INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN TOULOUSE

HOME ECONOMICS
ASTRID HOPFENSITZ

HISTORY AS SCIENCE
PETER TURCHIN | MOHAMMED SALEH

IN-DEPTH: HUMAN COOPERATION

CULTURE NEVER DIES
PAULINE GROSJEAN

SOCCERNOMICS
SIMON KUPER
A real treat for the intellect

Dear colleagues,

As IAST approaches its fifth birthday, it has much to be proud about. In the short space of just half a decade it has established itself as a major international research center, bringing together a quite extraordinary array of scholars in the equally extraordinary setting of Toulouse. While most comparable institutes tend to restrict their fields of study to the core social sciences, IAST—as befits a younger, leaner entrant to the field—is being much more ambitious, reaching all the way from biological evolution at one end to someone like me, coming from backgrounds in archaeology and classics, at the other.

The results are clear to see in this edition of IAST Connect, with debates over and unexpected insights into the functions of football, history as science, and—a subject dear to the heart of IAST’s director Paul Seabright, who has written a major book on the subject—the war of the sexes.

IAST’s energy and excitement are infectious, and if its next five years bring results as impressive as its first five, we are in for a real intellectual treat.

Ian Morris
• Member of the IAST Scientific Council
• Professor of Classics and Archaeology, Stanford University, and Philippe Roman Visiting Professor in International Studies and History, LSE
NEWS CORNER

IAST in action
FLASBACK TO RECENT EVENTS

DOES FEMALE EMPOWERMENT PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?
11 DECEMBER 2015
ECONOMICS
Visiting the IAST from the University of Mannheim, Michele Territt presented her empirical data analysis which suggests that putting money in the hands of mothers (as opposed to fathers) increases expenditure on children but doesn’t necessarily point to a good development policy.

DOES TV SHOWS INFLUENCE JURY TRIALS?
31 MARCH 2016
PSYCHOLOGY, ECONOMICS
An investigation into the political and sociological role of US military veterans by IAST researcher Arnaud Philippe enjoyed widespread coverage in the French press following the publication of his policy piece co-authored with Aurélie Ouss (Chicago University) suggesting that sentences vary according to the content of popular news broadcasted just before jury-based trials.

SEAN BOTTOMLEY HONORED
The IAST has been awarded the Economic History Society’s biennial First Monograph Prize for 2016. His book “The British Patent System during the Industrial Revolution, 1700-1852” was published in December 2014.

AN EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE LEGACIES OF NON-DEMOCRATIC REGIMES
8 APRIL 2016
POLITICAL SCIENCE
Monica Martinez-Bravo (CEMFI) presented her latest research work at an IAST seminar on the legacies of non-democratic regimes. Analysing data from Indonesia, the researcher showed that slower transitions towards democracy allow old-regime elites to find ways of capturing democracy in the medium and long run.

HOW DO HUMANS RECOGNIZE KIN?
10 MARCH 2016
PSYCHOLOGY, BIOLOGY
Lisa Debruine presented her work on the different processes involved in kin recognition.

PREDICTIONS ON THE RESPONSES OF PLANTS TO CLIMATE CHANGE
1 APRIL 2016
BIOLOGY
Robin Aguilée works at the Paul Sabatier Toulouse University on the ecological and evolutionary processes involved in diversification and adaptation. He visited the IAST to present his latest research on the effects of climate change on plants.

SHOULD CONSUMERS IGNORE PRODUCT REVIEWS?
31 MARCH 2016
PSYCHOLOGY, ECONOMICS
Angela Sultan has conducted an experiment at the Groupe ESC Dijon Bourgogne on the informational efficiency of the product review process by analyzing the impact on consumer welfare. The results were presented to IAST researchers in a seminar organized by the IAST behavioral and experimental economics group.

DIGITAL BOOKS AND THEIR IMPACT ON CONTENT
6 JANUARY 2016
ECONOMICS
Sponsored by the Jean-Jacques Laffont Digital Chair, this workshop discussed the challenges and opportunities provided by new digital technology in the book industry.

Uber vs. Taxis: A Lesson in Efficiency
An op-ed in leading French daily Le Monde by IAST director Paul Seabright addresses the rise of the sharing economy and the dispute between Uber and taxis. According to recent studies, Uber has a competitive advantage over taxis thanks to its booking system which allows drivers to minimize their time spent driving without a customer.

TRUMPING IN THE ELECTIONS, OR NOT
IAST researcher Charlotte Cavalli wrote an extensive article in The Washington Post about Donald Trump’s chances of winning the US presidential election. Using political identification data, Cavalli predicts that few Democrat voters will defect towards Trump should he become the Republican party’s candidate.

The Gambler’s Fallacy
Demonstrating the persistence of “the gambler’s fallacy” in everyday decisions, work by IAST researcher Daniel Chen has featured in several US press articles, mostly linked to baseball, showing that “misperceptions of what constitutes a fair process can lead to unfair decisions”.

IASS Connect #8
RESEARCH HIGHLIGHTS
BEAUTY

DECISION-MAKING

JUSTICE AND MEDIA

DEMOCRACY
André Biasi, Damien Bol, Sona Goldier, Philipp Harfst, Jean-François Laslier, Laura Stephanson and Karine Van Der Straeten Addressing Europe’s democratic deficit: An experimental evaluation of the pan-European district proposal European Union Politics, 2016
Meet the IAST’s latest arrivals

• MICHAEL GURVEN • HEALTH AND PARASITES

Modern scientific anthropology is increasingly active at the core of the IAST mission, which took another step forward with the arrival of Michael Gurven on a seven-month visit from the University of California. As co-director of the Tsimane Life History and Health Project, he has worked closely with IAST anthropologists Hilliard Kaplan and Jonathan Stieglitz in remote indigenous settlements in Bolivia. His evolutionary approach has led to fascinating work on the link between parasites and the prevention of heart disease. It’s pretty exciting, he admits, for an anthropologist to join the fight against the world’s number one killer.

Assembling volunteers for biomedical studies in the Bolivian Amazon can be a Sisyphean task: “Organizing transport could be a few hours in a truck on top of several days in a dugout canoe, and that’s if heavy rains haven’t washed away the road or the bridges.” But when the French government donated a 16-slide CT scanner to a nearby town, it was a unique opportunity to study heart disease among the Tsimane. “We’ve been able to look into people’s arteries in a way that’s never been done before. We found much less calcification than in your average American or European. There’s also very little high blood pressure and cholesterol is really low.”

Gurven and his team suspect exposure to certain pathogens may reduce heart disease and other modern ailments. “We’ve observed that people with parasites have lower cholesterol and their immune system is better regulated. The relative absence of parasites in modern environments is associated with more allergies and autoimmune diseases because an immune system primed with the kinds of critters it has evolved to expect is more likely to attack itself.”

Modernity’s war on parasites may also have demographic implications. “We showed that parasites increase women’s fertility. A woman with intestinal worms was more likely to have more kids, and at shorter intervals. Most biomedical histories focus on populations where those pathogens don’t exist.”

Gurven’s evolutionary approach is one that is embraced at the IAST. “Sometimes I feel more at home talking to economists, psychologists and biologists, than with anthropologists. So the IAST is the kind of place I enjoy,” Have Paul Seabright as the director, who mixes economics and biology, was very appealing. Aida Nitsch is a biologist asking some questions that are similar to mine. Pauline Grosjean (see opposite) is an economist and yet brings fresh perspectives to old questions in anthropology.

• PAULINE GROSJEAN • THE PERSISTENCE OF ULTRAVIOLET

Grosjean has not been a passive observer; he has led biomedical studies for about 15,000 Amerindians. His contribution to other community projects in Bolivia includes fundraising and organization for flood relief, well construction, radio equipment and households of the Amazonian Indians in the Brazilian martial art of capoeira.

PERSONALITY MATTERS

Personality evolution is an area of burgeoning interdisciplinary interest, says Gurven. “Economists are talking about it. Biologists are over the moon thinking about what shapes personality in organisms ranging from spiders to octopuses. We found psychology’s primary model (the Big Five) didn’t hold in a small-scale society, where no one’s ever studied this before. It’s forced us to think about what is universal about personality structure, what’s variable and why?”

Differences matters if someone in a Bolivian village has more kids, whereas for women it depends on where you live. Personality also seems to affect whether someone pursues schooling or move closer to town.”

To further her research on gender economics, Grosjean has won a grant to work with IAST director Paul Seabright and she’s determined to make the most of her visit. “I’m really impressed by the way the IAST postdocs work together. People are really invested in each other’s work. I’m talking to historians, especially Mohamed Saleh, because he’s a specialist on the Middle East and I have a parallel project on Islamist politics. I’m talking to development economists, so Joseph Miquel-Florence and Matteo Bobba, and psychologists like Jean-François Bonnefon. I’m also talking with anthropologists, I looked at specialization in the Solomon Islands, and Heidi Colleran is setting up a field site to look at gender issues in Vanuatu, so it would be really cool to replicate something with her.”

In the United States, Grosjean received hate mail for suggesting that a culture of violence has persisted in the Deep South for generations. Her analysis of census data supports the hypothesis that Southern murder rates can be traced to the 18th-century arrival of herders from the lawless regions of Ulster and the Scottish Highlands. “The Scots-Irish settled across the US, so why did their taste for violence survive in the South and not the North? Within the South, I found that if they settled in an area which had shepherds and county courts, they didn’t transmit violent norms. But if they settled on the frontier, you see this violent culture locking in as a substitute for law enforcement.”

Gender norms can also be surprisingly resilient. The settlement of Australia by overwhelmingly male convict population in the 18th and 19th centuries was a natural experiment which allows us to observe the effects of distorted sex ratios. She found that Australian women who today live in areas where there was formerly a high ratio of men are less likely to break through the glass ceiling. “People in these areas have more conservative attitudes: the man works and the woman stays at home. But men also spend more time with their children. And women are happier.”

Grosjean also measured the effect on body mass index: “Women tend to be fatter in places where they used to compete less with other women. This is also consistent with men favoring women for their child-bearing characteristics.”

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New chair kicks off

• DAVID AUSTEN-SMITH •
HOW GROUPS DECIDE

In March, the IAST welcomed another academic heavyweight as David Austen-Smith made his first visit as holder of a prestigious new chair on information, deliberation and collective choice. The Peter G Peterson professor of corporate ethics and professor of political science and economics at Northwestern’s Kellogg School of Management, he is already at work recruiting a post-doctoral student to help him piece together the puzzle of group decisions. If all goes to plan, he’ll get a chance to enjoy Toulouse’s opera season too.

Austen-Smith wants to improve decision-making in complex environments such as company boardrooms, legislatures, juries or village councils. “We live in groups; we make decisions in groups. Very often, groups talk first about the relative merits of the alternatives, then reach a decision through voting. So how does the voting rule affect the conversation that precedes it? We now have a pretty good answer: unanimity seems very bad for encouraging people to share information; majority rule is much better.”

Austen-Smith has been a professor for 25 years. “If you’re going to work on a field, it should be fun. I thoroughly enjoy the engagement with ideas. I’m nothing when something’s been puzzling you and eventually you see, ‘Ah, that’s how it works!’ because that’s how it should be if it’s right.”

WHY I LOVE RESEARCH

Austen-Smith has been a professor for almost 40 years, but he’s still hooked on the adrenaline of discovery. “It’s so much fun. I thoroughly enjoy the engagement with others, the writing and seeing something you’ve written when someone else is using it. So I can say that I’m enjoying it as much as ever. But it’s not necessarily about prices and wages, as economic models. An economic approach is not necessarily about power relations and culture. Ciodynamics looks for verbal theories proposed by social scientists, including economists, and translates them into the language of dynamical systems. Historians have stayed away from mathematical theory, so that was the challenge.

Mohamed Saleh: To shift from theoretical biology to history might seem strange to outsiders. What is the connection?

Peter Turchin: Well, there is no direct connection. I combine mathematical models with data, so I asked myself, “What areas haven’t been addressed with this approach?” Historians have stayed away from mathematical theory, so that was the challenge.

MS: The economic-theory approach of cliodynamics was out there before you founded cliodynamics. Why do you think there was a need for a new perspective?

PT: If you only focus on economic aspects, you miss out important things like power relations and culture. Ciodynamics looks for ideas about power and elites. But recently those specific factors were included in economic models. An economic approach is not necessarily about power relations and cultures, it might also include power relations and themes from political science, sociology and so on. It might even include things that are not measurable or materialistic, like psychological incentives.

PT: I’m not saying cliodynamics proposes something completely new and different from cliometrics. They are sister sciences converging on the same outcome. But where there is a primacy of economics, sometimes people forget there are other aspects. Many historians think that cliometrics and cliodynamics are improved approaches by economists or biologists who try to impose their scientific methods on history without much
War, peace and inequality

• PETER TURCHIN • REMAKING HISTORY AT THE IAST

THE 2-CURVE OF EGALITARIANISM

MS: Let me now turn in the remainder of this interview to ask you about your own work. Do general principles also govern non-human species?

PT: You would have to look at something really abstract to find parallels between ants and human society. The queen is not a ruler, she’s just a bag of eggs. Insect societies don’t have chains of command like complex human societies, because everybody’s equal. They are all messengers sending pheromone signals.

MS: Among primates, isn’t there usually an alpha male controlling the tribe, then some rebel that has to kill the alpha to become a new dictator?

PT: For more than 90 per cent of our evolutionary history, humans lived in very egalitarian societies. Anyone who wanted to become an alpha male was usually suppressed. Alpha-male competition selects for male strength, so female chimps and gorillas tend to be much smaller and weaker. In humans, there’s much less difference between men and women, indicating the lower level of competition between males.

CONFLICT AND COOPERATION

MS: Your theory emphasizes the role of cooperation. Neo-classical economic theory treats humans as purely selfish. How do the two compare?

PT: Rational-choice theory provides a complementary answer, but not an alternative. If everybody was selfish all the time, society would be impossible. The evolution of cooperation is one of the largest unresolved issues in all sciences: how did humans become capable of cooperating in groups of 50 million people (the population of France)? The only theoretically sound and empirically supported answer is, briefly, very Khaldunian (see panel). We cooperate to compete. Society fails unless people have internalized beliefs about the value of being good.

MS: What triggered all these shifts in inequality and cooperation?

PT: War created these hugely unequal societies and then destroyed them. Roughly 12,000 years ago, we stopped being hit by repeated ice ages, human populations grew in density so conflict heated up because there was less space to escape from aggressive neighbors. Warfare drove societies to become more centralized. Leaders became corrupted by their power, which inevitably led to inequality.

About 2,500 years ago, new military technology put even stronger pressure on societies. Unequal societies only had cooperation among the elites so they started losing ground to larger, more equal societies. You can’t give a slave a rifle, because they will use those rifles against you. By the late 19th century, Europe was creating million-strong armies so its elites were forced to introduce democracy to increase cooperation.

FRONTIER SPIRIT

MS: In ‘War and Peace and War’ in 2005, you predicted the rise of a new caliphate in the Middle East. What do you think is the future of the Arab world?

PT: Historically, where an imperial frontier coincides with a faultline between two different integrative ideologies - typically world religions - those regions produce very aggressive groups who build states and expand. The Middle East has been a metathetic frontier between Christians, now the West, and Islam for more than 1,400 years. American occupation provided that extra kick, so that’s why I made that prediction.

MS: Will radical groups like Islamic State be able to sustain themselves?

PT: All the cohesive groups in Islam - ISIS, Taliban, Hezbollah - originated on metathetic frontiers. If the West is smart and leaves them alone, there would be no additional pressure for ISIS to become a true caliphate, conquering Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and North Africa.

MS: One can think of counterexamples in which there was pressure from two empires and nothing happened.

PT: These things take time. In my book Historical Dynamics, I take the last 2,000 years of Western Eurasia and divide it into regions designated as either ‘on frontier’ or not. It’s not perfect, but I find a highly statistically significant relation between being on a metathetic frontier and 200–400 years later having a large state arise in that location.

FOREWARD THINKING

MS: What is your future of the research?

PT: I’m involved in building a database so we can test all these hypotheses. It’s called Seshat, the name of the Egyptian deity of scribing, information and databases.

MS: Finally, what is your impression of the IAST and life in Toulouse?

PT: It’s winter and it’s 15 degrees and sunny! My wife and I love being in Toulouse, the first capital of the Visigothic kingdom. It’s lovely to walk around these beautiful cathedrals and medieval streets. I see an excellent future to walk around these beautiful cathedrals and medieval streets.
**IN-DEPTH**

**HUMAN COOPERATION**

**Battle of the spouses**

**ASTRID HOPFENZITZ • WHAT IF WOMEN EARNED MORE?**

Without a seat at the kitchen table, academics investigating the dynamics of household cooperation have often been frustrated. Astrid Hopfensitz wants to change this and her experiments are an innovative, abstract attempt to peer through the keyhole. As well as extensive work on spouses, she has looked at how players in sports teams coordinate and is now studying interaction between siblings.

“The big theme spanning my work is what happens when people know something about their interaction partner. The IAST is not just about interdisciplinary work; it’s also about looking into the dynamics of underlying behavior behind very simplistic models.”

Cooperation is a term used in different ways (see panel), and agreeing on a definition is only the start of the challenge. “What happens in families is usually behind closed doors, so it’s very difficult to study them. It’s often assumed that a family is acting as it’s one person. But easy introspection tells us that no family is aiming for the same goal. There’s a lot of bargaining going on, fights, or agreements that may be unstable.”

**HOME ECONOMICS**

Hopfensitz is particularly interested in labor specialization by men and women. “Economists want to figure out how households participate in a labor market. We often find that the man has a higher salary, so he earns as much as possible and the woman takes care of the family. This is a typical, very efficient, very unequal outcome. There is always some sharing going on, but the man has more power.”

Recent experiments by Hopfensitz focused on heterosexual couples in France, Germany and Bolivia. The initial task in Toulouse consisted of five question rounds (see panel). Responding independently and anonymously, both spouses could choose either 200 units split between the couple equally (option A) or 300 units split unequally (option B).

While most couples opted to maximize joint earnings, avoiding inequality was an important concern. “If a household wants to make as much money as possible, they should choose option B. What’s interesting is those couples willing to accept reduced efficiency for more equality. Why? There’s no gender difference. And it’s not about people being egoistic.”

**WHO PROVIDES?**

The acceptance of lower, more equal earnings may be an attempt to avoid relationship problems. “Where there is income inequality, either the high earner keeps more and makes the other unhappy, or he shares equally, placing the spouse in a dependent relationship. Some couples are willing to pay a price to avoid such uncomfortable situations.”

The results show intriguing patterns of coordination. “People who are efficient have partners who also prefer efficiency. Micro norms appear to exist in couples; people jointly know what they should do. I don’t want to say those who choose one option are happier than another – it’s just a different way to solve problems.”

A follow-up study in Toulouse suggests women do not have a greater preference for doing things that will benefit the whole household: for example, housework. Work division must be driven instead by factors outside the home, such as higher salaries for men or gender norms. “If women in the study earn more, they stay in their job and the husbands invest in the household. That’s exactly symmetrical to where men have the higher salary, so there is something external going on.”

**THE GERMAN WAY**

German couples show much more concern for income equality (see chart). “In France you have a strong belief that children should be socialized very early, perhaps in a crèche. In Germany there is very strong social pressure that women stay with young children to protect them. There is a lot of inequality in German households but it’s not about preference. They would feel like bad parents if they didn’t obey the social norm. German couples focus on small-scale equality – for example, paying for meals individually – because society imposes inequality on a larger scale.”

**LIFE IN THE AMAZON**

Small-scale subsistence societies have different priorities. Hopfensitz teamed up with the IAST’s Jonathan Stieglitz, an evolutionary anthropologist, to run a similar experiment among the Tsimane people in Bolivia. “Using shares of dried meat as currency, we found that Tsimane couples chose the efficient outcome,” she says. “When we switched money, some of them – less than in Europe – start to go for the equal outcome, especially women concerned about their husbands not bringing the money home.”

**IN-DEPTH**

**HUMAN COOPERATION**

**Rainbow science**

Astrid Hopfensitz has a gift for the unexpected. Even by IAST standards, her scope and industry are impressive. Her PhD is in experimental economics but she’s also the IAST’s psychology program director, an influential conference organizer and used to collaborating with anthropologists, biologists, political scientists and logicians. Yet she still finds time for startlingly beautiful craftsmanship, producing intricate mosaics, bold-brush oil paintings and soft toys for her kids.

**WORKING TOGETHER**

Cooperation is a very broad term. From an economist’s perspective, which overlaps with biology and psychology, it encompasses the following types of behavior:

- **Altruism** I incur a cost to help someone else.
- **Trust** I incur a risk, expecting a return from someone else.
- **Coordination** I agree to work with someone else for mutual benefit.

**Percentage of women and men who chose a higher income (300 as opposed to 200) for their couple but with an unequal repartition between participants and their spouses in France and Germany.**
Soccer, stats and social science

**The beautiful game**
WHAT MAKES THE FOOTBALL WORLD GO ROUND?

Kuper has long been interested in the anthropology and history of sport. He has also collaborated with economists, notably Stefan Szymanski, using statistics and econometrics to study football. His books include Football Against the Enemy and the best-selling Soccernomics.

Heidi Colleran: What is it about sports that drew you in?

Paul Seabright: Luckily I’ve had a general column for the past five years, so I’ve been able to escape the sports environment. There’s an enormous amount of pub talk. "The coach used to be good but now he’s lost it… The French don’t have the will to win…” I could see it was stupid but I didn’t have a way to counter that until I met Stefan and he said, "Look, there’s data that would answer a lot of the big questions in football.”

Heidi Colleran: Do you still love football?

SK: I’ve gone off it a bit. The fan sees Arsenal run on to the field and this is a magical thing, but as a journalist who’s been behind the curtain you see a very cynical environment, where every person is a one-man business.

Charlotte Cavallé: Isn’t ideology coming back through questions about inequality?

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There’s a lot of bad academics, bad journalists, but there’s not really any bad footballers.

**A numbers game**
DATA: THE NEW GOLD MINE

Heidi Colleran: When you first started using numbers, did you find yourself ill-equipped to make sense of them?

Simon Kuper: I joined the Financial Times because it was the only British newspaper trying to explain how the world works. It taught me how to deal with numbers, the primacy of economics, and something about how companies work.

Heidi Colleran: Are we obsessed with measuring things?

SK: There’s a general lack of faith in all ideology now. Both right and left have a crisis of confidence. So you fall back on things that you can see. Football is one of the most objective businesses. We have the ball for only one minute per game - it’s very hard to gauge his contribution in the other 89 minutes. Then goals are so rare that it’s very hard to see what causes them. The only thing data can show you is how much better now at crunching and using them. We know how many people cycle past a spot in the road. Newspapers know who reads them. We know how many people read an article and how far down they read. We no longer have to guess how many people live in poverty. Data is a new gold mine.

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**THE THINKING MAN’S GAME**
INSIGHTS FROM SIMON KUPER’S ‘SOCCERNOMICS’

- Apart from a few overachievers like Alex Ferguson, football managers don’t really matter.
- Clubs should use the wisdom of crowds.
- High wages bring more success than expensive transfers.
- New managers waste money.
- Older players, centre forwards and World Cup stars are overvalued.
- Football clubs don’t (and shouldn’t) make money.
- On average, penalties decide games fairly.
- Hosting a World Cup doesn’t make you rich, nor does it make you happier.
- England doesn’t underperform, it does exactly as well as you’d expect for a country of its size, wealth and history.
- Clubs used to discriminate against black players, now they discriminate against black managers.
- Illegal discrimination against women is taken for granted.
- Norway and Iceland are the most football-loving countries in Europe.
- Rather than prompting suicide, football stops thousands of people from killing themselves.

**Simon Kuper is an ideas entrepreneur. As a Financial Times columnist based in Paris and the son of British anthropologist Adam Kuper, he has successfully bridged the worlds of academia, sport and journalism. In November he took part in a colourful exchange of ideas with eager IAST researchers animated by Heidi Colleran, who is a big fan of his father’s work. “I’m very excited to discover the IAST. To be completely interdisciplinary and so informal – this is a dream place for me,” he told us. “I’m also very excited that it’s in English because it’s the only way for debate in France to be international. People at the IAST have an enormous amount to say. I would recommend any colleague to visit. You can steal ideas”**
Everyone stands to benefit from deeper interaction between researchers and society. As a leading journalist and best-selling author, Simon Kuper has expert advice on how to navigate the ideas marketplace. The IAST panel was quick to take advantage.

Charlotte Cavallie: Is there public interest in academic research?

Simon Kuper: I was at the Kilkeniosity festival in southern Ireland last week. It’s incredibly democratic. You have 800 people listening to Naseem Taleb. People are learning in, desperate to learn. One sadness I’ve always felt about academia is that so much fantastic work gets done, and so little penetrates. You have this language which says, ‘I am you, you are one of me – give me tenure!’ There is no real attempt by most academics to speak more broadly.

CC: But people like me have no incentives to learn how to translate our work to the public. You might be the only person I’ve met who speaks both languages.

SK: In the UK they grade academics on impact. If you write an article in a newspaper, that counts as impact. But I agree that’s very rare.

### The communication game

**SIMON KUPER • WHY ACADEMICS MUST REACH OUT**

Everyone stands to benefit from deeper interaction between researchers and society. As a leading journalist and best-selling author, Simon Kuper has expert advice on how to navigate the ideas marketplace. The IAST panel was quick to take advantage.

**KUPER’S TOP TIPS**

**HOW TO BE AN IDEAS ENTREPRENEUR**

**WRITE BETTER.** If you write clearly, people will want to read it. The story and the form determine whether anyone will care.

**BE BRIEF.** To strengthen your message, cut every sentence in half.

**DON’T BE BORING.** Dull writers won’t get asked back.

**BE PATIENT.** There is an opening to blog on news websites. But wait until you’ve really got a chance to publish good work.

**ILLUSTRATE.** People remember a story.

**PUNISH ERRORS.** If a journalist writes rubbish, shame them on social media. Use their Twitter handle.

**NETWORK.** Journalists obsessively use Twitter. If you know any who are interested in your subject, ask them to retweet your article.

Jonathan Stieglitz: Even when substantial efforts are made to communicate findings, there’s still lots of scepticism.

**SK:** Perhaps if people felt academics were trying to reach them... People are terrified of academia, they didn’t do well at school and then you use this language they don’t understand. They shut themselves off from intellectual growth.

Sreemati Mitter: I’m a historian and we’d be very upset that no one was talking to us.

**SK:** History is the field that communicates best with the public, partly because history has so much story-telling.

Dominik Duell: Many of my academic colleagues start writing on blogs and become bad journalists. They don’t think about the complexity they studied for years. They think: ‘I need to put down a story by tomorrow.’ That’s not what we should do. We should be patient and look for opportunities to say, ‘Hey, you wrote about this, I think your numbers are wrong. I have research on that.’

Daniel Chen: Would you recommend that academics all submit op-eds?

**SK:** You should think: ‘I’ve spent 20 years thinking about this topic, I can communicate with the 20 other people who know a lot about it, and who disagree with me; or I can reach out.’ There’s something beautiful in that. There’s also a growing economic market in ideas. By writing that op-ed, you can also have a career in the ideas marketplace which might be more lucrative, useful and fun.

**Lives saved from suicide in soccer years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Male lives saved</th>
<th>Female lives saved</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>(92 lives saved spread across both genders)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Life saved* represents the decline in deaths during years when the national team plays in a tournament, compared to the average year.
The future of family

*EMMANUEL TODD*

BEYOND THE NUCLEAR PATH

Historian, sociologist, demographer and political scientist, Emmanuel Todd is a prolific intellectual. Contrary to his public image as the turbulent priest of the French left, he is much more at home sifting statistics and patiently mapping family structures. So when invited to give the final talk in the IAST’s 2015 Distin-
guished Lecture series, he was happy to focus on his true passion: research.

I’ve always considered myself a sort of mad scientist,” says Todd. “I’m extremely proud in my books I reached conclusions that I strongly disliked as a citizen. But I always have to deal with people who think I’m producing ideology. I’m not. I’m just interested in discovering things.”

It’s this questing spirit that underpins Todd’s prophetic gift. In 1986, aged 25, he predicted the fall of the Soviet Union. Now at the prestigious Institut National d’Études Démographiques (INED), Todd’s skill is to tirelessly correlate simple indicators, building maps from data found in archives and anthropological monographs. “I feel at home at INED because it’s the world of statistics. I enjoy looking for odd figures that lead to discoveries. If you make a map, you can’t help choosing what suits you, you have to cover all the space.”

Todd has spent decades developing a global classification of traditional family types. Cousin marriage, co-residence and inheritance are key variables. For instance, parent-child relations are labelled ‘authoritarian’ if adult children live with their parents, while sibling relations are ‘equal’ or ‘unequal’ depending on the division of inheritance. Using these strict categories, Todd has been able to link family organization to modern developments such as the education and rights of women, industrialisation and the spread of ideologies.

The Western family has always been nuclear, says Todd, and male-dominated family systems developed later. “Found on the periphery of Eurasia, the nuclear family is the original type for Homo sapiens; it’s based on the couple and girls are not excluded from inheritance, so it’s relatively egalitarian. In Germany and Japan, you find the stem family: the eldest son inherits, there’s the basic principle of inequality and a much stronger authority pattern. In Russia, China and northern India, you find the exogamous community family consisting of the father, his married sons and equal inheritance. The exogamous community family of the Arabs is the most patrilineal because women are trapped inside the family system.”

With the advent of globalization, there are signs that the more anti-individualistic systems are converging on the Western model. Todd notes the fall of fertility rates, even in Africa, and the spread of birth control. But patrilineal values resist, he says, pointing to the selective abortion of females in China. “The natural rate of male births to every hun-
dred females is 106 to 107 at most. China now has 120. This is massive and will pose spectacular difficulties. The fall of Communism has not been good for the sta-
tu of women.”

Even more troubling, says Todd, are reproduction problems among advanced nations. “In the Anglo-American world, France, Belgium, parts of Scandinavia, fertility is around 2 children per woman. With a few immigrants, that’s an equilibrium system. But in Germany and Japan, fertility is around 1.4 children per woman. Korea has fallen even lower.”

These differences are shocking, says Todd, and are due to the male bias of stem family systems. “Demography tells us that a measure of equality between men and women is good for the health of societies. The countries that maintain their fertility are those that make it compatible for women to study, have a career and family.”

Divergent fertility rates will have massive implications for the way we live. “In France we don’t have a trend to accommodate Syrian refugees, but Germany is obsessed with renewing its population. I don’t disapprove of the opening of borders by Angela Merkel, but there is a demographic logic behind this. Japan has the same problem but it prefers to see its population decline rather than lose its cultural homogeneity.”

Promoting the emancipation of women beyond the West will be like turning round an oil tanker. “The heavy tendency of human history, until very recently, was the accentua-
tion of patrilineal principles. The dynamic of Japan since the 16th century has been the decline in the status of women. I’m convinced something similar has taken place in Germany. So when we say to the highly patrilineal populations of China, northern India, the Arab world, ‘You need to liberate women and follow us,’ in fact we’re saying, ‘You need to go backwards.’ That’s why it’s so difficult.”

While Germany and Japan face uncertain futures, Todd is fascinated by the possibility of a new family system evolving. “It’s extraordinary that in the midst of the Ukrainian conflict, what really upsets the Anglo-American press about Putin’s Russia is its homophobia: this question of sexuality is at the heart of a geopolitical divide. In the West, there’s an inverted imbalance of the sexes when more women go on to higher education than men. If you add the preoc-
upation with homosexuality, I’m trying to imagine the possibility of the West moving beyond the original type.”

In Toulouse, a new intellectual climate is evolving and Todd clearly finds it invigorating. “It’s been wonderful. I’ve very much enjoyed the people I met, they’re very open-minded. I’m not completely lucid because every time I come to Toulouse I enter a natural state of euphoria, of happiness, so I can’t tell things apart. Perhaps it’s the people here, the IAST, or perhaps it’s Toulouse – I’ll never know!”

Sources: The Explanation of Ideology (1989)

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**FAMILY VALUES**

**KEY TYPES IN TODD’S CLASSIFICATION**

- **Absolute nuclear**
  - Characteristics: Unequal inheritance; children leave the household early; no cousin marriage; hyper-individualist
  - Found in: Anglo-Saxon countries, Netherlands, Denmark
  - Ideologies: Christianity, capitalism, ‘libertarian’ individualism, feminism

- **Egalitarian nuclear**
  - Characteristics: Equal inheritance; children leave the household early; no cousin marriage; individualist
  - Found in: Northern France, northern Italy, central and southern Spain, central Portugal, Greece, Romania, Poland, Latin America, Ethiopia
  - Ideologies: Catholicism; the ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’ form of liberalism

- **Stem/authoritarian**
  - Characteristics: Unequal inheritance; married heir lives with father; little or no cousin marriage
  - Found in: Germany, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Belgium, bohemia, Scotland, Ireland, peripheral regions of France, northern Spain, northern Portugal, Japan, Korea, Jews, Roman gypsies
  - Ideologies: Socialism or social democracy, Catholicism, Fascism

- **Exogamous community**
  - Characteristics: Equal inheritance; sons live with father; frequent cousin marriage
  - Found in: Russia, Yugoslavia, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, Albania, central Italy, China, Vietnam, Cuba, north India
  - Ideologies: Communism

- **Endogamous community**
  - Characteristics: Equal inheritance; sons live with father; restricted cousin marriage
  - Found in: Arab world, Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan
  - Ideologies: Islam

- **Asymmetrical community**
  - Characteristics: Equal inheritance; sons live with father; restricted cousin marriage
  - Found in: Southern India
  - Ideologies: Hinduism; Communism

- **Anomic**
  - Characteristics: Nuclear family but cohabitation accepted in practice; cousin marriage accepted
  - Found in: Burma, Cambodgia, Laos, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Madagascar, South American Indian cultures

- **African**
  - Characteristics: Exogamous polygamy, unstable household

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**SIMPLIFIED MAP OF EMMANUEL TODD’S CLASSIFICATION**

- **Absolute nuclear**
- **Egalitarian nuclear**
- **Stem/authoritarian**
- **Exogamous community**
- **Endogamous community**
- **Asymmetrical community**
- **Anomic**

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**CLASSIFICATION**

**EMMANUEL TODD’S SIMPLIFIED MAP OF FAMILIES**

- **Found on the periphery of Eurasia**
  - **Endogamous community**
  - **Absolute nuclear**
  - **Egalitarian nuclear**
  - **Stem/authoritarian**
  - **Exogamous community**
  - **Asymmetrical community**
  - **Anomic**

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2020 Visions
WHAT TO WATCH FOR IN A WORLD OF CHANGE

The IAST takes an innovative and interdisciplinary approach to answering the big questions of the 21st century, inviting some of academia’s biggest names and brightest prospects to work together to produce fresh perspectives. Here, IAST members and visitors extrapolate from their research areas to highlight some of the major issues that will change the way we look at the world in 2020 and beyond.

REFUGEES’ RIGHTS
SREEMATI MITTER

We need a comprehensive and just solution, not only for today’s crisis in Syria, but also for refugees from the 1948 Palestinian exodus, the Iraqi wars, and conflicts in Libya and Yemen. I hope that, by 2020, the thousands who have been displaced all over the Middle East will have been able to return to their homes or to rebuild their lives in host countries. We need an international legal regime to ensure refugees and stateless people are treated as individuals, guaranteed the same rights to life and dignity as the rest of us.

THE DANGERS OF SCIENCE
DOMINIK DUELL

We will be able to structure political, economic and social interactions in a way that fits better with how we feel and think, and how our bodies work. The ever-advancing integration of social sciences, biology, neurology and medicine is helping us to understand how the human body, heart and mind respond to and shape social systems. But do we want to live with the moral consequences of governments that subconsciously nudge us to pay our taxes on time, billboards that scan our eyes to run personally targeted ads based on our shopping history, and workplace design that primes one emotional state over others?

THE RISE OF BIOSOCIAL SCIENCE
BORIS VAN LEEUWEN

Biosocial science will be a very interesting area. In the next few years there will be a shift towards more high-powered studies, using more advanced analysis. More and more techniques are emerging from different fields. It’s going to be very exciting. Eventually, it will be accepted that not only do economists do experiments, they also look at genetic data, hormones, neuromaging and facial expressions.

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THE FUTURE OF MORALITY
CHARLOTTE CAVAILLE

What is the nature of moral outrage? Why do we differ in what we get outraged about? This topic has been taken on by philosophers and moral, evolutionary and cognitive psychologists with limited success. We have some understanding of the hardware underlying these behavioral traits, we can measure how they manifest themselves in everyday life and in politics, but the theory is still a little weak. Hopefully, this effort will produce some ground-breaking contribution.

PATHOGENS WILL SAVE LIVES
MICHAEL GURVEN

There will be increasing appreciation that the diverse micro-ecology of the human body is important for human health - not just for allergies and autoimmune disease, but for other chronic diseases affecting hygienic environments. These include type 2 diabetes and heart disease. Future research will likely pursue pharmacological interventions that mimic the positive immune priming effects of pathogens, but without the morbidity.

OUTDATED NORMS
PAULINE GROSJEAN

Anthropology, history and biology can help economists understand differences between men and women. Today, research is still too often based on the behavior of WSIRD people (Western, educated, industrialized, rich and democratic). But variation in gender roles across societies, ecological niches and time will force economists to think again about how gender norms emerge and interact with economic development. In parallel, evolutionary biologists bring tools to understand how gender differences can co-evolve with the environment.

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Homeward bound

BORIS VAN LEEUWEN
WHAT’S IN A FACE?

The IAST has an exceptional ability to energise the work of outstanding young researchers. Just ask Boris van Leeuwen. Even as he prepares for a prestigious new role at Tilburg University, he plans to stay closely involved with the IAST project. He’ll miss the Toulouse sunshine and hiking in the Pyrenees, he tells IAST Connect, and an intellectual environment which has inspired him to branch out in original and ambitious ways.

This summer Van Leeuwen will be heading home. “I’m an experimental economist, and Tilburg has a very nice group in this field. My whole family lives in Amsterdam, I grew up there, so that’s great too. My wife is originally from Spain but we both wanted to move back to the Netherlands at some point. At Tilburg I will have a tenure-track position so this was a good opportunity.”

Van Leeuwen derives great satisfaction from his work and the exciting new directions it has taken at the IAST. “I study faces a lot. I’m looking at you and unconsciously trying to read your face and you are doing the same with me. It’s fascinating to study how this works and how it affects outcomes. I’m now very tempted to look at things that biologists or psychologists and biologists from the IAST. Astrid Hopfensitz (see page 12) and I will run experiments together after the summer, so I definitely want to stay in touch with her. I am also organizing an IAST workshop called The Human Face in Economics [May 19-20] with Jean-François Bonnefon, and afterwards we want to continue working together. I’ve also been talking to Ingela Tognetti about testing one of the theoretical models in the lab. These projects should develop in the next year, so I’ll be coming back for sure!”

“Van Leeuwen is keen for others to follow in his footsteps and get the most out of the IAST experience. "It’s very easy to get overwhelmed by all the different perspectives. It’s nice if you can find some people whose work has some overlap with yours, and then try to collaborate. It takes some time to get to know people, their literature and their approach. Then it can move quickly. From the beginning, I’ve met so many nice people. The most important thing is to talk to them, to seize this opportunity to find out what they are doing."

One of the most attractive qualities of the IAST is that even as researchers leave, their dialogue with this uniquely interdisciplinary project continues. “This last year I’ve really started to develop new research with economists, psychologists and biologists from the IAST. Jörgen Weibull started to develop new research with economists at Tilburg University, from September 2016.免费思考，新鲜空气和法国美食的结合，为您的味蕾带来一场令人垂涎的食谱，Adonis Van Leeuwen。"I will miss the interdisciplinary atmosphere at the IAST. It’s been great to experience the weather, the food and getting out to the countryside where it’s quiet and so exciting. I do so many different things every day. I like the need for creativity in designing experiments. You interact with a lot of people at the IAST but sometimes you’re just quietly sitting behind your desk doing theory and math. And you can decide more or less what you want to study - that’s really a gift.”

Van Leeuwen is keen for others to follow in his footsteps and get the most out of the IAST experience. “It’s very easy to get overwhelmed by all the different perspectives. It’s nice if you can find some people whose work has some overlap with yours, and then try to collaborate. It takes some time to get to know people, their literature and their approach. Then it can move quickly. From the beginning, I’ve met so many nice people. The most important thing is to talk to them, to seize this opportunity to find out what they are doing.”
DISTINGUISHED LECTURES IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

THEME FOR 2016: NARRATIVE

SEPTEMBER 22
Robert Shiller
Yale University, 2013 Nobel Prize in Economics
The influence of narrative on financial decision making

NOVEMBER 3
Rebecca Stott
University of East Anglia
Cross-pollinations: Narrative in science and literature

DECEMBER 1
Brian Boyd
University of Auckland
The evolution of storytelling

LECTURES IN ENGLISH
TIME: 18:00 TO 20:00
PUBLIC LECTURES OPEN TO ALL

Amphithéâtre CUJAS
Université Toulouse 1 Capitole
2 rue des Puits-Creusés - 31000 Toulouse
www.iast.fr/dl

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