

Chair  
Cabinet

## WELFARE WORKING GROUP

### Purpose

- 1 This paper proposes the establishment of a Welfare Working Group to look at ways to reduce long-term welfare dependency. The Welfare Working Group would be tasked with developing a menu of practical options for Ministers to consider by the end of December 2010.

### Executive summary

- 2 New Zealand's active delivery approach to welfare is highly regarded among OECD countries, but our overall policy settings are now hampering what can be achieved. We need to address long-term welfare dependency and achieve a welfare system that:
  - is sustainable over the long term;
  - is fair to both recipients and taxpayers; and
  - gets better results for New Zealanders.
- 3 Currently almost 13% of the population aged 18-64 years receive Unemployment, Domestic Purposes, Sickness, Invalids and other income tested main benefits. Government spending on these benefits and income support (excluding New Zealand Superannuation) is currently \$7.6 billion per annum, which represents 11.6% of core government expenses, and about 4.3% of GDP. We need to assess whether the current system is truly supporting our goals of economic growth and fairness. Over the coming decades the proportion of the population in the labour force will decline, and we need to ensure that the benefit system is not a barrier to future economic growth. We also need to ensure that our welfare system is fair – to taxpayers and recipients – and has a high degree of public acceptance.
- 4 I am proposing that the Welfare Working Group address these issues and have a mandate to cover the breadth of the social welfare system for working age people. Particular topic areas the Group will be asked to consider are:
  - how we can reduce benefit dependence and get better work outcomes, including for sole parents;
  - how to promote opportunities and independence from benefit for disabled people and people with ill health;
  - how welfare should be funded, and whether there are things that can be learned from the insurance industry and ACC in terms of managing the Government's forward liability; and
  - whether the structure of the benefit system and hardship assistance in particular is contributing to long-term benefit dependency.

- 5 By the end of the year I expect the Welfare Working Group to come up with a menu of practical proposals for our consideration. I will make it publically clear that the Government will not automatically accept the recommendations of the Welfare Working Group. After receiving the Group's final report, I will report back to Cabinet with recommendations about which, if any, of the proposals we should adopt as government policy.

### **Why we need a Welfare Working Group**

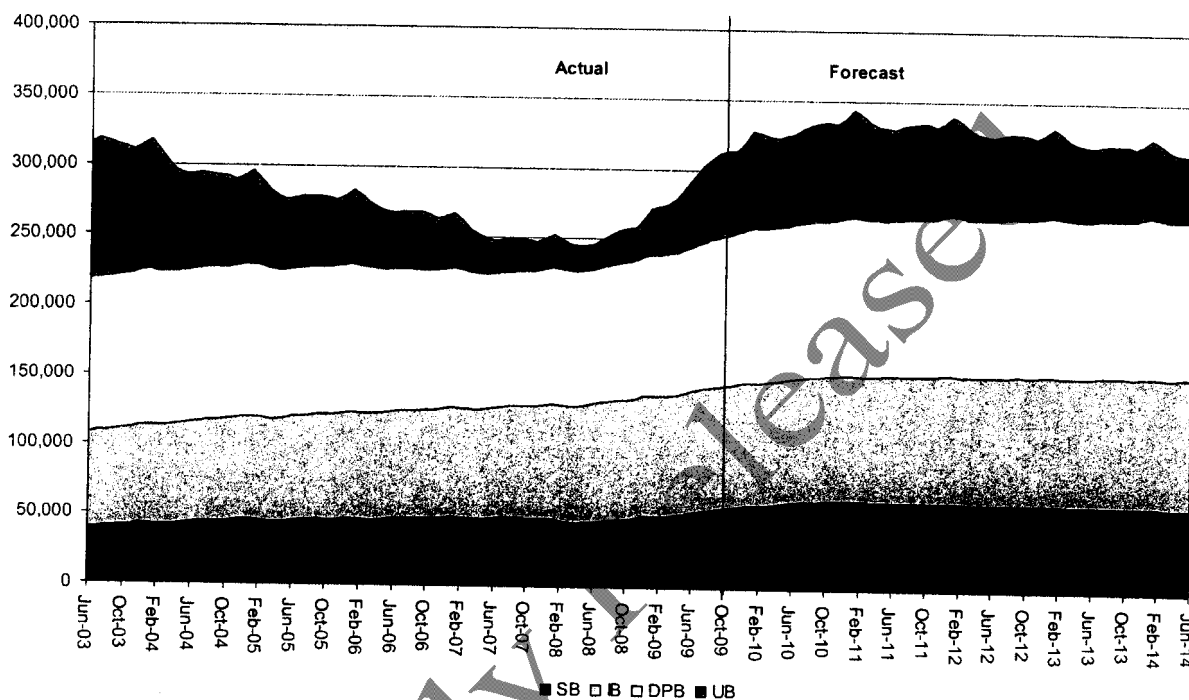
- 6 New Zealand's active delivery approach to welfare is highly regarded among OECD countries. However, delivery must work within policy and legislative settings, and increasingly some policy settings are hampering what can be achieved. Some of our policies are significantly out of line with other OECD countries, and could be better aligned with what the international research suggests is best practice.
- 7 Like many countries, over the last 40 years New Zealand has seen significant growth in the proportion of the population reliant on benefits. As a consequence, too many families are reliant on the low income that benefits provide, too many people remain on benefits during times of economic growth, and government spending is higher than it should be. Around one-in-five children are living in benefit dependent families.
- 8 We need to address long-term welfare dependency and achieve a welfare system that:
- is sustainable over the long term;
  - is fair both for recipients and taxpayers, and
  - gets better results for New Zealanders.

### *Sustainability*

- 9 Currently almost 13% of the population aged 18-64 years receive Unemployment, Domestic Purposes, Sickness, Invalids and other income tested main benefits. The fiscal costs of this are considerable. In the 2009/10 financial year government spending on benefits and income support will be \$7.6 billion, which represents 11.6% of core government expenses, and is approximately 4.3% of GDP.
- 10 The existing level of benefit receipt represents a cost to taxpayers now, but also into the future. This occurs because a proportion of the people who are on benefits now will remain there for considerable periods of time. For example, based on estimates from 2007, the expected future payments to people who are existing Domestic Purposes Benefit recipients will be \$9.2 billion over the next 10 years. For people receiving sickness and disability benefits – excluding any new recipients over the next 10 years – the expected future payments will be \$11.1 billion.
- 11 The proportion of the population receiving benefits is considerably higher now than in the 1960s, and this has driven a large increase in overall government expenditure. Figure 1 shows actual and forecast trends in the numbers of people on different benefits since 2003. Prior to the current recession the numbers of people receiving unemployment benefit was heading down towards levels last seen in the 1960's. But of great concern, the numbers of people receiving benefits because of sickness, disability or sole parenthood were dramatically higher than earlier decades. There has been a failure to see any significant ongoing reductions in numbers, despite recent economic boom times.
- 12 Based on past trends, and given the current recession, we anticipate that with current policy settings future decades will see a continued growth in the proportion of the population

receiving long-term benefits. This would impose fiscal, social and economic costs that New Zealand could ill afford, particularly given the context of an ageing population.

**Figure 1: Actual and forecast number of people receiving main benefits, 2003 to 2014**



*A fair system that gets results*

- 13 As well as being sustainable, the welfare safety net needs to be perceived as fair, and achieve results.
- 14 The benefit system aims to provide support for individuals and families who need temporary help because of unemployment, the loss of a partner, sickness and disability. But as well as providing financial support, the social welfare system needs to support individuals to find a job and gain financial independence where appropriate. I do not believe that long-term benefit receipt is an acceptable lifestyle for people who can work, and the social welfare system could do better at getting long-term welfare recipients into work. We need to assess whether both policy settings and institutional arrangements could be better aligned to meet this goal. For example, we will need to assess whether different delivery mechanisms might be needed to provide vocational rehabilitation and work focussed support for disabled people and people with ill health.
- 15 The benefit system also needs to be seen as fair, particularly for taxpayers. Public discontent often revolves around long-term welfare recipients who are perceived to be rorting the system. Clarifying expectations that in most cases long-term receipt of benefit is not appropriate will help to restore public confidence. There are also complaints that the welfare system makes it difficult for people to leave benefits. The rules and policies around leaving benefit need to be reviewed to see if this is an issue.

## What the Welfare Working Group will do

- 16 I would like the Welfare Working Group to focus on long term benefit receipt – focussing particularly on those groups who have ill health, a disability, or are caring for dependant children. The Group would consider evidence and analyse options in an open and transparent manner. The outcome of the review will provide us with some practical ideas for consideration.
- 17 I want the Group to come up with some fresh thinking. We need to ask the hard questions – is New Zealand doing the right things? Have we got the right welfare structure in place? Are we getting the outcomes that taxpayers want from the system?
- 18 To be successful, the Group will need to come up with a menu of practical, sustainable proposals for Government to consider. As the goal is to tackle long-term welfare dependence, the proposals will have to be at minimum cost-neutral over the medium term. But there is opportunity for the Group to explore ideas which invest in people up front for longer term gain.
- 19 Where possible I would prefer ideas that simplify the existing system, or at least do not add further complexity.

## Scope of the Welfare Working Group

### *In scope*

- 20 I am proposing that the Welfare Working Group cover the breadth of the welfare system for working age people and their families, including main benefits, second and third tier support, non-financial support provided through the benefit system, and in-work support (excluding financial support provided through the tax system). It will also consider how the benefit system works alongside Health and ACC.
- 21 The group will need to consider the fit of the current system with a flexible labour market and the modern roles and responsibilities within families. Particular topic areas I would ask the Group to consider include:
  - how long-term benefit dependence can be reduced and work outcomes improved, including for sole parents;
  - how to promote opportunities and independence from benefit for disabled people and people with ill health;
  - how welfare should be funded, and whether there are things that can be learned from the insurance industry and ACC in terms of managing Government's forward liability; and
  - whether the structure of the benefit system and hardship assistance in particular is contributing to long term benefit dependency.

### *Out of scope*

- 22 Except where there are compelling or practical reasons, I suggest that the Group have as few restrictions to its scope as possible.
- 23 New Zealand Superannuation, however, would be explicitly out of scope. The issues facing this group are different to those for beneficiaries and for the welfare system more generally.

- 24 There is considerable potential for overlap with work and services administered through ACC and the Ministry of Health, and to be effective the Welfare Working Group will need to have a mandate to consider the support the government provides for these people, where they interface with the benefit system. The issues being considered as part of the Stocktake of ACC Accounts, however, would be explicitly out of scope, and interface issues with ACC and with health and disability services provided through the Ministry of Health will need to be carefully managed.
- 25 The tax-benefit interface, and Working for Families specifically will also not be in scope. The issues in this area raised by the Tax Working Group will be considered separately to the Welfare Working Group process.

### **Process**

- 26 I am proposing that the Welfare Working Group borrow heavily from the successful approach taken by the Tax Working Group. This would mean:
- an inclusive, independent, open, and public process;
  - high quality, expert core group members;
  - a partnership with a reputable third party agency (possibly the Institute of Policy Studies at Victoria University); and
  - an expert, multidisciplinary secretariat drawn from across government.

### *Independence from Government*

- 27 I propose that the Welfare Working Group operate an inclusive, open and public approach, much the same as the Tax Working Group. This will allow the Group to consider questions that need to be examined in an environment where people can debate, question, analyse and "think outside the square". As the Welfare Working Group would be independent from Government, I will make it clear that Ministers are in no way pre-committed to automatically accepting the Group's recommendations.

### *Membership*

- 28 The most effective structure for a wide-ranging review is to have a core Welfare Working Group of eight to ten high quality thinkers. This will not in any way preclude input from a wider number of subject experts on particular issues or areas of interest to the core Group. The Group needs to contain:
- academics;
  - business, employee and taxpayer representatives;
  - representatives of community organisations;
  - other recognised New Zealand experts.
- 29 In addition, I would like a number of highly regarded international experts to act, not as full members, but in an advisory capacity in the initial stages of the Groups considerations. My recommendation for the proposed membership and chair of the Welfare Working Group are set out in annex 1. The Ministry of Social Development will negotiate fees for members of the Welfare Working Group in line with Cabinet Office guidelines.

### *Partnership and Secretariat*

- 30 The Tax Working Group was a partnership between Inland Revenue, Treasury and Victoria University of Wellington. The University hosted the Working Group, and ran a conference upon its conclusion. I am seeking a similar partnership with an institution such as the Institute of Policy Studies at Victoria University.
- 31 The Welfare Working Group will need to be backed by a dedicated secretariat drawn from the Ministry of Social Development, Treasury and other relevant agencies. I will be requesting assistance from other Ministers to help in this regard.

### *Outputs and timing*

- 32 I propose that the Welfare Working Group follow a broadly similar process to the Tax Working Group. This would mean:
  - hosting a small two-day public conference to introduce the issues to a wider audience and encourage open and informed public debate with the international experts involved;
  - holding at least four workshops on specific issues (eg disabled people and the benefit system; sole parents), with papers and an overview of discussions made publicly available;
  - having a final wrap-up session; and
  - delivering a findings and recommendations report by December 2010.

### *How will Government use the report?*

- 33 The Government will make no commitment to automatically progress the recommendations of the Welfare Working Group. However, the report will inform our thinking and provide a fresh review of what needs to be done.
- 34 Following the Group's report, I will report to Cabinet with recommendations about which, if any, of the proposals we should adopt as Government policy. There will be sufficient time for Government consideration and responses to be announced in subsequent Budgets if necessary.

### **Financial Implications**

- 35 The Ministry of Social Development will fund the direct costs of administering the Welfare Working Group from within its existing baseline. These costs are estimated to be around \$414,000. In addition, the Ministry of Social Development, Treasury, and other relevant departments will both provide staff for an across government secretariat, and also provide briefings to the Welfare Working Group as required. The value of these additional supports is estimated to be slightly more than \$700,000. These costs will be absorbed within existing baselines.

### **Legislative implications**

- 36 The paper does not propose any legislative changes.

## **Regulatory impact**

- 37 A regulatory impact analysis is not required as this paper does not propose any changes to regulations.

## **Human Rights**

- 38 The Ministry of Justice indicates that the proposal does not raise any issues in terms of New Zealand's human rights legislation.

## **Impact on specific groups in the population**

- 39 The Welfare Working Group will be tasked with looking at ways to reduce long-term welfare dependence. In order to be successful, the group will need to access a range of different perspectives, and carefully consider how proposals might impact on people in different circumstances and from various backgrounds.
- 40 An important part of the Welfare Working Group's work will be to consider issues for disabled people. As a Government, our aim is an inclusive society that values disabled people, and continually enhances their participation, especially in employment. The Welfare Working Group will need to examine policy and delivery settings within the welfare system, as well as wider factors such as education and the labour market that contribute to people with disabilities being underrepresented in employment. The final report will need to include recommendations about how to address the aspirations of the many disabled people who would like the opportunity to work and contribute to the economy.

## **Publicity**

- 41 The Prime Minister's Statement to Parliament announced the creation of a group of experts to look at ways to reduce long-term welfare dependence. I intend to announce the terms of reference and membership of the Welfare Working Group at a suitable time following Cabinet approval of this paper. At the same time I intend to make this Cabinet paper publicly available.

## **Consultation**

- 42 The Treasury, Ministry of Health, Department of Labour, Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Justice and ACC have been consulted. The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet were informed.

## **Recommendations**

- 43 It is recommended that Cabinet:
- 1 **agree** that an independent Welfare Working Group be established to conduct a wide ranging and fundamental review of New Zealand's welfare system, reporting by 31 December 2010;

- 2 **agree** that the primary focus for the Welfare Working Group is to address issues of long-term welfare dependence and to look for ways to turn around the growth in beneficiary numbers and expenditure, and the associated social and economic liabilities;
- 3 **agree** that the scope of the Welfare Working Group's work will include:
  - 3.1 how long-term benefit dependence can be reduced and work outcomes improved, including for sole parents;
  - 3.2 how to promote opportunities and independence from benefit for disabled people and people with ill health;
  - 3.3 how welfare should be funded, and whether there are things that can be learned from the insurance industry and ACC in terms of managing the Government's forward liability;
  - 3.4 whether the structure of the benefit system and hardship assistance in particular is contributing to long-term benefit dependency;
- 4 **agree** that New Zealand Superannuation, Working for Families and issues being covered in the Stocktake of ACC Accounts are out of scope for the Welfare Working Group;
- 5 **agree** to the proposed chair and membership of the Welfare Working Group as set out in Annex 1;
- 6 **note** that the direct costs of the Welfare Working Group will be met from within the existing baselines of the Ministry of Social Development;
- 7 **note** the Ministry of Social Development, Treasury, and other relevant agencies will provide staff for a secretariat, as well as information and briefings for the Welfare Working Group as required; and
- 8 **agree** to the public release of this Cabinet paper.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Hon Paula Bennett  
Minister for Social Development and Employment

11 | 3 | 2010  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



# Cabinet Social Policy Committee

SOC Min (10) 4/5

Copy No: 36

## Minute of Decision

*This document contains information for the New Zealand Cabinet. It must be treated in confidence and handled in accordance with any security classification, or other endorsement. The information can only be released, including under the Official Information Act 1982, by persons with the appropriate authority.*

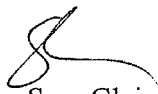
### Welfare Working Group

#### Portfolio: Social Development and Employment

On 17 March 2010, the Cabinet Social Policy Committee:

- 1 **noted** that New Zealand's active delivery approach to welfare is highly regarded among the Organisation for Economic Development countries, but that a welfare system needs to be achieved that is sustainable, fair to both recipients and taxpayers, and gets better results for New Zealanders;
- 2 **agreed** that an independent Welfare Working Group be established to conduct a wide ranging and fundamental review of New Zealand's welfare system;
- 3 **agreed** that the primary focus for the Welfare Working Group be to address issues of long-term welfare dependence and to look for ways to turn around the growth in beneficiary numbers and expenditure, and the associated social and economic liabilities;
- 4 **agreed** that the scope of the work of the Welfare Working Group will include:
  - 4.1 how long-term benefit dependence can be reduced and work outcomes improved, including for sole parents;
  - 4.2 how to promote opportunities and independence from benefit for disabled people and people with ill health;
  - 4.3 how welfare should be funded, and whether there are things that can be learned from the insurance industry and ACC in terms of managing the Government's forward liability;
  - 4.4 whether the structure of the benefit system and hardship assistance in particular is contributing to long-term benefit dependency;
- 5 **agreed** that New Zealand Superannuation, Working for Families and issues being covered in the Stocktake of ACC Accounts are out of scope for the Welfare Working Group;
- 6 **noted** that the Welfare Working Group will report to the Minister for Social Development and Employment, and any other relevant Ministers, by 31 December 2010;
- 7 **noted** that the Minister for Social Development and Employment intends to submit a paper to Cabinet on 22 March 2010 confirming the members of the Welfare Working Group;

- 8 **noted** that the direct costs of the Welfare Working Group will be met from within the existing baselines of the Ministry of Social Development;
- 9 **noted** the Ministry of Social Development, the Treasury, and other relevant agencies will provide staff for a secretariat, as well as information and briefings for the Welfare Working Group as required;
- 10 **directed** the Ministry of Social Development to report to the Minister of Finance and the Minister for Social Development and Employment on the secretariat arrangements, and any other necessary arrangements that ensure that the Welfare Working Group is independent;
- 11 **noted** that the Minister for Social Development and Employment intends to make the submission under SOC (10) 24 publicly available.



Sam Gleisner  
Committee Secretary

Reference: SOC (10) 24

**Present:**

Hon Bill English  
Hon Tony Ryall (Chair)  
Hon Anne Tolley  
Hon Judith Collins  
Hon Paula Bennett  
Hon Pansy Wong  
Hon John Carter

**Officials present from:**

Office of the Prime Minister  
Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet  
Officials Social Policy Committee  
Ministry of Social Development

**Distribution:**

Cabinet Social Policy Committee  
Office of the Prime Minister  
Chief Executive, DPMC  
Director, PAG, DPMC  
PAG Subject Advisor, DPMC  
Secretary to the Treasury  
Claire Douglas, Treasury  
Secretary for Justice  
Director-General of Health  
Minister for ACC  
Chief Executive, ACC  
Secretary of Labour (ACC)  
Chief Executive, Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs  
Chief Executive, MSD  
Don Gray, MSD  
Chief Executive, Ministry of Women's Affairs  
Minister of Labour  
Secretary of Labour  
Chief Executive, Te Puni Kokiri  
Geoff Short, Te Puni Kokiri

## ----- CHAIR -----

### **Paula Rebstock**



#### **Current positions**

Deputy Chair of New Zealand Railways Corporation, Chair of the Insurance & Savings Ombudsman Commission, Chair of Expert Panel on the Probation Service of Department of Corrections, Director of Shared Services Establishment Board (Health), Advisory Board Member of Auckland University Business School and Synergia Ltd, Lead Assessor of the Performance Assessment Framework for the State Services Commission.

She has a double degree in international relations and economics from the University of Oregon and a Masters Degree in Economics from the London School of Economics.

#### **Formerly:**

- Chair Commerce Commission
- Director of the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology.
- Economic Adviser in the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet.
- General Manager Labour Market Policy Group in the Department of Labour.
- Economic Analyst at the NZ Treasury.

## ----- Academics -----

### **Professor Des Gorman**



#### **Current position**

Head of the University of Auckland's School of Medicine and Head of the Clinical Training Agency Board.

#### **Expertise**

Ph D, University of Sydney. This was awarded on the basis of research into brain injuries. Also BSc, and MB ChB. Professor Gorman's clinical, research and teaching interests include medical education and sociology, neurology, toxicology and occupational medicine. He has a special interest in the health of divers and mariners.

## Professor Kathryn McPherson



### Current position

Professor of Rehabilitation (Laura Fergusson Chair), Auckland University of Technology.

### Expertise

PhD, from Edinburgh University. Professor McPherson has a background in nursing, midwifery and psychology and in addition to her role at AUT University, is a Visiting Professor at the University of Southampton and at King's College London. Professor McPherson's research focuses on: investigating outcomes in ways that matter most to people with chronic conditions (both conceptual and psychometric issues); improving effectiveness of rehabilitation processes aimed at enhancing participation in meaningful activities and improving quality of life; and rehabilitation workforce development. Most of her clinical and research work has been in neurological rehabilitation (with people after stroke or traumatic brain injury) but she has also explored key issues concerning people who have rheumatoid arthritis, chronic pain or life threatening illness.

## Ann Dupuis



### Current position

Associate Professor, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University

### Expertise

Associate Professor Dupuis teaches sociology, gender, globalisation and the sociology of work. Her academic interests span two major areas: the sociology of work and urban sociology. She has published extensively in areas including: sustainable employment and younger workers, labour market change, non-standard work and entrepreneurship; urban intensification, urban governance, gated communities and housing wealth and inheritance

----- EMPLOYERS -----

**Catherine Isaac**



**Current position**

Catherine Isaac is the Managing Director of Awaroa Partners Ltd.

**Expertise**

Catherine Isaac (formerly Judd) was a founding director of the public company St Lukes Group (now Westfield), and a member of the Board of the Wellington Community Trust from 1999 to 2003. Formerly ACT president, communications and public affairs manager for the National Provident Fund, consultant to the New Zealand Treasury, the GST Launch Team and current affairs journalist for Television New Zealand.

----- NGO AND COMMUNITY -----

**Sharon Wilson-Davis**



**Current position**

Chief Executive Officer of Tamaki Ki Raro Trust

**Expertise**

Sharon Wilson-Davis, raised and educated in Otago, 20 plus years owner/ operator in the hotel- hospitality industry, throughout NZ and Australia. She has been CEO of the Tamaki Ki Raro Trust for the past 13 years. Tamaki Ki Raro Trust initially set out to assist with the development of Te Puea Marae to provide commercial, social & cultural stability for Tainui people in the area. Over the years the trust identified the need to broaden its partnership to include different cultural groups in the community, particularly embracing Pacific people. Today Tamaki Ki Raro Trust is recognised as a significant community service provider, working closely along side government & non government agencies to provide a wide range of social, education, training & employment opportunities within the community.

## Adrian Roberts



### Current position

Managing Director, In-Work New Zealand

### Expertise

Successful provider of employment services for people on benefit who have a repeated history of unemployment. In-Work New Zealand works especially with Maori or Pacific clients in receipt of Unemployment Benefit. In-Work has a staff of 30 and locations in Henderson, Birkenhead, Manurewa, Pukekohe, Hamilton and New Plymouth. In-Work has provided service to approximately 16,482 clients since it began in 2001.

Prior to the inception of In-Work NZ Limited, Adrian was the Managing Director of the Hub Resource Company (Australasia) Limited, a specialist recruitment company. Previously Adrian was also a Director of Roberts & Hoskins and Anti Systems Limited, along with DSP Australia PTY Limited in Australia.

## Enid Ratahi Pryor



### Current position

Enid Ratahi Pryor is Chief Executive of Te Tohu o Te Ora o Ngati Awa (Ngati Awa Social and Health Services), a Maori social and health service provider based in Whakatane.

### Expertise

Ms Ratahi Pryor was appointed General Manager of Te Tohu o Te Ora o Ngati Awa in 1998. Previously she was the CEO of the Eastern Bay of Plenty Disability Resource Centre. Ms Ratahi Pryor is an experienced director and trustee, and has over 20 years experience in community development.

## -----INTERNATIONAL EXPERTS-----

Available to assist the Working Group.

### Christopher Prinz



#### Current position

Dr Prinz holds a Ph.D in Statistics/Demography, University of Vienna, Austria. He is currently Senior Policy Analyst - OECD; Directorate for Employment, Labour and Social Affairs,

#### Expertise

Dr Prinz is a specialist in employment-oriented social policy. Leader of OECD's work on sickness and disability policy challenges. Selected publications include:

- Sickness, Disability and Work: Breaking the Barriers. Overcoming a disability benefit culture – A synthesis of findings for OECD countries (with A. Gomes, H. Kim, A. Llana-Nozal and S. Singh), Paris: OECD.
- Sickness, Disability and Work: Breaking the Barriers. Canada: Time for structural reform (with A. Gomes and H. Kim), Paris: OECD. Forthcoming 2009.
- Ageing and Employment Policies: Germany, Paris: OECD. 2005.

### Bob Gregory



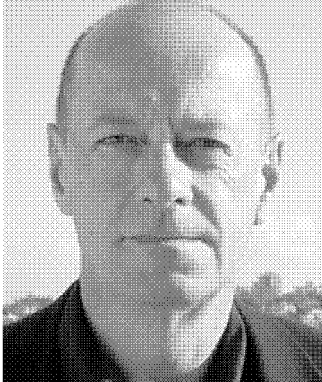
#### Current position

Professor of Economics at the Research School of Social Sciences in the Australian National University, Canberra.

#### Expertise

- Graduate of the University of Melbourne and the London School of Economics and Political Science. Member of the Board of Management at the Australian Institute of Family Studies.
- 1990 to 1993 principal Aged Care Reviews
- 1998 member of the committee introduced student income contingent loans
- Member of the Committee on Employment Opportunities which prepared a Discussion Paper that acted as a precursor to the Government's 1994 Working Nation.
- Board of the Reserve Bank of Australia
- Member of the Australian Sciences and Technology Council

## Peter Saunders



### Current position

Consultant and independent author, based in England.

### Expertise

- Ph.D in Sociology Chelsea College, University of London.
- Previously Social Research Director, Centre for Independent Studies, Sydney, Australia
- Research Manager, Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne, Australia
- Professor of Sociology, University of Sussex (Professor Emeritus from 2002)

Publicly Released