REFLECTIONS ON
JOHN C (JACK) CALDWELL’S
LEGACY
Dear Jack

Leela Visaria suggested this book. She wanted you to have something to remind you of how much you have meant to your many colleagues and students.

We kept the invitation list small; nevertheless more than twenty people from around the world have contributed. As Leela predicted, the writings express their gratitude for the many instances of your intellectual leadership and the personal kindnesses you bestowed.

The recollections published here are not just sentimental; they are of historical import. They record the vigorous academic life of the most influential demographer of the 20th century. They describe your relentless inquiry, objective theorising and impassioned critique. They celebrate the collegial international centre of demographic studies which you led with a velvet-gloved fist. Hopefully, they will inspire young academics to follow your example.

This collection also relaunches the Endowment Fund for the John C. Caldwell Chair in Population, Health and Development, established to maintain The Australian National University’s role in combining demographic and health research.

Sincerely

Ann Larson
AN INFORMAL LEADER

First there is the name. Jack. Not John. Not Professor Caldwell. Not even sir.

John is his name, called only by one person in this group of field workers, and she was Pat. All others would call John Jack… “The most important cultural shock for us south Indians was not that we need to call John Jack, but the fact we can call Jack Jack. My mother got a shock of her life when, I about 26 years then, would call my Professor and guide by his first name. Even my little sisters, ages ten and twelve, would address them as Jack and Pat.” Abusalem Sharif

While a student at ANU, Jack became a father (and Pat a mother) to me, and one of my biggest challenges was calling him Jack, a name used by everybody around him. With my Ghanaian background, I could not comprehend how I could call an older person and also my Professor, by his first name. I later learnt that I was not the only African to face that dilemma. In the end, I also learnt to call him Jack. Kofi Awusabo-Asare

Jack’s preference for informality extended to his leadership of the Department of Demography.

As head of the department, Jack preferred a rather informal approach—apart from a more or less regular staff meeting on Monday morning, departmental issues were the subject of discussion, more often than not after office-hours, or with a few staff members over lunch at the Rex Hotel.

Jack saw those undertaking a PhD not as students but as research scholars contributing to the work and life of the department. He read every thesis draft and research report by each of the scholars irrespective of whether he was formally a supervisor or not. Departmental seminars on Tuesdays were regularly attended by Jack (and usually Pat) and formed another occasion for lively debate—often continued ‘after hours’ in the University House garden over a mug of beer, or at the frequent Caldwell parties for which any event, such as a visitor, was an excuse. Penny Kane and Lado Ruzicka

But underlying the informality was more than a laconic Australian style. Jack fanned not only ideas, but careers.

All the Caldwell protégés—Jack’s ducklings—he saw as potential swans and, thanks in no small part to his efforts, a remarkable number did indeed become swans. He followed their lives and careers enthusiastically and, when visiting us, was always keen to update us with the latest news on any of them, as well as on his enormous network of friends and colleagues across the world. Penny Kane and Lado Ruzicka

Perhaps the biggest impression the great man made on me, and the biggest impact he had on my own professional development was that he treated everyone with respect and kindness, was humble and able to listen, and treated PhD students not as dogs’ bodies in the
established European tradition, but as junior partners in the quest for improving demographic knowledge. His willingness to share knowledge while continuously learning himself, his ability to step outside academic boundaries and in the process also on some academic toes in the pursuit of new ideas and finding new solutions to better understand old ideas, instilled in many of us around him a belief that the sky is the limit. Gerald Haberkorn

Jack, Pat and I along with other African colleagues (Tunji Oruboloye of Nigeria and John Anarfi and Kofi Awusabo-Asare of Ghana) participated in organising regional research workshops in Africa as well as in Australia, edited the proceedings and published them as books supplementary to the Health Transition Review. Although Jack mentored us on these activities and helped us to grow academically, much faster than we would have otherwise, he always considered himself as an equal, not above us. I loved and admired his humility when working with us, despite him being an academic giant globally. James Ntozi

Jack collects people as well as facts and through expressions of kindness and hospitality, as well as freedom of intellectual debate, Jack made so many demographers feel at ease. Terry Hull

When Jack and Pat said “sit with us at lunch: we want to talk to you about China”, I did not guess that I had been gathered into the Caldwell embrace for life. Once within, I think they read and discussed everything I ever wrote; came to every paper or speech I gave if they possibly could; recommended me for various appointments and supported me in anything I did, including my work in women’s health. Penny Kane

My father, Jack Kantner, worked with Jack Caldwell at the Population Council in the early days of the international “family planning movement”. My father spent several years in West Pakistan during the early sixties attempting to understand the behavioural dimensions of high fertility in the Punjab and the prospects for encouraging couples to have smaller families. A few years later Jack Caldwell went to Nigeria for the Population Council to explore similar ground. This began his long association with Nigeria which led to many important research contributions, most memorably the notion that intergenerational transfers of household wealth had something to do with supporting Nigeria’s high fertility preferences.

I crossed paths with Professor Jack Caldwell in Bangladesh and Indonesia at various times during the eighties and nineties. I always enjoyed our meetings and found them immensely helpful in stimulating my thinking on demographic and development issues. Hot topics in those years included factors accounting for
the rapid fertility decline in Bangladesh and the effectiveness of Indonesia’s community mobilization efforts for promoting family planning... There were always lively debates conducted in a collegial good-natured fashion. Great fun. And Jack Caldwell was always front and centre with engaging insights and thoughtful commentary. This made our encounters all the more enjoyable and informative.

Andrew Kantner

My first contact came out of the blue, a phone call from Jack while he was visiting the Rockefeller Foundation in New York City sometime in 1988 or 1989. I had written an article that was published in Population and Development Review in 1987 and on the basis of that, Jack invited me to a conference he was organising in Canberra on the health transition. Of course I leapt at the opportunity. It had never occurred to me to visit Australia; in fact, I wasn’t entirely certain it existed although I had by then met several Australians who swore that it did.

At the conference and over the subsequent years whenever I visited Canberra, Jack and Pat were unfailingly hospitable, inviting me to their home, taking me on drives around the countryside, and introducing me to people in Australia, New Zealand, Bangladesh, and Indonesia. My experience wasn’t unusual. They had an extraordinary way of welcoming newcomers and making them feel comfortable at home, as well as in my case encouraging my evolving interest in Aboriginal health as well as in Australia, Oceania, and Southeast Asia.

Indeed, it is not too much to say that by introducing me to a world that had hitherto been unknown to me, Jack’s initial invitation and subsequent encouragement had a profound influence on the direction my research has taken in subsequent years, as well on the many friendships I have made as a result. For all of that I have been, and remain profoundly grateful.

Stephen J. Kunitz

Jack had a standing invitation for any Ghanaian visiting Canberra - his statement was that “if any Ghanaian was passing through Canberra for more than two days, you give me a minimum of 24-hour’s notice and I can invite him/her”. That was Jack and his interest in Ghana. Kofi Awusabo-Asare and John K. Anarfi
Some of the strongest memories were of Jack travelling with his wife and collaborator, Pat Caldwell.

One day in late 1975 or early 1976 the cry went up from my Pakistani colleagues—“Jack Caldwell is coming! Jack Caldwell is coming!” It turns out he and Pat, and I think maybe Bruce, were driving by Land Rover from London to Canberra and here they were, arriving in Islamabad. Steve Sinding

Indeed, it seemed that wherever I went in the world, the Caldwells were either there, or they had been there yesterday, or they were expected to be there tomorrow. Tim Dyson

Jack’s research was strongly grounded in his studies of village communities. Jack’s field worker in South India, Abusaleh Sharif, who went on to do a PhD under Jack, recalls how the Caldwells conducted a major study.

The education I received, mostly from Jack when I worked on his ‘South India fertility’ project, enabled me to write my thesis at ANU during 1981-1984. Before selecting the village cluster known as Mayasandra, Guru (another of Jack’s students) and I, would hop into the self-driven Ambassador car and go many places to search for the right research area. Once the Mayasandra village cluster was selected, we had to undertake a thorough mapping and house listing of all households, and used multiple criteria to identify individuals and households which will be subjected to in-depth interviews during multiple visits to the same households. Such kind of semi-anthropological survey was possible only when the whole research team (of over two dozen investigators and interviewers) stayed within the research area for an extended period of time, often 6-8 weeks at a stretch.

Such a stay at the research site gave almost a 360 degree perspective of rural living and lifestyle, including an understanding of agricultural cycle, life cycle issues of both human beings and domesticated animals and social, cultural and economic issues relevant to interpreting the demographic transitions in South India.

Eye witnesses to Jack in the field have vivid recollections of his questioning about all aspects of life, at every opportunity.

Former PhD student Gerald Haberkorn did his field work on a remote island in Vanuatu. Jack’s supervisory visit was an opportunity to learn about Melanesia.

Jack just happened to be in town for the occasion of an already Big Chief assuming an even bigger title, and with everyone who was anyone in terms of local culture and power being present—it was then I experienced what drives Jack, with him in full fieldwork mode. Asking, reflecting, probing, following up on my questions, shifting effortlessly between quizzing old men about Second World War labour migration to contemporary desired fertility levels, his amazement when hearing about continued local practice of sequestering...
women after childbirth for four weeks in the local “women’s hut”, where females relatives tend to mother and child (and thus help improve chances for child and maternal survival) —I faithfully translated for Jack, for hours on end.

I only drew the line once, when he asked about the practice and prevalence of postpartum abstinence, directing this question at a group of adult males, dressed in traditional gear—penis sheath, a string of pig tusks around their neck, club in hand and about to engage in the ritual killing of full-circle tusk pigs. I didn’t think it was a good time for the topic and had to improvise; the men burst into laughter, Jack wanted to know what was so funny, and after I told him he laughed as well—with everyone happy and a good outcome achieved, this was only time I let fiction overrule facts during my fieldwork and the afternoon was saved. Gerald Haberkorn

Jack served on the board of ICDDR,b, an international public health research centre in Bangladesh and custodians of the longest running health and demographic survey in the developing world. When he visited ICDDR,b, Jack used to go to the field, rejuvenated, to discuss issues with the villagers. Every conversation seemed to be a validation of a theory he had in mind—his style and depth of inquiry in the field made micro demography interesting and perhaps formed the very basis of explaining demographic phenomenon. Abbas Bhuiya

In fact, all settings are a field site for Jack, a place with social, cultural and economic features unique to themselves and also fodder for generalisations. Penny Kane and Lado Ruzicka
We all gathered at the Gymkhana Club and I recall sitting in the sun on the lawn while Jack, accorded pride of place in a director’s chair, held forth before an enraptured crowd of population scientists. I say “held forth”, but in fact as he always did, Jack mainly wanted to question us—to learn as much as he could about what was happening in Pakistan’s population program and to understand why its progress seemed so slow. *Steve Sinding*

Many people recalled Jack’s insatiable appetite for more knowledge. While this often happened in the field, as a former research assistant describes, that quest for understanding could also happen in the prosaic setting of an office on the ANU campus. Former research assistant, Jeff Marck, recalls when Jack and Pat become convinced that the absence of male circumcision was propelling the sub-Saharan African HIV epidemic.

One day about two or three months into the “strangeness” quest and perhaps a week after the request for all materials from the Nairobi-Manitoba group, I found both Jack and Pat in Jack’s Health Transition Centre office at about 9am. Jack was standing at the front edge of his desk, leaning back on it, and Pat was sitting in the lounge chair to his right and my left. They looked winded. The nine inch pile of photocopied materials I had delivered the day before were now all dog-eared, wrinkled and looking well used, piled up on the tea table in front of Pat’s knees and Jack’s shins. … Jack and Pat had been narrowing in on the Kenya and Uganda situations for some weeks and not all the articles they requested were easy to find. But in the end many came at once – on the previous day.

“It’s chancroid,” said Pat, breathing the words out quietly and through rather clenched teeth.

“And lack of male circumcision,” Jack added, looking at me evenly for a moment and then back at the reprints. They seemed so drained. I put a few new reprints I had along with me on the tea table next to their overnight pile and excused myself.

*Even large-scale population surveys could interest Jack.*

Jack was a periodic visitor to the London headquarters of the World Fertility Survey, along with the other big names of demography—Coale, Westoff and Ryder to mention but a few. I remember clearly a long discussion with him in 1979 on adapting the WFS model instrument for Nigeria. By then he was already skeptical about the ability of highly structured questionnaire surveys to deliver trustworthy information. However, he was delighted to see that the draft instrument for Nigeria was strong on post-natal abstinence and even incorporated questions to test the grandmother hypothesis (aversion to childbearing after the reproductive lives of children have started), a pet idea of his. At the end of the discussion, he admitted that he was almost, but not quite, re-converted to the merits of large surveys. *John Cleland*
Jack’s quest for evidence led him to read deeply, from many disciplines, geographies and time periods. In Canberra, his research assistants ensured that he had access to the latest and the earliest texts relevant to his current projects, with the result that ANU soon had one of the best collections of materials on African, South Asian and East Asian demography to be found anywhere in the world. His papers and books reflected the voracious reading habits he had developed. The literature, in his mind, was not limited to the most recent journals, but rather an edifice built over decades or centuries, with an enduring relevance. Terry Hull

As Geoff McNicoll writes, “supplementing that ground-approach was Jack’s thorough acquaintance with the research literature, past as well as present, providing scholarly context and reference.”

Nowhere was that more obvious than in his interest in history. Just as intriguing for Population and Development Review’s readership have been Jack’s historical excursions. Two of these stand out. One was his 1998 account of the early influence of Malthus’s writings on population thought in India—an intellectual history helping to correct the popular narrative of India’s vigorous (for a time, coercive) birth control campaigns as a post-independence Western import inflicted on a weak state.

The second was his incisive 2002 critique of historical population estimates (written with Thomas Schindlmayr), tracing back the confident assertions about past population trajectories made by modern demographers to their fragile origins—resting mostly in sheer guesswork—and demonstrating the actual vast unknowns about premodern populations for many parts of the world. Geoff McNicoll

Without a skirret of colonialism, Jack saw that the history of Europe and European settled communities was as informative about the drivers for reduced fertility and mortality as contemporary developing countries. The remarkable Health Transition Conference held in Canberra in 1989 had many speakers who worked with historical populations. Jack was drawn to these settings because they demonstrated population change unaided by the intensive family planning and child health programs of the 1980s and beyond.
What sets Jack’s work apart from other social scientists is his transition from detailed observation to global theories.

Jack’s first major incursion into demographic theorizing was his 1976 Population and Development Review article on demographic transition. This contained two bold, unvarnished generalisations. One was that in traditional societies, net intergenerational economic transfers (“wealth flows”) go from children to parents, and that the fertility decline over the transition is associated with—indeed brought about by—a reversal of this direction. The second was that the principal driver of the reversal was (putting it bluntly) Westernisation. As a transition model this proved fairly controversial (for example, among the few remaining hunter-gatherer societies the net transfers seem to be parent-to-child—though Jack’s main starting point was agrarian societies), but it has clearly been an important stimulus for research on within-family intergenerational transfers and their demographic effects.

Geoff McNicoll

It was not until the late 1980s that I worked closely with Jack and Pat on a project to investigate the impact of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa that he headed. The project, which was conducted in Ghana, Nigeria and Uganda, was funded by Sarec-Sida money from Sweden which Jack had personally mobilised. I was in charge of this project in Uganda where he used to visit to guide my team and attend some regional workshops that were held in the country. I was privileged to work with him on the project from the time of developing the project idea to publishing findings. In the field, he was a hands-on person and ensured that quality was a priority before quantity. In analysis he had an incisive mind to interpret results obtained. As an African researcher, he was aware that Africa was a huge continent with diverse interests and behaviour and hence every result needed to be interpreted in the context of the community it came from. James Ntozi

Four days of fieldwork with Jack illustrated to me how Jack became who and what he is: a true humanist, an innovative thinker, a consummate development professional, understanding demographic patterns and anticipating trends long before others would venture in such areas of research (because of his knack to understand and appreciate the contribution of sociology, psychology, economics and history in shaping demographic behaviour and outcomes), his bravery to apply anthropological methods to develop and test theory. And throughout his career, ably and affectionately supported by his long-term companion and fellow traveller, Pat. Gerald Haberkorn

I learned so much from Jack about the complexities of demographic change and culture. This significantly affected the grant-making of our program at the Rockefeller Foundation and all for the better… When I was president of the Guttmacher Institute most of the staff had little idea about cultural demography. Jack and Pat visited New York and gave a seminar which fundamentally changed the way the research was undertaken at the institute. In
the couple of hours that the seminar lasted, Jack enabled the staff to have a deeper understanding of the mutually reinforcing research role of research rigour and appreciation of nuance and intangibles.  

Sara Siems

Directly observing and talking with the people who in their everyday lives balanced traditional practices and modern necessities was full of challenges, especially when fieldwork requires water crossings. Two former students describe, with a mixture of amusement and remorse, how they subjected Jack and Pat to untold terrors.

I eventually met up face-to-face with Jack and Pat in late 1982, when they visited me in the field, some eight months into my fieldwork on the northern tip of Pentecost Island in central Vanuatu. I remember Jack’s startled look when I picked him up at the airstrip on neighbouring Ambei, (Pat was nursing a dislocated shoulder and both weren’t looking too fresh having just endured a short forty minute flight on a single engine Islander), and I announced it was “only a short thirty minutes by boat across to Pentecost”.

Surprise gave way to utter disbelief and acute panic when he saw the size of the boat and its engine, and he nearly fainted when the latter conked out halfway between islands—he pleading with me to return, and Pat invoking heavenly help with the driver about “to blow us all to smithereens” topping up the main tank while smoking a rollie. He just stared at me—the only time I can remember Jack speechless was when I suggested he stay calm, that diesel doesn’t burn, and that returning was out of the question as a storm was coming and we were more likely to make it to our destination than back against the wind and waves.

I had this momentary lapse of fear that my PhD career might be over but once we got there, and after both had changed into dry clothing and Jack had thanked me for my calm, I knew that it wasn’t. Gerald Haberkorn

Every time Jack was in Bangladesh, quite often accompanied by Pat, he would make a special effort to visit the ICDDR,b field sites. I remember I accompanied Jack and Pat to Matlab during the monsoon season when the rivers were fully swelled. On our speed boat ride to the villages the speed boat was not picking up and the driver suggested swapping off passengers from one speed boat to another. So, in the middle of the river, we had to transfer Pat to another speed boat by holding the two boats together by hand, such that the impact does not separate the boats and make the transfer risky. I was very nervous and was holding my breath and keeping my fingers crossed—fortunately, we made the transfer safely. Abbas Bhuiya
Starting in the 1970s, Jack published at least 30 articles and reviews in the Population Council’s, Population and Development Review. Editor Geoff McNicoll reflects,

These included three classic articles exemplifying Jack’s notable contributions to population theory: his “restatement” of demographic transition theory (1976), “mass education as a determinant of the timing of fertility decline” (1980), and “routes to low mortality in poor countries” (1986). Each of these articles has been heavily cited in the population literature and is likely to be found on the reading list of almost any university course in population and development.

Although fundamentally a theorist, Jack was always grounded in the real world and his work had a massive influence, although sometimes not recognised for many years or even misinterpreted.

As an activist and a field person, I found Caldwell’s perspective and insights far more relevant to my own work than those of many of the more detached academic demographers of his era. This is not to say that Jack was anything but an accomplished theorist. It is, rather, to say that his insights were informed by painstaking field level observation and an insatiable curiosity to learn from people at the community level. His ability to make the stretch from anthropological observation to grand theory was in the best traditions of such cultural anthropologists as Clifford Geertz and Margaret Meade and was truly unique among demographers. Steve Sinding

Ghanaian colleagues Kofi Awusabo-Asare and John K Anarfi jointly wrote a tribute to Jack recalling his attachment to their country. He was always reminiscing about his days in Ghana in the 1960s. He once mentioned that the Government of Ghana used one of his publications to rationalizes the deportation of illegal foreign nationals from Ghana in 1969, an action which became known as the Alien’s Compliance Order. To him, this was one example of the mis-use of academic work. Kofi Awusabo-Asare and John K. Anarfi

Public health leader, Professor Bob Douglas recalls,

In 1972 I was working at the University of Pennsylvania as an epidemiologist on a pneumonia vaccine program. To develop my skills in population health I was enrolled in a master’s degree in demography in that university. And it was in that context as part of my studies that I became aware of the contribution that Jack Caldwell had made and was making to world thinking on fertility. I met Jack when he came to Philadelphia to describe some of his work and formed the view at the time that I would love to work with him. When I returned to Australia a year later I approached him to see whether there were any job openings in his department but there were none at the time.
Imagine my delight 15 years later when he approached me about my interest in the Foundation Directorship of the National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health at The Australian National University. What made that possibility absolutely mouth-watering was that Jack was offering to join me as Associate Director of the new centre and to bring his newly formed Health Transition Centre and his wife with him into the new centre. I was on the verge of accepting a different job but this prospect was too much to resist.

For the next 12 years from 1989 to my own retirement in 2001, I revelled in my association with the world’s number one demographer. Always a softly spoken man, modest at his accomplishments and unrelenting in his persistence, Jack brought into the centre outstanding postgraduate students and contributed hugely to all aspects of the comfortable birth and early childhood of our new centre.

Leela Visaria, a colleague from the Gujarat Institute of Development Research in India, describes Jack’s contribution to Indian demography.

The demographic transition, in my opinion, is where he contributed a lot. Much before most people saw it happen; he saw it happen, at least in India. The Karnataka study was a major contribution—he saw that fertility was going to decline in response to education. There is some criticism of the wealth flows model, but education is important and I think that is a very big contribution.

And that legacy lives on well past the initial publications. At an Asian Population Association conference, Leela waved her hand to take in all of the young demographers rushing to the next session “Jack’s legacy we are continuing today.”

His legacy for Ghana is immense. He was among the group of people who introduced population studies/demography in Ghana. Among his first batch of students was (now Professor) S. K. Gaisie, who was also invited by Jack to pursue his PhD at ANU. He also assisted John Anarfi to win a Population Council fellowship to spend one year at the Health Transition Centre at ANU on Post-doctoral attachment in 1993. He was instrumental in the establishment of the United Nations Regional Institute for Population Studies for Anglophone African countries at the University of Ghana in the early part of the 1970s. Kofi Awusabo-Asare

Graeme Hugo, Australia’s preeminent demographer of migration writes,

The massive legacy of John Caldwell to demography is usually expressed in terms of his seminal contribution to the understanding of fertility and mortality change. However, I was drawn to study at the Department of Demography at ANU by reading Caldwell’s 1969 book on Rural-Urban Migration in Africa. This led me to read his other work and to apply to do a PhD under his supervision. Although my interest was in Southeast Asia, his insights into migration opened my
eyes to an approach to understanding of population mobility which influenced my whole career. His contributions pioneered mixed methods approaches to studying migration and the conceptualisation of migration as a process linking origin and destination and understanding of its social and economic impacts. In addition, at a time when the relationship between migration and environment is one of the major developments in migration research in the last decade, Jack’s work on the Sahel anticipated many of the findings by three decades.

Jack was one of the fairest people I have ever met or worked with. Wherever he walked in he was known and he would always question you more than you could ever question him. He was, and still is, incredibly absorptive of knowledge—he read everything, he knew everything. He was very open to other people and above all, he was very open to the world. *Terry Hull*

I guess that we all look up to some senior people in life—individuals who have accomplished a lot, and are a generation older than us. But those we look up to are sometimes a little difficult, or perhaps a little awkward, or perhaps a little distant. In the case of Jack and Pat, however, no such qualifications apply. Everyone I know has always regarded and still regards, both of them with huge affection and respect. They are truly special people who will never be far from our thoughts. *Tim Dyson*

All social demographers owe a huge debt to Jack for his never-ending flow of ideas. For such a towering figure, he was remarkably lacking in pride or arrogance. On the few occasions that I had the courage to question his findings or interpretation, he remained unruffled and I felt like a mosquito attacking an elephant. *John Cleland*
Editor, Ann Larson, former student and colleague, public health specialist, Australia

Contributors

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Dear Reader

I was Deputy Director of the National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Heath (NCEPH) when Bob Douglas first had the bright idea of establishing an endowment to celebrate Jack’s legacy. After Bob’s retirement, the fund-raising effort languished having raised around 20% of what was required. Terry Hull kept the flame alive through his sterling efforts as the inaugural John C Caldwell Chair in Population, Heath and Development, effectively a position in name only. A decade later when I became Director of NCEPH, one of my priorities was to reinvigorate this commemoration. In one of his characteristic flashes of inspiration, Bob Douglas suggested that I approach Ann Larson to be the spear-head. As someone who herself bridges the demography-health divide, Ann ensures that rebuilding the endowment effort includes the Australian Demographic and Social Research Institute (ADSRI), the current version of the Department of Demography where Jack was located before joining the National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health. This work also unleashed the latent talents of Jessica Ford, who has ably assisted in learning about endowments and in developing a profile of Jack and his achievements.

Now it’s over to you: nceph.anu.edu.au/caldwell-chair

Gabriele Bammer

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