



that deploys anthropologists with combat units in Iraq and Afghanistan. Designed by FMSO staff, the HTS program gathers military intelligence using many of the same techniques used by the Bowman Expeditions – including ethnographic mapping (Kipp, Grau, Prinslow, & Smith, 2006). The American Association of Anthropologists has investigated its members' role in the HTS program, concluding that their involvement violates professional ethics (AAA, 2007). Herlihy and Dobson have sought to avoid similar scrutiny by insisting that the scholarly focus of their work will help avoid wars. "The human terrain concept," they write, "however controversial, sits at the core of our discipline and recognizes that the same geographical understanding needed to conduct wars is also essential for avoiding them in the first place" (Herlihy et al., 2008b: 399–400).

Herlihy's and Dobson's logic resonates with arguments for using American military power to address humanitarian concerns, their claims to scholarly purpose thinly veiling the military applications of their work. Herlihy's final report on the *México Indígena* project filed with the FMSO describes using the data collected to create "digital geographies of the human terrain that the General – or general public – can visualize by moving an icon through a multi-scale geography of a place and its people, displaying the language, ethnicity, religion, political affiliation, and other significant features deemed important for a particular humanitarian, military, scientific, or economic reason" (Herlihy et al., 2008a: 35). The "General" referred to is Petraeus. On October 20, 2006, Herlihy and Dobson had the opportunity to personally make their appeal, briefing Petraeus in a meeting at Fort Leavenworth. Following the meeting, they enjoyed a private tour of the base that included a group photo in front of the Buffalo Soldier statue commemorating the U.S. "Indian Wars" and a peek into quarters used by General George Armstrong Custer (Dobson, 2006b).

The references to 19th Century Indian Wars are ironic given Herlihy's and Dobson's discussion of indigenous peoples as a potential security threat, invoking colonial notions of trusteeship. Echoing assessments of indigenous organizations in Latin America as threats to (Radcliffe, 2007), Herlihy and Dobson write, "indigenous peoples' demands for land tenancy and territorial autonomy challenge Mexico's neoliberal economic policies – and democracy itself" (Herlihy et al., 2008b: 402). Their prognosis also appears to reference recent events in the regions mapped by the project. Herlihy's team began mapping indigenous lands in Oaxaca in 2006 in the midst of one of the largest protests in recent Mexican history. For six months, an alliance of indigenous organizations and unions occupied the capital city of Oaxaca, making a range of political demands that included opposition to neoliberal reforms. Mexican officials branded the protests a national security threat, using Federal Police to break up the protests and killing at least seventeen people during the crackdown. Security concerns also drive interests in a third area initially included in the *México Indígena* project, the Sierra Tarahumara in Chihuahua. The region is notorious for drug trafficking, an activity singled out by Pentagon strategists as placing Mexico at risk of becoming a "failed state" (United States Joint Operating Command, 2008). The area was later dropped from the project.

Military strategists are well aware of the uses of participatory mapping techniques like those used in the *México Indígena* project, particularly with regard to counter-insurgency operations. Among the more vocal advocates of this approach is Dr. Geoffrey Demarest, Dobson's primary contact at the FMSO and an expert in counter-insurgency in Latin America. Demarest has worked for the military in Colombia, arguing that "in the context of an internal war, when it comes to the cartographic function of the state, there can be no logical distinction between military and nonmilitary effort" (Demarest, 2003: 24). Colombia is currently the site of a Bowman Expedition. A recent report by the National Defense Intelligence College further hails the *México Indígena* project as a model for mapping "tribal areas" in Iraq and Afghanistan (Batson, 2008).

Indeed, Herlihy mentions the possibility of a Bowman Expedition to Iraq in one of his progress reports filed with Radiance Technologies, a Mississippi-based military contractor specializing in "intelligence community support" hired by the FMSO to manage the *México Indígena* project (México Indígena, 2008).

It is one thing for the military to search scholarly sources for intelligence. It is quite another to gather intelligence for the military on "vulnerable populations" such as indigenous peoples – a practice explicitly banned by the AAG's Statement of Ethics (AAG, 2009). The *México Indígena* project appears to have done just that, taking advantage of indigenous peoples' desires for land rights to gather intelligence that will let policymakers more effectively intervene in indigenous affairs. In doing so, it appears to further violate provisions in the AAG's Statement of Ethics stipulating that "the dignity, safety, and well-being of informants and local colleagues" should take precedence over research goals (AAG, 2009). The AAG has rejected calls for an investigation, claiming that it lacks the standing to investigate its members (Bryan & Wainwright, 2009; Louis & Grossman, 2009). Its response is understandable if one regards the controversy as essentially a political dispute. But the AAG appears to have recognized that the controversy goes further. At the height of public attention to the *México Indígena* controversy in April 2009, the AAG Executive Council convened a task force to "see whether the association should develop more specific ethical guidelines relating to research funding and practice" (Agnew, 2009). The task force completed its work without the AAG ever explaining its mandate and criteria for selecting members. Nor did it publicize the task force's revisions to the Statement of Ethics, posted on the AAG website in November 2009. While the revisions include welcome new language on indigenous peoples, no changes were made to the guidelines on military funding.

The lack of any formal response by the AAG makes the need to address the ethics of military funding all the more pressing. The AAG and its members ought to engage this militarism directly, beginning with an investigation of the allegations against the Bowman Expeditions. That effort must go beyond critical issues of prior informed consent, addressing the ethics of military funding through revisions to the Statement of Ethics. The fact that there are presently Bowman Expeditions to Colombia, the Antilles, Jordan and Kazakhstan makes it all the more important to do an investigation now, ensuring that future expeditions adhere to norms of professional conduct (AGS, 2009). Left unaddressed, the military's influence on research agendas cannot help but militarize understandings of geography in the classroom and beyond, particularly in light of the Pentagon's increased use of 'civilian' research to advance national security concerns through programs like the Minerva Research Initiative (Mervis, 2009; SSRC, 2008). Geographers can ill afford to sit this debate out, lest the discipline become a means of waging war by other means.

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Joe Bryan

Department of Geography, University of Colorado – Boulder,  
260 UCB, Boulder, CO 80309-0260, USA  
E-mail address: [jbryan@colorado.edu](mailto:jbryan@colorado.edu)