Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 3

Ethical Guidelines

of the Workgroup Development Anthropology

(AGEE)

– Explanations and Practical Advice –

compiled by

Michael Schönhuth

Frank Bliss

and Sondra Wentzel

in collaboration with

Christoph Antweiler, Christine Bald, Monika Bathow, Jutta Eichhorn, Antje Falk, Dagmar Horn, Inez Kipfer, Ludwig Kirchner, Anna Kreuzer, Dorothea Meyer-Bauer, Jürgen Meyer-Gohde, Stefan Neumann, Sigrid Pasquale, Gerald Schmitt, Eva Sodeik, Babette Stein, Stefanie Ziegler

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 4

▶ PREAMBLE

The present "Ethical Guidelines" address anthropologists working in the context of international development cooperation as short term or long term experts and as researchers. They have emerged from a long and continuing discussion within the Workgroup Development Anthropology (AGEE) about the specific professional ethical problems deriving from practical development anthropological work.

Due to contractual obligations to produce results, development anthropologists generally find themselves in a context of utilization of data determined by their employers. Cultural anthropological approaches and methods require and imply close relationships to groups of people of a manageable size. Based on this occupational socialization, anthropologists have a particular understanding for the needs of the local people but also a responsibility towards all those affected by development policy and projects.

Development anthropology takes place in complex and controversial fields of diverging value systems and an unequal balance of power. This is where misunderstandings, conflicts, dilemmas, and the necessity to choose between conflicting values and interests arise time and again. A person earning money by working or researching in this context, which is fundamentally characterized by inequality, has to take position. The following guidelines form a frame of orientation for ethically conscious and reasonable decisions and ways of operating in development cooperation as well as in development-related contract research.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 5

1 Development

We define development as the improvement of people's situations according to their own criteria and goals against the background of a common global responsibility. From our point of view, the strive for social justice and ecological sustainability is a consequence of this conception of development.

2 Respect

Fundamentally different value systems clash in development policy and development cooperation. We commit ourselves to respecting different views and life plans. Dealing with different goals of development requires empathy and willingness to understand on the personal level; on an institutional level it asks for the creation of suitable opportunities for open dialogue, and on a political level it demands readiness to negotiate and fairness. Respect in this sense does not mean acceptance of all strange values without criticism, but a constructive reflection.

3 Participation

Participation is not only a method for us, but an important objective of development policy. Participation includes that people formulate their development goals themselves and that they participate significantly in the realization of these goals. Hence participation frequently also connotes an empowerment of the disadvantaged and a questioning of the balance of power. In this respect, we are aware that we operate in highly complex social networks. Changing the relationship between a patron and a client, for example, is not always desired by those affected or of immediate benefit to them. Appropriately implementing the principle of participation therefore makes high demands on all parties involved; it has to be called in repeatedly from employers and other decision makers. We feel obliged to work towards the change or the discontinuation of projects, which are carried out against the will of the local population or individual groups within it.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 6

4 Transparency

Through our work we aim at the greatest possible transparency. Prior to fieldwork, the local population and other participating actors have to be informed about the interests of the employer, of the implementing agency, or of the research institute, as well as the origin, aims and methods of the project or activity. Similarly, after finishing the work, the results should be presented in an adequate manner. The informants should have the opportunity of a final evaluation. We are requested to account for our methods and recommendations. We should also confront the public and the scientific debate in the host country as well as in our home country.

5 Holism

Work in development anthropology, too, is rooted in the holistic approach of the discipline. Consequently, it takes into account the systemic relationships between the different spheres of life of a population group. It also considers the ecological, political, economical, social and ideological circumstances of the region. As development anthropologists we try to achieve interdisciplinary cooperation; if necessary, we encourage such work. We reject working conditions that, for example, do not permit the minimum of time needed for a holistic approach.

6 Unintended Effects

If we recognize that a project which is useful for certain groups harms other parts of society to an extent that is unacceptable, we point out this danger and we work towards developing alternatives. If we are not being listened to, or if alternatives that we have proposed are rejected, we should cease to cooperate.

7 Assuring the protection of data and informants

As development anthropologists we are more obliged to the people than to knowledge as such. We take care that personal rights are not violated. This is particularly relevant for the anonymity of persons and locations. Local rules for privacy ought to be respected.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 7

8 Limits of the requirement of confidentiality

Obvious abuse, such as the violation of human rights or destruction of the environment that we learn about while staying in a country or region should be published in an appropriate form, possibly by passing on the information to the public or a suitable organization. The requirement of confidentiality laid down in the contract should be related only to internal matters (staff and finances) of the project.

HOW TO USE THESE GUIDELINES

These "Ethical Guidelines" should be made explicit to all participants. We, as development anthropologists are requested to defend them, particularly when dealing with potential employers and to refuse to cooperate in organizations, projects, and studies if the core of the principles cannot be adhered to. We support persons who face difficulties because they acted in accordance with the guidelines. We seek to cooperate with organizations which support these guidelines, and we try to sensitize further organizations as to the content of the guidelines.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 8

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AAA	American Anthropological Association (USA)
AGEE	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklungsethnologie Workgroup Development Anthropology (within the DGV)
ASA	Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth (Great Britain)
BMZ	Bundesministerium für Wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (German) Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
DGV	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Völkerkunde German Association for Cultural Anthropology
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit German Agency for Technical Cooperation
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (German) Bank for Reconstruction
NAPA	National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (USA)
SfAA	Society for Applied Anthropology (USA)

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 9

▶ PREFACE

The brochure

The present brochure is meant to be a supplement and an in-depth treatment of the professional ethical guidelines for development anthropologists. In these explanations we point out ethical dilemmas which may arise while applying or putting into practice individual demands of the guidelines. Selected practical examples should inspire reflection and give impetus for potential solutions. There are no standard solutions in this respect.

Many individuals participated in the making of this brochure. Therefore, despite the unified finishing work, the explanations differ in style, choice of case studies, and weighing of arguments. We preferred these manifold voices to smoothing out the arguments. The explanations reflect the diversity of experiences, approaches to the field and dilemmas in the context of development anthropology. Thus we would like to thank all co-authors and those who participated in the discussion. We have listed them alphabetically here, but we are well aware that we thus level out different degrees of participation: Christoph Antweiler, Christine Bald, Monika Bathow, Jutta Eichhorn, Antje Falk, Dagmar Horn, Inez Kipfer, Ludwig Kirchner, Anna Kreuzer, Dorothea Meyer, Jürgen Meyer-Gohde, Stefan Neumann, Gerald Schmitt, Eva Sodeik, Babette Stein, Stefanie Ziegler. Special thanks go to Ruth Marchewka for the genuine translation into English.

Thanks also to the students who participated in two courses at the University of Trier (winter term 1998/1999) and at the University of Hamburg (winter term 2000/2001) for commenting on previous drafts of this brochure. We hope it will provide you and your fellow students with a practice-related basis for discussing ethical questions already while studying Cultural Anthropology.

The editors
Michael Schönhuth, Frank Bliss and Sondra Wentzel

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 10

▶ INTRODUCTION

Professional Ethical Guidelines for Development Anthropologists: For whom and for which purpose?

The present "Ethical Guidelines" address primarily practitioners of development anthropology who do short term or long term work or contract research in German or international development cooperation. Their number has increased slowly but constantly in the past 15 years. This depicts that there has been an increase in recognition of anthropological qualifications and achievements that can be summarized as follows:

- Cultural Anthropology[1] works in foreign cultures; traditionally, it has been based on long- term participant observation. Anthropologists do not only draw more profound local knowledge and intercultural experience from this work - they also have specific anthropological access and methods in order to 'understand' and to 'convey' different cultural contexts. Hence they are particularly suitable as two-way interpreters between cultures.
- Acceptance of innovations frequently manifests itself through the suitability of these innovations in everyday life. Besides its explicit aspects, this 'suitability in everyday life' always bears a non-verbalized dimension as well, which is not communicated to outsiders. This 'tacit' dimension, too, is part of local knowledge and guides people in their decisions. Ensuring that this dimension is appreciated is a major contribution of Cultural Anthropology with its ability to understand situations from within (emic approach).
- The cultural heritage permeates social and religious manifestations of life as well as the economic and political dimensions of a society. The holistic approach enables anthropologists to analyze the interactions of different aspects of culture. Due to its systemic analysis, Cultural Anthropology, like almost no other discipline, can make visible the cultural framework of and conditions for development.

1. We use the American term Cultural Anthropology for the German Ethnologie (Völkerkunde) – or the British Social Anthropology, for that matter.

- Development anthropologists perceive culture to be the basis and prerequisite for the creativity and development of communities – not as an obstacle in the context of development cooperation. Thus they see themselves in accord with papers by national and international organizations that meanwhile have adopted this position (e.g. BMZ 1999, World Commission on Culture and Development 1998).
- Cultural Anthropology does not limit itself to the description of foreign cultures. It deals systematically with cultural diversity and cultural universals, with differences between and within societies, with etic and emic views. The focus of research is local, i.e. Cultural Anthropology works in manageable contexts, its issues, however, are global. The anthropologist Eriksen (1995) put his finger on it: "Cultural Anthropology deals with large issues in small places."

Development cooperation is characterized by tensions between numerous stakeholders: donors and implementing agencies (in the German context primarily BMZ, GTZ, KfW, political foundations and NGOs), partner governments, intermediary organizations and local population groups ('target groups'). Typical dilemmas of practical work in development anthropology are value conflicts, e.g. between local and universal ideas about human rights and discrepancies between local short-term objectives and global long-term goals of development. Due to the outputs defined by the contract, the work of development anthropologists is mostly predetermined by their employers. In view of these potential tensions these guidelines are meant to provide an orientation if one deals with one of the following situations:

- Negotiating occupational minimal standards with employers that one can draw on in case of conflict; these should be part of the Terms of Reference (ToR) and be defined prior to signing a contract (basis of negotiation);
- Disposing of a standard of ethically conscious and reasonable decisions and types of action vis-a-vis the different stakeholders in the context of development while carrying out the contract (guiding principle);
- Being evaluated by colleagues, employers and local groups according to the present guidelines after the contract (accountability).

These guidelines represent the basic ethical consensus of the AGEE members. On the one hand, members may draw on these guidelines in the course of their work; on the other hand, they should commit themselves to

maintaining these ethical guidelines. The guidelines may also be useful for development anthropologists who are financed by research institutes and motivated by research interest and who deal with questions of development as part of a fieldwork project. In this case, the type of task to perform is a different one. Both groups, however, earn income or knowledge in a context of distinct social, political and economic inequality and provide a third party (employers, the scientific community) with this knowledge. Therefore, we explicitly encourage our colleagues to use and discuss this brochure in anthropological courses at universities.

Law does not protect the occupational term 'development anthropologist.' Through these guidelines we would like to convey an idea of responsible development anthropological work, but we also hope to inspire fellow anthropologists to take position themselves.

What these guidelines are not meant to be

These guidelines are to be seen as individual commitment, not as an ethical code which binds a whole occupational group to the keeping of ethical standards, as is traditionally the case with physicians (Hippocratic Oath, occupational rules for German physicians). In order to implement a code of conduct, one would need an institution which could sanction effectively if someone was misbehaving. As a non-governmental organization or as a workgroup of the DGV the AGEE is neither able nor legitimized to issue sanctions.

These guidelines do not deal with the general claim for validity of internationally accepted rights laid down in UN conventions, such as gender equity, women's or children's rights. Yet we ask who denies such rights by using cultural arguments, and which types of negotiation or mediation can be found for incompatible sets of values or rights (cf. Schönhuth 1997).

The guidelines reflect the current state of the debate and the critical treatment of the public discourse on development within the AGEE. Based on our practical experience we will regularly reflect these guidelines and explanations; if necessary, we will supplement or revise them.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 13

Origin and goals of the guidelines

Up to now the DGV does not have any ethical guidelines as opposed to several related disciplines; this also contrasts with Anthropology in other countries (e.g. England, USA, Brazil). Attempts at creating guidelines in German Anthropology at the beginning of the 1990s went without further notice. Those few established representatives of the discipline who have commented on the issue argued against a determination of final and binding values (Koepping 1981) or they presumed the effect of "a protestant heritage" (Münzel 1997) in the draft for an Ethics Curriculum in Anthropology by a group of anthropologists from Göttingen (Drubig 1996).

It is only the AGEE within the DGV that has had ethical guidelines since 1989. On the one hand, this pioneer role is due to the circumstances of the foundation of the AGEE in the 1980s: from the very beginning the workgroup had to defend its right to exist by emphasizing its explicit practical relevance and its implicit claim on policy consulting against the hitherto solely academically oriented occupational organization, that is, the DGV. On the other hand, the AGEE has considered itself a non-governmental organization from the beginning and therefore it has also seen itself as a 'political' group representing the interests of the so-called target groups of development cooperation in developing countries.

Within the AGEE the controversy or the claim mentioned above resulted in essays on the 'Presentation of the workgroup' and on the 'Definition of 'Development' , as well as on'Ethical Principles' which have been given to each new member of the AGEE since then.

Meanwhile, many members of AGEE who were still students in 1989 are now working and have gained practical experiences in action-oriented research or in development consulting. For those who had dealt with non-academic employers, the draft of 1989 no longer appeared adequate. Therefore, in 1996, a workgroup was founded which revised the principles; external experts were involved in the process of revision. The AGEE general assembly passed these revised guidelines in 1999. The foundation Apfelbaum, Cologne, supported the publication.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 14

Ethical Codes in their Context

The present brochure with its guidelines is part of a larger context – regarding the discipline and society, but also on a national as well as an international level.

- The topic of ethical codes flourished in the 1990s. There is hardly any larger professional organization or hardly any transnational company that did not discuss the issue or who, in the meantime, has not adopted such standards (at least rhetorically).
- In federally funded development cooperation, too, ethics has become a focal issue again as part of the debate on 'good governance'.
- Within Cultural Anthropology the question of ethical responsibility is as old as the discipline. The discourse on cultural relativity became relevant in a sociopolitical sense at the latest, when American anthropologists objected to the claim of the UN human rights charter of 1948 to be universally applicable.
- Institutionalizing ethical codes started within Applied Anthropology. A political event in the 1960s – supposedly clandestine research for American secret intelligence agencies and the military – triggered occupational ethical standards within Anthropology as an academic discipline.

The current situation in international Cultural Anthropology is inconsistent. In some countries established guidelines were revised particularly in the last years and the guidelines were adapted to sociopolitical changes as well as changes in the discipline (e.g. Netherlands, England, USA). Yet anthropological associations in other countries still do without fixed standards (e.g. France and Germany). There is large agreement, however, that researchers and consultants have a responsibility towards employers and target groups; this would have to be made explicit and actually negotiated, too (Pels 1999).

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 15

▶ EXPLANTATIONS

❶ Development

We define development as the improvement of people's situations according to their own criteria and goals against the background of a common global responsibility. From our point of view, the strive for social justice and ecological sustainability is a consequence of this conception of development.

Point of departure for our understanding of development is that human beings, in the present and in the future, should be able to shape their life situation creatively and autonomously. Thus their autonomy is at the center of development efforts. We would like to enhance cultural diversity and creativity and we oppose a unilinear conception of development in the sense of catching up. Within the frame of development cooperation, we would like to promote a balanced distribution of limited material and non-material resources between the different social groups, according to just and commonly created rules.

Development necessarily involves contradictory goals and conflicting interests. On the one hand, conflicts between development goals of different participating persons or groups may arise. On the other hand, contradictions between local goals for development and global interests for resources may emerge.

We feel primarily responsible for the less privileged persons and groups. By means of our work, we want to support them in securing their living. It is particularly challenging to articulate the interests and needs of less privileged people who are not organized in social groups (e.g. children suffering from chronic diseases, refugees). Here it is often problematic to find legitimate representatives. Externally planned processes which can only involve representatives of the less privileged, should at least be preceded by measures in which the experiences, interests and priorities of the less privileged themselves can be recorded. In any case, the representatives have to be chosen carefully and their legitimacy has to be assessed. The self-organization of less privileged groups which gives them the power to negotiate should be supported on a mid-term and long-term basis, if necessary

also against economic interests, or the interests of privileged groups in the country we work in.

This choice of priorities does not imply that we limit our work to less privileged parts of the population. If, for example, the employer decides to examine a different part of the population, anthropological participation does not have to be declined. But anthropologists should urge for the less privileged to remain at the center of subsequent development efforts. Promoting the interests of the less privileged reaches its limit if their interests conflict with interests of ecological sustainability or global necessities. In such cases, if, for example, Australian Aborigines work in uranium mines for perceived lack of alternatives, new options should be sought and negotiated.

Contradictions and conflicts of this kind should be articulated, made explicit, and analyzed. Instead of deciding for other people, different, internally or externally suggested options should be examined, and these plans, plus their respective impact should be presented to those affected. Conditions should be created which allow for discussing the different options directly with the people affected.

Different preferences for development in Benin

Men and women in a village in the North of Benin have different ideas on how to use uncultivated village land: the men would like to extend the cultivation of cotton to earn money, whereas the women plead for growing crops. Both goods, cash as well as food, are scarce.
Reasons against the cultivation of cotton are the ecological impact on the soil and the dependence on external inputs, such as fertilizer. Money raised through growing cotton will be managed by the men and partially spent for 'luxury goods' (radio, bicycle, etc.). However, it also serves as savings for essential expenditures: medication, in case one of the family members gets sick, costs for funerals, etc.
After the cotton has been marketed by the state, organized groups of farmers receive a part of the profit, which is paid into a fund. This fund can be used for social infrastructure projects or other measures geared towards communal welfare. So the cultivation of cotton contributes at different levels to the affluence of the community.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 17

The varying preferences concerning development between men and women could – in this case – be on the agenda of a village assembly during which both positions are presented, analyzed and discussed. An external moderation of the assembly supports the participation of women and helps them to elucidate their position. The goal of the assembly is to work out a solution acceptable to everyone.

We are aware of the cultural relativity of ideas, e.g. about justice. That is why we also see as our task to mediate between different values, perspectives and positions. We constantly have to reflect our own point of view and our personal position in the network of the different social groups.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 18

2 Respect

Fundamentally different value systems clash in development policy and development cooperation. We commit ourselves to respecting different views and life plans. Dealing with different goals of development requires empathy and willingness to understand on the personal level; on an institutional level it asks for the creation of suitable opportunities for open dialogue, and on a political level it demands readiness to negotiate and fairness. Respect in this sense does not mean acceptance of all strange values without criticism, but a constructive reflection.

The encounter with other cultures in development cooperation frequently represents a great enrichment. Cooperating on the basis of a heterogeneous perception of problems and different strategies provides novel solutions and often unexpected results. This positive understanding of difference for us is the basis of respectful interaction within the intercultural context.

When different worldviews and moral value systems meet, misunderstandings and interferences occur throughout the course of cooperation. Often such clashes reinforce already existing prejudices about the cooperating partners. Frequently there is a clash of fundamentally different ideas of time (regarding punctuality) or planning concepts (regarding the degree of improvisation), for example. If the more powerful side insists on getting their way in terms of their efficiency criteria, then communication and cooperation are hampered. Thus projects and programs should acknowledge diversity in the sense of 'diversity management' and use diversity as a common resource in sustainable cooperation.

We are also aware of the real obstacles for sustainably increasing efficiency (insufficiently equipped workplaces, poor infrastructure, necessity of part-time jobs/extra income, etc.). However, intolerance or cynicism resulting from the latter cannot be accepted. Rather, an understanding for the situational and cultural frame and conditions requires respect for the cooperating partners, even if the communication about basic rules takes a great effort.

The personal appearance of the development practitioner should display sensitivity; he or she should be careful about dominating others (including unintentional behavior) or disregarding cultural rules when negotiating, for example. The practitioner should retain a critical attitude and the willingness to be corrected.

Gender Bias and Democratic Vote in Tanzania

The external consultant of a local PRA team reports: "At the end of the participatory planning process we had a vote on possible projects. We enabled a differentiated voting process to minimize an unequal balance of power and gender. Women voted with beans, men used corn; vulnerable households could decide about their projects on their own." The seeds were cast into calabashes so that everyone could participate in voting secretly. When counting the votes, the local health worker, who was integrated into the PRA process, took the German team leader aside, and said "This is not the Ba-Fipa way." He pointed out that in this area village decisions were made in the responsible men's and women's committees in a process that lasted several days. After a controversial discussion, which also tackled the question of 'pretended' or 'real cultural arguments', the PRA team agreed to quit the democratic, gender sensitive and group sensitive decision-making process. The team met with the village officials to find a compromise: Projects related to the village should thus be decided by the local structures of decision-making. The project, however, retained the option to support certain groups independently (women, vulnerable households for which special programs in the project budget had been foreseen).

Respecting individuals of other cultures also requires that one's own wishes and ideas are articulated openly. In contrast, compliance with agreements, which have been freely entered into needs to be demanded, otherwise one would treat the partner like a child, accepting every excuse on the grounds of cultural respect (a form of reversed racism).

When collecting information and data, one always has to assure that information and data is provided voluntarily. An informant always has to be able to refuse to grant information. Moreover, phases and dates of interviews are to be scheduled accordingly so as to respect work intense days (the harvest, for example) or holidays of the respective population. Measures to inform and to create confidence (through village assemblies, for example) are recommended for large scale assessments. It is extremely important to

proceed respectfully when collecting data; this is the methodological basis to assure the quality of data. This is even more relevant when collecting information from the private sphere. When dealing with institutional partners or in the public domain, however, one has to be able to recur to existing obligations to grant information (particularly if they have been been defined by a contract). Here the principle of giving information voluntarily could easily be used to give information arbitrarily.

The obligation to respect other views and life plans reaches its limit if it affects the physical, psychological or social integrity of a person or a group. As cultural anthropologists we need to assess the social, cultural or historical reasons for these behavior norms within the frame of our professional options. We should inform our employer about any relevant problem, protect those affected within the range of our possibilities, and, if possible, search for alternatives with the participants. Two examples can serve to illustrate this issue:

Child Labor and Cultural Norms

In urban areas of West Africa one frequently meets begging children. In Gambia they are called almudos. Although they often look neglected, they are not 'pure' street children. A teacher (marabuts) is in charge of the boys, and they divide their time between studying the Koran and daily begging to earn their food. Despite the fact that the children are exploited and beaten by some teachers, are largely malnourished and receive almost no health care, it is an acceptable and legitimate way for parents to give the responsibility for a child to a third party. The motivation to abolish this institution is based on considerations of human rights but also of public interest. Child begging in public places interferes with the progressive image of the city and harms tourism. In the country laws were passed against begging children, yet there were also furious arguments regarding the possible implementation of these laws: By begging for charity (zakat), the almudos address an important feature of Muslim religious practice: in Islam, to be giving to the needy is an act of worship, a way of thanking God for personal well-being. Furthermore, Koran schools provide edu-

cation in countries in which formal education does not have a long tradition. There they still are an integral part of local socialization and education of children. Hence the abolition of this type of street begging equally affects cultural-religious norms, economic household strategies, and the domain of education; consequently, it requires an integrative procedure on all these levels (cf. Hunt 1993).

Symbolical Transformation of Clitorectomy

Abolishing clitorectomy among the Lobi of Burkina Faso appears to be difficult because, on the one hand, clitorectomy has – although disputed – historical, religious, and social connotations. Women who have not undergone clitorectomy are not admitted to Dyoro, a great initiation ceremony that takes place only every seven years. Dyoro initiates girls into womanhood. On the other hand, the women performing the clitorectomies are afraid of losing their high status and their profitable work. A discussion process between the opponents of clitorectomy and the women who perform it was initiated; it was accompanied by the head of a local women's organization and a German medical anthropologist. This process led to a compromise: the clitorectomy will be continued symbolically. The gesture of cutting, however, will be a stroke in the air, without shedding blood (cf. Krämer 1999).

❸ Participation

Participation is not only a method for us, but an important objective of development policy. Participation includes that people formulate their development goals themselves and that they participate significantly in the realization of these goals. Hence participation frequently also connotes an empowerment of the disadvantaged and a questioning of the balance of power. In this respect, we are aware that we operate in highly complex social networks. Changing the relationship between a patron and a client, for example, is not always desired by those affected or of immediate benefit to them. Appropriately realizing the principle of participation therefore makes high demands on all parties involved; it has to be called in repeatedly from employers and other decision makers. We feel obliged to work towards the change or the discontinuation of projects, which are carried out against the will of the local population or individual groups within it.

International development agencies in their practical work define participation in different ways. The definition ranges from informing and consulting the target groups, functional participation and joint decision making during implementation to self-determination.

For development anthropologists who demand that people should formulate their development goals themselves, participation can only amount to joint decision making and self-determination. Participation encompasses all phases of a project – from the formulation of objectives and outputs, and implementation to management and evaluation. Furthermore, it is relevant for all types of projects, although the kind of participation in a program at village level where it is more direct differs from an electrification project for which representatives of the community, representatives of other social groups (consumers), and elected politicians possibly decide, too.

As for joint decision making, the target groups participate as partners in the decision about the type of project. They participate in the implementation with considerable responsibility and accordingly they also assume responsibility for the risks. The assessment of success by target groups or their legitimate representatives is also influential for the total evaluation of a project.

Self-determined projects, in contrast, imply that target groups or civil society institutions employ outside support for carrying out their own activities autonomously.

Within development cooperation, participation takes place on various levels. The participation of target groups is decisive in project management. Other groups (e.g. adjoining population, non-beneficiaries) have to be involved in the process of participation. They must not be affected unduly by a project. Sponsoring, partner and implementing organizations all cooperate as equal partners. Within these institutions, too, the idea of participation should be realized on all levels. This also applies to short-term missions.

A difficult issues is the appropriate participation of third parties which are not the target groups of development cooperation, but are relevant for the success of the project (e.g. timber processing companies in the context of a forest conservation project, big landowners in a project for small farmers, companies that pollute the environment in redevelopment of urban quarters). As we are partially dealing with those causing the very problems to be addressed by development cooperation, their participation must be confined to the search for solutions, rather than allowing them a definitive participation in decision-making.

In the reality of development cooperation, participation rarely goes beyond the level of involvement in implementation. However, using the term participation is dishonest, if the 'participation of the population' is merely used to ease implementation of a project determined by others, i.e. by donors or implementing agencies. This functional type of participation eventually prevents self-determination of the population. Thus, utilizing participatory appraisal methods when planning externally determined development projects does not, by itself, represent participation. But it is sometimes even difficult to implement participatory processes if the sponsor has clearly articulated the intention to actively involve the population. Participation may even be a source of disturbance; therefore, it is necessary to search for appropriate forms of participation.

Public involvement of women in decision-making in Pakistan

Participation must not be demanded at any cost. In some cases certain groups 'are not allowed' to participate, at least not in a Western form through participation in public discussions and votes. The question is less, whether a Pakistani government partner does not value the participation of the

population. This problem can be solved by means of contract (and it can be addressed through dialogue on a long-term basis). Rather, the participation of women in a Pakistani village, e.g. concerning the drinking-water supply, cannot be realized – at least not in forms familiar to us - without causing strong irritation or even aversion among of the men. Substantial disadvantages can be caused for the supposedly participating women.

Patron-client relationships and communal development in the Philippines

In the Philippines patron-client relationships occur primarily through the institution of 'owed gratitude' (utang na loob) which is part of a hierarchical system of reciprocal and often lifelong relationships of goodwill and obligations which are not backed up by contract. The clients use this system as network for support and help during times of crisis. Apart from the local political leaders there are also other influential community members that provide resources such as loans, or they enable access to patrons who are important for providing certain strategic resources. In community development processes the local political leaders are usually assigned the responsibility for the project. These local political leaders tend to select the beneficiaries of projects from their own group of clientele, according to the utang na loob principles. Also, the motivation of 'beneficiaries' to participate in programs depends much more on strategic decisions within the utang na loob system than external sponsors and experts might realize. Without intending so, these will be integrated in the cultural system of dependence, owed gratitude and lifelong obligations as modern 'patrons', including all misunderstandings and disappointments that derive from this situation on both sides (cf. Teves 2000).

In such situations optimal forms of participation need to be designed individually; yet development anthropologists must not forget the goal of participation and blame the seemingly unalterable circumstances. It has to be

the task of the development anthropologist in particular to search for options for the integration of 'silent groups' in a difficult social environment. Regarding the Pakistani example, an option was found: the women were interviewed prior to the public village assembly (jirga). The results were evaluated by the women themselves and proposed to the men who thus were prepared for the 'right' decision in a confidential and individual manner.

Participation should not only take into account gender relations but also the actual balance of political power. The participation of disadvantaged target groups should not imply the exclusion of other participants. Since development cooperation intends to change the present balance of power and aims at the 'empowerment' of disadvantaged people, it should not avoid conflicts. The extent to which this conflict is consciously tolerated, depends on the way in which target groups may suffer the consequences. Therefore, as part of planning, one has to assess if the target groups could expect to be sanctioned due to a project and the presence of foreign and/or local experts.

Participation – even in places that allow for participation in a broad scope – should not mean that donors can avoid responsibility. Representatives of donor agencies are obliged to insert their experiences into the participation process and to point out possible risks, which could derive from a project. Also, even extensive participation has to enable decisions which can be relied upon for a certain period of time.

Participation can also be applied in places in which a representative democracy does not exist. Where it does, legitimate representatives of the population are important agents in the process of participation. One has to distinguish between basic decisions made by these representatives and the involvement of each member of the target groups concerning issues that directly affect them (e.g. household water supply, protection of agricultural production and natural resources).

Demanding participation to be fully in accord with these Ethical Guidelines as a prerequisite for the involvement of cultural anthropologists in development cooperation would signify complete withdrawal from project work. True participation is a more or less aspired goal within both German and international development cooperation, be it initiated by governments, international organizations or NGOs. In reality, though, nearly all projects fall short of this aim. True participation is therefore an ideal to be aspired. The stronger development anthropologists demand true participation, the more likely it can be achieved in the particular case.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 26

❹ Transparency

Through our work we aim at the greatest possible transparency. Prior to fieldwork, the local population and other participating actors have to be informed about the interests of the employer, of the implementing agency, or of the research institute, as well as the origin, aims and methods of the project or activity. Similarly, after finishing the work, the results should be presented in an adequate manner. The informants should have the opportunity of a final evaluation. We are requested to account for our methods and recommendations. We should also confront the public and the scientific debate in the host country as well as in our home country.

Development anthropologists have to openly explain their intentions as well as their procedure, but especially they have to make explicit the results of their work, which are essential for decisions about projects. However, for the sake of the 'target groups' it might be necessary to practice the principle of transparency in a selective manner. Development projects are always 'locations' where different interests clash and where decisions are made about the access to and distribution of resources. If this took place as part of an entirely open process, different parties would exert different degrees of power. Thus rural consumers, producers, those involved in intermediate trade, and wholesalers have different degrees of influence, and certainly different interests. Owners of land and of irrigation infrastructure facilities have different goals and interests than their tenants and agricultural workers. The goals of decentralized institutions may differ from those of national ministries. The same applies to the local partner organizations and their superior public authorities.

It is not an arbitrary decision whose development goals are to be fostered through a project or program. As for German development agencies and other bilateral and multilateral organizations, these should be the poorest strata of the population who have the least access to resources. The extent to which a development project can reach these people strongly depends on the course of negotiations during the planning and implementation process. These negotiations take place between the donor and the partner agency, but also between various participating institutions, such as municipal administrations, elected councilors, traditional chiefs, etc.

Naturally the possible contents of a supportive measure should be discussed openly with the representatives of the target groups. However, making

aims and procedures of an anticipated project explicit to others beyond the circle of target groups may well be counterproductive. If access to resources also for the poor amounts to sharing resources which are presently exploited by those in power, we can be assured that the latter will vehemently refuse to share, even though they may have acquired the resources illegally and on the back of the poor. To exclaim openly here that redistribution could only be considered, might result in an overt conflict between those who are economically powerful plus their normally existent governmental supporters on the one hand, and the project and its explicit target groups on the other hand.

One position could imply that cultural anthropologists, despite the demand for the greatest possible openness, could be forced to limit the principle of openness to the actual target groups. Transparency within development cooperation is not end in itself. In most donor concepts development cooperation means taking a stance for the poor, strengthening them directly or indirectly. Thus the aims are neither morally neutral nor are the resources that are made accessible through development cooperation meant for the 'free market' where everyone could take possession of them. However, by taking a stance, development cooperation, caught in conflicting interests, rejects some people in order to promote others. Not being explicit towards everyone, i.e. selective openness may well be legitimate, provided that it is not associated with abandoning explicitness towards the target groups.

Nevertheless, this does not imply that conflicts may be suppressed. If there are signs of clashes of interests one should search for solutions as soon as possible; these solutions should also take into account the interests of potential adversaries – as long as they fit with the aims of the project.

The success of a measure that supports less privileged groups in an environment of different interests will finally depend on how well those responsible manage to influence necessary negotiations according to the target groups' interests without causing interference from other individuals. In the end, each development anthropologist will have to decide to which extent he or she will present the aims of a project or the objectives of his or her contributions to audiences other than the target group.

5 Holism

Work in development anthropology, too, is rooted in the holistic approach of the discipline. Consequently, it takes into account the systemic relationships between the different spheres of life of a population group. It also considers the ecological, political, economical, social and ideological circumstances of the region. As development anthropologists we try to achieve interdisciplinary cooperation; if necessary, we encourage such work. We reject working conditions that, for example, do not permit the minimum of time needed for a holistic approach.

The principle of holism is very important in Cultural Anthropology because the perception of culture, which is at the core of this discipline, assumes that different areas of life interact systemically. Thus a certain type of behavior can only be explained if information is available on how that behavior is imbedded in the different areas of culture. Hence modern cultural anthropological research always tries to analyze a certain research topic in the overall context of life of the investigated population. This does not signify to 'work through' all aspects of a culture in all its dimensions by means of a checklist of cultural elements, for example. Instead, the selection of areas to be investigated follows the principle of focusing on relevant issues from all necessary angles.

In principle, one should also apply the holistic approach when practically working in development anthropology. Meanwhile, within development cooperation, too, almost everyone agrees that a problem-oriented analysis needs to include all areas of culture and life that are required for the understanding of systemic interrelationships. When assessing the financial effects that an innovation has had on certain households (e.g. by introducing manual pumps), one should not only consider the immediate costs and benefits, for example. One should also take into account the socio-economic and gender-specific impact on a micro-economic level (i.e. household) as well as a macro-economic level (i.e. village, region). Nowadays one hardly needs to justify the necessity of a holistic approach, as project concepts which were too much restricted to technical aspects or individual sectors have had noticeable negative impacts (for example in the area of family planning, prevention of AIDS or planning of land use).

Nevertheless, it is often difficult to apply a holistic approach in the real situation of a consultant, in particular when working alone. Making a claim for a holistic analysis requires profound previous knowledge of the region and

the topic. Cultural anthropologists have to ask themselves if they are able to assess all problems and if they have the required knowledge and experience to cover all relevant levels of analysis. With respect to the time of service, which is usually fairly limited, cultural anthropologists should critically reflect their own capacity prior to signing a contract. Although practically oriented studies do allow for a certain flexibility concerning the precision of data and depth of analysis, time pressure should not negatively affect a holistic cause and effect analysis.

Interdisciplinary teams are the only acceptable option for more complex issues. In the team, different skills and perspectives converge; this enriches the view of the problem under investigation and facilitates its holistic analysis. Yet this demands a dialogue of all participating disciplines on equal footing. In addition, the final report should not merely be a compilation of the individual technical analyses, but rather an actual systemic combination of different perspectives. In an interdisciplinary team the development anthropologist takes over a specific part of the task and thus he or she is not the only person responsible for the holistic character of the work. However, if systemic relationships are evidently neglected or if important aspects are overlooked, one should give critical feedback to the team and request suggestions on how to include the missing aspects.

In addition to the challenge of organizing development anthropological work in the respective location, the external requirements set up by the employer frequently restrict the options of a holistic approach. This includes time limits that do not enable an adequate treatment of the issue. Moreover, there may be political requirements, such as the constriction of informants, institutions, a politically or otherwise motivated anticipation of the desired results or constriction of the Terms of Reference (ToR) which do not do justice to the problem posed.

If these or similar constrictions already become evident during the negotiation with an employer, an intensive dialogue should take place to make constructive suggestions. These should include proposals to improve the methodological and subject matter concept of the assignment (reformulation of ToR, consulting further persons, geographical limitation). If the employer does not accept these parameters, one should refrain from the contract as it is not possible to work on the problem in an appropriate manner. A special dilemma arises if the above-mentioned limits are only recognized in the field. If no changes in the contract are possible any more, one is left with the option to describe the deficiencies in the report and, if necessary, to make proposals for changing the process of planning and implementation of the project.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 30

6 Unintended Effects

If we recognize that a project which is useful for certain groups of society harms other parts of society to an extent that is unacceptable, we point out this danger and we work towards developing alternatives. If we are not being listened to, or if alternatives that we have proposed are rejected, we should cease to cooperate.

In development cooperation conflicts between different interest groups occur on a daily basis. This applies particularly to large, politically and economically important infrastructure projects (see case study), but also to many nature conservation projects or even to apparently unproblematic regional rural development projects. Here decision makers often have to make difficult choices between interests of society at large and group-specific interests. Where necessary, they have to balance interests appropriately, for example through compensations. Yet often the side effects that a project has on certain population groups cannot be fully recognized at the beginning, or the side effects are not acknowledged. In this situation development anthropologists should request a holistic approach (cf. guideline no. 5) as early as possible. This request should contain as comprehensive an estimation of risks as possible. If necessary, anthropologists should demand to halt a project or at least that adequate alternatives be worked out for those affected.

Building a bridge in Bangladesh

The construction of a bridge, a strategic measure which was financed by the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the government of Japan expels approximately 70,000 inhabitants from river islands; the existence of these people had not been taken into account during planning. By request of the island population, an anthropologist researching in the area becomes active and draws the attention of a local NGO to the inspection panel of the World Bank.
The NGO submits a petition to the panel. The government then passes guidelines for the compensation to be paid to the island inhabitants; these are accepted by the population

and the NGO. Another NGO is put in charge of implementing the guidelines. Despite massive threats, the anthropologist observes the (non) implementation of the guidelines and regularly informs the German and the international public as well as important decision makers – to little effect, however (cf. Schmuck-Widmann 1999).

In cases in which development anthropologists are not 'coincidentally' present as researchers and turned into advocates due to the situation, but get hired by one of the agencies involved as consultants e.g. for 'social impact assessment', even more severe moral conflicts occur. Financial and career dependencies may result in self censorship when dealing with employers that one would like to work for again in the future. Thus prior to signing a contract one should critically question the realistic options of influencing decisions. One should discuss these options with the employer so that the report is not filed in the archive as merely a prerequisite that had to be fulfilled ('fig leaf').

In the course of working as consultants, AGEE members have had positive experiences with openly informing employers about problems to be expected or problems that already exist which might hamper the implementation of the project according to binding principles of development policy. Also, in times of active international NGO campaigns, for the sake of their own image, most multilateral and bilateral implementation agencies or consulting firms are interested in an early limitation of damage.

There are no clear cut rules for deciding up to when as development anthropologists we should stay involved in a project to assure at least a limitation of damage for those affected, and when we should cease to cooperate. If in doubt, we recommend to contact experienced AGEE members or other consultants to discuss the situation with them.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 32

❼ Assuring the protection of data and informants

As development anthropologists we are more obliged to the people than to knowledge as such. We take care that personal rights are not violated. This is particularly relevant for the anonymity of persons and locations. Local rules for privacy ought to be respected.

Internal assessment reports e.g. by KfW or evaluation reports by BMZ have (hitherto) been accessible only to a small group of persons within the respective institution. Information from general reports, however, is presented to a broader audience, particularly to the partner agency in the host country. Thus the protection of data, especially the protection of informants plays an important role in all reports.

It is no problem to mention the name of a silversmith and his village in a research report about kinds of silver jewelry. Yet in development policy reports all statements relating to the society and particularly the political system (independent of the country one is working in) should consistently maintain anonymity of the informants. In certain countries one should not even use a fictional name if individual people are to be quoted. Instead one should merely refer to informant A, B, C and omit all descriptive characteristics such as 'store owner,' 'carpenter,' 'chief of village'. If one deals with the relationship between a social group and a state as a whole, it is necessary to maintain anonymity of whole towns, if not to change the geographical locations, in a number of countries (e.g. Syria, Morocco, Afghanistan, Sudan, Iran, etc.). A town of 2,350 inhabitants in 1998 and 20% Christians as well as 10% Druses will be identified by the national secret intelligence agency within 10 minutes. If one adds a quotation by a sixty-year-old village sheikh who criticizes the government, the consultant is likely to cause this person to be imprisoned very quickly. Possibly, one could conceal important, though compromising statements by representatives of target groups as general 'scientific results.' In this respect, a construction measure is not obstructed by the relative of King X, "according to hints from the village Y," but "according to hints from observers that should be taken seriously."

In the project context the anonymity of critical questionnaires (this includes options for answers regarding the refusal of a measure requested by the government) is urgently required; if necessary, even the reidentification of informants for subsequent interviews has to be eliminated. If repeated

studies have been explicitly requested, the questionnaires have to be depoliticized accordingly.

The issues associated with the protection of data and informants should be explained openly to employers (on the side of the donor). In numerous projects this has already led to data collection sheets that have been made anonymous. Furthermore, the vivid and personal reports requested by some employers have not been hampered by making names (and locations) anonymous.

8 Limits of the requirement of confidentiality

Obvious abuse, such as the violation of human rights or destruction of the environment that we learn about while staying in a country or region should be published in an appropriate form, possibly by passing on the information to the public or a suitable organization. The requirement of confidentiality laid down in the contract should be related only to internal matters (staff and finances) of the project.

Upon signing a short-term contract or long-term employee contract, the anthropologist commits himself/herself to the requirement of confidentiality: "The kind of work exerted by the expert requires that the results of his work must not be made accessible to a third party …This is applicable beyond the duration of the assignment, too." (KfW) – "All matters related to the projects are to be treated confidentially, as far as this is appropriate. This is also valid after the contract expires." (GTZ)

Strictly speaking, each of these conditions would prevent the use of results of consultancies; it would even exclude comparative analyses of projects for the purposesof development cooperation itself. This cannot be desired since, on the contrary, for a consultant or advisor to be hired, he or she usually is required to have extensive knowledge of other projects. Besides, it would invalidate any development-related scientific research and public relations work, both of which are requested and promoted on a large scale by BMZ and other institutions.

On the other hand, the employer has to have the right not to publish certain internal components of a project; this is due to the competition with other companies and institutions or because of the employer's (legal) obli-

gation for welfare of the employees. Development anthropologists explicitly recognize this right.

In order to obtain a compromise between the legitimate interests of science and the public on the one hand, and the employers on the other hand, one should generally agree to refrain from passing on information related to internal matters concerning finances and staff. The same applies to all data that could present the implementation by an agency in a negative fashion. Regarding the society in the host country, however, and the impact of a project, the relevant information is accessible for journalists as well; accordingly, there should be no requirement of confidentiality, even if the information was collected as part of a project-related mission. Recently, the evaluation department of BMZ has taken this stance, too.

The following statement would lend itself well for contracts

"The agreed upon requirement of confidentiality applies to all inquiries concerning internal matters of the project, such as the staff and finances. General insights about the area, its population and the possible impact of projects can be used by the employee as part of general scientific research or for development education."

For reasons of fairness one is possibly asked to present publications based on results of consultancies to the employer prior to publishing them. If the requirement of confidentiality has been agreed upon by both sides before, the employer would confine his remarks to actual internal matters. Presenting manuscripts is understood, too, if the institutions provided material that is not accessible to the public in order to create these manuscripts.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 35

How to use these guidelines

These "Ethical Guidelines" should be made explicit to all participants. We, as development anthropologists are requested to defend them, particularly when dealing with potential employers and to refuse to cooperate in organizations, projects, and studies if the core of the principles cannot be adhered to. We support persons who face difficulties because they acted in accordance with the guidelines. We seek to cooperate with organizations which support these guidelines, and we try to sensitize further organizations as to the content of the guidelines.

These guidelines reflect the current state of the debate in our workgroup. In the future we will discuss the following issues, among others:

- Technical standards in Development Anthropology ('state of the art' in development policies and cross-sectional topics; current methods and instruments; criteria for document quality etc.).
- Relevance of the AGEE-Guidelines for society as a whole (contrasting the eight guidelines with the values of society).
- AGEE: from occupational ethics to an occupational organization – would this imply a binding character of the Ethical Guidelines?

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 36

▶ APPENDIX

A. Changes in the understanding of ethics in anthropology: The USA as an example

Ethical responsibility in anthropological research has always been an issue. Early on there was the first row because of the political involvement of anthropologists: Franz Boas, the 'father' of American Cultural Anthropology was expelled from the American Anthropological Association (AAA) in 1919 because in his Letter to the Nation he accused four anthropologists (rightly or wrongly) of spying under the cloak of research. In colonial times anthropologists worked under the protection of the colonial administration.

During the Second World War, many American anthropologists worked as patriotic policy advisors. Because of their 'intercultural competence' they were often employed by the military secret intelligence service and the predecessor of the CIA, others worked as military officers. The ethical question changed: when confronted with the menace of fascism and nazism, ethical behavior was defined as the willingness to sacrifice an academic career to the defense of the 'free world' whose 'natural' leader seemed to be the USA (Wax 1997).

After the Second World War a split occurred between anthropologists who had experienced the war and a new generation of young anthropologists who were deeply impressed with the postcolonial effects of continued suppression and misery they had seen during their fieldwork. The conflict reached its peak in 1970, in the reactions to the Mead Committee, who – after the fact - gave their blessing to the questionable and definitely secret advisory work of American anthropologists in North Thailand. Both sides accused each other of unethical behavior (Hill 1997). In the end, the Mead-report was rejected by the AAA with a great majority. Many now saw ethical behavior as not engaging in imperialist aspirations of the American government.

Interestingly, the focus of the ethical debate changed after the end of the Vietnam War in 1972. Ethical behavior now was seen mainly as the respon-

sible treatment of visited or investigated groups. The debates focused on keywords such as 'informed consent (by those affected) or 'impact assessment of research practice.'

The list of the most frequent petitions submitted to the Committee on Ethics of the AAA that was established in the sixties after the so-called Camelot-Affair is also interesting. After 1972 the list was headed by the "accusation of plagiarism among colleagues", followed by students' accusations of "exploitation of scientific results," followed by "ownership and rights of publication of research results while working for nonacademic employers." Only then come complaints by third parties about the treatment of investigated groups (Hill 1997). We see that the ethics debate in anthropology was always in keeping with the times. Professional ethics, so it seems, must always be negotiated.

B. A short chronology of anglophone anthropological Codes of Ethics

- The first ethical resolution of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) was in 1948 about the freedom of publication: in the Resolution on Freedom of Publication sponsoring institutions were requested to guarantee free research and censure-free publication and to assure the protection of investigated groups:

  > "...Be it resolved: (1) that the American Anthropological Association strongly urge all sponsoring institutions to guarantee their research scientists complete freedom to interpret and publish their findings without censorship or interference; provided that (2) the interests of the persons and communities or other social groups studied are protected; and that (3) in the event that the sponsoring institution does not wish to publish the results nor be identified with the publication, it permits publication of the results, without use of its name as sponsoring agency, through other channels."
  > (Source: http://www.ameranthassn.org/stmts/ethstmnt.htm).

- In 1963 the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA) that had been founded twenty years earlier, approved its Statement on Ethics of the

Society for Applied Anthropology even earlier than the occupational organization AAA. Here the applied anthropologists wrote down their responsibility to science, people (informants) and clients (employers).

- In the wake of the Camelot-project, "...an ill conceived and ill-fated American counter-insurgency research plan intended to be carried out in Chile in 1965," (Berreman 1991:102), where anthropologists should have participated, the AAA passed the Statement on Problems of Anthropological Research and Ethics in 1967.

- In 1969, at the peak of the Vietnam War a Committee on Ethics which was only answerable to the members was established in the AAA. It prepared a proposition for the ethical code which was fiercely debated and then rejected by the board.

- In 1971 the AAA passed a revised version of the ethical code of the Principles of Professional Responsibility. In eight sections the Principles address the relationship to the investigated subjects, the public, the scientific public, the students, the sponsoring organizations and one's own government as well as the host government. These principles have been slightly revised over the years but are basically still valid.

- In 1987 the Association of Social Anthropologists of the Commonwealth (ASA) in England published its Ethical Guidelines for Good Practice. In five sections it addresses the relationships and responsibilities of anthropologists towards the groups under consideration and makes suggestions for ethical behavior (http://www.asa.anthropology.ac.uk/ethics.html).

- In 1988 the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) in the USA presented their own ethical guidelines for practicing anthropologists. They focus on the complex relationship between groups in the context of research and practice.

- The Code of Ethics which was written in 1997 and passed in 1998 by the AAA replaced the Principles of 1971. It contains an adjustment to the "...changed working situation of anthropologically educated people," as well as the most significant change: "...the AAA no longer claims the role of the referee on questions of unethical behavior, instead it will focus its resources and energies on an ethics educational program." (http://www.ameranthassn.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm).

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 39

- In 1999 the ASA in Great Britain passed a revised version of its guidelines of 1987, the Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice (http://www.asa.anthropology.ac.uk/ethics2.html). It contains few changes, apart from the focus on research in the title, except for a few up-to-date phrases (for example, in the preamble anthropology at home is mentioned as well as anthropology abroad, and legal dilemma supplements ethical dilemma in all phases of research). The guidelines also mention the inequality of power within the investigated groups. They describe intellectual property rights of the participants of studies and lean on legal principles which the English Constitution has developed in the meantime to protect these rights.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 40

C. **Literature quoted and recommended reading**

Amborn, Hermann 1993 (ed.): Unbequeme Ethik. Überlegungen zu einer verantwortlichen Ethnologie. Berlin, Reimer (the only German volume on the issue, unfortunately it contains some rather polemical parts, with few practical case studies about ethical decision making because responsibility is seen in a very wide sense; contains a commented bibliography).

ASAD, Talal 1975 (ed.): Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter. London: Ithaca Press (on the role of Anthropology in colonial times).

Berreman, Gerald D. 1968: Is Anthropology Alive? Social Responsibility in Social Anthropology. Current Anthropology 9:391-396 (classical essay using the example of the US-War-Anthropology in Thailand and Vietnam).

Berreman, Gerald D. 1991: Ethics and Realpolitik in the American Anthropological Association, 1919-1991. In H. Amborn (ed.), Unbequeme Ethik, 101-125.

Bliss, Frank 1996: Ethik in der Entwicklungsethnologie. In: F. Bliss/S. Neumann 1996 (ed.): Ethnologische Beiträge zur Entwicklungspolitik 3. PAS : Bonn, 236-256. (A reflection of the first written statement of principles in the AGEE of 1989).

BMZ. Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung 1999: Übersektorales Konzept Partizipative Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Partizipationskonzept. September 1999. Bonn. (download from www.bmz.de)

Cassell, Joan & Sue-Ellen Jacobs 1987 (eds.): Handbook of Ethical Issues in Anthropology. Washington, D.C. American Anthropological Association (Spec. Publ. AAA, 23) (Basics, scandalous examples and solutions, very brief).

Cassell, Joan and Sue-Ellen Jacobs 1998 (eds.): Handbook of Ethical Issues in Anthropology. Washington, D.C. American Anthropological Association (Spec. Publ. AAA, 23). Electronic Document: http://www.amerantassn.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm

Drubig, Roland et al. 1996: Für die Einrichtung eines Ethik-Curriculums in der Ethnologie. In: DGV-Mitteilungen (25): 53-58.

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 41

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland 1995: Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology. London, Chicago, Ill.: Pluto Press.

Ervin, Alexander M. 2000: Ethics in Applied Research and Practice. In: Ervin,A.M. Applied Anthropology. Tools and Perspectives for Contemporary Practice. Boston etc.: Allyn & Bacon; 27-40 (short and current overview, highly recommendable).

Fluehr-Lobban, Carolyn 1991 (ed.): Ethics and the Profession of Anthropology. Dialogue for a New Era. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (important anthology).

Hill, James N. 1997: The Committee on Ethics: Past, Present, and Future. In: Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology. Edited by Joan Cassell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs. A special publication of the American Anthropological Association Number 23. Electronic document. http://www.ameranthassn.org/committees/ethics/toc.htm (last printout 20.12.00)

Hunt, P. 1993: Children's Rights in West Africa. The Case of the Gambia's Almudos. In: Human Rights Quarterly, 15: 499-532 (case study on "respect" in the text).

Kirchner, Ludwig 2001 (ed.): Zwischen Professionalität und Solidarität. Berufsethische Aspekte der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. AGEG-Forum Band 7 (the 1998 conference report which is about to be published in the Protestant Academy Bad Boll).

Koepping, Klaus-Peter (1981): Probleme der Ethik der Ethnographie in Theorie und Methode in: Schmied-Kowarzik, W. /J. Stagl 1981 (eds.): Grundfragen der Ethnologie. Berlin: Reimer, 93-106 (first basic analysis of the issues in a German anthropological anthology).

Koepping, Klaus Peter 1994 (ed.): Anthropology and Ethics. Anthropological Journal on European Cultures 3 (2) (case studies from Europe).

Koslowski, Peter 1988: Prinzipien der ethischen Ökonomie. Grundlegung der Wirtschaftsethik und der auf der Ökonomie bezogenen Ethik. Tübingen: Mohr (classics on economical ethical theory).

Krämer, Paul, Ini Damien 1999: Can Female Excision Be Transformed into a Symbolic Rite? The Experience of Lobi Women in Burkina Faso. In: Entwicklungsethnologie 8 (1): 12-23 (case study on "respect" in the text).

Münzel, Mark 1997: Zum Vorschlag der Einrichtung eines Ethik-Curriculums in der Ethnologie. In: DGV-Mitteilungen 26: 63-64.

National Association of Practising Anthropology (NAPA) 1988: Ethical Guidelines for Practitioners. Anthropological Newsletter 29(8):8-9 (brief, written for practitioners).

Pels, Peter 1999: Professions of Duplexity. A Prehistory of Ethical Codes in Anthropology. Current Anthropology 40,2:101-136 (history, aims and perspectives of anthropological Codes of Ethics. Pels argues against institutionalized codes, but promotes the negotiation of valid standards between employers and target groups. Contains a detailed controversial discussion about Pels's hypothesis following the article).

Reynolds, Paul Davidson 1979: Ethical Dilemmas and Social Science Research. San Francisco (contains a synthesis of twenty-four Codes of Ethics).

Rynkiewich, Michael A., and James P. Spradley 1976 (eds.): Ethics and Anthropology. Dilemmas in Fieldwork. New York: John Wiley (anthology with many case studies on ethic dilemma in cultural anthropological field work).

Schmuck-Widmann, Hanna 1999: None of your business. Wissenschaft, Advokatenrolle und das wirkliche Leben. Entwicklungsethnologie 8(1):107-118 (case study on "unintended consequences" in the text).

Schönhuth, Michael 1997: Was ist des Menschen Recht? Ein ethnologischer Diskurs zum Universalitätsanspruch individueller Menschenrechte im globalen Dorf. In: W. Berg (ed.), Globalisierung und Modernisierung. Ssip-texte 5:37-47. [also as pdf-electronic-document: http://www.uni-trier.de/uni/fb4/ethno/mensch.pdf]

Teves, Lurli 2000: Patron-Client Relationship and Participation. The Case of the Philippines. Entwicklungsethnologie 9(1):43-59 (case study on "respect" in the text).

Tyrnauer, Gabrielle 1984: Handeln und Ethik in der Angewandten Ethnologie. Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie:113-123 (historical overview and an example of an incident in Tübingen in 1981).

Wax, Murray L. 1997: Some Issues and Sources on Ethics in Anthropology. In: Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology. Edited by Joan Cas-

sell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs. A special publication of the American Anthropological Association Number 23. Electronic document: http://www.ameranthassn.org/committees/ethics/toc.htm (last printout 11/05/01)

Weaver, Thomas 1973 (ed.): To See Ourselves: Anthropology and Modern Social Issues. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

World Commission on Culture and Development 1998 (ed.): Our creative diversity. Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development. Oxford u.a.: UNESCO (Final report of the commission headed by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar during the UN "Culture and Developmental Decade").

Recommendations on websites

The most important address for the latest developments in the US is the homepage of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) (http://www.ameranthassn.org/). Here you find links to all earlier ethical codes of the AAA, to the Ethical Guidelines of the National Association for the Practice of Anthropology (NAPA) and to the Statement on Ethics of the Society for Applied Anthropology (SfAA). You also find the Code of Ethics of 1997 which was approved by the AAA in June 1998 at the following address: (http://www.ameranthassn.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm (last printout 11/05/01).

You can also read the latest issue of the Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology by Cassell and Jacobs at http://www.ameranthassn.org/committees/ethics/toc.htm (last printout 11/05/01). This online-book contains a summary of the history of the American anthropological ethics debate. It also contains a list of important titles and sources on the issue and many case studies concerning fictional and real ethical dilemma in Applied Anthropology.

Concerning the Hippocratic Oath: Genfer Ärztegelöbnis (part of the occupational legal guidelines for German doctors): http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/fak5/igm/g47/eck_e04.htm (last printout 11/05/01).

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 44

„Ethical Guidelines of the Workgroup Development Anthropology"
© 2001 University of Trier, Dept. of Anthropology, D-54286 Trier, Germany
Trierer Materialien zur Ethnologie, No. 3
Editors: M. Schönhuth / C. Antweiler
Co-editor of this Issue: Workgroup Development Anthropology (AGEE) e. V., Cologne, Germany
Distribution: University of Trier, FB IV, Ethnologie, D-54286 Trier, Tel.: 00 49 - 6 51 / 2 01 - 27 10,
Fax: 00 49 - 6 51 / 2 01 - 39 33. Price: 5 Euro
Contact: schoenhu@uni-trier.de · antweile@uni-trier.de · baumgart@uni-trier.de
ISSN 1616-7147
Printed and bound by: Technical department of the University of Trier
Layout and title of this issue: Nicole Gehlen, Dossenheim, e-mail: ngehlen@web.de
Translations by Ruth Marchewka
All rights reserved
Printed in Germany

Innenteil Sch nhuth englisch 14.08.2001 9:07 Uhr Seite 45