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# Understanding economic failure in Wales: the neo-liberal orthodoxy of Welsh economic policy

Professor Dave Adamson considers how a fresh approach to economic policy in Wales could lead to more equitable outcomes.

The world of politics has been turned upside down in recent times, culminating in the election of Donald Trump to the American presidency. Wales has not been immune to this process. UKIP's success and the resounding Welsh Brexit vote were nurtured on the same social and cultural vacuum that long-term, large-scale poverty has created in the rust-belt of America. Wales, as one of the first industrial nations, was also one of the first to deindustrialise, with the haemorrhaging of jobs in coal, steel and heavy manufacturing in the 1980s.

The endemic poverty that has prevailed since that time has eroded traditional social, cultural and political values and our collective failure to tackle poverty in Wales has come home to roost. Wales is in real terms an 'undeveloping' nation, in a state of permanent decline, in which most key economic and social indicators are effectively moving in reverse. This position has been clearly identified in the Bevan Foundation report (Winckler, 2015) which assembles an incontrovertible case that even the best case scenario, where Wales remains 'on trend', leaves us lagging behind the rest of the UK in just about everything that matters to the quality of life of our citizens. Contemporary cohorts of Welsh children now experience less opportunity and greater social exclusion than I, and



many others like me, experienced in the council estates of the 1960s.

In comparison with other UK coalfield communities, Wales retains the most significant challenges (Foden et al, 2014). For Beatty and Fothergill (2011) Wales requires a massive programme of job creation. Writing in 2011, they identified that it would require the creation of 70,000 jobs to enable the South Wales Valleys to match the best UK regions. Our primary failure is in the continued absence of those jobs in the Valleys, in our major cities and in rural communities where some of the lowest incomes in Wales prevail.

## **Welsh economic policy: The cause of our failure**

Despite the evidence of comprehensive failure, Welsh economic policy remains locked in a paradigm first established by the Welsh Development Agency (WDA) in the 1990s. It is focused

on the attraction of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and general inward investment. It focuses largely on our cities with a vague hope of an economic uplift for all, if only Cardiff, Swansea and Newport can be transformed into globally competitive, coastal city regions.

Despite the social-democratic credentials of Welsh Government since devolution, this is essentially a neo-liberal approach. Our Welsh polity describes itself in political rhetoric as a nation defined by a sense of community, mutual aid and commitment to social justice.

These terms are replete in the social legislation of the Welsh Government. In this sense it is resolutely socially democratic, and it has been committed and innovative in its approach to social justice.

However, in contradiction, Welsh economic policy is neo-liberal and fails to transcend some notion of

'trickle down' economics that assumes wealth created in the coastal regions will somehow percolate into the Valleys and rural regions.

In this context, Welsh economic policy is committed to an economic model that actually creates poverty, centralises employment in specific locations and supports sectors that the unemployed and poorly qualified people of Wales cannot aspire to.

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## Contemporary cohorts of Welsh children now experience less opportunity and greater social exclusion than I, and many others like me, experienced in the council estates of the 1960s.

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### Three major strands of Welsh economic policy characterise it as neo-liberal orthodoxy.

#### 1. Externalising the solution

Firstly, the adherence to a foreign direct investment or inward investment approach demonstrates a faith in globalisation as a cure for the problems of our post-industrial economy. Different phases of this approach have stressed diversification of the economy and the attraction of different sectors of economic and commercial activity.

These have ranged from the light manufacturing and electronics industries of the 80s and 90s, to the call centre and commercial back office roles of the early 2000s, to the financial and insurance services of this decade. Each has been seen in turn as the saviour of the Welsh economy. Each in turn has failed.

This policy externalises economic activity as something that Wales must connect with, must invite in and must be subservient to. It is a model in which investment, along with control, profit and employment is determined externally. Welsh government in this economic model is a client of investors rather than a driving force.

It is left to provide infrastructure and incentives in competition with other UK and European regions. To win we have to maintain a low wage, low skill economy: this is what attracts the inward investors.

This is an economic model that creates and perpetuates poverty and ties economic policy to follies that include the Newport M4 extension, and the Blaenau Gwent Circuit of Wales.

#### 2. The City Region

The second reason to see Welsh economic policy as essentially neo-liberal rests on a continued faith in the city region approach for resolution of the poor economic performance of Cardiff, Swansea and their post-industrial hinterlands.

This model is based on an 'inter-locality' competition in what neo-liberal economists see as a natural extension of market competition to the problem of regional disparities. In this model, all we have to do is make our cities smarter, leaner, better connected, metropolitan in culture and global in outlook.

We just need a Central Business District (CBD), a creative economy and a metro system and we will look like and perform like the great world cities. The wealth created will permeate Wales and the nation will rise on the backs of its cities. Massey has referred to this as 'trickle down' geography, to illustrate its common origins in the neo-liberal assertion that if the wealthy get wealthier, it will lift the poor. City Deals are based on the same model but virtually none of the UK City Deals to date have even mentioned poverty alleviation as part of the strategy.

Manchester as the City Deal exemplar maintains a child poverty rate of almost 47.5% in its Central Manchester constituency wards. (End Child Poverty, 2016) The viable alternative is the 'grounded city' (Engelen et al, 2016) measured by its ability to provide all citizens with the goods and services they need.

#### 3. Chasing the neo-liberal sectoral model

The third neo-liberal credential of Welsh economic policy is the pursuit of development in some of the core economic sectors favoured by neo-liberal orthodoxy. The sectors identified for support in Wales are:

- Advanced materials and manufacturing sector
- Construction sector
- Creative Industries sector
- Energy and Environment sector
- Financial and Professional Services sector
- Information and Communications Technology sector
- Life sciences sector
- Tourism sector.

Construction, Energy and Environment and Tourism clearly have potential for Wales, especially if they are articulated within a coordinated economic plan that sees full capitalisation of our abundant renewable energy potential, linked to our landscape and heritage assets.

The construction-led demand for labour could be hugely significant for a renewed economy.

For the other sectors the benefits are less evident. Development of these sectors has become the holy grail of neo-liberal economics and every local authority, city and region in the UK and Europe is pursuing the same sectoral advantages that Wales aspires to. The 'knowledge' economy, the creative industries, ICT, aerospace, new materials

technologies and of course 'smart cities' are the language of neo-liberal economic development. Wales has some successes to celebrate in these fields. However, in reality these sectors are niche employers of a highly qualified workforce and will never employ our displaced and economically redundant populations in post-industrial and post-agricultural Wales.

### **Towards an alternative**

In suggesting an alternative approach I am not advocating for the complete abandonment of existing strategies. However, I believe we need the diversion of a significant resource from that approach to the pursuit of types of economic activity that are emerging globally to be a radical force for change and economic renewal.

### **The Foundational or Distributed Economy:**

Any quest for a more appropriate model for the Welsh economy must start with the work of Professor Karel Williams and others at the Centre for Research on Social and Economic Change at Manchester University Business School. They have advanced the concept of the 'foundational economy', which recognises that a considerable element of economic activity serves to meet our everyday and 'mundane' needs. These include food, energy, housing, transport, telecommunications, education, health and social services. Every individual, family and community requires these goods and services in order to function and exist. Much of this economy is provided at

the local level, by small to medium enterprises (SMEs), through local state services or through national communication and supply grid systems. The foundational economy permeates every community and there are transactions for the basics of life that even the poorest members of the population must replicate on a daily basis.

The foundational economy concept argues for the re-localisation of supply chains to produce for our mundane needs more locally. This maximises the impact of expenditure, the local circulation of our money and the creation of local jobs and economic vitality. In the Deep Place study of Tredegar (Adamson and Lang, 2014) we examined four economic sectors where this could be developed to create local jobs in the very communities that most need them.

### **Energy production and conservation:**

Truly revolutionising the generation and conservation of energy can give Wales an energy surplus by 2030. There is private sector investment ready and waiting to do this. We have one of the highest tidal ranges globally and exciting proposals to take advantage of it are buried in red tape. We have ample wind generation capacity but our politicians have failed to convince the vociferous minority who object to the development of new capacity. We have huge tracts of poor land capable of hosting solar farms, which even in our poor climactic conditions can make a significant contribution to energy supply. This approach to energy has created

over 370,000 jobs in the German Energiewende.

**Food production:** Our food supply chains are now global and local agricultural production has been minimised. Our farmers are now landscape stewards rather than food producers. This is absurd and will not be sustainable in a post-oil future. Change can occur now to revitalise rural food production and kick-start an urban agricultural sector. Localised food production will be a requirement in a not too distant low-carbon future.

**Health and care industries:** We have one of the unhealthiest populations in Europe where a comprehensive refocusing of health services towards peer-led prevention could create employment in every community. We have an ageing population who require care and are currently provided with infrequent and inadequate support by a private sector that pays poverty wages. Mutualisation of the sector could improve performance for employees and customers and create new work opportunities in every community.

### **E-commerce and e-working:**

We remain welded to a model where workers are required to travel to centralised places of work. The Metro proposals for South East Wales are based on a fallacy that this will be sustainable in the long-term. The Metro proposals are the sister of the City Region model, dedicated to transferring labour on a daily return basis from economically dead regional towns to barely performing cities. It is time we focused on moving data and not people and give Wales a vibrant lead in creating a sustainable economic model for a sustainable nation.

Part of this recipe for change can be driven by local anchor organisations such as our county councils, our hospitals and universities who should rapidly reform procurement policy to procure locally for goods and services. Welsh Government has created an enabling framework for this to happen but change has

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**In this context, Welsh economic policy is committed to an economic model that actually creates poverty, centralises employment in specific locations and supports sectors that the unemployed and poorly qualified people of Wales cannot aspire to.**

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been slow to follow. More local purchasing, where possible, coupled with social procurement approaches in large contracts can help create more local employment. This is not a panacea but can create significant employment in the heart of our post-industrial and rural communities.

However, to argue for a strong local economic strategy is not to eschew international trade or to deny the benefits of imports and exports to the Welsh economy. It is simply to argue that we need both. We need an outward facing economic strategy but we need it grounded in, and founded on, an inward facing economic strategy.

### **A strong social infrastructure**

Expansion of health services, improved schools, more social and affordable housing, improved public transport, increased leisure services and better policing all have a significant potential to expand employment. There will also be a multiplier effect to boost the wider economy and create jobs in the sectors that supply and maintain public services and sub-contract a wide range of support systems.

Wales already has a high level of public sector services in its mainstream economy. This to date has been presented as an economic failure, a disadvantage that weakens our competitiveness globally and marks us a state-dependent nation. We need to challenge this view.

Economic growth must in the future be for the improvement of the quality of life for all citizens, not the privileged few. The last 20 years has seen unprecedented levels of growth exist alongside unprecedented levels of inequality.

Part of the neo-liberal recipe for change is to spend less on these aspects of the 'foundational economy'. Neo-liberals see state expenditure on such services as a market distortion, a drain on the

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Wales does not have control over many of the levers for economic renewal. However, it is able to distance itself from neo-liberal assumptions and move towards a more equitable economy that provides employment where it is most needed.

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'real' economy. This view needs to be reversed in that such services are vital for the maintenance of a healthy, qualified and motivated workforce. Such services underpin the economy rather than drain it.

Neo liberal economics has attempted to transfer the burden for these pivotal, life-maintaining activities onto the individual consumer. This is part of the logic of privatisation and has contributed significantly to the rise of poverty as key sections of the population are unable to meet the costs of these services.

The affluence of the 1960s was based on the growth of employment in health, education transport and a range of public services. These created a mass workforce, in largely white-collar employment. These were the consumers of the consumer age, buying homes, cars and domestic products. This consumption employed the affluent workers of the manufacturing sector. Globalisation and competition from cheaper labour in developing nations has ensured that we can't return to that



specific model. However, the neo-liberal doctrine has persuaded the population that we cannot afford these services. In reality we can, but the key barriers are the currently low tax income to government caused by unemployment, stagnant wages and large-scale tax avoidance by corporations and the wealthy, all in themselves products of neo-liberalism.

Wales does not have control over many of the levers for economic renewal. However, it is able to distance itself from neo-liberal assumptions and move towards a more equitable economy that provides employment where it is most needed. Continued failure keeps the door open to right-wing populism and the potential demise of a fair and democratic Wales that values equality and social justice.

There are signs that Welsh Government is looking for an alternative approach with a Taskforce for the Valleys and the review of business advisers to government. I hope this will usher in the innovators and disruptors in Welsh economic life to displace some of the 'business as usual' brigade and to assist Welsh Government find a new path and ditch some of the policies that have little prospect of meeting the needs of the impoverished communities of Wales.

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# Turnaround towns: what we can learn from elsewhere to boost the resilience of towns

What does it take to reverse the declining fortunes of a town?  
Rebekah Menzies, Policy Officer at the Carnegie UK Trust, considers  
what Welsh towns can learn from international turnaround successes.



It takes time to turn around the fortunes of a town that has fallen on hard times. Not merely to 'save' the town, but to progress it and find a positive future. There are no quick wins; no easy fixes. Enduring results take commitment, effort and perseverance – and all over the long-term.

This was the fundamental lesson that emerged from our international research on Turnaround Towns, published in November last year.

Towns can experience a downturn in fortune for a range of reasons, including economic depression, outward migration, natural disasters, or all of these together. The results can be physical dilapidation, poverty and unemployment. A well known example of towns whose original *raison d'être* has faded are British seaside resorts, which used to be packed with holidaymakers who can now take cheaper flights to

destinations with less uncertain weather.

The places where we live, work and play are important for the wellbeing of both individuals and communities. In the UK and Ireland, where millions of people live in medium-sized towns, town socio-economic development is critical to the wellbeing of many.

Too often, however, the voices of towns are crowded out of the public policy arena. Towns are frequently seen in the context of serving either a powerful city region or a rural hinterland but rarely as valued entities in their own right. Discussions about towns can focus on 'preserving', rather than 'rethinking', while regional governance models are rarely configured around town boundaries. Debates around towns can too often focus on core, practical issues such as retail, transport or planning.

While these issues are important, there is also need for a wider, strategic conversation about the role and status of towns within spatial policy making.

'Turnaround towns' refers to cases where a town had previously fallen on difficult times, but where improvement resulted from deliberate efforts to address local challenges across a number of dimensions. These include energising local economies, to encouraging a sense of local place, identity and social connections – and have succeeded in building towns that are lively and dynamic places to live, work and visit.

The research that we undertook into these cases demonstrated that profound economic and social change in towns can be achieved by clear action, directed and delivered at a local level. While each of the eight case studies featured in our report are very different, there are common factors across these diverse places which, to varying degrees, were vital to their transformation. These factors are:

- Having a story that residents – and others – know: Clarity of history and purpose allow residents to articulate their town's *raison d'être* amongst each other, creating a shared positive narrative, and externally, developing the town's appeal to visitors.
- Addressing economic challenges: Directly addressing economic

challenges, and reinventing their economic bases if necessary, to improve local livelihoods, rather than skirting around such challenges. Successful turnaround towns recognise that while a secure local economy is essential, they also need to focus on tangibly improving the experience of living in the town for residents, including providing for residents' material and psychological needs.

- Local leaders driving change: Many of the case studies involved 'unlikely' leaders, who do not necessarily conform to traditional notions of leadership. However, what is most important is that change is driven by local leaders who have the ability to develop meaningful relationships at a local level.
- Cross-sector collaboration: Developing cross-sectoral relationships brings together a host of 'unusual friends' across public, private, voluntary and community sectors, which encourages the emergence of innovative approaches for turnaround towns.
- Being flexible and finding the right path to success: Adopting flexible approaches to development, and experimenting with various paths to success on an ongoing basis, allowed the turnaround towns researched in the report to thrive.
- Committing to the long-term: Committing to development over the long term – with many case studies working across a number of decades to realise their turnaround (and in many cases, still today).

The key principle that underpins all of the case studies is that even in very difficult circumstances, towns can still beat the odds and succeed. Many of the specific challenges that our turnaround towns overcame will be recognisable to towns in Wales.

In 2016, a joint report by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation and

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## The places where we live, work and play are important for the wellbeing of both individuals and communities.

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the Bevan Foundation revealed that almost a quarter of people in Wales are struggling to make ends meet and poverty is costing the country £3.6 billion a year. In Tupelo, Mississippi significant socio-economic disadvantage has been overcome to build a prosperous town with a diverse and remarkably stable local economy. Tupelo was once one of the poorest parts of the poorest state in the US, with average family income in the town only a quarter of the national average in 1940.

Cross-sectoral and cross-community collaboration and innovation has changed Tupelo's fortune. Tupelo has been named a National Civic League All-America City five times; an award which recognises communities where citizens work together to identify and tackle community-wide challenges and achieve uncommon results. It has built up a large furniture manufacturing industry, and is known as the upholstery capital of the world. It also has a large healthcare sector, the headquarters of two banks, a Toyota plant, the largest non-metropolitan hospital in the US, and multiple satellite university campuses.

Wales was historically one of the world's industrial powerhouses, with booming coal, iron and tin industries. In the 21st century these traditional industries have experienced significant decline, finding it difficult to compete with overseas producers, and being pushed aside by new, cleaner sources of energy.

A number of the turnaround town case studies had to make significant efforts to move past their industrial legacy to realise their turnaround

successes. In Duluth, Minnesota, the steel industry collapsed in 1979. The loss of 5,000 jobs led to an unemployment rate of nearly 20 percent, population decline, and closure of businesses.

Duluth reformed their local governance structures, introducing a 'strong mayor' system, and focused on developing a narrative for the town's past and future, that citizens bought in to – and continue to still today. Despite the global financial crisis, which gave the town another jolt, Duluth continues to do well, with thriving aerospace, engineering, education and health care sectors, and increasing revenue from tourism. The population is growing, with young professionals moving to the town for employment and relaxed, outdoor lifestyle opportunities.

While towns in Wales, and other parts of the UK, can learn a lot from international turnaround successes, the experiences of others cannot simply be imported wholesale. But where themes emerge in a range of places they are worth paying attention to.

**I**n 2017, global challenges – economic, political and environmental – are playing out at local levels, and require local responses. The role of towns in this demanding context was a key focus of the new World Towns Framework, published last year. This Framework, which set a global agenda for towns for the first time, identified a number of important themes similar to those identified in our research and provides a focus for future activity and collaboration between towns around the world. This is a highly challenging area of policy and practice, where change is a long-term process. This mechanism for collective learning will be vital if we are to foster thriving towns with high levels of wellbeing that are resilient to the global challenges of the future.

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Too often, however, the voices of towns are crowded out of the public policy arena.

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# Wales has to get moving if it wants resilient communities

Steve Brooks, National Director of Sustrans Cymru and Bevan Foundation Trustee, puts forward the case for increasing the sustainable transport options available to transform local communities.



Sometimes it feels as though there are as many definitions of 'resilient communities' as there are actual communities in Wales. Whilst it is important that policy-makers, service providers, business, charities and citizens have a common understanding, Wales must avoid the trap it often falls into: obsessing about definitions.

When it comes to making communities more resilient, the 'how' question is much more important than the 'what'. How can we equip people, institutions, systems and places to better cope with foreseen and unforeseen shocks; and use those shocks as a means of creating greener, healthier, fairer and more prosperous communities?

Transport is not just a key determinant of how resilient a community is, but it is also a way of improving its future resilience. It's a risk as well as an opportunity. Transport is more than how people and things move from A to B. Transport effects the natural environment, health, education, equality and poverty, culture, the economy, and well-being. In short, there are few parts of our daily lives that aren't touched by transport in some way. Get transport right, and the effect on a community can be transformative.

As part of a UK-wide organisation, Sustrans Cymru works with communities, policy-makers, and partner organisations like schools, employers, housing associations,

train operating companies and developers, so that people can choose healthier, cleaner and cheaper journeys, providing better, safer spaces to live.

Our vision is a Wales where more people choose to make journeys on foot, by bike or by public transport. It's what's known in the business as modal shift: shifting the transportation of people and things from one travel mode to another. Making a shift to more sustainable modes is fundamental to achieving more resilient communities.

Over the last decade, the number of private motor vehicles on UK roads has increased by nearly 2 million; up from 29.9million in 2006 to 31.7million in 2016. That increase in road traffic is having a massive impact.

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## It goes without saying that if we design communities around the car, we're storing up problems for future generations.

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Road traffic forecasting is notoriously hard to predict, but we know that when we build more roads we get more traffic.

New road schemes are often sold to us with the offer of reduced journey times and increased connectivity but more often than not the reverse is true. In the 1960s and 1970s the traditional approach was to build more roads, and whilst that mentality still exists today, thankfully our collective understanding of what road building is doing to our society, environment and economy, is strengthening.

Increased congestion is increasing travel times. It is reducing the connectivity of communities and increasing air pollution (road transport is responsible for 80% of the pollution where legal limits have been broken in the UK). It's becoming harder to get to work, school, the jobcentre or see family and friends. For many of us, transport is a Hobson's Choice. We are designing our economy and our communities in a way which is forcing people into cars.

In his book, 'Happy City: Transforming Our Lives Through Urban Design', Charles Montgomery illustrates the real-life dystopia developing in places like San Francisco. California may seem a long way away from Wales, but it should be seen as warning of what we might become if we don't start doing things differently. The economic boom of the Clinton era created more jobs in San Francisco but that has fuelled an explosion in land values and house prices.

By economic necessity and decisions made by politicians, planners and developers, people are being forced to live further away from their jobs, in sprawling communities, connected by multi-lane freeways. The commute to and from work can be two hours each

way, with workers often waking earlier and earlier to hit the road and avoid 'the traffic'.

Retail and professional services are concentrated in out-of-town developments alongside freeways meaning a pint of milk and flutter on the lotto is only doable if you get in the car and drive. For the individual, the impact of this lifestyle on their physical and mental health is huge; it's effecting relationships and family life; and it's lessening community cohesion and belonging.

It's destroying natural habitats, adding to air pollution and contributing to climate change. As the economic boom intensified, more and more people were forced to live on and beyond the suburban fringes of San Francisco. When the

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## When it comes to short journeys (under 5 miles) just two out of every five are made by foot, bike or public transport. The starting point therefore should be getting more people to walk or cycle for everyday journeys.

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great recession came in 2007, house prices plummeted. Land values in outlying areas crashed, imploding like a dying star. The result was repossessions and thousands of US families trapped in negative equity. Resilient communities these are not. It goes without saying that if we design communities around the car, we're storing up problems for future generations. According to latest census figures, 22.9% of Welsh households don't have access to a car. Not all but many if not most of these households will face significant barriers physically accessing cheaper retail goods, jobs, education, health services, and leisure activities. If Charles Montgomery's California nightmare sounds like an unlikely scenario for Wales think again. We are still

building housing developments, retail parks and employment centres all predicated on car ownership. To build resilience we need to ditch the car, and help people make the shift. For some that will never be possible. Individual circumstances and local factors like rurality means that for some, the car will still be a necessity. Where that is the case, the future will lie in greener vehicles. But a word of caution – electric cars charged by fossil fuels are not green. And regardless of how they're powered, electric cars still emit 50% of air pollutants compared to traditional vehicles.

When it comes to short journeys (under 5 miles) just two out of every five are made by foot, bike or public transport. The starting point therefore should be getting more people to walk or cycle for everyday journeys. Legislation is in place to ensure local authorities have plans in place to continuously improve the walking and cycling network in their

areas, but the right funding needs to be in place.

We need better routes through communities, and those routes need to be better joined up. We need to explore and introduce a range of measures that change travel habits: outreach work with schools and workplaces; 20 mile an hour streets in urban areas, and smart charging in areas of high congestion. We need better integration with public transport; and we need to ensure Local Development Plans and major new developments cut road traffic and help people make smarter travel choices. Resilience requires action and it requires change. If we do what we have always done, it will be future generations who will pay the price.

# Growth sectors, poverty and community resilience

Professor Anne Green of the Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick, explores the opportunities for employment in growth sectors to tackle poverty and strengthen communities' resilience.



resources to respond to, withstand, and recover from adverse situations. Thus resilience is about anticipating risks and limiting their impact. It is about adaptability in the face of change. Again, the labour market plays a central role here.

## **A role for growth sectors?**

So what opportunities can employment in growth sectors offer to tackle poverty and strengthen communities' resilience?

'Growth sectors' may be defined as sectors where Gross Value Added (GVA) and/or employment are projected to increase and/or where there is a policy intent to increase them. For the most part in policy rhetoric on industrial strategy the foremost emphasis is on GVA. This means that growth sector policy tends to focus on sectors closely associated with 'economic competitiveness' – such as aerospace, advanced manufacturing and professional services. Generally, jobs in these sectors pay well and the risk of in-work poverty is lower than average.

Medium-term employment projections indicate that there are marked sectoral and occupational differences in likely future employment openings. Some of the greatest projected employment growth is in occupations associated with lower pay in sectors such as accommodation and food services, wholesale and retail, and health

On becoming UK Prime Minister, and in the light of the socio-spatial divides manifest in the EU Referendum vote, Theresa May outlined her ambition to 'make Britain a country that works not for a privileged few, but for every one of us'. There is growing concern that economic growth is not shared equitably or is not necessarily associated with better poverty outcomes. This has led commentators and policymakers to try to identify more socially just forms of economic development.

## **The centrality of the labour market to inclusive growth and community resilience**

'Inclusive growth' is being used increasingly as a label for a range of policy approaches seeking to more

closely align economic growth to broader base social benefits. The OECD defines inclusive growth as economic growth that creates opportunity for all segments of the population and distributes the dividends of increased prosperity, both in monetary and non-monetary terms, fairly across society.

The labour market is a core focus for policy to connect growth and inclusion. This means that inclusive growth frameworks need to include policies about shaping the economy and labour demand, and about labour supply and supporting labour market engagement.

In some respects 'community resilience' is a concept that is allied to 'inclusive growth'. RAND defines 'community resilience' as a measure of the sustained ability of a community to utilise available

and social care, rather than in more glamorous high-tech sectors.

### Sectors and poverty

While getting a job may be a route out of poverty, it is not automatically so. Analyses of the Labour Force Survey and the Family Resources Survey isolate a 'sector effect' of being in low pay/in-work poverty independent of the individual characteristics of workers (such as gender, age and qualifications) in different sectors. Controlling for individual characteristics the highest probabilities of low pay are in accommodation and food services, residential care, wholesale and retail, and agriculture. 'Sector effects' are also apparent once family characteristics (including the number of workers) have been taken into account.

The existence of marked sectoral variations in low pay and of specific 'sectoral effects' in patterns of low pay/in-work poverty once individual and household factors have been considered, suggests that a sectoral approach may be a useful way to target low pay and reduce in-work poverty. Such a focus resonates with how the economy operates in practice and with current policy focus on sectors.

### Progressive pathways in employment

Data analyses show that while some low-paid workers move on to experience higher pay fairly quickly, a sizeable proportion do not – even over an extended time period. Traditionally the emphasis of employment policy has been overtly on employment entry. But some individuals find themselves in a 'low-pay, no-pay' cycle. There is a need to move beyond employment entry and immediate post-entry support if individual and community resilience are to be built.

Policy is beginning to shift in the UK, with recent changes suggesting a greater focus on progression. The introduction and roll-out of Universal Credit brings in-work progression to the fore, and progression initiatives have been agreed as part of City Deals in Plymouth and Glasgow.

There is relatively little evidence as yet relating to initiatives targeting progression. The most robust studies come from the USA. The US evidence is primarily from localised targeted initiatives which target entry into good quality employment opportunities, which are more likely to offer chances for career advancement – as in manufacturing and the health sector. These studies demonstrate that initiatives can be designed to support worker progression. Overall the US evidence points to a potential benefit of a sector-focused approach to progression.

But a sectoral approach is likely to be only part of the solution. There is scope for driving productivity and addressing poverty through enhancing and better utilising skills across and improvements in job quality in all sectors.

### Fostering mobility and de-risking transitions

Longitudinal data analyses show that movement between sectors and between local areas are positively associated with moves out of poverty. This underlines the importance of mobility in tackling poverty and building resilience.

While the development of sector-specific skills is important for businesses and individuals, soft/transferable skills – including team-working and communication skills – that foster mobility and resilience are important too. These skills are not learned once and for all at a

particular point in time; rather a commitment to lifelong learning is required. In turn this highlights a need for flexible and accessible training opportunities.

Fostering mobility requires that transitions are facilitated. Too often transitions are associated with risks and potential discontinuities in incomes. This means that greater policy attention needs to be placed on de-risking transitions.

### Building networks

Resilient communities are networked communities. They are strong not only in 'bonding social capital' which helps individuals to 'get by', but also in the weaker links of 'bridging social capital' that provide connections for 'getting on'. A community's social infrastructure can itself be a driver of resilience and growth.

Networks are important for employers too. For an employer to decide to pay higher wages in a sector characterised by low-pay they need to work out how they can prosper while increasing their wage bill. This can be difficult when margins are already small. The UK Futures Programme run by the UK Commission for Employment and Skills in the retail and hospitality sectors pointed to possibilities for networks of employers to take action locally to improve business performance and open up pathways for progression in employment.

There are opportunities for employment in growth sectors to tackle poverty and strengthen communities' resilience, but it requires action at local and national levels and from employers, (potential) workers and stakeholders.

Anne Green, Paul Sissons and Neil Lee are researching 'Harnessing Growth Sectors for Poverty Reduction: What Works to Reduce Poverty through Sustainable Employment with Opportunities for Progression' (Economic and Social Research Council, grant reference ES/M007111/1).

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Longitudinal data analyses show that movement between sectors and between local areas are positively associated with moves out of poverty.

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# We all have a part to play

The Police and Crime Commissioner for Gwent, Jeff Cuthbert, discusses the role of policing in supporting resilient communities.

The Police cannot be responsible for policing alone and most problems are best solved by the whole community working together. This is why it is vital to ensure that we support our communities to become more resilient and empower them to harness local resources and expertise to help themselves.

Only through strong partnership working with other organisations and by putting the needs of the individual at the heart of what we do, can we seek to provide the best possible quality of life for our citizens, particularly the most vulnerable. This approach is strongly embedded in the way my office and the Police Force work here in Gwent.

Through efficient joined-up working, we can prevent and reduce levels of crime, resulting in fewer victims. This is why there is a clear focus on ensuring strong, collaborative working with other key partners throughout my Police and Crime Plan.

An important element when developing my Police and Crime Plan for Gwent was to ensure that the Well Being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 is intrinsically linked to everything we do. The Act requires all devolved public services in Wales to collaborate for the benefit of the citizen and particularly for future generations. The principles laid out in the Act are relevant to us and are essential



to ensure the Police help to contribute to the well-being of people in Gwent. Although policing is not devolved to Wales, the Chief Constable and I are statutory invitees to the Public Service Boards (PSBs) that manage this collaboration and representatives from my office and Gwent Police attend all five PSBs in Gwent, playing a full part in

everything they seek to achieve.

It is heartening to witness the proactive and joined up approach of the PSBs in action as we work together to tackle some of the most prevalent police and crime issues in our communities. In the face of future challenges and pressures such as funding cuts to public services, including the Police,

it is more important than ever that our communities work together to design and deliver services which meet their varied needs.

The White Paper on Local Government Reform unveiled recently by the Local Government Secretary, Mark Drakeford, could also hold implications for the way PSBs are organised in future. The White Paper seeks views on proposals for mandatory regional working to deliver a range of services and address issues that affect our communities.

The main focus of my Police and Crime Plan for Gwent is to work with partner organisations and communities to tackle crimes that present the greatest threat, harm and risk and especially those crimes committed against the most vulnerable. This includes identifying and progressing innovative and tested partnership initiatives that focus on the early interventions to address crime and causes of offending behaviour. In March this year, for example, I will be hosting the Gwent Anti-Slavery Seminar in Newport which will specifically focus on how we can best work together with our local and national partners to tackle modern day slavery. The event will look at how we can all play a part in preventing exploitation and is another example of how policing can support communities to be more resilient.

Ensuring that the Police, partners and my office engage with communities to encourage, help and support them to work together to keep themselves safe is also one of the priorities which forms the backbone of my Police and Crime Plan. It is important that we work with our communities to minimise the effect of organised crime and reduce radicalisation and the growth of extremism. We need to support an environment where crime and disorder are not tolerated and this is why my office has been working with Race Council Cymru to identify and engage with emerging Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities across Gwent on a project which aims improve the

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## Nearly 10,000 individuals throughout Gwent engage with the programme annually and the police have noted a reduction in incidents of anti-social behaviour in areas where the programme is active.

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communities' trust and confidence in Gwent Police and my office.

The Third Sector is also a vital partner in helping to achieve the priorities in my Plan. I continue to maintain and establish strong links between the voluntary and community sector and my office, and develop opportunities and services that meet the needs of our communities.

I am also responsible for commissioning projects and services which empower individuals, businesses and community groups to come together to take collective action to increase their own resilience and identify and support vulnerable individuals. The Safer Gwent partnership – established by my office in 2015 – is one of the services which epitomises the collaborative approach we are taking to resolving some of the most pressing issues in our communities. Safer Gwent works with key community safety partners across the five local authority areas. It provides an organised and joined-up approach to achieve better outcomes in tackling issues such as preventing crime, ASB, preventing reoffending and supporting victims. The partners meet bi-monthly and work collectively to address regional safety issues that impact on local communities. Through its agreed strategic priorities and by using existing funding opportunities, Safer Gwent also supports the commissioning of community safety services and to date has awarded over half a million pounds to a range of projects in Gwent.

I have also continued the commitment of my office to roll out the Partnership Fund which

awards cash seized from criminals and from the sale of unclaimed found property to community projects in Gwent. The money from the Partnership Fund assists charities, voluntary organisations and community groups involved in activities that have a positive impact in preventing crime and ASB on the communities they serve in Gwent whilst, at the same time, contributing towards delivering against my priorities.

My office has also helped fund and support the rollout of the Positive Futures programme across Gwent. Positive Futures is a sport based inclusion programme which uses sports and physical activity to divert young people away from crime and ASB. Nearly 10,000 individuals throughout Gwent engage with the programme annually and the Police have noted a reduction in incidents of ASB in areas where the programme is active. The Positive Futures programmes is also a prime example of how community based projects can support Gwent Police in diverting young people away from crime and anti-social behaviour.

Policing is a public service like any other. It is vital that we work together and this means that all key public services, whether devolved or not, must collaborate to get the very best benefit for communities and individuals. I have great hope that the measures in place in Wales will enable us to cement the principles and practices of full collaboration. This is something that should happen in the very best of times but is even more important during austerity.

# Community resilience and mental health services

Dr. Danny Antebi, a retired consultant psychiatrist, and Stewart Greenwell, a retired director of social services, who both now work in health and social care development and consultancy, consider the role of specialist mental health services in establishing resilient communities.

In exploring the relationship between mental health services and community resilience one immediately encounters a problem. Although commonly referred to as mental health services, what we really mean is 'mental illness' services based on their current design.

Professionals working in mental health (e.g. doctors, social workers, specialist nurses, psychologists and occupational therapists) are largely trained to identify signs and symptoms of psychological distress and make sense of them in terms of syndromes or diagnoses, such as depression or schizophrenia. A multidisciplinary team will treat these syndromes, offer risk assessment and community support and make predictions about their likely prognosis. This medical model underpins our actions and, for good or ill, it is how we deal with significant psychological distress and disturbance.

This process is based on a conversation with an individual and may or may not involve family and friends. Accessing such a service involves making a significant and often anxiety-provoking decision to meet with a GP. Because of the way primary care is delivered, this meeting is rarely long enough to explore the problems in depth. Mental health services are threshold- and criterion-driven,



i.e. you have to be ill enough to be accepted. The GP will make a determination as to whether those thresholds are met and, if so, will make a referral. Following this the mental health service will repeat the assessment process and determine whether to offer a service. When resources are stretched, thresholds rise and access becomes more difficult. The alternative avenues for support are third sector services which can be variable and are often poorly resourced, or private healthcare which is dependent on personal wealth.

Community resilience, on the other hand, is focused on and concerned with wellbeing. The wellbeing of an individual is

inextricably linked to the wellbeing of the community in which they live. A hopeful, empowered and confident community will reflect that in its population and vice versa.

Community resilience is inevitably complex, but what it will offer is an environment which enhances the health and social conditions of its inhabitants. It recognises the importance of robust social networks and of people looking out for each other. It enhances the conditions that support vulnerable people and will prioritise the significance of work and productive activity which can be the key to peoples' self esteem. There will be an emphasis on community networks and innovative living

arrangements for people with mental health problems and older people on their own. An educated and knowledgeable community would spot early indications that someone was struggling and give priority to offering or inviting them to take advantage of local arrangements that can make a positive difference to their life. When necessary, people would get timely access to appropriate specialist services. Community resilience would provide an environment for everyone to feel connected, including those who are also receiving specialist services.

We can immediately see that the tools, skills and approaches required for the delivery of specialist mental health services and for the facilitation and development of resilient communities are radically different. Specialist services are based on the needs of the individual and are problem- and condition-driven, whereas community resilience is opportunity-driven and depends on a collaboration between the public, public health and other statutory agencies, the third sector and elected representatives working as equal partners. Shared priorities in such a collaboration will not be the same as for a specialist mental health service and will focus on education, looking out for vulnerable people (e.g. young carers), early detection, prevention, and networking, all while supporting constructive activity, healthy lifestyles and wise choices.

Investing in community resilience will have benefits both for the public and for specialist services as it should reduce demand on them. People will feel empowered, knowledgeable, attracted to the environment in which they live and will want to actively participate.

We believe the target priorities for this kind of community collaboration must be focused on those periods of life where intervention will have the greatest health, social care and economic impact, such as conception to 3 years, transitions from adolescence to adulthood and transitions to frailty and the

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**When resources are stretched, thresholds rise and access becomes more difficult. The alternative avenues for support are third sector services which can be variable and are often poorly resourced, or private healthcare which is dependent on personal wealth.**

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development of long term conditions.

Specialist mental health services do, however, have a significant role to play in supporting the development of community resilience and contributing to these priorities. They can do this in three ways:

**1. Knowledge:** Education about mental health and mental illness is critical if the public are to become more confident in dealing with a family member, work colleague or friend who seems to be struggling. The mental health first aid scheme is a good example of this. Demystifying mental health issues will also make talking about mental distress easier and thus reduce stigma. Specialist services need to be more proactive in providing education, in schools and other centres of education, in workplaces and in neighbourhood facilities. Knowledge provides the foundation for supporting people at a local level and rather than inviting compliance, supports wise choices.

**2. Access:** One of the complaints about mental health services which has probably topped the list for many years is access. The idea of waiting lists, sometimes of many weeks, for someone with a significant depression makes no sense and contributes to huge distress. If we can contain and support people with low levels of distress in their local communities, we can release capacity in specialist services. Also, easier access to services is essential if we want people to

present earlier. Specialist services tend to give a mixed message. On the one hand early presentation leads to better outcomes and should be encouraged, whilst on the other hand milder symptoms experienced in the early stages of a problem often will not meet the threshold for a service offer. It can often be difficult for someone to admit they need psychological help. Anything that makes it too complicated or confusing is likely to be off-putting.

**3. Consultation:** The ability to call on someone with specialist knowledge for a consultation is critical for the development of confidence in how distress is managed. A lot of demand on health services is as a consequence of the individual's anxiety and that of their immediate support. Being able to get advice, monitoring and reassurance can make people feel more confident about dealing with a problem. This means specialists and non-specialists need to be more accessible and available for consultations and support.

Specialist mental health services have a great deal to contribute to community resilience and the intelligence and knowledge they can share is essential to its development. However, resilience is based on supporting a matrix of community connections, wellbeing and a shared approach between professionals and the public rather than simply referrals and thresholds. We may need to ration services but we should not ration knowledge.

# The recipe for resilience – enhancing local wellbeing

Barbara Castle, a community development and regeneration expert, and Chris Johnes, Chief Executive of the Building Communities Trust, identify three pillars of community resilience and why they are relevant throughout Wales.

The value of resilient communities in many parts of Wales is likely to be tested as strongly in the next ten years as it has been for well over a generation; fostering resilience will be essential to the wellbeing of many people over the decade to come.

Even 10 years ago when the UK economy was apparently doing well, many Welsh communities still faced widespread social and economic problems. Today, with serially depressed wages, further 'hollowing out' of the labour market, unprecedented austerity and sweeping welfare 'reform', the pressures on families across generations are even greater.

For many people, what happens in their neighbourhoods is essential to their wellbeing. Resilient communities, especially for people on lower incomes who tend to inhabit more geographically concentrated communities, are critical for helping residents to cope with life challenges and to prosper.

Resilient communities are places where people have access to learning and job opportunities, personal support, leisure activities, and feel 'at home'.



## We see the idea of resilient communities as being based around three main pillars:

1. Strong social networks, which allow people to cooperate locally and influence beyond their boundaries.
2. Diversified regional economies, which allow people to access work even as specific sectors rise and fall.
3. Strong local assets and connectivity.

All of these make it more likely that communities, families and individuals are able to cope with shocks of different kinds and maximize opportunities.

Of course, this is relevant to all communities – wherever they are. Needs vary, but the principles hold true. And while there is a tendency to think that it is only Valleys' communities facing challenges, it is also the case for many peripheral city and town estates, as well as poorer rural areas (especially in the north).

But resilient communities cannot be magically produced. They are a product of how people live and work together, of their wider economies and how they relate to external institutions.

However, external policies – as well as the efforts of local people, service providers and businesses – can effect how communities will develop or sustain resilience. Over the last few years Government policy – focusing on centralisation of services, economic concentration and support for the ‘most needy’ – has neglected factors that enhance resilience. But with the state clearly having to focus more narrowly on what it can do, the time to think creatively and positively about resilience has come.

Many of the central policies being pursued by the Welsh Government require more work and capacity at community level – whether they yet recognise that or not. These include Local Government reform (which explicitly asks residents to take on responsibilities previously taken on by the state), and the Social Services and Wellbeing Act (with more care being undertaken in local communities). And of course, above all of these sits the Future Generations Act which implies a greater focus on local communities. In response, some local authorities are looking at place-based planning and delivery, which brings the focus onto communities. However, we need to avoid giving ‘responsibility without power’, by effectively setting up communities to take what Gehan MacLeod, the Scottish social activist has called ‘knock after knock’ and expect them to keep getting up again.

A critical component of resilience pivots on giving far larger capacity to local communities to drive their

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In many communities, leisure and youth opportunities are already provided by local people with limited external funding and this offers a valuable pillar to build upon.

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own destiny. If poorer communities are to survive and thrive, then they must be supported to do this. The truly resilient community is not dependent on the local state. It is involved in co-producing the actions of pared-back local government, finding and developing local solutions to the challenges it faces. Resilient communities should be involved in developing mutual solutions to individual problems. Simple examples are now emerging as good practise: social prescribing, localised social care, young peoples’ informal education and training projects; and support projects for mental ill-health. In many communities, leisure and youth opportunities are already provided by local people with limited external funding and this offers a valuable pillar to build upon.

Community connectivity is the second essential component of resilience – especially important in Wales, where a relatively small percentage of people live in major centres. Greater connectivity must be physical and technological, from investment in the Metro to broadband roll-out into the more remote parts of the country. Equally crucial in the journey towards greater resilience is sustainable economic development. This means strengthening community connections to the local economy. All localities have the need for core services and goods; education and training; social care;

food; transport and energy – and all can be provided locally to some degree.

Leaving the EU must not mean failing to learn from Europe. Continental European initiatives based in poor regional economies show us a way forward: anchoring spend inside the locality through mutual ownership and deliberately keeping spend within communities.

For Wales, this means creating more local supply chains and training pathways for skilled-up local people to co-produce and operate services. Within this sort of model, we would see the intensification of local procurement: local suppliers of other goods and services, in-built training, and local recruitment requirements built into contracts and orders. The work of growing and nurturing the local ‘circular’ economy could be vastly more intensified, retaining substantial local benefits.

There are already examples that illustrate some of these ideas. Young adults without qualifications are less likely to be able to find affordable local accommodation. Within a resilient community model, we can imagine a sympathetic social landlord undertaking work that links young people, local colleges, on-site training, locally-supplied builders and materials, and new models of small and sustainable housing. This could lead to a new housing mutual company that then supplies other local housing markets.

Another picture... local wind is harvested by a community-owned energy company. The turbines send power into the grid with a pay-back to subsidise local people’s bills and reduce fuel-poverty. With some of the pay-back, the community employs local people to deliver

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While there is a tendency to think that it is only Valleys’ communities facing challenges, it is also the case for many peripheral city and town estates, as well as poorer rural areas.

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cheaper insulation to older homes, further reducing energy costs. None of these are unimaginable. Indeed, they are real examples from Wales, but they are too rare and often done in spite of wider policies and practices rather than encouraged by them.

The current conditions for resilience are mixed. For many peripheral communities, transport links are poor and costly, and internet connectivity patchy. The proposed Metro will help a number of Valleys' communities, but will still leave many poorly connected - and do nothing for rural areas. The state of local assets and buildings for community activities is varied - and many that do provide valuable local resources are financially fragile. Although the availability of jobs in many areas has risen in recent years the positive news about headline employment rates hides the fragility and low wages of many of these jobs. In economic strategies, maximising local economic benefits is rarely prioritised and for people with high transport and childcare costs the financial benefits from work are limited.

More positively, in many communities, especially those with more settled populations, local social networks are strong, aiding the provision of local support services, community actions and initiatives which reduce isolation. Stereotypical 'tight knit' Valleys communities genuinely provide substantial mutual benefits.

However, in more transient communities, social networks and the support they can provide are often weaker. Unfortunately, the vertical networks - between localities and decision-makers - are generally weaker in poorer communities, with relationships often characterised by distrust on one side and disdain on the other.

Where there are exceptions the key factors appear to be vigorous local members well connected both locally and at county hall and strong local organisations who make sure their voice is heard.



In this context, the emerging priorities for a post Communities First world look of mixed relevance. The plans to continue work around employability are welcome and good quality Early Years support is vital for many families. However the proposals on empowerment remain vague and the track record of relationships between communities and statutory bodies doesn't provide confidence that actions led by the latter will empower the former. After all, who readily shares power and influence they already control?

Looking to the future there are a number of actions which need to be taken to support communities to develop resilience. Many of them are dependent on what people in those communities do themselves, but Government can aid this process. However, this can't be a 'communities policy', but one that involves all elements of Government which have impacts in that community. Effective training for relevant jobs that offer adequate wages, good quality local education which is accessible to all, and better access to employment centres are critical.

Focussing on a local level, joined up place planning has significant potential to help build resilience, enhanced by more person-centred services and smarter procurement which brings services and economic benefits close to people and retains spend in localities. And finally, a recognition by funders of the absolute centrality of local autonomous anchor organisations to strong communities, can help enhance the local networks and relationships which underpin resilient communities.

Supporting communities and the people who live in them to develop resilience is an essential element of creating a just society in a post social-democratic state; it will also unlock potential and give many people more control over their lives. It does, however, require more decision making to be localised and a sharing of power at local level, along with the already subtle shifts in the sharing of responsibilities.

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Effective training for relevant jobs that offer adequate wages, good quality local education which is accessible to all, and better access to employment centres are critical.

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# How a quality environment strengthens community resilience

Jemma Bere, Policy & Research Manager for Keep Wales Tidy, sets out why improving the environment is a critical issue for communities in Wales.

**I**ncreasingly in our society, the environment is perceived as another 'realm', something to be admired, or visited at weekends. It is even perceived at times as being in opposition to society, a barrier to our desired convenience perhaps or a nuisance to frustrate planning. However, any local authority or town council will tell you that issues of local environment quality top the list of public concerns. Because our environment, far from being detached, is what we see, what we hear, what we smell and what we breathe when we leave our house. It is omnipresent. When our environment is littered, noisy, or uncared for, the impacts are also inescapable.

More widely, our green spaces - where the natural environment is allowed to flourish - offer havens to humans and wildlife alike. Yet it is only in recent years that the importance of green infrastructure is being recognised in policy for its multiple social, economic and environmental benefits. Quality green spaces can reduce pollution, linked to asthma and heart disease, reduce symptoms of depression and mental illness, alleviate flood risk, provide wildlife habitats and increase biodiversity, productivity and innovation and provide spaces for community cohesion.



Conversely, poor local environmental quality adversely impacts mental and physical health, increases anti-social behaviour, crime (and perceptions of crime), creates mistrust in local democracy and government and impacts negatively on economic development and investment.

Poor local environmental quality is also linked to social inequality, with deprived communities more likely to suffer worse environments. "It serves to heighten their feelings of frustration and powerlessness. It fuels their belief that both local and national government are unable to deliver policies that reflect their concerns and address their needs. This, in turn, can reduce their willingness to engage in consultations about the future of their area and perpetuates their feelings of exclusion." ('Prioritising local environmental concerns' JRF, 2004). This correlation concludes that the community fabric is damaged, making communities less likely to engage and making social

and economic renewal that much harder to achieve.

A focus on environmental quality can be a catalyst for economic and social regeneration. A pilot by the local council in St. Helen's, Merseyside and the Environmental Change Research Unit, which focused on local environmental improvement and quality of public space, demonstrated that over a period of 10 years, there was an increase in commercial investment in the town and a dramatic fall in unemployment from 19% to just 2.5%.

**I**mproving our environments, whether natural or urban, is a critical issue for communities and government in Wales. It is not just a matter of poor aesthetics, but a significant issue for our health, economy and social fabric. The quality of our local environment cannot be separated from other aspects of our daily life and is intrinsically linked to our sense of place and sense of wellbeing.

# Learning to learn: resilient economies, communities and individuals in a global world

Why do lifelong learning opportunities matter to our communities?  
Hannah Pudner, Assistant Director of Open University in Wales, explains.



**T**he unrelenting process of globalisation is firmly with us, and is almost certainly here to stay.

We are increasingly seeing capital, competition and commerce integrated into a unified global economy. Increasingly frequent, and increasingly freer, movements of labour, goods, services and ideas, and the de-regulation of the markets. It is fundamentally altering aspects of our regional and national economies, and challenging traditional definitions of learning, living and working.

Globalisation remains a highly political term, perhaps more so in 2017 than ever before, and the debates continue as to its merits and desirability, but there is little doubt

that the phenomenon has created winners and losers.

Wales is no exception and all this superimposed on our post-industrial communities generates a feeling of impending doom.

The TATA steel plant is intricately part of the fabric of Port Talbot – part of its identity, history and vibrancy – a life source. However, Port Talbot is clearly not as tightly woven into the fabric of the plant itself as the company can threaten to up and leave on the tide of the global economy. And there are those areas of Wales where the promises of a modern economy seem to have simply passed by. The steep economic decline in West Wales and the Valleys comes to mind – there's no bright new dawn

fuelled by the surge of the global economy for them. In fact, it's a case of less secure and worse paid jobs.

Our politicians and policy makers have little power to stem globalisation, and indeed may not wish to do so, but what they do have is power to better equip communities with the resilience needed to survive in this era.

This can be achieved through education. Not just increased free pre-school childcare, smaller primary class sizes or more science teachers - but adult education. Education for adults who are working and for adults who are wishing to work.

Some say adult education plays second fiddle to education for the young in terms of funding and policy focus. However, that is far too generous an assessment – it is more reminiscent of a long lost cousin twice removed. The distribution of education spending across the age ranges is grossly disproportionate, favouring the younger age ranges to the exclusion of the older learners - even if this may not make economic sense.

Professor Chris Taylor of Cardiff University eloquently described this phenomenon as a 'race to birth' whereby the rise of 'child-centred' approaches across the globe – with Wales as no exception – has

placed pressure on policy makers and politicians to invest heavily in childhood interventions, over and above all other interventions. Even if the large investment is disproportionate to the modest outcome, any improvement warrants the spend. And adult education loses out, regardless if even a modest uplift in funding might create substantial rewards.

Why is adult education so vital to developing economic, community and individual resilience in a globalising Wales? Firstly, demographic changes mean that Wales has increasingly fewer younger people. As a result we will soon not be producing as many 18-21 year-old graduates with higher level skills, the very type of skills

geographically mobile (due to mortgages and families etc.) so therefore less likely to move to Cardiff, London or elsewhere for work, taking their public investment with them. An investment made in adult learning is more likely to stay locally than any other type of investment in education. And if the purpose of the investment is to improve local economies and lives, then that is a better investment.

The world is changing at such a rapid pace that it is simply inadequate to front load education when young. We all need to learn to learn, learn to adapt and therefore learn to forget – this in fact might become the most powerful knowledge there is. The ability to keep abreast with change, the ability

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**Our politicians and policy makers have little power to stem globalisation, and indeed may not wish to do so, but what they do have is power to better equip communities with the resilience needed to survive in this era.**

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that our globalised economy needs. If we want to keep up we need to find these skilled workers from elsewhere. We might wish to entice people from other parts of the UK or abroad to move to Wales. But we might prefer to invest in the adult working population we already have via part-time training and education.

The current adult working population, unlike younger graduates and unlike people from abroad, have been paying into our tax system over a sustained period of time. They have already made a contribution and would continue to do so by simultaneously working and studying. And in terms of benefitting young learners, it is widely accepted that having parents engage with education has a powerfully positive impact on their child's own education.

Moreover, working learners are more likely to be rooted in their communities. Unlike younger graduates, they are less

to use it to one's advantage and to manipulate it when necessary is key to success. Along with a solid body of general education, learning the skills to learn and the ability to engage with lifelong learning with ease and pace is perhaps one of the fundamentally powerful things to learn in the globalising 21st century.

Achieving this demands a recalibration of our entire education system. No more tinkering around the edges, but profound, structural changes. Removing the rigid foundations based on privileging the relatively privileged, the academic, the young and the full time. Instead we need a system that privileges the person – whoever, wherever and whenever. A system that does not demand a linear journey of learning unforgiving of missteps and mistakes. That does not give greater importance to the academic over the vocational. That allows people to learn powerful knowledge throughout their childhood and into

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**The distribution of education spending across the age ranges is grossly disproportionate, favouring the younger age ranges to the exclusion of the older learners - even if this may not make economic sense.**

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adulthood, and to never stop.

This has to start with some reappportioning of the spending in our education system - simply a modest uplift towards older learners could have significant impacts. This may involve the introduction of lifelong 'learning accounts' (consider them bank accounts of public investment for your education you can draw upon throughout your life).

It could mean traditional universities reconsidering their, more often than not, unbending structures, giving a renewed focus on working populations and the populations of the communities they are situated within. And the government, with its finite purse, challenging the 'race to birth' policy expectations. More investment in part-time, further education, community education, continued with an anticipation that all education providers open their structures placing the individual first and learning as a lifetime endeavour.

**I**n the globalised world of winners and losers, parts of Wales have been losing for too long. One vital way to ensure that our economies, communities and individuals are resilient to global change is to invest in our working adults, equipping them with powerful knowledge - the skill and ability to learn throughout life.

# Raising resilience: the role of social landlords

Kath Deakin and Sian Nicholas, Heads of Sustainable Communities and Cheryl Tracy, Head of Neighbourhoods, from Monmouthshire Housing Association discuss the role of a social landlord in helping create communities that can shrug off the worst.

When reflecting about the things that help you cope in times of crisis or difficulty I'm pretty certain that we'd all be able to track back to the human networks we build around us. Those networks can be complex and derive from a number of different sources; our families, friends from our social activities, colleagues and friends from work. So, imagine you don't work, you have had to strip away any social activities because of lack of finances or ill health, and you have no family or no positive relationship with your family - where would you go for support?

We have been acutely aware of the near tsunami of challenges our communities are facing, spearheaded by austerity and the resultant changes to our welfare benefits system. These situations have been compounded with the challenges in delivering effective health care, particularly in terms of support for mental health. Our awareness has been fed by extensive profiling of our tenancies that highlighted the significant levels of vulnerability because of age, mental ill health or other long-term health conditions and also financial vulnerability due to changes to



the welfare benefit system and frightening levels of indebtedness.

Our staff working directly with our clients have also noticed a palpable change in what has been required to help a household cope with managing and maintaining their homes, and they are reporting that the people who are struggling the most are often quite isolated.

#### **So what can a landlord do?**

We believe that having a secure home base is key to personal resilience. Understanding how important the transition to a new home is has resulted in the creation of a New Homes Team that work intensively with new householders in that critical first year of their tenancy



to help them focus on long-term goals. We are also developing a Tenancy Coaching Service to provide 'whatever it takes' support to households at risk of losing a tenancy, where this would cause irreparable impact.

We have Neighbourhood and Engagement Teams to identify and respond to needs and co-produce services with tenants in order to get the right approach. Our drive is to build resilient communities through a bespoke neighbourhood planning approach that focuses our resources on an area to ensure the biggest impact whilst supporting individuals to realise their potential through one-to-one interventions.

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## Delivering local solutions in partnership with local communities, helps to ensure interventions are sustainable and fit for purpose, rather than being “parachuted in” or enforced onto a community, which can cause disengagement and wasted resources, as they do not address the community’s needs or aspirations.

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Neighbourhood Plans provide MHA with a framework to develop tailor-made action plans which are community-led. These plans are fundamentally different to traditional ways of working, and focus on the skills, strengths and assets within the local community, rather than their needs or ‘problems’. This empowers the community to co-create an action plan which helps them meet their aspirations, as well as giving us a bank of ‘solutions’ that already work in one context, which can then be applied to different issues. And this approach helps to ensure interventions are sustainable and fit for purpose, rather than being enforced onto a community.

### **Inclusion services**

Financial inclusion has been an important strategic theme for us for nearly nine years. An initial focus on income maximisation has developed into specialist benefit support, welfare reform mitigation and debt advice and support. We also acknowledged that helping people achieve employment and move away from benefit dependency could be the most effective path to financial and social inclusion. We have two services: Money Wise, and Work and Skills Wise. Money Wise provides a short term response to financial inequality through good quality advice around income maximisation, welfare benefits and debt. This team works in partnership with our Income Recovery Team to identify potential income risk, working with the householder to get ahead of the problem.

Work and Skills Wise looks to reconnect people with the benefits of employment. This can be challenging, as the nature of local employment in Monmouthshire can

mean that a wage doesn’t always stack up financially for a household. But the service has also been explicit in its aim to help those it works with to understand the social and wellbeing benefits of working and the role it plays in combating social isolation.

Providing these services as a landlord - and not as an agency of the DWP - has freed the service to pursue a whole-person approach to supporting job seekers. For example, we have been able to identify progression pathways with our Engagement Team that may start with simply getting somebody out of the house and meeting people and, thus, building up that all-important network of moral and practical support - as well as becoming that support for someone else.

### **Wellbeing and engagement**

We have developed a range of activities that contribute to better wellbeing and engagement, but two of our longer-term projects have provided this impact and have also drawn in resources from other sources to complement statutory services. Dads Can is a project focused on providing support for young fathers between the ages of 14 and 25, funded through the Big Lottery’s Bright New Futures funding. The main principle behind the service is to focus on the positive aspect of becoming a parent and helping young fathers to understand the sense of purpose and fulfilment that fatherhood can bring.

The project has found that fathers can become isolated due to the challenges of managing difficult relationships within a family and financial hardship. The most effective interventions have been those where support has been able to help fathers engage

more productively with statutory services (sometimes seeing children being deemed no longer ‘at risk’ because of more positive father/child relationships or custody issues being positively resolved) or enabled fathers to connect socially with other fathers either with or without the children being present.

Secondly, the Ziggies physical literacy programme developed by RCT Homes (now Trivallis) has been rolled out across South East Wales through a consortium approach and with funding from Sport Wales. The programme has several aims – the main focus being the improvement of physical literacy in school-age children. A driver for the project is strengthening parental relationships with the school environment and encouraging skills-based volunteering to provide a much-needed service that will improve the wellbeing of families.

Again, it’s about recognising those community-based institutions, like schools, that can be about more than delivering a statutory requirement and provide the structure around which communities can connect, and individuals can receive and give support as well as contribute positively to the collective wellbeing.

**T**his is just a taste of the work we are doing at MHA but we are confident that a collective effort that consciously understands the importance of building resilience into individuals and, thus, into the wider community is key to people feeling more optimistic about their wellbeing and their future. And, of course, as a landlord we understand that your home is as much a part of your support network as the people you rely on.

## GELLIDEG FOUNDATION GROUP

# Gellideg: A resilient community

The Gellideg Foundation Group is a community organisation based in Gellideg, Merthyr Tydfil. Helen Buhaenko, who manages the organisation, explains how its work supports the resilience of the local community.



We are experiencing socio-economic change at a rate not seen for decades on this valley's estate. Gellideg has always been a close-knit community, with a strong sense of place and identity. It will pull through because it always does, although sometimes not necessarily in the way policymakers predict or expect.

But right now times are difficult for people on the lowest incomes and above all it is the young who are feeling this most acutely.

Being a close knit community is both a strength and a weakness. A strength because friends, neighbours and extended family will always look out for each other. The community provides security

in times of uncertainty, sharing resources such as accommodation, loans, and emotional support. In a survey we conducted, when asked who is not coping, the answer was, 'anyone who's alone'. A close-knit community also has a defined culture and change can be difficult to implement when it is not part of a collective response. The community likes to keep members close which can discourage members from leaving, it likes to perpetuate the status quo, and is suspicious of difference.

The formation of the Gellideg Foundation Group (GFG) in 1998 was a community response to poverty and disadvantage. After the closure of Thorns (a large local employer) in 1992, the estate went

into decline, as increasing numbers of working age adults were unable to find employment and became economically inactive. The GFG was formed by local residents who believe in community action, volunteering, self-help and solidarity.

Over the years we have variously delivered health, lifelong learning, vocational, early years, youth and family programmes. Currently we deliver the Communities First Programme for the middle of Merthyr Tydfil, but we also operate two social enterprises and other independently funded programmes. We have between 20-30 staff who deliver direct services such as nursery and youth classes, training and advice. One of the most important functions of the group

is to bridge the gap between local people and statutory service delivery. The success of the GFG comes from its mix of being grounded in the community; trusted and respected by local people, whilst challenging norms and supporting positive change. Resilience is the ability to recover quickly from challenging circumstances – the GFG is a

the availability of able-bodied economically inactive adults to be involved in community activity has greatly reduced. The policy emphasis is on prosperity through employment. We have witnessed a falling away of the numbers of working age adults who are available to volunteer at tea dances and at the Food Coop, as van drivers and in

Communities First Programme since its inception in 2001. In October 2016 the Minister announced he was minded to phase out Communities First; we are waiting to hear whether there will be any replacement programme beyond June 2017, because now more than ever, the vulnerable need our help.

It is nearly 20 years since the GFG was founded, in an act of community resilience. Over this time we have learned much about engaging the most disenfranchised. We have learned that people have to want to make change happen, our role is to inspire to make this possible. People in crisis need support, encouragement and confidence building. Most often a crisis is the catalyst for engagement. Community trips, and events, summer programmes and time-banking, all promote participation. Celebrating success helps people to progress; one of the ways we support this transition is by acting as an Intermediate Labour Market. Our ethos is holistic, however we know that the Early Years and Youth Programmes which support young people's development are the core of our organisation.

Our community response to austerity, welfare cuts and future economic uncertainty, is to create a brand new Wellbeing Centre in the heart of Gellideg. The contractors started work in January on this passivhaus building, which will be a community resource for residents of Merthyr Tydfil. In the centre, people will be able to learn, be active, give their time, and take notice.

**W**e will face today's uncertain challenges by connecting the community to new partners and opportunities. Above all it will be a Wellbeing centre where children can play as well as learn, and enjoy their youth. Ultimately the people of Gellideg and wider Merthyr Tydfil have adapted and responded to change over the years and the GFG will stand by the community through this period of uncertainty.

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## Not everyone can work. There is a great need for programmes that support people who are in poor physical and mental health, for the retired, the elderly and the young.

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community response to support this process.

Since the financial crash of 2007, decisions made on-high and far away have impacted on the lives of everyone here. Year on year, austerity cuts shrink budgets available for community services. For people on the ground this means less caseworkers to support at-risk families and less police on the beat. The bedroom tax/under occupancy charge was introduced in April 2013 and tenants with a spare bedroom find their housing benefit cut by 14%. In the same year, the Welfare Reform Act 2012 came into operation with an initial focus on working age adults (16-64). After some delays, Universal Credit began to be rolled out in Merthyr Tydfil and a phasing out of some disability benefits. The threshold for lone parents to return to work has been lowered to when their youngest child is 5. All of this has resulted in a squeeze on disposable incomes. Households ordering our subsidized grocery boxes have outstripped supplies. Last summer our community programme was full week on week, as estate bound families seized the opportunity to take part in communal events, particularly ones including food for the children.

Welfare reform is changing patterns of behaviour, and

the catering workshops. Many who are newly working find themselves in low paid, precarious jobs. The prevalence of in-work poverty is rising. People need support to progress beyond entry-level jobs and not be trapped on low incomes.

We are finding that more than ever we are supporting people who are at the margins of society - economically inactive residents with moderate to severe health issues, people who have exceptionally low literacy and numeracy skills and/or substance misuse problems, young people who are beyond the support of many agencies and have signed off the welfare system as they cannot fulfil its requirements. Not everyone can work. There is a great need for programmes that support people who are in poor physical and mental health, for the retired, the elderly and the young.

Above all it is these young people we see at the sharp end of the austerity measures. Young people are living through a school regime of tests and benchmarking which is often at odds with the culture in the home. Incidences of poor mental health in young people are rising. There are many low paid households with children who are time and income poor. To support young people is to support the families and communities they live in.

At the GFG we have delivered the

# Bevan Foundation News

## Communities First – Next Steps

Following requests for briefings by AMs, we have published a short paper setting out our emerging ideas about what should be done to solve poverty in disadvantaged communities. It recommends that a new programme should be established for a limited number of disadvantaged communities which has a relentless focus on reducing poverty experienced by individuals and households.

Visit [www.bevanfoundation.org/publications](http://www.bevanfoundation.org/publications) to download it.

## The Future of Doing Good

The Bevan Foundation is working with the Big Lottery Fund Wales to encourage discussion about the future of 'doing good' in Wales. Take a look at our blog to read our series of online articles taking a provocative look at some of the key issues raised by the project, such as if the third sector is really independent, and find out more about the project on the project page:

[www.bevanfoundation.org/current-projects](http://www.bevanfoundation.org/current-projects).



## After PISA: A Way Forward for Education in Wales?.

We were delighted that so many of you could join us to launch our latest report, 'After PISA: A Way Forward for Education in Wales?'. Authored by Professor David Egan, the paper recommends that education policymakers should stop obsessing over indicators such as the PISA results as a measure of performance, and instead look at a much broader range of evidence including the wellbeing of children and young people.

Professor Egan, an Associate of the Bevan Foundation, recommended that there should be a renewed emphasis on a distinctive, Welsh approach to school improvement, as well as partnership working with communities and a relentless focus on improving equity.

The report can be downloaded via: [www.bevanfoundation.org/publications](http://www.bevanfoundation.org/publications)

## Thank You

A huge thank you to everyone who contributed to our crowdfunding campaign – we will use this funding, along with funds we raise from applications to trusts and foundations, to develop proposals for better opportunities for young people who do not achieve five 'good' GCSEs.

We will look at the strengths and weaknesses of the options currently available to them (further education, apprenticeships and employment) and work with young people and education professionals to enhance the range and quality of opportunities.

The project is scheduled to begin in April 2017, with the duration of the project depending on funding raised. Keep an eye on your subscribers' newsletter for more updates.



# Subscribers' News

## Recycle IT with Keep Wales Tidy'

Do you have unwanted electrical equipment? Looking to recycle responsibly? Then look no further! Keep Wales Tidy, a leading environmental charity, can help you and the best thing is, it's quick and hassle-free. Go to [keepwalestidy.cymru/recycleit](http://keepwalestidy.cymru/recycleit) to make an enquiry or *Call 02920 726 974* - Keep Wales Tidy will even arrange a free pick-up from your location. [#RecycleIT](https://twitter.com/RecycleIT).

## That Works Training Academy

75 out of the 128 Torfaen residents who took part in one of Bron Afon Community Housing's projects that combine on-the-job experience with help to apply for jobs have gone on to find employment. Bron Afon's new That Works Training Academy offers everything from volunteering to qualifications to interview advice. *Call 01633 620 111 to find out more.*

## South East Wales Employment and Skills Plan

The Learning, Skills and Innovation Partnership (LSkip) is one of three regional skills partnerships across Wales recognised by Welsh Government and invited to submit priorities for skills investment to support the development of the regional economy. LSKIP's South East Wales 'Employment and Skills Plan' is now available online via: [www.lskip.wales](http://www.lskip.wales) or [www.lskip.cymru](http://www.lskip.cymru)

## The EnvisAGE journal

Transport plays an increasingly important role in the lives of older people, living as we do in a 'hypermobile' world where high levels of mobility are needed in order to stay connected to communities, friends and family, shops and services. Find out more about Age Cymru's EnvisAGE journal: [www.agecymru.org.uk/envisage](http://www.agecymru.org.uk/envisage).

## New course takes Wales and Welsh to the world

The Open University has launched an online course which will give learners an insight into Welsh history and culture and help them to learn basic Welsh language skills. The course can be studied flexibly with students able to register at any time and offers the chance to explore key aspects of Welsh culture and basic Welsh language skills. Alongside the formal course, an interactive online portal - Hafan - has been developed which showcases Wales' diverse culture and people through a series of videos and quizzes. Find out more via [www.open.ac.uk/wales-and-welsh](http://www.open.ac.uk/wales-and-welsh) and explore Hafan at [www.open.edu/openlearn/hafan](http://www.open.edu/openlearn/hafan)

## 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](http://www.rcn.org.uk/wales/leading-nursing-shaping-care).

## Exploitation ends now' cleaners tell university

KGB Cleaning Services workers at the University of South Wales are campaigning for the Living Wage. The cleaning staff are organised by UNISON on campuses in Newport, Treforest, Merthyr Tydfil and the Atrium in Cardiff. They earn £7.20 per hour, which they say means they are forced to live in poverty.

## Putting theory into practice

Building on the work from our focus on poverty, and previous series of poverty blogs, the PPIW have published a new series on practical approaches to tackling poverty. These blogs focus on practical examples of projects designed to engage with those people who are experiencing poverty and include them throughout the design and implementation of improvements. Find them here: [www.ppiw.org.uk/category/ppiwblog](http://www.ppiw.org.uk/category/ppiwblog)

## #ThankYouWales

January 24th saw National Lottery Good Causes, Arts Council of Wales, Big Lottery Fund, Heritage Lottery Fund, and Sports Wales celebrate, with their projects and players, the end of their #ThankYouWales campaign – thanking National Lottery players for the difference they've made to communities in Wales.



# Spotlight On

**Shavanah Taj** Wales Secretary, PCS

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## In 140 characters describe what PCS in Wales does:

PCS has about 20,000 members in Wales, based in UK government departments, the Welsh devolved area and the commercial sector.

We act as a focal point for PCS activity in Wales.

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## What is your role at PCS?

As PCS Wales Secretary, I manage a team of 15 across Wales and South West region. On behalf of members, I am responsible for taking the lead in discussions and negotiations with the First Minister of Wales as part of the Wales TUC Workforce Partnership Council.

I am also the Secretary to our elected Wales Committee, which works with the full-time office staff to provide leadership and co-ordination for the union's work.

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## What do you enjoy most about working at PCS?

It gives me the chance to work with some amazingly talented elected reps and active ordinary members to increase PCS visibility and activity in Wales.

It also involves assisting branches with recruitment, organisation, campaigns and ensuring we are able to provide the best level of training and support for reps and members, as well as promoting equality and workplace learning.

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## If PCS were a biscuit, what would it be?

As a non-politically affiliated union I would say it is difficult to describe us in the form of one biscuit.

I would say we're more like a mixed selection box. Depends on the moment!.

---

## What are the biggest challenges facing PCS and your members?

The very real impact of austerity, pay freezes, job cuts, office closures, attacks on the Civil Service Pensions Scheme, privatisation, ongoing uncertainty - all of these challenges against the backdrop of Brexit and the rise of racism and Islamophobia. I am proud that PCS continues to be at the forefront of fighting against injustice and inequality for all.

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

Martin Luther King and Malala Yousafazi.

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## Why does PCS subscribe to the Bevan Foundation?

The Bevan Foundation is a natural fit for PCS union. As a non-political organisation you have the ability to work with a large range of partners to develop ideas to make Wales fair, prosperous and sustainable. The fact that you use evidence based reporting mechanisms, means that we can reliably refer to your work as best practice, when making the case for a better and more prosperous Wales.

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As PCS Wales Secretary, I manage a team of 15 across Wales and South West region.

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I am also the Secretary to our elected Wales Committee, which works with the full-time office staff to provide leadership and co-ordination for the union's work

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### Summer holidays lunch and fun clubs

The Welsh Government will invest to provide quality meals and activities during the school summer holidays. £500,000 of funding will go towards lunch and fun clubs in some primary schools in Wales' most deprived communities.

I welcome this decision. I visited Millbank Primary School in Caerau last summer, where a pilot scheme was being run. I had a lovely time chatting to children and seeing them play sports, look after the garden, and eat some delicious food.

### Mark Drakeford AM, Cardiff West

Residents of Cardiff West can contact my office at:  
 395 Cowbridge Road East, Canton CF5 1JG  
 029 2022 3207 [mark.drakeford@assembly.wales](mailto:mark.drakeford@assembly.wales)



**gofod<sup>3</sup>**

**7/3/2017**

Stadiwm Dinas Caerdydd - Cardiff City Stadium

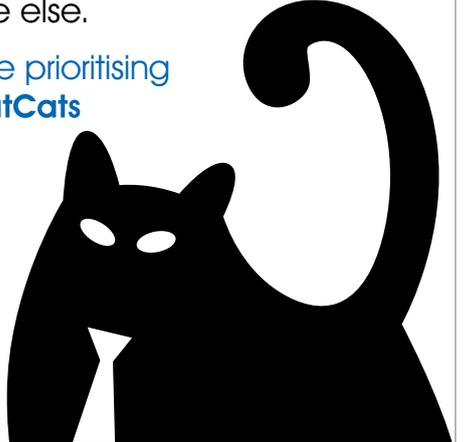
**Gofod3.cymru**

Trefnir gofod3 gan Cyngor Gweithredu Gwirfoddol Cymru (WCVA) ar y cyd â'r trydydd sector yng Nghymru 

Gofod3 is organised by Wales Council for Voluntary Action (WCVA) in collaboration with the third sector in Wales.

The government is trying to take away your right to free or affordable legal representation if you're injured at work or anywhere else.

Why? They're prioritising **#FeedingFatCats**



Nearly one million people will lose their right to free legal representation, if government plans go ahead, while fat cat insurers will be rewarded with multimillion pound profits.

Visit [www.feedingfatcats.co.uk](http://www.feedingfatcats.co.uk) to take action and stop the government **#FeedingFatCats**.

  [@feedingfatcats](https://twitter.com/feedingfatcats)

**#FeedingFatCats** is a campaign run by Thompsons Solicitors. Thompsons is proud to stand up for the injured and mistreated.

Mawrth/March 2017

# Pwy sy'n rhedeg Cymru?

Bwrw golwg ar bwy sydd mewn uwch swyddi a chydä dylanwad yng Nghymru.

## Who Runs Wales?

A look at who holds positions of power and influence in Wales.



Comisiwn Cydraddoldeb a Hawliau Dynol | Equality and Human Rights Commission

 **Estyn**

Arolygoeth El Mawrhydi dros Addysg a Hyfforddiant yng Nghymru  
Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education and Training in Wales

**Rydym yn newid y modd rydym yn arolygu addysg a hyfforddiant**

**We're changing how we inspect education and training**

O Fedi 2017 ymlaen, rydym yn newid ein trefniadau arolygu er mwyn helpu i ysgogi gwelliant mewn addysg a hyfforddiant yng Nghymru.

From September 2017 we're changing our inspection arrangements to help drive improvement in education and training in Wales.

I gael y newyddion diweddaraf, cofrestrwch yn:

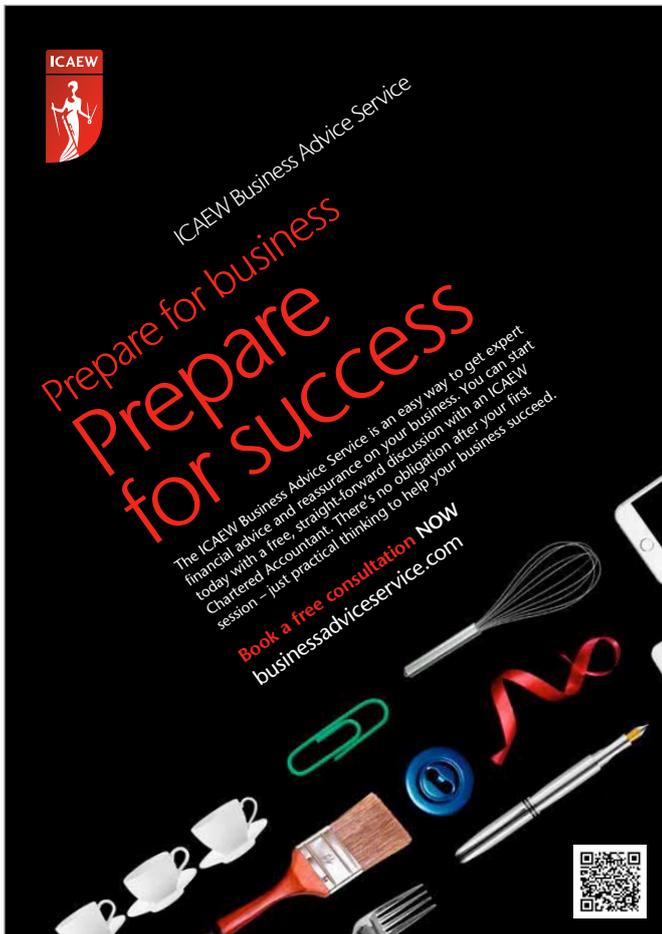
To keep up to date register at:

[www.estyn.llyw.cymru/gofrestru](http://www.estyn.llyw.cymru/gofrestru)

[www.estyn.gov.wales/register](http://www.estyn.gov.wales/register)

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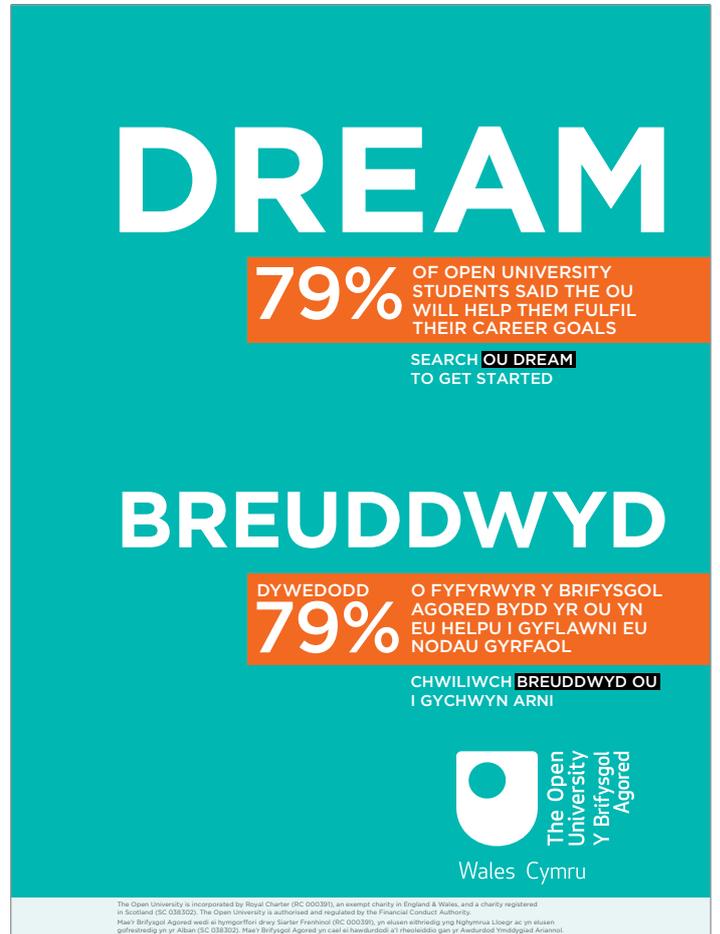


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