbert 1998: 234; Raphael 1986: 241).

Furthermore, in discussing forensic specialists' work at ICMP, this thesis also brings into consideration the impact of body handlers' personal connections to the deceased. While this point has been addressed in the context of funeral home workers (Howarth 1996: 82), it has been otherwise neglected in the existing literature. As my research suggests, an individual can be both a forensic specialist and a surviving family member. However, the impact of this on the body handler's work may vary. As discussed in the case of Alem, his particularly horrific life experiences *did* make his work more challenging, and he sometimes struggled to manage his responses to the remains. Nevertheless, he sought to continue working to the best of his abilities, pushing through his difficult experiences. However, the fact that Jasmina had missing relatives did not seem to have an impact on her responses to her work. Furthermore, in discussing the personal connections to the remains, I have also considered the experiences of Bosnian and non-Bosnian forensic specialists. While they may feel differing levels of attachment to and identification with the remains on account of their respective nationalities, nevertheless, I found that both groups of individuals generally approached and conducted their work with an attitude of scientific objectivism.

ICMP forensic specialists' work with the deceased may also be considered within the context of Hochschild's (1975, 1979, 2012) concepts of feeling rules and emotion work. As in the analogous literature (e.g. Hafferty 1991: 127-128, 139-142; Koff 2005: 48; Sinclair 1997: 194-195) the mortuary's tacit feeling rules seemingly require forensic specialists to respond to human remains with emotional detachment. Although the nature of the remains and my respondents' work with them generally resulted in passive emotional detachment, adherence to these feeling rules occasionally required my respondents to engage in cognitive emotion work. However, my research also indicates that these feeling rules do not appear to be as coercive and fixed as presented in the existing literature (ibid.).

Goffman's discussions of stigma (1986) and performance management (1959) are also applicable to my study of forensic specialists' experiences with and responses to human remains. While my informants did not speak of their work as being stigmatising outside of the mortuary, their interest in managing their professional identities suggests that failing to successfully accomplish this could result in them becoming stigmatised within the mortuary. Thus, adherence to mortuary feeling rules becomes increasingly important. Regarding performance management (Goffman 1959), as discussed in Chapter Three, "the officially accredited values" of ICMP's mortuaries require that forensic specialists generally present themselves as emotionally detached throughout the course of their work (ibid.: 35). My informants, therefore, actively strive to attain this goal. However, as in the case of feeling rules, there may be some flexibility in these expectations. For example, several of my informants acknowledged that they could express feelings of sadness to their co-workers; other forensic specialists spoke of the importance of demonstrating a sense of humour in allowing them to continue with their work. Despite this fluidity, my informants nevertheless indicated that there were limits to the extent in which the ideals of performance could be disregarded.

In discussing ICMP forensic specialists' work with human remains, I have also considered Hughes's (1958: 49) concept of dirty work. My informants emphasised the ways in which their work is literally dirty, although this does not appear particularly problematic. This type of dirt is easily managed and merely requires the forensic specialist to wash and wear scrubs instead of/over their 'street clothes' and, occasionally, disposable

gloves. Thus, my research participants generally did not speak of their work as something that "wounds ones dignity" or "goes counter to the more heroic of our moral conceptions" (ibid.). The only exception to this experience occurs during interactions with victims' family members when forensic specialists may sometimes destroy survivors' hopes of finding a missing person alive; inflicting such harm on these individuals troubled some of my informants. However, by and large my research participants spoke of their work in a positive sense, finding it both scientifically fascinating and beneficial to Bosnian society. This, in turn, speaks to Hughes's discussion of situations in which "the dirty work is somehow integrated into the whole, and into the prestige-bearing role of the person who does it" (ibid.: 52). Perceiving their work in this way may thus benefit forensic specialists' perceptions of their professional identities.

Furthermore, this thesis has also briefly considered Verdery's (1999) discussion of the symbolism of human remains. Accordingly, I note the self-referential nature of the deceased human body and how it can bring to mind a living person's own 'story' (ibid.: 29, 33). For some of my Bosnian informants, most notably Emir, this leads to them to reflect upon how they could have similarly perished during the war. This, in turn, heightens their responses to the remains, requiring further action by the forensic specialist in order to mitigate this response. I also utilise Verdery's (ibid.: 28) assertion that human remains allow for "many readings" to further consider the impact of personal effects found with the deceased individual. Accordingly, forensic specialists may 'interpret' the deceased individual's life through any objects recovered with the body.

This project further contributes to discussions addressing body handlers' interactions with bereaved family members. While the subject of professionals' interactions with bereaved families has been subject to much consideration in the existing literature (e.g. Howarth 1996: 77-78, 114; Pelletier-Hibbert 1998; Powell *et al*. 2011: 11-13; Sadala & Mendes 2000; Stewart *et al*. 2000: 626), this thesis provides insight into other body handlers' interactions with family members in the aftermath of mass death, a topic that has previously received limited attention (see ICRC 2002: 6; Koff 2005: 70-71; Leighton 2010: 92). In some aspects, my study echoes the existing literature, suggesting the difficulties and rewarding aspects of 'breaking bad news' (e.g. McGibbon *et al*. 2010; Pelletier-Hibbert 1998; Stewart 1999; Stewart *et al*. 2000; Warnock *et al*.). It also expands

upon previous discussions of the specific challenges facing body handlers working with families in post-conflict settings (see ICRC 2002: 6; Koff 2005: 70-71; Leighton 2010: 92). These include, for example, the concern respondents display in destroying family members' hope of finding their loved one/s alive and the complications of working in a county in which ethnic tensions still exist.

My thesis also serves as a contribution to the debate surrounding the importance of body handlers receiving training in how to best break bad news to family members (e.g. Boyer 2010: 462; Brown *et al*. 2011: 5; Brysiewicz 2007: 91; Dickson *et al*. 2002: 334). Although it cannot ultimately determine which side is 'correct', my research notes how differences in body handlers' backgrounds and personal experiences may impact their perceptions of this matter. Additionally, in discussing their interactions with victims' family members, my informants further demonstrated that they are not entirely emotionally detached from their work because frequent contact with these family members, both inside and outside of the mortuary, may result in them developing an attachment to these people.

Furthermore, the thesis also speaks to the issue of feeling rules and detached concern as they pertain to interactions with victims' family members, which is also considered in the literature (e.g. Brown *et al*. 2011: 5; Hobgood *et al*. 2009; Jurkovich *et al*. 2000: 865, 868; Merton 1957: 74). These discussions, in turn, also allow for further inclusion of Goffman's (1959) concept of impression management. In contrast to this literature, I have considered how, like other body handlers, ICMP employees may be expected to respond to family members with detached concern, though this does not always occur. For example, as Mirna explained, forensic specialists may respond to family members with frustration and anger, thereby violating the mortuary's feeling rules as well as presenting an impression contrary to expectations of performance in the mortuary. Moreover, personal connections with the deceased may also influence these responses. For example, as Fatima's case suggests, the experience of having been through a similar situation may result in the forensic specialist responding to families with greater empathy. These accounts further suggest flexibility in the mortuary feeling rules.

Additionally, while existing literature frequently examines the repatriation of remains and the commemoration of mass death from the perspective of NGOs, governments, academics, and survivors, body handlers' opinions of these events has been

relatively unexplored (e.g. Ibreck 2010: 335-336; ICMP 2012: 2; ICRC 2002: 5, 23; ICRC 2003: 60; OHR 2003: n.p.; PAHO 2004: 97-98, 86, 105; Sanford 2003: 39; Schwartz 1982: 377). Discussion of ICMP employees' thoughts on these events, therefore, addresses this gap in the literature. My research suggests that attendance at commemorations and/or burials generally constitutes a positive experience for the body handler, providing them with an opportunity to grieve for and say their farewells to the deceased. This recalls previous studies examining medical professionals' opinions of attending patients' funerals (Arroll 2007: 278; Collins-Tracey *et al*. 2007: 812; Kim & Sandoval 2005: 87-88). Moreover, my research contradicts McCarroll et al.'s (1993: 213) finding that body handlers prefer to avoid commemorations because they humanise the deceased. Instead, for my informants, attending these events or visiting these sites, considering these remains as former living people, and learning their names is not necessarily considered harmful and may actually assist them in continuing with their work. However, the thesis does consider forensic specialists' negative perceptions of these events. Similar to Collins-Tracey *et al*.'s (2007: 813) study, some of my informants spoke of these events as incredibly sad, noting how attending them can prove challenging. However, Sarah and Katie also highlighted some of the practical reasons for preferring to avoid these events, such as the crowds and the heat. Furthermore, for Sarah, the number of people at these events prevented her from fulfilling her primary purpose in attending these events: having the opportunity to reflect on her work. Katie's comment that she generally did not desire to attend these events because she "already had as much interaction as [she] needed to" suggests a limit to forensic specialists' attachment to their work.

My respondents' perspectives on attending commemorations also bring into consideration several other points not addressed in previous studies. First, the context of my research allowed for discussion of the differences in locals' and foreigners' perceptions of these events, highlighting how the latter attend the commemorations and/or burials as 'outsiders'. Moreover, in emphasising their need to grieve for and say goodbye to the deceased, this aspect of my thesis further indicates forensic specialists' emotional involvement in their work. Accordingly, although both my respondents and existing literature (see above) noted the importance of emotional detachment in allowing them to carry out their work and remain professional, throughout their interviews, my informants

revealed that they are not as detached from their work as they presume themselves to be. Furthermore, in discussing forensic specialists' attendance at commemorations and/or burials, the thesis also suggests how experiencing emotional responses can facilitate rather than prevent them from upholding their identities as forensic specialists. Having an emotional connection can be considered as necessary to one's identity as a human being. As Mirna commented, maintaining this connection "would make [them] a better person". Thus, my study further suggests the positive side of emotional responses to human remains, a subject that has received limited attention in the existing literature. This again indicates that mortuary feelings rules are not as fixed as presented in the existing literature. Finally, in discussing their thoughts on attending commemorations and/or burials, my respondents also brought into consideration the correlation of space and emotional responses. As Mirna's interviews suggested, commemorations can constitute a space in which forensic specialists can experience emotional responses to their work without the fear of undermining their professional identities or performances. However, in discussing the importance of maintaining an emotional connection to their work, Jasmina, Emir, Mirna, and Sarah also indicated that limited emotional responses *within* the mortuary may also be acceptable and even prove beneficial to their work.

Suggestions for future research

Although this thesis has explored numerous characteristics of forensic specialists' work with human remains in post-war BiH, it also suggests several areas for further research. First, with the exception of their experience at commemorations and/or visiting burial sites, this thesis has focused on the experiences of forensic specialists in the mortuary. Thus, the project could be extended to examine how their work impacts their lives outside of the mortuary. For example, it could further consider the implications of encounters with family members away from the mortuary and whether forensic specialists are able to compartmentalise their work from their personal lives. This approach, in turn, could lead to examination of family members' perceptions of the forensic specialists. Additionally, as my respondents frequently spoke about their personal lives, it would also

be interesting to learn how forensic specialists' families and friends view their work. Similarly, this project could be expanded upon to consider how ICMP forensic specialists' work is portrayed in the media within BiH and abroad. Although I have briefly addressed the issue of gender as it pertains to social support, additional research could also further examine gender relations in ICMP's mortuaries. For instance, recalling Hafferty (1991: 128, 139-143), it could further examine whether different feeling rules exist for male and female forensic specialists. This project could also be expanded upon to include the experiences of forensic specialists employed by the MPI. Finally, further research could examine how mortuary space is utilised both by ICMP employees and others. This could include exploration of such topics as which spaces are considered 'public' and 'private', how visitors are guided through the various sites, and the ways in which the mortuary spaces are utilised when non-employees visit the mortuaries versus the use of space when these individuals are not present.

Final thoughts

Though rewarding in its own way, my respondents' work is certainly not easy. As I have explored throughout this thesis, they must navigate numerous challenges. Although I have primarily highlighted the emotional ones, there are countless others both inside and outside of the mortuary. As I was constantly reminded during fieldwork, life in post-conflict BiH is not easy. Uncertainties and fears about the nation's future abound; I met few people who spoke with any optimism about the fate of BiH. Nevertheless, my respondents expressed and demonstrated a sincere commitment and dedication to their work. It is my hope that I have captured a small piece of their experiences.

Bibliography

ABFA – American Board of Forensic Anthropology 2008. Home page. (available on-line: http://www.theabfa.org, accessed 6 February 2013).

Ackerman, G.L. 2004. Congressional Record — Extensions of Remarks: Holocaust Remembrance Day, 22 April (available on-line: *http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CREC-2004-04-22/pdf/CREC-2004-04-22-pt1-PgE640-3.pdf*, accessed 13 August 2012).

Alexander, D.A. & A. Wells 1991. Reactions of police officers to body handling after a major disaster: a before-and-after comparison. *British Journal of Psychiatry* **159**, 547-555.

Amnesty International 2010. Landmark enforced disappearances convention to enter into force. 25 November (available on-line: *http://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/latest-victories/landmark-enforced-disappearances-convention-to-enter-into-force*, accessed 10 April 2012).

— 2011. UN: states urged to act over enforced disappearances, 8 November (available on-line: *http://www.amnesty.org/en/news/un-states-urged-act-over-enforced-disappearances-2011-11-08*, accessed 10 April 2012).

Arroll, B. & K. Falloon 2007. Should doctors go to patients' funerals? *British Medical Journal* **334**, 1322.

Bailey, T. 2010. When commerce meets care: emotion management in UK funeral directing. *Mortality* **15**, 205-222.

Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) 2010*a*. Dobrovoljacka Street deaths commemorated, 4 May (available on-line: *http://www.bim.ba/en/217/10/27798*, accessed 28 June 2011).

— 2010*b*. Omarska: a monument to savagery and resistance, 6 August (available on-line: *http://www.bim.ba/en/230/10/29850*, accessed 28 June 2011).

Ballinger, P. 2004. Exhumed histories: Trieste and the politics of (exclusive) victimhood. *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* **6**, 145-159.

Barabya, J.P. & M. Gasior 2006. Forensic anthropology and the most probable cause of death in cases of violations against International Humanitarian Law: an example from Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Journal of Forensic Sciences* **51**, 103-108.

Bass, B. & J. Jefferson 2004. *Death's acre: inside the legendary 'Body Farm'*. London: Time Warner.

BBC 2012. Srebrenica: mass burials on 1995 massacre anniversary, 11 July (available on-line: *http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-18795203*, accessed 20 July 2012).

Bennett, C. 1995. *Yugoslavia's bloody collapse: causes, course and consequences*. New York: New York University Press.

Blau, S., S. Robertson, & M. Johnstone 2008. Disaster victim identification: new applications for postmortem computed tomography. *Journal of Forensic Sciences* **53**, 956-961.

Boyer, M.W., J.L. Hanson, E.A. Pimental, A.K. Flanagan, L. Rawn, A.G. Rizzo, M.E. Ritter, & J. O. Lopreiato 2010. Teaching breaking bad news using a mixed reality simulation. *Journal of Surgical Research* **159**, 462-467.

Brown, V.A., P. A. Parker, L. Furber, & A. L. Thomas 2011. Patient preferences for the delivery of bad news – the experience of a UK Cancer Centre. *European Journal of Cancer Care* **20**, 56-61.

Broz, S. 2005. *Good people in an evil time: portraits of complicity and resistance in the Bosnian war.* (trans. E. Elias-Bursać) (ed.) L. Kain Hart. New York: Other Press.

Bringa, T. 1995. *Being Muslim the Bosnian way*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brkic, C.A. 2004. *The stone fields: an epitaph for the living*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Brysiewicz, P. 2007. The lived experience of working in a mortuary. *Accident and Emergency Nursing* **15**, 88-93.

Buckman, R. 1984. Breaking bad news: why is it still so difficult? *British Medical Journal* **288**, 1597-1599.

Burg, S.L. & P.S. Shoup 2000. *The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina: ethnic conflict and international intervention*. New York & London: M.E. Sharpe.

Bush, G.W. 2007. Administration of George W. Bush: statement on the International Day of Commemoration in Memory of the Victims of the Holocaust, 26 January (available on-line: *http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PPP-2007-book1/pdf/PPP-2007-book1-doc-pg71.pdf*, accessed 13 August 2012).

Byers, S.N. 2005. *Introduction to forensic anthropology: a textbook.* Second edition. Foreword by S. Rhine. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Byrd, J. E. & B. J. Adams 2003. Osteometric sorting of commingled human remains. *Journal of Forensic Science* **48**, 717-724.

Capdevila, L. & D. Voldman 2006. *War dead: Western societies and the casualties of war*. (trans. R. Veasey) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 1995. Statement by CIA Deputy Director for Intelligence John Gannon on ethnic cleansing and atrocities in Bosnia – Joint SSCI SFRC Open Hearing, 9 August 1995 (available on-line: https://www.cia.gov/news-information/speeches-testimony/1995/ddi_testimony_8995.html, accessed 19 February 2013).

— 2012. The world factbook: Europe: Bosnia and Herzegovina (available on-line: *https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bk.html*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Cerkez, A. 2011. Bosnia prepares mass funeral of Srebrenica victims. *ABC News*, 10 July (available on-line: *http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory?id=13999446#.TxHEG2NWp8M*, accessed 14 January 2012).

Clark, J.N. 2010. Missing persons, reconciliation, and the view from below: a case study of Bosnia-Hercegovina. *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* **10**, 425-442.

Clinton, W.J. 1996. Statement on the International Commission on Missing Persons in the former Yugoslavia. In *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: William J. Clinton*. Volume I: 997-998, 29 June (available on-line: *http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/PPP-1996-book1/pdf/PPP-1996-book1-doc-pg997.pdf*, accessed 8 July 2012).

Cohen, R. 1995. C.I.A. report on Bosnia blames Serbs for 90% of the war crimes. *New York Times*, 9 March (available on-line: http://www.nytimes.com/1995/03/09/world/cia-report-on-bosnia-blames-serbs-for-90-of-the-war-crimes.html, accessed 19 February 2013).

Coles, K. 2007. Ambivalent builders: Europeanisation, the production of difference and internationals in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In *The New Bosnian Mosaic* (eds) X. Bougarel, E. Helms, & G. Duijzings, 255-272. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing.

Collins-Tracey, S., J.M. Clayton, L. Kirsten, P.N. Butow, M.H.N. Tatersall, & R. Chye 2009. Contacting bereaved relatives: the views and practices of palliative care and oncology health care professionals. *Journal of Pain and Symptom Management* **37**, 822.

Coombs, R.H. & L.J. Goldman 1973. Maintenance and discontinuity of coping mechanisms in an Intensive Care Unit. *Social Problems* **20**, 342-355.

Cornell, R.E. 2007. Death and burial in Islam. In *Voices of Islam, voices of life: family*

home and society, v. 3 (eds) V. Cornell & G. Henry-Blakemore, 151-172. London: Praegar.

Denich, B. 1994. Dismembering Yugoslavia: nationalist ideologies and the symbolic revival of genocide. *American Ethnologist* **21**, 367-390.

Denitch, B. 1994. *Ethnic nationalism: the tragic death of Yugoslavia*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dickson, D., O. Hargie, K. Brunger, & K. Stapleton 2002. Health professionals' perceptions of breaking bad news. *International Journal of Health Care Quality Assurance* **15**, 324-336.

Disaster Mortuary Operational Response Teams (DMORT) n.d. How it all started… (available on-line: *http://www.dmort.org/DNPages/DMORTHistory.htm*, accessed 28 December 2011).

Dizdarevic, Z. 1993. *Sarajevo: A War Journal*. (trans. A. Alcalay). New York: Fromm International.

Domanska, E. 2005. Toward the archaeontology of the dead body. (trans. M. Zapedowska) *Rethinking History* **9**, 389-413.

Douglas, M. 2002. *Purity and danger: an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge.

Dyregrov, A. & J. T. Mitchell 1992. Work with traumatised children – psychological effects and coping strategies. *Journal of Traumatic Stress* **5**, 5-17.

Dyregrov, A., J. I. Kristofferson, & R. Gjestad 1996. Voluntary and professional disaster-workers: similarities and differences in reactions. *Journal of Traumatic Stress* **9**, 541-555.

Earle, S., C. Komaromy, P. Foley, & C.E. Lloyd 2009. Understanding reproductive loss: the moment of death. In *Death and dying: a reader* (eds) S. Earle, C. Komaromy, C. Bartholomew, 85-91. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

The Economist 2012. Remembering Srebrenica: commemoration day, 14 July (available on-line: *http://www.economist.com/node/21558614*, accessed 20 July 2012).

Emmert, T.A. 1991. The Battle of Kosovo: early reports of victory and defeat. In *Kosovo: legacy of a medieval battle* (eds) W.S. Vucinich & T.A. Emmert, 19-40. Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Eppel, S. 2001. "Healing the dead to transform the living: exhumations and reburial in

Zimbabwe". Paper presented at Regional and Human Rights' Contexts and DNA. University of California, Berkeley, 26-27 April (available on-line: *www.icrc.org/themissi.nsf/32db2800384e72adc12569dd00505ac6/72889407ac24b 246c1256b04004739f6/$FILE/healing%20the%20dead- %20calif%20conf%202001.rtf*, accessed 15 June 2011).

Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense (EAAF) [Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team] 2012. Home (available on-line: *http://www.eaaf.org*, accessed 8 August 2012).

European Union (EU) 2007. Standard summary project fiche – IPA annual action programme 2007 for Bosnia and Herzegovina (available on-line: *http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/bosnia_and_herzegovina/ipa/2007/ipa_2007_ 03_international_commission_for_missing_persons_en.pdf*, accessed 8 January 2012).

— 2012. Joint statement by EU High Representative Catherine Ashton and EU Commissioner for Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy Štefan Füle on the commemoration of Srebrenica (available on-line: *http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/13169 7.pdf*, accessed 13 August 2012).

European Union Force (EUFOR) n.d. EUFOR fact sheet (available on-line: *http://www.euforbih.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=15&It emid=134*, accessed 4 August 2012).

— 2012. EUFOR supports Srebrenica commemorations (available on-line: *http://www.euforbih.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2111: eufor-supports-srebrenica-commemorations-&catid=105:press- statements&Itemid=70*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Femenía N. 1987. Argentina's Mothers of Plaza de Mayo: the mourning process from junta to democracy. *Feminist Studies* **13**, 9-18.

Ferguson, J. 1994. *The anti-politics machine: "development," depoliticisation, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ferllini, R. 2002. *Silent witness: how forensic anthropology is used to solve the world's toughest crimes*. Foreword by C. Wecht. Buffalo: Firefly Books Ltd.

Filipović, Z. 1994. *Zlata's Diary: a child's life in Sarajevo* (trans. C. Pribichevich- Zorić). New York: Penguin Books.

Fine, J.V.A. 1987. *The late medieval Balkans: a critical survey from the late twelfth century to the Ottoman conquest*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Fontbonne University n.d. Online exhibit: "Prijedor: lives from the Bosnian genocide" Prijedor timeline (available on-line: *http://www.fontbonne.edu/academics/undergraduate/departments/englishcommunication/bosnia_memory_project/prijedortimeline/index.php*, accessed 11 December 2011).

Fontein, J. 2010. Between tortured bodies and resurfacing bones: the politics of the dead in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Material Culture* **15**, 423-448.

Fox, R.C. 1979. *Essays in medical sociology: journeys into the field*. Health, Medicine, and Society: a Wiley-Interscience Series. (ed.) D. Mechanic. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

— 1989. *The sociology of medicine: a participant observer's view*. Prentice Hall Foundations of Modern Sociology Series (ed.) A. Inkeles. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Foucault, M. 1973 [1963]. *The birth of the clinic: an archaeology of medical perception* (trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith). New York City: Vintage.

— 1972. *The archaeology of knowledge*. London: Routledge.

Fundación de Antropología Forense de Guatemala (FAFG) [Guatemalan Forensic Anthropology Foundation] n.d. Home (available on-line: *http://www.fafg.org/Ingles/paginas/FAFG.html*, accessed 8 August 2012).

Gaffin, D. 1995.The production of emotion and social control: taunting, anger, and the *Rukka* in the Faeroe Islands. *Ethos* **23**, 147-173.

— 1996. From "bugging-out" to "chilling-out": manipulating emotion and evoking reason in a forensic psychiatric hospital. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry* **20**, 199-228.

Gatrad, A.R. 1994. Muslim customs surrounding death, bereavement, postmortem examinations, and organ transplants. *British Medical Journal* **309**, 521-523.

Gell, A. 1998. *Art and agency*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Gendercide Watch 2002. Case study: the Srebrenica massacre, July 1995 (available on-line: *http://www.gendercide.org/case_srebrenica.html*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Glenny, M. 1999. *The Balkans: nationalism, war, and the Great Powers, 1804-1999*. New York: Viking.

Gidley R. & H. Roberts 2003. Setting the truth in stone: Guatemala's monuments to the dead. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival* **19**, 148-157.

Goffman, E. 1959. *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday.

— 1986. *Stigma: notes on the management of spoiled identity*. New York: Touchstone Edition, Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Green, L. & N. Murray 2009. Notes for a guide to the ossuary. *African Studies* **68**, 370-386.

Gustavson, N. 1988. The effect of human dissection on first-year students and implications for the doctor-patient relationship. *Journal of Medical Education* **63**, 62-64.

Hadders, H. 2007. Dealing with the dead patient at the Intensive Care Unit. *Morality* 12, 207-222.

Hafferty, H. 1991. *Into the valley: death and the socialisation of medical students*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Halilbegovich, N. 2006. *My childhood under fire: a Sarajevo diary*. Toronto: Kids Can Press.

Hallam, E. 2010. Articulating bones: an epilogue. *Journal of Material Culture* **15**, 465-492.

Hallam, E. & J. Hockey 2001. *Death, memory, and material culture*. Materialising Culture (series eds) P. Gilroy, M. Herzfeld, & D. Miller. Oxford: Berg.

Hallam, E., J. Hockey, & G. Howarth 1999. *Beyond the body: death and social identity*. London: Routledge.

Harper, S. 2010. The social agency of dead bodies. *Mortality* **15**, 308-322.

Hartmann, F. 2007. Bosnia. In *Crimes of war: what the public should know revised and updated edition 2.0* (eds) R. Gutman, D. Rieff, & A. Dworkin, 66-74. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Hass, A. 1995. *The aftermath: living with the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hayden, R. 1994. Recounting the dead: the discovery and redefinition of wartime massacres in late- and post-communist Yugoslavia. In *Memory, history, and opposition under state socialism* (ed.) R. Watson, 167-184. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Hevesi, D. 1992. Shultz calls for military intervention in Bosnia. *New York Times*, 9

December (available on-line: http://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/09/nyregion/shultz-calls-for-military-intervention-in-bosnia.html, accessed 27 February 2013).

Hibbert, M. 1995. Stressors experienced by nurses while caring for organ donors and their families. *Heart and Lung* **24**, 399-407.

Hobgood, C.D., J. Tamayo-Sarver, D.W. Hollar Jr., & S. Sawning 2009. Griev_Ing: death notification skills and applications for fourth-year medical students. *Teaching and Learning in Medicine* **21**, 207-219.

Hochschild, A.R. 1976. The sociology of feeling and emotion: selected possibilities. In *Another voice: feminist perspectives on social life* (eds) M. Millman & R. Moss, 280-307. Kanter: Octagon Books.

— 1979. Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology* **85**, 551-575.

— 2012. *The managed heart: commercialisation of human feeling*. Updated with a new preface. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hockey, J. & J. Draper 2005. Beyond the womb and the tomb: identity, (dis)embodiment and the life course. *Body & Society* **11**, 41-57.

Hockey, J., C. Komaromy, & K. Woodthorpe 2010. Materialising absence. In *The matter of death: space, place, and materiality* (eds) J. Hockey, C. Komaromy, & K. Woodthorpe, 1-18. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hodgkinson, P. E. & M. Stewart 1998. *Coping with catastrophe: a handbook of post-disaster psychosocial aftercare*. Second edition. London: Routledge.

Holbrooke, R. 1998. *To end a war*. New York: Random House.

Honig, J.W. & N. Both 1996. *Srebrenica: record of a war crime*. New York: Penguin Books.

Horsley, P.A. 2008. Death dwells in spaces: bodies in a hospital mortuary. *Anthropology & Medicine* **15**, 133-146.

— 2012. 'How dead dead the dead are': sensing the science of death. *Qualitative Research* **12**, 540-553.

Howarth, G. 1996. *Last rites: the work of the modern funeral director*. Death, Value and Meaning Series, (ed.) J.D. Morgan. Amityville: Baywood Publishing.

Hughes, E.C. 1958. *Men and their work*. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Human Rights Watch 1994*a*. Bosnia-Hercegovina: "Ethnic cleansing" continues in northern Bosnia (available on-line: *http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/BOSNIA94N.pdf*, accessed 10 December 2011).

—1994*b*. War crimes in Bosnia-Hercegovina: U.N. cease-fire won't help Banja Luka. *http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/45cb0ca52.html*. Accessed 11 December 2011).

Ibreck, R. 2010. The politics of mourning: survivor contributions to memorials in post-genocide Rwanda. *Memory Studies* **3**, 330-343.

International Coalition Against Enforced Disappearances (ICAED) 2009. The campaign (available on-line: *http://www.icaed.org/the-campaign/*, accessed 10 April 2012).

— n.d. History of the ICAED (available on-line: *http://www.icaed.org/the-coalition/history-of-icaed/*, accessed 10 April 2012).

International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP) 2004. Law on Missing Persons (ICMP Unofficial Translation) (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/lawmp_en.pdf*, accessed 24 January 2009).

— 2006. Families to mark International Day of the Disappeared. Press release, 29 August (available on-line: http://www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/families-to-mark-international-day-of-the-disappeared/, accessed 16 August 2012).

— 2008. ICMP conference: families of the missing press for regional cooperation. Press release, 30 November (available on-line: *www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/icmp-conference-families-of-the-missing-press-for-regional-cooperation*, accessed 2 April 2012).

— 2010*a*. 17th anniversary of the death of Serbs in Skelani. Sarajevo: ICMP 16 January 2010.

— 2010*b*. Bratunac victims commemorated: Candles lit for Serbs killed in the Drina region. Sarajevo: ICMP 13 July 2010.

— 2010*c*. Burial in Gornja Kalesija: mortal remains of Podrinje victims buried. Sarajevo: ICMP 2 June 2010.

— 2010*d*. Burial of Bratunac victims: the criminals still walk free. Sarajevo: ICMP 13 May 2010.

— 2010*e*. Burial prayer carried out in Vlasenica: horrible crimes still unpunished. Sarajevo: ICMP 24-26 April 2010.

— 2010*f*. ICMP plans: Sarajevo to get a forensic laboratory for the whole world. Sarajevo: ICMP 1 April 2010.

— 2011. ICMP urges Libyan authorities to design mechanisms to address the issue of missing persons in accordance with international human rights and rule of law norms (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/icmp-urges-libyan-authorities/*, accessed 16 August 2012).

— 2012*a*. Over 7,000 Srebrenica victims have now been recovered. Press release, 11 July (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/press-releases/over-7000-srebrenica-victims-recovered*, accessed 8 August 2012).

— 2012*b*. Report: memorialising missing persons in the Western Balkans: challenges and perspectives (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/icmp-jcsi-94-3-doc.pdf*, accessed 1 March 2012).

— n.d.*a*. About ICMP (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/about-icmp/*, accessed 5 February 2009).

— n.d.*b*. Activities (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*c*. Agreement on assuming the role of co-founders of the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/agreement_en.pdf*, accessed 24 January 2009).

— n.d.*d*. Bosnia and Herzegovina (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/bosnia-and-herzegovina*, accessed 17 July 2012).

— n.d.*e*. Chile (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/south-america/chile*, accessed 3 January 2012).

— n.d.*f*. Colombia (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/south-america/chile*, accessed 3 January 2012).

— n.d.*g*. Fact sheet (available online: *http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/icmp-fact-sheet-english.pdf*, accessed 6 July 2011).

— n.d.*h*. Forensic archaeology and anthropology (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities/technical-assistance/forensic-archeology-and-anthropology/*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*i*. Funding (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/funding*, accessed 14 January 2012).

— n.d.*j*. Identification Coordination Division (ICD), Tuzla (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/facililities/identification-coordination-division-icd-tuzla/*, accessed 4 January 2012).

— n.d.*k*. Institution building (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities/capacity-building/?page_id=586*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*l*. Iraq (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/middle-east/iraq*, accessed 3 January 2012).

— n.d.*m*. Kuwait (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/middle-east/kuwait*, accessed 3 January 2012).

— n.d.*n*. Legislative support (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities/capacity-building/?page_id=553*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*o*. Locating and identifying missing persons: a guide for families in Bosnia and Herzegovina (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/wp-content/uploads/2007/11/locating-and-identifying-missing-persons-a-guide-for-families-in-bih.pdf*, accessed 15 January 2012).

— n.d.*p*. Monitoring (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities/monitoring*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*q*. North America (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/north-america*, accessed 3 January 2012).

— n.d.*r*. Public involvement: Civil Society Initiatives (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities/public-involvement-civil-society-initiatives*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*s*. Raising awareness (available on-line: *http://www.ic-mp.org/activities/public-involvement-civil-society-initiatives/raising-awareness/*, accessed 2 January 2012).

— n.d.*t*. Southeast Asia (available on-line:
http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-asia/, accessed 3 January 2012).

— n.d.*u*. Southeast Europe (available on-line:
http://www.ic-mp.org/icmp-worldwide/southeast-europe/, accessed 2 January 2012).

International Committee of the Red Cross 1929*a*. Convention for the amelioration of the condition of the wounded and sick in armies in the field, Geneva (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/IHL.nsf/FULL/300?OpenDocument*, accessed May 25 2009).

— 1929*b*. Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/IHL.nsf/FULL/305?OpenDocument*, accessed May 25, 2009).

— 1949. Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War. Geneva, 12 August 1949, 12 August (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/FULL/380?OpenDocument*, accessed 16 August 2012).

—1977. Protocol additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts (Protocol I) (available on-line:
http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/7c4d08d9b287a42141256739003e636b/f6c8b9fee14a77fdc125641e0052b079, accessed May 25, 2009).

— 1996. Missing Persons on the Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Geneva.

— 2002. The missing: action to resolve the problems of people unaccounted for as a result of armed conflict or internal violence and to assist their families. Mourning process and commemoration. Report and recommendations 04.2002-07.2002 (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc_themissing_102002_en_7.pdf*, accessed 24 December 2010).

— 2003. Report: the missing and their families. Summary of the conclusions arising from events held prior to the international conference of governmental and non-governmental experts, 19-21 February (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/eng/assets/files/other/icrc_themissing_012003_en_10.pdf*, accessed 8 August 2012).

— 2004*a*. The handling of human remains and information on the dead in situations relating to armed conflicts or internal violence and involving missing persons. 16th meeting of the standing committee on disaster victim identification (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/Web/eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/57_MJH5/&File/Interpol_2004DVI_EN.pdf*, accessed 28 November 2007).

— 2004*b*. Operational best practices regarding the management of human remains and information on the dead by non-specialists for all armed forces, for all humanitarian organisations (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/Web/Eng/siteeng0.nsf/htmlall/p08581/$File/ICRC_002_858.PDF!Open*, accessed 4 October 2007).

— 2012. Missing persons (available on-line: *http://www.icrc.org/eng/war-and-law/protected-persons/missing-persons/index.jsp*, accessed 10 April 2012).

International Court of Justice (ICJ) 2007. Case concerning the application of the convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro (available on-line: *http://www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/91/13685.pdf*, accessed 10 March 2012).

— n.d. The Court (available on-line: *http://www.icj-cij.org/court/index.php?p1=1*, accessed 8 August 2012).

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) 1995*a*. Milan Martic, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic indicted along with 21 other accused (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/sid/7237*, accessed 8 August 2012).

— 1995*b*. Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic accused of genocide following the take-over of Srebrenica (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/sid/7221*, accessed 8 August 2012).

— 2001*a*. ICTY Prosecutor v. Radislav Krstić judgement (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/krstic/tjug/en/krs-tj010802e.pdf*, accessed 10 December 2011).

— 2001*b*. The Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milošević, Milan Milutinović, Nikola Šainović, Dragoljub Ojdanić, Vlajko Stojiljković: prosecution's motion for joinder (available on-line: *http://icr.icty.org/*, accessed 4 August 2012).

— 2003*a*. ICTY Prosecutor v. Stanislav Galić: judgement and opinion (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/galic/tjug/en/gal-tj031205e.pdf*, accessed 21 March 2012).

— 2003*b*. Judgement in the case the Prosecutor v. Stanislav Galić: summary of judgement (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/case/galic/tjug/en/03/205_Gali_summary_en.pdf*, accessed 21 March 2012).

— 2004*a*. ICTY Prosecutor v. Radoslav Brđanin judgement (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/brdanin/tjug/en/brd-tj040901e.pdf*, accessed 11 December 2011).

— 2004*b*. Judgement in the case the Prosecutor v. Radoslav Brđanin: Radoslav Brđanin sentenced to 32 years' imprisonment. Press release, 1 September (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/sid/8368*, accessed 16 August 2012.

— n.d.*a*. About the ICTY (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/sections/AbouttheICTY*, accessed 8 August 2012).

— n.d.*b*. Case information sheet: (IT-97-27) Željko Ražnatović "Arkan" (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/zeljko_raznjatovic/cis/en/cis_arkan_en.pdf*, accessed 10 April 2012).

— n.d.*c*. Case information sheet: (IT-98-29) Stanislav Galić (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/galic/cis/en/cis_galic_en.pdf*, accessed 21 March 2012).

— n.d.*d*. Case information sheet: "Krajina" (IT-99-36): Radoslav Brđanin (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/brdanin/cis/en/cis_brdjanin_en.pdf*, accessed 8 August 2012).

— n.d.*e*. Case information sheet: "Srebrenica" (IT-02-60/2) Dragan Obrenović (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/obrenovic/cis/en/cis_obrenovic_1.pdf*, accessed 4 August 2012).

— n.d.*f*. Case information sheet: "Srebrenica-Drina Corps" (IT-98-33) Radislav Krstić (available on-line: *http://www.icty.org/x/cases/krstic/cis/en/cis_krstic_en.pdf*, accessed 10 December 2012).

Inzko, V. 2012. Forty-first report of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. 16 October 2011-20 April 2012 (available on-line: *http://www.un.org/ga/search/view-doc.asp?symbol=S12012/307*, accessed 15 July 2012).

Ivković, S. K. & J. Hagan 2006. The politics of punishment and the siege of Sarajevo: toward a conflict theory of perceived international (in)justice. *Law & Society Review* **40**, 369-410.

Jansen, S. 2002. The violence of memories: local narratives of the past after ethnic cleansing in Croatia. *Rethinking History* **6**, 77-94.

— 2008. Misplaced masculinities: status loss and the location of gendered subjectivities amongst 'non-transitional' Bosnian refugees. *Anthropological Theory* **8**, 181-200.

Jonker, G. 1997. The many facets of Islam: death, dying, and disposal between orthodox rule and historical convention. In *Death and bereavement across cultures* (eds) C.M. Parkes, P. Laungani, & W. Young, 147-165. London: Routledge.

Judah, T. 1997. *The Serbs: history, myth, and the destruction of Yugoslavia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Juhl, K. 2009. The problem of ethnic politics and trust: the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Genocide Studies and Prevention* **4**, 239-270.

Jukic, E. 2012. ICMP to finish its work in Bosnia. *Balkan Insight*, 15 June (available on-line: *http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/icmp-finished-70-per-cent-identification-in-bosnia*, accessed 10 July 2012).

Jurkovich, G.J., B. Pierce, L. Pananen, & F. Rivara 2000. Giving bad news: the family perspective. *The Journal of Trauma: Injury, Infection, and Critical Care*. **48**, 865-873.

Karahasan, D. 1994. *Sarajevo, exodus of a city* (trans. S. Drakulić). New York: Kodansha International.

Keough, M. E., S. Kahn, & A. Andrejevic 2000. Disclosing the truth: informed participation in the antemortem database project for survivors of Srebrenica. *Health and Human Rights* **5**, 68-87.

Killam, E.W. 1990. *The detection of human remains*. Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

Kim, Y. & A. Sandoval 2005. The 2005 anatomy ceremony: a service of gratitude. *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* **78**, 83-89.

Ki-Moon, B. 2007. United Nations Secretary- General SG/SM/10934 AFR/1519: on anniversary of Rwanda genocide, Secretary-General says current challenge is to make responsibility to protect operational, 5 April (available on-line: *http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2007/sgsm10934.doc.htm*, accessed 13 August 2012).

Knappett, C. & L. Malafouris 2010. Material and nonhuman agency: an introduction. In *Material agency: towards a non-anthropocentric approach* (eds) K. Knappett & L. Malafouris, ix-xix. New York: Springer.

Koff, C. 2005. *The bone woman: a forensic anthropologist's search for truth in the mass graves of Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks.

Komaromy, C. 2000. The sight and sound of death: the management of dead bodies in residential and nursing homes for older people. *Mortality* **5**, 299-315.

Krmpotich, C., J. Fontein, & J. Harries 2010. The substance of bones: the emotive quality and affective presence of human remains. *Journal of Material Culture* **15**, 371-384.

Langer, S. 2010. Distributed personhood and the transformation of agency. In *The matter of death: space, place, and materiality* (eds) J. Hockey, C. Komaromy, & K. Woodthorpe, 85-99. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Latour, B. [1983] 1993. *We have never been so modern*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

— 2005. *Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leash, R.M. 1994. *Death notification: a practical guide to the process*. Hinesburg: Upper Access.

Leighton, M. 2010. Personifying objects/objectifying people: handling questions of mortality and materiality through the archaeological body. *Ethnos* **75**, 78-101.

Lella, J.W. & D. Pawluch 1988. Medical students and the cadaver in social and cultural context. In *Biomedicine examined* (eds) M. Lock & D. Gordon, 125-153. Culture, Illness, and Healing (eds) M. Lock & A. Young. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press.

Lemp, H. K. 2005. Perceptions of dissection by students in one medical school: beyond learning about anatomy. A qualitative study. *Medical Education* **39**, 318-325.

Leydesdorff, S. 2009. When communities fell apart and neighbours became enemies: stories of bewilderment in Srebrenica. In *Memories of mass repression: narrating life stories in the aftermath of atrocity*. (eds) N. Adler, S. Leydesdorff, M. Chamberlain, & L. Neyzi, 21-39. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

— 2011. *Surviving the Bosnian genocide: the women of Srebrenica speak* (trans. K. Richardson). Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Lloyd, M. and Bor, R. 2009. *Communication skills for medicine*. Third edition. Foreword by Sir D. Weatherall. Contributions by G. Blandre & Z. Eleftheriadou. Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone Elsevier.

Lutz, C. 1988. *Unnatural emotions: everyday sentiments on a Micronesian atoll & their challenge to Western theory*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lutz, C. & G.M. White 1986. The anthropology of emotions. *Annual Review of Anthropology* **15**, 405-436.

McCarroll, J.E., R.J. Ursano, K.M. Wright, & C.S. Fullerton 1993. Handling bodies after violent death: strategies for coping. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* **63**, 209-214.

McCarroll J.E., A.S. Blank, & K. Hill 1995. Working with traumatic material – effects on Holocaust Memorial Museum staff. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* **65**, 66-75.

McCarthy, P. 2000. *After the fall: Srebrenica survivors in St. Louis*. Photographs by T. Maday. Forward by D. Rohde. Translation and interpretation by L. Susic. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society.

— n.d. *Empty villages and crowded grave yards: preserving memory in 'ethnically cleansed' Prijedor* (available on-line: *http://hslibrary.ucdenver.edu/on-display/documents/Prijedor.pdf*, accessed 10 December 2011).

McGibbon, E., E. Peter, & R. Gallop 2010. An institutional ethnography of nurses' stress. *Qualitative Health Research* **20**, 1353-1378.

Malcolm, N. 1994. *Bosnia: a short history*. New York: New York University Press.

Maples, W.E. & M. Browning 1995. *Dead men do tell tales*. London: Souvenir Press, Ltd.

Merton, R.K. 1957. Some preliminaries to a sociology of medical education. In *The student – physician: introductory studies in the sociology of medical education*. R.K. Merton, G.G. Reader, & P.L. Kendall (eds). Cambridge: The Commonwealth Fund, Harvard University Press.

Miller, P. 2006. Contested memories: the Bosnian genocide in Serb and Muslim minds. *Journal of Genocide Research* **8**, 311-324.

Miller, J.H. & A. Stiles 2009. Family presence during resuscitation and invasive procedures: the nurse experience. *Qualitative Health Research* **19**, 1431-1432.

Moore, H. 1994. *A passion for difference*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Mopec 2012. Saws and saw blades (available on-line: *http://www.mopec.com/category/885/saws_and_saw_blades/*, accessed 14 January 2012).

Morgan, O., M. Tidball-Binz, & D. Van Alphen (eds) 2006. Management of dead bodies after disasters: a field manual for first responders (available on-line: *http://www.paho.org/english/dd/ped/DeadBodiesFieldManual.htm*, accessed 25 May 2009).

Mukanoheli, E. 2009. Facilitating bereavement recovery and restoring dignity to the genocide victims in Rwanda. In *Death and dying: a reader* (eds) S. Earle, C. Komaromy, & C. Bartholomew, 184-188. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Mulkay, M. 1993. Social death in Britain. In *The Sociology of Death* (ed.) D. Clark, 31-49. Oxford: Sociological Review Monograph/Blackwell.

Neuffer, E. 2002. *The key to my neighbour's house*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Place.

Niksic, S. 2011. Survivors of Mladic's offensives in Bosnia commemorate his victims. *570 News All News Radio*, 28 May (available on-line: *http://www.570news.com/news/world/article/232822--survivors-of-mladic-s-offensives-in-bosnia-commemorate-his-victims*, accessed 28 June 2011).

Nowak, M. 1996. Question of the human rights of all persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment. Question of enforced or involuntary disappearances. Special process on missing persons in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. United Nations Economic and Social Council: Commission on Human Rights (available on-line: *http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G96/108/09/PDF/G9610809.pdf?OpenElement*, accessed 4 August 2012).

— 1998. Disappearances in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In *Post-war protection of human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (eds) M. O'Flaherty & G. Gisvold, 107-122. International Studies in Human Rights. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.

Office of the High Representative (OHR) 1997. Brcko Arbitral Tribunal for dispute over the Inter-Entity Boundary in Brcko Area Award. *http://www.ohr.int/ohr-offices/brcko/arbitration/default.asp?content_id=5327*, accessed 4 August 2012).

— 2000a. Decision on the location of a cemetery and a monument for the victims of Srebrenica, 25 October (available on-line: *http://www.ohr.int/decisions/plipdec/default.asp?content_id=219,* accessed 20 June 2011).

— 2000*b*. High Representative's decision on the establishment of the Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 14 February (available on-line: *http://www.ohr.int/ohroffices/brcko/arbitration/default.asp?content_id=5265*, accessed 4 August 2012).

— 2003. Remarks by the High Representative on the occasion of the first burial at Potočari Cemetery of victims of the 1995 Srebrenica massacre, 31 March (available on-line: *http://www.ohr.int/ohr-dept/presso/presssp/default.asp?content_id=29588*, accessed 6 July 2011).

— 2008. Press conference by the High Representative Miroslav Lajčák following the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board session in Brussels on 26-27 February 2008 (available on-line:

http://www.ohr.int/ohrdept/presso/pressb/default.asp?content_id=41353, accessed
4 August 2012).

— 2012*a*. The mandate of the OHR (available on-line:
http://www.ohr.int/ohr-info/gen-info/default.asp?content_id=38612, accessed 4
August 2012).

— 2012*b*. OHR introduction (available on-line:
http://www.ohr.int/ohr-info/geninfo/default.asp?content_id=38519, accessed 4
August 2012).

— 2012c. The Peace Implementation Council and its Steering Board (available on-line:
http://www.ohr.int/pic/default.asp?content_id=38563, accessed 4 August 2012).

— n.d. General information (available on-line: *http://www.ohr.int/ohr-info/gen-info/*,
accessed 4 August 2012).

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) 2006.
International convention for the protection of all persons from enforced
disappearances (available on-line:
http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/disappearance-convention.htm, accessed 10
March 2012).

Oman Daily Observer 2012. Bosnians commemorate 1993 massacre, 17 April (available
on: *http://main.omanobserver.om/node/91285*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Pan American Health Organisation (PAHO) 2004. *Management of dead bodies in disaster
situations*. Disaster Manuals and Guidelines Series, No. 5 (available on-line:
http://www.paho.org/english/dd/ped/ManejoCadaveres.htm, accessed September
23 2007).

Palmer C.E. 1983. A note about paramedics' strategies for dealing with death and dying.
Journal of Occupational Psychology **56**, 83-86.

Pelletier-Hibbert, M. 1998. Coping strategies used by nurses to deal with the care of organ
donors and their families. *Heart and Lung* **27**, 230-237.

Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) 1997. Medical group announces first identification of
victims of Srebrenica massacres (available on-line:
http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/library/news-1997-07-17.html, accessed 28
January 2009).

— 2009. International forensic program (available on-line:
http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/forensic, accessed Mary 25, 2009).

— 2011. International forensic programme (available on-line: http://physiciansforhumanrights.org/justice-forensic-science/ifp/, accessed 17 August 2012).

Plato 1985. *The Republic* (trans. R.W. Sterling & W.C. Scott). New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Pollack, C. E. 2003. Intentions of burial: mourning, politics, and memorials following the massacre at Srebrenica. *Death Studies* **27**:125-142.

Powell, M., J. Hockey, T. Green, & A. Clayden 2011. 'I bury boxes, not bodies': identity, emotionality, and natural burial. *ASA Online* **01/3**, 1-18 (available on-line: *http://www.theasa.org/downloads/asaonline/PDF/asaonline0103.pdf*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Power, S. 2002. *"A problem from Hell": America and the age of genocide*. New York: HarperCollins.

Quested, B. & T. Rudge 2003. Nursing care of dead bodies: a discursive analysis of last rites. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* **41**, 553-560.

Ramet, S.P. 2002. *Balkan babel: the disintegration of Yugoslavia from the death of Tito to the fall of Milošević*. Oxford: Westview Press.

Randall, T.C. & A.M. Wearn 2005. Receiving bad news: patients with haematological cancer reflect upon their experience. *Palliative Medicine* **19**, 594-601.

Raphael, B. 1986. *When disaster strikes: a handbook for the caring professions*. London: Hutchinson.

Rieff, D. 1995. *Slaughterhouse: Bosnia and the failure of the West*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Riis, O. & L. Woodhead 2012. *A sociology of religious emotion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rohde, D. 1997. *Endgame: the betrayal and fall of Srebrenica: Europe's worst massacre since World War II*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Roy, R. 2007. Reflective practice: sending flowers. *Patient education and counselling* **65**, 277-278.

Runia, E. 2007. Burying the dead, creating the past. *History and Theory* **46**, 313-325.

Sacco, J. 2000. *Safe area Goražde*. Introduction by C. Hitchens. Seattle: Fantagraphics Books.

Sadala, M.L.A. & H.W.B. Mendes 2000. Caring for organ donors: The Intensive Care Unit nurses' view. *Qualitative Health Research* **10**, 788-805.

Sanford, V. 2003. *Buried secrets: truth and human rights in Guatemala*. New York City: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sant Cassia, P. 2005. *Bodies of evidence: burial, memory and the recovery of missing persons in Cyprus*. New Directions in Anthropology. Volume 20. Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Šarić, V. 2009. Manjaca survivors call for memorial. *Institute for War & Peace Reporting*, 23 November (available on-line: http://iwpr.net/report-news/manjaca-survivors-call-memorial, accessed 16 August 2011).

— 2010. More Srebrenica victims buried on massacre anniversary. *Institute for War & Peace Reporting*, 16 July (available on-line: http://iwpr.net/report-news/more-srebrenica-victims-buried-massacre-anniversary, accessed 4 August 2012).

— 2012. Thousands attend burial of 520 Srebrenica victims. *Institute for War & Peace Reporting*, 13 July (available on-line: http://iwpr.net/report-news/thousands-attend-burial-520-srebrenica-victims, accessed 17 August 2012).

Schwartz, B. 1982. The social context of commemorations: a study in collective memory. *Social Forces* **61**, 374-402.

Schwartz, B. & T. Bayma 1999. Commemoration and the politics of recognition: the Korean War Veterans Memorial. *American Behavioural Scientist* **42**, 946-967.

Scott, T. 2007. Expression of humour by emergency personnel involved in sudden deathwork. *Mortality* **12**, 350-364.

Segal, D.A. 1988. A patient so dead: American medical students and their cadavers. *Anthropological Quarterly* **61**, 17-25.

Sharp, L. 2000. Commodified kin. *American Anthropologist* **103**, 112-133.

Sharp, J.M.O. & V. Baronovsky 1993. For a NATO-Russian UN Intervention to end war in Bosnia. *New York Times*, 26 February (available on-line: http://www.nytimes.com/1993/02/26/opinion/26iht-edja_1.html, accessed 27 February 2013.

Shott, S. 1979. Emotion and social life: a symbolic interactionist analysis. *American Journal of Sociology* **84**, 1317-1334.

Silber, L. & A. Little 1996. *Yugoslavia: death of a nation*. New York: TV Books, Inc.

Simić, A. 1969. Management of male image in Yugoslavia. *Anthropological Quarterly* **42**, 89-101.

— 1983. Machismo and cryptomatriarchy: power, affect, and authority in the contemporary Yugoslav family. *Ethos* **11**, 66-86.

Simic, O. 2009. What remains of Srebrenica? Motherhood, transitional justice, and yearning for the truth. *Journal of International Women's Studies* **10**, 220-236.

Sinclair, S. 1997. *Making doctors: an institutional apprenticeship*. Oxford: Berg.

Smajlovic, L. 1995. From the heart of the former Yugoslavia. *The Wilson Quarterly* **19**, 100-113.

Smith III, A.C. & S. Kleinman 1989. Managing emotions in medical school: students' contacts with the living and the dead. *Social Psychology Quarterly Special Issue: Sentiments, Affect and Emotion* **52**, 56-69.

Smith, J.I. & Y.Y. Haddad 2002. *The Islamic understanding of death and resurrection*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sofaer, J.R. *The body as material culture: A theoretical osteoarchaeology*. Topics in Contemporary Archaeology (ed) R. Bradley. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Solomon, Z. & R. Berger 2005. Coping with the aftermath of terror – Resilience of ZAKA body handlers. *Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma* **10**: 593-604.

Sørensen, T.F. 2009. The presence of the dead: cemeteries, cremation, and the staging of non-place. *Journal of Social Archaeology* **9**, 110-135.

Stabilisation Force (SFOR) n.d. History of the NATO-led Stabilisation Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina: background (available on-line: *http://www.nato.int/sfor/docu/d981116a.htm*, accessed 10 July 2012).

Stadler, N., E. Ben-Ari, & E. Mesterman 2005. Terror, aid and organisation: The Haredi Disaster Victim Identification Teams (ZAKA) in Israel. *Anthropological Quarterly* **78**, 619-651.

Stewart, A.E. 1999. Complicated bereavement and posttraumatic stress disorder following fatal car crashes: recommendations for death notification practice. *Death Studies* **24**, 289-321.

Stewart, A.E., J.H. Lord, & D.L. Mercer 2000. A survey of professionals' training and experiences in delivering death notifications. *Death Studies* **24**, 611-631.

Stover, E. & G. Peress 1998. *The graves: Srebrenica and Vukovar*. Foreword by Justice R. Goldstone. Zurich: Scalo.

Stover, E. & M. Ryan 2001. Breaking bread with the dead. *Historical Archaeology* **35**, 7-25.

Stover, E. & R. Shigekane 2002. The missing in the aftermath of war: when do the needs of victims' families and international war crimes tribunals clash? *International Review of the Red Cross (IRRC)* **83**, 845-866.

Svašek, M. 2006. Introduction: emotions in anthropology. In *Mixed emotions: anthropological studies of feeling* (eds) K. Milton & M. Svašek, 1-23. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Timmermans, S. 2007. *Postmortem: how medical examiners explain suspicious deaths*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Thompson, J. 1993. Psychological impact of body recovery duties. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* **86**, 628-629.

Thompson, W.E. 1991. Handling the stigma of handling the dead: morticians and funeral directors. *Deviant Behavior* **12**, 403-429.

Thompson, T. & J. Inglis 2009. Differentiation of serrated and non-serrated blades from stab marks in bone. *International Journal of Legal Medicine* **123**, 129-135.

Tucker, P., B. Pfefferbaum, D.E. Doughty, D.E. Jones, F.B. Jordan, & S.J. Nixon 2002. Body handlers after terrorism in Oklahoma City: predictors of posttraumatic stress and other symptoms. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* **72**, 469-475.

Turner, J.H. & J.E. Stets 2006. Sociological theories of human emotions. *Annual Review of Sociology* **32**, 25-52.

Ubelaker, D. & H. Scammell 1992. *Bones: a forensic detective's casebook*. New York: M. Evans and Company, Inc.

Udovički, J. & E. Štitkovac 1997. Bosnia and Hercegovina: the second war. In *Burn this house: the making and unmaking of Yugoslavia* (eds) J. Udovički & J. Ridgeway, 174-214. Durham: Duke University Press.

United Nations (UN) 1948. *Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of*

genocide (available on-line: *http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/044/31/IMG/NR004431.pdf?OpenElement* accessed 28 December 2011).

UN General Assembly 1999. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to General Assembly resolution 53/35: the fall of Srebrenica (available on-line: *http://www.un.org/peace/srebrenica.pdf*, accessed 8 July 2012).

UN Security Council 1993*a*. Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to Security Council Resolution 836 (1993) (available on-line: http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N93/347/42/IMG/N9334742.pdf?OpenElement, accessed 21 February 2013).

— 1993*b*. Resolution 819 (1993). (available on-line: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/819(1993), accessed 21 February 2013).

— 1993*c*. Resolution 824 (1993). (available on-line: http://www.nato.int/ifor/un/u930506a.htm), accessed 25 May 2013.

— 1993*d*. Resolution 836 (1993). (available on-line: http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N93/330/21/IMG/N9333021.pdf?OpenElement), accessed 25 May 2013.

— 1993*e*. Resolution 844 (1993). (available on-line: http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/844(1993), accessed 21 February 2013).

— 1994. *Final report of the Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council Resolution 780 (1992)* (available on-line: http://www.un.org/Docs/journal/asp/ws.asp?m=S/1994/674, accessed 19 February 2013.

United States Agency for International Development (USAID) – Bosnia-Herzegovina 2011. Program overview (available on-line: *http://transition.usaid.gov/ba/about/programarea.htm,* accessed 16 August 2012).

United States Army Centre for Health Promotion and Preventative Medicine (USACHPPM) n.d. Dealing with the stress of recovering human dead bodies (available on-line: *http://chppm-www.apgea.army.mil/documents/FACT36-004-0202.pdf*, accessed 6 April 2009).

United States Department of State 1995. Summary of the Dayton Peace Agreement on

Bosnia-Herzegovina (available on-line: *http://www.state.gov/www/regions/eur/bosnia/dayton.html*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Ursano, R.J. & C.S. Fullerton 1990. Cognitive and behavioural responses to trauma. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* **20**, 1766-1775.

Ursano, R.J. & J. McCarroll 1990. The nature of a traumatic stressor: handling dead bodies. *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* **178**, 396-398.

Ursano, R.J., C.S. Fullerton, K. Vance, & T.C. Kao 1999. Posttraumatic stress disorder and identification in disaster workers. *American Journal of Psychiatry* **156**, 353-359.

Verdery, K. 1999. *The political lives of dead bodies: reburial and postsocialist change*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Viejo-Rose D. 2011. Memorial functions: intent, impact and the right to remember. *Memory Studies* **4**, 465-480.

Volkan, V. 1997. *Bloodines: from ethnic pride to ethnic terrorism*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Vollen, L. 2001. All that remains: identifying the victims of the Srebrenica massacre. *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics* **10**, 336-340.

Vulliamy, E. 2005. Comment: we must fight for memory of Bosnia's camps. *Institute for War & Peace Reporting*, 21 February (available on-line: *http://www.iwpr.net/report-news/comment-we-must-fight-memory-bosnias-camps*, accessed 28 June 2011).

Wagner, S.E. 2008. *To know where he lies: DNA technology and the search for Srebrenica's missing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

— 2011. Identifying Srebrenica's missing: the 'shaky balance' of universalism and particularism. In *Transitional justice: global mechanisms and local realities after genocide and mass violence* (ed.) A.L. Hinton, 25-48. Piscataway: Rutgers University Press.

Warnock, C., A. Tod, J. Foster, & C. Soreny 2010. Breaking bad news in inpatient settings: the role of the nurse. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* **66**, 1543-1555.

Williams, H. 2004. Death warmed up: the agency of bodies and bones in early Anglo-Saxon cremation rites. *Journal of Material Culture* **9**, 263-291.

Williams, E.D. & J.D. Crews 2003. From dust to dust: ethical and practical issues

involved in the location, exhumation, and identification of bodies from mass graves. *Croatian Medical Journal* **44**, 251-258.

Winter, J. 1995. *Sites of memory, sites of mourning: The Great War in European cultural history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Woehrel, S. 2012. Bosnia: current issues and U.S. policy (available on-line: *http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R40479.pdf*, accessed 15 July 2012).

Women in Black 2007. Transitional justice – feminist approach (available on-line: *http://www.zeneucrnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=348*, accessed 10 April 2012).

— 2012. Protests and vigils (available on-line: *http://www.zeneucrnom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=15*, accessed 10 April 2012).

Women of Srebrenica n.d. Home (available on-line: *http://www.srebrenica.ba/index.en.php*, accessed 4 August 2012).

Woodward, S.L. 1995. *Balkan tragedy: chaos and dissolution after the Cold War*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Yasien-Esmael & S. Rubin 2006. The meaning structures of Muslim bereavements in Israel: religious traditions, mourning practices, and human experience. *Death Studies* **29**, 495-518.

Young, C. & D. Light 2013. Corpses, dead body politics, and agency in human geography: following the corpse of Dr Petru Groza. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* **38**, 135-148.

Appendix A

Diagram A: Mortuary B
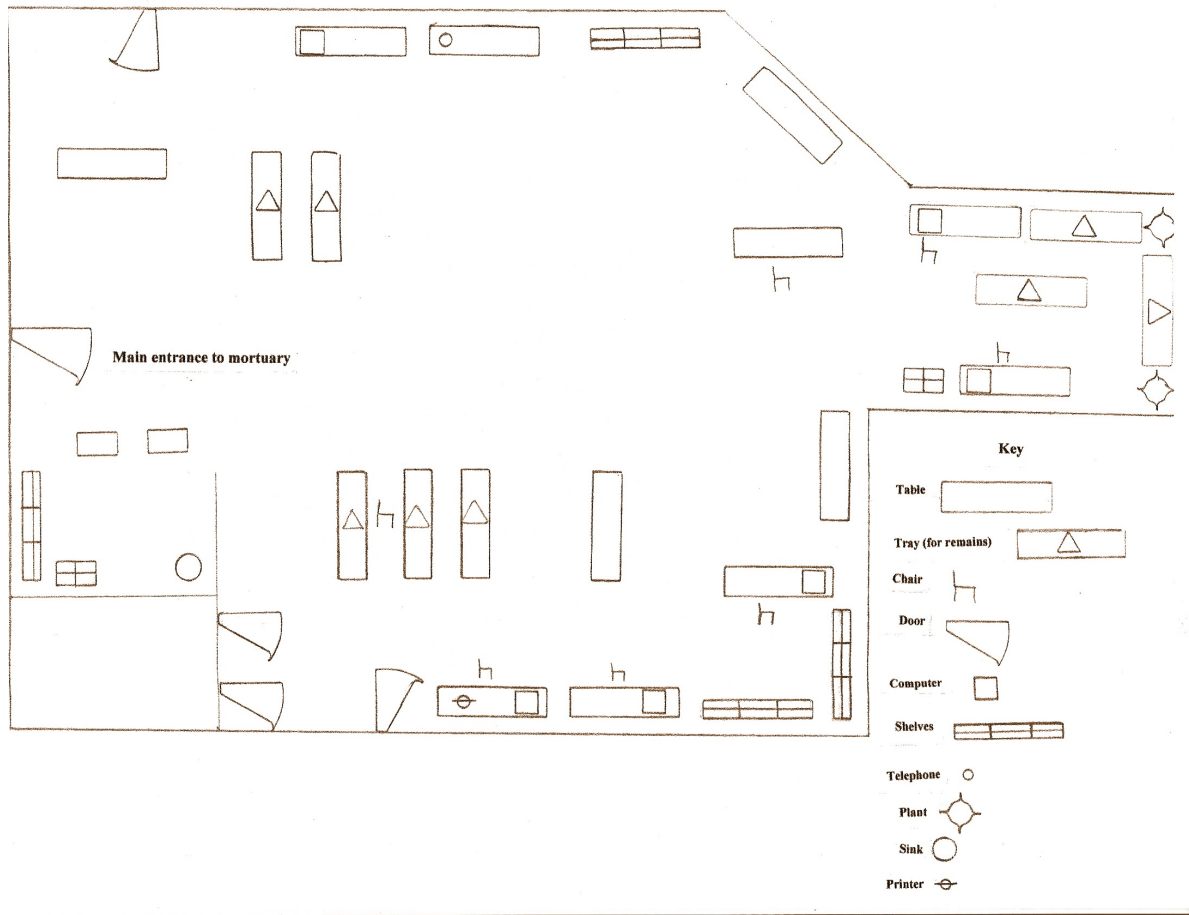(Diagram is not drawn to scale)

Main entrance to mortuary

Key

Table
Tray (for remains)
Chair
Door
Computer
Shelves
Telephone
Plant
Sink
Printer

Diagram B: Mortuary C
(Diagram is not drawn to scale)

Case storage area

Case storage area

Refrigerator (for cold storage)

Police officer's office

Personal effects storage

Entrance to mortuary

Document storage

Main mortuary door

Key

Table

Printer

Computer

Row of trays

Chair

Washing machine

Door

Sink

Shelves

Tray (for remains)

Toilet
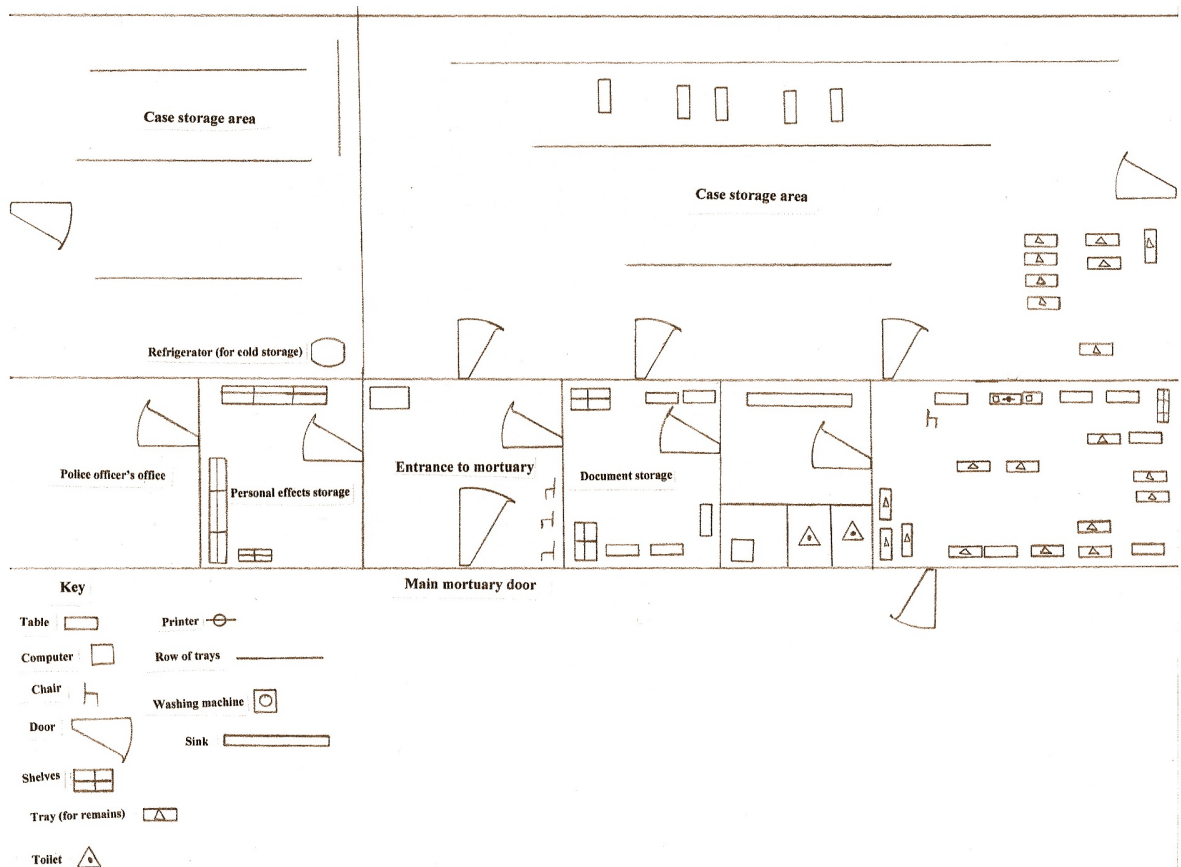
Appendix B

Table 1: Profiles of research participants

Name	Age	Sex	Nationality	Religious Affiliation/Background	Ethnicity	Position	Place of Employment
Katie	35	F	North American	Non-practicing (Mother is Anglican; father is Armenian Orthodox)	Half-Armenian	Forensic anthropologist	Mortuary A
Sarah	42	F	North American	From a non-religious background but described self as "spiritual"	Described self as "white [North American]"	Head of Mortuary B; supervisor of anthropological examinations for Mortuaries A, B, and C	Mortuary B; Mortuary C from January 2010
Emir	35	M	Bosnian	Muslim	Bosniak	Junior osteologist	Mortuary B; Mortuary A from January 2010
Anesa	36	F	Bosnian	Muslim background but limited religious observance	Bosniak	Junior osteologist	Mortuary B; Mortuary A from January 2010
Munira	25	F	Bosnian	Raised Muslim but non-practicing	Bosniak	Junior osteologist	Mortuary B; Mortuary A from January 2010
Kristina	26	F	Bosnian	Raised Catholic; Described self as "half religious person and half of a biologist person"	Croatian and Serbian	Junior osteologist	Primarily Mortuary B but spent six months at Mortuary C; Mortuary A from January 2010
Ibro	56	M	Bosnian	Muslim background but "not a big fan of religion"	Bosniak	Mortuary technician	Mortuary B; Mortuary A from January 2010
Mirna	29	F	Bosnian	Muslim background but non-practicing	Bosniak	Forensic anthropologist and Mortuary C supervisor	Mortuary C
Lejla	25	F	Bosnian	Muslim	Bosniak	Junior osteologist	Mortuary C
Jasmina	25	F	Bosnian	Muslim	Bosniak	Junior osteologist	Mortuary C
Alem	52	M	Bosnian	Muslim (Described self as non-practicing but that he "believ[es] and…respect[s] everything")	Bosniak	Mortuary technician	Mortuary C
Fatima	40	F	Bosnian	Muslim	Bosniak	Case manager	Mortuary C
Ibrahim	31	M	Bosnian	Muslim (Described his religious practice as "medium")	Bosniak	Case manager	Mortuary C