Ethics in Ethnographic Fieldwork

A tutorial for self-study and workshops

Michael Schönhuth, Trier University/Germany © 2021

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This presentation draws on many sources.
However, four key sources in particular inspired this tutorial :

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/e/e1/Thank-You_purple-yellow.svg/240px-Thank-You_purple-yellow.svg.png. haburnu with colors changed by Amousey / CC0

- **AAA (American Anthropological Association). 2012. Principles of Professional Responsibility.** http://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/

- **ASA (Association of Social Anthropologists). 2011. Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice.'** https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf

- **PERCS. 2018. The Ethics of Fieldwork Module. ELON University.** http://www.elon.edu/u/academics/percs/wp-content/uploads/sites/527/2017/09/EthicsModuleforWeb.pdf.

- **Working Group Ethics Reviews (Arbeitskreis 'Ethikbegutachtungen') of the German Anthropological Association (GAA).** https://www.dgska.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/DGV-Mitteilungen_50_web.pdf

Thanks to all colleagues who provided feedback on previous versions.
A special thanks goes to Christoph Antweiler for his encouragement.
…

Contents *[Please click, to jump to the corresponding chapter]*

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What's in the package?
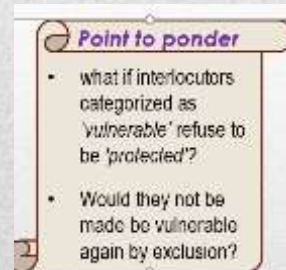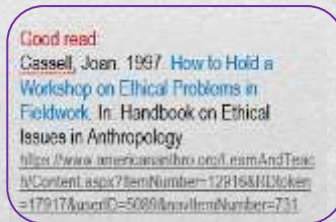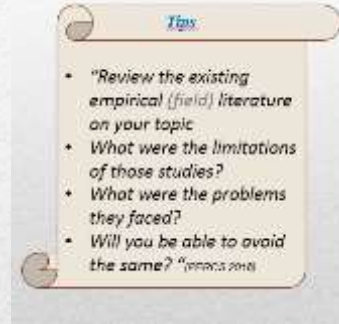
➢ **For whom:** This tutorial is intended as an *information and sensitization tool* for students or workshop organizers, acting as individuals or in teams, who need to deal with *ethical questions* within the framework of *ethnographic research* - be it as part of *university courses, before, during or after fieldwork, or when applying for funds.*

➢ **Focus:** *Ethical questions* arise regardless of the research location, due to a *structural imbalance of power* between researchers *(who want to know)* and those being researched *(giving their knowledge). Such* questions are nevertheless also dependent on the history of the respective *academic discipline* and the debates on ethics in *scientific communities* as well as within *national and regional funding schemes*.

➢ **Bias:** The tutorial therefore refers to *fundamental questions of ethnographic research* with examples from all over the world as well as, in some sections - due to the author's geographical and disciplinary home base - to the specific constellations and *current funding structures in Europe* and to *debates specific to social/cultural anthropology.*

➢ **The author:** I work as a *cultural anthropologist* at the University of *Trier, Germany* (birth place of Karl Marx, located 10 km from the Luxembourg border). I have been teaching, researching and offering consulting services for more than 30 years now, *at various places* in the world.

➢ **Motivation:** I have been engaged with ethical questions in my discipline since 1989, when a group of young anthropologists was called upon to deal with ethical questions in order to be accepted as a working group within the German Anthropological Association (GAA), through the involvement in GAAs' *"Frankfurt Declaration of Ethics"* in 2009, up to the co-development of *guidelines and reflection papers* for the members of the Association in 2019. →see: https://en.dgska.de/ethics/).

my home base:
→https://www.uni-trier.de/index.php?id=18079.

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Forms of teaching/communication

Besides information and thought-provoking impulses from a wide range of selected sources the slides contain:

➤ **Tips:** references to *documents or websites* that are helpful for the clarification of ethical questions in the preparation of ethnographic *field research* or in the context of *ethical review* processes.

➤ **Good reads:** (annotated) *references to selected literature* for almost every topic addressed in the tutorial.

➤ **Exercises:** that you can do on your own or in ***buzz groups.***

➤ **Points to ponder:** that should *stimulate reflection* on specific ethical issues, for yourself or in a group discussion.

➤ **Citations:** all italicized or colored parts in quotations in this tutorial were undertaken for didactic reasons.

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What awaits you (Chapter Outline)

The Ethics Square
competing accountabilities

Research participants/
Interlocutors

Sponsors/
Funding bodies
Employers

Scholarly
community

Wider society

Good read:
Lunn, Jenny. 2020 ed. Fieldwork in the global south. London: Routledge. Routledge studies in human geography. *[The book brings together down-to-earth experiences of master's and doctoral students in the field of development studies. Chapters cover: ethical challenges in the field; ethical dimensions of researcher identity; ethical issues related to research methods; and ethical dilemmas in dealing with a wide range of stakeholders.]*

➢ **II. Positioning:** defines the core of this tutorial as the core of ethnographic fieldwork: how our research design leaves us open to learning something unexpected; visualizes areas of tension in the midst of stakeholders, where you as an ethnographer have to constantly make decisions and weigh up different ethical accountabilities.

➢ **III. Field Conduct:** focuses on ethical concerns *before, and during fieldwork, as* well as in *media settings* (obligations towards, and informed consent of interlocutors, local norms of conduct, and conflicts that can arise when handling them).

➢ **IV. Negotiation:** deals with legitimate reciprocity claims by communities or interlocutors, but also with indecent reciprocity offers, the resulting dilemmas and negotiation options.

➢ **V. Participation:** focuses on both the benefits and the dilemmas that arise in trying to narrow the gap between researchers and those being researched through a *participatory research design.*

➢ **VI. Representation:** is dedicated to the question who writes whose stories *('writing culture')* and looks at possible pitfalls in the publication *process.*

➢ **VII. Governance:** gives examples of *ethical review processes in use* around the world; sheds light on the acute *dangers for sound ethnographic practice* posed by a *new ethical governance* of large funding institutions; presents alternative solutions.

➢ **VIII. Compliance:** deals with *scientific conduct in the setting of domestic stakeholders &* the *compliance management of ethnographic research* via *ethical codes & guidelines.*

➢ **IX. Complexity:** cuts all remaining ethical knots with only one sentence…

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How to get the most out of this tutorial

confused man:
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/59/
Confused_man.jpg

Good reads:
- Cassell, Joan. 1997. How to Hold a Workshop on Ethical Problems in Fieldwork. https://www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=12916&RDtoken=17917&userID=5089&navItemNumber=731.
- von Unger, Hella (2016). Reflexivity beyond regulations: Teaching research ethics… *Qualitative Inquiry* 22(2), 87-98. https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/47263/1/1077800415620220.pdf *[shows, how research ethics can be taught as part of a curriculum for qualitative research through a learning-by-doing approach.*

➢ If you are a newcomer: start with Ch. II *(Positioning)* and continue up to Ch. IV *(Negotiation).* Then take advantage of those chapters and slides that you can connect most to.

➢ If you are interested in specific topics/terms across chapters, the easiest way is to use the search function from the pdf version of the tutorial: *"informed consent",* for instance, is covered in Chs. III, IV, and VII and in 11 entries in the bibliography....

➢ if you use this tutorial for workshops: refrain from just reading off lots of these slides (in a teleprompter way), but *develop your own slides* by selecting smaller sets of contents suitable for your specific audience. Bring in your own field dilemmas wherever possible [→*see the good reads on this page (Cassell 1997; von Unger 2016) for design options]*

➢ If you use this tutorial for cooperative learning: have group members or sub-groups prepare topics using the respective *'good-reads',* so that they can act as resource persons.

➢ If you have *convincing case studies,* other solutions for ethical problems, know of *smoother review processes* and *better data management plans*, want to *suggest further topics, want to* draw attention to more in-depth *literature,* or you have *criticism or questions*, leave a message on the website https://fieldworkethics.de/ or *contact me at:* anthropologist@mail.de, as this tutorial is a work in progress.

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II. Positioning

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Location switching
The emic point of view

Grossmünster reflected in the Fraumünster's Chagall window in Zürich (Switzerland). 3 Sep 2010 Roland zh..
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fraum%C3 %BCnster_-_Chagallfenster_-_Grossm%C3%BCnster_-_Stadthausquai_2010-09-03_19-30-44_ShiftN.jpg

Fraumünster – Chagall window 2010-08-27 17-04-16.JPG
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fraum%C3%BCns ter_-_Chagallfenster_2010-08-27_17-04-16.JPG.

- "Studying culture is like studying a church window: From the outside you can analyze its setting, demarcations, structure, form, components, texture.

- But only from the inside will you learn its stories, its meaning, and the reasons why people are touched by it."

- *(inspired by a Ghanain Proverb)*

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From known knowns to unknown unknowns

"Things we don't know we don't know "

Johari Window

	Known to self	Not known to self
Known to others	Arena	Blind Spot
Not Known to Others	Façade	Unknown
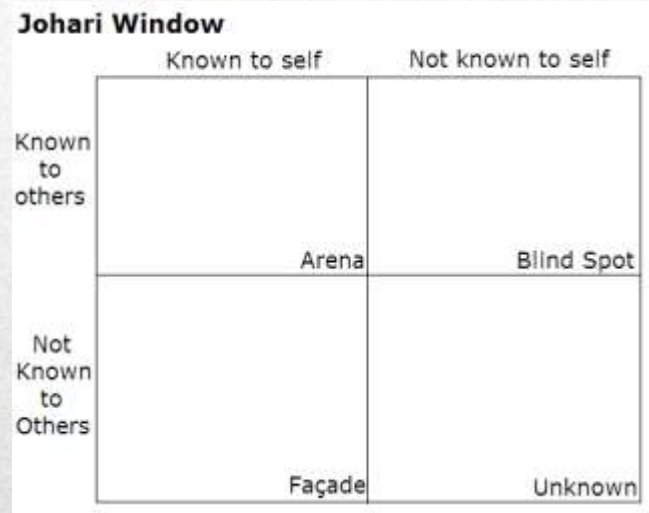
Simon Shek - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Johari_Window.PNG, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=4565679

▶ YouTube
Video via:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=REWeBzGuzCc

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/87/Donald_Rumsfeld_Defenselink.jpg/1200px-Donald_Rumsfeld_Defenselink.jpg

Donald Rumsfeld Former Secretary of State , USA

- *unknown unknowns:* How is our research design *leaving us open to surprise,* to learning something *unexpected,* to understanding our topic *from the various perspectives of the people in the community we are studying?*

"Reports that say that something hasn't happened are always interesting to me, because as we know, there are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns - the ones we don't know we don't know"
(Donald Rumsfeld 2 Dec. 2002)

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Liberation from the pressure to act
The "art" of abductive reasoning

A sailing paraw. Author: Anthony Alger (13 March 2010)
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paraw#/media/File:Boracay_Sailing_Paraw.jpghttps://commons.wikimedi

Good read:
Reichertz, Jo. 2010. Abduction: The Logic of Discovery of *Grounded Theory.* Forum Qualitative Research 11, 1, Art. 13.
http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1412/2902

- The liberation from the prevailing pressure to act is the fundamental condition without which the boat will not sail [...]. On this trip the sailor does not take with him his prior knowledge of an interpreted world. He leaves behind the firm convictions of the constitution of nature, of sociality and also of logic. What he takes along on the trip are only perceptions, not their hitherto proven interpretations. *(Jo Reichertz 1999: 57; my translation).*

- Beyond deductive and inductive reasoning: at the beginning there is surprise or even real shock, that one's own explanatory patterns can no longer be viable and guide action in the field - as a prerequisite for the valid discovery of the 'new.

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Serendipity

"A project should start with a project doing nothing…"

The serendipitous discovery of a new species of lacewing, Semachrysa jade, was made on Flickr…

Serendipity

- *"the fact of something interesting or pleasant happening by chance"* https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/american_english/serendipity

- "We chose to invoke the mythological concept of serendipity to mark the intuitive logic that transcends both subjectivity and objectivity, by which fluid anthropological sense is articulated and constantly reformulated."
  (Hasan/Hertzog 2012: 2)

Good reads:
- Hasan, Haim and Esther Hertzog. 2012. eds. Serendipity in Anthropological Research. The Nomadic Turn. London: Ashgate.
- Merton, Robert K. and Elinor Barber. 2004. The Travels and Adventures of Serendipity: A Study in Sociological Semantics and the Sociology of Science. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- **The statement:** in the late 1990s an experienced development expert published an article entitled: *"A project should start with a project doing nothing!"*

- **The message:** a newly launched project should not spend money or pursue project goals, but only arrive, listen, learn and establish networks locally, so that by the end of the first year decisions could be made on how to adapt or reformulate original goals.

- **The rationale behind this:** program work in *culturally unknown contexts* has the best chance of success if in the beginning *the pressure to act and the outflow of funds is removed from the system* and a position is adopted which makes *incomprehension* a prerequisite for new insights…

- *Point to ponder: How realistic is this in project settings that you are familiar with?*

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Is it all culture, or what?
Researching refugee shelters in Germany

Complaint box in a German refugee shelter.
Author: © Anett Schmitz 2018.

Buzz Group

- *Do you also know (conflict) situations that initially appeared to be cultural in nature, but then turned out to be not culture-bound?*

- *How would you react in the place of the Trier anthropologists, if the institution's feedback was, that in view of the results your cultural expertise would not have been required at all?*

- *Would this kind of anthropological reasoning – not cultural but systemic – still be "abductive"?*

- Due to difficulties with the introduction of a *complaint management system* in *refugee institutions in Germany, in 2018* our department was asked to advise the local administration with its *cultural expertise,* as it was *assumed* that refugees did not make proper use of the complaint possibilities offered (complaint forms in different languages, complaint boxes, independent ombudsmen) *mainly for cultural reasons.*

- Our ethnographic fieldwork revealed that the problem was not so much of a cultural as *of a systemic kind: a functional* complaint management requires *trust in the system, something* that *refugees* who do not yet have a secure residence permit *are the least likely to have.*

- Strauss' scientific insights as an *ethnographer in Indian psychiatry* were also to a large extent *institution-specific,* as her comparison with sociological and anthropological studies in psychiatric contexts in Western settings showed: its authors described very analogous institutional (power) structures for this kind of *'total institutions'* (Goffman). cf. Strauss 2015: 94

Good reads:
- Christ, Simone et al. 2019. All Day Waiting. Causes of conflict in refugee shelters in Germany. https://www.bicc.de/fileadmin/Dateien/pdf/press/2019/Press_release__I_WP_3_2019_04_24.pdf.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1991. Writing Against Culture. In: Richard G Fox .(ed). Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present. Santa Fe, S. 137–162.
- Farmer, Paul. 2004. An anthropology of structural violence. Current Anthropology, 45(3), 305-325. doi: 10.1086/382250.
- Mclean, K.& C. Panter-Brick. 2018. Violence, Structural and Interpersonal. The Int. Encyclopedia of Anthropology, XII, 6368-6375. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327454020_Violence_Structural_and_Interpersonal.

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Self-positioning
Moralities and Ethics

> ➢ "Much of anthropology is rooted in a broad *commitment to moral relativity* in one form or another. Moral relativity is not an excuse for abandoning anthropological ethics but rather is an *invitation to anthropological ethics.* From this standpoint, morality becomes pluralized *(moralities).*
>
> ➢ As many anthropologists use the terms, *"ethics"* refers to understandings of *cause and effect that are the result of conscious reflection and attention*, whereas *"morality"* refers to default, *taken-for-granted discourses and dispositions [...].*
>
> ➢ Here, ethics involves *reexamination of one's own taken for granted moral stances,* respect and consideration for other cultural traditions of morality, and *reflection on how to resolve the juxtaposition of sometimes disparate moral discourses.."*
>
> ➢ *Steven B. Black (2016), at that time chair of the Committee on Ethics (CoE) of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) in a blog on ethics, anthropology, and adjudication. http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-anthropology-and-adjudication/.*

- This tutorial is intended as an instrument for raising awareness of ethical dilemmas that arise from professionally *engaging with local (cultural) contexts,* that follow *moral weaving patterns* other than one's own.

- The tutorial invites you to reflect on and weigh carefully *"..on how to resolve the juxtaposition of sometimes disparate moral discourses",* as Steven B. Black put it some years ago. *(see quote on left side)*

- It is not bound to one single epistemological discourse such as the UN Charter of Human Rights, or a decolonial research ethics, although the author could sympathize with both.

- Where you position yourself between conflicting discourses and interests, you decide on your own - sometimes with a sound moral 'guideline' in the back, sometimes negotiating between stakeholders, if you are fortunate in consultation with a person you trust, and always anew.

Good read: Didier Fassin.2008. Beyond Good and Evil? Questioning the anthropological Discomfort with Morals. *Anthropological Theory 8,4,: 333-344.[https://www.sss.ias.edu/files/pdfs/Fassin/Beyond-good-evil.pdf. describes the tension between the 'cultural relativism' that anthropologists defend and the 'moral conviction' that they share about universal values].*
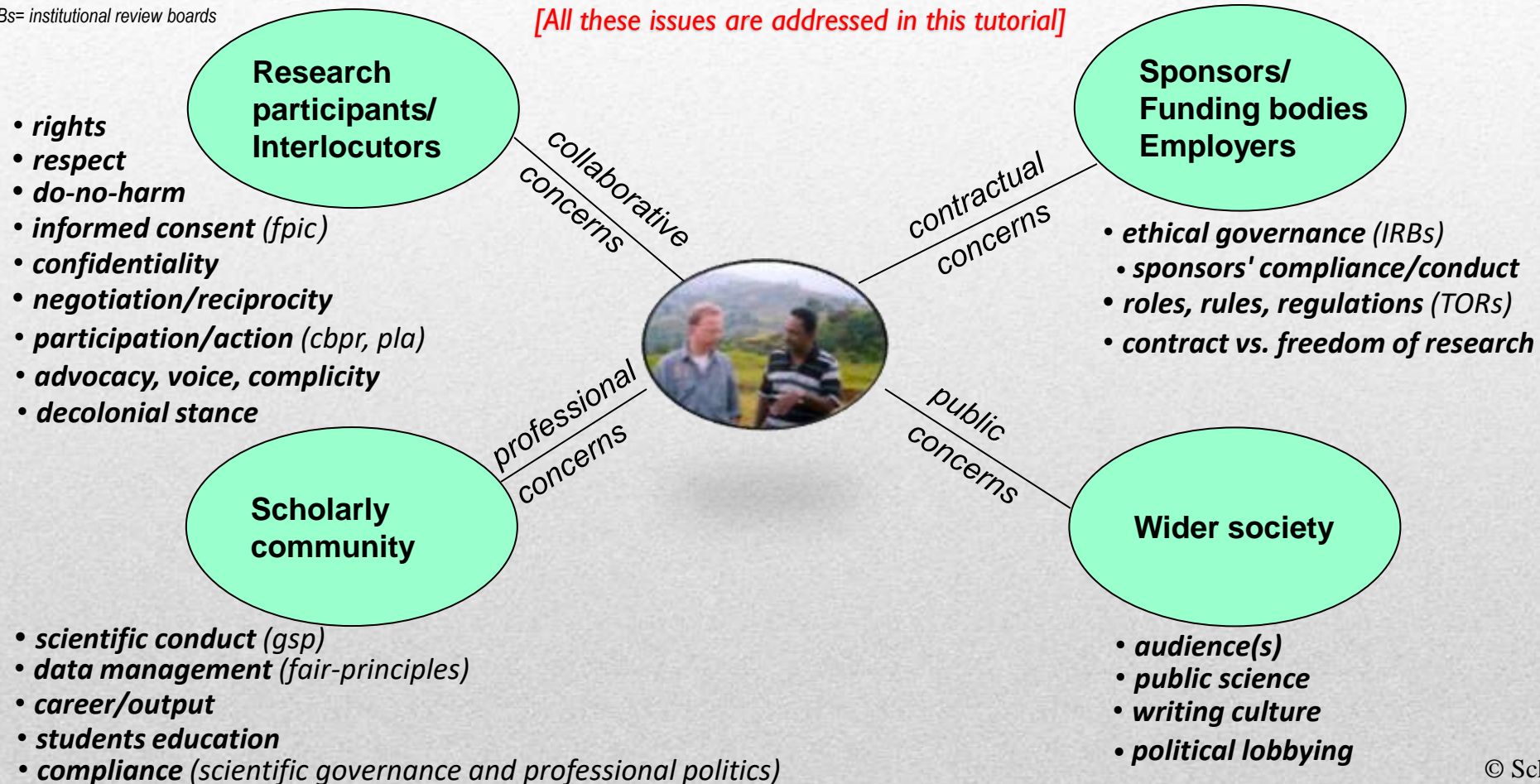
abbrev.:
- *fpic= free, prior and informed consent*
- *cbpr= community based participatory research*
- *pla= participatory learning & action*
- *gsp= good scientific practice (gute wiss. Praxis)*
- *fair= findable, accessible, interoperable, re-usable*
- *TORs= terms of reference*
- *IRBs= institutional review boards*

The Ethics Square
competing accountabilities

[All these issues are addressed in this tutorial]

Research participants/ Interlocutors

Sponsors/ Funding bodies Employers

collaborative concerns

contractual concerns

- *rights*
- *respect*
- *do-no-harm*
- *informed consent (fpic)*
- *confidentiality*
- *negotiation/reciprocity*
- *participation/action (cbpr, pla)*
- *advocacy, voice, complicity*
- *decolonial stance*

- *ethical governance (IRBs)*
- *sponsors' compliance/conduct*
- *roles, rules, regulations (TORs)*
- *contract vs. freedom of research*

professional concerns

public concerns

Scholarly community

Wider society

- *scientific conduct (gsp)*
- *data management (fair-principles)*
- *career/output*
- *students education*
- *compliance (scientific governance and professional politics)*

- *audience(s)*
- *public science*
- *writing culture*
- *political lobbying*

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(based on an idea by C. Antweiler 2001)

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III. Field Conduct

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Before you start fieldwork
Dry paddling

Tips

- *"Review the existing empirical (field) literature on your topic*
- *What were the limitations of those studies?*
- *What were the problems they faced?*
- *Will you be able to avoid the same? "(PERCS 2018)*

Good read:
- Knapp, Rimasara Kuyakanon. 2020. When does fieldwork begin? Negotiating pre-field ethical challenges. In: *Fieldwork in the global south.* Jenny Lunn (ed.). London: Routledge, *13-24.*

- "When we *choose a research question*, that very *opening move* contains ethical concerns. These ethical concerns are directed primarily towards our *general audience* for whom this study will be of interest." *(PERCS 2018)*

Point to ponder

- *"How can we predict some of the possible ethical pitfalls before we even start our research endeavour?" (PERCS 2018)*

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Before you start fieldwork
Drawing the line - responsibility to yourself

Extra-Tip: COVID-19 risk minimizing measures
- The Safety and Security Guidelines of the EU-sponsored LICCI project contain a section with COVID-19 risk minimizing measures during fieldwork – also with field site-specific measures for more than 30 countries. https://licci.eu/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/LICCI-Safety-and-Security-Guidelines-1.pdf

In a blog on her fieldwork in the transgender pornography industry in two American cities, Sophie Pezzutto, an anthropology PhD candidate, reflects on where to draw personal lines:

- *"Where do I as an ethnographer draw the line between career and personal wellbeing at home and in the field? How much participation is 'enough' to get me sufficiently high-quality data?"*

- *[..]The anthropologist's dedication to 'participation' – to truly understand, to throw off the false lab coat of objectivity and get involved – is one of the discipline's strong suits. It had always attracted me.*

- *At the same time, however, the trope of the anthropologist-adventurer is so pervasive, that choosing a safer methodology or more 'mundane' field site regularly evokes feelings of guilt."* [Pezzutto 2019]

- → *Sophie in the end found her line and succeeded with her research….*

- The German working group on Medical Anthropology recommends: *"If dangers come to pass that might gravely affect one's physical or psychological health, responsibility towards oneself means that one should seriously consider terminating the research." (AG Medical Anthropology.2005.* https://www.medicalanthropology.de/english/ethics/)

Tip

- To be aware of security measures to be taken there are Risk Assessment sheets with questions in the form of checklists online, which can be answered, to be aware of security measures to be taken, such as:

- School of Anthropology (Oxford): *https://anthro.web.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/anthro/documents/media/risk_assessment.docx?time=1561457271658*

- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sozial- und Kulturanthropologie (DGSKA): *https://en.dgska.de/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/GAA_Risk-Assessment-Sheet.pdf.*

Good reads:
- Pezzutto, Sophie. 2019. I did it for the data. Blog: *The Familiar Strange.*
- July 15, 2019. https://thefamiliarstrange.com/2019/07/15/i-did-it-for-the-data/#.
- Downey, Hillary et al. 2007. Researching Vulnerability: what about the researcher? European Journal of Marketing 4,7/8, 734-39. https://doi.org/10.1108/03090560710752375.
- Goldstein, D. M. 2014. Qualitative Research in Dangerous Places: Becoming an 'Ethnographer' of Violence and Personal Safety, DSD Working Papers on Research Security: No. 1, http://webarchive.ssrc.org/working-papers/DSD_ResearchSecurity_01_Goldstein.pdf.
- Koonings, Kees et al. 2019. eds. Ethnography as Risky Business: Field Research in Violent and Sensitive Contexts. Lexington Books.

Before you start fieldwork
Training and mentoring schemes for prospective fieldworkers and returnees

Points to ponder

➢ Strauss argues for *experience based* trainings given by accomplished fieldworkers to prepare students for unsettling situations before - and reflect on those after completion of fieldwork (to work on traumas and prevent negative stereotyping). (Strauss 2015:88; 2017)

➢ Pollard proposes *a mentoring scheme*, where *post-*fieldwork students would act as *mentors* for *pre-*fieldwork students; "[..] premised on the idea that PhD students need support from people who understand ethnographic fieldwork, but who have as little power as possible over their professional careers." (Pollard 2009:23)

➢ How are you prepared / how do you prepare students for fieldwork? Would the proposals by Strauss and Pollard be implementable in your institution?

▪ In interviews with 16 young PhD candidates on difficulties in fieldwork Amy Pollard identified 16 'feelings' of being: "*alone, ashamed, bereaved, betrayed, depressed, desperate, disappointed, disturbed, embarrassed, fearful, frustrated, guilty, harassed, homeless, paranoid, regretful, silenced, stressed, trapped, uncomfortable, unprepared, unsupported, and unwell*." (Pollard 2009: 1)

▪ Her paper elaborates on every one of these feelings and "[..]concludes with a set of *questions for prospective fieldworkers,* a reflection on the *dilemmas* faced *by supervisors* and *university departments,* and a *proposal for action.*" (Pollard 2009: 1)

Tip: Check if there is an organization in your home country, such as the Centre for Safety and Development in the Netherlands, that offers safety and security courses for professionals before their employment abroad. (see: https://centreforsafety.org/universities-research-institutes/ ,C. Jacobs oral inf.)

Good reads:
- Pollard, Amy. 2009. 'Field of screams: Difficulty and ethnographic fieldwork'. *Anthropology Matters,* 11,2, 1-24. https://www.anthropologymatters.com/index.php/anth_matters/article/view/10/10
- Strauss, Annika. 2015. Beyond the Black Box and Therapy Culture. Verstörende Feldforschungserfahrungen als Zugang zu lokalem Wissen verstehen lernen. *Curare* 38,1+2,87-102. *(German!).*

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Before you start fieldwork
The need for an emergency phone

Emergency phone on the beach at Trefor, North Wales. 18/12/2005. Author: Velela
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Trefor_emergency_phone.jpg

Buzz Group

- *Does your institution have an emergency system for 'stranded' field researchers, and if so, what does it look like?*
- *What private network could you create before you leave, so that you don't get lost or stand alone in critical field situations?*
- *What sort of safe spaces could you create for yourself, while being in the field?*

Tips: contact colleagues who did research in the region before you!
Leave a "in case of emergency list" with information about health and travel insurance, passport number, blood group, contact persons, travel itinerary with a trusted person in your country of research *(Tip: C. Jacobs)*

➢ After some disturbing encounters in the first six weeks of my fieldwork in the northern region of Ghana in the late 1980s, I locked myself up in a house of expatriate friends in the capital for a week and did not leave the premises once during this time.

➢ Everything inside me was reluctant to re-enter this continent, which at that point of time appeared dark, closed and hostile to me.

➢ Even if this was followed by an often rewarding and delightful period of fieldwork, there were moments when I wished I could talk to a good friend or share situations with fellow fieldworkers. Due to the lack of transcontinental telephone connections (mobile phones did not exist at that time), I only managed to make one phone call home in eight months.

➢ Later I framed these disturbing moments as *"rites of passage"* that you have to endure to be admitted to the halls of professional anthropology. *Nevertheless, I bear the scars…*

Good reads:
- Davies, James and Dimitrina Spencer.2010. eds. Emotions in the Field: The Psychology and Anthropology of Fieldwork Experience. Stanford University Press. *[The contributors show how emotions "…evoked during fieldwork can be used to inform how we understand people, communities, and interactions…"(Davies: Introduction)]*
- Thomson, Susan et al. 2013. eds. The Story Behind the Findings. Emotional and Ethical Challenges for Field Research in Africa. Palgrave *[rich personal anthropological accounts on ethical challenges and pitfalls engaging in local-level research in difficult situations]*.

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Before you start fieldwork
"Look, I am a foreigner…!"

Fritz Morgenthaler 1984:
Gespräche am sterbenden Fluss,
Cover. Photo: M. Schönhuth

Buzz Group

- Read the short account by Fritz Morgenthaler in New York to the right

- What is the message?

- How would you judge his behavior?

- How would this be received in your country, or in the country where you (want to) do research?

- *Think of power differentials, gender, colour, status, public/private spaces etc.*

▪ I moved into a small room in New York. [..] In the morning I wanted to have a coffee in the drug store across the street. I stood at the bar. Most people drank their coffee standing up and reading their newspaper. The (waiter) looked at me, pushed his lower lip slightly over his upper lip and raised his chin. I recognized the gesture as a sign and called out to him: 'A coffee please ... without sugar and a little milk only'. A brief rattle and clatter of dishes, cutlery and machines: In front of me stood a glass of light brown, sugared coffee.

▪ In the following days all my attempts to have my way failed. After the word 'coffee' the waiter turned away before I had even finished my sentence about sugar and milk, and the same drink was always standing in front of me.

▪ Then one morning it dawned on me that I could do it differently. When the waiter wanted to serve me, I said loud and clear: *'Look , I`m a foreigner'.* The effect was amazing.

▪ The people next to me looked up from their newspapers and looked at me while the waiter waited somewhat perplexed to hear what I was about to say. There was a pause, and I felt as if I was standing on a hill and looking into a wide plain in front of me.

▪ I said, 'I am not American, you know. I would like to have a coffee without sugar and a little milk only. 'Of course, sir,' replied the waiter. A man next to me put his newspaper aside and began a conversation. He wanted to know where I came from and whether I liked the United States. A glass of dark, unsweetened coffee was standing in front of me.

▪ *Fritz Morgenthaler 1984: in: ders et al. (ed.) Gespräche am sterbenden Fluss, p. 9-10 (my translation).*

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Before you start fieldwork
Ten tips for the pre-fieldwork candidate

Upon completion of a one-year fieldwork in Java, Indonesia, Jessica Tremblay compiled ten useful tips for pre-fieldwork candidates *"[..]to adapt to their surroundings for surviving anthropological fieldwork."* *(I particularly like tips 1, 5, 6, and 10)* [Jessica Tremblay. 2014. 10 Tips for Surviving Anthropological Fieldwork. https://netnographicencounters.com/2014/04/07/10-tips-for-surviving-anthropological-fieldwork/.

10 Tips

(1) Choose a site you won't hate: make sure that you pick one you will potentially enjoy (depending on your objectives).

(2) Besides the lingua franca, learn some of the local language. It helps to build rapport.

(3) Pay attention to gender norms (observe/ respect local etiquette).

(4) Don't take things so personally (be fair and be friendly while knowing your limits).

(5) Harness the power of your introversion (sit and observe, sip your local tea "rather than force an awkward action".

(6) Have fun: *"Make sure to do things that please you and that take your mind off of your work."* Read *"trashy or good novels (Malinowski did it, ain't no shame in it)",* go for a swim, build sand castles….

(7) Find a routine that works for you (and take into account the daily routines of your interlocutors).

(8) Keep a log book (left side for planning your day, right side for what you accomplished, whom you met, or what you failed to do).

(9) Never reject an invitation without reason (nevertheless, reject those from whom you feel uncomfortable).

(10) Become a 'foodie' (start cooking yourself and invite people over; share recipes; it's a great opportunity for socializing).
(Tremblay 2014)

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Do No Harm

Your responsibility towards research participants

Good reads:
- Anderson, Mary B. 1999. Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War. *[The classic on the Do-no-harm principle in development aid].*
- Do-No-Harm-prerequistes in anthropological research: see AAA 2012 http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-1-do-no-harm/.
- Dutch Anthropological Association.2019. Ethical Guidelines: Avoiding Harm. https://antropologen.nl/app/uploads/2019/01/ABv_Code-of-Ethics_2019.pdf.

Individual Exercise

> *Take your own or a hypothetical field project:*
> *Hypothesize <u>one</u> worst-case scenario which could happen through your presence/research steps in the field. How might you deal with them?*
> *Then develop less dramatic and more realistic scenarios. How might you deal with them?*
> *It might help to place yourself in various roles in the social setting, playing the role of the participant (a child, mother of 4 kids, minority member, homeless person) and not just the researcher. (PECRS 2018)*

Extra Tip:
- *AIATSIS has produced a Protocol with questions, in which particularly **distress and psychological harms of participants** are envisioned: AIATSIS (2020/07/31; Draft): Guide to a distress protocol: https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/docs/research-and-guides/ethics/consult/part_c_distress_protocol.docx*

- "Among the most serious harms that [one] should seek to avoid are harm to dignity, and to bodily and material well-being of people, especially when research is conducted among vulnerable populations.

- When it conflicts with other responsibilities, this primary obligation can supersede the goal of seeking new knowledge and can lead to decisions to not undertake or to discontinue a project.

- Determining harms […] must be sustained throughout the course of any project." (AAA 2012)

Tips:
- *try to anticipate the long-term effects of your research on individuals or groups*
- *consult colleagues, friends, assistants, interlocutors for insight into what risks (and benefits) might matter to local people (Fujii 2012).*
- *avoid undue intrusion!*
- *worry, even if your informants won't!*

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Anticipating Harms

Vulnerability

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                    Tips
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Questions ethics review committees may ask
- Can the selection of interviewees lead to greater vulnerability of individuals within the community (e.g. because they have passed on knowledge that does not legitimately "belong" to them)?
- Are there social inequalities that could be aggravated by the inclusion or exclusion of participants?
- How can you ensure that participants are not directly or indirectly recognizable in the publication of research results (even by other community members)?

Good reads:
- Shitangsu Kumar Paul. 2013. Vulnerability concepts and its application in various fields: a review on geographical perspective. *Journal of Life and Earth Science*, 8: 0-0, *[shows significant variations in the use of the vulnerability concept across disciplines]*
- Bashir, Nadia. 2019. The qualitative researcher: the flip side of the research encounter with vulnerable people. *Qualitative Research, Dec. DOI: 10.1177/1468794119884805 [on the vulnerability of the researcher in the field encounter]*
- *Menih, Helena. 2013. Applying Ethical Principles in Researching Vulnerable Population: Homeless Women in Brisbane. https://research-repository.griffith.edu.au/bitstream/handle/10072/56899/88936_1.pdf?sequence=1. [on exclusion criteria and participant-researcher relationship]*

- The concept of vulnerability, since its introduction in a bioethics report in 1979, is given highest priority in national and international ethics policies, guidelines and review boards for medical and social sciences (for an overview see Bracken-Roche et al. 2017)

- Vulnerability (as a subject's lack of ability to protect their own interests) presents itself in different ways: cognitive and communicative (e.g. because participants are children, or illiterate); institutional (e.g. because participants as employees/prisoners might be called on/forced to join); structural (belonging to a particular social or cultural group/ minority); personal (by a felt obligation; e.g. through patron/client wife/husband relationship).

- It may also derive from limited access to social goods, such as rights, opportunities, and power (lacking agency, autonomy) (For a detailed list of vulnerability areas see Univ. of Virginia. n.d. https://research.virginia.edu/irb-sbs/vulnerable-participants)

- The key question for any ethical review is: *"Are these subjects made any more vulnerable than they might ordinarily be in their daily lives as a result of their participation in this research?"* (Iphofen 2013:49)

- The key problem is: who defines, who is vulnerable and based on what premises?

Anticipating Harms

Who counts as vulnerable? The 'vulnerability trap'

Point to ponder

- What if interlocutors categorized as *'vulnerable'* refuse to be *'protected'*?

- Would they not be made vulnerable again by exclusion?

- To what extent does the concept disregard the *agency* inherent in all social actors?

Pregnant woman at a WIC clinic in Virginia. Author: Ken Hammond (USDA) Upload Date: 13/11/ 2002 (Public Domain) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pregnant_woman.jpg. Source: https://web.archive.org/web/20030107152124/http://www.usda.gov:80/oc/photo/02cs2059.htm

Good reads:
- Virokannas, Elina, Suvi Liuski & Marjo Kuronen. 2018. The contested concept of vulnerability – a literature review, *European Journal of Social Work,* https://doi.org/10.1080/13691457.2018.1508001.
- Kirmayer, Laurence J. 2013. Foreword. In Karen Block et al. (eds.) Values and vulnerabilities: The ethics of research with refugees and asylum seekers, v-ix. *(On a special patronizing form of an 'ethics of vulnerability' prevalent in refugee studies).*
- Dittmer, Cordula & Daniel F. Lorenz. 2018. Forschen im Kontext von Vulnerabilität und extremem Leid – Ethische Fragen der sozialwiss. Katastrophenforschung. FQS, 19(3), Art. 20, *http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-19.3.3116. (German!)*

Goettke et al. on a website about *'science, medicine and anthropology'* discuss different ranges of the concept of *vulnerability in national discourses:*

- "For example, *in the US, pregnant women are deemed a 'vulnerable population,'* whose participation in research must be carefully monitored." [eg. NBAC 2001 , my comment, ms]

- "In *the Netherlands,* where most pregnancies are handled by midwives and not doctors, there is broad encouragement to not overmedicalize pregnancy, and the *inherent vulnerability of pregnant women is not presumed.*

- Categorizing pregnant women as 'vulnerable' when not backing this with mandated federal maternity leave might, from the vantage of the Netherlands, be seen as unethical rather than protective." (Goettke et al. 2013. http://somatosphere.net/2019/the-ethnographic-fact-a-discussion-of-ethics-in-anthropological-fieldwork.html/)

- Virokannas et al. in an overview propose to focus on *vulnerable life situations,* instead of vulnerable groups or individuals and "...to recognise the *temporal, situational, relational, and structural nature of vulnerability."* (Virokannas et al. 2018:336)

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Anticipating Harms
Intervene or not?

Stakeholder Mapping Exercise with the district team /Tanzania (© Schönhuth 1997)

Good reads:
- FAO. n.d. Conducting a PRA Training and Modifying PRA Tools to Your Needs. Chap.6.2.5. Venn Diagram on Institutions. http://www.fao.org/3/x5996e/x5996e06.htm#6.2.5.%20Venn%20Diagram%20on%20Institutions.
- Schönhuth, Michael. 2009. Participatory Appraisal of a Personal Network with VennMaker. https://www.vennmaker.com/files/Schoenhuth-1stTestTut-Migrants-Engl-23Mrz2009-All.pdf.

- District team members work on a *visual stakeholder diagram* of their community development project. Circles represent stakeholders; *size* indicates *importance;* the proximity to the center shows their *perceived performance; arrows* point to *desired change (towards the center = more influence/ towards the outside = less influence).*

- The exercise was designed to familiarize the district team with participatory assessment tools using their own project as an example.

- The perceived importance and performance of their superiors is also reflected in the diagram.

- At the end of the exercise, the district team is eager to show the map at the final meeting with their superiors at the regional level.

- *Point to ponder: as a researcher / facilitator of the exercise, how would you react? Think about status differentials, face keeping rules, unwanted consequences for group members – but also the "vulnerability trap" (last chart)...*

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Local Norms of Conduct

If you are invited to somebody's home:

"Open is Welcoming" by Alan Levine, CC0   https://creativecommons.org/2017/09/05/invitation-join-cc-open-education-platform/

What rules apply? Where? When?

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Learning Local Norms of Conduct

Whether or not to participate in a religious ceremony (see PERCS 2018)

Buzz Group

Evaluating the Options

- "What are the degrees of harm that will ensue if you choose one path or the other?

- Is sitting quietly less risky than joining in?

- Or vice versa?

- Can you avoid an either/or dilemma and identify a compromise that allows you to avoid offending either side?" (PERCS 2018).

- "You are working with a local church congregation and are present during many of their religious ceremonies. You are not a member of the church. Everyone is clapping and singing while you sit quietly in your pew. Eventually, everyone moves to the altar to accept communion.

- You don't want people to think you do not approve of the way they worship, nor do you want people to think you are presumptuous by participating.

- Do you participate in the ceremony by clapping and singing and eventually receiving communion?

- Or do you remain a quiet and detached observer?"
  (PERCS 2018) Evaluating the options ; Fieldworkers weigh in, see: https://www.elon.edu/u/academics/percs/resources/ethics/scenarios/

Good reads:
- Knibbe, Kim. 2020. Is critique possible in the study of lived religion? Anthropological and feminist reflections, Journal of Contemporary Religion, 35:2, 251-268, DOI: 10.1080/13537903.2020.1759904. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/13537903.2020.1759904?needAccess=true. *[shows how the "commitment to developing non-reductionist approaches to lived religion should not come at the cost of overlooking and failing to develop critical feminist perspectives, from a relational and situated epistemology"* (Knibbe2020: 265),
- Rodemeier, Susanne. 2015. Herausforderungen bei der Erforschung von Christen charismatischer Pfingstkirchen auf Java, Indonesien. *Curare* 38,1+2:134-146. *[addresses the pressure that informants put on the researcher by treating her as a potential proselyte and the need for an unexpected sensitive approach – in German!].*

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Informed Consent

Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)

Buzz Group

- In ethnographic research the dynamics of the inquiry develop in the field. Readiness to inform the researcher about local life and knowledge grows with mutual trust.

- *"Consent becomes a negotiated and lengthy process – of mutual learning and reciprocal exchange, rather than a once-for-all event. […] Needless to say, the conventional 'consent form' is so irrelevant as to be a nuisance to all parties"* (Wax 1980:275).

- Do you agree with Wax's assessment?

- Can the *FPIC* rule be implemented in ethnographic research at all?

- Invented as a reaction to medical malpractice in the 1950s *"Informed consent"* since then describes the process for getting permission to disclose any personal information of research participants or for a planned (medical) intervention on a person.

- *Consent "[..]*presumes that the person's participation in the study is voluntary—that the person has not been pressured, coerced, or tricked into participating"* (Fujii 2012:718).

- The standard, *Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)* is embedded in the discussion on Indigenous Peoples' rights and framed in a series of internationally binding legal instruments (e.g. the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples or ILO C169; for an overview see: Wilson 2016: 3 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315550652_What_is_FPIC#fullTextFileContent.

- "In short, *consent should be sought* before any project, plan or action takes place *(prior),* it should be independently decided upon *(free) -* and based on accurate, timely and sufficient information provided in a culturally appropriate way *(informed) -* for it to be considered a valid result or outcome of a collective decision making process." (FAO 2016).

Good reads:
- Faden, Ruth R. et al. 1986. A History and Theory of Informed Consent. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wax, Murray, L. 1980. Paradoxes of 'Consent' to the Practice of Fieldwork. *Social Problems,* Feb. 27,3, 272-283. *[for me still one of the most comprehensive and illuminating articles on this topic].*
- FAO. 2016. Free Prior and Informed Consent. An indigenous peoples' right and a good practice for local communities. Manual for Practitioners. http://www.fao.org/3/a-i6190e.pdf.
- Bell, Kirsten. 2014. "Resisting Commensurability: Against Informed Consent as an Anthropological Virtue." American Anthropologist 116(3):511–22.

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Informed Consent

The pitfalls of informed consent

Framework for consent policies. (Author: Willowbl00.02/10/2014.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Framework_for_Consent_Policies.jpg

Extra Tip:

✓ *What an FPIC process could look like working with indigenous communities can be followed up in an informative and practical paper of the Árran Lule Sami Centre on FPIC-key elements, challenges and recommendations handling resource extraction in the Artic (Wilson 2016*
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315550652_What_is_FPIC#fullTextFileContent.

Fujii, referring to a study by Ivy Goduka on *black child development* under *apartheid in South Africa,* suggests:

▪ "How does a researcher secure informed consent when more than *half of the subjects in her study are illiterate* and not familiar with research enterprises? Such people may think that *refusing to participate would create problems* for them and their children. […]

▪ On the other hand, agreeing to participate may reflect their *submission to* the school, or to the researcher, who represent *authority* in the eyes of black families […]

▪ People may consent not only because of *social pressure,* but also because they believe that *establishing a relationship with the researcher will be beneficial* in and of itself. […]

▪ In extremely poor, marginalized, or illiterate communities, people may *view the researcher as a valuable patron*—someone who can provide tangible benefits, such as financial aid, legal assistance, and job referrals." *[Fujii 2012:719; based on Goduka 1990]* → *for the last two bullet points see also the respective charts under "Negotiation"*

Good reads:

- Fujii, Lee Ann. 2012. Research Ethics 101: Dilemmas and Responsibilities. *PS: Political Science & Politics,* 45,4, 717-723. doi:10.1017/S1049096512000819. → *Downloadable!*
- Goduka, Ivy N. 1990. "Ethics and Politics of Field Research in South Africa." *Social Problems* 37,3: 329–40.

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Informed Consent

"Getting prior informed consent – a thorny issue" (by Carolien Jacobs)

Refugees in Congo
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Refugees_in_Congo.jpeg. Julien Harneis, CC BY-SA 2.0 https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/2.0, via Wikimedia Commons

Good reads:
- Jacobs, Carolien. 2020. Getting prior informed consent – a thorny issue. TRAFIG Blog: https://trafig.eu/blog/getting-prior-informed-consent-a-thorny-issue.
- Düvell, Franck, Triandafyllidou, Anna & Vollmer, Bastian. 2009. Ethical Issues in Irregular Migration Research in Europe. *Population, Space and Place.* 16. 227 - 239. *[more general on ethical issues arising in the study of irregular migration; with tips and some empirical based guidance for researchers]*

- "Asking people about their lives and taking note of personal details often raises expectations about the provision of aid. Indeed, many people equate interviews with needs assessment and subsequent aid provision. Getting a written informed consent, i.e. *asking for signatures, makes interviews more formal* and feeds this impression further.

- [..] but also when conducting *interviews with 'experts'* [..] If we finally manage to get an appointment, signing a form will make the meeting more official. The experts are oftentimes afraid of providing 'wrong' answers. [..] formal meeting requests easily lead to responses such as: "*You should first ask permission from 'my hierarchy'. [..]*

- Getting a signature [..]is mostly a way of rendering upward transparency, but is not helpful in practice, sometimes even unhelpful and not necessarily increasing transparency towards our respondents.

- As a team, we are committed to make use of the forms, keeping in mind that we have to do our best to *find a balance between upward accountability, downward transparency, and research interests* in an optimal way. The coming months will show us how best to strike this balance!"

- [Carolien Jacobs 2020 on the pitfalls of upward accountability and downward transparency getting fpic during fieldwork in the DRCongo within a EU-funded research project on protracted displacement].

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Rights to confidentiality and anonymity
…and ethnographic peculiarities

Tips / Points to ponder

- *"Researchers should take appropriate measures relating to the storage and security of records during and after fieldwork."* (ASA 2011)
- *"Researchers should use - where appropriate - the removal of identifiers, the use of pseudonyms and other technical solutions in field records and in oral and written forms (whether or not this is enjoined by law or administrative regulation!"* (ASA 2011)
- *"Care should be taken not to infringe uninvited upon the 'private space' (as locally defined) of an individual or group."* (ASA 2011)
- *What storage/security measures during fieldwork do you know/use?*
- *Do you have experience with the removal of identifiers in field records (including field diaries)?*

With regard to confidentiality and anonymity the ethical guidelines for good research practice of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and the Commonwealth (ASA) in 2011 state :

- "Informants and other research participants should have the right *to remain anonymous* and to have their *rights to privacy and confidentiality* respected.
- However, privacy and confidentiality present *ethnographers, working across cultures,* with particularly difficult problems, given *the cultural and legal variations* between societies.
- Also there are various grades in which the *research role of the ethnographer* may be realized by some or all of participants or *may even become 'invisible' over time."*
- *(ASA. 2011 Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice . https://www.theasa.org/downloads/ASA%20ethics%20guidelines%202011.pdf)*

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Rights to confidentiality and anonymity
Public Space – Private Space: human universal – cultural variations

Funeral procession of Buddhist monks before lighting the pyre for cremation in Don Det, Laos; by: Basile Morin © CC BY-SA 4.0
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Funeral_procession#/media/File:Buddhist_monks_procession_in_front_of_a_pyre.jpg.

Christian funeral procession by car in Brighton and Hove, East Sussex, England, 2009 Ⓒ Public Domain
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Funeral_procession#/media/File:Henry_Allingham_Funeral_Procession_01.jpg (Hassocks5489).

Point to ponder: *Have you come across situations, in which you encountered surprising "unusual" borders between public and private/personal spaces working across cultures?*

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Incidental findings **– Buzz Group**

Young mother with Newborn in seclusion hut /South India © Schönhuth 2002

- You are on a walk back from an interview in one of the villages that opened up their doors for your field research.

- You come across this hut, near the village garbage dump. Inside there is a young mother with her newborn child. *You are confused!*

- Your local research assistant explains that this is a postnatal seclusion hut where the woman – according to the local tradition - has to spend two months separated from the community, because of her *'impure condition'.* Some villages have abandoned the tradition, in others, like yours, village elders insist on keeping it to hinder *'modernist influences'.*

- You know a journalist in town who regularly blames local politicians for not doing anything against women's rights violations in the countryside.

- *Should you inform the journalist? Should you go to the police? Should you discuss the topic with the local elders? Or should you respect your hosts and their traditions and keep silent?*

- *Think of the consequences for the different stakeholders involved. What behavioral alternatives are there for the fieldworker?*

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Rights to confidentiality and anonymity

Overriding ethical reasons not to guarantee these?

Anonymous with Guy Fawkes masks at the Scientology area in Los Angeles. Author: Vincent Diamante.10 February 2008, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anonymous_at_Scientology_in_Los_Angeles.jpg

- "If guarantees of privacy and confidentiality are made, they must be honored - unless there are clear and overriding ethical reasons not to do so."
  (ASA 2011. Ethical Guidelines for Good Research Practice)

Points to ponder

- *What could be "overriding ethical reasons" not to honor guaranteed confidentiality?*
- *Do you know cases, in which anonymization failed?*
- *Can you think of situations in which the general right to privacy collides with (scientific) public's interest in information? (powerholders/ public persons)?*
- *What if some participants want to be credited with their full names in publications, but others don't?*

Good reads:
- On the issue of anonymization of research partners. Sue-Ellen Jacobs, "Case 6: Anonymity *Revisited":* http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-3-obtain-informed-consent-and-necessary-permissions/:
- and: "Case 5: Anonymity *Declined,*" in Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology, ed. Joan Cassell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, https://www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=12923&RDtoken=16518&userID=5089&navItemNumber=731.
- PERCS 2018.Ethical Hypothetical #18: Under- aged Drinking (embarrassing revelations). https://www.elon.edu/u/academics/percs/resources/ethics/scenarios/
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2006. The Ethical Challenges of Field Research in Conflict Zones. *Qualitative Sociology* 29, 3: 373–386. *[discusses challenges in getting informed consent and the procedures whereby the anonymity of those interviewed and the confidentiality of the data gathered were ensured during civil war constellations in El Salvador through a range of options]* http://web.mnstate.edu/robertsb/445/EthicalChallenges%20of%20Field%20Research%20in%20Conflict%20Zones.pdf

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Rights to confidentiality and anonymity

Carte blanche when 'studying up'?

Buzz Group

- Researchers in '*underground' settings, but also in investigative elite research* have sometimes disguised their identities or purposes.

Discuss this quotation made by Gerald Berreman:

- *"There is no scholarly activity any of us can do better in secret than in public. There is none we can pursue as well, in fact, because of the implicit but inevitable restraints secrecy places on scholarship. To do research in secret, or to report it in secret, is to invite suspicion, and legitimately so because secrecy is the hallmark of intrigue, not scholarship."* (1982; quot. in: Price 2015:103)

The American Anthropological Association in their 2012 Ethics Guidelines state:

- [Researchers] "..should be *clear and open* regarding the purpose, methods, outcomes, and sponsors of their work."

- They must "..be prepared to acknowledge and *disclose to participants* and collaborators *all tangible and intangible interests* that have, or may reasonably be perceived to have, an impact on their work."

- *Researchers* "... who otherwise *engage* in *clandestine* or secretive *research that* manipulates or *deceives research participants* about the sponsorship, purpose, goals or implications of the research, *do not satisfy ethical requirements* for openness, honesty, transparency and fully informed consent." (AAA 2012 http://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/

Good reads:
- Nader, Laura.1994. Up the Anthropologist—Perspectives Gained from Studying Up," Reinventing Anthropology, Dell Hymes, ed., New York, NY: Vintage Books, 284-311.
- Gusterson, Hugh. 1997.Studying Up Revisited. Political and Legal Anthropology Review 20, 1 (May), 114-119.
- Wax, , Murray, L. 1980. Paradoxes of 'Consent' to the Practice of Fieldwork. *Social Problems,* Feb., 27,3, 277f *[for a vehement criticism to work with techniques of deception when "studying up".]*
- Price, David H.2015. Be Open and Honest Regarding Your Work. In: Plemmons, Dena/Alex W. Barker (eds.), 75-89.

Rights to confidentiality and anonymity

"If Your Research Design Includes Deception…" *(European Commission 2018a)*

Point to ponder

- "Information for participants may be withheld from them only when the need to preserve the integrity of the research outweighs the participants' interests, or if it is shown to be in the public interest." (EC 2018a: 6)

- *How does the anthropological position in the previous slide differ from the EC general recommendations for social scientists (and why)?*

If your research design includes deception, the EC recommends:

➢ "[...] provide strong justification for the choice of method by showing the importance of the research objective and demonstrating that your research cannot be conducted in any other way;

➢ describe how you will debrief your participants and retrospectively obtain their informed consent;

➢ show that the use of deception will not harm your participants socially, emotionally or psychologically and that revealing the real nature of the research will not lead to any discomfort, anger or objections on their part, and finally;

➢ obtain local ethics committee approval for your study before it gets under way." (EC 2018a: Ethics in Social Science and Humanities, p.6)

Good reads:
- Homan, Roger & Martin Bulmer. 1982. On the Merits of Covert Methods: a dialogue' in M. Bulmer (ed.) Social Research Ethics: An Examination of the Merits of Covert Participant Observation, London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press, 105-121. *[whole volume on the topic of covert participant observation]*
- Lauder, Matthew A. 2003. Covert Participant Observation of a Deviant Community: Justifying the Use of Deception. *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 18,2,185-196. DOI: 10.1080/1353790032000067518 *[classic text on the "methodological and cost/benefit justification" of deception in `deviant communities']*
- Calvey, David. 2008. "The Art and Politics of Covert Research: Doing 'Situated Ethics' in the Field," _Sociology_ 42, no. 5, 905-918. http://www.uk.sagepub.com/dqr4/study/Student%20resources/Chapter%2010/Calvey.pdf.
- Allen, Charlotte. 1997. Spies Like Us: When Sociologists Deceive Their Subjects. _Lingua Franca_ 7, no. 9 (1997). http://linguafranca.mirror.theinfo.org/9711/9711.allen.html.
- Murphy, Elizabeth & Robert Dingwall. 2001. The Ethics of Ethnography, Ch. 23 in Atkinson, P, Coffey, A, Delamont, S, Lofland, J and Lofland, L (eds) Handbook of Ethnography, London: Sage *[on the difficulty of always drawing a clear line between overt and covert ethnographic research]*
- *Marzano, Marco. 2018. The Ethics of Covert Ethnographic Research. In: The Palgrave Handbook of Ethics in Critical Research. DOI: 10.1007/978-3-319-74721-7_26. [new socially critical contribution]*

Rights to confidentiality and anonymity
Pitfalls in pseudonymization

Tips & Point to ponder

- *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 re-identification of interlocutors for subsequent interviews has to be eliminated.*

- *If repeated studies have been explicitly requested, the questionnaires have to be 'depoliticized accordingly.'* (AGEE 2001)

Point to ponder:
is it ethically sound to conceal personal statements as "general scientific results" or to depoliticize questionnaires?

In their Ethical Guidelines of 2001 the German Working Group on Development Anthropology (AGEE) points out:

- "It is no problem to mention the name of a silversmith and his village in a research report about kinds of silver jewelry.

- If one deals with the relationship between a community and a nation as a whole, it might be necessary to maintain anonymity of whole towns – if not to change the geographical locations (e.g. Syria, Morocco, Afghanistan, Sudan, Iran, etc).

- A town of 2,350 inhabitants 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 expert 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." (AGEE 2001)

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Anonymity of ethnographic data & law enforcement

On the power to compel testimony

Point to ponder

- The German Code of Civil Procedure (ZPO) regulates *the right to refuse testimony* based on office or profession.
- It applies in part to clergy, journalists, doctors, lawyers, notaries, tax consultants – but not to scientists.
- The case illustrates that researchers currently have no legal means of effectively protecting scientific data from access by the authorities.
- *How do you estimate the danger to be called for testimony by authorities in your country (of research)?*
- *Do you have any idea how this could be bypassed in an ethically sound way?*

Good reads:
- DBSH.2019. Right to refuse testimony - Brochure. https://www.dbsh.de/media/dbsh-www/redaktionell/pdf/Profession/Zeugnisverweigerungsrecht/20191106_Broschuere_Zeunigsverweigerungsrecht_2019_engl.pdf. *[a petition for social pedagogy/social work]*
- *For an earlier example of an anthropologist's refusal to reveal the identity of his research participants, which was then punished with 159 days in jail, see Scarce 1995: https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/27698716.*

Do we as social scientists have a legal right to refuse testimony ?

- Legal psychologist Mark Stemmler and his team did research on Islamist radicalization in prisons in Germany in 2019. They interviewed prisoners - and talked about their childhood, family, faith, the Koran, and politics - but not about crimes.

- For the recording of the conversations, the researchers assured the prisoners of confidentiality and secured the files in an encrypted and anonymized form. One of the suspects was believed by police investigators to be an alleged Islamist. Under threat of prosecution, they confiscated a USB-stick recording of the interview with the scientists.

- In the meantime, the General Prosecutor's Office has discontinued the investigations due to lack of proof. For Stemmler, however, the issue is not off the table. *"I can only conduct the interviews if I assure the interviewees of discretion. One builds a trust. [..] If word of this gets out, I won't have to go to prison anymore."* (DHV 2020)

- His lawyer filed a constitutional complaint in September 2020. [see: DHV.2020. Ermittler beschlagnahmen Forschungsdaten. *Forschung & Lehre.* https://www.forschung-und-lehre.de/recht/ermittler-beschlagnahmen-forschungsdaten-3058.

- On a baseline brochure for ethical standards in empirical (de-)radicalization research, see: Eppert, Kerstin et al. 2020. https://www.bicc.de/uploads/tx_bicctools/CoRE_FP_1_2020.pdf.

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Anonymity of ethnographic 'data' and scientific evidence

Steven Lubet (Critic): *"Why should we believe you?"* Alice Goffman (Author): *"I was there!"* -

Goffman, Alice. 2014. On the run. Fugitive Life in an American City. University of Chicago Press. Cover (Photo: M. Schönhuth 2021)
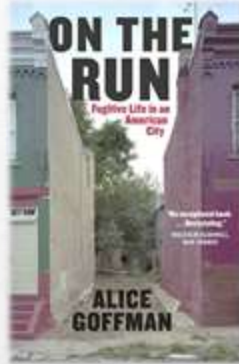
Buzz Group

- Discuss the ethical dilemma between these two moral positions (Goffman/Lubet)
- Whose arguments are more convincing?
- How does this correspond with the '*power to compel*' vs. the '*right to refuse testimony*'?

- *"Goffman says she witnessed this interaction with her own eyes and was told in interviews with unnamed Philadelphia police officers that looking on hospital sign-in sheets for wanted criminals was a standard departmental procedure.*
- *Lubet doesn't buy it, having spoken to a source in the Philadelphia Police Department who called Goffman's account 'outlandish' and denied that any local hospital would have ever shared its sign-in sheet with the police.*
- *Goffman's response is simple: I was there. Lubet's is simpler still: Why should we believe you?" [..]*
- *"As Lubet points out, she so disguised the people and locations that appear in 'On the Run' as to make her accounts effectively unverifiable. [..]*
- *What's more, Goffman revealed in an interview with the Philadelphia Inquirer that she shredded all of her notebooks and disposed of the hard drive that contained all of her files out of fear that she could be subpoenaed and thereby forced to incriminate her subjects." (Neyfakh 2015, in "The Ethics of Ethnography; Online Article)*
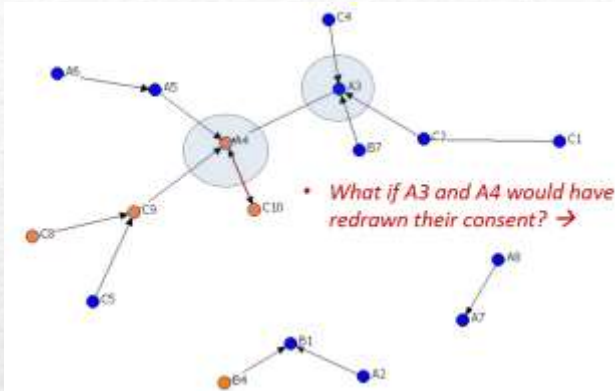
Good reads:
- Neyfakh, Leon. 2015.The Ethics of Ethnography. https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2015/06/alice-goffmans-on-the-run-is-the-sociologist-to-blame-for-the-inconsistencies-in-her-book.html
- TED Talks Alice Goffman: http://www.ted.com/talks/alice_goffman_college_or_prison_two_destinies_one_blatant_injustice?language=en
- Lubet, Steven. 2017. Interrogating Ethnography: Why Evidence Matters. Oxford University Press.
- Contexts. 2016. How to do ethnography right. *Contexts* 15, 2, 1-19. American Sociological Association. http://contexts.sagepub.com. DOI 10.1177/1536504216648145. *[3 articles on the challenges of sociological ethnography today, one by Alexandra Murphy and Colin Jerolmack on "masking" in the era of data transparency]* https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1536504216648145.
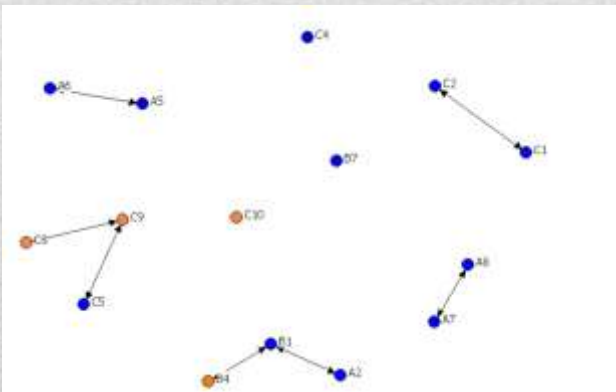
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Ethical framework for ethnographic network research

Minimum requirements – maximum dilemmas

An informal whole network in a research cluster
(question: "with whom do you regularly exchange thoughts beyond your own subproject?)"(©Schönhuth 2014)

…and how the network would look like, if A3 and A 4 withdrew consent to be included (©Schönhuth 2014)

- Avoiding harm to innocents: only visualizing und publishing aggregated data, in a way that roles and positions can't be identified by insiders or clients, or participants
- → *what if the network is too small to guarantee this? (see diagram on left)*

- Providing value to participants: feedback of one's own results as a minimal re-imbursement
- → *but how to give back singular results without exposing other persons in the network?*

- Publishing network analysis results only, if people concerned are benefiting from it
- → *what about 'dark networks' (terrorists, mafia, scientology..)?*

- In whole networks: leave it up to individuals whether or not they want to be included ["non-participation"]
- → *but what if A4 and A3 in the graph on the upper left refused to be included in your research (lower left)?*

Good reads:
- Social Networks. 2005. Ethical Dilemmas in Social Network Research. [Whole issue] https://www.sciencedirect.com/journal/social-networks/vol/27/issue/2
- Kadushin, Charles. 2012. Understanding Social Networks. Theories, Concepts, and Findings. Oxford. Chap 12.
- Molina, José Luis & Steve Borgatti. 2019. Moral bureaucracies and social network research. *Social Networks*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socnet.2019.11.001 *[on the concern that with Europe's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), social network researchers might limit their research decisions to only "safe" options]*

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Digital ethnography
Is it ethnography at all?

Point to ponder

- If we conceptualize ethnographic fieldwork as *"[..]'new' sociocultural territory"*, what if we…

- …study a place, filled with practices much like the one (we) come from – *"…where technology is inextricably and unassumingly entangled in the everyday?"* (Cupitt 2018)

- *Can 'digital ethnography' be termed 'ethnographic' at all?*

TIP
- The 2016 'Ethics Guidelines and Collated Resources for Digital Research' of the British Sociological Association *contain 6 intriguing case-studies and examples of ethics committee submissions from "Researching Online Forums", to " Using Twitter for Criminology Research' to 'Open Data and Democratic Governance' on their website: https://www–britsoc.co.uk/ethics.*

The self-deceiving digital ethnographer
(according to de Seta 2018)

- *The networked field-weaver:* through everyday tracing of different actors, in various *'media scapes',* the digital ethnographer *weaves* (or stitches) *her 'field' together into a coherent networked* (artificial) whole.

- *The eager participant-lurker:* "…a professionally naive explorer of local online contexts, *master of all modes of participation,* surveying digital media use from a vantage point of carefully crafted presence."

- *The expert fabricator:* "…the accounts produced by digital ethnographers end up including an extremely *narrow selection of inscriptions;* […] the figure of the expert fabricator …easily overrides *the messy,* processual and thickly *social construction of local expertise.*" (de Seta 2018)

Good reads:
- Cupitt, Rebekah. 2018: We have never been digital anthropologists: https://anthrodendum.org/2018/02/03/we-have-never-been-digital-anthropologists/
- De Seta, Gabriele. 2018. Three Lies of Digital Ethnography: https://anthrodendum.org/2018/02/07/three-lies-of-digital-ethnography/
- Coleman, Gabriella, E..2010. Ethnographic approaches to digital media". *Annual Review of Anthropology.* 39: 487–505.doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.012809.104945.

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Traceability in mediated settings
No choice whether to anonymize or not?

Point to ponder

- Read the quote by Anne Beaulieu on the right, on the problems and dilemmas of anonymization she faced after her fieldwork in two laboratories on different stakeholder levels.

- *What dilemmas arise?*
- *How would you cope with them?*

Good reads:
- Beaulieu, A. 2010. From co-location to co-presence: Shifts in the use of ethnography for the study of knowledge. Social Studies of Science, 40(3), 453–470. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312709359219.
- Samuel, Gabrielle and Elizabeth Buchanan. 2020. Ethical Issues in Social Media Research. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics* :1 –9. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338726872_Guest_Editorial_Ethical_Issues_in_Social_Media_Research.
- Hennell, Kath. 2019. et al. Ethical Dilemmas Using Social Media in Qualitative Social Research: A Case Study of Online Participant Observation. Sociological Research Online. https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780419888933.
- (see also : Stout, Noelle. 2014. Bootlegged: Unauthorized Circulation and the Dilemmas of Collaboration in the Digital Age: https://as.nyu.edu/content/dam/nyu-as/faculty/documents/StoutVARBootlegged.pdf.

Anne Beaulieu, in a note on her laboratory study, states that as a researcher *in mediated /digital settings* one may have *no choice whether to anonymize or not:*

- "Years after completing fieldwork at one of the labs that I had always been careful to anonymize in presentations and papers, Google would find traces of my presence as a user registered to the lab's computer system.

- Furthermore, the ethnographer is not the only one who makes connections or cares about them: participants increasingly demand full citation or else make explicit the identity of the researcher in their own writing.

- A less positive side of establishing co-presence in this way is that it regularly creates friction with some editors and reviewers who feel that the moral valence of anonymizing is such that no circumstances warrant its suspension." (Beaulieu 2010: 465)

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Social Media Research and Ethics
Some Suggestions

Point to ponder

Blurring boundaries between researcher and participant

- *"Your own social media activity… may be part of the dataset you are researching….*

- *Also, the researchers themselves might become searchable by participants…."*
(Townsend/Wallace 2016: 11)

- *Could you take precautions to address these problems?*

Good reads:
- Townsend, L/ C. Wallace. 2016. Social Media Research: A Guide to Ethics. The University of Aberdeen. *[containing a framework for ethical research with social media data, and cases of ethic dilemmas, with possible 'solutions']*
- Coleman, Gabriella.2014. Hacker, Hoaxer, Whistleblower, Spy: The Many Faces of Anonymous. London: Verso Books. *[on her tricky inside–outside status of a 'confidante, interpreter, and erstwhile mouthpiece' of the Internet activist group anonymous].*

Blurred boundaries between public and private space and new modes of community and personal identity also pose new challenges in terms of consent, voluntary participation and vulnerability in mediated settings:

If you plan to use social media data in your research
(European Commission 2018a)

- "Consult the relevant terms and conditions of the platforms you will be using to obtain your data.
- Appreciate that open source does not mean that it is open for use. Ascertain whether the data you intend to access is really public [...]
- If the forum is closed, contact the site or group administrator
- Seek permission from users [...] and obtain their informed consent.
- Take [...] precautions to avoid collecting data from children or vulnerable adults [...] without appropriate authorisations.
- Consider …whether users could be harmed if their data are exposed to new audiences [...].
- Paraphrase all data that will be republished (to prevent others being led to the individual's online profile)."*(EC 2018a:9)*

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Fieldwork with all one's senses

Sensory Ethnography: Making "being overwhelmed" functional

Buzz Group

Overcoming sensory biases [Howes/Classen 1991]

- The first and most crucial step: [..]"discover one's personal sensory biases."
- The second step: "training oneself to be sensitive to a multiplicity of sensory expressions."[..]
- "The third step involves developing the capacity to be 'of two sensoria' about things, [..] which means being able to operate with complete awareness in two perceptual systems or sensory orders simultaneously." [Howes/Classen 1991:257ff]
- What have your sensory experiences been in *'submitting your sentient body to the field of study',* so far? How did you cope with them?
- Are Howes/Classen's tips helpful/realistic?

- On a field trip with our Trier students to South Indian cities, *the hurdles* in approaching the *unfamiliar terrain,* which *some had to struggle with,* consisted *less in what they observed or heard,* than…:

- …in the overwhelming (pleasant and unpleasant) *smells,* the scorching *heat,* the deafening *noise* and the *hectic pulse* in the streets, the *physical closeness and frequency of touching* in public spaces, inescapable strong *body odours,* the (over)demanding and sometimes invasive conduct of street vendors or begging sadhus, as well as the *taste* of spicy and hot meals, whereby the order: *"only plain rice, please",* became a dictum.

- Data which are central to research questions might be inaccessible to ethnographic *observation* (seeing) or *interview (listening). How could we benefit ethnographically from our other senses?:*

- "[…]Wholly embracing *sensory approaches to ethnography* not only changes the nature of the study, it *also changes the ethnographer.[..]* [It] calls for ethnographers *to submit their sentient bodies to the field of study."* (Stoller, 1989:39; cit. in Jackson 2018:9)

Good reads:
- Pink, Sarah. 2010a. What is Sensory Ethnography? Lecture. Accessible on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ON7hfORQUio.
- Pink, S. 2010b. Response to David Howes. *Social Anthropology.* 18,3,336–338.
- Howes, David and Constance Classen.1991. Doing Sensory Anthropology. http://www.sensorystudies.org/sensorial-investigations/doing-sensory-anthropology/.
- Jackson, Thomas. 2018. Multisited ethnography. Sensory experience, the sentient body and cultural phenomena. The University of Leeds. http://www.multisensoryethnography.com/assets/js/pdfjs/web/PhD-TomJackson-print.pdf. *[develops a fascinating new theoretical framework for sensory ethnography]*

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IV. Negotiation

The Ethics of Reciprocity

How much 'bonding' goes with 'connecting'?

© *"The bill please!"* Schönhuth 2021

> ▪ "When doing fieldwork, we are not only asking people to take time to work with us, we are also asking them to trust us. Each relationship we build with an informant is different, but all are implicitly reciprocal. Identifying exactly what our obligations are to our informants is perhaps the most crucial step we take in ensuring we act ethically." (PERCS 2018).

Point to ponder:
- ▪ *What kinds of reciprocity do you know?*

Buzz Group

After a joint visit to the restaurant:
Are you paying jointly (one bill for all) or separately? What rules apply, where & when? In Germany? In your country/ other countries?

Good reads:
- Hann, Chris. 2006. The Gift and Reciprocity: Perspectives from Economic Anthropology. Handbook on the Economics of Giving, Reciprocity and Altruism.
- Mauss, Marcel [1925] (1970). The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies. London: Cohen & West. *[The classic]*
- Rus, Andrej (2008)."'Gift vs. commodity' debate revisited". Anthropological Notebooks 14 (1): 81-102. *[A revision of the classic]* http://www.drustvo-antropologov.si/AN/PDF/2008_1/Anthropological_Notebooks_XIV_1_Rus.pdf.
- Claridge, Trsitan.2018. Functions of social capital – bonding, bridging, linking. *Social Capital Research.* https://d1fs2th61pidml.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Functions-of-Social-Capital.pdf?x91095

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The Ethics of Reciprocity
Obligations to reserach participants/interlocutors

Compound discussions with the village healer on local health issues © *Schönhuth 1997 (East-Tanzania)*

Good reads:
- On ethical implications of being offered a stolen gift. Stone, Rose: „Hot Gifts." Ethical Dilemma. Stones' Response and readers# discussion https://www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=1809
- On ethical implications of a "Shared Cultural Ownership" see . La Folette, Laetitia (ed.) 2014: Negotiating Culture. Heritage, Ownership, and Intellectual Property. Boston: University of Massachusetts Press.
- On financial compensation: Arunkumar A.S., Deverapalli J. 2014. Paying informants in Ethnographic Research. In: Biswas Subir (ed*.) Ethical Issues in Anthropological Research.* Concept Publishing Co, Delhi, 45-55.

Buzz Group

- ➢ The Golden Rule principle of treating others as you want to be treated applies to most ethical issues, but here it is particularly useful as a starting point:

- ➢ If you were the interlocutor, what would you expect from the researcher you were working with? What would be a fair return for assistance? ...:
- ➢ *Direct Compensation?*
- ➢ *Maintenance of contact after project ends?*
- ➢ *Sharing of all data with you?*
- ➢ *Other returns you know or?*
- ➢ *Did they work?*

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The Ethics of Reciprocity

Complicity in ethnography as default setting?

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Neonazi_2.4.2005_M%C3%BCnchen.jpg

Neo-Nazi rally in Munich on April 2, 2005. Rufus46 - CC BY-SA 3.0.

AAA Code of ethics on researchers obligations over the years
- "In research, anthropologists *paramount* (1970) / *first* (1990) / *primary* (1998) responsibility is to those they study."
- (2012): "Anthropologists *must weigh competing ethical obligations* to research participants, students, professional colleagues, employers and funders, among others, while recognizing that obligations to research participants are usually primary."
- *Point to ponder: Discuss the semantic shifts in the different versions. What is the fundamental change in the 2012 version?*

Good reads:
- Teitelbaum, Benjamin R. 2019. Collaborating with the Radical Right. Scholar-Informant Solidarity and the Case for an Immoral Anthropology. *Current Anthropology 60,3.* Forum on Public Anthropology (with discussants): https://www.benjaminteitelbaum.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/CA-article.pdf.
- Nader, Laura. 1974 (1969). Up the Anthropologist — Perspectives Gained From Studying Up. In Dell Hymes (ed.) Reinventing Anthropology, New York, pp.284-311.
- Dauphinée, Elizabeth. 2007. The Ethics of Researching War: Looking for Bosnia. Manchester: Manchester University Press. *[discusses the possible responsibility not just to victims of war, but also to the perpetrators of violence in Bosnia.]*

- As long as one researches *"down"* the power structures, with disadvantaged, marginalized people, showing sympathy or even solidarity with them and advocating for them seems ethically sound.

- But what, if we study up, towards powerful, radical or even unlawful/criminal structures?

- Benjamin Teitelbaum, who spent 10 years researching on right wing groups in the Nordic countries, defends scholar-informant solidarity in ethnography as "*...morally volatile and epistemologically indispensable. Seldom can we campaign against the people we study while collaborating and engaging with them personally, yet it is through exchange and partnership that we gain our signature claims to knowledge.*" *(Teitelbaum 2019)*

- ------------------------------

- *? Point to ponder: Can we "dance with the wolves" (Hübinette 2019), without howling with them; or do we always need a 'detached' form of observation in "studying up", as Laura Nader (1974) put it, to stay ethically unblemished? What does Teitelbaum mean with "our signature claims to knowledge"?*

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The Ethics of Reciprocity
Expectations of reciprocity beyond the end of research

Point to ponder

- "In 2009, when I returned to Rwanda to begin interviews for a new project, many of the prisoners I had interviewed in 2004 had been released. I went to talk to several of them at their homes.

- [..] Despite a lengthy, verbal consent protocol that included all the usual caveats about there being no payment for their participation, many continued to ask for various forms of assistance.

- One asked for help finding a job, another for help paying restitution to genocide survivors whose property had been stolen during the genocide. Another told me bluntly that he expected *quid pro quo* "assistance" because I had published a book from the information he and his fellow prisoners had provided and was surely making money from that book." [Fujii 2012:719]

The system of owed gratitude - *utang na loob* in the Philippines

- hierarchical system of mutual, often lifelong, but informal *relationships of favor and obligation* between a *patron and his clients*

- *translated by locals* to development experts and institutions as reciprocity offer: '*participation*' of the clients in project activities for '*lifelong*' social caretaking and favors by the project

- *consider the consequences for clients when the project ends and researchers / experts leave the country...* (for the whole context cf. Teves, Lurli. 2000).

Buzz Group
How would you cope with expectations of reciprocity after the end of fieldwork?

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The Ethics of Reciprocity

What and how much can we promise? (PERCS 2018)

Tips

- "One way to *avoid one-time guarantees* is to ensure that you *don't engage in one-time fieldwork.* In other words, your work with participants should generally extend beyond a single interview, even if it simply means a thank you note or a follow up phone call.

- Maintaining some degree of contact makes it much easier to alert participants to any important changes in the project.

- There will also be times when the research focus changes but you feel it does not affect the initial consent that participants gave. *Before assuming too much,* you may want to *check with one or two of your closest participants*." (PERCS 2018)

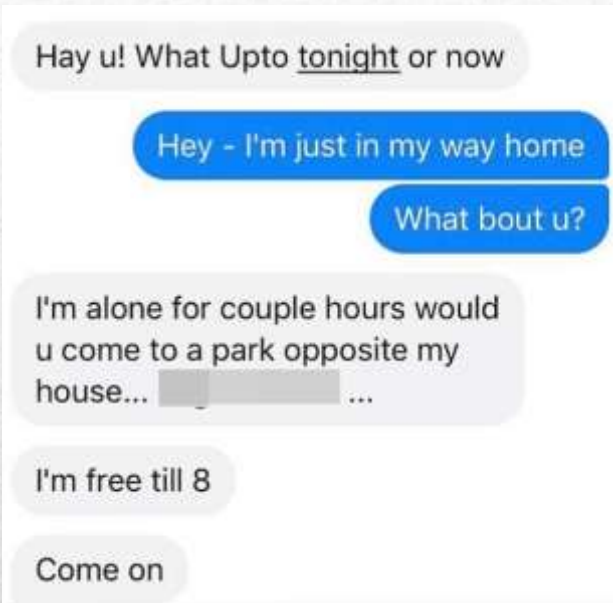- "In our *informed consent* statements, we often outline what participants will be asked to do, what they will receive in exchange, and how we will protect their confidentiality.

- But as the conditions around us change, we may discover that we cannot adhere to all of the things we promised.

- Further, it may become evident that we have discovered new questions that are more central to our understanding.

- How can we keep our participants abreast of our current thinking and the shifts in our research questions or practices? How can we think of *informed consent* as being an *ongoing process of negotiation* rather than a one-time guarantee?" (PERCS 2018);

Good reads:

- du Toit, Brian M. 1980. Ethics, Informed Consent, and Fieldwork. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36, 3, 274–86. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3629524. *[The classic on informed consent and fieldwork).*
- Annechino, Rachelle. 2013. The ethics of openness: How informed is "informed consent"? *Ethnography matters (Online Journal):* https://ethnographymatters.wordpress.com/2013/03/01/the-ethics-of-openness/. *[On how such Informed consent is less about forms, than about relationships between people and trust.]*

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Indecent reciprocity offers

Trying to do fieldwork in an androcentric-dominated environment
(Johnson, Lisa. 2020. Moves, Spaces and Places: Roots, Pathways and Trajectories of Jamaican Women in Montreal. Dissertation. University of Trier)

> Hay u! What Upto <u>tonight</u> or now
>
> Hey - I'm just in my way home
>
> What bout u?
>
> I'm alone for couple hours would u come to a park opposite my house... ...
>
> I'm free till 8
>
> Come on

Extract from a messenger chat (field researcher's part: blue; © Lisa Johnson 2020); reprint with kind permission of the author.

Goodread:

- Kaspar Heidi & Sara Landolt. 2014. Flirting in the field: shifting positionalities and power relations in innocuous sexualisations of research encounters. Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2014.991704; http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2014.991704. *[the potential for including shades of sexual performances, such as apparently harmless flirtation, into reflections on data collection].*

- "However, from the beginning of my research phase I faced major difficulties in approaching men as a female researcher.

- It was complicated to... talk to men – aside from discussions surrounding their careers – or to build up trustworthy professional relationships in general. Men will small talk about work or hobby-related topics, but it was impossible to discuss private aspects of their lives openly.

- It was extremely hard to get into contact with men in semi-public social spaces without being flirted with or ensnared in the androcentric-dominated [world]." [Johnson 2020]

- *? Point to ponder: How would you have (re)acted in her place as a female researcher in the field?*
- *Buzz Group Tip: If you are a gender mixed group, divide yourself into gender-homogeneous subgroups and compare your discussion results afterwards.*

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Indecent reciprocity offers

Dangerous liaisons - risk, positionality and power in women's anthropological fieldwork

Tips

promoting gender-based safety in fieldwork

- Listen to the voices of those community members with whom you have developed the most rapport.

- Find your *'mother'* (or whomever might fall into this category) whom you can ask for advice and assistance when needed.

- Recognize own multiple and shifting roles (relatively powerful western anthropologist, vs. vulnerable to sexual harassment and assault), and how they articulate with overlapping layers of power and inequality in the fieldwork context within and between local communities and the outside world) (cf. Miller 2015: 85-86)

- "Schooled in *post-1980s reflexive anthropology,* I was acutely *sensitive to the exploitative potential* of the situation. I often felt like a vampire, sucking stories out of my informants, living and feeding off the blood of their lives.

- Thus, when informants demanded something of me in return for their participation – money, a small gift, help with finding a job, assistance with their child's education, etc. – I was often relieved[...]

- With male informants, however*, my desire to fulfil reciprocity expectations* placed me in *a position of vulnerability.* Many men made it quite clear what they wanted in return for their participation... I felt *paralysed by my desire to be a 'good anthropologist'."* (Johansson 2015:58)

Good reads:

- Metooanthro. n.d. [2020] A collection of resources about the issue of sexual assault and harassment in anthropology. https://metooanthro.org/resources/. *[a site with an abundant up-to-date collection of resources about the issue of sexual assault and harassment in anthropology]*

- Quinn, Naomi. n.d. What to Do About Sexual Harassment: A Short Course for Chairs. https://www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2151

- Johansson, Leanne. 2015. 'Dangerous liaisons: risk, positionality and power in women's anthropological fieldwork', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 7,1, 55-63. ttps://www.anthro.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/anthro/documents/media/jaso7_1_2015_55_63.pdf

- Hanson, Rebecca and Patrizia Richards. 2019. Harassed: Gender, Bodies, and Ethnographic Research. Oakland: Univ. of Calif. Press *[argues against publically held 'ethnographic fixations of 'good' ethnographic research, which should be solitary, dangerous and characterized by intimacy with the participants].*

Friendship and Fieldwork
Romancing Rapport?

Buzz group

How would you like to shape personal relationships with interlocutors / key informants in the field: in terms of a…

- …methodological, 'empathic' tool?
- …temporary friendship, with benefits for both sides?
- …an ongoing relationship with obligations long after the end of the fieldwork?
- Weigh for and against for each of these options.
- Do you see options to escape from Hatfield's triple roles, being trapped as 'fool', 'Fort Knox' and 'Sahib'?
- Can friendship be 'negotiated' at all?

- Driessen (1998) states that "the *rhetoric of friendship* often [..] operates to conceal the strains involved in the *unequal power balance* between fieldworkers and informants"[:132]

- Hatfield (1973) speaks of *asymmetrical mutual exploitative constellations* with the researcher in the triple role as: *incompetent fool* (stranger, child, or pawn), *'Fort Knox'* (reflecting her/his perceived wealth), and *'Sahib'* (apparent class-hopping skills between state/academic circles and local community, world traveler and cultural transvestite).

- Tillmann-Healy (2003) wrote in defense of friendship as a methodological tool, as a firm base for empathic understanding.

- For van der Geest "friendship developed in the course of research, 'because of the research'. *[..]It was through my persistent questions, they said, that they had seen new things in their taken for granted day-to-day lives." (*van der Geest 2015: 7)

Good reads:
- Hendry, J. 1992. The paradox of friendship in the field. Analysis of a long-term Anglo-Japanese relationship. In: Judith Okely & Helen Callaway eds. Anthropology and Autobiography, 163-174 .
- Hatfield, Colby R. Jr. 1973. Fieldwork: Toward a Model of Mutual Exploitation. *Anthropological Quarterly,* 46:15-29.
- Driessen, Henk. 1998. Romancing rapport: The ideology of 'friendship' in the field. *Folk,* 40, 123-136. https://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/160233/160233.pdf?sequence=1.
- Taylor, Jodie.2011. The Intimate Insider: Negotiating the Ethics of Friendship When Doing Insider Research. *Qualitative Research*, 11,1, 3–22. https://core.ac.uk/reader/143874520.
- Van der Geest, Sjaak. 2015. Friendship and Fieldwork: A Retrospective as 'Foreword'. *Curare* 38, 1+2, 3-8. https://www.sjaakvandergeest.socsci.uva.nl/pdf/fieldwork/Friendship_Curare_2015.pdf.
- Tillmann-Healy, Lisa M. 2003. Friendship as a method. *Qualitative Inquiry,* 9,5, 729-949. http://artnsoul.critstudies.calarts.edu/Qualitative%20Inquiry-2003-Tillmann-Healy-729-49.pdf.

V. Participation

From 'Do-No-Harm' to 'Do-Some-Good'?
## *Learning local needs, giving voice, acting, changing?…*

Buzz Group

- "How could you make your research useful for those you work among?

- How could your research give voice to groups of people who have not been heard before?" (PERCS 2018)

- Find examples from real life where research helped to *give voice* or solve problems, and transfer it to your own research (proposal);

- Are there also arguments for *opting-out* in situations where neither *do-no-harm* nor *do-some-good* is an option? *("ethnographic refusal")*

- Briody and Meerwarth – two practitioner-anthropologists – suggested in 2015 that ethical ethnography, *besides avoiding harm* should also address a question *applied* social science almost always is confronted with:

- How can we *do some good* for those affected by our research?

- This applies in particular to research with vulnerable groups in conflict and crisis situations (for refugees, cf. MacKenzie et al. 2007).

- Jacobson & Landau in this context speak of the *dual imperative* *"to satisfy the demands of academic peers and to ensure that the knowledge and understanding work generates are used to protect refugees and influence institutions…"* (2003: 186; see also Dittmer/Lorenz 2018).

Good reads:
- Briody, Elizabeth K. / Meerwarth Pester, Tracy (2015): Do some Good and other Lessons from the Practice for a New AAA Code of Ethics. In: AAA Ethics Blog (02.02.2015): http://ethics.americananthro.org/do-some-good-and-other-lessons-from-practice-for-a-new-aaa-code-of-ethics/. [a blog with a long discussion thread]
- Garner, Andrew n.d. ASA-Blog: https://www.theasa.org/networks/apply/ethics/dillemmas.shtml. *[ethical dilemmas in the field of policy anthropology].*
- De Waal Malefyt and Robert J Morais (eds.). 2017. Ethics in the anthropology of business : explorations in theory, practice, and pedagogy. London: Routledge.
- Deserranno, Erika et al. 2020. Aid Crowd-Out: The Effect of NGOs on Government-Provided Public Services. NBER Working Paper No. 26928, April. *(an economic paper showing where government workers provide basic health services, the entry of an NGO with similar services reduces the supply of government workers]*
- Mackenzie, Catriona, Christopher McDowell, Eileen Pittaway.2007. Beyond 'Do No Harm': The Challenge of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research, *Journal of Refugee Studies, 20, 2, June, 299–319.* https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fem008. *[highlights some of the central ethical challenges involved in undertaking social science research with refugees in conflict and crisis situations].*
- Zahara, Alex. 2016. Ethnographic refusal: A how to guide. Discard Studies Blog. https://discardstudies.com/2016/03/21/refusal-as-research-method-in-discard-studies/ [on options for refusing to disclose scientifically relevant findings - on the part of the researcher and the researched; with an excellent annotated bibliography on ethnographic refusal (up to 2016)]
- McGranahan, C. 2016.ed. Special Issue: Theorizing refusal. Cultural Anthropology 31: 319-325.
- Ortner, Sherry B. 2016. Dark anthropology and its others. Theory since the eighties. HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory 6,1, 47-73. http://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdfplus/10.14318/hau6.1.004.

Timeline of major strands in collaborative research (Loewenson et al. 2014)
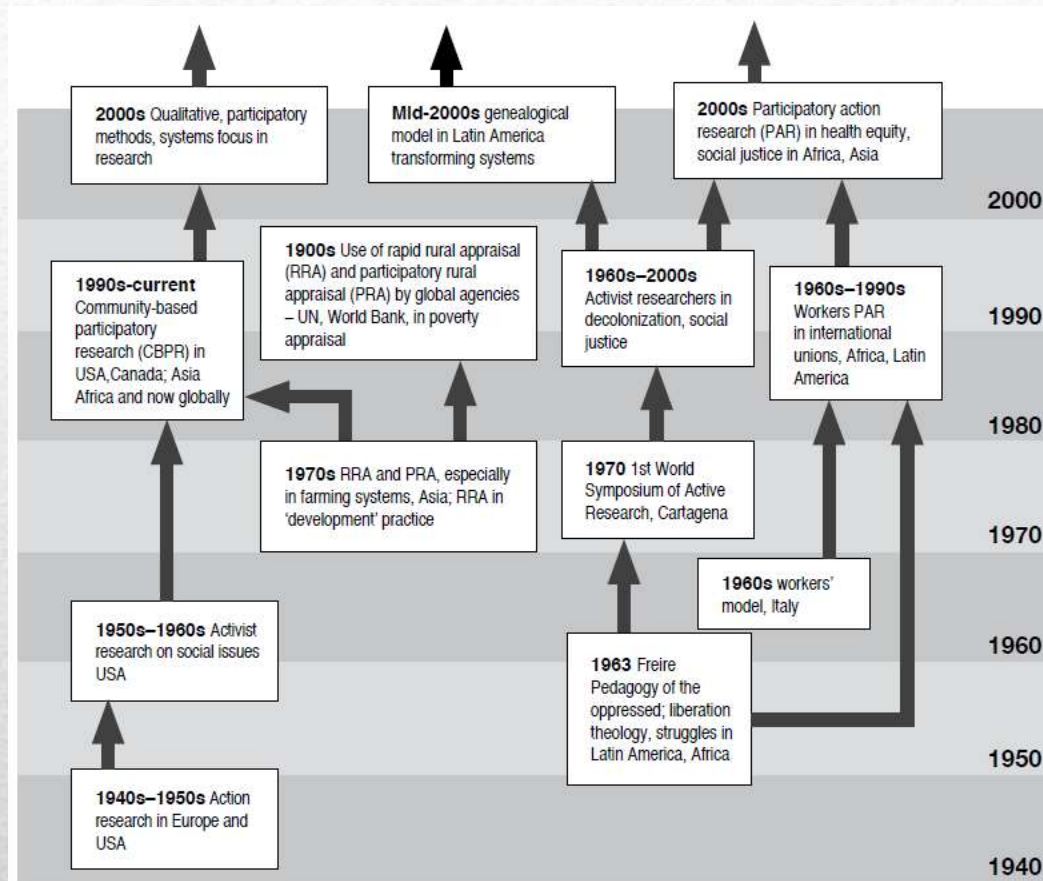
Source: Authors from text. Note many connections, processes and links exist, the figure only shows the main timelines and features raised in this section as indicative of diverse streams of development of participatory research and key forms of participatory research.

Different strands of participatory research. Source: Loewenson, René et al. 2014. Participatory Action Research in Health Systems: A Methods Reader. Equinet, p19.
http://www.equinetafrica.org/sites/default/files/uploads/documents/PAR%20Methods%20Reader2014%20for%20web.pdf.
Here you will also find further explanation and sources to the different strands.

Roughly speaking, there are three strands in participatory research:

- the first, knowledge- or evidence-based, focuses on the participation of the research subjects mainly during the research or appraisal process *within established power structures (participative inquiry; PRA, Rapid Ethnographic Appraisal);*

- the second focuses on the participation of participants already in the *research design and the monitoring* of research projects *(community-based participatory, or collaborative research);*

- The third focuses on the (political, decolonizing) *transformation* of existing conditions for the benefit of, or *on behalf of* the groups involved *(action / advocacy / decolonial /complicity research)*

Good reads:

- Boyer, Dominic and George E Marcus. 2021. eds. Collaborative Anthropology Today. A Collection of Exceptions. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501753374. *[Seven modes of collaboration; new kinds of ethnographic partnerships, in art, media, and information; reflection on the history of anthropological collaborations. Only few references to ethics issues.]*
- Chevalier, Jacques M. und Daniel J. Buckles. 2019a+b. Handbook for Participatory Action,. Ottawa. https://www.participatoryactionresearch.net/publications.
- Forum Qualitative Research.2012. Participatory Qualitative Research. 13,1. http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/issue/view/39.
- Reason, Peter & Bradbury, Hilary (eds.) 2013. The Sage handbook of action research. Participative Inquiry and Practice (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Schönhuth, M. + J.T. Jerrentrup. 2019. Partizipation und nachhaltige Entwicklung. Eine Einführung. https://www.springer.com/de/book/9783658278533.

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Dilemmas combining participatory research with academic research design
Agendas – time frames – ownership

Buzz Group

- *Have you come across such dilemmas of reconciling different interests between researcher and local communities, when active field participation played a role?*

- *Can you think of solutions or ethically sound strategies to overcome one or the other dilemma?*

Good read:
- Unger, H.v. + P. Narimani. 2012. Ethical Reflexivity in the Research Process: Challenges in Participatory Research. Discussion Paper SP I 2012–304; WZB. Berlin. (German) - *[For the dilemmas of anonymisation vs. empowerment; trust vs. dependencies; and minimizing harm, and how these were handled in a participatory health research project]*

- How to *reconcile the interests of researcher and local community* (even if community and researcher agree on a common interest, their agendas will differ, the first aiming for local action and development, the second for a PhD or other academic outcome).

- How to *reconcile the need for anonymization*, due to *do-no-harm*-principle *versus empowerment, reward and benefits* for the group.

- How to *match time frames* (the community members having a life time perspective, the researchers' time restrictions due to funding or reporting duties)

- Who should *own and* who should be allowed to *communicate co-produced research results* (field research results are mostly credited by academia, if they are validated, interpreted and controlled by a single author in academic form).

- see: Schönhuth, M. 2002. Negotiating with Knowledge at Development Interfaces. In: Paul Sillitoe/ et al. (eds): Participating in Development: Routledge Ltd: London. http://www.uni-trier.de/fileadmin/fb4/ETH/Aufsaetze/Negotiating_with_knowledge.pdf.

- Sultana, F. 2007. Reflexivity, Positionality and Participatory Ethics: Negotiating Fieldwork Dilemmas in International Research. ACME 6 (3), 374-385 https://acme-journal.org/index.php/acme/article/download/786/645/0

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Dilemmas combining participatory research with academic research design
Finding the 'right' representatives

Buzz Group

- Marginalized research participants and biased field access are classic ethnographic research problems (see Stocking 1983)

- in participatory research the question of who biases the information and to whose end is even more prevalent because of the active part local counterparts play in the research dialogue.

- *What strategies could researchers use to counteract this local power bias?*

Good reads:
- *Botes, L. and van Rensburg, D. 2000 Community participation in development: Nine plagues and twelve commandments. Community Development Journal 35 (1), 41-58.)*
- *Shah, Ashish. 2017. Democracy of the Ground? Encountering Elite Domination during Fieldwork. In: G. Crawford, et al. (eds.) Understanding Global Development Research, 47–52. [All chapters in this book are relevant for this topic!] https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473983236*

Finding the 'right' representatives who are legitimate counterparts within the community and not creating a biased relationship right from the start can be a problem.

- In 1993 in a participatory one-week field workshop on *village development* we facilitated in an East German village after German reunification, the first contacts were made through the mayor to a village development committee around the local pastor.

- Informal talks and results of some of the participatory instruments revealed that this group was marginalized in village life to a great extent just because of their *change orientation,* the symbol of which being the modern wind turbine in the pastor's garden that could be seen from every point in the village.

- What seemed to be a good start (having interested and change-oriented counterparts) came to be one of the main problems for a trustful research partnership with the rest of the village.

- see: Schönhuth, M. 2002. Negotiating with Knowledge at Development Interfaces. In: Paul Sillitoe/ et al. (eds): Participating in Development: Routledge Ltd: London. http://www.uni-trier.de/fileadmin/fb4/ETH/Aufsaetze/Negotiating_with_knowledge.pdf.

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Dilemmas combining participatory research with administrative governance
'World ordering knowledge', local knowledge, and project implementation

Buzz Group

In a 'participatory' German Development Agency Project (GIZ) in Tanzania we invited decision makers to *exposure days* in the field. Some found that a strange experience, others were impressed by the capacities and knowledge elicited by community members through the participatory process.

- Those *decision makers* who understood the local potential in these processes were the best *brokers* when it came to channeling local people's knowledge into planning schemes of the administration.

- Does exposing heads of administration with local reality give voice to people? Would that be an acceptable compromise to close the planning-implementation gap in your political setting?

- Discuss the pros and cons!

- A review of experiences during the implementation of a participatory approach in German village planning in the 1990s (Boos-Krueger 1998) showed that the *most critical point* in the process was reached with *implementation:* when the ideas and plans of local people are executed by planning authorities or implementing agencies.

- For local people who have given days and weeks of their leisure time in so-called *"participatory village planning",* it is demoralizing when they learn that for technical, legal, or administrative reasons their proposals have been dismissed by the authorities.

Good reads:
- Burns, D.; Lopez-Franco, E.; Shahrokh, T. und Ikita, P. 2015. Citizen participation and accountability for sustainable development, Brighton: IDS.
  https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/5995/Citizen_Partic_Report_.pdf%3fsequence%3d1
- Participate. 2015. Policy briefing: Achieving meaningful accountability for people living in poverty…
  https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/6002/Participate_Accountability_PB.pdf%3fsequence%3d1.
- Hobart, Mark, (Hg.). 1993. An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance. London: Routledge. [The term 'world ordering knowledge' was coined by Hobart]

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Dilemmas combining participatory research with administrative governance

Critical points and roles working as a scientific consultant

"Stumble and Fall": The transect of the village women, which was supposed to be presented by a young woman, is "captured" by a village official and explained by him, although he was not involved in the transect (photo: © Schoenhuth 1996

- **Gatekeepers:** who are the interfaces with the community; *who opens the door, at what* (partly invisible) *price* and personal benefits?

- **External experts:** how to change their roles *from expert to facilitator* (process of de-professionalization – more so, if they are expected by local stakeholders to play that role).

- **Local officials/power holders:** how to give them their credits where due (give to Caesar what is Caesar's), and at the same time *keep them off the scene,* when their presence prevents open and free communication.

- **Local brokers:** how to get them on board at the community level: they are *critical for the whole process,* but might lose their role if they engage too much with non-locals.

- **Protected spaces/open spaces:** how to transfer the concerns of *vulnerable persons/ groups,* raised in protected spaces, into the public space without discrediting/endangering them. *[photo on the left]*

- **The usual suspects:** how to solve the *'who-was-not-there-and-why' problem* (how not to empower only the ones already empowered ones).

- **Change agents** (often newcomers) vs. preservers of the status quo (established villagers)

- **Participatory process as ritualized performance:** both sides follow the rules of the game, as there is something to gain(at least for those in power and for 'smart'/well connected stakeholders *(how anthropological field workers experience the arrival of participatory processes in their research villages, the time of staging and the return to business as usual after the departure of the external agents can be seen in Hess, C. et al.1998. Mit den Augen des Ethnographen. Entwicklungsethnologie 7,2,11-48: http://www.uni-trier.de/fileadmin/fb4/ETH/Aufsaetze/Mit_den_Augen_Ethno.pdf. [German]*

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Collaboration and partnership anchored in guidelines

The right to be involved (GERAIS, Australia)

Point to ponder:

- Is there a difference in involving *'local communities'* or *'indigenous communities'* in your research? (see, if needed, article 31 of the DRIPS, below)*

- What would you do if the legitimacy of local leadership is unclear or questioned by other local factions?

* Article 31 of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIPS): "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts." (UN 2007).

Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies

Principle 10: "[…] Indigenous communities and individuals have a right to be involved in any research project focused upon them and their culture. Apply the relevant provisions in the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIPS)" *
(https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf;

- *"At the beginning of a project identify the appropriate people - Traditional Owners, custodians, Elders, and others with rights and interests - who are responsible for the Indigenous knowledge […], and facilitate direct involvement as appropriate.*

- *[…] Encourage and support community members, Traditional Owners and others as appropriate to be involved in the research as collaborators, advisers or assistants.*

- *Continue Indigenous involvement, where possible, beyond the period in which the research is conducted (to later stages such as compiling the research and presenting it)." (AIATSIS 2012: 14)*

Good reads:
- *AIATSIS 2012: Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies (GERAIS). (https://beta.aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-09/gerais.pdf)*
- *UN 2007: DRIPS https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf.*

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Collaboration and partnership anchored in guidelines

Benefits, outcomes and giving back to communities *(GERAIS, Australia)*
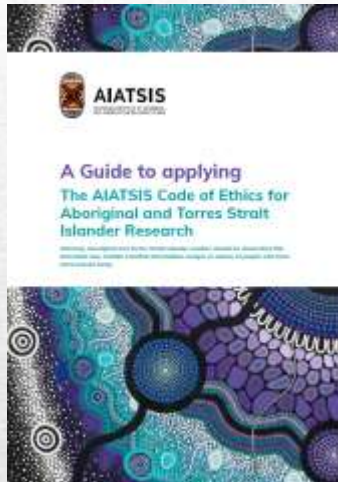
AIATSIS 2020b: Front page.
Screenshot: M. Schönhtuh 2021.

Good reads:
- *AIATSIS 2012: Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies (GERAIS). (https://beta.aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-09/gerais.pdf)*
- *AIATSIS. 2020b. A Guide to applying the AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-10/aiatsis-guide-applying-code-ethics_0.pdf.*

Guidelines for Ethical Research in Australian Indigenous Studies

Principle 11: Indigenous people involved in research, or who may be affected by research, should benefit from, and not be disadvantaged by, the research project.

- *"…Discuss openly and negotiate with the community any potential benefits. Benefits may include financial payments such as royalties, as well as other benefits such as training, employment and community development.*

- *Provide all relevant information to Indigenous participants and communities to weigh potential benefits against possible risks or disadvantages. [..]*

- *Consider benefits to Indigenous communities such as support for the archiving of materials relating to intangible cultural heritage, including (but not limited to) field notes and recordings that document language, cultural practices and ethnobotanical knowledge.*

- *Ensure that, if such benefits are provided, appropriate measures are in place to protect secrecy and confidentiality of materials…." (AIATSIS 2012: 15; see also chapter 1.7. on defining "benefits" of the guide to the new AIATSIS Code of Ethics: AIATSIS 2020b).*

- → *Rights of Indigenous peoples to self- determination & intangible heritage must be recognized (UN 2007).*
  http://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

Collaboration and partnership put to the test

Example: multi-stakeholder consultations in a transnational research project (2018)

Leaflet TRAFIG (Connectivity and Mobility as Solutions to Protracted Refugee Situations *(reprinted with kind permission of TRAFIG (https://trafig.eu/)*

- TRAFIG, Transnational Figurations of Displacement, an EU-funded Horizon 2020 research and innovation project. Twelve partner organisations investigate long-lasting displacement situations at multiple sites in Asia, Africa and Europe

- In addition to classical survey methods and qualitative survey instruments *(expert interviews, semi-structured and biographical interviews, focus groups),* different PLA methods *(Timeline, Transect, Needs Ranking, Force Field Analysis, Venn Diagram)* are used.

- The field phase, which lasts up to eleven months, is *concluded by "multi-stakeholder community consultations",* in which participating actors (refugees, aid organisations, other key actors) discuss their assessments of the empirical research results and agree on joint measures.

- They are *modelled on the so-called Barza (inter-) communautaires,* cross-community meetings that are traditionally used in the DR Congo to settle inter-group conflicts.

- For more information: (TRAFIG Transnational Figurations of Displacement)at: https://trafig.eu; Etzold et al. 2019).

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Collaboration and partnership put to the test

Example: Returns of local environmental knowledge in three indigenous societies" (LEK Project, UAB Barcelona)

Tsimane, Bolivia   Baka, Cameroon   Punan Tubu, Indonesia

http://icta.uab.cat/Etnoecologia/lek/index.php?Color=verde
Reprint with kind permission of Victoria Reyes García ©

Buzz group:
- *Discuss the returns of the scientific project*
- *Think of things like: "feedback"; "voice"; "sharing"; "action"; "policy level"; "public".*
- *Do you know other forms of scientific feedback-culture?*
- *Did they work, and if they did, how?*

"In exchange for the kind and generous hospitality we received from each of the communities,[...], we wanted to somehow 'give back' to them…:

- **Workshops:** At the end of the 18 months of fieldwork, our team organised a workshop, where we presented preliminary results and asked participants for their interpretation of, and feedback on, our findings.

- **Photostory:** We compiled …a large collection of photos from each field site (daily activities; …environments, …livelihoods). …This activity served to enlighten them with stories and pictures of other forest peoples very similar to themselves, both in culture and setting. It was a huge success…

- **Empowerment:** By being asked [sic!] about their traditional knowledge, and by sharing our interest in them and their culture, we believe the project has contributed to cultural self-worth. …by giving talks …to academic, policy, and lay people …, we believe we have helped spread awareness and voice the plight of these people whose rights call to be recognized more widely, not only at the regional, but also national and international levels."

- LEK.Project 2014. Giving Back to the Communities: A Compilation of Activities and Initiatives for the Communities Participating in the LEK Project. http://icta.uab.cat/Etnoecologia/Docs/[358]-givingback2014.pdf.

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Research on eye-level in transcultural research tandems
Example: students research cooperation between Freiburg (Germany) and Yogyakarta (Indonesia)

Buzz Group

- *Elaborate more about possible advantages, pitfalls but also structural inequalities that might remain in such transcultural research tandems.*

- *Think of: material resources, roles, culturally encoded expectations; the point in time, when the research framework ends ….*

Good read:
- Schlehe, Judith and S. Hidayah. 2013. Transcultural Ethnography in Tandems: Collaboration and Reciprocity Combined and Extended. Freiburger Ethnologische Arbeitspapiere 23. https://www.freidok.uni-freiburg.de/fedora/objects/freidok:9155/datastreams/FILE1/.content.

Framework for the transcultural research tandems

- shared between the anthropological institutes in Yogyakarta (Indonesia) and Freiburg i. Br. within the framework of the university program;

- two students from each university conduct research on a common research topic; four to six weeks in Indonesia and then just as long in Germany.

- The transition of the "outsider-insider" *roles* of being the "local expert" and the "foreign learner", linked with a common research interest of both research partners, shall provide for conditions which, during the research can *leverage the hegemonic power of the interpretation of western research traditions.* (see Schlehe and Hidayah 2013; Heybrock 2018).

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Toxic Collaborations
Working with armed forces

Buzz Group

- *Would you consider working in an advising position for the military in your country (at least if the government is democratically legitimized)?*

- *If not, what would be historical, ethical, disciplinary or epistemological reasons not to do so?*

- *If yes, where are your limits: teaching (cultural sensitizing personell), providing cultural knowledge for strategic planning; accompanying peace-keeping missions; - or even war missions (see next chart) ?*

- When compelled to adopt a position many anthropologists ultimately see themselves as advocates for the indigenous groups they study, whose resistance to encroachment by state or economic actors they support ideally or – more rarely – materially as *politically committed* (Scheper-Hughes 1995)*,* or *action anthropologists* (Rubinstein 2018).

- It becomes more difficult when these groups become *actors of violence* in armed conflicts.

- Today certain social or political scientists, but also anthropologists work as lecturers or *intercultural mission advisors for military authorities* or military training institutions of their government.

Good reads:
- Utas, Mats. 2009. Debating mercenary anthropology: Maintaining scholarly ignorance or new engagement with the global warscape. Posted in African Politics, Culture, Global Africa. https://rubeneberlein.wordpress.com/2009/07/20/moral-panic-debating-mercenary-anthropology/.
- DGV/DGSKA. 2009. Texte zu Ethnologen in Krisen- und Kriegsgebieten: Ethische Aspekte eines neuen Berufsfeldes. *(Various texts on anthropologists in conflict areas: The German debate).* https://www.dgska.de/project/diskussionsforum-ethnologen-in-krisen-und-kriegsgebieten-ethische-aspekte-eines-neuen-berufsfeldes/
- Anthropologi.info (Blog). 2005-2010. Anthropology and Military *(Various Links).* https://www.antropologi.info/blog/anthropology/?s=military&submit=Search&disp=search.

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Toxic Collaborations

Human Terrain System and "*embedded anthropologists*"

"Dr. Richard R. Boone of Wimberley, Texas, interviews local residents of the Baraki Barak District in Afghanistan's Logar province, *to find out about their attitudes and daily lives.*" April 17. Author: The U.S. Army U.S. Army Staff Sgt. Donald L. Reeves; 3 Aug. 2009. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flickr_-_The_U.S._Army_-_Discussing_life_in_Afghanistan.jpg

- The human terrain system (HTS) launched for the U.S. Army between 2005 and 2014 was designed *"..to address cultural awareness shortcomings at the operational and tactical levels by giving brigade commanders an organic capability to help understand and deal with 'human terrain' – the social, ethnographic, cultural, economic, and political elements of the people among whom a force is operating."* (Kipp et al. 2006: 9)

- *"[..]The nature of my mission, and the overall mission of the HTS – we have an ethical responsibility to bring quality socio-cultural information and nonlethal possibilities to the commander's attention."* (Adam Silverman 2009; social science advisor to the U.S. Army as an "embedded anthropologist")

- HTS is *"..manipulating local culture, [...], transforming anthropologists into spies, and putting people you work with [in the locale] at risk."* (Chicago anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, during a conference 2010 http://logosjournal.com/2011/got-no-culture/

- In 2009 the executive board of the American Anthropological Association formally discouraged its members from taking part in the HTS program.

Good reads:
- AAA (American Anthropological Association) 2009. CEAUSSIC Releases Final Report on Army HTS Program (October 14). https://www.americananthro.org/ParticipateAndAdvocate/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=2591&RDtoken=16893&userID=
- Derian, Der et al. 2010. Human Terrain: War Becomes Academic. Film. Bullfrog Films, Oley,PA. Trailer: https://vimeo.com/ondemand/humanterrainmovie/371873917?autoplay=1.
- González, Roberto J. 2015. The Rise and Fall of the Human Terrain System. *CounterPunch.* June 29, 2015. https://www.counterpunch.org/2015/06/29/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-human-terrain-system/print/.
- Price, David. 2013. Anthropology and Militarism. DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780199766567-0094. Oxford Bibliographies *(With ample links to literature, video and radio resources up to 2010):* https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199766567/obo-9780199766567-0094.xml.

VI. Representation

Power differentials in the field

Turning the gaze: The reporter and the witchdoctor

Point to ponder

Witchdoctor: "Mr. Locke. There are perfectly satisfactory answers to all your questions. But I don't think you understand how little you can learn from them. Your questions are much more revealing about yourself than my answer would be about me."

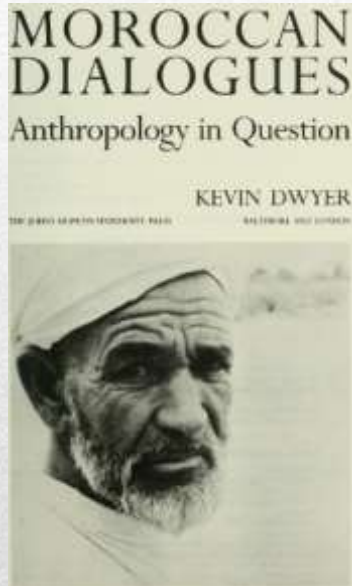- Why does the witchdoctor turn the gaze towards the reporter?

Watch the scene in the film 'The passenger' by (M. Antonioni) in this YouTube video:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ktEut8kvIII ▶️ YouTube

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Power differentials in the field
Debunking the researcher's power of definition

Kevin Dwyer locates ethnography in a process of dialogue in which interlocutors actively negotiate a shared vision of reality – with sometimes unpleasant results on the side of the participating ethnographer:

- *(Dwyer): "To your mind, what is the most important subject that we talk about?"*

- *(Faqir): "I'm not concerned with a single one of your questions [...]. I know these questions serve your purposes, not mine."*

- *(Dwyer): "Well, what would you like to ask me about?"*

- *(Faqir): "It doesn't matter to me, you could even ask me about snakes."* (Dwyer 1982, S. 225–226)

Moroccan Dialogues Cover (Foto: M. Schönhuth).
from: Dwyer, Kevin& Faqir Muhammad. 1982.
Moroccan Dialogues. Anthropology in Question.
Baltimore, London: John Hopkins Univ. Press.

Good read:
- Dwyer, K.1979. The Dialogic of Ethnology. Dialectical Anthropology, 4(3), 205-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/29789969. *[in his "Moroccan Dialogues" the chapters are composed in form of a dialogue...]*

Power differentials in writing
"The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography"
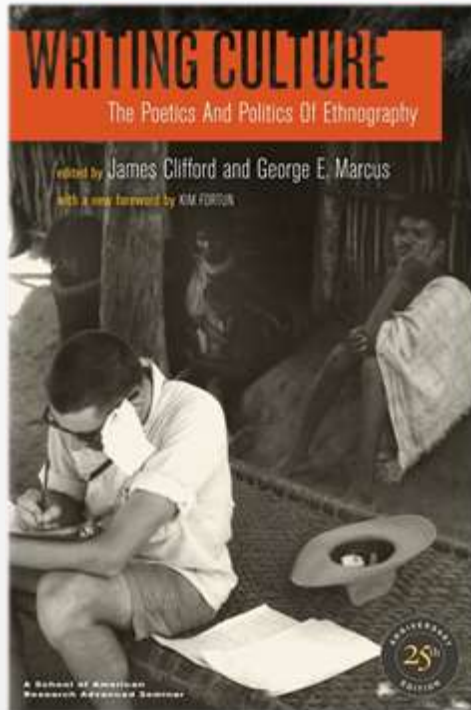
Writing Culture (Cover):
Photo M. Schönhuth 2021.

- The power of personal experience in the field *("the witness": "I saw it with my own eyes!")*

- The ability to interpret *("the interpreter")*

- The textual authority over research participants and recipients *("the writer")*

- "*Ethnographic work has indeed been enmeshed in a world of enduring and changing power inequalities, and it continues to be implicated. It enacts power relations. But its function within these relations is complex, often ambivalent, potentially counterhegemonic.*" (James Clifford 1986: 9)

- ***Point to ponder:*** Take a close look at the cover photo of "Writing Culture" (on the left): what does the scene tell us about the relationship between field researcher and interlocutor?

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Balancing power differentials in writing

Giving voice – but how and to whom exactly?

Points to ponder

Giving Voice

- "What if participants disagree with your assessment, an assessment that your data clearly supports?

- And what if competing factions within a community give you conflicting advice about how to tell their story?" [PERCS 2018; Section29]

- What do you think about sharing personal stories and *interpreting pooled autoethnographic data* as a *nonexploitative* method of research?

Good read:
- Roth reports on his research at a U.S. school from 2003 where researchers, teachers, and students not only did the research but also published the results together, thus contributing to a "transactional" praxis (Roth 2018: 31 http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-19.3.3061.

Giving 'Voice'

[..] what obligation do we have to ensure that we give voice to the people we work with. How can we ensure we do not co-opt their story?

- "[..]Brainstorm ways to make sure the voice of the participants is heard.

- One of the most obvious is to *include direct quotes,* but be sure to consider how easily these can be manipulated if you pick and choose according to your own agenda rather than theirs.

- *[..]include your participants in the process of writing and revising.* You could show drafts of your work to them and ask for input." [PERCS 2018; Section29]

Another way of escaping the *"[..] ethical issue of representing, speaking for, or appropriating the voice of others",* would be to use the method of *collaborative autoethnography.* [Lapadat 2017:589; cf. also Ellis et al. 2011]

- *[..] a multivocal approach in which two or more researchers work together to share personal stories and interpret the pooled autoethnographic data [..] a shift from individual to collective agency, thereby offering a path toward personally engaging, nonexploitative, accessible research"* [Lapadat 2017:589]

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Balancing power differentials in writing
Collage, Polyphony, fieldwork as negotiation
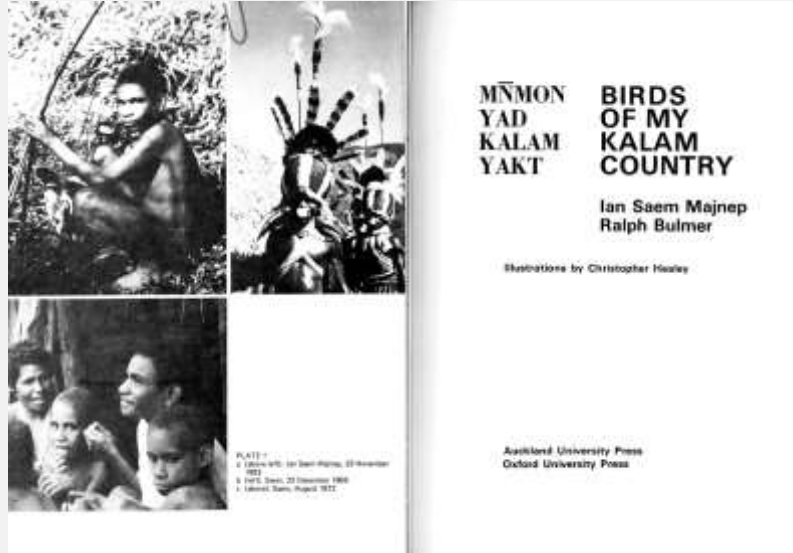
Majnep, Ian Saem and Ralph Bulmer, 1977. Birds of my Kalam country.
Auckland: Auckland University Press and Oxford University Press. (Foto:
M. Schönhuth 30/09/2020)

- Steven Tyler (Post-Modern Ethnography): *"We better understand the ethnographic context as one of cooperative story making which, in one of its ideal forms, would result in a polyphonic text, none of whose participants would have the final word in the form of a framing story or encompassing synthesis - a discourse on the discourse."* (Tyler 1986: 126).

- Manjep/Bulmer *Writing with equal rights:* the respective contributions of ethnographer Ralph Bulmer and his New Guinean interlocutor Ian Saem Majnep are represented by different fonts *(see photo on the left).*

Good reads:
- Lusca, Emanuel, L..2008. Reflection on Vincent Crapanzano's work "Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan" https://anthropology.net/2008/10/05/reflection-on-vincent-crapanzanos-work-tuhami-portrait-of-a-moroccan/
- Dwyer, K.1979. The Dialogic of Ethnology. Dialectical Anthropology, 4(3), 205-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/29789969. *[see his "Moroccan Dialoges" (previous slide) for a realisation of this idea: all chapters are written in form of a dialogue...]*
- Pawley, Andrew. 2012. "How Saem became an ethnobiologist and writer: on the collaboration of Ian Saem Majnep and Ralph Bulmer". Saem Majnep Memorial Symposium on Traditional Environmental Knowledge. University of Goroka. http://pacificinstitute.anu.edu.au/outrigger/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Pawley_Saem_Majnep_Symposium_draft.pdf.

Positionality
Decolonizing ethnography

Gore Street graffiti mural, 'Decolonize', Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (Fungus Guy CC BY SA 4.0).

Good reads:
- Bejarano, Carolina Alonso, Lucía López Juárez, Mirian A. Mijangos García and Daniel M. Goldstein. 2019. Decolonizing Ethnography: Undocumented Immigrants and New Directions in Social Science. Durham, London: Duke University Press.
- Brodkin, Karen et al. 2011. Anthropology as White Public Space? *American Anthropologist.* 113,4, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2011.01368.x. *["steps with which anthropology departments can create more inclusive social spaces that are owned equally by scholars of color and their white peers"].*
- Takezawa, Yasuko. 2017. 'Antiracist Knowledge Production: Bridging Subdisciplines and Regions'. *American Anthropologist* 119 (3): 538–40. *https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12921*.

Point to ponder

- At the time of writing, representations become controlled by the author, whose voice is privileged (Wright and Nelson 1995: 150).

- They pass over into the property of the Western world, becoming part of their *'truth regimes'* (Foucault 1980) or *'world ordering knowledge'* (Hobart 1993).

- But 'does the anthropologist need to be an author?' 'Can't there simply be a dialogue where the erstwhile *objects become subjects* and *anthropologists follow the leads* given by them' (Jain 2000: 1)?

- *Do you know of empirical examples where this decolonizing claim was taken seriously:*

- *→ in ethnographic fieldwork?*

- *→ in ethnographic writing?*

-

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Decolonizing knowledge production
Mission impossible?

Buzz Group

- Those of you, who have already worked in North-South collaborations: what have been your experiences?

- Which assumptions, which resource decision-related, but also which very practical and pragmatic reasons maintain the structural disproportion - on the part of team members from the global North, but also those from the global South?

- Would there be realistic ways out of this dilemma (in the phases of research design, application process, implementation, (ethics) monitoring, evaluation, writing, publishing of the project?

- In collaborative North-South projects "..different layers of collaboration exist that implicitly confirm underlying logics of knowledge production," as Vlassenroet (2020) states in the Bukavu series, a blog that seeks to give space to invisible voices in the production of knowledge.

- Despite a more and more prevailing participatory paradigm "[..] research agendas and guiding conceptual frameworks are usually still developed by a core group of researchers (in most cases based in the North) and taken as given by the rest of the research team (in most cases but not exclusively based in the South" (Vlassenroet 2020)

Good reads:
- GIC Network . (Silent) Voices Blog. The Bukavu Series https://www.gicnetwork.be/silent-voices-blog-bukavu-series-eng/
- Mudinga, Emery. 2020. We Barely Know These Researchers from the South! Reflections on Problematic Assumptions about Local Research Collaborators. The Bukavu Series (Blog). June 30. https://www.gicnetwork.be/we-barely-know-these-researchers-from-the-south-reflections-on-problematic-assumptions-about-local-research-collaborators/.

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What is being decolonial?

A statement by Houria Bouteldja, spokesperson of the PIR: http://indigenes-republique.fr/

Screenshot from a TV-Interview with Muhammad Ali 1971
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XiD0wfduxKE
Start the video at minute 5:00!

Buzz Group

- Watch and discuss Muhammad Ali's 1971 television interview on the question of whether, considering his popularity, he would accept an offer to become the American President (minute: 5:00-6:00).

- (The idea to employ this interview as an example of a decolonial stance originates from H. Bouteldja: https://www.decolonialtranslation.com/english/decolonizing-europe.html).

Who could be called a *'decolonial person'?:*

- *"Muhammad Ali. Recall his comments when American journalists asked him why he refuses to join the army for the war in Vietnam. He answers: 'No Viet-Cong has ever called me a nigger'. [..]*

- *My mother. The other day, I was reading some articles on the Internet, and she was looking at me. I told her: 'It's too bad that you can't read French, you could have read like me.' She sadly answered: 'No, what I regret is that I can't read Arabic. I could have read the Qur'an.' My mother (and I'm more than a bit proud) is decolonial."*

- (Houria Bouteldja, in: Decolonizing Europe https://www.decolonialtranslation.com/english/decolonizing-europe.html).

Balancing power differentials in publishing

Renouncing of the privilege of the last word: the tripartite peer review

Buzz Group

- Would this three-fold peer review process be applicable in your own research context?

- What would be prerequisites for it?

- *Think of the powerful role of gatekeepers in the field,*

- *..of necessary time and budget resources, personal career goals and type of scientific employment on your side;*

- *..the basic right of 'freedom of research'.*

To work against the scientific principle of the *'privilege of the last word',* the authors of the **Charter of Decolonial Research Ethics** call for a *tripartite peer review process:*

- "[..]the *first peer-review* is made by the decolonial movements with whom the researcher has aligned herself.

- The *second peer-review* is the 'traditional' one that takes place with other academic peers.

- In cases where substantial changes have been made to the original manuscript [..], there is a *third process of peer review* inasmuch the text must be approved once more by the decolonial movements before being sent to publication." (Decoloniality Europe. 2013).

Good read:

▪ Decoloniality Europe. 2013. Charter of Decolonial Research Ethics. https://decolonialityeurope.wixsite.com/decoloniality/charter-of-decolonial-research-ethics. *[Decoloniality Europe is a network of intellectuals and activists across Europe (https://decolonialityeurope.wixsite.com/decoloniality/the-movements). "The charter is principally a tool for decolonial social movements to use in their interaction with researchers interested in working with them, but can also be used by decolonial researchers. [It].. is concerned with how to put research in the favour of decolonial processes of change."]*

Representing interlocutors via visual media

Losing control of images after publishing

Points to ponder

- This tutorial is also using photographic images to illustrate the content. Although the image rights, if they are not held by the author, have been clarified to the best of our knowledge (Creative Commons, or by asking the copyright holder for permission):

- Do you think it is ethically sound to use such images for illustration purposes, even if they were created in or for different contexts?

- Where do you see a limit (beyond the legal framework of image citation)?

Good reads:
- Perry, Sarah and J.S. Marion. 2010. State of Ethics in Visual Anthropology. *Visual Anthropology Review* 26,2, 96-104. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-7458.2010.01070.x.
- Stout, Noelle. 2014. Bootlegged: Unauthorized Circulation and the Dilemmas of Collaboration in the Digital Age. *Visual Anthropology Reviews,* 30,2, 177-187. https://as.nyu.edu/content/dam/nyu-as/faculty/documents/StoutVARBootlegged.pdf. https://doi.org/10.1111/var.12047 *[on her failed efforts to control the unauthorized circulation of her documentary film on sex workers in Havanna].*

Visual artist Rebecca Sakoun, in a workshop discussion on 'undisciplined' ethics, emphasizes that artists/authors can sometimes *'lose control'* of their images:

- "Even photographs made in the most respectful of circumstances can be appropriated or used in vastly different contexts, to express very different ideas (or critiques).

- Images can surpass authorial intent, change, or move between categories.

- Copyright can be difficult and extremely expensive to protect, claims of ownership are not always upheld, and more and more images circulate and are 'recycled' in new and unprecedented ways."

- [Sakoun in Göttke et al. 2019; http://somatosphere.net/2019/the-ethnographic-fact-a-discussion-of-ethics-in-anthropological-fieldwork.html/]

Communicating research results

COMMUNICATION: Making the Work Public
24. Truthfulness and veracity
25. Meeting audiences' expectations
26. Will participants be represented in ways they can understand?
27. Embarrassing revelations
28. Participants changing their minds after the study
29. Power differentials in writing
30. Publication and distribution channels
31. Availability of raw materials to other researchers

Source: Points from the chart "The ethics of fieldwork" from PERCS /Elon University:
https://www.elon.edu/u/academics/percs/wp-content/uploads/sites/527/2017/09/EthicsModuleforWeb.pdf.

- *Various ethical issues (like "meeting audiences' expectations, embarrassing revelations, participants changing their minds after the study, … → see left)*

- *and practical tips when making your work public can be found in the Online-Module:*

- *"The Ethics of Fieldwork, edited by the "Program for Ethnographic Research & Community Studies" (PERCS) at ELON University, North Carolina:*
https://www.elon.edu/u/academics/percs/resources/ethics/communication/.

> **Tip**
>
> Points for consideration when assigning authorship, acknowledging contributors, reporting to interlocutors, and negotiating the publication of research results - tailored to the cultures and societies of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples - can also be found in the guide to applying the AIATSIS Code of Ethics 2020, Chapter 3. https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-10/aiatsis-guide-applying-code-ethics_0.pdf.

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VII. Governance

Frameworks for research integrity
The Status Quo in Europe

Symbol for General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in Europe.(2 April 2018 Author: Dooffy) https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gdpr_Europe.jpg

Good read:
- ALLEA (All European Academics). 2017. The European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity. Berlin. https://www.allea.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/ALLEA-European-Code-of-Conduct-for-Research-Integrity-2017.pdf.

Tip:
The Webpage *Audiotranskription.de* responds to recent changes in Germany's General Data Protection Regulation (DSGVO) with helpful templates and a checklist for conducting, processing and storing interviews in compliance with the GDPR: https://www.audiotranskription.de/qualitative-Interviews-DSGVO-konform-aufnehmen-und-verarbeiten [in German only!]

The EU General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) of 2016/2018

- Since its implementation in 2018 the GDPR regulates data protection and privacy in the European Union (EU) and the European Economic Area (EEA).

- It addresses principles (mainly *"fpic"*-rules), rights of the 'data subject' (e.g. to withdraw consent at any time; the access to and the right to object to the further processing of one's own data, and their erasure on request).

- It specifies duties of data controllers and processors (e.g. secure storage of data, pseudonymization), and the transfer of personal data outside the EU and EEA areas.

- The General Data Protection Regulation of 2018 directly affects the review process of all EU-funded research projects (→ *see following slides).*

The Status Quo in Germany (2020)

- *For the social sciences (sociology, political science, economics, social and cultural anthropology, educational science and related subjects), the submission of ethics approvals are generally required if patients are involved in the study.*

- *An ethical statement is expected, and an ethics vote may be required, if the investigation involves vulnerable groups, such as persons with reduced ability to give their consent.* Source: DFG: Förderung. FAQ: Informationen aus den Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften. Ethikvotum: https://www.dfg.de/foerderung/faq/geistes_sozialwissenschaften/ [my translation].

- → This is to change soon, due to the implementation of the GDPR at national level!

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European Research Council (ERC) Ethics Self Assessment (2019)

The ethics issues checklist ✱ EC 2019: Horizon 2020 Programme Guidance. How to complete your ethics self-assessment, p. 6 [Screenshot]: https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/grants_manual/hi/ethics/h2020_hi_ethics-self-assess_en.pdf.

2.1 Ethics issues checklist ✱

Section 2: HUMANS	YES/ NO	Page	Information to be provided	Documents to be provided/kept on file
Does your research involve human participants?	☐ ☐		1) Confirm that informed consent has been obtained.	1) Informed Consent Forms + Information Sheets.
If YES: - Are they volunteers for social or human sciences research?	☐ ☐		1) Details of the recruitment, inclusion and exclusion criteria and informed consent procedures.	1) Copies of ethics approvals (if required).
- Are they persons unable to give informed consent (including children/minors)?	☐ ☐		1) Details of the procedures for obtaining approval from the guardian/legal representative and the agreement of the children or other minors. 2) What steps will you take to ensure that participants are not subjected to any form of coercion?	1) Copies of ethics approvals.
- Are they vulnerable individuals or groups?	☐ ☐		1) Details of the type of vulnerability. 2) Details of the recruitment, inclusion and exclusion criteria and informed consent procedures. These must demonstrate appropriate efforts to ensure fully informed understanding of the implications of participation.	1) Copies of ethics approvals.
- Are they children/minors?	☐ ☐		1) Details of the age range. 2) What are your assent	1) Copies of ethics approvals.

- ▪ *"Ethics is given the highest priority in EU funded research:* all the activities carried out under *Horizon 2020* must comply with ethical principles and relevant national, EU and international legislation;
- ▪ Consider that ethics issues arise in many areas of research (also social sciences, *ethnography,* etc.);
- ▪ If your proposal raises one of the issues listed in the *ethics issue checklist,* you must complete the *ethics self-assessment;*
- ▪ *Ethics also matter for scholarly publication.* Major scientific journals in many areas will increasingly require ethics committee approval before publishing research articles;
- ▪ Consider involving/appointing an *ethics* adviser/ advisory board." [EC 2018b; https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/grants_manual/hi/ethics/h2020_hi_ethics-self-assess_en.pdf

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- ❖ "If your proposal is not given *ethics clearance,* it is not eligible for funding and will be rejected." https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/docs/h2020-funding-guide/grants/from-evaluation-to-grant-signature/grant-preparation/ethics_review_en.htm

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Different kinds of informed consent

Written or oral; digital/social media and sensitive data collection; vulnerable participants (LSE 2019)

Tip

If you are in need of a template for a workable information sheet and „informed consent" form:

LSE (London School of Economics). 2019. Sample Information sheet and consent form *https://info.lse.ac.uk/staff/divisions/research-and-innovation/research/Assets/Documents/Word/info-consent-LSEsample.docx*

I

Good reads:
- LSE. 2019. LSE Informed Consent Guidance. https://info.lse.ac.uk/staff/Services/Policies-and-procedures/Assets/Documents/infCon.pdf.
- Dickson-Swift, Virginia. 2008. et al. Undertaking Sensitive Research in the Health and Social Sciences. Managing Boundaries, Emotions and Risks. Victoria: La Trobe University.
- Association of Internet Researchers. 2019. Internet Research: Ethical Guidelines 3.0. https://aoir.org/reports/ethics3.pdf.

Informed Consent Guidance (LSE 2019)

- "*Written consent* should be sought wherever possible. Aside from its generally being a better guarantee that participants have indeed given their consent, written consent also provides an auditable record that will prove useful in the event of a dispute or questions arising later regarding the use or storage of data. Research that proposes to use only *verbal consent* will need to justify why written consent is inappropriate for the study.

- For *online surveys, social media platforms* or other *digital data collection,* appropriate ways should be sought to ensure that participants explicitly signal their consent (e.g. by explicitly ticking an "I agree" box).

- [..]Where the research involves sensitive issues (ethnicity, sexual behavior, political beliefs, illegal behavior etc.), special attention should be paid to ensuring that the participants are always fully informed about the risks in taking part, as to the confidentiality and data management of such data.

- [..]Research involving *vulnerable participants* raises complex ethical issues concerning which it is difficult to formulate generally applicable rules. Researchers should *consult relevant guidance* and discuss their proposals with those with experience in conducting such research." *LSE 2019: Informed Consent Guidance.* https://info.lse.ac.uk/staff/Services/Policies-and-procedures/Assets/Documents/infCon.pdf.

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Informed consent guidance in EU funded research

Point to ponder:

Non-written consent can be given e.g. with a finger print, testified by a respected local person who is literate).

But: finger prints fall under the category of sensitive personal (biometric) data.

- *Is that a problem; when and how?*
- *Would alternatives be conceivable?*

EC. 2014. Horizon 2020: How to Complete[..] Cover
(Photo M. Schönhuth 2021).

Good reads:
➢ Iphofen, Ron. 2013. Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology. Published by the European Commission, DG Research and Innovation. https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/ethics-guide-ethnog-anthrop_en.pdf. *[The standard reference on EC level]*
➢ EC. 2019. Horizon 2020 Programme. Guidance. How to complete your ethics self-assessment. Version 6.1. https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/grants_manual/hi/ethics/h2020_hi_ethics-self-assess_en.pdf.
➢ Annechino, Rachelle. 2013. The ethics of openness: How informed is "informed consent"? *Ethnography Matters* (Online Journal): https://ethnographymatters.wordpress.com/2013/03/01/the-ethics-of-openness/. [On how much Informed consent is less about forms, than about relationships between people, and trust.]

EU Self assessment guidance: Informed consent
(EU2019.Guidance, How to complete your ethics self-assessment).

"Participants must be given an *informed consent form* and detailed *information sheets* that:

- are written in a language and in terms they can fully understand

- describe the aims, methods and implications of the research, the *nature of the participation and any benefits, risks or discomfort* that might ensue

- explicitly state that participation is voluntary and that anyone has the right to refuse to participate and to withdraw their participation, samples or data at any time — without any consequences …

- Participants *must normally give their consent in writing* (e.g. by signing the informed consent form and information sheets).

- *If consent cannot be given in writing*, for example because of illiteracy, *non-written consent must be formally documented and independently witnessed."*

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Incidental findings and ethical governance

Preserve confidentiality or disclose information to authorities?

Buzz Group

- Under what circumstances would you disclose incidental findings to responsible or accountable authorities?
- How would you argue, if the funding agency required you to include disclosure of incidental findings in information sheets and consent forms?
- Think in particular of constellations where the political or legal procedures do not follow the usual ideas and principles of equality, human dignity, fundamental rights or separation of powers.

Good reads:
- European Commission.2020. Grants: Guidance note — Research on refugees, asylum seekers and migrants: V1.1 — 07.01.2020.. http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/guide_research-refugees-migrants_en.pdf. *[Shows procedural alternatives in case participants themselves are/would be made vulnerable through disclosure]*
- Düwell et al. 2010. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.590 *(on ethics issues in irregular migration).*

"Concerning 'unintended/unexpected/incidental' findings (like criminal activities, child or vulnerable adult abuse) the EU Guideline on Ethics in Social Science and Humanities state (EU 2018:14):

- "Fieldwork, observations and interviews can yield information that goes beyond the scope of the research design, thus presenting the researcher with a dilemma: whether to preserve confidentiality or to disclose the information to relevant authorities or services. [..] A characteristic of incidental/unexpected findings is that they require the researcher to take some form of action.

- As a rule, criminal activity witnessed or uncovered in the course of research must be reported to the responsible and appropriate authorities, even if this means overriding commitments to participants to maintain confidentiality and anonymity. [..]

- In some research settings (for example when working with refugees), it may be more appropriate to contact relevant NGOs or agencies with appropriate expertise rather than the authorities."

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Ethical clearance vs. ethnography (Part 1)

Unattainable expectations

Carmen Delgado Luchner in 2017 in her research blog comments on the impossibility of ethnographers meeting the demand for informed consent in institutional ethical review processes, as...:

- "[..] it supposes that the researcher is able to anticipate 'with whom, for how long, to what end, and where' she will work (Simpson, 2011: 380), which runs counter to the inductive, iterative and open-ended nature of ethnographic inquiry.

- [..] it is not easy to define who is a participant, i.e. who is affected directly or indirectly by the researcher's presence in the field.

- [..] obtaining informed consent mainly in order to allow the researcher to protect herself and avoid liability [..] is an unethical use of research ethics." *(Delgado 2017: https://interpreting-ideas.com/2017/09/19/ethical-concerns-before-during-and-after-ethnographic-research/)*

Point to ponder

- *Is Delgado's criticism justified?*

- *Are there ways out of this ethical quandaries?*

Good reads:
- Lambek, Michael. 2012. Ethics out of the ordinary. In R. Fardon, et al. eds., The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology, 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 140–152.
- Luchner, Carmen Delgado.2017. Ethical concerns before, during and after ethnographic research. September 2017 https://interpreting-ideas.com/2017/09/.
- Mookherjee, Nayanika. 2012. Twenty-first century ethics for audited anthropologists. In R. Fardon et al. (eds.). The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology, 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 130–140.
- Jacobs, Carolien. 2020. Getting prior informed consent – a thorny issue. TRAFIG Blog: https://trafig.eu/blog/getting-prior-informed-consent-a-thorny-issue. *[on the pitfalls of upward accountability and downward transparency getting fpic during fieldwork in the DR Congo]*

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Ethical clearance vs. ethnography (Part II)

Improper compromises [Donzelli 2019]

- *"My analysis highlights how being an ethnographer entails deliberate and methodical forms of surrendering to the unpredictable and the unexpected. Such an apprenticeship (...) entertains a complicated relationship with the growing hegemony of the research protocols of audit cultures.[...]*

- *Responding (and being held accountable for my answers) to questions that presuppose methods that do not belong in what I consider sound ethnographic practice has required making difficult moral and scientific compromises."* (Donzelli 2019, 17f)

Good reads:

- Donzelli, Aurora. 2019. Discovering by Surrendering: for an Epistemology of Serendipity. Against the Neoliberal Ethics of Accountability. In: *Antropologia*, 6, 1 n.s., apr. https://www.ledijournals.com/ojs/index.php/antropologia/article/download/1529/1425.
- Strathern, Marilyn, ed. 2000. Audit Cultures: Anthropological Studies in Accountability, Ethics and the Academy. New York: Routledge. *[The classic on audit cultures. Twelve anthropologists map out its effects around the workplace, public and academic institutions in Europe].*
- Haggerty, Kevin. 2004. Ethics Creep: Governing Social Science Research in the Name of Ethics. Qualitative Sociology. 27. 391-414. DOI: 10.1023/B:QUAS.0000049239.15922.a3. *[an early warning against the negative and homogenising effects of research ethics boards (REB's) by an insider]*

"February 16, 2015, a new message appears in my electronic mailbox. I skim it quickly. A paragraph immediately catches my eye:

➤ *[...] We would need to know more specifically about the ethnographic interviewing — how will you recruit participants, what will you tell them about your work, what are the possible risks for participating [...]*

In the follow up *"Checking In On Your Research Study"* emails I receive from my University's IRB, I am periodically asked to fill in the *"Continuing Review of Ongoing Research Form,"* which contains a set of simple and straightforward questions such as:

➤ *Have you started recruiting participants? If so, detail how many.*

➤ *Have any participants withdrawn from the study? If so, detail how many and reason for withdrawal, if known.*

➤ *Have there been any changes to your protocol? If so, re-submit the protocol with changes indicated, and any modified informed consent and/or assent forms.*

➤ *Have there been any complaints, unexpected events, or protocol deviations related to the research? If so, detail them here." (Donzelli 2019,2)*

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EASA's Statement on Ownership & Informed Consent (2018)

European Association of Social Anthropologists

Points to ponder

- *"Doing Anthropology Ethically Means Doing Ethics Anthropologically!"* (Lederman 2017)

- What's the message in Rena Lederman's statement?

- Why does EASA speak of "materials", and not of *"data"*?

- Why should ethnographers be exempt from a *'default'* prior informed consent process?

- What makes their approach special?

➡ "1. Ownership: *Ethnographic materials are coproduced* […]. As such, *they cannot be fully owned or controlled by researchers, research participants or third parties.* The use of standard intellectual property licenses and protocols may not apply to all ethnographic materials.

➡ 3. Consent: Ethnographic participation in a social milieu can lead to *situations [for which] it is often impossible to obtain prior informed consent.* […] In contexts of violence or vulnerability, written consent may violate research participants' privacy and confidentiality, and even put them at risk.

➡ 4. Custodianship: Researchers have a scientific and ethical responsibility […] that is usually negotiated with research participants. These *forms of custodianship […] cannot always be anticipated or pre-formatted."* [EASA 2018]

Good reads:
- "*Informed Consent*" in anthropological research: http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-3-obtain-informed-consent-and-necessary-permissions/;
- The debate on "*Informed Consent Without Forms*": C. Fluehr-Lobban (*1994*): Informed Consent in Anthropological Research: We Are Not Exempt. *Human Organization* 53 (1): 1-10.
- EASA. 2018. EASA's Statement on Data Governance in Ethnographic Projects. https://www.easaonline.org/downloads/support/EASA%20statement%20on%20data%20governance.pdf.
- Lederman, Rena.2017. Doing Anthropology Ethically Takes Practice: A US Perspective on the Formalization Question. Von Poser Plenary IV: Doing Anthropology Ethically: Is Formalization the Solution? GAA annual meeting, Berlin. Draft.

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Modifying the Informed Consent Process in Ethnographic Studies
The Oral Consent Card of the University of Virginia

"…where the participant may be uncomfortable with a form and/or unable to use it, the Oral Consent Card provides all of the elements required for consent in a bullet format so that the researcher can refer to each point as he or she is obtaining consent from the participant."

https://research.virginia.edu/irb-sbs/consent-templates

IRB-SBS Contact Info:
Tonya R. Moon, Ph.D., Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Social and Behavioral Sciences
https://research.virginia.edu/irb-sbs

PLEASE MAKE SURE THAT: Oral Consent Card

- *"People understand they are taking part in a research project. They understand what you are asking of them, and they freely consent to participate. You have their permission to use the information you gather about them in the ways you intend.*
- *People understand what kinds of information you are collecting and what materials you will be carrying away from your interactions with them. They understand how the information will be used in your study and if there is a possibility that the information will be used in future studies.*
- *People know when you are collecting personal identifying information about them and that you will respect their wishes to have their identity acknowledged or kept confidential.*
- *People understand the risks they incur in participating in your research and what you are doing to minimize them.*
- *People know whether their involvement in your research brings them any benefits.*
- *People know they can opt out of your study at any time, and that they can request that any materials implicating them be destroyed. They know they are free to remain silent on any topic.*
- *People know that there is someone they can ask if they have any questions or concerns about your research. You should provide them with your contact information, your local advisor's contact information (where applicable), and the IRB-SBS contact information (where applicable)."* https://research.virginia.edu/sites/vpr/files/SBS%20Consent/IRB-SBS%20Oral%20Consent%20Card.docx

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Alternatives to IRBs and Ethical Guidance Sheets?

Ethical peer mentoring (DGSKA - Germany + Abv – The Netherlands)

- **The DGSKA** *(German Anthropological Society)* offers a "reflection sheet" on issues of research ethics for its members: https://en.dgska.de/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/GAA_Research-Ethics-Reflection-Sheet.pdf.

- *"It is meant to be used within the context of mentoring conversations (e.g. between doctoral students and their supervisors) or in peer-to-peer discussions (particularly for advanced specialists in the field).*

- *The document includes a form which confirms that the discussion has been conducted: this form is for internal use or, if required, it can be submitted to ethics committees as proof of the discussion — however the content of the discussion itself remains confidential."* https://en.dgska.de/ethics/.

- "**The ABv** *(Dutch Anthropological Association) encourages researchers to discuss among each other, on a regular basis, their ethical choices and decisions, and to provide transparency about their methods, research process and data analysis.*

- *Especially for researchers who work on similar topics or in similar fields, discussing not only the contents of their studies, but also the ethical considerations involved, could be very valuable."*

  ABv. 2019. Code of Ethics https://antropologen.nl/app/uploads/2019/01/ABv_Code-of-Ethics_2019.pdf

Good reads:
for the recent discussion in German-language anthropology, see:
- *Hornbacher 2013 (ed.):* https://www.ethnologie.uni-hamburg.de/forschung/publikationen/ethnoscripts/es-15-2.html
- Dilger 2018 DOI: 10.3790/soc.67.2.191; with comments by Hornbacher 2018 and Alex 2018.

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Alternatives to IRBs and Ethical Guidance Sheets?
Ethical peer mentoring + certification process *(ASAA/NewZealand)*

Haka performed during US Defense Secretary's visit to New Zealand (1).jpg. Created: 20 September 2012 ⓒ ⓘ ⓢ Public Domain
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C4%81ori_people#/media/File:Haka_performed_during_US_Defense_Secretary's_visit_to_New_Zealand_(1).jpg

Association of Social Anthropologists of Aotearoa / New Zealand

- *Basis:* Principles of Professional Responsibility and Ethical Conduct©1992

- *Peer review process:* ASAA/NZ provides members with peer guidance by offering an ethical review of research proposals.

- *Ethics board process:* only if peer reviewers detect problems, does the Ethics Committee review the proposal and provide further feedback and discussion.

- *Certification process:* if external agencies require certification of ethical review as a prerequisite for funding or permission to conduct research, the ASAA/NZ Ethics Committee will write a letter to the agency outlining the ethics review procedure and reporting on the proposal.[see: ASAA/NZ Ethical Review of Research Proposals *https://www.asaanz.org/code-of-ethics*]

- → *note: ASAA/NZ is a relatively small association, with some 100 members*

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Data Management Plan
FAIR ("Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, Reusable") principles in the Humanities (ALLEA)
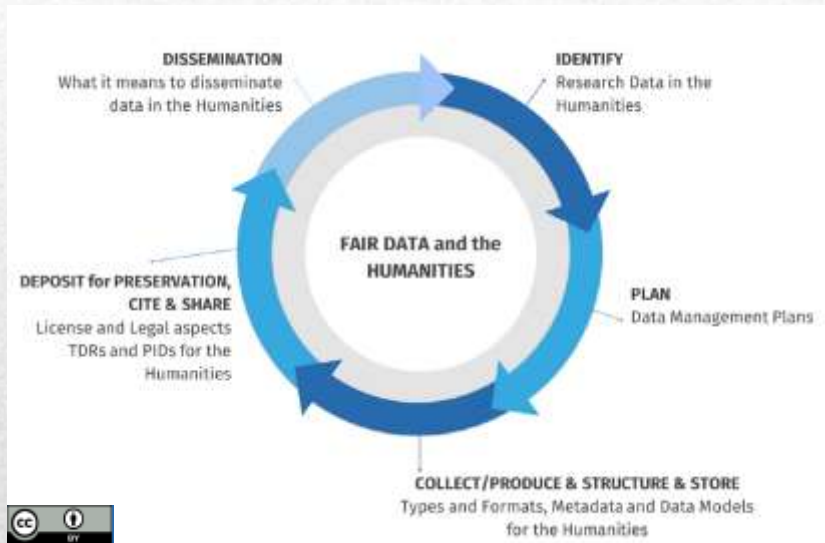
Key phases of the data management lifecycle, ALLEA Report Feb. 2020 :6

- *ALLEA 2020: Sustainable and FAIR Data Sharing in the Humanities. ALLEA Report. Berlin.*

- An All European Academics (ALLEA's) working group on E-Humanities, has produced a report with a series of recommendations, for how Humanities researchers can make their research outputs FAIR: *Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, and Reusable.* Some recommendations:

- *"Think of all your research assets as research data that could be potentially reused by other scholars. Consider how useful it would be for your own work if others shared their data."[:9]*

- *"Legislation: Which national legislation applies to other researchers' work I use in my project? Do I have the right to collect, preserve and provide access to the data of my project? [..] Are there risks of exposing the identity of human participants in my study? Am I allowed to digitally reproduce material and (re-)publish it in a digital reproduction?" [:21]*

- The whole report can be downloaded via:
  https://repository.dri.ie/objects/tq582c863/files/1544r995j/download?type=masterfile

Data Management Plan

Data collection process

KoBo

Toolbox (open source software with a suite of tools for field data collection in challenging environments https://www.kobotoolbox.org/

❶ Select method

❷ Collect your information

or

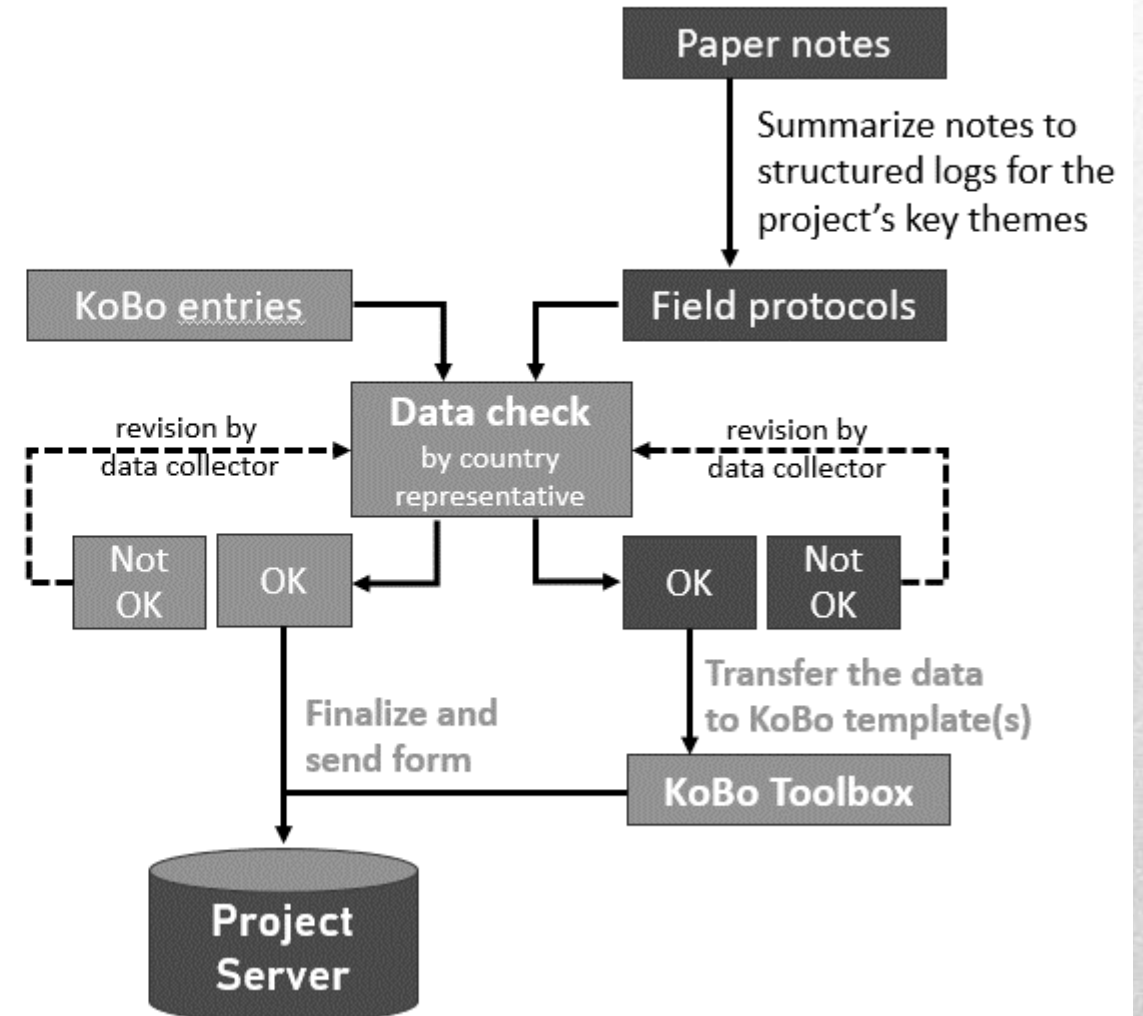→ (a) directly **in KoBo** Toolbox

→ (b) **on paper** → Summarize your notes in a protocol

❹ **Data Check** by country representative

❺ Mark as finalized

❻ Send finalized form to server

In-field data validation / 1st quality check

Paper notes

Summarize notes to structured logs for the project's key themes

KoBo entries → Field protocols

revision by data collector — **Data check by country representative** — revision by data collector

Not OK | OK

OK | Not OK

Finalize and send form

Transfer the data to KoBo template(s)

KoBo Toolbox

Project Server

Data Management and Ethics in Ethnographic Research (2018+)

dgv (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde):

- *Research* "[..] is conceived as an open process that is situation- and observer-dependent. *Interlocutors are not conceptualized as "study participants"* and are rarely recruited as samples; rather, they are regarded as members of a social context to which they grant researchers access and to whom they have rights. ...Collaborative forms of knowledge production and representation are increasingly being developed. Accordingly, the relationship ...is understood as a mutual trusting relationship, which forms the fragile basis of many field research projects. [..] The dgv ... *does not support a uniform, unconditional obligation to archive and make available data for subsequent use.*"
  (dgv. 2018. http://wordpress.wirtschaften-kongress.de/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/dgv-Positionspapier_FDM.pdf.

EASA (European Society of Social Anthropologists) . *Point 2 and 5 out of six, placing ethnographic research within the special clause on 'academic expression' included in the Article 85(2) of the GDPR: https://www.privacy-regulation.eu/en/article-85-processing-and-freedom-of-expression-and-information-GDPR.htm.*

- *Archiving:* In ethnographic research "data" are always part of a social relationship. As such, it may not always be possible to archive or store research materials, (or it will) require specific technical features (e.g. different roles for access, editing, sharing or privacy) not available in most institutional repositories.

- *Embargo:* Researchers have a special duty to consider controlling third party access to ethnographic materials and retain the rights of embargo and confidentiality over those materials that cannot be anonymized or turned into data entries. EASA. 2018. EASA's Statement on Data Governance in Ethnographic Projects. https://www.easaonline.org/downloads/support/EASA%20statement%20on%20data%20governance.pdf.

Good reads:
- *on the the essential **protection of raw data** see http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-6-protect-and-preserve-your-records/*
- *on the ethically **justifiable limitations of the dissemination of research results** see: http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-5-make-your-results-accessible/*
- *on the **problematic of long-term data archiving.** see Pels, Peter et al. 2018.* https://doi.org/10.1111/1469-8676.12526; and Dilger et al. 2018. DOI: 10.1177/1466138118819018.
- *on the use of digitalization and of digital **media for data storage** and preservation : AAA. 2012. 6. Protect and Preserve Your Records* http://ethics.americananthro.org/category/statement/. Hugh Gusterson, "What's in a Laptop?" *Anthropology Now* 4, no. 1 (2012):26-31.

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Indigenous Data Governance
Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) 2020

Buzz Group

- Besides an ethical obligation: what reasons could speak in favor of *a post-project engagement* for you as a researcher?

- *Collect arguments in favor of such a commitment, but also difficulties and dilemmas that could arise from it.*

➡ **Indigenous Data Governance:** "Indigenous data that is, or should be, governed and owned by Indigenous peoples from the very *creation of data* to its *collection, access, analysis, interpretation, management, dissemination, potential future use and storage.*"

➡ **Storage and Archiving:** "To ensure the longevity and appropriate accessibility of the information, it is essential that data is archived and managed well, and is done in accordance with the requirements of Indigenous stakeholders."

➡ **Post-project engagement**: "It is essential that the research continues to comply with agreements made with Indigenous partners and stakeholders regardless of changes in personnel, staff or university base." AIATSIS 2020b :25-28

Good read:
- AIATSIS n.d. [2019]. Revision of the AIATSIS guidelines for ethical research in Australian indigenous studies. Consultation draft. https://apo.org.au/node/249136. . *[You'll also find answers to the buzz group question there].*
- *AIATSIS. 2020a. AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research (the AIATSIS Code). https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-10/aiatsis-code-ethics.pdf.*
- *AIATSIS. 2020b. A Guide to applying the AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research   https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-10/aiatsis-guide-applying-code-ethics_0.pdf*

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VIII. Compliance

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Responsibilities

Objective researcher or "companheira"

OBJECTIVITY AND MILITANCY: A DEBATE

I

Moral Models in Anthropology

by Roy D'Andrade

2

The Primacy of the Ethical

Propositions for a Militant Anthropology[1]

by Nancy Scheper-Hughes

In 1995 Roy D'Andrade and Nancy Scheper-Hughes had a debate on *'objective science'* and *'moral relativism'* vs. *'politically committed/morally and engaged'* anthropology.

Follow the arguments in the discussion and find your own position:

- „*I believe that anthropology can maintain its moral authority only on the basis of empirically demonstrable truths.*" (Roy D'Andrade)

- "*Anthropologists should become morally and politically engaged in their informants' struggles and throw out an interfering moral relativism.*" (Nancy Scheper-Hughes)

- "*If we cannot begin to think about social institutions and practices in scientific-objective terms, then anthropology will be even weaker.*" (Marvin Harris)

- "*We can never become companheiros and companheiras. We are always outsiders - and there lies our power, as dangerous as it may be, and the source of our interpellation and responsiveness.*" (Vincent Crapanzano)

- „*I see the task of anthropology as developing a mobile sensitivity to cultural difference that nevertheless insists on defending minimal modern human rights (freedom from hunger and torture and the right to survive as a people).*" (Aihwa Ong)

Good reads:
- D'Andrade, Roy. 1995. Moral Models in Anthropology. *Current Anthropology* 36, 3, June, 399-408. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249179049_Moral_Models_in_Anthropology.
- Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. 1995. The Primacy of the Ethical. Propositions for a Militant Anthropology. *Current Anthropology* 36, 3, June, 409-440 (including comments). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2xq430hc.
- Low, Setha M. & Sally Engle Merry. 2010. Engaged Anthropology: Diversity and Dilemmas. *Current Anthropology* 51, Suppl 2, Oct. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/653837?seq=1. *[Low and Merry distinguish six forms of anthropological engagement in the US: (1) sharing & support, (2) teaching and public education, (3) social critique, (4) collaboration (5) advocacy, (6) activism].*

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Responsibilities towards Funders, Governments and Gatekeepers (ASA 2011)

Tips

Researchers should *negotiate research space* concerning:

- Full disclosure of the sources of funds, personnel, aims and purposes of the research;

- *Respect* for their professional expertise and the integrity of their research results;

- Their ability to *protect the rights and interests of research participants*; to make all ethical decisions in their research; and their (and other parties') rights in data collected, in publications, copyrights and royalties. *(see ASA 2011)*

- *If doing consulting: plan + price additional days in the field…* (why?)

Good read:
- Joan Cassell, "Case 17: "The Case of the Damaged Baby"; Case 20: "Power to the People"; *Case 22: "*Forbidden Knowledge" *[see Annex].*

"Ethnographers should clarify in advance the respective roles, rights and obligations of sponsor, funder, employer and researcher:

- not to promise or imply acceptance of conditions which would be contrary to professional ethics… or competing commitments. Where conflicts seem likely, they should *refer sponsors* or other interested parties *to relevant professional guidelines;*

- Whilst respecting gatekeepers' legitimate interests, researchers should adhere to the *principle of obtaining informed consent from their direct interlocutors.*

- Researchers should *be wary* of inadvertently *disturbing the relationship between subjects and gatekeepers* since that *will continue long after the researcher has left the field."* (ASA 2011).

- *Point to Ponder:* Dittmer/Lorenz (2018: 36) point out: *"In order to gain the necessary access to the field, a certain 'complicity' with the 'ruling' actors is [..] almost always necessary. […] Thus, on the one hand, the accesses are necessary, but on the other hand, they inevitably have a corrupting effect." (my translation).*

Professional Guidelines for Anthropologists in Practice

Working Group Development Anthropology *(AG Entwicklungsethnologie / Germany)*

Buzz Group

From employer-employee to professional-client nexus – and back

- "If the company [..]asks that the results of the research [..] be kept confidential, [the anthropologist] can appeal to her professional code and say that an anthropologist is not supposed to consent to a secrecy clause.
- In this way, she subjects the company to the collective coercion of the impersonal standards of her moral community.
- Thus, her escape to a moral high ground requires that *the politics of* employer versus employee give way to the politics of *professional versus client.*
- The client may, of course, *reject the professional service* offered ("for you, ten others without a secrecy clause!") and thereby return the political issue to the employer-employee nexus." (Pels 1999:103)

- → How would you resolve that conflict?

AGEE: Ethical guidelines of the Working Group Development Anthropology *- serving three ends:*

(1) "negotiate minimum standards of *professional ethics* in the contract guidelines *('Terms of Reference')* with contracting authorities before a contract is awarded, which can be referred to in case of conflict *(basis for negotiation);*

(2) to have a yardstick for ethically conscious and justified decisions and actions during the assignment *(guideline);*

(3) to be measured against these guidelines by colleagues, clients and local groups after the assignment *(benchmark)."* *(AGEE 2001:11)*

- *2001 Ethical Guidelines of the Workgroup Development Anthropology (AGEE) e.V.: download English Version: http://www.uni-trier.de/fileadmin/fb4/ETH/Aufsaetze/Schoenhuth2001_Ethical_Guidelines_of_the_workgroup_development_anthropology.pdf*

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Freedom of research and corresponding responsibility
Scientific Integrity, Individual Conduct and Public Trust (DFG /Germany)

Guidelines for Safeguarding Good Research Practice

Code of Conduct

DFG 2019: Guidelines for Safeguarding Good Research Practice: Front Page. Photo: M. Schönhuth 2021.

Good reads:
- *DFG (German Research Foundation). 2019b. Guidelines for Safeguarding Good Research Practice. Code of Conduct: Preamble:* https://www.dfg.de/download/pdf/foerderung/rechtliche_rahmenbedingungen/gute_wissenschaftliche_praxis/kodex_gwp_en.pdf
- *DFG (German Research Foundation) 2019c: Rules Of Procedure for Dealing With Scientific Misconduct.* https://www.dfg.de/formulare/80_01/80_01_en.pdf

The German Research Foundation (DFG) has launched guidelines for **safeguarding good research practice:**

- *"Scientific integrity* forms the basis for trustworthy research.

- It is an example of academic voluntary commitment that encompasses a *respectful attitude towards peers, research participants, animals, cultural assets, and the environment,* and strengthens and promotes vital *public trust* in research.

- The constitutionally guaranteed *freedom of research* is inseparably *linked to a* corresponding *responsibility.* Taking this responsibility into full account and *embedding it in individual conduct is an essential duty for every researcher* and for the institutions where research is carried out." *[DFG 2019b: Preamble: 9]*

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Scientific Integrity

…and the Mead–Freeman Controversy
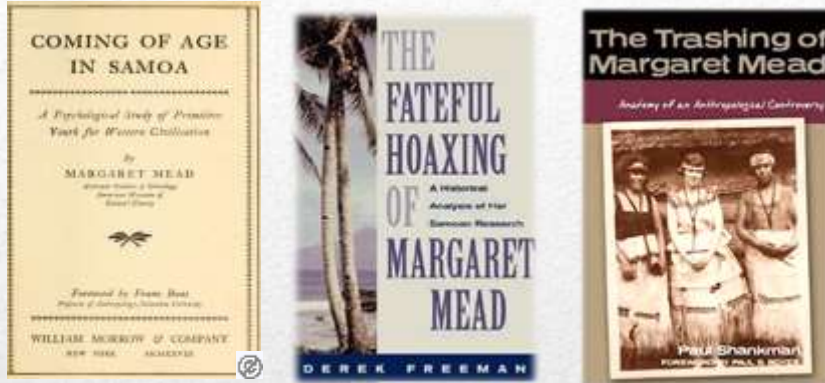
Fronts of the works discussed below in the Mead/Freeman debate. Photo 1:https://archive.org .2+3: M. Schönhuth 2021.

- *Margaret Mead (1928) had described Samoan adolescents as not suffering from the typical "coming of age" crisis, …caused by the youths' greater degree of sexual freedom in Samoa;*
- *In 1983 Derek Freeman published a book, in which he argued that Mead's data and conclusions were wrong, and she was "fatefully hoaxed by her informants" (see also Freeman 1998).*
- *A detailed review of the controversy by Paul Shankman (2009) concludes that Mead was right, and Freeman cherry-picked his data and misrepresented both Mead and Samoan culture. (see also Shankman 2013; https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/669033)*
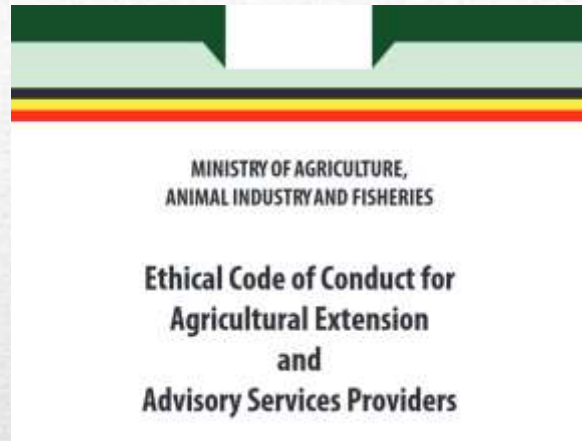
When do we speak of scientific misconduct? (DFG 2019c)

"Observance of the rules of good scientific practice is the basis of trustworthy research.[…] Scientific misconduct shall be deemed to occur ..if, in a research-relevant context, individuals intentionally or with gross negligence:

- 1. *make misrepresentations*; by fabricating data and/or research findings; by *falsifying* data and/or *research findings*...

- 2. *claim others' research achievements as their own* without justification (by using others' content without indicating the source *(plagiarism);* using others' research approaches and ideas *(idea theft),* by sharing, without authorisation, others' data, theories and findings with third parties; by claiming, or assuming without justification, authorship or co-authorship,[..]

- 3. *interfere with others' research* (sabotaging research activities; falsifying or removing,…research data or research documents...)" (DFG 2019c)

Good reads:
- Shankman, Paul. 2009. *The Trashing of Margaret Mead*. Anatomy of an Anthropological Controversy. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. (Excerpt: https://www.unl.edu/rhames/courses/current/readings/Shankman-Trashing%20of%20Margaret%20Mead.pdf
- BBC.2006. Tales from the Jungle. Margaret Mead. Documentary. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DjGRCi7ewtY (58 min). ▶ YouTube

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Governmental codes of conduct
Ethical Code for Agricultural Extension (Uganda)

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, ANIMAL INDUSTRY AND FISHERIES

Ethical Code of Conduct for Agricultural Extension and Advisory Services Providers

Ethical Code of Conduct for Agricultural Extension and Advisory Service Providers. Cover (section)
http://agriculture.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/Ethical-Code-of-Conduct-for-Agricultural-Extension-and-Advisory-Services-Providers.pdf?fbclid=IwAR2nzdBrlV9jkm-Qy1EeXwW2NtrFHx66GbaMHXeKSFvcVkiPbwGY9P1DGfI

- *"Target users of the ethical code:* individuals and organizations offering Agricultural Extension and Advisory Services (AEAS) to farmers and other actors in agricultural value chains in Uganda.

- *Integrity:* All AEAS providers *should follow government policies and regulations;* …should not engage in sexual or intimate behaviour or relationships with their clients; …desist from actions that confer a personal benefit outside their terms of employment.

- *Diversity & Inclusion:* recognise that *some farmers or clients are more vulnerable* and may require additional support and assistance; strive *to communicate* with farmers or clients in a *manner they can understand* by avoiding technical jargon and using a language which some of them do not understand; …*avoid* favouritism, political biases, religious sectarianism and *tribalism.*

- *Cultural & Gender Sensitivity:* dress code, conduct, and other behaviour should be *sensitive to the farmer's or client's beliefs, values and practices*; *employ approaches and methods that promote access* to services by men, women, male and female youth as well as the various ethnic categories of farmers or clients[....]" *[Uganda/ Ministry of Agriculture n.d.]*

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Global Code of Conduct
Equitable research relationships in resource poor settings

SAN Code of Research Ethics. Cover. Screenshot 15/10/20. M. Schönhuth. http://trust-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/San-Code-of-RESEARCH-Ethics-Booklet-final.pdf

- *"The SAN Code of Research Ethics requires all researchers intending to engage with San communities to commit to four central values, namely fairness, respect, care and honesty, as well as to comply with a simple profess of community approval"* (South African San Institute 2017. http://trust-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/San-Code-of-RESEARCH-Ethics-Booklet-final.pdf.

- A 'landmark collaborative initiative' towards a global code of conduct for research in resource poor settings is the EU-funded TRUST project launched in 2018.

- It addresses the challenges of so-called *'ethics dumping' "[..] in which practices that would be ethically unacceptable in Europe are used in low- and middle-income countries where strong legal frameworks and ethics compliance mechanisms may be lacking."*

- *[...]"The TRUST project aims to prevent such practices, especially by giving vulnerable populations a voice and a central role in deciding how research should be conducted and used." [...]supporting long-term equitable research relationships between partners in lower-income and high-income settings based on fairness, respect, care and honesty."* [TRUST 2018]

- One output of this project is a *"Fair Research Contract toolkit"* that should support actors in low- and middle income settings to achieve equitable research contracts with research teams from high-income settings. *[SEE: http://frcweb.cohred.org/self-assessment-tool/]*

- Another output is the *"San Code of Research Ethics"* (see left).

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Power differentials in writing in academia
The crux with co-authorship in career planning

Buzz Group

Until a few years ago, the principle of 'single authored pieces' prevailed in the cultural and social sciences, especially when it came to career-relevant publications.

Today main funding bodies like the European Research Council (ERC) favor team- based research, with principal investigator (PI) and Postdocs/PhDs.

- *What experiences have you made in your scientific environment?*

- *Which standards apply there, what is your personal strategy?*

- *What standards apply when publishing with senior-ranked researchers?*

A white paper from the Publishing house Taylor &Francis in 2017 reveals:

- Co-authorship is increasingly common: *74%* of respondents reported that the typical number of authors per paper in their area of expertise is now *two or more.*

- The most common challenges of co-authorship are related to the order in which author names should be listed.

- In practice too much weight is placed on being a senior ranked researcher, the supervisor of a doctoral student, or a research grant holder.

- Just 18% have received training or guidance from their institution concerning academic authorship.

- Source: Taylor&Francis. 2017. Co-authorship in the Humanities and Social Sciences. A global view. A white paper from Taylor & Francis. https://authorservices.taylorandfrancis.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Coauthorship-white-paper.pd0f.

Good reads:

- El Kotni, Mounia, et al. 2020. "Introduction: Co-authorship as Feminist Writing and Practice." Member Voices, Fieldsights, February 6. *https://culanth.org/fieldsights/introduction-co-authorship-as-feminist-writing-and-practice [The essays "push back against the long-held narrative that single-authored publications are the most valued and legitimized form of ethnographic work"]*
- On misconduct on the part of the editors at the prestigious Journal of Ethnographic Theory, HAU, see E.C. Dunn 2018: The problem with Assholes: *publicanthropologist.cmi.no/2018/06/20/the-problem-with-assholes/;* on the reply of the editor: da Col. 2019. New publishing demands new magic. https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/704160

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Abuse of power, bullying and harassment situations with supervisors

The Case of Tania Singer I

Moritz Hager/WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM/ Flickr (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0)

https://www.thecut.com/2018/08/worlds-top-empathy-researcher-revealed-as-a-bully.html#comments (08/03/2020)

In order to avoid a further escalation of the situation, Singer resigned from her director position in agreement with the Max Planck Society . She is now Professor and scientific Head of the Social Neuroscience Lab of the Max Planck Society in Berlin
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tania_Singer (retr. 4.52020)

Isn't it ironic? World's Top Empathy Researcher Revealed As a Bully

- "Tania Singer is known for her extensive, well-regarded research on the subject of human empathy. [..] Co-workers say that Singer, who is currently on a one-year sabbatical from her position as director of the Max Planck Institute for Human Cognitive and Brain Sciences in Leipzig, Germany, is known for leading meetings that leave her subordinates 'in tears', and that she's been especially hard on employees who become pregnant. […]

- In early 2017, after years of more informal attempts to mediate the situation, lab members called for a meeting with MPG's scientific advisory board to raise their concerns. This led to six meetings with a mediator, which lab members say did little to address the issues raised. In December, Singer announced her sabbatical.

- She has yet to comment publicly on this story, but previously acknowledged some mistakes in internal communications sent to MPG representatives, writing that 'Problems associated to my exhaustion due to having to carry and be responsible for [a] huge and complex study' were partly to blame for her behavior. As of now, Singer is expected to return to work in January 2019, working with 'a new, smaller' research group in Berlin."
The Cut-Online Magazine https://www.thecut.com/2018/08/worlds-top-empathy-researcher-revealed-as-a-bully.html

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Abuse of power, bullying and harassment situations with supervisors

The Case of Tania Singer II

Buzz Group

- Take a look at that case of a renowned neuroscientist at a German research institution in 2018 (previous slide): In your opinion, has the case been dealt with satisfactorily?

- If you were affected as a junior researcher, would you know where to turn for support in your country / at your institution? Do you know of positive examples?

- Think of steps and structural measures that could be taken to improve the dependency situation within the scientific community, on the level of *"prevention", "protection"* and *"arbitration".*

- → *If you require further inspiration for structural measures, see: https://www.phdnet.mpg.de/news/2018/power-abuse-statement.*

- → *For a list of ombudspersons in the German scientific community, see: https://ombudsman-fuer-die-wissenschaft.de/?lang=en.*
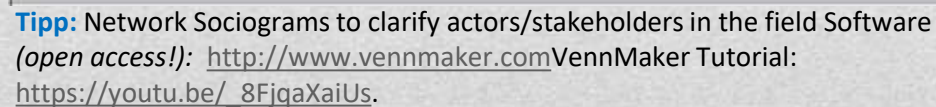
Statement of the Max Planck PhDnet Steering Group 2018

- "We [...] see the prevalence of power abuse and the difficulties to solve interpersonal conflicts as *a structural problem of the academic system.* The problem is caused by:

- *steep hierarchies* and *multi-dependencies* of young researchers on the one hand,

- *high pressure to publish* as well as a *lack of training in leadership and personnel development* of scientific leaders on the other hand.

- The *lack of robust and trustworthy mechanisms to report* and resolve conflicts makes it hard to help and protect victims of power abuse and harassment and even harder for perpetrators to receive honest feedback and learn from it. The existence of this problem has to be recognized by the academic system as a whole and we need to work on a solution together." *(Doctoral Researchers of the Max Planck Society)*

Good reads:
- PhDnet Steering Group. 2018. Position Paper on Power Abuse and Conflict Resolution. (August). https://www.phdnet.mpg.de/news/2018/power-abuse-statement.
- Kalman, Izzy. 2018. The True Irony of the Tania Singer Bullying Scandal. Posted Aug 15. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/resilience-bullying/201808/the-true-irony-the-tania-singer-bullying-scandal.

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IX. Complexity

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Doing ethnographic fieldwork in a complex world

Tipp: Network Sociograms to clarify actors/stakeholders in the field Software *(open access!):* http://www.vennmaker.com VennMaker Tutorial: https://youtu.be/_8FjqaXaiUs.

Good reads:
- On "Competing Ethical Obligations" in field research, see: http://ethics.americananthro.org/ethics-statement-4-weigh-competing-ethical-obligations-due-collaborators-and-affected-parties/.
- Crawford, Gordon et al. 2017. Understanding Global Development Research: Fieldwork Issues, Experiences and Reflections. London: Sage Publications.

- More and more ethnographers find themselves working in complex field settings. Going global for ethnographers has meant working with and between a range of individual and, at times, institutional actors.

- Multi-sited research, research in interdisciplinary contexts, with applied or transfer-oriented project components, mixed teams, research between countries, institutions, organizations, each with different expectations, (ethical) rules, regulations and governance structures shape today's research endeavors.

- ***Points to ponder:*** *Who are the main actors/ gatekeepers that structure or impinge on your chosen area of research? How do you (de-)construct your field? Whose rules do you have to follow, whose rules would you like to follow? Are there options for negotiation? (see also: Garner 2005)*

- *See the slide "Stakeholder Mapping" under 'Conduct: Anticipating Harms', to get an impression, of how you can create such an actor's diagram easily with a paper and pencil method.*

- *And last but not least: What might be your different roles in the field?*

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Self and other: shifting positionalities

Buzz Group

- Attributions of skin colour *("race"),* class *("milieu"),* gender, body, but also age, religion, region of origin, etc. create lines of difference that have varying effects on positionalities in the field.

- Can we escape 'othering' or being 'othered' – at least temporarily?

- How do these forms of intersectionality relate to issues of power, knowledge production, or ethical responsibilities as a researcher?

- Ethnographic literature usually discusses the positioning of researchers as insiders or outsiders on whether a researcher is part of the culture studied or external to it. This has changed.

- Weiner-Levy, an Israeli studying women from the Druze minority and Abu Rabia Queder studying her own people from the Bedouin community show how fluid positionalities in the field can be, where "[..] at times, belonging to the same culture or people and the consequent expectations of similarity might actually accentuate differences in status and lifestyle between researcher and participants, [..and an] alien researcher may be perceived unexpectedly as an insider regarding specific aspects of the participants' experiences and content world." [2011:1163]

- Doing his Masters degree in Germany, visual anthropologist Solomon Mekonen, had to recognize himself "[..]as a being who is *othered* in a racial classification that was not consciously part of my self-identification before I came to study in Berlin." [2021: 9] He also draws a comparative perspective to the domestic intercultural power relations in his country of origin, Ethiopia, where the ethnic group to which he belongs, the Amharas, *do the othering.*

Good reads:
- Weiner-Levy, Naomi &, Abu Rabia Queder, Sarab. 2012. Researching my people, researching the 'other': field experiences of two researchers along shifting positionalities. *Quality& Quantity* 46, 1151–1166. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-012-9677-4.
- Mekonen, Solomon A. 2021. I am Black Now: A Phenomenologically Grounded Autoethnography of Becoming Black in Berlin. Online-Essay. https://www.academia.edu/44914933/I_Am_Black_Now_A_Phenomenologically_Grounded_Autoethnography_of_Becoming_Black_in_Berlin.
- See also his award winning film: Emails to my little sister: Trailer: https://vimeo.com/solomonz.

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COVID and the end of ethnographic presence

Experiments in 'multimodal ethnography'

Buzz Group

- Has ethnographic fieldwork in its classical form become obsolete?
- Would *'letting anthropology burn'* permit us "[..] to imagine a future for the discipline unmoored from its classical objects and referents," as Ryan C. Jobson (2020:261) put it in an essay reasoning on the end of 'bourgeois', professionally 'fraternizing' anthropology recently?
- Find arguments for and against this position. To which fields would it be easily to apply, to which ones rather not?
- What about the ecological savings potential through digital interaction?

- In 2020/21 a world in quarantine brought all ethnographic fieldwork *'in situ'* to a halt. But does the field need the physical presence of the ethnographer at all? Collins and Durington argue for a new form of *'networked anthropology',* [..]"with people who are physically (not virtually) in their communities, and with whom we can interact digitally" [2021:93].

- Their *'bridging digital divide'* project in Baltimore engages local residents as ethnographers. The anthropologists only initiate the process and assist as consultants via regular *Zoom-meetings* and the help of *'Padlet',* a digital interactive pin-board, thus turning fieldwork into a community-led ethnography in a setting of *'experimental collaborations'* (cf. Estalella/ Criado 2019).

- Collins and Durington see this also as a way out of the dilemma that even in an anthropology striving to decolonize itself the *angst* of gaining (scientific) legitimacy by presence in the field would *contradict the ethos* pursued. [2021: 95]

Good reads:

- Jobson, Ryan Cecil. 2020. The Case for Letting Anthropology Burn: Sociocultural Anthropology in 2019. *American Anthropologist,* 122, 2, 259–271. https://www.academia.edu/43629443/The_Case_for_Letting_Anthropology_Burn_Sociocultural_Anthropology_in_2019.
- Collins, Samuel Gerald & Matthew Slover Durington. 2020. The Case for letting anthropology be quarantined: COVID and the end of ethnographic presence. *entanglements* 3,2, 92-96. https://entanglementsjournal.files.wordpress.com/2020/12/the-case-for-letting-anthropology-be-quarantined_collinsdurington-1.pdf.

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Ethics ends when dialogue ends

Towards a transactional ethics
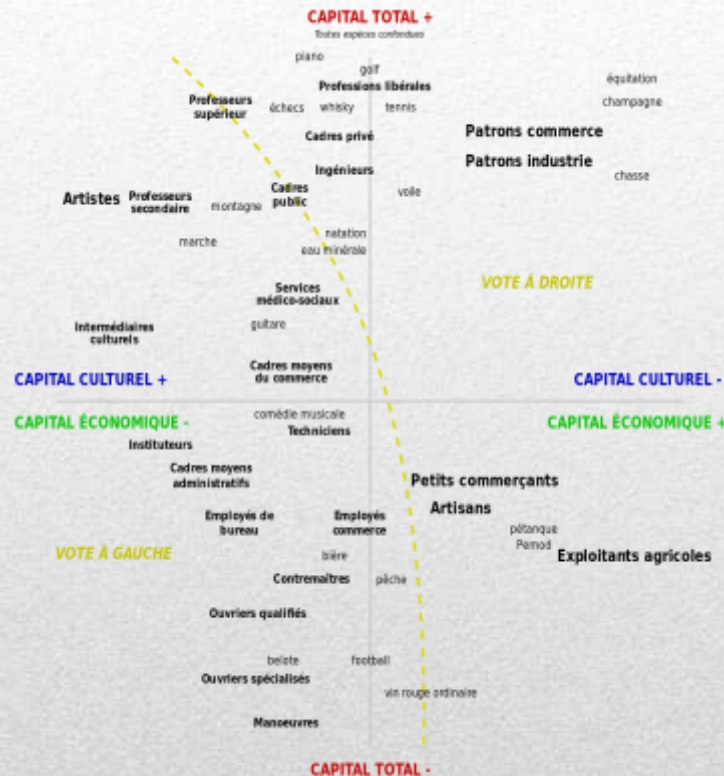
Social space and social practices according to Pierre Bourdieu Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Espace_social_de_Bourdieu.svg 10 Author: Nicolas Lardot

- In his article on *"Understanding"* in 1996, Pierre Bourdieu speaks of a structural bias inherent in empirical social research, which assigns a powerful and potentially violent position to the researcher from the onset:

- "It is the investigator who starts the game and who sets up its rules: it is most often she who, unilaterally and without any preliminary negotiations, assigns to the interview its objectives and uses, and on occasion these may be poorly specified – at least for the respondent. This asymmetry is underlined by a social asymmetry which occurs every time the investigator occupies a higher place in the social hierarchy of different types of capital, especially cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1996: 19).

- To work against this structural asymmetry, Wolff-Michael Roth 2018 proposes a transactional approach to research ethics, which focuses on the dual direction of the effects on the researcher–participant relation, where the question of power is not unilaterally attributed to the researcher, and…

- "[..]where form and content of the ongoing conversation between researcher and participant are dialogic, that is, open to continual development[..] *such that ethics ends 'when dialogue ends'."* [Roth 2018: 27/28]

Good reads:

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1996. Understanding. *Theory, Culture & Society 13,2, 17-37.* https://doi.org/10.1177/026327696013002002.
- Roth, Wolff-Michael. 2018. A Transactional Approach to Research Ethics. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 19, 3, Art. 1, http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-19.3.3061.

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The ultimate book on ethical ethnographic research

„Start, Stumble, Fall, Stand up, and Use Your Own best judgement At All Times"*

On ethical dilemmas in professional practice

- *"Fieldwork, however much one plans, tends to be a messy experience.*
- *Doing ethnography requires participation, risks, mistakes and plain luck (both good and bad)."* Garnerr n.d. (b)

* *I have taken this quote from a workshop of one of my mentors, Robert Chambers, on participatory methods in the 1990s. It was the only sentence in a book of otherwise blank pages, titled: "The ultimate participatory methods handbook."*

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- AIATSIS (2020/07/31; Draft): Guide to a distress protocol: https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/docs/research-and-guides/ethics/consult/part_c_distress_protocol.docx.
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- AIATSIS. 2020b. A Guide to applying the AIATSIS Code of Ethics for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Research https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/2020-10/aiatsis-guide-applying-code-ethics_0.pdf.
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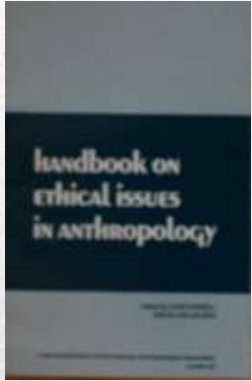
If a link got lost in the orcus of the worldwide web, try a search engine with the surname of the author and a string from the title. Otherwise ask me for an electronic copy (schoenhu@uni-trier.de).

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Annex

Annex: Ethical Dilemmas: Cases and Solutions

Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology; ed. by Joan Cassell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 1987: Cases and Solutions https://www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=12912&RDtoken=38123&amp&navItemNumber=731;userID=5089 (retrieved: 07/10/2020).

Good reads (more books with Case Studies):
- Appell,G.N. 1978. Ethical Dilemmas in Anthropological Inquiry: A Case Book. Waltham, MA: Crossroads Press.
- Rynkiewich, M.A. and J. P. Spradley. 1976. Ethics and Anthropology: Dilemmas in Fieldwork. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

The 12 cases are presented in a format that asks the reader to solve each dilemma. The solutions used by the anthropologists will follow. Some readers disagreed with the "solution" presented by given fieldworkers. Their comments are also included:

Case 1: To Medicate or Not to Medicate
Case 2: Who Owns the Field Notes?
Case 3: Witness to Murder
Case 4: Hiding a Suspect
Case 5: Anonymity Declined
Case 6: Anonymity Revisited
Case 7: Robbers, Rogues, or Revolutionaries: Handling Armed Intimidation
Case 8: The Case of the Missing Artifact
Case 9: "Hot" Gifts
Case 10: Professor Purloins Student's Work: Her Recourse?
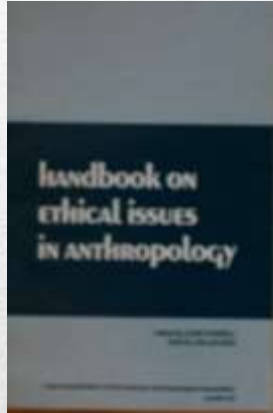**Case 11: The Case of the Falsified Data**
Case 12: Possible Conflict of Interest

Annex: Ethical Dilemmas: Cases and Solutions

Handbook on Ethical Issues in Anthropology; ed. by Joan Cassell and Sue-Ellen Jacobs, 1987: Cases and Solutions https://www.americananthro.org/LearnAndTeach/Content.aspx?ItemNumber=12912&RDtoken=38123&amp&navItemNumber=731;userID=5089.

Questions concerning possible courses of behavior. Comments by anthropologists and ethicists recruited by Joan Cassell for publication in Anthropology Newsletter follow each case:

Case 13: The Suspect Questionnaire
Case 14: The Hazardous Consent Forms
Case 15: The Case of the Egyptian Travel Agent
Case 16: What's in That Bottle? What's in That Pipe?
Case 17: The Case of the Damaged Baby
Case 18: "A Little Thing Like Plagiarism"
Case 19: Backstage Maneuvers
Case 20: Power to the People
Case 21: Ethical Dilemmas and Moral Responsibilities
Case 22: Forbidden Knowledge
Case 23: Slow Code
Case 24: Site Unseen
Case 25: The Runaway Wife