Graduate thesis

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Historical and Classical Studies

Kathinka Louisa Yildirim

Archaeology in Genocide Investigation and Painful Heritage Research

Graduate thesis in Archaeology
Supervisor: Marek E. Jasinski
April 2024

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology

Kathinka Louisa Yildirim

Archaeology in Genocide Investigation and Painful Heritage Research

Graduate thesis in Archaeology
Supervisor: Marek E. Jasinski
April 2024

Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Historical and Classical Studies

NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

Abstract

This thesis discusses the significance of applying archaeological investigation in post-conflict zones through the analysis of two case studies: the mass graves associated with the massacres in Srebrenica (Bosnia-Herzegovina) and the mass graves at Treblinka (Poland), one of the extermination camps constructed under Operation Reinhardt. Archaeological investigations in Srebrenica, conducted in collaboration with various forensic specialists, have unearthed compelling evidence of what the Serbian forces went to extreme lengths to hide: the systematic extermination of thousands of Bosnian Muslims. At Treblinka, the excavation of mass graves has rendered a comprehensive number of artifacts and fragments of human bone, attesting to the atrocities committed by nazi Germany and the crimes against humanity that took place at what the SS-soldiers tried to present as a transit camp or "resettlement" center.

Sammendrag

Denne oppgaven drøfter betydningen av å anvende arkeologiske undersøkelser i post-konfliktsoner ved å analysere to case-studier: massegravene tilknyttet massakren i Srebrenica (Bosnia-Hercegovina) og massegravene i Treblinka (Polen), en av utryddelsesleirene konstruert under operasjon Reinhardt. Arkeologiske undersøkelser i Srebrenica, utført i samarbeid med andre fagdisipliner, har avdekket omfattende bevis på hva de serbiske styrkene gikk til ekstreme lengder for å skjule: den systematiske utryddelsen av tusenvis av bosniske muslimer. På Treblinka har utgravningen av massegravene resultert i et stort antall gjenstander og fragmenter av menneskelig ben, som vitner om grusomhetene begått av nazi-Tyskland og de forbrytelsene mot menneskeheten som fant sted på det som SS-soldatene forsøkte å framstille som en transittleir.

Contents

List of Figures

1 Introduction

In the 20th century, there was a disturbing combination of technological progress and societal development, which coincided with the emergence of totalitarian regimes that committed acts of violence, crimes against humanity and genocide, while intentionally erasing their historical records. The deliberate destruction of documents, artifacts, and remains was part of an attempt to reconstruct the events' narrative and disturb their nation's collective memory. This intentional amnesia confronts the need to preserve the memory of our painful heritage, particularly in the face of attempts to extinguish it. This thesis investigates how archaeology can push back against attempts to rewrite history; specifically how recovering and interpreting artifacts and remains can reveal the truth about the past and how it can be used in providing justice and reconciliation for victims and their families.

1.2 Research Question

How can forensic archaeology counteract deliberate attempts at concealing evidence of atrocities in the aftermath of war crimes?

1.3 Method

The methodological approach used to conduct this research is based on a systematic literature search and a comparative analysis of the available material.

1.4 Delimitation

To narrow down the scope of my thesis, I have decided to concentrate on contemporary mass graves in genocide investigations. With that said, archaeological expertise is valuable in a wide range of situations. I would like to briefly emphasize the role that archaeological expertise plays in all mass grave excavations, forensic or not, including those resulting from natural disasters. Forensic archaeology is also just as important in the recovery of individual graves.

2 Definitions

2.1 Genocide

In 1944, polish lawyer Raphael Lemkin released his renowned work *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, which serves as both a collection of documents and a precise examination of the German strategy of occupying and annihilating Europe. In this publication, Lemkin coined the term "genocide" for the first time, providing a label for what British Prime Minister Winston Churchill had previously referred to as "a crime without a name" (Jones, 2016, pp. 11-12). The term is taken from the ancient Greek word *Genos* (race, clan) and the Latin suffix *Cide* (killing) and means as he defined it; "… the crime of destroying national, racial or religious groups." (Lemkin, 1946, p. 228). At first, alternative terms such as "mass murder" and "crimes against humanity" were employed to depict the atrocities committed during World War II. However, Lemkin argued that these terms were not sufficient as they do not connote the motivation of the crime and fought for the newly coined term to be illegal under international law (Lemkin, 1946, p. 227-229). Lemkin's concept would eventually gain significant support, resulting in the United Nations' adoption of the Genocide Convention in 1948, although he would go largely unnoticed for it.

2.2 Mass Grave

There are conflicting definitions regarding what constitutes a mass grave. One perspective suggests that a mass grave can be defined by the presence of two or more bodies in contact with each other without specifying the motive behind its creation. Another viewpoint, put forward by Skinner, emphasizes the way bodies are deposited, suggesting that a mass grave contains at least half a dozen tightly packed bodies that have been disrespectfully handled. In 1996, the UN Special Rapporteur introduced a legal definition, defining a mass grave as any location where three or more victims have died because of "extra-judicial, summary or arbitrary executions" (Jessee & Skinner, 2005, p. 56).

An occurrence frequently observed in war crime situations is the presence of a "secondary mass grave," which involves the relocation of bodies from the initial mass grave. This is done to hide the evidence or magnitude of the killings or to make room in the original graves for additional victims. A less frequent occurrence is the "tertiary mass grave," which pertains to the relocation of the dead from a secondary mass burial to a third place (Jugo & Wastell, 2015, p. 151). This act

of relocating mass graves is carried out for two primary purposes: firstly, to eliminate any evidence of criminal activity, thus enabling the continuation of the harmful behavior; secondly, to dismantle the group as a cohesive social unit. At its essence, this is the fundamental nature of genocide (Jugo & Wastell, 2015, p. 152).

2.3 Conflict Archaeology and Painful Heritage

Conflict archaeology is a specialized area of research within archaeology that concentrates on the armed conflicts that occurred during the twentieth century. This field of study investigates the physical remains left behind by these conflicts and explores their effects on society. Archaeological evidence offers distinct perspectives on past conflicts, such as characteristics, origins, and outcomes, by investigating different facets of conflict scenarios, such as battlefields, military installations, and artifacts. By conducting excavations and analyzing artifacts, structures, and landscapes, we may also gain insights into the personal experiences of individuals and the wider societal consequences of conflict. The landscapes investigated under these conditions serve as archives of historical evidence and as locations for remembering and honoring the past, and can be referred to as “painful heritage” (Jasinski, 2014, p. 36; Yildirim, 2023, pp. 2-3).

2.4 Memory Studies

Memory studies explore how different versions of the past are shared in society through various institutions and media such as schools, government, art, literature, popular entertainment, stories passed down by families and friends, and historical landmarks designated by the government or the public. This delves into what anthropologist Robert Redfield called “the social organization of tradition” (Glassberg, 1996, p. 9). As discussed by Assmann (1995, pp. 125-126), the concept of social and collective memory revolves around the idea that memory is not solely an individual phenomenon but also a collective and cultural one. Memory exists not only in biological terms but also as a cultural framework. In this context, collective memory refers to a group or society’s shared knowledge, traditions, and experiences transmitted across generations through socialization and customs rather than genetic inheritance.

3 Introduction to Forensic Archaeology

Unlike in Europe, where anthropology and archeology are typically viewed as distinct fields of study, the United States divides anthropology into four subfields: cultural anthropology, physical (biological) anthropology, archaeology, and linguistic anthropology. Forensic anthropology preceded forensic archeology, so the terms are frequently used interchangeably, and an archaeologist may be absent from sites if the anthropologist is trained in archaeology (Juhl, 2005, p. 18). As a result, while this thesis focuses primarily on the archaeological aspects of genocide investigations, the research presented will also include anthropological efforts conducted in conjunction with the archaeological excavations. To distinguish between the archaeological and anthropological aspects of the investigation, I will use the term "excavation" to refer to the recovery of artifacts and remains and "exhumation" to refer to the anthropological surveys conducted on the remains.

3.2 The Difference Between Forensic Anthropology, Forensic Archaeology, and Conflict Archaeology

The American Board of Forensic Anthropology (ABFA) defines forensic anthropology as an applied field of physical (biological) anthropology that uses physical anthropology's science, methodology, and technology to address medicolegal issues, particularly personal identification and death. In addition, they mention forensic anthropology applies a multidisciplinary approach, utilizing their expertise in human skeletal anatomy alongside archaeological methods and knowledge of decomposition processes to aid in investigations of human rights abuses in domestic or international contexts (ABFA, 2024).

Whereas the anthropologists might be more concerned with the exhumation of the remains, the archaeologist's role will traditionally be centered around, but is not limited to, the search, location, and excavation of the crime scene. The practice of forensic archaeology involves applying archaeological principles and techniques, such as mapping and excavation, to criminal investigations to analyze evidence to reconstruct the events surrounding homicides within a legal context (Hanson, 2007, p. 2; Powers & Sibun, 2013, p. 4). Here also lies the difference between forensic archaeology and conflict archaeology; both research areas often work within similar environments such as post-conflict areas, however, the investigations become forensic when

pretraining to a more extensive legal or humanitarian investigation. Forensic archaeology also expands beyond conflict archaeology and can be applied in contemporary homicide investigations or other criminal investigations that have no relation to conflict, war, or genocide.

Integrating archaeology into forensic investigations is logical because the two fields utilize comparable methods and techniques and follow similar procedures. This similarity is evident in the detection procedures used in criminal investigations. As Hunter (1996, P. 11) observed, archaeologists and investigating police officers share a common goal: to understand past events, including their nature, sequence, and underlying causes. Both professions share the common task of examining data to construct a coherent account of events despite their differing objectives and timeframes. The temporal differences become irrelevant in an underground setting, as the archeological excavation techniques and the evidence collected during the excavation of a victim, whether it occurs the day after a crime or centuries later, retain the same level of significance (Hunter, 1996, p. 10; Tuller & Đurić, 2006, p. 194; Hanson, 2007, p. 5; Borkowski & Trzciński, 2018, p. 158).

3.3 Research History

The use of archaeology in forensics had been sporadically mentioned within the scientific literature by the end of the 1970s, noteworthy an article titled “Forensic Archaeology” was published in 1976 in the *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, arguing for the significance of employing contemporary archaeological methods to assist in inquiries prompted by the discovery of burials, whether they were entirely skeletonized or slightly decomposed (Morse et al., 1976). Warren (1976, p. 108) would also release an article detailing the mission to recover American remains in Vietnam and the limitations of military recovery procedures, concluding that archaeological training could significantly improve these efforts. Specifically, better site location techniques, specialized tools for disinterment, and knowledge of how soil affects buried remains could all contribute to more successful recoveries.

The expanding interest in archaeology was undoubtedly driven by a growing need for a more comprehensive approach to crime scene analysis and body recovery. While Forensic anthropology became primarily concerned with the study of human skeletal remains, Snow (1982, p. 97) argued that forensic anthropology had the potential to expand beyond its current role, by applying archaeological methods to crime scenes as to ensure a more comprehensive collection of evidence

(Snow, 1982, p. 118). Snow would later assist in the 1985 trials against the Argentinian military junta responsible for the "Dirty War" that took place from 1976 to 1983. Many Argentinians, referred to as "Desaparecidos" (the missing), disappeared during this period. There, Snow would train a group of archaeology students to assist him in the excavation process. The methods included careful excavation to avoid damaging remains and evidence, dividing the gravesite into sections for systematic recovery, screening soil to collect bullets, hair, and clothing fragments, and tagging and documenting each bone's location. The evidence presented in Snow's testimony concluded that the bullet wounds to the back of the skulls were the result of executions, not armed encounters as claimed by the military. Skeletal evidence also suggested some women had given birth while detained (Stewart, 1985, pp. 9-11).

The formal establishment of forensic archaeology saw significant strides beginning in 1986 with the founding of the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team (EAAF), which would continue the work of excavating the unmarked graves of the "Desaparecidos" utilizing archaeologists and anthropologists in mass grave recovery and analysis. Inspired by the Argentine model, countries like Chile and Guatemala established similar forensic teams in subsequent years to investigate unlawful deaths within their borders (Steele, 2008, p. 416).

The involvement of Western archaeologists in forensic archaeology gained momentum with the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in 1993. As overt violations of international humanitarian law came to light during the war in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ICTY assembled forensic teams comprising of pathologists, archaeologists, crime scene officers, and anthropologists to excavated and exhume mass graves. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like the EAAF, Physicians for Human Rights (PHR), and the International Commission for Missing Persons (ICMP) would also play important roles in contracting and mobilizing these teams (Steele, 2008, pp. 416-417).

In 2002, The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) launched an initiative called "The Missing. End the Silence – Action to resolve the problem of people unaccounted for as a result of armed conflict or internal violence and to assist their families" and would list archaeology as a distinct forensic discipline alongside physical anthropology (Juhl, 2005, pp. 10-11).

4 Methods and Concepts in Forensic Archaeology

This chapter briefly overviews the archaeological methods and concepts commonly applied in a forensic context and the case studies discussed in the following chapters. The methods are presented by the order in which they would likely be carried out at a site. The exemption being documentation, which is the most crucial aspect of a forensic investigation and will need to be employed throughout the entire process, before and after an excavation.

4.2 Processing, Mapping, and Excavating the Site

Even prior to an excavation, a systematic and controlled search of the area must be conducted so as not to miss any evidence. Mass grave sites will usually cover a larger area than the standard crime scene; they will also contain multiple remains and might be located in rugged terrain. This means that mapping and processing the site will be time-consuming and will require assistance from multiple people. As mass grave sites contain subsurface remains, the process of searching is further complicated as different *geophysical surveys* will need to be done to locate the remains. Archaeologists will try and apply non-invasive methods such as *ground-penetrating radar (GPR)* (To, 2017, pp. 41-43) and *metal detectors* (Haglund et al., 2001, p. 64). GPR is widely used in archaeological and forensic investigations as it provides detailed subsurface images without excavation to reveal buried archaeological features, sites, and landscapes. GPR works by emitting electromagnetic pulses into the ground and recording the reflections, creating images of buried structures or remains. By identifying these areas non-invasively, only specific zones need invasive excavation, minimizing archaeological sites or crime scene destruction (Schultz, 2007, p. 17). The metal detectors might observe artifacts present at a crime scene, such as personal belongings of the victims or bullets.

While GPR and metal detectors offer advantages such as broader coverage and non-invasive scanning capabilities, *probing* and *spot drilling* methods are often necessary to gather precise, localized information about the subsurface. Spot drilling involves drilling small, localized holes into the ground at specific locations to gather information about buried structures or artifacts. The probing technique involves systematically pushing metal rods into the soil at a constant depth to detect buried features based on the resistance encountered. If the rod penetrates easily, a value of $k = 0$ is assigned, while if it encounters resistance, a value of $k = 1$ is assigned. By analyzing the distribution of these values across an area, we can infer the presence of buried structures or

anomalies. One potential limitation of the pricking probe technique in archaeology is its sensitivity to localized, random features in the soil. The method may encounter challenges distinguishing between buried structures and natural geological features or debris, particularly in complex archaeological sites with varying soil compositions and histories of disturbance (Szalai et al., 2011, p. 176).

Additional methods, such as *trenching*, will likely be used to confirm the presence of remains. This process involves digging two perpendicular trenches, each about one meter wide, across the top of the grave until the human remains can be located. These trenches should extend minimally to the grave's edges and the depth of the top layer of the remains. During an assessment mission preceding the excavation, bodies should be covered with plastic to prevent dehydration and protect them during trench refilling. This plastic covering aids in quick body location during later excavation stages, reducing the risk of damage. The testing process should include a comprehensive map showing the site area, trenches, human remains, grave pit, and the bodies' top layer depth. This information enables investigators to evaluate logistical requirements for grave excavation and assess the condition of the bodies (Haglund et al., 2001, p. 64).

Evis (2014, p. 58) notes that *Stratigraphic Excavation* is among the most used techniques in archaeological excavations. The method entails systematically identifying and excavating different strata or contexts within a site while treating the entire area, including grave structures, as a single archaeological feature. The grave walls are left in place during excavation, while the remains and other artifacts are removed in the reverse order in which they were interred (Tuller & Đurić, 2006, p. 194). This approach allows for comprehensive recording and preservation throughout excavation, retaining valuable evidence such as tool marks and geo-taphonomic features. Some advantages of the stratigraphic method include three-dimensional recognition of contexts, chronological recovery of evidence, prevention of contamination, and precise spatial and depth control during excavation (Evis et al., 2016, p. 179). A survey by Evis et al. (2016, p. 186) concluded that the stratigraphic method, due to its consistent recovery of a more significant percentage of evidence types, emerged as the most effective technique in forensic excavations.

4.3 Documentation

Crime scene documentation preserves what was found, how it was found, in what condition it was found, and how investigators processed the location. This permanent record can help law

enforcement, laboratory analysts, attorneys, and forensic anthropologists understand the crime scene. These other investigators must be able to conceptually (or practically) recreate the crime scene weeks, months, or years after it was processed. Therefore, good documentation is essential (To, 2017, p. 39).

Once the grave is located and excavation starts, the detailed data collection begins by documenting the condition and position of the remains relative to the crime scene. All information must be documented before handling the remains, with ongoing documentation throughout the excavation. This includes photography, a detailed description of the remains, and documentation of the immediate surrounding area, including soil or sediment, which holds valuable contextual information. Notably, the documentation should cover skeletal condition, preservation status, color, odor, and fragmentation degree as the movement of remains and environmental conditions significantly impact their condition (To, 2017, pp. 46-48). Field notes taken during excavation must be precise and not surpass the archaeologist's expertise. For instance, while a skull may display a circular defect, a pathologist should be the one who determines its cause. Therefore, such implications shouldn't be noted. Artifact numbering should be clear, with any missing numbers explained to avoid speculation. Lastly, formal documentation, like a receipt or chain-of-custody form, is necessary for any transfer to investigators, which can be appended to subsequent reports to validate proper material handling and transfer (Haglund et al., 2001, p. 63-64).

5 Case Study 1: Srebrenica

During the break-up of former Yugoslavia, Serbia was involved in four wars. After a short conflict in Slovenia in 1991, it was during the wars in Croatia and Bosnia from 1991/1992 to 1995, as well as in Serbia's then province of Kosovo in 1998/1999, that mass war crimes were committed. It has been determined beyond reasonable doubt that persecution on an ethnic and religious basis, illegal detention, forced disappearances, torture, rape, murder, as well as other crimes against humanity were committed by all sides involved in the conflicts and that many of these atrocities, including the genocide in Srebrenica, were committed by Serbian forces (Golčevski et al., 2013, p. 119).

In July 1995, led by General Ratko Mladić, Bosnian Serb forces took control of the UN-protected "safe area" of Srebrenica during the closing stages of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many of the 20,000 people who tried to flee via the mountain forests to the Bosnian government-controlled city of Tuzla died on what has become known as the road of death. The men were taken for summary executions and were buried in mass graves in the surrounding towns in an attempt by the Army of Republika Srpska to hide all evidence of the crimes. At the same time, the women and children were driven to the front lines to be released to the Bosnian authorities. Surviving individuals took safety in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) base in Potočari (Jugo & Wastell, 2015, pp. 148-149; Mallinder, 2012, p. 38).

5.2 The Serbian Denial

Serbia is perceived as a nation that has failed to confront its history and move beyond its denial. Since the 1990s, the Serbian public sphere has been dominated by vocal, often nationalist, figures, including politicians, scholars, journalists, and self-proclaimed "experts" whose main agenda revolves around an active pursuit of denial. The general public, excluding activist and NGO circles, has shown little inclination to openly discuss the past or engage with local initiatives to address the historical injustices. Their nonconformity renders them almost invisible in broader discussions about the past, and their silence and reluctance are often interpreted negatively, possibly indicating contempt or indifference towards the past (Obradovic, 2013, pp. 4-6).

While Slobodan Milošević, the President of Serbia from 1989 to 1997, was extradited to the ICTY in 2001, there has been a failure by the governments since to cooperate with the ICTY (Golčevski et al., 2013, p 119; Obradovic-Wochnik, 2009, p 61). Even when action was taken, it was often under international pressure and met with protests from influential nationalist figures

and mass media. Public opinion polls reveal predominantly negative attitudes towards the ICTY among Serbian citizens, with many perceiving bias against Serbs. A 2006 survey indicated that half of the population believed their country should not cooperate with the ICTY except under coercion. By 2009, although this sentiment had slightly decreased, a significant portion still viewed cooperation as a means to avoid international sanctions or aid European integration (Golčevski et al., 2013, p 119).

5.3 Media Representation of the Conflict

According to Obradovic-Wochnik (2009, p. 62), the portrayal of the Srebrenica massacre has been heavily influenced by political and media manipulation. There is a widespread contention that a considerable proportion of media positions are held by individuals who have personal and emotional connections to the war, as stated by Golčevski et al. (2013, p. 120). Because of this connection, there has been a lack of willingness, disinterest, or outright opposition to truth-seeking. One-sided narratives were frequently presented by mainstream media outlets such as Politika and Dnevnik during and after the war. These outlets portrayed Serbs solely as defenders and minimized the severity of the conflict and the facts surrounding these events. Concerning Dnevnik's coverage, for instance, there was a conspicuous absence of depictions of victims and battles; instead, landscapes and archived footage were utilized. Similarly, Politika frequently resorted to referencing ethnic conflicts from the 1940s to justify events that occurred in the 1990s. This was done to provide a stylized version of the war that was easier for the public to accept while increasing ethnic tensions and social chaos. Not only did these distorted representations mislead the general public, but they also contributed to the perpetuation of the idea that Serbia's participation in the ethnic wars in 1990 was solely defensive (Obradovic-Wochnik, 2009, p. 62).

4.3 Archaeological Excavations

The excavations in Srebrenica have primarily involved the Missing Persons Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina (MPI), supported by technical and advisory assistance from the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). However, before 2001, all fieldwork and excavations were exclusively conducted by the ICTY. To narrow the focus of my case study, I will only examine the excavations carried out by the ICTY until their conclusion in the BiH region in 2001

(United-Nations, 2002, p. 39). With the exception of the identification efforts, which I will discuss in a broader timeframe.

US satellite images would reveal the mass graves sites, and their public release by the US State Department in August 1995 initiated a UN investigation into what is now known as the Srebrenica massacre (Parks, 2001, p. 585). The photos displayed clear indications of ground disturbance, as seen by the reflection of light on the exposed soil. This enabled investigators to identify search areas. In October 1995, three months after the massacre occurred, as evidenced by the aerial imagery, the individuals responsible for the killings excavated the primary graves. They then transported the decomposing bodies to a remote location and reburied them in a series of secondary graves as they intended to conceal the evidence from UN investigators (Hanson, 2023, p. 372; Wright, 2010, p. 104).

Figure 1. Photograph showing indications of ground disturbance from mass graves. Photo: ICTY. Source: https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB535-Srebrenica-genocide-on-road-to-Dayton-accords/

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia started the excavations of both primary and secondary mass grave sites associated with the Srebrenica massacre in July 1996. Still, the planning for exhumations began in late 1995 (United-Nations, 1996, p. 26). Dr. William Haglund, a forensic anthropologist, and a team assembled by the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) initiated the excavation of the mass graves on behalf of the ICTY (Vollen, p. 337). Professor Richard Wright joined them to work in Bosnia and served as their Chief Archaeologist from 1997 until 2000 (Wright, 2010, p. 99). According to Wright, the group thought that at one site, the supposed mass graves contained many fewer bodies than contemporary accounts suggested. Following detailed archaeological work, they discovered that the site had been virtually emptied in places by the perpetrators; the exhumation team did not initially notice this effect, but the cuts into the stratification of the grave filling were evidence that digging had taken place after burial (Wright, 2010, pp. 103-104).

In the yearly ICTY reports, there is not much detail regarding the specific excavation methods; however, in their 2002 report (p. 39); they mention that a method of probing was used to determine the presence of human remains. The ICTY also declared the most challenging aspect of the exhumation projects had been to clear mines and "booby-traps" from the sites (p. 26). Hanson (2023p. 372) also mentions that the locations displayed from the aerial images were investigated by test trenching. According to witness Dean Manning in the case Krstic (IT-98-33), the teams would follow strict protocols to preserve the evidence conducted from the excavations, which police officers oversaw to ensure an appropriate chain-of-custody (Mark & Kavran, 2005, pp. 38-41).

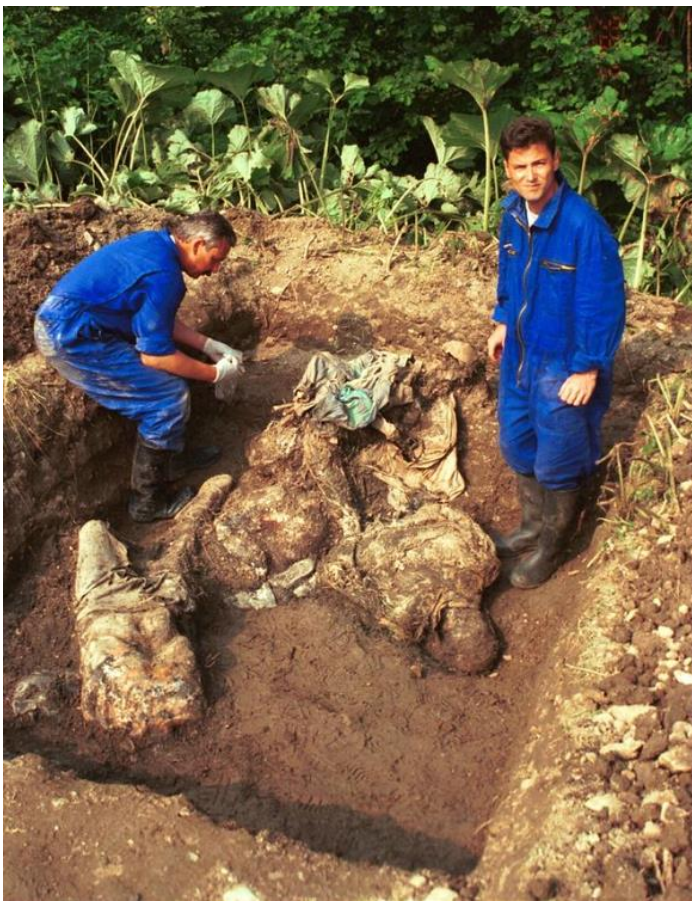

Figure 2. 1995 photo from the Nova Kasaba grave site containing victims of the Srebrenica massacre. Photo: ICTY. Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/icty/14939179030/in/album-72157645077389028/

Figure 3. Skull in hand. Exhibit from the Krstic Trial. Photo: ICTY. Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/icty/15122835331/in/album-72157645077+389028/

5.5 The Archaeological Evidence

Using aerial imagery and archaeological methods, archaeologists could work out from the secondary graves, which were the primary graves from which the bodies came. This evidence consisted of factors such as soil transfer, artifacts, crops, and fruit. Approximately 80% of the individuals who were reported missing from Srebrenica have been found in graves displayed from the aerial imagery (Hanson, 2023, p. 372).

DNA analysis of materials discovered during archaeological excavations in Srebrenica indicates that the perpetrators or members of the public had excavated the graves and subsequently reburied some of their contents elsewhere or destroyed them by other means. At least one secondary mass grave was found to have been disturbed, with its contents transferred to what is assumed to be a tertiary grave in Zalazje (Jugo & Wastell, 2015, p. 156)

From the information relayed in Dean Mannings's witness statement from 2003, in the trial against Slobodan Milošević (IT-02-54-T), it is clear the excavations an yielded impressive body

of artifacts. At least 448 blindfolds were recovered, with the majority found on the remains of heads or faces, implying that the violence against the victims was systematic. A total of 423 ligatures were discovered, primarily on the victim's wrists or arms, demonstrating the organized nature of the violence (ICTY, 2003, p. 21).

Figure 4. Ligature used to bind victims hands in Srebrenica, unearthed during an exhumation in Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photo: ICTY. Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/icty/14562996912/in/album-72157654362301078/

There were also family photographs discovered both on the victims and within the graves, which helped identify individual remains and provide closure to surviving relatives. Another personal belonging that was especially important for the tribunals were items reflecting Muslim religious affiliation: these artifacts include small copies of the Quran, prayer beads, and other religious items (ICTY, 2003, p. 23). Reflecting the victim's cultural and religious backgrounds and reinforcing the narrative that this was a deliberate genocide attempt of the Muslim Bosnian population. An engraved wristwatch was also discovered in one of the secondary mass graves, with an inscription linking it to the Srebrenica massacre. Another significant artifact recovered was an artificial leg belonging to a victim buried at the Branjevo Military Farm. This artificial limb was bound with packing tape labeled "Unis Feros" indicating a connection to a company near Srebrenica (ICTY, 2003, p. 22).

Figure 5. Personal belongings, bullet casings and bone fragments found at one of the mass grave sites associated with the Srebrenica massacres. Photo: ICTY. Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/icty/18327418054/in/album-72157654362301078/ .

5.6 Anthropological Surveys

To determine the number of individuals represented by the remains revealed by the excavations, the Minimal Number of Individuals (MNI) methodology was employed. MNI is calculated through a process involving the examination of skeletal remains. When a grave is disturbed and bodies are fragmented, vital skeletal elements, such as skulls and major bones like thigh bones can be counted in order to assess the number of individuals. For each type of bone present, each number of occurrences is counted, typically selecting only one side (left or right) for counting to avoid duplication (Toom, 202, pp. 363-364). Overall, the total number of individuals located in the Srebrenica mass graves between 1996 and 2001 was determined to be 2,028 (United-Nations, 2001, p. 23). Out of the total 2,028 individuals recovered from the mass graves, only 1,843 individuals' sex could be determined, the overwhelming majority were male, with only one individual being conclusively identified as female (United-Nations, 2001, p. 23). Gunshot wounds

emerged as the leading cause of death; and the archaeological evidence suggested it was the result of executions not combat (United-Nations, p. 24).

According to conservative estimates, at least 7,475 individuals were reported missing from Srebrenica; the vast majority were men, with a significant number being young boys under 16 or older men above 60. The overwhelming consensus among investigators and experts is that the vast majority of those listed as missing are, in fact, deceased (Brunborg et al., 2003, pp. 244-245). Richard Wright (2010, p. 104) recounted that they located approximately 5000 bodies during his time with the ICTY, though a vast percentage were not researched beyond probing, hence why only 2,028 individuals are accounted for in the MNI estimates. Considering the hypothesis that there are many more undiscovered bodies, the consensus is most definitely correct.

5.7 Identification Efforts by the PHR

There were notable negatives associated with the prosecution efforts. The ICTY decided against establishing the identity of the recovered victims, focusing solely on the circumstances of their deaths. This decision caused distress among the families of the missing, who felt their loved ones were being neglected and denied proper recognition. Furthermore, the process faced logistical challenges, such as the lack of adequate storage facilities, hindering the respectful treatment of the remains and exacerbating the families' anguish (Vollen, 2001, p. 337).

The PHR established the Srebrenica Identification Project in collaboration with Bosnian authorities in 1997 out of a dire need to provide closure to families of the (at the time) over 500 victims exhumed from Srebrenica. by 1998, the PHR and international bodies like the ICMP advocated for a coordinated effort involving Bosnian authorities and forensic experts which led to the establishment of a local team equipped with facilities and DNA labs, which significantly accelerated the identification process (Vollen, 2001, p. 338-339).

In accordance with the 2007 progress report on the DNA-based identification by the ICMP, there were at this time 4,263 missing persons that had been identified through comparative genetic testing, 87,9% of them were identified as Muslim (Tabeau & Hetland, 208, p. 8), and by 2016, 6,507 persons had been officially identified (Wagner & Kešetović, 2016, p. 47).

Figure 6. Potocari Memorial. Graves of the identified missing persons from Srebrenica. Photo: ICRC. Source: https://www.icrc.org/en/document/25-years-after-sorrow-srebrenica-8372-lives-remembered

6 Case Study 2: Treblinka

Treblinka is located 108 km from Warsaw in the north-east of Poland (Colls, 2013, p. 258). Divided into two camps, Treblinka I served as a forced labor camp and Treblinka II operated as the extermination camp (Drath, et al., 2023, p. 1). It was the third Operation Reinhardt camp explicitly built for the implementation of SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler's order to murder the entire Jewish population of the German-controlled area of Poland (Colls & Branthwaite, 2018, p. 540). Treblinka II witnessed the systematic murder of over 900,000 individuals—the majority of the victims were Jewish but did not exclude Roma, Sinti, and Polish political prisoners (Colls, 2017, p. 430). Construction of Treblinka II began in 1942; mass transports of victims would arrive daily, peaking at 10,000 to 12,000 individuals. Victims were swiftly murdered upon arrival, and their belongings were seized and processed for sale or use in the war effort. The camp's economic benefits derived primarily from the plundering of Jewish possessions rather than slave labor. The scale of theft was immense, with valuables shipped to Germany in large quantities (Colls & Branthwaite, 2018, p. 541).

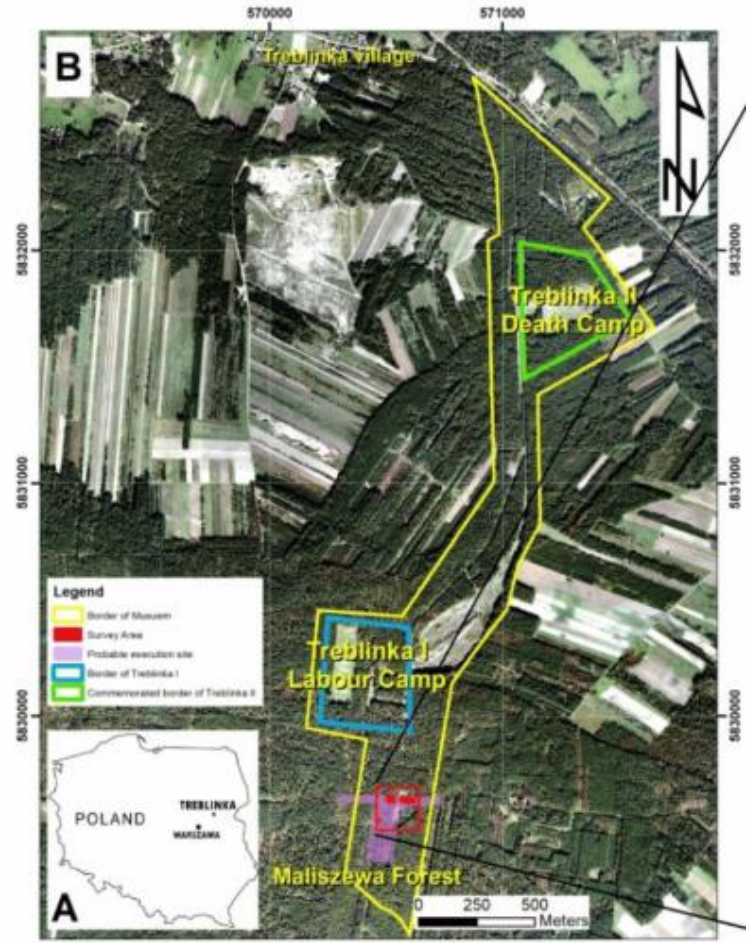

Figure 7. Shows the location sites of Treblinka I and Treblinka II and the Maliszewa forest execution site. Photo: the Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography in Poland. Source: https://www.mdpi.com/2076-3263/10/9/336

6.2 The Deliberate Destruction of Evidence

A group of Jewish prisoners was given the difficult assignment of excavating bodies that had been buried in mass graves, cremating them, and reducing any remaining bones and teeth to dust (Colls & Ehrenreich, 2021, p. 542). The gas chambers, along with the other camp buildings and infrastructure, were demolished entirely from mid-

August until November 1943 to erase all evidence of the crimes. A farmhouse was built at the location of the camp bakery, and a Ukrainian guard was stationed there to discourage any suspicions and conceal the actual intention of the camp (Colls & Branthwaite, 2018, p. 433). The attempts to hide evidence also included the items found within the camp. Various artifacts of significant evidentiary value were removed, destroyed, or concealed, including items bearing Nazi insignia, but the massive scale of the atrocities conducted at Treblinka presented difficulties for both the Nazis when it came to eliminating any evidence that could incriminate them (Colls & Ehrenreich, 2021, p. 452-453).

6.3 Archaeological Excavations

The earliest excavations and exhumations were conducted by commissions tasked with prosecuting German Nazi crimes between September 1944 and November 1945 (Rozycki et al., 2020, p. 5). At these initial excavations, it was discovered that the bodies from Treblinka II were disposed of indiscriminately. Some were interred in mass burial pits, while others were cremated and buried, or scattered on the ground after cremation. In contrast, at Treblinka I, bodies were buried in mass burial pits rather than cremated. The site where the majority of the graves were revealed, was named the Execution Site, and is located in the proximity of the Maliszewa forest (Drath, et al., 2023, p. 2). The excavations conducted by the prosecutors were not done under the supervision of archaeologists, and the work was invasive and destructive (Rozycki et al., 2020, p. 1). Based on the site inspection and accounts of witnesses and camp prisoners, the remains of many victims were excavated and relocated; this work was poorly documented—consequently, its suspected that some graves discovered might have been forgotten (Rozycki et al., 2020, p. 5). Searches were also not aimed at identifying victims, but rather at documenting for the courts, to the extent necessary, evidence that a crime had occurred and what had happened at a specific location. This evidence would be presented in criminal tribunals such as Nuremberg to testify to the brutality of Nazi crimes (Colls C. S., 2016, p. 166).

Figure 8. Archaeologist Caroline Sturdy Colls excavates at Treblinka. Photo: Smithsonian Channel. Source: https://www.livescience.com/44443-treblinka-archaeological-excavation.html

Colls & Branthwaite (2018, p. 431) recounts that archeological excavations of Treblinka began in 2010, with the Staffordshire Centre of Archaeology—preceded by preliminary surveys and on-site inspections in 2007. After nearly two years, the researchers were given permission from the Chief Rabbi of Poland and the museum authorities for an archaeological survey using minimal invasive methodology and had been instructed not to exhume the bodies from the graves. Six potential mass burial pits were detected in the area of the Execution Site, three of those sites were excavated and refilled once documented (Colls C. S., 2013, p. 92; Drath, et al., 2023, p. 2).

Starting in 2015, Warsaw University of Technology conducted detailed archaeological research using surface prospection and geophysical surveys, including GPR in order to identify potential pits and anomalies in the landscape (Rozycki et al., 2020, p. 8). Disturbances that indicated burial sites were investigated and verified with spot drilling and test digs (Rozycki et al., 2020, p. 11-12). Trenches were used to excavate across features and survey the area. Exploration continued until remains were discovered. Any skeletal fragments found during excavation were, as in the previous excavations conducted by the Staffordshire Centre of Archaeology, carefully

documented without removal. Documentation was followed by trench filling and stratification layer placement. The research used the stratigraphic method and descriptive documentation, including measurement, drawings, and photography. To identify burial pit contents, stratification entities were sifted by granulation, color, and cohesion (Rozycki et al., 2020, p. 12).

Beginning in 2019, the Prosecution of the Institute of National Remembrance, in cooperation with the Pomeranian Medical University in Szczecin, conducted an extended archaeological survey supervised by the Rabbinical Commission for Jewish Cemeteries in Poland (Rozycki et al., p. 12). This excavation stands out, as the researchers were given permission to properly excavate and exhume the remains, which yielded significant results. The methodological approach consisted of systematic approach combining geophysical surveys such as GPR, metal detection, careful excavation techniques such as the stratigraphic excavation method. All skeletal remains discovered was cleaned on-site, tagged, and secured in bubble wrap as to be sent to the Forensic Genetics Department of Pomeranian Medical University in Szczecin for detailed anthropological and genetic analysis (Drath, et al., 2023, pp. 3-4).

Figure 9. Photo showing the stratigraphic excavation of a body from Treblinka. Photo: Rozycki, S. Source: https://www.mdpi.com/2076-3263/10/9/336

6.4 A Summary of the Excavation Results

Human remains, mostly fragmented, and various artifacts were recovered from the excavation sites. Furthermore, the excavations uncovered evidence of the gas chambers' foundations, and archeological evidence of the labor camp's foundational structure. Items recovered from these areas ranged from building materials like tiles and bricks to personal belongings such as jewelry, hair clips, and coins. Dentures, gold, and silver teeth were found alongside some of the fragmented human remains. Surface surveys also yielded significant findings, with domestic items like pans, bowls, cups, and cutlery recovered from areas believed to have contained the camp's waste pit. Notably, a metal sign bearing a swastika and the words "Lager Polizei" (Camp Police) were among the discoveries (Colls & Branthwaite, 2018, pp. 434-435).

During the excavations in 2019, over 8,600 skeletal fragments, with an estimated minimum number of individuals (MNI) totaling forty-nine, were recovered. Forensic geneticists were able to confirm the male sex of the individuals and maternal ancestry through mitochondrial DNA haplogroup determination, which concluded that the victims had diverse origins, but the majority were identified as European. Despite challenges posed by DNA degradation, kinship analysis hinted at potential familial relationships among the victims, although the condition of the biological material hindered definitive conclusions. Their ages were determined to be from approximately 10 to over 60 years old at the time of death. Trauma analysis depicted a grim narrative of violence, with perimortem injuries observed on a significant portion of the skeletal remains—including blunt force, sharp force, and gunshot traumas. Pathological conditions such as metabolic disorders and infectious diseases were also identified (Drath, et al., 2023, pp. 5-6).

One of the most significant findings of the 2019 excavations was the discovery of seven individual graves containing individuals buried in wooden coffins; this was in stark contrast to what evidence from the other graves suggested about the burial prisoners were given (Drath, et al., 2024, p. 13). As a result, further investigations into the individual graves were conducted, which revealed that these were the buried remains of prison guards who had died from traumatic lesions to their skulls, the result of gunshot wounds, or blunt force trauma, implying that the guards were probably the victims of revolting prisoners (Drath, et al., 2024, p. 10). Historical records match the demographic profile of SS prison guards, who were primarily young males, and artifacts recovered from the graves, such as a metal whistle and German uniform buttons, confirm their association with the guarding crew (Drath, et al., 2024, p. 12). Due to a lack of comparative genetic

material, the individuals were not identified, though facial approximation may be possible (Drath, et al., 2024, p. 14).

Figure 10 Grave 2: A golden ring on left hand, a plastic comb, eight German uniform buttons, a metal whistle. Photo: Drath et al. Source: https://link.springer.com/article/10.1186/s40494-024-01184-7

Discussion

Governments and perpetrators can easily influence our collective memory to fit the agenda that best suits their narrative. Forensic investigations into past and contemporary conflicts are important to facilitate accurate narratives on human suffering and resilience, particularly in the aftermath of war crimes. Although identifications might not be possible, the very act of locating the victims is an act of reconciliation and resists the perpetrators' attempt to erase not just lives but the very evidence of the victims' existence. Each discovery can be a reclamation of their humanity, a counterpoint to the dehumanization they endured. Victims of conflicts should be the narrators of the conflict, not the perpetrators. Thorough employing archaeological approaches in painful heritage investigations, we can tell the stories of the victims who have lost their voice and let them become part of our cultural memory, thus forcing us to confront our painful heritage and ensuring that such atrocities don't vanish from our collective conscience.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the Srebrenica genocide, the perpetrators dug up the original burials and moved the bodies to other locations in "secondary" mass graves as a mean to compromise evidence. Likewise, the German government under Nazi rule implemented systematic efforts to eradicate evidence of their crimes, including the destruction of extermination and labor camps such as Treblinka I and II. By employing a variety of traditional methods used in archaeology, both case studies were able to uncover human remains and artifacts buried with the victims or dumped in their proximity. The investigators utilized surface surveys and advanced geophysical techniques like ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and metal detectors as to identify potential burial sites and assess the extent of mass grave sites. Additionally, archaeological excavation techniques such as probing, drilling, trenching, and stratigraphy led to the successful excavation of human and artifactual evidence of the atrocities committed during the war-crimes.

Artifacts are important in answering crucial questions regarding the who, what, why, and how of a genocide. For instance, the personal artifacts of the victims discovered at Srebrenica, reflecting Muslim religious affiliation, helps conduct a comprehensive narrative of the genocidal attempts. Even in cases where DNA is compromised or lacking, burial context and personal artifacts can provide evidence into the circumstances surrounding individuals' deaths. For instance, the discovery of seven individual graves near the Execution Site at Treblinka, were determined to be the remains of guards likely murdered by revolting prisoners. This theory was supported by the presence of belongings such as a metal whistle buried alongside the remains.

In addition to the archaeological excavations, anthropological surveys conducted on exposed remains yielded valuable information on demographic characteristics, cause of death, and patterns of violence against victims. Forensic geneticists, working with remains from the Srebrenica massacre, were able to utilize genetic tests to identify victims, leading to the positive identification of nearly 7,000 individuals. The greatest outcomes will come from the forensic disciplines working together in a multidisciplinary manner. Through the collaboration of archaeology, anthropology, and genetics, victims can be identified, and perpetrators held accountable in a court of justice.

References

ABFA. (2024). *What is Forensic Anthropology?* Retrieved from theabfa.org : https://www.theabfa.org/general-information

Assmann, J., & Czaplicka, J. (1995). Collective Memory and Cultural Identity. *New German Critique, 65*, pp. 125–133. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/488538

Borkowski, T., & Trzciński, M. (2018). Interrogating the Ground: An Archaeologist at a Crime Scene. In P. M. Barone, & W. J. Groen, *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Forensic Archaeology: Topics discussed during the European Meetings on Forensic Archaeology (EMFA)* (pp. 155-165). Springer International Publishing.

Brunborg, H. L. (2003). Accounting for genocide: How many were killed in Srebrenica? *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de démographie, (19)*, pp. 229-248.

Colls, C. S. (2013). Gone but not Forgotten: Archaeological approaches to the site of the former Treblinka Extermination Camp in Poland. *Holocaust Studies and Materials, (3)*, pp. 253-289.

Colls, C. S. (2016). 'Earth conceal not my blood': forensic and archaeological approaches to locating the remains of Holocaust victims. In J. Dreyfus, & E. Anstett, *Human remains in society: curation and exhibition in the aftermath of genocide and mass-violence* (pp. 163-196). Manchester : Manchester University Press.

Colls, S. C., & Branthwaite, M. (2018). "This is proof"? Forensic evidence and ambiguous material culture at Treblinka extermination camp. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology, 22*, pp. 430-453.

Drath, J., Jarzęcka-Stąporek, J., Lisman, D., Szargut, M., Jasinski, M. E., Spradley, K., & ... & Ossowski, A. (2023). Slaughtered like animals. Revealing the atrocities committed by the Nazis on captives at Treblinka I by skeletal trauma analysis. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications, 10(1)*, pp. 1-13.

Drath, J., Jarzęcka-Stąporek, J., Zacharczuk, J., Lisman, D., Cytacka, S., Szargut, M., & ... & Ossowski, A. (2024). Perpetrators from Treblinka: interdisciplinary investigations of seven single graves with "Trawniki Men". *Heritage Science, 12(1)*, pp. 1-17.

Evis, L. H. (2014). *igging the dirt: a comparative analysis of excavation methods and recording systems in relation to their applications in forensic archaeology.* Bournemouth University. Retrieved from https://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/21487/

Evis, L. H., Hanson, I., & Cheetham, P. N. (2016). An experimental study of two grave excavation methods: Arbitrary Level Excavation and Stratigraphic Excavation. *STAR: Science & Technology of Archaeological Research, 2(2)*, pp. 177-191. Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/20548923.2016.1229916

Glassberg, D. (1996). Public History and the Study of Memory. *The Public Historian, 18(2)*, pp. 7–23. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/3377910

Golčevski, N. v. (2013). Facing the past: Media framing of war crimes in post-conflict Serbia. *Media, War & Conflict, 6(2)*, pp. 117-133.

Golčevski, N., Engelhardt, J., & Boomgaarden, H. G. (2013). Facing the past: Media framing of war crimes in post-conflict Serbia. *Media, War & Conflict, 6(2)*, pp. 117-133. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1750635213479206

Haglund, W. D., Connor, M., & Scott, D. D. (2001). The archaeology of contemporary mass graves. *Historical archaeology, 35*, pp. 57-69. Retrieved from https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF03374527

Hanson, I. (2007). Psycho-social issues and approaches in forensic archaeology. *Archaeological review from Cambridge, 22(2)*, pp. 69-76. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/download/31700443/Hanson_psycho-_social_issues_in_forensic_archaeology.pdf

Hanson, I. (2023). Mass Graves: The Forensic Investigation of the Deaths, Destruction and Deletion of Communities and Their Heritage. *The Historic Environment: Policy & Practice, 14(3)*, pp. 359-401.

Hunter, J. (1996). A background to forensic archaeology . In H. John, R. Charlotte, & M. Anthony, *Studies in Crime: An introduction to Forensic Archaeology* (pp. 7-23). Routledge .

ICTY. (2003). *Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milosevic IT-02-54-T.* International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia.

Jasinski, M. (n.d.). Archaeology, REcall and Re-Enacting the Painful Past of Europe. In G. G. Bassanelli, *Beyond Memorialisation. Design for Conflict Heritage.* Politecnico di Milano.

Jessee, E., & Skinner, M. (2005). A typology of mass grave and mass grave-related sites. *Forensic science international, 152(1)*, pp. 55-59. Retrieved from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0379073805001659

Jones, A. (2016). *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction (3rd ed.).* Routledge.

Jugo, A., & Wastell, A. (2015). Disassembling the pieces, reassembling the social: the forensic and political lives of secondary mass graves in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Anstett, & Dreyfus, *Human remains and identification: Mass violence, genocide, and the 'forensic turn'* (pp. 142-174). Manchester University Press.

Juhl, K. (2005). *The contribution by (forensic) archaeologists to human rights investigations of mass graves.* Stavanger, Norway: Museum of Archaeology.

Lemkin, R. (1946). Genocide. *The American Scholar, 15(2)*, pp. 227–230. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/41204789

Mallinder, L. (2012). Commission for Investigation of the Events in and around Srebrenica between 10 and 19 July 1995. *Encyclopedia of Transitional Justice (3)*, pp. 38-43.

Mark, H., & Kavran, O. (2005). Session Five Krsti Trial. *Bridging the Gap between the ICTY and communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina* (pp. 35-59). ICTY.

Morse, D., Crusoe, D., & H, S. (1976). Forensic Archaeology. *J. Forensic Sci. 21(2)*, pp. 323-332. Retrieved from https://asmedigitalcollection.asme.org/forensicsciences/article/21/2/323/1180596

Obradovic, J. (2013). *Ethnic conflict and war crimes in the Balkans: the narratives of denial in post-conflict Serbia.* Bloomsbury Publishing.

Obradovic-Wochnik, J. (2009). Knowledge, acknowledgement and denial in Serbia's responses to the Srebrenica massacre. *Journal of contemporary European studies, 17(1)*, pp. 61-74. Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14782800902844719

Ossowski, A. D.-W. (2016). Genetic identification of communist crimes' victims (1944–1956) based on the analysis of one of many mass graves discovered on the powazki military cemetery in Warsaw, Poland. *Journal of forensic sciences, 61(6)*, pp. 1450-1455.

Parks, L. (2001). Satellite views of Srebrenica: Tele-visuality and the politics of witnessing. *Social Identities, 7(4)*, pp. 585-611. Retrieved from https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13504630120107728

Powers, N., & Sibun, L. (2013). Forensic archaeology. In Graves-Brown, Harrison, & Piccini, *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World* (pp. 40-52). Oxford University Press.

Rózycki, S., Zapłata, R., Karczewski, J., Ossowski, A., & Tomczyk, J. (2020). Integrated Archaeological Research: Archival Resources, Surveys, Geophysical Prospection and Excavation Approach at an Execution and Burial Site: The German Nazi Labour Camp in Treblinka. *Geosciences, 10,* pp. 1-26.

Schultz, J. J. (2007). Using ground-penetrating radar to locate clandestine graves of homicide victims: forming forensic archaeology partnerships with law enforcement. *Homicide Studies, 11(1),* pp. 15-29. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1088767906296234

Scott, D., & Connor, M. (2001). The Role and Future of Archaeology in Forensic Science. *Historical Archaeology, 35(1),* pp. 101-104.

Snow, C. C. (1982). Forensic anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 11(1),* pp. 97-131. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/2155777

Steele, C. (2008). Archaeology and the forensic investigation of recent mass graves: Ethical issues for a new practice of archaeology. *Archaeologies, 4,* pp. 414-428. Retrieved from https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11759-008-9080-x

Stewart, D. (1985). Witness after death. *Sooner Magazine, 6(1),* pp. 4-11. Retrieved from https://journals.shareok.org/soonermagazine/article/download/10696/10695

Subotić, J. (2022). Holocaust and the Meaning of the Srebrenica Genocide: A Reflection on a Controversy. *Journal of genocide researchh, 24(1),* 71-82.

Szalai, S., Lemperger, I., Pattantyús-Ábrahám, M., & Szarka, L. (2011). The standardized pricking probe surveying and its use in Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Science, 38(1),* pp. 175-182. Retrieved from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305440310003122

Szleszkowski, Ł., Thannhäuser, A., Szwagrzyk, K., & Jurek, T. (2015). The possibility of establishing causes of death on the basis of the exhumed remains of prisoners executed during the communist regime in Poland: the exhumations at Powązki Military Cemetery in Warsaw. *International journal of legal medicine, 129,* pp. 801-806.

Tabeau, E., & Hetland, A. (208). *SREBRENICA MISSING: THE 2007 PROGRESS REPORT ON THE.* Demographic Unit, Office of the Prosecutor, ICTY.

To, D. (2017). Forensic Archaeology: Survey Methods, Scene Documentation, Excavation, and Recovery Methods . In N. R. Langley, & M. A. Tersigni-Tarrant, *Forensic Anthropology: A Comprehensive Introduction, Second Edition* (pp. 36-56). Taylor & Francis Group.

Toom, V. (202). Ontologically dirty knots: The production of numbers after the Srebrenica genocide. *Security Dialogue, 51(4),* pp. 358-376. Retrieved from https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0967010620902008

Tuller, H., & Đurić, M. (2006). Keeping the pieces together: comparison of mass grave excavation methodology. *Forensic Science International, 156(2-3),* pp. 192-200. Retrieved from https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0379073805001040

United-Nations. (1996). Report of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991. (pp. 1-61). General Assembly Security Counsel.

United-Nations. (2001). IT-98-33-T. (pp. 1-260). International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia since 1991.

United-Nations. (2002). Report of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia since 1991. (pp. 1-64). General Assembly Security Counsel.

Vollen, L. (2001). All That Remains: Identifying the Victims of the Srebrenica Massacre. *Cambridge Quarterly of Healthcare Ethics, 10(3)*, pp. 336–340. Retrieved from https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/cambridge-quarterly-of-healthcare-ethics/article/all-that-remains-identifying-the-victims-of-the-srebrenica-massacre/B0544DB5D8BF72ABDD64A49BA6E4BB04

Wagner, S., & Kešetović, R. (2016). Absent bodies, absent knowledge: The forensic work of identifying Srebrenica's missing and the social experiences of families. In D. Congram, *Missing persons: Multidisciplinary perspectives on the disappeared* (pp. 42-73). Toronto: Canada scholars press.

Warren, C. P. (1976, January). Field forensic anthropology: The excavation of human remains under adverse conditions. *Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science. Vol. 86*, pp. 104-110. Retrieved from https://journals.iupui.edu/index.php/ias/article/download/8297/8448

Wright, R. (2010). Where are the Bodies? In the Ground. *The Public Historian, 32(1)*, pp. 96–107. Retrieved from https://online.ucpress.edu/tph/article-abstract/32/1/96/88821

Yildirim, K. L. (2023). Archaeological knowledge production and its relationship with heritage and society: Case studies from the Falstad camp, the indigenous communities of Norway, and the Syrian Civil War. Unpublished document.

NTNU

Norwegian University of
Science and Technology