The Political Economy of European Welfare Capitalism
By Colin Hay and Daniel Wincott

Readers will have high expectations of this book: Mark Blyth’s endorsement on the back cover heralds it as the 2010’s answer to Esping-Andersen (1990) and Hall and Soskice (2001). The authors’ aim is to re-examine some key ideas and assumptions (or perhaps ‘myths’) about the development of welfare states in order to test the ‘conventional narrative’ (p. 2) that romanticizes the 1940s, privileges ‘crisis’ as the catalyst for change and assumes a race to neo-liberalism at least, if not the bottom. To undertake their task of reassessment, the book is divided into seven chapters, covering historical development, the varieties of capitalism/welfare regimes framework, globalization, competitiveness, European integration, the question of welfare state convergence and, lastly, the impact of the 2007–08 financial crisis.

In addressing these themes, each chapter presents a highly engaging and clearly written mix of summary, possibility, data and analysis, such that even those most well versed in the chapter specialisms remain likely to learn something new. The subjects of interrogation in the individual chapters may not be novel, and likewise the conclusions drawn, but as the authors stress, the empirical basis of what we think we know about the life and times of the welfare state is often shakier than we presume. Discussion of the reality and numerical accuracy of ‘three worlds of welfare’ (Chapter 2) for example, is a familiar enterprise, generative of a wealth of cross-national insight. Hay’s and Wincott’s contribution here: that what exist are ‘clusters’ rather than ‘worlds’, formed according to (two) dimensions rather than distinct models of welfare, suggests that the shared qualities of modern welfare states are more preponderant than the factors of difference. Interestingly, although the representation of the two-dimensional clustering for the 2000s throws up some thought-provoking (Belgium), though perhaps not entirely surprising (Denmark) movement (p. 61), by the time convergence is discussed in Chapter 6, the clusters have reverted to divisions of European geography.

Having concluded Chapter 2 with a preference for clusters not types, the following two chapters examine the threat to welfare state viability posed by its representation as an economic burden. First, by assessing evidence for the more general capital-repellent qualities of taxation in the context of globalised markets (Chapter 3), and then in more detail (Chapter 4) the evidence of retrenchment that has already taken place and the arguments that support it.
Without wishing to spoil the dénouement for other readers, the combined conclusions are that regionalization, and whether economies compete on cost or quality, are most likely to determine the ‘competitive-corrosiveness’ of welfare spending. While this may be good news for the Swedish and German (and a few more) welfare states, which are a ‘competitive necessity’, it is no lifeline for welfare state builders who are, or are soon to be, labouring under the cost model in East-central Europe, Mediterranean countries or, arguably, the UK, let alone the rest of the world.

In Chapters 5 and 6 the questions are focused on the drivers to similarity amongst welfare states rather than those of difference. Chapter 5 reflects on the development (or not, as it turns out) of a unifying European Social Model and Chapter 6 on the extent of convergence amongst European welfare states. In its consideration of the harmonization of social policy amongst EU member states, Chapter 5 is very much focused on the European Court of Justice as the prime institutional mover, shifting from enforcer of market liberalization throughout the 1980s to its current, albeit still embryonic role, as protector of national solidarities. The last pages of this chapter are most telling in relation to the current Eurozone circumstance, as a paradox is outlined where the loosening orthodoxy of monetary union collides with the increasingly unsocial (read: orthodox) Lisbon agenda. However, as Chapter 6 aims to show, while a ‘social Europe’ might be a social democrat’s delusion, this does not imply that the European reality is neo-liberal.

The chapter on convergence is exemplary of the strengths of this book: structural logic, command of the issues and clarity of presentation, and of all the chapters, provides most food for thought. The aim is to assess the extent of postwar convergence amongst European welfare states given both the similar pressures on advanced economies and their national differences. The authors are keen to point out that the term ‘convergence’ has a sloppy heritage, and in particular is not coterminous with ‘neoliberal convergence’. Having concluded that there is no general trend towards the level of retrenchment demanded by the neo-liberal ‘type’, the authors then go on to show that there is statistically (and theoretically) significant convergence within country clusters. The analysis of ‘waves of crisis’ in Chapter 6 posits that this divergence of clusters is likely to continue as the ‘transnationalised’ but failed ‘anglo-liberal growth model’ (credit-fuelled consumption reliant on an ever-appreciating housing market) further unravels. Although Greece is conspicuous by its absence in the data in this chapter, and the Eurozone debacle had yet to unfold, a cursory glance at more recent data analysis shows the conclusions to be prescient (see e.g. ETUI 2013).

Should this book make it into the comparative social policy canon as Mark Blyth proclaims? If the centrality of a political economy approach to the proper understanding of postwar social policy evolution is to be recognized, Hay’s and Wincott’s writing is as good as it gets. However, given its raiding of many disciplines and epistemologies, the field of social policy is possibly less prone to received wisdoms, and more open to nuance than political science, and thus some of the myths to be busted in this book were pretty shaky to begin with: ‘golden’ ages, and specific numbers of worlds of welfare for example are ideas with purpose rather than empirical realities. Similarly,
narrow conceptualizations of ‘neoliberal convergence’ that are not, as the authors demonstrate, borne out in the data on spending and generosity, perhaps do not reflect the more tentacular nature of this process, or understandings of it in terms of the wider material concerns of social policy. The book is highly absorbing, but while it tells a convincing story in terms of the pursuit and pitfalls of growth, it is a story without much soul. Convincing economic European policy elites that social investment can get the results (growth) they desire may be the realpolitik order of the day, but the human backdrop to the political stage, and the struggle for a fair world goes beyond the function of the welfare state.

References

Zoë Irving, University of Sheffield

Gypsies and Travellers: Empowerment and Inclusion in British Society
Edited by Joanna Richardson and Andrew Ryder

This book examines a range of policy issues affecting Gypsies and Travellers in the UK including accommodation, employment, and health, situating the discussion of policy intervention in the context of challenges facing Gypsy and Traveller communities such as empowerment, representation, media power and justice. It is timely as it reflects on how conceptions of the ‘Big Society’ and austerity cuts might impact on Gypsies and Travellers in the UK, and draws attention to the recently elaborated EU Framework for National Strategies on Roma integration. The volume sheds light on the dilemmas facing policymakers, how policy on Gypsies and Travellers has changed over time, and the lack of Gypsy and Traveller influence on policymaking processes. It is an edited volume with the conceptual thread built around empowerment and social policy. There are a number of interesting and original insights, particularly the impact of the Gypsy Roma Traveller History Month, as well as the benefits of conducting Participatory Action Research with these marginalized communities. The first part of the book addresses policy issues and responses providing a snap shot of policy interventions, although some chapters are quite descriptive and lack conceptual insights. The second part is more intellectually engaging and focuses on empowerment.

The first chapter (Richardson and Ryder) sets the context and explores definitions of ‘Gypsies’ and ‘Travellers’ in relation to identity and ethnicity.
The development of the policy landscape from New Labour to the current Coalition government is provided as well as the impact of recent developments on Gypsies and Travellers. Chapter 2 (Richardson and Smith-Bendell) seeks to introduce the voice of a Traveller in relation to accommodation provision and how this has changed over time. Van Cleemput provides a detailed description of access to healthcare in Chapter 3 and suggests initiatives to improve Gypsy and Traveller healthcare experience. Education takes centre stage in Chapter 4 (Foster and Cemlyn) which, by taking up the themes of empowerment and integration, highlights some of the tensions and challenges inherent in this policy area which has tended to receive the most attention Europe-wide. Chapter 5 (Allen) provides a fascinating case study of Traveller children who have been in care, drawing attention to discrimination and identity. Children who have experienced social care find themselves in a cultural limbo where they do not feel that they belong. Allen concludes by arguing, convincingly, that the voice of Travellers needs to be heard to ensure policy can redress some of these negative identity-related consequences of social care. Lastly, in part one, Greenfields, Ryder and Smith focus on employment and social capital in Chapter 6. They explore the economic culture of Gypsies and Travellers, which is organized along existing social networks and is informal as many Gypsies and Travellers possess low levels of formal education and cannot compete in the job market. Part two opens with a discussion of justice and empowerment in Chapter 7 (Richardson and Ryder) but the two concepts are treated as distinct entities, rather than exploring empowerment for justice, to take an example. Acton and Ryder draw attention to Gypsy Roma Traveller History Month in Chapter 8 and its impact internally within the community and externally to the majority. This important initiative will struggle to survive without government support. Conducting research on Gypsies and Travellers can be challenging and even the most experienced researcher would do well to read Chapter 9 by Greenfields and Ryder as they make the balanced case for Participatory Action Research. The role of the media is put under the spotlight in Chapter 10 (Richardson and O’Neill) taking a number of cases in the national press to explore discourse and processes of ‘othering’ as well as efforts to combat this negativity. In Chapter 11 (Rostas and Ryder) the authors focus on how developments at the EU level have the potential to empower Roma, give them a voice and ensure these communities can participate in decisions which affect them. The authors correctly make a distinction between empowerment of Roma civil society and ordinary Roma. Lastly, the conclusion (Richardson and Ryder) takes a number of themes such as identity and marginalization and explores how the move towards localism in the UK could undermine efforts to include Gypsies and Travellers.

This volume is a welcome contribution to the growing literature on Gypsies, Travellers and Roma. There are several thought-provoking chapters and, overall, it is well written and edited. However, I think it would have benefitted from more clarity in terms of its central theme: empowerment requires more conceptual grounding. Moreover, the chapters on policy in part one could have explored the basic function of policy in relation to acutely marginalized groups, assessing the tension between mainstreaming
and preferential treatment. The book will be of interest to anyone researching or working with Roma, Gypsies and Travellers, not only academics but also those working in policy (health, education, housing, employment), government (local, national and transnational) and civil society.

Aidan McGarry, University of Brighton

Corporate Social Responsibility and the Welfare State
By Jeanette Brejning

What is the role of business within the field of social policy? In Richard Titmuss’ much-cited framework, ‘occupational welfare’ – the benefits that we receive through work – was one of the three ‘different systems’ through which welfare was provided (see Sinfield 1978). Kevin Farnsworth (2012) has recently reversed this, looking at the way the state meets the needs of business through ‘corporate welfare’. Yet while discourses of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) have become ever-louder in wider society, little consideration has been given to CSR in social policy, being restricted to occasional mentions within wider discussions (e.g. Farnsworth 2006).

Into this breach comes Jeanette Brejning’s Corporate Social Responsibility and the Welfare State, focusing in particular on how private actors have been involved in tackling social exclusion and, more specifically, on how they have recruited disadvantaged people as a way of showing their ‘social responsibility’. Just to demonstrate the policy relevance of this, as I was writing this review the UK Department of Work and Pensions was re-tweeting an announcement by Sainsbury’s that it had recruited its 2000th worker via the Remploy scheme (for disabled people) – the tip of a much wider agenda in the UK and, as Brejning shows, also in much of Europe (J Sainsbury plc 2013).

The book starts with a good introduction to the various debates about CSR, ranging from the evangelical claims about the moral duties of businesses, to the sceptics’ take that it is merely window-dressing for the dominance of neo-liberalism. Indeed, it is well-established that CSR is a contested concept; rather than attempting to define it narrowly, it is to the book’s strength that it accepts these debates over its essence as essential to grasping the CSR phenomenon. The book’s main contributions, though, are:

1. to show how the expansion of CSR is associated with withdrawal or powerlessness of the state; and
2. to start thinking about the impacts of CSR by investigating how those working in CSR around social exclusion in the UK and Denmark talk about what they do.

First, Brejning tries to set CSR within the framework of historical institutionalism, comparing traditions of CSR in the UK and Denmark (and to a lesser extent France, Germany and elsewhere in the Nordic countries). Put crudely, she argues that a tradition of corporate philanthropy existed in both
the UK and Denmark, but that ‘with the expansion of the welfare state [in Denmark], philanthropic CSR as an approach to solving social problems has been made redundant’ (p. 64). One reason for this is that businesses in the UK can gain social credit for publicizing their CSR, in a way that would simply be considered inappropriate elsewhere. Moreover, CSR around social exclusion in Denmark is fundamentally a ‘different thing’ to CSR in the UK: in Denmark it is a recent innovation prompted explicitly by a government that was struggling to get disadvantaged people into employment (Chapters 4–6), whereas in the UK it is embedded in a longstanding narrative (often not termed ‘CSR’) about the philanthropic role of business in meeting social need. (Brejning continues this institutionalist argument into a further chapter (Chapter 6) on CSR around globalization.) The nature of CSR in a given time and place, then, depends on this wider constellation of institutions, and Brejning succeeds (to my mind) in bringing CSR into the fold of broader debates in comparative social policy.

Second, the later chapters (Chapter 7–8) use interviews conducted with CSR practitioners in Denmark and the UK, unpacking their conceptualization of the impacts of CSR. These are explicitly not aimed at evaluating CSR, which would have required different interviews entirely – although Brejning is later tempted to hint at the importance of such interviews in starting to think about evaluation. Still, these chapters were my favourites, particularly for the revealing empirical material. For example, when asking for evidence on the impacts of CSR, one EU policymaker admitted, ‘in policy documents we say that CSR has the knack to promote social cohesion. But I’m not quite sure on what evidence we’re saying that’ (p. 111). Instead, what comes through is the ideational function of CSR; as another interviewee puts it, ‘[CSR] constantly reminds us that it is not a natural given that we have to let the government solve everything’ (p. 121). It is these arguments that connect to the book’s earlier argument about how CSR comes alongside a weaker state role, and they also chime with my own ongoing research (on CSR around addictions). CSR has to be understood both as practices that may not (or may) have direct beneficial impacts on individual people, and simultaneously as a discourse that has increasingly important political consequences for social policy.

This book is not without its flaws. The connections between these different sections (on ‘cross-national differences’ and ‘the social impacts of CSR’, pp. 162–63) are real but imperfect; while Brejning attempts to weave this into a single narrative, there were times that one could see the seams where different parts had been stitched together. I would have preferred the book to be longer; both parts of the empirical work (historical and interview-based) could have been presented more fully and deeply, given their intrinsic interest as well as their role in setting out the book’s main arguments.

Nevertheless, as one of the few resources on CSR in social policy, and containing both some fascinating empirical material and some thoughtful arguments, this is a valuable contribution. CSR seems to be growing in importance across many countries, even if the form that CSR takes remains sensitive to national and local conditions. I hope that this book will prompt an increased attention to the provision of welfare through CSR – and those who go down this road should start with Brejning’s work.
Better Health in Harder Times: Active Citizens and Innovation on the Frontline

Edited by C. Davies, R. Flux, M. Hales and J. Walsley


In an age of international recession and austerity, there are those in countries like the UK who argue that fundamental changes are required to change the very way we think about health and about the delivery of healthcare. Moreover, they point to recent developments that offer potential for such a rethink: these include the introduction of direct payments, personal budgets, the rise of self-management and patient-centred approaches, and the growing recognition of the value of user experiences and of patients and users as ‘experts’ in their own healthcare needs. A new collection sparked by the passing of Bob Sang, chair of patient and public involvement at London South Bank University, provides a valuable overview. The editors deploy the core themes of quality, governance, leadership, information technology, and the management and self-management of well-being to structure the discussions contained within the book.

The range of contributors from diverse backgrounds with lively writing styles makes this collection both readable and accessible. Rather than offering a traditional conclusion, the editors instead put forward a postscript, which highlights continuing innovations in healthcare such as the rise of websites for patient voices and stories. However, it is not always easy to pinpoint the ‘take home messages’ from such a diversity of contributions, and a coherent set of concluding observations would have been helpful for the reader.

For this reviewer, the central contention of the book appears to be this. The development of a more democratic and sustainable health service involves listening closely to the voices of service users and service providers to explore new ways of living and working with long-term conditions, more effective approaches to redesigning services, the use of information technology, leadership, creating quality and accountability, and the ‘co-production’ of health between service user and service provider. Thus the experience of users and practitioners becomes important to think about when attempting to introduce...
innovation and change into the front line of healthcare provision. On top of this, users and practitioners can become ‘active citizens’ who ‘co-produce’ better and more effective healthcare. In this way, we can move beyond top-down and provider-led models to genuinely new and empowering approaches, where active citizenship and community engagement in a dialogue about health can be co-produced.

This is a compelling argument and one that deserves to be broadcast widely and its implications spelled out. One difficulty is that it tends to presuppose an articulate body of patients and users with a shared agenda, who are able and willing to get involved in co-producing and co-designing. Socially excluded groups such as MARPs (Most At Risk Populations), for example illegal drug users, former prisoners or commercial sex workers, do not fit comfortably into this narrative. In addition, there are powerful vested interests that sit outside the National Health Service, such as the food and advertising industries, whose dominance make it a challenge to develop a counter narrative about healthy lifestyles and healthy bodies. More attention, therefore, needs to be paid to health literacy and health inequality issues, which could form the subject of a companion collection, should the editors ever feel tempted. Innovative and radical models of health communication are certainly called for, where socially excluded groups become meaningful partners in this new dialogue and where challenges to the powers-that-be, inside and outside the health service, are more readily facilitated.

Mike Titterton, Health and Life for Everyone, Edinburgh

Reforms in Long-Term Care Policies in Europe: Investigating Institutional Change and Social Impacts
EDITED BY CONSTANZO RANCI AND EMMANUELE PAVOLINI

Long-term care (LTC) is one of the most dynamic and challenging policy arenas that is crossing the domains of health, social care and family policies. Demographic change and the growing need for LTC services together with changing gender arrangements and family structures create ‘wicked problems’ and, consequently, a need for more complex and sustainable solutions. These developments are driving forces towards new emergent LTC policies across European countries that also fuel the debates and controversies over policy convergence and the relevance of diverse institutional contexts and social impacts. Constanzo Ranci and Emmanuele Pavolini have drawn together an edited collection of papers that contribute to the scholarly debate by a systematic connection of cross-country comparative analysis and rich case study material.

Reforms in Long-Term Care Policies in Europe: Investigating Institutional Change and Social Impacts adds to existing research in two ways: the book provides a comprehensive description of contemporary LTC policies in different countries and regions of Europe, and a systematic exploration of the institutional conditions and socio-economic impacts of the changing LTC policies. One
important novelty is the conceptual framework for comparative LTC-policy analysis, introduced by the editors. This framework serves as guidance for the in-depth country cases studies.

Pavolini and Ranci, in their Introduction, highlight that LTC is the only policy area in Europe that faces both fresh approaches to respond to emerging new social needs and new financial resources in times of increasing competition and austerity measurements. The authors seek to analyze the transformations in LTC policies and their social impacts and develop a complex analytical approach comprising four major dimensions:

1. **Why**: the factors that drive LTC policy changes;
2. **Who**: the key actors and their interests and values;
3. **How**: the mechanisms that allow institutional change or stability; and
4. **What**: the major impacts of the changes on those with LTC needs (p. 5).

These four dimensions are further explored through the lens of comparison.

One key issue is the low level of institutionalization of LTC policy that creates high variation in the LTC regimes. This may lead to different arrangements of public and private players and national and local institutional connections and, consequently, to varieties of LTC reform to respond effectively to new demands on care. The novel features of this comparative approach are that it allows for a more fine-grained analysis of the challenges of policy convergence and, at the same time, persisting divergence of the needs and services and their social impacts in Europe. A picture of highly differentiated LTC policies and provision is, furthermore, specified in Chapter 2 by Francesca Carrera, Emmanuele Pavolini, Costanzo Ranci and Alessia Sabbatini. Here, a comprehensive comparative overview (subject to availability of data) of LTC needs, coverage and impacts in European countries underlines the call for more context-sensitive or fine-grained analysis. The authors also bring the gendered dimensions of LTC reforms into perspective, where some policies may (re-)produce social inequalities and penalise women with caring responsibilities.

Chapters 3–12 introduce in-depth country cases of LTC reforms in Europe. The countries included in the analysis comprise the Nordic welfare states like Sweden (Gabriele Meagher and Martha Szebehely) and Denmark (Viola Burau and Hanne Marlene Dahl), and continental European countries like the Netherlands (Barbara Da Roit), Germany (Hildegard Theobald and Sarah Hampel), France (Blanche Le Bihan and Claude Martin) and Austria (August Österle), as well as developments in England (Caroline Glendinning) and also in Spain (Gregorio Rodriguez Cabrero and Vincente Marbán Gallego) and Italy (Giuliana Costa) as examples of southern Europe, and the Czech Republic as a central-eastern country (Jana Barvícová and August Österle).

In their conclusion, the editors come back to their goals set out in the Introduction and map out major trends in LTC reform in comparative perspective, taking into account actors, mechanisms and impacts of emergent policies. One key conclusion drawn from this analysis is that radical reform ‘can take place inside a long run process of incremental innovation’ (p. 311). At
the same time, an overall trend towards retrenchment and cost containment with only incremental innovation was observed, that may further restrict the public supply and quality of care and shift responsibility from the state to individuals and their families and networks.

In summary, this edited book provides comprehensive, yet accessible information. It brings an interesting range of both policy reforms and social impacts into view and thereby helps us to identify ‘best practice’ examples as well as problematic dynamics in the LTC sector. The book’s publication is timely and highly recommended for all those working in the field of LTC, whether they be academics, students or policymakers.

Ellen Kuhlmann, Goethe-University Frankfurt, Germany

Exits, Voices and Social Investment. Citizens’ Reaction to Public Services
By K. Dowding and P. John

This text, from two leading scholars of political science, focuses on Hirschman’s famous ‘Exit, Voice and Loyalty’ (EVL) framework. It builds on their previous work on rational choice approaches and ‘Tiebout exit’ (residential mobility or ‘voting with your feet’), exploring five-year panel data on attitudes to public services, funded under the ESRC Public Services Programme. Although it is an impressive work of political science scholarship, with elegant conceptual development and impressive quantitative methods, it is likely to be of limited interest to social policy academics.¹

Dowding and John note that the Hirschman book of 1970 reached the status of a classic almost on publication and has since been massively cited and utilized in the academy (Hirschman 1970) (e.g. EVL produced about 13,600 hits in Google Scholar in May 2011). Hirschman noted that when faced with a decline in quality of a good or service, people may signal their dissatisfaction by voice (e.g. individual or collective complaints; voting) or exit (choice; voting with their feet). However, loyalty might mediate between these responses, making exit more difficult and voice more likely. They explore criticisms and extensions to the EVL framework, including the exit, voice, loyalty and neglect (EVLN) model. This review is innovative, makes some excellent points clarifying and advancing the debate.

The combination of sophisticated quantitative methods and longitudinal (panel) data allows them to examine relationships in a dynamic fashion (e.g. people may attempt voice before exit) which addresses a weakness of many previous studies. The data also allows them to compare between (e.g. healthcare and education) and within (e.g. primary and secondary education) services. They present a large number of findings including dissatisfaction drives both private voice and exit, and is associated with collective voice; the costs of voice and exit do not fall on all equally; individual voice activity is strongly related to satisfaction; loyalty affects the exit-voice trade-off, though in complex ways (pp. 134–35). In a nutshell, they found most of the relationships
they expected from a modified Hirschman framework exist, albeit with weak effects (p. 136).

Policy conclusions and implications appear to be less clear. They seem to favour voice over exit (contra the arguments of others such as Julian Le Grand); community (‘people do value community’, p. 140) and ‘social investment’ (which encourages collective voice without damaging individual voice, p. 139). They note that recent British governments have been pressing for greater choice and promoting market solutions to collective problems, while at the same time being concerned about falling interest and participation in social like and political processes. They point out ‘for those who have read Hirschman that is somewhat ironic, since his argument is precisely that pushing for the former might damage the second’ (p. 139). Given their stress on ‘social investment’ (including the title), the concept appears to be unclearly and weakly defined at various points in the text. They point out that high-quality public services will reduce private exit (p. 139), but this assumption has informed policy rhetoric for at least 80 years. Moreover, ‘if schools, health services and local governments provide more equal and better services . . .’ (p. 139). Apart from this representing a huge and long-standing policy challenge, surely there are major differences between (democratically elected) local government and the National Health Service (NHS)?

In my view, these remarks underscore the limited interest of this text for social policy. While the impressive theory and powerful methods make a major contribution to EVL, there is little engagement with the context, detail and policy debate of public services. Like Coca-Cola (p. 1) or Nigerian railways (Hirschman’s example, p. 6), public services appear to represent a test site for the framework. The empirical results are not discussed alongside the voluminous literature and quantitative and qualitative work on choice and voice in public services and on citizen-consumers. Some of the brief details on services such as the NHS (e.g. p. 81) are simply incorrect. Much of the analysis seems to focus on exit to the private sector (e.g. questions on hypothetical use of private insurance in survey, pp. 159–61), but the choice agenda allows citizens to choose between NHS and private hospitals free at the point of use. In short, a focus on the narrow EVL framework eclipses the wider vibrant debate over public services.

Note
1. The ESRC Public Services Programme also largely ignored social policy, and has produced little of interest to social policy academics.

Reference

Martin Powell, University of Birmingham