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----- Editorial -----

The JADE Letter has served as a platform for JADE members since 2020, introducing new research conducted by young scholars and providing valuable information about research, especially for early career researchers and graduate students. As new editors of the Letter, we appreciate the laudable work done by two former founding editors: Kei Kajisa and Tsunehiro Otsuki. We strive to maintain the Letter's tradition and strengthen its utility.

The current issue features the following. Keijiro Otsuka sent his warm and strong message to all members at his second presidential address. Jun Goto provides a literature review on the nexus of the judiciary and development and introduces his own fascinating research on this topic in India. His article provides a good introduction to this rapidly growing field. Readers can learn, as we have done, how a promising research question and design can be developed, building on good understanding of literature and context. Tomoya Matsumoto shares his fieldwork experience in Kenya during the pandemic and his views on prospects for development economics research. His timely article provides rare first-hand information and insights on fieldwork for those wondering about their research design and practice, including fieldwork during and after the pandemic. The combination of Jun and Tomoya's contributions highlights the diligence and diversity of JADE members. All comments on the current issue and suggestions for future issues are welcome. Enjoy reading!

Yoko Kijima and Yoshito Takasaki, Editors, JADE Letter

## The Presidential Address

Keijiro Otsuka
Professor, Kobe University and a chief senior researcher at IDE-JETRO

I am truly honored to be reelected as president of JADE. I look forward to working and interacting with all JADE members in the next three years. Beginning with a handful of founding members in March 2019, JADE

has become reasonably large, now with 144 members. Gradually and steadily, JADE has contributed to the realization of the two objectives of its establishment: to raise the quality of development economics research in Japan and nurture young development economists so Japan can be one of the major global hubs of development economics research. Regretfully, because of the COVID-19 pandemic, we failed to organize a joint conference with the London School of Economics. However, we have been in regular contact with the LSE, and both sides remain enthusiastic about having a joint conference in the future. We sincerely hope that we can organize the conference in April 2023 with engaging face-to-face discussions between JADE members and LSE researchers. We now have new executive members of JADE. Every new board member is an active member of JADE with a strong will to contribute to its further development. Somewhat ironically, we have accumulated "savings" owing to unexpectedly small expenditures during COVID-19. Executive members are now discussing the best use of the accumulated fund to maximize the benefits of JADE (e.g., internationalization of JADE activities). Finally, I would like to request that all members of JADE fully support the further development of this valuable association.

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## The Judiciary and Development

Jun Goto
Associate Professor, Kobe University

About 20 years before Wealth of Nations (1776), Adam Smith famously referred to the following three functions of the state essential for economic development: peace, easy taxes, and a tolerable administration of justice. Economists have accumulated large amounts of theoretical and empirical work to elucidate the importance of the first two points.[1] In the last two decades, over 260 years after Adam Smith's statement, we have seen significant improvements in our understanding of the role of a tolerable judicial system in development. This short article reviews recent empirical studies and summarizes key insights into how effective justice systems are constructed and administered.

**Does the Judiciary Matter for Economic Prosperity?** Many scholars have attempted to determine whether effective judicial systems affect economic prosperity. Many cross-country studies demonstrate that tolerable judicial administration is positively associated with various economic outcomes (e.g., Djankov et al. 2003; La Porta et al. 2008; Besley and Persson 2021). This stylized fact is consistent with literature examining the relationship between institutions and development, which claims that establishing inclusive institutions is key to development (e.g., Pande and Udry 2005). Essentially, previous studies have indicated that well-functioning courts can be considered essential components in inclusive institutions. More recently, empirical studies

[1] For more detailed discussion on the roles of peaceful society and tax institutions in development, see Ray and Esteban (2017) and Pomeranz and Vila-Belda (2019).

adopting relatively rigorous identification strategies have revealed the underlying mechanism behind the positive role of the judiciary in development, which can prevent ruling groups from using the state as a private project for self-enrichment and, subsequently, legally protected property rights are conducive to private investment (Chemin 2009a; 2009b, 2020; Aberra and Chemin 2021).

**Bias in Judicial Decisions.** In the last decade, an active research field emerged: what shapes judicial decisions? Understanding a judge's motives in their decisions is indispensable for designing a fair and efficient judicial system. First, several empirical studies illustrate that judges tend to elicit in-group bias based on social identity (e.g., religion, ethnicity, race, and gender) (Shayo and Zussman 2011; Abrams et al. 2012; Arnold et al. 2018; Cohen and Yang 2019; Asmat and Kossuth 2021; Mehmood and Seror 2021; Choi et al. 2022).[2] Studies further extend literature by demonstrating that judges are also influenced by social preferences (Bharti and Roy 2021) and local norms fostered within their own courts (Abrams et al. 2021).

Another growing body of literature explores political influence on judicial decisions. In many democracies, political leaders are constitutionally granted with the authority to appoint and remove judicial officers. This widely adopted institution generates a career-incentive-induced bias: judges highly concerned about their careers are inherently tempted to acquire better job conditions by sentencing in favor of politicians. A handful of studies corroborate this political bias in Brazilian lower courts (Poblete-Cazenave 2021) and Pakistan High Courts (Mehmood 2021).

**Unresolved Research Questions.** These studies are important in that they reveal that judges are subject to implicit political pressure, resulting in decisions that favor to politicians and deviate from the principle of equality before law. However, evidence is limited to non-general trial cases (i.e., politically sensitive trial cases) involving politicians or the government as defendants. Thus, some important questions remain unanswered. Do implicit political pressures through career concerns influence judicial decisions for "more general" trials involving ordinary citizens, beyond politically sensitive trials directly involving politicians or the government? Answering this question helps us understand whether judicial independence is entirely eroded by political intervention, and judges are making unfair decisions even in nonpolitically sensitive cases to ensure their own career progression.

**Implicit Political Manipulation in Nonpolitically Sensitive Cases.** Confirming the validity of the implicit political manipulation hypothesis in nonpolitically sensitive cases is notoriously difficult as it requires several conditions: (i) political leaders should have personnel authority in determining judges' career paths; (ii) there should be exogenous shifts in sentencing preferences of political leaders; and (iii) judges should have career incentives to reflect such preference shifts in their rulings against ordinary citizens.

My recent paper, Goto (2022), takes a unique approach to testing. I target the Indian lower judiciary and exploit natural experiments: the unexpected replacement of state governors from male to female (and female to

[2] We cannot yet conclude whether judges are fragile to in-group favoritism in court as some studies fail to replicate identity-based biases in judicial decisions in both developing and developed countries (Harris and Sen 2019; Ash et al. 2021).

male), which causes exogenous shifts in political leaders' gender preferences. Specifically, by adopting a regression discontinuity design (RDD), I compare a judge's decision on violent crime against women immediately before and after the sudden announcement of the state governor's replacement.

The empirical analysis yields three main findings. First, female governors have a stronger preference for harsher penalties for sex crimes than male governors. Second, judges reflect this relative difference in gender preferences by handing down harsher sentences for sex crimes immediately after announcing that female politicians are taking office. Finally, further analysis confirms that this implicit political manipulation of nonpolitically sensitive cases is driven by the judge's career concerns. Once they reach the top of the local court and no further promotion is available, judges become insulated from political influence.

This study is novel and innovative in several respects. First, the evidence has very high external validity as it uses data from complete court records nationwide from 2010 to 2018 for India, which is the world's largest democracy and has the most typical judicial and personnel systems for judges. Second, this is the first evidence showing that when discretionary career incentives are available for the executive branch, political influence might encroach on the margins of the judicial system. Finally, RDD combined with unexpected governmental regime changes enables me to isolate judges' direct responses to career incentives from selection effects, where government transfers judicial officers among local districts in accordance with their preferences.

Hence, granting discretion to the executive branch over the personnel matters of judges can be detrimental to the independent administration of justice owing to political manipulation in court. Therefore, a careful institutional design is necessary to ensure judicial accountability and independence.

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## Fieldwork under the COVID-19 Pandemic

Tomoya Matsumoto

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I like seeing sights I've never seen before, eating food I've never tasted before, feeling the difference in the air and the sunlight on my skin, and interacting with people living in different cultures. This is why I've been searching for research targets in foreign countries and conducting fieldwork.

Science has evolved by finding limitations and fallacies in existing theories through close observation of research subjects. Economics has also progressed through fieldwork, which entails researchers personally entering the field to observe phenomena on the ground and in detail. However, despite being considered the most effective means of observation in the social sciences, fieldwork may no longer be conducted as before owing to the global COVID-19 pandemic. At the very least, it is unlikely that university researchers could travel to Africa for a week during the semester and then go back to their classes immediately on the day they return. Going on short research trips may become impossible. Although this is a pity, it cannot be helped. (With the

spread of online classes, returning to our home countries quickly to give lectures may be unnecessary.) In October-November 2021, I conducted fieldwork, which was more time-consuming and costly (and with far more restrictions!) than before, and I realized how blessed I had been with the current research environment.

Many research hypotheses can be found in the field, and their answers can often be found in there as well. Fieldwork is especially meaningful for development economics, which has found value in findings on the ground. Because I maintained such conviction, I went to Kenya from October 30 to November 18 last year to conduct fieldwork in Homa Bay County on the shores of Lake Victoria, while many researchers abandoned their overseas research owing to the pandemic and the associated immigration restrictions. This was my first overseas research trip since my last trip to Kenya in January and February 2020. At the time, the arrival of the new COVID-19 infection in Japan was a hot topic, and I remember watching news of the mass infection of the passengers on the Diamond Princess at the Port of Yokohama from my hotel in Nairobi. On this trip, I went through completely different procedures for traveling abroad than those in the past. I want to share this experience with researchers conducting research involving fieldwork overseas and discuss the future of fieldwork in this essay.

This trip aims to conduct a preliminary survey of an experimental intervention for malaria control being planned as part of the SATREPS project titled "The project for interdisciplinary research for an integrated community-directed strategy for sustainable freedom from malaria" led by Professor Akira Kaneko of Osaka City University as principal investigator. Fieldwork was originally planned to be conducted a year ago, but it needed to be postponed owing to the outbreak of a new COVID-19 infection. However, as vaccination progressed and the number of infected cases in Japan and Kenya remained relatively low, we decided to conduct fieldwork then. During fieldwork, we visited the target area and met with people from the cooperating organizations of the project, local coordinators, and residents to gather information from each of them and discuss with research team members to improve the survey contents and experimental design. Research activities in the field went as smoothly as before, except for the occasional need to wear masks. However, traveling from and returning to Japan involved many hurdles that we had not encountered before, and every time I encountered a barrier, I felt nervous and wondered if I could overcome them without trouble.

## Research Trip to Kenya from Japan Under the Pandemic

On the day of the flight for the research trip, I arrived at Narita Airport a few hours earlier than usual to take the PCR test at a private PCR testing station inside the airport (Narita International Airport PCR Center, Nippon Medical School Narita International Airport Clinic). A certificate of negative PCR test results conducted within 72 hours prior to departure was required for entry into Kenya. Three hours after the test, I was relieved to find that I had tested negative for COVID-19. The cost was 30,000 yen for a PCR test, which was more expensive than the rate in typical medical labs in town. An American gentleman who also underwent a test complained to the staff that the test was free in the US. The lab at the international airport seemed to enjoy the monopoly. With the certificate, I headed to the airport counter to check for my flight. The number of travelers leaving Narita overseas that day was less than a tenth of what it had been before COVID-19. More than half of the restaurants and gift shops were closed. The airport was very quiet, and the flight board was filled with signs of "canceled." This was the first time I'd ever witnessed such an empty Narita airport. I left Kenya with mixed feelings.

Arriving at Doha International Airport, my transit point, travelers seemed to be fewer than before. Even so, all duty-free stores and restaurants were open and busy with many customers. The international hub airports are crowded with travelers of all ages worldwide. The big difference compared to the situation before the pandemic was that everyone wore masks. Several travelers also wore full-body protective suits. At the airport, we were not required to show any vaccination or negative infection certificates, although the thermal cameras were checking our temperature at some points. Because the flights to Nairobi had been drastically cut, I needed to stay at the airport for more than 10 hours in transit due to bad transfers. After Doha, my longest stay, I boarded the plane to Kenya, which carried fewer passengers than usual.

The plane arrived at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, and, as I stepped off the ramp, the strong sunshine and dry air reminded me that I had returned to Kenya. While standing in line with passport control, I checked my bag pocket for the documents required for entry, which were more than usual. A quarantine officer wearing a mask and holding an ear thermometer checked my temperature and asked me to show the QR code (obtained from https://ears.health.go.ke/airline_registration/) of the Minister of Health's Traveler Surveillance Form. At passport control, presenting my passport and eVisa (obtained from https://evisa.go.ke/evisa.html) to the officer, he stamped my passport, and I had a smoother-than-expected entry into the country.

Soon after picking up the luggage, I headed for the domestic flight terminal and flew to Kisumu. Landing at Kisumu airport, I took a taxi to Mbita, Homa Bay County, which was the final destination on this trip. As we went to the countryside, the proportion of people wearing masks decreased; in Mbita, it was about 20–30%, although most passengers of public transportation (e.g., buses and ferries) wore masks owing to the regulations. During my fieldwork in the area, the local people I interacted with did not seem particularly afraid of the new infectious disease. Moreover, they did not see me as a foreign visitor with a high risk of infection. The children were the same as ever, and when they saw me, they came to me and chanted "mzungu (white man), mzungu (white man)." Before my visit, I was a little concerned that local people would put off strangers from overseas due to the belief that strangers might bring diseases to them, but my fears were unfounded. This was more than expected. When I asked some people about their perception of the new infectious disease, many said they were not afraid of it as it did not seem fatal. Indeed, I heard that only a few residents came to receive the free vaccine for COVID-19 as I stopped by clinics.

During my stay in Mbita, the news about the easing of immigration restrictions in Japan made me feel excited initially and disappointed later. Easing of quarantine measures meant that if certain conditions were satisfied, restrictions on activities would ease after 3 days of entering Japan, allowing people to use public transportation, attend gatherings and events, and participate in dinners without waiting for the 14-day voluntary quarantine period to end.[3] Until then, the easing of quarantine measures meant voluntarily taking a PCR test 10 days after entering Japan, and if the test proved negative, the restriction on activities would be relaxed from 14 days after returning. This time, the restriction would be reduced by another 7 days. This means that I could get on a plane and return to Hokkaido on the fourth day, so I celebrated the good news at my hotel. However, it was a short-lived celebration, as I found many barriers to this measure. First, registering the person in charge of accepting travelers entering Japan is necessary, which takes at least 2 weeks till approval. Additionally, the

[3] https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/seisakunitsuite/bunya/0000121431_00318.html

person in charge of receiving the travelers must meet them at their arrival point. After reading the 22-page guidelines for the relaxation measures documented by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (MHLW), I was disappointed and wondered why they bothered to create a measure that most people would be unable to use. I once asked the university administration to apply for registration; however, after reading the guidelines carefully, I withdrew my request.

To enter Japan, we needed a negative PCR test certificate conducted within 72 hours before departure from the destination country. Unfortunately, only a single laboratory in Nairobi (https://camedlynks.com/) can issue a certificate of test results in the form approved by the MHLW of Japan. Additionally, it took 1 day to obtain PCR test results. Therefore, I took a domestic flight back to Nairobi 3 days before departing from Kenya.

I noticed that most people in the city wore masks on their way to the hotel in Nairobi from the airport. People could not use public facilities or public transportation without wearing masks. After some time, I reached my usual hotel in Nairobi. As more than half of its guests were tourists from abroad before COVID-19, I expected it to be empty; however, surprisingly, it was crowded with groups from the US. People had different perceptions of the disease and travel decisions during the pandemic. Group tours to and from abroad in Japan have been almost zero for nearly 2 years. The following day, I visited a private testing laboratory in the city to perform a PCR test. Some tourists from abroad waited for their turn to be tested. After I filled out a form at the reception desk and waited for 10 min, my turn came, and the laboratory technician stuck a cotton swab deep into my nose and took a mucus sample at a testing booth. I was told to return to receive the results the following day, so I walked back to the hotel. The following day, I revisited the laboratory and was relieved to receive a negative result and its corresponding certificate, which was required for entry into Japan. A receptionist also provided me with instructions on how to obtain another form of negative certificate (issued by panabios.org) online, which was needed at the airport for boarding. All necessary documents for my departure from Kenya and entry into Japan were ready. I returned to the hotel and installed the smartphone apps required for entering Japan (MySOS and COCOA).

I called a familiar cab driver the following day and headed to Jomo Kenyatta International Airport while chatting. We reached an airport with a considerable amount of spare time. When I came to the airport counter, a long line of travelers was already waiting for their check-ins. While there should have been fewer travelers than usual, owing to the limited number of flights, travelers were packed on the flights in operation. Although I had already checked online, I had no choice but to wait in line. A few travelers seemed to have a difficult time checking in, probably because of incomplete documents, and they argued with the attendants. I wondered whether they were able to board the plane. When it was my turn to check-in, I presented the necessary documents and showed the attendant my phone screen with my negative result; there was no problem. I put my luggage on the conveyor belt, got my boarding passes, and completed my check-in. I was lucky enough to receive an upgrade to business class for my Nairobi-Doha ticket.

The return flight in Doha was smooth and took me to Narita Airport on time. It was time to go through the process of entering Japan. At the airport, we were guided by several staff members to check our necessary documents for entry (e.g., vaccination records and negative certificates of PCR test) to confirm that apps were appropriately installed to track our physical conditions and whereabouts after the entry, then collect and submit saliva samples for the PCR test, and keep records on our voluntary quarantine locations. The rapidity of the

process reminded me of the scene at a driver's license renewal center and the efficient handling of the flow of a large number of people impressed me. I observed this scene with admiration, thinking that few countries could operate with such efficiency. However, with a limited number of travelers, completing this series of procedures took me more than 2 hours. I wondered how many hours it would take when the pandemic subsides and the number of people entering the country increases. I did not think this was a feasible measure in such a situation. After some time, the test result was obtained. I tested negative, received the certificate, and was headed for the customs baggage checkpoint. After the baggage check, I finally completed all immigration procedures and left the airport building to go to the bus station. It was around 9:00 pm. Public transportation, including cabs, was not supposed to be used by returnees, so I waited for a special round-trip bus for those staying in hotels near the airport for voluntary quarantine. It had been approximately 3 hours since the plane had landed.

Arriving at the hotel, the front desk clerk explained to me that the room would not be cleaned during my stay, that garbage bags should be placed in front of the room door, that I would have to fill out a health record form with my temperature and physical condition daily, that I would be unable to use any restaurant in the hotel and that other returnees under voluntary quarantine would stay on the same floor, while other guests would stay on different floors. Subsequently, I went to my room and found a pile of towels and empty garbage bags for 10 days in the washroom. It was an unfamiliar sight, and I realized that I had started living in quarantine and collapsed onto the bed.

The basic rules during voluntary quarantine involve not going out unnecessarily, avoiding as much contact with people as possible, and avoiding public transportation. However, the movement restrictions were not that strict. Going out to get food or performing light exercise was allowed. However, we were contacted twice a day at random times between 9:00 and 18:00 using MySOS to check our physical condition and whereabouts. Therefore, we were required to respond to the random calls at our registered place for voluntary quarantine. If we repeatedly failed to respond, our names may be published on the MHLW website for violating the pledges.

My hotel was located in the suburbs of Narita City, where there are many rice fields and wooded areas with good walking and jogging paths. As for meals, I initially bought them at the convenience store next to the hotel, but as I became familiar with the surrounding area, I could enjoy various food such as Korean food and Unagi by ordering them online from the restaurants nearby and picking them up after a walk. However, eating meals alone was boring. I spent relatively fulfilling days teaching online classes, doing administrative work, and writing papers. After 10 days of solitary voluntary quarantine, I visited the PCR testing laboratory at the airport. As returnees were not supposed to use public transportation, we had to take a special round trip bus or walk an hour to the airport as I did. This was the first time I had ever walked to Narita airport. I took the PCR test, waited for the result there for 3 hours, and received a negative certificate. This was the fourth PCR test during the trip. I uploaded the screenshot of my negative certificate to the MySOS app. Two hours later, I received a notification on my smartphone that the restrictions would be relaxed in the following day. I was relieved and walked back to the hotel, wondering why the restriction easing would not begin at that point but in the next day. The next morning, I flew to Chitose, Hokkaido, and returned safely to Otaru in the early afternoon. I returned to everyday life and felt comfortable with my family.

This trip incurred additional costs not needed before the COVID-19 pandemic, such as the PCR test

fees and lodging for voluntary quarantine. In total, I took four PCR tests during the trip, and three of them were charged, two 30,000 yen tests at Narita Airport (once when I left Japan and once ten days after I returned) and once in 10,000 yen test in Nairobi. For accommodation, I had to spend an extra two nights in Nairobi for the PCR test and an additional 11 nights for voluntary quarantine at Narita. First, a university administrative staff told me that the research fund would not cover the accommodation cost of voluntary quarantine, so I thought I would have to cover the accommodation cost. Eventually, however, the fund covered the extra costs for PCR tests and accommodation.

Was fieldwork worth conducting in this situation? Is it not possible to replace fieldwork with close communication with local counterparts through online meetings? Many of you might have had such questions. Nevertheless, I believe that opting for fieldwork remains worthwhile and that fieldwork has value that alternative methods cannot produce. Most importantly, fieldwork often provides unexpected insights and discoveries from research subjects and their surroundings through direct field observation. Given current communication technologies, methods other than going to the site cannot provide us with such experiences.

Second, when designing structured questionnaires or field experiments, careful refinements and adjustments can be crucial to obtaining meaningful information from research subjects and efficiently implementing the research project. God dwells in the details. Performing such works without directly observing the research targets and their environment is challenging.

Third, visiting the research site ourselves allows us to build trust with local collaborators. Many would agree that establishing trust with local collaborators is one of the most critical factors in making research projects productive. In the future, more advanced technologies may enable us to establish trust in local collaborators without meeting them in person. Finally, the value of fieldwork is even higher now, as many researchers cannot conduct fieldwork. For these reasons, I conducted my fieldwork.

I was quite fortunate during the trip. If the PCR test before I left Japan had been positive, I would have canceled my trip. If I had had fever when I entered Kenya, I would have been quarantined in Nairobi. If the PCR test before I left Kenya had been positive, I would have had to stay in Kenya for another 2 weeks. There are many worse possible scenarios. If I were the type to prepare backup plans for all possible negative events, I would not have traveled during the COVID-19 pandemic. Fortunately, I completed my mission without any significant problems. No illnesses or procedural faults occurred during the trip. Nevertheless, the voluntary quarantine of 10 days in a hotel is a heavy financial, mental, and time-consuming burden. This will undoubtedly be a stumbling block for overseas research trips for many researchers.

## The Future of Fieldwork

Even after the situation of the new coronavirus disease variant subsides, people may still have a difficult time traveling abroad compared to before COVID-19. While I am an optimistic person, I admit that I am pessimistic about this matter. For the time being, immigration control will proceed as is. Travelers will be required to present proof of negative test results and vaccination records at every entrance and exit. In some countries, quarantine measures will be required, forcing people to stay in hotels near airports for several days, as the Japanese government has imposed now. Even if vaccines for COVID-19 become widely available and therapeutic drugs are developed, another unknown infectious disease may appear in the near future. For instance, if a new strain

of influenza emerges, many countries will immediately take measures to combat the infection through the strict entry and movement restrictions. This COVID-19 experience may make governments in many countries more cautious. Of course, research on overseas travel will also be affected. I think I will no longer be able to go on short research trips as I did before. This time, the research trip to Kenya took me a month from when I left to when I returned home. I think that this is the shortest time for a research trip. While going on a long-term trip for fieldwork is possible, how many researchers can and want to go on such a research trip with budget, time, and family constraints?

As mentioned at the beginning of this article, I believe that research will continue to deepen through close observation of the real world. The need for research data and analysis will not change. In development economics, fieldwork has been, and (hopefully) will continue to be, the most efficient research method. However, when a research trip becomes as difficult as it is now, the data collection methods and the content of the data to be collected may change significantly. Researchers who commit to analyzing empirical data have the following two options. One is to stick to fieldwork and make time for at least 1 month, preferably several months, for fieldwork. Fortunately, the remote work environment is in place so that we can attend meetings at universities and institutes and give lectures to students from a certain location (although the network remains unstable and often disconnects in countries that we, as development economists, are likely to visit). However, if this is not possible, the second option would be to abandon fieldwork. In the short term, we can outsource surveys to local research organizations and collect data without going into the field. Alternatively, mobile phone surveys can be used instead of face-to-face interviews. Collaborating with local research organizations to ensure the quality of the data collected closely will become more critical than ever. Additionally, data collected without interviews, such as remote sensing and cell phone tracking records, will be increasingly used. In addition, the methods for collecting such data will be more sophisticated in the medium to long term. The research style of development economists will probably be classified into two types: the field-embedded type, which involves fieldwork, and the technology-intensive type, without fieldwork. I prefer the former style. Ideally, a division of labor between these two types of researchers will result in a highly productive research team contributing to society.

SPRINGER NATURE

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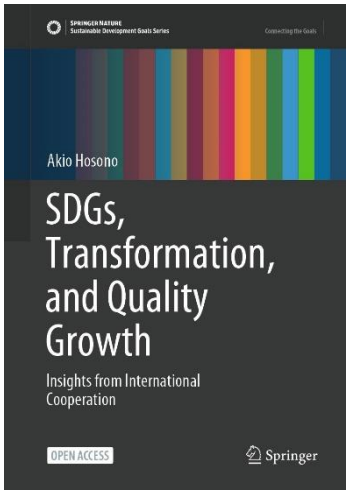


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