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**CMI and Bangladesh:  
40 years of  
collaboration and  
institutional capacity  
building**

**Armino Miranda and Ole David  
Koht Norbye**

**R 1997: 7**

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## **Summary**

The report reviews CMI's experience of technical assistance and institutional collaboration in Bangladesh, from the involvement of individual staff members working as experts in Pakistan in the late 1950s to the formal institutional cooperation agreements between CMI and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) since the late 1970s and until recently. The three BIDS-CMI cooperation agreements are examined in detail through their various stages of design, negotiation and implementation, providing a vivid illustration of the issues involved in institutional capacity building through research cooperation.

Armindo Miranda, Senior Research Fellow at CMI, has been active in BIDS-CMI collaboration since his stay as a visiting scholar at BIDS in 1977-78, working on population issues in Bangladesh; more recently he coordinated the BIDS-CMI collaboration agreements for CMI.

Ole David Koht Norbye, Senior Consultant at CMI, carried out numerous assignments in Bangladesh throughout his career, including a long-term period of residence in Dhaka as adviser to the World Bank sponsored Trade and Industry Policy Reform Programme (TIP). He has also written extensively about the history of CMI and its Development Research and Action Programme (DERAP).

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## Acronyms

BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BIDS	Bangladesh Institute for Development Studies
BIWTA	Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority
CMI	Chr. Michelsen Institute
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DERAP	Originally: Development Economics Research and Advisory Project; as from 1976: Development Research and Action Programme
DTW	Deep Tube Wells
EADI	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
FAFO	Institute for Applied Social Science, Oslo
FPCO	Flood Plan Coordination Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
ICDDR,B	International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISS	Institute of Social Studies, The Hague
LGED	Local Government Engineering Department, Bangladesh
MDC	Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation
MFA	Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOSTI	Manually Operated Shallow Tubewell Irrigation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development
NUPI	Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Oslo
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation, Paris
OIDC	Oil Importing Developing Countries
PIDE	Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
RESP	Rural Employment Sector Programme, Bangladesh
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TA	Technical Assistance
TIP	Trade and Industry Policy Reform Programme, Bangladesh
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

## Introduction

The present report is an account of CMI's research and technical assistance engagement in Bangladesh and it consists of two studies: the first one, by Ole David Koht Norbye, is a broad brushed historical panorama of the collaboration with Bangladesh, including a fairly complete review of the research output; the second study, by Armindo Miranda, describes in painstaking detail the operation of the collaborative agreements between CMI and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies, which in later years has been the main vehicle for CMI's research collaboration with Bangladesh. The studies were written by different authors and for different purposes and they may be read independently from each other. But it was felt that the reader who could tolerate a little repetition here and there would benefit from taking in both perspectives.

In the 1950's, there was little reason to think that CMI would emerge as the Norwegian centre for competence on socio-economic and demographic issues in this part of South Asia. In the absence of a colonial tradition, there was also little interest in Norway in matters of overseas development economics and even less opportunity to take on advisory roles. CMI, however - true to its statutory mandate to pursue new and neglected fields of enquiry - succeeded in attracting a bright economist, Just Faaland, who was created Member of the Chr. Michelsen Institute in 1952 at the young age of 30, with international economics as field of activity. As Norbye reports, fortuitous circumstances led Faaland in 1957 to a long-term assignment in the then undivided Pakistan as member of the Harvard Advisory Group to the Planning Commission. He visited East Pakistan, and made numerous contacts with Bengali government officials and academics, contacts that have been maintained until present days. In Pakistan he was later joined or succeeded by Norwegian former colleagues who later joined the Chr. Michelsen Institute, viz. Ole David Koht Norbye and Per Tveite who in turn made additional contacts in East Pakistan: a critical mass of professional interest, competence and contacts was gradually emerging.

While Faaland still was in Pakistan, he developed the idea of establishing a research and advisory project on developing countries at the Chr. Michelsen Institute. This led to the Development Research Project in 1961 and in 1965 to the establishment of DERAP, the Development Economics Research and Advisory Project.<sup>1</sup> financial means to DERAP's activities. Not long after DERAP had been established, its budget included a provision for guest researchers, mostly from developing countries, and many prominent professionals from Bangladesh spent long periods as visiting scholars at Chr. Michelsen Institute. Shortly after Bangladesh became independent in 1971, Just Faaland once more worked in Bangladesh, as Resident Representative of the World Bank from 1972 to 1974. The scope for cooperation between scholars from Bangladesh and the Institute was widened considerably when an agreement, financed by the Norwegian government through NORAD, was concluded with Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) in 1978. With prolongations this agreement was in operation until the end of 1996, and until the 1990s was the only agreement of its kind between the Institute and an institute in developing countries. Also outside the

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<sup>1</sup> Renamed Development Research and Action Programme in 1976.

framework of the BIDS-CMI cooperation agreement many members of the Institute's staff have undertaken research or been engaged in various advisory roles in Bangladesh. All these factors explain the particular relationship that has existed between Bangladesh and the Chr. Michelsen Institute for four decades, evolving from the professional interest of one individual to a sustained framework of institutionalised commitment .

Much of what has been achieved overall was made possible (or at least greatly facilitated) by the formal collaboration agreements between BIDS and CMI - the first of their kind for Norway and thus a form of development cooperation pioneered by CMI. Miranda's study, in the second part of this report, is an analytical review of the processes involved, their results and their costs. The inescapable conclusion is that the amount of administrative effort mobilised for the approval and operation of such formal cooperation agreements may be severely out of proportion with the substantive outcomes achieved. Yet - is there any better way? While the report concludes with a call for continued collaboration, it nevertheless urges BIDS, CMI and the Norwegian authorities to work out imaginative answers to that question.

## Part I

### General professional cooperation between CMI and Bangladesh

by Ole David Koht Norbye

#### *Chapter 1: Overview of the history*

##### **1.1 The beginning**

The circumstances of CMI's initial interest in Bangladesh were to some extent fortuitous and linked to the person of Just Faaland. Before being called to Chr. Michelsen Institute as Member in 1952, Faaland had worked in the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in Paris for some years, and had there started to establish contacts with other people working in the field of international economics. In 1957, in a seminar in the USA, he was approached by professor Edward S. Mason from Harvard University who had established Harvard Advisory Groups in Iran and Pakistan, both financed by the time by the Ford Foundation. Faaland was invited to join the group of advisers in the Planning Commission in Karachi, initially focusing on industry, later on macroeconomics, for a two year period. Faaland accepted the invitation, and sailed with his family to Karachi in December 1957.

Pakistan had a kind of federal structure in which some authority rested with the provincial administrations in Dacca in East Pakistan and Lahore in West Pakistan. There were two Harvard Advisory Group advisers stationed in each of the provincial capitals, but all the advisers in Karachi travelled with short intervals to the provinces. Thus early in 1958 Faaland went to the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta for the first time. In undivided India both East and West Pakistan had been predominantly rural areas with almost no manufacturing industries: raw cotton from the west was turned into yarn and cloth in what later became India, and jute from the east processed in Calcutta. East Pakistan's economy, and particularly important, its transport structure were utterly dependent on West Bengal; Dacca was a small provincial town and Chittagong a local port. In the wake of the partition of India millions of Hindus fled to India, and millions of Muslims fled to the two "wings" of the new country. Among these there were many experienced military officers, civil servants and business men, and most of them ended up in West Pakistan. From the very outset the development opportunities became much weaker in the east than in the west. Faaland quickly realised that more public financed efforts were needed in East Pakistan than in the other "wing" in order to avoid that the gap in income per capita should widen further.

In his contacts with the management of the Harvard Advisory Group Faaland managed to get two of his former colleagues in OEEC to Karachi in 1959, Ole David Koht Norbye who two years later joined him in CMI, and the British economist Jack Parkinson who has also remained a close collaborator of Faaland and the CMI until these days. Norbye remembers very well that he had not been in Karachi very long before Faaland travelled with him to visit the two provinces. It was also Faaland who

recommended a third former colleague from OEEC, Per Tveite, to Harvard. Faaland was in Pakistan for two years in 1958-59; Norbye for more than two years in 1959-61; Parkinson was there in 1959-61 as well and Tveite stayed for 1 1/2 years in 1964-65, and for the last 12 months he was stationed in East Pakistan. Tveite joined DERAP when he returned to Norway.

Faaland became general economic adviser after one year when Norbye took over as industry adviser, but all members of the Harvard team worked closely together and expressed their views on general planning and economic policy issues. The older generation of academics, government officials and politicians in Bangladesh have many times in strong terms blamed the Harvard Group for the misfortune of their country. It is true that the general economists who through practical work became "development economists" looked at economic growth as a necessary condition for broader economic and social development, and already at that time were critical of the ability of government to run business on their own. They did advocate a larger role for private business less constrained by administrative interventions by the authorities. For East Pakistan this meant increasing ownership of banking, manufacturing etc. by enterprises located in West Pakistan. However, the Harvard Group did not consist of hard boiled economists only; the management was fully aware of the complexity of the situation and already in the late 1950s there was a sociologist as member of the group.

A planning organisation is not an executive agency but should be a kind of "think-tank". Analytical tools had to be used to determine the feasible rate and structure of growth inside an economic or social sector and the inter-sectoral relationships. At that stage the Planning Commission had very few, though in some cases brilliant, staff members who were able to undertake such analysis, and much of the advisers' time went into analysis. Norbye who had worked with national accounts both in Norway and in OEEC, became interested in the level and rate of growth of the regional incomes in the two provinces, and he circulated a paper in which he demonstrated that the regional income per capita in East Pakistan was lower than in West Pakistan and that the gap was increasing. Many years later, in Islamabad a top Pakistan official who had been senior staff member in the Planning Commission, told Norbye that the Chairman had been furious, and ordered that all copies of the paper should be destroyed. This illustrates how the potential conflict between the two wings was envisaged already in the late 1950s. Economists from East Pakistan also worked with this material which *inter alia* also showed that the value of East Pakistan's exports to foreign countries was considerably larger than exports from the west, and was also lower than the value of imports from foreign countries to the province. It should be added that there also were more aid financed activities in the west than in the east.

In 1958 East Pakistan had a provincial Planning Board which included M.V. Huda, A.F.A. Husain and A. Razzack as members and Mosharaff Hossain as chief economist. Huda was professor of economics and an interesting and controversial personality who became Governor General of East Pakistan shortly before the independence of Bangladesh, and later, in 1981, he assumed the office of Vice President. Razzack visited DERAP in 1979 and gave a seminar there, whereas the two others later spent long periods as visiting scholars at the Institute. At the university in Dacca Faaland met Nurul Islam and Rehman Sobhan. Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) was established, also with Ford Foundation support, in 1957, and Nurul Islam became its director in the beginning of the 1960s when Faaland had become a member

of its international advisory board. Thus he maintained contacts with Islam and other colleagues in Karachi and Dacca. In 1967-68 the late Gunnar Fløystad, then research fellow at DERAP, spent 14 months as research fellow at PIDE in Karachi. At the end of the 1960s the central government of Pakistan tried to mollify the opinion in East Pakistan by moving some federal institutions to the east, including the national assembly. PIDE was relocated to Dhaka in 1971 and could continue its work as BIDS after independence.

After Independence in December 1971, the Government of Bangladesh, at the initiative of Islam, Sobhan and Hossain, and the World Bank urged Faaland to be the "midwife" of Bangladesh's membership of the Bretton Woods institutions, and he became the Resident Representative of the World Bank from 1972 to 1974. Radical, socialist forces had strong influence on the Bangladesh government and wanted The People's Republic of Bangladesh to become a genuinely non-aligned country not dependent on Western, capitalist countries for aid and trade. Hence the initial relationship between Bangladesh and IMF and the World Bank was delicate. During his World Bank assignment Faaland worked closely with Islam, Sobhan and Hossain who were respectively Deputy Chairman and members of the Planning Commission, and established close contact with many politicians (including the then Foreign Minister Kamal Hossain), civil servants and academics, including younger ones with whom CMI has cooperated in recent years.

From the late 1960s DERAP's budget included an annual item of 24 working months reserved for external visiting fellows, mostly from developing countries. Already in 1973 professor A.F.A. Husain, in the late 1950s member of the East Pakistan Planning Board, spent some months as guest researcher at DERAP, working on educational planning; he came back for a second time in 1977-78.<sup>2</sup> In August 1975 the Awami League regime was overthrown in a military coup and the head of state Sheik Mujibur Rahman and other prominent members of Awami League killed. Others left the country, amongst them Kamal Hossain, Mosharaff Hossain, Nurul Islam and Rehman Sobhan. They were welcomed by colleges at Oxford University, and were all visiting scholars at DERAP for longer and shorter periods in the second half of the 1970s. This resulted in several important publications. Thus Rehman Sobhan and professor Muzaffar Ahmed (the latter had been chief in charge of industries in the Planning Commission when Sobhan was member), finalised their major book on public enterprises in Bergen. In the second half of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s DERAP hosted a number of other guest researchers from Bangladesh: Abu Abdullah, B.K. Jahangir, Rounaq Jahan, Barkat-e-Khuda and Raihan Sharif, (the latter had been a colleague of Faaland, Norbye and Tveite in the Pakistan Planning Commission in the period 1958 to 65). Several of these visiting scholars were not economists, and as from the middle of the 1970s DERAP's own staff was expanded to include non-economists. The two first ones were Eirik G. Jansen, anthropologist, in 1975 and Armindo Miranda, demographer, in 1976, who both did their most important academic research efforts in Bangladesh.

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<sup>2</sup> Details about the visiting scholars' research efforts are found in subsection 2.1 in chapter 2.

## **1.2 The BIDS-CMI Cooperation Agreements**

The intensification of ad hoc contacts between BIDS and CMI around the mid-70s mutual prompted the leadership of both institutes to seek an appropriate institutional framework for their collaboration. To that end, a "Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration" between the two institutions was drawn up in July 1977 and approved by NORAD the following year; from then on - particularly after 1980 and until the mid-1990s - the collaboration between BIDS and CMI became the main (although by no means exclusive) vehicle for professional collaboration with Bangladesh. The activities undertaken under the three successive BIDS-CMI cooperation agreements are reviewed in detail in Section II of the present study.

## **1.3 Research by DERAP scholars in Bangladesh**

Only five DERAP research fellows (and one research assistant) have spent considerable time in Bangladesh to undertake research: Tone Bleie, Gunnar Håland, Eirik Jansen, Armino Miranda and Arne Wiig. With the exception of Bleie, some of their research was financed under the BIDS/CMI agreement. In the case of four of them: Bleie, Jansen, Miranda and Wiig, their work on material from Bangladesh qualified them for the Ph.D. degree. Håland never finished his research project as he left DERAP in 1988 to become full professor in anthropology at the University of Bergen. The research output is described in chapter 2.

Several other CMI staff members or associate research fellows have written articles, essays or books on the basis of experience from non-research assignments in Bangladesh. When Just Faaland was the World Bank's Resident Representative, his former colleague from OEEC and Karachi, Jack Parkinson was the chief economist in the Mission. Together they produced two books, of which one specifically on Bangladesh, and several articles and essays analysing their experience from Bangladesh. Faaland also produced other publications by himself, and one with Mosharaff Hossain. Eirik Jansen wrote several articles based on his experiences in different assignments in Bangladesh, and he and Jerve produced both a book and articles based on the large country boat study they had worked on. During his first years at CMI in the first half of the 1960s Norbye wrote a large analytical monograph on the development prospects of Pakistan which also was based on separate studies of the economy of East Pakistan. He also wrote some essays and articles based on material from some of the eight different assignments he had in Bangladesh between 1983 and 1994. Skutle and Tveite produced a number of papers after their return from two year assignments in Dhaka around 1980. The output of all this research is dealt with in chapter 2 below.

## **1.4 Advisory and consultancy work by CMI researchers in Bangladesh**

Present and former CMI staff members and people who have been closely associated with DERAP and CMI have spent far more time on a great variety of assignments in or on Bangladesh than CMI researchers have spent on research there and back in Bergen on material from Bangladesh. Before the partition of Pakistan, at the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s, Faaland spent two years, Norbye more than two years and Tveite one and a half year in Pakistan, with the then East Pakistan as part of their field of work; Tveite, in fact, spent the last year in East Pakistan. They worked in the federal



Planning Commission or the East Pakistan Planning unit. Then there was a gap until 1972 when Faaland began a 2-year period in the newly independent Bangladesh, with Parkinson, later associate research fellow in DERAP as a colleague most of the time in the World Bank. Selsjord and Skutle paid a short working visit to Bangladesh in 1972; Selsjord accompanied Bjerne, who had become a member of DERAP's advisory Board, on another mission to Bangladesh in 1973, and in 1974-76 Selsjord spent 2 years as adviser to the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics; to build up statistics in Bangladesh was the purpose of all these assignments. In 1979-81 Skutle and Tveite spent two years with the Planning Commission in Dhaka.

The first large assignment for which CMI had the responsibility was the Norwegian/Dutch financed study of the country boat sector on which both Jansen and Jerve worked for several years during the period 1982-84, of which 9 months on field work in Bangladesh. The Danish integrated rural development project in Noakhali was evaluated by DERAP in 1983, with associate research fellows Parkinson and Mosharaff Hossain and Håland and Norbye as members and in the summer 1983 Norbye started a two year assignment in the Planning Commission. In 1984-85 Jansen worked on a report on trends in rural poverty in Bangladesh prepared by the North-South Institute in Canada, in 1985 he evaluated DANIDA's assistance to the transport sector. Norbye and Jansen evaluated Norwegian commodity aid to Bangladesh in 1985, and the following year, Norbye, Jansen, Miranda and visiting scholar Arn undertook the Bangladesh country study for the Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation. Jansen spent two months in Bangladesh in 1986 on a follow-up study of the river transport programme before he in 1987 became Deputy Resident Representative, development cooperation, in the Norwegian Embassy in Dhaka, and subsequently left DERAP to join the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Oslo. In 1987-89 Faaland was Review Director of the Agriculture Sector Review sponsored by UNDP, and Norbye core member of the team. and during that period Faaland went to Bangladesh more than a half a dozen times and Norbye thrice. In 1989 Miranda was in Bangladesh to make proposals on the Dutch family planning programme, and Norbye headed a team that made a case study of Bangladesh for the Nordic UN Project. Norbye was back in Bangladesh again in 1992, to evaluate the technical assistance component of the NORAD/SIDA financed RESP. Later in the same year Jerve was there to review the impact of the land acquisition for the Jamuna Bridge project, and in June 1993 Jerve joined the World Bank for 2 years during which most of his work focused on Bangladesh. Finally in 1994 Norbye was in Bangladesh for the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to study the different donors' experiences with development aid to Bangladesh. Faaland was again in Bangladesh in 1995 to review the so-called Flood Action Plan for UNDP. In 1995 also Ask and Wiig were in Bangladesh to study certain aspects of Grameen Bank's operations. A number of these assignments have resulted in written material available in the names of the authors, and a survey of these is found in chapter 2.3. But it should be remembered that during long time assignments as advisers, much analytical work is done in the form of unpublished papers, and even if some of them eventually are included in documents published or made available by the host organisation, the author's name is not known.

## **Chapter 2: The research output**

### **2.1 Work by guest researchers from Bangladesh**

**Abu Abdullah** was visiting scholar at CMI for about a year during 1977 and 1978, viz. before the CMI-BIDS cooperation agreement. He returned to Bangladesh as Senior Research Economist at BIDS. His work at CMI resulted in two large studies which were published as DERAP working papers. The first one: *Modes of Production and Agrarian Structure: An Exploratory Analysis* (Abu Abdullah 78)<sup>3</sup>, is a theoretical analysis of agrarian structure with particular emphasis on the Marxian concept of mode of production which according to this approach, determines the entire political and social structure of a country. Abdullah does not arrive at any firm conclusions as to the existence of a peasant mode of production. His second study, *Landlord and Rich Peasant under the Permanent Settlement* (Abu Ahmed Abdullah 80), is a historical analysis of the Permanent Settlement, the British land policy introduced in Bengal in 1793. He reaches the conclusion "that the Permanent Settlement of 1793 did not have the profound and far-reaching impact on the structure of rural economy and society that it is some times assumed to have had. I suggest that more important was the emergence of a rich peasant class, recruited partly, perhaps mainly, from the rich peasants and partly from the more enterprising zamindars and tenureholders."

**Muzaffar Ahmad**, professor of economics and business administration at Dhaka University, was Chief of the industry division of the Planning Commission until the Awami League government was overturned in 1975. He was visiting scholar at CMI in 1976 when he worked together with Rehman Sobhan on their large study of the nationalised enterprises in Bangladesh, which was published by BIDS in 1980 (Sobhan and Ahmad 80). This large book is not listed as an outcome of the work of visiting scholars at CMI, but much of it was indeed written at the CMI, and commented upon by the Institute's staff.<sup>4</sup>

**Barkat-e-Khuda**, then associate professor at Dhaka University, spent two periods at CMI: 2 months in 1980 and 1 1/2 month in 1981, and was a prolific writer. His short periods in Bergen resulted in no less than 5 papers, of which 3 were issued as DERAP publications, and two as working papers. His paper *Unemployment and Underemployment in Rural Bangladesh: Levels and Differentials* (Barkat-e-Khuda 80), is a critical review of some of the past findings on underemployment in rural Bangladesh, and presents findings from a Bangladesh village, based on time-budget data. He concludes "that surplus labour exists in rural Bangladesh, and that, too, of a sizeable order.....even during the busy season." The second publication, *Time Allocation among People in Rural Bangladesh* (Barkat-e-Khuda 80a), is based on the

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<sup>3</sup> See list of references, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Pages xvii-xviii of the Preface and Acknowledgements contain the following: "The authors would like to thank the Christian Michelsen Institute in Bergen, Norway for hosting them in the final stages of this project when the study was written up. The total cooperation and the stimulating environment of the Institute made it possible for the study to move to its fruition and can never be adequately appreciated.

The Director of the Institute, Dr. Just Faaland, apart from providing full institutional support, along with Professor J.B. Parkinson of Nottingham University, took great pains in going through the massive first draft and made detailed comments which were of great value to the authors in editing the final draft."

same survey and is an attempt to show how people in rural Bangladesh allocate time among various activities. His conclusion is that "the functional distribution of persons in the labour force and those who are "dependants" on the basis of the census approach does not make much sense in the context of rural agrarian societies.....the difference in the number of hours worked between those reported as "working" (and, hence, in the labour force) and those reported as "dependants" is not so sharp as to permit such a distinction. Such a functional distribution, meaningful as it is in the context of the developed countries, is not very relevant in rural agrarian societies, where it, in fact, leads to misleading conclusions on the extent of the dependency burden." The third publication is *Ideals and Realities in Participatory Institution in Rural Bangladesh: the Case of Gram Sarkar* (Barkat-e-Khuda 81a). Self-Reliant Village Government (in Bengali: *Swarniwar Gram Sarkar*) was introduced by President Ziaur Rahman's government in 1980. The author attempted to examine "how far the ideal behind the creation of the Gram Sarkar in Bangladesh corresponds to reality. The paper shows that the gram sarkars in the study area are controlled and managed by a handful of persons belonging to relatively affluent households. Most of these are quite old and belong to dominant social groups in the village. ....over time no significant change in leadership patterns has emerged." The first of the working papers, *Nuptiality in Bangladesh* (Barkat-e-Khuda 81), is a demographic study and examines marriage customs and patterns in rural Bangladesh, based on data from a Bangladesh village and various published material. "Marriage is almost universal. Age at marriage remains low, though slowly rising. At any age the proportion of females whose marriages are dissolved are higher than that of males, and the prevalence of widowhood is higher than that of divorce. Most people support the remarriage of women only under special circumstances." The second working paper, *Family Planning in Rural Bangladesh* (Barkat-e-Khuda 81b) describes the government family planning programme and examines knowledge of, attitude towards, and practice of family planning in rural Bangladesh based on data from a Bangladesh village and various published material. "The knowledge of family planning is quite widespread in rural Bangladesh and it has been increasing over time. A large number of people also have positive attitude towards family planning. Yet, the rate of contraception remains at a low level in most parts of the country. (The) higher participation rates (in the village studied) are due to its higher level of development."

**Abdul Ghafur**, then Research Director in charge of general economics at BIDS, spent 6 months as visiting scholar in CMI in 1988-89 under the BIDS-CMI research collaboration agreement. During this period he worked on a paper *on Food policy of Bangladesh and some constraints*, which was presented to the seminar organised jointly by CMI and BIDS in Bergen February 1989. A somewhat condensed version was published in the report on the seminar (Ghafur 90). It contains a thorough description of developments in agricultural production, and particularly of the food management system in Bangladesh and its implications for the central government budget. The food policy had two sides: to ensure that there was enough food available at prices which poor consumers could afford to pay; and to encourage increased domestic output of food. At that time more than half of the households did not have income enough to meet the minimum food requirements (in terms of calories). The centre piece of food policy was the Public Food Distribution System which operates through different channels (food for work, subsidised rations, price interventions). The author found that the system in part benefited relatively well-to-do people more than

the needy ones, albeit there had been a significant change in emphasis in favour of the latter in recent years.

**Kamal Hossain** is a prominent Bangladeshi politician and lawyer who was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Sheik Mujibur Rahman's government until it was overthrown in a military coup in 1975. He was attached to DERAP as visiting scholar during the years 1977-79. He undertook a major study, sponsored by the Commonwealth Secretariat, that resulted in a book on *Law and Policy in Petroleum Development. Changing Relations between Transnationals and Governments* (Hossain, Kamal 79).<sup>5</sup> His study includes a discussion of the prospects for production of oil in the present oil-importing developing countries (OIDCs) and he argues that if sufficient efforts were made, the oil deficit of the OIDCs could be reduced from 70 to 6 per cent of their oil consumption in the course of ten years, even assuming a five per cent annual increase in these countries' oil consumption. He furnishes detailed suggestions as to how this could be achieved. He also published an article on *Political Development in Bangladesh - Promise and Reality* (Kamal Hossain 79a) which gives a detailed picture of the tensions between the different groups that supported Awami League and its leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in the struggle for Bangladesh independence and in the years immediately thereafter. The administrative, military and business elite welcomed independence, but resisted changes in the social structure while the youthful supporters, including students, who took up arms to fight against the Pakistan army, had radical aspirations. The military who ousted the Awami League regime proclaimed that they did so to defend democracy and combat corruption, but Hossain points out that by the autumn 1978 the new rulers had not achieved such objectives.

**Monowar Hossain** was the first researcher from BIDS whose stay at CMI was financed by the BIDS-CMI research collaboration agreement. He was at CMI on sabbatical leave from his position as chairman (head) of BIDS for a full year in 1978-79. During his stay he worked on a rural studies project based on data collected by BIDS researchers over a number of years. To our knowledge, the final results of this project have not been published. In 1984 he visited CMI again and gave a seminar on *Grameen Bank*, and a summary of his lecture was published as a working paper *Grameen Bank: A Hope for the Poor in Bangladesh* (Monowar Hossain 84). The paper describes an interesting extension to the credit market in Bangladesh; a separate credit institution, the Grameen Bank, granting loans to small groups of landless men and women for productive purposes without any collateral.

**Mosharaff Hossain**, professor of economics at Dhaka University, was member of the Planning Commission, in charge of rural development, during the Mujibur Rahman government in the beginning of the 1970s. He was visiting scholar at CMI during the period 1976-79, and later associate research fellow from 1980 to 1989. His work on rural development in Asia resulted in two working papers. The first one was titled *Structural Development and Rural Development in Densely Populated Peasant*

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<sup>5</sup> The preface, p. xii contains following acknowledgement: "A profound expression of gratitude must therefore be extended to:.....the Chr. Michelsen Institute, Norway, and the Director of its Development Research Programme, Dr. Just Faaland and his associate, Mr. Johan Skutle, for helping in various ways which included assistance in the collection of documentary materials, in arranging interviews with representatives of the Norwegian Government and other agencies concerned with petroleum development, for discussing the second chapter at a seminar in Bergen and for support towards the completion of the study; (...)"

*Economies* (Mosharaff Hossain 78). It starts with a theoretical analysis, followed by sections on success stories; the experience of the Punjabs; and the Chinese experience. His success stories are Taiwan and South Korea. Prof. Hossain lists six reasons why rural development in those countries was successful. Three relate specifically to the rural areas: agricultural productivity and exports had reached a high level during the Japanese colonial rule; large-scale absorption of manpower in the manufacturing and tertiary sectors led to "a dramatic reduction of the pressure of population on land"; and "transference of population from agriculture to non-agricultural activities led to the growth of home markets for agricultural products". The second working paper, *Rural Development in South Asia: Fragments of Analysis* (Mosharaff Hossain 79) is a collection of three papers: *Agrarian Structure and Organisation of Production and Exchange in Bengal - A. Pre-colonial Period; B. Colonial Period*, and *Urban Rural Interaction and Problems of Rural Development in a Developing Market Economy*. The author himself has not tried to summarise his conclusions, and his papers are so full of facts and analysis that such a summary is not possible here. Together with Faaland, Hossain presented a paper to the EADI conference in Milan in 1978, later selected for publication in the report on the conference (Just Faaland and Mosharaff Hossain 80). During the period 1980-89, when he was associate research fellow, professor Hossain worked for shorter or longer periods at CMI in seven of those ten years. At one occasion, in 1983, he participated in an evaluation of the Noakhali project for DANIDA, referred to on page 32 of this study. He did work on various studies in Bangladesh during these years, including a large study of poverty problems, from 1984 onwards, and did some of his writings at CMI, but none of these studies are included in the CMI lists of publications emanating from work by guest researchers and associates at the Institute. One result of his work on poverty was a large study published by UNRISD in 1987.<sup>6</sup>

**A.F.A. Husain** was member of the Planning Board in East Pakistan in the late 1950s, and was first invited to CMI in 1973 when he wrote a paper on *Educational Planning in Bangladesh* (A.F.A. Husain 73). At the end of this comprehensive survey of educational problems in Bangladesh the author discusses some general issues. "It is impossible for anyone in Bangladesh to argue now as it was the fashion among planners in Pakistan that economic growth must be pursued first at all cost and distributive justice should be taken into account only at a later stage." He illustrates with data on school enrolment how only the children of wealthier population groups get education at all levels. He also points to the fact that "the recipients of this education have learnt to despise manual labour and have developed a hankering for white collar jobs" and proposes that "there must be provision for compulsory and universal work experience for the students in public works, factories or agricultural farms." He also notes that it has been easier to get funds for "development expenditure" than for "recurring expenditure", and hence there has not been money for teachers etc. in buildings that have been constructed. He points out that foreign aid has only been "restricted to technical or specialised education." He argues in favour of "adequate measures for nutrition and health care within the education system at the primary stage, school health service, better provision of books and stationary to the children and possibly free school uniforms for needier children." He writes that free

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<sup>6</sup> Hossain, Mosharaff, *The Assault that failed: A profile of absolute poverty in six villages of Bangladesh*. United Nations Institute for Social Development, Geneva, UNRISD, 1987, 170 pp., tab. graph.

education favours better off families because poorer families cannot afford the non-institutional costs of education. A.F.A. Husain returned to CMI in 1977-78 and wrote another major document titled *Education, Development and Reform in Bangladesh* (A.F.A. Husain 78). In the first chapter, "Education and Development", he reviews what was then the most recent literature on the economic benefits of education, and he also discusses at some length the non-economic benefits. The other chapters deal with "The Educational System in Bangladesh"; "Approaches to Educational Planning"; "Priority of Education in National Development and Priorities within the Field of Education"; "Fundamental Education"; "Secondary Education, University Education and Vocational Education"; and "Agricultural and Rural Development, Employment Strategy and Educational Reform". Throughout the study he makes numerous critical observations and proposals for changes.

**Nurul Islam** was professor at Dhaka University before he became director of the Institute of Development Economics in undivided Pakistan, and when Bangladesh became independent, he became Deputy Chairman (de facto head) of the Planning Commission until the overturn of Mujibur Rahman. He was visiting scholar at CMI in 1977. He published a major book, *Development Planning in Bangladesh: A Study in Political Economy* (Nurul Islam 77). The book describes how Bangladesh embarked in earnest upon development planning immediately after independence, within the framework of what the political leadership chose to call socialism and democracy. The first three chapters deal with political factors in development planning; planning machinery in Bangladesh; and the Planning Commission and administrative ministries. The three next chapters deal with the planning process: The Five Year Plan; the Annual Plan as an Instrument of Planning, and Annual Plans and Implementation of the Five Year Plan. The final chapters deal with domestic resource mobilisation and industrial policies: Public versus Private Sector. The book illustrates the interaction of economic, political and administrative factors in two important areas of policy making in Bangladesh. One concerns the problem of domestic resource mobilisation, including such topics as taxation, subsidies, pricing of nationalised industries and mobilisation of surplus labour in rural development projects. The second concerns the industrial investment policy considered by many a symbol of the socialist declarations of the Government. It traces the interplay of diverse factors and pressure group in the evolution of the relative roles of private and public enterprise in the industrial sector. He visited CMI again in 1981, and he contributed four chapters to a book on *Aid and Influence* which was edited by Faaland and published in 1981 (Faaland 81). In the first part of the book he wrote the chapter on the Debate; and he contributed three chapters to the second part: "Aid Requirements and Donor Preferences", "Interest Groups and Aid Conditionality" and "Commodity Aid". As the editor points out, the book as a whole "stresses that at its independence Bangladesh was put in the position of having to create a national state at a time of great economic difficulty. The problems were extremely severe and could not be speedily resolved, it has taken time .... to get the economy onto an even keel, and it has required large amounts of international assistance for it to be accomplished. Bangladesh's hesitations about the extent to which she was prepared to rely on assistance from the West, understandable as they were, made her question whether traditional donor-recipient relationships were the best that could be devised and whether they were well adapted to dealing with the needs of poverty stricken applicants for aid. At the same time, some bilateral and multilateral

donors with strong, and at times inflexible, views about what they expected of Bangladesh, seem to have been unaware of the damage they were doing, not only to that country, but to themselves as well, by the force and form of pressures that they were exerting. The period was as much a test of their performance as it was of that of Bangladesh."

**Rounaq Jahan** was professor of political science at Dhaka University and paid a visit to CMI in 1979 and wrote a paper titled *Public Policies, Women and Development; Reflections on a few Structural Problems* (Rounaq Jahan 79). She concludes: "In sum, the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh in recent years has made substantial public policy commitments to the cause of integrating women in development. It has created a Women's Affairs Ministry, set up a national Women's Organization, and reserved a ten percent quota for jobs for women. But the old question still remains. Can one integrate women in the process of development as full an equal partners of men by creating a ministry and by reserving a ten percent job quota? These measures may be a first step towards full integration of women in development but there is also the danger that they may result in giving women only token participation. These steps may give the elite women a sense of belonging and participation but until and unless a concern for women is integrated in the policies and programs of all ministries and government agencies, the masses of Bangladeshi women will remain outside the process of integration of women in development as equal partners of men."

**Burhan K. Jahangir**, Professor, the Political Science Department and Centre for Social Studies, Dhaka University worked as visiting scholar to CMI three times: 3 months in 1981, and two months each time in 1984 and 1985. During his first period of work he wrote a comprehensive working paper on *Rural Society, Power Structure and Class Practice* (B.K. Jahangir 81). It contains a detailed description of various aspects of the social organisation in Bangladesh and is an attempt to re-interpret existing data in the light of field experience. He concludes that the Bangladesh state is authoritarian capitalistic and exercises the coercion to exploit the subordinate classes. In the economic sense the bourgeoisie has become dominant, but not hegemonic as it shares power with the salaried middle classes, top members of the civil and military establishment and rich peasants in what he calls "the power bloc". During his second periods of stay he worked on a book on *The Problematics of Nationalism in Bangladesh*, and wrote a working paper on this subject (B.K. Jahangir 85), covering the Ziaur Rahman era. In this essay he first shows how increasing resources were devoted to the military establishment. Then he discusses Ziaur Rahman's political project. During the first years of Bangladesh independence strong forces had advocated social change, but these forces were gradually weakened also under Sheikh Mujib's government which, however, stressed the secular character of the state. Ziaur Rahman moved further in a conservative direction while proclaiming populist objectives. In order to reduce the class struggle in Bangladesh, he moved towards creating a society on the basis of the Muslim religion. In his economic policies he opted for the softer solution, viz. on an increasing dependence on foreign aid.

**Masiur Rahman Khan**, then Research Director at BIDS, spent 6 months as visiting scholar in Bergen in 1988-89 under the BIDS-CMI research cooperation agreement. During this period he prepared a large study of sicknesses, diseases, treatments and

medical costs by socio-economic variables in Bangladesh (Khan 89) that summarised available statistical information in Bangladesh. The report was presented to the joint BIDS-CMI seminar in Bergen in February 1989, and an abridged version was published under the title "Health Care Financing in Bangladesh" (Khan 90) in the report on the seminar. His paper falls in two distinct parts: the first dealing with health and family planning mainly provided by the Government first of all through the Ministry of Health and Family Planning. But he points out that a number of other Government bodies, the International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh, and some larger private enterprises and Non-Governmental Organisations also provide such services. The second part of the paper is an estimate of private health costs, based on a sample survey undertaken by BIDS in 1987. On the basis of these data the author estimated total private health expenditure to 3.6 per cent of the Gross National Product, or about three times as much as the Government expenditure under the Ministry of Health and Family Planning.

**Mohammad Abul Quaseem**, then Senior Research Fellow at BIDS spent 6 months at CMI in 1987 as visiting fellow under the BIDS-CMI collaboration agreement. During his stay he analysed the findings of sample enquiries amongst tubewell owners and farmers in six different parts of Bangladesh. His analysis was published by CMI as a working paper titled *Financial Return of Irrigation Equipment to Owners and Users: The Case of Shallow Tubewells in Bangladesh 1981-85* (Quaseem 87). The paper was presented to the joint BIDS-CMI seminar in Bergen in February 1989 and an abridged version included in the report on the seminar (Quaseem 90). His hypothesis was that following increased costs of irrigation equipment in the first half of the 1980s tubewell owners would have raised prices with adverse effects on the returns to the farmers thus acting as disincentive to higher production. This did not prove to be so: owners of irrigation equipment did not raise prices as much as the increase in recurrent operation costs, and most of them operated at a loss when capital costs were included. Also economic returns to farmers were reduced, but the irrigated area remained the same. The author concludes that the profitability of irrigation undoubtedly had fallen and that this in turn explains the slowing down in the increase of crop production in the beginning of the 1980s.

**Atiur Rahman**, then Research Fellow at BIDS, did not visit CMI as a visiting scholar, but a paper of his on *The State and the Peasantry: The Bangladesh Case* was published as a DERAP working paper (Atiur Rahman 83). It looks into the structural effects of state intervention with respect to the peasantry in Bangladesh. After a brief recourse to the theories of state, it makes an empirical examination into the process through which the state has been creating new classes dependent on it for access to all kinds of subsidised inputs and 'developmental' allocations. The author argues that even though some of the poor farmers may have genuinely benefited from state intervention, the net beneficiaries are of course the rich peasantry.

**M. Raihan Sharif**, then professor in Dhaka, spent two months in CMI in 1981, *inter alia* in order to evaluate DERAP from the point of view of a researcher from Bangladesh. His findings are available in a restricted working paper entitled *A Review of the CMI/DERAP Relationship with Bangladesh* (M.R.Sharif 81). It reviews the CMI/DERAP relationship (in terms of research, field work and country interaction) with Bangladesh starting with the relationship with Pakistan/East Pakistan since the



1950's, putting the details in the perspective of the development situation in the relevant times, and providing a number of suggestions for the improvement of DERAP's work programme. Raihan Sharif had worked in the Pakistan Planning Commission in Karachi from 1954 to 1970 and therefore also with Faaland, Norbye and Tveite who later became senior members of DERAP. His survey of the relationship between CMI and Bangladesh is one of the major sources of information behind the present report. In chapter 7 he offers "a critique of the (DERAP) work programme: some observations and suggestions." As regards *advisory services*, due to the (then) prevailing conditions in the Planning Commission in Bangladesh, he concluded that "longer term (advisory) assignment of the DERAP social science staff resources is likely to prove wasteful.... Only very short period survey visits can then be justified." He finds that the two research projects (demographic and village issues) are encouraging, but observes that "these are eventual end-results of *ad hoc* piecemeal thinking of certain aspects as and when they struck the minds of the two researchers..", and he calls for a planned approach to such research. He also criticises what he calls "country interaction" for not being clearly target oriented. Under this heading he includes work by Bangladeshi "politician-scholars or planner-scholars" attached to CMI; "*ad hoc* multi-disciplinary approach to produce a number of analytical or technically-presented reports of specific nature"; and the seminar activity. He points out that the then recently concluded BIDS-CMI agreement will offer new opportunities for CMI scholars to maintain contacts with relevant institutions in Bangladesh; for keeping "track of the effectiveness or otherwise of the advisory services rendered by DERAP"; for acquiring literature for the CMI library; for "assistance to the publication of good research papers"; and "for a search for new ideas or projects". He writes that "it should be possible to explore one or two new areas of research. I feel, one major area, so far neglected, will deserve attention immediately; that is small and cottage industry problems."

**Rehman Sobhan** who was professor at Dhaka University, became member of the Planning Commission in charge of manufacturing industries when Bangladesh became independent, until the overturn of the Mujibur Rahman government. He was visiting scholar at CMI from 1976 to 1978, and he also spent a month at CMI in 1979. During his first period he was working on his large study of *The Nationalised Enterprises in Bangladesh*, published by BIDS in 1980 (Sobhan and Ahmad 80). This was one of a series of studies of public enterprises in Asia. In 1979 he wrote a paper titled *The nature of the state and its implications for the development of public enterprise in Asia* which was first published as a DERAP working paper (Sobhan 79a). "The analytical framework on which this paper is based attempts to conceptualise the societal framework within which public enterprises emerge, operate and distribute their surplus", the same method of analysis as was used by him for Bangladesh. He points out the role of public enterprises in newly independent countries to a great extent depends on the strength of a national bourgeoisie prior to independence. But their role does not necessarily come in conflict with the role of private business, or even foreign capital. Bangladesh was a rather exceptional case in that most larger private enterprises were owned by Pakistani, and at independence the lower middle classes, workers and students were in favour of a "socialist" economy. But gradually the large public sector in Bangladesh was exploited by the "petty bourgeoisie" and instead of becoming a source of growth it became a drain on the nation's resources to the benefit of management and middlemen. In 1979 Sobhan also prepared another paper, on *Food*

*Policy and Famine in Bangladesh* (Sobhan 79). In that brief paper he discussed the reasons behind the famine in 1974 in which tens of thousand people died in Rangpur district and several hundreds on the streets of Dhaka. He describes how the "modified rationing system" and relief were drastically reduced when most needed, and how rice prices rose more than three times in the course of the year, with the result that many people did not have sufficient entitlements to buy enough food to survive. Reduced supplies to the very poor was due to shortage of food for the public distribution system, and this again was caused by withheld food aid shipments from USA. A particularly ugly facet of this situation was that USA postponed food aid because Bangladesh jute factories sold jute bags to Cuba, not knowing in advance that the US administration would withhold aid until these deliveries had been terminated. But Sobhan points out that Bangladesh government also was responsible for the tragedy: it would have been possible to have curtailed rations to priority groups and diverted scarce supplies to famine areas.

**Mohammed Shelimu Zaman**, a student from Bangladesh at the Free University of Amsterdam, visited DERAP briefly in 1979, and wrote a draft paper *on Human Rights and Their Barriers* that was published as a DERAP working paper (Zaman 79). He summarises some of his observations as follows: "United Nations' machinery to implement human rights is not satisfactory due to super-powers' "cold war" tussle. Western Europe appears to have a better system of respecting and promoting human rights. The barriers to human rights are the structural barriers that negate the concept of the Rule of Law and democratic system of government. These barriers are visible in most of the Third World Countries (in this paper the Bangladesh case has been highlighted) having some form of dictatorial regimes. Foreign aid promotes neither economic rights nor political rights in repressive dictatorial systems." Three years later he had become research associate at the Institute of Social Studies in the Hague, and he spent 4 weeks at CMI in December 1982 working on his thesis on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his policies which was published by DERAP: *Role and limitation of historical personality in the process of development: the case of Bangladesh* (Zaman 82). The theoretical approach to his thesis was "that in 1975 the State of Bandabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was anticipatory while the society of Bangladesh became inert and that Sheikh Mujib's attempt at internal reform was not matched by his external defence. The consequence was disastrous: his government was violently overthrown and the State of Bangladesh fell back in its former model, i.e. the model of Pakistan. The limitation of historical personality - in the present case that of Sheikh Mujib - in development process may also be discerned in this schematic."

## **2.2 Research work by Chr. Michelsen Institute staff and associates**

Under this heading is only included published research which did not result directly from non-research field assignments or commissioned studies. However, books, articles and other papers produced on the basis of experience from field assignments are included.

**Tone Bleie**, anthropologist, now Senior Research Fellow at CMI, did fieldwork for her M.Phil. degree among the tribal Oraon in north-west Bangladesh in 1983, and worked on her thesis as student with workplace at CMI. She joined CMI as a research fellow in 1989, in charge of the newly established DERAP research programme on Gender

relations in a comparative perspective. She was then in the middle of a research project on Gender and Economic Marginalisation in Bangladesh, supported by the Research Council under the programme Women and Development. The cooperation agreement between BIDS and CMI greatly facilitated her research, even if the funding was secured from elsewhere. Her thesis *Brides for Ruin, Grooms for Wealth: Marriage Prestations in Rural Bangladesh* (Bleie 95) was completed in 1995, when she also received her Ph.D. In her voluminous thesis she documents and analyses the marriage arrangements of Muslim, Rajbani (Hindu) and Oraon communities in an area of Dinajpur district of Bangladesh. Her study illuminates the very complex transactions between the grooms' and the brides' families throughout the 20th century, and how these have changed in the course of the late colonial period, the years when Bangladesh was an East Pakistan province and after the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. One remarkable finding is reflected in the title of her thesis: while in earlier periods it was the groom's family which offered most of the gifts to the bride and her family and paid for the wedding ceremonies, nowadays the opposite is the case. One reason for this may be an increased scarcity of grooms in relation to the number of available brides. Bleie examines to what degree this scarcity is predominantly demographic and argues that the notion of scarcity is as much a cultural construct, revealing the genders' differential access to education and employment. The use of the transfers between families is complex: to some considerable extent it expresses itself in short term consumption (viz. large wedding feasts and entertainment of the community after the wedding), but it is also a form for intergenerational transfers. Bleie wrote several papers based on her research in Bangladesh before her Ph.D. thesis was completed. Her M.Phil thesis dealt with *The Cultural Construction and the Social Organization of Gender: The Case of Oraon Marriage and Witchcraft* (Bleie 85). Her first article, in Norwegian, on organisation of women for mobilisation or maintenance, was probably the first article on micro credit to women in Bangladesh (and in India) written in Norway (Bleie 85a). She wrote an article *on Gender Relations among Oraons in Bangladesh: Continuity and Change*, for an Indian journal (Bleie 87). Examples from Bangladesh were also used in her article titled *Who has reproductive rights: a human rights perspective from the third world* (Bleie 87a). Material for her later doctoral work was presented in a large paper on *Dowry and Bridewealth Prestations in Rural Bangladesh: Gifts or Hybrid Forms?* (Bleie 90). Another early article by Bleie discusses the sequence from demands to institutionalisation and from there to practice, dealing with gender in Norwegian development assistance (Bleie 87b). In the early 1990s she co-authored an anthology *Carved Flesh/Cast Selves: Gendered Symbols and Social Practices* in which she contributed an essay on aspects of androgyny (Bleie 93).

**Just Faaland**, economist, became Member of the Chr. Michelsen Institute in 1952 and launched a development research programme at CMI in 1961, followed in 1965 by the establishment of DERAP which he headed until the autumn of 1987. His contacts with the then East Pakistan started in early 1958 when he was member of the Harvard Advisory Group to Pakistan for more than two years. He returned to Bangladesh in 1972-74 as the World Bank's Resident Representative. Subsequently, again as head of DERAP, he visited Bangladesh regularly. He also had a major assignment there in 1987-89 when he headed the UNDP sponsored Bangladesh Agriculture Sector Review. In the early 1990s he visited as Director General of IFPRI, and later, in 1994, he chaired a review of the Flood Action Plan, for UNDP, and also took part in an

MFA mission to Bangladesh in preparation of a country strategy for Norwegian development cooperation. The most important research papers which have resulted from this long association with Bangladesh are the following. In 1975 he published an article in Norwegian on *Bangladesh: Poverty for ever?* (Faaland 75) in which he outlined the serious problems facing that country: a rapidly increasing population mostly dependent on agriculture in a country in which all arable land was intensively utilised and the average farm size already very small. The same issues were raised in an article published in Bangladesh together with professor J.R. Parkinson (Faaland and Parkinson 76) on *A Development Perspective for Bangladesh*, and this was followed by a book by the same two authors: *Bangladesh: The Test Case for Development* (Faaland and Parkinson 76a). They stressed in particular the very difficult employment prospects in a country in which the scope for more gainful employment in farming was so restrained and in which the creation of a large manufacturing sector was bound to take time. Their findings were also published elsewhere in "Gradual Development or Deepening Misery?" in the journal *World Development* (Faaland and Parkinson 76b). The problem of aid dependence in Bangladesh was discussed in a book edited by Faaland and in which he authored chapters on "The Story"; "The Bangladesh Aid Group"; "The Debt Liability of Pakistan" and "The Lessons" (Faaland (ed.) 81). The situation in Bangladesh is also discussed in other publications such as in the paper on *Structural Transformation and Rural Development*, delivered at the EADI conference in Milan in 1978 and later published (Faaland and Mosharaff Hossain 80). Another example is the text book on *The Political Economy of Development* (Faaland and Parkinson 86) in which case studies also from Bangladesh were used. The aid dependence problem was brought up in a paper on *Aid Conditionality: The Governance Gap* presented with Parkinson at BIDS' 30 Years Commemoration Seminar in 1989 (Faaland and Parkinson 89). The subject of governance gap was also dealt with in another essay by the two authors (Faaland and Parkinson 90).

**Eirik G. Jansen**, anthropologist, was research fellow in CMI from 1975 to 1990. He spent 1 1/2 years in Bangladesh, financed mostly by the Ford Foundation but also by DERAP, from 1976 to 1978 and was associated with BIDS. He then began his work on his village studies which in 1983 resulted in a completed manuscript of his book *Rural Bangladesh - Competition for Scarce Resources* (Jansen 86) which earned him his Ph.D. in 1985. He returned to BIDS for three months in 1980 under the BIDS/CMI cooperation agreement. Since 1980 he had a number of other assignments in Bangladesh: late in 1980 he participated in a NORAD river transport mission; he was there again for a short period in 1982, and in 1983 he worked there for 9 months on the country boat project. In the autumn 1985 he first evaluated DANIDA's assistance to the transport sector, then participated in the evaluation of Norwegian import support to Bangladesh, in 1986 he took part in the MDC financed country study, and later in the year he spent two months on a NORAD financed enquiry into the follow-up of the river transport study. Finally, in 1987 he became Deputy Resident Representative in the Norwegian development cooperation mission to Bangladesh until 1990. Apart from writing his parts of the commissioned work he wrote a number of papers based on his many field assignments. His major work remains his doctoral thesis which is based on an intensive study of the life in a single village. Yet, the characteristics of that village are similar in many respects to those of thousands of other villages and his findings tell us much about social relations in Bangladesh. The scarce resource is land: there are both surplus and deficit farmers in the village. The

deficit farmers must find money or other means to supplement their own production, through sharecropping, work as labourer, or borrow money, often with land as collateral. The surplus farmers want to get more land, and can get it by lending to others who in the end fail to repay their loan. The patron-client relationship is typical under these circumstances in which the poorest farmers seek to protect their land ownership as long as possible. Jansen also examines the impact of external conditions and finds that government assistance mainly benefit the richer farmers and strengthen their hold on the poorer ones. In earlier writing Jansen analysed the social influence of irrigation in rural communities. An English version of his findings, published in Bangladesh, was called *Choice of irrigation technology in Bangladesh: Implications for Dependency Relationship between Rich and Poor Farmers* (Jansen 79a), and a Norwegian version was entitled *Irrigation technologies and social differentiation in Bangladesh* (Jansen 79b). Here he briefly discusses the potential role of irrigation and then gives a condensed picture of the social structure in rural Bangladesh before assessing the relative merits and disadvantages of Deep Tube Well (DTW) and Manually Operated Shallow Tubewell Irrigation (MOSTI). DTW was heavily subsidised by Government and given to cooperatives which, in fact, often were established by a rich farmer whose power over poor farmers hence was increased. MOSTI could be installed by small farmers (if they could borrow the money, however) and created much employment. His next subject matter is based on a NORAD assignment discussed under 2.3 (Jansen 81) which he followed with an article (in Norwegian) on "The donor's role in development aid projects: the development of the river transport sector in Bangladesh as example" (Jansen 83a). He begins by pointing out that aid agencies often carry through projects with their own staff and thus do not get close to the wishes and needs of people, and moreover, activities cannot always be continued by the beneficiaries. He illustrates the danger of this also in Norway's support to the river transport sector in which the emphasis is to improve the conditions under which mechanised river transport operates. This is made difficult because rivers change their course and dredging is needed. The traditional "country boats" are far more flexible, and they create much needed employment in rural areas, but heavy emphasis on mechanised transport might undermine the traditional labour intensive river transport.<sup>7</sup> His views may have influenced the Norwegian and Netherlands aid authorities to conduct a large study of the country boats (CMI and ISS 84) and Jansen also contributed to popular versions etc. of this large commissioned report (discussed under 2.3). In 1988 additional material was collected from Bangladesh, and a book that gave a compressed version of the original report and an additional chapter on the country boat sector in the late 1980s were edited and written by Jansen and Jerve (Jansen et al. 89). More about this book under Jerve below. Jansen's participation in the evaluation of Norwegian import support to Bangladesh resulted *inter alia* in an article in Norwegian titled "Who makes requests for development assistance? The Norwegian deliveries of medicines to Bangladesh as an example" (Jansen 87a). There he points out that import agents of Norwegian medicines influenced the Bangladesh authorities to ask for Norwegian medicines, even in cases where such import violated the country's own drug policy. He also gives other examples of private interests asking for import of goods that turned out not to be appropriate. In two essays Jansen draws on his general experience from Bangladesh: "The difficult poverty orientation:

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<sup>7</sup> Jansen presented his findings already early in 1982, in a paper delivered to the symposium on poverty and aid organised as a tribute to the work of Just Faaland (Jansen 83).

Bangladesh as an example" (Jansen 87) in which he reviews problematic aid from both bilateral and multilateral sources, and "Process of polarisation and the breaking up of the patron-client relationships in rural Bangladesh" (Jansen 89a; also available in Norbye (ed.) 90) in which he discussed the changes which have taken place since he conducted his village study, as new developments encouraged by Bangladesh authorities and aid agencies have altered traditional power relationships in rural communities.

**Alf Morten Jerve**, anthropologist, now Director Advisory Services at CMI, had been a student at CMI. From 1982 for about 2 years he was employed by DERAP as member of the country boat study team (see under Jansen and also under 2.3). After a brief visit to Bangladesh early in 1982, he stayed there for 9 months in 1982-83. In 1990 he took part in a NORAD mission that made a feasibility study of a local government support programme in Greater Faridpur District. The following year he reviewed Norwegian support to the inland water transport sector in Bangladesh, without visiting the country, however. Late in 1992 he was on a World Bank mission to review impacts of land acquisition for the Jamuna Bridge project. In 1993-95 he worked for the World Bank in Washington and was responsible for Bangladesh in its Asia Technical Division, and visited Bangladesh 6-8 times during that period. Jerve's research papers exploit his experiences from the country boat study. In 1986, together with Jansen, he wrote an article called "From research to implementation: the country boats of Bangladesh and strategies for development" (Jerve and Jansen 86), published in Bangladesh. In it they conclude "that it was possible to move the aid administration to challenge the modernization philosophy so entrenched in their own way of thinking, particularly with respect to transport and similar "hardware" sectors, and to try out new planning and implementation strategies." Another conclusion is a support to the "learning approach to development." Due to the complexity of the country boat sector it would be "meaningless to try to predict the results of specific development initiatives and thereby evaluate the feasibility of support to the sector." "Finally, but not the least important, is the hope that this paper will contribute to increased awareness of the role and problems of this indigenous transport sector." In 1988 several of the rivers which had been studied by the country boat team were re-visited by Nazibor Rahman (and Jansen?) and Jansen and Jerve condensed the content of the original study (CMI and ISS 84) into a book which included an additional chapter on the changes in the late 1980s (Jansen et al. 89). The final chapter describes the dramatic changes that had taken place during the last five years; "More has happened to the country boat sector in the last five years than during the previous five decades... In 1988 we revisited many of the rivers where we had conducted interviews and surveys in 1982 and 1983. Whereas then we saw hardly any mechanized country boats, our surveys conducted on Jamuna, Buriganga and Lakhya rivers in March and April 1988 revealed a very different picture. It was striking to watch the great number of country boats which had removed their mast and rig, and now depended only on an engine for propulsion...The mechanization of the country boats is very closely linked to the 'Green Revolution'. Normally these (newly installed) pumps are only in operation for 3-4 months every year,.. In 1983, the country boat study team observed only one boat on Lakhya river which was fitted with an irrigation pump engine. From 1985-86 the idea of using irrigation pumps in the country boats 'caught on'. The demonstration effect of the first boats experimenting with this type of engine has been tremendous." The chapter added to the original report describes "the mechanization that has occurred, the new designs

and new construction materials which are being used, and how the ownership pattern of the boats are affected by these changes."

**Bodil Maal**, sociologist, was research assistant for Eirik Jansen during two months in 1980 and wrote two papers, one in which she presented *Statistical Material Collected from a Village in Bangladesh* (Maal 80) and one, in Norwegian, in which she discussed methodological problems in connection with questionnaires in village surveys in Bangladesh (Maal 80a).

**Armindo Miranda**, demographer, now Senior Research Fellow in CMI, joined DERAP in 1976. In the same year he visited BIDS for 1 1/2 months, and in 1977-78 he spent 14 months with BIDS to undertake his research on demography in Bangladesh. He returned to BIDS for one month under the BIDS-CMI cooperation agreement in 1980. Later he has been in Bangladesh for different assignments several times; in 1986 as member of the country study team; in 1987 he was at BIDS, under the cooperation agreement; in 1989 to make proposals for the future of the Dutch population programme in Bangladesh for the Netherlands authorities; and in 1991 and 1995 he visited BIDS as CMI-coordinator for the cooperation agreement in order to discuss an eventual collaborative research agenda. His main work is his thesis on *The Demography of Bangladesh* for which he obtained his Ph.D. degree at the University of Paris in 1983 (Miranda 83) (A preliminary version in English was published by DERAP one year earlier (Miranda 82)). This very comprehensive study consists of two parts. In the first part, *l'état des données*, he discusses the statistical material which at that stage was very unsatisfactory. He argues that administrative weaknesses in Bangladesh shortly after independence are clearly responsible for this, but in addition the authorities did not use the statistics for practical or political purposes and therefore did not feel a compelling need for improving the data. The second and larger part, *les questions démographiques*, has five chapters on population growth, distribution and structure; nuptiality; fertility; mortality; and migrations. In all these chapters he discusses the demographic factors in the context of the level of development and the social and political structures. The Bangladesh situation was unique in many respects. It was, and is, by far the most densely populated large country in the entire world; the degree of urbanisation was nevertheless extremely low in relation to the population density; the share of Hindus in the population had decreased from about one third at the beginning of the century to about 15 per cent, with various socio-economic and cultural implications. On nuptiality he observes that the "Western" way of analysing its impact was not suitable as cohabitation of sons with parents has a much stronger impact than the marriage itself. As regards fertility he discusses the, then, weak impact of government sponsored family planning activities and explains why. His chapter on mortality discusses at length the extremely poor access to medical facilities for the less privileged part of the population which results in a continued high mortality even though the mortality caused by some illnesses had been reduced (e.g. malaria and smallpox) due to modern health practices. At that time the importance of migrations was relatively modest even though there was a growing tendency for people to move to urban areas. Before his thesis was completed Miranda wrote several articles on various demographic questions in Bangladesh. As preparation for his first visit to Bangladesh, he prepared a paper on *Population Projections for Bangladesh* (Miranda 76). One article on migration was published in French (Miranda 77); one on "The Defectiveness of the 1974 Population Census" (Begum and Miranda 79) and another

on nuptiality (Miranda 80) were published in Bangladesh; one on demographic problems and dilemmas in population policy in Bangladesh was published in Denmark (Miranda 87) and at the BIDS-CMI seminar in Bergen in 1989 he presented a paper on population and development in Bangladesh (Miranda 90). He also wrote a commentary on women's role in agriculture for a journal in Bangladesh (Miranda 90b)

**Ole David Koht Norbye**, economist, joined CMI as senior research fellow in 1961, until his retirement in 1989 when he became attached to the institute as senior consultant. His first visit to the then East Pakistan was in 1959 when he was member of the Harvard Advisory Group until 1961. He returned on a short assignment in 1963, but thereafter did not work in Bangladesh until 1983 when he was member of a team which evaluated a Danish rural development project. In two years from 1983 to 1985 he was member of a World Bank financed advisory team, Trade and Industry Policy Reform Programme (TIP), managed by Harvard Institute for International Development to reform trade and industrial policies; immediately afterwards he headed an evaluation team on Norwegian import support to Bangladesh; and in 1986 he headed the CMI country study team for MFA. In 1988 he spent in all 4 months in Bangladesh on the UNDP organised Agriculture Sector Review; in 1989 he was leader of a team to undertake a case study for the Nordic UN Project; in 1992 he took part in an evaluation of the SIDA/NORAD financed RESP; and in 1994 he undertook a review of experience with development aid in Bangladesh for MFA. Norbye's major research project was a study on the development projects in Pakistan undertaken in the first half of the 1960s (Norbye 69). In this he projected a possible development of the economic structure of East and West Pakistan separately during the Perspective Plan period 1960 to 1985. Professor Raihan Sharif quotes the following conclusion from the study: "Regional per caput income parity is certainly the most pressing domestic policy objective in Pakistan, but as economists we must be prepared to admit that this cannot be achieved within the lifetime of the present Perspective Plan" (Sharif 81, p. 15) Other research papers by Norbye include two papers resulting from his work in Bangladesh during 1983-85: Unused capacities; realities and illusions (Norbye 85) in which he points out that unused manufacturing capacity in Bangladesh to a large extent is in factories which produce goods that are far more expensive than imported ones. In his paper on manufacturing industries in Bangladesh (Norbye 1990b) he reports from an original survey of the structure of manufacturing based on his work in TIP and developed further for the Bangladesh country study. He there pulls together different statistical data and presents a comprehensive picture of the entire manufacturing sector. He also constructed a new index for the large scale manufacturing industries which *inter alia* included the rapidly expanding clothing industry which was virtually absent in the official index. This paper was presented in the BIDS/CMI seminar in Bergen in 1989. At the same seminar he also delivered a paper on *Agriculture in Bangladesh, problems and policies* (Norbye 90a), in which he presented the findings of the Agriculture Sector Review. As editor of the report on the BIDS/CMI seminar he also wrote its introduction in which he summarised main points brought forward in the papers and in the discussions that followed their presentation (Norbye 90).

**John R. Parkinson**, professor in economics, Nottingham University, UK, cooperated with members of DERAP at many occasions, and was associate research fellow in DERAP from 1983 to 1988. His articles and books together with Faaland are described under Faaland. He also authored four chapters in the book *Aid and*



*Influence*, dealt with under Faaland and Islam (Faaland (ed.) 81). One in part one described "The Needs", in part two he wrote on "Food Aid", and in part three on "The Role of the World Bank", and "The Role of the Fund".

**Johan Skutle**, economist, joined DERAP as senior research fellow in 1971 and as from 1973 to his retirement in 1985 he was also deputy director of DERAP, later of the Department of Social Science and Development. In 1972 he and Michael Selsjord were one month in Bangladesh to review the statistical situation, and in 1979-1981 he was together with Per Tveite UNDP advisor to the Planning Commission. On their return to Bergen they produced three papers in which they presented and discussed data for Gross Domestic Product of Bangladesh from 1972/73 to 1979/80; population projections for Bangladesh 1980-2000; and macro projections for Bangladesh 1980-2000 (Skutle and Tveite 81, 81a, 81b). In the two first papers they point out the large discrepancies between different estimates, while the third paper summarizes a set of alternative projections for total supply and use of resources with some comments on the manpower situation over the next two decades. Quantitative illustrations given in the paper deviate from more optimistic, official projections. They were included for the purpose of underlining the precariousness of the Bangladesh situation. They also wrote a paper on problems of planning and implementation in Bangladesh (Skutle and Tveite 81c). In their paper Skutle and Tveite propose to single out four high priority areas for in-depth studies and action during the first phase of the perspective plan period. These were improvement of economic statistics; the government budget system; urban-rural balance; and energy problems. The paper also emphasises the need for a better and more comprehensive reporting system for plan implementation in Bangladesh. They also published together, in Bangladesh, an article on "Bangladesh as a low-income country in international comparison" (Skutle and Tveite 82). At that stage such indicators as GNP per capita; share of manufacturing in GDP; urban population as percentage of total population; and adult literacy rate showed the figures for Bangladesh to be considerably lower than for the average of low income countries. With one exception they were also lower, in part much lower, than in the neighbouring low income countries (Nepal, Burma, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan). The only exception was that Nepal was even less urbanised than Bangladesh.

**Alan G. Smith**, professor at Connecticut Central State University in USA, was visiting scholar to the Human Rights Study Programme in 1985 and 1986. In 1985 the human rights programme published his study titled *Human rights and choice in poverty. A theory of human rights and duty to aid the third world agrarian poor* (Smith 85). His study introduces a theory of minimal human rights in both the freedom and well-being sectors, as prerequisites to full-scale human rights implementation. It focuses on minimal choice among significant alternatives in expression, association and long-term endeavour, and on minimum food and preventive health, as interdependent at the foundation of real human rights development; their absence combines coercion with insecurity of life. Rural Bangladesh is briefly introduced as an example. In 1986 he wrote a more intensive study of Bangladesh, published as a DERAP working paper under the title *Poverty, Choice, and Human Rights in Rural Bangladesh* (Smith 86). He examines the interdependence of poverty with lack of normal choice as a human rights problem in rural Bangladesh. The study traces how the land-poor find themselves in patron-client dependencies of a sort giving rise to local social practices that constrain their choice among significant alternatives in expression, association and

economic endeavor. This in turn renders even more insecure their prospects for minimal well being for family members. He also sketches a strategy for development aid that sidesteps intermediate patron-client networks.

**Per Tveite**, economist, was senior research fellow in CMI from 1965 to his retirement in 1990. He served as member of the Harvard Advisory Group during 1 1/2 year in 1964-65, the first 6 months as adviser to the Planning Commission in Karachi, and then to the East Pakistan Planning Department. In 1979-81 he was adviser to the Planning Commission in Bangladesh on an UNDP assignment. In addition to the publications he produced together with Skutle he wrote two papers, in Norwegian, on the Bangladesh Planning Commission's views on a Perspective Plan up to the year 2000; and on the Second Five Year Plan in Bangladesh (Tveite 84, 84a). In 1983 the Planning Commission in Bangladesh had published a short policy document called "Thoughts about Perspective Plan", covering a period until the year 2000; Tveite's paper presents a summary of and comments on the "Thoughts". The second paper points out that a draft of the Second Five Year Plan 1980-85 was circulated in 1980, but that the final plan document was only published in 1983, and was very different from the original document. The annual growth rate had been lowered from 7.2 to 5.4 per cent; public development expenditure was cut in half with greater emphasis on private investment; and the foreign exchange gap before external borrowing and foreign aid was also reduced. Tveite writes that the discussion of policy measures designed to achieve the objectives was still a weak point in the plan.

**Arne Wiig**, economist, joined CMI as research fellow in 1988, and in that year he spent one month, in 1989 three months, in 1993 two months, and in 1994 one month in Bangladesh under the BIDS/CMI cooperation agreement. In 1991 he undertook a desk study of import support to Bangladesh for MFA, and in 1995 he was member of a mission that evaluated certain aspects of the operations of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. In 1995 he also delivered a contribution to a MFA financed study of child labour in relation to goods imported to Norway, with information on the Bangladesh clothing industry. During his research work in Bangladesh he studied the rapidly expanding export oriented garment industry, based in part on two sample enquiries. He also carried out such sample surveys amongst buyers in Norway. These data were exploited in a number of articles and in a thesis on the basis of which he received his Ph.D. in 1995 (Wiig 95). The thesis consists of a general overview and three essays on "Market distortions due to compulsory labelling of origin"; "Country of origin - a signal of product quality?"; and "Property rights, investment in product differentiation and branding strategies in the market for clothing". He studies garment exports from Bangladesh on the basis of "information gaps" and "transaction costs" as general and important constraints when developing countries try to differentiate their exports. Two observations were the basis for his work: i) The exporters are reluctant to enter into new markets; and ii) Almost all design and marketing are undertaken by foreign distributors or buyers. Wiig argues that both observations illustrate the significance of modelling the behaviour of *distributors* in international trade analysis. Even though a distinction between producers and distributors is made in theories of vertical restraints and vertical integration, recent theories of international trade and general theories of product differentiation, neglect such a distinction. To remedy this deficiency, the author makes an analytical distinction between the production unit and the distributing agency marketing the product. The author focuses on the incentives for third world

producers to differentiate their products through quality upgrading or brand naming of their products, and, furthermore, the problems of developing countries in capturing the increased profit opportunities created by product differentiation in clothing markets. His study contains a number of original observations and conclusions. Before his thesis was finished Wiig had produced a number of papers on the problems facing the clothing industry in Bangladesh, some of which were presented at various seminars. The paper on *Non-tariff barriers to trade and development - the case of the garment industry in Bangladesh* (Wiig 90) was presented to the BIDS/CMI seminar in Bergen in 1989. The same year he prepared two papers in Norwegian as DERAP working papers, on *Garments Export from Bangladesh. Information Failure and Quality Trap*; and on *Product Differentiation and Quality* (Wiig 90a, 90b). The Norwegian consumer survey was presented in a report, in Norwegian, on *Country of origin - signal of quality?* (Wiig 92). In 1993 he wrote a paper, in Norwegian, discussing whether labelling of country of origin constitutes a factor that distorts competition (Wiig 93).

### 2.3 Commissioned studies

Many of CMI's present and former staff members, and others closely associated with CMI have worked in Bangladesh on assignments which did not result in unrestricted, published material, or have written contributions incorporated in documents without reference to authors. In this section we only list assignments which did result in published or otherwise available papers.

**Abu Abdullah**, formerly, in 1977-78, visiting scholar at CMI, then Research Director, now Director General of BIDS, was during 1987-89 Review Team Co-Leader in the UNDP sponsored Agriculture Sector Review, headed by Just Faaland; see under Faaland below. He contributed two background papers to the report: *Fertilizer Pricing and Distribution Policy*; and *Foodgrain Pricing Policy* (Abdullah 89).

**Ann-Lisbet Arn**, Danish anthropologist, was guest researcher at CMI in 1985-86. She had extensive field experience from research work in Bangladesh for the Centre for Development Research in Denmark. During her period in CMI she participated as member of the Bangladesh country study team, see further under Norbye below. She had as particular responsibility the drafting of sections on the political situation and power structure; institutions in rural areas; and the economic and social conditions of women in chapter 4 on Institutions (CMI 86).

**Karin Ask**, anthropologist, had as student worked on her M.A. thesis at CMI in the early 1980s and had some assignments for CMI before she in 1992 became research fellow in CMI. In 1995 she was team leader of a mission to Bangladesh to study whether old loans to poor people from Grameen Bank to a significant extent were repaid by new loans, and thus threatened the solidity of the bank as well as the economies of poor households (Ask, Wiig and Sigvaldsen 95). Even though Grameen Bank lends money to poor households without collateral, the loan servicing has been excellent, but the question was raised if the rapid expansion of the bank's lending might not undermine its excellent performance. Two surveys were carried out; an extensive statistical survey in two areas of the country, and an intensive survey based on longer

interviews, in three geographical areas. Researchers from BIDS played a major role in both surveys. In her interviews Ask found clear evidence that the regular monthly loan repayment instalments were financed by the entire household, and both such interviews and the extensive survey showed that in many cases the earnings from loan financed activities only covered a small part of the servicing of the loans. As regards the main question to be studied, the team did not find any evidence that loans were repaid on the basis of new loans from Grameen Bank, nor from other sources of credit (family and friends, money lenders etc.). **Arne Wiig** of CMI was also member of the mission; as regards his particular contribution see under Wiig below.

**Petter Jakob Bjerve**, economist, then director of the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics, was from 1973 to 1984 member of the DERAP project board, from 1976 the board of the CMI Department of Social Science and Development; the last years as chairman of the board. In 1973 he was together with **Mikael Selsjord** of CMI in Bangladesh "to assist in: a) Reorganizing the statistical services of Bangladesh. and b) establish the statistical system and priorities and time profiles for its implementation." This mission was financed by NORAD and it resulted in a comprehensive report on the existing situation and proposals for the future organisation of those services (Bjerve and Selsjord 73). Prior to Bjerve's assignment two of DERAP's senior research fellows, Selsjord and Skutle, had at the request of the Planning Commission in Bangladesh visited the country for a month and reported on the statistical situation in Bangladesh (Selsjord and Skutle 72). Further details under Selsjord below. Financed by the United Nations, Bjerve re-visited later Bangladesh in 1976, 1980 and 1982 to follow up the reforms. The Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, which was formally given the role as the central bureau of statistics in 1974, had to be built up from scratch. The role and organisation of BBS were on the whole in line with Bjerve's original proposals. "But it took long time before the new organisation was built up"(Bjerve 96).

**Just Faaland** was Review Director of the Bangladesh Agriculture Sector Review, carried out by a group of independent experts and sponsored by UNDP. It was started late in 1987 and was concluded by an international workshop in February 1989. This large operation was carried out by a core team of 12 members of whom 7 from abroad (including **Ole David Koht Norbye** from CMI) and 5 from Bangladesh. 10 other consultants from abroad made specific contributions, and 33 consultants from Bangladesh, many of whom from BIDS, contributed background papers for the review, which were published in compendium volumes to the main report (UNDP 89). The results of the review were published in a Main Volume, Bangladesh Agriculture, Performance and Policies, which also presented the findings and endorsements of a specially convened high level working group. The five compendium volumes were: I The Agricultural Sector in Context; II Subsectors of Agriculture; III Land, Water and Irrigation; IV Markets and Prices; and V Institutions. An additional volume on Women's Role in Agriculture was also published later by UNDP. The review was undertaken in a period when the Government of Bangladesh (GOB) still maintained interventionist policies both as regards marketing of farm products and distribution of inputs to agriculture. GOB was under strong pressure from many of the aid donors in Bangladesh, notably the World Bank and USAID, to liberalise its agricultural policies. This pressure was resisted by GOB, and was subject to strong criticism by experts in Bangladesh as well as by many foreign observers. When the Review was carried out,

the rate of increase of foodgrain production appeared to have slowed down so much that the ultimate target of foodgrain self-sufficiency seemed to be out of reach in a foreseeable future. The objective of the review was to review both the state of agriculture and the policy environment independent of outside pressure and ingrained domestic opinions. The outcome of the review was recommendations to relax government interventions in a number of areas in which it was generally agreed that private operators could provide more flexible services, without accepting the more far reaching reforms argued by certain donor agencies. These recommendations were to a large extent followed by the government, notably as regards the distribution of irrigation equipment, and some other inputs, as well as in the field of marketing of farm products. At the time of its publication, the published results of the review contained a wealth of up-to-date information and analysis of virtually all aspects of agricultural conditions and policies. Faaland's contribution in 1994 to the Norwegian MFA's work on a country strategy for development cooperation with Bangladesh is not available in a published form. Faaland was again concerned with the future of agriculture when he headed a team which reviewed the Flood Action Plan in 1995. In 1987 and 1988 the floods which Bangladesh was subject to, were among the worst on record. They captured the attention of the international community and raised anew the question of flood control. Governments of many countries and the international organisations provided resources for studies of a series of large and small food control measures. However, these studies had many drawbacks and their implementation would have grave ecological and social consequences, and were criticised both inside the country and by foreign experts. Hence UNDP felt the need for another independent review. With four colleagues Faaland prepared a report on Flood and water management: towards a public debate (Faaland 95). They pointed out that the extensive work that had been done by the Flood Plan Coordination Organisation (FPCO) with its staff and panel of domestic and foreign experts, had concentrated primarily on the objective of flood protection and had paid inadequate attention to the broader context of national priorities for water management in which year round availability of water assumes greater importance than temporary over-supply. Too little attention had been paid to people's own response patterns to cope with flood, and to the strengthening of such coping strategies. In general, the potential impact of proposed investments on poor and rich people, on rural and urban inhabitants, and on vulnerable groups such as women and children had not been properly analysed. In the context of poverty, gender and environmental sustainability the team was concerned about the process of analysis and policy making for water resources, which had been dominated by the FPCO and represented an over-narrow view of the problem. The report stressed, *inter alia*, that free movement of fish must be allowed to continue in the flood plain and thus to remain a source of free or low-cost food to the poor. For this to come about, the voices of the poor should be directly heard and their traditional knowledge be used. In conclusion the report urges a focused, structured and time-bound public debate around the contested issues in preparation for a national water resources strategy.

**Gunnar Håland**, anthropologist, senior research fellow in DERAP 1979-1988, was in 1983 member of the mission to Bangladesh which evaluated the DANIDA Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Project (Parkinson 83). For details see under Parkinson. In 1986 in Bergen he also participated in the preparation of the country study of Bangladesh (CMI 86), see under Norbye.

**Mosharaff Hossain**, economist, professor University of Dhaka, was associate research fellow of DERAP from 1980 to 1988. He was member of the mission to Bangladesh which in 1983 evaluated the DANIDA Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Project (Parkinson 83). For details see under Parkinson.

**Eirik Jansen** was in 1980 member of a fact-finding team sent by NORAD to Bangladesh to assess various aspects of project requests in the inland water transport sector, chiefly related to the technical, hydrological and transport economic features of the projects. However, the terms of reference also required the delegation to describe and consider some possible socio-economic implications of the projects. Jansen contributed a paper on these subjects (Jansen 81) which discusses the distributional effects of Norwegian support to the development of a mechanised fleet in the river transport sector. His paper essentially focuses on the possible negative employment effects for the many hundred of thousands people who are engaged in the traditional river transport sector. The paper also discusses the effects export of rice on mechanised vessels will have on the large and poor majority of the population in Bangladesh as facilitation of exports might lead to higher domestic rice prices. In 1982-84 Jansen was the Project manager of the Norwegian/Dutch Financed Country Boat Study (CMI and ISS 84). The other three major members of the team were **Alf Morten Jerve** of DERAP, Antony J. Dolman, Deputy Director of the Institute of Social Study Advisory Service, the Hague and **Nazibor Rahman** who studied social anthropology at the University of Bergen in 1983-84 and was associated with CMI as visiting scholar there. He was the principle field researcher of the study, collecting most of the information on which the report was based. The large four volume report contains a wealth of information on this traditional economic sector which probably consisted of more than 200,000 boats that were operated commercially throughout or for part of the year. They employed about one million people, and for these earnings from the sector constituted most of the income on which five million poor rural people depended for their living. The study's conclusions and recommendations are based on a survey of the decision-making environment; the socio-economic environment; the physical environment; and the operational environment. As regards the decision-making environment non-mechanised transport was then still the backbone of Bangladesh's transport system, accounting for 95 per cent of all vehicles and craft in the country, 80 per cent of all employment, of which 60 per cent on the country boats, and 75 per cent of the value added in transport. 80 per cent of the country's 68,000 villages were still dependent on traditional transport modes. But official policy and donor agencies' assistance were concentrated on "modernisation" of the sector. On the subject of socio-economic environment the study pointed out that the situation of tens of millions mostly rural people was worsening rather than improving. Under such circumstances it was important not to undermine a sector which created gainful employment for rural poor who also spent their income in rural areas. Sixty per cent of all commercially operated boats were owner-operators who tended to be land owners as well, but who needed supplementary income. The crew - the boatmen - were almost totally drawn from landless and poor. The physical environment was deteriorating rapidly due to increasing use of water for irrigation, and rapid siltation of the waterways. This hampers the development of mechanised river transport, and the team argues that ongoing efforts to develop more waterways for mechanised transport are futile; the emphasis should be on keeping existing routes open. An even larger part of the country - already as much as two thirds - will be unreachable by boats in the dry

season. But they also recommend manual dredging, for example by the Food for Work programme, to keep country boats routes open. Country boats are far more flexible due to their shallow draft. An additional threat to the country boat sector is the growing shortage of good timber for boat construction, which makes boats more expensive. The study's description of the operating environment is extensive. It covers the types of boats, their motive forces: wind, current, tide and manpower (viz. rowing, pulling, sculling and poling), and "troublespots" on different routes. They point out that subsidised mechanical water transport, and increasingly also road transport, can offer cheaper rates for many goods. The poorer owner-operators mainly do "freight trips", which carry goods for others, while many other boats are on "business trips" freighting goods for sale. The major constraints are obtaining cargo which can take long time; loading which can be slowed down because porters have no incentive to do it fast; the travelling itself which is not only constrained due to climatic and current conditions, but also, to some extent, threatened by river pirates, and interference by government officials and police who sometimes demand bribes; and in particular unloading, as the buyer of the goods postponed unloading, in order to use the boats as storage space free of charge. The transport of salt in particular but also timber and fuel wood, is most profitable for the country boat sector; their role in transporting jute was threatened, whereas transport of paddy and rice should remain important. The study team's recommendations were neither sweeping nor far reaching, but consisted of a series of practical proposals such as manual dredging already mentioned, better credit and insurance facilities, experimenting with new building materials and boat designs, storage facilities in unloading places etc., etc. Jansen was member of the team that in 1985 evaluated Norway's Commodity Assistance and Import Support to Bangladesh (Norbye et al. 86); see under Norbye. In 1986 he was member of the Bangladesh country study team, see further under Norbye. As a special responsibility he drafted the section on transport in chapter 2 on The Economy, and the section on the rural society and living conditions in the chapter 4 on Institutions, as well as annex A on the latter subject (CMI 86).

**Alf Morten Jerve** worked for two years on the country boat study, and was first on a short visit to Bangladesh early in 1982, and then he spent 9 months there in 1982-83. The results of this study (CMI and ISS 84) is discussed at length above under Jansen who was the project manager of the study. In 1991 Jerve undertook a desk study based on documents and interviews with Norwegians who had been involved, of the Norwegian assistance to the inland water transport sector in Bangladesh (Jerve 91). Jerve's report throws light on key problems in development cooperation. Norway had assisted the sector since 1977, and expected that such aid would be a major component of Norwegian development cooperation with Bangladesh. The results were disappointing. Thirty per cent of the assistance had gone to preliminary studies and project planning; in all half the assistance had been spent on consultant services. It should be noted that, with the exception of the support to the country boat sector, all projects had been based on requests from the appropriate authority in Bangladesh (BIWTA). Thus the aid volume remained modest, and the profile narrow, in spite of efforts to cover wider fields. Reports and interviews suggested that the reasons for the disappointing results were partly that BITWA did not have enough support at higher government levels to get projects included in the development budget, and NORAD, encouraged by its consultants, had exaggerated its ability to influence the planning process in Bangladesh. The conclusion of the study was that Jerve did not find any

reason to expect that support to the inland water transport sector could ever become a major area for Norwegian assistance, and recommended that the Norwegian engagement should be terminated when existing contracts expired. However, if Bangladesh so wishes, there would be room for more modest engagements. In 1992 Jerve was on a mission to Bangladesh for the World Bank to study land acquisition and resettlement as part of the Jamuna Bridge project preparation (Jerve 92). The Jamuna Multipurpose Bridge is the single largest construction project to be implemented in Bangladesh, and some 70,000 people will be affected by loss of land or homestead. The World Bank is the major financial institution behind the project. Jerve participated in the mission to review the Bangladesh authorities' plans for resettlement of project-affected people. In June 1993 Jerve joined the Asia Department of the World Bank for a two year period, working on social impacts of major infrastructure projects. Most of his work focused on Bangladesh, including the Jamuna Bridge project, national highways, gas pipelines, river and coastal embankments and industrial plants.

**Armindo Miranda** was in 1986 member of the Bangladesh country study team, see under Norbye. Miranda's special responsibility was the drafting of chapter 3 on Population, a chapter which also contained sections on health and family planning, and on literacy and education. He also wrote annex D that contained a comprehensive evaluation of primary health care and family planning facilities in rural Bangladesh (CMI 86). In 1989 Miranda spent some weeks in Bangladesh, employed by the Royal Tropical Institute in the Netherlands, to undertake a review of the population sector in Bangladesh and to propose a strategy for Dutch assistance to the sector for the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Miranda 89) The report recommends support to the 1991 population census, and to some larger projects by NGOs (ICDDR,B and CARE). It emphasises, however, the need to strengthen the coordination of support in order to enhance the quality of mother and child health services and family planning in the national population programme, and recommends that such Dutch assistance in general should be coordinated and channelled through the World Bank project, on the condition that certain aspects of that project's strategy and content are stressed.

**Ole David Koht Norbye** was member of a mission that in March-May 1983 evaluated the DANIDA Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Project in Bangladesh (Parkinson 83). The mission is described under Parkinson below. From July 1983 to June 1985 he was member of an international advisory team which was part of the Trade and Industrial Policy Reform Programme (TIP) financed by the World Bank and executed by the Harvard Institute for International Development. Norbye was member of the Planning and Project Identification Unit that was located in the Planning Commission. TIP consisted of 5 units which were located in different government bodies (Tariff Commission, Ministry of Industry etc.) and employed about a dozen international consultants and a larger number of consultants and staff members from Bangladesh. A major part of the project staff's work consisted of estimating *effective rate of protection* and *domestic resource costs* for almost all large scale manufacturing industries. Several of the industry case studies prepared by Norbye were published after he left. One of the first to be published was on the cotton spinning industry (Norbye 84). The effective rate of protection is calculated as the ratio between the actual observed value added (the sum of wages, profits, depreciation and interest payments) to the "unassisted" value added, when custom duties etc. are deducted from the sale price, but also indirect taxes on imports and domestic inputs. For most types of



yarn the effective protection was very high, and in addition it was observed that the quality of domestic yarn was low. Hence there was no room for a substantial reduction of the assistance to the industry. Immediately after Norbye's engagement with the World Bank ended in the summer 1985, he started an evaluation of the Norwegian import support to Bangladesh for the Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation (Norbye et al. 86) Other team members were **Ashraf U. Chowdhury**, professor, Dhaka University (who had been visiting scholar to CMI in 1982) and **Eirik G. Jansen** of CMI. The major conclusions were that Norwegian financed imports of bulk commodities were useful, suitable and satisfactory as regards quality and price. However, imports of medicines and insect sprayers contradicted in some respects Bangladesh import policies. The terms of reference also asked for the distributional impact and whether imported goods benefited the target groups; the answer was "that attempts to direct the composition and flow of goods supplied to the benefits of particular target groups, are bound to be inefficient or outright futile." The report also dealt with administrative matters, purchase procedures etc. and made recommendations aiming at simplification. In addition it raised the question whether Norway, instead of "tying" purchases to specific commodities should let Bangladesh decide what to import and from where, and rather tie the use of the counterpart funds to specific Bangladesh government items in line with Norwegian aid objectives. In 1986 Norbye was leader of the Bangladesh country study team on behalf of CMI for the Ministry of Development Cooperation (MDC) (CMI 86). Other members were **Ann-Lisbet Arn**, **Eirik G. Jansen** and **Armindo Miranda** of CMI and Per Tobiesen, Special Adviser to MDC. **Gunnar Håland** of CMI participated actively in the work on the study, and DERAP associate member **Jack Parkinson** gave valuable editorial advice. All members participated in the drafting of sections in chapter 6 on Norwegian Aid, and in addition each member drafted specific parts of the 5 analytical chapters and the annexes. Norbye himself drafted chapter 1, The Setting; chapter 2, The Economy; chapter 5 The overall Aid Picture; annex B. Agriculture, ownership, structure, input and output, annex C, Manufacturing industries, growth, problems and prospects; and annex E, Aid to Bangladesh. The overall aid picture, bilateral and multilateral donors. The country study observed that "the implementation of investment programmes is held back much more due to domestic managerial weaknesses than to lack of foreign funds for physical investments, a fact which is illustrated by the large amount of unused project aid, For this reason alone it is advisable to channel Norwegian aid into human resource development." More specifically the report recommended continued Norwegian aid effort in the fields of health and family planning, and "we recommend strongly that a large programme of support to primary education should be developed." "Finally, we stress once more that in our judgement Norwegian aid to Bangladesh can be and should be strongly oriented towards projects and programmes which amongst other effects should have a significant positive impact in line with Norwegian aid objectives. The challenge to the Ministry of Development Cooperation is to find ways to use the aid for the right purposes rather than to maintain or increase the level of disbursement." When the study was published it contained up to date information and analysis of key areas of the country's economic and social structures and development policies. In the course of 1988 Norbye spent in all 4 months on three working periods in Bangladesh for the UNDP sponsored Agriculture Sector Review, see under Faaland above. Two of the special studies which Norbye wrote during this period on Internal inconsistencies in agriculture statistics, and on Public sector expenditure on agriculture were published in compendium volume I (Norbye 89). In

1989 Norbye was engaged together with Kimmo Kiljunen, director of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Helsinki by The Nordic UN Project to undertake a review of the UN's role as development agent in Bangladesh (Norbye and Kiljunen 90). Against the background of economic and social conditions in Bangladesh and the flow of foreign aid from various sources the case study reviewed the relevance and main emphasis of UN assistance; discrepancies between UN and Government programmes; the UN as a service system; United Nations as coordinator; and the role of UN assistance in perspective. In September 1992 Norbye was in Bangladesh for SIDA to evaluate the impact of the technical assistance (TA) support to the SIDA managed SIDA/NORAD Rural Employment Sector Programme (RESP), together with an expert from Bangladesh nominated by the Government, Akkas Ali (Norbye and Ali 92). TA to RESP amounted to as much as one third of total costs. However, more than half of these costs were for national TA staff. It was generally accepted that the strong TA support had enabled the Government to build up a strong and competent Local Government Engineering Department (LGED), and also to construct high quality roads etc. with manual work under the subprogramme Infrastructure Development Project. But the sustainability of the project was in doubt because whereas the input of foreign advisers could be reduced, RESP relied heavily on local TA personnel who could not be taken over by LGED both for bureaucratic reasons and because they were much better paid than government personnel. The report could not solve that dilemma, and only recommended a carefully planned and slow disengagement of TA personnel. In February-May 1994 Norbye undertook a review of development cooperation experiences in Bangladesh on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The assignment involved interviews with aid officials in Oslo, Stockholm and Copenhagen, and during one week's stay in Dhaka Norbye interviewed the representatives of 7 bilateral and 4 multilateral donor agencies and the Bangladesh Ministry of Finance. The report had a short chapter on the country context, followed by two chapters on respectively bilateral and multilateral donors' experiences, and finally a sector by sector review of experiences as revealed by evaluation and progress reports (Norbye 94). The report which was commissioned as background documentation for MFA's work on a strategy for development cooperation with Bangladesh, included also a short chapter on ideas on an aid strategy for the future.

**John R. Parkinson**, was in 1983 teamleader of a mission undertaken by CMI to evaluate the Noakhali Integrated Rural Development Project for the Danish International Development Agency, DANIDA (Parkinson 83). The other members of the team were **Gunnar Håland** and **Ole David Koht Norbye** of CMI, **Mosharaff Hossain**, professor University of Dhaka and associate fellow of DERAP, and Dr. Motlubor Rahman, Member-Director, Bangladesh Agricultural Research Council. The project that started its operations in 1978, was executed in 3 *thanas*<sup>8</sup> with 900,000 inhabitants in Noakhali District, about 200 km. south of Dhaka. There was a strong expatriate presence of about 20 technical advisers. The project had 12 different components: improvement of drainage channels; of rural roads; of rural markets; facilities at thana headquarters etc.; increasing agricultural credit and strengthening

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<sup>8</sup> A *thana* was originally a police district, then an administrative unit comprising 6- 15 unions (local government units) or 50 to 60 villages. Later in 1983 thanas were upgraded to become *upazilas* (subdistricts) with a directly elected chairman, and with strengthened administration, as part of the government's decentralisation policy.

cooperatives; improvement of irrigation; strengthening of agricultural extension services; pilot project for marketing through cooperatives; strengthening of the livestock veterinary services; reactivation of fish ponds; pilot project for cottage industries; strengthening of health care and family planning; and pilot project for improved education and re-organisation of rural women. The rate of implementation was uneven with good progress as regards rural roads; facilities had been built in thana headquarters; the fish pond project was successful; and so was the mass education programme for children not attending primary schools. However, the integration of activities created problems as the executive power remained in the line ministries and hence coordination at district level was not satisfactory. One of the mission's recommendations was that "whenever possible, it is highly desirable to work through established Government agencies in Bangladesh and to study administrative procedures with care." The summary of the report ends with a statement that "it should be possible to implement any future programme with the aid of far fewer advisers."

**Mikael Selsjord**, economist, was senior research fellow in DERAP from 1972 to 1976 when he returned to the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics. He visited Bangladesh for one month in 1972 together with **Johan Skutle** and they wrote their report on the statistical situation in Bangladesh (Selsjord and Skutle 72). Their mission to Bangladesh was financed by DERAP and resulted from a request by the Secretary of the Bangladesh Planning Commission, Dr. A.K.M. Ghulam Rabbani, to the director of DERAP for qualified economists or statisticians from DERAP to evaluate the statistical situation. According to the report the statistical system was highly decentralised, and "Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics is professionally weak and is characterized by the fact that up till now its activity to a large extent has been compilation, tabulation and publishing of statistics produced by other agencies." Selsjord's and Skutle's recommendations went in the same direction as Bjerve's subsequent proposals. In 1973 Selsjord was together with Bjerve for five weeks in Bangladesh to follow up his and Skutle's work; see under Bjerve (Bjerve and Selsjord 73).

**Johan Skutle** visited Bangladesh for one month in 1972 together with **Mikael Selsjord** and they wrote their report on the statistical situation in Bangladesh (Selsjord and Skutle 72), see under Selsjord above.

**Arne Wiig** (to some extent assisted by **Ole David Koht Norbye**) undertook in 1991 a desk study of Norwegian commodity aid/import support to Bangladesh for NORAD (Wiig 91). The programme was still administered as it was when Norbye et al. evaluated it 6 years earlier: goods under commodity aid were procured by NORAD, mainly from Norway, and import support was tied to purchases from developing countries. However, much commodity aid from other multilateral and bilateral sources was now channelled to the Secondary Exchange Market (SEM) from which importers could obtain foreign exchange for import of a large variety of goods. The tying of Norwegian commodity aid to specific goods (and sources) led to slow utilisation, and Wiig recommends that the commodity aid and import support should be consolidated and paid into SEM. Wiig also suggests that NORAD should consider using the counterpart funds of Norwegian commodity aid for specific development activities. In 1995 Wiig was member of the team that studied the extent of "cross-financing" of loan repayments to Grameen Bank, with **Karin Ask** of CMI as team leader; see also under

Ask above (Ask, Wiig and Sigvaldsen 95). He undertook a statistical analysis which showed very weak evidence of use of new loans to repay old ones. He also analysed the reasons for irregular loan service payments, and the study team found that "the probability of irregular behaviour increases with the number of years being a Grameen Bank member, while the probability decreases with the number of earners per household." The report also notes that old borrowers have improved their economic situation, and concludes: "It is a well established fact that the rich in Bangladesh at the same time are the worst borrowers. This is a pattern for GB to avoid." In 1995 Wiig was invited to write a chapter on trade boycott and child labour in Bangladesh as part of a project on child labour in international trade and Norwegian imports sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and carried out by two other Norwegian research institutes (FAFO and NUPI). In his essay (Wiig 95a) Wiig draws on his research in Bangladesh, and warns against trade boycott as a means to prevent child labour. This is far more prevalent in economic activities for domestic use, not influenced by trade boycotts, (and in the shops of sub-contractors working for exporting firms). Moreover, without efforts to get children into school and support them, children may become worse off than when they worked in export industries.

## Part II

### The BIDS-CMI Collaboration

#### *Chapter 3: The antecedents to formal cooperation*

Formal institutional cooperation between the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) spans over a period of about twenty years, starting with the signing in July 1977 of a "Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration" between the two institutes.

Contacts between key personnel of both institutions span however over a much longer period - going back to late 1950s, when several Norwegian economists (who were already attached to CMI or were later to become attached to CMI) worked on assignments in Pakistan and established links with colleagues at the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE). Benefiting from extensive international support and from the backing by the national authorities, PIDE soon became the most important centre for socio-economic research, covering both East and West Pakistan. About a year before the break-up of Pakistan in 1971, PIDE moved to Dhaka; thus, when Bangladesh emerged a few months later as an independent country, its Government could count on a well established and highly respected research institution, endowed with a rather large and well organised library. The Bangladesh Institute of Development Economics - which was later to change its name to Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies - continued to operate as a semi-autonomous research institution under the aegis of the Ministry of Planning, with substantial core financing from the Ford Foundation and the Government of Bangladesh, in addition to ample income from studies commissioned by multilateral and bilateral aid organisations.

Contacts between CMI and Bangladesh (and, particularly with the circle of economists in key institutions such as the Planning Commission and BIDS) received a new impetus in 1972 with the appointment of Just Faaland, then Director of CMI's Development Economics Research and Action Programme (DERAP) as Resident Representative of the World Bank in Dhaka. The assassination of president Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1975 and the ensuing upheavals forced a number of prominent Bangladesh intellectuals and politicians into exile. Others who managed to stay on in Bangladesh also found the times trying; a visiting scholarship abroad was of inestimable value in this context<sup>9</sup>.

CMI sought to play a helpful role, maintaining contact with some of these individuals and assisting them in their work on socio-economic research issues in Bangladesh. CMI also sought to build up its own competence on Bangladesh, encouraging its researchers to commit themselves to long-term work on Bangladesh issues - with funding from CMI's own resources or from external sources. It was on that basis that

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<sup>9</sup> Visiting scholars from Bangladesh during the period 1976-78 included Mosharaff Hossain, Rehman Sobhan, Muzaffer Ahmed, Nurul Islam, Abu Abdullah, Kamal Hossain, A.F.A. Hossain and B.K. Jahangir.

Eirik Jansen and Armindo Miranda started the work that would eventually lead to their doctoral degrees - Jansen with initial funding from the Ford Foundation and Miranda with funding from the French government. Library holdings on Bangladesh were expanded. CMI and BIDS also looked for opportunities to integrate each other in activities arising from their network of institutional contacts, a successful example of such endeavours being the international seminar on Population and Development Country Reports, which took place at the Solstrand hotel in the Spring of 1977, jointly sponsored by CMI, BIDS and the Population Council.

### **3.1 The Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration**

Over the years, these contacts led to a clearly felt need to establish the cooperation between BIDS and CMI on a firmer and more predictable basis than simply *ad hoc* projects. In July 1977, a "Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration" between the two institutions was drawn up (see Annex 1), aiming at establishing an "indicative framework" for cooperation for an initial period of time to the end of 1978. In addition to the co-operative activities that had been already tried, the Memorandum proposed to take up other areas of collaboration, namely work towards the establishment at BIDS of a centre for administrative documentation of historical value; work towards a full scale data processing unit at BIDS; and, collaborative studies on comparative development experiences in South Asia. It is worth noting that the underlying convergence of interests between the two institutions was described not in terms of disciplinary complementarities or other technical considerations, but in terms of political strategy: BIDS perceived Scandinavian countries and professionals as ideologically impartial and having "a minimum of vested interests in maintaining the traditional pattern of international relations". Diversifying its sources of support towards Scandinavia would thus help BIDS escape the post-colonial and neo-colonial influence of its British and American sponsors and partner institutions. In retrospect, this political sub-text should have been cause for alarm, because it suggested that the interest of the collaboration could be based on anything else than its performance.

### **Chapter 4: The first agreement**

The full implementation of the Memorandum was contingent on appropriate funding arrangements (specifically, the inclusion of the BIDS-CMI cooperation in the country programme for Bangladesh) to be negotiated between the authorities of both countries. NORAD's leadership was kept informed of this process as it unfolded, through both formal and informal contacts: NORAD had a member in the Board of CMI and Just Faaland was at the time member of the Board of NORAD. More specifically, at operational level, there is record of at least one meeting between CMI's Director and NORAD officials on 14 September 1977, where these plans were presented, including a budget for 1978. This was followed by additional correspondence<sup>10</sup> spelling out the objectives of the programme and its envisaged implementation throughout 1978. In Bangladesh, BIDS took similar contacts with the Government - in particular through the Minister of Planning, who was Chairman of the BIDS Board of Governors.

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<sup>10</sup> See in particular J. Faaland's "Memorandum on research cooperation between BIDS and CMI-DERAP" dated 16 September 1977 and letter to Ingrid Eide, NORAD, of the same date.

Formally, the initiative had to come from the Bangladesh Government's side and, accordingly, the Bangladesh Ministry of Planning in the summer of 1978 set forth a request for NORAD to give financial support within the country programme to a BIDS-CMI research cooperation agreement that would operationalise the intentions of the "Memorandum of Understanding".

#### 4.1 The Plan of Action

In the meanwhile, CMI and BIDS drew up a plan of action<sup>11</sup> for the implementation of the programme in 1978 and 1979, with the corresponding schedule of expenditures totalling USD 418,900. The components of this programme were as shown in table 1.

**Table 1. Preliminary structure of the programme of cooperation**

Programme components	Cost (USD)	Share of budget
Exchange of scholars	193,650	46%
Electronic Data Processing (EDP) development	136,950	33%
Library, incl. exchange of staff	27,200	6%
Administrative support	49,700	12%
Training	6,400	2%
Contingencies	5,000	1%
Total	418,900	100%

The co-operative programme was seen as a step that would ensure consolidation and extension of ongoing activities, specially research in demography, rural development and economics. Flexibility was clearly a paramount consideration - specific decisions on research initiatives and on the elaboration of the research programme were to be taken in light of changing research needs and personnel availability in the cooperating institutes. The programme also opened for inclusion of scholars not members of the two cooperating institutes since "each institute [looked] to the other as a channel for wider contact with the research community in Bangladesh and Scandinavia respectively". Documentation and library services were given considerable attention: in addition to funds for the procurement of books and periodicals, the programme provided for short term exchange of library staff so that each institute would get acquainted with coverage, systems and procedures in the other; in addition, each institute would seek to support the other in identifying and acquiring books and documents important for development studies in general and Bangladesh studies in particular. It also floated the idea (which was not pursued further) that the institutes explore the need for and possibilities of an initiative in Bangladesh to develop a national documentation centre for administrative records and documents then scattered in district and other local offices around the country.

After "exchange of scholars", the second largest budget post in the programme was "Electronic Data Processing (EDP) Development", most of it specifically allocated to the purchase of a mini-computer. Mini-computers had by then become affordable, making it realistic and practical for smaller research institutions to develop their own in-house data processing capacity - instead of having to send away their data for processing at one of the few specialised institutions possessing a full scale computer.

<sup>11</sup> "Programme for cooperation between BIDS and CMI/DERAP 1978 and 1979", dated 10 August 1978.

The advantages of this technological breakthrough were very exciting for an institution such as BIDS, which ran an extensive programme of social science data collection; in addition, the increasing methodological sophistication and quantitative orientation of its economists and demographers generated added demand for data processing and analysis.

On 25 September 1978, the Board of NORAD approved the allocation of up to NOK 2.2 million to the programme, subject to further assessment of two points - which in fact related to the key aspects of the programme, namely the purchase of data processing equipment and the remuneration of exchange personnel. The latter issue was trivial: CMI and BIDS had proposed that exchange personnel should be remunerated on the basis of the same pay scale, specifically the pay scale used at CMI. NORAD felt that this was overly generous towards the BIDS staff and proposed that they should be remunerated as NORAD fellows. There were also divergent views concerning the "post adjustment" component of the DERAP staff remuneration while on long-term assignment in Bangladesh: while CMI proposed that the NORAD-expert terms should apply, NORAD insisted on terms similar to NAVF fellows. The objections regarding the data processing component raise more substantive issues and deserve a closer look:

#### **4.2 The controversy over BIDS's data processing needs**

While the justification for the investment in a mini-computer for BIDS had seemed compelling to both partner institutions (no doubt partly because of CMI's experience in running its own mini-computer), the case appears not to have been made well enough to satisfy the NORAD administration, which considered that BIDS's need for a computer was insufficiently documented. NORAD was also concerned that BIDS for various reasons might not be able to run the computer efficiently, and wished to ascertain whether BIDS could continue to meet its data-processing needs using the computer facilities available at other institutions in Bangladesh. In retrospect, it is clear that NORAD did not at the time understand the role that the installation of in-house data processing capacity would play in the development of social science research; NORAD looked at the issue more as a matter of convenience of location, which led to an entirely different appreciation of the value and cost of the project.

In order to address its own concerns regarding the data equipment, NORAD decided to contract a third party expert<sup>12</sup>, for a technical consultancy in Dhaka to appraise the request for the mini-computer, particularly taking into account the existing data processing capacity in Dhaka and the actual need of BIDS for processing data from its own research work. In the terms of reference for the expert, no consideration was given by NORAD to the increasingly stronger trend of computerisation of social science research, the opportunity costs for BIDS of missing out on that trend or the perspective that data processing in itself might be a substantively relevant (and perhaps financially self-sustaining) area of capacity building for BIDS.

At some stage, NORAD had envisaged that there would be a joint NORAD/CMI mission to Bangladesh to appraise the project, but the perspectives of NORAD and

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<sup>12</sup> Sven Ytrehus, a civil engineer from A/S Computas, who was at the time based in New Delhi working for UNDP.



CMI were so far apart that both parties proceeded separately. While NORAD was trying to ascertain BIDS's need for a computer, CMI was convinced that the need existed, although it had to be identified in more specific terms. CMI was therefore ready to assist BIDS in identifying the equipment to be chosen, given the specific needs to be met and the various constraints at BIDS. CMI and BIDS therefore decided to have a technical assessment done by CMI's data processing specialist (Grethe Dahl) assisted by BIDS's programmer (Mr. Das Gupta).

The NORAD consultant's mission took place on 17-22 November 1978 and he met with, among others, Dahl and Gupta. In his report<sup>13</sup>, he concluded that "the problem for BIDS [was] not processing capacity but lack of organisation for their data processing activities and lack of programming and system analyst capacity". The consultant believed that "when these problems [had] been solved, the processing load will build up, and an in-house computer might be partly justified." He advised that "the planning for a BIDS computer could go on, but the (...) procurement should be postponed until the above problems [had] been solved." Considering the very limited data processing capacity and computer availability in Dhaka<sup>14</sup>, the consultant believed that it would be useful for Bangladesh to have a computer centre in Dhaka, based on a mini-computer, for research work. But it would not need to be at BIDS: in his opinion, BIDS alone would only to a very small extent utilise a minicomputer of the same magnitude as the CMI's PRIME. He therefore recommended that BIDS should continue to use the computer facilities of the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics for another year (until the end of 1979) and, in the meanwhile, strengthen its planning and management capacity for data processing, with the help of an experienced computer expert..

The Ytrehus report was strongly rejected by the BIDS leadership, providing a clear illustration of the gap between the management cultures of NORAD and BIDS - a gap that the cooperation agreement somehow had to bridge if it were ever to be implemented. In his comments to the report, Dr. Monowar Hossain, Acting-Chairman of BIDS, characterised the consultant's conclusions and recommendations as "based on a number of inappropriate assumptions/presumptions, inadequate observations and weak methods of estimation". In his view, the report underestimated BIDS' data processing needs and expertise, overestimated the available computer facilities in Dhaka and "generally [adopted] a narrow technocratic view of the relationship between technology, ideology and institutions, giving technology a dominant role". Elaborating on this point, Dr. Hossain wrote "All the preparations suggested [by the consultant] before BIDS is ready for a computer, in terms of a creation of hardware environment, software training, data organisation and so on, make me feel that this piece of hardware, a mini-computer costing about \$200,000, is being treated as a 'holy cow'. Technology is being given a dominant role over ideology and institutions; and I disagree with this attitude. A piece of hardware is a mere tool in advancing efforts

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<sup>13</sup> Sven Ytrehus, Mission report dated 28 November 1978. Høvik: Computas/Norsk Veritas, 7 pages.

<sup>14</sup> In late 1978, the total data processing capacity in Dhaka consisted of 5 computers. The two largest, with 64 Kb memory each, were at the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (where BIDS sent its data for processing) and at the Atomic Energy Centre. Agrani Bank and Adamjee Jute Mills had one 16 Kb computer each and Janata Bank had an even smaller one (8 Kb). These capacity figures were small even by the standards of the late 1970s - the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics had plans to buy a 500 Kb computer to meet the needs of the 1981 Population Census.

towards creating knowledge. It is generally inadequate compared to needs, and the onus is on the hardware designers to improve designs to meet the user's need, and not for the user to be over-awed by it and worship it." And Dr. Hossain summed up his position in the following terms: "I maintain that BIDS needs a mini-computer now, and an exercise to select a mini-computer, on which preliminary work has already been done in collaboration with CMI, should be completed without further delay. If NORAD thinks otherwise, BIDS will have to look for alternative sources of financing. So, it will be appreciated if NORAD's decision in this respect is communicated to BIDS soonest possible".<sup>15</sup>

The CMI expert did a much more detailed analysis<sup>16</sup> of the data processing needs of BIDS, identifying various types of needs: data entry system; storage of large data archives; relational data-base archives; data editing and error checking software; high level programming languages and high level file handling systems; package programmes for social science analysis. Both the CMI expert and the NORAD-appointed expert agreed that BIDS's workload on the computer of the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) had been quite small, but while the NORAD-appointed expert felt that the BBS computer was suitable for BIDS data processing<sup>17</sup>, the CMI expert found the capacity of that computer "quite inadequate for some of the BIDS application programmes"<sup>18</sup>. She recognised that "to cover the immediate need for a computer, BIDS will have to depend on the BSS computer for at least several months" but she also felt that "in the longer run, a computer installation at BIDS appears to be the best way to solve the Institute's problem of obtaining regular and reliable access to a computer suited to its needs." She stressed, however, that "prior to the decision of establishing a computer centre, [BIDS] should realise that this will signify that electronic data processing is regarded not only as a tool, but as a field of research or a project in its own right".<sup>19</sup> The mission clearly confirmed that BIDS had need for a computer, but perhaps even greater need to reflect on how data processing should be applied in BIDS research projects. In G. Dahl's view, the cooperation between CMI and BIDS on data processing should not be regarded only as a matter of what computer equipment BIDS would need and how this equipment should be kept operative; she even envisaged that the "application of electronic data processing could be a major field of cooperation between the two institutes for several years to come, even if BIDS does not own a computer of its own"<sup>20</sup>.

Following a series of meetings and a long exchange of correspondence between CMI and NORAD, on 15 March 1979 NORAD finally endorsed the premises laid down by BIDS/CMI, in respect to both the salaries and the computer questions.. However, after the hurdles described above had been cleared, a new set of difficulties were raised, this time by the Bangladesh authorities, who were not inclined to let BIDS import the

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<sup>15</sup> "Comments on Mr. Sven H. Ytrehus' report to NORAD on data processing needs of BIDS, by Monowar Hossain, Chairman, BIDS", 3 March 1979.

<sup>16</sup> Grethe Dahl, *An Evaluation of the Needs for Data Processing at the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies*, memo dated 4 December 1978. 9 pages.

<sup>17</sup> S. Ytrehus, *op.cit.* p. 4.

<sup>18</sup> G. Dahl, *op. cit.* p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> G. Dahl, *op.cit.*, p. 5

<sup>20</sup> G. Dahl, *op. cit.*, p. 9

computer free of duties, as stipulated in the bilateral agreement<sup>21</sup>. Also this issue was eventually resolved - in December 1980 - but at the cost of further delays, added expenses, more administrative work and increased disillusionment with the bureaucratic process.

Also the formal process of bringing the agreement into force was remarkably slow - the Agreement was not signed until the very last day of 1980. Some activities could proceed in the meanwhile on the basis of assurances by NORAD<sup>22</sup> that it would refund expenditures under the agreement as from 25 September 1978, i.e. the date of approval by the NORAD Board<sup>23</sup>. A separate contract between NORAD and CMI was signed on 9 February 1981, specifying the mutual responsibilities regarding the implementation of the cooperation agreement.

### **4.3 Implementation of the first agreement**

Although the first agreement did not have a definite time schedule, the expectation (expressed, for instance, in the "Plan of Action" of August 1978) was that the initial grant of NOK 2.2 million would be spent in the course of 1978 and 1979, in almost equal amounts. However, by early 1979, it had become obvious that the time frame would need to be extended, and new plans were drawn up through 1980 at a meeting held between BIDS and CMI in Dhaka in May 1979. In fact, the implementation of the project extended over a period of five and a half years, from September 1978 to February 1984.

The slow pace of implementation had several causes: obviously, the fact that the agreement was not formally signed until the very end of 1980, was an important factor. In addition, soon after this hurdle was cleared, Bangladesh entered into another period of prolonged political instability, marked by the assassination of the country's President (May 1981) and subsequent elections (November 1981), followed by a new military coup in March 1982.

#### **4.3.1 The computer**

The selection of the data equipment was a complex process, taking into account commercial and technical aspects, including the BIDS's research-oriented data processing needs and the ability of the vendor to service and eventually repair the equipment. Five firms were initially identified as prospective suppliers: Data General, Digital Equipment, Hewlett-Packard, PRIME and UNIVAC. Of these, only Data General, PRIME and UNIVAC responded to the invitation to make preliminary offers and further discussions revealed that only the Data General and PRIME computers - represented by Total Computer Systems (TCS) in Singapore - were worth considering. After a demonstration of the machines in Singapore, the choice fell on the PRIME 350,

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<sup>21</sup> The case is discussed at length in Norbye, Jansen and Chowdhury - *Commodity Assistance and Import Support to Bangladesh*. Oslo: Royal Ministry of Development Cooperation, 1987 (Evaluation Report 7.86)

<sup>22</sup> Letter to CMI dated 15 March 1979.

<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, in a letter to CMI dated 15 May 1979, NORAD nevertheless reminded CMI that NORAD would not undertake any disbursements until the both the bilateral agreement and the contract between NORAD and CMI had been signed.

with 128 Kb of memory, two 40 Mb disks, four terminal displays, one magnetic tape drive, one printer, miscellaneous software including SPSS and computer supplies. The recommendation for procurement at a cost of about USD 150,000 and a draft contract were sent to NORAD at the end of June 1979, with the understanding (which had also been made clear to the supplier) that NORAD would not be in position to approve the procurement before the agreement was signed.

NORAD reacted to the draft contract the following month - rather alarmingly, the first reaction of their Procurement Office was to question why the tender had not been advertised in the Norwegian press, in order to give Norwegian suppliers a chance to participate. The matter was clarified in a meeting with NORAD on 8 August 1979, where NORAD also presented some technical amendments to the wording of the contract. Most of these were easy to accept by all parties, after some consultation with the supplier in Singapore. The only sticky point, to which considerable correspondence was devoted, concerned the question who would be designated as the purchaser of the computer: PRIME would only accept one purchaser; NORAD wanted it to be CMI (for reasons linked to the provisions of the bilateral Agreement) while CMI wanted it to be BIDS (for reasons related to the contract with the supplier). After all parties had presented their arguments, it was decided to leave the matter pending until the Agreement had been signed.

Soon after this had been resolved, news started to filter informally out of Dhaka that the External Resources Division in the Bangladesh Ministry of Finance was unhappy with the procedure that had been followed to set up the collaboration agreement and also had objections to the procedure for the procurement of the computer equipment. There is no trace in CMI's archives that CMI was ever formally informed of the nature of the difficulties - and even the attempts to obtain insight informally from BIDS did not lead anywhere. In the meanwhile, CMI and NORAD were left to await the outcome of whatever negotiation process might or might not have been taking place behind the scenes between BIDS and the Bangladesh authorities. Then, during the country programme negotiations in October/November 1980, the Bangladesh side announced that they had approved the project and would be ready to sign the agreement in a matter of weeks. The only amendment that the Bangladesh authorities wished to see incorporated in the draft agreement was the insertion of a title for the Annex, which was to read "Acquisition of a mini-computer and joint research cooperation between BIDS and DERAP/CMI, Norway"...

The encouraging news from the country programme negotiations prompted CMI to reassess the situation regarding its earlier recommendation for computer equipment. So much had happened since that recommendation had been formulated more than one year earlier, that it appeared necessary to ascertain whether BIDS still needed to have its own computer (or alternatively could have its needs met by newly installed machines at various institutions in Dhaka), whether it should be a PRIME, and whether the recommended model still seemed appropriate. After careful review, the earlier recommendation was confirmed, but the choice now fell on a new PRIME model (250) with 512 Kb of memory. PRIME having reorganised its commercial services in Asia, the supplier would be International Data Management (IDM) with offices in Bombay and Calcutta, instead of Singapore-based TCS as previously agreed. The revised

recommendation necessitated NORAD's approval (which was given in April 81, subject to the concurrence of Bangladesh authorities).

As the prospect of being able to purchase the computer for BIDS came closer at hand, CMI started to look into the question of technical assistance for the initial period after the installation of the computer. NORAD accepted to fund an expert over the technical assistance budget for Bangladesh (i.e., outside the BIDS-CMI agreement). The expert was to be selected by DERAP in consultation with BIDS; DERAP advertised for the post in early April 1981; the selection was done by mid-May and the recommendation for recruitment was sent to NORAD the following month, acknowledging that formal recruitment could not take place before the contract for the purchase of the computer was signed by all parties, but requesting nevertheless that NORAD take the appropriate steps to process the chosen candidate (Mr. Ben Iveland). NORAD informed CMI in mid-August that, subject to concurrence by the Bangladesh authorities, they had appointed the expert for a one-year post as system programmer at BIDS, to start at the time of the delivery of the computer. Bangladesh gave its agreement in September, and NORAD recruited Mr. Iveland in early October, to start working at the beginning of 1982.

In the meanwhile, the bureaucratic process for the acquisition of the computer continued: by mid-July, BIDS had received the authorisation by the Bangladesh authorities to sign the contract for the purchase of the computer. Then, for reasons unknown, PRIME apparently stalled - they did not finalised their part of the deal until mid-September 1981.

Once this part of the process had been successfully concluded, a few hurdles still needed to be cleared before the shipment of the machine could be ordered. The supplier, having inspected the intended computer site at BIDS, advised that a number of improvements should be made before the computer was installed - an advice firmly supported by CMI, which would not take responsibility for ordering the shipment of the computer before the site was ready. Throughout the last quarter of 1981, the supplier and CMI kept pressing BIDS to act on the site improvements, without receiving more than vague assurances that care would be taken of everything. At the end of November 1981, however, BIDS realised that they would have difficulty in paying for the necessary voltage stabiliser and dehumidifier, as previously agreed<sup>24</sup>; they therefore requested that it be charged to the Agreement. CMI and NORAD concurred, but it necessitated that BIDS provided specifications and obtained import licenses and customs tax exemption from the Bangladesh authorities.

In mid-December, NORAD-Dhaka undertook an inspection of the site with independent experts and a representative of the supplier and concluded that the computer room was not ready; in the course of the discussion with BIDS, it also appeared that the question of the import duty was not solved (as the Norwegian side had earlier been led to believe) - only partial exemption had been obtained, leaving a duty of about NOK 400,000. The unanimous advice from the group who had

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<sup>24</sup> "Note of Understanding and Intentions" from the meeting between Monowar Hossain, Grethe Dahl and Johan Skutle held on 15 September 1981 at CMI.

undertaken the inspection was that Mr. Iveland should postpone his arrival from early January to mid-March (a suggestion which, at this late stage, was difficult to follow).

Work on the computer room did not start until early February 1982; the minutes of a meeting at BIDS among the directors of BIDS and CMI, Mr. Iveland and representatives of NORAD and the supplier on 26 February indicate that the question of import duty clearance had not yet been solved, while much work remained to be done on the improvements to the computer room, which still lacked the proper partitions as well as power, lighting and furniture. In the meanwhile, 4 BIDS staff members travelled to the supplier's offices in Calcutta for training.

The import licence was finally secured on 22 April, and the supplier was requested to ship the computer, with assurances that the site would be ready before the end of the month. The computer arrived in Dhaka on 30 April and was delivered to BIDS on 18 May. The power connection, however, was still not in place by mid June, nor had the stabiliser arrived. Further complications arose as letters of credit and visas started to expire. The computer was finally installed in on 16 July 1982; the machine became fully operational with software at the end of that month.

As CMI and BIDS had predicted, there was considerable demand for data processing at BIDS and initial reports mention people queuing up for the 4 computer terminals. As specified in the contract, CMI was to assist BIDS in the initial stages of operation - which meant mostly administrative backstopping for service agreements, purchase of spare parts and similar issues. The need to increase the number of computer terminals - which also necessitated expanding the computer room - was also soon identified. The work burden related to the backstopping tasks turned out to be heavier for CMI than expected, due to the fact that the NORAD expert fell ill and left in early 1983, forcing BIDS and CMI to work out alternative arrangements for technical assistance. The absence of the NORAD expert made things more difficult - not only it deprived BIDS of technical expertise for preventive maintenance and user support, it also deprived NORAD and CMI of a well-informed "second opinion" on the realism and soundness of the requests for additional assistance put forward by BIDS.

CMI's backstopping assistance to BIDS's computer operations continued until the end of the first phase of the Agreement in 1984. The CMI computer specialist (by then Terje Sande) and a technical consultant visited the BIDS computer centre in January 1984, to repair defective part and assess a request for upgrading the computer; in their report they noted that the Computer Centre was utilising almost the full capacity of the system and that the hardware seemed to be in good shape and well maintained; they also praised the quality of the computer room. (They were however less satisfied with the software side of the operations: it appeared that the supplier had done a poor job in training the Computer Centre staff.)

NORAD and the Bangladesh authorities came to an agreement that assistance to the BIDS Computer Centre should continue for a time, beyond the term of the BIDS cooperation agreement and outside its framework. This enabled BIDS to address its requests for assistance directly to NORAD (although CMI's intercession was often requested) and CMI's involvement in the matter gradually decreased; by early 1985 CMI was entirely out of the picture.

Now that computers are very much part of daily life everywhere, it is quite inconceivable that BIDS could have survived as a research institute without developing its data processing capacity. It is clearly to the Agreement's credit that it enabled BIDS to manage that transition at that point in time. CMI was well placed to advise BIDS since it had done extensive market research in connection with the purchase of its own computer, knew the special requisites of economic and social science research, and had a good grasp of the logistic and other constraints under which the computer would operate at BIDS. But it is also clear - or, at least, very likely - that CMI would not have taken responsibility for that assistance had it been known how much time, effort and money<sup>25</sup> it would take to bring the process to its conclusion. Even more so if it had been known that the BIDS-CMI collaboration in this matter would remain limited to matters of procurement and maintenance and never extend into substantive issues of data processing methodology for social research.

#### **4.3.2 Research cooperation**

From 1977 onwards, several researchers from CMI including Eirik Jansen, Armindo Miranda and Gunnar Håland were actively involved in research on Bangladesh issues, entailing long periods of residence in Bangladesh. In the case of Jansen and Miranda, their stays in 1977-78 (approximately one and a half years each) were funded from sources outside the bilateral agreement, but were in all other respects very much part of the collaborative relationship between CMI and BIDS. It is unlikely that they would have taken place in absence of a close relationship between BIDS and CMI, and without BIDS's willingness to intercede on behalf of those researchers vis-à-vis the funding sources (respectively the Ford Foundation and the French Government). Their stays were also very much the kind of long term research undertakings that the bilateral Agreement was expected to foster, except for the fact that at that point of their careers neither Jansen nor Miranda had the seniority level envisaged by the Agreement<sup>26</sup>.

After his return from Bangladesh, Jansen worked on a study of the economic and political dynamics in rural Bangladesh, which was eventually to become his doctoral dissertation; he also got involved in a study of irrigation technology in Bangladesh agriculture and another study on the river boat sector in Bangladesh. In a good illustration of how the investment paid back, NORAD was able to draw on Jansen's expertise for its appraisal of a request for assistance to modernise river transport in Bangladesh: Jansen participated in the delegation and contributed a chapter on the socio-economic implications of the proposed initiative.

Miranda continued for several years to devote efforts to the study of various population issues in Bangladesh - which in due course also resulted in a book on the Demography of Bangladesh as well as a doctoral dissertation (in French) on the same subject. He worked closely together with a junior demographer at BIDS on an analysis of the quality of the 1974 census, which formed the basis for an article published in

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<sup>25</sup> The NOK 50,000 a year that CMI was paid for the management of the whole agreement were certainly very short of the actual costs, which somehow had to be met by CMI's own resources.

<sup>26</sup> Both the first and the second Agreements stipulated that "the exchange of research personnel will include long term and short term visits for senior professionals (...)". The word "senior" was dropped in the third Agreement.

BIDS's journal (to-date, one of the few instances of joint research output within the Agreement). During his short visits to Bangladesh he held seminars at BIDS and at the University, and provided guidance to junior researchers at BIDS.

In both cases, funding from the BIDS-CMI agreement offered CMI researchers the opportunity to keep travelling back to Bangladesh, to keep abreast of developments and follow-up on contacts (at BIDS and elsewhere) and research leads. Some of these discussions and networking activities contributed to the vitality of the Bangladesh focus at CMI, which was further strengthened by visiting scholarships for Bangladesh researchers from outside BIDS (such as Barkhat-e-Khuda and B.K.Jahangir), funded from CMI's own budget.

During their prolonged stay with BIDS, Jansen and Miranda were in a unique position to observe the Institute's operations and to experience in practical terms what it meant to be part of an international research collaboration effort in Bangladesh. At NORAD's request, they prepared a report<sup>27</sup> on their experiences; in the report they explicitly declined to pass judgement on the principles for cooperation between CMI and BIDS and concentrated on what they had observed and experienced<sup>28</sup>. The picture that emerges is one of deep frustration and alienation. Little was done to help them to operate professionally in the trying conditions of Bangladesh at that time, and their problems were compounded by a sense that BIDS as a whole did not really welcome relatively junior visiting scholars. Although the report was constructively formulated and based on the assumption that the exchange of scholars would continue, it did little to promote BIDS's image as a desirable host institution for CMI staff contemplating a longer period of work in Bangladesh.

The third CMI staff member, Gunnar Håland, came from a research background in African agricultural and pastoral production systems. The BIDS-CMI agreement made it possible for him to spend time in the starkly contrasting setting of Bangladesh, collecting data and reflecting on the patterns of economic adjustment in local communities in the north-western district of Dinajpur. Most of his field work was done in Gobindapur village, where a complete census was conducted, including registration of landownership, credit relations, sharecropping relations and wage contracts. In addition to the registration of those quantitative indicators, a substantial part of the field work was spent on tracing and documenting cultural patterns regulating relations between the inhabitants with reference to family, marriage, transfer of property, cooperation, ceremonial obligations, etc. One issue that Håland intended to address was the behaviour of the different ethnic-religious groups (Bengali Muslims, Bengali Hindus and Santals) in their competition for land. Håland, who came to CMI from the

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<sup>27</sup> Eirik G. Jansen and Armindo Miranda, Notat vedrørende samarbeid mellom BIDS og CMI-DERAP. 12 pp. [Dhaka, January 1978].

<sup>28</sup> Part of that experience was the sense that BIDS was facing a leadership crisis and as a result had embarked in gigantic but largely meaningless data collection exercises such as the poverty studies project. They asserted that the quality of the enormous amounts of data collected was generally poor; that the project leaders exercised too little critical judgement with regard to the data and the methodology; and that only a fraction of the information that had been stored in "data banks" would ever be processed. These assertions appear to have been to a large extent validated by the subsequent failure of Monowar Hossain's attempt to write up a synthesis of the poverty studies data during his sabbatical year at CMI (see below).



University of Bergen, inspired several of his former students (including one from Bangladesh) to work under his supervision on related problems in other villages in Bangladesh.<sup>29</sup> Only a minor part of Håland's time in Bangladesh was also spent at BIDS in Dhaka; it was for the specific purpose of comparing his data with the results of BIDS's own surveys of time allocation. Although the reports mention a manuscript in progress, the work never materialised in a published output.

Rehman Sobhan worked on a manuscript on the experience of the Bangladesh Planning Commission (which he had helped to establish and of which he had been one of the first members) and on another manuscript on the development strategy of Bangladesh in the post-Mujib era.

Sobhan's visits to Bergen took place in 1978 and 1979; by mid-1981, no other BIDS researcher had taken advantage of the agreement, a fact that did not escape NORAD's attention. In a response to CMI's progress report, NORAD wrote "As far as we can see from the report, it appears that BIDS's contribution to the research cooperation has so far been minimal. We expect that DERAP will intensify efforts to achieve a more balanced cooperation with BIDS in the social science area."<sup>30</sup>

A visit by Monowar Hossain to CMI in mid-September 1981 gave the opportunity to review the situation and draw plans for research collaboration for 1982. At this time, Hossain laid out plans for a 2-volume synthesis of the Poverty Study for which BIDS had been collecting data ever since 1977 from several thousand households in four distinct ecological regions of Bangladesh. One volume would synthesise the village and area reports produced by the Poverty Studies teams, while the other volume would address methodological issues. In order to carry out this project, Dr. Hossain would spend between six and twelve months of his planned sabbatical year at CMI, part of the time together with two senior researchers from BIDS (4 months each) as well as two research assistants (3 months each). It was also envisaged that a joint seminar on rural poverty would be held with 20-30 participants from CMI, BIDS and institutions in the UK, Denmark and Sweden, to showcase the research collaboration.

The costing of these proposals showed that an additional grant of NOK 500,000 would be necessary to fund this proposal. After consultation with NORAD, CMI advised BIDS to make sure that the request was put forward by the Bangladesh delegation at the country programme discussions to be held at the end of October 1981.

The matter was brought up as expected and BIDS was invited to present a formal request to the Planning Commission. Things looked promising until the new administration brought in by the coup d'état of March 1982 - allegedly as part of the scaling back of the Annual Development Plan - decided not to support BIDS's request. NORAD inevitably took notice that this was the only Norwegian-assisted project "disavowed" by the new powers. Subsequently, the authorities decided that external

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<sup>29</sup> Those studies were not funded by the cooperation agreement.

<sup>30</sup> Letter from NORAD to CMI dated 19 June 1981.

support<sup>31</sup> for the project, should end by 30 June 1983, at the term of the Bangladesh fiscal year.

Without the additional NOK 500,000 Dr. Hossain's proposal needed to be restructured and CMI advised Dr. Hossain to do so since there would be no funding for the research assistants or the two other senior researchers. Dr. Hossain arrived in Bergen in March 1983 and presented a work programme where he envisaged to devote eight to nine months of his twelve-month sabbatical to research activities under the Agreement, leaving three to four months for consultancy work paid from other sources. His research activities would relate to two broad areas, namely "Development at the grass roots: conceptual, theoretical and practical issues" (a reformulation of the poverty study project) and "North South relations with special reference to institutional arrangements for development finance: a case study of Bangladesh". The work plan did not call for inputs from other colleagues from BIDS, but it included extensive consultations (and implicitly, travel) with scholars in Manchester, London, Sussex and Delhi as well as with a number of multilateral and bilateral donor agencies, namely NORAD, DANIDA, SIDA, USAID, CIDA, ODM, IBRD, IMF, ADB and the Islamic Development Bank. It also included: workshops in the four study areas in Bangladesh, to be held early in the process; a regional seminar in Dhaka as well as an international seminar in Bergen towards the end of the year, for the presentation of the poverty study; a seminar in Bergen in early February 1984 to discuss the development finance study.

Dr. Hossain's association with CMI extended for 12 months until March 1984 - during which he travelled extensively, including a two and a half month period of work in London<sup>32</sup>. One of his colleagues from BIDS (Dr. Atiur Rahman) was hired for a 3-month period to assist him with the computer processing and analysis of the data, work that took place partly in London and partly in Bergen. In a note dated September 1983, Dr. Hossain indicated that he had decided to change his plans, partly on the advice of his colleagues in England, also because he had found inconsistencies in the data and more importantly because in London he had access to faster computers and more advanced statistical software than what was available at CMI. Most of his time up to then had gone into this data processing exercise; while some 12,000 pages of computer output had been produced, more statistical analyses remained to be done and, he warned "a massive volume of electronic data processing remains ahead", necessitating many hours of CPU time and many months of computational assistance. At this point, he estimated that if the data processing work could be concluded by January 1984 only if a massive effort was mounted using both the CMI computer and those of the University of London Computer Centre and if the research assistants of survey teams in Bangladesh were mobilised to prepare data for computer input, correct inconsistencies, fill in data gaps and do calculations based on computer output. If so, he envisaged that it might be possible to conclude one or at best two village reports by

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<sup>31</sup> There was at first an impression that this would also apply to technical assistance, and would put an end by that date to the NORAD expert's contract, if it were to be extended; however, NORAD Dhaka in a letter dated 22 September 1982 authoritatively stated that technical assistance could continue.

<sup>32</sup> Dr. Hossain's sabbatical from BIDS expired on 15 February 1984; his stay at CMI was extended in the hope of securing some output and the costs of that extension were covered by CMI from its own resources.

mid-February 1984. The files indicate that Dr. Hossain held a seminar on his project shortly before his departure, but no publishable output was ever finalised.

**Table 2 - Exchange of Scholars funded by the BIDS-CMI first Collaborative Agreement**

From BIDS		From CMI	
R. Sobhan	4 months (1978, 1979)	E. Jansen	3 months(1979/80)
M. Hossain	12 months (1983-84)	A. Miranda	1.5 months (1979/80)
A. Rahman (to assist Dr. Hossain)	3 months (1983) of which 2 months in London	G. Håland	10 months (2 visits in 1980 and 2 visits in 1983)

#### 4.3.3 Library

CMI's Librarian, Kirsti Hagen Andersen, visited BIDS in January 1982, to get acquainted with the BIDS Library and discuss documentation matters with her counterpart. Her report<sup>33</sup> provided detailed data about the library's operations (staff, holdings, budget and sources of funding, classification procedures). One of the library's problems was that it did not have a source of stable income: its income, which had been a little over USD 12,000 a year during the two fiscal years 1977-79 dwindled to less than USD 5,000 a year during the 3-year period 1979-82.

As a result of these discussions in Dhaka, an account was opened with a book distributor in England (Gemini Books), where some 230 books were bought and sent to Bangladesh, according to a list agreed upon by the two librarians. This cost some NOK 23,000. For periodicals, an order was placed with Swets Subscription Service in the Netherlands for 59 international periodicals endorsed by both librarians. The cost for the years 1982 and 1983 amounted to some NOK 44,900. In total, therefore, BIDS received some NOK 70,000 worth of publications under the Agreement. CMI in exchange received Government publications and books from Bangladesh amounting to NOK 2,700. In addition, it is likely that both institutions may have exchanged additional documentation free of charge between themselves.

A report<sup>34</sup> on the library cooperation by the BIDS Librarian stresses the need for continuity - in particular that subscriptions to periodicals should be maintained for several years, if they were to be useful at all. "Periodicals", it was said "are in many ways more important than books to researchers, but to subscribe only for a year or two is as good as nothing". At the same time, there was implicit concern with keeping the procurement workload manageable, while ensuring accountability and transparency. It was thus suggested that an account for books should be opened with Gemini, to be administered by BIDS itself, with statements being sent regularly to CMI. Likewise, it was recommended that Swets continue to manage the subscriptions on behalf of BIDS and CMI.

During her visit to BIDS, CMI's Librarian negotiated the first formal cooperation agreement between the two libraries. According to the agreement, the Head Librarian would take responsibility for supplying the CMI library with "copies of all mimeographed documents" which would come to the BIDS Librarian's attention and

<sup>33</sup> Untitled, dated 18 January 1982.

<sup>34</sup> One-page report, dated 22 July 1983.

would be of interest to the CMI library; "all forthcoming government publications issued in Bangladesh which would be of interest to the CMI Library"; and books published commercially in Bangladesh in the fields of Bangladesh economics, politics, demography, agriculture, rural development, anthropology and related subjects. In return, the CMI librarian would supply the BIDS library with mimeographed documents and books on Bangladesh published in English in Scandinavia and which would be of interest to BIDS library. Mimeographed documents would be exchanged free of charge, the cost of purchase and postage for the other types of material would be charged to the receiving institution.

#### 4.4 Financial overview

Table 3 below summarises the financial data on the implementation of the agreement, and proportional distribution of the expenses by activities.

The accounts show that by the time of the conclusion of the project, expenditure had exceeded the initial grant by a modest NOK 12,000 which were covered by CMI's own resources (see table 3). It is important to note however that a number of costs related to the project - mainly the costs of technical assistance, including the salary of the NORAD-recruited computer expert as well as the costs of the programme related activities of CMI researchers in Bergen- were charged to other budgets or absorbed by CMI from its own resources.

**Table 3- Implementation of the first agreement: disbursements (000's NOK)**

	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983-84	Total	Per cent
Research cooperation	19	10	241			428	697	32
<i>BIDS staff to CMI</i>	19	10				260	289	13
<i>CMI staff to BIDS</i>			241			168	409	18
Data processing	29	43		183	858	3	1115	50
Library					71	19	90	4
Admin. support	13	62	61	64	65	44	309	14
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>302</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>994</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>2212</b>	<b>100</b>

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding

The comparison of the initial budget and the final accounts reveals that administration and computer procurement cost considerably more than envisaged (and the detailed narrative of the process given above would clearly explain why); on the other hand, both library support and research cooperation absorbed notably less resources than originally foreseen. Moreover, a substantial portion of the research cooperation expenditure (43 per cent, to be precise) took place during the wrapping-up phase of the agreement, between 30 June 1983 and 12 March 1984: by 30 June 1983, the cut-off date set by the Bangladesh authorities for external assistance, only less than NOK 400,000 out of a total budget line of NOK 850,000 had been spent on research cooperation.

**Table 4- Comparison of budgeted and actual expenses, first agreement (000 NOK)**

<b>Budget lines</b>	<b>Budgeted</b>	<b>Spent</b>	<b>Deviation (%)</b>
Research cooperation	850	697	- 18
Training	35	-	
Documentation and Library Support	145	90	-38
Administrative support	265	309	+17
Procurement of EDP equipment	905	1115	+13
<b>Total</b>	<b>2200</b>	<b>2212</b>	<b>+0.5</b>

BIDS did not avail itself of the resources that were meant for additional training of one of their staff members working for a higher degree at home or abroad. The Annex to the Agreement suggested that this could be used for a visit to DERAP and relevant universities. It is hard to believe that BIDS would not have use for such assistance - but it quite possible that BIDS staff policies (or office politics) may have ruled out the rational utilisation of this budget line.

#### **4.5 An external evaluation of the first agreement**

Towards the end of 1983, NORAD commissioned a Norwegian social scientist, Dr. Berit Aasen, to undertake an evaluation of the research cooperation under the BIDS-CMI agreement. Her mandate was relatively narrow, in the sense that it was confined to the research cooperation aspect of the Agreement. Dr. Aasen noted in her report<sup>35</sup> that, as she understood it, she had been "asked to assess how the objectives of the Agreement had been achieved with respect to the exchange of scholars, its connection to the wider contact network in the respective countries and the relation between the researchers or their research and NORAD in Bangladesh". Her report is sympathetic to the difficulties of the collaboration programme, but it is also clear that Dr. Aasen did not have the time nor the resources to produce an authoritative evaluation: she did not seek the views of BIDS on the matter, nor did she consider in any detail the output of the collaboration.

The report emphasises that the agreement was "open" (i.e., loosely structured): it did not spell out explicit objectives for the research cooperation or the exchange of scholars, beyond the aim of contributing to consolidate and strengthen the collaboration that had been taking place informally; the report also noted that while the agreement specified certain disciplines (demography, rural sociology and economics) researchers could pursue their research projects without formal cooperation with counterparts from the other institution; the agreement contained no guidelines regarding how the research cooperation should be implemented and further developed; in particular, it did not call for joint research programmes, nor even for the appointment of programme co-ordinators for the implementation of the agreement: responsibility for execution rested with the directors of the two institutes.

At the time of the evaluation, less than half of the budget line for research cooperation had been spent, and 2/3 of the expenditure had been for researchers from CMI to

<sup>35</sup> Berit Aasen - *Vurdering av forskningssamarbeidet under avtalen mellom BIDS og CMI/DERAP*. Oslo, 9. februar 1984, 11 pp. (mimeo., in Norwegian).

Bangladesh. Yet, there had been a steady stream of researchers travelling between the two institutes during this period, financed by other sources. The agreement had therefore acted as a supplement to the research cooperation between CMI and Bangladesh, rather than being its mainstay. In Dr. Aasen's opinion, it appeared that there had been a lack of planning from both of institutes regarding the coordination of the exchange of scholars with the activity taking place outside the agreement.

Dr. Aasen did not assess the output, in terms of quality, quantity. Therefore, her report passes no judgement on the cost effectiveness of the agreement. However, she noted that if the objective of the agreement were to provide researchers from Bangladesh an opportunity to sit at CMI and write up their papers, and to provide researchers from CMI a possibility to carry out research and field work in Bangladesh, then the list of working papers and dissertations that had been produced at CMI by researchers from both countries indicated that the objective had been to a large extent achieved. She felt that the agreement had been a first step towards an institutionalisation and a "depersonalisation" of a long standing contact between CMI researchers and researchers in Bangladesh; it also had brought the two institutes closer together; offered a framework that the individual researcher could use for establishing contacts in the other country; given weight and seriousness to the cooperation by bringing it under the country programme and the annual bilateral cooperation negotiations; and made it easier to achieve continuity in the cooperation, ensuring the contact between the research settings of both countries could continue independently of the individuals involved.

The report recognised that it often took time to implement exchange programmes, and that it was difficult to plan the projects' report writing phase and to select researchers for participation in exchange programmes. She advised that a new agreement should take these constraints into consideration and develop better planning procedures. At the same time, Dr. Aasen drew attention to the fact that the more bureaucratic approach to research collaboration tried by BIDS and the Centre for Development Research in Copenhagen for their cooperation also had yielded mixed results. Nevertheless, Dr. Aasen emphasised that the budget for an eventual new agreement should build upon realistic assessments of the possibility of carrying out the research programmes.

#### **4.6 CMI's views on the first agreement**

In the concluding paragraph of a project report<sup>36</sup> prepared for submission to NORAD, CMI summarised its views as follows:

"A general experience to be gained from CMI's long period of cooperation with the research milieu in Bangladesh is that it takes time and patience to build up an institutionalised cooperation of this kind. And the mutual benefit must be assessed under a long term perspective. In spite of delays and setbacks in the implementation of the formal agreement, which has after all been in force over a relatively short period, DERAP feels that this type of arrangement should be encouraged in the future with official support, if possible also in relation to similar institutions in other developing countries".

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<sup>36</sup> *Report on Cooperation with Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies 1978-83*. Fantoft, 25 August 1983.

These views, however, did not make it into the subsequent published version of the report<sup>37</sup>, which is remarkably reticent with respect to passing judgement on the achievements of the agreement. Between the two versions, the failure of the exchange of scholars to produce tangible output had become clearly established, and it was undoubtedly a matter of great disappointment for CMI that the generous and flexible arrangements allowed for Dr. Monowar Hossain's poverty study did not bring fruit. In its conclusion, the report simply quotes the conclusions reached by the NORAD consultant, Dr. Aasen, in her own report.

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<sup>37</sup> *Report on Cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and Chr. Michelsen Institute - DERAP 1978-84*. Bergen: CMI. DERAP Working Papers A 318, May 1984 (restricted).

## **Chapter 5: The second agreement**

BIDS expressed interest in continuing the cooperation arrangements with CMI, with support from NORAD, during a planning visit by Monowar Hossain to CMI in September 1981 and both sides agreed to take up the matter with their national authorities. The instability of the political situation in Bangladesh may have slowed down that process; it also became increasingly evident that BIDS had a leadership problem. This came to light in November 1982, in a well publicised "surprise visit" paid to the BIDS's premises by the then head of state of Bangladesh, Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) Lt.-Gen. H.M. Ershad. According to press reports, the CMLA "expressed his shock at the state of affairs in the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (...) The CMLA (...) found that only about 10 research economists and officers out of a total 48 were present in the office. He also noticed that valuable papers and important documents were not properly preserved. The library was in bad shape"<sup>38</sup>. Following this incident, the Board of BIDS quickly approved Dr. Hossain's plans for sabbatical leave from mid-February 1983, in effect putting an end to his 5-year tenure as Acting-Chairman of BIDS<sup>39</sup>.

During a visit to Dhaka in January 1983, Just Faaland discussed the matter with his contacts in the senior levels of Government, who gave assurances that they would be clearly interested in a prolongation of the agreement, but this could only be negotiated once the BIDS leadership problem had been solved. Fortunately, this process did not take much time: by mid-February 1983, CMI was informed that Rehman Sobhan had been appointed as Chairman of BIDS.

In June 1983, BIDS formally proposed to the Ministry of Finance in Bangladesh that the cooperation agreement be extended for a two-year period, with a new grant of NOK 2,250,000. The Ministry, through its External Resources Division, presented the request to NORAD on 25 July 1983. The matter was discussed during the country programme negotiations in October 1983 and NORAD expressed willingness to consider a proposal when it was presented. BIDS interpreted it as expressing an endorsement in principle. In fact, it meant much less; NORAD's view at the time was that there was need to review and reflect on the experience of the first agreement and that considerable work also needed to be done on a proposal before it could be brought before NORAD's Board for approval. Therefore, the supposed endorsement obtained at the bilateral negotiations remained without immediate effect.

CMI and BIDS, on their part, pursued planning efforts for a second agreement. In April 1983, BIDS presented to DERAP a preliminary outline for the second agreement, envisaging a total grant of NOK 2,250,000 over a three-year period. Subsequently, a member of the senior staff of BIDS, Dr. Q.K. Ahmed, using the opportunity of a trip to Europe in September 1983, visited CMI to further discuss the

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<sup>38</sup> The Bangladesh Times, 3 November 1982.

<sup>39</sup> Dr. Monowar Hossain, like his predecessors in charge of BIDS after independence, led BIDS in an acting capacity. Dr. Nurul Islam, who had been the Director-General of PIDE prior to the break up of Pakistan, formally retained the title of Chairman of BIDS until Dr. Hossain was replaced by Prof. Rehman Sobhan in 1983.



plans. A memorandum titled "Proposal for Technical Assistance and Research Cooperation between BIDS and CMI/DERAP 1984 -1986", dated 30 September 1983, was drawn up on that occasion. The proposal was intended to cover a three-year period starting on 1 January 1984, with a total budget of NOK 2.2 million. Although the overall costs were similar to those in BIDS's initial outline, the joint proposal allocated more resources to research collaboration and less to library and computer equipment.

Like the first agreement, the proposal was very loosely set up - the objective continued to be "to support and strengthen the existing research cooperation between the two institutes, mainly in the field of development economics, demography and social anthropology". It was also envisaged that during a transitional period, the cooperation would also include maintenance and servicing of the EDP equipment installed at BIDS under the previous agreement. Planning remained very much ad hoc and short term: an indicative budget for the three-year period as a whole was shown but detailed budgets would be prepared each year for a twelve-month period. At this stage it was only stated that the disbursement of the grant may not be evenly distributed over the grant period. Even the termination of the grant was to be "left somewhat flexible in order to secure an optimum utilisation of the financial support". Furthermore, the memorandum also called for some flexibility to be allowed in the allocation to the individual components if that was "deemed necessary for a smooth implementation of the research programme". The exchange of personnel, estimated to absorb NOK 1 million, would include "several visits of a few weeks to several months" by an unspecified number of professional research personnel. Another NOK 550,000 were envisaged for upgrading and maintenance of EDP equipment - the only component of the proposal for which a detailed budget was provided. A third component was Library Support, with "major emphasis" on the purchase of books, documents and periodicals for the BIDS library. NOK 225,000 were envisaged for that purpose, without further justification. NOK 200,000 were requested for administrative support, including two visits from CMI to Dhaka and two visits from BIDS to Bergen, and costs of local transportation of CMI personnel while in Dhaka. A relatively large contingency item (NOK 225,000) rounded off the proposed budget. In addition, the proposal called for a scholarship programme to be instituted, whereby one BIDS staff member a year would be sent for a one-year's master degree course in a third country, possibly combined with a shorter stay at CMI. No estimate was given regarding the cost of this component.<sup>40</sup>

Whether the looseness and vagueness of the proposal reflected a legitimate concern with flexibility or rather resulted from lack of commitment to a stringent plan is of course open to debate. As past experience suggested - and subsequent experience would amply confirm - it was wise for the institutions and for the individual researchers to avoid committing themselves prematurely to a specific time schedule, as unexpected bureaucratic complications could delay operations by several months or even years. In any case, NORAD considered that the proposal was not concrete and detailed enough to be tabled for NORAD's board. Although there were some at NORAD (including the Resident Representative in Dhaka) who supported the continuation of the CMI-BIDS

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<sup>40</sup> Some comments on the various budget lines of the proposal were presented to the Board of DERAP at its meeting on 29 September 1983.

collaboration, others felt that it might be easier to hire consultants to undertake specific research projects rather than relying on a complicated collaboration agreement. While there could be compelling reasons to go for long term agreements, NORAD felt that CMI/BIDS had not been able to present their case convincingly, especially in light of the experience with the first agreement.

Following a visit by the BIDS Director, Prof. Rehman Sobhan to Bergen in June 1984. BIDS and CMI sent an updated version of the memorandum<sup>41</sup>. Since NORAD had decided to support the BIDS computer unit from other sources, the costs of that activity (NOK 550,000) were taken out of the proposal, bringing the overall cost down to NOK 1,650,000. The updated version of the proposal was otherwise identical to the original version. At the end of August, NORAD requested CMI to prepare a detailed budget for the first year of the Agreement if it were approved. CMI's reply<sup>42</sup>, which was communicated to NORAD the same day, envisaged that, from CMI, a senior researcher and a junior researcher would travel to Bangladesh for two and four months respectively; from BIDS, one senior researcher and one junior researcher would stay at CMI for 6 months each. In addition, funds were requested for an international research seminar to be held in Bangladesh in 1986 or later, for the library cooperation and for administrative support. The note provided no information about the substance of the activities and there is no evidence that the envisaged schedule of activities was based on any amount of preparatory planning work.

The process nevertheless gathered speed and towards the end of September 1984, the recently created Ministry of Development Cooperation informed CMI that NORAD had allocated financial support for the project up to NOK 1,650,000 over a three year period<sup>43</sup>. The total amount was therefore as requested in the Memorandum of Understanding - except that it was to cover also three Master's Degree stipends (one student each year to attend one-year programmes), which were estimated to cost NOK 260,000. This amount was taken from the research cooperation budget line, which was reduced from NOK 1 million to NOK 760,000. Of this amount, some 40 per cent would be for staff from CMI to BIDS and 60 per cent for staff from BIDS to CMI<sup>44</sup>. The Ministry envisaged that the Agreement would be implemented during the period 1 January 1985 to 31 December 1987. Based implicitly on NORAD's assessment of the experience from the previous phase, the Ministry informed CMI that it intended to include several conditions in the agreement, mainly that: both institutes should appoint each its own project coordinator; the institutes should also prepare detailed annual "Plan of Operations" to be transmitted to NORAD for approval; eventual amendments to the Plan of Operations should also be approved by NORAD; the travel expenses of the researchers' family members would not be covered by the agreement; the Agreement would not support acquisition of documentation for the CMI Library<sup>45</sup>; BIDS would cover its own administration costs. The Ministry

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<sup>41</sup> Now titled "Memorandum of Understanding on a proposal for a programme of technical assistance and research cooperation between BIDS and DERAP", dated 7 June 1984.

<sup>42</sup> Notat Samarbeidsavtale BIDS/DERAP, (2 pages) dated 31 August 1984.

<sup>43</sup> Letter dated 20 September 1984.

<sup>44</sup> In the final version of the Agreement, the budget line was equally shared between the two institutes, with NOK 370,000 each.

<sup>45</sup> Apparently NORAD begrudged the CMI Library to have acquired Bangladesh books and documents for some NOK 3,000 under the previous agreement. In the final formulation of the second

requested CMI and BIDS to immediately start preparing a Plan of Operations for 1985 and submit it to NORAD as soon as possible, even though the Agreement had not been signed. It is not clear from the archives whether this request was communicated to BIDS, but there is evidence that by early November the work to identify the candidates for research collaboration was yet to begin.<sup>46</sup>

After a promising start, the Ministry's work on the draft of the Agreement got delayed, preempting the chances that it would become effective from the beginning of 1985. CMI received the first draft of the Agreement and Contract in early December; the overall design of the agreement was very similar to that of the previous phase and there was little that CMI would strongly oppose; most of CMI's objections had to do with the draft of the contract between NORAD and CMI for the implementation of the agreement, as it was felt that in several respects NORAD was proposing procedures and solutions that were unrealistic and would lead to unnecessary over-bureaucratization of the collaboration. CMI sent detailed comments to the Ministry a couple of weeks later. At the end of January 1985, CMI received a new draft of the contract but it appeared that the Ministry had not incorporated the major amendments proposed by CMI, concerning the procedures for procurement for books and periodicals (which in CMI's view should continue to be handled by BIDS with the assistance of Gemini and Swets, instead of being done by CMI), the submission of certified time-sheets for CMI's work on the management support and the operation of a separate bank account for the project. At the end of March, CMI informed the Ministry that it could not accept the draft and invited the Ministry to reconsider the amendments proposed by CMI.

In the meanwhile, around mid-February 1985, the Ministry sent the draft of the Agreement to the authorities in Bangladesh for comments. That started a long drawn bureaucratic process in which Norway had no insight; apparently there was very little that BIDS could do to speed up the process and CMI was certainly unable to help. Neither institute could make firm plans and loss of momentum was unavoidable. The correspondence in CMI's archives shows that in spite of repeated requests, NORAD-Dhaka by mid-August still had not been successful in getting a reaction from the Bangladesh authorities to the draft. The matter was taken up during the country programme consultations in December 1985, but according to the minutes of the meeting, the Bangladesh delegation had only indicated that the agreement was likely to be signed within a short time. In early March 1986, NORAD-Dhaka received word from the External Resources Division that the agreement had been cleared by the Government; however, the Planning Commission subsequently decided that the Agreement would need clearance from the President's office, which at that point was tied up with the preparations for the forthcoming election. The matter continued to drag on, until the agreement was finally signed on 16 October 1986, almost two years later than originally planned and almost three years after the last activities formally under the previous phase of the agreement. Table 5 below shows the final budget of the new Agreement.

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Agreement, NORAD's stance was softened, so that the relevant passage in the Schedule came to read "Major emphasis will be placed on purchasing books, documents and periodicals for the library at BIDS".

<sup>46</sup> Letter from Prof. Rehman Sobhan to Johan Skutle, dated 8 November 1984.

**Table 5: Budget for the second BIDS CMI Agreement 1986-1988 (NOK)**

	1986	1987	1988	Total
Personnel from BIDS to DERAP	200.000	170.000	-	370.000
Personnel from DERAP to BIDS	200.000	170.000	-	370.000
Scholarships	90.000	90.000	80.000	260.000
Library	75.000	75.000	75.000	225.000
Administration	60.000	70.000	70.000	200.000
Price increases	75.000	75.000	75.000	225.000
<b>Total</b>	<b>700.000</b>	<b>650.000</b>	<b>300.000</b>	<b>1.650.000</b>

The long hiatus between the two collaborative agreements did not mean that CMI's involvement in research and advisory work in Bangladesh came to a halt. Quite the contrary, this was a period with important Bangladesh-oriented activities at CMI, including a large scale Country Study commissioned by the Ministry of Development Cooperation and Tone Bleie's fieldwork for what was to become her doctoral dissertation on "marriage prestations" in rural Bangladesh. But, once again, that vital work happened outside the formal framework of a collaborative agreement with BIDS.

### 5.1 The human rights crisis

In November 1986, shortly after the signature of the Agreement, CMI sent one of its researchers to Bangladesh to assist in the preparation of a Plan of Operations as well as to collect data for a certain research project. Upon arrival at Dhaka airport, it appeared that the staff member's name was on a list of undesirable persons who would not be allowed into the country. This came as a total surprise to the CMI staff member, who could not imagine what the Bangladesh authorities might possibly have against him personally and the immigration authorities at the airport had no information to share on the reasons for the blacklisting. After a few hours at the airport under police escort, the staff member was put on a plane to London.

The Norwegian authorities and BIDS were immediately informed of the incident and the matter was brought up during the annual country programme negotiations. According to the minutes of the meeting "The Bangladesh delegation was informed that a DERAP researcher engaged under the project had been refused entry when arriving at Zia International Airport with a valid visa. A visit of another DERAP researcher has also been delayed. The Bangladesh delegation took note and promised to look into the matter". Informally, however, the Bangladesh side provided detailed information on the background of the incident: the Embassy of Bangladesh in Stockholm had been upset by the chapter on Bangladesh in the Human Rights Yearbook published by CMI in 1996, which they wrongly assumed to have been written by the staff member in question. In the view of the Bangladesh authorities, this was a matter between them and the CMI staff member personally and unrelated to the collaborative agreement. They also suggested that since the staff member in question was not a Norwegian citizen, the Norwegian authorities had no stake in the matter.

Upon receiving the minutes of the bilateral negotiations, CMI wrote to BIDS and to the Ministry of Development Cooperation, stating its position that until the matter was settled, both in respect of the staff member concerned and for DERAP as a

collaborating partner with BIDS, any further step in the implementation of the agreement would have to be postponed.

The incident gained some notoriety at the Ministry because it raised a number of delicate issues. Some senior diplomats were inclined to take the course of least resistance and accept that this was not a matter for Norway to pursue. Had CMI been a less principled (or a financially more dependent) institution, it is very likely that this was the course of action which would have been chosen. However, CMI's firm position meant that the problem would not go away so easily. Others in the Ministry saw the incident as possibly the first example of a development partner country retaliating with sanctions against the Ministry's support for human rights in developing countries. Confronting the Bangladesh authorities on that basis could however be counter-productive in the short term, in the sense that it would make it harder to resolve the immediate crisis at hand. The other option was to explain to the Bangladesh authorities that the CMI staff member that they had singled out for sanctions was not the author of the human rights report that had so displeased them. However, the Ministry felt that while this approach might exculpate that particular person, it might have the danger of giving legitimacy to the principle of retaliation against unfavourable human rights reports. In any case, Norway was ill-prepared to take the matter any further through its normal channels; one favoured approach in the Ministry was to consider the possibility of involving the diplomatic authorities of the staff member's home country in pleading his cause...

It is doubtful that any timely solution to the incident would have been found if it were not for the bureaucratic savvy of BIDS's leadership, who argued with the proper administrative instances in Bangladesh that CMI's Human Rights Programme (HRP) was an entity separate from DERAP, and therefore DERAP and its staff should be exonerated from any wrongs done by HRP. Since the point with the Bangladesh authorities' reaction had ostensibly been to sanction the individual rather than the institution, these explanations made it possible for the authorities to lift the sanctions without reversing their position. This line of argument was successfully pursued, to the extent that in early March 1987 the CMI staff member was advised that the Bangladesh authorities were prepared to process an eventual visa application from him.<sup>47</sup> But the incident nevertheless left unanswered a number of questions regarding the Norwegian authorities' strategy, mechanisms and channels for addressing minor political disputes with development partner countries in a calibrated and effective manner.

## **5.2 Implementation of the second Agreement**

The resolution of the human rights crisis in March 1987 opened the way for the resumption of the work to clear the last hurdle of the process, namely the contract between NORAD and CMI. This time NORAD showed greater flexibility than two years earlier; negotiations proceeded quickly and the contract was finally signed by both parties around mid-May 1987.

While this process was under way, CMI and BIDS held a joint consultation meeting in early April in Dhaka, attended by Faaland and Miranda from CMI and the senior staff

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<sup>47</sup> The opportunity was immediately seized and subsequent visits to Bangladesh confirmed that the case was effectively closed.

of BIDS. Following a visit to Bergen by Prof. Rehman Sobhan in July 1987, the first Plan of Operations covering the whole of 1987 was forwarded to NORAD by the middle of that month. No new Plans of Operation were subsequently prepared.

CMI and BIDS held again a joint meeting on 9 August 1988 in Bergen, with the participation of Prof. Sobhan. Eirik Jansen, who was then Deputy Resident Representative of NORAD in Bangladesh, also attended the meeting. The parties reviewed the status of the Agreement and discussed prospects for future collaboration. Several important decisions were taken concerning in particular the allocation of the Library funds (see below) and the international research seminar. Concerning the latter, it was agreed that it should take place in Bergen rather than in Dhaka, around the end of February 1989; it would have a dual purpose, namely, to summarise the activities that had taken place under the Agreement, including presentation of research papers, and to the future in order to identify themes of common interest and to adjust modalities of collaboration in years to come. At the issue of the meeting, a formal request was sent to NORAD to prolong the existing agreement for an additional three years, a course of action which seemed preferable to entering into negotiations on a new agreement.

Another joint meeting was held in Dhaka in November 1988, on the occasion of first visit to Bangladesh by Arne Tostensen, CMI's new Director. The institutes observed that a considerable balance remained unspent, necessitating an extension of the agreement beyond the end of 1988, to the end of 1989. They also agreed to request a further extension for a period of another 3 years effective from 1st January 1990, envisaging that the new phase might be of the same size as the existing one, with some adjustment for inflation; the fields of collaboration would remain "more or less the same and in roughly the same proportion to one another". Nevertheless, three new items were recommended for possible inclusion: joint research ventures between BIDS and CMI scholars; support to the Advanced Training Programme in BIDS and the provision of a micro-computer for use by the DERAP-BIDS researchers for facilitating their research work in Bangladesh<sup>48</sup>.

### ***5.2.1 Exchange of Scholars***

Contrary to what happened during the previous phase, this time BIDS organised itself early and methodically to make use of the resources for exchange of scholars. At the meeting in April 1987, BIDS informed CMI that it had nominated three of its senior researchers (Dr. Quasem, Dr. Ghafur and Dr. M.R. Khan) to spend six months each at CMI.

Dr. Quasem, an agricultural economist stayed at CMI from April to October 1987. His work related to one important aspect of the economic dynamics behind the agricultural revolution in Bangladesh, namely the return of irrigation equipment, focusing specifically on the case of tube wells in 1981-85.

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<sup>48</sup> *Agreed Minutes of the BIDS-DERAP Joint Consultations at BIDS, Dhaka* [held on 17.11.88], dated 22 November 1988

Dr. Ghafur, Research Director in charge of the General Economics Division at BIDS, stayed at CMI from the end of August 1988 to February 1989. During his visit he undertook a broad survey of food policy issues in Bangladesh.

Dr. Khan, Research Director in charge of the Population Division at BIDS, stayed at CMI from mid September 1988 to mid March 1989. During his visit, he processed and analysed the data from a survey of health expenditure at household level conducted by BIDS for the Bangladesh Ministry of Health and Family Planning.

Regrettably, CMI was unable to fully honour its commitments to the exchange of scholars. All the efforts that had been initially made by CMI and NORAD to arrive at a mutually acceptable level of remuneration for long term visiting scholars proved pointless: CMI had been unable to deliver such personnel under the first phase of the Agreement and it did not succeed this time either. From CMI, only one researcher, Arne Wiig, spent a substantial amount of time in Bangladesh under phase II of the Agreement: he visited Bangladesh for a month in November-December 1988 and again for 3 months in March-May 1989, for the purpose of collecting data for his research on the garment industry in Bangladesh, which subsequently resulted in a doctoral dissertation (see below under phase III).

**Table 6 - Exchange of Scholars funded by the BIDS-CMI second Collaborative Agreement**

From BIDS		From CMI	
M. A Quasem	6 months (1987)	A. Miranda	2 weeks (1987)
A. Ghafur	6 months (1988-89)	Arne Wiig	4 months (1988-89)
M.R. Khan	6 months (1988-9)		

### 5.2.2 Scholarships

At the joint planning meeting in July 1987, BIDS indicated that it was considering to use the funds provided by the agreement for this purpose to send one or possibly two candidates to India for PhD studies, instead of sending three students for one-year Master's programmes. CMI had no strong views on this, but generally recognized the crucial importance for a research institution to have staff trained at the highest academic level; NORAD, however, was as a rule reluctant to fund PhD scholarships, given the poor record of many developing countries with regard to retention of their PhD trained nationals. The negotiations on this issue were carried out between BIDS and NORAD directly; what transpired indirectly from those discussions suggests that NORAD would consent to an exception if the candidate were a woman. At the joint BIDS-CMI consultations held in November 1988, BIDS informed CMI that the funds had been allocated to two female staff members at BIDS, Ms. Khaleda Nazneen who would study for an M.P.A. at Harvard and Ms. Sharifa Begum would go for a PhD at the International Centre for Population Studies in Bombay. NORAD had also agreed to let the funds be disbursed over the period of time needed to complete those degrees. The budget line was administered directly by NORAD-Dhaka and no further information on the progress of that component was communicated to CMI.

### 5.2.3 Library cooperation

All the Agreement stipulated with regard to library cooperation was that "Major emphasis will be placed on purchasing books, documents and periodicals for the library at BIDS". The two librarians subsequently agreed on an interpretation of this as meaning that out of the total amount devoted to the purchase of books and periodicals, BIDS would get 90% and CMI 10%. CMI's share was to be used for the acquisition at local prices<sup>49</sup> of books from Bangladesh for DERAP's library. Accounts were subsequently opened for BIDS with booksellers in London and Delhi, and with the subscriptions management agency Swets in the Netherlands. However, after some purchases in early 1987, BIDS ceased to place orders, so by 1988 two thirds of the budget for BIDS books were still unspent.

During the visit by the CMI librarian to Dhaka in January 1988 (see below) BIDS presented a new strategy for library support: instead of using the money directly to pay for books and subscriptions, BIDS would prefer that the balance still available for BIDS (some NOK 120,000 equivalent to about USD 20,000) deposited into the newly established BIDS Library Endowment Fund. The Ford Foundation had contributed USD 250,000 on the condition that BIDS's other donors together contribute a corresponding amount. The size of the Fund, when fully established, would then be USD 500,000 and its expected annual returns amounting to USD 40,000 would be used for the purchase of books and journal subscriptions for the BIDS Library. This strategy had considerable appeal, since it addressed the difficult problem of ensuring a stable and predictable flow of income necessary to maintain the continuity of acquisitions, and it was endorsed by the CMI Librarian. Others at CMI were however less enthusiastic about this solution, as it seemed to raise difficult issues of principle. BIDS again tabled its request at the joint CMI-BIDS planning meeting in August 1988; at that time, both CMI and NORAD-Dhaka decided to support it, subject to documentation by BIDS regarding the envisaged operation and reporting procedures.

That documentation was submitted<sup>50</sup> in November 1988 and it appeared to address satisfactorily the usual issues of transparency and accountability. The principal of the fund was to remain in a segregated endowment account, managed so as to preserve its real value; only its income would be expended and it would be used exclusively for the purchase of books and subscriptions to academic journals and for other related library foreign exchange costs. The normal procedures for operation of BIDS bank accounts would apply, under the joint signatures of the Secretary and the Director General of BIDS. Annual budgets for the use of the income would be prepared for approval by the BIDS's Policy Coordination Committee and BIDS's Boards of Trustees. Finally, BIDS would provide reports annually to the concerned donor agencies. The money was presumably paid directly by NORAD-Dhaka as requested, but BIDS never volunteered any reports or accounts to CMI - and CMI did not solicit them either. CMI was therefore totally taken by surprise by the revelation in 1991 that most of the Endowment Fund (specifically the USD 250,000 from the Ford Foundation grant,

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<sup>49</sup> The export price of Bangladesh books quoted by the publishers used to be a large multiple of the local price, making arrangements for local purchase extremely advantageous.

<sup>50</sup> Letter to Arne Tostensen, Director of CMI from Abu Taleb, Secretary of BIDS, dated 5 November 1988.



which had been deposited with the Bank of Credit and Commerce International) had been lost in the collapse of BCCI (see below under phase III).

The Plan of Operations of July 1987 stated that in order to strengthen the substantive content of the collaboration, and to make the head librarians of both institutions more aware of the needs and mode of operation of the counterpart institution, the librarians had also agreed to expand the scope of the collaboration so as to include a visit by the Chief Librarian of BIDS (Mr. Serajul Haque) to CMI and possibly other important development libraries in Scandinavia, as well as visit by the CMI chief librarian to BIDS. NOK 50,000 was allocated for this purpose from the Library budget line in the Agreement.

The CMI chief librarian visited Bangladesh for a week in January 1988. Since her first visit to Bangladesh in 1982, BIDS and its library had moved to new premises. This time she had extensive consultations with Prof. Sobhan and Mr. Haque, visited half a dozen of libraries at various institutions in and around Dhaka and collected some 100 kg of publications for the CMI library and for the NORAD library in Oslo. In her report<sup>51</sup>, while noting the impressive statistics provided by BIDS about its library (100,000 volumes, 880 subscriptions, 10,000 new books a year), she also observed that "it was difficult to spot many new titles in the shelves and new periodicals. Especially the lack of new editions and updated handbooks and reference works was obvious".

Ms. Andersen's counterpart at BIDS, Mr. Haque, did not take up the invitation to visit CMI; instead, BIDS delegated Ms. Nilufar Akhter (who subsequently became Chief Librarian at BIDS). Her trip to Norway took place in September 1989 in conjunction with the EADI Seminar on "Documentation and Library Cooperation with Third World Countries" in Ljubljana - a rare and precious opportunity for a research librarian in Bangladesh to establish contacts with counterparts from development research institutions in Europe. At the request of Ms. Andersen, who was then convenor of EADI's Working Group on Information and Documentation, Ms. Akhter prepared a paper<sup>52</sup> for presentation at the seminar. After the seminar, Ms. Andersen and Ms. Akhter travelled together to Bergen, where Ms. Akhter spent a week at CMI's library. (She visited CMI again in 1992 with residual funds still unspent from the second agreement (see below under phase III).

#### **5.2.4 Seminar**

The joint seminar, originally envisaged to be held in Dhaka, took place at CMI in Bergen on 15-17 February 1989, under the title "Research Cooperation between BIDS and CMI/DERAP". As indicated above, its stated purpose was to take stock of the research carried out under the Agreement, and to consider future modalities for continued research cooperation between the two institutes. The seminar was attended

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<sup>51</sup> Report by Kirsti Hagen Andersen on stay in Dhaka, Bangladesh 12-19th January 1988, under the BIDS Cooperation Agreement.

<sup>52</sup> Akhter, Nilufar and M. Shamsul Islam Khan - "Automated information systems and services in Bangladesh: problems and prospects". *Documentation and Library Cooperation with Third World Countries. Seminar 19-21 September 1989, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia*. European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI), Working Group on Information and Documentation. Bergen: CMI, 1990 (Working Paper D 1990:6), pp. 145-154.

by researchers from both institutions who had been participating in the exchange of scholars, senior officials from the relevant ministries in Bangladesh and Norway and other researchers and aid administrators with experience on Bangladesh. It was addressed by the Norwegian Minister for Development Cooperation, Ms. Kirsti Kolle Grøndahl.

The Seminar was organised in six sessions (Agrarian development strategies; Bangladesh population and health issues; The agrarian system in Bangladesh; Industrial policy in Bangladesh; Foreign aid to Bangladesh; Academic and research cooperation between Norway and Bangladesh).

The following 9 papers were presented at the Seminar: "Processes of polarisation and the breaking up of patron-client relationships in Bangladesh", by Dr. Eirik G. Jansen, Deputy Resident Representative, Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation, Dhaka; "Financial return of irrigation equipment to owners and users: the case of shallow tube wells in Bangladesh, 1981-85" by Dr. Mohammed Abul Quasem, Senior Research Fellow, BIDS; "Agriculture in Bangladesh: Problems and policies" and "Manufacturing industries in Bangladesh", both by Ole David Koht Norbye, Senior Research Fellow, CMI; "The nature and scope of a self-reliant development strategy for Bangladesh" by Rehman Sobhan, former Director-General of BIDS; "Health care financing in Bangladesh", by Dr. M.R. Khan, Research Director, BIDS; "Non-tariff barriers to trade and development - the case of the garments industry in Bangladesh", by Arne Wiig, Research Fellow, CMI; "Food policy of Bangladesh and some constraints" by Dr. Abdul Ghafur, Research Director, BIDS and "Population and Development in Bangladesh" by Armindo Miranda, Research Fellow, CMI.

The papers required extensive editing for publication in book form, and this task was carried out by Ole David Koht Norbye, with funding from CMI's own resources. The book<sup>53</sup> appeared the following year; it contained, in addition to the Minister's address, an edited transcript of the presentation by Bjørn Johannessen, the NORAD Resident Representative in Dhaka, titled "Foreign aid to Bangladesh", in which he reflects candidly about NORAD's operations in Bangladesh.

#### **5.2.5 Administrative support**

In its letter to CMI dated 20 September 1984, in which the Ministry of Development Cooperation laid out the conditions for the approval of a new collaborative agreement, one of the conditions concerned the BIDS's costs with the administration of the project, which according to the Ministry should not be covered by the Agreement. This was reflected in the Schedule of the Agreement, which stipulates (under para. 4.4 Administration) that BIDS shall be responsible for its own recurrent costs. Because this stipulation may have seemed unfair or for some other reason<sup>54</sup>, CMI and BIDS decided at their first joint consultation meeting in April 1987 that they would be "respectively responsible for the utilization of 50% of the allocations earmarked for administrative expenses under the Agreement. Specific allocations of such expenses

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<sup>53</sup> Norbye, Ole David Koht (ed.) - *Bangladesh faces the future*. Bergen/Dhaka: CMI and BIDS in association with University Press Ltd., 1990, 304 pp.

<sup>54</sup> The late signing of the Agreement reduced its stipulated life span from 3 years to less than 2 years, leaving the Administrative Support budget line overfunded.

[would] be worked out by BIDS and DERAP for their respective organizations". Although it was not said precisely that they would share the budget line between themselves, that appears to have been the intention indeed. By the July planning meeting, as reflected in the Plan of Operations submitted to NORAD that month, it was stated that "In consultation with DERAP, BIDS intends to use part of its share of the allocation for administrative services for purchasing a vehicle to facilitate fieldwork by BIDS and DERAP researchers in Bangladesh." It was further stated that BIDS was seeking assurance from the External Resources Division that it would be able to import the vehicle duty free, and once that assurance was obtained, BIDS would seek the concurrence of NORAD-Dhaka. While the need for a vehicle was unquestionable,<sup>55</sup> this constituted a notable deviation from both the intention and the letter of the Agreement. Nevertheless, it appears that by August 1988 NORAD-Dhaka had concurred with BIDS desire to use part of the funds set aside for administrative purposes to lease a vehicle locally and the minutes of the joint BIDS-CMI consultations in November 1988 confirm that it was by then envisaged to allocate the whole amount claimed by BIDS as administrative fee (NOK 100,000) to the lease of a vehicle.

### 5.3 Financial overview

In order to simplify the procedures, it was agreed at an early stage of the project that NORAD-Dhaka would make certain payments directly to BIDS. While this was expedient, unfortunately it also led to a certain lack of transparency because NORAD did not inform CMI of the timing and purpose of the payments. Table 7 below shows the financial implementation of the programme, based on the payments undertaken by CMI. For 1988, the discrepancy between NORAD's accounts<sup>56</sup> and CMI's accounts is particularly large - suggesting that NORAD had paid directly some NOK 194,000 directly to BIDS.

**Table 7- Implementation of the second agreement: disbursements by CMI as of 31.12.1990**

	(000's NOK)				
	1987	1988	1989	1990	Total
Research cooperation	182	260	386		
<i>BIDS staff to CMI</i>	128	188	108	-	424
<i>CMI staff to BIDS</i>	54	72	158	-	285
<i>Seminar</i>	-	-	120	-	
Scholarships	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Library	60	34	33	3	129
<i>Books to BIDS</i>	60	-	-	-	60
<i>Books to CMI</i>	-	8	1	3	12
<i>Travel</i>		26	32	-	58
Administrative support	73	100	30	-	202
<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>394</b>	<b>449</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1161</b>

Note: Discrepancies in totals due to rounding

<sup>55</sup> Transportation was one of the problems that most had frustrated Jansen and Miranda during their stint in Bangladesh, as their 1978 report indicated.

<sup>56</sup> In a letter to CMI dated 24 August 1989, NORAD indicated that total project expenditure (including disbursements by both CMI and NORAD) had amounted to some NOK 316 thousand in 1987, NOK 589 thousand in 1988 and 418 thousand up to that point in 1989. CMI was also informed that BIDS had requested the payment of NOK 265,000 for scholarships.

By the end of 1990, taking into account the disbursements done by CMI, as well as the agreed expenditures which either had been or would be disbursed by NORAD for scholarships (NOK 260,000), administrative support by BIDS (NOK 100,000) and the contribution to the Library Endowment Fund (NOK 122,654), the project had absorbed close to the initial allocation approved by NORAD, which amounted to NOK 1,650,000. However, the project also had earned some NOK 100,000 as interest in CMI's account which, in accordance with para. 2.3 of the contract between NORAD and CMI, should be used for the purpose of the Agreement. The allocation of these residual resources was discussed during the joint BIDS-CMI meeting that took place in Dhaka in November 1991 and they were used to purchase a photocopier for BIDS and to finance a visit to CMI by a second Librarian from BIDS (Ms. Akhter).

#### **5.4 Evaluation**

The CMI archives give no indication that any attempt was made by NORAD or by CMI this time to evaluate the implementation of the Agreement. BIDS's view, as expressed at the joint meetings, was that the Agreement should continue. There is no trace of analytical discussions between CMI and BIDS about the progress of their collaboration, the strengths and weaknesses of the Agreement, mechanisms for ensuring sound planning, timely implementation and quality assurance and how the changing institutional environment for development research in both countries might affect the prospects for cooperation. NORAD-Dhaka, who had been delegated responsibility for the project from headquarters, were supportive of the Agreement - but they had little administrative capacity and did not succeed in engaging the two institutes in a dialogue about the possible substantive agenda for research collaboration between CMI and BIDS in the context of Norwegian assistance to Bangladesh. There was awareness of the issues, as shown in Bjørn Johannessen's presentation at the Joint Seminar,<sup>57</sup> but no possibility of addressing them.

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<sup>57</sup> Bjørn Johannessen, "Foreign aid to Bangladesh" in Norbye, O.D.K. (ed.) *Bangladesh Faces the Future*. Bergen/Dhaka: CMI and BIDS in association with University Press Ltd., 1990, pp. 283-297.

## **Chapter 6: The third Agreement**

### **6.1 The preparatory process**

Discussions on what came to be the phase III of the BIDS-CMI Cooperation Agreement began in August 1988, when Professor Rehman Sobhan, then Chairman of BIDS, visited CMI to review the state of the cooperation between the two institutes. Following these discussions, CMI sent a request to the Ministry for Development Cooperation (DUH) for a three-year extension of the existing agreement (1986-88), indicating that this would be administratively more appropriate than the negotiation of a new agreement<sup>58</sup>. The matter was pursued with NORAD Dhaka and the External Resources Division (ERD) of the Bangladesh Ministry of Finance during a subsequent visit by Arne Tostensen to Dhaka in November 1988. Consultations between the two institutes on the specifics of the project took place in February 1989 in connection with the joint BIDS-CMI research seminar hosted by CMI in Bergen. In early March 1989 CMI forwarded to BIDS<sup>59</sup> a draft of the Technical Assistance Project Proposal (TAPP) for what was then called "phase III of the agreement (1990-92)". The formal request for assistance from the Bangladesh authorities (ERD) was received by NORAD Dhaka in October 1989; NORAD Dhaka prepared a formal "project document" which was forwarded to NORAD HQ in November 1989.

In the meanwhile, considerable resistance to the project had built up at the lower levels of the NORAD bureaucracy. NORAD's main concern was that the principle of equality between the two institutions led to the financing of CMI research activities that could otherwise be funded from alternative budget lines. On 2 January 1990 a meeting was held at NORAD to discuss "matters of principle" in relation to the project. The meeting was attended by Arne Tostensen from CMI and five NORAD staff members from the Asia/Latin America Department and the Education Office. NORAD expressed the intention of continuing to support the CMI-BIDS cooperation, but wished to change its profile, to bring it more in line with the existing norms for institutional cooperation. NORAD emphasised that the support for cooperation was meant to cover the additional costs linked to institutional cooperation and transfer of competence, holding as example the cooperation between the University of Oslo and the University of Harare, where the University of Oslo itself financed part of the costs of cooperation. CMI maintained that it would be administratively difficult to split the sources of support for the project according to the activities involved and that CMI could not afford to provide technical assistance to BIDS free of charge. In response to CMI's request for concrete indications from NORAD as to how the organisation wished to shape the next phase of the cooperation, NORAD spelled out a set of 12 guidelines presented as "demands" (krav) and conditions that needed to be met for the continuation of the project<sup>60</sup>. Some of these posed no problem (such as the requirement that BIDS visiting scholars be remunerated according to the Norwegian Research Council scales or the suggestion that joint research projects be given priority); others were more difficult to act upon because they were vague and

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<sup>58</sup> Letter from Arne Tostensen to Kari Grønn-Nielsen dated 28 August 1988 (in Norwegian).

<sup>59</sup> Letter from Arne Tostensen to Dr. Mahbub Hossain, director general of BIDS, dated 1 March 1989.

<sup>60</sup> *Møte 2.1.1990 mellom DERAP og NORAD angående samarbeidsavtalen BIDS/DERAP.* (Memo 23.01.1990/ÅS/abs)

depended to a large extent on subjective appreciation, such as the demand that the role of CMI be shaped in relation to the primary objective of building up institutional capability at BIDS.

A long pause ensued, until NORAD in November 1990 offered the draft of an agreement which was essentially in accordance with the initial proposal, except that at this point the scope of the agreement had to be adjusted to cover the calendar years 1991-1993. Towards the end of February 1991, CMI was informed by NORAD that Agreement had hit another snag - the Bangladesh authorities having requested more time to assess the Agreement. Negotiations between NORAD and CMI nevertheless proceeded and a contract for the implementation of the bilateral agreement was signed in April 1991; the bilateral agreement itself was finally signed in Oslo by the authorities of both countries on 7 June 1991.

## 6.2 Description of the Agreement

As with the previous Agreements, the third Agreement was composed of two separate instruments: a bilateral agreement between the Governments of Norway and Bangladesh and a contract between NORAD and the Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (DERAP).<sup>61</sup> These documents are reproduced as Annexes 6 and 7 to the present report.

Annex 1 to the bilateral agreement (Schedule) stipulates that "the overall objective of the research cooperation programme is to contribute to continued institution and competence building at BIDS through the development research programme. The research cooperation programme shall mainly be limited to research exchange between BIDS and DERAP in the field of rural sociology, demography and economics. The cooperation will consist of exchange of research personnel, seminars, workshops and one joint research project. The exchange of research personnel will include long term and short term visits for research personnel from BIDS to DERAP and DERAP to BIDS and scholarship[s] for postgraduate studies abroad for two researchers from BIDS preferably at relevant training institutions in the region. The programme will also comprise financial support for the library and to [the] BIDS Computer Unit for the purchase of one PC."

**Table 8. BIDS-CMI cooperation agreement, phase III: original budget**  
Amounts in NOK 000s

Personnel from BIDS to DERAP	481
Personnel from DERAP to BIDS	1,072
Joint research project between BIDS and DERAP researchers	157
Research seminar	173
Library	314
Administration	346
Computer, one PC	46
One-year master programme, two BIDS researchers	437
Support for participants to BIDS advanced training programme	57
Contingencies	161
Total	3,244

<sup>61</sup> Following an internal reorganisation of CMI in 1993-94, DERAP ceased to exist as an entity within CMI.

The project had a total budget amounting to NOK 3,244,000 to be disbursed in approximately equal annual instalments over the years 1991, 1992 and 1993. The specific components were budgeted as shown in table 8.

Several of the components reflected BIDS's needs and plans as formulated several years earlier, at the time when the discussions on the renewal of the previous agreement had begun, and thus appeared to be in need of revision soon after the signing of the agreement. Some of these issues were discussed at a meeting between CMI and BIDS in Dhaka in October 1991, where BIDS expressed the wish to use the fellowship budget to support one female Ph.D student rather than two MA students. BIDS also wished to see its share of the library cooperation budget (which amounted to 90% of that budget line) disbursed immediately in one instalment to their Library Endowment Fund, rather than disbursed gradually against current expenses over the period of the agreement. The future of the Advanced Training Programme (which BIDS had organised for several years to train researchers from Bangladesh and other developing countries) also seemed uncertain beyond 1991. A new schedule of disbursements and work plan was submitted in February 1992.

Further delays in project implementation and other circumstances - including changed priorities at BIDS - made it necessary to operate a more substantial project revision in 1994, following discussions between the directors of the two institutes and NORAD-Dhaka in January of that year. The idea of a joint research project involving a number of researchers working under a common thematic umbrella was abandoned in favour of several joint research projects. The scope of the joint research seminar was reformulated, to make it a high profile event with the participation of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh. BIDS decided not to proceed with the purchase of the computer and also dropped plans for a planning visit by the BIDS leadership to CMI. The Advanced Training Courses were discontinued. All this resulted in considerable reallocations among budget lines, which were further amended in the course of 1994. The financial information shown in table 11 reflects the last revision of the project, dated November 1994.

## **6.3 Implementation of the Agreement**

### ***6.3.1 Exchange of scholars***

From BIDS to CMI

*Dr. Mahmudul Alam*, Senior Research Fellow, spent a total of six months at CMI in two periods: three months in August-October 1992 and another three months in August-October 1994. His area of research was the primary and secondary education sectors in Bangladesh. During his stay he prepared a working paper (M. Alam, Secondary and higher secondary education in Bangladesh. Its growth and State Expenditures: A time-series analysis 1981-90).

The paper describes the trends and patterns of growth of the secondary and higher secondary schools in Bangladesh, distinguishing between the Islamic madrasa schools

and the secular ones. Substantial differences were found between rural and urban schools. The paper also describes the role of the state in this education sub-sector, in terms of regulation, standardization, certification and financial support for recurrent and development costs. The paper formulates a series of policy suggestions such as: the overall allocation to the education sector should be increased, and within the sector, funds should be reallocated from the universities to the secondary and higher secondary schools; the state should finance capital expenditure of private schools subject to satisfactory performance and transparency of administration; the administrative set-up should be decentralised away from the Directorate in Dhaka to the Divisions.

*Dr. M. Asaduzzaman*, Senior Research Fellow, stayed at CMI for six months between August 1994 and February 1995. During his stay at CMI he reviewed theoretical literature on sustainable development, to find out how this may be incorporated in the planning process in Bangladesh. In particular, he evaluated the theoretical procedures for estimating the gross sustainable product (GSP)<sup>62</sup> in developing economies. Applying this concept to Bangladesh, he tried to develop an understanding of its implications for sustainability. Dr. Asaduzzaman gave a seminar where he presented some of his conclusions and drafted a paper titled "Planning for Sustainable Development in Bangladesh. An Analysis of Issues and Constraints". Part of this draft was later used to prepare two papers presented at the BIDS-CMI joint research seminar on Sustainable Development in Bangladesh (see below).

*Dr. K. Murshid*, Senior Research Fellow, spent a total of six months at CMI in two periods: August-November 1994 and May-June 1995, to conduct research on commodity markets in rural Bangladesh, with emphasis on the paddy/rice markets. His approach applied anthropological and economic insight to the analysis of market performance and integration, with a view to understand the possibilities of, and constraints to, a transition from a "traditional" mode to an "advanced" mode of operation. During his stay he gave a seminar at CMI in which he presented a draft paper titled "Understanding traditional markets: the problem of transition to a modern economy". A paper based on this work, titled "Generalised morality and the problem of transition to an impersonal exchange regime: A response to Platteau" was subsequently published in the June 1997 issue of the *Journal of Development Studies*.<sup>63</sup>

*Dr. Omar Haider Chowdhury*, Senior Research Fellow. Visited CMI for 4 weeks in December 1995-January 1996 and produced a draft working paper on "Food Security in Bangladesh". The manuscript was reviewed and commented upon in detail by Odd-Helge Fjeldstad; a revised draft was received by CMI at the end of May 1997 and it is currently being considered for publications in the CMI Working Paper series.

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<sup>62</sup> National income figures adjusted for degradation and exhaustion of resources.

<sup>63</sup> In his paper, Dr. Murshid acknowledges the contribution of his discussions with i.a. Arne Wiig, but he does not mention his stay at CMI or the BIDS-CMI Agreement.



**Table 9. Researchers from BIDS to CMI during the third Agreement**

Name	Period	Research issue	Output as of August 97*
Dr. Mahmudul Alam	Aug. - Oct. 92 Aug. - Oct. 94	The Compulsory Primary Education Programme (CPEP) in Bangladesh	Alam (1992); Alam and Askvik (1994), (1995);
Dr. M. Asaduzzaman	Aug. 94 - Feb. 95	Sustainable development in Bangladesh	Draft paper
Dr. K. Murshid	Aug. - Nov. 94 - Apr. 95	Food policy	K.A.S. Murshid (1997)
Dr. Omar Haider Chowdhury	Dec. 95 - Jan. 96	Food Security in Bangladesh	Draft working paper

\* See full bibliographic references in Chart 1 below.

#### From CMI to BIDS

*Dr. Arne Wiig*, now Senior Research Fellow, visited Bangladesh on three occasions during the present phase of the Agreement, in connection with his doctoral dissertation on the Bangladesh garments industry. During his first visit - for six weeks in November-December 1993 - he designed a questionnaire for his survey and field-tested it in a pilot study of garment factories. During his second visit in February 1994, Wiig collected information from 35 companies about the decision-making process between local manufacturers and international buyers regarding product design and branding strategies. During his third visit - one week in September 1996, in connection with the joint CMI-BIDS seminar - he had talks with high level officials in the Ministry of Textiles regarding garment industry issues.

Dr. Wiig defended his thesis titled "Marketing barriers facing developing countries: essays on product differentiation, discrimination and brand naming in the market for clothing" in November 1995.

Based on a statistical discrimination approach, it is argued that labelling improves the match between consumers and producers to the extent that country of origin is an indicator of quality, while labelling reduces the incentives for third world producers to improve their quality. By implementing several experiments, it is found that the consumers have negative perceptions of products from developing countries, while price is used as the main screening device of product quality. Adopting a property rights perspective on the firm, several control regimes are introduced and compared in order to secure that the party which invests in differentiation is able to reap the profit of such (unverifiable) investments. The model is illustrated by data from the clothing sector in Bangladesh.

*Dr. Siegfried Pausewang*, Research Fellow, visited Bangladesh for a month in March 1994, to familiarise himself with conditions in rural Bangladesh and reflect about how the question of the path to sustainable development in rural Bangladesh could serve as a basis for a joint research project.

Dr. Pausewang visited the village of Buri-buri, in Gazipur district, talked to a cross section of rural people and collected a set of interviews concerning household

economics and knowledge and attitudes concerning ecological problems, focusing on how poor people coped with unexpected emergencies and risks and which ecological problems they experience. This was his first visit to Bangladesh and he wanted to explore the possibility of a collaborative project with Dr. Quasim, Senior Research Fellow at BIDS, who had visited CMI during the previous phase of the Agreement. His report indicates that although the experience was very interesting and useful, it was "mixed and not very conclusive" in terms of developing a joint research project.

*Dr. Tor Halvorsen*, Associate Senior Research Fellow, visited Bangladesh for four weeks in October 1994. The purpose of his trip was to make some preliminary investigations for a study on the relationship between the system of higher education, the civil service professions and the efforts to reform public administration in Bangladesh. During his stay, Dr. Halvorsen established professional contacts with colleagues at the Institute of Public Administration, University of Dhaka and conducted interviews with members of various branches of the civil service.

*Svein Skarheim*, graduate student, visited Bangladesh in December 1994-January 1995 to collect material for his dissertation on the human rights aspects of the population programme in Bangladesh. Skarheim's M.A. dissertation (*Befolkningspolitiske endringer i Bangladesh 1976-1988*) was successfully defended in the summer of 1996.

*Karin Ask*, Research Fellow, *Dimensions of project sustainability in Grameen Bank funded projects*. 8 weeks in Dhaka and Tangail, October-December 1996. In collaboration with Ayesha Banu, Associate Researcher.

This study was a follow up to a previous analysis of repayment patterns among Grameen Bank (GB) members (see section 2.3 below) which raised a number of questions concerning the dynamic between household viability and economic sustainability of the individual projects funded by GB. The surveys in Tangail were conducted in early 1995; the revisit, approximately 18-20 months later, added time depth to the empirical data and gave insight into processes that shape success as well as failure for individual projects. The objective was to go further into the analysis of the data established through the survey by a follow up of a smaller number of loaners, their households and the groups of which they are members. Emphasis was also put on contextualizing the social environment in which the female borrowers seek to realise their business ventures. This provided a chance to test certain hypotheses on the repercussion of household events (such as the expansion of household through in-marriage daughters in-law as well as consequences of random events such as sickness and death) upon the income generation and financial sustainability of GB-funded projects. A working paper was expected to be published in July 1997.

*Turid Bøe*, Research Fellow, visited Bangladesh for three weeks in November 1996, to carry out a research project on the private university sector in Bangladesh.

Private universities are a new phenomenon in Bangladesh, but the growth of this sector has been spectacular; there are now 17 private universities, with an estimated 3,000 students and 11 public universities with 67,000 students. Very little is known about the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the private university sector. The purpose of this

study was to collect factual information about these institutions, to review the legal and economic framework in which they operate and to analyse the consequences of the current expansion of private universities for the higher education sector - in particular, whether it will create a situation of healthy competition or rather contribute to amplify the current disfunctionality of the public university system? The draft of a working paper has been prepared, but it was not yet published by mid-1997.

*Dr. Steinar Askvik*, Senior Research Fellow<sup>64</sup>, visited Bangladesh five times during this phase of the agreement: a brief introductory visit in October 1991, undertaken in connection with another assignment in the region; a three-week stay in December 1993; a nine-week stay between January and March 1994; a one-week visit in September 1996 in connection with the Joint Seminar; and a three-week stay in November-December 1996. The focus of his research has been on different aspects of "bureaucracy and institution building in primary education in Bangladesh" and it has been carried out in collaboration with Dr. Mahmudul Alam (see section below).

During his last visit, Askvik observed the activities at a primary school in Manikganj District, 60 km outside of Dhaka for a week, collected information about the status of teachers and their labour unions and interviewed key persons in Dhaka regarding the implementation of the Primary Education Development Programme (1997-2001).

**Table 10. Researchers from CMI to BIDS during the third Agreement**

Name	Period	Research issue	Output as of Aug. 97*
Karin Ask	30 Jan. - 16 Feb. Oct. - Dec. 96	Sustainability of Grameen Bank projects	Working paper in progress
Steinar Askvik	29 Nov. - 18 Dec. 93 17 Jan. - 18 March 94 Nov. - Dec. 96	Public administration issues in the education sector in Bangladesh	Alam and Askvik (1994), (1995)
Turid Bøe	Nov. 96	Private universities in Bangladesh	Working paper in progress
Tor Halvorsen	Oct. 1994	Higher education in Bangladesh	
Siegfried Pausewang	2 March -2 Apr. 94	Path to sustainable development in rural Bangladesh	Memo outlining various research issues
Svein Skarheim	Dec. 94 - Jan. 95	Human rights issues in population programmes	Skarheim (1996)
Arne Wiig	7 Oct.- 18 Nov. 93 30 Jan. - 18 Feb. 94	Garment industry strategies	Wiig (1995)

\* See full bibliographic references in the References section, p. 89.

Note: the above table excludes short trips to Bangladesh by CMI staff, in the connection with other travel to the region as well as the visit to Bangladesh by Ask, Andersen, Askvik, Miranda, Sørbo and Wiig, primarily to attend the Joint Seminar but also to conduct other substantive and administrative business.

<sup>64</sup> Presently Associate Professor at the Department of Public Administration, University of Bergen.

### **6.3.2 Research collaboration**

The research collaboration between Dr. Mahmudul Alam and Dr. Steinar Askvik started early in the project period. Both researchers were interested in working on the education sector, but from different disciplinary angles (economics for Dr. Alam and public administration for Dr. Askvik). They collaborated during Dr. Alam's stays in Bergen and Dr. Askvik's stays in Bangladesh. Dr. Mahmudul Alam and Dr. Steinar Askvik jointly authored a paper on "Sustainable development and planned institution building in primary education in Bangladesh" and made joint presentations at various seminars in Norway, the Netherlands and Bangladesh.

The paper argues that without a considerable strengthening of the education system in general, and primary education in particular, it is impossible to imagine any process of change compatible with sustainable development. To develop universal primary education, the education system needs to be institutionalised. This implies that the system should receive external support and legitimacy from its environment (parents and students, political parties, religious groups, teachers, etc.). It also implies that the system must be able to internally structure and manage the use of its resources in an effective manner. Presently neither of these conditions are satisfactorily met. The paper discusses how the current institution-building process in primary education can gain further momentum, arguing that there is need for more organisational experimentation, as pioneered by NGOs such as BRAC.

In early 1997 Dr. Askvik and Dr. Alam expressed intention to continue their collaboration beyond the term of the Agreement, in particular to write a working paper on the primary school as an institution in Bangladesh.

Karin Ask and Ayesha Banu also have established a collaboration around Grameen Bank related issues. This collaboration started with the Grameen Bank study described hereafter and included discussions on the design of the questionnaire as well as selection and supervision of research assistants. In the context of the follow-up project described above, Ask and Banu plan to write a joint article.

#### **The Grameen Bank study**

In 1994, NORAD commissioned CMI to undertake a study of Grameen Bank loan repayments. Given its privileged relationship with BIDS, CMI was able to tap into BIDS's personnel and logistical resources for data collection, which was a clear advantage for the study. As is sometimes the case with evaluation work, the body of data collected on that occasion appeared to offer a number of research challenges deserving a more thorough analysis than was originally envisaged in the context of the evaluation. This analytical effort however exceeded the relatively modest resources allocated by NORAD for the evaluation. The Agreement made it possible to involve Karin Ask, Arne Wiig and Alf-Morten Jerve in the elaboration of the report<sup>65</sup>; subsequently, on the basis of the data, Ask produced a paper for presentation at the Joint Seminar (see Annex 3). The Agreement also supported the later collaborative efforts between Ayesha Banu and Karin Ask regarding the follow-up to the study.

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<sup>65</sup> Ask, Sigvaldsen and Wiig, *Repayments of Old Loans through New Loans. Is "Cross-financing" a Serious Problem for the Grameen Bank?* Bergen: CMI, 1995.

### **6.3.3 Research dissemination: The Joint Seminar**

The main research dissemination activity was the joint seminar titled "Planning for Sustainable Development in Bangladesh". Initially scheduled to take place sometime in 1994, it was finally held on 24-25 September 1996. The seminar was structured in 8 sessions over two days. The following 19 papers were presented: "Sustainable development: principles, issues and constraints" and "Resource degradation and sustainable development in Bangladesh: some preliminary estimates", both by M. Assaduzzaman; "Measuring costs of natural resources depreciation and environmental degradation: limitations of approach and applicability in Bangladesh" by F. Akter; "Bangladesh population issues in the post-ICPD era" by A. Miranda; "Bangladesh health and population policy: sustainability implications" by M.R. Khan; "Poverty, efficiency of resource use and sustainability in Bangladesh agriculture" by R.I. Rahman.; "Coping strategies of the urban poor and sustainable urban development", by R. Afsar; "Women and children in Bangladesh: a study in nutritional and health profile and their environmental correlates", by M.A. Mannan; "Biotechnology: some issues and applications in Bangladesh agriculture" by M.A. Quasem and A. Ghafur; "Women as water resource managers: the case of female irrigation groups in Bangladesh" by S. Mahmud and B. van Koppen; "Branding strategies in the market for clothing", by Arne Wiig; "Skill formation and vocational training: present status and future needs" by C. Anwaruzzaman; "Gender dimensions of credit programs: implications for sustainability", by Karin Ask; "Sustainable development and planned institution building in the primary education subsector in Bangladesh" by S. Askvik and M Alam; "Policy instruments for sustainable development", by M. Assaduzzaman and Md. Kamar Ali; "Inland fisheries management: institutions and policies for sustainable management", by K.A. Toufiq; "Resource management at the local level: a key to sustainable development", by S.A.L. Reza; and "Industrial pollution control in Bangladesh: the state of affairs and emerging issues" by D. Bhattacharya and Md. Kamar Ali.

The seminar was opened by the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina Wazed - with several ministers and ministry secretaries among the audience - and received wide coverage in the press and television<sup>66</sup>. BIDS succeeded in attracting a wide cross-section of policy makers, aid-agency representatives, academics and environmental activists and enlisting their active participation as chairpersons and discussants.

BIDS subsequently hired an external editor (Prof. S.A. Hye of the Economics Department of Economics, Jahangirnagar University) for the purpose of editing the proceedings of the seminar with a view to publication in book form by a commercial publisher in Bangladesh. That work was still in progress by mid-1997.

Other research dissemination activities included the seminars which most visiting scholars held at their respective host institution.

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<sup>66</sup> The Norwegian authorities were represented by a First Secretary from the Embassy: the apparent mismatch in the levels of representation was widely noted in negative terms and generated considerable speculation.

Dr. Alam and Dr. Askvik travelled together to the Fourth Workshop of the European Network of Bangladesh Studies, Woudschoten (near Amsterdam), August 1994, to present their joint paper on "Sustainable development and planned institution building in primary education in Bangladesh".

#### **6.3.4 Post-graduate scholarships**

The Agreement<sup>67</sup> provided NOK 437,000 for scholarships for postgraduate studies (one year MA programme) abroad for two researchers from BIDS "preferably at relevant training institutions in the region". The budget line was subsequently increased to NOK 537,000 and the amount was disbursed directly from NORAD to BIDS on 16 August 1994. This component of the agreement was entirely managed by BIDS. According to the information provided by BIDS in May 1997, it benefited two female doctoral candidates:

Ms. Fahmida Akter, who attended University College, London for her Ph.D. degree, was granted approximately USD 26,000 in partial support over the period October 1992 to May 1995;

Ms. Rita Afsar, who attended the University of Adelaide, Australia for her Ph.D., was granted an amount of approximately USD 40,100 in partial support over the period June 1992 to January 1996.

#### **6.3.5 Library Cooperation**

##### **Support for the BIDS Library**

The Agreement provided funds (initially NOK 253,000) for books and periodicals to the BIDS library. The entire amount was disbursed early in the Agreement period and placed in a Library Endowment Fund established by BIDS to ensure continuity in the procurement of periodicals.

BIDS reports the following in a communication dated 22 May 1997: "BIDS received an Endowment Fund of USD 250,000 from the Ford Foundation to which another USD 152,000 was added overtime. Of the latter, USD 18,746 was from DERAP and USD 31,936 from NORAD. All these monies are kept in the Sonali bank, London. The initial endowment from the Ford Foundation has been lost due to the collapse of the BCCI where it was deposited. Very recently, US 78,209 has been recovered. The total endowment fund now stands at USD 230,808"

The BIDS library felt an increasing need to equip itself with electronic bibliographies on CD-ROM, which have become quite common in research libraries in most countries. Such bibliographies represent a heavy investment and a long term financial commitment, since they are distributed on a subscription basis. After considering various alternatives, BIDS decided to give priority to a 5-year subscription to one particular bibliographic collection (Econ Lit), including a cumulative database since 1969. NOK 44,731 were allocated for this purpose from savings in other budget lines.

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<sup>67</sup> Annex I, *Schedule*, paras 2 and 3.

Towards the end of the Agreement period, BIDS circulated a plan for the computerisation of the library. The costs of this undertaking could not be accommodated within the Agreement in any significant way, but - with the concurrence of NORAD - it was decided to grant the residual amount of NOK 4,800 to BIDS as a contribution for this purpose.

#### Strengthening the Bangladesh holdings at the CMI library

The CMI library has the largest collection of Bangladesh documents in Scandinavia and one of the largest in Europe. The Agreement enabled the CMI Library to continue expanding its holdings of Bangladesh - now comprising some 2,000 titles, of which some 1,800 have been entered in the computerised catalogue. A standing order arrangement was made with Bangladesh University Press, the leading social science publisher in Bangladesh, for automatic acquisition of their books.

During the visit of the BIDS Chief Librarian, Ms. Akthen to CMI in July 1992, the agreement of collaboration between the chief librarians of both institutions originally signed in 1982 was reaffirmed. It stipulated inter alia that the BIDS head librarian would supply the CMI library with "copies of all mimeographed documents published in Bangladesh which come to the attention of the BIDS library and which are of interest to the CMI library", "forthcoming Government publications issued in Bangladesh which would be of interest to the CMI library" and "commercially published books in Bangladesh on matters concerning Bangladesh within the subject fields of economics, politics, demography, agriculture, rural development, anthropology and related subjects". The intention was that the BIDS library would be able to act autonomously as a local agent for the procurement of relevant literature on behalf of the CMI library. That expectation was not met, although the BIDS library was generally very helpful in procuring documents on the basis of specific requests from the CMI library.

#### Librarians' visits and seminars

During the period of the Agreement, there were two visits by the CMI chief librarian to BIDS and one visit by the current BIDS Library Chief to CMI.

*Ms. Nilufar Akhter*, now BIDS Library Chief, visited CMI for about one month in June-July 1992, during which she also visited libraries of relevant institutions in Oslo (NORAD, Norwegian Government Library, NUPI, United Nations Information Office, Institute of Human Rights), Stockholm (SIDA and SAREC), Copenhagen (CDR, MS, DANIDA, NIAS). During the visits to other libraries, she was accompanied by one of CMI's librarians. The main objective of the visit and study tour was to familiarise the BIDS librarian with computerised library systems and establish contacts that would facilitate her professional networking with relevant institutions in Scandinavia. The trip was financed by residual resources from phase II of the Agreement, following the discussions between CMI and BIDS held in Dhaka in October 1991.

*Ms. Kirsti Hagen Andersen*, CMI Chief Librarian, visited BIDS on two occasions - in February 1993 and in September 1996. The visits had multiple purposes: to discuss the

modalities for cooperation between the CMI and BIDS libraries; to visit various relevant libraries, government offices and other institutions in Dhaka, with a view to facilitate future professional contacts and documentation acquisition; to purchase books and documents on Bangladesh for the CMI library. On both occasions, CMI suggested that BIDS take advantage of Ms. Andersen's presence in Bangladesh and organised seminars for librarians and others concerned with research information and documentation issues. Such opportunities are rare in Bangladesh and the seminars, organised by BIDS, were well attended and successful.

- The 1993 Seminar (held at BIDS on 14-15 February) was titled "The Information System in Bangladesh". A paper by Ms. Andersen (who was then Convenor of the EADI<sup>68</sup> Working Group on Information and Documentation) assessed the "Contributions of EADI to global development research: how it works for research institutes in Europe and how it could work for Bangladesh". Another paper by Dr. Syed A. Samad, Executive Secretary of ADIPA (the Asian equivalent of EADI) presented a regional initiative called the "International Development Information Network", outlining its objectives, functions and role in the development process in South Asia. A paper by Mr. Shamsul Islam Khan, General Secretary of the Library Association of Bangladesh, highlighted "The information needs and literature support for research and development activities in Bangladesh: a policy perspective". Mr. Abdul Gafur Dewan, Acting Librarian of the Bangladesh Agricultural University, presented a paper on "Library resource sharing in development sciences in Bangladesh". Ms. Nilufar Akhter made a presentation on the Development Information Network in Bangladesh. The seminar was attended by 42 participants representing 28 organisations from Dhaka, Comilla and Mymensingh. The report from the seminar was published in 1996.
- The second seminar took place on 25 September 1996, and ran parallel to the seminar on Sustainable Development in Bangladesh, which marked the conclusion of phase III of the Agreement. The theme this time was "The use of electronic systems in network development and library services", focusing on library networking, use of Internet and e-mail in libraries in Bangladesh. The seminar was attended by about 50 librarians representing university libraries and special libraries. Ms. Andersen presented a paper titled "The librarian in the electronic age", which is due to be published in a forthcoming issue of *The Eastern Librarian*, the journal of the Library Association of Bangladesh.

### **6.3.6 Coordination and management**

#### **The institutional context**

BIDS experienced severe leadership difficulties during the period of implementation of the present Agreement. Following the departure of the Director General, Dr. Mahbub Hussain at the end of 1991, Dr. M.R. Khan was appointed Acting Director General. His formal tenure was short (he resigned in May 1992) but he accepted to continue discharging his responsibilities until a successor was found. This process took more than a year. Finally, in June 1993, Dr. S.A.L. Reza, Professor at the Department of Economics of Dhaka University, was appointed by the Government as Director General of BIDS for a three-year period. The long interim period and the conflicts involved in the succession process were deeply divisive and self-destructive<sup>69</sup> and unrest continued for several months after Dr. Reza's appointment. The relationship

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<sup>68</sup> European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes.

<sup>69</sup> The extraordinary circumstances of this situation were reflected in Dr. Khan's letter of 12 June 1993 introducing his successor, where he wrote: "I wish and hope that you would extend all possible help and cooperation to Professor Reza. And may I request you to kindly guard yourself against mispropaganda of the vested interest group within BIDS and their accomplice outside."



between BIDS and the Government became rather strained. During this period, BIDS also lost the support of the Ford Foundation, which together with NORAD had been one of the main sources of non-project (core) hard currency funding. At the end his term in June 1996, Dr. Reza returned to Dhaka University and was succeeded by Mr. Abu Abdullah. Although Mr. Abdullah appeared to enjoy more support from the staff than his predecessors during this period, he has inherited an institution with diminished resources, whose activities are to a larger extent dominated by short-term commissioned projects and individual consultancies. It appears that BIDS now enjoys the confidence of both the Minister for Planning and the Ministry's Secretary in the government issued from the 1996 election. Nevertheless, the combined effect of leadership problems and reduced resources has limited BIDS capacity to develop long term research strategies and to take autonomous initiatives for the implementation of such strategies.

### Coordination

The Agreement was coordinated at BIDS by Dr. Abdul Ghafur until his retirement in 1995, when he was replaced by Dr. M. Asaduzzaman. At CMI the Agreement was coordinated by Dr. A. Miranda until July 1992 and again from October 1995 to the end of the project. During the period July 1992-October 1995 the Agreement was coordinated by Dr. S. Askvik. Dr. Miranda visited BIDS in October 1991 and September 1995 (in connection with other travel in the region) to review progress of implementation and discuss planned activities, including substantive discussions on the joint research programme and the BIDS-CMI concluding seminar.

The main responsibility for the organisation of the Joint Seminar fell upon Dr. Asaduzzaman, as the seminar was hosted this time by BIDS in Dhaka (the concluding Joint Seminar under the previous phase was hosted by CMI in Bergen).

In substantive terms, the main challenge of coordination during this phase of the agreement was to strengthen research collaboration - particularly, joint research - between the two institutions, a need that was clearly felt by all. As BIDS recognised<sup>70</sup> that it would take time to work out a strategy for this, CMI took the lead and suggested<sup>71</sup> that the joint efforts be applied to researching the question "What does sustainable development mean to Bangladesh". A more detailed presentation of the proposal was made during Dr. Miranda's visit to BIDS in October 1991 and Dr. Miranda was given the mandate to prepare a draft Approach Paper, which was submitted to BIDS<sup>72</sup> in June 1992.

The draft Approach Paper took as its point of departure the three requisites that seemed necessary for a collaborative endeavour of this nature: it should be a topic of evident public interest; it should be broad enough to accommodate contributions from various disciplines; and it should be social science oriented, in order to take full advantage of the competence of BIDS and CMI as development research institutions. Keeping in mind the appreciable economic growth that had taken place in Bangladesh

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<sup>70</sup> Letter from Dr. Ghafur to Arne Tostensen dated 20.9.91.

<sup>71</sup> Letter from Arne Tostensen to Dr. Mahbub Hossain dated 25.9.91.

<sup>72</sup> *Is There a Path to Sustainable Development in Bangladesh? A Proposal for a Multidisciplinary Research Programme under the BIDS-CMI Cooperation Agreement*, Draft, 19 June 1992.

in the 80s, and the cautious optimism that was slowly spreading about the future of the country, CMI felt that it would be appropriate to revisit the theme of the development prospects of Bangladesh, shifting perspectives from the traditional angle of survival to the angle of sustainability. Four areas of research were singled out: (i) population trends; (ii) socio-economic and political adjustment to resource scarcity; (iii) socio-economic and political preconditions for sustainable development; (iv) Bangladesh and the international community in the eventuality of a worst-scenario development. CMI felt that the proposed focus areas reflected the traditional areas of competence of BIDS and/or DERAP, and made room for a reasonably extensive and varied social science account of the issues of sustainable development in Bangladesh. CMI therefore suggested that if the proposed framework was acceptable to BIDS, the task ahead would be to develop the specific projects that would be carried out in each of the four clusters: what was to be researched, which institution would take responsibility for it, who would be assigned to it, when it would be done and how much of its the costs would be charged to the Agreement.

Both institutions subsequently experienced difficulties with the follow-up and implementation of the programme. First, BIDS did not react to CMI's proposal, and when it finally did, in February 1993, it was in the form of a rather theoretical paper on the issue of sustainability. In it, BIDS pointed at "the need for understanding sustainability as a broader concept, not simply as the sustainability of the natural resource base of the development process but also including the sustainability of other processes which impinge on development process and thus directly or indirectly interact with the natural resource base in determining the growth path of the economy".<sup>73</sup> In conclusion, BIDS suggested a long list of titles for possible studies, such as "Resource scarcity and sustainability: concepts and measurements in an open economy", "Property rights and the environment", "Soil and land degradation: economic and social evaluation of environmental costs" or "Policies for sustainable development". BIDS admitted that not all of these studies might possibly be completed within two years and suggested that CMI prioritize one or two themes to be taken up as quickly as possible.

Then it was CMI's turn to face difficulties in following up on BIDS's proposals; the titles offered by BIDS, however inspiring, still needed to be articulated as research projects and translated into operational terms (staff, resources, calendar, etc...) Part of the difficulties at CMI had to do with the personnel situation: the coordinator of the BIDS-CMI Agreement, Armino Miranda, had left on a long-term assignment overseas and his successor had fallen ill. But CMI's task was in no way made easier by BIDS's response - "in the interest of economy and manageability, CMI would prefer to adopt a more restrictive approach in terms of actual work to be carried out".<sup>74</sup>

Arne Tostensen, then CMI Director, visited Bangladesh on 24-28 January 1994 for a broad review of the collaboration between the two institutions. The discussions with BIDS included the following topics: Revision of plan of operations; revision of budget;

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<sup>73</sup> *BIDS-CMI Research Collaboration on Sustainable Development: A Revised Proposal*. (Attachment to letter from Dr. Ghafur, BIDS's Director General a.i. to Mr. Arne Tostensen, dated 7 February 1993), p. 1.

<sup>74</sup> Letter from Mr. Arne Tostensen to Dr. Abdul Ghafur, dated 7 November 1993.

exchange of researchers; planning of joint seminar; joint research projects; the internal situation at BIDS and its implications for the implementation of the Agreement. Tostensen also held discussions with the NORAD office in Dhaka<sup>75</sup>, focusing particularly on a major revision of the work plan, calendar and budget for the further implementation of the Agreement. As previously indicated, one of the decisions taken then was to drop the idea of a joint research programme, settling instead for more modest, individual collaborative efforts. Dr. Siegfried Pausewang from CMI visited Bangladesh in 1994, with the objective of initiating some joint research on sustainability in agriculture, but he could not come to agreement with BIDS on the focus of the research and his efforts stopped there.

The unstable political situation in Bangladesh during 1995 and up to the elections in 1996 made it difficult to proceed with collaborative activities, affecting specifically the CMI-researchers' plans for field work in Bangladesh and the holding of the Joint Seminar. A considerable amount of planning and coordination efforts were lost due to the repeated postponement of activities in Bangladesh.

Dr. Gunnar Sjørbo, who succeeded Mr. Arne Tostensen in 1994 as Director of CMI, visited Bangladesh in connection with the Joint Seminar, and engaged the BIDS leadership and the Norwegian Embassy in discussions about the past record and the future of the collaborative agreement. Both BIDS and CMI expressed the desire to continue their collaboration, but in the absence of concrete prospects for funding in the immediate future, the discussion of possible modalities and content of an eventual collaboration was put off indefinitely.

None of the four BIDS directors who succeeded Prof. Sobhan (Dr. Mahbub Hossain, Dr. Khan, Dr. Reza and Mr. Abdullah) visited CMI during phase III of the Agreement.

The budget for the third phase of the Agreement included an administration fee of NOK 5,000 per month per institution. With respect to CMI, this turned out to be largely out of proportion with the amount of time actually spent in administrative and substantive coordination and management<sup>76</sup> and the fact that the Agreement did not provide for any institutional overheads. It is possible that CMI initially underestimated the administrative workload related to the agreement; but it is also likely that NORAD would not have consented to pay a much higher administration fee, especially if CMI continued to insist that BIDS should get an equal amount. On the other hand, not sharing equally - or even (as the bilateral agreement implicitly stipulated) not sharing at all - would raise equally problematic issues in the relationship between the two institutions.

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<sup>75</sup> Tore Toreng, Resident Representative, Rolv Hultin, Acting Resident Representative and Reidar Kvam, Senior Programme Officer.

<sup>76</sup> For example, CMI time-sheets data show that the CMI co-ordinator spent a total of 173 hours in 1996 on activities related to the Agreement, of which only less than one third were partly refundable under the terms of the Agreement.

## 6.4 Financial implementation

Table 9 below summarizes the project's financial data, distinguishing between the components managed and accounted for by CMI (for its part of the activities or on behalf of BIDS) and those managed by BIDS.

**Table 11. BIDS-CMI Collaboration Agreement, phase III**

	Total allocation phase III, Rev. 21.10.94	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	Allocat. less expendit.
<b>Budget lines managed by CMI</b>								
Researchers from CMI to BIDS	1,074,000	32,768		156,421	342,910	272,191	250,054	19,656
Researchers from BIDS to CMI	481,000		90,533		238,927	120,536	39,540	(8,536)
Joint research projects	89,903				22,886	4,079		62,938
Research seminar	72,000						149,648	(77,648)
Books to CMI	31,000		2,127	6,668	12,751	2,942	11,308	(4,796)
Librarian's visit to BIDS	21,024			21,024				0
Administration fee to CMI	199,000	35,000	60,000	60,000	30,000	14,000		0
Administrative travel to Bangladesh	32,000				33,725			(1,725)
Contingencies	35,194			9,150				26,044
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,035,121</b>	<b>67,768</b>	<b>152,660</b>	<b>253,263</b>	<b>681,199</b>	<b>413,748</b>	<b>450,550</b>	<b>15,933</b>
<b>Budget lines managed by BIDS</b>								
Joint research projects	89,903					89,903		0
Research seminar	82,000					82,000	35,093	(35,093)
Books to BIDS	261,976		253,000				49,621	(40,645)
Administration fee to BIDS	214,000	35,000	76,000				103,000	0
Scholarships	537,000				537,000			0
Advanced training programme	18,000		18,000					0
Contingencies								0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,202,879</b>	<b>35,000</b>	<b>347,000</b>		<b>537,000</b>	<b>171,903</b>	<b>187,714</b>	<b>(75,738)</b>
<b>Finance</b>								
Balance from Phase II					59,805			
Paid by NORAD to CMI		0	245,000	0	997,691	266,142	535,264	
Paid by NORAD to BIDS		0	382,000	0	537,000	171,903	103,000	
<b>Whole project</b>								
Total expenditure	3,297,805	102,768	499,660	253,263	1,218,199	585,651	638,264	
Total finance	3,297,805	0	627,000	0	1,594,496	438,045	638,264	

## 6.5 Internal evaluation of the third Agreement

In the final project report drafted by CMI for submission to NORAD<sup>77</sup>, an attempt was made to assess the strong and weak points of the third Agreement. The following assessment was shared with BIDS, which generally concurred with it.

### 6.5.1 Exchange of scholars

Strong points:

- Provided senior researchers at BIDS an opportunity to pursue their research projects in a focused environment, with good documentation and technical facilities.

<sup>77</sup> Report on the BIDS-CMI Collaboration Agreement, phase III (1991-1996). Bergen: May 1997.

- The Agreement has contributed to the continued accumulation of research experience on Bangladesh development issues at CMI, through the frequent presence of Bangladesh researchers at CMI, the maintenance of professional networks and the provision of opportunities to travel between the two institutions as required by one's research.
- Specifically, the Agreement has provided (mostly) junior researchers at CMI an opportunity to conduct research in Bangladesh (often their first exposure to research in a developing country environment), offering crucial support in the selection of research assistants and other logistical and technical aspects of data collection operations. BIDS has acted as a guarantor of CMI's integrity and research independence, which has facilitated inter alia immigration and research permit formalities as well as access to government officials and other informants.
- In summary, both institutions have acted as support service providers to one another, and although there could be scope for improvement in the quality and timeliness of the services rendered, this aspect of the collaboration was crucial for the work of the researchers involved.

#### Weak points

- Weak linkage between the interests of most guest researchers and those of the staff of the institution, leading to social and professional isolation.
- Insufficient visibility of the output in the form of publishable documents.
- Lack of gender balance in the selection by BIDS of researchers benefiting from the opportunity to travel to CMI.<sup>78</sup>

#### **6.5.2 Research Cooperation**

A clear achievement of the agreement has been the long term research cooperation relationship established between Dr. M. Alam and Dr. S. Askvik, which has resulted in several outputs over the years. But this is a modest achievement in relation to the initial ambition of fostering a multidisciplinary joint research programme: although the focus of their work (the education sector in Bangladesh) is not narrow, the fact that it was not complemented by co-operative research efforts on other themes makes it seem unbalanced.

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<sup>78</sup> At some point it was thought that the gender imbalance was due to the alleged fact that Bangladeshi women were less inclined than men to be away from their families for long periods. Following the discussions between BIDS, CMI and DERAP in January 1994, it was agreed that "in order to be able to select more women among BIDS staff to go to CMI it would be advisable to divide the total time available into shorter periods, e.g. 2-3 months instead of the stipulated half-year periods". (*BIDS-CMI Cooperation Agreement, Phase III. Revised Work Plan, Time Schedule and Budget 1994-95*. Bergen, 8 February 1994). This flexibility was implemented, but it had no effect on the gender imbalance.

## ***Library Cooperation***

### **Strong points**

- The Agreement has transferred a substantial amount of financial resources to the BIDS Library, aimed at ensuring continuity in its acquisitions (contribution to the library endowment fund) and at strengthening the quality of its services (multi-year subscription to a key electronic bibliography).
- The Agreement has made it possible for CMI to continue expanding its comprehensive holdings on Bangladesh literature and to consolidate its position as the main documentation resource on Bangladesh for Scandinavian researchers. The BIDS library was very helpful in assisting with the procurement of books and documents, on the basis of specific requests from CMI.
- The library seminars - facilitated and partly funded by the Agreement - helped to enhance the presence of the BIDS library as a centre of competence on research information and documentation in Bangladesh, and contributed to the updating/strengthening of the skills of librarians from numerous institutions in Bangladesh who participated in those seminars.

### **Weak point**

- The BIDS library failed to meet the expectation that it would be able to acquire documentation for the CMI library, systematically and on the basis of own judgement about the relevance of the documentation.

### ***6.5.4 Coordination and management***

- BIDS has been reactive rather than proactive in the search for joint substantive activities.
- Lack of transparency<sup>79</sup> - no reporting by BIDS on its share of the agreement (scholarships, operation of the library endowment fund).
- Insufficient resources allocated to the management and coordination of the project.

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<sup>79</sup> In their comments to the draft project report (e-mail from Dr. Asaduzzaman dated 22 May 1997), BIDS objected to CMI's perception in this respect, arguing that "[they did] not know whether BIDS was supposed to report to any monitoring authority" and providing financial information about the Scholarships' and Library Fund's components. CMI found the information unsatisfactory and - as its requests for clarification remained unanswered - CMI decided to stand by its initial assertion.

## ***Chapter 7: Overall assessment and lessons for the future***

The formula for the BIDS-CMI collaborative agreement was found at a time when both institutions were endowed with relatively large core grants, giving them sufficient flexibility to engage in developing long term research interests and - as far as CMI is concerned - building up country specific competence. BIDS privileged position as an autonomous research institution under the aegis of the Planning Ministry as well as the impressive amount of human and technical resources that it commanded made it the unquestionable partner of choice for development research in Bangladesh - and perhaps even beyond Bangladesh.

The particular bond that was established between BIDS and CMI was further strengthened by links of personal sympathy and intellectual admiration among the older generation of development experts who had shaped both institutions.

Over time, circumstances within the institutions and in their political environments changed greatly: in addition to shift of generations and key personnel changes, the funding situation made both institutions essentially dependent on commissioned work. BIDS experienced serious institutional difficulties, as well as strains in its relations with the authorities in Bangladesh, while in Norway attention shifted increasingly away from South Asia and towards Africa. The political unrest that prevailed in Bangladesh in recent years has also cast an additional cloud over collaborative efforts. Moreover, at CMI, most of the non-commissioned research activity became tied to multi-year doctoral dissertation projects. Had many of these dissertations focused on Bangladesh, the Agreement would to a greater extent have served its purpose and the long term professional commitment of CMI researchers to Bangladesh would have been secured. But out of the dozens of such projects going on during the 1978-96 period, only one (Arne Wiig's thesis) made use of the financial resources offered by the Agreement. It is likely that the CMI leadership could have done more to ensure that Bangladesh research stayed in focus, especially if BIDS also had played a more helpful role in challenging and supporting CMI's commitment.

From the point of view of what the authorities of both countries considered to be the objective of the Agreement - namely, to contribute to institution and competence building at BIDS - the project was reasonably successful. Viewed as a mechanism for transfer of resources to Bangladesh, the Agreement has much to show for itself. For instance, it helped to bring BIDS into the computer age, providing resources for the hardware and the necessary technical assistance. It made it possible for BIDS to finance the training abroad of 4 of its staff members (three MA and one PhD). It provided a valued opportunity for 6 senior staff members to a reasonable amount of time in Norway, in favourable conditions to complete their research projects: it went beyond a simple transfer of resources, but it had of course an economic incentive dimension. Library cooperation helped to keep BIDS's bookshelves well supplied with current books and periodicals on a sustainable basis, particularly through the Endowment facility. In addition, library cooperation also included an element of capacity building, through the organisation of study tours for librarians and of technical seminars.

But there was a great degree of asymmetry in the relationship. One aspect of this asymmetry was that the burden of substantive design, planning and management fell almost entirely upon CMI, with BIDS confining itself to a passive position, at best reacting timely, but never taking the lead. BIDS rarely if ever volunteered any information about its finances, management, work programmes and institutional development strategies - and CMI was apparently too polite to ask. Although the original intention of BIDS and CMI was to cement a partnership of equals, the relationship appears to have evolved into more of a patron-client relationship, with all the constraints it places on the flow of information, initiative-taking and self-appraisal. NORAD's insistence on seeing the Agreement primarily as an aid project, a vehicle for institution building in - and resource transfer to - Bangladesh may have further reinforced this trend.

CMI's commitment to research in Bangladesh comes undoubtedly under unfavourable light in our review of past experience: while BIDS fulfilled its quotas of exchange of scholars during the last two Agreements, sending senior researchers to CMI for a total of 36 months, CMI fell drastically short of its quota by about one half (only some 18 man-months were spent in total by CMI researchers in Bangladesh throughout the three phases of the Agreement). Visits by CMI staff to Bangladesh tended to be short and, judging from the published output, not always visibly productive. Research collaboration was limited and never reached the form of a joint research programme. And, above all, research efforts - whether collaborative or individual - have seldom resulted in output of indisputable quality, or at least of publishable grade.

While the Norwegian authorities occasionally benefited from the pool of competence on Bangladesh developed at CMI and from CMI's access to BIDS's human and institutional resources, the linkage of research collaboration to the broader development assistance efforts by NORAD in Bangladesh never got to the point where a mutually stimulating and sustained substantive cooperation could be established. Arguably, some of the interest of the BIDS-CMI collaboration rests on what is made of it in the context of the broader aid relationship between Norway and Bangladesh. Obviously, there must have been needs for knowledge, insight, imagination and documentation that could have been met by the CMI-BIDS partnership, to the greater benefit of all parties concerned. But NORAD had difficulty in finding a strategic role for itself in the BIDS-CMI collaboration - something more productive than the excruciating nit-picking by headquarters in the 1970s and early 1980s, or the benign indifference of the local office most of the time thereafter.

As an attempt to "depersonalise" and institutionalise research collaboration, the experience of the BIDS-CMI agreement is somewhat mixed and inconclusive. In whatever context it takes place, successful research collaboration depends on a good chemistry between the individuals involved - a requisite that is exceedingly difficult to programme. Then there is the question of timing and momentum: in the BIDS-CMI case, it took not only months but literally years from vision to action - from the time when researchers felt the inspiration to cooperate on a sustained basis to the time when



the authorities of both countries agreed that they could do so<sup>80</sup>. By the time all the instruments had been signed and the resources made available, momentum had been lost, circumstances had changed, people had moved on.

The discussions between BIDS and CMI about the possible forms of cooperation in the future are still at a very preliminary stage. BIDS's efforts at reform and institutional development under its new leadership deserve support, at a minimum under the form of a continued transfer of resources for non-commissioned research, doctoral and post-doctoral training and library services. Library cooperation between the two institutions has proved fruitful and could continue to include some activities aiming at technical capacity building (seminars, study tours, exchange of librarians). CMI's library could use additional resources earmarked for the continued expansion of its holdings in Bangladesh, which are clearly a national resource. The research cooperation element would need to be re-thought and re-scaled (possibly scaled down, in light of past experience). Particular attention would have to be given to the financial underpinnings of research cooperation: it is no longer feasible for either institution to engage in exchange of scholars and research collaboration without adequate overhead compensation. Finally, a more substantial commitment to mutual cooperation would have to be made by the leadership of both institutions, particularly with regard to (1) regular flow of strategic information between the two institutions; (2) careful planning of activities in the context of the overall resources of the institution; (3) effective monitoring of the quantity and quality of output; (4) frank assessment of the difficulties encountered in the implementation of the agreement; and (5) proactive use of the BIDS-CMI cooperation agreement in the context of project acquisition and project development.

If those are the requisites for successful collaboration within the framework of a cooperation agreement, past experience suggests that there is little ground for optimism; most likely, it would continue to be too difficult for CMI and BIDS to act in concert and in a timely fashion to make it happen. Yet, the lesson of experience is not that the two institutes should abandon cooperation; it would be very regrettable for all parties concerned, including the wider development community in Norway, if the strategic investment that was made over the last twenty years was simply written-off and abandoned. (Bangladesh is, if nothing else, the eighth largest country on earth in terms of population, posing a long term development challenge of tremendous proportions; arguably, it will always be of interest and relevance to Norway that dependable channels for mutual insight and cooperation exist between the two countries.) What the review of the past collaboration between the two institutes suggests is that a change of approach is needed: instead of drawing up an ambitious frame first, and then trying to fill it with content, it might be more effective to identify and put together a few building blocks - concrete projects (which could be NORAD-commissioned research projects of a more or less applied nature) on which the two Institutes would be asked to collaborate, thereby creating opportunities for interaction and "chemistry" between individuals to develop. Adequate "seed money" should also be made available to enable the proper administrative and substantive steering of the

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<sup>80</sup> The status of the BIDS-CMI collaboration as a component of the bilateral development cooperation programme (Country Programme) may have had some benefits, but it also had the serious disadvantage of complicating the political and bureaucratic negotiation process in Bangladesh.

process. Hopefully, once a number of such building blocks had been assembled, a more solid basis for cooperation would be established.

NORAD would be required to play a strategic role to assist this process; NORAD's need for research has been amply acknowledged in general terms, but not in the context of the BIDS-CMI Agreement. If a continued BIDS-CMI relationship is of any value to the Norwegian development cooperation activities, it is now time to reflect on past experience and support a reorientation of the research collaboration framework.

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**ANNEXES:**  
**Agreements, contracts and memoranda**  
**governing BIDS-CMI collaboration**

Overview:

- Annex 1: Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (CMI/DERAP), dated July 1977.
- Annex 2: Programme for Cooperation Between BIDS and CMI/DERAP 1978 & 1979, dated 10 August 1978.
- Annex 3: Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh concerning financial assistance to a programme for research cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme, dated 31 December 1980.
- Annex 4: Contract between the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (DERAP) regarding financial assistance from NORAD to a Programme for research cooperation between DERAP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), dated 9 February 1981.
- Annex 5: Memorandum of Understanding on a proposal for a programme of technical assistance, and research cooperation between BIDS and DERAP, dated 7 June 1984.
- Annex 6: Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh concerning Financial Assistance to a Programme for Research Cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme, dated 16 October 1986.
- Annex 7: Contract Between the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (DERAP) regarding financial assistance from NORAD to a Programme for research cooperation between DERAP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), dated 7 and 18 May 1987.
- Annex 8: Agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh concerning financial assistance to a Programme for Research Cooperation between Bangladesh institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme, dated 7 June 1991.

Annex 9: Contract between the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (DERAP) regarding financial assistance from NORAD to a Programme for Research Cooperation between DERAP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), dated 18 and 30 April 1991.

## **Annex 1**

Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration  
between  
Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS)  
and  
The Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action  
Programme (CMI/DERAP)

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The Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) is actively endeavouring to extend and broaden its understanding of all aspects of development in an environment which makes it possible to pursue such studies under conditions of intellectual and professional freedom. For some time BIDS has been striving to diversify its professional linkages to foreign research institutions beyond the traditional British and American Universities. Links with Scandinavian countries and professionals are becoming increasingly appreciated in Bangladesh and other Third World countries because of the perceived ideological impartiality in development philosophy and a minimum of vested interests in maintaining the traditional pattern of international relations. BIDS is therefore interested in establishing professional linkages with academic institutions in Scandinavia.

The Chr. Michelsen Institute is established specifically for the purpose of research and other activities focusing on "promotion of tolerance and forbearance between nations and races in religious, social and political life". The Institute considers that improved understanding of all aspects of development issues in Third World is central to this purpose and has therefore established a comprehensive Development Research and Action Programme (DERAP) in which work on the populous South Asian Region plays a major part.

Therefore, BIDS and CMI/DERAP have concluded that it would be of mutual interest to explore ways and means to further extending collaboration between themselves, specifically to establish an indicative framework for such cooperation for an initial period of time. Intensive and wide-ranging, yet informal, collaboration has indeed been going on over period of several years, starting from personal relations between the heads of the two institutions and gradually developing into a more comprehensive and explicitly recognised cooperation, involving inter alia exchange of personnel and joint sponsorship of an international seminar on population and development.

The modalities of collaboration have proved of value to both institutions. Over at least the next year or two the two institutes will seek to continue the ongoing cooperation and in addition to take up other areas of collaboration, in particular:

- exploratory work on a documentation centre at BIDS. This centre might form part of a more extensive scheme to preserve historically valuable documents now gradually being destroyed in various district collectorate libraries;
- exploratory work to develop a full scale data processing unit at BIDS, including work in connection with installation of an appropriate computer for analysing and exploiting the sizeable quantity of primary data currently being generated or foreseen to emanate during the coming years at BIDS;

- exploration of collaborative studies relating to issues on interest to the Third World, including comparative studies of the development experience in South Asian countries, and studies of elements and effects of the New International Economic Order.

It is therefore agreed that BIDS and CMI/DERAP will initially work actively together along the lines indicated above over a period to the end of 1978 and both parties will endeavour to seek the institutional and governmental support and funds necessary to implement this agreement. In the second half of 1978 a full evaluation of the cooperation will be undertaken about prospects and mechanisms for a longer term collaboration.

Bergen/Dhaka in July 1977

For BIDS:  
Monowar Hossain

For CMI/DERAP  
Just Faaland

## Annex 2

### PROGRAMME FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN BIDS AND CMI/DERAP 1978 & 1979

Cooperation in research between BIDS and CMI/DERAP has been going on for a long time, in recent years very actively. In July 1977 the two institutes agreed on a Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration (copy enclosed), which subsequently formed the basis of decisions by appropriate authorities within the Governments of Bangladesh and Norway to underwrite financially a programme of cooperation between the two institutes. This note contains a plan of action for implementation of the programme in 1978 and 1979 and details budgetary requirements and administrative arrangements.

#### I CONTENT AND SCOPE OF COOPERATION

The substantive content of cooperation for 1978 and 1979 has the following four elements:

- A. Research Cooperation
- B. Training
- C. Documentation and library services
- D. E D P development

#### A. Research Cooperation

The cooperative programme for 1978 and 1979 will ensure consolidation and extension of ongoing activities. As hitherto, these activities will include research in demography and rural sociology as well as in economics. The programme is described in the following paragraphs. In the implementation of this programme, specific decisions on research initiatives and on the elaboration of the research programme will be taken in the light of changing research needs and personnel availabilities in the cooperating institutes. Both institutes must retain a degree of flexibility in relation to the programme outlined.

Each institute looks to the other as a channel for wider contact with the research community in Bangladesh and Scandinavia respectively. Thus, the programme of research cooperation may also include scholars not members of either of the two cooperating institutes.

In 1978 two researchers from CMI, (Eirik G. Jansen and A. Miranda) work within BIDS on rural studies and demography in connection with BIDS sponsored research projects, A third member of CMI, (S. Pausewang) may join BIDS for work on rural sociology late in 1978 when both his predecessors will have left and a fourth in mid 1979. Both departing CMI/DERAP members will continue through 1979 the work carried out in Bangladesh in cooperation with colleagues at BIDS: both expect to visit BIDS for one to three months in the course of 1979, and similar visits will be arranged to Bergen for colleagues from BIDS.

In 1978 two scholars from BIDS (A.A. Abdullah and R. Sobhan) worked at CMI/DERAP on studies within the research programme<sup>81</sup>. A third researcher sponsored by BIDS is expected to join CMI/DERAP in late 1978 and a fourth in mid 1979. On completion in 1978 of their respective periods of work with CMI, one of the two present BIDS scholars in Bergen will continue work at BIDS on his current study project through 1979, the other will take up other research tasks.

The research projects currently underway as part of the interchange of scholars between the two institutes are described separately. The cooperative research programme in 1979 for scholars still to be finally identified for exchange will be decided later; it is expected, however that at least one of the two scholars expected to go to BIDS in the course of the next 12 months will be working within BIDS's rural studies programme and similarly for at least one visiting scholar to CMI/DERAP.

In addition to the exchange of long term (minimum one year) visiting scholars, the cooperative programme ensures active professional contact and dialogue through shorter term visits of research personnel, as well as by organised workshops and seminars (with or without participation from other countries or institutions) on research problems of mutual interest; first a workshop on rural outmigration in September 1978 and later probably one on rural development and/or on the New International Economic Order.

#### B. Training

CMI/DERAP has no formal training or degree programme, nevertheless, it can provide research and study facilities to a limited number of graduate students, particularly when they are working on their M.A. or Ph.D. theses. The cooperative programme therefore provides for such support to individual BIDS-Sponsored students working for a higher degree at a University at home or abroad. Such support might include periods of study and writing at in Bergen, library and EDP support for such students etc.

#### C. Documentation and Library Services

Both institutes have established documentary and library facilities specialized in development studies; also CMI/DERAP seeks to maintain full and up--to-date documentation on Bangladesh. The cooperative programme includes mutual support in the development of the libraries of the two institutes. There will be short term exchanges of library staff in order that each institute be acquainted with coverage and systems of library facilities in the cooperating institute. Each Institute will seek to support the other in identifying and acquiring books and documents important for development studies in general and for Bangladesh studies in particular. CMI/DERAP will participate with BIDS in exploration of the need for and possibilities of an initiative in Bangladesh to develop a national documentation centre or archive for administrative records and documents now reposing in district and other local offices around the country.

#### D. EDP Development

CMI/DERAP already has an EDP unit (a PRIME400) and BIDS is in the process of decision making for acquisition of a similar unit. The experience gained by CMI/DERAP is particularly relevant for BIDS,

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<sup>81</sup> In addition - and outside this cooperative programme - several Bangladeshi scholars were engaged in 1978 on Bangladesh studies and subjects covered included - inter alia - rural development research and analysis of educational strategies.

since data capacity and processing needs are not dissimilar. Both institutes need a flexible unit, suitable for social science research operation; BIDS expects to have a greater volume of own data to handle (collected from its village studies and other field work) while CMI/DERAP may have a greater need for flexibility and variety of data language and programmes (to meet the requirements arising from its working relationships with a number of different institutions and countries).

The two institutes are agreed to cooperate actively over the coming months to determine how BIDS data processing needs can most effectively be met: type and size of data equipment configuration, arrangements for operation and servicing, training of programmers and technicians etc. Over the somewhat longer run the two institutes expect to extend their cooperation to include mutual support in data technology, development and application of appropriate data language an programming for social science research, exchange of data banks etc.

## II BUDGET FOR 1978 AND 1979 AND ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRAMME.

The budgets for 1978 and 1979 as detailed in Table I show a total expenditures of \$206,500 and \$212,400 respectively. For most items, but particularly for the purchase of EDP equipment, there is uncertainty as to whether and to what extent) expenditures will be made before or after 31st December 1978. Given this uncertainty it is important that any remaining balance for the year 1978 be transferable to 1979.

Decisions on implementation of the agreed programme will be taken as far as practicable after consultation between the two institutes. The budgeted funds for the purchase of EDP equipment, vehicles and other supplies to be located at BIDS will be held and administered by BIDS; the rest of the budgeted funds will be held in trust and administered by CMI/DERAP.

Decisions on personnel to be exchanged between the institutes will be taken by the sending institution, subject to concurrence and clearance by the receiving institute. Decisions on purchase of equipment and expenses for goods and services for use in one of the institutes will be taken by the institute on the spot; where large sums are involved (EDP equipment, car) after consultation. Unless otherwise agreed, rules and regulations, rates of pay and compensation etc. in the sending institutes will determine the conditions governing exchange of personnel. Each institute will inform the other of conditions applied to its respective staff. Each institute undertakes to give its visitors full practical and professional support for the effective implementation of the cooperative programme, in particular to ensure the closest possible integration of the visitors in the professional life of the host institute.

For BIDS:  
Monowar Hossain

Dacca/Bergen  
August 10, 1978

For CMI/DERAP  
Just Faaland

[budget tables showing planned disbursements in 1978 and 79 omitted]



### Annex 3

AGREEMENT  
between  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY  
and  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH  
concerning

financial assistance to a programme for research cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme

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The Government of the Kingdom of Norway (hereinafter referred to as "Norway") and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (hereinafter referred to as "Bangladesh") in pursuance of the Agreement between the two Governments regarding cooperation for the Economic and Social Development of Bangladesh, dated 19 November 1980 (hereinafter referred to as "the General Agreement") and with reference to the provisions therein relating to Article IV "Financial Assistance", and

WHEREAS the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (hereinafter referred to as "BIDS") and the Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (hereinafter referred to as "DERAP") have entered into an agreement dated 10 August 1978 on a programme for research cooperation (hereinafter referred to as "the Programme"),

WHEREAS Norway and Bangladesh desire to support the implementation of the aforesaid research cooperation.

NOW THEREFORE Norway and Bangladesh have agreed as follows:

Article I  
Contributions and Obligations of Norway

Norway shall:

1. Subject to Parliamentary appropriations, provide a financial grant not exceeding Norwegian kroner 2,200,000,- (two million two hundred thousand) ((hereinafter referred to as the "Grant") which shall be utilized exclusively for the financing of the Programme as described in the Annex to this Agreement;
2. enter into a contract with DERAP concerning i.a. the administration of the proceeds from the Grant. A copy of this contract shall be submitted to Bangladesh for information;
3. ensure satisfactory working conditions for the visiting personnel from BIDS participating in the Programme.

Article II  
Contributions and obligations of Bangladesh

Bangladesh shall:

1. Be responsible for the operation of the Programme in Bangladesh;

2. provide all additional manpower, resources, facilities and services which may be required for the successful implementation of the Programme in Bangladesh;
3. grant necessary permits, licences and foreign exchange permissions that may be required in connection with the execution of the Programme, including free admission of imported goods;
4. ensure satisfactory working conditions for the visiting personnel from DERAP participating in the Programme. The status and privileges of the personnel from DERAP shall be as defined in the aforesaid General Agreement, dated 19 November 1980, Article VII, "Technical Assistance".

Article III  
Cooperation - Administration

1. Norway and Bangladesh shall cooperate fully to ensure that the purpose of this Agreement will be accomplished. To that end, each Party shall furnish to the other all such information as it shall reasonably request pertaining to the implementation of the Programme.
2. In matters relating to the implementation of this Agreement the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) and the Bangladesh Ministry of Planning, represented by BIDS, shall be competent to represent Norway and Bangladesh respectively.

Article IV  
Reimbursements - Reports

1. The expenses connected with the BIDS involvement in the Programme shall be refunded by Norway through DERAP.

Bangladesh shall forward to DERAP

- semi-annual requests for reimbursement of expenditures for goods and services to be financed from the proceeds of the Grant not later than 1 February and 1 August each year. Each request shall contain a certified statement of expenditures incurred during the preceding half year and semi-annual progress reports. Reimbursements will be undertaken upon Norway's approval of the requests;
  - audited accounts in respect of the Programme within 18 months after the end of each Bangladesh fiscal year.
2. The expenses connected with DERAP involvement in the Programme shall be disbursed by Norway directly to DERAP.
  3. Norway shall furnish to Bangladesh semi-annual reports on the expenditures incurred and on the progress of the Programme in Norway.

Article V  
Disputes - Entry into Force - Termination

1. If any dispute arises relating to the implementation or interpretation of this Agreement, there shall be mutual consultations between the two Parties with a view to secure a successful implementation of the Programme.
2. The present Agreement shall enter into force on the day of its signature and shall remain valid until the date both Parties have fulfilled all obligations arising from it.

3. Notwithstanding the preceding paragraph, both Parties shall be entitled to terminate the Agreement by giving three months written notice to the other Party.

In witness thereof, the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement in the English language.

Done in Dhaka this 31st day of December 1980

For the Government of  
the Kingdom of Norway  
Rolv Hultin

NORAD Resident Representative

For the Government of the People's  
Republic of Bangladesh  
M. Mohiuddin  
Section Chief/Joint Secretary

.../...

#### ANNEX

#### ACQUISITION OF A MINI COMPUTER AND JOINT RESEARCH COOPERATION BETWEEN BIDS AND DERAP/CMI, NORWAY

The Programme is based upon the agreement on a programme for cooperation between the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and the Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme signed on 10 August 1978, and the request from the Ministry of Planning, External Resources Division dated 11 August 1978.

The Grant shall be utilized to cover expenses incurred from 26 September 1978 for the following components:

1. Research cooperation: The cooperation will mainly be in the field of demography, rural sociology and economics. The cooperation will consist of exchange of research personnel and up to three workshops/seminars. The exchange of research personnel will include long term and short term visits for senior professionals from BIDS to DERAP and from DERAP to BIDS. The research personnel shall be appointed by BIDS and DERAP respectively.

i) The personnel from DERAP who is serving continuously at BIDS for a period of 6 months or more will receive remuneration according to the regulation in force for NORAD experts.

Other personnel from DERAP serving at BIDS shall in addition to their ordinary salary receive subsistence allowance according to Norwegian Government regulations.

ii) The personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP will be remunerated according to the salary scales in force for the Norwegian Research Council for Science and Humanities (NAVF).

Food and accommodation allowance will be given for the first 28 days of a stay. After the 28th day the housing rent will be covered.

The approximate cost is Nkr. 850,000.

2. Training of one student from Bangladesh who is working for a higher degree at home or abroad. This training may include a visit to DERAP and relevant Universities. The student will receive remuneration in accordance with the regulations in force for the NORAD fellowship Programme.

The approximate cost is Nkr. 35,000.

3. Documentation and library services. This includes:

- mutual support in the development of the libraries of the two institutes,
- short term exchange of library personnel,
- purchase of books and documents,
- exploration of the need for and possibilities of an initiative in Bangladesh to develop a national documentation centre or archive for administrative records and documents.

The approximate cost is Nkr. 145,000.

4 Administrative support. This will consist of:

- Purchase of one car to BIDS to be used primarily by the visiting personnel under this Programme.
- operation of the car,
- financing of local transport in Bangladesh;
- purchase of office equipment to BIDS,
- financing of short term administrative visits from BIDS to DERAP, and the same number of visits from DERAP to BIDS,
- administrative support to BIDS and DERAP.

The approximate cost is Nkr. 265,000.

5. Procurement of EDP equipment. This includes exploration , purchase and installation of appropriate minicomputer hardware and software and necessary equipment. It also includes technical EDP-assistance from DERAP to BIDS. The approximate cost of this component is Nkr. 905.000.

6. If any of the approximate amounts referred top above are not fully utilized as indicated, the balance may upon agreement between the Parties be utilized for any other item.

## **Annex 4**

NORWEGIAN AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
(NORAD)

CONTRACT

between  
The Norwegian Agency for International  
Development (NORAD)

and

Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development  
Research and Action Programme (DERAP)

regarding

financial assistance from NORAD to a Programme for research cooperation between DERAP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS)

WHEREAS the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have entered into an Agreement dated 31 December 1980 concerning financial assistance to a programme for research cooperation between DERAP and BIDS, (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreement") and

WHEREAS DERAP and BIDS have entered into an agreement dated 10 August 1978 on a programme for research cooperation (hereinafter referred to as "the Programme"),

NOW THEREFORE NORAD and DERAP have agreed as follows:

### 1. Scope

This Contract sets forth the procedures for the administration of the financial assistance made available under the aforesaid Agreement.

### 2. Cooperation

DERAP shall cooperate with BIDS in order to secure a successful implementation of the Programme.

### 3. Programme Accounts

DERAP shall establish a special interest-yielding bank account for the funds made available to the Programme, and shall keep separate accounts for the Programme. The interest shall be used for Programme purposes as agreed upon between NORAD and DERAP/BIDS.

### 4. Disbursement of funds

4.1 All payments from NORAD to the Programme will be made to DERAP's special bank account.

4.2 An advance payment amounting to Nkr 500 000,- is payable to DERAP upon the entry into force of this Contract. The advance payment shall be refunded by deducting Nkr 125 000,- from each of the four first reimbursements made according to section 4.3 below.

4.3 DERAP shall forward to NORAD semi-annual requests for reimbursements of expenditures incurred in connection with the

implementation of the Programme within 1 March and 1 September each year. The request shall contain i.a.:

- Statement of expenditures incurred at the Programme for the preceding half year. This includes expenses incurred both at DERAP and BIDS. The semi-annual requests referred to in Article III section 1 of the Agreement shall be appended.

- Progress report on the implementation of the Programme.

- A budget proposal for the coming half year.

NORAD will undertake reimbursements upon approval of the requests.

DERAP will thereafter make reimbursements to BIDS.

4.4 Within 1 July each year DERAP shall forward to NORAD audited accounts in respect of the Programme.

## 5. Personnel

5.1. DERAP shall insure satisfactory working conditions for the personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP under this Contract.

5.2 Personnel from DERAP serving continuously at BIDS for a period of 6 months or more (maximum four persons) shall receive remuneration according to the regulation in force for NORAD-experts. Other personnel from DERAP serving at BIDS shall in addition to their ordinary salary receive subsistence allowance according to Norwegian Government regulations.

5.3 Personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP shall receive remuneration in accordance with the salary scales in force for the Norwegian Research Council for Science and Humanities (NAVF). Subsistence allowance will be given for the first 28 days of a stay. After the 28th day the housing rent will be covered.

## 6. Procurement

6.1 DERAP shall undertake the procurements for Programme purposes in compliance with Norwegian Government regulations for procurements.

6.2 DERAP shall forward to NORAD a specified list of EDP-equipment and vehicle to be purchased under the Programme. The list shall be agreed upon between BIDS and DERAP. DERAP shall call for tenders, evaluate the tenders received and submit to NORAD a recommendation. Upon the receipt of NORAD's written approval of the recommendation, DERAP will enter into contract with the supplier in question. NORAD will effect payments directly to supplier in conformity with the procedures and terms set forth in the contract.

## 7. Entry into force - Termination

7.1 This contract shall enter into force upon its signature.

7.2 This contract shall terminate when all obligations arising from it have been fulfilled.

Oslo, 9 February 1981  
Vidkun Isaksen  
Director Administrative  
Department

Fantoft,  
Just Faaland

for the Norwegian Agency for  
International Development

For the Chr. Michelsen  
Institute's Development  
Research and Action Programme

## Annex 5

Memorandum of Understanding  
on a proposal for a programme of technical assistance,  
and research cooperation between  
BIDS and DERAP

1. The first cooperation agreement between BIDS and DEAR financed by a special grant from NORAD of NOK 2,200,000 extended over a period from September 1978 to 30 June, 1983 with disbursements continuing to mid February 1984 in order to finalise work in progress at mid-1983.

2. In a NORAD initiated evaluation of this cooperation dated February 1984 it was said that the contact between research personnel from Bangladesh and DERAP had led to an accumulation of knowledge about Bangladesh and a strengthening of the competence of research related to Bangladesh both at BIDS and at DERAP; in particular DERAP had been developed into a resource base for knowledge and research on Bangladesh. It is obvious that knowledge generated from potential support to research on the Bangladesh development process is potentially valuable to the programmes for external assistance to Bangladesh, as it provides useful insights into the working of the Bangladesh economy.

Furthermore, regular yearly consultations between BIDS and DERAP had during the period of cooperation

- brought the two institutes nearer to each other,
- established a framework within which individual researchers could establish contacts in the respective countries, and
- given impact to cooperation by bringing it in under the country programme and the country negotiations,
- built up some expertise amongst Norwegian research personnel at DERAP on the development process in Bangladesh.

3. The first agreement on NORAD support for cooperation between BIDS and DERAP did not commit NORAD to continue support of such cooperation beyond the initial agreement. When notice of termination of this agreement was given in 1982, no request was made to NORAD for continued support. In a letter from BIDS of August 18, 1983 it was formally communicated to the CMI that the External Resources Division of the Government of Bangladesh had consented to continuation of the funding of a programme entitled "Research Cooperation between BIDS and DERAP" amounting to NOK 2.250.000 to be tenable over a period of three years, beginning July 1, 1983. This programme was subsequently reviewed in the joint consultations between governments of Bangladesh and Norway during 1983 and was in principle endorsed for inclusion in NORAD's programme for economic assistance to Bangladesh. However, it proved impossible to follow up this endorsement and to maintain the envisaged schedule as no grant has so far been approved by NORAD it has little purpose to make the arrangement retroactive. It is suggested that a new grant be made effective from a date following the formal decision on it by NORAD, hopefully not later than September 1, 1984.

4. In April 1983 BIDS indicated a format for the second cooperation agreement with a total grant of NOK 2,250,000 to extend over a period of three years from 1 July, 1983. On 30 September, 1983 BIDS and DERAP discussed continuation within a new agreement with a total of NOK 2.200.000. DERAP declared that it would be happy to continue cooperation with BIDS.

5. Whereas

- Norway is likely to continue to give substantial amount of bilateral aid to Bangladesh over the years to come;
- it is important to support arrangements between institutions that can contribute to mutual contact and development of mutual knowledge of relevance for the cooperation between Norway and Bangladesh;
- continued support of cooperation between BIDS and DERAP as regards research which is relevant to the relationship between Bangladesh and Norway;
- a request was made by BIDS for an appropriation of NOK 2.200.000 mentioned above was presented at the aid meeting between Bangladesh and Norway in Dhaka in 1983;
- support for the computer installation at BIDS has now been arranged outside the arrangement for support of cooperation between BIDS and DERAP:

In the light of this

- NORAD/DUH are requested to give an appropriation of NOK 1.600.000 to be spent over a period of three years to support research cooperation and related activities mutually agreed upon by BIDS and DERAP.

6. The objective of a new agreement shall be to continue cooperation on research agreed upon by BIDS and DERAP, mainly in the field of development economics, demography and social anthropology. NORAD has further agreed to support extension of the computer at BIDS and to provide for the maintenance of it up to an agreed date, but funds for this are to be provided outside the grant for cooperation between BIDS and DERAP. DERAP is prepared to continue to provide advisory services on professional questions, should BIDS so wish and request.

7. An indicative budget for the utilisation of the grant is given below, together with explanatory notes to the individual components. The budget is indicative in the sense that before any research programme either by BIDS or by DERAP is commissioned, there shall be yearly consultations between the parties with an appropriately detailed schedule for spending by either of the two institutes. The disbursement of the grant may not be evenly distributed over the grant period and the termination of the grant may be left flexible in order to secure a full utilisation of NORAD's financial support. It is further suggested that some flexibility may be allowed in the distribution of the grant between the individual components if the parties agree that this is expedient.

Indicative budget 1984 - 1986

8. With the general provisions outlined above, BIDS and DERAP are agreed on the following budget as a basis for the annual cooperation programmes of the two institutes:

A.	Exchange of personnel	1,000,000 NOK
B.	Scholarships	P.M.
C.	Library support	225,000
D.	Upgrading and maintenance of EDP equipment	P.M.
E.	Administrative expenditures	200,000
F.	Contingency	225,000
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>1,650,000 NOK</u>



Items with a "P.M." are to be considered by NORAD on an ad-hoc basis outside this grant.

BIDS and DERAP have the following observations to this schedule:

Exchange of personnel. The agreement with the substantive operative rules is to apply to the rules laid down and agreed to by BIDS, DERAP and NORAD in 1980 and 1981. Visits from a few weeks up to several months by professional research personnel from BIDS to DERAP and vice versa shall be covered and eligible for support under this grant. The researchers will be selected by BIDS and DERAP respectively.

BIDS personnel serving at DERAP shall be remunerated according to the pay scale applied by the Norwegian Research Council for Science and Humanities (NAVF). In addition to a salary, the visiting scholar will be entitled to a subsistence allowance for an initial period of 28 days, and for the period of a stay exceeding 28 days appropriate accommodation will be provided.

DERAP personnel serving at BIDS will be remunerated within the ceiling applicable to NORAD experts.

Travel costs will normally be covered for the researchers only and not for dependents.

Scholarships. BIDS is today operating without any direct source of funding for its scholarship programmes needed for upgrading the skills of its research personnel. It is of utmost importance to build up some support for a scholarship programme to recruit the best available personnel and to provide them with incentive to upgrade their skills.

A number of these research personnel will be deployed in projects involving DERAP-P-BIDS research cooperation. It would be useful to make scholarships for such personnel who are, engaged in areas of research of related interest to the BIDS-DERAP research areas of research of related inter activities. BIDS personnel will be constrained for language reasons from availing of scholarships which are tenable only for study at Norwegian universities. For this reason, DERAP will support a proposal from BIDS for NORAD to accommodate one scholar a year for a one year masters degree programme in a third country. This may possibly be combined with a short stay at the Institute in Bergen where the BIDS staff member can work on research projects which utilise their training in the masters programme and relates to research of related interest to BIDS-DERAP research cooperation. NORAD will entertain such a request from BIDS-DERAP as part of their programme of cooperation, but will fund it outside the BIDS-DERAP agreement, directly from the NORAD technical assistance programme to Bangladesh.

Library support. This component includes mutual support in the development of the libraries of the two institutes with major emphasis on the purchase of books, documents and periodicals for the library at BIDS.

Upgrading and maintenance of the computer at BIDS. In May 1984 NORAD agreed to finance the suggested upgrading of the computer installation at BIDS at a cost estimated at NOK 550.000. BIDS will have to take over the full responsibility for the maintenance of the computer within a year from the time when the agreement on the computer is formally signed between BIDS and NORAD. It is noted that BIDS will endeavour to make its EDP-unit financially self-supporting.

Administration. DERAP shall be responsible for the book-keeping as regards the cooperation. DERAP will send BIDS comprehensive half-yearly statements of all expenditures undertaken under the agreement to enable BIDS to also share responsibility for supervising the execution of the programme of cooperation. In accordance with previous practice this component provides for travel costs for

necessary administrative visits from Bergen to Dhaka and from Dhaka to Bergen. In addition, it includes necessary expenditure for local transportation for DERAP personnel while in Dhaka.

Contingency item. This item is intended as a buffer against unallocated and unforeseen expenditures as increase in prices and salaries during the grant period. The indicative budget has been worked out on the basis of 1984-prices and salaries, in NOK. Any variation in currency rates would have to be accommodated within the grant as defined in NOK.

Fantoft, 7 June 1984

For BIDS  
Rehman Sobhan

For CMI-DERAP  
Johan Skutle

## **Annex 6**

AGREEMENT  
between  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY  
AND  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH  
concerning

Financial Assistance to a Programme for Research Cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme

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The Government of the Kingdom of Norway (hereinafter referred to as "Norway") and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (hereinafter referred to as "Bangladesh") in pursuance of the Agreement between the two Governments regarding cooperation for the Economic and Social Development of Bangladesh, dated 19 November 1980 (hereinafter referred to as "the General Agreement") and with reference to the provisions therein relating to Article IV "Financial Assistance", and

WHEREAS by virtue of the Agreement between the two Governments dated 31 December 1980, regarding research cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme as amended through exchange of letters dated 4 and 21 November 1984.

WHEREAS Norway and Bangladesh desire to continue the collaboration.

NOW THEREFORE Norway and Bangladesh have reached the following understanding:

Article I  
Scope of the Agreement

Norway and Bangladesh shall during the calendar years 1986-1988 cooperate in the continuation of the Research Cooperation Programme (hereinafter referred to as "the Programme") between the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (hereinafter referred to as "BIDS") and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (hereinafter referred to as "DERAP"), which is described in the Schedule to this Agreement.

Article II  
Cooperation - Administration

1. Norway and Bangladesh shall cooperate fully to ensure that the purpose of this Agreement is accomplished. To that end, each party shall furnish to the other all such information as they shall reasonably require pertaining to the implementation of the Programme.

2. In matters relating to the implementation of this Agreement the Norwegian Agency for International development (NORAD) and the Bangladesh Ministry of Planning, represented by BIDS, shall be competent to represent Norway and Bangladesh respectively.

Article III  
Contributions and Obligations of Norway

Norway shall:

1. Subject to Parliamentary appropriations and subject to the terms and conditions set forth and referred to in this Agreement, provide a financial grant not exceeding Norwegian kroner 1,650,000,- (one million six hundred and fifty thousand) hereinafter referred to as the "Grant" which shall be utilized exclusively for the financing of the Programme;
2. enter into a contract with DERAP concerning the administration of the Programme. A copy of this contract shall be submitted to Bangladesh for information;
3. ensure satisfactory working conditions in Norway for the visiting personnel from BIDS participating in the Programme.

Article IV  
Contributions and Obligations of Bangladesh

Bangladesh shall:

1. Be responsible for the operation of the Programme in Bangladesh and shall hereunder provide all additional manpower including a Programme Co-ordinator, resources, facilities and services which may be required for the successful implementation of the Programme;
2. grant necessary permits, licences and foreign exchange authorizations that may be required in connection with the execution of the Programme, including free admission of imported goods;
3. ensure satisfactory working conditions for the visiting personnel from DERAP participating in the Programme. The status and privileges of the personnel from DERAP shall be as defined in the aforesaid General Agreement, Article VII, "Technical Assistance".

Article V  
Disbursements - Reports

1. The expenses connected with the DERAP involvement in the Programme shall be remunerated by Norway directly to DERAP in conformity with the terms and procedures set forth in the Contract entered into.
2. Norway shall furnish to Bangladesh half-yearly reports on the expenditure incurred and on the progress of the Programme in Norway.
3. Bangladesh shall:

- Not later than 30 June each year forward to Norway for approval a yearly Plan of Operation on research projects to be implemented or continued, including the exchange of personnel programme, after consultations between BIDS and DERAP. The Plan of Operation shall contain detailed budgets, time schedule for the research projects and curricula vitae of the attached personnel.

Article VI  
Disputes - Entry into Force - Termination

1. If any dispute arises relating to the implementation or interpretation of this Agreement, there shall be mutual consultations between the two Parties with a view to secure a successful implementation of the Programme.

2. This Agreement shall enter into force on the day of its signature and shall remain valid until the date both Parties have fulfilled all obligations arising from it.

3. Notwithstanding the preceding paragraph, both Parties shall be entitled to terminate the Agreement by giving three months' written notice to the other Party.

In witness thereof, the undersigned, being duly authorised thereto by their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement in the English language.

Done in Dhaka on Thursday, 16th of October 1986

For the Government of  
the Kingdom of Norway  
Mr. Bjørn Johannessen

For the Government of the People's  
Republic of Bangladesh  
Mr. Khandker Abul Hussain

(.../...)

#### SCHEDULE

Research Cooperation Programme between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Research and Action Programme (DERAP)

1. The Programme is based upon the request from the Ministry of Finance, External Resources Division, dated 25 July 1983 and Memorandum of Understanding between the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS) and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Research and Action Programme (DERAP) signed on 7 June 1984.

2. The research cooperation shall mainly be limited to the field of demography, rural sociology and economics. The cooperation will consist of exchange of research personnel and a seminar will be held in Dhaka. The exchange of research personnel will include long term and short term visits for senior personnel from BIDS to DERAP and from DERAP to BIDS. Plans for the seminar are subject to approval from NORAD.

3. The grant is expected to be utilized according to the following approximations:

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Total</u>
Personnel from BIDS to DERAP	200.000	170.000	-	370.000
Personnel from DERAP to BIDS	200.000	170.000	-	370.000
Scholarships	90.000	90.000	-	260.000
Library	75.000	75.000	75.000	225.000
Administration	60.000	70.000	70.000	200.000
Price increases	75.000	75.000	75.000	225.000
Total	700.000	650.000	300.000	1.650.000

If any of the above mentioned amounts are not fully utilized for the items indicated, the balance may upon agreement between the Parties be used for any other purpose to the benefit of the Programme.

#### 4.1 Exchange of Personnel

The research personnel shall be appointed by BIDS and DERAP respectively, but may be recruited from other relevant institutions or universities in Bangladesh or Norway.

Long term personnel from DERAP who serve continuously at BIDS for a period of 6 months or more will receive remuneration according to the regulations in force for NORAD experts.

Short term personnel from DERAP serving at BIDS will in addition to their ordinary salary receive subsistence allowance according to Norwegian Government regulations.

Research personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP will be remunerated according to the salary scales in force for the Norwegian Research Council for Science and Humanities (NAVF).

Travel costs for dependents of research personnel from BIDS and from DERAP will not be covered under the Agreement. International travels are subject to approval from NORAD.

#### 4.2 Scholarships

Students from BIDS attending a one year Master Degree Programme abroad will receive remuneration in accordance with the regulations in force for the NORAD scholarship programme.

#### 4.3 Library

Major emphasis will be placed on purchasing books, documents and periodicals for the library at BIDS.

#### 4.4 Administration

DERAP shall provide administrative services regarding the cooperation and advisory services on professional questions when required by BIDS. These services will include the procurement of publications, papers and other documents which are required at BIDS for the successful implementation of the research projects according to the Plan of Operation.

BIDS shall be responsible for its own recurrent costs.

(/...)

### OBLIGATIONS IN REGARD TO CONSIGNMENTS OF COMMODITIES MADE AVAILABLE TO BANGLADESH BY NORWAY

#### 1. Obligations of Norway

1.1 Norway shall make available to Bangladesh such capital goods, inputs and supplies (hereinafter referred to as "commodities") as shall be in each case be determined by the two Parties.

1.2 Norway shall, to the extent agreed upon in Specific Agreements, cover the costs such as purchase, transport and insurance, connected with each consignment of commodities.

1.3 Norway shall notify designated agencies in Bangladesh of the estimated date of arrival of all consignments of commodities

immediately upon dispatch, and shall also forward shipping documents, invoices and other related information.

## 2. Obligations of Bangladesh

2.1 Bangladesh shall, if not otherwise decided in Specific Agreements:

- (a) notify Norway of the import clearance agents to be used by Bangladesh and of the documentation required for customs clearance;
- (b) promptly issue import licences;
- (c) take all appropriate steps to ensure swift berthing and clearance of vessels and quick and safe reception of cargo;

(d) in case of shipment by ocean liner:

- acknowledge receipt of each consignment of commodities;

in case of shipment by chartered vessel:

- accept the cargo on terms laid down in the charter party;
- jointly with the first officer of the vessel, sign statement of facts and time sheet. The consignee shall forward these documents to Norway not later than fourteen days after discharge;
- acknowledge receipt of each consignment of commodities;

(e) take appropriate measures for storage and early onward transportation in Bangladesh;

(f) defray all costs and fees, such as customs duties and harbour fees pertaining to the entry of commodities into a Bangladesh port, and storage and onward transportation in Bangladesh;

(g) take on its account as consignee with respect to any consignment of commodities such demurrage or dispatch as may accrue at a Bangladesh port;

(h) take all appropriate measures, and institute any proceeding that may be required with regard to claims for loss or damage, whether total or partial of any consignment of commodities, such as lodging of sea protest against shipowner, obtainment of damage reports, etc. and shall notify Norway as soon as possible thereafter.

2.2 No customs duties, taxes or any other fees shall be charged to Norway in relation to the said commodities.

## 3. Damage and Loss

3.1 In the event of establishment of a loss or damage of any consignment of commodities, Norway will pursue the matter vis-a-vis the insurance company if in Norway's opinion such action is justified. Norway shall at its earliest convenience, within the limit of any amount that may be paid to Norway under the policy of insurance taken out, grant additional commodities of a value equal to the commodities lost or damaged.

3.2 If the consignments of commodities are partly or entirely lost or damaged, Norway is under no further obligations than those stated in

the previous paragraph unless otherwise decided in Specific Agreements.



## **Annex 7**

CONTRACT  
between  
THE NORWEGIAN AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (NORAD)  
and  
CHR. MICHELSEN INSTITUTE'S DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH  
AND ACTION PROGRAMME (DERAP)

regarding

financial assistance from NORAD to a Programme for research cooperation between DERAP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS)

-----

WHEREAS the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have entered into an Agreement concerning continued financial assistance to a programme for research cooperation dated 16 October 1986 (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreement")

WHEREAS DERAP according to the said Agreement and the terms and conditions set forth below, shall take part in and assist BIDS in the implementation of the Programme described in the Annex to the Agreement.

NOW THEREFORE NORAD and DERAP have agreed as follows:

### 1. The Services

1.1 DERAP shall provide advisory services on professional questions when required by BIDS. These services will include the provision of publications, papers and other documents which are required at BIDS for the successful implementation of the research projects.

1.2 DERAP shall cooperate with BIDS in the preparation of the Plan of Operation referred to in Article V. 3 of the Agreement. Such a Plan for the execution and completion of the programme of cooperation shall be communicated by DERAP to NORAD within 3 months of entering into force of this contract.

1.3 DERAP shall assist BIDS in establishing expedient procurement procedures for the purchase of professional books and periodicals.

1.4 DERAP shall appoint research personnel to serve at BIDS.

1.5 DERAP shall provide satisfactory working conditions and housing for the personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP under the Agreement.

### 2. Remuneration and payment

2.1 DERAP shall pay the following BIDS personnel directly and according to the rates referred to below:

- BIDS personnel serving at DERAP according to the salary scales in force for the Norwegian Research Council for Science and Humanities (NAVF). Daily subsistence allowance according to the Norwegian Government Regulations for the first 28 days. After the 28th day the housing rent shall be paid.

- Students from BIDS according to NORAD fellowship rates.
- DERAP shall provide BIDS personnel with necessary economy air-tickets for international travels.

2.2 DERAP services according to the Agreement will be remunerated according to the following rates:

- DERAP research personnel serving at BIDS according to their ordinary DERAP salary. Daily subsistence allowance will be reimbursed according to Norwegian Government regulations. For DERAP personnel serving continuously at BIDS for 6 months or more (maximum two persons) NORAD will, however, remunerate according to the regulations for NORAD experts.

- For administration and consultancy services performed according to the Agreement NORAD will remunerate DERAP at rates set forth below on basis of the time actually spent by DERAP personnel in performing the services.

(i) For services carried out in Norway, DERAP will be paid kr. 5,000 per month for the duration of the contract.

(ii) For services carried out abroad DERAP will be paid on the basis of days spent away from Bergen on official duty. The applicable rates shall be those of ordinary DERAP staff salaries. Travel expenses and expenses for food and accommodation during the international travels of the personnel will be covered in accordance with the relevant Norwegian Government Regulations. Air fare expenses shall not exceed the applicable economy class rate. For procurement of books, periodicals and other papers, NORAD will reimburse DERAP the actual cost of the purchased literature. Payments referred to above are understood to cover all costs of DERAP in connection with the execution of the services under this contract, with the exception of certified expenses for international telephones and telexes.

2.3 NORAD will transfer an amount of Nkr 500 000,- for the financing of the activities under the Agreement upon receipt of DERAP's request after the signing of this contract. The funds will be transferred to an account designated by DERAP. Interests from the account shall be credited the account and used for the purpose of the Agreement. NORAD will, upon receipt of DERAP's request by 31 December 1987 and 30 June 1988 credit the account in correspondence with the costs actually incurred during the previous half year. The request shall give a short description of the activities performed during the previous half-year including identification of personnel, purpose and duration of each travel. Upon presentation of final accounts NORAD will settle the balance within the amount of NOK 1,650,000 made available under the Agreement. Any remaining funds not utilised upon completion of the Programme (including interest) shall be refunded upon presentation.

### 3. Reporting

DERAP shall within 31 March and 30 September each year submit progress reports and budget proposals for the coming half year. Upon completion of the cooperation under the Agreement, DERAP shall present audited final accounts in respect of the programme activities. Documentation in original for procurement, international travels and PTT shall be submitted to NORAD if and when NORAD so requires.

4. Entry into force - Termination

This contract shall enter into force on the signing of the Contract and terminate when all obligations arising from it have been fulfilled.

IN WITNESS THEREOF the Norwegian Agency for International Development and CMI/DERAP acting through their duly authorized representatives, have caused this contract to be signed.

Done in two originals in English.

Oslo, 7/5/1987

Bergen, 18 V 87

For the Norwegian Agency  
for International  
Development

For Chr. Michelsen  
Institute's Research  
and Action Programme

Lasse Aasland

Just Faaland

## Annex 8

AGREEMENT  
between  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF NORWAY  
AND  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BANGLADESH  
concerning

Financial assistance to a Programme for Research Cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme

-----

The Government of the Kingdom of Norway (hereinafter referred to as "Norway") and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (hereinafter referred to as "Bangladesh") in pursuance of the Agreement between the two Governments regarding cooperation for promotion of the Economic and Social Development of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, dated 19 November 1980, as prolonged by exchange of letters dated 3 November 1985 and 18 November 1985 (hereinafter referred to as "the Main Agreement") and with reference to the provisions therein relating to Article IV "Financial Assistance", and

WHEREAS by virtue of the Agreement between the two Governments dated 31 December 1980, regarding research cooperation between Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme as amended through exchange of letters dated 4 and 21 November 1984 and the Agreement between the two Governments dated 16 October 1986 regarding the Programme.

WHEREAS Norway and Bangladesh desire to continue the collaboration.

NOW THEREFORE Norway and Bangladesh have reached the following understanding:

Article I  
Scope of the Agreement

Norway and Bangladesh shall during the calendar years 1991-1993 cooperate in the continuation of the Research Cooperation Programme (hereinafter referred to as "the Programme") between the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (hereinafter referred to as "BIDS") and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Development Research and Action Programme (hereinafter referred to as "DERAP"), as described in the Schedule attached to this Agreement as Annex 1.

Article II  
Cooperation - Administration

1. Norway and Bangladesh shall cooperate fully to ensure that the purpose of this Agreement is accomplished. To that end, each party shall furnish to the other all such information as they shall reasonably require pertaining to the implementation of the Programme.

2. In matters relating to the implementation of this Agreement the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (hereinafter referred to as "NORAD") and the Bangladesh Ministry of Planning, represented by BIDS, shall be competent to represent Norway and Bangladesh respectively.

Article III  
Contributions and Obligations of Norway

Norway shall:

1. Subject to Parliamentary appropriations and subject to the terms and conditions set forth and referred to in this Agreement, provide a financial grant not exceeding Norwegian kroner 3,244,000,- (three million two hundred and forty four thousand) hereinafter referred to as the "Grant") which shall be utilized exclusively for the financing of the Programme;
2. enter into a contract with DERAP concerning the administration of the Programme. A copy of this contract shall be submitted to Bangladesh for information;
3. ensure satisfactory working conditions in Norway for the visiting personnel from BIDS participating in the Programme.

Article IV  
Contributions and Obligations of Bangladesh

Bangladesh shall:

1. Be responsible for the operation of the Programme in Bangladesh and shall hereunder provide all additional manpower including a Programme Co-ordinator, resources, facilities and services which may be required for the successful implementation of the Programme;
2. grant necessary permits, licences and foreign exchange authorizations that may be required in connection with the execution of the Programme, including free admission of imported goods as stated in Annex II to this Agreement;
3. ensure satisfactory working conditions for the visiting personnel from DERAP participating in the Programme. The status and privileges of the personnel from DERAP shall be as defined in the Main Agreement, Article VII, "Technical Assistance".

Article V  
Disbursements - Reports

1. The expenses connected with the DERAP involvement in the Programme shall be remunerated by Norway directly to DERAP in conformity with the terms and procedures set forth in the Contract entered into.
2. Norway shall furnish to Bangladesh half-yearly reports on the expenditure incurred and on the progress of the Programme in Norway.
3. Bangladesh shall:

- Not later than 30 June each year forward to Norway for approval a yearly Plan of Operation on research projects to be implemented or continued, including the exchange of personnel programme, after consultations between BIDS and DERAP. The Plan of Operation shall contain detailed budgets, time schedule for the research projects and curricula vitae of the attached personnel.

Article VI  
Disputes - Entry into Force - Termination

1. If any dispute arises relating to the implementation or interpretation of this Agreement, there shall be mutual consultations between the two Parties with a view to secure a successful implementation of the Programme.

2. This Agreement shall enter into force on the day of its signature and shall remain valid until the date both Parties have fulfilled all obligations arising from it.

3. Notwithstanding the preceding paragraph, both Parties shall be entitled to terminate the Agreement by giving three months' written notice to the other Party.

In witness whereof the undersigned, acting on behalf of their respective Governments, have signed the present Agreement in two originals in the English language.

Done in Oslo this 7th day of June 1991

For the Government of  
the Kingdom of Norway

For the Government of the People's  
Republic of Bangladesh

Per Ø. Grimstad

(signature illegible)

(/...)

ANNEX I  
SCHEDULE

Research Cooperation Programme between Bangladesh Institute of  
Development Studies (BIDS) and Chr. Michelsen Institute's Research  
and Action Programme (DERAP)

1. The Programme is based upon the request from the Ministry of Finance, External Resources Division, dated 22 October 1989 based on the Technical Assistance Project Proforma (TAPP) between BIDS and DERAP.

2. The overall objective of the research cooperation programme is to contribute to continued institution and competence building at BIDS through the development research programme. The research cooperation programme shall mainly be limited to research exchange between BIDS and DERAP in the field of rural sociology, demography and economics. The cooperation will consist of exchange of research personnel, seminars and one joint research project. The exchange of research personnel will include long term and short term visits for research personnel from BIDS to DERAP and from DERAP to BIDS and scholarship for postgraduate studies abroad for two researchers from BIDS preferably at relevant training institutions in the region. The Programme will also comprise financial support to the library at BIDS and to BIDS Computer Unit for the purchase of one PC.

3. The grant is expected to be utilized according to the following approximations:

	NOK 1.000			
	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1993</u>	
	1.073	1.093	1.078	(3.24 4)
Personnel from BIDS to DERAP				481
Personnel from DERAP to BIDS				1.072
Joint research project between BIDS and DERAP-researchers				157

Research seminar	173
Library	314
Administration	346
Computer, one PC	46
One-year Master's programme two BIDS researchers	437
Support for participants to BIDS advanced training programme	57
Contingencies	161
Total	3.224

If any of the above mentioned amounts are not fully utilized for the items indicated, the balance may upon agreement between the Parties be used for any other purposes to the benefit of the Programme.

#### Exchange of Personnel

The research personnel shall be appointed by BIDS and DERAP respectively, but may be recruited from other relevant institutions or universities in Bangladesh or Norway.

Long term personnel from DERAP who serve continuously at BIDS for a period of 6 months or more will receive remuneration according to the regulations in force for NORAD experts.

Short term personnel from DERAP serving at BIDS will in addition to their ordinary salary receive subsistence allowance according to Norwegian Government regulations.

Research personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP will be remunerated according to the salary scales in force for the Norwegian Council for Science and Humanities, NAVF.

[Page 7 of the signed Agreement is missing in all copies in CMI's files; an earlier draft of the Agreement suggests that the missing page might contain the following stipulations:

Travel costs for dependants of research personnel from BIDS and from DERAP will not be covered under the Agreement. International travels are subject to approval from NORAD.

#### Scholarships

Students from BIDS attending a one year Master Degree Programme abroad will receive remuneration in accordance with the regulations in force for the NORAD scholarship programme.

#### Library

Major emphasis will be placed on purchasing books, documents and periodicals for the library at BIDS.

#### Administration

DERAP shall provide administrative services regarding the cooperation and advisory services on professional questions when required by BIDS. These services will include the procurement of publications, papers and other documents which are required at BIDS for the successful implementation of the research projects according to the plan of operation.

BIDS shall be responsible for its own recurrent costs.]

(.../...)

OBLIGATIONS IN REGARD TO CONSIGNMENTS OF COMMODITIES MADE AVAILABLE  
TO BANGLADESH BY NORWAY

1. Obligations of Norway

1.1 Norway shall make available to Bangladesh such capital goods, inputs and supplies ("commodities") as shall be in each case be determined by the two Parties.

1.2 Norway shall, to the extent agreed upon in Specific Agreements, cover the costs such as purchase, transport and insurance, connected with each consignment of commodities.

1.3 Norway shall notify designated agencies in Bangladesh of the estimated date of arrival of all consignments of commodities immediately upon dispatch, invoices and other related information.

2. Obligations of Bangladesh

2.1 Bangladesh shall, if not otherwise decided in Specific Agreements:

(a) notify Norway of the import clearance agents to be used by Bangladesh and of the documentation required for customs clearance;

(b) promptly issue import licences;

(c) take all appropriate steps to ensure swift berthing and clearance of vessels and quick and safe reception of cargo;

(d) in case of shipment by ocean liner:

- acknowledge receipt of each consignment of commodities;

in case of shipment by chartered vessel:

- accept the cargo on terms laid down in the charter party;

- jointly with the first officer of the vessel, sign statement of facts and time sheet. The consignee shall forward these documents to Norway not later than fourteen days after discharge;

- acknowledge receipt of each consignment of commodities;

(e) take appropriate measures for storage and early onward transportation in Bangladesh;

(f) defray all costs and fees, such as customs duties and harbour fees pertaining to the entry of commodities into a Bangladesh port, and storage and onward transportation in Bangladesh;

(g) take on its account as consignee with respect to any consignment of commodities such demurrage or dispatch as may accrue at a Bangladesh port;

(h) take all appropriate measures, and institute any proceeding that may be required with regard to claims for loss or damage, whether total or partial of any consignment of commodities, such as lodging of sea protest against shipowner, obtainment of damage reports, etc. and shall notify Norway as soon as possible thereafter.



2.2 No customs duties, taxes or any other fees shall be charged to Norway in relation to the said commodities.

3. Damage and Loss

3.1 In the event of establishment of a loss or damage of any consignment of commodities, Norway will pursue the matter vis-a-vis the insurance company if in Norway's opinion such action is justified. Norway shall at its earliest convenience, within the limit of any amount that may be paid to Norway under the policy of insurance taken out, grant additional commodities of a value equal to the commodities lost or damaged.

3.2 If the consignment of commodities are partly or entirely lost or damaged, Norway is under no further obligations than those stated in the previous paragraph unless otherwise decided in Specific Agreement.

## **Annex 9**

CONTRACT

between

THE NORWEGIAN AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT (NORAD)

and

CHR. MICHELSEN INSTITUTE'S DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH  
AND ACTION PROGRAMME (DERAP)

regarding

financial assistance from NORAD to a Programme for research cooperation between DERAP and the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS)

-----

WHEREAS the Government of the Kingdom of Norway and the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh have entered into an Agreement concerning continued financial assistance to a programme for research cooperation dated ... (hereinafter referred to as "the Agreement")

WHEREAS DERAP according to the said Agreement and the terms and conditions set forth below, shall take part in and assist BIDS in the implementation of the Programme described in the Annex 1 to the Agreement.

NOW THEREFORE NORAD and DERAP have agreed as follows:

### 1. The Services

1.1 DERAP shall provide advisory services on professional questions when required by BIDS. These services will include the provision of publications, papers and other documents which are required at BIDS for the successful implementation of the research projects.

1.2 DERAP shall cooperate with BIDS in the preparation of the Plan of Operation referred to in Article V. 3 of the Agreement. Such a Plan for the execution and completion of the programme of cooperation shall be communicated by DERAP to NORAD within 3 months of entering into force of this contract.

1.3 DERAP shall assist BIDS in establishing expedient procurement procedures for the purchase of professional books and periodicals.

1.4 DERAP shall appoint research personnel to serve at BIDS.

1.5 DERAP shall provide satisfactory working conditions and housing for the personnel from BIDS serving at DERAP under the Agreement.

### 2. Remuneration and payment

2.1 DERAP shall pay the following BIDS personnel directly and according to the rates referred to below:

- BIDS personnel serving at DERAP according to the salary scales in force for the Norwegian Research Council for Science and Humanities (NAVF). Daily subsistence allowance according to the Norwegian Government Regulations for the first 28 days. After the 28th day the housing rent shall be paid.

- Students from BIDS according to NORAD fellowship rates.

- DERAP shall provide BIDS personnel with necessary economy air-tickets for international travels.

2.2 DERAP services according to the Agreement will be remunerated according to the following rates:

- DERAP research personnel serving at BIDS according to their ordinary DERAP salary. Daily subsistence allowance will be reimbursed according to Norwegian Government regulations. For DERAP personnel serving continuously at BIDS for 6 months or more (maximum 2 persons) NORAD will, however, remunerate according to the regulations for NORAD experts.

- For administration and consultancy services performed according to the Agreement NORAD will remunerate DERAP at rates set forth below on basis of the time actually spent by DERAP personnel in performing the services.

(i) For services carried out in Norway, DERAP will be paid kr. 5,000 per month for the duration of the contract.

(ii) For services carried out abroad DERAP will be paid on the basis of days spent away from Bergen on official duty. The applicable rates shall be those of ordinary DERAP staff salaries. Travel expenses and expenses for food and accommodation during the international travels of the personnel will be covered in accordance with the relevant Norwegian Government Regulations. Air fare expenses shall not exceed the applicable economy class rate. For procurement of books, periodicals and other papers, NORAD will reimburse DERAP the actual cost of the purchased literature. Payments referred to above are understood to cover all costs of DERAP in connection with the execution of the services under this contract, with the exception of certified expenses for international telephones and telexes.

### 3. Disbursement and administration

3.1 The total amount of NOK 3.224.000 made available under the Agreement shall be utilized in accordance with the budget in Annex 1, section 3 to the Agreement. However, delays in programme implementation shall cause the above-mentioned budget to be revised accordingly each year. The funds will be transferred to an account designated by DERAP. Accrued interest from the account shall within 31 January of each year be refunded NORAD.

3.2 NORAD will, when the Agreement has been signed and upon DERAP's request, transfer an initial amount to DERAP based on revised budget for 1991 for the financing of the activities under the Agreement for the period up to 31 December 1991.

3.3 NORAD will, upon receipt of DERAP's request by 1 December and 1 July each year, credit the account with an amount corresponding to the revised budget for the coming half year. The request shall also contain audited accounts for the previous half-year. Any discrepancies between the transferred budget amount and the costs actually incurred for that period shall be added/subtracted in the amount payable for the next period. The request shall also contain a

workplan for the coming half year and give a short description of the activities performed during the previous half year including identification of personnel, purpose and duration of each travel.  
3.4 Within three months after completion of the Programme, DERAP shall present to NORAD audited final accounts and final report in respect of the programme activities. Upon presentation of final audited accounts NORAD will settle the balance within the amount of NOK 3.650.000. Any remaining funds not utilised upon completion of the Programme, including accrued interest, shall be refunded NORAD upon presentation. Documentation in original for procurement, international travels and PTT shall be submitted to NORAD if and when NORAD so requires.

#### 4. Entry into force - Termination

This contract shall enter into force when it has been signed by both parties and when the Agreement between Norway and Bangladesh has been signed. The Contract shall terminate when all obligations arising from it have been fulfilled.

IN WITNESS THEREOF the Norwegian Agency for International Development and CMI/DERAP acting through their duly authorized representatives, have caused this contract to be signed.

Done in two originals in English.

Oslo, 18 April 1991

Bergen, 30 April 1991

For the Norwegian Agency  
for International  
Development

For Chr. Michelsen  
Institute's Research  
and Action Programme

Tor Kubberud

Arne Tostensen