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MORAL TECHNIQUES. FORENSIC ANTHROPOLOGY AND ITS ARTIFACTS FOR DOING GOOD

TÉCNICAS MORALES. LA ANTROPOLOGÍA FORENSE Y SUS ARTEFACTOS PARA HACER EL BIEN

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Abstract: In many of its applications forensic anthropology is a singular discipline, midway between a bare techno-scientific exercise and a militant involvement in overcoming situations marked by human rights violations. Today, riding on an intense and transnational wave of humanitarian sensitivity, forensic anthropology has acquired a significant scientific, moral and media status, and has become a front line scientific-technical practice in the human rights field at the planetary level. This text, which analyzes some of the artifacts with which forensic anthropology represents and works on its object, aims to understand this discipline through the concept of moral technique, which, in my understanding, captures the particular tensions of this form of working for good.

Key words: forensic anthropology, forced disappearance, moral economy, humanitarianism.

Resumen: En muchas de sus aplicaciones, la antropología forense es una disciplina singular, a medio camino entre el ejercicio tecno-científico desnudo y la implicación militante en la superación de situaciones marcadas por la vulneración de los derechos humanos. Hoy, encabalgada a una intensa y transnacional ola de sensibilidad humanitaria, la antropología forense ha ganado un importante protagonismo mediático, científico y moral, convirtiéndose en una práctica tecno-científica de primera línea en el campo de los derechos humanos, y ello a nivel planetario. El texto, analizando algunos artefactos con los que la antropología forense representa su objeto y lo trabaja, propone entender esta disciplina a través del concepto de técnica moral, que recoge, entiendo, las particulares tensiones de esta forma de trabajar para el bien.

Palabras clave: antropología forense, desaparición forzada de personas, economía moral, humanitarismo.

O caminho do bem e um sou caminho
O caminho do bem e para todos
O caminho do bem e racional (...)
Aonde viver sempre o bem, e nao o mal
O caminho do bem, Tim Maia

1. Introduction

Over the last decade, Spain has witnessed the irruption of a movement for the recovery of historical memory. A lot has been said about this, and most of what has been said in the field of the social sciences proceeds from historiographical debates (on historical truth) and from those of sociology and political anthropology (on the agents of the complex, dynamic and still precarious field of memory in Spain). But for the purposes of this text I am interested in attending to the less vociferous protagonists of this outbreak of memory, the forensic anthropologists. They are indeed silent protagonists of this phenomenon, but essential ones nonetheless: they give solidity to the materiality of the grave; they are present on the front line of the theatre of operations of memory, where the affective intensity of the phenomenon is staged; they are, moreover, the Trojan Horses by which hard science accedes to this question; and, in short, it is to a large extent through them that the Spanish case connects with some transnational tendencies in human rights questions. That's how it is: the forensic anthropologists, their places of work (graves) and their artifacts (archives, DNA, tools for disinterment) are the hidden protagonists of the rebirth of memory in Spain.

Several works have analyzed the socio-anthropological complexity of the grave and disinterment (Ferrándiz, 2006, 2008; Baer & Ferrándiz, 2011), but to my knowledge few have concentrated on the forensic anthropologists and their ethical-professional practice. To them and their practice I dedicate these pages dealing with the moral protection surrounding this technical-scientific labor. I base myself on field work that one might term multi-situated, but of which it would be more correct to say that it is protracted (in time) and comparative (in space): it basically draws on the investigations developed in Argentina and Uruguay between 2005 and 2008 into the social consequences of the forced disappearance of people (Gatti, 2008, 2011a); and it is completed with some of the samples of the fieldwork carried out for another project, still underway, on the figure of

the victim in Spain¹. In both, forensic anthropology plays an outstanding role. But this is so in different ways, since some time has passed between the case that forensic anthropology worked on in the Southern Cone of Latin America (the detained-disappeared people of the dictatorships of the 1970s) and the one it is working on in Spain (the mass graves of the Civil War and its aftermath). The social and historical circumstances that legitimate (or not) the uses of this science are different in the two cases, and moreover a great distance separates the two cases. Nonetheless, there are strong common denominators that make it possible to treat all of that as forming part of the same case: the combination in forensic anthropology of science and militancy; ethics as a site of evaluation that is applied to an essentially technical work; the transnationalization of a technical-scientific practice, which is applied locally but that has a global imaginary... Following a brief description of forensic anthropology as a technical-scientific discipline directed to the human rights field, I will consider, even more briefly, the singularities of a repressive practice against whose effects this discipline fights, the forced disappearance of people. I will then describe some of its techniques, in order to propose in the final part a few interpretative keys for understanding the success of forensic anthropology, all of them referring to the moral economy that today structures our reading of what is human and what the human is attacked by.

2. Good with the prefix 're': returning remains, remaking identities, repairing the damage

In forensic anthropology, good is conjugated with the prefix 're': scientifically remaking identities undone by the practice of forced disappearance; returning the remains to the relatives of the disappeared, who were deprived of the possibility of doing with them what is ordained by our rites of managing death; repairing the damage caused; and with respect to the individual who suffered it, although there is no possibility of returning to the situation prior to disappearance, once the body has been found again [recontrado], it at least becomes possible to administer the affairs of death on a terrain where pain can be digested...

¹ R+D+I Project: Mundo(s) de víctimas. Dispositivos y procesos de construcción de la identidad de 'la víctima' en la España contemporánea (CSO2011-22451), which is being developed between 2012 and 2014. For further information, consult the project website: www.identidadcolectiva.es/victimas

The scheme has returned, repeated in different contexts that are familiar to everyone: it occurs in Argentina, in Bosnia, in El Salvador, in Spain, in Uruguay, in Guatemala, in Bolivia, in Somalia... It occurs, in short, where forensic anthropology and those who practice it deploy their instruments against the effects of one of the most universalized expressions of horror in the contemporary world, the forced disappearance of people.

Combining techniques from archeology with those of bio-anthropology, forensic anthropology has in the last decade acquired an enormous (and planetary) role in situations where there have been grave human rights violations, occupying the front line of the work aimed at palliating the suffering of the victims of those violations. Within this professional practice, one of the most famous teams is the EAAF (Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense – the Argentinean Forensic Anthropology Team). Founded in the 1980s, apart from its permanent work in Argentina, it has carried out similar investigative work in some 35 countries "which following periods of political violence, decide to find out the destiny of the detained-disappeared people", or inspection and advisory tasks at the request of "national and international courts, truth commissions, United Nations bodies and national and international non-governmental bodies". On its website (EAAF, 2012), it defines itself in the following terms: as a politically neutral NGO and as a scientific organization that "through the techniques of Social Anthropology, Archeology, Forensic Anthropology, Information Technology and Genetics (...) investigates cases of people who have disappeared or died as a consequence of processes of political violence in different parts of the world". Its aims, it continues, are "to restore [the remains of the disappeared] to their relatives" and "contribute to the clarification of historical truth, the fight against impunity and the strengthening of independent justice". Celebrating the twentieth anniversary of its foundation, one of its inspirers, the North American Clyde Snow, declared: "For the first time in the history of investigation into human rights violations, we are beginning to use a scientific methodology to investigate these crimes" (Ginzberg, 2004). With this organization we are witnessing a phenomenon of relevance: science and its artifacts placed at the service of good: "The [Argentinean Forensic Anthropology] team works to develop and adapt existing scientific tools and new technologies to the field of investigation into human rights violations" (EAAF, 2005).

In this text, I am interested in this double character of forensic anthropology: on the one hand, its condition as a technical-scientific practice, made up of procedures for extracting and comparing DNA, judicial skills, systematic archive work, protocols for exhuming

human remains, techniques of archeological reconstruction... This is, without doubt, not only the most visible and spectacular dimension of forensic anthropology but also the most extraordinary: it gives results, it is efficient, it generates documents, proofs, it makes rituals possible, it produces arguments that it furnishes with an empirical basis. It is tangible, it is real. But no less relevant, although without doubt less visible, is the moral condition of this work, the substratum of militant practice to which these professionals commit themselves: they work to undo evil. They repair, reorder, restore. They remake what evil has unmade; in short, they reconstruct good, a struggle waged from the field of science.

3. Brief excursus on a destructive evil that is today thought to be universal

The forced disappearance of people has occurred in many episodes of history: from the *Nacht und Nebel* [Night and Fog] decree of 1941, to detention camps like Guantanamo. But the apparatus of disappearance (Calveiro, 2004) as it is known today reached a peak in the Southern Cone of Latin America (Amnistía Internacional, 1983; Garibian, 2008). It is not that more was done there, but what it destroyed was highly singular: citizen-individuals, subjects conceived as culminations of civilization. That is to say, what characterized the forced disappearance of people in the civilized capitals of the Southern Cone, in Montevideo, Santiago de Chile or Buenos Aires, was that it destroyed modern identity and its supports: the union, considered indissoluble, of a body with its name was broken; a family history was broken, and with it the link, held to be universal, of an individual with his/her genealogy; the connection, considered secure, of a subject with her collective framework, which takes the form of a State, was broken. There, the enormous force of the civilizatory impulse was deployed against an object –and I would dare to say that this was historically unprecedented– that was its own product: the modern and rational individual, with an identity endorsed with civic and administrative credentials; the clean and self-conscious individual of the nation-state, of liberal citizenship; the subject to whom the psychoanalytical couch makes sense. And it unmade her.

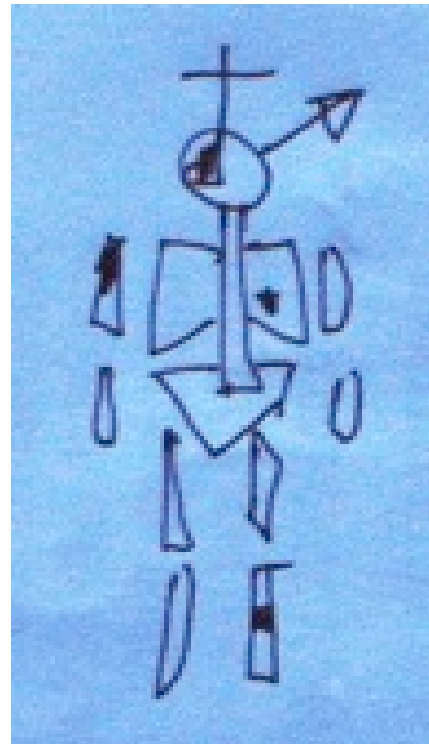
The political conjuncture of the period, the soldiers trained in the School of the Americas, national security doctrine and the generalized production of the internal enemy, the Nazi experience, or those of Spain or Vietnam. Having recourse to such factors would doubtless explain a lot about this episode. The truth must lie thereabouts. But none of them can

account for the sublimity of the horror that was –and is– provoked by the forced disappearance of people wherever it occurs, particularly when it is conceived as an apparatus for destroying identity (Gatti, 2008, 2011a), as in the case of the Southern Cone of Latin America. As a forensic anthropologist wisely remarked to me, there, in Argentina and Uruguay, forced disappearance invented a new state of being, the detained-disappeared person. This was not sought intentionally, but, he added, "some beasts tried to paint the Mona Lisa and, in reality, it was as if they were trying to kill a fly with a paint brush (...). They did incredible things, they separated an identity from its body, that's what they did" (Interview with a researcher from the EAAF, held in 2005).

4. ...and what forensic anthropology fights with the prefix 're'

Following the passage of a subject through the machinery of disappearance what is left are remnants, remains, waste materials. Very little: some pieces of information about the time before his/her condition as a detained-disappeared person, perhaps testimonies (incomplete, uncertain, also very few) of her passage through the center where she was disappeared. At times, very rarely, there remains materially a body without an identity; much more often there is an identity without a body, the name of somebody who is known to be a detained-disappeared person but about whom nothing else is known other than that little information. Nothing remains of those identities.

Forensic anthropologists work with those remains. They search, speak, dispel uncertainty because the latter "does not do good":



Sketch of Robotín drawn by a forensic anthropologist on a paper napkin. EAAF office, Buenos Aires, August 2005. Photograph by the author.

"I think that this [identifying the remains of a disappeared relative] does people good (...) Or to put it the other way round: disappearance is a wrong done to people (...) but for the few people who have been able to elaborate it in more human terms, the terms of a known death, it has basically done them good. Inconsistency, uncertainty, does not generally do one good. And this is a textbook case of uncertainty" (Ginzberg, 2012).

They are heroes in that they procure to restore to sense what has escaped from it; they are professionals who intervene on the remains of what once made sense: bodies, names, remains, dossiers... I am not exaggerating: forensic anthropologists are active defenders of our pacts between things and words, between bodies and meaning, between names and consciousnesses. Yes, they exert themselves so that the wounds that affect the supposedly universal relations between a body and a name, between a subject and her history, between an individual and her communitarian space, are repaired and, as a result, are less painful for those who build meaning on her recollection.

They are not applied in this way in one place alone; on the contrary, their uses have been universalized: thus, in Argentina, when explaining the cascade of affectivity surrounding the finding and identification of a detained-disappeared person, Estela de Carlotto, president of Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo, said in May 2012: "It is extremely hard, because it closes the search (...) But at the same time it is the way in which all humanity has to close the circle of life" (Bullentini, 2012. Emphasis added). But also in Serbia (Claverie, 2011) or in Spain, cases that are imagined to be equal to each other, and to the Argentinean case, and to all those that respond to the same type of crime (the forced disappearance of people): in all these cases, it is said, the same universal rights are attacked, that is, the indissolubility of body and name or of individual and genealogy, the need to manage death in equivalent ways: with a body, a tomb, with certainty.

This is not the place for me to discuss these certainties about the universalization of a good death and a bad death, on which a considerable part of the conditions of possibility of forensic anthropology are based (Gatti, 2008, 2012). On the contrary, I am interested in taking up, as such, the universality of these principles regarding death, identity, pain and mourning. I am interested in naturalizing them in order to better understand the triviality of the technical gesture applied by the forensic anthropologist when he/she wrestles with questions of such enormous transcendence; a triviality that is only possible if the skills of the technical gesture are applied out of the sure conviction of the good morality of the

action undertaken. This distance between what the forensic anthropologist aspires to and the artifacts with which she works, between automatism, the unthinking expertise due to repetition of the seasoned professional and the good she seeks, makes it possible to speak of what Jessica Cassiro (2006), paraphrasing Arendt, called the banality of good. This is science at the service of good, both to the west of the Atlantic...

"It is the culmination of our work, what we seek, our goal. It is a very strong sensation, because when we work with bones we are not thinking about what we are doing all the time. But, suddenly, the bones come to have a number or a name (...) It's like a permanent coming and going between the scientific and the human" (Ratti, 2003).

...and to the east...

"In the last 11 years [in Spain] close to 300 graves have been exhumed in a scientific way, with forensic scientists, archeologists and anthropologists (...) from which the remains of more than 5,500 victims have been recovered. At the end of each exhumation those forensic scientists draw up elaborate reports (...) in which they reconstruct the crimes of Francoism (...). Those reports are for the relatives of the victims (...) the consolation of knowing the truth after decades of uncertainty, of asking oneself where the disappeared person was and what his last hours would have been like" (Junquera, 2012).

Forced disappearance provoked a catastrophe in our reading of identity. Facing it, the dominant reaction is that of managing the devastation by remaking what had collapsed. If the workings of the apparatus of disappearance de-civilized, forensic anthropology re-civilizes. Three great operations sustain this effort of forensic anthropology, each of them aimed at compensating for the effects of the three devastations of the forced disappearance of people: the devastation of the body-name relationship; the devastation of the relationship between an individual and her history; the devastation of the relationship between a subject and her community. To remake the first, the objective is to reconstruct the body and associate it with a name; to remake the second, the objective is to reconstruct the genetic identity and associate it with a genealogy; to remake the third, the objective is to redo the tie of the disappeared identity with its condition as a citizen. In each case, a technical routine and its artifacts make different operations possible, all with 're' as a prefix: the model body; the minimum identity; the individual in the archive.

5. The human prototype (remaking the body)

In Buenos Aires in 2007, while I was researching the work of the Argentinean Forensic Anthropology Team, one of its members drew me a Robotín. On the recording of the conversation this anthropologist told me:

"We immortalized it as Robotín, it's a person. You make marks and from these you can separate what it is from what it can't be. Let's say, if it's got this, it's a woman, if it's got this it's a man: the first discrimination. If it has a wound there, then it has to have a wound there. If in the document it says it has something there, then amongst the exhumed skeletons we have to have one that has something there; but not only something there, suppose that it has something there, there or there. That gradually defines the possibility of establishing some correspondence between one order and another, between those orders we are talking about. What we have there is not an identity, but a pseudo-identity, we have a person who died in certain circumstances whose name we don't know (...) to compare with a skeleton that we certainly don't know from amongst a very large group... We're not going to reach a definition with this, but we're going to define that it could be one of these four and that's a tremendous advance...".

Robotín is a model, a prototype of the ideal body. This model is compared to what is found in the mass grave, in the exhumation of a clandestine burial; from this comparison a deduction is made about what remains and what is missing of the disappeared person and, if possible, about what has happened and, if possible, no less than who it is:

"First you make an inventory of the bones that were recovered; then if they really have bullet wounds, you try to see which breakages were caused by bullets (...) You put the parts together, a reassembly; if the skull is destroyed, you try to put the pieces together and then you start to make estimations of sex, age, height, laterality, dental file and you see if you've got someone..." (Interview with a researcher from the EAAF, held in 2005).

In a text on the representations of the body in forensic anthropology, Ariela Battán (2008) speaks of the work of this discipline as an exercise of anamnesis of the body of the detained-disappeared person. Certainly, forensic anthropologists are entrusted with

returning memory to a body that has lost it. But this act of returning is not innocent, since it bears –and in fact contributes to naturalizing– representations of the body and the identity that are highly concrete: in the first place the representation of the body by the wise, the body conceived by modern science as a physical unit composed of inseparable parts, "body, anonymous and sexless (...), separated from history and culture" (Battán, 2008: 143-144), in short, a model body; and then the body that is narrated as a body inseparably associated with a history, a biography (Battán, 2008: 145).

Two levels –the biological body, the model body of the wise; the narrated body as a body associated with an identity– that the forced disappearance of people dissociates, a dissociation that the work of anamnesis of forensic anthropology annuls by re-associating what was broken:

"the practice of identification is explained as a fitting together, insofar as what one seeks is to reunite something that has been disassociated through violent actions, whether material ones (such as kidnapping, murder and clandestine burial), or bureaucratic ones (that is, a lack of suitable records, anonymity, a falsification and concealing information, etc.)" (Battán, 2008: 144).

Also on this line, Claverie (2011) reports on the creation in Bosnia in 2001 of units for the re-association of bodies.

And order is restored: things fit together and rationality returns:

"[The EAAF's model of work] is what is incredible, and the fact is: it works! I think that if there is some contribution, it's that: it works, [identity] is reconstructed. How it is reconstructed is something that is almost magical in some respects... Forms gradually appear" (Interview with a researcher from the EAAF, held in 2005).

6. The minimum identity of DNA (reentering the biological chain)

Boxes in the EAAF office. On the center of one of them it is possible to read the label indicating its contents: DNA.



Buenos Aires, August 2005. Photograph by the author.

As part of my fieldwork in Argentina I was interviewing a forensic anthropologist. He persuaded me to change roles, to stop the interview, to take a sample of my blood and enter my details in the national genetic databank, so that, by comparing them with the available data, this could contribute to determining the identity of the remains of a detained-disappeared person already found but still unidentified. I accepted. With speed and precision, wearing plastic gloves, he took the index finger of my left hand, gently punctured it with a needle and took three blood samples on some circular pieces of blotting paper, from which he had previously removed a plastic film; he then stored these in a plastic envelope that he finally placed in a cardboard box. The operation took less than a minute; a mixture of significant quantities of political, affective and anthropological transcendence was concentrated into those seconds. The profound importance of the motive was combined with the light asepsia of science. It was made clear: "[Forensic anthropology] is a form of militancy in human rights and, at the same time, a scientific organization" (Dezorzi, 2001).

What remained in that box, together with many samples similar to the one I had left, was the possibility of identifying disappeared bodies and in this way remaking their identity. What remained was a hope with a scientific basis:

"We are a group of people who search together for the truth because, in reality, returning the remains to the relatives is to give back to them the history they did not have, the history that was hidden from, and denied to them. So, it's not a question of returning bones, but a possibility of justice" (Ratti, 2003).

Indeed, behind the chain of technical gestures with which the anthropologist manipulated my finger was hidden nothing less than good. Thus, in forensic anthropology there is a

coexistence of the prophylaxis required by the procedure, the coldness of the apparatuses with which it is executed, a knowledge of questions that are unfathomable to the layperson, such as DNA... Description of the protocol to be followed in taking blood samples for the genetic database of the Latin American Initiative for Identifying Disappeared People:

"Technical personnel of the sampling centers designated by the Ministry of Health in the country, trained in blood extraction [taking blood samples]. The sample consists in a small quantity of blood, the equivalent of six drops, which will be extracted in the same way as in a normal blood analysis. Afterwards they will be placed on three supports made of special paper that enables the sample to be stored for years, without any need for freezing or special treatment" (EAAF, 2012).

...with the intensity of the goods whose recovery that procedure is oriented towards: identity, truth, justice, memory, history... This is illustrated by the terms of the following account taken from the story that Horacio Pietragalla Corti, the son of disappeared people, wrote about the recovery of his identity as a direct result of the genetic identification of the remains of his parents:

"Going back over these years that I have lived with the truth, I cannot help stressing how important it was for me to know who I am. From the first day that I received the result of the DNA analysis, I felt the need to be able to piece together the history that had been stolen, hidden, from me" (Pietragalla Corti, 2005).

The story by Pietragalla Corti is called "Reconstructions", and it tells of a journey: a journey from nothing to everything, from a vacuum of identity to its plenitude. In the faithful representation of the story, mixed with its overwhelming intensity, intangible protagonists are concealed: DNA and the rhetoric of blood (Gatti, 2012; Sosa, 2011; Jelin, 2011), which, converted into depositories of being, invite one to think that identity is the preservation of what is:

"I remember as if it was today the questions I put to friends and relatives about what music they listened to, about what annoyed them, about how they felt. But none of the answers satisfied me; that distressed me, since I felt that I would never be able to completely know them. Until one day, confused by the thought of how unjust it was not to be able to meet them, I looked in the mirror and I realized that, of course, I had to know myself in order to know them; I am a part of them. So it was also surprising to begin to realize how much was left genetically tattooed on my body: to

know that that seafood that my parents were wild about, also drove me wild" (Pietragalla Corti, 2005).

The banality of the technical gesture of taking a blood sample, the procedure –essentially very puerile, a mere game– of identifying a subject through DNA, reaches unfathomable moral depths once it is introduced into the evaluative conglomerate of the social universe of human rights. And in the same movement, the concept of identity is trapped in the nets of hard science and its instruments: "Forensic Molecular Biology is a tool with great potential for the investigation of human identity using objective criteria" (Corach, 1997). From there on, statements with the weight of those below become plausible, by which that concept of identity reenters the old fictions of unity and permanence, biology and genetic determinism...

"The question about identity is therefore the question about 'what remains' (...) while everything changes, [it's] about continuity" (Rinesi, 2004).

"The concept of identity posits that something or someone is the same as itself" (Corach, 1997).

"[With identity] affective ties are established on the basis of genetic nexuses" (Corach, 1997).

It would not be out of place, however, to recall that this technique is at bottom a laboratory routine. In describing the history of what is today known as identity testing, which makes it possible to identify stolen or appropriated children by establishing the biological relationship between two individuals separated by two generations (grandparents and their grandchildren) and thus solve the drawback of not having DNA samples of the parents' generation, two geneticists explained to me that:

"In reality until 84 (...) they didn't do it [the test with this aim]. In 84, the legislation changed and the legislation was generated for hystocompatibility testing (...), [testing] that already existed, but that was applied for transplants, for the compatibility between a donor and a recipient. They used genetic markers that are characteristic of people, which are not usually shared by people who are not related, and that make it possible to know whether or not you are compatible for donating an organ to your sibling or... What was done was to transform the concept of hystocompatibility into identity (...). The human rights organizations and the concept of 'human rights' changed a lot from the 1980s onwards, and this became

established in people's minds" (Interview with a genetic identification technician, held in 2005).

Devastated bodies, destroyed names and broken identities emerged from the catastrophe. To exorcize its effects, some forms of working socially on the phenomenon of forced disappearance (laws, practices, imaginaries, concepts...) made a synonym between identity and biological load. The potentially changeable nature of the former is annulled when it is read from the perspective of the presumed invariability of the latter, the DNA, now considered as proof of 'each one's essence', something that nothing can modify, not even the most spectacular of catastrophes, which is what the forced disappearance of people is. On the basis of this moral technique, a minute drop of blood, a needle, some blotting paper and a box...

7. Recovering documents (being recognized again)

While it has for some time been a platitude to say that identity is a construction, it is also becoming one to say that giving form to identity requires an instance of recognition outside the subject, whether collective or not, in whom identity is presumed. The chain of platitudes is completed if we consider that here and now, in the civilized west, personal identity is that of a citizen-individual and that his/her instance of recognition is not so much the community, lineage or family house but the state. That being the case, the means by which this is realized are, we also know, those that mark a subject as an integrant, or not, of the community that that state represents: censuses, identity documents, birth and death certificates, student cards, passports...

It was against that background, at least in the Latin American Southern Cone, that the forced disappearance of people was developed, and that insertion of the citizen-individual in the community through her inscription in the networks of the state was the third of the goods –together with the connection of body and name, and of individual and family history– that disappearance destroyed². That's how it was: the citizen, that model product of modernity, the prodigal son of the civilizatory project (Elias, 1988) was what the apparatus of forced disappearance destroyed, and it also did this by removing her from the

² It was not like this in many other cases, amongst them the Spanish one, where what we today call forced disappearance was not developed in a context where either state logic or the forms of subjectivity associated with it prevailed. That is why, in my opinion, it can be argued that, if not the penal classification, then the sociological classification of forced disappearance of people, can be applied in these cases (Gatti, 2011b).

administrative networks that gave her a social place, from which the disappeared person vanished: What was done with her when the state abducted her? Where is that which would accredit her death? What legal status does this citizen have? Forensic anthropology answers these questions by restoring the disappeared subject to the modern chains of recognition, that is, by reincorporating her into the documents, reentering her in the archive:

"The work of the team I belong to considers the importance of conserving human dignity, respect for the person and the identity she has. To deny identification to a dead person would be to deny her history, while identifying her would make it possible to restore to her relatives the right to carry out funeral rituals (...). Often the fact of being able to identify a person is not tied to the possibility of returning her remains, but it is possible to find a person in the documents" (Wainschenker, 2004. Emphasis added.)

While the repression lasted, the state did not cease to employ archives, but used them in a different register; it produced dirty material: small incisions on a paper, signs referring to nonexistent or incomplete dossiers, annotations about the departure of someone, whether momentary or final, from the catacombs of the apparatus of disappearance and her entry into the more visible and familiar parts of the state apparatus. The archive functioned, but in a hidden way, and that is why what remains of that work gives off that peculiar smell of the dark side:

"We cannot fail to perceive the archives of the repression as constructions and instruments of classification belonging to the world of the security agents that produced them. In short, as spaces on the basis of which knowledge can be built attending to the forms of their organization, classificatory logics, located spaces and not only the document in itself" (da Silva, 2007: 207).

The archivists of the forensic anthropology team are working today with the material that the machine produced when it worked in B mode, in its clandestine mode. This is the same as what the state produces when it is operating cleanly, but dark: while in one there are personal data in the form of citizens, individuals accredited as such in the registers of birth, death or property, in the other there is the same thing but absent: subjects erased, disappeared. The objective is to restore to the latter the condition of the former; returning their documents to them, or them to their documents. The archive is essential for maintaining what Zygmunt Bauman (1997) has called the order of the garden, since it

classifies, hierarchizes, situates, cleans, selects... in sort, it situates, differentiates and gives identity. A subject, to be one, must be in the archive. If not, she isn't one.

8. Moral techniques. A discreetly critical closure with the apparatuses for doing good

Today, in any situation qualified as one of 'post-violence', there is a deployment of the same broad arsenal of categories, professionals, juridical artifacts, etc.: transversal justice, juridical expertise, international bodies, truth and reconciliation commissions, techniques for gathering testimonies, standards for public hearings for the victims of human rights violations, forensic techniques... That "thick manual" (Lefranc, 2009: 562), with a universalist vocation, has led to the construction of recipes of ingredients that are repeated wherever they are applied, no matter what differences there might be amongst the situations that deserve those solutions. Forensic anthropology and its work procedures are an important part of that recipe.

At the start of the twenty-first century we are facing a powerful wave that extends universally, that of the consecration of human rights as one of the matrixes that structure our perception of the world and what is human. This wave is the bearer of a new moral economy, which "was shaped in the final decades of the twentieth century (...). It promotes unprecedented answers –what we could call humanitarian government– from which very special attention is paid to suffering and misfortune" (Fassin, 2010: 16). Without leaving much room for error, I understand that it can be affirmed that the practices described above should be understood in that context: the context of the extension of human rights as a matrix for evaluating what exists; the context of the practices that preserve (or attack) human rights as modes of government.

From this it should not be understood that I want to say that the human has just been born as an object. Nor that sensitivity towards the pain of others is a question of recent years. Nor that the passage from the compassionate attention of the past to today's professionalization in the attention to the pain of others is a brand new question. I believe the naturalization of transcendent motives, which lies behind the practices and techniques with their humanitarian vocation, is a highly topical issue. The banality of good, I wrote above, citing the apt paraphrase of Cassiro. Or, in the perhaps more precise terms of Isabel Piper (2005), the "transformation of a political problem into a technical problem".

Indeed, a powerful tsunami of humanitarian rationality (protocols, work disciplines, apparatuses, tools...) is coming into effect everywhere, which mixes scientific routine and feeling of solidarity in equal measures.

In order to deconstruct this moral economy, those of us who have faith in the efficacy of the critical social sciences tend to pay attention to two personages that derive from it: on the side of those assisted, the victims; on that of the assistants, the experts. There are examples of the former everywhere: victims of terrorism, of gender violence, of aviation accidents, of medical incompetence, of crises, of flooding, of state terrorism... They embody a new planetary subjectivity, that of a violated, mourning, assisted, passive personage. Nor is there a shortage of examples of the latter: psychologists and doctors without frontiers, civil protection services, jurists working in the field of humanitarian law, judges who are experts in universal jurisdiction, activists of human rights in toto, forensic anthropologists... While the recipients of their action are mourning, assisted or passive, the characterology of the latter is exactly the opposite. Both, in any case, play on the same terrain, that of humanitarianism converted into a matrix and measure of all ethics, of all good, of all evil (Badiou, 2003). But besides these personages, I believe it can be agreed that this moral economy has a powerful technical dimension: protocols, procedures, artifacts, apparatuses... These are the moral techniques, practical vehicles for erasing the marks of suffering, for undoing evil. They are not guilty, but nor are they totally innocent.

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