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Doctor Costa Gazi at the childrens' hospital in Mdantsane, South Africa, is fighting for better methods to treat the AIDS patients.

A Sea of Opportunities
Research Cooperation 1998

Sida

Department for Research Cooperation, SAREC

...rching and Reducing Poverty

Bruguiera gymnorrhiza

Ceriops tagal

Rhizophora mucronata

...scription of the marine flora and fauna "A guide to the seashores of eastern Africa and the wester... Ocean islands" was published as a result of the Marine Science Programme initiated in 1987. ...ations are made by researchers participating in the programme. (See page 20).

The number of women in research is growing and gender research is introduced at many...

Green pages

Om diskurserna, inklippt från kapitel 5:

Research for development: discourses and tensions between them

This chapter has shown that Sarec's discourses of research for development are firmly based on a modern science model, often labelled as "Western". The role of the aid actor is portrayed as a catalyst and a bridge, a temporary facilitator of expertise. An ambition to play a more emancipatory role is restricted by path-dependence and the unequal relationship that characterizes "donor-recipient". It is further complicated by the different goals and roles of scientists and politicians and their respective political areas.

As I have already suggested, the first few years of Sarec's policy is characterized by the struggle between two main discourses - the *universalist* versus the *localist* discourse. These two discourses do not always stay neatly separate, they cross and blend in different ways but can nonetheless be identified with some consistency and each one can associated with a number other views as exemplified below. It is a simplification of course, but it enables an analysis of the complexity of the research aid actors' construction of science and technology for development.

Universalist	Localist
Development focuses on the present and the future. Economic growth is central.	Development is conditioned by history. Economic growth is important but alongside other factors.
The interests and priorities of HIC actors dominate	The interests and priorities of LIC actors dominate
HIC actors as experts. Not critical of aid actor role.	HIC actors as temporary facilitators. Critical of aid actor role.
Universal knowledge and technology, results in focus. Technology transfer.	Context-specific knowledge and technology, process in focus. Indigenous capacity.
System important, but single factors are very significant.	Many factors important, the system
Disciplinary research seen as superior. Some research less value-laden than others.	Cross-disciplinary research highly valued. All research is value-laden.
Neoclassical assumptions, modernization.	Dependency theory, world systems theory

Modern Western science as a de facto universal model for development

Capacity building as a potentially localist and emancipatory method; Sarec as a temporary facilitator.

All kinds of research is important for development

An important point to make here is that how one choses to conceive of the development "problem" has consequences for what kind of "solution" one strives for. Hence if one sees development as relatively universal and predictable, then it is not as logical to ask the question whether investment in a research council model is adequate in Mozambique for example. The context may still be considered important, but the context would be expected to adapt to enable the council rather than the other way around. A more localist view of development would be more likely to ask whether a science council is the best means to achieve the goals of research aid in that particular country and context.

An equally important point is that both views in this case stem from the basic assumption that regardless of definitions - modern science is important for development. Science as a solution is not questioned, even though the pluralist discourse to a larger degree actively reflects on the value of other knowledge systems. The two can be said to differ in the way they define *central objects* such as:

- The meaning of development.
- The kind of science and technology which is relevant for development
- The role of the aid actor versus other actors
- How to build capacity

At times the universalist discourse emphasizes individual researchers as a more important part of research capacity while the localist discourse emphasizes enabling contextual factors like policy, infrastructure, and so on. Both, however, situate these as dependent on each other. The localist discourse also emphasizes the importance of *local* capacity and knowledge more than the universalist discourse, which tends to see knowledge as more universal and thus less dependent on being produced in the low-income countries. According to this line of reasoning, support to international organizations is supported much more by the linear discourse than the systemic one – which tends to favour national and regional support and bilateral cooperation

8.   1998-2008: Constructing multiple capacities

Access to relevant knowledge, insights into conditions affecting the prevailing situation and capacity for qualified analysis are basic conditions for development. […] Countries with a vital research community can analyse experiences locally, as well as those gained in other parts of the world thereby identifying opportunities for constructive change and development.[1]

A Sea of Opportunities, Sida-Sarec Annual Report 1998

Capacity development is not primarily concerned with filling gaps; it deals with building on what is already there.[2]

Sida's Manual for Capacity Development (2005)

In order to further increase the developmental relevance of its research projects, Sida/SAREC should, without neglecting long-term goals, consider giving a higher priority to projects that are able to directly or indirectly improve conditions for the poor, including projects that are able to increase economic growth in general, while securing an equitable distribution.[3]

Sida/SAREC Bilateral Research Cooperation: Lessons Learned (2006)

Somehow it seemed like foreign aid in general had this idea that universities in low-income countries should *teach* - not do research. Certain individuals can get a chance to do research, but not the universities in general. So we decided that each country needs a research university. There should be at least one university which can both teach and "reproduce its own capacity".[4]

Former director Berit Olsson (1999-2008)

This chapter begins when Sarec had been a part of Sida for three years; the new organization had begun to settle in. It continued to be a very eventful time for both foreign aid and research politics in general. Large international development organization policy focused more on the role of science, technology and knowledge for development[5], and supporting research became a part of the aid agendas of more

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[1] Sida-Sarec (1999). A Sea of Opportunities. Research Cooperation 1998. p3
[2] Sida (2005). Manual for Capacity Development. p7
[3] Boeren, A., T. Alberts, et al. (2006). Sida/SAREC Bilateral Research Cooperation: Lessons Learned. Sida Evaluation 06/17. p6
[4] Transcription (2009). Interview with Berit Olsson 092509.
[5] Exemplified by things like the UN World Science Conference in 1999, Dahlman, C. and T. e. Vishwanath (1999). World Development Report 98/99: Knowledge for Development, The World

countries. Odén maintains that some of the most significant events affecting development cooperation and foreign aid around the world were the events of 9/11 in the United States and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.[6] International relations were negatively affected by this, according to Odén, and an increase in unilateral policies (more upholding of national interests) and changing global economic relations (the economic growth of China and India for example) added to this development.[7] At the same time, global problems like climate change demanded international cooperation, marked by for example the *World Summit of Sustainable Development* in Johannesburg 2002, ten years after Rio.

There was continued debate concerning which factors were central in order for aid to contribute to development, and discussions were focused on donor coordination and achieving a combination of economic growth and poverty reduction.[8] The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were set in 2000 – poverty was to be halved by 2015 by targeting issues concerning human rights, conflict prevention and democracy. The achievement of the goals were though to depend on significant increases of aid budgets, not least for countries in Africa.[9]

There were several efforts to increase donor coordination and make increase efficiency of support to the low-income countries. The largest of these efforts was the signing of the *Paris declaration on aid effectiveness* by high- and low-income countries and international organizations in 2005. Commitments were made regarding ownership, use and strengthening of "receiving" countries' budget systems, and coordination of activities between donors.[10]

In Sweden, a parliamentary investigation called Globkom took place and eventually resulted in a policy for global development (PGU) in 2003 which stated that the general goal for all within *all* political areas (trade, security, migration, environment, etc., not just foreign aid) should be to contribute to fair and sustainable global development in order to assist in achieving the Millennium goals.[11] Human rights and the perspectives of the poor were in focus and cooperation between various actors was encouraged.

Bank. and (2000). Higher Education in Developing Countries – Perils and Promise. The Taskforce on Higher Education and Society. T. W. Bank.

[6] Odén, B. (2006). <u>Bistådets idéhistoria: från Marshallhjälp till millenniemål</u>. Lund, Studentlitteratur. p125

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. pp125-126

[9] Ibid. p127

[10] Odén, B. (2006). <u>Bistådets idéhistoria: från Marshallhjälp till millenniemål</u>. Lund, Studentlitteratur. p131

[11] (2002). Regeringens proposition 2002/03:122. Gemensamt ansvar: Sveriges politik för global utveckling. p1

Three research bills were produced in Sweden during this period.[12] The first two – from 2000 and 2004 - discuss research aid more than the last one from 2008. The 2000 bill stated that research aid benefitted the internationalization of Swedish universities, and this in turn positively impacted the preconditions for Sida-Sarec cooperation with other research councils. The 2004 bill focuses on the policy for global development, and upholds the importance of other research councils than Sida-Sarec taking responsibility for development-related research. Applied research in general was underlined as being especially important, and particularly applied research within health and medicine.[13]

The purpose of this chapter is to describe Sarec's research for development discourse between 1998 and 2008. This will be done through an analysis of annual reports and policy and methods documents, followed by a quick glance into what happens with the concept of capacity building after the fusion with Sida. The chapter then discusses how the evaluations of 2006 portrayed Sarec's activities, and rounds off with a section on the disbanding of the organization in 2008. I seek to identify what futures are imagined, and how research is perceived to contribute to these. How does Sarec as a boundary organization fit into this equation?

This decade's policy development seems to be a reflection of the changes occurring within the wider social practices framing Swedish research aid. Investigations, international agreements, and changing national political priorities create a diverse policy landscape; influences from many different directions meet in the central documents of Sarec. The universalist and localist discourses continue to coexist but friction between them is intensified. Adamant defence of local priorities is combined with equally determined use of more or less general "models" for development.

The main materials used in this chapter are annual reports (1998-2005), policy and methods documents (1998/2000[14]), interviews with two former directors and evaluations (2006). Complementary materials used are smaller evaluations and secondary literature.

Evolving modes of support and priorities

Sarec's priorities were more clearly outlined in the official policy and methods documents from the 1990's and onwards,[15] but the picture of the priorities becomes far

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[12] (2000). Regeringens proposition 2000/01:3 Forskning och förnyelse.,(2004). Regeringens proposition 2004/05:80 Forskning för ett bättre liv. and (2008). Regeringens proposition 2008/09:50 Ett lyft för forskning och innovation.

[13] (2004). Regeringens proposition 2004/05:80 Forskning för ett bättre liv. pp190-191

[14] It was presented in two documents: Sarec (1998, 2000). Research Cooperation I. An Outline of Policy, Programmes and Practice, Sida. and Sarec (1998, 2000). Research Cooperation II. Trends in Development Research, Sida.

[15] For example Bhagavan, M. R. (1992). The SAREC model: institutional cooperation and the strengthening of national research capacity in developing countries. Stockholm, SAREC., Olsson, B. (1992). The Ownership and Cultivation of Knowledge. The rationale for Swedish support to universities in developing countries. Sarec., Sarec (1998, 2000). Research Cooperation I. An

more interesting and complex when also taking into account the annual reports, evaluations and interviews. This particular period's annual reports - in contrast to previous years - had different titles which highlighted certain aspects of research aid.[16] *A Sea of Opportunities,* for example, refers positively to all the possibilities that research aid had created since Sarec's inception, and *Research for Life* focuses on the importance of all kinds of health-related research.[17] As with the organizational changes implied by the merger 1995, Sarec stopped publishing annual reports when the government decided to reorganize Sida. Resources were prioritized differently at times like that. For the period of 2006-2008, I have looked at Sida's annual reports. As with the period 1995-1997, however, the information on the research aid activities in Sida's reports is scarce. Complementary information was found by taking part of all the smaller evaluations that I could find that were published between 2006 and 2008.[18]

Research cooperation I and *II* – the policy and methods documents from 1998 and 2000 - were produced in order to lay out guidelines for all activities at Sida concerning research, and to present the central ideas and methods concerning the activities of Sarec. Research capacity is here seen as necessary for "positive and sustainable development, including the eradication of poverty."[19] It is portrayed as being important for three main reasons; one being that it enables locally relevant knowledge production (including the ability to make use of "general knowledge" and international research findings) as a means to solve national problems.[20] The second reason is that universities are "important cultural institutions and constitute one of the most important forums for critical analysis and debate on various social conditions."[21] Finally, research capacity is

Outline of Policy, Programmes and Practice, Sida., Sarec (1998, 2000). Research Cooperation II. Trends in Development Research, Sida.

[16] Sida-Sarec (1999). A Sea of Opportunities. Research Cooperation 1998., Sida-Sarec (2000). Research for Life. Research Cooperation 1999., Sida-Sarec (2001). Science for Development - Searching for Keys to the Future. Research Cooperation 2000., Sida-Sarec (2002). Towards Freedom from Poverty. Research Cooperation 2001., Sida-Sarec (2003). Research Cooperation 2002. Tools for Sustainability., Sida-Sarec (2004). Research Cooperation 2003. Forging Links., Sida-Sarec (2005). Research Cooperation 2004. Research Makes Sense., and Sida-Sarec (2006). Yearbook 2005. Research Capacity. Towards the Millennium Goals.

[17] Sida-Sarec (1999). A Sea of Opportunities. Research Cooperation 1998. P3

[18] Such as Johansson de Château, L. and S. Billfalk (2007). Building Research Partnerships – an evaluation of the Swedish Research Links programme., Asingwire, N., S. Kyomuhendo, et al. (2008). Sida's Support to the Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD) to the HIV and AIDS Support and Advocacy Programme (HASAP) in Uganda., Annerstedt, J. and S. Liyanage (2008). Challenges when Shaping Capabilities for Research. Swedish Support to Bilateral Research Cooperation with Sri Lanka and Vietnam, 1976–2006, and a Look Ahead. and Francis, D. J., J. Björkman, et al. (2008). Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA)., Sundin, P., B. Göhl, et al. (2008). The Asian Regional Research Programme on Environmental Technologies (ARRPET).

[19] Sarec (1998, 2000). Research Cooperation I. An Outline of Policy, Programmes and Practice, Sida. p7

[20] Ibid. p9

[21] Ibid. p9

also seen as contributing to the quality of higher education.[22] These reasons will sound familiar by now, indicating a kind of stability in the policy over the decades. Nevertheless, ideas about which activities contributed to these goals continued to evolve and some novel conceptualizations developed this decade.

The policy states that the acceleration of globalization and information technology places demands on societies to become *knowledge societies*: "i.e. to have the capacity to assimilate external knowledge and to profit from and apply this knowledge."[23] Higher education and research are considered important parts of a country's knowledge system which in turn involves interaction with the rest of society as an important factor.[24] Emphasis on *systems* is stepped up, including *systems of innovation* towards the middle and end of this period.

Sarec's overarching goal was to "strengthen the research capacity of developing countries and to promote development-oriented research,"[25] and they did so mainly through supporting bilateral cooperation and thematic research. Research capacity was seen as a prerequisite for being able to conduct development-relevant research, but the two approaches and their main methods were seen as often overlapping. In other words, the documents upheld that there usually were capacity building aspects to the thematic support and bilateral support could include support to development-related research projects (results).

Thematic research (comprising support to international organizations and regional cooperation mainly) received between 55 and 63 % of the research aid budget during this decade, and between 25 and 32 % went to bilateral support. Swedish development research was allocated between 8 and 12 %.[26] Some examples of activities supported are listed in the table below. It is worth noting that although the annual reports are quite informative, the level of detail when it comes to description of activities in different countries varies greatly. The annual reports from 2004 and 2005 were organized more thematically than the other ones for instance. The 2005 report was the most differently organized – being divided into sections based on the Millennium Development Goals and how Sarec activities contributed to the achievement of these. This is interesting in that it provides different perspectives on what Sarec did, but it also makes it more difficult to get an overview of all the things being done within one mode of support and/or in one country any given year. Regarding thematic support, it is not as clear how much money was allocated to the UN-system for example, or to CGIAR.[27] Funds spent are reported according continent or thematic area rather than organization. I would not be able to understand the difference between some of the activities in the "thematic research"

[22] Ibid. p7
[23] Ibid. p9
[24] Ibid. p9
[25] Ibid. p10
[26] A summary of the statistics provided in the annual reports between 1998 and 2005.
[27] Even though reference is made to the fact that CGIAR received the largest allocation in the budget, see Sida-Sarec (1999). A Sea of Opportunities. Research Cooperation 1998. p23

section if it were not for the information provided in earlier annual reports and other documents.

The 1990's saw a reduction in priority of social sciences and the humanities within Sarec's activities for example; natural sciences and technology, health and agricultural research dominated the agenda. By 2001, however, there was a renewed interest in social science perspectives on development and poverty reduction, not least since low-income countries had to write poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs) in order to get loans from the IMF and the World Bank.[28] It is an example of how a boundary organization had to balance demands from both the academic and political spheres.

Mode of support	Example activities
Bilateral Cooperation	Support to strategic planning for university development in Mozambique. 1998 marked 20 years of cooperation with and results at Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) included many trained staff, a stronger institution and a significantly reduced dependence on external teaching staff. Focus turned to lessening dependence on external finances through development of strategic plans alongside continued institutional support and support to research training. Some supported areas included: anthropology, biotechnics, chemistry, history, engineering, law, marine biology, medicine, and physics. Some of the institutions involved from Sweden: Chalmers University, Göteborg University, Karolinska Institute and Lund University. Other universities: University of Pretoria and University of Durban, South Africa, University of Northcumbria, UK.[29] Support to research in Bolivia focused on the public university work on policy and research management at Universidad Mayor de San Andrés (UMSA) in La Paz and Universidad Mayor de San Simón (UMSS) in Cochabamba. Lecturers were enrolled in PhD training, research teams were formed and certain infrastructure support was provided. Projects going on were within history, archaeology, environmental science, chemical engineering and biogas research. Institutions involved included: Lund University and Uppsala University, Sweden. The Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences network (FLACSO) and the Bolivian Center of Multidisciplinary Studies (CEBEM).[30] Information and communication technology (ICT) projects as part of

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[28] PRSP's replaced the much criticized structural adjustment programs (SAP's). See for example Craig, D. and D. Porter (2003). "Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A New Convergence." World Development 31(1): 53-69.

[29] Sida-Sarec (1999). A Sea of Opportunities. Research Cooperation 1998. p10 and Sida-Sarec (2004). Research Cooperation 2003. Forging Links. p14

[30] Sida-Sarec (2004). Research Cooperation 2003. Forging Links. p23

	bilateral cooperation. Universities were seen as important "focal points" for ICT in society in the struggle to overcome the "digital divide", hence both Sida and Sarec were in different ways contributing to building "ICT backbones" in the low-income countries. Sarec's emphasis was to ensure the connectivity of universities. Examples: Universities in Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Vietnam, Nicaragua and Bolivia collaborated with Stockholm University, Uppsala University and Lund University in Sweden and University of Delft, The Netherlands.[31]
Thematic research programmes: International research organizations, regional cooperation, Swedish development research and special initiatives	Support to: • Swedish research links • Third World Academy of Sciences, Twente, Italy • Biotechnology, Biosafety and Biopolicy in East Africa (BIOEARN) • *More information on each of these will come.*

Strengthening entire institutions

The idea of one university per country was launched in the early 1990's and had become central in the policies of in this decade. This section aims to illustrate how Sarec supported capacity building on different levels with the goal to strengthen universities. The argumentation for having one research university per country continued to be based on the same kind of reasoning as in Olsson's position paper from 1992 (discussed in chapter 7), and Some more 2000 annual reports references on this. Universities are framed as a part of a country's knowledge system, and the aid actor (Sarec) contributes to development by both strengthening research capacity at universities (through bilateral support) and supporting development research (through thematic support). The figure below aims to illustrate how Sarec's policies construct how research aid contributes to development.

The end goal: Strong universities within national knowledge systems
that: provide better higher education; are able to produce
locally relevant knowledge; can make use of externally   search
produced knowledge; collaborate more with other actors   ch
in society; and can contribute to sustainable development   h Makes
and poverty reduction

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Expected result:	Produce research results	Build research capacity
	↑	↑
Modes of support:	Thematic support	Bilateral support
	↑	↑
Activities:	Regional research International research Swedish research	Research training organization/infrastructure policy and management
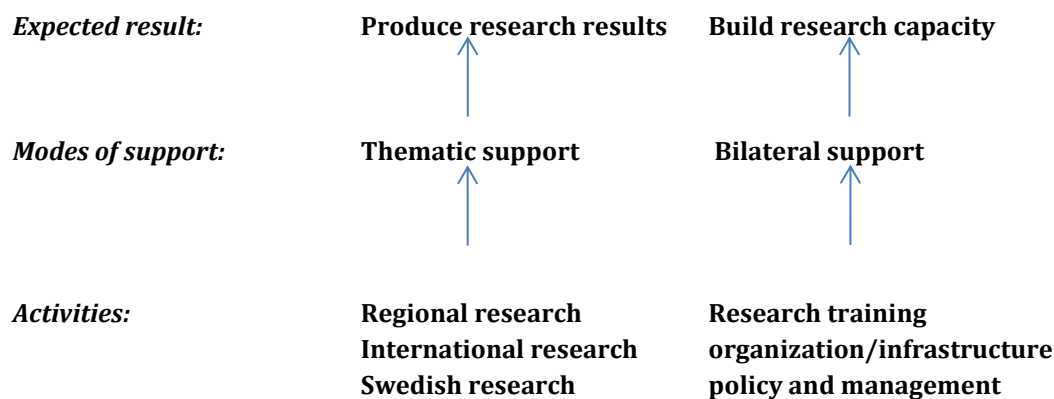
Figure 5.3 Research aid as portrayed by Sarec's policy.

Universities are seen to have many roles, and though Sarec's policies focus on research, the issues of higher education and democratic development are often mentioned as well. Before Berit Olsson became director, she was responsible for idea of one university per country (as discussed in chapter 7). Olsson considered it important to coordinate amongst donor agencies together with the low-income countries in question in order to make efforts effective and relevant. She maintained that many other agencies tended to focus on quite narrow and thematic support instead of institutional capacity building. If one wants to support capacity building - it is better to approach a university and ask "in what way can our agency best support your university development plans?" This way, according to Olsson, structures and processes are supported without a priori steering which the priorities *should* be, something which she meant was fairly common when *thematic* assistance was offered. Thematic support tended to be more specific and narrow she said, more tied to the donor countries interests and expertise (and not necessarily something which will contribute to the capacity of the university).[32] One of the most important tasks of the university, according to Olsson, was the contribution to the quality of higher education; an increased number of qualified researchers were able to teach, and also made current research a part of the education.[33]

Individual capacity building through research training

Sandwich training remained the main method through which to contribute to individual capacity building, where the PhD students spent time both in their home country and at institutions in Sweden. Since the sandwich program included an intention to counteract

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[32] Ibid. p23
[33] Transcription (2009). Interview with Berit Olsson 092509. p18

brain drain, it is interesting to note that the GlobKom investigation warned Swedish Universities not to attract students and PhD's from low-income countries. This was in the context of suggesting that Swedish Universities should take more responsibility for including low-income countries in their internationalization strategies and not just rely on aid money.[34] It could be seen as a manifestation of the tension between values and policies coupled to aid versus those related to research.

ICT as enabling education, research and globalisation

Example of infrastructure support. Focal points, important for the country ICT developmet in general. Crucial for universities. for research access to better communication, research journals etc, good skills development for teachers, effects on education, distance learning, student active learning etc . Administratively: easier to administer student registrations, libraries, website management etc. p23-25 2004.

Examples about system and institution level.

The mutual dependence of poverty reduction and sustainable development

The relationship between research capacity and development was framed in relation to sustainable development during the 1990's. The increased focus on *poverty reduction* in the 2000's as a goal within Swedish foreign aid strengthened this framing. It also sparked a renewed interest in the social sciences and the social and economic aspects of sustainable development were increasingly emphasized. The annual report from 2001 maintains that the first decade of Sarec's existence included a more active support of social sciences since it was a way to counteract political oppression in Latin America for instance, whereas the attention in the 1980's and 1990's was more directed towards natural sciences and technology:

> ...the very limited R&D efforts in the least developed countries had been directed primarily to natural sciences and technology, which were expected to bring about progress in economic terms. Today, countries are expected to formulate and implement strategies for poverty reduction. Economic growth remains an important part of such strategies. However, increasing attention is now being directed to the social context. In order to assess opportunities and develop appropriate strategies, countries must analyse the complex causes and multi-dimensional expressions of poverty.[35]

The report talks about the general importance of "critical scientists" for the countries, but the renewed focus on social science is – as illustrated by the quote above – also considered important in light of the demands for Poverty Reduction Papers (PRSPs) by The World Bank and IMF.

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[34] Globkom (2002). En ny svensk politik för global utveckling (SOU 2001:96). ,.pp96-97
[35] Sida-Sarec (2002). Towards Freedom from Poverty. Research Cooperation 2001. p3

In this context it is of interest to mention a Sida report from 2003 which dealt with the relationship between environmental problems and poverty. It was a joint publication by Sarec and the environmental policy division intended as a contribution to an evaluation being conducted of the Swedish Foundation for Strategic Environmental Research (MISTRA). The evaluators of MISTRA wanted input on the environmental challenges facing low-income countries in order to make suggestions for MISTRA's future strategies.[36] The report was critical of a number of things and points out that the way economic factors were allowed priority at the time was not conducive to sustainable development in any way:

> Economic incentive structures play a major role in driving environmental change, as individuals (and nations) act in their self-interest with little regard for others or for future generations. [...] There is a complex and mutually reinforcing, two-way relationship between poverty and the environment, sometimes referred to as the poverty-environment nexus.[37]

Poverty and environmental degradation are seen as mutually reinforcing given that environmental problems make livelihood more difficult for people with less resources; every-day challenges of survival are prioritized over long-term issues. Environmental problems are not – and cannot be - the fault or the priority of poor people.[38] The report takes a critical stance in relation to those who did not recognize the value of nature or those who put too much faith in the power of science:

> Ultimately policy is a function of prevailing power structures, norms, values and knowledge. There is often insufficient knowledge of the economic consequences with regard to the environment of a particular set of policies. Frequently there is little understanding of the value of the resilience of biodiversity to human life and processes. There is a common belief that the biosphere is endless, that nature has its own healing mechanisms, and that environmental destruction is not irreversible because science can always fix whatever change is occurring.[39]

The global and the local are portrayed as inextricably intertwined, something which is made clearly visible in the case of environmental problems and its unequal effects on already unequal relations. Among the recommendations for MISTRA's future priorities[40]

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[36] Sida (2003). Environmental Research Challenges in Developing Countries – some reflections. Future Environmental Research, Environment Policy Division and Sarec. foreword
[37] Ibid. pp5-6
[38] Ibid. p8
[39] Ibid. p9
[40] Which they suggested should be within the areas of (i) human development needs and ecological system survival, (ii) satisfying future food demand, (iii) sustainable livelihoods in degraded areas, (iv) sustainable management of coastal habitats, (v) energy for sustainable development, (vi) climate change adaptation, (vii) atmospheric haze and development, and (viii) sustainable urbanization.

was that research should be interdisciplinary given that sustainable development has several dimensions requiring several disciplines (social, economic and environmental). The report also underlined that results should be *applicable*, and that collaboration with low-income country researchers and contribution to local capacity building was essential.[41] Sarec's annual report from 2004 argues along similar lines, natural resources have to be managed sustainably in order for a country to be able to achieve development:

> Sustainable use of natural resources is a precondition for economic growth and crucial if developing countries are to escape poverty. It involves innovation, development of new products and adaptation of technologies. Economic policies, institutions and systems that are conducive to growth are also important. However, economic growth does not eradicate poverty by itself but needs to be combined with governmental interventions that allow for a fair distribution of resources and investment in sectors such as health, education and social security systems.[42]

What is interesting to note here is that sustainable development is framed as a prerequisite for economic growth, which in turn can only reduce poverty if measures are taken to ensure equitable distribution of wealth. How these pieces of the puzzle are all seen to fit together, however, is not as consistently portrayed this decade. Both the localist and the universalist discourse are strongly expressed to the point where quite concrete contradictions appear. One such example concerns how economic growth is seen to play into development, something which becomes clearer when one looks at the discussions about innovation.

Imagining research within innovation-systems for development

The concept of *innovation* had tagged along since Sarec's beginning, and a "systems-thinking" was not new either in the sense that different actors, policies, institutions and other components and conditions had been envisioned to depend on each other in the national context. In the 2000's, however, the use of "systems of innovation" appeared, implying something a little different, as illustrated by this quote from the 2004 annual report:

> A term that is used diligently is "innovation", in particular in an attempt to intensify cooperation between universities, authorities, politicians and the private sector in order to convert research into practical solutions. One of the challenges for cooperating countries is in building a national capacity to modernise innovation structures and policies. Research councils and universities have central roles, as do the private sector and authorities.[43]

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[41] Sida (2003). Environmental Research Challenges in Developing Countries – some reflections. Future Environmental Research, Environment Policy Division and Sarec. p6
[42] Sida-Sarec (2005). Research Cooperation 2004. Research Makes Sense. p33
[43] Ibid. p40

It is not clear from the 2004 report *where* the term is used diligently, but universities are envisioned as important parts of national innovation systems; they produce peer-reviewed research results which should then "find their way to applications and users".[44] A more detailed discussion can be found in a Sarec report about innovation systems in Latin America[45] from 2005. p5 on the origin of the concept and

> Innovative approaches to capitalize on research findings for economic growth share a common theory but in practice build on local actors and conditions. P5

This conceptualization of innovation systems is an interesting example of how the discourses intertwine and/or clash, depending on how one sees it. It is setting a presumed adequate form for development (telling the low-income countries "how" to develop in some sense) and also to a certain extent stating "what" is reasonable to pursue within this model, all the while singing praise to the importance of local priorities and the situatedness of learning.

The role of economic growth vacillates a bit, sometimes it is a *prerequisite* for sustainable development and sometimes it is an *effect* of sustainable development. Where poverty reduction comes in is not always clear either, the main point is that all of these are seen as interdependent. The parallel increased focus on social sciences seems somewhat separate from discussions about what is important for innovation systems, where the "hard" sciences more often figure:

> Engineering sciences, technological skills and analytical capacity are required for direct and indirect ways of combating poverty. It is therefore important for low-income countries to reinforce their capacity in finding their own niche for product development. Research may lead the way to production suitable for local conditions, as well as for export. A significant extension of the Sida support to strengthening research capacity at three faculties in Eastern and Southern Africa (Makerere University in Uganda, University Eduardo Mondlane in Mozambique and the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania) was approved in 2004. This will focus on technology given national priority within the countries, i.e. environmentally friendly technology for sustainable utilisation of natural resources, development of rural and urban infrastructure, renewable energy and energy systems and development of ICT.[46]

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[44] Ibid. p17. See also p15

[45] A study commissioned by Sarec to assess the use of innovation systems as a concept. Check terms of reference

[46] Sida-Sarec (2005). Research Cooperation 2004. Research Makes Sense. p40

> In order to establish a dialogue with cooperating countries concerning innovation, Sida has supported seminars and workshops with researchers, politicians and representatives of the industrial sector in Eastern Africa and in Bolivia, Nicaragua and Honduras. The main purpose of the workshops has been to stimulate awareness, cooperation and debate on the role of clusters in the development of innovations[47]

The picture of the aid actor. Unique and empancipatory.

Sarec portrays itself as different to other donors in their emphasis on...p4 and p25 2000 and p82005.

Sarec is portrayed as an empancipatory actor in its critique of privatizing trends within research. Biotech for example. 1998, 1999 p3

Though more or less explicit critique of international organizations was voiced throughout Sarec's existence, financial support continued to be significant, and the policies relatively consistently attempt to show how Sarec works to ensure local relevance:

> In our support for international research, a "South perspective" is being promoted in terms of the research agenda and in terms of ensuring proper representation from "the South" in decision- making structures. This influences not only the orientation of the research. It contributes as well to situated perspectives on global issues.[48]

On the topic promoting a "South" perspective, former director Carlman (1995-1998) maintained that Sarec made great efforts to influence the international organizations, and explains why he thinks they were successful at this:

> Sarec was not one of the major donors but we had relatively strong influence, and that was in part because we had fairly clearly formulated ideas, but also because of continuity. [...] you won't get anywhere in the international organizations unless you are present. Consistent presence and people working there for a long time built up credibility, and we were listened to.[49]

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[47] Ibid. p40
[48] Sida-Sarec (2002). Towards Freedom from Poverty. Research Cooperation 2001. p4
[49] Transcription (2013). Interview with Rolf Carlman 032013. p2

The picture of Sarec is, similar to previous decades, sets the organization apart from other aid actors supporting research. Sarec is portrayed as more long-term and less focused on pre-defined priorities or tied aid.

Sarec within Sida. Thinking and rethinking capacity development

The concept of capacity building was central in the policies of Sarec from the beginning – so one might wonder if there were any changes after the merger with Sida. Around the same time as research cooperation I and II came out, Sida published a policy for capacity development as a way of renewing commitment to this method in its work: "Our principal method is capacity and institution development. Knowledge is our most important resource."[50] This document also maintained that the relationship between the state, the market and civil society was changing – suggesting that capacity needed to be strengthened in all three parts.[51] It was not more specific as to what these changes consisted of, but the policy stated clearly that Sida's support to "national systems of education, training, and research" would increase in all projects and programmes.[52] Capacity was defined as "the conditions that must be in place, for example knowledge, competence, and effective development-oriented organizations and institutional frameworks, in order to make development possible."[53]

The policy for capacity development also discussed definitions of various concepts relevant to capacity building. One example of this was the distinction between *knowledge transfer* and *knowledge development,* where the policy stated that the two concepts represented two different approaches to the learning process. The idea of knowledge t*ransfer* was compared to traditional technology transfer - the import of "ready-made" technology from high-income countries to low-income countries. Knowledge development, on the other hand, was seen as valuing the process of social interaction between different actors – rejecting the idea that there any ready-made solutions exist that fit everywhere.[54] The policy urged Sida staff to conduct detailed contextual analyses in the planning phases of projects, bearing in mind a systems perspective as represented by the model of capacity building.[55]

Five years later, in 2005, a manual for capacity building was published with the goal to concretize how staff at Sida were to work with the method, how to do the contextual analyses and decide on appropriate measures. It aimed to answer a number of questions, for example: "How can we, as outsiders, contribute to something which basically concerns learning and which must grow from the inside? What should the

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[50] Sida (2000). Sida's Policy for Capacity Development a Strategic Question in Development Cooperation p8
[51] Ibid. p9
[52] Ibid. p10
[53] Ibid. p9
[54] Ibid. pp18-19
[55] Ibid. p21-23

interaction between partners look like? Which role should and can Sida play?"[56] These questions highlighted the importance of context-specific development, and pointed to the potential problem of attempting to contribute to local processes from an external point of view.[57] To make the demand-driven and context-sensitive aspect clear, the manual highlights the difference between capacity *development* and capacity *building*, where the latter implies that there was nothing there to begin with. Capacity, the manual states, has to grow from the "inside" – though certain stimulus from "outside" can help. [58]

These issues were further problematized with a reference to the need to work more intensively with other donors – having different definitions of what capacity was and how to build capacity could be a challenge. At the same time, the manual states that the focus on capacity and cooperation as opposed to knowledge and technology *transfer* among donors had only become clear in the late 1990's/early 2000's, and that the level of agreement surrounding its meaning was increasing.[59]

Returning to the manual, the model for analysis that it presents is similar to the policy document from 2000, portraying capacity as consisting of the following levels:

– Environment/contextual factors

– Institutional frameworks

– Systems of organisations

– Organisation

– Units in an organisation

– Individual knowledge and professional skills

Figure 5.1: Sida's model of capacity. Manual for Capacity Development (2005), Sida, p7

These different levels are then discussed in turn, focusing on five points of departure and what examples of questions that can be asked in order to assess current capacities and decide on appropriate measures and methods. This approach is also compared to previous capacity-oriented measures, which according to the manual had until the end of the 1980's focused more heavily on individual capacity.[60] The guidelines in the manual were quite vague in one sense and very concrete in another. Each context is portrayed as unique, so the list of assessments to be complete prior to "engaging" would potentially be very long.

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[56] Sida (2005). Manual for Capacity Development. Foreword
[57] Ibid. Foreword & p6
[58] Ibid. p13
[59] Ibid., Foreword, pp6 & 11
[60] Ibid. pp7-8 & 15-16

Capacity development is thus both a goal and a means to achieving goals throughout all development cooperation… there are no ready-made solutions to the problem or how individuals, groups or organizations can develop their capacity. Sida works in extremely complicated environments and the needs for capacity have to be analysed on the basis of their specific context [61]

Capacity building is here said to be both a goal and a method, something which exemplifies the *plasticity* of the concept. The quote above might imply that the manual remains relatively general, yet it gets very specific as it breaks down this broad ambition into concrete recommendations. One of this chapter's introductory quotes from the manual discussed above suggests that capacity development does not focus primarily on filling gaps. Later on in the same document, however, it is suggested that staff identify existing capacity gaps in organizations and that these should serve as points of departure.[62] This might illustrate that it is difficult to be a careful outsider as well as a productive "aider" or cooperative partner.[63] The manual also includes a figure depicting a person's staircase of motivation in the context of discussing continuous learning and incentives for change (see below, fig 5.2).

Motivation staircase
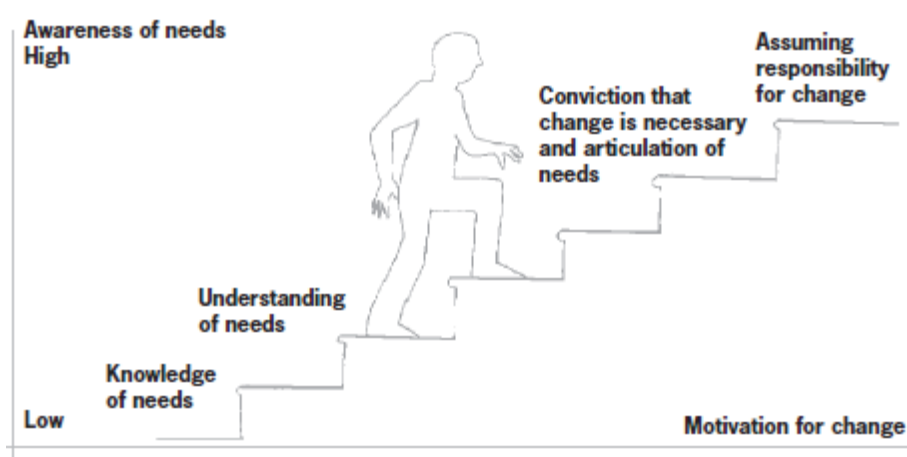
Figure 5.2: The motivation staircase, Manual for Capacity Development (2005), Sida, p52

This might be considered a vision that goes against the idea of context-dependence. The figure might give the impression that this motivation process is true for all people and situations. Figures are necessarily simplified, yet they nonetheless convey and or cement ideas of how things work, and one might argue that the origin of these ideas are highly relevant in the aid context. The manual contained several models and definitions relating to learning, how organizations work and so on – at the same time as it stated that there are no set models and all situations needed to be tailor-made.[64] It seems to be

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[61] Ibid. p12
[62] Ibid. p39-40
[63] Ibid. p58 in the manual for another discussion on gap-filling.
[64] Ibid. pp39-40

difficult to be both context-flexible and concrete at the same time as well as understanding what a good balance is between external and internal influence. This is a theme that also can be followed in the subsequent evaluations of capacity development policies.

The policy and the manual for capacity development were of central kind, but in addition several evaluations and working papers on the topic were produced during this decade. One of these was a report published just one year after the manual, in 2006. It was based on a two day seminar in Stockholm held in order to discuss mainly the effects of the Swedish Government Bill "Shared Responsibility – Sweden's Policy for Global Development" (PGD) as well as the Paris Declaration on the capacity development approach at Sida.[65] The seminar discussions underlined a need to strengthen the notion of capacity development as an "endogenous process that can be stimulated, but not engineered, from outside."[66] One of the conclusions was that these two policies (PGD and Paris Declaration) created considerable challenges for Sida's work with capacity development since they prioritized potentially competing aspects of capacity. Apart from the need for improved donor coordination, the concern was that the more directly pro-poor capacity development discussed in the PGD might be outmanoeuvered by the capacity discussed in the Paris Declaration – which focused more on the capacity of governments and other national actors to manage finances.[67] The report included summaries of discussions, but also texts authored by presenters at the seminar, and thus provided many different perspectives on capacity development:

> Sida and other donors need to let go of the control approach and instead look more for opportunities for learning, thereby allowing for much more flexibility in our support. We must let go of the underlying notion of viewing Sweden as the norm. Consequently, we should not only use Swedish resources in the programmes. There are additional possible solutions, such as tripartite, south-south and local consultants.[68]

> Capacity is such a strange concept. It does not fit well into a system of bureaucratic control. /.../ Although it is acknowledged to be important, it is not deemed important enough to make the agencies change their procedures to deal with it in a serious way.[69]

There are more examples, but what the quotes above seem to reflect is a lack of faith in the method of capacity development as it was being used by development agencies – due to path dependence for example. Certain ideas – explicit or implicit - were not seen as compatible with capacity development – such as upholding Sweden as the norm, or using "Swedish resources" where better ones may be found in other countries.

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[65] Sida (2006). Time for Rethinking. Capacity Development in a Changing Landscape of Development Cooperation. p5
[66] Ibid. p6
[67] Ibid. pp6-7
[68] Ibid. p17
[69] Ibid. p31

Development agencies in general were seen as not committing well enough to the policies in this area.

The authors of the second quote also lamented the growing focus on measurable results in aid, claiming that capacity is difficult to evaluate since it "relates to issues with little specificity or visibility, such as legitimacy, 'positioning', empowerment, relationships (social, personal, professional), trust, dialogue, protecting space, volition, identity."[70] Is it impossible to have a demand-led and context-sensitive development policy in both theory and practice? It may or may not be a contradiction, but there were many references to the need for more flexibility in the method of capacity development, yet one of the concluding remarks of the report was that more concrete tools than the policy and manual for capacity development were needed.[71] The policy and manual for capacity development do not seem to have been revised since.

The Swedish National Audit Office conducted an evaluation in 2009 of Sida's capacity building efforts in relation to public administration in partner countries.[72] The report was very critical and suggested among other things that Sida had consistently failed to conduct adequate assessments of the existing capacity before starting new programmes.[73] Furthermore, it stated that efforts often lacked adequate goals and monitoring plans. The manual for capacity development was not seen as concrete enough and not sufficiently aligned with the Paris Declaration.[74] There had clearly been a considerable amount of discussion going on about capacity building – including a push to emphasize a systems perspective and context-specific measures - not least since the late 1990's. The story told above illustrates the complexity of balancing different policies and demands (demand- or supply-led, results- or process-orientation, management capacity or more directly pro-poor capacity).

Sarec within Sida. Embracing change while resolutely defending boundaries between science and politics

Sarec remained much the same in its organizational form, even though it was now a part of Sida. It retained a separate budget (around 800 million MSEK) though the funds for thematic research were managed at-----. Sarec's staff remained in one place up until 2008. check

The special case of research (*forskningens särart*) is a recurring theme in both the documents and the interviews. This has been discussed in previous chapters, and it is

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[70] Ibid. p34

[71] The report lifts Sarec as the actor within Sida with most experience in building *endogenous* capacity within the area of research, but it does not delve very deep into how this can contribute to the wider discussion.

[72] I mention this evaluation here because chapter seven will not focus on Sida as a whole but on Sarec, and it is interesting to know when looking at the Sarec examples.

[73] Riksrevisionen (2009). Sida´s support for capacity development in the public administration of partner countries. RiR:2009:15 Summary, p3

[74] Ibid. pp4-5

something which continues to be significant during this decade. The merger with Sida is described in the methods documents and annual reports as having had positive effects, pointing out that apart from continuing to have a separate budget and department; research was also being integrated into the country strategies.[75]

The former directors I interviewed, however, were all critical to the fusion. Some of them felt more strongly than others, but it was clear that they thought that Sarec would have been able to do a better job if it had remained a free-standing agency. Why? Reasons given included the belief that the credibility of the agency in the eyes of Swedish universities as well as universities in low-income countries was greater when Sarec was independent and when the long-term and scientific goals did not have to compete in any way with Sida's in relative terms shorter and more political commitments. They uphold the boundary between politics and science in this respect. An example of this is when Olsson discusses a clash of priorities between Sida and Sarec concerning investments in the area of health sciences in Tanzania:

> Another example is Tanzania, where a lot of good research, staff development and other things were taking place…they had made some interesting discoveries within their HIV-research – research which was of relatively significant size at their medical faculty. A colleague at Sida said that since they had pulled out of supporting the health sector in Tanzania, why should Sarec continue to support health research? That view considers Sarec's support like a re-enforcing appendage to aid, while my view is that we are supporting the development of a research university in Tanzania. [...] and you cannot just switch areas of support like that after two years.[76]

Olsson maintained that they had to fight to keep Sarec's separate budget intact during her time as director. Her impression was that within Sida at large, the understanding of the long term role of research was less well understood and the Sarec staff felt that immediate needs would be given priority if research funds were not protected.[77] This is illustrative of the continuous tension between research as a special kind of aid versus research as a part of other aid. Research aid is associated with scientific values first and foremost, and long-term commitment – juxtaposed to Sida's general aid, portrayed as more politically determined and short-term. Kjellqvist claims that this division is based on the same arguments as when the parliament was to decide about Sarec's instatement in 1975, regarding whether or not Sarec should be an independent agency.[78]

Evaluated at 30 years

Six evaluations were conducted of Sarec's work and published in 2006 focusing on bilateral cooperation, international and thematic programs, Swedish development

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[75] Sarec (1998, 2000). Research Cooperation I. An Outline of Policy, Programmes and Practice, Sida. p9

[76] Transcription (2009). Interview with Berit Olsson 092509. pp8-9

[77] Ibid.

[78] Kjellqvist. P?

research and Sarec's internal organization,[79] Sida also published a synthesis report summarizing the findings of all of the reports.[80] There are both positive and critical conclusions – all of which build on certain views of the role of research in development. I will go through some examples here and then discuss the director's perspective on some of the evaluators' recommendations.

Report	Some conclusions
Bilateral Cooperation	Positive aspects: • The long-term form of support • The fact that it is demand-driven. Transferring of responsibilities to the LIC is positive, adapted to their admin. Etc. • The systemic approach to capacity building • Interdisciplinary research is being stimulated, something which is thought to increase relevance and applicability. • It is a positive trend that LIC universities can look for suitable research and training partners in the region when it is a better option • The staff in Stockholm – committed and flexible. Joint learning approach • The links to national policies and Swedish development objectives. Critique/recommendations for improvement: • Overall objective with development cooperation not easily combined with goals of research cooperation. Different cultures. The merger 1995 brought together organizations, not programmes. • Research *dissemination* could be improved, both within academia and to external stakeholders, including in Sweden. • More university-industry/other society stakeholders cooperation would be positive. More "real-life activity". More priority to projects that directly or indirectly improve the conditions of the poor and promote equitable economic growth • The connection between research and higher education could be stronger • Links to other Sida programs and other donors are weak. Synergies could be achieved. The rigorous preparation before bilateral cooperation is started could be used to coordinate more with these actors. • Sustainability of various projects should be included in the planning phase so that universities more quickly start applying for other types of funding than that of Sarec. • When local project selection processes are weak – Sarec and Northern

[79] Greenberg, A. and A. Muchanga (2006). Evaluation of Sida Information and Communications Technology Support to Universities. Sida Evaluation 06/13., Boeren, A., T. Alberts, et al. (2006). Sida/SAREC Bilateral Research Cooperation: Lessons Learned. Sida Evaluation 06/17., Lenefors, L., L. Gustafsson, et al. (2006). Sida Evaluation 06/22, Organisationsstudie av SAREC., Edqvist, O. (2006). Sidas U-landsforskningsråd. Deiaco, E., A. Högberg, et al. (2006). SARECs stöd till svensk u-landsforskning., Rath, A., G. Björklund, et al. (2006). SAREC Support to International and Regional Thematic Research Programs 2000–2005. Individual reports and cases. and Rath, A., G. Björklund, et al. (2006). SAREC Support to International and Regional Thematic Research Programs 2000–2005. Main report.

[80] Eduards, K. (2006). Review of Sida's Research Cooperation. Synthesis Report.

	reviewers dominate the approval processes. • A clear, relevant and useful monitoring and evaluation framework is needed- this would provide a clear basis for properly judging the performance and value of the program. • There is an implicit principle that cooperation between universities should preferable take place with Swedish universities – something which interferes with the demand-drivenness of the programme. Though it is not compulsory, it is encouraged. • The long-term commitment is essential because research capacity is complex and takes time. However it can also lead to projects that are forever donor-dependent.[81]
Thematic programmes	Findings summarized
Swedish development research and the research council function at Sarec	Findings summarized
Organizational study of Sarec	Findings summarized

The applicability of research and collaboration with other actors
Several of the evaluations included in their main recommendations that research aid could or should have more short-term effects.. develop.

Research in and of itself versus research as integrated with other aid
Some evaluators uphold the importance of research aid as separate from other aid whereas others point to the need to tie them closer together.

> There is a need to maintain the distinctiveness of Sida/SAREC:s domain of work, with a clear distinction from regular Sida programs. In general, support for research and higher education should not be confused with many wide-ranging development cooperation efforts because it has longer time horizons, involves different stakeholders, and requires different mindsets, experience, and expertise.

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[81] Boeren, A., T. Alberts, et al. (2006). Sida/SAREC Bilateral Research Cooperation: Lessons Learned. Sida Evaluation 06/17. pp4-6, 18-20, 21, 29, 32- 34,& 37

The successful international agency

Sarec's response to the evaluations

The official response to the evaluation was that.. se om du får något svar från Sida.

Olsson was critical of the increasing demand for applicability of the research support. She maintains that this recommendation is based on a different understanding of how research affects development. The results cannot be *that* direct in most cases, she claims. QUOTE Research is not about churning out policy recommendations. Some of the most important *effects* of the support to research occur when the researchers in low-income countries present their research to students in their teaching, she says. It also occurs through them being able to work and constitute a resource for independent problem solving and expertise within certain areas. More about her ideas here?

The disbanding of Sarec

In 2008, the politics governing Swedish aid were reformed, resulting in among other things far fewer collaborating countries and revised foreign aid goals.[85] Similar to the fusion of Sida, Sarec, BITS and SwedeCorp in 1995, it was preceded by a change in government. Sida was reorganized completely and Sarec along with it. The evaluations of Sarec had seemingly little to do with the dismantling of Sarec since the recommendations overall were supportive of continued – and sometimes increased – activities by Sarec.

Add a couple of sentences on the reasoning behind the reorganization in parliamentary proceedings.

When asked about the reasons for the disbanding of Sarec, Carlman maintained that research aid (in the form it was organized under Sarec) was the victim of a series of reorganizations:

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[82] Rath, A., G. Björklund, et al. (2006). SAREC Support to International and Regional Thematic Research Programs 2000–2005. Main report., p?

[83] Ibid. p5
[84] Ibid. p?
[85] Gunilla Carlssons powerpoint det nya biståndet?

> Nobody was really ever out to *get* Sarec, research just became some sort of innocent bystander... it started with the budget being divided, and then the organization was divided, and then came the reduction where several subject specialists were let go [...] So the sum of it all is that research aid today is significantly reduced in its capacity, and this is very unfortunate since it has never been the subject of a specific *decision*, it is the result of organizational changes [...][86]

Carlman elaborated on the side effects of the smaller organizational changes at Sida a bit more. One effect of splitting parts of the research budget was that Sarec could no longer as easily coordinate the different levels of support (international, regional and bilateral). This weakening of control, he maintains, was later exacerbated by the movement of staff to other parts of Sida. These types of changes, maintained Carlman, affected many aid areas though, not just research.[87]

Olsson did not say much about the reasons for the disbanding since it was a relatively recent development at the time when I interviewed her (2009), but she talked about the same step-by-step reduction of control caused by different organizational logics that Carlman mentioned, and she also raised the increased focus on producing short-term results as issues that reduced the strength of Sarec.[88] [89] Olsson stated that she thought it was a bad idea to reduce the capacity within research aid, not only because of the amount of good work that has been enabled in low-income countries, but for Sweden's image:

> Research aid gives Sweden a good name. Sweden as a nobel prize country, Sweden as a knowledge economy and all that – it is hard to explain to the surrounding world why we should reduce support for research. I am biased, but from an image-perspective I think it is a bad idea to remove the Sarec name. It is well-known and has a good reputation. Of course there are things that could be changed but it is fairly established and respected activity.[90]

Säger Kjellqvist något om det i sin avhandling? Om omorganisationen 2008 alltså.

Whether or not anyone was "out to get" Sarec or to actively and strategically reform research aid is not something that can be answered here. What is clear, however, from

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[86] Transcription (2013). Interview with Rolf Carlman 032013. p5

[87] Ibid. p3 &5

[88] Transcription (2009). Interview with Berit Olsson 092509. p20

[89] Somewhat of an aside, but nonetheless interesting: The same year Olsson left the position as director of Sarec, an interview with her was published in the Norwegian aid newsletter NORRAG News (December 2008) on the topic of asymmetries in research aid. She expressed critique of calling aid-related research cooperation "partnerships" considering the unequal relationships that existed: "As long as research on and for development, often guided by agency policy needs, appears to be the main objective rather than capacity for research by and in partner countries, low income countries will have difficulties enhancing the analytical capacity they direly need to manage external relations, including the aid negotiations" Ref NN41

[90] Transcription (2009). Interview with Berit Olsson 092509. p17

both the documents and interviews, is that there had always been a kind of wall between Sarec and Sida – between research aid and other aid - both before and after the fusion.

Concluding discussion

The rhetoric surrounding local priorities was intensified at the same time as "global issues" were more frequently discussed. Sustainable development: Economic, social and environmental aspects. Economic growth important but continued the trend from 1990s, of taking a step back. Being able to achieve socially equitable distribution of resources and environmental sustainability was envisioned as equally important. This is combined with a view of universities as part of national innovation systems. Part of the reason why NIS arose was in part a rejection of neoclassical economics and its conceptualization (or lack thereof) of the role of technology, focusing instead… p200 sismondo These concepts seem like they were more or less just added in to the mix, no great fundamental changes to match?

The futures imagined in the annual reports are a few different ones, but mainly it is the vision of a country where universities are part of a national system of innovation, they are strong in technology-related research, and they collaborate with all kinds of actors in society. These kinds of universities are conducive to sustainable development and poverty reduction. The role of research aid is to contribute to building these universities and assisting in the connections with surrounding society actors. This view is strengthened by evaluators, who recommended…

The different materials sometimes construct different views of the role of research in development. This is significant in the sense that it shows how different discourses battle over the right to define what to expect of research aid.

The annual reports construct research aid as…. It is not as explicitly critical in the annual reports as in the interviews or of science itself. All in all, the universalistic discourse is strengthened – but so is the localistic discourse.

The evaluators cannot be bunched together to represent one view – they contain many views – but evaluators more often express the universalist discourse. They point to the importance of measurability of results for example, and more often request an increase in short-term results.

The directors did not talk about innovation or economic growth; they underlined the importance of research capacity as crucial for independent problem-solving and better higher education first and foremost. Development research was considered important but secondary, and the relationship to poverty reduction and economic growth was regarded as being necessarily indirect and long-term, and efforts to make the effects more short-term risked being at the expense of building research capacity. The directors, too, share the fundamental belief in modern science – but would appear to express the localist discourse somewhat more strongly than the universalist one. I say this because they consistently attach value to supporting all kinds of sciences – a broad

approach to building capacity is seen as more important than producing research results within specific pre-determined areas. The universalist discourse is nonetheless also expressed, in issues regarding…..<mark>look at the interviews</mark>

The boundary organization's organizational context placed new demands on tasks, adding administrative layers which complicated things… more on Sarec within Sida.

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