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Making Brexit work for Wales

The First Minister of Wales, Carwyn Jones AM, sets out his priorities and concerns as Wales leaves the EU.

During the recent Labour Conference in Liverpool, much was made of the decision not to hold a debate on Brexit on the conference floor. In truth however, talk of Brexit was everywhere - in speeches, fringes, bars and stalls - people talked of little else. Encouragingly, most of that talk centred on the future and not a re-running of the referendum arguments. Our task as a Labour movement, and for the Welsh Government, must be to accept the reality of the referendum result and shape the future in the best interests of people in Wales.

Many commentators have taken to measuring responses to Brexit on how they might appeal to the 52 percent - or pleas not to forget the 48 percent. Such talk is wrong and unhelpful, and merely deepens the divide we saw emerge in the referendum. It is the role of Government to govern for the whole country, and we must do our utmost to rebuild the confidence and relationships that were fractured by the result.

The people of Wales and the UK have given their instructions to those of us who are elected to serve them, and we have a duty to deliver. My focus now is to make Brexit work for Wales. When I visited the USA in September, I met a number of companies who currently have a presence in Wales or have an interest in investing here.



My message to them was that Wales is open for business, that we are a great place to do business in, to work in and to visit.

Their message to me was clear - they are impressed by what Wales has to offer, in terms of skills and infrastructure, but the uncertainty over Brexit is now a significant hurdle for investors. Every one of those businesses wanted to hear that we would continue to have free and unfettered access to the single market, and that's why I make no apologies for pressing that case with the UK Government.

So it's absolutely vital that when we leave, the UK must retain free and unfettered access to the world's largest economy. Without it, we risk inflicting needless economic harm on our country, and on our citizens. That is our starting for the various work streams now underway - including a Welsh Government cabinet sub-committee, our external advisory panel and in the negotiations and discussions with the UK Government and other devolved nations. That work cannot just be about heading off threats to our interests - we must be more ambitious than that, and look too for opportunities and think about what we want a post-Brexit Wales to look like.

There are immediate battles to be fought and won though - in the EU referendum campaign, the leave campaign promised time after time that Wales would be no worse off financially if we left the EU. They promised more money for the NHS. More money for farmers. More money for infrastructure and regeneration projects. Many of those campaigners are now in prominent positions in the UK Government. They have an absolute duty to deliver on what they promised and the language coming out of the Wales Office on these issues should trouble anyone who agrees with this simple message - Wales may have voted "out" but we did not vote to have less money.

In the weeks and months since the vote, we've heard the new Prime

Minister, and others say that "Brexit means Brexit" - but we still don't know what "Brexit" actually means. We've yet to see a plan, a strategy or a blueprint from the UK Government that sets out what that means for the UK and its people, our businesses, our investors, our urban and rural communities, our farmers, for our coastal and fishing communities, and others.

But we need answers, and soon. The scale of the challenge before us is monumental. Never before has an

Wales and the rest of the UK will leave the European Union, but that does not mean we will be leaving Europe. We will not stop trading with Europe. We will not stop attracting inward investment from Europe, or supporting businesses to export Welsh goods and services to Europe. We will not stop visiting Europe, or encouraging Europeans to visit Wales.

Crucially we also need to give certainty and security to the EU nationals - and other foreign

We've heard the new Prime Minister, and others say that "Brexit means Brexit" - but we still don't know what "Brexit" actually means.

EU member state left the union - we are very much in uncharted territory. Divorcing ourselves from the EU will not be easy or straightforward. Beware any commentator who starts any sentence about a final Brexit deal with "the one thing we know for sure" - there really are no certainties at this stage.

In the immediate aftermath of the result being declared, I set out six key priorities, and these priorities continue to shape our detailed work ongoing with the UK Government and others:

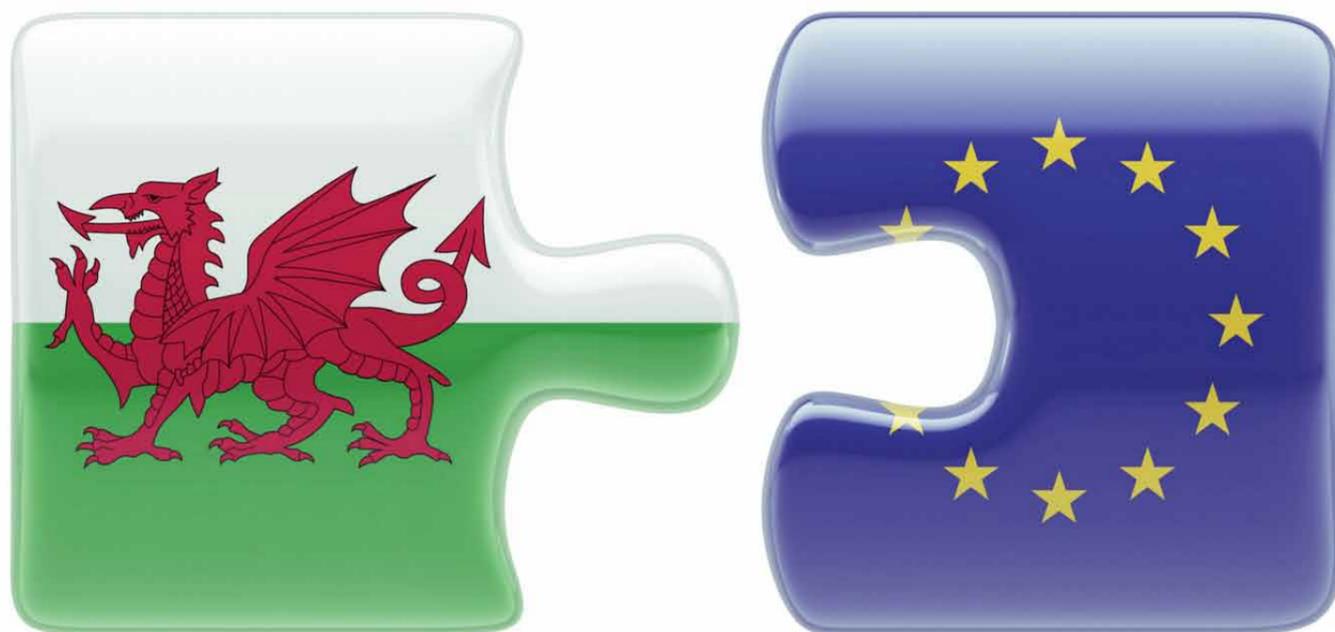
1. *Protecting jobs;*
2. *Full involvement for the Welsh Government in discussions on UK withdrawal;*
3. *Continuing access to the single market for goods and services;*
4. *Security of funding budgeted under EU programmes;*
5. *Long-term revision of the block grant;*
6. *A new post-Brexit relationship between devolved Governments and the UK Government.*

nationals living in Wales, many of whom are understandably rocked by the result. I have raised this with the Prime Minister and Home Secretary and I expect them to be doing more on this. One of my first visits post-Brexit was to a Polish centre in Llanelli, where I made it absolutely clear that Wales remains an open, welcoming nation - that we have a zero-tolerance approach to racism or xenophobia in any form. Anyone who thinks these unacceptable views have somehow been legitimised by the Brexit vote needs to think again.

The EU referendum campaign was divisive, and the result traumatic for some. But the result cannot and should not be ignored, as I've acknowledged from the start. The Welsh Government is tasked with leading Wales's interests as negotiations unfold. But we're talking about the long-term future of our country, and the issues raised go far beyond the interests of any particular Government or, indeed, any particular political party. I hope that in the months and years ahead we will have an inclusive and wide debate about how best to protect Wales's interests and what kind of country we want Wales to be.

Brexit opportunities

Andrew RT Davies AM, Leader of the Welsh Conservatives, argues that the EU has failed Wales and calls for a new approach to regeneration, higher education and agriculture.



In June British voters were consulted on the UK's relationship with the European Union for the first time since the 1970s. It was an historic occasion, and the largest single exercise of democracy ever seen in the history of this country. For the first time in a generation, our relationship with the continent was placed in the hands of the British people – and not politicians – and the result has changed the fault lines of both Welsh and British politics forever.

For a country historically assumed to be pro EU, the vote shook the establishment to the core and many Welsh politicians have struggled to accept the result. But Brexit presents

us with significant opportunities: we need to pull together and work constructively to achieve the best outcome for Wales. It's clear that EU schemes have failed to lift our poorest communities out of poverty and we have an opportunity to reimagine the ways in which we support them. So too the ways in which we support and develop Welsh agriculture and higher education.

Sadly the response of the Welsh Government has meant that Wales is, at present, missing an opportunity to shape the debate. When the result was announced in June, I made it clear that my party is willing to enter constructive cross-party discussions. As the First Minister recently said:

'no one group or individual has a monopoly on good ideas'. And yet the body he established to provide support and advice to the Welsh Government on the UK's withdrawal from the EU contains just one voice who campaigned to leave.

The make-up of that panel is the First Minister's prerogative, but if he truly wants to speak for Wales as a whole then he must offer a voice for the majority in this country who took a collective decision to leave the EU; and he must be honest and frank about the reasons people chose to vote that way. After all, our membership of the EU hasn't made Wales the land of milk and honey we were told it would.

Back in 2000, Rhodri Morgan described 'Objective 1' funding as a "once in a lifetime opportunity" for Wales. Sixteen years and three funding cycles later the same parts of the country remain amongst the poorest areas in the EU, never mind the United Kingdom.

It's a damning indictment of a generation of failure; both to make the most of billions of pounds of taxpayers' money, and to materially improve the lives of families in Wales' poorest communities. And yet throughout the referendum campaign, and since, we have been told that Wales simply cannot survive without these funds and without EU membership.

development, rather than there has to be a better way to organise it. And leaving the EU will enable us to devise new schemes to tackle local priorities, whilst helping us to break the relentless cycle of Welsh Governments throwing good money after bad. Only then can we improve the prospects of our poorest areas.

Having voted to take back control, for the first time in more than forty years we have an opportunity to rip up the rule book and start again. But we need to take full advantage and radically rethink the ways in which we support our communities.

Successive Labour governments have abjectly failed to make the most of successive rounds

league tables. Research income at these institutions ranks higher than any university in Europe. Bolstering relations with the US higher education sector alone and reinvigorating recruitment efforts will go some way to plugging any deficit born out of our departure from the EU.

Meanwhile, Britain's decision to leave the EU presents us with an opportunity to re-imagine the kind of support we offer farmers. It's clear that the CAP doesn't fit, and we need to replace it with a locally-designed scheme that meets British needs.

As a farmer myself, I want to see the industry freed from the shackles of red tape and regulation, with a new UK-wide framework to replace the Common Agricultural Policy. A new framework must be flexible enough to allow the devolved institutions to pursue locally-driven priorities, but retain sharp enough teeth to guarantee a 'single market' for UK farming. There is little need to fear the future. Where 'project fear' predicted economic meltdown, disaster has so far been averted. If you stockpiled tinned food and powdered milk for the Brexit fall-out, it's time to start putting it to use. If anything, the only lingering uncertainty that remains is because of those attempting to derail the process.

It's time to respect the result of the referendum and move on. A recent poll for ITV Wales found Welsh voters prioritise full control of immigration policy over membership of the single market by a margin of two to one. A healthy majority also oppose a second referendum. The plans of some Remain-supporting MPs to block the result risk alienating millions of voters for whom they appear to have such little respect.

We all have a vital role to play in negotiating the future of our relationship with Europe. That must be a relationship that respects the wishes of the British and Welsh public.

Out of Wales' 22 council areas just five voted to remain in the EU, and in many cases the areas where the largest proportion of voters backed Brexit were the very areas in receipt of the most money from EU schemes.

But let's look at the facts: Wales has received just over £4 billion of (so-called) European money since 2000, through a range of schemes designed to reduce economic disparities between the EU's regions, and yet the gap has actually widened considerably over the period. GDP per capita for West Wales and the Valleys – in terms of purchasing power standards – has fallen considerably against the EU average; from 76 per cent in 2006 to just 69 per cent in 2014. We were told that these funds would herald the dawn of a brave new era but the fact is it never materialised.

By Labour's own admission the money hasn't been properly managed, and the results are clear for all to see. Out of Wales' 22 council areas just five voted to remain in the EU, and in many cases the areas where the largest proportion of voters backed Brexit were the very areas in receipt of the most money from EU schemes.

The point I'm making is not that money shouldn't be made available to support economic

of structural funding. The next generation of schemes which follow our exit from the European Union must be better targeted and deliver positive outcomes. We simply cannot continue to blithely accept failure for our poorest communities.

Wales must not lose out financially from Brexit, but I want to see a new wave of regeneration projects which empower local communities directly, putting them in the driving seat. After three opportunities to make structural funding work the poorest parts of Wales remain as poor as ever. This cannot be allowed to happen again.

As for universities, clearly many in the higher education sector will have their own concerns as to the likely impact of Brexit on research and recruitment. But the opportunities of this new post-EU world are limitless when you consider the rich collaborative potential to which we've barely begun to explore. Take for example the US, where universities such as MIT and Harvard consistently find themselves atop internationally influential

Unleash something amazing!

Jill Evans MEP argues that the Brexit vote is an opportunity to rethink, re-engage and revitalise politics, with community action at the centre.



While many of us are still recuperating after June's referendum vote, as an MEP still representing Wales and the Welsh national interest I have had to look at what I can do now to best prepare us for life outside the EU. It is not an easy task.

When I was a young woman, I was totally inspired by the whole European project and what it could offer a small nation like Wales. One significant factor was the principle of solidarity. Where the UK had failed to develop any effective regional policy, the EU adopted a comprehensive cohesion policy based on need. Successive UK governments argued that the EU assessment of need should be judged on a member state level, meaning, of course, that none of Wales would have qualified for funding. But the EU maintained its support for regions which were falling behind, and Wales' regions benefited by millions. It made us a net beneficiary of EU membership, unlike the rest of the UK.

EU funding will not solve Wales's problems, of course. Governments in Cardiff and London have responsibility for that. Indeed, they have the responsibility for creating the problems. But EU money has helped our communities. Just this week I voted on a report in the Culture and Education Committee in the European Parliament which

recognised the role of European funding in addressing structural and long-term unemployment, fostering social inclusion and promoting better educational opportunities, especially for those in disadvantaged areas. The report also called on member states to make full use of funding to support the integration of migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, and recognised the crucial role of local authorities in this. Losing this valuable support will clearly affect the ability of local authorities, NGOs and other agencies to promote and develop community cohesion.

Disaffection and alienation are just two of the factors that led to the rejection of EU membership by some communities in Wales which had benefited most from it. Communities in the valleys, for example, have always been poor, even when producing untold wealth for the few at the expense of their own health and wellbeing. Those communities were, by their very nature, immigrant communities. People from all over Wales, the UK and the world came to work in the coal and steel industries. They were multicultural and multilingual.

They were close communities, well known for the warmth and generosity of the people. I was born and have always lived in the Rhondda. I still feel that warmth. It enriched my childhood and I see how vital that community support is to children growing up today. Few people move into those communities now: there are no jobs to come for. Young people are more likely to leave. Community cohesion has to be built on alliances not isolation. We must unite people not

We have to take this opportunity to rethink, re-engage and revitalise our politics.

divide them. In these uncertain times we need strong leadership more than ever. If people do not have a voice and cannot play a part in shaping future communities, those communities will not be theirs: the ones they want. Everyone needs to be included. Building the future together ensures solidarity and cohesion.

Those of us not in government do not have the means to implement policies that will create jobs and revitalise our economy - urban and rural, town and valley. We will face further austerity policies and cuts in public services which impact most on those dependent on them. The promised millions for the health service will not materialise when we leave the EU. But we cannot afford to look back.

We have to take this opportunity to rethink, re-engage and revitalise our politics. We cannot leave it to others. We must try to translate those appealing promises of 'taking back control' into giving real control to people in Wales: encouraging and supporting autonomous community action that does not become the plaything of party politics.

We have to take responsibility. That means stopping hate crime and racism. Our language should be positive and our message hopeful. We welcome everyone who has chosen to make Wales their home, whether for a few years to work, study or learn new languages, or whether permanently to raise a family or retire. That is why the new

social media hashtag campaign #WeAreWales is so important. I know the majority of the population is not on Twitter but it is uplifting to see people from all over the world who have come to live in Wales identify strongly with our nation and want to play their full part in its future. We must reject hostility to migrants and make sure Wales takes a different path - an enlightened, inclusive and progressive path.

I have been involved in many campaigns like the miners' strike and the peace movement. One of the most memorable was the local campaign to close the notorious Nantygwyddon landfill site. This rubbish tip was on top of the mountain opposite my home so I could not only smell it but I would see it every day. What started as a small protest grew into a real community action. A permanent camp on site, blockading the road to the tip, soon replaced the placards outside the council offices which were ignored together with the people holding them. That camp was a microcosm of the local community. Elderly men would light the fire early in the morning, young parents would turn up after taking the children to school and then bring the children there later in the day. Local shops sent food and hot drinks. Everyone played a part.

Women and men of all ages and all backgrounds who had never been involved in politics soon became experts on how local authorities work, the dangers of mixing different waste streams in landfill, environmental law and much more.

I would not wish a Nantygwyddon on any community for a minute. But if we can mobilise that kind of support and strength to work for the good of Wales against the dangers of leaving the EU, we might just unleash something amazing.

We must try to translate those appealing promises of 'taking back control' into giving real control to people in Wales: encouraging and supporting autonomous community action that does not become the plaything of party politics.

The aftermath of Brexit for Merthyr's migrant workers

Dr Lesley Hodgson, who runs Focal Point which works with people from other countries who live in Merthyr Tydfil, describes the impact of the vote to leave the EU.



Imagine. You wake up the morning after the referendum and get ready for work as usual. You switch on the radio and hear in disbelief (but not utter shock, given the build-up to the referendum) that the UK has voted to leave the EU. You wonder what this means for you, your family and your future. Deep down, in the pit of your stomach, there is uncertainty, an uneasy feeling that stays with you as you walk to work. When you arrive at work people reach over you to congratulate each other,

shake hands, slap each other on the back and beam from ear to ear. A colleague, someone you've worked with for over twelve years, turns to you and says "Better start packing your bags, mate". They say it with a smile, jovially, just in case they are overheard by management. The irony is that the company you work for is European-owned, exports much of its products to Europe and could well be negatively affected by Brexit.

Imagine. The day after the referendum, you pick the children

up from school and arrive home to find your neighbours preparing for a party. What's the celebration you wonder? Later that night, you hear whoops and laughter, the clinking of glasses, they're obviously having a good time. Then you notice on Facebook the party is a Brexit party. Oh well, people are entitled to their view. But the next morning when your children go out to play, no-one wants to play with them because, "You have to go back to Poland".

This was the experience of some of Merthyr Tydfil's community

members. Those who have come to the area to work, who contribute to our economy, who spend their money in our shops, who have bought houses and opened new businesses on our High Street – overnight they were made to feel that the valleys are no longer such a welcoming place.

In the days after the referendum, Focal Point, a Lottery-funded Community Voice project that works with people who have come to live in Merthyr Tydfil from elsewhere, was inundated with requests from people unsure about the best course of action. Understandably, EU citizens were concerned about their

and Brexit.

Over the weeks that followed something more sinister began to emerge. Some members of our community seem to feel they have been given license to say things they wouldn't have said previously. When organising our annual Global Village Festival, someone screwed up a flier and threw it in my face saying, "I only believe in my own culture!" Some so-called 'low-level' hate incidents were recorded: notes telling our community members to leave were put through letterboxes, people were told they weren't welcome any more, to leave now rather than wait for Brexit to kick in.

Overnight, those who have come to the area to work, who contribute to our economy, who spend their money in our shops, who have bought houses and opened new businesses on our High Street, were made to feel that the valleys are no longer such a welcoming place.

residence status. Should they apply for permanent residence cards or citizenship, or should they leave the UK? One Portuguese family about to buy a new house wondered if they should cancel the process. A Polish family wondered about the status of their children, two of whom were born in Merthyr Tydfil and who had British birth certificates. A gentleman who had never encountered any sign of racism in the previous ten years, was suddenly made to feel uncomfortable in work. A nine-year-old child began having trouble sleeping and when questioned asked her mother if "mam and dad have to leave, what will happen to me?" One lady reported not wanting to speak in public because she was treated differently the minute her accent was heard. Most sadly, many EU citizens felt uncomfortable in commenting on everyday situations like the weather or a long day at work because the retort would always refer to their nationality

Sadly, some people have already done so.

A month or so after the referendum, Focal Point worked with Gerald Jones MP to organise an EU Citizens Surgery to try and offset some of the fears but apart from explaining that the process of leaving the EU would take at least two years and providing information such as how to apply for residency we were as much in the dark as everyone else. Today, apart from Theresa May's recent announcement that Article 50 will be invoked before the end of March 2017 we are still pretty much in the dark.

The advice from immigration lawyers has been that EU Citizens should seek to formalise their status. As it stands, members of EU states who have exercised their treaty rights (as workers, self-employed, jobseekers, students or being self-sufficient) whilst being resident for a five year period have a permanent right to reside. However, this right is

derived from EU legislation, so might not apply in future. EU citizens can apply for a permanent residence card that proves their status: this is not a legal requirement at present but the position may change.

There are an estimated 73,000 EU citizens living in Wales. Many have been here far longer than the five years needed to have permanent residence status. Getting that status involves printing out and filling in an 85 page form and gathering together five years' worth of 'proof' before sending it to the Home Office. It's been reported that the Home Office is quietly trialling a fast-track online system to handle an expected surge in permanent residency applications – this would be welcome especially if EU citizens will need to be registered post-Brexit.

Brexit poses a number of questions specifically for EU Citizens. Who will be given permanent residence, will the current five year rule remain or will something new be introduced? What will the qualifying conditions be? What will the administrative process look like? What will be the status of students and those classed as being self-sufficient be? Will any of this apply retrospectively? What will happen to those who have difficulty proving their status because of exploitation or trafficking? Rather than a wait-and-see stance what is needed now is a clear-cut statement from Theresa May outlining the government's intention toward EU Citizens.

For many, that feeling in the pit of the stomach is still there and it won't leave until these questions are answered but others have taken a more positive stance. They are used to taking risks and carrying on as usual, and so are waiting to see what happens. They realise that Wales needs migrant workers so that our hospitals and factories run smoothly, that our economy grows and that their entrepreneurial spirit enables Wales to flourish. They fear Brexit will be far harder on the people of Wales than the rest of the UK.

Delivering a 'fair work nation' post-Brexit

Brexit brings big challenges for Wales, particularly in areas like the Valleys which already face economic injustice. Martin Mansfield, Wales TUC's General Secretary, sets out the practical steps needed now to achieve real improvements in people's working lives.



The free market has failed many Welsh communities. Effective government intervention is needed to guarantee more opportunities for the people and places that are already the most disadvantaged and who stand to lose out further as a result of Brexit.

Our polling of people in the Valleys found a clear link between concerns about decent work, economic deprivation and support for Brexit. Negative views about immigration were not as pronounced here as in other parts of the UK, and immigration was rated far lower in self-identified concerns.

Last year, Wales TUC launched the *Better Jobs, Closer to Home* campaign, which included a radical proposal to reserve public contracts to create new employment and training hubs in the Heads of the Valleys. These will support people into sustainable employment, linking

with the Welsh Government's new employability programme, EU-funded activities and Department for Work and Pensions schemes.

The Programme for Government includes a pledge to create pilot hubs in the valleys, but the Ministerial Taskforce on the Valleys is an opportunity to pursue a deeper, whole-government commitment to prioritising Valleys communities. As Wales deals with the economic and social problems that Brexit will deliver, the Valleys Taskforce must be explicit in making the economy work for the Valleys both now and in the long-term. The Wales TUC has set out the following priorities to the Welsh government:

Industrial strategy for fair work and prosperity

There is an urgent need for an industrial strategy for Wales with specific, fair work and social justice outcomes. Central to this must be focusing resources on areas of

entrenched economic and social disadvantage.

Encouraging economic growth in terms of overall Wales GDP/GVA measures is important but will not be sufficient to tackle poverty in a meaningful way. Debates about 'the GVA gap' do not address poverty and have made economic policy too nebulous in recent years. A clear focus on outcomes should also challenge assumptions that increasing prosperity in Wales' cities will automatically reduce poverty in deprived areas. Encouraging the market to develop more quickly along the existing lines will simply reinforce existing economic unfairness. Unless areas like the Valleys are helped to prosper, Wales as a whole will not succeed – and what is more, Wales will not deserve to succeed.

Investment in skills and infrastructure are of course central to boosting prosperity. These must achieve measurable outcomes for people affected by low wages, precarious work, unemployment and wider social disadvantage. In practice that means infrastructure and skills development being specifically designed and planned to support the creation of a more equal and sustainable economy. Every last drop of better jobs value must be squeezed from every investment and every programme.

Support for a strong and stable

manufacturing sector is also essential to securing quality jobs. This is a unique priority as the benefits of manufacturing reach across many of the social aims pursued by the Welsh government.

There is a pressing need to 'increase the ask' on companies which seek Welsh Government support or which make huge profits from trading in Wales. There can be no reason why we should not put conditions on grant aid, such as the employment of disadvantaged workers, training and other social benefits.

More innovative methods should be explored such as the potential for a community social justice charge on large employers which can be rebated if the business employs local disadvantaged workers and sources suppliers locally. Alternatively companies could be required to publicly disclose their social justice outcomes.

With limited economic levers at the disposal of Welsh government we need to maintain as much as possible within public control. This means avoiding hiving-off rail maintenance as a private concession or outsourcing public services

Procurement

Getting the best social value from Welsh public spending has long been a Wales TUC policy priority. It is now just over a year since the Welsh Government agreed to pursue two *Better Jobs, Closer to Home* pilots. The difficulty in delivering on this commitment demonstrates the need for a dedicated senior executive lead tasked to achieve specific targets and able to co-ordinate cross-departmental teams.

As Wales faces the reality of leaving Europe, the silver lining to Brexit could be the potential for more progressive public procurement. Specifically, procurement policy could include

the protection of worker's rights, the enforcement of collectively-bargained terms and conditions and the extension of trade union recognition.

Skills and employability

A proactive and well-resourced skills and employability policy will also be central to achieving better jobs closer to home. Too often provision is focussed on minimum participation requirements rather than the individual needs of the learner. A disadvantaged worker can be passed from one programme to another, often with lengthy waits between engagements with no continuity of support.

An effective skills and employability policy should be a single, all-age intervention which provides seamless, bespoke support for individuals and sets out clear routes of progression. Ideally, the Department for Work and Pensions' new Work and Health Programme should be devolved but in the short-term it is vital that the Welsh Government acts as the 'commissioning agent' to ensure a single seamless approach.

EU structural funds

We have previously expressed concerns about the unfocussed geographic impact and outcomes of some projects, but there are some major infrastructure developments and positive training programmes which rely on European funds. It is only right that existing project commitments have now been guaranteed by the Treasury. In the longer term, the replacement of structural funds must be an additional element in a new, fair fiscal settlement for Wales rather than being incorporated into what Wales was already owed before Brexit. The Metro project is vitally important: it is an economic game-changer and is central to

the development of the Valleys as vibrant centres in their own right. The Metro must be prioritised, protected, fully-funded and fully-integrated into the response to Brexit.

Delivery structures

A whole government approach should be supported by structures which are clear, simple and focused on delivery. Implementing an industrial strategy requires senior executive leadership which commands authority across government and which is tasked with delivering measurable outcomes.

For a small country, Wales has a mind-numbing plethora of bodies including: city regions, enterprise zones, learning and skills partnerships, sector groups, advisory boards, task groups, task-and-finish groups, task-and-never-finish groups, partnership boards, local business fora, ambition boards, and employment and skills boards. Unfortunately, this list is not exhaustive. The adage that form follows function was never more disregarded than in the field of Welsh economic committee-dom.

The existing ad hoc structures are inadequate – particularly in the context of the challenges we face from Brexit and the structural challenges facing the Valleys. Overlapping remits, empire-building and mysterious membership appointment processes have all mitigated against delivery. Now is the time to streamline structures with clear governance, remits and an unrelenting focus on achieving improvements.

We badly need a proactive industrial strategy from Welsh Government designed to make us a 'fair work nation'. A clear focus on economic justice, the meaningful provision of skills, the imaginative use of procurement and of EU funds - coupled with effective delivery structures - can make real improvements in people's working lives and opportunities.

Our polling of people in the Valleys found a clear link between concerns about decent work, economic deprivation and support for Brexit.

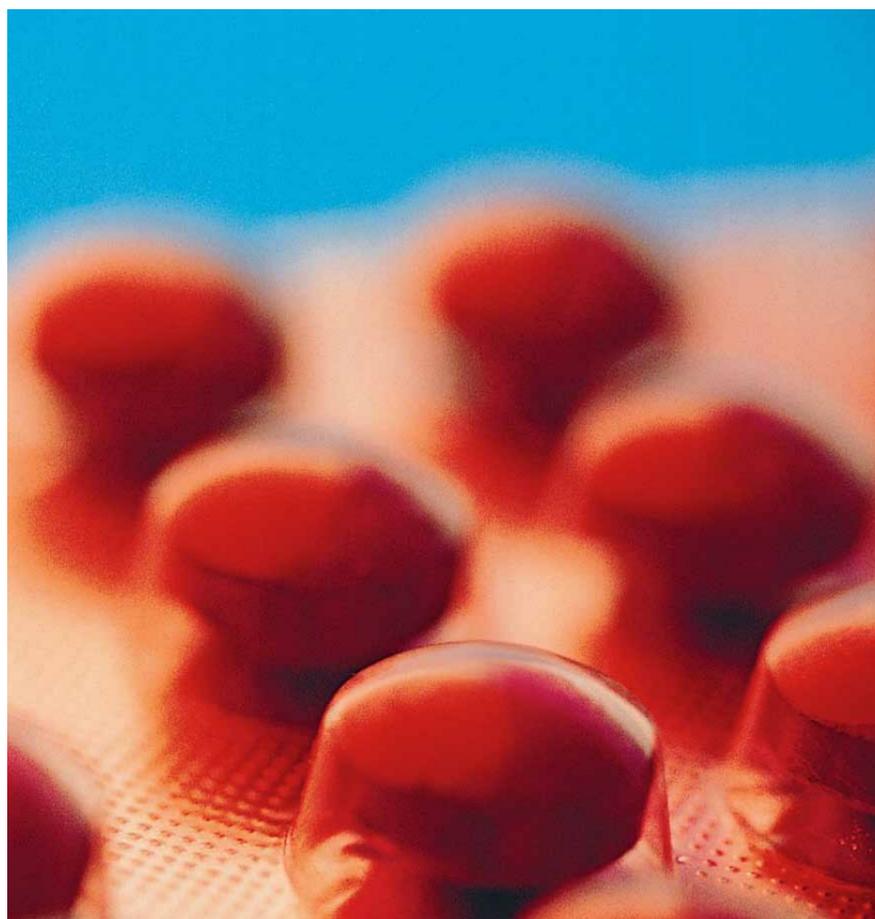
Getting back on track: the future for medicines in Wales post-Brexit

Brexit will affect the regulation of medicines in Wales and the UK – Dr Richard Greville, Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry Director for Wales, says we must seize the opportunities ahead for the benefit of the economy, patients, their families and the NHS.

In July, the First Minister made his call for action: “Wales is booming. We cannot let Brexit derail us.” Like Carwyn Jones, the members of the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry do not want to see Brexit derail progress and investment in the pharmaceutical and life sciences sector in Wales or indeed across the rest of the UK. We want to ensure that patients in Wales benefit from the health and wealth achievable from strengthening the research, development, manufacture and use of novel medicines and treatments. Moreover, we want to see the research partnerships, manufacturing and jobs from our industry continue to grow in Wales.

In Wales, according to Welsh Government figures, the life sciences sector employs around 11,000 people based at more than 350 companies and delivers a turnover of circa £2bn a year. These include companies in the ground-breaking fields of medical technology – biopharmaceuticals, regenerative medicine, diagnostics, e-health, and biotechnology.

Recognising this inherent strength and potential the Welsh Government has established initiatives like the Life Sciences Hub and Life Sciences Research Network Wales to ensure ongoing development of the sector in Wales, which is expected to



deliver significant (more than £1 billion) economic impact by 2022.

However, with so much of the research, regulation and manufacture of medicines closely tied to arrangements established at the European level, the challenge for the whole United Kingdom will

be working together to realise the issues and take advantage of the opportunities that Brexit presents.

Representing the research-based pharmaceutical industry across the UK, the Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry (ABPI) responded quickly to the

outcome of the referendum, and worked with the then UK Minister for Life Sciences, George Freeman, to establish a taskforce for the life sciences sector. Together with our trade association colleagues at the BioIndustry Association, we were charged with the task of bringing together industry experts from across our membership and the wider life sciences sector (including medical technology, diagnostics, over the counter medicines, generic medicines and animal health) to summarise the key needs and opportunities that must be addressed in future negotiations.

This work has provided the basis for the beginning of discussions with Governments across the UK, and

as both a contributor and leader in international networks both through the practicality of funding and membership in research platforms, as well as through exploration of new opportunities for partnership. If Governments are confirming that the ‘UK is open for business’ we should also ensure that the ‘UK is open for innovation’, exploring opportunities to continue collaboration, translational mechanisms and adoption for science to directly benefit patients and society.

Secondly, we need to agree on a roadmap to develop or at least sustain the regulation we need to discover, develop, manufacture and supply medicines for patients. The

supply chains established to follow demand and trading arrangements. To minimise disruption and the cost of delivering medicines for patients in the UK, we look to the Government to negotiate the best possible opportunities to freely trade and move goods and capital across borders. From financial services to the automotive industry, we know this is a sentiment shared by many sectors of the economy. However, this has particular importance for medicines when we consider the additional impact to public health.

Finally, to continue to discover and deliver the very latest medical science, we need to be able to recruit and retain the very best from overseas, both to work within our strong UK life-sciences landscape and to work alongside our own home-grown talent. Cutting-edge science is a global and a collaborative endeavour, and our businesses are only as strong as the highly skilled individuals who comprise them. This is not just the reality for industry but also for the wider research and health community too. Partnership with universities, research charities, the NHS and many more partners is the new reality. We should not think of talent coming into the UK from overseas as a one-way street either. By attracting the best and brightest, we will foster the best environment for developing our own in critical areas of science and technology that can flourish here in the UK, as well as internationally. This has been the real heritage of science in Wales and the UK – as the melting pot and meeting point for great minds.

As we’ve begun to identify, addressing the challenges and realising the opportunities that Brexit presents for the research, regulation and manufacture of medicines will be complex, yet despite all of this, we must look to make it success. In our sector, this is not just important for the economy, but is crucial for patients, for their families and for the future of the NHS.

What is clear at the outset is that, despite the recently-announced timeline for triggering of Article 50 by March 2017, it will take months - or even years - to complete the journey.

stands as a resource for industry, stakeholders across the healthcare ecosystem and policymakers for the months and years of negotiations to come.

What is clear at the outset is that, despite the recently-announced timeline for triggering of Article 50 by March 2017, it will take months - or even years - to complete the journey. With forty years of medical regulation and rulemaking to be untangled, there is no doubt that the challenge of establishing Britain’s future relationship with Europe – and the rest of the world – will be daunting and complex. To navigate this successfully and reset the entire United Kingdom as a place to business and research in life sciences, we will need to understand our priorities – and after conducting the initial work with our members and partners, we can broadly identify four.

Firstly, we need to reinforce our strengths in research and innovation. The UK and Wales has a proud heritage of excellence in the life sciences, and we will need to reassert our science community

EU-wide framework of regulation that ensures benefits and safety for patients and that enables effective innovation in life sciences has taken decades to achieve – and it remains a work in progress. Britain’s regulator, The Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA), has been a leading contributor to this shared regulatory framework. As such, we see the value in exploring opportunities with it, whilst also recognising the importance of regulatory cooperation and harmonisation with the EU which has delivered valued clinical research, new medicines and a medicines safety system for the benefit of patients in the UK and across Europe. A reset of our regulatory relationship with Europe in this particular instance does not have to involve a revolution.

However, care is needed to ensure that the result does not leave UK patients out in the cold.

Medicines are developed, manufactured and distributed on a global basis, with complex

Agriculture after Brexit

Peter Midmore, Professor of Economics at Aberystwyth University, looks at the challenges and opportunities facing Welsh agriculture.



Agriculture in Wales gets a lot of money from the UK's membership of the European Union. Estimates by Cardiff University's Centre for Welsh Governance puts it at around £260 million annually in total. Due to Brexit, change is inevitable, necessary and probably desirable. Apparently gloomy prospects could be offset by policy freedoms that will become available. Some examples are discussed below, but first a bit of context is needed.

The largest share of total Common Agricultural Policy expenditure in Wales goes to farmers in the form of area payments, the so-called Pillar One. These payments are designed to support farm incomes, but are

much criticised for not achieving this either efficiently or fairly. The smaller component of spending, Pillar Two, is delivered through the Wales Rural Development Programme. Most of this Pillar provides payments to farmers for environmentally-friendly farming, although there is also some money to support farm investment, food processing and community development projects.

Farmers currently get equally important benefits from being able to sell their products, such as lamb, in the European Single Market freely. This works both ways, though, because German and French farmers also have the same freedoms, and in particular sell their cheap dairy products which reduce

milk prices for farmers in Britain. So the terms of any trade agreement that replaces EU membership could have more immediate and severe effects on Welsh farming than any potential changes in financial support.

The fact that so many consequences are uncertain provokes much anxiety. Two things might particularly concern farmers. First, an economic recession could reduce government spending and, as a consequence, income support payments for farmers. Second, if no deal can be achieved in the two years after Article 50 of the European Union Treaty is invoked, substantial tariffs could be levied on agricultural products being

sold to European customers. In combination these would cause a disaster for farmers, and also for the integrity of the natural environment and the quality of life in rural areas. This very pessimistic scenario might be mitigated by policies for agriculture and rural development that take advantage of some new freedoms to tailor policy more closely to the Welsh context. There is a range of interlinked positive and negative characteristics of farming in Wales which make its character quite different, in general terms, to that elsewhere in Britain. The moist climate and soil properties are best for producing grass to rear livestock. The natural environment is of much higher quality and the opportunities for low-impact rural tourism and leisure are much richer. But topography of landform and steeply-sloping ground produces a farming structure of mainly small holdings with relatively low incomes. Outside the European Union, as much as within it, there is negligible scope for a return to old-style policies. These included commodity prices supported by state intervention purchases, high tariffs and subsidised exports. Even less likely is the former British system of deficiency payments which kept prices lower but cost the Treasury more. In fact, there are very few practical alternatives to the current mechanisms used to support farmers. We will probably see continued direct payments for income support and other payments to encourage farmers to manage their land in a way that benefits society as a whole.

Nevertheless, Wales will have the policy freedom to alter the balance between these two strands of payments that support incomes and enhance the environment. Also, and perhaps more importantly, the policy focus can be refined, streamlined and coordinated more appropriately to address other issues of equal significance in Wales.

The rural areas of Wales have low levels of per capita income, just as in peripheral parts of Britain and other industrial and post-

industrial countries. These gaps between urban prosperity and rural disadvantage have persisted for a long time. There is a convenient fiction that "agriculture is the backbone of the rural economy". In fact, in its present form of highly-specialised activity and long supply chains, its development potential is very weak.

Pillar Two of the present European policy framework is highly prescriptive and ill-fitted to the Welsh context. With freedom to experiment with local economic development policy, more effective synergies could emerge. Good examples of local production of food deserve to

Often subsidies for rural enterprises are not as important as nurturing embryonic initiatives and making sure that regulations are supportive rather than restrictive.

be more widely fostered. More local food self-sufficiency could provide a foundation for more community cohesion and improve understanding of the role and importance of the agricultural industry. However, policy must recognise that an increasing minority of families do not have the means to ensure good quality food and nutrition. This can be mitigated by imaginative schemes that facilitate community-supported agriculture and integrate food awareness into education. Often subsidies for rural enterprises are not as important as nurturing embryonic initiatives and making sure that regulations are supportive rather than restrictive. Arrangements to support environmentally-friendly farming are not working well. This is largely because they are designed by officials working in cities to produce schemes that comply with the detail of European regulations. Much more efficient and effective methods to improve environmental quality could be developed by farmers themselves, because no one understands the land and the

ecosystems it supports as well as they do. Effort could be stimulated by provision of appropriate expert environmental advice and supporting nascent collaborative farming practices and decision making. That in turn would promote more participation in the schemes and deliver better value for public money.

There are certainly possibilities that could be explored in the new freedoms in policy design and implementation. However, it would be as much a mistake to be over-optimistic about these prospects as to allow the more extreme negative possibilities to overshadow decision making for the future. The key is

to be prepared to meet a whole range of potential outcomes and to encourage the involvement of all the many interests involved.

Change is necessary and desirable in many respects, but it needs to be managed carefully, especially because of the high risks of not getting things right. It is not impossible, and in the past Wales has been seen as a leader in the development of new ideas.

The agri-environmental scheme, Tir Cymer, introduced in Wales in the early 1990s was widely admired as a very early and innovative example of good policy-making. At present, there is probably not sufficient expertise within the public policy establishment in Wales to respond to the enormous design challenges that leaving the European Union makes inevitable.

Ironically, as in many other policy domains, more experts will be needed, and urgently, to make the transition as pain-free as possible.

Brexit: a second chance for our countryside?

Brexit could undo decades-worth of legislation that protects the environment. Rachel Sharp, Chief Executive of Wildlife Trusts Wales, suggests a way forward for a sustainable future.



Last year, the Welsh Government set out a sustainable future for Wales in the Well-Being of Future Generations Act and the Environment Act. But, just as we set out on this journey, Brexit happened. The big question is what does this mean for our sustainable future? The simple truth is that we don't know: all we can do is assess where we are now and where we want to be in the future.

The Wildlife Trusts want to take the benefits that the European Union (EU) has offered and to integrate them into our future. EU environmental legislation has helped us to tackle water and air quality issues, to protect endangered

species including pollinators, and has cleaned up our beaches. Also, the greening of the Common Agricultural Policy has provided much-needed financial support. But there are concerns about how this beneficial legislation will be dealt with as we invoke Article 50.

The great bulk of EU environmental law is in the form of Directives which have been transposed into UK law. The Great Repeal Act will end the primacy of EU law and seems likely to roll-over current EU legislation until UK and devolved governments decide what to do with it. That should provide some breathing space, though a hard Brexit may result in deregulation to create market

advantage. Also, environmental legislation could be unwound through a light Parliamentary procedure, and there will no longer be recourse to EU law to challenge this. At a UK level the Wildlife Trusts are leading work by the environmental NGOs on possible new legislation to mitigate these risks.

Other threats to environmental protection arise from our exit of the EU. Wales receives funding for research, monitoring and habitat management from the EU. It also receives substantial funding under the EU Rural Development Programme to support sustainable rural communities. In these times of austerity, will funding the

environment be a government priority? In the past the threat of infraction procedures, with heavy financial penalties, has been an invaluable tool to ensure Member State compliance. Legislation is important but without mechanisms for enforcement it may have limited impact in the future. In reality it will be the political decisions on agricultural policy, influenced by trade agreements and future agricultural support, that will make the most difference to wildlife recovery in Wales.

Developing a sustainable land use policy could make a major contribution to tackling some of Wales' important future needs for energy, food, carbon, water and environmental security. We have started to address energy needs through renewable energy generation. Food security has to be placed into a global context: the food Wales produces is not meant to solely feed the nation. Rather we should be examining the quality not quantity of food produced by increasing local food production to high sustainability standards. We know that carbon management to reduce the effects of climate change needs action now. Climate change predictions are for more severe weather, with increased threats of flooding and drought, which highlights the need to manage the flow of water.

The risks are best managed by addressing environmental security: when natural systems function they provide cost-effective solutions to these risks. However, we have seen 90 per cent of lowland grassland, 44 per cent of upland heathland and 30 per cent of sand dune habitat lost in Wales. This has resulted in the decline of 56 per cent of species

between 1970 and 2013. When you consider that nearly three-quarters of Wales' land is farmed, then changing the financial model on which land management is supported offers a real opportunity to reverse these trends.

We need the multiple benefits that nature brings us but how can we restore this? We can start by understanding that over the years natural processes in our landscape have slowly been broken. The uplands, with their tremendous capacity to store carbon and water, have been drained to stimulate grass growth to feed sheep and cattle. This contributes to climate change and flooding. Housing has been built on twelve per cent of our flood plains, inhibiting the natural management of flooding. Our fish stocks are depleted, but new powers proposed in the Wales Bill will fully devolve Welsh in-shore fishing so we will have the opportunity to increase sustainable fisheries in Wales.

So what has happened in our farmed environment? In post-war Britain, farming practice was intensified to an extent that nature in the landscape started to decline. However, all that farmers were doing was responding to incentives to produce cheaper food to address food security issues.

This intensification was carried out to the detriment of wildlife and the environment. During this time our relationship with food has become unsustainable: half of food purchased is wasted whilst our over-consumption of food has resulted in 58 per cent of us being overweight. Shouldn't we be creating the right conditions to produce more high quality, healthy food, produced to high welfare and environment standards?

The Wildlife Trusts are seeking a future where Welsh biodiversity is recovering and the direct links between the health of our natural environment and the health and well-being of our society are valued and understood. We believe Wales is ideally placed to implement an innovative, integrated framework for the ecologically- and economically-sustainable management of Welsh farming, forestry and marine natural resources. This integrated natural environment policy would invest and support nature and would be based on:

- *creating multiple outcomes: everywhere has the potential to be a home for wildlife, to store water and carbon;*
- *societal funds for societal good: society needs to feel the benefit of sustainable land and sea management;*
- *fostering greater public understanding of the value of the natural environment and the role of consumer choice;*
- *promoting high quality, high welfare, ecologically sustainable food production;*
- *upskilling and supporting innovation for those who work in the environment including land owners and managers.*

We can only achieve these goals through collaboration. Austerity means that we need to pool our resources and knowledge. This has been a positive outcome of Brexit as change has brought everyone around one table, giving us a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to create a truly sustainable future.

Change is inevitable: by using our imagination we need to enact the brave Welsh legislation of last year for a brighter, sustainable future.

The Great Repeal Act will end the primacy of EU law and seems likely to roll-over current EU legislation until UK and devolved governments decide what to do with it.

European Way closed – follow diversion

With half of the regulations that affect local government being derived from EU legislation, Steve Thomas, Director of the Welsh Local Government Association, sets out local authorities' plans for a seamless Brexit.



During Richard Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972, the Chinese premier, Zhou Enlai, was asked about the impact of the French Revolution. Speaking of an event that took place in 1789, Zhou famously commented that it was 'too early to say'.

Four months after the EU referendum this quote presents a salutary warning. What Welsh local government knows is the Brexit vote adds yet another big kick from a size 14 boot into a climate of austerity where a deeply uncertain future seems hard wired into any financial and organisational decision we take. In this setting we are working with our colleagues in the LGA to emphasise to the Westminster

Government the need to secure the £9.23 billion committed for local regeneration schemes to 2020 across the UK Nations and Regions. The Treasury gave a strong commitment that only those projects which are signed by the time of the Chancellor's Autumn Statement would be secured, but with a commitment to a process of considering projects after this date. Whilst this deserves a cautious welcome, the local government community is working to secure the overall quantum of investment to 2020 and something equally significant beyond that date.

In terms of "bees in our bonnets" the Welsh Local Government Association (WLGA) fully supported

the Remain campaign as did individual authorities. There is little point pretending - within many local councils the referendum outcome was greeted with dismay.

The relationship of the EU with Welsh local authorities has been close and productive. A previous WLGA Regeneration Director by the name of Victoria Winckler did more than most to set the frameworks for Objective One funding in Wales between 2000-2006. Similarly, the WLGA's European political spokespersons, ably assisted by Derek Vaughan MEP - a former WLGA leader, have worked hard to develop close links with our European Regions and Cities.

Councils have been at the heart of regeneration schemes across Wales and an endless list of schemes could be provided showing the impact of structural funds. Ultimately all this is water under the bridge. The debate is quickly shifting to the nature of a 'hard' or 'soft' Brexit and yet public services are left to ponder a range of significant issues not least the key question of all the complex implications for social and community cohesion that the referendum result is having.

In terms of precision, a 2013 Local Government Association report suggests that around half of all regulations affecting local councils originate from the EU.

European legislation provides the policy underpinnings for a range of services such as trading standards, environmental protection, health and safety and waste management. The excellent performance across Wales on recycling has been underpinned by EU legislation and the Waste Framework Directives. These set out key definitions and duties relating to how waste must be collected, transported, recovered and disposed of. They also introduced recycling and recovery targets to be achieved by 2020, enhanced to 70 per cent by 2024/25 by Welsh Government through its Waste (Wales) Measure 2010. Alternatively, looking on

circumstances. This also needs to reflect the emergence of four distinct economic development arrangements across Wales (Cardiff Capital City Region and City Deal; Swansea Bay City Region and City Deal; North Wales Economic Ambition Board and Growth Deal and the Growing Mid Wales Partnership Board).

- Disentangling councils' legal base: We need to develop a new legal framework for local government services which are currently based on EU laws. This work should include environmental policy, air pollution, energy, waste, workforce and employment, procurement, state aid, regional

We need to ensure that repatriated laws and regulation are not centralised in Whitehall and Cardiff.

the bright side Brexit may offer a chance to have another look at EU procurement and state aid regulations that may bring some cheer to town halls across Wales. What about next steps? In the short term, we are working with Welsh Government on the new European Advisory Group set up by the First Minister. In November WLGA working with our counterparts elsewhere in the UK to prepare the focus of our negotiations strategy which ensures that the key concerns of local government shape the UK's exit plans. Our concerns are:

- Local economic development: We need to ensure that the £9 billion of expected regeneration investment from EU funds to localities across the UK to 2020 is secured and to start the discussions with relevant departments to secure a UK regional aid programme from 2021 of equal value, based on similar principles to the EU Regional Policy i.e. that the most disadvantaged areas gain most due to their needs and

policy, regulatory services, VAT and data protection. Importantly, we need to ensure that repatriated laws and regulation are not centralised in Whitehall and Cardiff.

- Councils in Wales are currently mapping out those aspects of local government service delivery that have origins in EU law or regulation. WLGA will need to collate any such research at the national level.
- Constitutional reform: The referendum has already started a constitutional debate. The WLGA has always championed the importance of devolution below the National Assembly for Wales to the 22 councils. As the UK's constitutional framework is reviewed there is the opportunity to seek a debate on the entrenchment of local government within our new constitutional settlement.
- Wider place representation: It has been agreed in Westminster that local government is to form part of the national negotiating team, in

both Brussels and Whitehall, which develops the exit plan. WLGA will work through Welsh Government and the Welsh Office to inform this process. All these discussions will need to reflect councils' wider role as the voice of local communities and to register and champion that differing nations, regions and localities have very different needs.

- The Rural Economy: UK Government is, essentially, offering the farming sector a three-year safety net. It will not last beyond the EU budget cycle that runs through to 2020, particularly for Pillar 1 Funding. Pillar 2 schemes approved before the Autumn statement will be fully-funded but the position of those approved afterwards is not yet clear. During the EU referendum campaign, Welsh farmers were promised that the direct payment support they receive will be at least equal to that received through the Common Agricultural Policy. They were also told that they could continue to trade with the EU according to terms favourable to Welsh businesses. The importance of these assurances to rural communities cannot be overstated.

In the current context of severe cuts to local authorities' funding, examples of projects that would not have happened without EU funding are everywhere. It is worth remembering that when the history of austerity is written it was capital spending and local government that has borne the brunt of cuts. In the first phase of austerity from 2010-12 which brought huge reductions to capital, the presence of ERDF funding was the only financial show in town for infrastructure projects.

Whatever the merits of this large scale capital spending it did not bring any level of affection for EU membership across swathes of Welsh communities. The task therefore is to seek that elusive and mysterious quality that many public servants talk about when large scale change occurs - namely a 'seamless transfer' to Brexit.

Wales after Brexit: an agenda for a fair, prosperous and sustainable country

The 'leave' vote signalled a desire for fundamental changes in our economy, society and governance. Director of the Bevan Foundation, Victoria Winckler, sets out some principles to guide Wales in the next few years.



The referendum result heralds a period of unprecedented political, constitutional, economic and social uncertainty and change. Even four months on from the vote, the future is still very uncertain, with both the optimistic and pessimistic forecasts being based on assumptions that may or may not be realised. The challenges and opportunities arising from Brexit come on top of already significant challenges facing Wales, such as its economic performance, demographic changes, the pace of technological development and climate change to name but a few.

Charting Wales' course through the next few years will require strong leadership, a clear vision for a post-Brexit Wales, a new approach on many key policies and the ability to unite people in common cause. Much depends on the terms of the UK's exit from the EU, on constitutional change within the UK and – at least as importantly – on the post-Brexit policies and legislation adopted by the UK and Welsh Governments.

The referendum result was about more than leaving the EU – it signalled a deep discontent with

of discontentment by charting a different course. Our leaders – be they politicians, public servants, business people, community leaders and faith leaders – must respond to this desire for change and a better life so clearly expressed by the electorate.

The Bevan Foundation has set out the principles and key actions which we believe should underpin the approach as Wales withdraws from the EU and responds to the changes ahead.

Economy and Business

The challenges and opportunities of Brexit come on top of already mixed economic prospects. A great deal depends on the agreements in place after leaving the EU, whether this is membership of the European Economic Area, a bi-lateral agreement with the EU or cooperation within World Trade Organisation rules.

There are without doubt substantial vulnerabilities. Foreign-owned businesses account for nearly 30 per cent of Wales' Gross Value Added, and around 500 businesses whose ownership is in other EU countries provide more than 59,000 jobs. Exports to the

The challenges and opportunities arising from Brexit come on top of already significant challenges facing Wales, such as its economic performance, demographic changes, the pace of technological development and climate change.

society today. Lord Ashcroft's polls show that leave voters wanted a better quality of life: just 58 per cent of leave voters thought that life in Britain today is better than it was 30 years ago compared with 73 per cent of remain voters. It's a moot point whether leaving the EU will offer the better quality of life that so many people thought they might get – the challenge is to recognise the strength of feeling

EU account for more than £1 billion of business each quarter. We could see a loss of investment and employment if these businesses scale back or relocate. More positively, Wales is less reliant on EU exports than the UK as a whole, has strong business links with non-EU countries and is well placed to grasp new opportunities.

While the way forward remains very unclear, already some

Foreign-owned businesses account for nearly 30 per cent of Wales' Gross Value Added, and around 500 businesses whose ownership is in other EU countries provide more than 59,000 jobs.

economists are calling for radical changes such as abolishing Corporation Tax, and full global free trade. Instead of a race to the economic bottom, we think it's time to make sure the economy benefits everyone.

The Welsh Government's business confidence plan and new jobs and growth fund are welcome short-term measures but in the medium-term there needs to be a more fundamental change in approach. Policies need to foster indigenous growth, including supporting the so-called foundation economy; there needs to be an increased focus on exports outside the EU, and there need to be transition plans for sectors that are especially vulnerable to Brexit such as agriculture, steel, automotive and aviation.

Procurement policies have a key role in providing a stimulus to growth, especially once free of EU rules.

Employment

The EU has shaped the labour market in Wales as elsewhere, contributing to the protection provided to workers and enabling the free movement of people between member states. Some provisions, such as the freedom of movement and the Working Time Directive, are directly attributable to the EU whilst others, such as some equality legislation, are long-standing, UK-initiated provisions.

Recent years have seen deep structural changes to employment. Much of the growth since the recession has been insecure:



more than half the increase in employment since 2008 has been in self-employment and in part-time work, and one in five new jobs has been temporary. At the same time, living standards have fallen: the average gross weekly earnings of the least well-paid quarter of employees in Wales are £30 a week less than in 2008 in real terms.

These changes have little to do with in-migration. At the end of 2014, in Wales just 3.3 per cent of the workforce was born in EU countries other than the UK, some 45,000 people. Non-UK EU workers are more important in some public services such as the NHS - more than 500 doctors working in Wales have been trained in other EU countries. Indeed, with its relatively high proportion of older people and above average levels of sickness and disability Wales needs a supply of younger workers to contribute to revenue and perform essential work.

How Brexit will affect employment is far from clear. Depending on the agreements reached on the movement of people, employers

may face recruitment shortages – Welsh Government Ministers have already tried to reassure non-UK EU NHS and social care staff that they are welcome. It remains to be seen which if any of the EU protections the UK Government would repeal: for example there have been calls to repeal anti-discrimination legislation on the grounds of sexual orientation and race and to reduce maternity rights for women working in small and medium sized firms.

We've called for decent work to be a priority in post-Brexit Wales, with the Welsh Government, business organisations and trades unions working together to protect employment rights, a clear target of full employment in all parts of Wales and for all groups of people, and new solutions to get rid of the scourge of discrimination, low pay and insecure work. We've also called for all non-UK EU nationals resident in Wales to have the right to remain.

Environment

The EU has developed probably the most complete and influential

body of environmental law and policy in the world, establishing a common approach on a wide range of environmental issues and influencing environmental policy outside the EU too.

EU environmental policies affect almost all aspects of the environment in Wales, from the quality of water at bathing beaches, to air quality along the M4, to how households dispose of their waste to the numbers of rare species as articles elsewhere in this issue of Exchange ably demonstrate. Brexit will not automatically repeal the EU provisions in UK and Welsh law, but UK and Welsh Governments could be able to do so in due course. Already there have been calls to repeal 'spirit-crushing' green directives for example in respect of habitats, use of GM crops and fisheries policies.

Many environmental fields are devolved to the National Assembly for Wales and there are in addition statutory duties on Welsh Ministers to promote sustainable development in all their business. Although the scope is as yet unclear, the Welsh Government should reject moves to permit the desecration of the environment and set new environmental standards and introduce new legislation to reflect Wales' priorities and circumstances.

Public Finances

The impact of Brexit on Wales' public finances is impossible to predict as it depends on the terms

There is every indication that a combination of continuing austerity and responding to Brexit will leave Wales with an 'extraordinary eleven or more years of retrenchment in public service spending'.

of the exit, the consequences for revenues of the economic impact, and the UK Government's own fiscal and other priorities. In addition there is uncertainty about long-term compensation for the loss of EU structural funding and agricultural subsidies and the basis of future financial settlements should Scotland leave the UK.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of forecasting, there is every indication that a combination of continuing austerity and responding to Brexit will leave Wales with, in the words of two Institute for Fiscal Studies researchers, an 'extraordinary eleven or more years of retrenchment in public service spending'. Their most likely estimate is that by 2019-20 the Welsh Government's budget will be 11 per cent lower than in 2010-11. This is a tough call at any time, but at a time of rising demand across a range of public services is an unprecedented squeeze.

Changing the mind-set to deal with a contracting budget after a decade of year-on-year real-terms spending increases will not be easy. Salami-slicing or cheese-paring will simply not work. Instead there needs to be a fundamental rethink of the role of government and public services, and how they are delivered and financed. This goes deeper than the none-the-less important need to maximise the revenues that do come to Wales, whether through a fair 'fiscal framework' that properly reflects Wales' needs, compensation for the loss of EU funds and making full use of Wales' limited tax and borrowing powers.

A New Democracy & Constitution

The referendum clearly mattered to people. Turnout at nearly 72 per

cent exceeded all recent election turnouts: it was nearly twice that in the 2012 local elections and substantially exceeded the turnout of 45 per cent at the National Assembly for Wales elections just six weeks earlier. It was higher too than the UK general election. People wanted change.

The referendum exposed and perhaps exacerbated divisions within Wales - between different generations, between different nationalities and between different social backgrounds. Some of those divisions are culminating in heightened racial tensions, including many reported during the referendum period as well as change in language and attitudes since. The 'welcome in the hillsides' that Wales supposedly offered to those from other parts of the world has been distinctly chilly.

Those voting to leave the EU were much more likely to be older, in lower socio-economic groups and with only secondary school education compared to remain voters, with many – but by no means all - of those voting for Brexit feeling forgotten and 'left behind'. A great deal of ill-feeling has been unleashed and so far shows few signs of fading.

The referendum has also highlighted divisions within the UK as its constituent nations and regions returned very different results. There is now a real possibility of a second referendum on Scottish independence as well as uncertainty about Northern Ireland's future. In the years ahead it will be the UK Government which leads the negotiations. The call for devolved governments to ratify the Brexit

terms is important, but so too is a strong voice for Wales in Westminster in shaping Brexit in the run up to the deal, any future trade agreements and moves to repeal EU-related legislation.

Politicians need to renew their efforts to build a cohesive and participative society, based on more participative and inclusive democracy. This will require radical changes to our democratic system so that people have a strong voice in decisions that affect them. Indeed the wish to 'take control' doesn't stop at Offa's Dyke – the Welsh Government should be actively seeking ways of devolving real control to revitalised and strengthened local government. If the UK is to stay intact, there needs to be a new constitutional settlement, including new powers for post-Brexit Wales, along with a cross-party and pan-government alliance to secure a fair deal for Wales.

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Although the vote to leave the EU was a shock to many, it was in many ways a wake-up call. There are some who want to use Brexit to deregulate business, cut protections for workers and the environment, scrap human rights, lower taxes and roll-back the state. There are as yet very few calls for changes in policy and legislation that would create a more progressive alternative. We hope that this issue of Exchange magazine has begun to explore some of the possibilities.

Depending on the agreements reached on the movement of people, employers may face recruitment shortages – Welsh Government Ministers have already tried to reassure non-UK EU NHS and social care staff that they are welcome

BIG LOTTERY FUND: ROB ROFFE

The future for 'doing good' in Wales

Rob Roffe, Senior Policy & Learning Manager for the Big Lottery Fund in Wales, asks some important questions about the role of government, communities and the third sector in 'doing good'.



What does 'doing good' mean?

The phrase 'doing good' probably means slightly different things to different people, so before launching into an article on the topic I should probably pause to reflect on what it actually means. Some may describe it as creating social capital. Others may think of it in terms of adding social value, or addressing need. Personally speaking, I regard 'doing good' as being fundamentally about building goodwill and trust in communities through a shared understanding of the challenges and priorities of those living there. It's about having

a concern for the wellbeing of citizens, their ability to participate in making the decisions that affect them, and, crucially, taking action.

Supporting people, communities and organisations to 'do good' is what the Big Lottery Fund is all about. We believe people should be in the lead in improving their lives and our approach focuses on the skills, assets and energy that people can draw upon. Strong, vibrant communities can be built and renewed by the people living in them to make them ready for anything in the face of future opportunities and adversity. We distribute over £40 million in Wales

every year to projects that enable the change that communities want to see.

The on-going conversation

We are far from being the only player when it comes to 'doing good': communities, individuals, the third, public and private sectors all have a stake and an interest in the agenda of making Wales a better place to live. As part of a UK-wide conversation on the future of 'doing good' we want to engage a broad cross section of society: communities, charities, social enterprises, government and businesses in thinking about and discussing what 'doing good' could

look like. We may have a good idea of the challenges, but we certainly don't have all the answers.

It's against the backdrop of these significant challenges that we hope to engage with Welsh society to identify some possible answers through this conversation. While it is very much a UK-wide conversation,

libraries, leisure facilities, summer play schemes and community centres are amongst the many victims. High public expectation of what government can deliver is further increasing this pressure on all levels of government.

In the face of this unprecedented pressure many in government are

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we are particularly interested in those matters that are relevant to Wales. Here we begin to explore some of those issues and pose a few questions as 'conversation starters' to energise the debate.

The future role of government: prevention rather than cure?

Since the advent of the Welfare State, government at all levels has had a significant role to play in 'doing good'. Historically that has focused on helping individuals in need rather than necessarily preventing those needs from arising in the first place. The decline of the traditional industries on which the Welsh economy was based, coupled with the advent of increasing globalisation, has meant that the needs facing many in Wales have become increasingly complex. Yet as the situation begins to reach a head, the available resources to meet those challenges have been hit by global financial crises and economic slowdown. Government has cut back on public spending, and where government once intervened there are now some noticeable gaps in provision.

As government tightens its belt, discretionary services that are important to many are being

now talking about the importance of a preventative approach to public policy; nip the issue in the bud and stop need from arising in the first place. But the reality in Wales is that some of the policy levers needed to take a more preventative approach lie with Westminster. Having to deal with need in the here and now also makes it very challenging to free up resources to put preventative measures in place. Faced with a classic 'catch 22' situation, all levels of government in Wales are looking to communities and third sector organisations to take more of a lead. But are they in a position to take more of a lead?

Is the third sector able to play an enhanced role?

Public spending cuts have also been keenly felt by the third sector. In Wales: a third of its funding comes from government which has meant significant reductions in its coffers. With demand for its services increasing, and hope that it can do more, the third sector is in an equally difficult position. Government funding is now much more likely to be for specific projects aligned to Welsh or local government priorities rather than to support third sector organisations with their core work.

This has led to some questioning the independence of the third sector in Wales and to believe that its ability to speak out on behalf of vulnerable groups is being compromised by fear of coming into conflict with public sector funders.

To address these challenges there is a real need to diversify income streams, develop new funding models and attract suitably skilled people to volunteer and work for third sector organisations. The need to address these challenges is particularly pressing, and it's why the Big Lottery Fund has made £3 million available to support third sector organisations in Wales to become better equipped to plan for the future and overcome the difficult economic environment.

Are communities able to do more?

Wales has a strong history of social action. Many of the workingmen's halls and even some hospitals were paid for by the miners themselves through subscriptions. It was a model that influenced the early years of the Welfare State and it has helped to foster a sense of community and shared experience that is still evident in some parts of Wales today. But it is also those very communities that have experienced the greatest changes and economic shocks, and where many of those with the most acute needs in Wales now live. To what extent can these communities take more of a lead, and what support do they need to enable them to do so?

While we may have started the conversation, we don't regard it as ours to own. Others are sure to have their own questions and – hopefully – some possible answers.

Over the next few months we will be inviting your thoughts through a number of events across Wales. We look forward to hearing your voice in the conversation.

Please do take part and find out how to contribute by visiting www.futureofdoinggood.org.uk

Bevan Foundation News

Tackling low pay in Merthyr Tydfil

Approximately 6,000 workers in Merthyr Tydfil – around a quarter of the workforce – are paid below the voluntary Living Wage. The detrimental impact of low pay is widely known, so what could be done to ensure that more people earn at least the Living Wage in the borough?

Thanks to funding from the Coalfields Regeneration Trust and Oxfam Cymru, the Bevan Foundation is looking for answers to this question to find out what a Living Wage strategy for this should look like.

Following on from our work on the Living Wage in Wales and the Cardiff Capital Region, we are exploring what it would take for there to be a step-change in the number of people earning the voluntary Living Wage in Merthyr Tydfil. We have been speaking to employers, workers' representatives and community organisations throughout the borough, and have published a series of briefings on the benefits of the Living Wage to disseminate the ideas even further. The findings of our research will be launched in early November. For more information, visit: www.bevanfoundation.org/current-projects/will-take-pay-living-wage-merthyr.

The future of Attendance Allowance in Wales

The Bevan Foundation's latest project focuses on the future of Attendance Allowance in Wales, following the announcement by the UK Government that they are considering devolving it. Working with the Welsh Local Government Association, the Bevan Foundation has been exploring the potential benefits and pitfalls of devolving Attendance Allowance and what a Welsh Attendance Allowance scheme might look like.

Attendance Allowance is a social security benefit claimed by people aged 65 and over who need help caring for themselves because of a mental or physical disability. It was claimed by more than 100,000 people in Wales at the end of 2015, at a cost of £415 million.

As part of our research, we have evaluated the Attendance Allowance claimant rate in Wales and looked at its devolution to Scotland, as well as the proposal to devolve it to local authorities in England. We also hosted a roundtable discussion with key stakeholders in September 2016, and will be publishing our analysis and recommendations in due course.

For more information on this project, visit: www.bevanfoundation.org/current-projects/possible-devolution-attendance-allowance.

We've been busy....

Over the summer the Bevan Foundation team has been busy, submitting evidence to consultations and enquiries by the National Assembly for Wales' Committees, the Cardiff Capital Region Commission on Growth and Competitiveness, Swansea Council and Welsh Government.

Responding to the consultations by the Health, Social Care and Sport Committee and the Equality, Local Government and Communities Committee, the Foundation has called for a strong focus on the issues that affect the least well-off in Wales. These include continued scrutiny of the Welsh Government's approach to reducing poverty, an in-depth inquiry into services for people with mild to moderate mental ill-health, and an investigation into the effectiveness of public health interventions for people in low income groups.

The Bevan Foundation's Director, Dr Victoria Winckler, also gave a presentation to the Welsh Government's Valleys Taskforce. She outlined an alternative way of approaching the challenges in the Valleys and drew on the findings of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's strategy to solve poverty in the UK to identify some practical steps the Welsh Government could take.

All our written consultation submissions are available to download from our website: www.bevanfoundation.org/publications.

News

Man's best friend:

Coastal Housing recently brought doggie goodness into their office. Recognising the great joy pets can bring, especially to those who could otherwise feel isolated and lonely, Coastal Housing are reviewing their pets policy so that it is less rigid for tenants. The day also educated staff and tenants about looking after dogs and how to interact with them safely.



'First of its kind' programme for social work support roles:

Wales will lead the way in a new pilot qualification to meet the needs of social care support workers. The Open University is working in partnership with the Care Council for Wales and local authorities to deliver a two-year Social Services Practitioner Programme pilot. Find out more: www.open.ac.uk/wales.

NHS Centre for Equality and Human Rights:

The 'It Makes Sense' - Sensory Loss Awareness Month campaign will be running throughout November 2016. More than 600,000 people in Wales have hearing and/or sight loss, many of whom face communication and information barriers when accessing the NHS. Find out more: www.equalityhumanrights.wales.nhs.uk/it-makes-sense-2016.

It's Good to Share: Good Practice

Wales is a single access online portal to a wide range of examples of good practice and knowledge from across the Welsh public services. For more information about how you can be a partner and/or promote your organisation's good practice contact Clover Rodrigues: clover.rodrigues@wlga.gov.uk/www.goodpractice.wales/@GPWales.

The Royal College of Nursing in Wales:

recently launched its new campaign Leading Nursing, Shaping Care – We Carry the Torch. The campaign calls on the Welsh Government to strengthen the nursing workforce by investing in the nursing family. Find out more: www.rcn.org.uk/wales/leading-nursing-shaping-care.

Research & Reports

The Impact of Welfare Reform on Working Families in Denbighshire:

Citizens Advice Denbighshire's latest report looks at how welfare reform affects people's daily lives. They questioned over 170 people in Denbighshire and undertook 10 in-depth interviews to produce clients' stories to provide a rounded picture of people's experiences. Find out more: www.citizensadvice.org.uk/local/denbighshire.

State of Palliative Care across the UK:

Marie Curie's latest report, in association with Sheffield Hallam University, explores Palliative Care across the four UK Nations. To find out more go to: <http://goo.gl/mvc4Ad>.

Alternative approaches to poverty reduction:

The Public Policy Institute Wales' report, based on a workshop that brought together a range of experts, has been submitted to Ministers – find out more and sign up to the mailing at: <http://ppi.wales.org.uk/subscribe-to-our-mailing-list/>.

Events & Training

Action Learning for Managers:

People and Work is running free Action Learning Sets for managers in the third sector (sponsored by Rank Foundation). Action Learning is a way to develop professional practice in a supportive environment. The sessions will be led by James Hall in Cardiff on November 30th 2016; January 10th 2017; March 1st 2017 and April 5th 2017. Find out more at: www.peopleandworkunit.org.uk.

Wales Housing Research Conference:

WISERD is hosting an opportunity to discuss research on contemporary Welsh housing issues on 15 Dec 2016 in Cardiff. More info: www.wiserd.ac.uk/training-events/event/wales-housing-research-conference.

Subscribers' News



Spotlight On

Martin Warren Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales

In 140 characters describe the Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales (ICAEW)

ICAEW represents over 145,000 Chartered Accountants worldwide. We support them as members and work for a thriving business economy.

What is your role at ICAEW?

I am the ICAEW Director for Wales and I directly support over 3,000 members here. I ensure those members have access to relevant Continuing Professional Development, together with a member network and technical and work support whenever needed. I also represent the ICAEW in the business community in Wales and work directly with other professional bodies and Government to improve the Welsh economy.

What do you enjoy most about working at ICAEW?

This role provides me with the opportunity to influence what happens in Wales and to assist in its progress. It is also a people-based role, introducing me to a wide range of professionals and academics. This is in stark contrast to the desk-based role of Director of Finance engaged in numerous internal meetings which I had previously been used to.

If ICAEW were a biscuit, what would it be?

ICAEW has a high-quality membership which is influential and working at the highest levels in business. It would therefore certainly be a cream! Its members are also widely spread amongst all business sectors, the third sector and the public sector as well as in practice which would mean it would be one with a wide base and multi-layered. I'm not sure such a biscuit has yet been produced to fit this description but it would certainly be large and very expensive.

What are the biggest challenges facing ICAEW?

As a member organisation ICAEW is always striving to be what members require and do what members want but it is always a challenge to find ways of understanding what this is and engaging in a way that members would like. Inevitably there are a multitude of different views amongst such a large group and therefore projecting a balanced view and developing in a way that takes most members with you is a constant challenge.

I am the ICAEW Director for Wales and I directly support over 3,000 members here. I ensure those members have access to relevant Continuing Professional Development, together with a member network and technical and work support whenever needed.

If you could invite anyone, dead or alive, to a dinner party who would you invite?

I am very interested in politics but frustrated by the kind of politics we have today where principles appear negotiable and everything drifts to the centre ground. I would therefore like to invite a statesman of the past who pursued an idea and delivered change. There are so many but I would want to choose a Welshman and that would have to be Aneurin Bevan.

Why does ICAEW subscribe to the Bevan Foundation?

Until I took this job I was unaware of the Foundation but since then I have engaged with a number of organisations that are doing valuable work for Wales. The Bevan Foundation is clearly one of these and works independent of government to produce interesting and useful opinion and research.

GIVE A SHIFT THIS CHRISTMAS

WE NEED VOLUNTEERS ASK IN STORE

Have a little spare time? Volunteer at your local Oxfam shop and help end poverty worldwide – we'd love to have you.

If you're interested, pop into your local Oxfam shop or visit www.oxfam.org.uk/shopvolunteer

WE WON'T LIVE WITH POVERTY OXFAM

Oxfam is a registered charity. Oxfam GB is a member of Oxfam International. Inhouse: 7216.

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COWORKING AND SHARED OFFICE SPACE
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DESK SPACE | FREE WIFI | TEA & COFFEE | MEETING ROOMS | EVENT SPACE

Book a desk from just £12 per day. We have locations and spaces across Wales.

Making sense of End of Life Care: Issues faced by the LGBT Community

A Marie Curie lecture by Dr Richard Harding, King's College London

Panel: Andrew White, Director Stonewall Cymru, Emma Walters, Chair AMBU LGBT+ Staff Network and Jenny-Anne Bishop, Transgender Activist

Tuesday 15 November 2016, 6pm, The Pierhead, Cardiff Bay

mariecurie.org.uk/WelshLecture

Care and support through terminal illness **Marie Curie**

Charity reg no. 207994 (England & Wales), SC038731 (Scotland) B061F

PROSPERITY WITHOUT POVERTY:
a framework for action in Wales

We launch our strategy for Wales on 8 November 2016

Find out more at:
www.jrf.org.uk/solve-uk-poverty

JRF JOSEPH ROUNTREE FOUNDATION #solveukpoverty



In Brief

The National Assembly for Wales Research Service's blog provides bite-sized and easily digestible information and commentary on topical issues and developments within the Assembly.

We also routinely blog ahead of major Welsh Government policy debates that are taking place in the Assembly Chamber (in 'Plenary') and debates on Assembly Bills and Committee reports.

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Pigion

Mae blog Gwasanaeth Ymchwil Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru yn cynnwys gwybodaeth a sylwebaeth gryno a darllenadwy am faterion cyfoes a'r datblygiadau diweddaraf yn y Cynulliad.

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Photo: Charlie Forgham Bailey/Save the Children

1 in 3 children in Wales live in poverty. Their future is in our hands. Campaign with us to give them a better future.

Mae 1 o bob 3 plentyn yng Nghymru yn byw mewn tloedi. Mae eu dyfodol yn ein dwylo. Ymgyrcha â ni i roi iddynt ddyfodol gwell.



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