be left solely to the decision of the research investigator. There should be some strong element of community approbation; the delicate balancing of the colliding values involved should reflect more than a single point of view.

Community consensus can obviously be expressed in laws, judicial decisions, or political constitutions. But it demands no such formal manifestation, and can also be expressed in far more subtle but equally pervasive ways. For example, consensus can be expressed in the values of our peers as they are articulated to us. Consensus can be formed through the stated views of our opinion leaders whether they be leaders in government or industry, in labor, the professions or the clergy. Consensus can also be reflected in the provisions of collective bargaining contracts between labor and management, in the executive orders or instructions issued by Presidents, cabinet officers, personnel directors, and administrators of all kinds.

Yet, most appropriate for scientific research—as it is for all the professions—is the expression of a consensus on values in a published and operative code of ethics. Such a code yields a triple return—it articulates the values involved, uplifts thereby the awareness and standards not only of the profession but the entire community, and can provide a means for disciplining transgressions within the profession.

Thus, in launching any behavioral research project, the investigator should first determine whether voluntary, informed consent, as well as anonymity, can be accommodated with the integrity of the research. If not, the investigator should then ascertain whether the community consensus approves the conduct of the research, under the proposed conditions, without the actual consent and anonymity of the subjects. As a minimum, this means the knowledgeable concurrence of those responsible for both the research project (for example, the financing institution) and for the well being of the subject (as, for example, the administration of the college he attends). The history of public health and medicine in this country, and earlier in Europe, gives many illustrations of the establishment of just such a community consensus on the invasion of privacy for the general welfare.[56]

One may anticipate that, as behavioral science develops and its contributions to society increase, the democratic process may afford to it more occasions of publicly approved invasions of personal privacy.

VII. The Concept of Confidentiality

Whether private data are collected with consent, or without consent but with society's permission because of the perceived public interest involved, the minimal requirements of privacy seem to call for the retention of the private data in a manner that assures its maximum confidentiality consistent with the

56. See note 45 *supra.*