

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

26-28 AUGUST 2021



FORENSIC CULTURES

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The conference 'Forensic cultures' is organized in conjunction with the project 'Forensic Culture. A Comparative Analysis of Forensic Practices in Europe, 1930-2000'.

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Utrecht University



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Conference programme

PROGRAMME DAY 1 – THURSDAY 26TH OF AUGUST

9:00 Welcome by Willemijn Ruberg

9:15 Keynote Alison Adam, ‘Blood will out: blood typing, gender and forensic objectivity’

10:15 Break

10:30 Panel 1: Infanticide and Forensic Expertise

Chair: Willemijn Ruberg

- Siska van der Plas, ‘The role of gender in the image of male and female child murderers in Dutch courtrooms and newspapers, 1960-1989’
- Tony Ward and Rachel Dixon, ‘Infanticide cases, forensic evidence and the element of certainty in twentieth-century England’
- Daniel Grey, ‘The Lady Vanishes? Forensic culture, “common sense” and the ongoing problem of infanticide in England and Wales, 1900-2020’
- Sara Serrano Martínez, ‘The umbilical cord problem and experts’ and judges’ attitudes towards infanticide in the Spanish forensic culture (c. 1923-1959)’

12:10 Lunch

13:00 Panel 2: Political Regimes and Disciplines

Chair: Filipe Santos

- Kateřina Lišková, ‘Sexology as forensic science in state-socialist Czechoslovakia. On the intersections of expertise with the state and changes in the understanding of sexual deviance’
- Volha Parfenchyk, ‘How law reads emotions: Translating the motive of jealousy into Russian legal discourse’
- Mikhail Pogorelov, ‘Redefining professional jurisdiction of forensic psychiatry in early Soviet Russia, 1918 – 1936’

14:25 Break

14:40 Panel 3: The Authority of Experts in the Courtroom

Chair: Volha Parfenchyk

- Svein Atle Skålevåg, 'Forensic cultures and the relative significance of criminal responsibility'
- Gethin Rees, 'Forensic expert marginalisation: Post-controversy science in the courtroom'

15:40 Closing

PROGRAMME DAY 2 – FRIDAY 27TH OF AUGUST

9:00 Panel 4: Knowledge Transfer

Chair: Kateřina Lišková

- Annette Mülberger, 'Women in the history of forensic psychology: The contribution of Concepción Arenal (1820-1893)'
- Ana María Gómez López, 'Forensic taphonomy and its multiple histories'
- Heather Wolfram, 'Teaching Grossian criminalistics in Imperial Germany'
- Nicola Labanca, 'Dissecting the Italian crime scene. Salvatore Ottolenghi, the founder of Italian academic forensic science and his unpublished university lectures between politics and history'

10:40 Break

11:00 Panel 5: Performance of Forensic Science

Chair: Annette Mülberger

- Pauline Dirven, 'The forensic expert look: Embodied performances of forensic expertise, England 1920-1950'
- Filipe Santos, 'The "key" to the crime: Criminal cases and the projection of expectations about forensics DNA technologies in the Portuguese press'
- Željana Tunić, 'Forensic lookalikes'. Imitating forensic gestures and producing nationalistic truth regimes in late-socialist Yugoslavia and its successor states'

12:25 Break

14:20 Panel 6: Sexual Violence and Forensic Expertise

Chair: Pauline Dirven

- Stephanie Wright, “Facts that are declared proven”: Francoism, forensic medicine, and the policing of sexual violence in twentieth-century Spain’
- Alejandra Palafox Menegazzi, ‘Medical-forensic representations of the crime of rape in Chile (1900-1950)’
- Lara Bergers, ‘Doctors, Police Officers and Rape Myths. Investigative and trial practices in Dutch sex crimes cases, 1930-1960’

15:45 Break

16:00 Networking Activity

17:00 Closing

PROGRAMME DAY 3 – SATURDAY 28TH OF AUGUST

9:00 Panel 7: Mass Violence and Forensic Evidence

Chair: Sara Serrano-Martínez

- Taline Garibian, 'Forensics in death camps. Keit Mant's investigations on Nazi Germany crimes'
- María Fernanda Olarte-Sierra, 'Sorting victims out: humanitarian and judicial forensic peace-making in the Colombian (post) conflict context'
- Alexa Stiller, 'Mass violence, international criminal tribunals and the increase in non-governmental forensic investigations in the 1990s'

10:25 Break

10:35 Panel 8: Politics and Identification Practices

Chair: Lara Bergers

- Franco Capozzi, 'Reassessing the legacy of Cesare Lombroso: Criminal anthropology in the courtroom in Liberal and Fascist Italy (1910-1930)'
- Emilia Musumeci, 'Identifying the enemy: Forensic culture in Fascist Italy'

11:35 Break

11:50 Closing Comments by professor José Ramón Bertomeu Sánchez

12:20 Closing

Chairs

Panel 1: Infanticide and Forensic Expertise

Dr. Willemijn Ruberg

Panel 2: Political Regimes and Disciplines

Filipe Santos

Panel 3: The Authority of Experts in the Courtroom

Dr. Volha Parfenchyk

Panel 4: Knowledge Transfer

Dr. Kateřina Lišková

Panel 5: Performance of Forensic Science

Prof. Annette Mülberger

Panel 6: Sexual Violence and Forensic Expertise

Pauline Dirven

Panel 7: Mass Violence and Forensic Evidence

Sara Serrano-Martínez

Panel 8: Politics and Identification Practices

Lara Bergers

Abstracts

Keynote – Prof. dr. Alison Adam

"Blood has always held a special cultural interest long before it was a subject of scientific interest. We talk of 'lifeblood', bloodlines and being related by blood. In terms of human relationships, the development of blood typing from the early twentieth century onwards was to become vitally important in disputed paternity cases. Yet, on its own, it is not possible to prove unequivocally that a man is the father of a particular child by blood typing. The only outcomes are that the man could be the father or that he is definitely excluded. The 1940s and 1950s are of particular interest as, in this period, blood typing was becoming accepted scientifically but it was before the time where probabilistic estimates of paternity became available (and before probabilistic estimates were more generally used in court). Why, then, would a court of law, in the middle of the twentieth century rule that a man, who had definitely been excluded from paternity by his blood group was the child's father? In this talk I argue that we need to look to the ways in which societal norms of gendered behaviour, and in particular the behaviour of women was inextricably woven into the construction of scientific and forensic objectivity. I consider two paternity cases where in both cases the putative father was excluded by blood typing yet the court ruled that he was the father. The first was the high profile paternity case of international film star Charlie Chaplin in the 1940s, the second was a case in 1950s Scotland. In addition to gender questions the latter case shows an interesting divergence between approaches to forensic evidence in Scotland and England."

PANEL 1 – Infanticide and Forensic Expertise

'The role of gender in the image of male and female child murderers in Dutch courtrooms and newspapers, 1960-1989'

Siska van der Plas, siskavdplas@live.nl

The killing of a child is deemed a horrendous crime but when the perpetrator turns out to be someone who was expected to care for the victim, reactions are even more shocked. The aim of this paper is to examine how parents who murdered their own children were looked upon by society and if responses differed based on the sex of the perpetrator. Based on 297 newspaper articles corresponding to 71 cases of infanticide that were brought before court in the Netherlands between 1960 and 1989, this paper analyses the influence of gendered notions and stereotypes on the construction of media images of murdering mothers and fathers. During this period, second-wave feminism questioned the unequal position of women in society, raising the expectation that new views on femininity subsequently changed the position of women and men in child-murder cases. This paper therefore explores how social, legal and psychological perspectives on infanticide and child murderers are embedded in a cultural context.

The analysis of the narratives in newspaper articles has been guided by theories on gender by Joan Scott and Judith Butler, and criminologist Ania Wilczynski's research on legal responses to parents in cases of infanticide. Wilczynski observed in legal documents three different identities that were assigned to murdering parents in English courtrooms during the 1980s. Female perpetrators were seen as acting in a feminine, irrational manner which prompted judges to treat them leniently as 'sad' or 'mad'. Male perpetrators were depicted as acting rationally and cold-blooded, which branded them as 'bad'. The results of the analysed articles show that responses to the parents in the Dutch cases were similarly gender biased; women were treated with more compassion than men. Newspaper and courtroom narratives

tended to portray and punish mothers who killed their children less harshly or hardly at all, while fathers were deemed to hold greater accountability for their actions. This differential treatment can be linked to stereotypical ideas about feminine and masculine behaviour, to the norms that society set for men/fathers and women/mothers. Contrary to expectation, the period 1960-1989 shows the tenacity of traditional gender norms. It is, however, the performance of the perpetrator that was decisive in the way that he or she was perceived. For example, men who exhibited feminine behaviour by involving themselves in childcare or showing emotions could be described in a more favourable way than fathers who acted according to traditional masculine norms. The (successful) performance of femininity therefore was important in media representations of perpetrators of infanticide. This finding demonstrates how gender is entangled with forensic culture.

‘Infanticide cases, forensic evidence and the element of certainty in twentieth-century England’

Tony Ward and Rachel Dixon, tony.ward@northumbria.ac.uk, R.Dixon2@bull.ac.uk

Throughout the nineteenth century, an increasing consensus arose that courts were no longer interested in the sole opinion of medical men in infanticide cases rather, they were interested in scientifically based medical reasoning namely, evidence which emerged from anatomical dissection and scientific experiment. As forensic science began to grow and develop during the beginning of the twentieth century a number of advancements in forensic science evolved, in particular through toxicology, and pathology and towards the end of the century, genetic fingerprinting, which in turn led to an increasing expectation that medical men would provide evidence which established a woman’s culpability. However, despite the fact that advancements in forensic science continued throughout the twentieth century, uncertainty remained in infanticide cases; the uncertainty provided by medical men at the beginning of the twentieth century, mirrored the uncertainty towards the end of the century.

The twentieth century also saw advances in the growth of forensic psychiatry, and the mental state of the defendant began to play a significant role in infanticide cases. The implementation of the Infanticide Act 1938, allowed a partial defence for murder, if it could be established that the woman’s mind was disturbed at the time that she caused the death of the child. Arguably, this defence in turn, led to the evidence provided by the pathologist becoming less significant; it was the mental state of the woman which the courts began to rely upon.

Drawing on English infanticide cases, it is the aim of this paper to examine these issues. It will argue that despite the advancements in scientific experiment and forensic medicine, uncertainty establishing the woman’s culpability remained in English infanticide cases throughout the twentieth century. However, with the advancements in forensic psychiatry, the evidence provided by the pathologist became less significant in trials involving infanticidal women.

‘The Lady Vanishes? Forensic culture, “common sense” and the ongoing problem of infanticide in England and Wales, 1900-2020’

Daniel Grey, d.j.grey@herts.ac.uk

Between January 1984 and March 2019, according to the statistics compiled by the Home Office, the number of women annually convicted of infanticide in England and Wales has remained in single figures – and, since 2014, there have been some years with not a single such offence being recorded.¹ In itself,

¹ Office of National Statistics: Homicide in England and Wales Appendix Tables, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/crimeandjustice/datasets/appendixtableshomicideinengla>

this is perhaps not surprising. What would likely come as a surprise to many laypeople in England and Wales is that such cases continue to come before the courts at all: the crime is almost exclusively associated in the popular imagination with the centuries before 1900. There have been several attempts to repeal or at the very least substantially amend the law relating to infanticide in England and Wales since 1945, a number of which have emphasised the extremely problematic wording of the interwar legislation that deals with this crime and the even older law that governs the closely related offence of ‘concealment of birth’.² This paper argues that there are two crucial reasons that such attempts have all been doomed to failure, both of which are inextricably linked to forensic practices in their cultural, social, and political contexts. The first of these relates to the diminishing – though not elimination – of infanticide as a problem perceived to be at the heart of medico-legal debates over the course of the twentieth century; reduced from comprising entire chapters in influential textbooks during the interwar years to a short paragraph or two by the 1980s. The second is the overwhelming dominance and continuity in the representation of infanticide defendants and their circumstances in England and Wales since at least 1800 as otherwise ‘nice’ and hardworking respectable women whose cases are held to fall outside the ‘standard’ rules of law and medicine and where the application of common sense – usually presented as a ‘value neutral’ and objective phenomenon – is essential in reaching the most ‘just’ outcome.³ As this paper demonstrates, infanticide cases in England and Wales from 1900 to 2020 have remained a crime where forensic expertise is at the heart of each such trial, but is liable to be selectively applied or robustly challenged by juries, the media, and the general public if the findings are not in keeping with their preconceptions.

‘The umbilical cord problem and experts’ and judges’ attitudes towards infanticide in the Spanish forensic culture (c. 1923-1959)’

Sara Serrano Martínez, s.serranomartinez@uu.nl

Some historians have remarked the importance that the so-called ‘live-birth problem’ had in infanticide cases in jurisdictions the common law tradition.⁴ Medical and legal difficulties regarding the determination of whether the child had been born alive or not and whether it had ‘separate existence’, was used by jurors, and even medical experts themselves, to reach an acquittal that they wanted out of cultural leniency towards the crime of maternal infanticide or, at least, out of the rejection of convicting the suspect to death.⁵ In twentieth-century Spain, it was usually another medical problem that frequently involved difficulties in cases of infanticide: that of the causal contribution of the untied umbilical cord to the death of a newly born child.

Whether a haemorrhage resulting from the lack of tying of the umbilical cord could threaten the life of a newborn or not had been a topic for discussion in medico-legal scholarship since the nineteenth century. Despite the common opinion among medical doctors that this was not a sufficient cause of

England and Wales See Table 21. All suspects convicted of homicide, by type of homicide, year ending December 1969 to year ending March 2019 [Accessed 27 August 2020].

² The most recent scholarly critique of the latter offence is Emma Milne, ‘Concealment of birth: time to repeal a 200-year-old “convenient stop-gap”’, *Feminist Legal Studies*, 27:2 (2019), 139-162.

³ See for example Daniel J.R. Grey, ‘“No crime to kill a bastard –child”: Stereotypes of Infanticide in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales’ in Barbara Leonardi (ed.) *Intersections of Gender, Class, and Race in the Long Nineteenth Century and Beyond* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.41-66.

⁴ Karen M. Brennan, ‘“A Fine Mixture of Pity and Justice:’ The Criminal Justice Response to Infanticide in Ireland, 1922–1949.” *Law and History Review* 31, 4 (2013): 793–841, 798.

⁵ Brennan, “A Fine Mixture of Pity and Justice,” 798; Daniel J.R. Grey, “Parenting, Infanticide and the State in England and Wales, 1870–1950,” in H. Barron, C. Siebrecht (eds.), *Parenting and the State in Britain and Europe, c. 1870–1950*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham (2017), 151–175, 77.

death, court files show that Spanish physicians carrying out autopsies in cases of suspect infanticide continued to list the untied umbilical cord as the cause of death of the late babies, both as its sole cause or as one of its multiple causes under the label of 'lack of assistance at birth'.⁶ This usually led to subsequent discussion in court or motivated the request of further expert opinion by the parties. Yet, not unfrequently Spanish judges accepted the initial expert conclusion, supporting a conviction of either infanticide, child abandonment or negligence.

In this paper, I firstly show that the expert and legal practices around the umbilical cord problem can be partially explained by the core characteristics of the Spanish forensic culture of the first half of the twentieth century –such as its promotion of generalist experts, its deference to medical doctors, and its poor culture of legal reasoning. But, secondly, I argue that these practices around the umbilical cord problem must also be understood in relation to cultural understandings of infanticide. However, contrary to what has been described for the cases England and Ireland, in the Spanish case, despite the existence of a mitigated penalty for infanticides motivated by compromised honour, legal and scientific conceptualisations and practices regarding infanticide were predominantly punitivist, instead of tending towards leniency.

⁶ The same expression was also used by medical experts in England and Wales in the period 1700-1914, according to Katherine D. Watson, *Medicine and Justice Medico-Legal Practice in England and Wales, 1700–1914*, 171.

PANEL 2 – Political Regimes and Disciplines

‘Sexology as forensic science in state-socialist Czechoslovakia. On the intersections of expertise with the state and changes in the understanding of sexual deviance’

Kateřina Liřková, katerina@fss.muni.cz

In the proposed paper, I analyze the shifts Czechoslovak sexology experienced over the forty years of state socialism in treating sexual deviance. Despite its historical focus on aberrant behavior, sexology barely dealt with sexual deviants in 1950s Czechoslovakia. Rather, sexologists treated only isolated instances of deviance. The rare cases that went to court appeared because they hindered work or harmed the national economy. Two decades later, however, the situation was markedly different. Hundreds of men were labeled as sexual delinquents and sentenced to treatment in special sexological wards at psychiatric hospitals. They endangered society, so it was claimed, by being unwilling or unable to conform to the family norm. The mode of subjection shifted from work to family.

At the core of my paper, I show that sexology became profoundly institutionalized in the early 1970s, bringing the discipline closer to psychiatry and forensic science. New inpatient facilities were opened that could admit sentenced sexual deviants. Also, demographic changes accelerated in the 1960s, especially skyrocketing divorce rates and plummeting birth rates, making it imperative for the government to focus on cementing the family. After the Prague Spring's failed attempts in 1968, the new pro-Soviet government of communist Czechoslovakia did just that. During the time dubbed Normalization, anyone who strayed from the family norm was suspected of deviance. At the end of my paper, I discuss the lasting influence sexologists hold over the current approach to sexual deviance and aggression (this last section draws on the work I have done together with Andrea Bělehradová in Liřková and Bělehradová, 2019).

I focus on boundary work sexologists performed vis à vis psychiatrists and forensic scientists and how expertise on sexual deviance informed and was structured by the state's shifting political accents. As such, my paper speaks to the professionalization and institutionalization of sexual medicine as forensic science, illuminating the intersections of gender and sexuality in forensic expertise during state socialism and beyond. It also highlights the relationship between political regimes and ideology and the work of forensic experts: I argue that 1) changes in sexuality, which is one of the most private expressions, reflect the changes in the state, which is one of the most public institutions; and 2) analyzing an authoritarian state through expertise, such as sexology, brings about a more complex understanding of power and how it operated under state socialism.

‘How law reads emotions: Translating the motive of jealousy into Russian legal discourse’

Volba Parfenchyk, v.parfenchyk@uu.nl

Strong emotions are a leading factor causing people to commit crimes and come into conflict with law. Examples can range from a young mother killing her newborn child due to shame, to a jealous man killing his beloved after the discovery of her infidelity, and to the cases of domestic violence which are in many instances driven by the offender's anger. Due to the strong causal relationship between emotions and criminal behavior, law is bound to incorporate emotions into its discourse. Emotions do not get transposed into law directly, however, but following the law's discursive terms. On the one hand, these derive from the law's normative goals, such as the preservation of public safety, retribution for a guilty act, and fair punishment. Thus, emotions may get incorporated into law, for example, as ‘motives’, as

‘mitigating’ or ‘aggravating circumstances’, or as part of the ‘insanity defense’. By properly investigating these elements the judiciary can thus pursue – and hopefully achieve – the law’s normative agenda.

On the other hand, the research in the sociology of law has disproved the view on law as a closed and self-reproducing discourse and emphasized its openness, including of its normative goals, to broader political culture. As a result, the translation of emotions into the legal discourse may be also substantially influenced by broader political and cultural factors.

In this paper, following this socioempirical trend in the studies of the nature of law, I discuss how the incorporation of emotions into the legal discourse can be significantly affected by factors such as (the changes in) the political regime and ideology of the country at stake. In particular, I explore how jealousy was transposed into the criminal law of Soviet Russia in the period from 1917 till 1990. I show how the processing of jealousy as a cause of violent behavior by law oscillated between treating jealousy as a factor aggravating punishment to the factor mitigating it. I show that political and ideological factors to a large extent made this shift possible, particularly through enabling a greater involvement of forensic psychiatry in the courtroom. As psychiatric expertise extended its professional jurisdiction in criminal justice over borderline disorders, jealousy also became more ‘psychiatrized’, and law gradually incorporated this new outlook on jealousy as a cause of criminal behavior into its discourse and practice.

‘Redefining professional jurisdiction of forensic psychiatry in early Soviet Russia, 1918 – 1936’

Mikhail Pogorelov, mikhail.alex.pogorelov@gmail.com

In the 1920s there was a unique situation in Soviet Russia, when in a short period between the October Revolution of 1917 and the Great Break in the late 1920s professionals from different fields and specializations gained the opportunity to change the institutional and scientific landscape, establishing new institutions, disciplines, participating in policymaking and performing as experts. The institutionalization of forensic psychiatry is an example of such a cooperation between the new regime and scientists. Through negotiations with Bolshevik leaders and patrons, psychiatrists achieved a more stable institutional position and improved their professional status. Scientific institutions, knowledge and experts gained a special role in the new penal reform, which in turn caused an intense development of criminological studies. Very shortly after 1917 two main research and expert facilities were opened: the Diagnostic Institute in Petrograd in 1918 and the Moscow Institute of Forensic Psychiatric Expertise in 1921. Their tasks were not limited to expertise and assistance in criminal proceedings, but embraced a wide range of research aims, in particular the search for a link between criminality and mental illness. Moreover, psychiatrists tried to redefine and reformulate their tasks and boundaries of professional jurisdiction, making more ambitious claims on the mission of their profession. Psychiatrists saw themselves not only as advisors evaluating defendants’ mental capacity or responsibility in the courtroom, but as broad specialists, trying to establish psychiatric control in prisons, institutions for minors and mentally ill offenders. Thus, it was an expansion of medical experts in the sphere of criminal law and the penal system. Also, the relative intellectual freedom allowed them to embody a scientific understanding of criminals and criminality in psychiatric practice and theory.

But in the 1930s the function of forensic psychiatry was reduced to expertise. In the result of the Great break of the late 1920s and in response to political challenges of stalinization, the tasks of forensic psychiatry had narrowed. By the mid-1930s the main and only profession’s goal was to provide investigating and judicial authorities with non-binding expert opinions. This shift was linked to the removal of professionals from the penitentiary system, the criminological research ban and structural changes within the psychiatric profession itself.

How did it happen that forensic psychiatrists abandoned this promising research field, ambitious practical tasks, renounced their role of independent experts and eventually found themselves in a

subordinate position to the state? Still, with a few exceptions (Dan Healey, for example), historians have avoided this topic. In my presentation I am planning to look at this dramatic story through the prism of previously unknown sources from Moscow and Saint-Petersburg archives.

PANEL 3 – The Authority of Experts in the Courtroom

‘Forensic cultures and the relative significance of criminal responsibility’

Svein Atle Skålevåg, Svein.Skalevag@uib.no

In this paper I will discuss the role of psychiatric experts in Norwegian criminal law from the 1920s to the 1960s. In nineteenth century Norway, medicine gained a foothold in criminal proceedings as a body of expertise policing the borderlands between sanity and insanity. At first this policing was done with reference to general medical expertise, i.e. expert knowledge about the body. Gradually, especially from c. 1900, the policing was taken over by a small number of experts whose claims to expertise were rooted in a specifically psychiatric knowledge and practice. These experts (especially Paul Winge, physician of the police, and Ragnar Vogt, professor of medicine) also played a key role in framing the new criminal code of 1902, with subsequent revisions implemented in the 1920s. These legal regulations, inspired by Lizst’s positivist movement in criminal law, lay the foundation of a largely successful collaboration through a division of labour between law and psychiatry. It rested on diagnostication as an epistemic practice: The forensic authority of psychiatry was derived from its ability to naming diseases. We may see this division of labour between medical and legal experts around the question of criminal responsibility as a specific forensic culture, which was characterised by a low level of friction between law and medicine.

Later in the twentieth century, the practice of naming became arguably less central to psychiatric epistemic practices, as psychodynamic theories of the psyche gained in prominence. Psychodynamic psychiatry was less interested in naming and more interested in seeing disease as a *reaction* to specifiable social circumstances. Hence, forensic psychiatry came to move towards a hermeneutics of crime, where forensic psychiatry was no longer solely about naming diseases, but about explaining crime.

In this paper I will discuss the implications that a turn towards psychodynamic psychiatry had for Norwegian forensic culture. The discussion is leaning on a comprehensive study of criminal responsibility in Norway (nineteenth and twentieth centuries), based on psychiatric expert assessments, court rulings and political documents. My argument is that psychodynamic thinking pronounced in a courtroom made more evident what was really the case all the time: that forensic psychiatry was policing not only the borders, but also the heartland of criminal law.

‘Forensic expert marginalisation: Post-controversy science in the courtroom’

Gethin Rees, Gethin.Rees@newcastle.ac.uk

The study of controversies has been a key part of both the History and Sociology of Scientific Knowledge. Identifying the interests that lead scientific communities to decide in favour of one scientific idea or method over another has been central to social constructivist studies of knowledge. While controversy scholarship plays a significant role in our understanding of science, little scholarly attention has been paid to the losers of scientific controversies, who are often described as being left to die, still clinging to incorrect beliefs. The work of Delbourne (2008) and Wazeck (2013) has begun to change this, with both setting out complex processes that help explain the ways that scientific actors become marginalised from scientific communities. In the forensic arena, scholarship has identified the ways the courtroom has been mobilised to achieve closure in scientific controversies (see for instance, Golan 1999). However, the literature does not include analyses of trials where testimony is provided by an expert who has recently lost a scientific controversy.

Drawing upon the recent alcohol-induced sleepwalking controversy, we will present the case study of an expert who testified in court based on knowledge that had earlier been discredited by the

sleep medicine community following a scientific contest. We will illustrate how marginalisation played out during expert testimony, with the expert mobilising victim and conspiracy theory discourses that are not considered to be of evidential value in a Judge's 'socio-technical review' (Taipale 2019). We show how this can result in their evidence being wholly undermined and thereby influencing legal outcomes. As this case study will attest, the courtroom may not be a safe place for experts trying to challenge scientific consensus once one is achieved, no matter how contentious the nature of the consensus.

Delborne, J.A. (2008) "Transgenes and Transgressions: Scientific Dissent as Heterogeneous Practice" *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 38 pp. 509-541.

Golan, T. (1999) "The History of Scientific Expert Testimony in the English Courtroom" *Science in Context* Vol. 12 no. 1 pp. 7-32.

Taipale, J. (2019) "Judges' Socio-Technical Review of Contested Expertise" *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 49 pp. 310-332.

Wazeck, M. (2013) "Marginalization Process in Science: The controversy about the theory of relativity in the 1920s" *Social Studies of Science* Vol. 43 pp. 163-190.

PANEL 4 – Knowledge Transfer

‘Women in the history of forensic psychology: The contribution of Concepción Arenal (1820-1893)’

Annette Müllberger, a.c.mulberger@rug.nl

My paper presents two historiographical trends that offer different pictures of the history of forensic psychology. By comparing them, I argue for the need to take the broader perspective when explaining why and how forensic psychology arose in the nineteenth century. One reason is also that only this way we will be able to allocate and fully appreciate the work done by women. One of the female historical figures that can then enter the stage is Concepción Arenal. She is well-known in Spain as pioneer of feminism and social work. Nevertheless, her article on comparative psychology published 1886 has not yet been included in the historical accounts. In this French text she contested Ferri’s statement that criminals generally do not show any remorse for their crimes and, therefore, evidence a lack of moral consciousness. Arenal, on the other hand, argued that the first is neither a correct observation nor the latter a correct deduction. Offering examples based on her own experience, she points out that sometimes even the contrary is the case: a person with a high moral sense gets sentenced and loses her faith in justice. In her conclusion Arenal offers a sounded critique of the society of her time. Her psychological analysis is quite different from what at that time and now-a-days is understood by forensic (criminal) psychology. It is based on a healthy sense of realism and common sense, as well as extensive experience of the dynamics of corruption and a thorough understanding of the workings of human society that can teach us a lesson even today.

‘Forensic taphonomy and its multiple histories’

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How did taphonomy, or the analysis of evidence related to time and place of death, become a sub-field in forensic anthropology? This paper is a contribution to the overlooked events by which taphonomic evidence—stages of decomposition, environmental influences, or geo-physical processes affecting a body’s deposition—became integrated into contemporary forensic practices related to human osteological remains. Focusing primarily on the period between 1925 and 1975, I identify specific instances of knowledge transfer that led to the transnational consolidation of taphonomy in paleontology, archaeology, and ultimately physical anthropology. These hinge moments range from taphonomy’s origins in Germany and Soviet Union in the first half of the 20th century, to the seminal formation of the first “body farm” or taphonomic research center in the United States. A special focus of attention are the modes of representation that arose for understanding problems in taphonomic research, such as analogue photography, mapping, and diagrammatic depictions of in-situ information. Examining taphonomy’s development through these visual and archival records, I assert that a historical overview of taphonomy offers a hitherto unexplored framework from which to critically assess forensic anthropology as a whole. The paper concludes that taphonomy’s hybrid condition can also help read forensic anthropology against interspecies and more-than-human interactions—a timely vantage point from which to evaluate the shortcomings, biases, and internal challenges that have long plagued this discipline.

‘Teaching Grossian criminalistics in Imperial Germany’

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Recent scholarship on the history of forensics and crime scene investigation has outlined the process by which Grossian criminalistics were introduced to Britain during the early twentieth century (Burney & Pemberton, 2016; Adam, 2016). Initially considered incompatible with British traditions of investigation, the new scientific aids and practices advocated by Hans Gross and his adherents were by the late 1930s being implemented in investigations in both Britain and her colonies.

Given this burgeoning interest in the transmission of Grossian crime scene investigation to Anglo-Saxon/adversarial contexts and the fact that Gross’ *Handbuch für Untersuchungsrichter* was first published in German in 1893, it is somewhat surprising that little work yet exists on the implementation of Grossian criminalistics in German-speaking Europe. While Peter Becker’s popular history of forensics (2005) and Silvana Galassi’s scholarly volume on criminology in Imperial Germany (2004) go some way to explaining the impact of Gross’ approach to investigation, there remains a range of questions about how this new investigatory paradigm altered forensic cultures among German-speaking practitioners. With this in mind, this paper seeks to examine the reception of Grossian criminalistics among Gross’ fellow jurists. Concentrating on the campaigns of jurists, such as Hellwig, Lindenau, von Liszt, and Straßmann, to foster a new scientific culture in the courtroom and the legal curriculum, it will consider the means by which these men sought to educate their peers and the public about the potential of criminalistics in Germany before 1918.

‘Dissecting the Italian crime scene. Salvatore Ottolenghi, the founder of Italian academic forensic science and his unpublished university lectures between politics and history’

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In Italy, the historical study of forensic sciences has generally been carried on by medical doctors or lawyers. The prevailing interests of these studies have therefore been practical or legal, internal to the discipline. More rarely, forensic science has been studied in its wider historical, political, ideological, cultural and social contexts.

A series of unpublished *dispense* (handouts, university texts) accumulated in thirty years of career by Salvatore Ottolenghi (1861-1934), year after year, in his teachings at the University of Rome, provide instead an extraordinary source for studying the evolution of Italian forensic sciences starting from its founder in the context of Italian politics and criminal society. Ottolenghi, in fact, was the pupil of Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) and is known in Italy for having founded the School of Scientific Police. He taught legal medicine for thirty years at the major Italian university, between Liberal Italy and fascism. Via these unpublished university texts we can follow the evolution of his ideas and contribution in the field of Italian forensic sciences, between Liberal Italy, the First World War and the fascist regime.

PANEL 5 – Performance of Forensic Science

‘The forensic expert look: Embodied performances of forensic expertise, England 1920-1950’

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In crime, both fictional and real, the body has a central role. Murdered or abused bodies form a source of information for a team of forensic experts that try to solve crimes, as do the bodies and bodily traces of perpetrators of crime. Moreover, the appearance of the perpetrator and, occasionally, the victim in court – the emotions they displayed, the clothes they wore and their general demeanour – often served as indicators of guilt or innocence, at least in the British press. Crime historians have acknowledged this central role bodies play in the enactment of forensic culture. Indeed, the literature shows how social-cultural norms and prejudices revolving around these criminal and victimised bodies have impacted the criminal justice system and forensic practices. However, little attention has been paid to the bodies of forensic expert witnesses. That is a shame, as an analysis of experts’ bodies, their clothes, gestures, emotions and general appearance can offer insights into how forensic culture was enacted.

This paper makes a case for the inclusion of experts’ bodies in the historiography of forensic science. Literature that explains how forensic scientists and doctors gained an authoritative position in the English criminal justice system generally focuses on technological developments, the introduction of instruments or the establishment of forensic institutions. This paper takes a different approach and analyses embodied performances of forensic experts to illustrate how forensic scientists, doctors and pathologists became valued experts in criminal cases during the twentieth century.

It argues that through their dress and embodied performances, experts expressed forensic values that gave shape to British forensic cultures. Moreover, it stresses that a focus on embodied expert practices shows that the way forensic culture was enacted in a specific period could differ according to the space in which scientists and doctors performed their expertise. To make this case, I focus on one forensic value, forensic objectivity, and illustrate that through embodied performances, experts displayed different kinds of forensic objectivity in the different spaces they inhabited. For example, the dark coloured suit they wore to the courtroom enacted a kind of impartiality that made the expert as a person more or less invisible and suggested mechanical objectivity, while the post-mortem gown (rubber apron, rubber gloves) they wore during their examinations emphasized the physical interventions they made during investigations and the embodied skills they needed to employ. In short, a focus on embodied performances can offer insight into the ways forensic culture gained shape in the different spaces experts inhabited, such as the courtroom, the morgue, crime scene and the media.

‘The “key” to the crime: Criminal cases and the projection of expectations about forensics DNA technologies in the Portuguese press’

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Since the last decade of the twentieth century in Portugal, forensic DNA technologies started to be used in order to assist criminal investigations. Through the analysis of the newspaper coverage of five highly mediatised criminal cases in Portugal (1997-2007), this study seeks to understand the qualitative dimensions that were highlighted and valued in the dissemination of the popular imagery surrounding forensic genetics in their press coverage.

The inception of the ‘CSI’ type of fiction in popular culture affected the Portuguese media’s discourse on criminal cases, either setting an example of objective scientific infallibility, or as an exaggerated fictional/ideal scenario that real life circumstances rarely attain. The differences in the type of projections were evidenced along the distinction between quality and tabloid newspapers.

Two main types of media discourse emerged, which were categorized as “fictional metaphors” and “critical scepticism”. The first performs attempts to reduce complexity by priming the audience with fictional imagery. The latter combines pedagogical information with credible sourcing, which provides context and accurate assessment of circumstances. This is a contribution towards the understanding of the public representations of forensic science and how these are shaped and conveyed to a lay audience.

“Forensic lookalikes”. Imitating forensic gestures and producing nationalistic truth regimes in late-socialist Yugoslavia and its successor states’

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In the aftermath of experiences of mass violence during the second half of the 20th and at the beginning of the 21st century forensics have gained a crucial role in practices of exhuming mass graves and identifying dead bodies (Crossland 2010, Ferrándiz/Robben 2015, Anstett/Dreyfus 2016, Moon 2016). The forensic turn has popularized the notion of human remains as evidence in post-conflict settings and established the imperative of forensic elucidation of the previous atrocities. Such forensic logics were appropriated in late-socialist Yugoslavia and its successor states since the late 1980s: In an atmosphere of growing ethnonational tensions different political actors launched exhumation projects that aimed at proving contested victimhood, especially regarding the mass atrocities during and after World War II. Despite giving these exhumations a ‘forensic outlook,’ in most cases, the exhumated human remains were neither forensically analyzed nor documented, be it because of the lack of financial resources, or expertise, or motivation of the actors involved. These remains would often be reburied in newly erected churches, where they would be resignified in collective terms of national and religious martyrdom. In this way, they could become the object of veneration. At the same time, they were displayed in mass media and exhibitions as evidence for national suffering. In both cases forensic gestures of establishing the ‘truth’ were imitated. Departing from forensic anthropology (Crossland 2010 and 2018, Anstett/Dreyfus 2016, Ferrándiz/Robben 2015) and theater studies (Frieze 2019, Jakovljević 2008 and 2011, Sheikh 2014), this paper aims to investigate forensic procedures in Yugoslavia and its successor states that have emerged during its disintegration and postwar nation-building. It will discuss how in a setting of contested territoriality and victimhood, forensic logics of argumentation and producing truth were manipulated in order to pursue different political agendas and to support nationalistic imaginaries.

PANEL 6 – Sexual Violence and Forensic Expertise

“Facts that are declared proven”: Francoism, forensic medicine, and the policing of sexual violence in twentieth-century Spain’

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Sexual violence remains severely underreported around the world, in part due to the stigma attached to such crimes, often committed in the absence of third-party witnesses.⁷ When reported, the body—usually that of the victim—becomes a living crime scene, often subjected to invasive medical forensic examination. Over the course of the twentieth century, medical forensic testimony came to be regarded as the ‘gold standard’ of evidence in rape trials, given the belief that it could bring scientific impartiality to proceedings.⁸ Yet little is known about the role of forensic evidence in the prosecution of sexual crimes beyond the liberal, Anglophone world. This paper seeks to explore the impact of authoritarianism on the forensic examination of rape victims, through an assessment of rape trials under the right-wing, Catholic dictatorship of Francisco Franco in Spain between 1939-1975. Contemporary court records reveal how the highly discretionary nature of the Francoist legal system, heavily reliant on character references, allowed investigating judges to exploit the ambiguities of medical evidence to fit their vision of who constituted the legitimate ‘victims’ and ‘perpetrators’ of sexual violence. At the same time, medical evidence enjoyed a high level of prestige as a modern and ‘objective’ arbiter of truth, precisely because of widespread recognition of the legal system’s corruptible nature. Consequently, victims frequently sought out medical examinations, even before reporting sexual crimes to law enforcement. Medical forensic evidence therefore served an important purpose in Francoist rape trials; this was not the pursuit of justice or reparations for victims, but rather to reinforce conservative, patriarchal societal structures while providing a veneer of legitimacy to an otherwise distrusted legal system.

‘Medical-forensic representations of the crime of rape in Chile (1900-1950)’

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During the first half of the 20th century, forensic medicine—in both medical and legal fields—managed to consolidate itself as an auxiliary science of justice and as an academic discipline in Chile (Correa, 2017; Fabregat, 2019; Palafox, 2020). Within this process, the study of the criminal etiology constituted one of the backbones of the discipline. Thus, the nexus with psychiatry was theoretically established within the legal medical functions, recognizing among these the strict determination of criminal responsibility of offenders, their mental examination (Puga, 1900), the “study of man under his aspects organic and mental” (Ramírez, 1917), or the causes of its “anthropological aspects” (Gajardo, 1939). Regarding this last element, criminology, treated as the study of the root of criminality, was even assimilated as a subject and, therefore, as an integral part of legal medicine, oriented, in this sense, to the analysis of the articulation of individual and environmental factors in criminal etiology (Benítez, 1932).

Regarding this statement, this proposal aims to know how the aforementioned factors were embedded in the etiological formulations of rape, conceived as the epitome of male sexual violence

⁷ See, for example, WHO, Department of Reproductive Health and Research, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, South African Medical Research Council, ‘Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence’ (2013), 18-19.

⁸ Joanna Bourke, ‘Police Surgeons and Victims of Rape: Cultures of Harm and Care’, *Social History of Medicine* 31:4 (2018), 720-24. Recent interdisciplinary scholarship has questioned the utility of medical forensic evidence in the policing of sexual crimes, which is often misunderstood in the courtroom and can serve to reinforce rape myths. See, for example, Rose Corrigan, *Up Against a Wall. Rape reform and the failure of success* (New York: NYU Press, 2013).

perpetrated against women. Through an exhaustive review of specialized articles, monographs, and didactic manuals, it will be argued that this process reinforced a biological and social determinism, materialized in the naturalization of an aggressive masculinity and the stigmatization of popular sectors, through reformulations of the theory of degeneration and evolutionary psychiatry. The approach to the proposed topic is based on the premise that the forensic representations considered operated as effective systems of meaning and reproduction of a certain social and gender order, due to the self-validated scientific and neutral position from which their authors tried to spread their ideological interests.

Doctors, Police Officers and Rape Myths. Investigative and trial practices in Dutch sex crimes cases, 1930-1960

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The concept of the “rape myth” is ubiquitous in the historical literature about sexual crime. These beliefs and attitudes about rape are thought to negatively affect victims’ ability to get justice after their violation. While rape myths have been shown to be pervasive in historical medico-legal literature, I argue that it is not a given that these myths had a significant effect on historical criminal investigations and trial practices of medical practitioners, police officers and jurists. Based on an examination of 32 case files and 129 verdicts of sexual assault and rape cases tried at the court in Utrecht between 1930-1960, I demonstrate the necessity of going beyond the discourse and practices of medical practitioners. Medical practitioners may not have put the ideas expressed in their academic writing into practice, and they may not have played as prominent a role in sex crimes cases as expected. I further argue that, while a number of rape myths were available to police and other actors in sexual crimes, their impact on sexual crimes investigations and trials appears to have been limited in the period under consideration.

PANEL 7 – Mass Violence and Forensic Evidence

‘Forensics in death camps. Keit Mant’s investigations on Nazi Germany crimes’

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In the aftermath of the Second World War, forensic pathologists operating on the territory of the Reich carried out investigations on the mass exterminations perpetrated by the Nazis. This paper will focus on the work of the War Crime Investigation Unit headed by Keith Mant and incorporated into the British Army.

Exhumations, body identifications and autopsies it carried out contributed to the establishment of the facts but also provide another culture of investigation more attentive to human remains. By looking more closely to the development of this new field of military medicine I intend to shed light not only on what can be seen as a scientific innovation, but also on the influence of this scientific practice on the framing of the offences and more generally on modern society’s understanding of mass violence. In a few words, it is a question of understanding the conditions under which the forensic study of war violence has become an important element of the peace settlement.

While the contribution of lawyers to the definition of genocide, war crimes and ill-treatment has already been explored (Moses, 2010, Von Lingen, 2018), the insights provided by medical knowledge still need to be investigated. The work of medical experts, their backgrounds, and the influence of the developing field of forensics is crucial to understanding how the violence of war was understood, represented, and legally defined. It is also important to keep in mind that the massive presence of corpses has influenced medical research in return, by providing a significant quantity of material for autopsies, by fostering the development of methods of identification, and finally, by prompting health protection measures.

This paper will thus enrich our understanding of both modern violence itself and how violence is assessed. It will also contribute to renew the history of mass violence and corpse identifications and investigate the influence of modern science and material evidence in shaping international law as well as war settlement policies and memories.

‘Sorting victims out: humanitarian and judicial forensic peace-making in the Colombian (post) conflict context’

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Colombia has endured what is considered the longest armed conflict of the Latin-American region. Multiple and ever-changing armed actors have affected the civilian population in rural and urban areas since the mid-1960s. As such, it has produced an unprecedented number of over 9.000.000 victims. In this context of violence, forensic experts have played a fundamental role in identifying the victims. Forensic experts of the Attorney General’s Office have been in charge of the search, exhumation and identification of victims’ remains. However, two newly forensic teams have been created as a result of the peace agreement signed between the now-extinct guerrilla group FARC-EP and the Colombian government in 2016. Each of these teams is supposed to deal in different ways with the aftermath of the armed conflict. One is the group of forensic experts that is part of the Unit of Investigation and Accusation (UIA) of the Special Jurisdiction for Peace. Its work is directly and specifically on the administration of transitional justice to which demobilized guerrilla members have to face. The other forensic team belongs to the Unit for the Search of the Disappeared (UBPD). It is humanitarian and extrajudicial in nature –hence the information they gather and produce can never be used in court. Its aim is to contribute to victims’ reparations and right to truth.

In this talk, I will address how, in practice, these two newly created sets of forensic experts work on the same universe of victims but with distinctly different effects. I will rely on the current situation of some cemeteries in Colombia as they are sites in which victims of forced disappearance are potentially buried as unidentified individuals, which makes them part of the UBPD. But also, known victims of the conflict were buried by the armed actors that the UIA needs to address. Hence, one team focuses on identifying victims as part of the administration of justice to the perpetrators, and the other one on victims alone and their right to truth. However, there are clear restrictions on how information can circulate and the uses it can have depending on which team produces it. In cemeteries, however, the jurisdiction borders of each of these two forensic teams becomes blurred and the presumed clear distinction of which victims are processed by which team can become fuzzy.

Attending to these closely related but differentiated forensic practices will allow us to come closer to the broader social effects of forensic work amidst and armed conflict.

‘Mass violence, international criminal tribunals and the increase in non-governmental forensic investigations in the 1990s’

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In the 1990s, the field of forensics in connection with mass violence professionalized. At the same time, it also popularized and privatized: Human rights, women’s rights and humanitarian organizations and other non-governmental actors also began to use forensic techniques to a greater extent.

Before the end of the Cold War, human rights organizations primarily reported on gross human rights violations for the purpose of exerting public pressure on political decision-makers to impose sanctions on the state concerned. However, during the Bosnia War from 1992 onwards, civil actors began to collect evidence of war crimes and crimes against humanity with the aim of presenting it as evidence in war crimes trials so that those responsible could be held criminally accountable. In the presentation, I will show that the practice of providing evidence of gross human rights violations, crimes against humanity and genocide has changed from political to more legal objectives. I will argue that this created a new forensic culture.

The changes took place in four fields: 1. Interviews with witnesses and victims of violence were conducted exclusively forensically, i.e. with a focus on the conviction of the perpetrators, from 1992 onwards. 2. International organizations, human rights organizations and other political actors sent more and more commissions of inquiry, special rapporteurs, and fact-finding missions to the conflict areas to collect and secure evidence to prosecute the perpetrators. 3. Photojournalists increasingly developed a forensic view; instead of just documenting, they wanted to take photos of the crime as evidence. 4. After the Srebrenica massacre, state, international and human rights organizations increasingly applied forensic-scientific methods. New technologies, such as remote sensing/satellite technology and DNA analysis, further scientificized evidence practices. A new focus on mass graves and exhumations came into being. Srebrenica was the birth or at least the beginning of the professionalization of forensic anthropology regarding mass violence. This process of scientificization, including a professionalization of the discipline of forensics, was accompanied by a popularization and privatization in the 1990s.

PANEL 8 – Politics and Identification Practices

‘Reassessing the legacy of Cesare Lombroso: Criminal anthropology in the courtroom in Liberal and Fascist Italy (1910-1930)’

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The impact of the criminological theories of Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) in Liberal and Fascist Italy continues to be object of scholarly debate. While some historians have argued that Lombroso’s criminal anthropology had a deep and lasting impact on the Italian criminal justice system, in particular on institutions such as prisons, criminal insane asylums and the police (Gibson 2002; Dunnage 2017, Musumeci 2018), others have questioned the extent of support for positivist criminology in Italian state institutions and its influence on the Italian legal culture after 1909 (Frigessi 2003; Martucci 2009; Garfinkel 2016). This paper aims to contribute to this ongoing debate on Lombroso’s legacy by investigating the influence of positivist forensic expert witnesses on criminal court verdicts in Liberal and Fascist Italy. It draws on approximately 300 forensic psychiatric reports that the Lombrosian criminologist Mario Carrara (Lombroso’s son-in-law and his successor to the Chair of Forensic Medicine at the University of Turin) wrote as a forensic expert for the local court, as well as on court files preserved at the State Archives of Turin. This research shows the extent to which Lombroso’s criminological theories were employed in the courtroom to determine the degree of legal accountability of men and women charged with different crimes (murder, robbery, rape, infanticide, etc.) between 1910 and 1930. What were the techniques and methods adopted by Carrara to assess the defendant’s level of social danger and criminal responsibility? How did he put into practice Lombroso’s theories to carry out his psychiatric evaluations? How often did his forensic expertise influence the juror’s final verdict and in which cases was his opinion particularly influential? Furthermore, this paper seeks to understand whether and how the establishment of the Italian fascist dictatorship affected the reception of criminal anthropology in the courtroom. Did the judiciary become more or less receptive to Carrara’s forensic conclusions after the change of political regime? The findings of this research shed new light not only on the legacy of Lombroso in the field of forensic science, but more in general on the practice of forensic psychiatry in court and its entanglement in cultural contexts and political regimes.

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'Identifying the enemy: Forensic culture in Fascist Italy'

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The aim of this paper is to analyse the relationship between the fascist regime and forensic science in Italy. In particular, it focuses on the techniques and methods employed by police departments to identify and detect criminals and suspects under fascism. While such identification techniques spread to many countries, their deployment in Italy was different, being strongly influenced by Lombroso's concept of 'criminal man'. The so-called "Ottolenghi method" (the identification system introduced thanks to the efforts of Salvatore Ottolenghi (1861-1934), a pupil of Cesare Lombroso and founder of the Italian scientific police) was used, particularly during the fascist regime, to identify not only criminals but also "subversives", "enemies of social order" and any "suspicious person". Despite the considerable progress in forensic science and policing made by Ottolenghi's School since the end of nineteenth century, his legacy is partly obscured by his involvement with the fascist regime. Ottolenghi was a "fascist Jew" -an intellectual who, despite being Jewish, swore allegiance to the fascist regime. We do not know if his allegiance was based on belief or, more presumably, opportunism; in any case, the School continued to operate under fascism, so we are able to consider the legacy of Lombroso under the regime. As is well known, in 1925 the Consolidated Text of the Public Security Laws [Testo Unico delle leggi di pubblica sicurezza] was approved, as were the so-called "ultra-fascist laws" [leggi fascistissime] in 1925-1926. The latter aimed to expand the Central Political Registry [Casellario Politico Centrale] founded in 1894, which filed the details of political opponents and potential subversives. In a similar vein, in 1930, the regime approved the new penal code (Rocco Code, named after the fascist Minister of Justice, Alfredo Rocco), clearly designed as an instrument of repression. In other words, the dictatorship used every means to strengthen and protect itself. The forensic science could not be an exception to this process of fascistisation of all aspects of Italian society.

Biographies

Alison Adam

Alison Adam is Professor Emerita of Science, Technology and Society at Sheffield Hallam University, UK and has also worked at the universities of Lancaster, Manchester and Salford. Her earlier research centred on gender and technology, especially AI, critical information systems and computer ethics where her major works include *Artificial Knowing*, *Gender and the Thinking Machine* and *Gender, Ethics and Information Technology*. For the last ten or so years she has researched the history of forensic science in the UK in the mid-twentieth century. Her main works include *A History of Forensic Science: British beginnings in the twentieth century* and an edited collection: *Crime and the Construction of Forensic Objectivity from 1850*. She is currently researching the development of forensic science in twentieth century Scotland.

Svein Atle Skålevåg

Svein Atle Skålevåg, professor in the history of sciences at the University of Bergen, Norway, has written a book-length study of the history of criminal responsibility in Norway in the 19th and 20th century (*Utilregnelighet. En historie om rett og medisin*. 2016)

José Ramón Bertomeu Sánchez

José Ramón Bertomeu Sánchez is senior lecturer at the University of Valencia and director of the Institute for the History of Medicine and Science. He has been founding member of the STEP (Science and Technology in the European Periphery) group and editor of Ambix book reviews. His publications included papers, edited volumes and books on the history of science education, chemistry textbooks, scientific popularization, material culture of science and nineteenth-century chemistry in France and Spain. During the last decade, his research was focused on nineteenth-century forensic medicine. He has written several studies on the biography of the Spanish-French toxicologists Mateu Orfila (1787-1853). He has also worked on the emergence of scientific policing in twentieth-century Spain, particularly on the works of Federico Olóriz and Antonio Lecha-Marzo.

Lara Bergers

Lara Bergers is a PhD candidate in the FORCE project, where she researches how criminality and victimhood are constructed in 20th century Dutch forensic-scientific, judicial and policing practices. She obtained her research master's degree in History and Philosophy of Science at Utrecht University, writing her master's thesis on the (absence) of lie detection in the Netherlands.

Franco Capozzi

Franco Capozzi is a doctoral fellow of the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO) at Ku Leuven, where he is attached to the Cultural History since 1750 Research Group. His current research project investigates the legacy of Cesare Lombroso and the global impact of Italian criminal anthropology in the age of totalitarianism.

Pauline Dirven

Pauline Dirven is a PhD candidate in the FORCE project. She obtained both her bachelor's degree in History and her research master's degree in Modern History from Utrecht University. Her research interests are gender, the body, and travelling culture and knowledge. Her doctoral research focuses on forensic culture in England. She studies embodied performances of forensic expertise. She analyses how forensic scientists and doctors used their bodies in examination practices and how they displayed themselves before a lay audience. She looks at the way expertise was enacted through gestures, sensory practices, emotional experiences, and dress culture.

Rachel Dixon

Dr Rachel Dixon passed her PhD in December 2017, and began working as a lecturer in law at the University of Hull in 2018, teaching 'Criminal Justice' and 'Criminal Law'. She also teaches on 'Systems of Justice' and 'Law in the Headlines.' Her research interests lie in medico-legal history and the treatment of women in the criminal justice, and she is currently writing *Infanticide: Expert Evidence and Testimony in Child Murder Cases 1688-1955*, due for publication in 2021.

Taline Garibian

Taline Garibian is a British Academy Post-doctoral Fellow, based at Oxford University. Affiliated to the Wellcome Centre for Ethics and Humanities and the Oxford Centre for the History of Science, Medicine, and Technology, she just started a new project entitled *Anatomy of Violence. Forensics in the Age of Mass violence*. Previously, she carried out research on military expertise and assessments of breaches of laws of war committed during the First World War, also at Oxford University. Before joining Oxford, she completed a dual PhD in Life Science at the University of Lausanne and in History at the University Jean Jaurès of Toulouse with a specialization in the history of medicine.

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Daniel J.R. Grey is Head of History at the University of Hertfordshire, UK. A cultural and social historian, he has published widely on the intersections between gender, law and medicine (especially relating to infanticide and child abuse) in nineteenth and twentieth-century Britain and India. His most recent publication is "'It is impossible to judge the extent to which the crime is prevalent": Infanticide and the law in India, 1870-1926', forthcoming in *Women's History Review*.

Nicola Labanca

Nicola Labanca is full professor of Contemporary History at the University of Siena. He studies the history of nineteenth and twentieth century Italy. His fields of study are the history of colonial expansion, the Italian wars and the history of police institutions. Together with dr. Michele Di Giorgio has been studying the history of Italian police magazines, at the crossroads of politics, society and medical sciences. Nicola Labanca and Michele di Giorgio are the editors of the only anthology of Salvatore Ottolenghi's published writings: Salvatore Ottolenghi, *A professional culture for the liberal and fascist police of Italy. Anthology of writings (1883-1934)*, edited by Nicola Labanca and Michele Di Giorgio, with contributions by Raffaele Camposano and Gabriele Bassi, Milan, Unicopli, 2018, 434 p. [see, in the volume, the introduction Nicola Labanca, *Salvatore Ottolenghi and police sciences. For a biography*, pp. 17-26)

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Ana María López

Ana María Gómez López (MA/MFA) is a visual artist and forensic anthropologist. She has been awarded fellowships by the Max Planck Institute for History of Science, the Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, the Osler Library of the History of Medicine, and the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Her teaching experience in both art and archival research methods includes Bard College Berlin, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, and the University of Pennsylvania. Prior to her transition into art, Ana María worked for several years as a forensic anthropologist in Colombia, her country of origin. Since 2016, she has been researching the history of taphonomy, producing two short films and several academic articles on this subject. This presentation proposal was developed during her current junior research fellowship at the Vossius Center for the History of Humanities and Sciences at the University of Amsterdam.

Emilia Musumeci

Emilia Musumeci (emusumeci@unite.it) is Lecturer in Legal History at the University of Teramo, Italy. In 2018 she awarded the National Scientific Qualification (ASN) as Associate Professor in History of Medieval and Modern Law. Her research has been focused on the history of crime and punishment and, in particular, on Cesare Lombroso and the Positivist School of Criminology, legal history of emotions, penal law during Fascism, Eugenics, Sanitary Legislation and the Great War, and more recently, the history of juridical dispositives of body and sexuality. In the last years, she has been attended as invited speaker many workshops and conferences in different European Universities, including Oxford University, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Université Lyon 2, University of Vienna, Queen Mary University of London, University of Manchester and Universidade Nova de Lisboa. She is member of several scientific organizations such as Groupe Européen de Recherche sur les Normativités (GERN) and European Society of Comparative Legal History (ESCLH). among her publications are the books *Cesare Lombroso e le neuroscienze: un parricidio mancato* (FrancoAngeli, Milan, 2012); *Emozioni, Crimine, Giustizia. Un'indagine storico-giuridica tra Otto e Novecento* (FrancoAngeli, Milan, 2015) and the essays 'New Natural Born Killers? The Legacy of Lombroso in Neuroscience and Law', in P. Knepper & P.J. Ystehede (eds), *The Cesare Lombroso Handbook* (Routledge, New York-Oxford, 2012), pp. 130-145; 'The Positivist School of Criminology and the Italian Fascist Criminal Law: A Squandered Legacy?', in S. Skinner (ed.), *Fascism and Criminal Law: History, Theory, Continuity* (Hart, Oxford, 2015), pp. 35-58; "Between disgrace and death". Female imputability and infanticide honoris causa in Italy

(1810-1930), *Forum Historiae Iuris* (online since 15th July 2016); “Against the Rising Tide of Crime: Cesare Lombroso and Control of the “Dangerous Classes” in Italy, 1861-1940”, *Crime, Histoire & Sociétés / Crime, History & Societies*, 2018, vol. 22, n. 2, pp. 83-106 and “Anti-democratic Emotions: Crimes of Honour Before and Under the Fascist Regime” in S. Skinner (ed.), *Ideology and Criminal Law. Fascist, National Socialist and Authoritarian Regimes* (Hart, Oxford, 2019), pp. 277-298.

Annette Mülberger

Annette Mülberger is professor and director of the Theory & History of Psychology research group at the University of Groningen. She works on topics related to studies on the human mind (19th and 20th century) such as: Early experimental and applied psychology; Criminology and juridical psychology; Practices of psychological testing and measurement; Crisis debates in psychology, and the boundaries of science and the history of spiritualism. For more information about her CV and recent publications see her page in www.academia.edu.

María Fernanda Olarte-Sierra

María Fernanda Olarte-Sierra is a Post-doctoral Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant holder at the University of Amsterdam. She is working on a project that addresses the role of judicial and humanitarian forensic knowledge in co-producing collective accounts of violence. She is a medical anthropologist and an anthropologist of science. Her work focuses on knowledge production practices and how they shape experiences of bodies, citizenship and social relationships, forensic practices of victims’ identification of armed conflict is, currently, her main point of entry.

Alejandra Palafox Menegazzi

Alejandra Palafox Menegazzi is a History teacher and academic of the Institute of Social and Humanistic Studies (IdESH), of the Autonomous University of Chile. She completed her PhD in History at the University of Granada in 2016. Her research focuses on Gender History, History of the Criminal Justice System and History of sexualities. Currently, she develops a Postdoctoral ANID-Fondecyt project about the criminological treatment of sexual violence in Chile during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Volha Parfenchyk

Volha Parfenchyk is a postdoctoral researcher in the FORCE project. She received her LL.M at the University of Amsterdam and defended her dissertation at Tilburg University. She worked on her PhD within the framework of the Joint Doctoral Program in Law, Science and Technology. In her thesis, drawing on the insights from science and technology studies and the work of Michel Foucault, she explored the long and ethically charged public debate around an assisted reproductive technology – preimplantation genetic diagnosis – in Italy. In particular, she focused on how culturally embedded understandings of citizens’ fundamental rights shaped the position of the Parliament, courts, the medical community and general public regarding this medical technology and what impact it had on governing human life. Her research interests include the relations between science, technology and law, including constitutional and criminal law, the governance of life sciences and medicine, and the influence of local culture on techno-scientific and legal practices. In the FORCE project, she is focusing on exploring the impact of local culture on forensic practices in Soviet Russia.

Siska van der Plas

Siska van der Plas obtained her master's degree in Cultural History from Utrecht University. Her master's thesis researched the role of gender in the image of male and female perpetrators of infanticide in Dutch courtrooms and newspapers throughout the 1960s and into the 1980s. Before studying Cultural History, she obtained her bachelor's degree in Medieval History from Leiden University. Here she studied medievalism - the post-medieval construction and manifestation of the Middle Ages - in popular culture; specifically, the representation of women in historical TV shows. Her research interests include history of gender, crime and popular culture, as well as microhistory and public history.

Mikhail Pogorelov

Mikhail Pogorelov, research fellow at Museum of Preobrazhensky psychiatric hospital in Moscow. I received my master degree in history from National Research University «Higher School of Economics» (Moscow) in 2014. I am currently a doctoral student at National Research University «Higher School of Economics», preparing to defense the final draft of my dissertation titled «Prison Reform in Soviet Russia, 1918-1930».

Felipe Santos

Felipe Santos has a Ph.D. in Sociology and is currently co-coordinator and researcher of the Science, Economy and Society Research Group (NECES). His research interests are focused on the intersections between criminal justice and forensic science, privileging theoretical approaches from the science, technology and society studies. Felipe's latest publications include "Da cena de crime ao tribunal. Trajetórias e culturas forenses" (2020), "The social life of forensic evidence and the epistemic sub-cultures in an inquisitorial justice system: Analysis of Saltão case" (2019), and "Patterns of exchange of forensic DNA data in the European Union through the Prüm system" (2017). His current research project (CLINIC) focuses on the execution of security measures by mentally disordered offenders in Portugal.

Alexa Stiller

After studying modern history, sociology, and political science at the University of Hanover, I completed my PhD at the University of Bern with a dissertation on the history of Nazi Germany. My book *Völkische Politik: Praktiken der Exklusion und Inklusion in polnischen, französischen und slowenischen Annexionsgebieten, 1939-1945* [*Völkisch Policy: Practices of Exclusion and Inclusion in the Annexed Territories of Poland, France and Slovenia, 1939-1945*] is forthcoming with Wallstein. I co-directed a research project on the Nuremberg trials, which resulted in two edited volumes: *NMT. Die Nürnberger Militärtribunale zwischen Geschichte, Gerechtigkeit und Rechtschöpfung* (Hamburger Edition: Hamburg, 2013/second edition 2018) and *Reassessing the Nuremberg Military Tribunals. Transitional Justice, Trial Narratives, and Historiography* (Berghahn: New York and Oxford, 2012). Currently, I am conducting a research project on international criminal law practice and international politics in the 1990s with the focus on former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. In parallel, I am co-leading a research project on Nazi spatial planning and mass violence in occupied Eastern Europe. I have taught modern and contemporary history at the Universities of Hannover and Bern. As a visiting fellow, I was at the German Historical Institutes (GHI) in Warsaw and Washington DC, at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies in Washington DC, at the European Institute at Columbia University in the City of New York, at the Oxford Centre for European History (OCEH), University of Oxford, and a senior member of St Antony's College. Since December 2020, I am a research fellow at the chair of history of the modern world at ETH Zurich.

Gethin Rees

Dr Gethin Rees is a Lecturer in Sociology at Newcastle University. He is interested in the intersection of healthcare and criminal justice, whether embodied in healthcare professionals working in criminal justice contexts (e.g. police stations and prisons) or in scientific and/or medical experts presenting evidence in criminal trials. As a result, his research sits at the intersection of the sociology of science and technology, medical sociology and socio-legal studies. He has held research fellowships from the United Kingdom's Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) and the Wellcome Trust, and Visiting Fellowships at Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; Department of Sociology, Trent University (Ontario, Canada); and School of Law, National University of Ireland in Galway.

Willemijn Ruberg

Willemijn Ruberg is associate professor in Cultural History. Her research interests include the modern history of gender, sexuality, emotions, knowledge, forensic expertise and the body, as well as cultural theory. She recently published *History of the Body* in the History and Theory series of Red Globe Press. Leading a team of three PhD candidates and one Postdoc, she is the principal investigator of the research project *Forensic Culture. A Comparative Analysis of Forensic Practices in Europe, 1930-2000* (FORCe), funded by an ERC Consolidator Grant (2018-2023).

Sara Serrano Martínez

Sara Serrano Martínez is a PhD candidate at the project 'Forensic Culture in Europe, 1930-2000' led by Willemijn Ruberg. Her PhD research focuses on forensic medicine and psychiatry in infanticide proceedings in the Franco regime. She holds a BA in Philosophy from University of Barcelona (2016), and a MA in History of Science from Autonomous University of Barcelona (2017). In her Master's Thesis she studied the history of medical and psychological conceptualizations of suicide in Spain (1926-36).

Željana Tunić

Željana Tunić has just completed her Ph.D. thesis on the commemorated afterlives of the assassinated Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić. Currently, she is developing a postdoctoral project on exhumations in late-socialist Yugoslavia and its successor states. By combining the disciplinary lens of political anthropology and theater studies, the project wants to explore the ways in which politically significant dead bodies/ human remains are used to perform ideologically fabricated and enforced reality.

Tony Ward

Tony Ward is Professor of Law at Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK. His PhD thesis (1996) was on the development of insanity and other mental condition defences, including infanticide, from 1843 to 1939. He has published numerous articles and book chapters on these subjects and on the present-day law relating to forensic science and other forms of expert evidence. He also researches in criminology with a focus on governmental crimes. He is co-author of *Privatization and the Penal System* (with Mick Ryan, 1989), *State Crime* (with Penny Green, 2004), *Law and Crime* (with Gerry Johnstone, 2010) and *State Crime and Civil Activism* (with Penny Green, 2018).

Heather Wolfram

Heather Wolfram teaches at the University of Canterbury, New Zealand. She has written on forensic psychology in Germany (*Forensic Psychology in Germany: Witnessing Crime, 188-1939*, 2018) and recently published chapters in edited collections on forensic networks in the British Empire (Burney & Hamlin, 2018) and children's testimony and the press in Weimar sex crimes trials (Adam, 2020).

Stephanie Wright

Dr Stephanie Wright is a historian of modern Spain with broader interests in the histories of sexual violence, disability, and psychiatry. She completed her PhD on the Francoist war disabled of the Spanish Civil War at the University of Sheffield in 2018, and is now a post-doctoral researcher on the Sexual Harms and Medical Encounters (SHaME) project at Birkbeck College, London. She has published and forthcoming articles in the *Journal of Contemporary History*, *Social History of Medicine*, and *Past and Present*, and is currently coordinating a special issue historicizing the perpetrators of sexual violence in global perspective.