

Chr. Michelsen Institute is an independent research institute that was established in 1930. By the early 1960s, its Department of Humanities focused on research and advisory work in developing countries. Against this background, the first two sections of the study describe how the Development Research and Advisory Project (DERAP) was founded in 1965. It was renamed Development Research and Action Programme in 1976. One unique feature, referred to as the "DERAP profile", was that its research fellows were expected to spend a significant part of their time in developing countries, in addition to their research in Bergen. These sections also review how DERAP was organised and financed, how work in developing countries was assigned, and the nature of the staff's external employers when they served abroad. Two sections of the study survey the type of work done abroad, and the publications that resulted from research during DERAP's first 25 years. The last section deals with changes that took place during the final period under review.

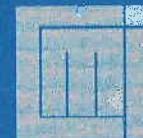
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CHR. MICHELSEN INSTITUTE

DERAP's first 25 years

The history of the Development
Action and Research Programme
at the Chr. Michelsen Institute

OLE DAVID KOHT NORBYE



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Acronyms

BIDS	Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics (Kenya)
CMI	The Chr. Michelsen Institute
DAS	Development Advisory Service (Harvard University)
DERAP	Until 1976: Development Economics Research and Advisory Project; after 1976: Development Research and Action Programme
DR	Development Research Project
DUH	Departementet for Utviklingshjelp (Ministry of Development Cooperation, Norway)
EADI	European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes
EC	European Communities
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIID	Harvard Institute for International Development
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank)
IEDP	International Economics and Development Programme
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDC	Less developed countries
MRP	Programmet for menneskerettighetsstudier (The Human Rights Studies Programme, CMI)
NEP	New Economic Policy (Malaysia)
NGO	Nongovernmental organisation
NIEO	The New International Economic Order
NOK	Norwegian <i>kroner</i>
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for International Development, later Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NØV	Ny økonomisk verdensorden (The New International Economic Order)
ODI	Overseas Development Institute (United Kingdom)

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Cooperation
PIDE	Pakistan Institute of Development Economics
PTA	The Preferential Trade Area in Eastern and Southern Africa
SADCC	Southern Africa Development Cooperation Conference
SID	Society for International Development
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
WCARRD	World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development

Foreword

DERAP — the Development Action and Research Programme — was formally established by the Chr. Michelsen Institute on 1st July 1965. Within the Institute DERAP has been a unique experiment, both in its objectives and in its mode of operation. When DERAP approached its 25th anniversary five years ago, the management of DERAP found that it would be appropriate to look back at its history. Another reason was that DERAP in the course of the preceding years had undergone considerable modifications, together with a change of generations in the staff

A retired senior research fellow, Per Tveite, who had been with DERAP since the beginning, was asked to prepare a portrait of the history of DERAP. Tveite did an impressive job in going through not easily accessible material, on events which the younger generation had not experienced and been involved in. Tveite's study gave particularly good insight into how the "DERAP model" — alternation between research work at the Institute in Bergen, and the great diversity of more applied and practical work in developing countries — had functioned during these years.

The monograph was written in Norwegian and for Norwegian readers. It was accompanied by various annexes containing important documents and material, such as statutes, comprehensive lists of people who had been members of the project or Department boards, research fellows, associate research fellows, library, computer services and office staff, and visiting scholars. There was also detailed statistics on assignments outside Bergen, and finally a set of agreements with Norwegian government authorities which support the programme financially.

As soon as the study was available, it was felt that much of it would also be of interest to people and organisations in DERAP's vast international network. This includes more than 60 visiting scholars, mostly from developing countries, who had worked in DERAP since 1969 when DERAP introduced a budget provision for 24 working months per year for guest researchers. However, the Norwegian version was mostly concerned with the way in which DERAP operated, and contained only brief references to the work that had been done, both during assignments abroad and in Bergen. It was felt that an English edition would have to cover also the type of work that had been undertaken, and to survey results of this work, primarily as they could be traced in various types of publications. As

a retired senior research fellow who had been working on development problems in the Institute even before DERAP was established (on the DR project, described in the study), I was given the task of translating the original document into English, and supplementing it with a description of professional assignments abroad as well as of the subject-matter of the numerous documents included in several lists of publications. I spent considerable time analysing DERAP's annual reports to explore the kinds of jobs DERAP researchers had done abroad and in Bergen, and consolidating information from four publications lists into a list of references at the end of the present study. On the basis of this material I have written sections 3 and 4. I have also made changes in sections 1, 2 and 5 which, but these are basically translations of Tveite's monograph.

As the author responsible for this English version of the history of DERAP's first 25 years, I want to express my admiration for the work done by Tveite, and without which the history in its present form never would have seen the light of day.

In an attempt to write a history of events in the very near past, there will always be differing opinions on how events and changes should be told and interpreted, and this applies in particular to events in which the narrator himself has taken part. Not everybody may agree to the way in which this study presents the changes that have taken place, particularly during the last few years. The author of the report is solely responsible for the content of the study.

The basic work on this translation and expansion of the review of DERAP activities was completed more than three years ago, and no attempt has been made to expand the coverage beyond mid-1990. The final editing of the monograph has been severely delayed for various reasons, and it is now published 30 years after DERAP was launched.

Several changes have taken place during the last five years. The challenge has been simultaneously to organise research efforts in Bergen in ways that permit better coordination, supervision and guidance, and to handle an increasing volume of contract work. In 1993 DERAP was still broken down into 5 sub-programmes while the Programme of Human Rights Studies (MRP) was a separate unit. In order to ensure better research management, as from 1st January 1994 the two programmes were grouped together under three areas of research activities: economic policies and management; democratisation and human rights; and resource management and gender relations. This reorganisation has meant that DERAP as such has no longer a separate identity within the Institute, but its activities continue, and there are still specific government grants to DERAP and MRP activities.

The Chr. Michelsen Institute has also undergone changes: its Department of Natural Science and Technology was in 1992 separated from the Institute as a limited company, Chr. Michelsen Research, in which the Institute and the University of Bergen are equal shareholders. Consequently, the Department of Social Science and Development has represented from then onwards all activities directly conducted by the Institute, and is therefore no longer a department, but the Institute's programme of Development and Human Rights Studies. The former position as Department Director has now become Director of Research. In March 1994 Arne Tostensen was appointed Senior Research Fellow and replaced as director by the social anthropologist Gunnar Sørbo, then Director of the Centre for Development Studies, the University of Bergen.

The brief description of the changes in activities in section 5 of this monograph remains relevant. The volume of activities has continued to increase: in the Annual Report 1994 we find that at the end of the year, 32 researchers were either employed by the Institute or worked in the Institute financed by long-term grants for work on PhD theses from the Research Council of Norway. In addition five persons had been working during part of the year as research assistants. Twelve of the researchers were on long-term assignments outside Bergen, of whom six in developing countries, and three as doctoral students at universities in the UK and USA. Ten visiting scholars worked shorter or longer periods at the Institute in 1994. In all, thirteen students had their work place at the Institute in the course of the year.

This expansion was made possible because of research grants allocated to the Institute, and, in particular, contract revenues which in 1994 accounted for 54 per cent of the revenues. It is satisfying to observe that so many of the younger staff can do advanced research financed by such grants. The problem remains that many of the research staff — in particular the more senior ones, but also some young researchers — must take on assignments which may not always represent challenging research tasks. However, quite a few of these tasks have resulted in interesting analytical work as well.

Despite the changes which have taken place during the past 5-10 years, it is fair to state that the old "DERAP profile" has not vanished. On the contrary, in 1994 half the permanent research staff was on long-term assignments in developing countries or with international organisations. This was an exceptional year, but apart from such long-term assignments, most of the permanent staff will in the course of any given year go on missions to developing countries under other assignments.

This monograph is a history and not the place to discuss the future plans and prospects for the Institute's work on developing countries. It has a solid foundation to build on, but the Institute must continue to be innovative and ready to adapt itself to changing international conditions.

Fantoft 31 May 1995

Ole David Koht Norbye
Retired Senior Research Fellow
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1. Looking back

A generation ago

Today concepts like "developing countries" and "development assistance" are widely known words in Norway as elsewhere. In the early 1960s, however, these, and other versions of the same expressions, were relatively new concepts. Interest in economic and demographic development in "The Third World" was feeble in northerly latitudes. What we today describe as development aid, scarcely extended beyond the not especially impressive amount Norway contributed through the United Nations.

For the most part, international organisations were not expressly oriented towards the developing countries. The World Bank (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had been established for quite different purposes than that of channelling assistance to countries in the Third World, even though development was a part of the World Bank's mandate. Today many consider that this should be the principal objective. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (originally the Organisation for European Economic Co-Operation (OEEC)), was initially created to ensure efficient utilisation of the USA assistance to Europe; the Marshall Plan. Later it was developed to provide a forum for coordination of economic policies, particularly as they effect the economies of the developed countries themselves. The origin of the European Communities was to be found in the Schuman Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community, also oriented towards the relatively wealthy countries of Europe.

In the early 1960s many countries in the Third World were still under European colonial rule. Five African countries which in modern Norwegian development aid terminology are programme countries — Botswana, Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia — became independent in the course of the 1960s and 1970s. Amongst other countries with which Norwegian development aid authorities have had close cooperation, Uganda became independent in 1964, and Zimbabwe in 1980. Namibia, which for seventy years was occupied by the white minority regime in South Africa, did not become independent until 1990.

Also in other respects the situation in the early 1960s was quite different from what it is now, some three decades later. The economic climate was different, in Norway as well as in Western Europe. In the 1960s we were

in a period of rapid economic growth, and the prospects for higher production, employment and standard of living were on the whole viewed with optimism. The Norwegian Constitution was amended with a clause which was regarded as a guarantee of full employment, and in the 1960s unemployment was not a current preoccupation in our country. The main interest was, much more than today, tied to future economic development within Norway itself. Attention to foreign developments was primarily devoted to cooperation within Europe.

Today, however, the perspectives which economists and others advance for higher production and income for Norway, are more modest than in the 1960s. Nevertheless, elected representatives of the people as well as the majority of the electorate are now far more interested in living conditions overseas, in environmental issues and in problems of refugees in more remote countries.

A simple index of the growing interest in the world outside Norway is given by the annual vote of official bilateral development assistance, including humanitarian aid. This increased from below NOK 10 million in 1962 to more than NOK 3 billion in the central government budget for 1990. Even if we take inflation into account, this represents a marked expansion.

A second indicator is the report of the Brundtland Commission in 1987¹ and the strong following it has gained — a reaction unthinkable a generation earlier.

The media have played an enormous role in this evolution. Increased knowledge and its dissemination occurred simultaneously, but it was only from the 1970s onwards that the Norwegian people fully became actively aware of the situation in faraway lands. That powerful medium, colour television, was not introduced in Norway until 1972, and it took years before it became common in most homes. The Vietnam War, the student revolt and other international events reinforced this impact on public opinion. Parallel with the popularisation of knowledge came a growing interest in research and studies of Third World conditions and in expanding contact networks across national frontiers. Back in the early 1960s research in Norway into how countries develop was extremely limited and had practically no place in our educational institutions; most academics regarded it at best as uninteresting. By 1990, however, we even had a well functioning Norwegian Association for Development Research. When DERAP had formally been established in 1965, after a difficult birth, this

¹ World Commission on Environment and Development. *Our Common Future*. Gro Harlem Brundtland (chairperson). Oxford University Press, 1987, xv, 383 p.

new institution was presented as CMI's project on development economics, the significance of which was not generally appreciated at the time.

The expansion of research, reporting and consultancy related to development problems in the Third World is indicated by the veritable explosion in professional literature in the field: books, reports, articles in periodicals and, not least, analysis and other material from international organisations to which the Nordic countries have contributed with professional experts and financial grants. CMI's own library for development literature is a good example of this growth in the volume and quality of such literature. This modern, professional library is today an important institution in its own right.

Today, when we are flooded by new literature on developing countries based on personal experiences and studies in Third World countries, it is almost painful to look back on the debate during the first period of the Norwegian India project. The introduction to what later on led to the establishment of Norsk Utviklingshjelp (Norwegian Development Aid, the first agency in charge of bilateral assistance) came in the early 1950s when the Norwegian Parliament voted NOK 10 million for a fisheries project in India. A separate institution, the Foundation for Assistance to Underdeveloped Areas, was established to administer the project. This led to a lively discussion with pressure for and against, including a supportive action by individuals who mobilised NOK 4 million for the project. Through this project Norway moved into a relatively unknown field, given the limited Norwegian expertise on India. It is not surprising that the conflicting views that were expressed, were based more on emotions than on insight into the problems facing the project.

In the course of the years more than NOK 100 million was voted for the Indo-Norwegian Fisheries Project. The results were not quite as expected — which was also not surprising. The India experiment is a good object lesson in how important it is to have a firm knowledge base, not only straightforward technical proficiency, before one ventures into teaching other peoples how to solve their problems. The very essence of the DERAP's profile, to which we return below, is that it is not enough to theorise on paper in an attempt to solve problems of growth in the Third World countries.

Originally DERAP had very little to do with Norwegian development assistance. The researchers initially attached to the project were not particularly interested in Norwegian aid, which at that time was not a challenging field of research for economists. One exception was the Kerala fishing project which was made the subject of analysis by a DERAP economist. Problems of economic growth and social development in poor

countries were generally far more interesting. And it was a very great personal and professional challenge to be employed in the central planning administration of a developing country and have the opportunity to become familiar with the various issues from the inside.

Twenty to thirty years ago this was both new and exciting. It was perhaps because they contributed to pioneering work that the DERAP economists of the early vintage managed to leave a lasting imprint.

In the course of the past generation a dramatic expansion has taken place in the exchange of information, in the transfer of financial and technical assistance and in technology. The contributions of individuals tend to become indistinguishable within a massive endeavour. In more than one respect, what has happened in the course of the past 25 years represents the arrival of a new generation.

The roots of DERAP

The Chr. Michelsen Institute

Christian Michelsen was one of the great Norwegians of the 20th century. His name will first of all be remembered because he was serving as prime minister in 1905 when he announced to the Norwegian Parliament (Stortinget) that the King of Norway and Sweden had ceased to be king of Norway because he had refused to fulfil his constitutional obligation to sign a law duly adopted by the parliament. This meant the break-up of the union between Norway and Sweden, which had existed since 1814 on the basis of having a common monarch for the two countries. Michelsen then successfully conducted the difficult negotiations with Sweden; later he could welcome the first King to be ruler solely of Norway for 600 years, and whose election had been approved by an overwhelming majority of the Norwegian people in a referendum.

Christian Michelsen was a well-off business man in Bergen. At his death in 1925 he bequeathed his wealth to the establishment of a foundation directed to furthering the development of science. In his will he specified that three areas should have priority: humanistic sciences; natural sciences including technology; and medicine. To these three objectives he added a fourth: cultural and scientific work to foster tolerance between nations and races — religiously, socially, economically and politically. This fourth objective became a particular justification for the Institute's work on developing countries and human rights. On the basis of this foundation the

Chr. Michelsen Institute was established on the founder's birthday, 15th March 1930.

In the 1920s and 1930s there were not many academic positions in Norway for young scholars. They had to compete for very few modestly paid scholarships as university fellows for a limited number of years, and in these positions they also had teaching and other obligations. Christian Michelsen wanted to give particularly promising researchers excellent working conditions: they were to have no teaching or administrative duties and they were to be well paid; twice the salary of a university professor (this was, however, never practised). At the outset Chr. Michelsen Institute was not really an institute, but a group of gifted, young men who were given the title 'members of the institute'. After only a few years, however, the member in the field of natural science (a physicist) hired assistants and laboratory and workshop facilities, and thus moved beyond being an individual scholar. In the early 1950s a research complex for what had become the Institute's department of natural science and technology was built. For both capital and operational costs, the CMI had to rely in large part on finance from outside sources, including grants from government organisations, and contract work for both government and private organisations.

Throughout the 1950s the CMI Department of Humanities continued as a group of a few individual members. It was then located in a large mansion which was part of Christian Michelsen's estate. In line with the intention of the founder, these members were expected to pursue their research within the institute for a limited period, normally a five year term. With the arrival of the economist Just Faaland in 1952 and the political scientist Stein Rokkan in 1958, a change took place. At the Institute they each initiated and developed broader research programmes, which required the employment of other scientific and support personnel, financed through participation in international research programmes and by mobilisation of outside financial resources.

In 1961 the two members of the institute's Department of Humanities had defined their own research programmes: Just Faaland in international economics and Stein Rokkan in comparative politics. In the annual report of the Institute we find the following passages on the Department of Humanities:

1961 was a year of planning and consolidation for the Department. After detailed discussions between the [CMI] Board and the two members Faaland and Rokkan a long-range programme was formulated for the development of research on social sciences at the Chr. Michelsen Institute in the two fields of international economics and comparative politics.

These intentions were followed up. In retrospect it must have given the Institute satisfaction that both researchers were later made Knights of the Order of St. Olav in recognition of their contributions in these two areas. Now that research in these areas has become widespread, the pioneering nature of their activities needs to be stressed, not least to younger people.

The antecedents

DERAP was formally established within the Institute on 1st July 1965 as a development economics project with main emphasis on growth problems in developing countries. But DERAP had a predecessor in the Development Research (DR) Project which had been running for about four years before it was succeeded by DERAP.

Just Faaland had his first contact with the problems of developing countries in 1950, when as staff member of the then Organisation for European Economic Cooperation in Paris, he took part in a mission to Costa Rica. But it was in 1957, after he had taken leave of absence from the Institute and joined the Harvard Advisory Group (see below) in Pakistan for two years, that he decided to devote himself mainly to the problems of developing countries. In Karachi he discussed the plans for what later became the DR project with colleagues there who were to become his close co-workers for the next three decades.

In the early 1960s the Institute's work on international economics was concentrated in three fields, under the headings studies of custom unions and trade discrimination; international comparisons of economic policy; and developing countries in the world economy. It was the work in the last field which was emphasised in the DR project and which gradually came to dominate these activities until the birth of DERAP in 1965. During the period 1961-64 the DR project was mainly financed by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Without this support it would hardly have been possible to embark on this experiment and hence pave the way for transition to the later DERAP which operated for more than a quarter century.

Also prior to 1960 important studies in the field of international economics had been carried out at the Institute, but it would take us too far to trace the links between these studies and what was the professional orientation of the DR project and of DERAP at the start, namely growth and development in the Third World and the economic relations between rich and poor countries.

In trying to describe the DR period there are two features which strike an observer. Firstly, only a small number of researchers were engaged by the project: at most three economists at work, in addition to Faaland,

supplemented some of the time by two or three temporary assistants. Secondly, there was great diversity in the tasks carried out, ranging from Pakistan, India, Northern Africa, East Africa and Nigeria to the development programme for Northern Norway, and other more general subjects. Yet, it provided firm roots for future development of DERAP. Thirty years later, it is interesting to note that one of the objectives of the DR project was to assess the extent to which the developing countries as a whole could base their development strategies on exports of manufactured goods to the richer, developed countries. This research proved too ambitious for completion during the life-span of the DR project; indeed, the question is even more relevant today than in the beginning of the 1960s.

Taking into account the ambitious objectives of the DR project, the DR period was very short. If in 1964-65 the CMI management had not been willing and courageous enough to press forward, the DR project might have been no more than a short episode instead of the foundation of what was to become DERAP.

The Harvard Group

Although a good professional base had been laid in the DR project with financial support from abroad, considerable obstacles had to be overcome before DERAP could be firmly established. Neither in the Nordic countries nor elsewhere in Europe was there any model for DERAP, which has therefore been described as a unique experiment. However, in North America a related institution had been founded in 1962, the Development Advisory Service (DAS) established by Harvard University, which for some years had operated Harvard Advisory Groups in certain countries, including Pakistan. DAS had some features in common with DERAP, including only a small headquarters staff, but in many respects it was different. Fieldwork in developing countries was even more important and extensive in DAS than in DERAP. DAS also took responsibility for the organisation and logistics of teams in the host countries, engaging external advisors and consultants for work on DAS projects in the Third World. From 1962 to 1974, when DAS was succeeded by a new institution called the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID), DAS managed a total of 17 development projects in 14 different countries; to these DAS had recruited 300 advisors and consultants, mostly economists, from USA and other countries. The first four senior economists who were with DERAP from the very beginning have all had one or several long-term assignments with Harvard, DAS or HIID: in Bangladesh (Norbye), Liberia (Anonsen), Malaysia (Faaland) and Pakistan (Faaland, Norbye, Tveite). Also P.J.

Bjerve, later chairman of the DERAP board, had a long-term Harvard assignment in Pakistan.

The main emphasis of the Harvard institutions being on field work, it was difficult to establish cooperation between the many participants in these projects on larger, important research projects. "The volume of publication has been large but is has been scattered and lacking in coherence."² This characteristic also applied to DERAP.

The DERAP profile

In January 1969 the Board of CMI adopted the formal statutes of DERAP in which the objectives of the project were formulated as follows:

The Project has as objectives:

- (a) to expand the knowledge of the developing countries' economy and economic growth problems, the development assistance's effectiveness and results etc., through free research efforts by the members of the group,
- (b) to stimulate younger graduates to undertake research and offer technical assistance in this field,
- (c) to strengthen the basis for recruitment for technical assistance to developing countries through assignments in developing countries by the members of the group. It is regarded as normal that about half the total working time of the group will be spent on assignments in the field,
- (d) to ensure continuity in research and field work in this field in order to ensure that the specialisation and experience from work in developing countries can be preserved and strengthened by giving the members of the group the opportunity to concentrate on these tasks in the long term.

DERAP was the acronym of the original English name of the project: Development Economics Research and Advisory Project, a project attached to the Department of Humanities of the Institute. In 1976 the name of the department was changed to the Department of Social Science and Development, which better reflected the content of its work. At the same time the project was given a new name: Development Research and Action Programme, while the well-established acronym DERAP was retained. This change was partly motivated by the fact that development economics no longer was the dominating part of the activities, and partly by the expected

² Edward S. Mason: *The Harvard Institute for International Development and Its Antecedents*. Boston: University Press of America, 1986.

duration and diversification of the operations, which could no longer be regarded as a single project.

The original statutes were later revised and brought up-to-date several times. However, the essence of the directives which characterised the DERAP profile remained the same until they were questioned in the autumn of 1987, when alteration of DERAP's activities was given serious consideration and led to a change of management (see section 5).³

The professional staff employed by DERAP in the beginning were given contracts for five years in which they undertook to spend about half their time in developing countries, financed from outside the DERAP budget. This division of time between work in developing countries and research work at headquarters has always characterised the DERAP profile.

From the very beginning, DERAP provided its members the opportunity to work "on the inside" in developing countries and on their premises. In the course of the years this has given DERAP personnel exposure to and understanding of the particularity of the problems and of the application of policy for economic management. It may also have given the staff a broader view and a more realistic understanding of the positive and negative potential of development aid and technical assistance.

The way in which DERAP was organised also made it possible for staff members to engage in work in developing countries at short notice. Also such staff had the opportunity to return to the Institute and there engage in studies which would further expand their competence, and to conduct research within DERAP's field of action. These were important aspects of the DERAP profile.

By contrast, back in the 1950s and 1960s it was not easy for people in established positions in Norway to be granted leave of absence to undertake assignments in developing countries. In the central government administration, for example, very strict rules were followed when leave of absence was granted. In some services it was in practice impossible to be released except through resignation. Today, when public and even private sector employers have far more liberal attitudes, it is easy to forget that conditions were so different only a generation ago. At that time it was unusual to take on professional assignments in developing countries; in the opinion of many people it also had low priority — with the possible exception of traditional Christian mission activities.

Whenever people in established positions not in DERAP had completed their leave of absence and returned home, they usually returned to their

³ In 1994 the activities of the Institute were consolidated into three programmes of development and human right studies, and DERAP as such ceased to exist.

former positions and went on dealing with the same problems as before, without any opportunity to make use of what they had learned from experience in the Third World or to communicate their impressions to wider circles. DERAP established a system whereby professional colleagues from other institutions, on returning from developing countries, were offered the opportunity to work for a period at the Institute as "associate research fellows", to record their experiences. However, this arrangement found little application because it was so rare that potential candidates were able to further extend their leave of absence from their regular employment.

A principal longer-term aim of the alternation within DERAP between work abroad and at home was to build up a base of professional knowledge and experience which would make new assignments in the field more fruitful. Over the years much valuable research was done and completed, albeit less than could have been produced in a pure research institution. This was realised by the management and staff of DERAP from the very beginning and caused the Board of the Institute to voice some hesitation before embarking on the DERAP venture. Throughout the life of DERAP, interesting research projects had to be interrupted because of assignments abroad, frequently decided at short notice. This worked against the continuity of research efforts and was a recurring theme for debate, but it was implied in the DERAP profile, and deliberately accepted. In addition, when the staff was in Bergen, other activities than research took also time and effort. DERAP's annual reports give an extensive description of other activities, such as teaching or information, that absorbed many working hours. In recent years the obligation to work abroad has been reduced somewhat, so as to permit some strengthening of the research effort at home. The kind of field assignments typical in earlier years precluded finding some optimal solution that would give research highest priority.

Work in developing countries could also be a heavy personal burden on the researchers themselves and their families. In some few cases DERAP lost highly qualified researchers who concluded that in the long run they could not bind themselves to fulfilling the obligation to work abroad over long periods.

Recruitment policy, incentives and motivation

Just Faaland himself and the economist colleagues who had worked with him in the Institute had several years of research experience behind them when DERAP was established. But with DERAP's strong emphasis on practical work in developing countries, the senior members' experience from work in government, international organisations and developing

countries was regarded as at least equally important by the DERAP management. This was the background for the recruitment of additional senior research fellows, at the start of the project in 1965 and later in the early 1970s. All of these recruits had long experience from high positions in government administration, international organisations and Third World countries. Only one had long-term research experience. Later no outsider was recruited to a senior position in DERAP during its first 25 years of existence.

What characterised the recruitment policy in DERAP beyond the five senior positions was the deliberate emphasis on recruiting young people, frequently recent graduates from universities. Considerable stress was placed on the attitudes of the newcomers. They were not promised rapid promotion or assured career prospects. Moreover, they would have to accept the personal inconveniences associated with spending much of their time in developing countries where living conditions often were difficult, and which could mean hardship on spouses and problems for their children's schooling.

On the other hand precisely the prospect of getting long-term assignments in developing countries was an important financial incentive in the early years. Norwegian salaries were low by international standards; in the 1950s and 1960s senior counterparts in some developing countries were, in fact, better paid than their Norwegian advisors in their home country. This has, of course, changed as inflation and poverty have eroded the salaries of senior officials in the Third World. For Norwegian civil servants and academics overseas assignments with fringe benefits provided higher incomes as long as they lasted. This compensated for a more modest career and financial outlook in DERAP. All this has now changed; Norwegian salaries are better than they were, and overseas assignments comparatively less financially rewarding. In addition, long-term assignments became less frequent for DERAP researchers. Also in this respect there was a change of generation under way.

Motivation is just as important as before. Genuine interest in the problems of the developing countries is needed to feel at home in this kind of work. But the incentives are different today. One of DERAP's assets is still evident: excellent working conditions at the Institute in Bergen, in an environment that permits study and research. The obligation to take assignments in developing countries still represents a challenge and an opportunity to learn how poor countries function. But it continues to have its drawbacks: interrupted study and research, absence from spouse and children, and other problems connected with long-term sojourns in developing countries. In addition, in recent years, the need to take

consultancy jobs on behalf of the Institute, often without travelling to developing countries, meant that study and research may be interrupted. Nevertheless, the Institute is still able to recruit both young and more experienced social scientists who treasure the intellectual and human opportunities it can offer them. Recruitment has also been facilitated by the arrangement whereby university students have had their work-place at DERAP while preparing their graduate theses. Quite a few of them later worked for the Institute, and several have become permanent research fellows.

The economists who were in their forties when they got DERAP moving have now retired from the Institute, albeit not all of them from professional activities; most of the experienced research fellows who now are in their forties have been working with DERAP for one or two decades. They were trained at DERAP and are marked by the DERAP profile. But they understand that the young generation which is now entering the Institute is more research minded, and many of the newcomers start or finish work on their doctors' theses before they are ready to undertake more operational work in developing countries. This is a new feature which was more of an exception than a rule during DERAP's first 25 years. For today's newcomers, the possibility of graduating as researchers is an important incentive to work in at the Chr. Michelsen Institute.

Budgetary aspects

Given the financial limitations placed on DERAP, the fact that assignments in developing countries were financed from outside was an advantage. In the field, DERAP researchers were on leave without pay from the institute, and their office space, at least when they were away on long-term assignments, was occupied by other colleagues.

The total costs of the activities of the DERAP staff, therefore, were not reflected in the accounts of the Institute; only expenditure in Bergen appeared in DERAP's accounts. In the annual budgets it was always assumed that salary costs of part of the professional staff would be financed from other sources, and they were therefore kept outside DERAP's budgets. This also introduced an element of uncertainty into the budgetary process. In some cases a staff member went abroad later than expected; in other cases the stay abroad lasted longer than anticipated. Sometimes staff members might take on unexpected shorter assignments in the course of the year. While this budgeting implied uncertainty, it was a consequence of the DERAP profile, and it never created any significant budgetary problems for the Institute and its auditors.

A crucial point in this connection is that from the very beginning the obligation to serve abroad and the associated net budgeting were deliberate and based on purely professional considerations. As a by-product and consequence of the DERAP profile, the Institute could employ a larger professional staff than could be financed from its own resources. The individual researcher was not obliged to take an assignment abroad for budgetary reasons. Such assignments were always based on other considerations, with considerable flexibility as to timing. At times staff members might have to decline interesting offers, or prolongation of ongoing assignments, because they were needed at home. Especially in the beginning when the research staff was small, there could be very few people present in the Department at its offices, which were then located in Gamle Kalvedalsvei 12 in Bergen.

Main features of the growth and consolidation of DERAP

DERAP operated initially within a five-year time-span, primarily for budgetary reasons. There were also other factors of uncertainty, including recruitment difficulties in a tight market for Norwegian economists. But both the management and the economists who were part of DERAP from the beginning were fully devoted to the idea that once DERAP was launched it would continue for many years. The field of operations, primarily linked to growth problems in the Third World, made it quite natural to look upon this as a task that would last for a generation or more. Such problems could not be solved in the course of a five-year period.

Initially an agreement on cooperation was concluded with the then Norwegian agency for development assistance (Norsk Utviklingshjelp) which agreed to contribute to the financing of the project, under certain conditions. In 1969 a project board was established with external members. Before the first five-year period was finished, the project had not only been expanded, but also consolidated.

However, after the first 25 years, it had to be recognised that there was never any real consolidation — if by that we mean the construction of a permanent institution which provides the same kind of services year after year. DERAP had constantly undergone changes. People had joined and had left, the tasks had changed, many well-intended research initiatives had never been finished, and new ones had come instead. Assignments abroad had frequently been arranged at the shortest possible notice, and other work put aside. Engagement of visiting scholars was sometimes decided on an ad hoc basis, in some cases because an interesting researcher had become available after having gone into exile following political upsets at home.

Nevertheless the activities were linked together even if the pattern changed with the passage of time.

These changes also reflected the fact that the demand for foreign competence in developing countries had shifted somewhat in the course of the years. As more and more countries had educated and trained competent professionals who gained experience, frequently in cooperation with foreign advisors, the need for such advisors in key positions in the administration had become smaller. In other countries, however, in particular in smaller developing countries, there remains a need for such professionals from abroad. It is also of significance that the approach to development problems of the international community has changed its nature, and the demand for professional advice outside the ranks of economists has become much greater. In this environment a less flexible organisation would quickly be left behind. DERAP accepted this and moved with the times, notably by expanding the staff to include also other disciplines than economics.

Chr. Michelsen Institute as a whole has always been a pioneer in research in its various areas of operation. The very establishment of DERAP in 1965 to deal with economic development in Third World countries, long before Norwegian universities became interested in the field, illustrates the point. The management and staff of DERAP continued to aim at being in the frontline. There were therefore very good reasons for the changes which took place in the composition of the staff and the research programme, leading to a very different pattern in later years from that of the 1960s.

The fact that the engagement of DERAP was primarily directed towards the situation of the poor countries themselves, and not to Norwegian academic circles, to the educational demand in Norway or to the development assistance activities of Norway and other rich countries, describes the orientation of DERAP's activities from the start. It explains also why DERAP quickly became aware of needs and opportunities in developing countries and how their situation changed, and on that basis better could determine how DERAP should direct its activities in the future.

These changes, and the movements both in permanent staff and amongst visiting scholars, are also reflected in the lists of DERAP publications, in seminars and in other information activities. It is not easy to discern a well-defined pattern in these activities over the relatively long period of 25 years. The main objective, however, has not changed, and all the pieces in the picture fall within a framework which has given the total set of activities meaning, cohesion and effect.

Fields of activities

DERAP's activities were characterised by the purposeful coming and going between fieldwork in developing countries and research and other activities at headquarters in Bergen. This alternation has been the basic feature of "the DERAP profile". In section 5 we look at the changes in orientation during recent years which reflected doubts as to whether DERAP could continue to operate as in the past as a result of changing environments both in developing countries and in Norway.

A brief description of various aspects of DERAP activities abroad and at home over the first quarter of its history is a natural starting point for a more systematic analysis. Many of these activities are not research, but globally they form a valuable background for scientific research — not only today but also in the future.

Activities abroad

The great majority of assignments abroad were in individual countries in Africa or Asia, and more exceptionally in regional organisations such as the East African Community or SADCC in Southern Africa. In some few cases, researchers were attached directly to the secretariats of international organisations, such as the United Nations headquarters, or UNIDO and the OECD Development Centre, with problems of the Third World as their field of work. This implies that the main activities were country specific, and that work was concentrated on national problems. This is also reflected in DERAP's lists of publications.

Although the experience of DERAP personnel was generated in individual countries, efforts were made to generalise this experience into the study of general problems, such as the growth of population, the structure of world trade and the development of the international exchange of goods and services, the international debt problem, different types of technical and financial assistance, and the role of government administration in the development process. Insight into such problems is a necessary background for understanding national issues, also issues that go beyond economics.

It takes time to develop broad competence in comparative analysis based on one's own observations during fieldwork. For that reason it was immensely valuable for DERAP to be able to operate over a long time-horizon, generally unconstrained in the choice of geographical areas.

A list of assignments abroad by the DERAP staff in the course of the years — either as individual advisors, as team members or as heads of

projects — covers a large number of countries. However, many of these assignments were once-only in a country or an organisation, and are only of general interest in relation to the total image. The main thrust was on a small selection of countries. In Asia these included Pakistan and Bangladesh, and to a lesser extent India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka. In Africa the main countries, especially in the early period, were Kenya in East Africa and Botswana in Southern Africa, where more than ten DERAP researchers worked for more than 40 man-years. Many years were spent in other parts of Eastern and Southern Africa (Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe), but also outside this part of Africa, in Liberia, Nigeria and the Sudan in addition to shorter assignments in other countries. Sections 2 and 3 contain more specific descriptions of the work in developing countries.

Field assignments have been dominated by economists, particularly in the earlier period, when there was a great demand for economists to assist in economic analysis and planning and in expanding statistics as basis for improved insight and planning. In the 1960s it was practically unheard-of to use anthropologists in economic planning, especially in Africa where, because of their past work, anthropologists were viewed with considerable distrust. Even though there is still some demand for the type of economic advice which DERAP has been supplying, the situation in many developing countries is now changing.

Gradually the demand for people from other social sciences to take on assignments in developing countries has increased, although rarely for the central positions that economists have often occupied. As the field of development assistance activities broadened, this created a need for experts from other professions, not least in the service of the development assistance administrations in developing countries. In recent years, the emphasis given to structural adjustment in developing countries has again expanded the demand for economists in development aid administration in the host countries.

Research and related pursuits

The decisive emphasis on fieldwork in earlier years explains why so many DERAP publications consist of reports, compilations of data and information, and descriptive analyses, while theoretical contributions of a more academic trait are more the exceptions. During the first years, the catchword for fieldwork was applied economics, not theoretical pioneering work, and this approach influenced also the work at the home base.

In more recent years the picture has become more diversified — because of a broader professional composition of the research staff, because many more graduate students have been doing their thesis work at DERAP, and as a consequence of much more conscious and emphatic pursuit of research, even at the expense of the traditional type of engagements in developing countries.

Management structure. From project board to professional advisory council

Initially there was no intermediate link between the staff of DERAP and the top management of the Institute — the CMI Board and the CMI Council — except through the Institute's member in international economics as head of DERAP.

On the initiative of DERAP a project board for DERAP was established in 1969, consisting of five members plus an associate member who also attended the meetings. This was a purely professional board whose objective was to function as an advisory committee for the guidance of DERAP activities. DERAP's own management had two members on the board: the chairman and the deputy chairman. Due to frequent assignments abroad these positions alternated between the senior researchers of DERAP as long as the project board existed, i.e. until 1976. The original external members of the board during this period were three professors: Preben Munthe, economist, from the University of Oslo; Stein Rokkan, political scientist, from the University of Bergen; and Leif Holbæk-Hansen from the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration in Bergen. The associate member was also a professor from the University of Bergen, Fredrik Barth, anthropologist. When Barth moved to Oslo, he was replaced by Petter Jakob Bjerve, director of the Central Bureau of Statistics, himself an economist of high academic competence with experience from developing countries. There has always been a link between the project board (and its successors) and the CMI Board since one of the members, first Holbæk-Hansen and later Einar Magnussen, director at the Bank of Norway, was a member of both boards.

When the Department of Humanities was reorganised in 1976, the project board was replaced by a Department board. The intention was that the new board would also be responsible for other programmes which the Department of Social Science and Development would eventually launch, in addition to DERAP. The head of DERAP, whose formal function hitherto had been director of research in international economics, became

director of the renamed department, and the board was expanded to seven members. The director of the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) became a member; in addition, a representative of the DERAP staff, elected by the entire staff, was included. The director of the Department continued as chairman of the board until 1982, when he was replaced by Bjerve, who in 1984 was succeeded by Magnussen. The function as deputy chairman was abolished in 1976. These changes led to a gradual modification of the function of the board; it became more of a decision-making authority, but lost its character of a small but highly competent academic advisory body. The number of board members was increased to 10 in 1983, including a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an additional representative of the DERAP staff. The representative of NORAD, and later the Ministry of Development Cooperation, was frequently accompanied by an advisor, without the right to vote. The board met normally 4 times a year. Much of the time was spent on budget and administrative problems, frequently leaving scant opportunity for discussing the professional content of research projects and programmes.

As part of another reorganisation of the management of the Institute as a whole in 1988, the special boards of the Institute's two departments were abolished. Thus the intermediary link between DERAP and the CMI Board was abrogated, largely reverting to the arrangements of 20 years earlier. Instead an Advisory Council of ten members for the Department of Social Science and Development was created. This Council would not be expected to occupy itself with budgets and administrative tasks but would be a forum for the discussion of the Department's professional profile and development, meeting twice a year.

Growth and composition of the professional staff

In the beginning the staff was small and easy to keep track of. The Department of Humanities of the Institute was installed in an old, venerable wooden mansion in Gamle Kalvedalsvei 12 in Bergen which had belonged to Christian Michelsen and had an atmosphere all its own. When it became evident that the project was viable, activities started to expand and in the course of DERAP's first five years the regular research staff increased from five to ten persons. Another index of increasing activities was the growing number of visiting scholars over shorter or longer periods. In the course of the 1970s more than 20 guest researchers were attached to DERAP, for periods varying from some weeks to many months.

When the entire institute moved to its newly built offices at Fantoft in 1978, DERAP was allocated more physical space. During the first half of the 1980s, DERAP received 30 foreign visiting scholars, for periods of weeks to in some cases a year or more. But the regular research staff has always been small, often regarded as suboptimal in relation to ambitions and reputation. For many years, the budget permitted the appointment of no more than 14 permanent research fellows in addition to other personnel. As many of these professionals were on assignments in the Third World, often for 2-3 years, there could be times when there were very few researchers at the home base, particularly during the first years.

Regular research staff

DERAP started its existence with five experienced economists. Four had been on long-term assignments as advisors in developing countries — two were in fact on field assignments when DERAP started its activities — and the fifth left almost immediately in the autumn 1965 for a two-year assignment in Nigeria. In many respects DERAP was a natural continuation of the DR project from which three of the initial five researchers were transferred.

Two years later, the research staff had increased to 9 members, still all economists; after 5 1/2 years, the staff numbered 11; and in 1971 the establishment was increased to 13 of whom 11 were economists. Even by then, two researchers had left DERAP for other assignments, one of them in Asia. From then until 1990 the number of researchers in permanent jobs changed little; excluding people on temporary assignments, the number fluctuated between 11 and 16, including the director. At the end of 1989 there were 12 permanent full-time researchers, and 2 part-time. Of the 12, only 5 were economists; the others came from the disciplines of demography, social anthropology and sociology. In preceding years, two political scientists, two business economists and a geographer had held long-term research positions in DERAP. The predominance of economists had thus been replaced by a multidisciplinary environment, reflecting a shift in emphasis in the approach to development. Nevertheless economic analysis, advice and professional contributions remained crucial, both in research and in operational work in developing countries.

Associate research fellows

From the very beginning DERAP appointed associate research fellows, not least to expand the network of external contacts. As the regular research

staff was always small, wider relationships were desirable. For one thing DERAP wished to encourage closer links with fellow professionals in the field who could act as contact persons there, *inter alia* assisting in securing documentation and other literature for the library in Bergen.

Some Norwegian colleagues not on DERAP's own staff who returned from assignments in developing countries were offered associate research fellowships and a work-place at the institute for a period of some weeks or months, so that they could put on paper some of the insight they had gained, or present it in seminars. However, this arrangement worked only in a few cases because the returning professionals were obliged to give priority to tasks outside DERAP.

In all, only 12 associate research fellows have been attached to DERAP, of whom 10 have been economists. The period of connection with DERAP has on average been three to four years. With the exception of three professors from abroad, these associates have been Norwegian citizens. The three foreigners had all for some time been visiting research fellows; several of the Norwegians had previously belonged to the regular research staff but continued as associate research fellows in order to maintain contact when they left for other positions.

Visiting research fellows

The arrangement with guest researchers or visiting research fellows has been more actively used than the associate research fellow arrangement. Participation as a visiting fellow has been greatly prized, but for DERAP this arrangement was also quite expensive to maintain.

From the late 1960s DERAP's budget included an annual item of 24 working months reserved for external visiting fellows, mostly from Third World countries. The number of visiting fellows in any given year varied greatly from zero to no less than 11 persons. The period of stay at the Institute also varied greatly — from a few weeks to several years. In a few cases experienced researchers from Western industrialised countries were invited, but most of the guest researchers have been from developing countries, notably from those in which researchers from DERAP have been working themselves. Thus, there have been many guest researchers from Bangladesh, a country with which DERAP has always had close relations and where DERAP researchers have spent many working years. During the first years of operation of this system there was also a marked predominance of economists amongst the visiting research fellows.

Until the end of 1989 the list of guest researchers who had been attached to DERAP once or several times included 63 names (or more than the 50

persons who were appointed to permanent or temporary staff positions in the same period). This variety of visiting research fellows from different areas of the world has contributed to the wide diversity in subjects of DERAP publications. In recent years this became even more pronounced as the visiting research fellows had a wide dispersion of professional skills, in part reflecting the increasingly diversified professional composition of DERAP's permanent research staff with whom some of the visitors had worked previously.

Exchange of researchers

There was a limited exchange of researchers between DERAP and other research institutions. Only to a modest degree this took the form of formalised arrangements based on negotiated agreements, namely the cooperation agreements between DERAP and Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS). In the case of Bangladesh, moreover, there were considerably more visiting scholars at DERAP operating outside the BIDS-agreements than within these arrangements. Until 1990 the relatively modest flow of visitors under the agreements went predominantly from BIDS to CMI and only to a lesser degree in the opposite direction. Most of the working years which DERAP researchers spent in Bangladesh were organised and financed in other ways.

Temporary assignments and students

A number of Norwegian professional colleagues worked at DERAP in different connections. Some undertook special tasks, with or without pay, e.g. as assistants on a particular project, as graduate students seeking guidance and a temporary work-place, as scholarship holders from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, or in other connections. Some conscientious objectors who were allocated to serve in DERAP as an alternative to military service, were attached to the computer section, the library or the office staff.

When DERAP in recent years began to take on larger consultancy assignments for Norwegian and other development agencies, it became usual to hire temporary consultants, foreigners as well as Norwegians, to participate in preparing the reports.

Contact with students, particularly from the University of Bergen, has been strengthened over the years. The Institute has allocated a limited number of work-places for use of Norwegian or foreign graduate students

working on their theses in areas within DERAP's own sphere of interest. This arrangement has proven valuable to DERAP also, in the recruitment of researchers for long-term or temporary assignments to DERAP.

In total, a rather heterogenous group of well-motivated researchers, consultants and students at different levels and from various professions have spent shorter or longer periods at DERAP. Some were fully or partly financed by DERAP, others had only a temporary work-place without other costs to the institute than those linked to the use of computers, library and other office services. All these temporary working visits by outsiders contributed to expanding DERAP's contacts and stimulated DERAP's own activities.

Administration and office staff

During the first years the administrative head of DERAP was member of the research staff and his time counted as research years. Later the director's position became formally classified as part of administration in budgetary terms. The director had the responsibility for the research programme, and in practice there was no significant difference, apart from the fact that he had greater responsibilities and a particularly heavy workload. From time to time one of the other researchers was appointed deputy director in order to relieve the director and ensure continuity in the administration during his absence.

In 1983 a separate programme for human rights studies (MRP), parallel to DERAP, was established within the Department.⁴ In his position as Director of the Department, the head of DERAP also became responsible for MRP, which entailed an additional administrative burden.

From the very beginning, the DERAP management and researchers had the support of an unusually competent and motivated office staff. As with the library, the resident office staff provided a solid foundation of the activities of DERAP.

Accounts were originally entered by hand into huge folio protocols by the chief office clerk and accountant Ove Jørgensen until he retired in 1973. This was before computerised accounts became a feasible alternative. Typing was carried out on manual typewriters, and manuscripts duplicated on old stencillers which often packed up. The office machinery used during

⁴ MRP became an important part of the Department's activities, and dealt also with problems of developing countries, in particular through its participation in the preparation and publication of a series of yearbooks on human rights in Norway's programme countries.

DERAP's first years, together with the tools employed for calculations, are today museum pieces to us, but DERAP researchers still encounter such equipment in some places in the Third World.

Researchers being a volatile group with many outward journeys, the resident office staff provided a stable base for DERAP activities. Hjørdis Storetvedt served the DR project which preceded DERAP, and retired in 1984 when DERAP had existed for almost 20 years. Bjørg Tvedt held responsibility for the accounts as well as numerous other functions until she left in 1982 after 15 years in a pivotal position within the Department.

Computer services

It took some years before DERAP hired its first permanent computer consultant. Previously larger calculating operations, such as the inversion of input-output matrices, had been carried out ad hoc, in one instance at the Institute's Department of Natural Science and Technology and in others by renting computer time from the University of Bergen. Electric table calculators were the customary tools employed by researchers, who also had to take them with them to developing countries for assignments there, with logarithm tables and a slide rule in reserve for periods with power failures.

The development of the computer section in the Department is reflected in the greatly different description given in the DERAP annual report for 1974 as compared to what is written in more recent annual reports. The Department of Humanities, of which DERAP was a part, was in 1974 still located in Gamle Kalvedalsvei in Bergen, without any direct inter-connection between the two departments of the Institute, located in different premises. In the annual report for 1974 computer equipment in DERAP is mentioned for the first time:

A conscientious objector has been allocated to DERAP to do his service and he is in charge of the computer installation consisting of computing unit, a mini-computer with 24 K memory, an extra storage unit, a double cassette system and a communication unit (teletype). The system did not become operative until June 1974 and has mainly been used for statistical calculations. An internal programme library is being created. In the autumn 1974 a beginners' course for the staff was carried out.

Fourteen years later, in 1988, the report reads:

During 1988 the Department's PC network has become nearly fully developed. Most of the staff now work on PCs in a local area network.

This simplifies joint project work and facilitates information between users. The computer facilities are increasingly being made use of.

Today the Department uses software for word processing, spreadsheets, data bases, graphics, statistics and communication. As of the end of the year facilities for desktop publishing were also available.

And in the report for 1989:

Towards the end of the year the Department altered its local area network from 3Com to Novell with 386-based server. The new network has 50 users and large enough capacity for the ever-increasing use of the Department's computer resources.

Throughout this entire period, the Department had one position for a computer consultant. The salary budget of the computer section was therefore always a modest one. On the other hand considerable sums were spent on equipment. The librarians developed their own skills in this area, and the computer consultant covered most of the library's need for external expert opinion. In addition, successive computer consultants devoted time to technical assistance outside the department, *inter alia* in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and in Southern Africa. In most recent years, building up a comprehensive socio-economic data base for Namibia proved particularly time-consuming.

The library

For many years DERAP's section of the Institute library has been highly appreciated both in Norway and abroad, because of its unique collection of documentation on developing countries and its active professional leadership. Today it is something of an oasis in an environment which is otherwise difficult to penetrate. In an account of DERAP the library is an element to which considerable weight must be attached.⁵

The library has been and is a mirror of the research that is being carried out, and the professional fields covered have gradually changed in line with new research projects.

The Department's first librarian, Ingebjørg Søyland Bøe, worked with the Institute from the end of the 1940s and remained there until retiring in

⁵ This section is based on information provided by the head of the Department library for more than 20 years, Kirsti Hagen Andersen.

1972. She was the motive power behind the growing collection of literature related to developing countries, starting with the DR-project in 1961.

In the statistical survey for 1968 it is stated that 277 items were acquired in the course of the year, bringing the library total to 6,462 volumes. In addition there were 155 subscriptions to periodicals. As a special remark it was noted "that 42 volumes had been lent out for very specific purposes, but apart from this our institute does not do external lending". The total budget for books and periodicals was NOK 20,400.

In the early 1970s planning was started for the construction of new, modern facility for the library at Fantoft. It was agreed that the two libraries of the Institute's technical and humanistic departments should be joined together physically, but not administratively and functionally. When the Institute moved into its new premises in Fantoft in 1978 the library received 400 sq.m, centrally located in the building. The number of volumes had by then increased to 12,500. The library got its own general reading room with a separate area for periodicals, and was made more easily accessible for students and researchers in the Bergen area.

From the early 1970s there was increasing interest in and demand for literature on developing countries. In 1978 came the new, user-friendly library localities. Both these factors led to a marked increase in the use of the library. In 1979 an additional librarian was hired. The position was first established because the library had been requested by the Ministry of Development Co-operation to take charge of establishing a registry of all development research in Norway, printed in the Norwegian Development Research Catalogue and published every three years since 1981 (CMI 81, 84, 87a, 90a). From 1982 onwards an assistant was added to the library staff, initially on a half-time basis although shortly afterwards this also became a full-time appointment as the result of the ever-increasing workload. Thus the library has today two librarians and a library assistant.

From the early 1980s Nordic cooperation on developing country documentation was instigated. Librarians in the many small libraries specialising in literature on developing countries established informal cooperation through annual conferences in order to get to know each other and to make better use of shared resources. As a result of this initiative several projects were started. A joint catalogue of periodicals subscribed to by the respective libraries was published by CMI for the first time in 1985; it has later been updated at regular intervals. The most important project is the decision to use a common system in the computerisation of these libraries, and its implementation. In 1986 the Department's part of the CMI library was computerised, using a library version of the programme "Revelation", developed at CMI by the Department's computer consultant

and the librarians. The development of this library version, "Bibelation", was financed as a project by the Ministry of Development Co-operation and was adopted also by the other libraries in the Nordic group on developing country documentation. It was also decided to use the same thesaurus in the selection of subject headings, which in the longer run would facilitate searches in each other's library catalogues. Bibelation is under continuous development and revision; it will also contain a lending module and an order module. The system is now also marketed through NSD (Norwegian computer service for social sciences) in Bergen and had already in 1990 been sold to several other libraries.

Beginning in 1984 the CMI library took an active part in European cooperation on developing country documentation, institutionalised through the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI). The Department chief librarian was for ten years the convenor of the EADI working group on information and documentation and as such in charge of planning and implementing the annual seminars arranged by this group. Fifty to one hundred librarians from all over Europe participate in these seminars which create opportunities for establishing an extensive network of useful contacts for everyday work.

It is quite natural that cooperation in the field of documentation has also been initiated as a part of research cooperation with institutions in developing countries. For many years there has been cooperation between the libraries in the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies and the CMI as a part of the cooperation agreements between the two institutes. In 1989 an initiative was taken to conclude agreements on cooperation in the field of documentation with some ten libraries in Southern Africa. In 1990 the Department library was visited by several librarians from developing countries who came to receive systematic training in the use of computer programmes appropriate for libraries in developing countries.

In 1991 the library had around 35,000 books with an annual increase of about 3,500 volumes; it subscribed to 600 periodicals. Service to users outside the Institute was increasing; in 1989 about half of the 4,000 items lent went to external users. In the field of literature on developing countries and their problems the CMI library is now one of the largest specialised libraries in Scandinavia.

The CMI library has become a central institution — in Norwegian, Nordic as well as European cooperation on developing country documentation. The responsibility for good and correct developing country documentation has also been recognised in the Norwegian Government "white

paper"⁶ on development research oriented towards developing countries, which states that "the CMI research library is a national resource of great importance for Norwegian development research...".

Financing and relations with the Norwegian authorities

By today's cost standards, the initiation of DERAP may appear only a modest enterprise. Yet, it was the cost implications which caused the greatest hesitation on the part of the Board and Council of the Institute; about its professional content there was little question.

Given the financial situation of the Institute, this reaction was only to be expected. If the initiator, Just Faaland, had not been able to mobilise outside funds to launch first the DR-project and then DERAP, these activities could not have been realised.

The DR project had shown that it was possible to develop a self-financed project under the direction of the Institute. But the new project, DERAP, was far more ambitious, with a much longer time perspective. Even though initial financing of the project had been assured, the Institute Board had misgivings because of possible future obligations that the Institute might be unable to escape. The DR project as well as DERAP did fall outside the traditional functioning of the Department of Humanities, and so it was possible to be sceptical to a new departure involving what was perceived as a considerable economic risk.

The financial contribution to DERAP's Bergen budget from external sources, which were of primary importance during the initial years, came first of all from the Ford Foundation. Through its international programme, this US-based foundation financed various projects both in developing and other countries. (Several DERAP researchers have worked on projects financed by the Ford Foundation in the Third World.) However, project support from the Ford Foundation had a limited time-span. DERAP received a total of close to one million US dollars from the Ford Foundation over the course of a period nearly ten years. Further support was not to be expected, since Norway was itself a wealthy country presumably able to finance an activity like DERAP, if it were of real value. From every point of view, the contribution from the Ford Foundation was very generous; without the foundation's firm belief in DERAP, the support would neither have been so large nor have lasted so long as was the case.

⁶ St.meld nr. 42 (1987-89).

The successor to the Ford Foundation as a financial contributor — apart from the Institute itself, which had very limited means — was Norsk Utviklingshjelp (Norwegian Development Aid). This had been established in 1962; it was replaced by Direktoratet for norsk utviklingshjelp (now the Norwegian Agency for International Development, NORAD) in 1968. Gradually NORAD and later the Ministry of Development Co-operation (Departementet for utviklingshjelp, DUH) became a main source of finance for DERAP's activities in Bergen. There was some initial resistance to the idea of using aid money for research and strengthening Norwegian competence in the field of development. DERAP successfully argued that there was in Norway a lack of knowledge and understanding as to what was entailed in cooperation for development, and that it was important to become better prepared for financing development activities in the Third World. The mixed experience with the Norwegian-financed fishery project in Kerala was clearly remembered.⁷ By creating a fund of knowledge and know-how it would be possible to strengthen the basis for recruiting people for effective assignments in developing countries.

The use of government funds for financing DERAP has been regulated by cooperation agreements between the Institute and Norwegian aid authorities. From 1970 onwards these funds have been the most important financial source of DERAP's budget. For many years this was a very favourable arrangement seen from DERAP.

DERAP insisted on the principle that its staff should be completely free to choose their research objectives — and also in selecting assignments in developing countries. This was also in line with the Institute's statutes and traditions. But when DERAP gradually became so heavily dependent on government finance, which after some years covered 80 per cent or more of the budget, it brought with it the danger that DERAP could become a subsidiary of the Norwegian aid authorities, in contradiction to the principles of freedom of research. For a long time any such fears were groundless. The first cooperation agreement stated that a reasonable share of the group's capacity should be used for research work in which Norsk Utviklingshjelp expressed interest, and a similar clause was repeated in later agreements, but this obligation was practised by both sides in such a manner that it did not create problems until the mid-1980s. At that time, at the initiative of the Ministry of Development Co-operation, the entire system of financial support as well as the form for collaboration was

⁷ The original poverty-oriented objectives of assisting poor fishermen failed, partly due to inadequate knowledge of local conditions and social structures.

reconsidered. These changes and their implications are dealt with briefly in section 5.

2. Professional concentration and dispersion

The "DERAP model" in practice

Assignments in developing countries have been an important aspect of DERAP's history — during the first years certainly the most important one. They helped to make the Institute known in various environments outside Norway and in international organisations. Most of the early work involved technical assistance, training and advisory services in developing countries, with project-oriented research taking second place. In a survey of DERAP's history it is therefore appropriate first to stress its assignments abroad. Its activities in the field had always had research as such as a secondary objective at most: its work was advisory, or action-oriented. Nevertheless, much of it was analytical and required research-based methodologies, say for putting together an input-output table on the basis of shaky material, as a tool for economic planning in a poor country. The work in the field was often laborious and time-consuming, but it also provided new insights which could be used later in Bergen in further analytical work.

Table 1
Research staff DERAP
Working months in Bergen and abroad 1965-89

	In Bergen ¹	Assignments abroad	Total	Abroad in per cent
1965-69	225	228	453	50
1970-74	427	304	731	42
1975-79	546	308	854	36
1980-84	621	366	987	37
1985-89	491	319	810	39
Total	2310	1525	3835	40

¹ Figures for Bergen include some working months by temporary employees who were not intended for assignments abroad while working with DERAP.

That technical assistance and training were seen as valuable was amply illustrated by the great demand for Norwegian economists, also from outside DERAP. There was no scarcity of engrossing assignments for experienced development economists. By the end of the period under review, however, the situation had changed — perhaps not as much in the poor countries as here in Norway.

In the 25 years since 1965, the work undertaken by DERAP's regular staff of researchers, excluding visiting scholars and other staff, totalled between 300 to 350 working years. Of this, 60 per cent was performed in Bergen and financed by the DERAP budget, and about 40 per cent spent on assignments, mostly abroad, and financed by Norwegian and foreign employers and international organisations. During the first five-year period, the distribution between activities at home and abroad was almost exactly 50/50, corresponding to the original intentions. Gradually the proportion of time spent outside Bergen was reduced, and this lower proportion became accepted as a DERAP norm.

Assignments in developing countries

It is not difficult to describe the nature of the assignments in developing countries during the first years. As the staff was small and the assignments were long-term, they were limited in number, and concentrated on only a few countries. In addition, the professional aspects were often rather similar. As time went by many more short-term assignments were undertaken, the geographical dispersion became larger, and in addition the assignments were spread between several academic disciplines which made them less homogenous. In later years, Third World assignments were geared increasingly towards specific Norwegian development aid interests, including a heavier concentration of activities — both at home and abroad — on those countries which Norway had designed as programme countries for development assistance.

Geographical focus

Almost all of DERAP's assignments in developing countries were in Africa and Asia, mainly in regions of former British colonies where English was the official language, or at least used in the public administration. In terms of working months, well above one third of the assignments abroad were in East Africa, particularly in Kenya with Tanzania in second place. A

quarter of the working time was spread over 10-15 other African countries, all of them south of the Sahara.

Table 2
Assignments in developing countries 1965-89
Geographical distribution

	Working months	Per cent
East Africa	558	37
Other countries in Africa	386	25
<i>Africa total</i>	944	62
Pakistan, Bangladesh	244	16
Other countries in Asia	159	10
<i>Asia total</i>	403	26
<i>Other countries and international organisations</i>	178	12
Assignments abroad, total	1525	100

In Asia, about half the working months were spent in Bangladesh. The close cooperation with that country went back to the late 1950s. (In Table 2, Bangladesh and Pakistan are aggregated since Bangladesh was a part of Pakistan from 1947 to 1971.) Long-term assignments in Asia outside Bangladesh and Pakistan were concentrated on three countries: India, Malaysia and Sri Lanka; there were also a few short-term assignments in other countries, in addition to a series of short-term assignments in the first-mentioned five countries as well.

About a fourth of all working months abroad was spent in Asian countries, or between 30 and 35 working years. By comparison, close to 80 working years were spent in Africa.

In 1975 one of the senior research fellows went on a long-term assignment to Fiji — the first assignment of this kind outside Asia and Africa. In the course of the 1980s some long-term jobs with international secretariats were included as assignments abroad — at UN headquarters in New York, UNIDO in Vienna and the OECD Development Centre in Paris. These were all assignments with direct links with problems in the Third World, such as demographic trends, industrialisation in Southern Africa and a number of research projects. In terms of working months abroad, long- and short-term assignments in countries outside Asia and Africa and in international organisations comprised about 12 per cent of the total, and constituted an important addition to the contact network, accumulation of knowledge and expansion of competence in the DERAP environment.

Long-term and short-term assignments

Table 3
Assignments abroad. Working months

	Long-term	Short-term	Total
1965-69	211	17	228
1970-74	290	14	304
1975-79	264	44	308
1980-84	251	115	366
1985-89	241	78	319
Total	1257	268	1525

Note: Long-term = 12 months or more. Short-term less than 12 months.

The first years were characterised by long-term assignments abroad. In the first ten-year period, almost 95 per cent of the working months abroad were on long-term engagements lasting more than a year. Towards the end of the 1970s and even more in the 1980s short-term engagements became more common (see Table 3). Many of the shorter engagements followed long-term assignments in the same countries. The many short assignments during recent years, contributed to a wider geographical dispersion as well as to a more varied content of the assignments.

Professional fields in assignments abroad

For many years recruitment to DERAP involved only economists: in fact, DERAP had no other know-how to offer. The first long-term assignment by a non-economist, in this case a social anthropologist, came in 1977. Until then DERAP economists had spent about 50 working years on long-term assignments in developing countries, and in addition 3-4 working years on short-term tasks.

During the past 15 years several new professional fields have been represented in DERAP, a development also reflected in assignments abroad. Since 1980 there has been a more equal distribution between economists and non-economists, also on long-term assignments. Dominant in the latter group were social anthropologists and sociologists, who were engaged more in project-oriented assignments, sometimes with a more directly research-oriented profile, than was the case for most economists, with their more

general tasks as advisors on economic planning and other macro-policy. In some cases there was collaboration among researchers from several professional backgrounds when they participated in a project group of a more short-term character, such as in connection with the country studies carried out from 1983 to 1990 for the Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation.

Table 4
Assignments abroad. Working months

	Long-term			Short-term			Total		
	Economists	Other	Total	Economists	Other	Total	Economists	Other	Total
1965-69	211	-	211	17	-	17	228	-	228
1970-74	290	-	290	14	-	14	304	-	304
1975-79	238	33	271	16	21	37	254	54	308
1980-84	104	140	244	68	54	122	172	194	366
1985-89	152	89	241	38	40	78	190	129	319
Total	995	262	1257	153	115	268	1148	377	1525

Employers abroad

Despite all the accidental circumstances which played their part in the choice of assignments in developing countries and in deciding times for departure and return, there was a surprising stability in the annual volume of assignments abroad. Over the whole period since 1965 these assignments have occupied an average of somewhat more than five man-years each calendar year.

As distinct from this relatively high degree of stability in total assignments, the sources of engagements for fieldwork showed considerably more variation. During the first years more than half of the assignments abroad were financed by foreign institutions, in particular the Ford Foundation. From the mid-1970s, these sources of finance played a secondary part, with most assignments financed by Norwegian aid authorities and various UN agencies such as FAO, ESCAP, IFAD, ILO, UNDP, UNIDO and others, in addition to the UN Secretariat and the World Bank.

Amongst the employers we also find a number of other institutions, such as the OECD, the Danish, Swedish, German and Canadian development aid authorities and several other organisations both inside and outside Norway. In the course of the years DERAP researchers were engaged by more than 20 different employers, but in some cases these were single, short-term engagements which play a subsidiary part in the overall picture. That so

many institutions commissioned such tasks illustrates that there now exists a large number of organisations and institutions wanting to take part in "development aid" without themselves having the necessary staff; only some of these are interested in whether the tasks require systematic research or not.

Within DERAP, the individual researcher enjoyed considerable liberty to chose the employer and work-place for assignments in developing countries, even though all assignments had to be discussed with and approved by the management in advance. The staff member would then take unpaid leave of absence from DERAP, with a guarantee of being able to return to his position in Bergen after an agreed period of time. In the choice of assignments there was in practice great liberty, but certain limits had to be respected. In one case a researcher prolonged his assignment abroad and decided to stay for several years without returning to work in Bergen. After some time he was asked to resign from DERAP.

Table 5
Assignments abroad 1965-1989, by employers

	No. of working months	Per cent
Norwegian foreign aid authorities	616	41
UN agencies, including the World Bank	410	27
Ford Foundation, Harvard, Rockefeller Foundation	249	16
Other employers, except DERAP itself	218	14
DERAP	32	2
Working months, total	1525	100

The first concrete case of a planned engagement in an international secretariat led to considerable doubt within DERAP as to whether approval should be given. The question was raised and debated, also in the DERAP board, as to whether an engagement in an international secretariat located in Europe or North America, such as the UNCTAD secretariat in Geneva, should qualify as "assignment in developing countries" pursuant to DERAP's statutes and guiding principles. It was consistent with DERAP's objectives to study relations between rich and poor countries, as well as the international economy as such, and this can often be done best in an

international arena. But where should the line be drawn? At first, the answer given was no. Eventually, several years later the precedent was set that some engagements in international secretariats could be accepted as "assignments abroad". But every single case had subsequently to be evaluated separately.

Another borderline case discussed on the basis of principle was whether an engagement as resident representative of NORAD should be classified as an assignment in a developing country. These are mainly administrative positions under the control of Norwegian development aid authorities, and the working conditions and the environment are very different from assignments with the local administration in the host country. Also in this case a precedent was created for approving such an engagement. These seemingly legalistic quarrels illustrate how seriously DERAP management took the objective that researchers on field assignments should work for developing countries on the latter's terms and premises.

In some cases DERAP researchers were granted leave of absence for a year or so to work with problems not directly connected with DERAP activities. These were handled as exceptions: they had no financial implications for DERAP and have been kept outside the statistics on the working time in DERAP.

In the Norwegian version of this monograph (Tveite 90) appendix tables ("vedlegg 3") show the detailed information on assignments for outside employers on which the description above has been based.

Activities at the Institute

According to the guidelines consolidated in 1976, DERAP's activities were to include "research, reporting and information on developing countries and development aid as well as technical assistance and other field work in developing countries". It was underlined that one of DERAP's aims was to strengthen the basis for recruitment and the advancement of competence for such activity. All these aims were favoured, but to differing degrees from one year to the next, depending on the persons who at any given time were in Bergen. Occasionally attempts were made to analyse statistically how the resident staff in Bergen spent their time on different tasks and functions, but these records cover such short periods that they cannot be considered as particularly representative in a historical perspective. They confirm, however, that much time was spent on matters other than research in a narrow sense.

The annual report on activities was in most cases accompanied by an annual research programme. A comparison of programmes with

implementation shows, not surprisingly, that there was not always full conformity between plans and the results achieved. To some extent, such discrepancies resulted from accepting unexpected new assignments, but the programmes themselves were often overly ambitious with too optimistic a time schedule. Also relevant here are the problems associated with work on defective basic material from the field; even with experience it is easy to underestimate the time required for such tasks.

Research and reporting

The word "forskning" (research) in Norwegian has a narrower meaning than does the word "research" in English. It indicates original work, typically with a theoretical background. In DERAP a distinction is made between "forskning" and "utredning" (reporting), which as a process may be translated as explanation, clarification or elucidation. Yet, an "utredning" can be the systematic investigation to establish facts, or the collection of information on a subject, which in both cases will be termed research in English. Much of the work in DERAP is in the nature of reporting, frequently as consultancy tasks for other agencies.

Most of the research and reporting work at DERAP is reflected in a set of publication lists. By the end of 1989 three lists of written material by researchers within or attached to DERAP contained more than 700 titles, ranging from short articles (excluding newspaper articles) to doctoral theses.⁸ They cover a wide range of subjects, varying in form and content from popularised presentations and surveys to weighty professional writings. All of this falls inside the framework of DERAP's field of activities. Visiting scholars from developing countries are well represented amongst the authors. In their case only publications on which they were working while at DERAP are listed.

As a general rule, a distinction has been drawn between DERAP Publications for general distribution and DERAP Working Papers which primarily were circulated internally and to a limited number of outside readers. The distinction may at times appear somewhat arbitrary, but in

⁸ These lists were DERAP Publications, with close to 250 titles; DERAP Working Papers, which numbered about 380; and DERAP Papers, which was closed at the end of 1978 with more than 90 titles. As from 1990 the Department of Social Science and Development issued a consolidated list of DERAP publications, broken down under 3 headings. Some working papers were later published, so the actual number of titles is lower, however. But more than 400 documents are included in the references in this monograph.

principle the demands as to quality of content and form were less stringent for working papers, which in some cases were intended as drafts for further processing. Some working papers were labelled "restricted" as they contained confidential material and were distributed only with the approval of the author or other responsible persons. It is generally known that the authorities in many developing countries are far more restrictive as regards publication of available information than is the tradition in our latitudes. This also meant that DERAP researchers were unable to publish or even circulate most of the considerable volume of memoranda, drafts of government documents etc. which they produced during assignments in developing countries and which contained significant analytical work.⁹

The content and character of the writings included in the various lists of DERAP publications form the main subject of section 4 of this monograph.

Information activities

Information activity was explicitly included amongst the aims of DERAP. At times it occupied considerable working time; it was quite important in earlier years when there were not so many other sources on which to draw. In the very beginning no records were kept of participation of DERAP personnel in lectures, radio- and TV-programmes, seminars and similar activities. In later years the more important of these activities were included in the annual reports.

The information also included professional training. Over the years several DERAP researchers lectured and conducted seminars, or gave introductions to seminars, at the universities in Bergen and Oslo, at the Norwegian School of Economics and Business Administration in Bergen, and at other educational institutions within and outside Norway. DERAP staff were used as trainers and lecturers in courses for Norwegians who were going on technical assistance assignments in developing countries.

In addition to the external information activity in Norway and abroad, hundreds of internal lectures and seminars in DERAP were held, on a great variety of subjects. Mostly these were also open for outsiders with similar interests. Many of these lectures and seminars involved dissemination of information, for example on the political situation in a distant region. In these internal, professional sessions, speakers often came from outside, as

⁹ An example are the background papers produced by DERAP staff members for the conference which established SADCC in 1979.

visiting scholars, as occasional visitors, or as especially invited guests. Many figures of international standing have been amongst the speakers.

Development of competence

Development of competence, skill advancement, was also stipulated as a separate aim of DERAP's activities, although no tangible content was specified. In practice it was given a broad interpretation, and on the whole it was left to the individuals to orient themselves in their surroundings. Some scattered attempts were made to introduce some form of organised training and communication of knowledge. For a period an effort was made to have the different researchers make regular presentations of new professional literature, but, largely because of the ever-changing composition of the resident staff, this never became a sustained and regular practice.

In reality the DERAP profile in itself is an expression of the high priority given to skill advancement. The assignments abroad have been the most important factor in the process of development of competence. Each researcher has in such situations built up his or her own store of experience. At the Institute they have also learned from each other — and from the visiting scholars, in daily collaboration with them. Frequent seminars served as an effective way of sharing experience amongst both resident staff and visiting scholars.

The considerable documentation collected in the course of the years in developing countries and from other sources has obviously been of great importance for skill advancement. It was always assumed that a DERAP researcher must be permitted to spend time studying the literature, including that outside his or her own specialist field. Many found that during long assignments in the field, it is often difficult to keep up to date with what has been published in one's own speciality. It is easy to become out-of-date, particularly when work pressure is hard and access to foreign periodicals and other professional literature is minimal. Here the DERAP staff had the advantage of being able to catch up to some extent during longer stays in Bergen. This presupposed that part of the time would be set aside for "free research". If the sojourn at the Institute was also tied to obligatory consultancies and other similar tasks, leaving little time for restoration of competence, skills would tend to stagnate.

In fact, development of competence had to be one of the main aims and results of DERAP's activities, and it was far-sighted that this was stressed in the statutes. In retrospect, it has been unfortunate that DERAP did not have the capacity to organise this activity in a more systematic and

integrated manner. If that had been possible, DERAP researchers would have been able to draw on each other's experiences to an even higher degree.

Other activities

A distinctive feature of DERAP's internal organisation was that many administrative tasks were distributed and circulated among its research fellows. It was also the normal practice that visiting scholars, other visitors and students with work-place in the Department were referred to a particular research fellow as main contact and guide. This could claim considerable time, for instance, when assistance was given to mapping out research projects and study programmes, and commenting on manuscripts in detail. Several larger international conferences were arranged under DERAP's auspices, and these required considerable preparation. As activities multiplied and staff expanded, it became clear that the day-to-day management function was so demanding that the head of DERAP no longer could be classified as full-time researcher. There was also a strong feeling amongst many staff members that a position as office manager should be established in order to relieve both the head of DERAP and the research fellows of tasks which could be handled by an experienced administrator.

3. Professional activities in the field

The beginning: Economic policies, planning, tools and implementation

During the first decade, the work carried out by DERAP staff in various countries in Africa, Asia and the Pacific was almost exclusively oriented towards economic policies and planning, including statistics as a tool for such policies, with some attention to the implementation of economic policies.

Already in the second half of 1965 most of the DERAP economists were serving in advisory positions part of the time: one senior staff member had been working as economic advisor in East Pakistan, while two other members took up similar positions in Kenya and Northern Nigeria in the course of the autumn. A fourth staff member acted as chief advisor on statistics to the East African Common Services Organisation, also in Kenya.

The role of the economic advisors was multifarious. Belief in economic planning was at its strongest; however, the way in which planning was perceived varied a good deal among developing countries. The more "socialist" a government proclaimed itself to be, the more it looked to the Soviet Union for ideas about planning, including planning directed to "material balances". In most countries, however, planning was more of an indicative type. The key element was the public sector annual development budget which set out the government's investment intentions and accompanying developmental activities within the context of some longer-term plan, usually covering a five-year period. Such plans also contained assumptions about private sector investment activities, as well as growth forecasts for the different sectors of the economy, including government revenue and expenditure, exports, imports and capital inflow from abroad.

A realistic plan had to be consistent, and therefore its different components had to fit into a framework of national accounts. This powerful analytical device had been developed rapidly in the postwar period in national statistical offices, research institutes and in international organisations like the UN and the OEEC. Norwegian economists were familiar with national accounting systems which had been introduced to the parliament and people of Norway shortly after the Second World War in

the form of a budget of the national economy. But national accounts had to be based on relevant statistics: such statistics was available only in bits and pieces in developing countries, and, more often than not, the quality was very poor. Hence work to improve statistics was as important as efforts to advise on consistent economic policies. Input-output analysis is a practical way of trying to establish and test consistency in national accounts. It may also be used for more sophisticated analysis, but in countries with weak statistics this is of secondary importance. The preparation of an input-output table for Kenya, for example, reflected the urgent need for a more reliable planning tool.

Planning and model building are interlinked. There exist many different economic models, some of which aim at predicting or even prescribing the course of development of an entire economy. The models used by DERAP advisors were necessarily less ambitious, but have aimed at ensuring internal consistency. Some tried to go further than this, for example, to estimate how consumption would change in relation to growth in income. Studies of income elasticities of demand therefore also became an element of DERAP's efforts to improve planning tools in those early years.

The roles of the economic advisors were not limited to technical improvements in procedures for making economic policy. Frequently, they had also to advise on projects, and this involved considering proposals set out in consultant reports. Cost-benefit analysis had not yet been developed to take into account "social" costs and benefits as extensively as nowadays. In this field also the advisor had to rely on simpler approaches. The most important aspect of a project appraisal was to verify the underlying assumptions. These were often unrealistic, with the risk that an ill-conceived or an over-sized development project would become a burden on the recipient country's economy.

To some extent advisors also became involved in the implementation of policies, projects and programmes. In many countries the central planning organisation was outside the all-powerful ministry of finance. The result was that each year the planners had to fight with the treasury to seek to ensure that planned development activities, investments or other development projects received annual budget allocations sufficient to implement an agreed five-year programme on time. Over the years, this problem became even more serious, notably during the 1980s. But also in the 1960s and 70s cautious ministries of finance had difficulties in finding enough money for development purposes. Moreover, project implementation might be slow for many other reasons than lack of money, including bureaucratic hurdles. The advisors sometimes had to assist their local counterparts in finding ways to accelerate implementation. Such activities

kept DERAP economists in touch with realities, occasionally forcing them to leave their offices in the capital and visit remote rural areas to see for themselves the complex and seemingly intractable situations faced by those seeking to put plans into action. An advisor might face incredible challenges. When civil war broke out in Nigeria and the management of the railways in Northern Nigeria had to flee to save their lives, it was the DERAP advisor who stepped in temporarily to fill the gap.

The first five DERAP economists all had practical experience in government or international organisations, four of them in developing countries also. This equipped them to work in senior advisory positions in a number of countries in the course of the first decade: Kenya, Nigeria, Liberia, Botswana, Malaysia and the Sudan. The director himself had also a more unusual assignment, as the first resident representative of the World Bank to Bangladesh — which, immediately after its independence, was reluctant to become dependent on the World Bank. This particular case illustrates the importance of the reputation gained by the DERAP advisors for integrity in opinions and advice, particularly in the former Pakistan where they had argued for a fairer treatment of what was then East Pakistan.

Around 1970, two other senior researchers joined DERAP, one of whom after some time went to Fiji and the other as statistical advisor to Bangladesh. In addition, DERAP recruited half a dozen young economists during its first ten years, some of whom had just graduated. With little experience behind them, opportunities had to be created for experience in assignments overseas. To begin with Kenya offered an opening. A research project, based on the so-called "two gap approach", largely carried out by one of these young economists, combined with the interest of the planning advisors and their counterparts, led to the decision to make an input-output table. For the next few years several of the newcomers started their careers in developing countries by working on statistics to be used for the Kenya input-output table. From then on, the way to new challenges was open. One of these researchers became an expert on updating input-output tables (using a modified version of the so-called RAS method) and then on building of planning models (including the MEMBOT model for Botswana). Another was more quickly drawn into policy advice and is now the most senior researcher in the Institute, very much in demand for planning and other consultancies in African countries. Only two of the young economists who joined DERAP during the first five-six years are still with the programme, but a third, in another capacity, is still fully occupied with Third World problems. As mentioned earlier, the strain on family life in particular, due to frequent overseas assignments has compelled some DERAP researchers to resign and find less demanding

jobs. However, the experience from the 1960s and 1970s showed that competence for successful service in developing countries could be built up from scratch in and through DERAP. This still holds true, even though the professional structure of the staff and the tasks to be confronted in developing countries have changed with time.

What policy impact did the DERAP economists have in their hosts countries? And what theories and strategies were they carrying in their luggage? Generally speaking they saw themselves as pragmatic technicians whose main task was to assist in organising a framework for consistent economic policies. This could change when particularly urgent and compelling problems arose, as when serious disturbances broke out in Malaysia in 1969. These led to the formulation of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which aimed at improving the participation and influence of the Malay population in an economy dominated by the large Chinese minority and by foreigners. The DERAP advisor in Malaysia was heavily involved in the controversies surrounding the conception of NEP. Another advisor had been positively impressed by the smooth introduction of independent national currencies in East Africa which broke the tie to the British pound sterling through currency boards. In Liberia and Botswana he argued that the countries would be better off by replacing the US dollar and the South African rand by national currencies. Liberia was not persuaded, but Botswana followed his advice; it is also said that the DERAP advisor's suggested name for the new currency in Botswana was accepted in a meeting with the President.¹⁰ Good advice (and also bad advice!) could also be neglected. Towards the middle of the 1970s the Sudan operated with an "umbrella" development budget with large development expenditure for which there were no corresponding receipts. Until then, actual spending had been much lower than the budget figures, but as spending was on the increase, the DERAP advisor and his team began to warn their counterparts of forthcoming serious shortfalls, without any effect. One reason was that this was shortly after the first steep rise of petroleum prices which had led to easy access for the Sudan to loans guaranteed by Arab oil countries. Such borrowing quickly ended up by becoming excessive.

Between 1965 and 1975 almost all the "field work" by DERAP economists consisted of long-term assignments. There were some interesting exceptions. The first was connected with the negotiations leading to the replacement of the East African Common Services Organisation by the now defunct East African Community. One DERAP advisor was a

¹⁰ Pula roughly translates as "may it rain", always a desirable state of affairs in drought-ridden Botswana.

member of the team of advisors to the Commission which succeeded in formulating a treaty acceptable to the three participating countries, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. But mutual suspicions among the partners remained strong, and when it was suggested that the DERAP advisor should become chief economic advisor to the new community, the proposal was vetoed by Kenya, which felt that he had sided with Tanzania during the negotiations. (Another candidate, who was senior advisor in Kenya, was vetoed by Tanzania for a similar reason.) The Community broke up in the mid-1970s when relations between the three countries had become even more strained.

Another very interesting short-term assignment was concerned with the ILO employment mission to the Sudan. This was headed by DERAP's director and included two other DERAP members, while a third one, then stationed in the Sudan, also took part unofficially. A Norwegian social anthropologist who had done fieldwork in the Sudan, and who as a student had been attached to CMI during the DR-period, (and in fact later joined DERAP), was also member of the large international team. The team grappled with the objective of promoting development with equity — a challenging objective in a country where a large part of the population struggle for a living as small farmers or livestock owners under very difficult climatic conditions in the surroundings of a fragile nature.

In Bangladesh, two DERAP economists faced the daunting task, together with the head of the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics, of advising the authorities on how to build up a viable central statistical organisation on the basis of the rudimentary statistical services of the former East Pakistan. Following two short-term missions, one of the DERAP economists accepted a long-term assignment which he found rather discouraging in the face of inadequately trained and inexperienced staff and poor material facilities.

In the 1970s DERAP researchers found opportunities to go on short-term missions for NORAD, a type of activity which was later to become an important part of DERAP's functions. An early mission was linked to one of the most controversial potential Norwegian aid projects, involving a large dam with power station and irrigation facilities in Tanzania. This led to extensive and expensive feasibility studies and in the end to the abandonment of the original ideas. For several years DERAP researchers followed the evolution of these plans and ideas, and this led also to considerable research efforts, as well as a PhD degree, by one of the younger researchers.

The next fifteen years: Great dispersion outside Bergen

From 1976 onwards DERAP fieldwork gradually, and rather rapidly, started to change its character. As late as in 1975 more than four-fifths of the working months on field assignments were traditional long-term jobs involving planning and statistics. That proportion fell to slightly above one half the following year and, perhaps even more important, the researchers who started new long-term appointments entered new fields: one as teacher, although this remained exceptional, and another as representative of a bilateral aid agency. Since then many DERAP researchers have been on different types of long-term assignments for aid agencies, both bilateral and multilateral. There had been a forerunner when the Director of DERAP served as the World Bank resident representative, but that was under exceptional circumstances.

Until the end of 1980, traditional DERAP long-term assignments on planning and economic policies represented 2 to 3 working years each year, but from then onwards their number and duration declined sharply. However, several DERAP researchers have been on shorter-term missions to a number of developing countries as consultants on matters closely connected with their earlier experience. Even some of the remaining traditional assignments became gradually more focused on specific problems of a more technical character. One researcher, for example, spent a couple of years on detailed industry studies which were followed up by policy recommendations.

The work for the aid agencies falls into at least four distinct categories. Two DERAP researchers have served respectively as resident and deputy resident representative of NORAD, in India and Bangladesh. These are demanding assignments which require both administrative and diplomatic skills. Norway's poverty-oriented development ideas often clash with the urgent needs of a recipient country for assistance in keeping a modernising economy running. Even though the jobs themselves leave little time for reflection and study, those holding them acquire considerable knowledge of the general conditions in the country or region in which they are working. A DERAP member held a similar assignment with an international agency, as resident representative in Angola for almost two years, this time with the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA).

In two cases younger DERAP researchers have served as junior experts in UNDP resident missions, in Mozambique and Sri Lanka. Such assignments may expose the holders to varied experience reflecting the UNDP's manifold activities and its efforts to exercise an overview on foreign aid activities in the host country. For young researchers these were excellent learning occasions. One of the researchers in 1981 accepted an appointment

as the head of bilateral voluntary services in Zambia, an assignment which prepared the researcher well for his first major assignment when he returned to Bergen, as the coordinator of the country study of Zambia.

In 1981, as a fourth type of long-term assignment for an aid agency, one of the researchers started a three-year assignment as project coordinator of a rural development project. Some years later another DERAP researcher took on a similar job. Both these researchers were social anthropologists, and their previous fieldwork had equipped them well for work at grass-roots level in rural areas. They, of course, also got excellent impulses for further research.

The above-mentioned long-term assignments for aid agencies were held by a demographer, a sociologist, a rural sociologist, two economists and three social anthropologists. In contrast to the traditional DERAP tasks, they did not work on the inside of government administrations in the host countries. But in the case of the rural development project coordinators, their jobs led them to work very closely with the local administration. Thus they gained insight into activities at lower administrative levels which the economists in the capitals could not acquire.

The 1980s saw the beginning of another type of long-term assignments abroad: as staff members in the headquarters of international organisations. The first pioneer here was the director himself, who became President of the OECD Development Centre in Paris. In that capacity he was in charge of a larger research programme than DERAP's; more importantly, his network of contacts was expanded beyond DERAP's own geographical area of activities in Africa and Asia. Later in the same year DERAP's sole demographer began an assignment at UN headquarters in New York for a year and a half, working on the preparation and the follow-up of the UN Population Conference in Mexico in 1984. This gave him a unique opportunity to gain a broad insight into Third World population problems. A couple of years later, one of the economists joined UNIDO in Vienna for two years, working on the industrialisation strategies of developing countries with particular emphasis on Southern Africa. This gave him insight into pitfalls and opportunities of planning and implementation, and an encouragement to continue his studies of industrialisation in Southern Africa, which was to become a priority area for DERAP's research and technical assistance activities.

The number of short-term assignments increased greatly in the 1980s and with it also the diversity of the assignments. Evaluations of ongoing development projects became frequent assignments, starting with an evaluation of the Nordic cooperative project in Kenya, which aimed at improving the operations of cooperative societies in rural area through

training and locally posted advisors. The report questioned the social impact of cooperative societies which in principle were meant to serve poor farmers. Almost simultaneously another DERAP researcher took part in a Ford Foundation financed evaluation of the rural works programme, also in Kenya, which revealed the importance of popular participation for decision making and sustainability of assets created and activities initiated. Later evaluations covered a wide range of activities, including population programmes in India, large rural development projects operated by Denmark in Bangladesh and the Norwegian Church Aid in Southern Sudan, commodity aid to Bangladesh, peace corps activities in Kenya etc. These evaluations, commissioned by a great variety of institutions, revealed many of the problems which create headaches for aid donors and recipients alike, such as the danger of aid dependence.

For the participating researchers these missions generated valuable opportunities to see activities for promoting development as these function in the local communities. For social anthropologists who typically spent months doing field research, it was revealing to observe unknown places and situations; for the economists, who were used to planning development on paper in at least moderately comfortable offices in a capital of a developing country, it could be a real eye-opener. Moreover, the enforced cooperation between social scientists and sometimes other professionals during such missions undoubtedly contributed to improved mutual understanding between the professions.

Other typical short-term assignments in the 1980s consisted of country missions, many organised by the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and headed by the director of DERAP; one of DERAP's social anthropologists participated even more frequently in such missions. The emphasis of the IFAD missions was on the environment for activities which could promote development amongst small farmers. Similar assignments were undertaken for other international organisations, notably ILO. These missions brought DERAP staff members to some of the poorest countries of the world — Bhutan, Laos, Mozambique, Nepal and South Yemen, as well as to a place not often visited by the development jet set (except perhaps on holidays), the Maldives.

The countries bordering on or near the Republic of South Africa became a priority area for DERAP in the 1980s, especially after the establishment of the Southern Africa Development Cooperation Conference (SADCC) which received considerable development assistance from the Nordic countries. A number of missions on different subjects by several international organisations included a team member from DERAP, on subjects ranging over trade, industrialisation and fisheries development.

DERAP undertook a major analysis of the trade between the SADCC countries, followed by a report on means for promoting such trade, commissioned by the SADCC secretariat. DERAP's second director co-authored a book on SADCC's first ten years. That part of the world accounts for many of the short-term assignments in the 1980s.

The focus of work in short-term consultancies which often led to briefer visits to developing countries covers a wide range of issues: foreign training of Kenyan fishermen, regional population development in Sri Lanka, the global costs of meeting basic needs, the follow-up of the WCARRD conference on rural development, the economic prospects of the newborn Zimbabwe, advice on the macro-economy in Nigeria and input-output in Zimbabwe, production of agricultural tools in Tanzania, economic opportunities in Botswana, attitudes to multilateral and bilateral aid in Bangladesh, training for more balanced shipping freight contracting, participation in a transport study in Bangladesh, a country study of Pakistan, rural water supply in Tanzania, the impact of the EC on industrial restructuring in neighbouring Third World countries, and a case study of Sudan's aid absorptive capacity, etc.

Some larger engagements merit particular mention. A Norwegian-Dutch team undertook a major study of the country boats in Bangladesh which carry a large proportion of the goods transported on the rivers of the Ganges-Brahmaputra delta, and which provide employment for hundreds of thousands. The report argued that the working environment, e.g. better landing facilities, should be improved to ensure continued competitive ability, but warned against motorising the fleet in order to save jobs. Nevertheless, motorisation has taken place (*inter alia* by using the motors for irrigation pumps when these are idle) and yet employment did not fall. This, then, is an interesting case of how technical progress cannot be stopped, but how an intermediate technology solution was found which made a traditional industry competitive. A four volume report followed by a book were the results of this challenging assignment.

Another interesting assignment was the Agriculture Sector Review in Bangladesh. This was sponsored by UNDP and *inter alia* challenged some aspects of the donors' policy advice. A large Bangladeshi-expatriate team of independent consultants, including a researcher from DERAP, and headed by DERAP's former director, reviewed the performance and policies of the country's agriculture. The team recommended significant policy changes, many of which have been adopted and have been instrumental in significantly increasing agricultural output. Its message was a mixture of greater room for private initiative and targeted government interventions.

DERAP has had links with nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). Apart from consultancies for NGOs, notably for evaluations, individual researchers have done work directly for or with them. One geographer spent 8 months in the Sudan on a NGO reforestation project, and another was Chairman of the International Association for Development Action, a European association of NGOs.

At the other end of the spectrum, the former director led a comprehensive review of FAO's organisation and operations at the end of the 1980s, and served as member of the United Nations Committee for Development Planning and of its Advisory Committee on Science and Technology for Development.

It is difficult to trace a systematic pattern in DERAP's activities outside its headquarter in Bergen. Here it should also be remembered that DERAP stood for Development Research and *Action* Programme, and in the past emphasis was put on action, notably in some form of technical assistance and cooperation. The diversity of DERAP's actions suggests that those who requested services from DERAP considered that it could provide people able to tackle a variety of problems.

X In the second half of the 1980s the then Norwegian Ministry of Development Cooperation commissioned country studies of Norway's "programme countries" from different research institutes and consultants. DERAP undertook six of these ten studies: beginning with Pakistan, followed by Zambia, Bangladesh, Kenya, Botswana and Mozambique.¹¹ All these studies required visits lasting several weeks to the countries concerned by the core members of the teams involved. All teams were headed by DERAP staff members, with experts from outside hired to participate on the core teams or contribute papers on particular problems. The studies, which were published as books, in most cases consisted of a main report and a number of annexes. They reviewed the social, economic and political structure of the countries, their development in recent years, foreign aid received from all sources, and Norwegian bilateral aid and its impact. DERAP researchers and other consultants drew on research carried out previously in these countries, and in several cases significant analytic work went into some of the chapters in the studies. While these studies represented a real challenge to DERAP, they are not typical of assignments in developing countries, as most of the work consisted of desk studies carried out at the Institute, nor can they be regarded as research *per se*. Their purpose was to provide the authorities in Norway and in the

¹¹ Former and current CMI staff also contributed to three of the other four studies.

respective host country with a better basis for planning and negotiating their bilateral aid activities.

4. Research orientation and results

In this section we will, on the basis of the material in the four lists of publications referred to in section 2 (footnote page 37), review the orientation of the research efforts by DERAP research fellows and assistants, students and visiting scholars. The volume of published material is so large that in a short review it is impossible to pay detailed attention to the content of individual items. An alternative would have been to have dwelt at length on only some of them, but that would have meant screening each one to select those which in the opinion of the present author would have merited singling out. That in itself would have been difficult. Moreover, the nature of most of the publications is such that it would have been impossible to make brief abstracts yielding a meaningful picture of the findings. Unfortunately, the result is that this section cannot provide insight into many of the facts and ideas to be found in these monographs, reports, articles and other works. Nevertheless, on the one hand this review illustrates the diversity of subjects of reporting and research during this quarter-century. On the other hand it also shows a concentration on some specific areas, partly as a consequence of experiences from fieldwork, but also because certain issues were much in the foreground in the development debate during longer or shorter periods of DERAP's existence. Thus even if this section has little to report on research findings, it should paint a comprehensive picture of the orientation of research efforts in DERAP.

The influence of assignments outside Bergen

Most of the writings were produced by people who served as DERAP research fellows for longer or shorter periods. Much of what they wrote was based on direct experience from work in distant lands. What is referred to in this section, however, gives an incomplete picture of their writings during their time with DERAP. Work in developing countries, and consultancies for other employers on subjects closely related to developing countries or for international organisations, resulted in thousands of pages written by DERAP members. Much of this production reached only a limited number of readers, officials in the organisation concerned and in other organisations dealing with the subjects covered in the documents.

Other writings were included, as anonymous parts, in official publications. Consultancy reports generally, but not always, carried the names of the authors, but many of these were not given wide circulation either. It was not unknown for the body that had commissioned a report to keep it confidential, because it disliked some critical remarks. As a result a good deal of applied development research has never appeared in the lists of DERAP publications.

Many DERAP researchers returned from assignments in developing countries or for others with the intention to undertake research related to their recent experience, in some cases with important results. In some cases, new assignments or other tasks interfered with their plans before they could be fulfilled. Others returned to research started before their assignment outside DERAP, or chose to focus on issues not directly linked with their fieldwork. These are the principal reasons why about 125 man-years of work for others, mostly outside Bergen, have resulted in a rather modest volume of publications related to that work, addressed to the academic profession. However, the publication lists contain a large number of articles in periodicals, mostly in Norwegian, as well as DERAP working papers or publications which do communicate interesting observations and findings from fieldwork. Some of this material might well have been processed further and published in an international language in periodicals, thereby having a wider professional impact. It is difficult to distinguish between research products which directly reflected the fieldwork, and those which derived more from studies and thinking at the home base. It is safe to say that much work developed through reflection and refinement in Bergen could never have been written without DERAP researchers' Third World experience.

Other research activities in Bergen

As noted, DERAP research fellows frequently pursued research objectives not directly linked with experience gained during field assignments. In most cases they were themselves responsible for the choice of a subject, although it happened that the management or colleagues encouraged them to enter some specific area. In many cases topics which became fashionable entered the DERAP research programme, such as poverty orientation, employment creation, basic needs, the New International Economic Order, the North-South dialogue and negotiations, heterodox development theories, the debt crisis, structural adjustment policies, women in development, and institutional problems.

In addition to the work done by research fellows much research was carried out by visiting scholars, students and others who for shorter or longer periods worked at the institute. Their efforts had in general been initiated before they came to DERAP to finalise monographs, articles or theses, and therefore covered a variety of areas. What they shared was a focus on conditions, constraints and incentives — local, national or international — which influenced the development process in developing countries or areas.

Thematic research programmes

During the first ten years of DERAP's existence no attempt was made to group the different research projects under specific headings. In 1976, the following six thematic programmes were introduced:

1. Development strategies
2. Rural development
3. Industrial development
4. Economic relations between industrialised and developing countries
5. Demography
6. Statistics and use of computers

When the outstanding political scientist Stein Rokkan re-joined the institute as a member of DERAP in 1978, only shortly before his untimely death, a seventh research theme was added: the political economy of development, under which several important studies were undertaken during the following years.

Research theme no. 6 changed its name twice, first to Quantitative methods of analysis in 1980, and then to Applied statistics and documentation in 1982.

As the composition of the research efforts changed over time, some of the thematic programmes received less emphasis. In 1985 the research activities were re-grouped under three headings only:

1. Political economy and development planning
2. Rural development
3. North-South questions and development co-operation.

As not all ongoing research could be classified under these three heading, the 1988 annual report added a fourth heading: other research-related activities.

Throughout this period and even earlier, the idea of a much more structured research programme was discussed again and again. The purpose would be twofold: to encourage several researchers to work together on related problems; and to assure that there were always somebody in Bergen working on each part of the research programme. Ideas for such research programmes were first presented in the Annual Report for 1987: Follow-up of country studies; Southern Africa and SADCC; Gender roles in a comparative perspective; Land use in the SSE area; and Informal structures in formal organisations. But it was not until 1989 that a set of new thematic programmes was presented in the annual research programme:

- Gender relations in a comparative perspective
- Land use in Africa
- Macro-economic management in developing countries
- North-South relations
- Organisation and development
- Democratisation and development in Southern Africa
- Other DERAP projects

For each of the thematic research programmes one researcher was appointed as coordinator. In the case of the two new programmes which were started in the late 1980s — gender relations and organisation — it seemed possible to achieve some kind of coordination, but in practice it is not easy to bring several researchers together to study problems in common. Ongoing projects which fell outside the six programmes represented a significant part of DERAP's activities in 1989.

In the following we will not discuss research activities in relation to any of the different headings which have been used during the last 15 of DERAP's first 25 years, but follow a grouping of activities which has proven the most convenient basis for the review of research publications. This grouping is arbitrary — but whatever classification of research activities we might introduce would be imperfect.

Research interests in the first decade 1966-1975

The annual reports do not show how many working weeks or months were actually devoted to the subjects listed as research activities by the different staff members. They indicate how much of the year the various researchers spent in Bergen, but not how much time was spent on research.

There is a discrepancy between the apparent work on some research subjects, and the products which appeared later in DERAP's lists of

publications. Some quite ambitious projects faded out in the course of the years, including certain ideas launched in the second half of the 1960s. Several researchers spent time on literature studies and enquiries into data sources needed to develop the dual economy approach as a useful planning tool, but no substantive papers resulted, except one written by a student (Birkeland 76). A couple of researchers had the intention to write comprehensive studies of development aid flows and of monetary flows in East Africa, without any visible results either.

With some few exceptions, the writings during this first DERAP decade originated from economists and dealt primarily with planning methodology, economic structures, policies and theories, statistics, and development assistance.

Planning methodology, economic structures, and statistics

Several researchers spent shorter or longer periods in Eastern and Southern Africa on studies that resulted in many publications. Two DERAP researchers contributed chapters on the economies of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda to an UNCTAD study on "Trade Prospects and Capital Needs of Developing Countries" (Faaland & H.E. Dahl 68). Shortly thereafter, DERAP's participation in the calculation of input-output tables for Kenya started and resulted in a number of publications (H.E. Dahl 68/69, 70, Skaar 70, CBS, Kenya 76, Granberg 77, 77a, Berven 79a,b, Spjeldnæs 80) dealing with data and methods, and the technique of up-dating the input-output tables. Much of the work on input-output in Kenya went on in Bergen, and researchers who had not yet worked abroad got involved with computer methodology for updating of input-output tables (Berven 79) and an econometric analysis of the Kenya input-output data (Laastad 73). The statistical problems concerning input-output tables were discussed in a paper on an electronic data processing programme for input-output tables of different sizes (Granberg 72). Somewhat related to this work were studies of elements of the national income accounts such as savings and investments in East African countries (H.E. Dahl 68), tax systems, and budgetary procedures (H.E. Dahl 71, Karlgård 77).

One job which occupied much staff time in DERAP from 1967 until towards the end of the 1970s was a statistical presentation of Norway's trade with developing countries. Such data were not presented in an easily accessible way in official Norwegian trade statistics. DERAP produced three publications on this trade, the last followed by supplementary publications covering the whole period from 1938 to 1978 and projections of future developments (Tveite & Pereira 69, Ofstad 73, Stenersen 79, 81,

82a). The availability of these data led to analytical work in DERAP: the impact on the Norwegian economy of increased imports from developing countries, the share of developing countries in Norwegian trade (Isaksen 73a, 74, 74a), views on Norway's trade with developing countries (Selsjord 74a), Norway's trade and UNCTAD's commodity programme (Spjeldnæs 78), and development aid and trade links for Norway (Kristiansen 82).

Statistics was a subject viewed from different angles. How to produce statistics in a newly independent country, Bangladesh, was the topic of two publications (Selsjord and Skutle 72, Bjerve & Selsjord 74). Other work on statistics during this period included papers on national income estimates for developing countries as tool for other analysis, and on national accounts as source material in Africa (Norbye 73a, 76). Two visiting scholars contributed comparative input-output data for developing countries (Skolka 71, 72) and labour-force projections for West Malaysia (Vavra 72). Statistics was exploited to evaluate the impact of the exodus of Asians from Uganda on its manufacturing industries (Skaar 74).

Theory papers on planning methodology were produced in connection with studies of planning of health services, including one on planning under uncertainty, and on a new system of financing Norwegian hospitals (Gabrielsen 73, 73a). Other papers treated aspects of planning in general and ways of planning sectoral development and financial flows. One visiting scholar wrote on economic planning in the USSR and Eastern Europe (Skolka 73), and another guest researcher on educational planning in Bangladesh (Husain 73). Studies by DERAP researchers covered planning for the industrial sector (Norbye 73d), and models of means of payment and liquidity analysis (Selsjord 73, 73a,b). It is somewhat surprising that nothing was written during this period on specific planning problems that researchers had faced while working on planning during overseas assignments, with the exception of a paper on a price/income model for Kenya (Isaksen 73) and one on sectoral planning for agriculture and industry (Laastad 75).

During the first decade no demographer was attached to DERAP. Interest was nevertheless shown in population problems which were dealt with in a survey of population forecasts in Bangladesh (Ofstad 75).

Economic policies, development theories and North-South relations

The overall economic problems and development strategies of some of the countries where DERAP members were working during the first decade

X figure prominently in publications by staff and by foreign scholars associated with DERAP. Not surprisingly Bangladesh is very much in the foreground in several articles and a book (Faaland 75, Faaland and Parkinson 76, 76a, 76d). Publications on Kenya's general problems date back to the beginning of DERAP (Norbye & Ndegwa 67, Norbye 67a). The case of Malaysia is interesting. For 20 years the only article on Malaysia was one on promotion of greater economic development (Faaland 69b); then in 1990 a book appeared which reviewed the results of the economic policy initiated two decades earlier aimed at strengthening the role of the Malay population in the economy (Faaland, Parkinson & Saniman 90). The Sudan was the subject of articles on its internal problems, drawing on the lessons from the ILO employment mission in 1974 (Faaland 76b,c).

One full-length book and several smaller monographs and pamphlets on developing countries, their development prospects and the international environment were published in the early 1970s. They covered a wide range of areas: policies to eliminate poverty, UN's first and second Development Decades, prospects for development aid, and the developing countries and the EC (Norbye 69, 69/70, 70a,b,c,d). There was a paper on nation building, self reliance and foreign aid (Rastad 70). Development strategy, or rather the fiscal aspects of it, was analysed by a visiting scholar (Wolfson 73, 73a). A student produced a dualistic model for Kenya (Birkeland 76).

Trade and related subjects including capital transfers were dealt with in three articles which discussed Norwegian shipping and capital transfers to developing countries (Faaland & Skaar 68a, Faaland 69, 69a). Trade and the distribution of benefits from developing country exports, and the role of trade unions were addressed in a paper (Faaland 72a), and whether private Norwegian investments in developing countries promote development in another (Ofstad 76). Research on restructuring of industry and on a new international division of labour was treated in two papers (Norbye 71, 73b). An article was also written on export credits and international competition (Selsjord 74b).

Norway's trade with developing countries was analysed in a broader context in articles which examined the Norwegian textile and clothing industries and trade with developing countries (Isaksen 75), and Norwegian trade with developing countries, linked to a critique of the trade theory (Ofstad 75a).

The New International Economic Order had by now been put on the agenda, and even during DERAP's first decade two papers took up this subject: NIEO's impact on Norwegian industries (Anonsen 76), and Norwegian textile and garments industries: test case of Norwegian attitudes

to NIEO (Isaksen 76). Other articles also dealt with the developing countries in an international context: can Norwegian economic policy be exported to the developing countries? (Norbye 69a), and the developing countries and the technological gap (Norbye 70), and foreign assistance and peace policies (Faaland 72).

Some articles dealt with internal problems and policy tools in developing countries: power-intensive industries in Tanzania (Skutle 74), the economic price of natural gas in Pakistan (Faaland & Parkinson 74), and the economics of regional development for policy making, by DERAP's first longer-term visiting scholar (Singh 70).

The 1970s were a period of great interest in development theories, with various papers produced — on the concept of development economics (Tveite 72), on the critique of the neo-classical capital and distribution theory, and on essential features of Marx's accumulation and crisis theory (Skarstein 75, 76), and on underdeveloped industrialisation (Havnevik 76). But the same decade also saw new reformist development ideas breaking through. ILO's World Employment Programme was presented in an article about employment and income for all (Faaland 76e). One of the researchers started a project on some elements of what were later to become known as "Basic Needs" and produced several papers, the first one asking if universal primary education in developing countries is a realistic target? (Norbye 70e). The same author argued the case for international financing of certain public services in developing countries, reviewed the education potential of developing countries as human resources for accelerated development, and carried out a study of adequate health services for developing countries (Norbye 72, 73, 73c, 74). Poverty in rich countries and the lessons to be drawn were also reviewed in three papers on poverty in the United States and on a solution to the income maintenance problem in that country (Kallhovd 70, 71, 71b).

Micro-analyses, rural societies, education, legal aspects, gender relations

It is not straight-forward to draw a line between studies of economic sectors referred to in the preceding section and "micro-analyses" which focused on specific communities. In principle it could be argued that economists do sectoral studies based on statistics while social anthropologists undertake in-depth studies of small communities. But in practice such studies are overlapping, and under this heading we have also included studies undertaken by economists. During the first DERAP decade, however, not

even economists undertook "micro-analyses", and no social anthropologists had yet joined the staff. Work under this heading was therefore limited to the fields of education and law. Education was treated on the basis of experience from activities in developing countries. In the early years of DERAP one researcher worked extensively on material from his previous engagement with the Rockefeller Foundation in Kenya and wrote several papers, notably on higher education, as part of a "tracer study" which aimed at following students after they had finished their education (Rastad 70a, 70b, 71, 71a). In the legal field a study of cooperatives and the law in Africa, with special emphasis on Kenya, was undertaken by a visiting scholar (Maini 72). Studies of *political factors in developing countries* (except directly related to other subject areas), and *human rights and institutions* were not undertaken at all during the first decade.

Development aid

The annual reports show that many staff members were involved in studies of Norwegian technical assistance to developing countries and with statistics and special enquiries into this aspect of Norwegian development aid. Some also participated in the elaboration of NORAD policies by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and NORAD, but this particular work is not reflected in any publications by the staff members concerned during the first 10 years of DERAP. Some papers deal with other, different aspects of Norwegian aid. One analysed Norwegian development aid and efforts in a critical manner (Faaland 72b), and another reported on Norwegian aid for an EADI workshop (Skutle 77). One paper dealt with the political and administrative leadership of Norway's development aid (Anonsen 68), while the management of Norwegian development aid was discussed in another article (Anonsen 74). A number of studies were carried out on the aid efforts of the two superpowers: on Soviet aid to developing countries (Forberg 68); and on US foreign aid legislation, analysing the main developments in US foreign aid, and the reduction of US foreign aid, in relation to the decision-making process in the US Congress (Kallhovd 70a, 71a, 72). A paper discussed a general problem in aid, viz. emergency relief and development aid (Norbye 69b). Finally, a critical review was carried out of the OECD statistical classification of bilateral aid to different sectors or purposes (Selsjord 72a).

As regards specific aid activities, the most important study concerned the first Norwegian bilateral aid project, featuring a large fisheries project in Kerala in India. The study also dealt with Indian policy making in this area (Fiskvik 70). Only few papers during this period deal with projects and

other development activities financed by donors. The NORAD-supported planning of the large water control and hydro-electric project, Stiegler's Gorge in Tanzania, was discussed by DERAP staff who had worked in or visited that country. One study dealt with its potential impact on agriculture (Skaar 74a), and another reported on power-intensive industries which could purchase the output from such a project (Skutle 74). Project analysis was dealt with in a paper comparing different investment criteria to be used for a boat-building project (Laastad 76). Work on Norwegian technical assistance resulted in several studies: on the profile of Norwegian technical assistance personnel (Rastad 71b), on the initial conception for NORAD's personnel statistics (Selsjord 72), a statistical survey of Norwegian technical assistance to developing countries (anon. 73), and a survey of Norwegian foreign aid and technical assistance (Selsjord 74).

The second half of the 1970s and beyond

Until 1975 DERAP had recruited only two non-economists for more than relatively short periods. From 1975 onwards the situation changed significantly, and many more social scientists from other disciplines were recruited. Only one of the economists who were hired between 1975 and 1988 remained with DERAP, against five with other professional backgrounds. This change had a marked influence on the character of research. In particular, this led to a large number of "micro analyses", first of all of rural societies, mostly based on research or other assignments in developing countries.

A review of annual reports for these years shows that, as in the preceding period, many research ambitions that were included in research programmes over a number of years, were never completed. By contrast, many small and useful research activities not specified in programmes drawn up in advance were accomplished. Quite a few of them sprung from work commissioned by other agencies.

Planning methodology, economic structures, statistics and demography

Some of the research reports which surfaced as results of reflections on the concept and reality of planning raised central issues such as "Is planning in developing countries worth the price?" (Anonsen 83), or on the effect of planning on internal balances (Norbye 86), and on the crucial issue of implementation of development plans (Tveite 78b). Other papers took up

special issues in planning, notably three papers by a visiting scholar on planning industry and energy for self-reliance, on energy development and on regional planning (Nkonoki 83, 83a, 85) and a paper on the demographic perspective in development strategies (Miranda 83). A paper dealt with national accounting and fiscal policy as an element in the planning process (Skarstein 78a). When the ILO introduced the concept of Basic Needs and aimed at estimating the income level required to meet them, one of the researchers challenged the ILO approach (Norbye 76a, 77) and became involved in renewed work on some global estimates of how to meet basic human needs (Hopkins & Norbye 78). The basic needs issue was also discussed in a paper on financing a basic needs programme in a developing country (Tveite 78a).

X Taking into account the time spent by DERAP personnel in planning organisations, rather little has been written with direct reference to such experience. There are some examples, however, such as a whole series of papers on background information, planning and perspective planning in Bangladesh (Skutle & Tveite 81, 81a, b, c, Tveite 84, 84a) and papers on Tanzania's plan (Skarstein 79), and hydro-electricity and industrialisation (Nkonoki & Skutle 83b) are others. In particular, there are some very interesting papers on planning methods, notably on the model created for Botswana, MEMBOT (Granberg 83, 83a,b,c,d,e).

Much work was done on economic structures and applied statistics, including papers on data for the manufacturing sector in Botswana and Namibia (Granberg 84, 84a) and on rudimentary economic data for Namibia (Granberg 84b). The latter was a first step towards establishing a data base for Namibia. Granberg also produced data on markets for manufactured products in the SADCC area, where many DERAP activities have been concentrated (Granberg 85a). Other papers which deal with economic structures include one on public-sector development expenditure in Bangladesh (Norbye 89a), and Bangladesh compared to other countries (Skutle & Tveite 82). Statistics was assembled to describe the economic structure of Rufiji district in Tanzania (Havnevik 80, 83). One visiting scholar presented papers on employment and underemployment and on time-use in rural Bangladesh (Barkat-e-Khuda 80, 80a).

Studies of trade were in focus at DERAP in the mid-1980s, with several papers on estimates of intra-PTA¹² trade and of the trade of five Southern African countries (Granberg 85b, c), and a major SADCC Intra-regional trade study commissioned by the SADCC secretariat (Ofstad & Granberg

¹² The Preferential Trade Area in Eastern and Southern Africa.

86). These studies were preceded by a study of trade patterns and institutional aspects of the trade in Southern Africa (Sollie 82).

Statistical techniques were dealt with in a number of papers, including one of particular relevance to later work, on computerising the Namibia data base (Sande & Moorsom 87). Three papers dealt with the use of computer techniques in some developing countries, and one with micro-electronics, "good for some, harmful for others" (Nilsen 77, 78, 79, 80) as well as one with information modelling (G. Dahl 80). Missions abroad resulted in several critical analyses: of Kenya's rural sample surveys, of an attempt to produce time-series data for manufacturing in Pakistan, and of inconsistencies in agricultural statistics in Bangladesh (Norbye 77a, 78, 78a, 89). There were also some studies dealing with very specific problems such as the currency adjustment factor in shipping (Stenersen 81a, 82) or the need for data-processing equipment in a research institute in Bangladesh (G. Dahl 79).

Missions abroad resulted in several papers on demographic conditions and the quality of population censuses in Bangladesh and Sri Lanka (Miranda 77, 79, 80, Miranda et al. 78, and Begum & Miranda 79), and most importantly a doctoral thesis on the demography of Bangladesh (Miranda 82a). There were also other interesting papers on population, including one on demography and population planning, one on the first results of the Indian population census, and two on population and development in Bangladesh (Miranda 80a, 82, 87, 90). A guest researcher wrote about marriage patterns in Bangladesh (Barkat-e-Khuda 81).

Economic policies, development theories, North-South relations, and country analyses

International relations dominate the publication lists under this heading during the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s. Several papers look at the New International Economic Order from various angles: a NIEO for the peasants in the Third World? (Pausewang 79), developing countries' reform demands under NIEO, and industrial strategies and the NIEO (Ofstad 79, 79a), and one very sceptical paper, arguing instead in favour of a credible NIEO (Norbye 80a). Other papers took up NIEO in relation to our European or Nordic part of the world: Western European reaction to four NIEO issues (Isaksen 80), NIEO and its implications for the Nordic countries (Norbye 78b) and opinions and perspectives on Norwegian NIEO policies (Løvbræk 87a).

X In the late 1970s a prominent Indian official, Arjun Sengupta, was visiting scholar in DERAP, and he was in charge of a project carried out by DERAP in cooperation with an institute on North-South issues in Oxford headed by a former visiting scholar, the renowned Bangladeshi lawyer and politician, Kamal Hossain. The theme of the project was the North-South negotiations process, which by that time seemed to have entered a difficult period — which unfortunately proved to be true. The result of this project was a book on “Commodities, Finance and Trade. Issues in N-S negotiations”, with contributions by internationally known experts (Sengupta 80). In addition, there were several articles published on issues in North-South commodities negotiations, on North-South negotiations in general, on mutual interests, a new paradigm for North’s assistance to South’s development, and on the leverages of the South in North-South relations (Sengupta 79, 80a, 80b, 81a).

Two more papers dealt with these and related subjects: one on North-South relationships: confrontation and dialogue (Faaland 77), and notes on reactions to the Brandt Report (Løvbræk 81).

DERAP had the privilege of having Stein Rossen as a senior research fellow for some years after he retired as Deputy Secretary General of UNCTAD. Rossen spent part of the time drawing on his vast experience to write a major paper on the rules and mechanisms governing international economic relations, as well as a shorter essay on trading rules, market forces and government policies (Rossen 81, 82). A study was carried out on the interests of Scandinavian countries in Third World development (Faaland & Norbye 82a). Another study dealt with the dependence of the capitalist industrial countries on raw materials from the developing countries (Skarstein 77a). A series of papers dealt with North-South interdependence in the field of manufacturing: Industrial policies in the developed countries and their impact on the industrialisation of the developing countries, Redeployment of industries from developed to developing countries, a false issue? Industrial policies of rich countries and market access for manufactures from developing countries, and A new international division of labour: potentials and constraints (Norbye 79, 80, 80f, 82). Other papers concerned with general North-South issues were one on OECD and adjustment in developing countries (Faaland 86a), one on the developing countries in a depressed world economy (Norbye 85), one on NGO’s development action and the North-South debate, and a review of NGO work on trade and development (Løvbræk 86, 87), and one on mass poverty and international income transfers (Norbye 83).

From the late 1970s the policies of the World Bank and the IMF came under closer scrutiny, and several papers deal with that issue. One evaluates

the World Bank’s development strategy (Havnevik 78a), another maintains that the World Bank has a limited potential as a development institution (Ofstad 78), still another analyses economic management and the IMF in Jamaica (Sharpley 81a), and a later study looks at Tanzania and the World Bank (Payer 82).

The international debt issue was already seen as grave at the time of the project on North-South negotiations; concern with debt is well reflected in an article (Sengupta 80). Later the debt issue became critical, and as guest researcher at DERAP in the mid-1980s Cheryl Payer worked with DERAP researchers on the developing countries’ debt. Some of the chapters of Payer’s book “Lent and Lost” were drafted in Bergen (Payer 91), and some other papers were written, including one on the influence of debt on international trade (Norbye 88a,b).

An important vehicle of North-South economic transactions are the transnational enterprises which were discussed in two papers on financial practices and policies of transnational corporations (Sengupta 81), and on whether transnational corporations can be controlled (Løvbræk 83). Two other papers deal with the influence of these corporations on the international division of labour and on employment in the host countries (Saga 82, 82a).

One paper discusses the role of the so-called likeminded countries in the North-South contradiction (Løvbræk & Ofstad 79), and two papers deal with relations between the Third World and Norway in particular, viz. on Norwegian policies towards the developing countries in the 1970s (Ofstad 79b), and Norwegian direct investments in developing countries: which consequences they have on technology transfer and employment, and do they promote development? (Saga 82b,c). One more paper that discusses an issue of great importance for North-South relations deals with crisis in multilateral development institutions (Løvbræk 84a).

Cooperation between developing countries — the South-South relationship — is taken up in some papers. The first to appear was a review of economic dependence and regional cooperation (SADCC) (Faaland & Isaksen 79a). Two papers deal with industrial cooperation in developing country regions, and industrial cooperation between African countries (Rossen 83, 84). One guest researcher discusses prospects for Southern African cooperation in transport and communications (Rugimbana 86). A related subject is a Nordic review of the Nordic/SADCC initiative (Tostensen 90).

A great many papers written by researchers and others associated with DERAP deal with overall and particular problems of countries in which they had worked for longer or shorter periods. Bangladesh’s problems against an international background are treated in the book on aid and

influence (Faaland 81). Another book contains a series of papers presented at a seminar organised within the framework of the cooperation agreement between BIDS in Dhaka and DERAP (Norbye 90). DERAP carried out a country study on Bangladesh with Norbye as team leader, and Jansen and Miranda as other DERAP members of the team together with a visiting scholar, Ann Lisbet Arn from Denmark (CMI 86a).

Botswana is a country in which many DERAP members have been working, but only two papers deal with its overall problems (Isaksen 81, Faaland 82b). However, DERAP carried out a country study, by a team headed by Granberg and with Anonsen and Faaland as DERAP participants as well as Jack Parkinson as associated member of DERAP and John Scott as visiting scholar (CMI 88). On Kenya a country study was carried out with Tostensen as team leader, and Anonsen and John Scott from DERAP as members (CMI 87).

Mozambique is another country for which DERAP has carried out a country study, by a team headed by Ofstad, but with no other DERAP member on the core team (CMI 90). Two papers on Mozambique had been written earlier (Ofstad 83, 83b).

The two first country studies carried out by DERAP for the Ministry of Development Cooperation were on Pakistan, by a team headed by Jerve, with a student, Karin Ask, as research associate from DERAP (CMI 85), and on Zambia, headed by Pausewang, with no other core team member from DERAP (CMI 86). For those two countries there are no other publications on *general* economic problems by DERAP members, except, as a desk study, a country analysis of Pakistan for the Swedish SIDA (Norbye 80b).

On Sudan there is a report which deals with its absorptive capacity for more foreign aid (Norbye 79a). A student thesis treats the controversial political problem of the Jonglei Project in Southern Sudan (Tvedt 86). A former advisor to Sri Lanka wrote two papers on that country's economic problems (Tveite 78, 81). Tanzania's internal problems are dealt with in Havnevik (82), and its problems in relation to its external relations in Havnevik (80a). Some interesting papers on economic and political development in South Yemen and the Maldives were written on the basis of experience from missions to those countries (Håland 85, 87, 87a), and similarly on Zimbabwe (Rossen 80, 82).

Sectoral problems in these and other countries are taken up in many papers: on industry and agriculture in Bangladesh (Norbye 90a,b) and on the influence of protection in industrialised countries on manufacturing in that country (Wiig 90, 90a,b). There are several studies on Botswana: animal husbandry and wealth (Jerve 81), industrialisation (Isaksen 82), and

the particular problem of custom revenues in a customs union with South Africa (Granberg 85). One paper on Kenya deals with industrialisation, labour migration and quasi-proletarianisation (Tostensen 90a). Two other papers take up the impact of foreign (Norwegian) investments on the development of fisheries in that country (Jansen 77, 79). Two papers deal with how to satisfy basic needs in Pakistan and the impact of such a policy on the overall economy (Norbye 77b, c). Tanzania has also been the subject of sectoral studies: on relations between agriculture and industry (Skarstein 78), on agricultural backwardness and foreign aid (Havnevik & Skarstein 83a). Such a central problem as land reform and development strategy in Zimbabwe was discussed in a paper written jointly by a visiting scholar and a researcher from CMI's human rights programme (Skålnes and Moyo 90).

A number of papers discuss various development problems in several developing countries, or Third World countries in general. Quite a few are concerned with rural development in a wider context. Two papers deal, respectively, with structural transformation and rural development in densely populated peasant economies, and with rural development in South Asia (Hossain, Mosharaff 78, 79) and one with structural transformation and rural development (Faaland & Hossain 80). Two other papers are concerned with agriculture, viewed from two very different angles. The one asks whether the green revolution is the solution to the food crisis (Skarstein 77) while one goes far deeper and examines the economic structure of agricultural backwardness (Bhaduri 80). One paper looks into alternatives in rural development (Pausewang 88f). Another rural predicament is discussed in a paper on desertification — effects and causes (Jerve 81a).

Also industrial development has been the subject of some papers. One looks at industrial strategies in Latin America (Havnevik 78), while another discusses export-oriented industrialisation through international subcontracting (Skarstein 79a).

A very broad issue is dealt with in a paper on dualistic development and aid policy (Håland 83) whereas another one argues for the important role of primary education in development (Faaland 86b).

Some papers deal with the economy of several other countries, of which some are general reviews of the economy and related matters. Amongst these are a paper on Jamaica's economy and cooperation with Norway (Isaksen 79), politics versus economy in China 1949 to 1981 (Løvbræk 81a), Namibia's economy (Isaksen 80a), Namibia in transition, and Namibia's economy at independence (Moorsom 89, 90).

Several visiting scholars have written on their own countries. The most important is a book by Nurul Islam, who was Vice Chairman (i.e. actual

head and member of the cabinet) of the Planning Commission at the beginning of his country's independence: "Development Planning in Bangladesh. A study in political economy" (Islam 77). An economic analysis of the Tanzanian experiment (Ndunduma 77), restructuring society: a Malaysian experience (Sulaiman 81a), and the rural economy of Malawi (Mwakasungura 86) are three other cases.

Other visiting scholars wrote about sectoral or more specific problems in their countries. Outstanding examples are Rehman Sobhan's two papers on food politics and famine in Bangladesh, and on the nature of the state and public enterprises (Sobhan 79, 79a). Several other scholars from Bangladesh wrote on issues in their country: on family planning in Bangladesh (Barkat-e-Khuda 81), on the very successful experiment of providing credit to the very poor, "Grameen Bank: a hope for the poor" (Hossain, Monowar 84), financial return to irrigation equipment (Quasem 87, 90), food policy in Bangladesh (Ghafur 90), and health expenditure in Bangladesh (Khan 90). There is also a book on rural industrialisation in India (Thakur 85). One visiting scholar wrote about crafts and small industries as part of industrial development in Tanzania (Mwene-Milao 85). There is one short-term DERAP researcher on the list of such papers as well; on pricing policy and rural incomes in Kenya (Sharpley 80).

Some few papers fall outside the general fields above, but most of them deal with very important issues, such as Hammer's three papers: one on energy for the developing world, a report on an African solar energy workshop, and one on the environmental aspects of Third World industrialisation (Hammer 79a,b, 82), and also a paper on technology transfer debate (Olsen & Skutle 77). One paper discusses the potential of domestic stabilisation measures in developing countries (Sharpley 81). Also a paper on development tendencies in the capitalist world after 1945 is of relevance to studies of the developing countries' future opportunities (Skarstein 79b).

There was less interest in theory after the mid-1970s, but some papers did appear: one asks if innovations are needed to make our economic system work, and one deals with Marx inspired development theories (Norbye 80c, d) and one discusses the peripheral capitalism — capitalist development and underdevelopment (Skarstein 81). Research is dealt with in a paper on research and action programme for the Least Developed Countries (Norbye 80e) and papers on development research and its organisation and financing (Tostensen 87, 87a). The organisation, financing and characteristics of Norwegian development research are treated in articles in the four issues of the Norwegian Development Research Catalogues compiled and published by the Institute (Isaksen 81a, Ofstad 84, Tvedt 87 and Tostensen 90b).

Three books were published which dealt with general issues of development. One is based on a Nobel Symposium on population and the world economy in the 21st century (Faaland 82). The second consists of papers presented at a conference held on the occasion of Just Faaland's 60th birthday, called "Poverty and Aid", with many contributions from DERAP staff members (Parkinson 83). Finally there is a textbook on the political economy of development (Faaland & Parkinson 86).

Micro-analyses, rural societies, education, legal aspects, etc

These were areas of research which became a far more important part of research efforts in the second half of the 1970s, both because several social anthropologists joined the staff, but also as a result of work by many visiting scholars. As regards studies of rural societies, the peasantry and agricultural activities, one DERAP researcher has been a very prolific writer, almost exclusively on Ethiopia. The author of one book, he edited and contributed to others on Ethiopia (Pausewang 78, 80b, 83, 86, 88e, 90, 90a,b) but also on Zambia (Pausewang 87). Another researcher wrote his doctoral thesis on Bangladesh (Jansen 83a), followed up by an important article on the break-up of the patron-client relationship in that country (Jansen 89a). He also wrote on the Luo in Kenya (Jansen 76). One of the researchers covered a much wider field, including the Fur in the Sudan, the African savannah and Somalia (Håland 79, 80 and Håland & Keddeman 84). Two economists looked into rural constraints in Botswana and rural structures in a district in Tanzania (Isaksen 83, Havnevik 81, 81a). Two students completed studies on rural Botswana and a Thai village (Tvedten 85, Tvilde 83).

Pastoral societies were also covered in a study on semi-arid Africa (McCown, Håland & de Haan 79) and by a student, on Botswana and Somalia (Jerve 82, 82a). A recent paper puts the question: sustainable pastoralism, or sustaining pastoralists (Helland 90). A student wrote on fishing communities in the Central Niger Delta (Jul-Larsen 80, 81). Several papers deal with environmental problems caused by the demand for fuel in the Sudan (Hammer [Digernes] 79, 82a, 83) while one looks at the link between popular participation and protection of the environment (Jerve 90). Rural trade in the Sudan is discussed in Håland (84). Several papers, including one by a student (Lein 87), discuss technological changes in traditional rural activities, notably irrigation in Bangladesh (Jansen 79a,b).

Two DERAP researchers undertook a major study of the traditional country boats in Bangladesh, together with a Dutch social scientist and several Bangladeshi scholars. This resulted in a four-volume report of

which an abridged version has been published in book form (Jansen, Jerve, Dolman & Rahman 1989). The potential impact of foreign aid on the technology and the future of traditional country boats in Bangladesh is discussed in Jansen & Jerve (86). The role of cooperatives in Kenya is analysed in another paper (Faaland & Jansen 79).

Studies focusing specifically on the relationship between the genders and its influence on the rights and development potential of women are a recent venture in DERAP, but some papers and interesting studies have already appeared (Bleie 85, 90, Skramstad 90, 90a).

Finally, some papers deal with research methods and sources (Pausewang 88a-d, Maal (student) 80, 80a and Campanario & Miranda 90), or with the feedback from anthropological research (Håland 77).

Very few studies of this kind were carried out independent of earlier fieldwork. There were some studies of a more general character plus some carried out by visiting scholars who based their findings on experience from their own countries. Some studies deal with rural conditions, such as a paper on re-ruralisation: feasible, desirable, avoidable? (Pausewang 80), socio-economic implications of fuelwood development in poor countries (Hammer 83a), and a major historical study by a visiting scholar of landlords and rich peasants under the permanent settlement in Bengal (Abdullah 80). Another dealt with the marginalisation of the Maasai in Kenya (Kituyi 85).

Two papers dealt with socio-economic research from very different viewpoints. The subject of one was survey interviewing in a developing country (Pausewang 88), whereas a visiting scholar wrote about development research and social studies in India since independence (Sathyamurthy 84a).

A visiting scholar produced a large study of educational development and reform in Bangladesh (Husain 78). More recently one of the research assistants has worked on education as a human right, Norwegian aid to education, and women's participation in education in Kerala (Halvorsen 90, 90a,b).

Two major studies on health institutions and policy at the grass-roots level were prepared by a visiting scholar (Kristvik 86) and a student (Nesset 79).

Political studies, human rights and institutions

It has become increasingly evident that political problems, the functioning of the state institutions and also human rights have a profound impact on the development prospects of developing nations. There are very few such

publications written by DERAP staff members on the basis of their previous experience abroad. One concerns state building in Kenya (Tostensen 89), one is on local democracy and central control in Ethiopia (Pausewang 88g), and one on planned research into local government in Tanzania (Jerve & Naustadlid 90). Two students contributed interesting theses: one on economic development and political mobilisation in East Mexico (Kvam 85), and one on the Sri Lanka conflict and elite perceptions (Olsen 89).

This was an area of research which blossomed in Bergen in the years around 1980. However, apart from the field-based studies referred to above, and with one other exception, a review of some development and human rights issues (Løvbræk 82, 84), studies in this field were all written by visiting scholars. Some papers dealt with general policy issues in some developing countries. These were two studies on Bangladesh, one on political developments in the country (Hossain, Kamal 79a), and one of the problematics of nationalism in Bangladesh (Jahangir 85). One guest researcher wrote on India and the global power configuration, and on the political development of Uganda (Sathyamurthy 83, 84b). Sathyamurthy also carried out major work on centre-state relations in Uganda, and in India, focusing on the states of Kerala and Punjab (Sathyamurthy 81, 82, 84). One visiting scholar studied the case of Norway in a paper on limits and possibilities of contemporary social democracy as a vehicle for transition to a socialist society (Nengwekhulu 84).

Local political structures and special power relationships were dealt with in four papers all by Bangladeshi scholars: public policies, women and development (Jahan 79), modes of production and agrarian structure (Abdullah 81), rural society, power structure and class practice (Jahangir 81), and ideals, reality, participation in rural Bangladesh: the case of village councils (Barkat-e-Khuda 81).

Kamal Hossain wrote a full-length book on "Law and Policy in Petroleum Development" (Hossain, K. 79) while he was visiting scholar. Moreover there was one paper on human rights and their barriers (Zaman 79). One paper dealt with organisational problems with policy implications, analysing the rise and decline of a plan organisation in Malaysia (Sulaiman 81).

It should be recalled that this brief review of research does not include the important research on human rights in developing countries which was carried out by the Human Rights Programme of the Chr. Michelsen Institute from the middle of the 1980s.

Development aid

We have already referred to articles and essays which discuss the influence of the international environment, including aid, on the social and economic development in some developing countries. In this section we will look at works in which the emphasis is more directly on aid. Some of these deal with aid in general, aid policies and practices in Mozambique, and Norwegian aid to India (Ofstad 83a, 87).

Another researcher focused on various aspects of aid to Bangladesh: the donor's role in aid to river transport, is it aid to the poor?; and the difficult poverty orientation; and posed the question who made requests for development assistance, finding that import agents were involved (Jansen 81, 83, 83b, 87, 87a). Another reviewed the history of studies of the Stiegler's Gorge project in Tanzania from 1961 to 1978 (Havnevik 78b). There were reports on the testing of a solar grill in the Sudan, and on a project for reducing environmental degradation in a district in Tanzania (Hammer 78, Jerve 90a).

Other studies dealt with technical assistance, including one on the training of Kenyans in Norwegian vocational fishing schools (Jansen 76a). Two students made comprehensive studies of how Norwegian technical assistance personnel operated in their host countries, notably in Tanzania and Botswana (Gaustadsæther 85, Gaustadsæther & Jacobsen 85, Jacobsen 86). Two papers deal with the voluntary services in Ethiopia and in Zambia (Pausewang 80a, 86). The studies of Norwegian technical assistance resulted in three more papers. Two of them analyse data from questionnaires answered by Norwegian technical assistance personnel on their return (G.Dahl 82, Isaksen 82b), while another follows up with a further analysis of debriefing forms from returning experts (Gaustadsæther 86).

Finally there are three papers dealing with the evaluation of aid activities. One is a review of evaluation reports (Olsen & Skutle 78), while another is of more general character, discussing evaluation as a means to provide inputs for further understanding (Isaksen 82a). The problem of evaluating aided activities is also reviewed in a paper on experiences from evaluation missions (Jansen 82).

The home-based research in the field of development aid which we refer to below, excludes many of the commissioned reports for various aid agencies. We have already mentioned studies of aid closely linked to experience in Third World countries as well as studies of technical assistance and evaluation. This leaves very few other papers, of which three discuss widely different aspects of present and future Norwegian aid. One questions whether Norwegian aid actually reaches the poor (Faaland 84) and another raises the key problem of whether Norwegian technology and

knowledge provide a sufficient base for its development aid (Jerve 84). In a third paper, three researchers look at economic and demographic prospects up to the year 2000, and on needs for development aid in the two principal regions of Norwegian development cooperation, Eastern and South Eastern Africa and South Asia during this period (Miranda, Norbye, Tveite 87). A paper was also produced on poverty-oriented development assistance (Norbye 88). Another paper studies UNDP in action through a review of UNDP field offices in some countries (Ahlberg & Løvbræk 85) while yet another paper discusses experience and future prospects for North-South university cooperation as a form of aid (Løvbræk 84b).

Research in and research cooperation with developing countries

The tasks which members of DERAP have undertaken for others, mostly away from Bergen, have typically not been determined by the specific research interests of the individual staff members. But some staff members have been able to pursue research activities in developing countries, financed from other sources. An important factor in this respect has been the cooperation agreement with Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), referred to in section 2. In cooperation with BIDS several researchers have undertaken village studies; one has studied the growing garment industry in Bangladesh; and one has undertaken demographic studies. To date, two of these researchers have received their doctorates on the basis of studies on Bangladesh. A former DERAP researcher had a long period of research in Tanzania which also led to PhD. In the mid-1970s efforts were made to establish a similar contact as with BIDS with Pakistan Institute of Development Economics (PIDE) in Islamabad, and two of DERAP's researchers and one associate researcher spent some time at PIDE working out a research programme, but both professional disagreements and political developments halted this effort.

Final remarks

Throughout these 25 years, three areas of research have been prominent at DERAP: first, methodology, implementation and concrete achievements of planning and, related to this, development of statistics as a tool for planning; second, strategies of economic development and the role of aid to support such strategies; and third, some aspects of North-South relationships. In addition, there have been a number of studies of rural societies, of demography and of many other specialised subjects.

DERAP researchers, students and visiting scholars have had one thing in common: viewing development as a means to reduce and ultimately eliminate unnecessary human misery. There was no similar consensus, however, as regards how the near and more distant goals might be reached. Many of the researchers believed in the need to restructure national societies and the international economy in a fundamental manner: the interest in heterodox development theories and approaches illustrates this. Others were blatantly reformist, and searched for ways of overcoming the constraints of the power structure internationally and at the national and local levels. In their practical work we may note a much broader consensus: most DERAP members strove to find compromises between their own intellectual ideas and the hard realities they observed in the field.

There were also marked differences in views and approaches of various staff members. Just Faaland used to say that he was inclined to support the conservatives in his home country and the radicals in the developing world, implying a strong poverty orientation in the approach to development. Elements of this basic poverty alleviation attitude were shared by all at DERAP, and all DERAP researchers have emphasised the limits of traditional development aid. By the early 1970s Faaland and Norbye were arguing strongly, on the basis of initial analyses and judgement, in favour of broadly based human resources development as the very foundation of real economic and social development; later came the UNDP human development reports and the World Bank's recognition of human resources development as essential to progress. Primary education and basic health services for all were central pillars in their prescription for future growth and development — views which were met with some scepticism even in DERAP itself, with reference to disappointing experiences in Sri Lanka and Tanzania in particular. There was broad agreement within DERAP, however, that there can be no universally valid prescription for development of poor countries.

In general research carried out in DERAP would be considered applied research. There are exceptions, perhaps notably in the field of social anthropology, where different hypotheses on social relationships determining the characteristics of rural societies were tested. The relevance of conflicting theories on economic development was also discussed, but not subjected to more stringent analysis. Most of the work dealt either with accumulation of knowledge about less developed countries, both at the "macro" and the "micro" level, or problems of methodology. Empirical knowledge about the societies which are undergoing changes is, of course, essential both for theoretical work and for the formulation of policies aiming at accelerating economic and social development. DERAP

researchers were also heavily involved in improving the methodology of scientific analysis of prevailing structures as well as in improving available policy instruments. Such research will seldom lead to theoretical innovations, but it has to be undertaken with full knowledge of frequently competing and conflicting theories explaining the environment within which changes are supposed to take place. The quality of such efforts depends primarily on the way in which they have been undertaken: whether findings are based on sound methods and a critical evaluation of the data that have been used.

The relevance and value of research efforts depend not so much on whether they are quoted by scholars, as on whether they have been studied and used by people who undertake practical work or further studies on problems on which the findings can throw some light. It is impossible to assess to what extent the majority of studies undertaken in DERAP have had such an effect. We do know that DERAP publications, including working papers, appear regularly in various international lists of publications, including abstract services, and that most of the authors themselves continue to work on problems which they have studied and in that way contribute to draw on and disseminate their findings in their working environment. Moreover, about 40 per cent of the writings included in the list of references were published outside the Institute, and have been accessible also to readers without direct knowledge of DERAP and its activities and publications.

Through their work in developing countries, and because of the presence of visiting scholars in Bergen, DERAP researchers became familiar with research and ideas on development amongst their professional colleagues in developing countries. Close contacts were also maintained with the development research community in industrialised countries. DERAP was actively involved in the establishment of the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI); it participated in several of its working groups and was well represented in its conferences. In addition there was frequent cooperation with other development research institutes, and participation in networks. The Norwegian chapter of the Society for International Development (SID) was established in 1970 at the initiative of DERAP, and several DERAP researchers have participated in its activities. Thus also through personal contacts, and not only through studies of new literature quickly procured by the library, DERAP researchers have been familiar with and influenced by ongoing international research. This is illustrated by many of the subjects which were studied and written about during these 25 years.

5. Change of guard and review of orientation

Emphasis on the quality of research

In the second half of the 1980s the flow of research money ceased to grow, both from government and private sources, as the brakes were applied on the overheated Norwegian economy. This meant keener competition for the research funds that were available. The field of development research had expanded rapidly; institutions undertaking research on developing countries were established at the universities and other institutions of higher learning, and the number of students and young researchers who pursued development research was increasing. Inside and outside DERAP the opinion was growing that DERAP could not retain its privileged position as recipient of a general research grant from government sources unless it further strengthened its research competence. A consultant report on DERAP reinforced the view that far more emphasis had to be given to the research side.

Financing and freedom of action

In the course of the 1980s the Norwegian authorities considerably increased their formal influence on DERAP activities as a condition for continued financing of most of DERAP's expenditure in Bergen. When the original 1969 agreement between NORAD and the Chr. Michelsen Institute was renegotiated in 1981, a clause was added which stipulated that CMI/DERAP should undertake free of charge special assignments for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and NORAD. As pointed out in section 1, this restriction had little influence on DERAP's own freedom of action, notably because neither the Ministry nor NORAD exploited this opportunity. However, when the agreement was renegotiated again in 1984, the Ministry of Development Cooperation, which had been established in the meantime, insisted on *quantifying in advance* the number of research man-years to be used for specific tasks agreed between the Ministry and DERAP. The use of six man-years should in this manner be agreed between the two institutions, including up to one and a half man-years on short-term *ad hoc* assignments, compared to a total capacity of approximately nine man-years

for the permanent research staff in Bergen. Again, however, also these restrictions were handled in a flexible manner; thus some of the researcher-initiated projects were accepted by the Ministry as tasks in their interest. On the other hand, the Ministry initiated assignments often took researchers away from their own projects during the four years (1985-88) when this agreement was in force.

Salaries and overheads

Another problem surfaced during this period relating to overhead costs. The agreement with the Ministry stipulated that direct expenditure linked to such specifically agreed assignments (notably travel costs and hiring of outside consultants, but also some larger cost items as telephone calls, postage, reproduction of large documents) would be covered by the Ministry as reimbursable expenditure. For DERAP, however, also general overhead costs increased with the volume of activities, requiring either an expansion of the basic financial grant to DERAP, or of reimbursable expenditure allocated to individual projects and assignments. This issue not only raised a question of principle, but it also put DERAP in a weak competitive position in terms of costs in relation to consulting services by university personnel, (as their overhead costs were covered by the institution), but also vis à vis many private consultants who do not have the same overhead costs as a fully fledged research institute with, for example, a large library. In the new agreement concluded in 1988, the Ministry accepted the principle of overhead costs in addition to direct salary costs, but the problem of competitive strength as regards costs did not disappear.

Review of the 1984 agreement

The three-year agreement of 1984 between the Ministry and the Institute stipulated a review in the second half of the period. Two consultancy firms were given this task. One them, DIAGAMMA International Development Consultants, was to review the influence of the operating modalities on the output of research. A major conclusion was that the very essence of the "DERAP Profile" needed to be questioned. The argument was that the combination of research with contractual assignments, including those in developing countries, undermined the research effort. The report advised therefore that if DERAP wanted to continue as a research institution, it would have to abolish the overseas assignments in their traditional form. Instead DERAP should seek to replace them by some other arrangement

which could link such assignments to what would be relevant for research done at the Institute in Bergen.

The captain leaves the helm

In response to these concerns and tendencies the director, Just Faaland, advanced his view that DERAP's comparative advantage did not — and should not — lie in the contribution it could make to development research, and in particular not to theoretical, "basic" research in that field, but in its ability to provide highly competent manpower to assist the developing countries themselves in their development efforts and on their premises. DERAP's reputation as a group of independent minded, competent professionals who worked at arm's length from aid agencies or other First World institutions, was in his opinion, its foremost asset. To depart from the DERAP profile, as suggested in the evaluation, he argued, would undermine DERAP's principal competitive strength, its unique character and its concrete expression of the basic intentions of the Chr. Michelsen Institute itself. Therefore, when the Department Board met in September 1987, he submitted a paper in which he invited the Board to confirm or reject some of the basic principles on which DERAP rested. That particular board meeting had been preceded the day before by a seminar, including board members and the DERAP staff, in which future options had been deliberated. However, the chairman of the Board, Einar Magnussen, and the representative of the funding agency, the Ministry of Development Cooperation, Bernt H. Lund, tabled papers with an alternative view. The chairman's paper outlined DERAP's functions in the future, with strong emphasis on research, but hardly any mention of the "field service" in developing countries, while Lund's paper primarily dealt with the need for a review of DERAP's administration and costing of different activities. The Board, including the representatives of the DERAP staff, decided to base their discussion on these two new documents, and not to deal with the director's memorandum, which in their opinion was "insufficiently forward looking and not suitable in its form". As a consequence, the director handed in his resignation as Director of the Department and head of DERAP.

There were many factors behind this crisis. For some of the Board members the director's insistence on retaining the principal features of the "DERAP Profile" was decisive. Inside the staff, some feared that he by so strongly defending DERAP's interests, as he saw them, threatened its very future when the agreement with the Ministry of Development Cooperation should be renegotiated. (It expired in 1987, but was prolonged temporarily for one year.)

The immediate follow-up

Some of the Board members, both from outside and the staff, were surprised and shocked by the director's decision to resign, and efforts were made to have him reconsider, including a staff vote where many severely criticised their representatives on the Board for their vote in favour of not dealing with the director's paper. But the director did not change his mind, and the CMI Board appointed one of the researchers, the sociologist Arne Tostensen, as director, initially for two years. He was later confirmed in his appointment for a full five year period.

In the course of the following year a new agreement for the three-year period 1989-91, later prolonged to cover also 1992, was negotiated between the Ministry of Development Cooperation and the Chr. Michelsen Institute which also involved the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities. The basic grant would cover not only a part of research and core overhead costs, but also the full costs of the library. In addition, the agreement provided for financing of three man-years of research (staff costs only), the orientation of which should be agreed between the two institutions. A second agreement stipulated the overhead costs to be paid by the Ministry and NORAD for consultancies and commissioned research. In practical terms the agreement permitted DERAP to continue its former activities without dramatic changes. But new approaches were introduced and new activities developed, to which we will return below.

In practice there was no follow-up to the Department Board's decision in its meeting in September 1987 that the chairman's draft guidelines for DERAP's method of operations and field of activities should be used as a basis for deliberations inside the Institute and with other relevant institutions. No attempt was made to formulate and adopt such a set of new guidelines. Thus, when new statutes for the Department of Social Science and Development were approved in October 1988, in contrast to the earlier versions they included no section with guidelines for DERAP.

The programme that was not established

After his resignation in 1987 as Department Director and head of DERAP Faaland continued in his function as Director of research in international economics. During the preliminaries to the adjustments which later took place, Faaland launched a proposal for a new programme parallel to DERAP within the Department: International Economics and Development Programme (IEDP). In the Department another parallel existed — the Human Rights Studies Programme. The intention was to bring together in

IEDP a small group of economists and a few associate research fellows from abroad to work on research projects and assignments abroad on a self-financed basis. Faaland considered that the financial basis for the establishment of such a programme existed in the separate fund earmarked for international economics which had been accumulated to ensure continued activities in this field if other financial resources no longer were available. He stressed that the IEDP would not compete with DERAP, but become a supplement with a resource group which could strengthen the research environment, particularly in the field of international economics. However, for two reasons the Department Board did not accept the proposal for an IEDP as advanced. The Board regarded it as a direct parallel and indistinguishable competitor to DERAP. Moreover, it would deprive DERAP of the financial support which the fund for international economics represented. The initiative was therefore abandoned; Faaland resigned from the institution in the autumn 1988 but continued to be associated with CMI as "corresponding member. In many sections of the established network of contacts abroad, this was interpreted as the end of an era in DERAP's activities.

DERAP as it entered the 1990s

Even though new objectives for DERAP had not been formulated and approved by its own staff and management, the CMI Board and funding institutions, several changes in emphasis and content of activities did take place. Three developments merit special mention here.

No break with the past in emphasis on research

While the issues of quality, volume and publication were so much in the foreground in the events of 1987, this was not new to DERAP: the director and his colleagues had always emphasised strongly and persistently the need to protect staff members from other duties in periods during their career with the institute, so that they could complete ongoing research projects. However, this had not prevented many of the researchers from feeling that they had to interrupt their research in order to fulfil their obligations to take assignments in developing countries. Moreover, there was also a felt need within DERAP to strengthen the organisation and management of research. As described in section 4, in 1989 six research programmes were established, each with a responsible coordinator, and these were further consolidated into five programmes in 1991. This has

facilitated cooperation between different professions within DERAP. It again proved difficult, however, to make these programmes fully efficient given the small number of permanent researchers in DERAP.

The young generation with academic ambitions

The presence of an increasing number of graduate students working on their theses in DERAP (and in the Human Rights Study Programme as well) proved very beneficial for DERAP. These students enriched the professional environment at DERAP and they did research on issues of direct concern to DERAP itself. Many of them found work in the field of research or action on problems of developing countries, several at DERAP itself. Another development which started in the late 1980s was that young recruits to positions as researchers in DERAP focused their attention as a primary, sometimes exclusive, priority on firmly and formally establishing their research competence by obtaining their doctorates. Some of these successfully sought multi-year stipends from the Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, thus allowing DERAP to expand its research activities beyond its own basic financial resources. It is still an open question whether — in terms of career and life ambitions — this batch of recruits to DERAP will follow in the footsteps of the preceding generation, which was often thrown into more operational assignments in developing countries from the outset. Yet, many of them have accepted short term assignments when such opportunities were forthcoming.

The increasing burden of contractual assignments

The financing agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not by itself allow for an expansion of DERAP's activities. This could be done, however, through special and additional contractual assignments, both in developing countries and as desk work at home. Typically such assignments would be short-term studies, evaluations etc. rather than substantive research. Of course, assignments in the Third World are merely a continuation of old DERAP practices. But there was a clear tendency for such assignments to grow in volume, and by 1990 most of the established members of the staff seemed to be almost permanently occupied with such assignments. And DERAP, having passed its "silver anniversary" without much fanfare, still found itself faced with the dilemma of combining practical action based on applied research with prolonged research efforts of high academic standard.

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This is *not* a comprehensive bibliography of DERAP publications since its inception in July 1965, but contains all papers and publications referred to in this study. A separate, full bibliography is under preparation.

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DERAP PU – DERAP Publications
DERAP WP – DERAP Working Papers

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