

Correspondence

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the expected behavior for males—whether players or spectators—is aggression, alcohol consumption and sexual release.

One would think, therefore, that increasing the number of prostitutes and the venues to house them would simply be a practical, business matter.

That might be the case if all the women working as prostitutes were doing so of their own free will and prostitution was their chosen profession, but that is often not the case. The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women asserts that a large

number of women were trafficked. "Reports prior to the games indicated, for example, that young girls were being recruited from Brazilian school yards to go to Germany—all expenses paid—allegedly to root for their national team. Schoolyard recruiting is a tactic, often used by traffickers, to draw unsuspecting girls into the sex trade. Local women in prostitution in parts of Africa also reported that attempts were made to organize and subsidize their transportation and documents so that they could be prostituted in Germany during the World Cup Games. ... Police have little knowledge of who constitutes the 90 percent of foreign women in German sex venues during normal times and how they arrived there."

The coalition goes on to point out, "The problem with the German system of legalized prostitution and the emphasis on "forced" prostitution is the lack of recognition that economic, social and psychological conditions make many women vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Let us put these facts into anthropologists' discussions about global sports events like the World Cup.

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Photographic Ethnographies

I am disappointed to see the December issue of *AN* wasting space with an article on digital cameras when such information is readily available at hundreds of websites. Apparently we have not progressed very far

from the days when "Notes and Queries in Anthropology" devoted space to which film to take to the tropics but nothing about how to take photographs that convey ethnographic knowledge and insight or how to construct a photographic ethnography. Sadly enough our profession seems stuck with using photographs in the most superficial illustrative manner. There are too few examples of photographic ethnographies since the 1941 publication of Mead and Bateson's *Balinese Character*. With a great potential of the web and multimedia technologies we need more discussions of problems that are more sophisticated and complex than which camera to use.

Jay Ruby

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Ethical Challenges for Anthropological Engagement

In National Security and Intelligence Work

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The Ad hoc AAA Commission on the Engagement of Anthropology with the US Security and Intelligence Communities formed earlier this year (Sept 2006 *AN*, p 25–26) has begun its work. The commission is to provide information and recommendations on the following: the varied roles practitioners and scholars are playing in intelligence and national security agencies; the state of AAA's existing guidelines on such involvement; and *the key ethical, methodological and practical/political challenges faced by anthropology in current and future engagement.*

The final report of the commission is due in November of 2007, and we (together with David Price) are in the preliminary stage of thinking about what key ethical questions are raised by anthropological engagement with US security and intelligence communities. What we write here represents some initial thinking, and we invite commentary, debate and additions to the following selected issues that we raise.

Revisiting "Secret" Research

One key challenge is the revived question of secret, or classified re-

search: that is, research not to be publicly disseminated, and the fact that it is at variance with the AAA Code of Ethics standard of openness and dissemination of research (Section III). The first such code adopted by the AAA (the Principles of Professional Responsibility, 1971), stated that "no secret research, no secret reports or debriefings of any kind should be agreed to or given" (PPR, 6). As the Vietnam war era faded, the nation and the profession of anthropology moved away from this zero tolerance position to a statement in the current

what to think and how to behave. Trapped between fear and patriotism, anthropologists may perceive conflicts between those whom we study and loyalty to one's country. Anthropologists are neither aloof nor unmoved—older colleagues are troubled and are reminded of the trauma left behind by the Vietnam war era, and younger anthropologists may wish to use their discipline to "serve their country." Anthropologists seeking employment or wishing to consult or subcontract with intelligence and national security agencies

work, it may have to be asked: who or what is an anthropologist? If anthropological training conveys anthropological credentials, then are all anthropologically-trained employees of intelligence and national security agencies anthropologists? Or are they defense and intelligence workers who may or may not have been hired specifically as an anthropologist? Lacking any formal licensing process, other than professional degrees, what boundaries exist between what is and what is not anthropological, or who is and who is not an anthropologist?

What other tensions and conflicts may exist between the AAA Code of Ethics and anthropological work in national security and intelligence



ON ANTHROPOLOGY AND US SECURITY/INTELLIGENCE

Code of Ethics where secrecy is not explicitly addressed, but appropriate dissemination of results of research is suggested. While secrecy is key to national security work, in the current era there are also demands for increasing transparency; as a result, variable degrees of secret and classified research may exist and might be negotiated by anthropologists.

In the post Cold War, post 9/11 world, anthropologists may choose employment and research within defense and intelligence agencies relating to national security. Does the Code of Ethics or any other statement by the AAA address the ethical issues that may arise in such work? Given the present climate of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; fear of nuclear proliferation; and the seemingly invisible enemies being combated in the amorphous Global War on Terror, it is small wonder that anthropologists are confused about

might be advised about the history of concerns about secret research and understand the limits of classified/unclassified research they may carry out. How is ethical responsibility to be located if anthropologists are a part of teams of national security and behavioral scientists working on a project? What do anthropologists who work in intelligence and national security agencies think about openness and dissemination of their research activities?

Furthermore, what are the ethical responsibilities regarding engagement with national security agencies for the increasing numbers of AAA members who are not citizens of the US? Are we to develop principles and standards that are as international as they are national?

Defining an Anthropologist

In debating the engagement of anthropology with national security

work? Anthropological ethics may be compromised by national security mandates that conflict with standards of informed consent of participants in research. According to the education mandate of our Code of Ethics and ethics program, responsibility for grappling with complex involvements, obligations and potential conflicts rests with the individual anthropologist. Does the education mandate of our code and program provide a sufficient base for vigorous debate that would assist anthropologists in making informed choices?

There are certainly limits to the role the AAA might be expected to play in the debate about anthropology's role in intelligence and security, however, the work of the commission will aid in bringing the issues to the fore. We welcome the input from colleagues within the umbrella of the AAA and beyond our national and disciplinary borders. □