

sized again, that this clash with the values of privacy is not unique to behavioral research.⁴³ The rules of conduct which can accommodate behavioral research to the claims of private personality may, it is hoped, provide useful parallels in other areas.

V. BEHAVIORAL RESEARCH AND INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY

The traditional methods of behavioral research may, on occasion, involve a violation of the individual claim to private personality.⁴⁴ These traditional research methods can be grouped into three broad types: first, self-descriptions elicited by interviews, questionnaires, and personality tests; secondly, direct observations and recording of individual behavior; and thirdly, descriptions of a person by another serving as an informant, or the use of secondary data such as school, hospital, court or office records.

These three major research methods do not necessarily lead to a violation of the claim to privacy. All may be, and most often are, used under conditions of anonymity or individual consent and with strict control over confidentiality. Nevertheless, each method, if improperly employed, can make serious inroads on personal privacy. Thus, some personality tests induce the subject unwittingly to reveal more about himself than he wishes to; carefully designed questionnaires and interview procedures can be used to trap the individual into making public those facts and feelings about himself or others that he would not wish to disclose. Direct observational methods similarly can involve privacy invasion; as, for example, in the use of one-way glass for the observation of children without their knowledge, or in the use of an unidentified participant observer such as a social scientist pretending to be either a patient in a mental hospital or a member of a minority group, or a drug addict among troubled juveniles. Descriptions of one individual by another, either oral or in the form of written records, can also be used in ways that invade the individual's privacy. Illustrative is information elicited from children about their parents' life together, or the description of husbands by wives, or the use of 'institutional records, originally compiled for one purpose, for quite another. An example of the latter is found when school data are made available to outsiders for research not related to the administration of the educational program. It is the same when welfare data are made available for purposes not connected with the welfare objectives for which they were obtained.

Each of these three basic research methods may engage one or both of the two central—and ethical—issues which are at the core of the relationship between research and personal privacy. These are first, the degree of individ-

43. See notes 24-29 *supra* and accompanying text.

44. They may also involve the invasion of group or institutional privacy. One example is provided by research on minority groups or associations. See note 32 *supra*.