

Research Highlights 2025-26



Credit Luigi Vantaggiato



DARWIN COLLEGE
CAMBRIDGE





This year's collected highlights of Darwinian research bring together updates from across disciplines and continents.

From ancient China to 21st century Antarctica; the impact of AI to the genetic variation of butterflies, these pages are a visual representation of the kaleidoscopic snatches of different worlds, concerns and innovations heard on any walk down a Darwin corridor.

Thank you to all of this year's contributors for allowing us a glimpse into the infinite variety of Darwinian activity.





Dr Yumi Suzuki
Lloyd-Dan David Research Fellow
Needham Research Institute

- Yumi's edited volume, *Environmental Thought in Early China and Ancient Greece*, has been accepted by Cambridge University Press. Consisting of 15 chapters, the volume features contributions from leading senior and junior scholars in the fields of environmental thought, the history and philosophy of science and medicine, and Sino-Hellenic comparative history. The volume will contribute to on-going discussions on environmentalism while also tracing its origins and development back to the ancient world. The volume has also received funding for Gold Open Access from the Swiss National Science Foundation.
- This volume will include two book chapters by Yumi, one of which is co-authored with Sophia Connell, a former Darwinian, now at Notre Dame in Indiana. One chapter compares Plato and Xunzi - a well-known and influential Confucian thinker from the Warring States period - on the role of humans in the cosmic order. The other chapter discusses the domestication of animals and plants as presented by Aristotle and Theophrastus, as well as in early Chinese agricultural thought.
- A book chapter entitled '*Environmental and Natural Science: Understanding and (Ab)Using the Environment*', which she co-authored with Georgia Irby, a classicist and historian of Graeco-Roman science at William & Mary in Virginia, will also be published in the *Cultural History of Nature* series with Bloomsbury this year.
- Yumi was also invited to give talks and participate in workshops at several institutions, including the Academy of Athens in Greece, King's College London and the Faculty of Classics at the University of Cambridge. The topics covered the domestication of animals and plants, slavery and freedom, and animal-plant taxonomies in ancient societies.

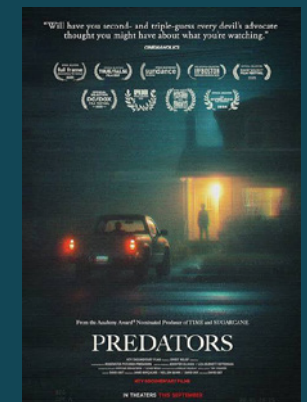


Professor Mark de Rond
Fellow
Professor of Organisational Ethnography, Judge Business School

Mark de Rond's four years of embedded fieldwork with paedophile hunters led to an 18-month collaboration on a documentary film, *Predators*. It was nominated for the Grand Jury Prize at Sundance and, after release in cinemas, for an Emmy and Peabody Award.

The film makes for an interesting contrast to the forthcoming film *Primetime*, featuring Robert Pattison. A combination of the ethnography, contributions to law enforcement, and the film secured Mark's research a Runner-Up position in the Cambridge University Awards for Research Impact and Engagement.

Mark is currently at work on a short book at the intersection of ethnography and creative writing, tentatively entitled: *Writing Against the Limit of What It Is Possible to Say*.





Dr Virginia Leavell
Fellow
Assistant Professor in Organisational
Theory and Information Systems,
Judge Business School

Organisations and individuals increasingly turn to artificial intelligence (AI) to answer questions large and small. So what is the role of experts who have traditionally analysed detailed datasets and other information to provide insight and clarity? And how should those experts interact with what AI has produced to add value and win over stakeholders?

Research co-authored by Virginia examines such interplay of AI and experts in making key decisions. In *Knowing enough to be dangerous: AI-produced representations, artificial certainty, and the work of process experts* published in *Organization Science*, she focuses on a comparative study of two urban planning organisations in the western US. Both use the same AI tool, but the approach of experts differs widely between one state and another.

The key finding: when process experts focus on enhancing technological ability, audiences mistake such representations for reality and thus undermine such human, expert authority. Yet when experts modulate the AI outputs and integrate this modulation into decision-making, lay audiences preserve this human authority and thus keep healthy uncertainty alive.

In a second paper, *Anticipating the digital: how interpretive debt and layered architectural framing shape innovation pathways* published in *Information Systems Research*, Virginia uses ethnographic techniques to introduce a new concept to the field of how accumulated experience may enable or constrain innovation, focusing on the adoption of smart metering technology by two municipal water agencies.



Dr Stephanie Nestorow
Research Associate
Department of Pharmacology

Stephanie's research investigates GABA(A) receptors, which act as molecular "brakes" in the brain and are important targets for medicines, including neurosteroid treatments for epilepsy and postpartum depression.

Highlights from 2025–26 include:

- Publishing her first-author paper, *Molecular arrangement and modulation of extrasynaptic $\alpha\beta\delta$ GABA(A) receptors*, in *Nature Communications*. These receptors regulate neuronal excitability and contribute to sleep, mood and motor coordination. Using cryogenic electron microscopy, she and her team established how the receptor is assembled and activated by the brain's principal inhibitory neurotransmitter, GABA. They also identified how the selective drug-like molecule DS2-Me binds to and enhances receptor function. This provides new insight into how these therapeutically important receptors can be selectively targeted and could inform the development of more precise treatments for conditions such as postpartum depression.
- Presenting this work through posters at the 14th Cambridge Ion Channel Forum and the Ion Channel Modulation Symposium, both held in Cambridge, and at the Ion Channels Gordon Research Conference in South Hadley, Massachusetts, USA.
- Sharing the wider aims and therapeutic relevance of this research with the Darwin community in her lunchtime seminar, *Opening the Gate: How Structural Insights into Brain Receptors Could Guide New Therapies*.

The paper is available [here](#).



Professor Eric French

Fellow

Montague Burton Professor of Industrial Relations
and Labour Economics & Director of Research
Strategy, Department of Economics

Over the past year Eric has organised multiple conferences held both in Cambridge and at the Institute for Fiscal Studies in London. He gave seminars in Seoul, Le Mans, Leuven, Berlin, Mannheim, Chicago, USC, EIT-Oxford, Regensburg and Edinburgh.

He has published the following papers:

- **Labor supply and the pension contribution-benefit link**

Review of Economic Studies

The paper estimates the impact of public pension systems on labour supply far from the normal retirement age by exploiting Poland's switch from a Defined Benefit to a Notional Defined Contribution scheme for men born after 1948. Using the universe of taxpayers and this sharp cohort-based discontinuity in the link between current contributions and future benefits, the research estimates an employment elasticity with respect to the return to work of 0.44 for ages 51-54. A lifecycle model matching those results implies that the change in the contribution benefit link from the reform increases employment among those in their 30s but decreases it at older ages, reducing overall labour supply across the lifecycle by two months.

- **The dynamic effects of health on the employment of older workers: Impacts by gender, country, and race**

The Journal of the Economics of Ageing

Using data from the Health and Retirement Study (HRS) and the English Longitudinal Study of Ageing (ELSA), the paper estimates the impact of health on employment for individuals close to retirement age. Estimating the model separately by race and gender, it finds that racial differences in employment can be partly explained by the worse health of minorities as well as the larger impact of health on employment for minorities.

- **The costs of long term care for those with cognitive impairments in England**

forthcoming in NBER volume on The Costs of Long Term Care for those with *Cognitive Impairments Around the World*

This paper examines the nature of long-term care for older adults with cognitive impairments in England. Long-term care, or adult social care, ranges from nursing home stays to home-based assistance with tasks like washing, dressing, and eating. For older people with cognitive impairment, additional specialised care and support may be necessary. This paper shows that approximately half of the total care costs of the age 65+ population in England are attributable to the 8.5% of individuals with cognitive limitations.



Professor Nicholas Humphrey

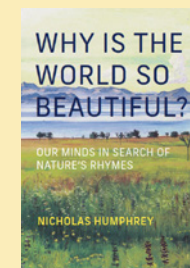
Bye Fellow

Emeritus Professor of Psychology,
London School of Economics

Nick works on the evolution of intelligence and consciousness.

His latest paper is *Phenomenal Consciousness: its Scope and Limits*.

His new book *Why Is the World So Beautiful? Our Minds in Search of Nature's Rhymes* will be published in October 2026. In January he was awarded the Dennett Prize for consciousness studies.





Ronald Haynes

Bye-Fellow
University Computer Officer

Along with organising programmes for continuing professional development of the University IT Community, Ronald co-organises complementary consortia of colleagues in other research-intensive UK/US universities www.cogent-held.org, involving sharing insights in evolving areas of creative digital skills, including 3D/immersive/spatial technologies, XR (AR/VR/eXtended Reality), virtual worlds, and automation/AI/Big Data/Machine Learning.

He has been involved in 3D imaging-related research for 10+ years, with earlier work on AR, initially collaborating in Cambridge with Rob Foley, Marta Lahr, and Fabio Lahr of Archaeology and Anthropology, and also with Donal Cooper of History of Art, and Anastasia Christophilopoulou of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Brief details of pairing related objects, to physically and virtually blend and extend collections, are at: www.veholder.org. A more evolved, proposed application of using immersive technologies for recontextualising artefacts is at: [Rights of Passage – Towards a Maritime Metaverse \(Virtual Worlds of the Waves Working Group\)](#)

Along with ongoing research in 3D imaging and immersive XR, Ronald co-chairs an [international project](#) developing and promoting standards for sustainably sharing 3D objects across institutions, in open web technologies on modern digital devices. This enables sustainable digital dioramas, for combining separated collections, such as the Darwin 3D project co-organised with Cambridge collection holders, to complement the printing completion of www.darwinproject.ac.uk.

Ronald's additional research concerns spiritual imagination and philosophical theology, particularly in neo-platonic mystical traditions. He collaborates with widespread interfaith groups as a Trustee of the (Meister) [Eckhart Society](#). An ongoing research project focuses on existential and mystical aspects of models for stages or stagnation in spiritual development in Eckhart, John of the Cross, and Kierkegaard. Ronald is developing this further, including for the third conference he is co-organising for next April at St. Matthew's Catholic Cathedral in Washington, D.C.



Professor Eric Wolff

Emeritus Fellow
Emeritus Royal Society Professor of
Earth Sciences

Eric continues to be a leading figure in the European project “Beyond EPICA – Oldest Ice”. This project involves laboratories from 10 European nations, who have come together to drill the oldest continuous ice core to date, at a site in Antarctica called Little Dome C.

After around a decade of exploratory geophysics (to identify the right location), establishment of a large field camp, and drilling, the project reached the bottom of the Antarctic ice sheet at 2800 metres depth in early 2025. The ice has since been analysed in labs around Europe (including at the British Antarctic Survey's cold labs in Cambridge). The core has at least 1.2 million years of continuous record, crossing a major change in Earth's climate known as the Mid-Pleistocene Transition (MPT).

Before the MPT, ice ages and warm periods alternated in cycles that were 40,000 years long, responding to changes in Earth's orbit around the Sun and changes in the tilt of Earth's axis. After the MPT the ice ages got much colder and lasted longer so that warm periods (like the one we are currently in) occurred only roughly every 100,000 years. The core will tell us what role carbon dioxide played in that change, and will also yield an unprecedented knowledge of Antarctic climate over the entire 1.2 million years.





Dr Ximian Simeon Xu
Bye Fellow
Co-Director of Cambridge
Centre for Chinese Theology

Simeon published a Cambridge Element on the theology of the image of God, titled *The Imago Dei: A Holistic Account*. This Element leverages the Reformed thinking of archetype-ectype to constructively develop a holistic account of the *imago*. That is, the image of God refers to both the signifier of God-human stories and the stories of ethical performances towards others and the motivator within the psychosomatic human person for the narration of these stories that have been unfolding since Genesis 2.

Furthermore, this Element argues that the religious and ethical implications of the *imago Dei* are not confined to the contexts of the Christian faith but bear upon the quotidian lives of all humankind, including atheists. To illustrate this, neuroscience and empathic AI are used as two case studies, demonstrating how the psychosomatic human person as the *imago Dei* bears the unique role in the narration of both religious and ethical stories.



Professor Sara Baker
Fellow
Professor of Developmental
Psychology and Education

Sara's three-year grant from the Nuffield Foundation will end in December 2026. The project will launch a final public report to highlight readiness factors for early years education settings in England to increase their use of evidence-based practices.

The work builds on an earlier systematic review, led by Sara and colleagues, on effective practices in early years. The current grant seeks to mobilise the evidence in that review, ensuring it moves from an academic research review to real-world impact for practitioners and children across the country. Sara also continues to consult for Cambridge University Press and Assessment, namely producing guides on [foundational skills for learning](#) and giving keynotes for Cambridge International schools in the Middle East and Pacific regions.

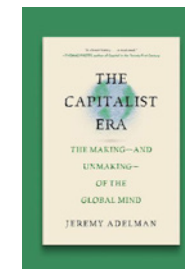


Professor Jeremy Adelman
Official Fellow
Director of the Global History Lab (CRASSH)

Jeremy's latest book *The Capitalist Era: The Making—and Unmaking—of the Global Mind* has been published by Princeton University Press. Combining political, economic, intellectual, and environmental history, the book tells the epic story of the forces that, since the late eighteenth century, have transformed the world into a single but fractured survival unit that is integrated by exchange and flow, yet divided by suspicion and fear. It is a story of hopes for universal peace, panic over planetary destruction, and debates, policies, and media that have shaped how people view one another across distances and borders.

"About 15 years ago, I started to write a book about people – like novelists and photographers, ecologists and economists – who shaped how we understand the world as a home for a more connected humanity," he says.

"I professed that life, teaching world history in ways that bridged refugee camps in Kenya to campuses in America. Then came shocks to the storyline about the road to globalisation; the worldwide rise of nativism stunned the cosmopolitan classes. Anti-globalism forced a personal reckoning with the limits of world history. Reckoning then required rewriting. That sent me on a journey through debates that have shadowed capitalist integration from its origins. What has it meant to depend on strangers for prosperity, security, and recognition – and for them to need "us?" I came to realise that we needed a narrative that explained the polarised feelings, from suspicion to sympathy, churned up by sharing an overheating and shrinking planet. That need is what motivated the writing of *The Capitalist Era*, a history for our times about the arguments and agreements that made the modern world."





Dr Stefanie Ullmann
Bye Fellow
Minderoo Centre for Technology and Democracy

Stefanie's research this year has continued to interrogate how language, bias and harm are conceptualised and operationalised in AI systems, spanning hate speech detection, disinformation, digital inclusion and platform governance.

- Stefanie gave an invited talk, "From Harmful to Beneficial: Rethinking Influence in Digital Spaces", at *What is Influence? Towards a Theory and Practice of the Study of Influence*, University of Cambridge, in March 2026.
- She co-authored written evidence, *Beyond Social Media Bans: Towards Safer Community, Creativity, and Learning Online for Our Young People*, submitted with Jaimie Lee Freeman, Gina Neff, and Stefanie Felsberger to the national consultation "Growing up in the online world" in May 2026.
- Stefanie contributed the chapter *Creating Inclusive Spaces on Digital Platforms: Twitter/X* as a case study to the *Handbook on the Ethics of Artificial Intelligence*, edited by Steven Gouveia and published by Palgrave. Drawing on a three-million-token corpus of tweets tagged #disability and #inclusion, the chapter examines how disabled users on X build "counterspaces" and counter-narratives to resist ableism and algorithmic exclusion. It situates these findings within international AI ethics frameworks, arguing that accessible, inclusive design must extend beyond interface usability to the social dynamics of online platforms.
- Her article *Language as Data, Hate as Task: The Epistemic Normalisation of Hate Speech in AI*, due to appear in December 2026 in a *Discourse Studies* special issue on Hate Speech and AI, presents a corpus-assisted discourse analysis of 322 publications on automated hate speech detection. It finds that computer science research overwhelmingly constructs language as data and hate speech as a classification task, developing an elaborate taxonomy of 23 model-side "bias" types while barely engaging with racism as a structural or social phenomenon. Social sciences and humanities scholarship, by contrast, treats hate speech as an evolving political practice, a divergence Stefanie terms an "epistemic pipeline" that normalises some forms of hate while rendering others invisible.
- She is currently completing a new article, *Enacting Disinformation: Multiplicity and the Limits of Coordination Across Research Fields*, which analyses over 20 million words across computational, social-scientific and psychological research on disinformation. Building on Annemarie Mol's concept of multiplicity, the paper argues that these fields enact three distinct objects instead of offering competing views of one shared phenomenon. The project grew out of Stefanie's earlier work on the Horizon Europe project AI4TRUST, where she encountered first-hand the difficulties of coordinating computational and social-scientific approaches to disinformation and represents an attempt to understand why the field's cross-disciplinary fragmentation persists despite shared funding structures and vocabulary.



Dr Debasmita Mukherjee
Marie Curie
Postdoctoral Fellow
CRUK Cambridge
Institute

Debi was selected to give a talk on how cancer associated fibroblasts promote cachexia at the *Cancer and the Host* conference organised by Cancer Grand Challenges and held at The Royal Society in June 2026.

She won the best flash talk for clarity and accessibility at the Cancer Metabolism and Tumour Microenvironment symposium, co-organised by Fundamental Biology of Cancer and Pancreatic Cancer Program of CRUK Cambridge.

Debi also attended and presented a poster at the inaugural CRUK Pancreatic Cancer Conference held in London in July 2026.

As part of the Women in Cachexia initiative, she organised a Stories and Science seminar with Professor Jennifer Grandis to discuss her book *Harsh Medicine*, exploring gender inequity in academic medicine. She also co-organised a mini symposium on World Pancreatic Cancer Day focused on lay-friendly early career researchers in November 2025.



Professor Nebojša Radić

Bye-Fellow

Professor of Technology-Enhanced Language Teaching; Director of the University Language Programme at the Language Centre

This year Nebojša developed a new framework for language, identity and displacement, gathered under the term 'refugees without geography' - his name for communities that lose political sovereignty, cultural standing and linguistic vitality without ever crossing a border, becoming refugees in place.

He set out the concept at the Cambridge conference *Translating Conflict and Refuge: Language, Displacement, and the Politics of Representation* in April 2026, and a book of the same title is under proposal with Cambridge University Press. The framework rests on the case of the Croatian Serbs - whose numbers fell dramatically in the last 100 years - and extends comparatively to Hungarian, Welsh, Irish and post-industrial communities. The study develops the concept of transparent

digraphia, the coexistence of Cyrillic and Latin scripts in one spoken language, a near-unique phenomenon. The Croatian Serb study is co-written with the historian Timur Križak - a collaboration between a Serbian-born linguist and a Croatian historian that is, as they observe, itself an instance of the argument.

A second strand concerns literary self-translation and linguistic ideology - authors who rewrite themselves across English and Serbian, or English and Russian - which Nebojša explored in *Letteratura in stereo: Autotradursi e riscrivarsi — in italiano, inglese, serbo e russo*, a lecture to the Carrara (Italy) branch of the Dickens Fellowship.

In language pedagogy, he edited *Global Challenges in Language Teaching and Learning: Developments and Innovations*, a 22-author collection on teaching in the age of generative AI, published by Cambridge University Press in 2026. He spoke on editing the volume at the Innovation in Language Learning conference in Florence and presented 'AI and Conservative Education' at EDULEARN 2026, and he sits on the scientific committees of both.



Professor Carl Rasmussen

Fellow

Professor of Machine Learning,
Department of Engineering

Carl has been working on the cross-disciplinary field of climate change: what can be done about it? It is clear that nations will have to cooperate to be successful.

Cooperation must rely on self-interest, not altruism. Building such a system requires insights from many different disciplines: economics, incentives, institutional design, game theory, ethics, etc. The most promising directions are based on COnditional COmmon COmmitment COalitions; commitments are common to all and conditional (I will if you will). The "Themis Mechanisms" is an example, where nations conditionally agree to pay for emissions: larger than average (per capita) emitters pay, and smaller than average emitters get paid. This creates an economic incentive to reduce emissions. And almost everyone ends up better off. The form of commitment must be simple and common, since bespoke agreements between 200 nations isn't practically feasible. This is radically different from the "Grand Bazaar" approach of the UNFCCC.



Professor Ioannis Kontoyiannis
Official Fellow
Churchill Professor
of Mathematics of
Information

It has often been said, correctly, that a monkey forever randomly typing on a keyboard would eventually produce the complete works of William Shakespeare. Almost just as often it has been pointed out that this “eventually” is well beyond any conceivably relevant time frame.

Recent work by Ioannis points out that an *educated* monkey that still types at random but is constrained to only write “statistically typical” text, would produce any given passage in a much shorter time. In fact, information theory gives a very simple way to estimate that time. For example, Shakespeare’s phrase, “Better three hours too soon than a minute too late”, from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, would take the educated monkey only 73 thousand years to produce, compared to the beyond-astronomical 2.7×10^{63} years for the randomly typing one. Despite the obvious improvement, it would still take the educated monkey an unimaginably long $10^{42,277}$ years to produce all of *Hamlet*.

For more details, see the [original paper](#) that will appear in the *IEEE BITS magazine*, or Ioannis’s [video interview](#) on this work at Faculti.net.



Dr Charlotte Wright
Charles and Katherine Darwin Research Fellow
Wellcome Sanger Institute



In December 2025, Charlotte published a first-author article in *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* which introduced Project Psyche, a large-scale collaborative project that is generating and analysing high-quality genomes for all 11,000 species of butterflies and moths in Europe. This large initiative, which Charlotte co-leads, involves over 250 scientists from over 35 countries. Charlotte was interviewed about this work [here](#) and [here](#).

In June 2026, Charlotte co-organised a Royal Society meeting that brought together experts in the emerging field of pangenomics, which offers a more complete picture of genetic variation within populations compared to a linear genome. The meeting brought together cutting-edge methods and researchers at the forefront of using pangenomics to transform health and agriculture, and opening new possibilities for understanding biodiversity.

In July, Charlotte travelled to Vlahi in Bulgaria to join more than 50 entomologists, genomics experts, conservationists, and enthusiasts from 17 countries. Together, they collected 300 new species for Project Psyche. It was the second annual joint trip, funded by a European Cooperation and Science action that supports research networks and which Charlotte helps lead.

High-quality genomes are a rich source of information, shedding light on how species evolved in the past and predict their response to a changing world. Charlotte is coordinating the collaborative analysis of the first 1,000 high-quality genomes which aims to tackle both fundamental questions, such as when bursts of new species evolved, to pressing questions related to conservation. This work, which involves over 80 researchers from over 15 countries, was facilitated by an in-person meeting where scientists from 13 countries came together to hatch the plan in Liverpool.

Charlotte also presented on how large-scale genomics projects can promote inclusivity and diversity in science at the Society of Molecular and Evolutionary Biology in Copenhagen, Denmark, in June.



Dr Duncan Needham
Dean and Senior Tutor
Director, Centre for Financial
History

Duncan is currently writing a chapter on the transformation of British building societies in the 1970s and 1980s for an edited volume. He continues to work on a longer-term project on UK monetary policy in the 1980s, from the abandonment of monetarism in the early 1980s to Britain's joining the European Exchange Rate Mechanism in 1990.

Duncan recently recorded an episode of *Archive on 4* marking the 50th anniversary of Britain's most recent loan from the International Monetary Fund, which was broadcast on BBC Radio 4 on 28 September. He will deliver an Erasmus Seminar on the history of money at Darwin on 14 October.



Professor Daniel Weiss
Fellow
Polonsky-Coexist Professor of Jewish
Studies and Philosophy of Religion

Daniel's paper, *One Person Dialogues: Concerns About AI-Human Interactions*, exploring the ethical, psychological and sociological repercussions of large language models, was published in the *Harvard Data Science Review*.

His paper *Suprahuman but inhuman gods? Faith communities must critically assess relations with AI* co-written with Dr Darren Frey of Sciences Po, Paris was published in the *Harvard Divinity Bulletin*. It considers the risks and realities of widespread engagement with human-like dialogue agents (HDAs), such as ChatGPT, through the lens of Jewish philosophy and texts. HDAs are considered in the context of prohibitions against "other gods" and the threat to human wellbeing when non-human objects are endowed with godlike powers.

Daniel also co-led a discussion on Faith and AI as part of the Cambridge University Alumni Festival in September.



Professor Paolo Campana
Fellow
Professor of
Criminology

Research led by Paulo and the University of Cambridge's Violence Research Centre, which analysed more than 200,000 UK police records, found that young people with the most connections to other suspected offenders are almost five times more likely to carry knives than the average youth suspect.

This top 5% of "super-connected" children aged 10-18 are almost three times more likely to commit violent crime, seven times more likely to commit robberies and nine times more likely to be involved in organised crime than the wider youth suspect population.

Statistically mapping co-offender data from across police databases can reveal the young people more likely to be responsible for the most serious violent

crime – as well as those most likely to be victimised. This approach could lead to a new "scoring system", enabling police and social services to prioritise targeted intervention programmes for those teenagers in the highest-risk criminal environments who are most likely to act violently.

The report '*Breaking networks of youth serious violence*' was published on the University of Cambridge website and received widespread media coverage.

"Traditional approaches treat young offenders in isolation, focusing on individual risk factors such as age, background and previous behaviour," says Paolo.

"In reality, we are missing a crucial layer, as youth violence is deeply social, driven by relationships and peer groups. Mapping co-offender networks using police records could help agencies identify and engage with young people at greatest risk of inflicting violence and becoming victims. Intervening when young people first become embedded in criminal networks, regardless of the seriousness of the initial offence, could prevent loss of life down the line."



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