FEATURE
Alumnus Michael Teitelbaum reflects on the interactions between political science and demographic research, a better understanding of which could more effectively address the major issues facing modern states.

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In College the new arrangements for student funding – guaranteeing funding for every student that we admit – appear to be working well. The last couple of years have been a frenzy of elections, and elections that have led to some surprising outcomes. This year has been no exception, with the UK General Election largely unexpected until it was announced in April. Somewhat to my surprise, social care came to be a significant part of the debate, and I was drawn into that. Geoff Evans and his colleagues on the British Election Studies had barely finished collecting data for one election before another was announced, and Sir David Butler has taken to Twitter in his 93rd year, on the occasion of the analysis of his twentieth General Election (his first entry into General Election analysis came in 1945).

We had a great trip to the US in the spring, benefiting from wonderful hospitality from Nancy Walker, Graham Wilson, Anthony Quainton and seeing many alumni in New York, Washington and Boston. Here in the UK we have also had a whole series of very well attended events, most recently at Europe House to discuss the French and British elections and the German election to come. It has been a delight to see so many alumni in the last year, and we hope to see even more in the year ahead.

This year is the 80th anniversary of the gift from Lord Nuffield that made the College possible. It is a huge privilege to work in this place, seeking to achieve the goal he set us to ‘bridge the separation between the theoretical students of contemporary civilisation and [those] responsible for carrying it on, to tackle social… political and economic problems.’ We will be celebrating at the University alumni weekend in September, and look forward to seeing many of you then.
Melinda Mills (Nuffield Professor of Sociology and Professorial Fellow) illustrates her research on ‘sociogenomics’ from her European Research Council SOCIOMALOME grant, working together with Dr Nicola Barban and Dr Felix Tropf (both Research Fellows in Sociology). They recently published several landmark articles in Nature Genetics, PloS One and Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences on the integration of molecular genetics and sociology.

When social scientists and the general public think about genetics, they tend to span radical continuums of the spectrum. Some are unrealistically enthusiastic about the promise of genetics while others are highly suspicious of genetic determinism and erroneously equate it with eugenics. I lead the ‘SOCIOMALOME’ project, which examines whether there is a genetic basis to social behaviour and how this varies across different social environments. Simply put – is behaviour, such as when we have a child or how many children we have, in our genes? If so, does our genetic architecture protect us or make us more vulnerable across different social environments? We critically scrutinize whether genetics has any power of explanation for the kinds of behaviour we study.

As social scientists we have been socially deterministic in our approach, implicitly assuming that the behaviour we study is either shaped by the structural social environment (educational systems, norms, laws) or individual agency and choice. Being a trained sociologist and demographer, this was my approach for most of my career. However, since the ability to have and time children is highly biological, I realized that adopting a purely social approach effectively equates to a potential ‘blind spot’ and recently redirected my efforts to molecular genetics.

The Human Genome Project of the late 1990s signalled a shift to molecular genetics, offering a more direct measure of the genetic loci and understanding of the structure and function of DNA. With the fall in the cost of computing from around $100 million per genome in 2011 to less than $50 in 2017, the field has faced a radical transformation and growth. This allowed us to go beyond previous behavioural genetic ‘twin studies’ which, crudely speaking, tried to parse out just how much a certain behaviour was related to genetics. We knew from twin studies that the heritability of fertility ranged from between 25–50% yet we lacked more precise information on the location of the genes and whether they had any biological function.

Adopting a molecular genetic approach, we published a series of studies showing that there is in fact a genetic component of fertility, or what is widely referred to as reproductive behaviour (i.e., age at first birth and number of children). Going beyond twin comparisons to use actual molecular genetic data, we demonstrated that between 15% and 10% of the variance in the timing and number of children is explained by genetic variation.
Fertility behaviour has a genetic component

Using GTCA (Genome-wide Complex Trait Analysis) methods on molecular genetic data we were able to estimate the genetic relatedness between unrelated individuals to show that between 15% and 10% variance in age at first birth (AFB) and number of children ever born (NEB) can be explained by genetic variation.

We then went one step further to locate the actual genes associated with fertility and to test whether they had a biological function. In the largest study of its kind on human reproductive behaviour to date which we published in *Nature Genetics* in late 2016, we combined 62 different datasets and found 12 independent genetic loci significantly associated with reproductive behaviour. There were multiple genes (i.e., polygenic), but together they still explained only a fraction of fertility behaviour, suggesting that the social-environment, particularly in interaction with genes, remains a strong predictor. More importantly, some of the lead loci were related to critical fertility processes, particularly in relation to the understudied area of male infertility.

Genetic loci discovered that relate to timing of first birth and number of children

A manhattan plot of genetic loci for age at first birth shows SNPs (single-nucleotide polymorphisms) plotted on the x-axis according to their position on each chromosome against the association with age at first birth. The solid blue line indicates the threshold for genome-wide significance ($p<5\times10^{-08}$) and the red line, the threshold for suggestive hits ($p<5\times10^{-06}$).
Christiaan Monden, Professorial Fellow at Nuffield College and Professor of Sociology and Demography at the University of Oxford, analyses twinning rates from a demographic perspective.

Many social scientists are fascinated by twins. For some twins are a methodological tool: comparing monozygotic (identical) twins with dizygotic ones might tell us something about the genetic origins of behaviour, or a twin birth instead of a single child can be used as an unanticipated shock in family size to help us estimate causal effects of fertility. Other social scientists are interested in twins because of the impact they might have on family dynamics, including divorce risks. Still others study the extreme variation in twins’ social status across cultures. In some cultures twins are believed to possess supernatural powers, while in others twins are signs of misfortune sometimes even leading to infanticide. And finally demographers are interested in fertility patterns: how many twins are born and how and why does their number vary across time and place?

I became interested in these simple questions about twinning rates because they lead to interesting demographic puzzles but also have a practical public health angle: twin pregnancies have much higher mortality rates, more complications for the mother, and are more costly in general. Understanding where and why twin rates are high and how they change can be very useful.

Twinning rates (number of twin pregnancies in 1,000 pregnancies) have increased remarkably in richer countries since the 1970s. In some countries the twinning rate has more than doubled. There are two explanations for this trend: older mothers and medically assisted reproduction (MAR). The chance of bearing twins increases with the age at which a women becomes pregnant. As women postpone motherhood, we may expect the twinning rate to increase. However, some of the association with age could be spurious. Twinning is also related to parity (number of births) and age and parity are correlated. Teasing out the relative contribution of age and parity is an interesting puzzle and important for making predictions about twinning rates.

Since the 1970s more and more women have become pregnant with the help of medical technology, first hormone treatment and then IVF. Hormone treatment increases the chance of two eggs ovulating and thus the chance of twins. With IVF often more than one embryo is placed back and this also increases the chance of twinning.
Together with Gilles Pison and Jeroen Smits, I estimated how much of the increases in twinning rates was due to older mothers and how much to MAR. On average about two-thirds of the increase can be attributed to MAR, but there are substantial differences between countries. Moreover, we seem to be reaching a peak in twinning. In some countries, the twinning rate is even going down. This can be explained by improvements in medical technology (higher success when placing back one embryo) but also by governments and insurers restricting access to IVF.

The highest twinning rates in developed countries are now close to those in sub-Saharan Africa. But there are two important differences. The African rates are spontaneous: they are due to a genetic disposition for dizygotic twins, not MAR. African twinning rates are the highest in the world. The second difference is a rather devastating mortality rate in sub-Saharan Africa: over 200 per 1,000 live born twins die before their fifth birthday. Twins are inherently more vulnerable and twin deliveries are hugely risky.

*In an environment with low resources and more health hazards, the high twin rate in sub-Saharan Africa leads to roughly 300,000 deaths a year.*
Most demographers attend rather little to political science research; most political science researchers reciprocate regarding demographic research. This mutual under-attention has the effect of ceding analysis of political-demographic interactions to pundits, commentators, journalists, and advocates – analyses that often are ill-informed, garbled, or tendentious.

Should we conclude that academic research on the interactions between demographic and political elements is simply unimportant? Emphatically to the contrary: many (though not all) major issues on the agendas of modern states and their political leaders could be addressed far more effectively through better understanding of these interactions. Actually most politicians and officials recognize this, yet in the absence of robust academic research efforts they are forced to depend upon less objective or well-informed sources. More generally the quality of much research by both demographers and political scientists can be enhanced by attention to such interactions. At present the most pressing topics at this nexus, both for policy and for basic research, include very low fertility in many world regions (though fertility remains high in a few parts of the world); and large-scale migrant and refugee movements.

The very low fertility rates that have become common, and at especially low levels in parts of East Asia and Europe, can lead to political turbulence if they threaten the viability of national pension and healthcare systems. Most of these systems were configured when fertility rates were much higher, and when life expectancies for older adults and the costs of healthcare were far lower. Yet the politics involved in adapting such systems to current circumstances usually evoke passionate debates, sometimes of an inter-generational character.

Conversely, in societies in which voluntary fertility control is nearly universal, sustained high unemployment among young adults (e.g. those 18–29) is likely to impede their decisions about marriage and childbearing. This is especially so if housing suitable for young-adult families is limited by inadequate supply or high cost. Yet it is precisely these same young adult age groups that account for a large fraction of fertility in most countries. Many governments have been pursuing
often costly policy initiatives to incentivise higher fertility, but often would benefit from a fuller understanding of the key issues involved.

Meanwhile it is hard to be oblivious to the fact that largescale migrant and refugee movements over the past years have become increasingly disorderly and even chaotic. These movements in turn are related in part to political decisions about economic growth, trade, labour importation, international relations, foreign assistance, human rights, and membership in supranational organizations such as the European Union (EU).

Finally, it now seems clear that very low domestic fertility when combined with high volumes of immigration can amplify political controversy and contribute to surprising realignments, driven in part by perceptions of rapid shifts in demographic composition among politically-sensitive social categories such as nationality, language, race, ethnicity, and religion. Such responses can become even more contentious if there is widespread public perception that governments are failing to regulate immigration effectively. Such disputes can affect both domestic and supranational politics, for example in the rising currents of populism and nationalism emerging within and among EU member states.

Research in this area requires judicious and creative use of data that are often partial or otherwise weak, along with recognition that others may selectively report available evidence, or to develop proprietary though less-than-objective evidence, in order to support their own interests or ideological perspectives. In recent years small numbers of scholars in both political science and demography have begun to productively explore the subject matter. It will be interesting to observe whether these research interests continue to expand.
THE LOW FERTILITY PUZZLE: THE QUEST FOR EXPLANATIONS

Fertility levels around the world have declined very rapidly in recent decades from 5 children per woman, on average, in 1960 to 2.5 in 2014. Such a rapid decline is not only spectacular, but also raises major challenges related to population ageing. What is puzzling for demographers is the fact that, among major developed economies, fertility rates have not converged but instead display a wide range: from levels close or slightly above 2.0 children per woman in some countries, to ultra-low levels around 1.2 children per woman in others. Moreover, among those countries, and contrary to the economic theory of fertility, there appears to be a positive, rather than a negative, correlation between a country’s level of development and fertility (see Figure 1). Two possible explanations have been suggested and are still debated.

The institutional explanation

The institutional explanation is centered around the degree of generosity of the welfare state and especially in the level of governmental support for families. The assumed mechanism is that a generous welfare state, by reducing the cost of children for families, can be expected to have a positive impact on fertility. This would, for example, explain the relatively high fertility rates observed in the Scandinavian countries, with their highly redistributive welfare states and high level of governmental support for families, and, in contrast, the relatively low fertility rates observed in Southern European countries with lower levels of governmental support for families.

Decades of research in this area have, however, failed to produce consistent results regarding the impact of the welfare state and family policies on fertility. Country-level differences in governmental expenditures for families, cash transfers for families (e.g., family allowances), maternity and parental leave arrangements, and childcare provision are not systematically associated with country-level differences in fertility levels. These results continue to puzzle scholars and have led to various explanations. For example, the high cost of children’s education in East Asian countries, along with very high expectations of parents regarding their children’s education, has been suggested as a possible explanation for the very low levels of fertility observed in the region. The lack of internal consistency and stability in the overall package of governmental support for families, as for example observed in some Eastern European countries, has also been suggested as a possible explanation for their low fertility levels. These piecemeal explanations remain unsatisfactory.

FIGURE 1

FERTILITY AND HDI

An illustration showing the relationship between Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and Human Development Index (HDI) for various countries.

Alumna Anne H. Gauthier (Research Fellow, 1990–1992 and DPhil Sociology, 1988), currently Senior Researcher at the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute and Honorary Professor of Comparative Family Studies at the University of Groningen, analyses the decline in fertility levels around the world.
The gender explanation

The other major explanation suggested for the large fertility differences among developed economies resides in the degree of gender equality. This explanation is certainly appealing, especially considering the very high correlation between fertility and gender equality (see Figure 2). The suggested mechanism lies in the discrepancy or congruence between gender equality at home and in the society. Support for gender equality in both the private and public spheres is assumed to have a positive effect on fertility, while a discrepancy is assumed to have the opposite effect. This mechanism would for example explain the high level of fertility observed in Scandinavian countries where support for gender equality ranks high in both spheres. In contrast, discrepancies between gender equality at home and societal-level opportunity and support for gender equality, as observed in Southern Europe or East Asia, would explain their lower levels of fertility.

Recent empirical research in this field has started to provide some support for this hypothesis, although results appear to be dependent on the actual indicator of gender equality used. Gender equality appears, moreover, to explain current cross-national differences in fertility, but has still to explain differences over time. There is also the question of which elements of gender equality matter more, especially since some studies suggest that it is not the level of gender equality in itself that matters, but rather the level of satisfaction towards it.

The quest continues...

The bulk of the literature in recent years has focused on major developed economies with relatively well developed welfare states. One key challenge for scientists will be to extend theoretical explanations to other countries. For example the fact that an identical level of fertility of 1.6 children per woman is currently observed in countries as diverse as Brunei, Canada, Thailand and Serbia defies any simple explanation restricted to economic development, welfare state or gender equality. Scientists need also to better articulate and measure the relationship between a country’s institutional context and fertility decisions. These micro-macro linkages are likely at the core of the fertility puzzles but remain theoretically and methodologically difficult to capture.

Fertility levels around the world have declined very rapidly in recent decades from 5 children per woman, on average, in 1960 to 2.5 in 2014.
Sir Tony Atkinson, Warden of Nuffield College from 1994 until 2005, passed away at the age of 72 on 1 January 2017. Tony was a pioneer in the conceptual and practical issues surrounding the measurement of inequality. From his hugely influential 1970 paper, “On the Measurement of Inequality”, which proposed what came to be known as the Atkinson index of inequality, to his 2016 report for the World Bank, “Monitoring Global Poverty”, Tony worked with rigour and vision to deepen economists’ understanding of the nature, causes, and evolution of economic inequality and to communicate his findings to the policy community.
Tony’s intellectual output was remarkable. As noted by Nick Stern in his obituary in *The Guardian*, Tony published on average nearly one book and seven articles every year during his five-decade long career. Especially remarkable were Tony’s achievements in his final years as he battled myeloma. Not only did he complete his World Bank report on global poverty, but during those years he continued to work and publish intensively with long-standing co-authors such as Facundo Alvaredo, Salvatore Morelli, Eric Marlier, and Andrea Brandolini; he helped to launch the World Wealth and Income Database with Thomas Piketty, Emmanuel Saez, Gabriel Zucman, and Facundo Alvaredo; he and Joe Stiglitz issued a new edition of their highly influential 1980 textbook *Lectures on Public Economics*; and he launched, with Salvatore Morelli, Max Roser, and Joe Hasell, the *Chartbook of Economic Inequality*, a long-run, multidimensional view of economic inequality across 25 countries since 1900. And this list does not even include Tony’s 2015 book entitled *Inequality: What can be done?*, for which he signed a contract in September 2014 and delivered the final 120,000-word manuscript in January 2015. As Tony himself noted, wryly and generously, in the Nuffield Annual Report for that year, this astonishing accomplishment “may reflect the power of the steroids that accompany my regular treatment at the Churchill Hospital. It may also reflect the fact that I have been thinking about these issues for 50 years. It certainly reflects the enormous amount of help I received from colleagues, friends, and family.”

I find it impossible to think of anyone in the economics profession who combines Tony’s talents and achievements with his modesty, integrity, and generosity of spirit. My own first encounter with Tony perfectly illustrates his wonderful personal qualities.

I didn’t actually meet Tony until 1989, at the European Economic Association (EEA) Annual Congress in Augsburg, but I’d felt like I knew him for years before that, as a result of studying and admiring his insightful and beautifully clear writings. Those writings inspired some of my early research, and in about 1987 I sent an early version of my work to several economists with related interests, including Tony. I knew (from my thesis advisors) not to expect much, if anything, in the way of responses to my mailings, and so wasn’t dismayed by not getting any. But in 1989, early on in the EEA Congress in Augsburg, I was waiting to board a bus when I heard running footsteps behind me, and when the runner reached me, he panted, “Are you Meg Meyer? I’m Tony Atkinson. I’m so sorry I never replied when you sent me your paper two years ago. Would you like to chat about it now?” And we spent the bus ride talking about my paper. I was awed and immensely grateful, not just because of all the effort Tony had made to track me down and offer me advice, but because in that year, he was President of the EEA, so at that conference, he had a presidential address to prepare and deliver, as well as many much more pressing demands on his time.

The same generosity of spirit characterized Tony in his role as Warden of Nuffield. When Tony determined that it was important for Nuffield to embark on a programme of cost-cutting, his first act was to selflessly halve his own secretarial support. Throughout Tony’s eleven-year tenure, it was always clear that no person or issue was too small or unimportant for him to think about, hard and deeply, in order to determine, not what was the expedient course of action, but what was the right course of action. And Tony and his wife Judith tirelessly hosted innumerable very enjoyable dinners and lunches at their house for members of the Nuffield community.

The Nuffield community and the economics profession will miss Tony greatly.

MARGARET MEYER
Official Fellow in Economics

Throughout Tony’s eleven-year tenure, it was always clear that no person or issue was too small or unimportant for him to think about.
"THE FUTURE OF THE LEFT"

SEMINAR SERIES

In Michaelmas and Hilary Term 2016–2017, Stewart Wood and Jon Cruddas (Visiting Fellows) hosted a seminar series titled “The Future of the Left”. High-calibre guests from different ends of the UK political spectrum came to Nuffield to discuss topical issues affecting the British party system. The speakers included (in chronological order): Ed Miliband; Owen Smith; Clive Lewis; Lisa Nandy; Margaret Hodge; Michael Gove; and Maurice Glasman. These popular seminars gave the opportunity to both students and Fellows to engage in stimulating and thought-provoking conversation. Video recordings can be accessed on: /bit.ly/2q6FPEZ

NUFFIELD COLLEGE TEAM RUNS THE TOWN AND GOWN 10K

In May 2017, a Nuffield team made up of Fellows and staff members (Rachel Dishington, Monica Esposito-West, Clare Kavanagh, Johanna Longmore, Robert Madzio, Natalia Madzio, Audrey Mélinon, Kerry Mellor, Robert Murden, Jacob Nyrup, David Rueda, and Elena Sorochina) took part in the annual Oxford Town and Gown 10k race, organised by and in aid of Muscular Dystrophy UK.
A DAY IN THE LIFE OF NUFFIELD LODGE

Clive Gable, one of the Nuffield Lodge Porters

Stuart Bone, Clive Gable, Anthony Harling, David Rhodes, and Sydney Richardson: these are the first friendly faces that you will see at Nuffield, and that many of you will remember with fondness even after leaving the College. But what happens really behind those quaint glass panels, and what is a typical day in the life of our porters? We asked Clive, on duty on evenings and weekends, to fill us in.

Clive, what is a typical day in the life of Nuffield Lodge?

“Our main duties include answering face-to-face, phone and email enquiries; replacing lost keys and cards; sorting out the post; dealing with security issues and fire alarms; and being generally helpful to all members of the College. No two days are the same, the variation can be amazing. The phones are ringing, post deliveries arrive, and a Fellow needs help – and all of this can happen at the same time! While some shifts are relatively quiet, other can be a bit crazy and stress levels then become high. The Lodge is the most front-facing staff group at the College – we meet people before everyone else, and that requires a lot of quick thinking. Moreover, there is a remarkable difference between the day shifts and the night shifts, which present more security challenges.”

Are there any special stories you remember?

“There is one I remember fondly. Just before the Easter break, most students had gone home. I received a call one evening from a student’s father to say the family were flying to the States the following day, and that their son had left his passport in his room in George Street Mews. He asked me if I could find it, and then get a quote from a local taxi firm and send it up to an address in Newcastle. The quote was £550, a bit excessive, and the father asked if I had any alternative ideas. I suggested that a friend of mine in Abingdon who has his own taxi meet him at Heathrow and give him the passport. This was arranged, and my friend only charged £100 in the end, saving the family £450 and a lot of hassle.

Another time I had to give emergency first aid to a student, who had asked me for help as he couldn’t breathe. I sat him down and engaged him in conversation until the ambulance came. He was in hospital for three days after the incident and I was told I had potentially saved his life.”

What do you like the most about your job?

“As a people person, I really enjoy helping everyone, from all walks of life, of any nationality. Following a vote amongst the students, I was invited with my wife to their leaving do in 2009 and 2015 – this was such a great honour for me! We are a very helpful, cheery bunch. I don’t want to boast, but according to several visitors, the Nuffield Lodge is the friendliest in Oxford – and one of the few to give out candy and chocolate to the students!”
The College’s only Old Master painting has just returned from the Holburne Museum in Bath to the Chester Room after three months in an acclaimed and scholarly exhibition Bruegel: defining a dynasty. Our picture was beautifully lit and displayed and, although alongside loans from The National Gallery and other major collections, its extraordinary content attracted much attention. Now back in its Nuffield home, we plan to do it justice with better lighting and interpretation.

We acquired the painting by accident. In 1982 a London art dealer defaulted on a loan from the College and the then Investment Bursar, John Flemming, suggested that five paintings should be accepted as part repayment. Four were later sold but we kept the most interesting: Netherlandish Proverbs, attributed to the Circle of Pieter Bruegel the Younger. This has recently been conserved, and research by the leading technical expert on Bruegel paintings has revealed...
that it is of considerable art historical interest. Fortuitously, it also fits well with the social and political themes of the College collections both in its vigorous content and its significance in the art market of the Dutch and Flemish Golden Age.

Our painting is one of numerous copies of an original work of 1559 by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, which now hangs in Gemäldegalerie in Berlin. The artist was astonishingly innovative in his focus on scenes of country life. Netherlandish Proverbs is an early work which had had no precedents and reflected contemporary interests in encyclopaedias, classification and list making. It was the first painting to unite representations of a large number of proverbs.

Pieter the Elder’s paintings were always popular and at the beginning of the 17th century rapid economic growth resulted in a large and prosperous middle class who wanted copies for their new houses. Most came from the studio of Pieter Bruegel the Younger (later generations added h to their surname), who seems to have had access to his father’s drawings and to engravings but not to the original painting. There are 17 known studio copies of Netherlandish Proverbs which differ from the original in size and in the detail of the proverbs and figures. However our painting is different. It is smaller and freer with much less under drawing than the studio copies and appears to be by an unknown contemporary artist, probably working in Antwerp. It is painted on three horizontal Baltic oak planks from three trees shown by dendrochronology to have been felled between 1583 and 1615. Its composition is based partly on Bruegel the Younger’s known copies and on sixteenth century engravings. Interestingly, it also contains elements from the original 1559 painting not included in the studio copies, nor in the Younger’s version, which suggests that the artist had access in Antwerp but that Pieter the Younger did not.

The exhibition curators have identified 87 proverbs in the Nuffield painting (listed on our website), about three quarters of those in the Bruegel original. However, they are not precise imitations of the Bruegel models, but loosely based on them, such that the meanings of some proverbs are lost. Examples that can still be easily understood include:

- The tipped up globe shows that madness rules. It results in the alternative titles for the painting of The World Turned Upside Down or the Topsy Turvy World.
- He defecates on the globe (showing his contempt for the world).
- He lets his cloak go with the wind (he is an opportunist).
- She puts a blue cloak over her husband (to shield him from knowledge of her infidelity).
- He can hardly reach from one loaf of bread to the other (he is greedy).


The Curators of the exhibition, Dr Amy Orrock and Dr Jennifer Scott (then Director of the Holburne, now Director of the Dulwich Picture Gallery), will be coming to Nuffield next year to talk about our painting and the Bruegel dynasty.
Establishing Research Collaboration with India

In October 2016, Sir Andrew Dilnot, Warden of Nuffield College, and Professor Raymond Duch, Official Fellow of Nuffield College and Director of the Centre for Experimental Social Sciences (CESS), signed a Memorandum of Understanding with FLAME University (Pune, India) to create a new research facility for experimental social sciences, the first of its kind in the country. The new Centre has been established for five years in the first instance. The signatories from FLAME were: Dr Devi Singh, Vice-Chancellor of FLAME University; Krutarth Shah, Governing Body Member of FLAME University; Tejas Patani, Board of Management Member of FLAME University; Sharon Barnhardt, now the Director of the Centre; and Pavan Mamidi, the Centre’s Director of International Research Collaborations at CESS India. The Centre will be formally known as CESS Nuffield-FLAME University.

Speaking about the new initiative, Professor Duch commented: “Nuffield CESS is extremely excited about this collaboration. FLAME University are acknowledged as pioneers of liberal education in India, and their focus on interdisciplinary education makes them the right fit for us. This collaboration offers Nuffield CESS a unique opportunity for Oxford scholars to cooperate with the vibrant and rapidly growing community of social scientists in India.”

Dr Mamidi, himself an alumnus of Nuffield College (DPhil Sociology, 2006), added: “The new Centre will have ‘lab-in-the-field’ capabilities to combine the control of laboratory experiments with the diversity of the field. This particular feature will be attractive to many experimentalists”.

This collaboration constitutes an important milestone for CESS, envisaged by Nuffield College as a catalyst of experimental social science research throughout the world. In 2015, Nuffield CESS established a very successful collaboration with the University of Santiago in Chile, providing the Centre with an important presence in Latin America. The collaboration with FLAME University dramatically advances the ability of CESS researchers to design and implement experiments with a truly global reach since there are now major lab, field and online capabilities in Europe, Latin America and Asia.
David Cox  
In October 2016, Sir David Cox, former President of the Royal Statistics Society and Honorary Fellow at Nuffield College, became the first recipient of the International Prize in Statistics. This inaugural prize recognises Sir David’s seminal 1972 paper in which he developed the proportional hazards model that today bears his name. The Cox Model has been applied in many fields of science and engineering, from disease risk assessment and treatment evaluation to product liability, school dropout, re-incarceration and AIDS surveillance systems. His mark on research is so great that his 1972 paper is one of the three most cited papers in statistics and is ranked 16th in *Nature*’s list of the top 100 most cited papers of all time for all fields.

Geoffrey Evans  
To mark the publication of *The New Class Politics: The political exclusion of the British working class* by Geoff Evans and James Tilley, an event took place at the British Academy on 16 March 2017 to analyse the role of social class in British politics today. In a panel chaired by Geoff Evans, John Goldthorpe (Oxford) detailed the continuing social class divisions in Britain; Rosie Campbell (Birkbeck) talked about the changing social background of politicians and why it matters; James Tilley (Oxford) explained why class-based voting has almost disappeared, while working class non-voting has dramatically increased; and Rob Ford (Manchester) discussed the re-emergence of class voting at the EU referendum.

Ray Fitzpatrick  
**Professorial Fellow in Sociology**  
Ray Fitzpatrick has been celebrating thirty years of Deanship at Nuffield College. He arrived at Nuffield as a new Fellow in 1986 and agreed to be Dean no more than one year later. He said he remembers no particular incidents, as “Nuffield students tend to be very well-behaved”.

Desmond King  
**Professorial Fellow in Politics**  
In April 2017, Desmond King, Andrew W. Mellon Professor of American Government in the Oxford Department of Politics and International Relations and Nuffield Professorial Fellow, was elected as a Foreign Honorary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, in the Political Science and International Relations Section.
Cécile Laborde  
**Professorial Fellow in Politics**  
Cécile took up her Fellowship in January 2017 and now holds the Nuffield Professorship of Political Theory. Before she joined Nuffield, she was a Professor of Political Theory at University College London.

David Miller  
**Senior Research Fellow; Official Fellow in Politics (1979–2016)**  
In 2016, David Miller published *Strangers in Our Midst: the political philosophy of immigration* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press). David Miller’s analysis reframes immigration as a question of political philosophy. Acknowledging the impact on host countries, he defends the right of states to control their borders and decide the future size, shape, and cultural make-up of their populations.

Gwendolyn Sasse  
**Professorial Fellow in Politics**  
In 2016, Gwendolyn Sasse became the Director of the newly founded Center for East European Research and International Studies (Zentrum für Osteuropa- und internationale Studien, ZOiS) in Berlin.

Felix Tropf  
**Research Fellow in Sociology**  
In February 2017, Felix Tropf was awarded the Allianz European Demographer Award 2017 together with Tomes Sobotka. Felix received the award for his doctoral dissertation on the impact of genes on demographic behaviour. The Allianz European Demographer Award called for nominations of scientists across Europe, whose research makes a significant contribution to the public discourse on demographic trends in the 21st century, such as new family forms, flexible life course patterns and work life, sustainable social security, as well as issues of migration and integration.
Sir David Butler takes Twitter by storm

David Butler has been learning to tweet, aged 92, to share his musings and witty observations in the run-up to the latest General Election – and what a debut it has been! Suffice to say, he gained 16,600 Twitter followers in only one month. His Twitter bio describes him as “Veteran psephologist. BBC Election Night broadcaster 1950–1979, then radio and press to 2010. Pioneer of swingometer and swing theory. Author of 30+ books.” Here are some of David’s best tweets – you can read them all on: www.twitter.com/SirDavidButler

From left to right: Uwe Kitzinger; Andrew Dilnot; David Butler

David Butler

On 9 February 2017, David Butler gave an interview about how he first came up to Nuffield College and became a prominent figure in the analysis of election studies. His friend, Uwe Kitzinger (Emeritus Fellow), the Warden, Andrew Dilnot, and Michael Crick (David Butler’s biographer) were conducting the interview. A podcast will be available on our website later in the year.
WELCOME FROM DEVELOPMENT

We are in year two of setting up Development and Alumni Relations at Nuffield, gone are the days where we had hardly any correct contact details – thanks to all our engaged alumni we have now been able to reconnect with many more of you.

The triennial Sociology Reunion, which took place in February, saw many former and current Sociology students and Fellows gather at Nuffield. Professor Melinda Mills was so kind to give a special talk titled “Can Sociology Ignore Genetics?” followed by a lively dinner, where Sociologists of all generations could meet and discuss this hot topic.

In April, the Warden, Andrew Dilnot, his wife Catherine, and I came to experience both warm spring sunshine in DC and a snow blizzard in Boston within the space of a day! It was wonderful to see many new faces coming along to our informal get-togethers.

In DC, we are grateful to Anthony Quainton (BLitt Politics, 1956), who hosted us in the famous Metropolitan Club, together with Dick Klass (BLitt Politics, 1965) and his wife Elizabeth. Nancy Walker (DPhil Politics, 1983) was a spectacular host and organised a buffet dinner for over 30 local Alumni at her home in Bethesda, serving the most amazing Mexican food. A special thank you also goes to Graham Wilson (DPhil Politics, 1971), who kindly hosted about 15 alumni for dinner at the Algonquin Club in Boston and shared a warm recollection of the late Fellow Philip Williams. Photos of our North American reunions can be seen on p. 24.

We then geared up for our annual Spring Day and Donors’ Dinner at the end of Trinity, a first time bouncy castle in the Fellows’ garden meant we had lots of young visitors. The AGM held by the Nuffield Society that same day gave an important insight into the island site developments as well as the current student funding pilot, as part of the College’s academic strategy. Our Senior Tutor, Eleni Kechagia-Ovseiko, explained why the need to fundraise even for a well-endowed College like Nuffield is essential for the future of admitting the best students. We would be so grateful if you decided to join the growing group of Nuffield donors by tearing out the donation form included in the magazine and sending it back to the Development Office. Of course, recurring donations are welcome, too!

Our Journey Towards Needs-Blind Admission

The College has started piloting, for the first time this year, a needs-blind admission scheme.

In the past, out of 50 offers made per year, only 27 were accepted.

This year, the College sent 38 offer letters, and 30 students accepted.

The pilot really works!

Fully funding each student makes a major difference in securing the best and brightest applicants.

However, Nuffield needs at least £800k a year for this initial pilot to be sustainable, and £35 million to endow scholarships for all students.

We still intend to do more events in London, and are happy to see that the appetite for academic events is high with a great turnout for Geoff Evans’ and James Tilly’s book launch at the British Academy, as well as the ever so popular annual seminar at Europe House on “The Summer of Elections: the British, French and German Elections”, organised in conjunction with the European Parliament Information Office in the UK. Another big thank you to Alumnus Anthony Teasdale (MLitt Politics, 1978) who makes these seminars happen.

CAROLINE KUKURA
Director of Development and Alumni Relations
SCHOLARSHIPS AND FUNDRAISING

It remains our fundraising goal to become the first-ever higher education institution in the UK to fully fund every student through endowed scholarships. Hopefully, this way we can advance our research in the Social Sciences and continue to address major global challenges, as well as attract the very best students by making competitive offers.

In the past year, many Alumni contributed towards this aim and we are very grateful to all of you who decided to give. We were especially lucky that Phil Suttle (MPhil Economics, 1981), made a donation to match new one-off gifts 1:1 during our telephone campaign, which was a great encouragement to new donors. Riley Taiji (DPhil Sociology, 2015), one of our Telethon callers, said: “The Nuffield Telethon provided a great opportunity to reconnect with alumni from across the globe and from across the social sciences. Not only were we able to fill in previous fellows and students about some of the exciting things happening at College, but we were also given the chance to hear interesting – and sometimes scandalous – stories from their time at Nuffield as well as their advice for aspiring social science researchers.”

A big reason to celebrate is also the completion of the scholarship in memory of Terence W. Gorman, set up and generously completed by Hal Varian, with the help of George Bain, Marty Feldstein, Guy Davis, James Poterba and Nancy Rose, to name a few. This will fully fund a graduate student in Economics at Nuffield in the coming academic year.

Fundraising for our scholarship appeal in memory of Professor Chelly Halsey also received a great boost. Generous donations by Alumnus Kok Peng Teh and Bruno Paulson brought us up to £786,393 (including all the matched funding available) so our target of £915,000 is very much in sight, leaving us with “only” about £50k left to raise (not including matched funding). If you want to help us complete this scholarship by pledging a gift or making a donation, please get in touch with either Monica or Caroline in the Development Office (development@nuffield.ox.ac.uk). Time is of the essence to complete this scholarship endowment as soon as possible to access all matched funding.

Our Warden, Andrew Dilnot, mentioned in his speech during our annual Donors’ Dinner: “this is a marathon, not a sprint” – so watch out for the next scholarship that we will try and open up soon. Thank you all for supporting Nuffield College and do please give us feedback on our events and dinners, it is always great to hear from any of you.

GIVING TUESDAY

Have you heard about #GivingTuesday? It started in 2012 as a counterpoint to the commercialism of Black Friday and Cyber Monday over the Thanksgiving period in the US. UK charities are now joining in this global day of giving, too.

Following the success of our telephone campaign last year, we look forward to reaching out again to Alumni on Giving Tuesday, which this year occurs on 28 November – the first Tuesday after the US Thanksgiving holiday. Our current students will call some of you to speak about new developments at College, and encourage donations towards the Graduate Scholarships Fund. If you have any questions, please contact Monica Esposito-West (monica.esposito-west@nuffield.ox.ac.uk).
In 2017, we were delighted to host Alumni reunions in Oxford, London, New York, Washington DC and Boston (see page 22 for more details). More events are to come in 2018 – we would be thrilled if you could join us.

Please see the back page for all our upcoming events.

NUFFIELD NORTH AMERICAN ALUMNI REUNION  27 March – 2 April 2017

Above (from left to right):
Catherine Dilnot, Alumnus
Graham Wilson (DPhil Politics, 1971), Andrew Dilnot (Warden) and Gina Sapiro. Graham and Gina kindly hosted the drinks for Boston Alumni at the Algonquin Club.

Right: Alumnus Richard Fletcher (Economics, 1965) holding a photo of his contemporaries in the Nuffield football team.
Above: Group photo at the buffet dinner organised by Alumna Nancy Walker (DPhil Politics, 1983)

Right (from left to right): The Warden, Andrew Dilnot, with Norman Birnbaum (Sociology Research Fellow, 1959–1966), having breakfast at the Cosmos Club in DC

Below (from left to right): Alumni Phil Suttle (MPhil Economics, 1981) and Nancy Walker (DPhil Politics, 1983)
Right: One of our Chefs, Robert Madzio, cutting the lamb at the Spring Day Lunch

Below: Children’s Programme during the Nuffield Spring Day

Right: Alumni attending the Nuffield Spring Day Lunch
Right (from left to right): Research Fellows Ridhi Kashyap (Sociology) and Ole Jann (Economics), who gave a presentation during the AGM.

Left: Three of our younger guests at the Spring Day. Thankfully they had a good hour on the bouncy castle before a typical English shower made games continue indoors.

SOCIOMETRY ALUMNI REUNION  25 February 2017

Above: The lecture given by Professor Melinda Mills on “Can Sociology ignore Genetics?”, introduced by the Chair of the Sociology Group, Christiaan Monden.

Above: Sociology Alumni Reunion Dinner

Left (from left to right): Thees Spreckelsen (DPhil Sociology, 2005), Neli Demireva (Sociology Research Fellow, 2010–2013), Sundas Ali Omair (DPhil Sociology, 2007) and her husband Omair Mubashar.
EUROPE HOUSE SEMINAR 22 June 2017

“Europe's summer of elections: Explaining political dynamics in France, Britain and Germany”

Right (from left to right): The panellists: Vernon Bogdanor (BPhil Philosophy, 1964); Geoff Evans (Official Fellow in Politics); Bill Emmott (Chair; Nuffield, 1979); Jane Green (DPhil Politics, 2003); Félix Krawatzek (Research Fellow in Politics); David Butler (Emeritus Fellow in Politics)

Far left (from left to right): Jeremy Large (DPhil Economics, 2002); Andrew Rawnson; Julia Giese (DPhil Economics, 2003)

Left (from left to right): Robert Bell (DPhil History, 1979); Graham Mansfield (DPhil Sociology, 1977); Harry Bush (Research Fellow, 1977–1979; DPhil Politics, 1974); Joachim Müller (DPhil Economics, 1979)

LEAVING STUDENTS’ DINNER 19 June 2017
Meredith Hooper arrived at Oxford in the 60s from Australia, and made Nuffield her home. The College also became the venue for her wedding to fellow Oxonian Richard Hooper. A brilliant writer, here she gives a summary of her extraordinary and adventurous literary career that has had her travel all the way to Antarctica to investigate the effects of climate change.

Arriving in Oxford on a postgraduate scholarship from my home university in Adelaide as an imperial historian, Nuffield gave me opportunities to work with Margery Perham, David Fieldhouse and Freddie Madden.

But – Antarctica drew me: the one that got away. One tenth of the planet’s land surface, 70% of all our fresh water. Yet – no humans had ever lived here. No one dispossessed. The Antarctic Treaty, brokered during the Cold War, simple clearly stated objectives giving us the parameters to manage our impact. The opportunities to work in Antarctica came with a selection as a writer on US, Australian and Royal Navy programmes. My preparation, communicating with a general market, all ages, often international, in books plus articles, lectures, broadcasting; as a Visiting Scholar in the History of Science in the Royal Institution, and Visiting Fellow at Wolfson, Cambridge; stints on Polar boards.

Recent titles include The Ferocious Summer. Palmer’s penguins and the warming of Antarctica, awarded the Nettie Palmer Prize for Non-Fiction, and The Longest Winter, Scott’s other heroes.

Extracts taken from THE FEROCIOUS SUMMER

*During two Antarctic summer seasons 1998–99 and 2001–2, funded as a writer by the United States National Science Foundation, I researched at America’s smallest scientific base, Palmer Station, just off the western coast of the Antarctic Peninsula…. The Antarctic Peninsula is unstitching. Ice slides off, crumbling, rumbling. Glaciers shrink and thin, discharge rates accelerating. Ice shelves are at risk, melt water penetrating consistently, deeply, into ancient structures. Along the western coast the sea’s annual coating of ice performs fitfully. The stitches were held together by cold. Warmth denies their performance, removes their ability to function. The Antarctic Peninsula is cold. But warming. Temperatures, and the seasons, are everything….

It takes surprisingly little warming, or cooling, to make a difference to climate. But in parts of the Antarctic Peninsula temperatures hover around a critical divide: the melting point of ice. The crucial shift is from freezing to liquid, liquid to freezing: that extraordinary dual state of water, tipping either edge of a point. Flipping function and status within the smallest range. The Peninsula is now a permanent performer in the theatre of ice to water. It has begun to decouple from the ice age….

Here, on the Antarctic Peninsula, rocks lie naked, newly revealed. Glaciers wither, ice-shelves retreat. Ecologies are changing. Glaciers don’t have political agendas, nor do penguins. There is no debate. In this remote, austere, beautiful place, our planet is visibly heating up*. 
Alberto Behar
MPhil & DPhil Economics, 2002–2008
Alberto Behar and his wife Sara Lipka welcomed twin boys in January 2017. Their names are Felix and Samuel Lipka Behar.

Samantha Burn
MPhil Economics, 2008

Anthony Harris
MPhil & DPhil Economics, 2008–2015
Samantha and Anthony welcomed their baby daughter Ada Margaret Luise Burn-Harris on 23 April 2017.

Barry Carr
DPhil History, 1967
Barry retired from La Trobe University (Melbourne, Australia) in early 2008 and then moved to the United States to spend time as a Visiting Professor in History at the University of California, Berkeley (2008–2011) and as Distinguished Visiting Professor in Latino and Latin American Studies at Fordham University in New York (2012). He is now an Emeritus Professor at La Trobe University in Melbourne, Australia, where he continues to be actively involved in all things Latin American.

Max Corden
Professorial Fellow in Economics, 1967–1976
Max retired from teaching at Johns Hopkins University (School of Advanced International Studies) in 2001, and since then he has been an Honorary Professor at the University of Melbourne. His colleagues and friends in Melbourne will celebrate his 90th birthday this August.

William Feldman
DPhil Politics, 2005
William’s first book, Privatizing War, which was adapted from his doctoral thesis, was released in 2016 by Routledge. The volume offers a comprehensive moral theory of privatization in war, by examining the kind of wars that private actors might wage separate from the state and the kind of wars that private actors might wage as functionaries of the state.

Bernt Hagtvet
Politics Visiting Student, 1975
Bernt Hagtvet, Professor of Political Science at the University of Oslo, Norway, was appointed Visiting Professor in the Political Science Department at Yale University for the fall term of 2016, where he taught a course on European Fascism. In 2017 he also taught courses on genocides and the politics of human rights at Bjørknes College in Oslo and at the Centre for Human Rights at the University of Oslo. He has been co-editor of seven books (in Norwegian) on ideology and terror, right-wing and left-wing extremism, intellectuals and ideologies, religion and politics and Islamism.

George Hoare
DPhil Politics, 2006
George Hoare set up Universify Education (universifyeducation.com), a registered charity that exists to promote educational equality – specifically by widening access to highly selective universities like Oxford. They work with Year 10 students from non-selective state schools, giving them a week residential in Oxford during the summer, life coaching from current undergraduates during the year, and a refresher and revision booster at Easter. So far, they have been able to do this at no cost for students or schools (including travel costs), while also more than doubling the number of students they work with each year. Universify is on the lookout for new trustees to help them expand and keep it free for students and schools. If you’re interested, have an idea or suggestion, or know someone who may wish to become a trustee, please email George Hoare at george.hoare@universifyeducation.com
**Eric Jones**  

**Alison Koslowski**  
DPhil Sociology, 2002  
Alison was awarded a Personal Chair in Social Policy and Research Methods at the University of Edinburgh, effective 1 August 2017.

**Anna Mackin**  
DPhil Politics, 2007  
Kerry Papps  
Research Fellow Economics, 2007–2010  
Anna and Kerry got married in May 2017.

**James Richardson**  
PBL Politics, 1958–1961  
James Richardson, Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the Australian National University, co-authored with Ursula Vollerthun *The Idea of International Society: Erasmus, Vitoria, Gentili and Grotius* (Cambridge University Press, October 2017). The book provides an analysis of the earliest thinkers in the “Grotius tradition” of international thought.

**Richard Rose**  
DPhil Politics, 1958  
The vote for Brexit is keeping Richard Rose busy writing blogs as part of an ESRC project on the “UK in a Changing Europe”. In keeping with his cosmopolitan character, the approach is to shine light on what politics in SW 1 leaves out, namely, the constraints that the institutions and politics of the EU and national governments offer. It is not a unicorn vision but a real bull – complete with the horns of a dilemma. Blogs are posted frequently at www.cssp.strath.ac.uk and a collection of pre-referendum blogs is available from Richard Rose at the University of Strathclyde.

**Chris Rowley**  
DPhil Sociology, 1987  
Following his month in South Korea last year on a Korea Foundation Fellowship, Chris officially ‘retired’ in 2016 and was appointed Professor Emeritus, Cass Business School, City, University of London and Visiting Fellow, Kellogg College, University of Oxford.

**Darrow Schecter**  
MPhil & DPhil Politics, 1983–1990  
Darrow is now the Head of History in the School of History, Art History and Philosophy (HAHP), University of Sussex, and has just been promoted from Reader in Critical Theory to Professor of Critical Theory.

**Alex Sutherland**  
DPhil Sociology, 2006  
Alex has been working as a researcher at RAND Europe, part of the RAND Corporation, since 2013. His work focuses primarily on public policy evaluation covering education, criminal justice and social policy more broadly. He is currently leading several randomised controlled field trials in education, as well as looking at the use of ambulance data for injury surveillance. There have been two further additions to the Sutherland household since Alex left Nuffield. Rosie (6) was joined by Matilda (3) and Harry (1).

**Ilter Turan**  
Politics Visitor, 2013  
In 2016, Ilter was elected President of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) for the 2016–2018 period at The World Congress of Political Science in Poznań.

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**CONNECT AND COMMUNICATE WITH NUFFIELD**

Nuffield has a new look! We’ve been working over the past year to develop a dynamic new web presence and recognisable visual identity that will help advance our reputation for research excellence in the social sciences, as well as connect with current and new audiences.

We encourage you to visit our new website in the late autumn and tell us what you think. www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk

We also invite you to connect with us through our newly revamped social media presence. If you’d like to stay up to date with latest research announcements, achievements and news updates from the College, you can find and follow us on:

- Facebook: [OxfordNuffieldCollege](https://facebook.com/OxfordNuffieldCollege)
- Twitter: [@NuffieldCollege](https://twitter.com/@NuffieldCollege)
University of Oxford’s Alumni Weekend and Nuffield’s 80th Anniversary Celebrations

Saturday 16 September 2017

6pm Tour of the College’s art collection
6.45pm 80th Anniversary Alumni Dinner, to mark 80 years since the foundation of Nuffield College.

Tony Atkinson’s Memorial Service

Saturday 17 February 2018

A memorial service to commemorate Tony Atkinson, former Warden of Nuffield College, who died in January 2017.

European Alumni Weekend in Rome

Friday 16–Sunday 18 March 2018

The next European Meeting Minds Weekend, organised in conjunction with the University of Oxford, will take place in the eternal city of Rome. Immerse yourself in stimulating academic sessions, gala social events and exclusive tours. Booking opens autumn 2017.

North American Alumni Weekend in San Francisco

Friday 6 and Saturday 7 April 2018

Next year, the biennial North American Alumni Weekend will be held in San Francisco. More info to follow.

HOW TO SUPPORT NUZZIELD COLLEGE

You can now make a single or regular donation online by visiting the University of Oxford giving page:

www.campaign.ox.ac.uk/nuffield-college

Please do alert us to your gift via email:
development@nuffield.ox.ac.uk

Thank you for your kind support of Nuffield College

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