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Welcome

Welcome to the 2020 issue of Oxford Development Matters – my first as the new Head of Department. I write from an Oxford that would be quite unrecognisable to you as former students. Departments and libraries closed, students scattered, and academics and support staff all working from their homes. The QEH building itself is locked up and silent, with only occasional visits from Gary, our caretaker, to water the plants.

Despite the disruption, you may have read that Oxford University as a whole has been a leading force in efforts to address the pandemic. Much attention has rightly focused on medical advances, including promising progress on the development of a vaccine against COVID, but in the social sciences we too have an important contribution to make. You can read about the exciting ways in which our academics are reshaping their research to help understand the impact of the pandemic and global lockdowns within their own fields on pp 6–9.

While QEH may now be experiencing one of the most dramatic periods in its history, our past has of course been eventful too; on pp 4–5 Valpy FitzGerald continues his history of the department with a survey of the turbulent middle years, during which QEH narrowly escaped closure as it moved away from its original purpose, as a place of training for colonial officers, to emerge as a leading centre for research in development studies.

As always, the magazine also features interesting research and activities by our current and former students. On p 10 you can read about a new app developed by DPhil student Alex Barnes. Alex was working on an app to enable safe navigation in conflict zones when the pandemic struck. He and his colleagues quickly spotted a potential new use for similar technology, this time to help with social distancing. On p 3 alumna Rebecca Buxton also spotted a gap in the market and filled it: for a popular philosophy book that shifted the focus away from white men to highlight the contribution of women and people of colour. And finally on pp 11–12, DPhil Biruk Terrefe draws on his research to discuss new urban development projects in Addis Ababa and how changes in the capital’s cityscape have reflected the fluctuating political priorities of different regimes.

Our latest cohort of students are as vibrant and accomplished as ever, but as they complete their courses and emerge into the world of work, they do so under exceptionally difficult circumstances. In recognition of this, we have launched a new all-ODID networking group on Linkedin, The Oxford Development Network, in a bid to bring together all our current and former students to share experiences, opportunities, and advice. You will find a flyer about it enclosed with the magazine – we would be delighted if you would join the new group so we can harness the power of our extended network to help each other through this tough time. And, as always, please complete the Keep in Touch form, either by returning the paper copy or following the link, to ensure we can contact you about new initiatives (hopefully some on-site soon) in the future.

Diego Sánchez-Ancochea
Head of Department
Frustrated by the predominance of white men in most histories of philosophy, alumna Rebecca Buxton joined forces with a friend and crowdfunded to get a different kind of book written – one about women philosophers, by women philosophers.

Philosophers, for example, offers chapters on individual philosophers throughout history, each written by philosophers of the modern day. All of these chapters are about men and all of the philosophers who wrote the chapters are men. Even last year the trend continued, with A C Grayling publishing The History of Philosophy. No chapter in this book is dedicated to a woman philosopher or even women philosophers as a group. But with so many books coming out in popular philosophy, why is it that women philosophers are still being ignored?

As there seemed to be an obvious gap, Lisa and I began to look into publishing a book exclusively on women philosophers, written exclusively by women philosophers. And so, the idea for The Philosopher Queens was thought up, over several cups of tea and some emails to friends who knew far more about the world of publishing than we did. We were lucky enough to find our publisher, Unbound, early on in the process. Unbound might seem like an unusual choice – they are a crowdfunding publisher. As an author or editor, you have to run a campaign for your book and ask people to pre-order it before it even exists. Of course, we thought this would be a hard sell, and Unbound warned us to expect the process to take up to six months. Once we launched the campaign, our book was fully funded within 26 days. After two years of working on this project, The Philosopher Queens – featuring women from throughout the history of philosophy and from diverse backgrounds, from Diotima and Ban Zhao, to Iris Marion Young and Angela Davis – will be published this year. The Angela Davis chapter is now available free of charge at thephilosopherqueens.co.uk to raise money for the Black Lives Matter movement.

Lisa and I both studied philosophy at university. In fact, we fell in love with philosophy together at the age of 16 when we both embarked on the A-Level. But as philosophy undergraduates we both noticed the distinct lack of diversity. I assumed, ignorantly, that women philosophers got little attention because there weren’t any worth paying attention to.

Diversity in the curriculum is important – fortunately, this no longer seems to be a controversial opinion. For one thing, it can encourage new generations of philosophers to take up the subject; this is very difficult when they don’t see themselves reflected in the history of the discipline. But what people often miss is that most of us do not campaign for diversity for this reason alone, but also because the history of philosophy was diverse. Women and people of colour have been doing philosophy all along, but the histories that we share and learn do not recognise that.

This book is only a tiny step in the right direction and, of course, no single book can encompass the histories that have been ignored for thousands of years. But we hope that, in the future, when a young girl walks into a bookshop she might now see a book that does justice to women in the history of philosophy.

The Philosopher Queens will be published by Unbound on 17 September. The Angela Davis chapter is now available free of charge at thephilosopherqueens.co.uk to raise money for the Black Lives Matter movement.

Rebecca Buxton completed the MSc in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies in 2017. She is now studying for a doctorate at ODID.
Queen Elizabeth House and the Development Pivot

Continuing his series on the history of the department, Valpy FitzGerald expands on the turbulent period from the late 1960s to the early 1990s during which QEH sought to define its structure and purpose.

The history of Queen Elizabeth House (QEH) reflects Oxford’s conflicted and convoluted journey through the British colonial aftermath. The Conservative leadership of Winston Churchill’s postwar administration believed that even though the formal Empire was contracting, new economic and defence ties would enable Britain to maintain indirect influence over the newly independent nations. So QEH had been established in the early 1950s by the Colonial Office as an Oxford training centre for civil servants from these countries.

However, by the late 1960s it was clear that QEH had not succeeded in this mission (see ODM 2019), which was taken up by the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University, founded by the Labour government in 1966.

The University would have preferred to wind down QEH at his stage: the original endowment from South African mining magnate Ernest Oppenheimer had run out and the government was unwilling to provide core funding, while the University’s Social Studies Board felt that their teaching and research priorities lay elsewhere. Fortunately, progressive Oxford academics led by Thomas Balogh of Balliol College (economic adviser to the then-Prime Minister) were becoming interested in development, while the traditionalists did not want Oxford to close down a body with a Royal Charter and named after the reigning sovereign.

So instead the University and the QEH Governing Body appointed Paul Streeten, a senior Oxford development economist from Balliol with extensive experience of international institutions, as both Warden of QEH and Director of a rival Oxford research unit, the Institute of Commonwealth (formerly Colonial) Studies (ICS), in 1968, bringing the two under one roof.

Under Streeten’s leadership and with the support of his mentor, Balogh, QEH underwent a radical pivot in its focus. While some of the old activities remained, including a Foreign Office-funded course for young diplomats from newly independent countries and a visiting programme for senior Indian civil servants, Streeten moved QEH away from the British neo-colonial project, engaging intellectually with the emerging field of development studies and institutionally with the United Nations. This entailed an explicitly post-colonial view of economic development, based on national independence, state-led industrialisation, and poverty reduction.

Having set QEH on this new trajectory, Streeten left Oxford in 1976, to be succeeded by another distinguished progressive Oxford economist, Keith Griffin (after an interim administration by Peter Ady). Griffin maintained the new direction of travel, securing external funding from the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) and others for several limited-term research posts, in refugee studies (Barbara Harrell-Bond), African history (including William Beinart) and income distribution and basic needs (Jeffrey James and Ashwani Saith), and to establish a Food Studies Group. Regrettably, Griffin soon left QEH to head Magdalen College.

Despite this promising start, this new vision of development studies at Oxford proved to be financially unsustainable because the University did not see fit to provide core funding or establish teaching posts beyond those already at the ICS. Meanwhile support from the ODA, which had provided core funding for QEH since its foundation, remained very modest.

A loss of momentum

The Governing Body and the University appointed Arthur Hazlewood as Warden in 1979, a Pembroke economics tutor and expert on East African economies in the tradition of the founding aims of QEH. However, Hazelwood lacked the academic heft, international standing, or administrative energy needed to maintain the newly acquired momentum. In addition, the ODA (under Margaret Thatcher’s second, more radical administration) finally withdrew its remaining support to QEH in 1983.

In consequence, the University was finally forced to come to terms with its financial and academic responsibility for what had become a significant yet still ‘semi-detached’ Oxford institution without a clear teaching or research mission. In 1986, when Hazlewood retired, QEH was fully merged with the ICS and the Institute of Agricultural Economics (which had become unviable due to falling student numbers) to create the International Development Centre (IDC), nominally a department of the University within the Social Studies Faculty.
Robert Cassen, a development economist specialising in ‘aid’ and population studies with a previous career at the London School of Economics, the Overseas Development Ministry and the World Bank, was appointed as IDC Director. He came to Oxford with a commitment to generating major external research funding from international development agencies and creating an endowment to support teaching posts. Unfortunately, this did not occur. Nonetheless, policy research activity expanded rapidly at QEH (which became, in Cassen’s phrase, a sort of ‘research hotel’) — and so did staff numbers, albeit on short-term contracts.

Cassen secured support for a number of research and consultancy centres created under his predecessors, including the Food Studies Programme (initiated as the Food Studies Group by Griffin), the Refugee Studies Programme (founded in 1982, during Hazlewood’s directorship) and a newly established Finance and Trade Policy Research Centre. This reflected the rising UK and international interest in development issues as the Cold War drew to a close. However, there were problems with this model from a University perspective. Too few of the activities produced academic research of a high standard, while financial sustainability remained unattainable.

Thus, by the early 1990s, the University felt obliged to intervene once again, creating a directorial triumvirate to replace Cassen, effectively suspending the independence of the IDC as an academic department. A University commission was established in 1992 chaired by Colin Crouch (an eminent sociologist from Trinity College) in order to ‘review the future of Queen Elizabeth House’, which concluded:

… [t]he problems of QEH can be summarised succinctly: while there has been considerable growth and diversity of activity in a number of interesting and important areas, there has been too much periphery, too little internal cohesion, too little connection with the rest of the University, too much work that is not strictly academic, too little sense of direction and leadership.

‘Growth and diversity of activity in a number of interesting and important areas’

Despite the loss of government support and the Commonwealth training role to Sussex, which had seemed a blow to QEH at the time, in the event a space emerged at Oxford from the 1970s onwards where creative and critical research could flourish.

Streeten had attracted a group of younger scholars as students and research associates, including Keith Griffin, Sanjaya Lall, Deepak Nayyar, and Frances Stewart. Their contributions in the 1970s included analysis of foreign direct investment (Lall and Streeter), technological learning and capabilities (Lall), employment and appropriate technology (Stewart), and the impact of aid (Griffin, with John Enos). QEH came to spearhead research into the important equity dimension of basic needs and employment in economic development policy, which was to evolve into the ‘human development’ approach adopted by the United Nations.

Clearly, development economics was the dominant discipline at QEH in the 1970s and 80s, although there were a number of ICS scholars working on colonial history, such as Colin Newberry and Stanley Trapido. Moreover, a multidisciplinary approach began to emerge. On the one hand, these development economists took a broad view of their subject, integrating political, social, and ethical issues into a policy-oriented approach. Their focus was very different from that of more ‘mainstream’ Oxford colleagues, mainly located at Nuffield, whose theory was neoclassical and whose policy views were conservative. On the other hand, a number of highly creative groups from other disciplines including history, politics, and anthropology found a supportive home in the QEH building on St Giles.

One such group was composed of historians and anthropologists from across the University working on Southern Africa (including Terry Ranger, Stan Trapido, William Beinart, Megan Vaughan and Gavin Williams) who had changed the focus of the ICS with their radical critique of apartheid. The Food Studies Programme focused on food security and nutritional poverty while the Refugee Studies Programme, led by Barbara Harrell-Bond, brought together anthropologists and lawyers in an activist approach to policy advocacy and was to become the world-leading research and training centre in this subject. A group of feminist anthropologists had been holding weekly seminars at QEH on gender and development issues since 1972 and was formalised as the Centre for Cross Cultural Research on Women by Shirley Ardener and Helen Callaway in 1983. QEH did not originally have its own taught courses, although staff members did provide undergraduate lectures and tutorials in development economics and colonial history. Streeten, Balogh and Ady held a weekly development economics seminar at QEH through the 1970s which became the Oxford focus for critical analysis in this field. In 1965 a Diploma in Development Economics had been established by the University, mainly for Commonwealth civil servants, and this was upgraded to an MSc in 1982 under the aegis of the Sub-Faculty of Economics, although the management and most of the teaching was at QEH. The Agricultural Economics MSc also came to QEH in the 1986 merger. Last, but not least, QEH academics supervised a growing number of doctorates in the emerging field of development studies.

**The final refoundation**

In sum, although in 1993 the University did once again consider closure as an option, by now there was a strong feeling in Oxford that the potential for an academically viable development studies centre would thereby be lost. Moreover, the (now merely advisory) Governing Body used the residual aura of the Royal Charter one last time to dissuade the University from committing lèse-majesté.

Fortunately, after this third threat of closure in four decades, the outcome was at last positive. The University finally assumed full financial and academic responsibility for QEH and installed a scholar from among the staff as Director. In 1993 Frances Stewart (who had been a doctoral student of Paul Streeten) started the arduous process of turning QEH into the research-led postgraduate teaching department with a strong commitment to the developing world that we know today, a period we will explore in ODM in 2021.
The COVID-19 pandemic has renewed attention on academic expertise. This is particularly the case in health science: epidemiologists have led discussions on social distancing and lockdowns, while teams of doctors and other scientists are working non-stop to find a vaccine. The University of Oxford has been at the forefront of these efforts and some trials have already shown promising results.

Finding a vaccine (as well as effective treatments) is obviously the most urgent task. Yet it is increasingly evident that the consequences of the current crisis will be multifaceted and that social scientists have important roles to play. We need to better understand the economic and social impact of the virus and the policies adopted to respond to it. We have to consider the potential political consequences of the lockdown in different contexts. We must explain the interactions between the virus, health systems, and domestic economies as well as identifying those communities that are most at risk.

Researchers at ODID have actively participated in public debates on COVID-19 in the global South from early on. On our website, a section on Development in the time of coronavirus collects some of the many contributions made by our students and researchers through interviews, op-eds, and briefs. From proposals to extend a child support grant in South Africa to criticisms of the way Africa is depicted in global conversations about the pandemic, from evaluations of the lockdown in India to warnings about socio-political impacts, the various pieces highlight ODID’s multidisciplinary approach as well as our common commitment to equitable change.

Many colleagues are also launching new research on COVID-19 in the global South and the following pages showcase some of the new directions our academics are taking. Some of this work focuses on international dimensions, considering, for example, the changing patterns of global value chains or the evolution of the global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI). Others evaluate the impact of the virus and the lockdown on specific countries, hoping to draw lessons for others. This is the case for the phone survey that Young Lives is currently implementing in Ethiopia, India, Peru, and Vietnam, for example.

The diversity of ongoing research illustrates one of the strengths of our department: the variety of our interests and the creative combination of policy-focused research and more critical approaches. Some of my colleagues are informing macroeconomic policy responses at the national and international level, while others are questioning the ways states have constrained migration or failed to respond to the urgent needs of indigenous peoples. Together all this work demonstrates the contribution that high-quality research can make to confronting the social, economic, and political challenges we are facing, while placing those suffering most at the heart of our analysis.

None of us can predict how much the world will change after these strange and complicated months. Will we have other waves that force us into new lockdowns? Will the economic crisis last for a few months or for several years? Which countries will be most affected? How can we make sure that those suffering most – in each country and in the world as a whole – are properly supported? Will the crisis create new opportunities to envisage a different future? I have no doubt that many of my colleagues will be at the centre of all these debates.
For the historian of medicine Charles Rosenberg, epidemics have a ‘dramaturgical character’. What he meant is that epidemics are rendered intelligible as social phenomena through stories or narratives that follow a familiar pattern. The COVID-19 ‘outbreak narrative’ begins in the wet markets of Wuhan. From here, the drama intensifies as the virus spreads through the circuits of global modernity – economy, trade, finance, and tourism – becoming an international security threat as well as a parable about the dangers of our interconnected world. The narrative, of course, is never fully coherent. It elicits contradictory reactions about the obsolescence and tenacity of borders, the threat and benevolence of strangers, the failures and redemptive potential of medical science. But this is part of the outbreak narrative’s potency in setting the terms of social dialogue and political debate.

Africa, in the COVID-19 outbreak narrative, has been placed as the virus’s final frontier where, we are assured, it will yield untold damage. Numerous headlines by journalists, policy-makers, and scientists have warned that the virus is a ‘ticking time bomb’ on a continent ‘woefully ill-equipped to deal with COVID-19’. Legitimate concerns about weak health systems, densely populated urban centres, and a history of devastating epidemics mingle with racist ideas about the primordial nature of African poverty and about the inability of African peoples and governments to respond with ingenuity to a crisis. Contrasting the horror of COVID-19 in the global North with its presumed trajectory in Africa offers an important yet ignored political question – one that will guide my future research – about how and why the suffering induced by communicable diseases is treated as unthinkable in one place and inevitable in another.

Chris Adam
I have started some work exploring the macroeconomic dimensions of the COVID-19 pandemic and post-crisis recovery in low-income countries. This builds on an existing stream of work using calibrated macroeconomic models to understand how economies adjust to various forms of shocks, including natural disaster shocks, and to what extent adjustment paths can be shaped by different macroeconomic policy choices.

This framework is ideally suited to add to our understanding of the macroeconomic effects of COVID-19 in developing countries. The COVID-19 shock for such countries is, at least at present, as much an economic crisis as it is a health crisis. The effects of widely implemented lockdown measures and scale-up in social protection measures have been magnified by the effects of the global recession, through the collapse of primary commodity prices, the collapse of key sectors such as tourism, the seizing-up of international capital flows, and the severe contraction in remittances.

Against this background, we then explore alternative macroeconomic policy responses, both for governments themselves and from the perspective of international financial institutions and donors. A central element of this work is that it allows for normative as well as a positive analysis as we are able to explore the distributional consequences of alternative macroeconomic policy responses to shocks.

RSC
The COVID-19 pandemic has substantial implications for forced migrants across the world, affecting not only their ability to move to safety, but also their health, access to work and income, and interaction with family and networks of support.

At the RSC, one strand of our COVID work follows on logically from existing research, under the auspices of the Refugee Economies programme, into how refugee-led organisations and initiatives can act as providers of social protection. NGOs have been forced to pull back from front-line activity as a result of the pandemic, and refugee organisations have stepped in to fill the gap. We are following up with our networks of refugee organisations to see how they are coping with these new demands.

In linked research, Marie Godin and Evan Easton-Calabria have won funding for a small project to examine the role of digitalisation in the provision of such refugee-led support – exploring the
existence of, potential for, and barriers to digital information and assistance for refugees.

Meanwhile, Cory Rodgers is working with refugee monitors living in the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya to assess the response to COVID-19 there and in the nearby Kalobeyi settlement, in order to provide practical feedback and rapid information to the UNHCR’s COVID-19 task force throughout the crisis, along with in-depth documentation and critical analysis of the response after the crisis has passed.

**Joerg Friedrichs**

Public intellectuals like Michael Moore and academic scholars like Martha Nussbaum claim that populists thrive on fear of minority groups, but in our new research project, Niklas Stoehr and I suggest that what they thrive on is anger against governmental actors.

It is governmental actors who increasingly rely on fear, be it to pursue policy objectives or to keep populists at bay. The Brexit referendum, election of Donald Trump, and COVID-19 are all cases in point. In a battle for the hearts and minds of the people, governmental and populist actors send fear and anger signals, respectively. At the start of the pandemic, we theorised this dance of fear and anger as the fear-anger cycle and we are now testing it in concrete manifestations.

By way of example: in the case of COVID-19, governmental actors sent fear signals related to real and constructed danger, which resonated with mainstream media and translated into more support for governmental actors. Once fear-driven policies have induced enough dislocation (economic recession, job losses etc.), we expect the politics of anger to be back with a vengeance.

**OPHI**

Persons designing COVID-19 response face a need for immediate data as well as projections or simulations, in order to seek to mitigate the emergence of ‘new poor’ and to reduce poverty even during the current crisis.

OPHI is undertaking user-responsive research on COVID-19 and multidimensional poverty of three kinds. First, we will rapidly re-analyse existing data on the global MPI which is online in order to provide briefings on COVID risk and vulnerability for more than 100 countries and over 5.7 billion people. Second, we will respond to countries who are seeking just-in-time studies on the ‘new poor’ for their emergency responses, and share emerging good practices with our 60-country South-South network focused on multidimensional poverty reduction. Third, we will post a section on our website featuring these outputs and including interactive maps where users can select different kinds of COVID-19 risks at the same time, and select whether to view the number or proportion of people affected.

**Young Lives**

Young Lives recently received

Young Lives
£9.4 million in funding from DfID for a new round of work focusing in particular on transitions to work. With the onset of the pandemic and the resultant disruption to planned fieldwork, we rapidly revised our planned research activity, launching a new phone survey to investigate the short-term impact of the pandemic on young people in our study countries.

The phone survey focuses on impacts on health and well-being, and on transitions to the labour market and higher education for the young people in the study. We will publish headline outcomes after each round of calls, providing rapid analysis to policy-makers.

We are in a particularly strong position to inform policy because of our long-term relationship with participants, which enables us to collect high-quality information with significantly fewer refusals than is usual in a phone survey; the pro-poor nature of the samples, which enables us to focus on those families that are likely to be most affected by the crisis; and the four-country structure, which can show the differential impacts of COVID-19 according to varying contexts and related strategies implemented by governments.

Our planned in-person Round 6 household survey will take place in 2021, enabling us to explore the medium- and long-term impacts of COVID-19 too, and the impact on outcomes not measured in the phone survey.

Loren Landau

Even as the pandemic has delayed a comparative survey on urban mobility and Africa’s future politics, it draws into high relief the centrality of movement and uncertainty in people’s lives.

Rather than promote solidarity and an inclusive social contract, states across sub-Saharan Africa have intensified restrictions on poor residents and migrants in ways furthing spatial, class, and other social divisions. Families and communities relying on mobility are weakened as are possibilities for planning a life beyond the local.

As I monitor these developments and work to strengthen research collaborations around these themes as part of a new Oxford-Wits Lab on Mobility Governance (OWL), partners in Johannesburg, Accra, and Nairobi are preparing to roll out our 1,800-person survey when conditions allow. Our work will explicitly incorporate questions on how frustrated mobility and uncertainty shape local and diaspora engagements and the spatial and temporal scales of people’s political mobilisations.

Laura Rival

I am working with Brazilian, Peruvian, Ecuadorian and Colombian colleagues, as well as colleagues from various research-in-action networks, to support indigenous demands for appropriate and culturally respectful health and education provision in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic in the Amazon.

This forms part of my ongoing work with indigenous communities of the Amazon and my current collaboration with a British Academy-GCRF research project on “Sustainable” Development and Atmospheres of Violence: Experiences of Environmental Defenders’.

We are studying how ‘land-grabbing’ within indigenous territories, which has accelerated under President Jair Bolsonaro, is propagating the spread of COVID-19 among indigenous peoples within their own demarcated territories.

The situation is especially complex because many native Amazonians move back and forth between their remote communities and crowded peri-urban neighbourhoods around jungle towns and large cities such as Manaus, Belem or Iquitos, where life conditions are very precarious, and adequate health infrastructures deficient or lacking.

In particular, the young scholars I am working with have highlighted concerns that some indigenous people are slipping through the cracks of healthcare coverage. For example the Indigenous Health Secretariat (SESAI) of Brazil’s Ministry of Health has indicated that it is responsible only for what it terms ‘village Indians’, an anachronistic phrase that excludes indigenous peoples living in cities and in voluntary isolation. One demand being expressed by indigenous leaders in Manaus is that urban residents be registered as indigenous citizens by the city’s health secretariat so that they can be included in the city’s vaccination campaigns.

In addition, in Oxford, we are trying to get connected with the medical school to support hospitals in the Amazon, particularly in Iquitos, where the situation is particularly dire.
As lockdown restrictions ease and retail businesses reopen in the UK and across the world, social distancing remains critical to controlling the transmission of COVID-19. Now a smartphone app, originally designed for conflict zones, is helping by showing users how busy a place is before they leave home.

Alex Barnes, who is studying for a DPhil in International Development, launched Crowdless with his colleagues in April 2020.

‘We were keen to see what we could do to help in the current circumstances, and we came up with Crowdless,’ Alex says. ‘We believe it will be extremely useful for people who need to travel to shops and grocery stores but are trying to meet social distancing regulations effectively to protect themselves and the wider population.’

The app uses existing open-source data alongside crowd-sourced information from users, who can report how busy the venues they visit are. By enabling people to pick the best time to shop, Crowdless also helps supermarkets optimise footfall; the vision is for retailers and shoppers to work together to create a safe and convenient shopping experience.

Following a successful launch, Crowdless is now looking to expand coverage to other places, such as parks, beaches, and pubs.

When the pandemic started early this year, Alex and his colleagues were already working on a navigation app, albeit for a different purpose: ‘Lanterne’ aimed to help people navigate safely in conflict areas by showing them the safest routes to their destinations.

‘Our original idea was to create a detailed database of incidents which would update in real time,’ Alex says. ‘We would use this to create an app which would alert people about security incidents immediately, so they would be able to avoid the area. We wanted to help NGOs, development companies, and anyone who needed it.’

Alex’s lived experience in Afghanistan where he worked with the Australian Department of Defence showed him first-hand how friends and colleagues were at risk. He joined forces with Yohan Iddawela, a PhD student at the London School of Economics, in January 2019 to address the issue and promote security for humanitarian workers.

‘We were planning to start developing Lanterne for Colombia first, in part because it is more accessible and has greater smartphone penetration than Afghanistan,’ Alex explains.

But when COVID-19 hit, Colombia went into full lockdown and the team were stopped in their tracks. So they started adapting the technology they had to the lockdown that was being introduced throughout the world.

Crowdless became one of four enterprises selected by the Oxford Foundry’s COVID-19 Rapid Solutions Builder programme, which provided funding and mentoring support for two months to help accelerate the app’s development. They received mentoring from experts in sales, leadership, and product design, all of which have been extremely useful for continuing to build Crowdless, Alex says.

A key element of Crowdless’s success has been its ability to tap into the community spirit engendered by the lockdown, according to Yohan. Users on the ground have been eager to support their communities by sharing information and uploading data to the platform, and even volunteering for the app’s Community Ambassador Programme, where they brainstorm ways of improving the quality of the data and store coverage.

Crowdless now has 90,000 downloads and is available in eight languages, with most users in the UK and Germany. The team is currently working with the satellite company AstroSat to help community organisations and local authorities support vulnerable populations across the UK as distancing restrictions ease.

The app doesn’t store any of its users’ personal data – there is no login screen, for example – so users can rest assured that their data privacy is protected.

The app was recently chosen as one of the winners of Innovate UK’s ‘Business-led innovation in response to global disruption’ competition, providing Crowdless with a grant to underpin product development. The main focus will be to integrate crowd-sourced and third-party data, upgrade the user experience and integrate additional features, such as forecasting crowded times – allowing people to plan their trips ahead of time.

You can download Crowdless for iOS and Android via crowdlessapp.co/app, or join the community as a volunteer ambassador via crowdlessapp.co/volunteer.

Lur Alghurabi is ODID’s Communications and Administrative Assistant.
Urban investments across the African continent are at an all-time high. Yet the nature of these investments differs starkly across cities. Many of them are driven by political considerations. For example, in Addis Ababa, a city that has made enormous strides in the past two decades, a new urban aesthetic is emerging. It targets urban elites, the Ethiopian diaspora and international tourists.

Since coming to power in 2018, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed’s administration has initiated several urban megaprojects. These include LaGare, a 36-hectare real estate project, and a 56-km riverside renewal scheme dubbed Beautifying Sheger.

Both projects are intended to give Africa’s political capital a facelift and generate revenue through higher land values and urban tourism. They are the latest additions to a skyline that has undergone dramatic changes in the past 20 years.

Biruk Terrefe draws on his doctoral research to write about the Ethiopian capital’s changing urban aesthetic, and what city redevelopments can tell us about the political priorities of successive regimes.
The projects are new but their delivery remains the same. The manner in which they are being implemented is reminiscent of previous Ethiopian regimes. This includes the sidelining of local stakeholders and the lack of coordination with the relevant bureaucracies. Decision-making continues to be highly centralised.

In new research, I use these urban megaprojects to analyse this period of political change. Urban spaces are sites of ‘continuing renewal’. New administrations use them to stamp their mark on cities. My research aims to identify how this is playing out in Ethiopia’s capital city.

**Addis Ababa’s latest urban endeavours**

A unique characteristic of Addis Ababa’s urban development is that successive Ethiopian regimes have used new urban projects as manifestations of their political priorities. Even today, we can find architectural remnants of past regimes.

The grand projects that different governments have undertaken over the decades are layers of political history woven into the city’s urban fabric.

Marred by the fascist Italian occupation and domestic secessionist movements, Emperor Haile Selassie’s regime (1930–1974) reproduced its assimilationist politics through multiple squares and statues commemorating the Battle of Adwa and Yekatit 12. Then there’s Meskel Square, the city’s most iconic landmark, which was re-purposed for military parades by the Derg, a communist junta which ran the country between 1974 and 1991.

And finally, a major social housing scheme and sub-Saharan Africa’s first urban rail system are the legacy of the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the coalition that was in power between 1991 and 2019 with a pro-poor developmental agenda.

Abiy Ahmed’s focus on luxury real estate projects and urban tourism schemes represents a clear ideological break from the past. The plans are reminiscent of the grand structures put up in Gulf emirates such as Dubai and Abu Dhabi. They promise flashy skyscrapers and hyper-modernity.

These images have enchanted some Ethiopians. As part of my research I spoke to numerous residents affected by these projects. Regarding LaGare, this 70-year-old woman commented:

> They are going to build a world-class mall here and they also will not remove anyone. We’re going to get modern and new buildings, and it will create jobs for me and for my children. It is going to be a wonderful project.

But the outcome might not be quite as rosy.

LaGare and Beautifying Sheger represent a new era of urban development in Ethiopia and raise fundamental questions about spatial justice. These projects cater to a growing urban elite that includes international tourists and the country’s vast diaspora in the US and Europe. Such elite enclaves lie in stark contrast to the pro-poor focus of the previous administration. While the EPRDF’s light-rail transit system and social housing scheme faced many challenges and failures of their own, their ethos targeted the city’s poorest.

These new megaprojects are intended to generate revenue through increased urban land values. But this will inevitably make the city less accessible. Addis Ababa already faces major transport, sanitation and housing shortages, as its population continues to increase. Now, dancing water fountains decorate the main plaza of Beautifying Sheger, while a large proportion of the city still has no reliable access to water.

**What’s not changed**

The planning and decision-making process of these projects follows the long history of centralised planning in Ethiopia.

Both LaGare and Beautifying Sheger were initiated by the prime minister’s office in a top-down manner, sidelining city administration officials, excluding urban planners, and partially ignoring Addis Ababa’s Structure Plan (2017–27).

For example, the 36 hectares on which LaGare is to be built was initially set aside for a transport hub to house one of the city’s new bus rapid transit line stations.

As one city administration official stated:

> We plan to start our bus rapid transit in the next two years and the transport hub in LaGare is a major interchange for our routes. I am not sure now what the plan is because of this new Dubai project, but we have been planning the new transport system for years. I hope the city administration fights back to keep our plans in place, otherwise we have a big problem.

This is reminiscent of former prime minister Meles Zenawi’s imposition of the light rail transit system despite vocal opposition from urban planners at the time. The recent decimation of Meskel Square, one of the city’s biggest public spaces, illustrates this lack of transparency and inclusivity in the decision-making process.

A dedicated Megaprojects Office has been established in the city administration to manage LaGare and Beautifying Sheger, as well as a number of other major urban projects. These include the development of a multicomplex residential village in Gotera and hiking trails, viewpoints and recreational spaces on Entoto Mountain.

We are at a critical juncture, in which the accessibility and affordability of the city’s future is in doubt. As one of the fastest urbanising nations in the world, Ethiopia needs to ensure that its urban investments provide adequate infrastructural and social services to its most vulnerable citizens.

The creation of elite enclaves and singular focus on urban tourism, while important, is unlikely to trickle down to the majority of the city’s residents.

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Brük Terrefe is a DPhil student at ODID.
Father Benny Juliawan, who completed the MPhil and DPhil at ODID, has been appointed leader of the Jesuits in Indonesia.

Father Benny was named Provincial of the Indonesian Province of the Society of Jesus in May. He is currently a lecturer at Universitas Sanata Dharma and the Superior of the Robertus Bellarminus community in Yogyakarta.

Father Benny came to Oxford to study for the MPhil in Development Studies in 2005, then went on to complete his DPhil at ODID, writing his dissertation on the labour movement in Indonesia.

‘Politics of the poor and marginalised, that’s what I learned at QEH,’ Father Benny said. ‘Plus the camaraderie and diverse backgrounds that fellow students brought to the class and pubs! QEH helped shape my perspective of the world.’

Father Benny entered the Society of Jesus in 1994 and then studied at the Driyarkara School of Philosophy in Jakarta, during which time he became actively involved in the country’s Reformasi movement.

He went on to study Sociology at Warwick University and then spent time in Betun, West Timor, with the Jesuit Refugee Service Indonesia, helping East Timorese refugees. After completing theological studies he was ordained a priest in Yogyakarta in 2005.

A book by Annette Idler, who completed the DPhil at ODID, featured in a list of the top ten books by women reviewed in International Affairs in the previous 12 months, compiled for International Women’s Day 2020.

Borderland Battles: Violence, Crime and Governance at the Borders of Colombia’s War was published by Oxford University Press in 2019.

Reviewer Tom Long said of the book, ‘Idler shows the diversity and fluidity of armed actors and the blurry and shifting relationships among them. Perhaps most strikingly, Idler presents the communities that are often overlooked when the focus is on the people with guns. Her impressive research unflinchingly shows how prolonged, multidimensional insecurity reshapes and often sunders the social fabric.’

Felipe Roa-Clavijo has won one of the most prestigious social science prizes in Colombia for his doctoral thesis. The award was made by the Alejandro Angel Escobar Foundation, which has awarded prizes to recognise and support research that contributes to science and innovation in Colombia since 1964. The foundation awards three prizes annually: in the social sciences; in mathematics and physics; and in sustainable development.

Felipe’s thesis, supervised by Laura Rival, is entitled ‘Rethinking Rural Development, Food and Agriculture in Colombia: Examination of Competing Narratives During the Agrarian Strikes and Negotiations 2013–2016’.

The judges said of his work: ‘The research proposes a new look at long-term agricultural trends and a new approach to analysing the main demands from agrarian movements. It goes beyond describing a simple phenomenon; it proposes an innovative approach that explores the future of rural development and agriculture in Colombia from the perspective of food provisioning. This is thought-provoking research for the social sciences community.’

A new book co-authored by former MPhil student Chris Haugh reflects on a road trip he took across America with a friend whose politics radially diverge from his own, and what the experience taught them about the country.

Union: A Democrat, a Republican, and a Search for Common Ground was published on 21 July by Little Brown.

Chris, a Democrat, travelled nearly 20,000 miles of North American roads across 44 states and three countries in the company of his friend and co-author Jorden Blashek, who votes Republican.

The two spent time with a long-haul trucker, driving from Las Vegas to Louisiana, women working through an addiction treatment programme in Tulsa, Oklahoma, migrants in Tijuana waiting to cross the US-Mexican border, men and women entangled in the criminal justice system in Detroit, Michigan, and a lobsterman named Willis in Portland, Maine, amongst others.

The book draws out some of the lessons these encounters taught them, including the endurance of many shared values despite the great chasm between red and blue in the US, and the importance of continuing mutual engagement.
Greening ODID

Even before the COVID-19 pandemic brought the issue into the sharpest possible relief, ODID had been grappling with the question of how to fundamentally adapt – both its teaching and its everyday practices – in response to the climate crisis.

In September 2019 we set up an Environmental Sustainability Group to help explore the problem and chart a way forward. The group ran a consultation in November soliciting suggestions from across the department for changes we could make in five main areas: waste; food; energy and water use; travel; and teaching and research.

We were very clear that we need to find ways to link our everyday practice to our own research and teaching on the global South. We have already made a number of improvements and more are planned.

On the teaching side, Nikita Sud will convene a new option course for the MPhil from Michaelmas Term 2020 on Climate Questions from the Global South. The course will focus on issues such as the role of markets; the interaction with inequality; agriculture, food security and rural policy; the role of cities and urban environmentalism; pandemics in the Anthropocene; and non-human agency in global change.

We will also be running a new seminar series, convened by Diego Sánchez-Ancochea and Laura Rival, on Climate Change and the Purpose of Development to help us articulate a distinctive approach to development in the context of climate catastrophe.

We have taken steps on the practical side too – giving ODID-branded Keep Cups to incoming students; introducing food waste collections; installing water saving taps; moving to duplex printing by default; and using 80% sensor lighting, to name some of our achievements.

Travel remains a thorny issue for a department whose research is focused in the global South. The pandemic has accelerated plans to explore the use of remote conferencing – we have all rapidly become familiar with Zoom and Teams and we will surely continue to make use of them once social distancing becomes a thing of the past. But in-person fieldwork is likely always to be a key component of our research; we are therefore investigating the possibility of introducing a carbon offsetting scheme at either the University or department level to reduce the impact of our air travel.

We would like to find ways to make carbon offsetting meaningful, supporting creative ways to protect some of the most important forests on the planet.

As we emerge from the pandemic there is a growing awareness that we cannot go back to our old ways; at ODID we are determined to introduce change.

New programme on structural transformation

Douglas Gollin is research director for a new programme to support research that provides a deeper understanding of the fundamental economic processes of structural change and productivity growth in low- and middle-income countries.

The research programme on Structural Transformation and Economic Growth (STEG) is funded by the UK Department for International Development, with a budget of £12 million in its first five years.

‘Low-income countries now face a huge challenge,’ said Professor Gollin. ‘The global pandemic will have a tragic impact, especially on the poor. But low-income countries also face the prospect of a severe global economic slowdown, and many of them will need to rethink their growth strategies. Our research programme will pose fundamental questions about the nature of long-run growth and the transformation out of quasi-subsistence agriculture. The answers to these questions will guide low-income countries in choosing effective policies as they emerge from the pandemic.’

STEG will be carried out by a consortium led by the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR) and including ODID, the University of Notre Dame, the African Center for Economic Transformation, the Yale Research Initiative on Innovation and Scale, and Groningen University’s Growth and Development Center. Professor Joe Kaboski of Notre Dame and CEPR will lead the STEG Academic Steering Committee.

STEG is committed to making top-quality academic research in development economics directly relevant to the concerns of policymakers. It will help developing country governments, non-governmental organisations, and the private sector to design and implement policies that promote productivity gains, structural change, and economic growth that are both sustained and sustainable.

Tom Scott-Smith named New Generation Thinker

Tom Scott-Smith is one of ten researchers to be selected from across the UK as 2020 ‘New Generation Thinkers’ by BBC Radio 3 and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC).

The New Generation Thinkers scheme offers a chance for early career researchers, with support and training provided by AHRC and the BBC, to cultivate the skills they need to communicate their research findings to those outside the academic community.

Professor Andrew Thompson, Executive Chair of the AHRC, said: ‘Since 2010 the New Generation Thinkers scheme has developed ten groups of academics to bring the best of university research and scholarly ideas to a broad audience through media and public engagement.’

‘Now, more than ever, we need to share the rich and diverse array of research in the world of arts and humanities with the public and open the window to a world of research that will amaze and engage.’

Previous New Generation Thinkers have gone on to become prominent public figures in their field, as well as the face of major documentaries and TV series, and regular commentators in public debate. This year’s successful ten were selected from hundreds of applications.

Dr Scott-Smith specialises in the ethnographic and historical study of humanitarian relief.
Robtel Pailey article most downloaded

An article by Robtel Neajai Pailey, Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at ODID, was the most downloaded paper from Development and Change in 2019.

The article, ‘Decentring the White Gaze of Development’, expanded on the keynote address Dr Pailey delivered at the 2019 Development Studies Association conference.

In the article, Dr Pailey notes that the ‘white gaze’ of development measures ‘the political, socio-economic and cultural processes of Southern black, brown and other people of colour against a standard of Northern whiteness and finds them incomplete, wanting, inferior or regressive’. She goes on to say that despite this, race has largely been absent from the scholarly discourse on development and suggests that it should be mainstreamed in development analysis just as gender and class have been.

Dr Pailey also recorded a podcast for our Oxford Development series in which she was interviewed by Mia Simovic of the student-run Oxford Society for International Development, drawing on this analysis to discuss how the white gaze has manifested in attitudes towards Africa during the COVID-19 pandemic.

You can listen to the podcast at https://bit.ly/RobtelNP.

MORE NEWS ◆ ◆ ◆

◆ Cathryn Costello has been awarded the title of Professor in the University’s annual Recognition of Distinction exercise. She is now Professor of Refugee and Migration Law. Professor Costello’s research is concerned with international refugee and migration law, and she currently leads an interdisciplinary team at ODID working on refugee recognition and the global governance of refugee mobility.

◆ Alexander Betts, Leopold Muller Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs, has been conferred the award of Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences (FAcSS). Fellows of the Academy of Social Sciences are elected on the basis of their outstanding contributions to research and to the application of social science to policy, education, society, and the economy. The Academy’s Fellowship is made up of distinguished individuals from academic, public, and private sectors, across the full breadth of the social sciences.

◆ A new book by Masooda Bano The Revival of Islamic Rationalism: Logic, Metaphysics and Mysticism in Modern Muslim Societies has been published by Cambridge University Press. The book explores the political life of the 2008 cholera epidemic in Zimbabwe, tracing its historical origins, examining the social pattern of its unfolding and impact, analysing institutional and communal responses, and marking the effects of its aftermath.

◆ A new book by Tom Scott-Smith, On an Empty Stomach: Two Hundred Years of Hunger Relief, has been published by Cornell University Press. The book examines the practical techniques humanitarians have used to manage and measure starvation, from Victorian ‘scientific’ soup kitchens to space-age, high-protein foods.

◆ A new book by Simukai Chigudu, The Political Life of an Epidemic: Cholera, Crisis and Citizenship in Zimbabwe has been published by Cambridge University Press. The book examines the practical techniques humanitarians have used to manage and measure starvation, from Victorian ‘scientific’ soup kitchens to space-age, high-protein foods.