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What drives global patterns of inequality?

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I write this letter as the Brexit debate rages; there is plenty for all parts of the social scientific world to think and speak and write about and there is much of that happening in Nuffield. Over forty years ago, David Butler and Uwe Kitzinger wrote a book about the 1975 referendum, and they were together again at the launch of Michael Crick’s biography of David in mid-October, just after his 94th birthday. It was a privilege to celebrate David’s long, influential and fascinating life, and to note how the study of politics and elections has been transformed over that time.

That very happy event came soon after the sad news of Jim Mirrlees’ death. Jim Mirrlees spent almost thirty years at Nuffield as Edgeworth Professor of Economics from the late 1960s and as he made enormous contributions to economic research of his own, and with others, he simultaneously helped and encouraged generations of students. The outpouring of affection and respect for him in the weeks that followed his death has been striking, and we look forward to running a conference in his honour in late April 2019.

The number of research centres based in the College continues to grow, with the initiation of NuCamp – the Nuffield Centre for Applied Macro Policy – led by Martin Ellison, and with David Hendry’s Climate Econometrics Centre moving to Nuffield. These two centres sit alongside the longer standing Centre for Experimental Social Science (CESS), the Centre for Social Investigation (CSI) and the Gwilym Gibbon Centre. CESS now has associated labs in Chile, India and China, CSI has published a major new book assessing post war social progress and Jane Green is the newly arrived new head of the Gwilym Gibbon Centre.

In summer 2019 we are planning to launch a Nuffield Undergraduate Scholars Institute. We hope to select six undergraduates from groups underrepresented in social science doctoral programmes to come and spend six weeks at Nuffield to experience social science research. There will be close mentoring from academic staff and training in quantitative research methods and software as well as encouragement to think about graduate study.

This year’s Magazine follows the theme of ‘inequality’, partly in honour of Tony Atkinson: I do hope you enjoy reading about some of the work going on at Nuffield on this topic, and also amongst our alumni and associated members.

Sir Andrew Dilnot
Warden
ADVANCING EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Nuffield launches a pilot summer school to support potential social scientists from underrepresented backgrounds.

Under the guidance of Dave Kirk, Professional Fellow and Equality and Diversity Fellow, the College will launch the Nuffield Undergraduate Scholars Institute next summer.

Six undergraduates from groups underrepresented in social science doctoral programmes will come to Oxford next summer for six weeks to experience life as a social scientist. The scholars will be closely mentored by Nuffield and Oxford academics, to be introduced to the world of postgraduate social sciences.

Recruitment of the scholars for the first institute will begin in early 2019.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Cooking Up A Storm

Charlie Price’s hard work as an apprentice chef in the Nuffield kitchen was celebrated by the Freemen of Oxford. Charlie was presented with the 2018 Apprenticeship Award in Catering and Hospitality at the Freemen’s Spring Admissions Ceremony in March.

Honorary Graduands

Two Nuffield academics were given honorary degrees at the Encaenia ceremony in June 2018: longstanding Academic Visitor Professor Robert Putnam and alumnus Lord Stern (DPhil Economics 1968; Visiting Fellow 2005-12). They were joined on their procession through Oxford by director Martin Scorsese.

Warm Welcomes...

Nuffield welcomed two new Governing Body Fellows in 2017-18: Radhi Kyariyap joined Sociology and Janina Dill joined Politics. The College also welcomed four new Fellows at the start of Michaelmas Term 2018: Klaus Adam and Hamish Low in Economics, and Jane Green and Pepper Culpepper in Politics.

... And Fond Farewells

The College said a fond farewell to Elizabeth Martin in August 2017 after 16 years as the College Librarian. We also said goodbye to the Lodge Manager Stuart Bone in June 2018. Stuart worked for the College for ten and a half years until his retirement this year, managing the Porters’ Lodge since 2011.

CLIMATE ECONOMETRICS

The Climate Econometrics (CE) project joined Nuffield in Michaelmas Term 2018, having secured additional funding from the Robertson Foundation. The project is led by David Hendry, and works on developing and applying econometric methods to better understand human impact on climate change and vice versa. The team also hope to continue to build better knowledge exchange networks between climate scientists, economists and policy makers.

Find out more at www.climateeconometrics.org.

NEW CENTRE FOR APPLIED MACROECONOMIC POLICY

A new Centre for Applied Macroeconomic Policy has been launched to create better links between academic and policy worlds.

NuCamp, launched in summer 2017 and directed by Professorial Fellow Martin Ellison, aims to improve the links between the academic and policymaking worlds. The Centre’s first year has been focused on raising its profile and making sure Nuffield becomes an important hub for macroeconomic policy conversations.

More news from the Centre, including up-to-date working papers, can be found on their website at gwp.nuff.ox.ac.uk.

International events from the Centre for Experimental Social Sciences

The Centre for Experimental Social Sciences had a full calendar this year. In June and July, they held their annual summer school in Oxford and winter school in Santiago, which provides participants with an introduction to experimental methods. They also hosted the Fifth International Meeting on Experimental and Behavioural Social Sciences (IMEBESS) in Florence, to bring together researchers in all areas of the social sciences interested in experimental methods.

Detailed descriptions of CESS’s ongoing projects and events can be found on its website at cess-nuffield.nuff.ox.ac.uk.

The Centre for Social Investigation talks to policy makers

Members of CSI have been contributing to policy conversations throughout the year. Anthony Heath, Emeritus Fellow and the Centre’s Director, contributed to a British Academy programme and report called ‘If You Could Do One Thing’, which was introduced at Parliament. Anthony was also invited to Number 10 to talk with the Prime Minister on a new government website – www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk. Research Fellow Lindsay Richards also spoke about attitudes to immigration in Europe at an event at the European Parliament organised by the European Social Survey and the Migration Policy Group. The CSI blog – which has been running since 2015 – can be found at csi.nuff.ox.ac.uk and contains updates on the Centre’s ongoing work.
October & December 2017

Research Fellow Felix Krawatzek took part in a panel discussing the consequences of the German federal elections in October, then in December released a three-part podcast on ‘Political remittances and political transnationalism’ based on a conference of the same name held at Nuffield in the summer of 2017.

Tony Atkinson: ‘A Gentle Generous Genius’

Generations of economists, former students and current Nuffield Fellows gathered in Oxford on 17 February to celebrate the life and work of economist Tony Atkinson.

His ground-breaking work on the economics of inequality and poverty was honoured by a two-day seminar, which started at the London School of Economics on 16 February and finished in Oxford the following day. He was later warmly remembered in a memorial event at the College, where he was described as a ‘gentle generous genius’ by Professor Holly Sutherland, Director of EUROMOD at the University of Essex.

The close-to-400 attendees at the memorial showed just how big Tony’s legacy is, which we hope to recognise in this edition of the Nuffield Magazine on the theme of inequality.

December 2017

Iain McLean, Senior Research Fellow, commented on the question of the Irish border and Brexit for Prospect Magazine.

February 2018

Raymond Duch, Official Fellow and Director of the Centre for Experimental Social Sciences, joined a panel of experts to discuss ‘Immigration, Nativism and Changing Politics’ at a conference of the same name at the University of Texas. He commented on the role of immigration in the politics of the UK’s Brexit referendum in comparison with the current events in the US and other European countries.

April 2018: Tackling Wealth Inequality

Members of the WEALTHPOL (The Politics of Wealth Inequality) team - including principal investigator and Nuffield Professorial Fellow Ben Ansell - were joined by fellow academics, policy-makers and politicians at a workshop in London in April. Attendees took part in round tables on the topic of rising wealth inequality, with a special focus on ways to tackle the problem. A lunchtime plenary was given by Paul Johnson, the Director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies, and the closing plenary was given by former leader of the Labour Party, Ed Miliband. The discussions formed a launchpad for the team to investigate new answers.

The WEALTHPOL project is European Council Horizon 2020 funded, and the Nuffield Foundation kindly hosted the day. For more information, visit wealthpol.web.ox.ac.uk

May 2018

Honorary Fellow Sir David Cox spoke to students of population studies about statistical thinking and causality at student-run conference PopFestOxford.

June 2018

Melinda Mills, Professorial Fellow, was awarded an MBE in the Queen’s Birthday Honours for services to social science.

May 2018

Professorial Fellow Christiaan Monden took up the position of Head of the Department of Sociology, taking over from another Nuffield Fellow, Melinda Mills.

June 2018

Honorary Fellow Amartya Sen joined Nuffield alumnus Kamal Hossain (Politics 1958) – who chaired some of the sessions – and the Vice-Chancellor, Louise Richardson, amongst others, at a round table meeting in College on ‘Reframing Violent Extremism’.

July 2018: British Academy Fellowships

Four current Nuffield Fellows were awarded Fellowships of the British Academy, joining 22 other British Academy Fellows who are currently working at Nuffield. The Warden Andrew Dilnot was awarded an Honorary Fellowship, Professorial Fellows Ben Ansell and Melinda Mills were elected to Fellowships, and Honorary Fellow Jerry Hausman (DPhil Economics 1972) was elected a Corresponding Fellow.

June 2018

Honorary Fellow David Miller, Senior Research Fellow, was interviewed by the German newspaper Der Spiegel about his book Strangers In Our Midst on immigration policy and politics.

July 2018

Honorary Fellow Amartya Sen joined Nuffield alumnus Kamal Hossain (Politics 1958) – who chaired some of the sessions – and the Vice-Chancellor, Louise Richardson, amongst others, at a round table meeting in College on ‘Reframing Violent Extremism’.

May 2018

Professorial Fellow Bess Bukodi was awarded a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship to work on her project ‘Educational inequalities in Britain revisited’.

May 2018

Honorific Fellow Jerry Hausman (DPhil Economics 1972) spoke to students of population studies about statistical thinking and causality at student-run conference PopFestOxford.
IN MEMORIAM: 
SIR JAMES MIRRELEES (1936-2018)

Shortly before going to press, we were saddened to hear that Sir James Mirrlees died at home in Cambridge on 29 August 2018. Jim, as he was known at Nuffield, was one of the best economists in the world. Known for his work on the theory of the optimal design of income taxation, Jim won the Nobel Prize in 1996 with William Vickrey for his work into the theory of incentives under asymmetric information. Jim influenced generations of economists during his time as Edgeworth Professor of Economics at Nuffield from 1968 to 1998. Nuffield visiting fellow and economist John Kay shared his memories of Jim.

First met Jim Mirrlees almost 50 years ago, in the late spring of 1969. I had not yet graduated from what was my own alma mater, Edinburgh University, but was applying to do graduate work. The two options I was considering were Oxford and Nuffield College Oxford with the economics group there. I suppose the interview must have gone well, because at the end of it Jim asked whether I was doing anything that evening. Of course I wasn’t. So he asked if I would like to come to dinner at his house with him and his wife, Gill. It was a wonderful and wholly unnecessary act of kindness – typical of Jim.

That gesture helped tip the balance for me in favour of Oxford. And so I began my graduate studies at Oxford in 1969 discovered not just that there were cleverer people than him in the world, but that these clever people seemed to respect and value what he said. It was humbling and liberating.

And then one day Jim knocked on the door of my student room. When he came in, he handed me an advertisement for a fellowship at St. John’s College. “You should apply for that”, he said. The idea was beyond my wildest aspirations at the time. But I followed it as an instruction, and was even more surprised to get the position. And through a varied career, I have been a fellow of St. John’s ever since. The invitation only seminars in Jim’s room were a highlight of my first years in Oxford. One moment in particular sticks in my mind. I made a comment, and one of the other participants said, “but that, it’s obvious.” Yes, Jim responded, but the brilliant thing is seeing that you can put it like that. That observation identified for me a talent which he helped nurture and develop and which I hope has characterised my work ever since – seeing how complex economic ideas can be simply explained.

I will always be grateful to Jim Mirrlees, without whom my life and career would have been very different, and much less rewarding in every sense. Over the last 50 years I have met a few, but only a few, people who rival him in intellectual brilliance. But these clever people seemed to respect and value what he said. It was both humbling and liberating.

Jim Mirrlees was an outstanding economist, a fantastic teacher, a great human being, and – more personally – a wonderful friend. I will miss him as long as I live.”

Amartha Sen
Honorary Fellow

In 1969 [Jim] reformulated the question in a way which had never been done before and developed a deep set of mathematical tools to solve the problem. He took this an important stage further when he recognised in the mid-1970s that the mathematical structure of the problem applied much more generally to questions of mechanism design in the face of incomplete information. In this way he has influenced whole branches of economics.”

Sir Tony Atkinson
(1944-2017)
Inequality
Is A Choice

There is hardly anyone in the field of the economics of inequality who did not work with Sir Tony Atkinson at one point. Long before economic inequality became central to public discussion, the former Nuffield Warden was dedicating his attention to the question of who gets what in the economy. He wrote a substantial portion of the literature on which today’s work rests, and he raised a whole generation of researchers who are leading the field today.

One of his convictions – apparent in all his writing – was that high levels of economic inequality are not inevitable. Even when the public discourse suggested that nothing could be done to counter the rise of inequality, Tony not only stood by his conviction, but wrote an entire book entitled Inequality – What can be done? It was not some utopian vision of a different economy that gave him the certainty that things can be different. Instead, his conviction was grounded in empirical reality, based on a historical and comparative perspective on inequality.

This empirical perspective contradicts – as is so often the case – the beliefs that underlie public discourse. A particularly widespread belief today is that income inequality is on the rise everywhere. This is simply not true. It is certainly on the rise in some countries, most prominently and unambiguously in the US, but the changes that we see in the US are not at all representative for what is happening elsewhere. The following charts from Our World in Data show the diversity of trends in inequality across the world.
The two charts on the right show the share of total incomes going to the top 1% over the last century in a number of rich countries. In all of these countries, the inequality of the income distribution – the share of total income going to the top 1% – declined for many decades. But since the late 1970s we see diverging trends – in the US and other English-speaking countries the inequality returned to the high levels of a century ago. This did not happen in the continental European countries or Japan, shown in the bottom-right chart. As Tony showed in his final book, in all Latin American countries the inequality of incomes has substantially declined since the turn of the millennium.

It is important for us to know the diversity in trends of inequality change across the world, it points us to what is, and isn’t, driving changes in inequality. If it was the case that globalisation and technological change were solely responsible for rising inequality, we would expect that the same upward trend in inequality in all countries. The fact that we do not see such a universal trend suggests that forces operating on the national level – including labour market institutions, regulations, taxation, the access to good education, and social norms – play a substantial role in determining who gets what in the economy.

While technological change and the global division of labour are forces that exert an upward pressure on inequality, we see that there are countries who found ways to oppose these pressures.

The previous chart showed the distribution of incomes before it is redistributed through the state via taxes and transfers. How much can the state do to equalize inequality? This second chart gives the answer to this question. The metric shown here is the Gini coefficient, which does not only focus on the split between the share of incomes that go to the top and fraction that goes to the rest. It is a measure that more broadly captures inequality across the entire distribution.

In yellow we see the inequality of incomes before redistribution by the state and in orange the lower inequality after. Here again we see how wrong it would be to believe that the state has lost the ability to reduce income inequality in the age of globalisation. Some countries clearly do a lot.

At a time when public conversations are dominated by the belief that globalisation has taken away the national state’s ability to redistribute, and that inequality is inevitably rising everywhere, it is important to keep this empirical reality in mind. Things can be different if we want them to be. The level of inequality – as Tony Atkinson maintained – is to a substantial degree, a matter of choice.
Where Are We Now?
Social Progress In Britain

How much progress did Britain make after the Second World War in confronting William Beveridge’s ‘Five Giants’? And how equally was this progress shared across society, especially among the poorest and most vulnerable? A new book by the Centre for Social Investigation – Social Progress in Britain – tackles these questions and more. Anthony Heath, Emeritus Fellow and Director of the Centre, explains.

The Five Giants

The Beveridge Report of 1942 – officially titled Social Insurance and Allied Services – identified five giants on the road to post-war reconstruction: (pictured clockwise from far left) Want, Squalor, Ignorance, Disease and Idleness. Tackling these giants was a primary focus of the 1945 government’s social programme and remained important throughout the second half of the 20th century.
Income inequality had a particularly marked rise in Britain in the 1980s, although Britain wasn’t alone: Tony Atkinson’s work shows that most peer countries such as France, Germany, Italy and especially egalitarian Sweden also experienced substantial increases in income inequality in the 1980s or 1990s. But at the very least in Britain the poorest households (the lowest decile) did make modest gains in material prosperity – the richest households (the top decile) simply made much bigger gains.

Is this picture of modest gains for the poorest and much greater gains for the richest replicated in the domains of health, education, housing and employment? And did rising income inequality have adverse side effects on equality of opportunity, as academics had widely predicted?

**Want**

In Britain the poorest households [made] modest gains in material prosperity – the richest households simply made much bigger gains

**Squalor**

Housing (or ‘squalor’, in Beveridge’s colourful term) is the closest parallel to income inequality. Average housing space rose steadily from the 1950s until 2001, although progress then stalled. As with income inequality, there was a major increase in housing inequality after the 1980s when the top decile made major gains in housing space. But the situation of the least well-housed failed to improve at all after 1980. The most vulnerable were harder hit than before in terms of material prosperity. One suspects, though cannot prove, that today’s housing crisis had its roots in the 1980s, when market forces were given a much larger role in the allocation of housing, and when rising incomes for the well-off substantially increased their demand for the (constricted) supply of large houses and second homes.

***...there was a major increase in housing inequality after the 1980s when the top decile made major gains in housing space***

**Idleness**

Unemployment also shows some signs of rising inequality. The parallels are not at that close, however; the timing is different and the impact is different. In the early post-war period British unemployment rates were historically low, and probably lower than in most peer countries. They then rose sharply in the recessions of the 1980s and 90s to become one of the highest, before falling back in the twenty-first century to being relatively low once again.

However, the risks of unemployment facing young people with low educational qualifications remained stubbornly high in the twenty-first century, with a widening gap between the less educated and their better-educated contemporaries and between younger and older people. These gaps are wider in Britain than in most peer countries. Beveridge wrote that “failure to find any use for adaptable youth is one of the worst black spots on the record of the period between the wars”. Youth unemployment is perhaps now one of the worst black spots on Britain’s record in the twenty-first century.

***“Youth unemployment is perhaps now one of the worst black spots on Britain’s record in the twenty-first century”***

**Ignorance**

What about education and inequality of opportunity? Here the evidence (especially official statistics) is distinctly unsatisfactory and it is difficult to be sure how much progress Britain has really made.

Government statistics declare that there has been great improvement in the proportion of children reaching the ‘expected standard’ for their age group and in gaining qualifications such as GCSEs, with children from the poorest backgrounds catching up. But independent international evaluations of children’s attainment paint a picture of long-standing international differences – with Japan and Canada well ahead of Britain ever since the earliest studies in the 1960s, and Sweden consistently lagging behind.

The most rigorous studies, such as those by Nuffield’s Bess Bukodi (see page 22), strongly point to the conclusion that inequality of opportunity in education has barely changed from the 1970s to 2010. So while there is little sign of the progress that governments have claimed to achieve, there is equally little sign that inequality of opportunity has increased in line with income inequality.

***“...inequality of opportunity in education has barely changed from the 1970s to 2010”***

**Disease**

In contrast to education, health and life expectancy is an area where we have excellent and robust long-term data – more reliable, in fact, than even the economic data. And in several respects the picture is completely different from the economic one too.

One similarity is that life expectancy, like material prosperity, showed major gains in the post-war period (albeit slowing down in Britain compared to Japan, which continues to show increasing longevity despite already having higher life expectancy). But two striking differences are: first, that Britain has been gradually falling behind peer countries (except for the US which has fallen even further and faster despite its economic advantage); and, second, that inequalities in life expectancy, especially infant mortality, dropped dramatically during the twentieth century.

True there is some evidence that progress in Britain, both in terms of increasing average life expectancy and reducing inequality stalled in the twentieth century, which is perhaps a delayed effect of rising socio-economic inequality. But more detailed investigation of the trends suggest that cultural factors are more important than purely economic ones.

***“...life expectancy, like material prosperity, showed major gains in the post-war period”***

**The Five Giants**

While it is clear that the ‘Giant’ of Want is clearly an important part of the overall story of all five, its effect is limited. As we move away from commodities such as housing which are dependent on market forces, to other areas of life such as health and education where different processes are at work – such as culture and class – so the impact of economic developments becomes progressively weaker.
“giving every citizen, quite apart from his work, a certain minimum claim to a share in the annual social product”

GDH Cole (1929)

The idea of basic income had occurred to neither of us at the time. But twenty years later, I published the first systematic philosophical defence of basic income (Real Freedom for All, 1995) in an OUP series edited by Barry’s successor, David Miller, current Nuffield Senior Research Fellow. Meanwhile Barry became one of the fiercest academic advocates of basic income, which he described as “the most practicable (perhaps the only practicable) way of counteracting the excessive power of employers over workers”. He remained its fierce advocate all the way to his last book, Why Social Justice Matters (2005).

Next, the oldest connection. If anyone can pass as the first academic advocate of basic income – and indeed as the first to use the term ‘basic income’ in its contemporary sense – it is GDH Cole (1889-1959), one of Nuffield’s most prominent fellows in its early years. In The Next Ten Years in British Social and Economic Policy (1929), Cole briefly hints at the idea of “giving every citizen, quite apart from his work, a certain minimum claim to a share in the annual social product.” From his Principles of Economic Planning (1935), this becomes a forceful plea.

Incomes, Cole argued, should “be distributed partly as rewards for work, and partly as direct payments from the State to every citizen as ‘social dividends’ – a recognition of each citizen’s claim as a consumer to share the common heritage of productive power. […] Earnings will become, under such a system, more and more of the nature of ‘pocket money’, without any loss of the incentives to effort such as absolute equality of incomes would involve. Work will have its sufficient reward, but the main part of national income will no longer be distributed as a by-product of industry.”

The political philosopher and alumnus Philippe Van Parijs (Senior Research Fellow 2011-15 and Associate Member 2015-18) is a leading proponent of basic income. Here, he draws the links between Nuffield and this revolutionary idea.

Here, he draws the links between Nuffield and this revolutionary idea.
Almost half of educational attainment is directly affected, statistically, by parental education.

In a report on a study funded by the Nuffield Foundation, Professorial Fellow and Associate Professor of Quantitative Social Policy Bess Bukodi explores the link between parents and their children’s later success with Emeritus Fellow John Goldthorpe.

The bad news is that children with similar ability can have very different chances of success based on their parents’ economic, socio-cultural and educational capital, which suggests that the talent of more disadvantaged children is going to waste.

The good news is that vocational qualifications might help disadvantaged children succeed in the long run. Indeed, compared to academic qualifications, children of high ability but disadvantaged backgrounds come out on top, over and above all other categories. Nonetheless, they also found that the link between parental capital and educational attainment differs across generations. For children born in the early 1990s, socio-cultural and educational capital has a stronger relationship with their later academic success than economic capital, especially when compared to children born in the late 1950s and early 1970s.

The good news is that vocational qualifications might help disadvantaged children succeed in the long run. Indeed, compared to academic qualifications, children of high ability but disadvantaged backgrounds come out on top, over and above all other categories. Nonetheless, academic qualifications remain the surest route to joining the managerial and professional classes later in life, for children of all backgrounds.

Making Great Citizens Research carried out at the Centre for Social Investigation by former Research Fellow James Laurence (now at the University of Manchester) shows that the government-funded National Citizen Service initiative really does do what it sets out to do. Young people taking part came away with a more positive attitude towards other ethnic groups and social cohesion. This change was even more marked when young people started out with lower social integration.

Brexit: What Do the Public Want? Analysis of British public opinion by the Centre for Social Investigation (CSI) found that, among other things, the public might be more willing to negotiate on free movement than they seem. Whilst definitely a priority, the analysis suggests that Britons might actually be more willing to negotiate on this than on ending European Court of Justice jurisdiction, ending contributions to the EU budget, or ensuring UK citizens’ rights. An earlier paper by CSI also found that 25.30% of Britons wanted to stop Brexit completely, and about the same number were in favour of a second referendum.

Schools and Hospitals Suffer in Scotland Research by Associate Member Jim Gallagher in a Gwilym Gibbon Centre Working Paper showed that schools and hospitals in Scotland have suffered thanks to spending choices made by the Scottish National Party in the last decade. The findings were reported by The Times.

Genetic Influence Changes Depending on When and Where Genetic influence on educational attainment and fertility changes depending on when and where you live. A study by Nuffield Fellows Felix Trophi and Melinda Mills published in Nature Human Behaviour shows that the influence of genes can be affected by different social environments.

Linking Unemployment and Child Neglect A study conducted in the USA by Nuffield College Associate Elisa Betta items in Economics BPhil student Dan Brown shows early evidence of the link between child neglect and parental unemployment. The study, available as part of the College’s Economics Working Papers, for the first time quantifies whether unemployment causes child maltreatment. It also shows the importance of social and private support networks in preventing neglect. Plans are afoot to replicate the study in the UK.


Please Sit, I Want Some More A new paper by Elisabeth Garrett, Research Fellow at the Centre for Social Investigation, gives the first estimate of the numbers using food banks across the UK as a whole. Approximately 650,000 people could be using food banks in Britain each year, when data from West Cheshire is scaled up to a national level. Repeated visits faster than total visits are growing, showing that poverty is becoming more entrenched.

Religion and Fertility Treatments Research by Nuffield Fellows Melinda Mills and Patrick Prag published in Human Reproduction found that, taking into account economic factors and accessibility, Assisted Reproductive Technologies (ART) use is more prevalent in countries where it is morally and culturally acceptable to do so. The study also found that religion is a particularly striking factor affecting the numbers of women accessing ART.

Ideology in Armed Groups A paper coauthored by DPhil student Matthew Zelina shows the many roles of ideology in political violence. Based on Columbian and Peruvian examples of Marxist insurgent groups, the paper shows how differences in ideology have significant implications for internal group organisation, institutional setup and behaviour towards civilians. Of particular interest is the role of ‘weak ideology’ and the link between ideology and emotion.
Many people presume that school organisation is important in either alleviating or amplifying the initial disadvantages faced by children.

In early tracked systems, such as those in Germany and the Netherlands, it is common to find that, even when they have similar test scores or grades, children of disadvantaged social origins tend to be overrepresented in the least challenging ‘tiers’ of schools, and less likely to lead to higher education. The opposite is true for children of immigrant origin, however, when compared with majority background children. What is less often acknowledged — and studied — is that in many countries there is an additional informal system of ‘ability grouping’, sometimes called ‘streaming’. This means that students are stratified, typically in core subjects, according to their performance, much like in more formal tracking systems. Our analyses show that informal tracking, as reported by pupils themselves, is quite prevalent in England, Germany, and Sweden, and could potentially be a ‘hidden’ source of educational inequality. Does this informal tracking work the same way as formal tracking?

We found that it doesn’t: it is the formal differentiation in education tracks of the kind that takes place in Germany and the Netherlands that is the main factor in social and ethnic differences in the transition to an academic – or ‘higher’ – upper secondary education.

We used the data we had gathered to estimate how much either of these forms of school differentiation affected association between upper secondary school choice and socioeconomic and ethnic background. We observed that for socioeconomic differences, the ‘formal’ tracking system is of outstanding importance in Germany and the Netherlands (accounting for 60-80% of the association), some in England (less than 20%), and none in Sweden, where independent schools are not at all socially selective. We also found that informal tracking does not add anything to these socioeconomic group differences once formal differentiation is accounted for, either the informal system overlaps with it (as in Germany), or it simply is of no (Sweden) or only minor (England) importance.

We are still working on this, but we can tentatively say, based on the countries we have studied, that formal tracking systems in schools is of much greater significance for inequality in future education than informal ‘streaming’.

In contrast, the formal tracking system is of much greater importance in England and the Netherlands, and could potentially be a ‘hidden’ source of educational inequality. Many people presume that school organisation is important in either alleviating or amplifying the initial disadvantages faced by children.

Should the divide in voting behaviour be reframed as between renters and mortgage-payers voting left, versus those who own their homes outright?
N ow 74, Joan Biren knows exactly who she is – she is a feminist activist, a revolutionary, a lesbian, a documentarian, and an artist – although that knowledge is hard won.

When Joan arrived in Oxford from her undergraduate studies at Mount Holyoke College in 1967, she already had some inkling of who she was, although it still needed confirmation. She always knew, for example, that she wanted to be involved in politics, particularly radical movements, and her DPhil was to be on the politics of secondary school reorganisation in England and Wales, supervised by David Butler. She was particularly interested in what prompted parts of the country to radically change their education system before anyone else, especially within the well-defined class lines of the British system compared to the US. (Joan also remembers Chelly Halsey from her time at Nuffield, who later became her supervisor, and having her meetings with him as he travelled by train to London to advise the Ministry of Education.)

Joan soon realised, however, that political theory alone was not – and never really had been – quite enough. Through her connections with a group of fellow Americans in Oxford based out of 46 Leckford Road, she became involved in activism through the UK branch of anti-Vietnam political organisation, the Liberation News Service. In 1968, in what was to become a pivotal moment for her, Joan joined a film crew on a trip to Paris to document the student protests at the Sorbonne. It was here that she realised she was, in her own words, a revolutionary.

At the same time, Joan was using her time at Oxford to test out another important aspect of herself: her sexuality. She had always wanted to be a politician, but she knew that to successfully run for office, she would need to be able to pass for straight. Her time at Nuffield was to be her ‘experiment’ in heterosexuality. Oxford in the 1960s seemed like a good place to try ‘going straight’. Joan was one of only two women students at Nuffield at the time, and remembers rarely seeing the other female student, who was frequently away on fieldwork. Add to this, the inherent and rarely-challenged patriarchy of the Oxford educational system at the time – compared to today, where JCR committees commonly make provision for equality and diversity and colleges celebrate LGBTQ+ causes – and Joan felt very much a woman alone in a man’s world. It wasn’t long, though, before she knew her experiment had failed: she was still falling in love with women.

Joan left Nuffield in 1969 with her unfinished thesis in a steamer trunk and moved back to Washington, DC. What happened next is well-chronicled: she joined the women’s liberation movements, came out officially and became a founding member of the radical lesbian separatist feminist commune that called themselves The Furies. The Furies had disbanded by the spring of 1972, but not before Joan first picked up a camera and started documenting the movement.

Joan points out that Nuffield, in a round-about way, had a big influence on her decision to become a photographer. Her privileged education, as a scholarship student at Mount Holyoke and at Nuffield, gave her a rhetorical fluency that her sister activists found oppressive. Making photographs allowed her to express herself in a quieter manner, without drowning out her sisters.

When Joan first began photographing, she had never seen a photograph of a real lesbian: those she saw depicted were either freaks or porn. Real lesbians were invisible, and as she explains, “Making them visible helped create community, community means organisation and organisation leads to change”. In her book Eye to Eye: Portraits of Lesbians, Joan photographed, for the first time for publication, real members of the lesbian community as...
they were. In 1987, she published her second book, Making Way: Lesbians Out Front.

Joan went on to document the most important movements of the late 20th century, including the women's movement, the LGBTQ movement and movements for peace and against US intervention. Her films, For Love and For Life and A Simple Matter of Justice provide a lasting record of the 1987 and 1993 Marches on Washington DC for LGBTQ Rights. The authentic visibility of Joan's work is what allows it to resonate today. It provides a vital counterbalance to the still ubiquitous false images in mainstream media which centre white, young, 'good-looking' gay people.

'Art' was never the driving force behind her work, and she resisted the label 'artist' until the late 1980s. Taking photographs and making films was always about activism. When asked what makes an activist, Joan is clear that optimism is key, but that is must be paired with action. Now she is inspired by a whole new generation of young female activists, often of colour, carrying on the hard work – women like Alicia Garza, founder of Black Lives Matter, and Emma González, survivor of the Parkland Florida shooting and gun control advocate.

These days Joan is in the process of depositing her whole collection, including all her papers, in the Sophia Smith Collection of Women's History at Smith College, so that the authentic lesbians of her photographs continue to be visible for these future generations. Preserving her vision of the world for the future is characteristically optimistic. But then, Joan Biren is after all - and always will be - an activist.
DEVELOPMENT NEWS

At the moment this Magazine goes to print, more news of many donations to celebrate keep rolling in, since we have just started to fundraise around our Giving Day 2018.

Each new scholarship gets us closer to our goal of fully funding every single one of our excellent students and post docs. We also know from our pilot scheme last year that guaranteeing funding to our student applicants helps increase their rate of acceptance. Last year 79% of offerholders accepted their offer, compared to 54% the year before.

We have already managed to establish six scholarships, and are in the process of completing the two most recent, in memory of Honorary Fellow Tony Atkinson (1944-2017) and to honour Max Corden, Governing Body Fellow from 1967-76. We are immensely grateful and encouraged to keep going, as every fully-endowed scholarship also represents the belief – that many of you clearly share with us – in the core fundraising mission of the College that we set in motion four years ago. And yes, many of you rightly say, ‘Why should I support Nuffield, when is working hard still at finding solutions to today’s problems?’ It was impressive to see how Amartya Sen (Governing Body Fellow 1977-80) to Nuffield after many years which brought back Honorary Fellow, who hosted alumni and Fellows in London. We are here to build an even closer group of social scientists by helping you to come back to Nuffield and to meet your peers around the world.

Finally, a very big thank you to those of you who have hosted and helped organise alumni events throughout the past year: Kate and Marty Feldstein (DPhil Economics 1962; Fellow 1964-67), who hosted alumni and Fellows in Boston; Karen Florini (Visitor 2017) who hosted us in DC; and Honorary Fellow Hal Varian, who welcomed us to Google San Francisco and also gave us tips for the best Dim Sum in town. I could not be more grateful for the kindness of our community of sharp social scientists! Caroline Kakora, Director of Development and Alumni Relations

The whole Oxford experience was terrific, but really outstanding was being a Fellow of Nuffield... It was like becoming a member of a family – a prosperous family with a high average IQ and education, a variety of personalities, but, above all, a sense of identity and ‘fellowship’

Max Corden (Governing Body Fellow 1967-76)

MEET THE FIRST CHELLY HALSEY SCHOLAR

This year, we welcomed the first Chelly Halsey Scholar to Nuffield – Hanbo Wu. Hanbo was born and brought up in China and studied in Australia. He has come to Oxford to take his DPhil on social discontinuities and demographic processes.

Being at Nuffield will benefit my research substantially. I am very grateful that I can gain exposure to the world-class academic network at Nuffield. Given the interdisciplinary feature of my research topic, I expect to benefit a lot from discussing my thesis with experts in different social science areas. I really cherish the opportunity to study at Oxford thanks to the Chelly Halsey Graduate Scholarship.

Hanbo Wu

#GIVINGTUESDAY IN NUMBERS

We held our first ever Giving Day on Tuesday 28 November 2017 – thank you to everyone who took part! This year, some of our students just called you again on Friday 16 November, the 81st anniversary of the College’s Foundation.

Oxford thanks to the Chelly Halsey Graduate Scholarship."

Hanbo Wu

6 STUDENT CALLERS
24 HOURS
43 DIFFERENT COUNTRIES
727 CONVERSATIONS
MORE THAN £10,000 RAISED

The Max Corden Scholarship in International Economics
The Jerry Hausman Scholarship in Economics
The Adrian Swire Scholarship in Sociology and Social Policy
The Tony and Judith Atkinson Scholarship in Economics
The Max Corden Scholarship in International Economics

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ALUMNI ANNOUNCEMENTS

Queen's Honours
As well as Melinda Mills' MBE in the Birthday Honours in June, four Nuffield alumni were recognised in the 2018 New Year's Honours:
- Professor John Curtice (DPhil Politics 1976 and Research Fellow 1981-3) was knighted for services to social science and politics.
- Professor Tim Besley (MPhil Economics 1963) was knighted for services to economics and public policy.
- Professor Janet Beer (Visiting Fellow 2011-14) was awarded a DBE for services to higher education and equality.
- Dr Ben Goldacre (Guardian Research Fellow 2009-10) was awarded an MBE for services to evidence and training and modernise their vocational education systems.
- David Phillips (DPhil Modern History 1970), inspect a cartoon by Lawrence Freedman (DPhil History, 1973: A group of students, including Nuffield alumni Robert Scoble (BLitt Politics 1972) and Meriel Apps (DPhil Politics, 1970) at a seminar on the nature of law, legal reasoning and the relationship between law, morality and freedom.
- Chris Rowley (DPhil Sociology, 1987) spoke on Good Morning Britain in August 2017 about the business relationship between Japan and the UK, in relation to Theresa May's visit to Japan in the same month.

Penelope Brook
DPhil Economics, 1984
Penelope was appointed Executive Director of the Atlantic Institute in January 2017, based at Rhodes House, Oxford.

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John Edmonds
Visiting Fellow, 1996-94

Ruth Finnegan
DPhil Sociology, 1960
Ruth was elected as one of the first International Honorary Members of The Fellows of the American Folklore Society in September 2017. She also launched a book series for young adults with co-editor Rob-Suan Tung called ‘Hearing Others’ Voices’, to provide introductions to key areas of thought and important issues from a transcultural, transdisciplinary perspective.

Charles ‘Ned’ Franks
DPhil Politics 1966

Kaspar Lund-Jensen
DPhil Economics, 2009
Kasper moved back to Copenhagen in 2017, where he is now working at ATP – the fourth biggest pension fund in Europe – as a senior portfolio manager. Before this, he worked at Goldman Sachs in London from 2012 after finishing his DPhil at Nuffield.

Jeremy Mitchell
Economics, 1982
Jeremy published an article (co-authored with Janet Powney) in The Victorian on ‘The Lure of Ireland: the Northern Pilgrimages of Mary Gordon (Mrs Disney Leith)’.

Tariq Modood
Associate Member, 1992
Tariq was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in July 2017, and on 1 December 2017 completed 20 years as Professor of Sociology, Politics and Public Policy at the University of Bristol.

Cesare Onestini
DPhil Politics, 1993
Cesare has been the Director of the European Training Foundation since September 2017. The Foundation is the EU agency helping transition and developing countries to modernise their vocational education, and training and employment systems.

Olga Onuch
DPhil Politics, 2007;
Research Fellow, 2011-14
Olga wrote an opinion piece for The Washington Post in October 2017 on growing discontent in Venezuela and the subsequent migration progress. The piece was based on her ongoing research in Ukraine and Romania with another Nuffield alumna, Sorana Toma (DPhil Sociology, 2007; Sociology Fellow 2012-15) and LSE student, Jeanmiguel Uva. Their research is part of project undertaken with current Nuffield Professorial Fellow Gwendelyn Sasso. Olga spoke on Good Morning Britain in August 2017 about the business relationship between Japan and the UK, in relation to Theresa May’s visit to Japan in the same month.

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Anna published A Short History of inequality, written with Michele Alacevich, in October 2017.

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PHOTO GALLERY: ALUMNI EVENTS

This year we met with many wonderful alumni and other friends of the College as far and wide as Oxford, London, San Francisco, Boston, Washington DC and Rome. We have more events to come in 2019 (see our list on page 39), and we would love to see you there. For more photographs from alumni events this year, visit the College’s Flickr account at www.flickr.com/nuffield.

80th Anniversary Dinner
September 2017
A landmark dinner in Hall to celebrate 80 years of Nuffield College, with Governor of the Bank of England Mark Carney (DPhil Economics 1993 and Honorary Fellow).

Top right: The Warden Andrew Dilnot and Official Fellow in Economics Meg Meyer with her former student Honorary Fellow Mark Carney (DPhil Economics 1993) and Emeritus Fellow David Butler.
Centre right: Polly Toynbee (Visiting Fellow 2004-12) and, in the background, Andrew Adonis (DPhil Politics 1985) and Professorial Fellow in Economics Paul Klemperer, listen to the Warden’s speech.
Bottom left: Rosalind Yarde-Jumba (Research Fellow 2000-2001) and Carla Drysdale.

New Year’s Drinks at the Nuffield Foundation, London
January 2018

Spring Day 2018
May 2018
Family fun at the Spring Day in the Fellows’ Garden at College. There was face painting, a bouncy castle, garden games and afternoon tea.

Left: Julia Maxted (DPhil Sociology 1983) and Matthew Gold (MPhil Political Theory 1991)
Right: Jeremy Large (DPhil Economics 2002) and Visiting Fellow Tim Gardam, Chief Executive of the Nuffield Foundation, overlooked by a portrait of Lord Nuffield. Another copy of the same portrait hangs in C Staircase at College.
Oxford Alumni Weekends in Rome and San Francisco
March and May 2018
Former and current Nuffield students, Fellows and friends came together in Rome and San Francisco in the spring as part of the Meeting Minds – Oxford Alumni Weekends in Europe and North America.

The Warden’s visit to Boston and Washington DC
June 2018
Reading List: Inequality

The Nuffield Library team suggest selected essential readings on the theme of inequality...

Wealth, income, and inequality: Selected readings


This selection of essays, edited by the late Sir Tony Atkinson, includes his influential paper from 1970 ‘On the measurement of inequality’, which first proposed what came to be commonly known as the Atkinson Index. Atkinson’s work and passion for the subject is well known and clearly evidenced by the astonishingly large number of publications he wrote and contributed to (a quick search of Nuffield College Library’s holdings brings up 75 entries).

The Oxford handbook of income inequality

Edited by Werner Salverda, Brian Nolan, and Timothy M. Smeeding (Oxford University Press, 2009)

A comprehensive addition to the ‘Oxford Handbook’ series, this volume is an introduction to why inequality is such an important theme in socio-political debate, and a great primer for those new to the subject. It explores some of the key themes, research areas and debates within the field of economic inequality.

Inequality and democratization: An elite-competition approach

Edited by Anthony Heath and David Samuels (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Professorial Fellow Ben Ansell and co-author David Samuels put forward a new theory about the relationship between democratization and inequality: that democracy is more likely to emerge when rising but politically disenfranchised groups who have more to lose demand more influence, rather than when threats of redistribution to elites are low.

Unequal attainments: Ethnic educational inequalities in ten Western countries

Edited by Anthony Heath and Yani Bribamba (British Academy/Oxford University Press, 2014)

Published as part of the Proceedings of the British Academy, this volume features papers by Anthony Heath as well as Official Fellow Jan D. Jonsson and Nuffield alumni Laurence Lessard-Phillips. It is an important and comprehensive contribution towards the study of ethnic educational inequality among the children of migrants in ten western countries.

The childhood origins of social mobility: Socio-economic inequalities and changing opportunities

Edited by Anthony Heath, Garnett and Anthony Heath, with Lewis Anderson and Evinia Aitken (Social Mobility Commission, 2016)

Produced by the team at the Centre for Social Investigation here at Nuffield, this 2016 report examines the effect of both parenting and socio-economic background on children’s social mobility.

The new politics of class: The political exclusion of elites

Edited by Anthony Heath and Robert Putnam (Oxford University Press, 2014)

Co-authored by Geoff Evans, Official Fellow in Politics, this book explores the politics of class in 21st century Britain, and how the changing shape of the class structure of the country has also led to a change in our political parties and the way these parties vote, including in the Brexit referendum.

Hard Times: Inequality, recession, and aftermath

Tony Atkinson (Cambridge University Press, 2014)

In his final book drawing on a career’s worth of knowledge and research, Sir Anthony Atkinson argued that to really reduce inequality, fresh ideas are needed. The book contains fifteen proposals across five policy areas: technology, employment, social security, sharing of capital, and taxation.

Hard Times: Inequality, recession, and aftermath

Tom Clark, with Anthony Heath (Oxford University Press, 2014)

Written by Visiting Fellow Tom Clark, Hard Times examines the recession’s toll on individuals, families, and communities in the United States and the United Kingdom. Drawing on the research of a transatlantic team led by Professors Anthony Heath and Robert Putnam, it is a hard-hitting analysis of the social consequences of economic recession.

Inequality: What can be done?

Anthony B. Atkinson (Harvard University Press, 2015)

In his final book drawing on a career’s worth of knowledge and research, Sir Anthony Atkinson argued that to really reduce inequality, fresh ideas are needed. The book contains fifteen proposals across five policy areas: technology, employment, social security, sharing of capital, and taxation.

UPCOMING EVENTS

New Year’s drinks in London

Wednesday 9 January 2019

Nuffield Foundation, London

Dinner and a seminar in College for politics alumni, Fellows and students.

Politics Reunion

Saturday 9 February 2019

Nuffield College, Oxford

Celebrating the New Year with the Warden and Nuffield alumni in London at the Nuffield Foundation.

Meetings Minds in Asia: Oxford University Alumni Weekend

Friday 22 to Sunday 24 March 2019

Tokyo

Alumni Kosuke Kawamura (DPRI Economics 2001) will be the point of contact for Nuffield alumni at the 2019 Meeting Minds in Asia reunion. More information about the weekend, including booking, can be found at www.alumni.ox.ac.uk/MeetingMindsinAsia.

Nuffield Society Europe House Seminar

June 2019 (date tbc)

Europe House, London

A seminar and drinks reception organised by the Nuffield Society at Europe House.

Spring Day and Donors’ Dinner

Saturday 1 June 2019

Nuffield College, Oxford

Alumni and family are invited back to College for a family-friendly day of activities. In the evening will be a Donors’ Dinner to thank all those who have made a gift to the College.

Warden’s trip to the US

Thursday 20 to Monday 24 June 2019