

TRIERER MATERIALIEN ZUR ETHNOLOGIE NO. 7

ETHICAL GUIDELINES
of the Workgroup
Development Anthropology (AGEE)

Impressum:

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Trierer Materialien zur Ethnologie 7

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ISSN 1616-7147

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Ethical Guidelines of the Workgroup Development Anthropology e.V. (AGEE)¹

1. Introduction

Why ethical positioning? Development co-operation takes place in a complex field involving the tensions of different value systems and unequal power relations. Again and again there arise misunderstandings, conflicts, dilemmas and the necessity to weigh up contradictory values and interests. Typical dilemmas in the practice of development policies are for instance value conflicts between local legal concepts and universal human rights or contradictions between local short-term and universal as well as long-term global development goals. Anyone who, either for research or in a practical capacity, is employed and earns a living in this milieu, which is characterised by multiple asymmetries, must have a position.

Preliminary work: in 2001 the Workgroup Development Anthropology (AGEE) after many years of prior discussion presented the *Ethische Leitlinien* (Ethical Guidelines) which offered a framework for responsible work for those working in the short and long-term in the area of development co-operation in the context of ethical dilemmas. These guidelines are now intended to be abstracted out of the inner circle of German development co-operation and placed in an overall development political and at the same time international context. For this purpose in the past few months the AGEE, under the editorial leadership of Stefan Neumann and Marco Heinz and with the consultative collaboration of Christoph Antweiler, Frank Bliss and Michael Schönhuth, has developed an analysis of the international discussion of the past two years on ethics and the practice of development co-operation and comparable working fields as well as the draft ethical guidelines produced to date by significant actors, and has created a working report.²

Ethics – for whom and when? The most important results have been summarised, with due consideration to the existing ethical guidelines of the AGEE, in the form of the present position paper, which covers central fields in which ethical dilemmas (can) arise in development practice. This position paper is designed to provide stimuli for reflection on ethically appropriate actions on the most varied levels of intervention within development co-operation, and for the most varied circles, situations and interaction contexts. It is directed towards representatives of both state and non-state development co-operation in country-

¹ The draft of the Ethical Guidelines was created by Frank Bliss, Marco Heinz and Michael Schönhuth in co-operation with Christoph Antweiler and Stefan Neumann.

² The long version of the working report was published in the journal "Entwicklungsethnologie", the special edition "Ethik in der Praxis der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit" (Ethics in the Practice of Development Co-operation), Jahrgang 20 (1+2), 2013, published. The comprehensive volume can be ordered by e-mail from the AGEE (agee@gmx.net).

level development policy work, and the planning and implementation as well as success evaluation of development co-operation projects from individual measures and programs up to country-wide (sector) measures.

Even if ethical dilemmas on the political level are not the focal point of these reflections, and for reasons of focusing the question of the ethical justification of development co-operation is itself excluded, a great number of the dilemmas covered in this position paper are also relevant for political decision-makers and administrators in development co-operation. For example, the latter often have to react rapidly to the reports given by the executive organisations, for instance when corruption is spoken about or violation of human rights become public in the partner country or even in the area of intervention of their own development co-operation.

The basis of our³ ethics: if ethical principles are to have as broad acknowledgement as possible they must be founded on a common basis of values and be derived from this body of common values. This is the case with respect to human rights⁴ which have been accepted by almost all states and, insofar as they have been made the subject of agreements, have been ratified. Admittedly the list of human rights is not uncontroversial as the basis of a world-wide consensus of values due to the concrete historical conditions of its creation and power relations. However, due to its acceptance and legal security, which has now become overwhelming in bilateral and international disputes, and its uncontested function in the grounding of modern legally based approaches to development co-operation, for purely pragmatic reasons it is an obvious choice for a framework for a catalogue of common guidelines for ethically appropriate behaviour.

An approach based on human rights, as is taken by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development, as well as the United Nations with its subordinate organisations (UNDP above all), understands the combat against poverty and support measures in the area of basic needs, such as drinking water, healthcare or basic education, not as voluntary services but as the fulfilment of the legal entitlement of the poor which arises from human rights.

Areas of application: the position paper of the AGEE is generally directed towards *all* individuals who are active in practical development co-operation. It is designed to provide a stimulus for discussion on interaction with ethical dilemmas in the day-to-day on-site work and/or in the administrations of the institutions involved. With respect to ethical principles which are relevant to development, three levels can be distinguished: (i) general ethically grounded basic principles which are to be valid for all actors and stakeholders of development co-operation;

³ This refers to all actors in development co-operation who share the understanding of this position paper.

⁴ This refers to the international charter of human rights, hence the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights", as well as the "International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights" and the "International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights".

on a kind of intermediate level (ii) various specific ethical guidelines for action in institutional contexts which are directed at limited groups of people or professions; lastly (iii) recommendations for action for all those who are concretely active in development co-operation, adapted to different groups of people and situations (in the context of this position paper which is focused on employees in the implementation sector of development co-operation, without however excluding political decision-makers). This position paper is structured according to this threefold division: chapter 2.1 deals with ethically grounded basic principles for development political co-operation; in chapter 2.2 the topic is ethics in an institutional context and chapter 2.3 covers practical ethical goals for action.

What this position paper does not aim to do: The ethical dilemmas and action alternatives which are covered in the present position paper are not to be understood as an ethical code, nor should they be seen as a draft version of any such code which would aim at obliging all persons active in development co-operation to adhere to such ethical standards. This would be inadmissible due to the lack of underlying legitimation and representativeness. However if institutions active in development co-operation did agree on an ethical guideline for (German) development co-operation the introduction of an ethical code of an institution would be required which would be able to deploy effective sanctions in the event of contraventions against its stipulations. From a current point of view this is neither realistic nor desirable. However, the authors would welcome it if proposals from this position paper were picked up on in a wider context and if institutions extended their existing internal rules of conduct by adding ethical guidelines for the interaction with people in partner countries.

This position paper does not deal with the question of the basic validity of rights which, in the context of common UN conventions, have become self-evident such as for instance gender equality, women's rights and children's rights. However the question is posed who, with which cultural justifications, denies such rights, and which escape routes or mediation routes can be found out of incompatible values and legislation.

Ethically responsible behaviour – wish or universal ideal?

In his discussion of Plato's Utopia Bertrand Russell offers a practicable solution for this question: "Difference between an "ideal" and an ordinary object of desire: Ideal is impersonal - it is something having (at least ostensibly) no special reference to the ego of the man who feels the desire, and therefore is capable, theoretically, of being desired by everybody." (*The History of Western Philosophy, 1945*)

2. Ethics in the practice of development co-operation

2.1 Ethically based on basic principles

Any ethically grounded development co-operation activity cannot do without central points of reference, in the sense of the most basic requirements on the principles and goals of the kind of development co-operation which acts in the interest of poor people. From our perspective there are essentially five such points or pillars:

I. Development

Development is to be understood as the improvement of the situation of humans according to their own criteria and goals, as long as these do not damage others and in the context of common global responsibility. Striving towards social justice and ecological sustainability (including a sense of responsibility for public goods) is a logical consequence of this concept of development.

Insisting on resource protection as a form of paternalism? In a forest project in Burkina Faso the problem arose that part of the population in the programme area insisted on their right to send wood for sale to dealers from Ougadougou, although the savannah in the area surrounding the villages was already heavily degraded. The justification given for this was an urgent need for money after a year of extreme crop failures. The donor organisation supporting the regional development project thereupon refused to continue to sponsor the villages concerned.

II. Participation

Participation should not be seen as only a method but, as it is a prerequisite for the empowerment of the underprivileged, should be seen as an important goal of development policies. Participation implies that people formulate their own development goals and are significantly involved in the latter's realisation. Hence participation also means an empowerment of the disadvantaged and a questioning of power relations.

One should be aware that development co-operation workers always act within highly complex networks of social relations. For instance, affected persons do not always wish for patron-client relations to be changed, nor is this always immediately advantageous for them. It is therefore a great challenge for all those involved to realise the principle of participation in a way which is appropriate to the situation. This realisation must be demanded again and again from employers and other decision-making bodies. Hence it may be necessary to support the modification or termination of projects which are being carried out against the will of the local poor or disadvantaged population or even only of individual groups.

Participation as “social engineering”: The Kabala Rural Development Programme was agreed between the government of Kabbalah and an international development agency in order to improve the living situation of the rural population in 15 districts of Kabala. An interim evaluation showed that of the 120 schools built, after one year 30% were no longer in operation and of 400 hand pump wells as many as 60% were no longer operational. However, farmers’ representatives complained that they had gained no devices for agriculture through the programme. On the recommendation of the evaluators, development committees were founded in all districts with the task of managing the schools and wells better. In order to strengthen the motivation the committees received small funds with which they could provide the farmers with microcredits.

How should one deal with desired patron-client relations? An ethical dilemma may result when the people concerned, according to “their own criteria and goals”, wish to retain patron-client relations. What action should be taken if the patron has a high degree of legitimacy in the client’s view or if the client sees its interests as being represented by the patron?

III. (Universal) human rights

A universal view of human rights is generally advised even though it is known that the primacy of individual dignity and responsibility towards collective interests is not shared in every cultural context in the same way.

Universal human rights represent the answer of humanity to the common history of countless victims and unspeakable suffering, the experience of which has led to the common desire to end all the rape of humanity and define the rights of every human. In this sense human rights are to be seen more as defensive rights than positive rights, and are open to very varying and sometimes partially contradictory interpretations.⁵

In general, violations of human rights must never be accepted in the context of development co-operation. If sufficient proof thereof is available, an adequate framework must be found in order to point out these violations of human rights and contribute towards terminating them.

⁵ Following Johannes Müller (2002): Ethische Grundsatzprobleme in der Entwicklungspolitik: Der Imperativ menschlicher Solidarität und die Entwicklungsethnologie, in: Frank Bliss/Michael Schönhuth/Petra Zucker (eds.): Welche Ethik braucht die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. Beiträge zur Kulturkunde 22. Bonn, 50-64.

Excision – the acid test, and a “cut in the air” as a cultural alternative.

Scarcely any topic has occupied human rights activists as much as female genital mutilation. This, in the form of excision (removal of the clitoris) and “pharaonic circumcision” (infibulation) doubtless represents a particularly serious bodily injury and hence a violation of the human rights of women. The same activists are astounded that female genital mutilation is seen by many women in Egypt or in Sudan as being “normal”, as “leading women’s sexuality in the right direction” and even as being “beneficial for health”. Although they had to endure terrible suffering as girls, women are prepared to have their daughters also undergo genital mutilation.

However, an increasing number of women from the countries concerned are turning against this practice and are trying to change legislation in the direction of a ban on excision, and hence in the medium term bring about the doing away of this cultural practice. Communicative strategies between those affected and supporters are sometimes more constructive than campaigns of denunciation from the north: circumcision also always has historical, religious and social connotations.

Uncircumcised women in the Lobi in Burkina Faso, for instance, are not admitted to the ‘*Dyoro*’, the great initiation ceremony which only takes place every seven years, in which girls become women. Moreover, the circumcisers see their respected position and their profitable job as being in danger. The process of discussion, which was initiated and accompanied by the head of a local women’s organisation and a German doctor, between opponents of circumcision and the circumcisers in this case led to a compromise: the circumcision is continued symbolically. The gesture of cutting is replaced by a cut in the air without bloodshed (*Krämer, Paul, Ini Damien (1999): Can Female Excision Be Transformed into a Symbolic Rite? The Experience of Lobi Women in Burkina Faso. In: Entwicklungsethnologie 8 (1): 12-23.*

IV. Power and legitimacy

Public (and private) life in the world never takes place in spaces without power, neither in the big cities of the Third World nor in their slums, and not even in societies which seem to still have a largely traditional way of life. Power is exercised in legitimate and illegitimate ways in various degrees and countless varieties. In this context it seems to be ethically necessary *to be a partisan against the illegitimate exercise of power*, even if the latter is portrayed as being traditional, and to support an empowerment of the discriminated and disadvantaged societal groups.

In a positive sense (wherever it is possible) an attempt should always be made to work together with representative bodies in the partner countries, starting with the village self-help organisations, and including national unions, women’s associations, and advocacy organisations, all the way up to parliaments, insofar as these have sufficient legitimacy for those whom they represent. Working together with non-state organisations is particularly important when the state has difficulties or shows unwillingness to implement human rights.

Abuse of authority: Increasingly, in development co-operation, connections are sought with religious authorities, for example in order to bring health or education programs closer to the population. Monks, in the same way as other religious dignitaries in parts of south-east Asia, however often enrich themselves at the expense of the population, which in return hopes to have better karma. Despite the legitimacy which the transaction doubtless has for both sides, the poor are hereby deprived of money which is urgently needed to fulfil their basic needs. The same is true for some (not all) lucrative purification and healing practices in the context of West African witchcraft, which exploits the need of the poor in particular. Moreover particularly those who give a lot, such as corrupt state officials, sometimes do so with money which was actually meant to help the poor.

V. Partisanship in favour of those suffering discrimination and the disadvantaged

Bipartisanship is often seen as an important imperative for actors in development policy, in order to avoid conflicts. However, in our view bipartisanship is not an immutable principle. On the contrary, development co-operation and its actors should always expressly take the side of those people who are exposed to discrimination and are underprivileged.

For this purpose, if there are opposing interests, conflicts should also be reckoned with in the attempt to deconstruct privileges and promote redistribution. It should be noted that development co-operation projects often only have a temporarily favourable effect for the disadvantaged groups, which is why the risk of later retribution or restoration of former conditions should be considered early on.

Agricultural production aid and small-scale farmers: In the Indian state of West Bengal an international development agency supports the government in aiding agricultural productivity. The goal is to double rice and mustard seed crop outputs. Through the increased use and in some cases the introduction of artificial irrigation, crop outputs have been increased tenfold in some districts. However, since the first irrigation installations were handed over, it has been observed that numerous small farmers have given up their land and surrendered it into the hands of large-scale farmers. A study showed that since the beginning of the project considerable pressure had been exercised on small farmers to sell their land. There is even talk of hit squads which helped the sales to occur, and several deaths in the project area could be seen in an entirely new light in this context. Having gained this knowledge, the development co-operation agency which finances this program is considering stopping the financing if dialogues with the Indian partner do not lead to a clear and rapid solution in the favour of the small-scale farmers.

2.2 Ethics in institutional contexts

I. *Individual loyalties*

In practice it can be seen again and again that work in development policy institutions, from NGOs, state implementing organisations, all the way up to the ministry which is responsible for development co-operation, can lead to loyalty conflicts for the employees. Hence for example contradictions may arise between the rules which are (in some cases) legally binding for an institution such as its corporate identity and the fundamentals of social responsibility which the individual employees see as a commitment towards the people targeted by development co-operation.

False loyalty? In an international development co-operation agency there are strict hierarchies concerning the signing of binding documents as well as the publishing of official stances on projects and policies. One committed employee was not listened to in this context when she made her team leader aware of the fact that one important project caused significant damage to socially disadvantaged people and worked against the planned goals. There is no ombudsman in the agency or any other representative for such cases.

II. *Contradictory obligations*

Contradictions may also emerge between a development institution's code of conduct and profession-specific ethical guidelines. Recently in Germany it was found that the far-reaching ethical commitment of doctors (the Hippocratic oath) was in extreme contradiction with the corporate identity of many clinics which encourage maximisation of profit at least implicitly (by internally obliging doctors to practise "sustainable" economic management, in other words to carry out as many operations as possible which can be invoiced at a high price to health insurance companies). In some cases there may be irresolvable contradictions between the internal (ethical) codes of implementing organisations and private firms and the (normally more extensive) ethical guidelines of professional associations whose members are often active in development co-operation.

Sustainability or timely fulfilment of contract? Whoever is active as a sociologist, a doctor, a development anthropologist or a specialist evaluator in development co-operation wishes to opt particularly for sustainable solutions. Development co-operation in general, as well as each contribution in particular, is intended to bring a benefit especially to the poor, directly or indirectly. This aspiration, which is covered by ethical guidelines, may contradict firm-internal guidelines which focus on goals such as the reputation of the firm, its economic productivity, etc. An employee may for instance notice in the implementation of a particular measure that the contract is fulfilled on time, but only by ignoring violations of human rights, as demanded by some of the colleagues.

Often the demand for participatory negotiation of sustainable solutions in close contact with the target group requires additional time, which was not provided

for within the mechanism of a consultation or evaluation assignment. If an agency provides some freedom of action to consultants for this purpose, this makes it much easier to agree on additional days of field work.

III. Responsibility towards “the whole”

The “highest goal” of development policy, widespread poverty alleviation, is also valid for representatives of German development co-operation when they have contact with actors on the “partner” side with whom personal interaction is difficult, because they are partially responsible for the situation of poverty (e.g. because of corrupt behaviour). It is a particularly difficult decision how long co-operation can continue with such actors for the purpose of finding solutions to poverty, and to what extent new dependencies are thereby created or old dependencies legitimised.

Having those to blame as partners? Representatives of development co-operation, whether they are employees of the ministry responsible or representatives of an NGO, have the experience that they have to negotiate with state officers who are anything but development-oriented, but use great words about "common projects for the good of the citizens" which require increased funds from donors. In individual cases the representatives of development co-operation may even know that their interlocutors have embezzled a large amount of state funds or even are responsible for violations of human rights. Most of them would then prefer to stand up and go, or not to come to such discussions at all. However, would this be of profit for the goal of poverty alleviation in the country? Can co-operation with the interlocutors attain a better policy?

IV. The Limits of “Ethical Law”

Ethical recommendations or stipulations make little sense if they are used in an entirely non-binding manner on the rhetorical level. However it can also not be overlooked that a binding “ethical law” in a development institution could inappropriately limit the freedom of the employees to act on their own initiative in ethical borderline cases.

Maintaining responsibilities: the employee of an implementing organisation was confronted with the problem that in one area covered by the programme, massive human rights violations occurred against ethnic minorities. In order to avoid problems in programme implementation, he decided not to continue the measures there and instead concentrated on another region of the same country where the issue of minorities did not exist and conflicts between the population and the state authority were significantly less common. This seemingly “safe” way, which relied on conflict avoidance, ultimately led to the situation that the mountain peoples living in particularly difficult conditions in the districts for which the project was planned no longer gained any support. It

emerged that the decision did not gain unanimous support in the organisation and was also criticised by external evaluators.

2.3 Practical ethical action goals

I. Respect

Respect for other people – both individuals and groups or categories of people – and their characteristics counts for us as a basic ethical principle *par excellence*. Moreover, respect also applies to the natural environment (“creation”).

The principle of respect has particular significance precisely in the context of development co-operation, as here different value structures, both cultural and subcultural, often meet with each other. Encountering people of other cultural orientations in the framework of development co-operation is not just a great enrichment: the meeting of different world views and value systems can also be a cause of (sometimes massive) misunderstandings and obstacles to communicative interaction.

Supporting slave labour? In individual Sahel countries, but also in South Asia, various forms of slavery continue to exist. In the societies concerned slavery due to debt is seen as being normal. A project in the area of agriculture could lead to considerable increase in crop output and significantly increase the offer on the local markets, thereby making food cheaper for the bulk of the population. However, it is to be expected that work in the irrigation areas is primarily carried out by slaves, while the land owners are the only ones to pocket the additional profit from the project. This flagrant form of violation of human rights must be spoken about in dialogue with partners and dealt with.

Respect for different cultural models of interpretation and modes of action must however not lead to mere acceptance. Using human rights as a basis for drafting ethical guidelines and principles also imperatively entails describing and treating violations against human rights as crimes against humanity. Violations of human rights must be made a topic of discussion and be made public, and must also be spoken about in dialogue with the immediate partners. In the same way, far-reaching and irreversible interferences with nature are a sign of a lack of respect and need to be made a topic of discussion.

II. Ban on discrimination

In our view, the ban on discrimination, alongside the commandment of respect, is one of the most important pillars of practical development ethics. It is effective on every level, in every area and in every situation. The ban on discrimination is valid independently of whether the human features used for discrimination are hereditary, such as appearance or gender, acquired, such as worldview, or have

been gained in the course of life, such as age. It is also immaterial whether the acquired characteristics are intrinsically linked with the person or with other characteristics, whether they are in line with cultural traditions or were gained voluntarily.

The ban on discrimination is equally valid for individuals and for groups and categories of people, beginning with the members of the target group of a development project, including the employees of projects, up to persons indirectly concerned by such measures or entire population groups. However, in practice such a broad understanding of antidiscrimination is confronted with contradictory imperatives which are difficult to resolve.

Not including the Roma? One international development bank, in its communal development project in the Balkans, experienced the problem that in co-operation in the water and wastewater sectors, most communities insisted on excluding individual areas from the renovation measures. It was stated that the poor population living there, mostly Roma, do not pay any fees. For this reason the community did not want any improvements to be made there. The project manager wondered whether she should nonetheless support the project, as after all the communal utility companies depend on the fees in order to finance the operation of their installations.

III. The greatest possible benefit from development co-operation

Development co-operation has as its highest goal the greatest possible benefit for the end beneficiaries. However, this ethical principle should not be restricted to only the actual goal of poverty alleviation, but should characterise every action and every mode of behaviour. Since development co-operation can rarely act in a global manner but instead takes a selective approach, the principle should also refer to those persons who do not belong to the target group of the project.

Moreover, those persons who are directly involved in programmes, projects, or project sections/phases should gain the greatest possible benefit from their activity, for instance as employees, as informants in target group analyses, as participants in group discussions, or as members of user committees for local (social) infrastructure. This is particularly applicable when members of the target group could suffer immediate losses through their help, because they offer time which they actually need to gain a living. In such cases several donor organisations have decided to provide compensation. At the same time it is important for them that the greatest possible benefit of the latter persons does not have a negative impact on the greatest possible benefit of the final beneficiaries.

Benefit for the involved parties as an ethical dilemma: In Ethiopia, within the framework of a professional training seminar for judges and public prosecutors, work was to be done in selected villages on the conflict scenarios which were typical there. The seminar leader decided to give the 20 farmers who took part in the event compensation in the amount of the day's wages of a hired man, as the team came at the time of harvest and the participants had no concrete benefit from the event.

The leader of the same project behaved differently when later, in one of the two villages involved, within the framework of a participatory appraisal acute local gender conflicts were raised and solutions had to be sought for the village population. "Here the benefit for the people is obvious," was his justification for the lack of payment of the participants, although it was known that many participants in the workshop had paid a high price to participate in the workshop by doing without income and hence doing without food for their family.

IV. (Free Prior) Informed Consent, Transparency and Disclosure

Today there is a general consensus that beneficiaries or negatively affected circles of people should be informed early on of development projects and their agreement should be gained for the planned measures, even if this is not yet practised everywhere, and is practised with varying consistency. However, generally the principle of informed consent only refers to the target group level within defined projects. Often it only refers to those members of the target group which could be used or were intended to be used as informants within the framework of a target group analysis, a needs analysis or an evaluation.

However the principle of *informed consent* should be applicable on a high level for measures with country-wide effects, and should include the population of the partner country, i.e. important institutions in civil society and their legitimate representatives. *Transparency and disclosure* are in the same domain as informed consent principles, which should accompany the whole work and should not least also apply for the population of the donor countries, which would like to know what happens with its tax money.

Disclosure or not? In India, in co-operation with local NGOs in several states a watershed management was implemented. Redistribution of the land was planned in order to involve the poorest people (the landless, the *Adivasi*) in the project. For a long time there was internal discussion whether all of the goals of the project should be made public without any restriction or whether it would be better to keep the issue of land a "hidden agenda" and deal with it exclusively internally with the agency, only making it public at the stage of implementation. The decision was made for the latter solution in order to allow less room for counter-measures from larger landowners who may be affected.

V. Do no harm

This basic principle for the monitoring of the positive and negative effects of one's own actions, which has been derived from experiences of the conflict-inducing potential of emergency aid and development measures, should not only apply to the target groups of particular projects of development co-operation, or for poor people in general, but for all involved parties, which should include those population groups of the partner country who do not directly profit from particular projects or programmes. In principle the requirement applies to every individual who is directly or indirectly affected by measures or is involved in them, and hence to dependents of the target groups as well as for work colleagues.

A large detour around a village: In R. there is a considerable shortage of electricity, which in some parts of the country blocks economic development. Hence all parties welcomed the building of a dam at the K. River and two high-voltage power lines which together are approximately 220 km long. In the course of planning it emerged that in one area a pygmy village had to be crossed. Moreover, in at least three other sites there were old graveyards which also had to be passed over. The guidelines of the World Bank, which almost all donors had accepted, are clear: negative effects are to be avoided as far as possible and, if this is "inappropriate" (in other words "too expensive"), generous compensation is to be given which restores the affected person to the same economic level as before the project or even brings an improvement.

In this case the donors opted for the expensive way, as experts indicated that resettlement of the pygmies would destroy their way of life. The government swallowed the decision, even though the amount of the loan to be paid back rose by a further US\$1.5 million. However additional costs of €350,000 in order to make a detour around the graveyard were rejected, and affected people received a compensation of US\$1,500 per graveyard for the installation of electricity masts.

An essential aspect of the "do no harm" principle is the ethical guiding idea of the prevention of unintended effects, which can appear at any time in any project (e.g. due to lack of planning, due to unforeseeable events such as conflicts of interest, etc.). Hence a responsibility arises for everybody who becomes aware of these unintended negative effects to prevent them as far as possible, but at least to support their compensation.

Particular attention must be given to those persons and groups of people who may be seen as being particularly vulnerable. This does not just include all poor people, but also disadvantaged sociocultural minorities, the indigenous population, as well as potentially women, children, senior citizens, people with a disability or other people who for any other reason are to be seen as being disadvantaged or subject to discrimination.

The protection of the private sphere and the protection of data and informants which are stipulated in the charter of human rights also belong to the principle of "do no harm" (but not only to this).

Protection of informants as an ethical dilemma: in Armenia in 2010 a study on the water and waste water situation in the capital Yerevan was assigned to a consultancy firm. The questions involved informants giving an opinion on the quality of services to date and the diligence of the municipal companies. Information also had to be given on the income of the household. The expert who was assigned the mission refused to record the name, address and telephone number of the approx.1200 informants, as this would endanger the ethical principles of absolute anonymity and protection of informants. Only after long negotiations and the threat of the expert not to accept the assignment did the employer give in (see also the introduction to the volume "Ethik in der Praxis der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit" (Ethics in the Practice of Development Co-operation) of the journal *Entwicklungsethnologie* 20. Jg. 2013.

VI. Empathy

Without empathy fruitful interaction with different cultural models of interpretation is inconceivable. Empathy should not only be the basis of every individual interaction, but should refer specifically to those interaction contexts in which partners have different cultural repertoires which could give rise to misunderstandings. Cultural misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the behaviour of interaction partners do not give rise to merely human problems. They can also bring about serious obstacles in practical development co-operation and can impede or even stop the execution of concrete work. Those who are active in international development co-operation must always be ready to get used to new situations, new languages and new cultural customs. The amount of time and financial resources allocated to employees to prepare themselves professionally for this can be seen as an indicator of the seriousness with which the institution pursues this goal. On the other hand this often comes into conflict with the obligation towards donors and financiers of appropriate use of means.

€30,000 of donors' money saved: The development organisation *Wells for the World* planned a project in T. with donors' funds. Two workers were to help to renovate the wells and carry out hygienic measures in the villages. The management of the charitable aid organisation had some objections to using €30,000 of the scarce donors' funds for a three-month local training programme for both workers before their intervention. However, the issue of water and above all of hygiene is embedded in a particularly complex sociocultural environment.

VII. Fairness within the opening up of the confidentiality clause

If, particularly in contracts, we commit not to make public information which we gain within the context of a development project, this means at the same time that we exercise fairness towards our employers, do not disseminate any of their financial or personal data, and also do not do anything which could unduly place

those involved in a bad light. Violations of human rights and other criminal acts are excepted from this.

VIII. Sexual self-determination

Sexual self-determination should always be respected everywhere, even if in the respective cultural context there are seemingly acceptable deviations from this principle.

“Normal” prostitution – should one take part? According to the rules of the few development co-operation organisations which have ethical stipulations for such cases, attention must be paid to the possibility of forced prostitution in Thailand and the Philippines, even if native colleagues issue an invitation to the brothel. It is more difficult to judge with respect to the offers of accompaniment which may be locally common (apparently almost exclusively for men). Should these always be rejected on principle?

IX. Military and secret services

Mixing development-related activity and military or secret service activity is ethically objectionable in principle. This is particularly the case for projects which, in their goals and resources, do not lie within our own power of decision. What should not be excluded in principle is passing on information and other contributions which may aid understanding of social and cultural contexts and which are in the interests of the population in a crisis area or of the people who are to be brought in connection with military or secret service activities. This is particularly applicable for such information which could contribute towards preventing military or other violence.

X. Corruption and “vested interests”

Often *bribes* make it easier to carry out work in the context of projects and programmes. Particularly firms in specific countries are regularly asked for the payment of “money to speed things up”. Non-participation in procedures characterised by corruption should be the rule for all those involved in development co-operation, even if this may bring disadvantages. Demands which have an influence on the course of the project should be documented in such cases and also brought up in partner dialogue.

Releasing the car with a “baksheesh”? The pick-up truck for the K. Rural Development Programme had been in customs for three months in the capital city D., and all attempts to bring in the car, which was urgently needed for the project, without fees by referring to a bilateral agreement had failed so far. The project leader advised the gender expert of the project, for whom the car was intended, to pay the responsible customs officer a payment to speed things up so that she could finally begin work on site.

It is even more difficult to evaluate the payment of money to speed things up in cases where the involved parties apparently do not receive the wages which are necessary for the maintenance of their family and so they pursue other alternative income-generating activities which they prefer to their actual task, which as a consequence can lead to awkward delays in project progression.

A second salary: Mr. Y, who had been seconded by the state ministry of infrastructure, had been sitting at three months as the official programme leader in his office in the provincial city L. He had not yet gone to the construction sites, although quality control there was one of his specific tasks. After two further months and considerable delays in the progress of the project, when Mr Y was still not willing to fulfil his tasks, the foreign consultant, after speaking with the delegating organisation, decided to give him a daily payment for every day spent on the construction site. This constituted seven times his current salary. Mr Y now fulfils his tasks daily.

Final note

The present ethical guidelines of the Workgroup Development Anthropology were constructed by a working group of the AGEE over a period of almost two years between September 2011 and May 2013. This working group included (in alphabetical order) Christoph Antweiler, Frank Bliss, Marco Heinz, Stefan Neumann, and Michael Schönhuth. A number of comments were contributed by members of the AGEE as well as interested third parties. An essential contribution towards the contents was also made by the participants of the conference "*Ethik in der Praxis der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*" (Ethics in the Practice of Development Co-operation), which the AGEE organised from 15 to 16 May 2012 in Bonn with the support of the Federal Ministry for Development and Cooperation (BMZ) and in co-operation with the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF) of the University of Duisburg.

The results of the conference, as well as comprehensive research on the ethical stipulations made by internationally active organisations focussed on development in the wider sense, is printed in the journal of AGEE e.V.: ENTWICKLUNGSETHNOLOGIE, Volumes 1+2, 20. Jahrgang 2013. ISSN 0942-446 and ISBN 978-3-921876-37-4. This volume has 512 pages and costs €30. It can be ordered from the publishing house PAS - Adenauerallee 10 – D-53113 Bonn, email: info@pas-bonn.de.