



# the welsh agenda



Summer 2018. Issue 60.



## Women in Public Life

Leanne Wood

Shazia Awan-Scully

Angela V. John

## Wales' Soft Power

Jonathan McClory  
& Chris Lewis

Laura McAllister

Roger Lewis

## Wales & the World

Martin Pollard

Susie Ventris-Field

Brett John

Image: Sebastian Cooke

# Corporate members



The Institute of Welsh Affairs gratefully acknowledges funding support from the Carnegie UK Trust, the Friends Provident Foundation, the Jane Hodge Foundation, the Polden-Puckham Charitable Foundation, the Waterloo Foundation and the Welsh Books Council. The following organisations are corporate members:

Aberystwyth University  
Library

Acuity Legal Limited

Amgueddfa Cymru  
National Museum Wales

Arup

Association of Chartered  
Certified Accountants (ACCA)

Awel Aman Tawe

Bangor University

BBC Cymru Wales

Blake Morgan

Brewin Dolphin

British Council - Wales

British Heart  
Foundation Wales

BT

Capital Law Limited

Cardiff County Council

Cardiff Metropolitan  
University

Cardiff University

Cardiff University Library

Carnegie UK Trust

Cartrefi Cymru

Cathedral School Llandaff

CECA Wales Ltd

Coastal Housing Group Ltd

Colleges Wales /  
Colegau Cymru

Community Housing Cymru

Creative Risk Solutions Ltd

Cymorth Cymru

Cynnal Cymru

Cynon Taf Community  
Housing Group

Deloitte LLP

Deryn Consulting

Disability Wales

Doopoll

Eisteddfod

Genedlaethol Cymru

Estyn

Eversheds-Sutherland LLP

Family Housing Association

Federation Of Small  
Businesses Wales

Ffilm Cymru

Four Cymru

Friends of the Earth Cymru

Geldards LLP

Glandŵr Cymru - The Canal &  
River Trust in Wales

Gofal

Grayling Wales

Harvard College Library

Hendre Housing Association  
Limited

Heritage Lottery Fund

Historix Editions

Hugh James

Institute of Chartered  
Accountants of England and  
Wales

ITV Cymru Wales

Julian Hodge Bank Ltd

Legal Deposit Office

Llamau

People and Work Unit

Macmillan Cancer Support

Marie Curie Hospice /  
Hosbis Marie Curie

Morgan LaRoche

MS Society Cymru

National Theatre Wales

National Union of Students  
NUS Wales

Newgate Communications

Newport City Homes

Newsdirect

North Wales Fire &  
Rescue Service

OFGEM

Oxfam Cymru

Parker Plant Hire Ltd

Pembrokeshire Coast National  
Park Authority

PLANED

Practice Solutions

Principality

Building Society

Prospect Wales Cymru

Public Services Ombudsman  
for Wales

PwC

RenewableUK

RIBA Royal Institute  
of British Architects

Rondo Media

Royal College of Nursing in  
Wales

Royal Town Planning Institute  
Cymru

RSPB Cymru

RWE Innogy UK

S4C

Samaritans Cymru

Shelter Cymru

Smart Energy GB

Snowdonia National  
Park Authority

Sport Wales

Tenovus Cancer Care

The Learned Society  
of Wales

The Means

The Open University  
in Wales

Universities Wales

University Of South Wales

University of Wales Press

University of Wales Trinity  
Saint David

Wales & West Utilities Ltd

Wales Co-operative Centre

Wales TUC Cymru

Waterloo Foundation

Wales Council for Voluntary  
Action (WCVA)

Welsh Centre for International  
Affairs (WCIA)

Welsh Local Government  
Association (WLGA)

Welsh National Opera

Wildlife Trust Wales

Women's Equality Network  
(WEN) Wales

Working Links Wales

Wrexham Glyndŵr University

WWF Cymru

Y Ganolfan Dysgu Cymraeg  
Genedlaethol

**To become a corporate member of the IWA, please call 029 2048 4387.**

## Editorial

# Still not good enough

### *Auriol Miller*



**A** hundred years after *some* women were given the vote, we're still equivocating. It's still the case that *some* women are given public platform while the vast majority are hugely underrepresented. For those women who raise their voices above the parapet, there's a disproportionate level of flak flung at them, much of which is more personal than that thrown at men. While social media has been a powerful agent of conveying important issues around equality into the public domain, it can be an intimidating environment too.

We are still way off anything like 50:50 gender representation in all walks of life, and this remains not good enough. Perennial problems persist. Women still carry far more of the household churn than men. Then there's a double bind in that the demands of public life often mean less quality time with the children: who still also need to see role models of women in public life and envisage a different future for themselves.

These are difficult conundrums, and the balance will be different for each person, each family. No one size fits all. For example, women with caring responsibilities of whatever sort (children, elderly, disabled) will have different pressure points to those who don't. What's important is that society – and legislation – recognises these challenges and accounts for them. As Leanne Wood says in our cover feature, 'Men need to listen.'

In this issue of *the welsh agenda*, we've looked at women's roles in public life both now and in the past. Shazia Awan-Scully writes about the current situation in Wales, while Eleri Evans offers a global perspective. Leanne Wood talks to Dylan Moore, and our new Culture Editor Merlin Gable interviews Angela V. John about her new book *Rocking the Boat*, profiling Welsh women who championed equality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Merlin is not the only new face at the IWA. In the last few months, we have expanded our team further to

include Keith Watts as coordinator of our new Smart Region project and Elinor Shepley to drive our work with the Carnegie UK Trust, Understanding Welsh Places. We're excited by the opportunities that our new projects give us to showcase the importance of citizen's voices and experiences in shaping our shared future.

And the refreshed look for *the welsh agenda* is part of our evolution too. We've expanded our Editorial Group, which contributes to the curation of this magazine and our online *Click on Wales* platform as well as our popular series of podcasts (the Editorial Group is introduced overleaf).

In addition to the series on women in public life, this issue takes stock of Wales' position in the world. Emyr Jones Parry and Kevin Morgan offer candid assessments of the impact of Brexit while Martin Pollard surveys the huge sweep of Wales' contribution to international understanding. Elsewhere, Jonathan McClory and Chris Lewis showcase the research carried out by Portland on behalf of the British Council Wales into how Wales can better leverage its soft power assets; Laura McAllister argues that the answer lies chiefly in sport, while Roger Lewis recounts the softly, softly approach that led to Cardiff Airport's success in bringing Qatar Airways to Wales. And nineteen-year-old Brett John looks at the opportunities afforded through the Commonwealth – the IWA actively wants to encourage new voices. *the welsh agenda* and our other platforms for debate need to be places where all can be heard.

If you have any comments on the new look for the magazine, or more importantly the many issues raised within its pages, we warmly welcome you to continue the conversation by getting in touch. And if you know of others who would appreciate joining the conversation, please point them in our direction – they too would be very welcome.

**Auriol Miller** is Director of the IWA

# Meet the Team



**Editor**  
Dylan Moore  
@\_DylanMoore



**Editorial Manager**  
Rhea Stevens  
@rhea\_stevens



**Culture Editor**  
Merlin Gable  
@merlingable

---

## EDITORIAL GROUP

**Rhys ap Gwilym**  
*Senior Lecturer in Economics,  
Bangor Business School*

**Shazia Awan-Scully**  
@ShaziaAwan  
*Director, Shoot from the Hip Media*

**Noreen Blanlulet**  
@noreenblanlulet  
*Director, Co-Production Network Wales*

**Clare Critchley**  
*Ex-Producer, 'Woman's Hour'  
BBC Radio 4*

**Geraint Talfan Davies**  
@geraintalfan  
*Ex-Chair, IWA & WNO*

**Anwen Elias**  
@anwen\_elias  
*Reader in Politics, Aberystwyth  
University*

**Gareth Evans**  
@garethdjevans  
*Director of Education, Yr Athrofa*

**Gerald Holtham**  
*Managing Partner, Cadwyn  
Capital LLP & IWA Trustee*

**Marcus Longley**  
*Chair, Cwm Taf University  
Health Board & IWA Health  
& Social Care Policy Group*

**Auriol Miller**  
@auriol\_miller  
*Director, IWA*

**Marc Thomas**  
@iammarctomas  
*CEO, Doopoll*

---

**Design**  
Marc Jennings  
marc@theundercard.co.uk

**Cover Photographer:**  
*Seb Cooke*  
@seb\_cooke

# Inside this issue



## HIGHLIGHTS

**04**  
**After Carwyn:**  
Roger Awan-Scully asks what's next  
for Welsh Labour

**10**  
**The soft power moment:**  
Jonathan McClory and Chris Lewis  
on Wales' global potential

**22**  
**Women in Welsh public life:**  
Shazia Awan-Scully on the ongoing  
marginalisation of women

**26**  
**Leanne Wood - at the crossroads:**  
Dylan Moore meets the Plaid  
Cymru leader

**52**  
**'The kick of a mule':**  
Martin Pollard surveys Wales'  
proud history of internationalism

**62**  
**Breaking out of our bubble?:**  
Susie Ventris-Field considers global  
learning post-Donaldson

To advertise,  
tel: 029 2048 4387

The publisher acknowledges  
the financial support of the  
Welsh Books Council.

**Institute of Welsh Affairs**  
56 James Street, Cardiff Bay,  
Cardiff, CF10 5EZ  
Tel: 02920 484 387

Charity number: 1078435

The IWA is an independent  
think tank and charity  
dedicated to promoting  
the economic, social,  
environmental and cultural  
well-being of Wales.

To become a member and  
receive benefits such as  
copies of the Welsh agenda,  
early-bird notice of events,  
regular newsletters and free  
publications, from £30 a year,  
please call Laura Knight on  
029 2048 4387.

## ARTICLES

- 15 **Just Being Ourselves:** *Roger Lewis on bringing Qatar Airways to Cardiff*
- 18 **Remoulding the plasticine:** *Laura McAllister on the importance of sport to soft power*
- 20 **Women's rights are Human rights:** *Eleri Evans reports on gender equality from the UN*
- 32 **After Brexit:** *Sir Emyr Jones Parry on what 'Global Britain' and 'Global Wales' might mean*
- 35 **Wales in a Post-Brexit World:** *Kevin Morgan on the partnerships we will need to forge*
- 38 **The Betrayal of Wales:** *Christopher Gage hails the rise of the 'millennial conservative' in Wales*
- 43 **Age of Saints to Age of Robots:** *Keith Griffiths looks back at Wales from Hong Kong*
- 46 **United We Stand:** *Brett John on Wales' need to develop closer ties with the Commonwealth*
- 48 **Re-energising Wales:** *Shea Buckland-Jones reports on the IWA's renewable energy project*
- 58 **Poverty and Suicide:** *Sarah Stone outlines the stark link established by a Samaritans report*
- 66 **Lessons from Ontario:** *Gareth Evans visits one of PISA's high flyers to take notes for Wales*
- 70 **Delivering Psychological Therapies:** *Kim Williams, Dr Elanor Maybury & Nicola Massie report*
- 73 **Time to legalise?:** *Urtha Felda makes a powerful case for medicinal cannabis for MS sufferers*
- 75 **Intolerant nation?:** *Uzo Iwobi considers the stories behind statistics detailing a rise in hate crime*
- 78 **Academi Heddwch:** *Mererid Hopwood outlines the journey of the nascent Wales Peace Institute*

## CULTURE

- 82 **Rocking the Boat:** *Angela V. John talks to Merlin Gable about women who championed equality*
- 85 **Towards 2000, Beyond Brexit:** *Daniel G. Williams revisits Raymond Williams' classic text*

### Book Reviews:

- 88 *Jess Blair on Adrian Masters' election diary 'Nothing Has Changed'*
- 90 *Cerith D. Rhys Jones on Norena Shopland's *Forbidden Lives: LGBT Stories from Wales**
- 93 *Geraint Talfan Davies on John Osmond's magnum opus 'Ten Million Stars are Burning'*
- 96 **Q&A:** *Marc Thomas talks to Dan Tyte about 'The Offline Project', set in Denmark and off the internet*

Through the *welsh agenda* and the IWA websites, the IWA provides a platform for debate, discussion and the exploration of ideas. The ideas contained in the independently produced articles and papers we publish are those of the writers and contributors and do not, therefore, necessarily reflect the views of the IWA, its members and Board.



Carwyn Jones addresses the recent IWA/British Council Wales conference on small nations and soft power  
Picture credit: Natasha Hirst

# After Carwyn – what next for Welsh Labour?

*Amid growing talk of the battle to succeed Carwyn Jones,  
Roger Awan-Scully advises political Wales-watchers  
to expect the unexpected*

---

**T**he manner of his departure was very different from the manner of his arrival. Carwyn Jones' resignation announcement to the Welsh Labour conference in Llandudno appeared to shock just about everyone. Even his closest cabinet colleagues seem to have been unaware of what the First Minister was about to say.

By contrast, the victory of Carwyn Jones in the Welsh Labour leadership contest of 2009 was in only one sense a surprise. The surprise was that there were no surprises. The contest had been long expected, happened in an orderly manner, and resulted in a clear victory for the long-time favourite.

This very rarely happens. In the world of political party leadership, we do not often get the successor we expect, at the time and in the way we expect. It is much more typical for leadership contests to occur at times and in circumstances that very few had anticipated. And, partly because of that, they often have outcomes that would not have been predicted even a few months previously. In politics, the long-term heir apparent only rarely accedes to the throne. The day after the 2015 general election, who could possibly have anticipated that within little more than a year the two party leaders facing each other at Prime Minister's Questions would be Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn?

Party leadership has become rather a topical issue in Welsh politics in recent times. In November 2017, Jane Dodds was elected as the new Welsh Liberal Democrat leader, thus taking on the apparently herculean task of reviving her party's fortunes. With none of the opposition parties in the National Assembly making much progress in offering a serious challenge to Labour, the futures of Andrew RT Davies and Leanne Wood continue to be subject to muttering and gossip. But most of the talk since early November has been about the leadership of our dominant party.

Labour have been top dogs in Wales for a very long time. In December 2018 it will be exactly a century since the last general election here that Labour did not win. The last person to defeat Labour here was Lloyd George – and he had just won a world war! Yet despite this, and their success in beating back the Tory challenge at last year's general election, Welsh Labour have not been at all in a celebratory mood of late. The tragic death of Carl Sargeant in November, and the questions that have been

raised about the circumstances of Sargeant's sacking as a government minister just days before, have evoked strong, and very personal, emotions of grief and anger. With the opposition parties in the Assembly being defined by their ineffectiveness and irrelevance, virtually the only politics that matters in Wales at present is that going on within the Labour Party. Yet much of that politics in recent months has been viciously divisive.

The most obvious political consequence of recent developments has been a collapse of Carwyn Jones' authority within the Welsh Labour Party. This was all the more striking for coming just a matter of months since his leadership of the victorious general election campaign in Wales had raised the First Minister's standing within his party higher than ever. The end result is that 2018 will be a year in which Welsh Labour elects not only a Deputy Leader but also a new Leader.

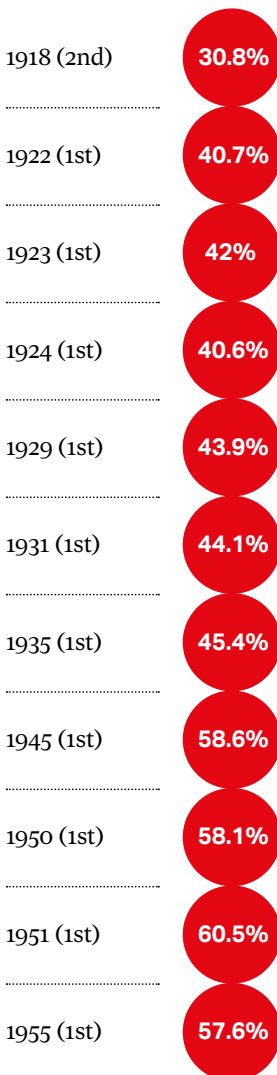
The new leader of Welsh Labour will be elected via an 'electoral college'. That has not been typical Labour practice in recent years. The last two UK leadership elections were conducted via a One Member One Vote ballot of the entire party membership (with 'registered supporters' of the party also able to take part). Recent Scottish Labour leaders have been chosen in a very similar way. But the party in Wales is currently scheduled to stick with the method that was chosen to elect both Alun Michael and Carwyn Jones, and was used in the recent deputy leadership election. This gives one-third of the vote to each of three categories: the party membership, the affiliated trade unions, and elected politicians. (The last group comprises Welsh

**In politics, the long-term heir apparent only rarely accedes to the throne**

## A century of dominance

### Labour's vote share in Wales in every election since 1918

All vote share figures refer to UK General Elections, except those in italics which refer to elections to the National Assembly for Wales.



Labour MPs, AMs and their one MEP).

The most unpredictable part of this electoral college is the mass membership. Labour's ranks have expanded greatly since the 2015 general election; most people who are members of the party now were not members then. We know that lots of these new members have supported Jeremy Corbyn in the last two leadership ballots. But we currently have no hard evidence on how these members will align in the Welsh leadership contest.

Another 'known unknown' about the Welsh Labour leadership contest, at time of writing, is the field of candidates. The candidates in any contest are rarely the expected ones: for some time before June 2016, people talked about the succession to David Cameron being a three-way fight between George Osborne, Boris Johnson and Theresa May. In the event, only one of these even made it to the first ballot. Few had ever considered Andrea Leadsom to be a serious contender until she suddenly, though briefly, became exactly that.

Any contender will need to have at least some support within the Assembly: to get on the ballot, a candidate needs to be nominated by one-fifth of Labour AMs. There are plenty of potential runners within the Labour Assembly group. Three cabinet members – Mark Drakeford, Vaughan Gething and Ken Skates – have been mentioned frequently in recent times as potential contenders. Drakeford has been installed as bookmakers' favourite, and was first to declare that he will run. All currently hold major ministerial portfolios and would be plausible candidates. Drakeford would be another in a line of Welsh speakers to lead Welsh Labour, Gething would be the first BAME Labour leader, while Skates would be Labour's first leader in the Assembly to represent a north Wales seat. Alun Davies

**With the opposition parties... defined by their ineffectiveness and irrelevance, virtually the only politics that matters in Wales at present is that going on within the Labour party**



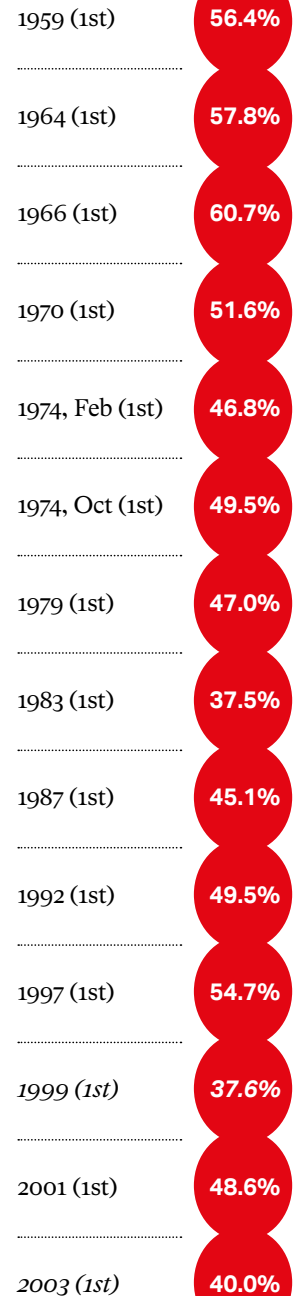
**Indeed, by far the most popular answer, when asked to rate the potential candidates, was ‘don’t know’ – an option chosen by a majority of survey respondents for all of the potential runners!**

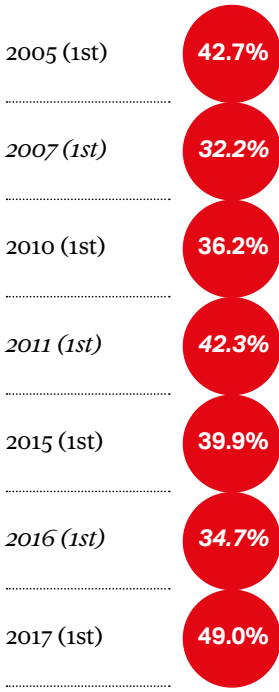
is another experienced cabinet minister who might consider throwing his hat into the ring.

Some of the members of the talented Labour 2016 intake might also be potential contenders: a number, such as Huw Irranca-Davies and Eluned Morgan, have considerable political experience in other settings. With the 28 Welsh Labour MPs all having a significant say, good contacts at Westminster will be worth their electoral weight in gold for any candidate. But there is currently little evidence about how much support any of the possible contenders might have within the different parts of this rather complicated electorate.

The latest Welsh Political Barometer poll asked the public about both the current Welsh Labour leader and all of these possible contenders to succeed him. Although Carwyn Jones’ standing with the public was clearly damaged by the events of last autumn, he remains – alongside Leanne Wood – the most popular political leader in Wales. None of the potential candidates to succeed him had exactly captured the public imagination. Indeed, by far the most popular answer, when they were asked to rate the potential candidates, was ‘don’t know’ – an option chosen by a majority of survey respondents for all of the potential runners! But even among those of the public who did offer a view, none of the potential leadership candidates could match the First Minister’s popularity rating.

The winner of the Welsh Labour leadership contest will inherit a dual role: to become both First Minister of Wales and also leader of the Labour Party in Wales. They will have to run a government but will also lead their party. That is never an easy combination to master. We have some idea of what sort of ministers some of the potential Welsh Labour contenders are. But we cannot necessarily know from that how, or how well, they would





run a government. We also have little idea of whether any of the possible Welsh Labour leadership contenders could come even close to matching Carwyn Jones as an electoral asset. The man who led Labour to its best-ever Assembly election result in 2011, and last year to its best Westminster vote share since the first Blair landslide, will be a tough electoral act to follow. Given the dire current state of the opposition parties in Wales, Labour may not currently feel in great need of being led by a great vote-winner. But it would be unwise of the party to assume that none of its opponents will manage to up their game in the next few years.

But the result of the leadership race will also have a wider impact upon the Labour party. As they seek to develop a unique appeal, leadership contenders may try to distinguish themselves from their opponents both on policy as well as style. There are no currently obvious great ideological distinctions between the potential candidates, but some may find themselves tempted in any contest to steer towards the ‘Corbynista’ wing of the party. If they do so, the success or otherwise of such tactics may tell us something important about the dominance, or otherwise, of the Corbynite wing of the party. The leadership contest will likely also have implications for the position of Welsh Labour within the wider party. Carwyn Jones has long taken a strong line on devolution, and more generally been associated with the more ‘autonomist’ wing of Welsh Labour. Will any future leader have a similar position – and a strong mandate to pursue it?

As British party politics has fragmented between the constituent nations of the UK in recent years, leadership positions within those nations have become more important. No such position is more important in Wales than the leadership of our dominant party, Labour – not least because with it comes the role of First Minister. But in the long leadership race that now faces us, it is probably wisest to expect the unexpected.



**Roger Awan-Scully** is Professor of Political Science at Cardiff University in the Wales Governance Centre at Cardiff University

# There are no silly questions about cancer

If you or someone you love has cancer, we're just a call away. Our experienced nurses are here **365 days a year** to offer support, information and practical advice.

Your call is free and confidential.

All you've got to do is call  
**0808 808 1010**  
Call free, 365 days a year  
[tenovuscancercare.org.uk](http://tenovuscancercare.org.uk)



Reg Charity No. 1054015

75 years of  
**tenovus**  
cancer care  
gofal canser



## Ar agor: Arloesi er mwyn Arbed Innovate to Save is open

Hyd at £15k o gyllid, gyda phecyn cymorth wedi'i deilwra, ar gael i fudiadau trydydd sector a sector cyhoeddus sydd â syniad i greu arbedion a gwella gwasanaethau cyhoeddus.

Funding of up to £15k, with a package of tailored support, for third and public sector organisations with an idea to generate cashable savings and improve public services.

Gwybodaeth | Information [www.nesta.org.uk/project/innovate-save](http://www.nesta.org.uk/project/innovate-save)

**YLab**

**nesta**

CARDIFF UNIVERSITY  
PRIFYSGOL  
CARDIFF

Arweinyddiaeth  
Llywodraeth Cymru  
funded by  
Welsh Government

Cyngor Swyddfa  
Deddfwriaeth Cymru  
wcva  
Welsh Council for  
Voluntary Action



# The soft power moment

## Can Wales seize its opportunities?


*Wales is not realising its soft power potential. The Welsh Government needs a clear policy to bolster global engagement, say **Jonathan McClory and Chris Lewis***

---

**F**oreign policy and international affairs have traditionally been the responsibility of nation-state-level Governments. For the UK, this has meant that all policy decisions of international consequence have been taken in Westminster and Whitehall. But the days of Downing Street, the Foreign Office, and the Ministry of Defence dominating every aspect of foreign policy across the UK are over.

The UK Government still leads on articulating international priorities, security and defence, overseas aid, and broadly setting the tone for the UK's foreign policy. But the realities of globalisation and the autonomy afforded to Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland through political devolution, mean that the respective governments in Cardiff, Edinburgh, and Belfast all now have an important role to play in the development of their own set of unique international priorities.

Devolution in the UK is part of a well-documented global trend. What International Relations scholars refer to, in general terms, as 'sub-national' or 'regional' governments are now taking to the global stage in greater numbers with confidence and purpose.



Roger Federer at Swiss House,  
London 2012 Olympics

## the realities of globalisation and the autonomy afforded to Wales... through political devolution, [mean that] the... government in Cardiff [has] an important role to play in the development of [its] own set of unique international priorities

While regional governments now have more space, autonomy, and tools at their disposal to influence and engage with global events, they need to remain focused on where they can effect change, and avoid areas where they cannot. This means concentrating on areas like trade, investment, tourism, culture, education, environment, people-to-people exchanges, and sport. It also means avoiding issues pertaining to defence, war, and international security.

A regional government's international remit exists, therefore, almost exclusively in the context of soft power.

The Welsh Government knows this. Its growing network of international offices is consistent with the vision set out in the current programme for government, *Taking Wales Forward*, of a Wales that is an 'internationally-focused, ambitious country'. Following Brexit, the Welsh Government has articulated clearly that now is the time to leverage the country's soft power resources in order to increase levels of trust and build new connections for Wales around the world.

As Ken Skates, Cabinet Secretary for Economy and Transport, puts it in his vision for the future of culture in Wales, *Light Springs Through The Dark*:

In post-Brexit Wales, soft power will have an increasingly important role to play... If our soft power can be deployed effectively, there are huge potential benefits in terms of developing trade, helping to attract inward investment and encouraging more tourism from overseas.

The question now is can Wales seize the soft power moment?

## Measuring Welsh soft power

The first hurdle to effectively leveraging soft power in pursuit of foreign policy objectives is measurement. No government can deploy soft power resources unless they have a clear account of what resources they can access and are able to place this knowledge into comparative context. Prior research that works to address this measurement challenge has existed for some time, although only at the nation-state level.

Until recently, research that could inform approaches to soft power at the devolved or regional level was absent. In April 2018, British Council Wales and Portland, the strategic communications consultancy, published *The Wales Soft Power Barometer 2018* detailing the results of a new regional soft power index.

The index was designed by the creator of the annual *Soft Power 30*, which assesses the soft power assets of nation-states. The British Council Wales/Portland study followed a similar framework, combining over fifty objective metrics and international polling data.

The new index includes objective metrics structured into six different categories that cover regions' political values and institutions; their cultural output and appeal; the strength of their international networks; their education systems; their capacity for enterprise, innovation, and business friendliness; and their digital infrastructure and online engagement with the world.

The objective data is complemented by international polling data, which was sourced from a newly commissioned survey of 5,000 people across ten different countries.

The ten regions selected for the index were chosen according to approximate criteria, rather than a rigid formula, including: their level of devolved government authority, GDP size, population size, geographic spread, level of development, and history of international ambitions and engagement.

Wales places 6th overall among the ten regions in the index, which is topped by Quebec. Wales performed best in those objective and subjective measures associated with sport, polling second only to Catalonia in terms of the favourability generated by the appeal of its sporting culture. Other soft power assets lie in Digital and Enterprise. The most obvious areas for improvements are in Education and international perceptions, as measured through polling.

## Wales' performance



Figures refer to Wales' ranking out of the 10 nations and regions in the index

there is much that could be done with the language outside Wales... to both raise interest in the country and differentiate it from the rest of the UK

## Overall Results

RANK	REGION	SOFT POWER SCORE
1	QUEBEC	65.75%
2	SCOTLAND	62.23%
3	FLANDERS	56.44%
4	CATALONIA	54.86%
5	HOKKAIDO	52.52%
6	WALES	48.62%
7	CORSICA	42.70%
8	NORTHERN IRELAND	35.32%
9	JEJU	31.61%
10	PUERTO RICO	27.81%

On the polling data, there are a couple of findings that should serve to focus minds. First, Wales scored comparatively poorly on perceptions of 'being welcoming and friendly to tourists'. For anyone who has visited Wales, this finding will sit awkwardly with their own experience, which is likely to have been positive. The second concerning finding is that Wales fails to clearly differentiate itself from the rest of the UK. By comparison, survey respondents reported clearer associations with Scotland and Northern Ireland.

Taken together, the soft power data for Wales report a mixed performance. There are some clear strengths on which the country can build, but also indications that more must be done to lift overall levels of awareness. This suggests that Welsh soft power could be leveraged more effectively if the Welsh Government refreshed its strategic approach to public diplomacy.

### Wales needs to bolster its global engagement

The majority of soft power resources sit outside the direct control of governments. When governments overextend themselves in the hope of strengthening their soft power, the actual effects often differ from the intended effects.

However, there are areas where governments can make a positive impact. The Welsh Government is pursuing important programmes that aim to build up Wales' international profile in priority markets. The recent announcement of the expansion of its international office network is a case in point, and the greater coordination of Welsh Government trade missions with the international engagement activity of the Welsh cultural, educational and sporting sectors is opening up exciting new possibilities.

But more needs to be done and there are some specific actions the Welsh Government should take now.

The poor performance on perceptions of 'being friendly and welcoming to tourists' could be addressed by exposing more international audiences to Welsh people, possibly through a campaign using primarily video and social media to showcase real people working in hospitality, culture, leisure, and travel. Putting Welsh people at the centre of tourism campaigns which have more usually tended to focus more on impressive Welsh landscapes, would showcase Wales' truly hospitable spirit: the welcome in the hillside.

The Welsh Government should address the relatively low performance of Wales in the Education index (and, more specifically, how Wales' educational assets are perceived internationally as evidenced in our polling data) by exploring ways of increasing global awareness of Wales' excellent universities.

Global Wales, a partnership between Welsh Government, Universities Wales, the Higher Education Funding Council for Wales and the British Council, is promoting Welsh higher education in two priority markets – the US and Vietnam – through system-to-system engagement and a new Study in Wales brand. The programme, currently a three-year pilot, should be scaled up. Serious Welsh Government investment would make Global Wales into an important channel for increasing

international awareness of a key Welsh soft power asset.

The Welsh Government should build on the global appeal of Wales' sporting culture and the occasion of the Rugby World Cup being hosted by Japan in 2019 by constructing a major public diplomacy set piece around the tournament. Good models for such an exercise can be found in the way some countries have run open houses during the Olympics. Switzerland's specialist Ministry of Foreign Affairs unit, Presence Switzerland, serves as a great example, as they normally run a large public-facing 'Swiss House' during the Games. Likewise, Wales could take inspiration from World Expo pavilions. However it is done, Wales should treat the Japan World Cup as a huge public diplomacy opportunity and showcase the very best of Wales, far beyond national sport.

As our polling showed, Wales needs to do more to differentiate itself from the rest of the UK. One effective way to do this would be through language. The Welsh Government has done an excellent job to protect and promote the use of Welsh in Wales. However, we feel there is much that could be done with the language outside Wales, effectively using it as a way to both raise interest

in the country and differentiate it from the rest of the UK.

Finally, all of these initiatives could be magnified if they were located within an integrated international policy for Wales. The Welsh Government has published an international 'agenda', in the form of 2015's *Wales and the World*, but this falls short of being the basis of a strategic approach to international affairs. One reason for the absence of this kind of output may be the highly fragmented nature of international functions within the Welsh Government. A single international directorate structure, with a ministerial portfolio to match, would provide the structure, profile, and sense of urgency required to develop a clear strategic approach to developing and marshalling Wales' soft power assets.

---

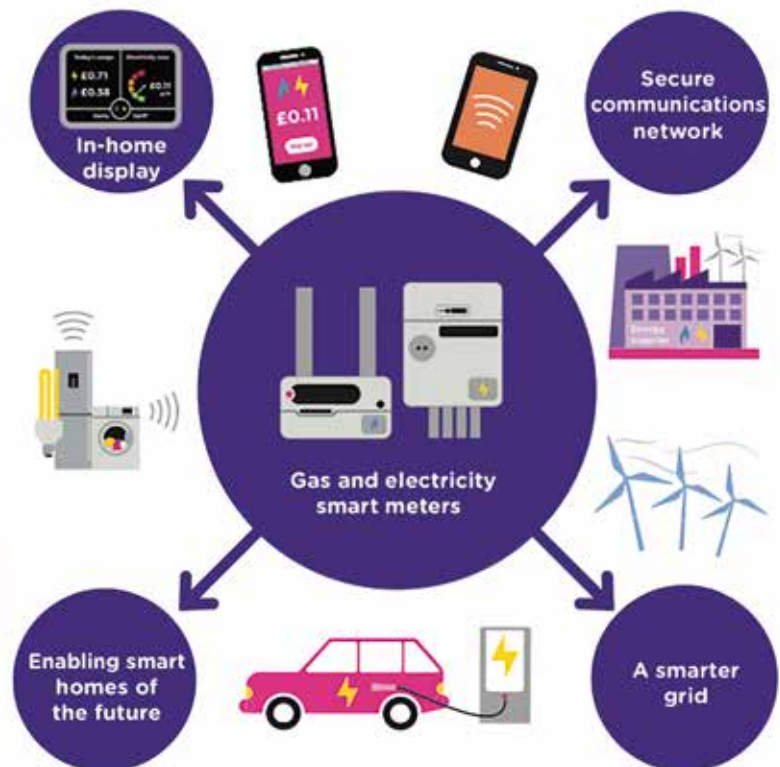
**Jonathan McClory** is Portland's General manager for Asia  
**Chris Lewis** is Head of Education at British Council Wales

**More on Click:**

> [www.iwa.wales/click/2018/04/brexit-wales-will-need-soft-power-ever/](http://www.iwa.wales/click/2018/04/brexit-wales-will-need-soft-power-ever/)

# Smart meters are transforming our energy industry

find out more about our smart future at [smartenergyGB.org](http://smartenergyGB.org)





# Just Being Ourselves

**Roger Lewis** describes the warm relationships and soft power underpinning the hard business case that brought Qatar Airways to Cardiff Airport

---

**I am reluctant to define... our attraction is in terms of 'soft power'. I feel slightly uncomfortable packaging my country and fellow citizens in what may appear as a rather arrogant or self deluding exercise, or to do so for insincere or manipulative reasons**

**'B**eddelert!' That's what Abdulbasit, the Chief Executive of the Qatar International Islamic Bank exclaimed, with a smile, sitting with his colleagues in their beautifully minimalist office in downtown Doha, welcoming and resplendent in their elegant thobes.

'Beddelert,' he repeated, in a friendly yet inquisitive tone.

I was nonplussed, as we say in Cefn Cribwr.

It was Monday June 27th 2016, and after 18 months of visits to Doha, here I was again, mixing and mingling with the wonderful people of Qatar, just as the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) had advised me to do way back at the start of 2015.

'You have to keep coming down,' I was told. 'Build up trust and confidence. Get to know them, and let them get to know you.'

Eighteen months on, those words still resonated, and I was still moving and shaking, slowly building up our relationships in order to convince Qatar that direct flights from Doha into Cardiff Airport could work.

And so there we all sat, smiling, on that hot summer Monday morning. Three days after Brexit!

I had just introduced myself to the senior members of the Qatar International Islamic Bank, along with my

colleagues: there was Des Clifford, the ever supportive Director of The First Minister of Wales Office; Andrew Mitchell, the sophisticated former British Ambassador to Sweden, now on sabbatical from the FCO, and our adviser; along with His Excellency Ajay Sharma, the shrewd British Ambassador to Qatar, with his Embassy colleague, Michelle St Clair, our astute guide.

After my initial surprise at the outset of our meeting, a wonderfully animated conversation ensued about that gloriously sad canine saga, which all *agenda* readers know so well, but which left Ajay, Andrew and Michelle ever so slightly bemused.

It transpired that Abdulbasit's father had an interest, years ago, in a farm in north Wales; he personally had visited Wales, he knew our stories, he had seen our mountains, and he had met our people. He was a friend even before we met that morning.

Alongside Abdulbasit sat a Qatari colleague whose nephew had studied at Swansea University, a decision to attend based upon the positive previous Welsh experiences of another family member.

You could not make it up.

The power, the attraction, the welcome of Wales had gone before us.

As we left, Abdulbasit asked, 'Mr Roger, Brexit?'



His Excellency Akbar Al Baker, Group Chief Executive of Qatar Airways, welcomes Roger Lewis to Doha, 2015

I slowly replied, ‘the people have spoken, and we must respect the will of the people.’ There were smiles all around. I had done my homework.

This encounter was not an isolated experience during our visits to Doha. Over the course of three years, time and again we met Qataris who knew of Wales and spoke warmly about their experiences. Their perceptions of us had mainly been drawn from either their own or family members’ time spent at Welsh universities, which had led them to travel around Wales. I was told that Wales attracts more Qatari students than any other country.

Now I am reluctant to define what our attraction is in terms of ‘soft power’. I feel slightly uncomfortable packaging my country and fellow citizens in what may appear as a rather arrogant or self deluding exercise, or to do so for insincere or manipulative reasons. Perhaps as I get older my inner snowflake may be awakening. But I do believe that we should tell our story, and tell it with a passion, when the time is right.

It’s our Welsh story. A story about our land and our legends, our hills and our valleys, our rich and at times sad past and our confident and ambitious future.

Let’s talk about a Wales that yes, was built on our carbon wealth underground (just like Qatar) – but we,

like Qatar, are reinventing ourselves. Read the Qatar 2030 Vision, which mirrors our own desires for connectivity, innovation and skill development.

And yes, Wales continues to be a land of poets and musicians, singers and storytellers. Let’s shout about Welsh National Opera and the Hay Festival, and let’s try and explain our obsession with a game played with an oval ball!

We need to tell our story to our potential friends and our future partners across the world – to share what we believe to be important to us – the things that have shaped us, the things that move us, the things that binds Wales together – our humour, our dragon flag, our sense of community, our togetherness, our caring natures and our magical language.

I suppose the jargon phrase is ‘to be authentic’. As my Mam always told me, ‘just be yourself!’

And that’s what we did in Doha with our Qatari friends.

We were ourselves.

Yes, we had to temper our sense of humour, our language and our behaviour. Respect is everything. Sensitivity to another culture, mindful that you are a visitor in someone’s home country is critical. And let’s



## Islamic art, horses... falconry and the fabulous Arabic food became regular talking points

not forget it's not all about us; Islamic art, horses and falconry and the fabulous Arabic food became regular talking points. Eventually a hug and an embrace with a warm smile followed. Simple stuff. But if you back up honest, robust and transparent business data with a vision and an ambition and a drive which is compelling and attractive, coupled with real strategic alignment, it is amazing what you can achieve.

The person who ultimately made the decision to launch the Doha to Cardiff service was His Excellency Akbar Al Baker, the Qatar Airways Group Chief Executive, known in the industry as 'The Chief'. He is the suave and sophisticated genius behind the vision for Qatar Airways and Hamad International Airport. A man with a passion for detail and a hunger for success. It was he whom we met on every visit to Doha, and who most certainly put me through my paces. And he too had visited Wales, back in 2011, for the opening, by Her Majesty the Queen and the Emir of Qatar, of the South Hook Liquid Gas Terminal in Milford Haven – the vital energy link between Qatar and the UK.

It wasn't our Welsh soft power that has delivered a daily Qatar Airways service between Cardiff and Doha from May 1st 2018. It was the robust and detailed numbers

which outlined a solid sustainable business case for the service, brilliantly assembled by the team at Cardiff Airport, and forensically challenged by Qatar Airways.

Most importantly, the fact that Cardiff Airport is owned by the Welsh Government was critical in building the confidence for the long term future of our business relationship. The First Minister of Wales personally visited Doha in early May 2017, to shake hands with Akbar Al Baker the week after 'The Chief' had announced the new route. Make no mistake, without Welsh devolution there would most certainly be no Cardiff Airport and most definitely no daily service from Wales to the Gulf.

But over the three years which it took to deliver the deal, what opened the door and what kept the door open, what allowed us to return time and again, was our confidence in being ourselves. It was Wales, and Qatar's experience of all that was Welsh, that provided our glorious narrative and which captured the hearts and minds of our dear Qatari friends and which allowed us to be invited to the table. Powerful stuff.

---

**Roger Lewis** is the Chairman of Cardiff International Airport

# Remoulding the plasticine of soft power

**Laura McAllister** *says soft power needs to be underpinned by hard strategy*

---

Conversations about Wales' place in the world – such as they are – have traditionally swung between the sweetly romantic and idealistic portrayal of a land of poetry and song, and the depressingly pessimistic and downbeat – latterly the western rump of a disunited UK, neanderthal home for retirees with political beliefs slightly to the right of Genghis Khan. Needless to say, no single conceptualisation is accurate. It's also true to say that many of the levers of international diplomacy are not within the gift of Wales' politicians and civic influencers. Still, it's hard to determine precisely what we perceive to be Wales' greatest global assets. It's even more of a struggle to find the focused and aspirational strategy for pulling the levers of influence that we do control. After nearly twenty years of devolution and, despite long standing complaints that Welsh civic society lacks breadth, depth and independence, Wales has now acquired most of the apparatus of a shadow state. Forget the obvious gaps and intrinsic weaknesses, it is the only independent space we have, and it is where Wales has to extend, develop and resurrect its global profile, image and reputation, especially outside the European Union. NGOs and influencers like the British Council, Visit Wales, Trade and Invest Wales, Wales Arts International and the sixteen Welsh Government offices, mainly in China, India and the US, are big on the concept of 'soft power'. Essentially, this is the utilisation of social and cultural identities, ethics and assets to influence relationships with international partners, rather than relying solely on the traditional hardware of diplomacy like trade and economics.

Given we voted almost exactly the same way as England did in the EU referendum, the future quest for

what makes Wales stand out globally is all the more urgent. If our mini Welsh state is serious about charting a new and distinctive route for our nation in the choppy and hazardous post-Brexit waters, it seems to me that we need a few basic things done. First decide what are Wales' most significant selling points, consider how these might be applied to different growth sectors to determine fit and distinctiveness, then work out where we have best established relationships to kick start the leverage of these 'soft powers'. Now, I'm conscious that sounds naively straightforward but, in my view, the best strategies are often thus: simple, clear and focused.

It matters little what 'soft power' means in theory or practice if we can develop some broad consensus about which components of our national identity and assets can be best sweated for Wales. So here's my go: our bilingualism and our proud, ancient language that has miraculously survived with all the odds stacked heavily against it; our stunning landscape and coastline with vast, untapped tourism potential; our music, poetry and wider culture. But, if you analyse the moments of greatest national unity and popular 'coming together', sport will dominate. No one would dispute the varied and multifarious facets that constitute Wales' overall cultural capital, but I'm convinced that sport must feature front and centre in any post-Brexit reconceptualisation. It's often been said that sport is significant because it isn't that significant (if you get my gist). Watching and playing sport is about simple physicality and raw emotion. It is an arena in which to get passionate, joyous, devastated and distraught about something that, in essence, matters little. But that's the point, it *is* serious because it has a different currency and an untapped reach. It creates a level platform from which the distinctive and often positive aspects of participants can be communicated. This is especially important in small nations with big, powerful neighbours: look at New Zealand and Iceland, and Wales, of course.

I can't help feeling that politicians and decision-makers are presently overlooking one of our greatest national assets. Understandably, they enjoy the froth of big sporting occasions but make little apparent connection with the swingeing, year-on-year cuts made to essential funding for the infrastructure of grassroots and performance sport to be maintained, never mind enhanced. Basking in the photo opportunities of sporting

success without properly investing in its vast potential is a crime, especially in the current context.

My 2015 BBC Wales Patrick Hannan lecture at the Hay Festival – somewhat predictably – caused a social media storm when I said: ‘It is more important to the reputation, profile and image of our nation that Wales qualifies for the football Euros (in 2016), than if we win the Rugby World Cup...’ Now nobody likes a clever dick, but this was blindingly obvious to anyone who knows international sport. Wales is a small country with limited global visibility. 208 nations play football across the world (that’s most nations). The European football market alone is worth an estimated €20bn. Football is the global sport in which Wales plays as an equal and independent nation, and does it rather well. In the European Championships, Wales was the smallest country ever to reach the semi-finals; we topped our group (going further than Italy, Spain, Croatia and England); two Welsh players featured in UEFA’s team of the tournament; Hal Robson-Kanu’s winner against Belgium was judged goal of the tournament; Bale and Ramsey were amongst the undisputed stars; Chris Coleman one of the best managers; and our supporters were voted favourite visiting fans in a national French poll. I was in Nanning earlier this year for the China Cup, a new international football tournament with a fast growing profile. This provided a clear reminder of the vast and still untapped potential of football. In a country with a population of 1.42 billion, nearly a quarter of a billion Chinese watched Wales’s 6-0 dismantling of their own side. The enthusiastic Chinese fans in the stadium cheered every touch that Gareth Bale made, took photos of Ryan Giggs from every angle, and celebrated the Welsh goals as if they were their own.

Football may be king but there’s more to sporting success than the round ball. Last month, in the twenty-first Commonwealth Games – held on the Gold Coast of one of our closest international allies, Australia – nations with a combined population of 2.4 billion people competed in 13 sports. The Welsh flag flew and Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau rang out ten times as Wales finished seventh in the medal table with a record equalling 36 medals, won in head-to-heads with athletes from much bigger countries like Canada, South Africa, England, Australia, India and Malaysia. Beamed to a global audience of 1.5 billion, little old Wales took the proverbial (as one of my

## sport must feature front and centre in any post-Brexit reconceptualisation

all-time favourite Welsh football banners proclaims).

If our future economic and trade potential lies beyond the EU 27, as Farage and other Leave campaigners and, increasingly, the UK Government would have us believe, we had better start cosyng up to the other 70 nations and regions of the Commonwealth. The European Commission is developing a new draft treaty for 2020 with the ACP countries (which includes most of the Commonwealth), so it seems we have under two years to form our own independent, extra EU relationships on immigration and trade.

So, over to you UK Government in Wales, as you now rather defensively describe yourselves, as well as our own Welsh Government and its partners. It would be interesting to know precisely what ‘soft power’ strategy we had for Commonwealth Games 2018 and the China Cup. What new relationship were built by the movers and shakers present in Australia and China? How many deals were struck for Wales and how many measurables in the strategies for post-Brexit trade relations were met?

Forgive me for not being terribly confident about the answers to these questions. We are good at missions and visions in Wales, not so strong on the less sexy part – the hard delivery. We often *will* the end, whilst failing to properly invest in the means. Sweating our assets through soft power undoubtedly offers big opportunities for Wales, but without focus, strategy and public policy integration, it might as well be plasticine in a children’s crèche, a play thing moulded and remoulded into shapes with no permanent benefit to anyone.

---

**Laura McAllister** is Professor of Public Policy and the Governance of Wales at Cardiff University, Deputy Chair of UEFA’s Women’s Football Committee and former Chair of Sport Wales

### More on Click:

> [www.iwa.wales/click/2015/05/the-great-welsh-confidence-trick/](http://www.iwa.wales/click/2015/05/the-great-welsh-confidence-trick/)

---

# Women's rights are Human rights

---



**Eleri Evans** reports from the  
*United Nations Commission  
on the Status of Women*

---

**W**omen's rights are Human rights. These are the words of United Nations Secretary General Antonio Guterres and the words emblazoned across t-shirts I bought for my daughters at the United Nations conference of its Commission on the Status of Women (UN-CSW).

UN-CSW is the principal global intergovernmental body exclusively dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of women. I was there, together with 4,000 other women from across the world, as part of a delegation from Wales Assembly of Women, an independent campaigning NGO.

But despite women's rights being human rights, women and girls across the globe have recently had to resort to hashtags such as #MeToo, #TimesUp and #TheTimeIsNow to call out abusive behaviour and discriminatory attitudes. Wales, too, has seen allegations of sexual harassment hit the headlines.

In the year that marks 100 years of women's partial suffrage in the UK, surely we have a duty to be more

strategic than a hashtag campaign allows. Gender equality, after all, goes to the heart of who we are and how we live.

The fleetingness of hashtag campaigning was a point well made at UN-CSW by Rashida Manjoo, the former UN Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. In a panel sponsored by Wales Assembly of Women, she said hashtag campaigns created two seconds of empathy before they were forgotten. A bit like the modern-day equivalent of today's newspapers being tomorrow's fish and chip paper!

Interestingly, when Ms Manjoo was reporting on the UK in 2014 she commented that there was a 'boys club sexist culture' and said sexism was worse in the UK than in other places. She warned that the UK Government's austerity measures were having a 'disproportionate impact' on women's risk of violence, and feared that sexual bullying and harassment in schools was 'routine'.

She said sexism in the UK was more 'in your face' than in other countries, and she raised serious concerns about the portrayal of women and girls in the media.

Wales' First Minister Carwyn Jones has recently criticised the 'ugly' treatment of women who have spoken out about sexual harassment. He has said the debate around sexual harassment has had a 'profound impact' on politics while criticising those who use social media to attack women.

As a result, he has asked the Leader of the House and Equalities Minister Julie James to conduct a rapid review of the Assembly's gender and equality policies. Like others, he wants to see an increase in the number of women in decision making in Wales. He wants to deliver gender balanced public appointments in the National Assembly.

The World Economic Forum recently predicted that it will take 100 years to close the global gender gap at the current rate of change, with increasing inequality in the workplace and in political representation.

Despite some 208 female MPs being elected to the UK Parliament in the 2017 General Election, a record high at 32% of all MPs, the UK's ratio for women in the House of Commons puts it 49th in a globally ranked list. Rwanda is first, followed by Bolivia, Cuba and the Seychelles.

# #MeToo | #TimesUp | #TheTimeIsNow



If we look at Welsh public life, women continue to be underrepresented, accounting for just 28% of our MPs and local councillors. And while the National Assembly for Wales performs better than the other devolved legislatures with 42% of members being women – this is down on the 50/50 representation at the Assembly's creation in 1999.

Quotas to deliver gender balance are not a new idea. For more than 40 years the Council of Europe has been pioneering in this field. While I was at UN-CSW I heard about its recommendation on gender equality in the audiovisual sector. It is calling for 50/50 equality by 2020.

Closer to home, UK Sport has recently set a governance target of at least 30% gender diversity on boards for all sporting organisations in receipt of public funding. The idea of gender quotas are mooted in the new *A Parliament that Works for Wales* report by the expert panel on assembly electoral reform.

Most of us acknowledge that it is sometimes necessary to have women-only targeted interventions to close existing gender gaps.

In the Wales Assembly of Women, we run the Audrey Jones Awards for Research by Women. The Awards are designed to provide a platform for new female researchers to disseminate their research and to contribute to shaping ideas around equality and inclusion.

We know that women's activism is largely responsible for and remains essential to progress. But focusing simply on women's empowerment strategies alone can be risky, because it can be perceived as an artificial development purely grounded in external interventions.

That is why I was particularly taken with an Australian event at UN-CSW that focused on its Male Champions of Change strategy. Male Champions of Change is a coalition of male leaders – many of them chief executives of Australia's largest companies – who step up beside women to be accountable in moving to gender equality. Set up in 2010, it is beginning to be replicated in other countries.

The UN Secretary General who is the author of the words on the t-shirts I bought for my daughters has recently joined International Gender Champions, a global network that brings women and men decision-makers together to break down gender barriers and encourages other senior leaders to do the same.

I look forward to hearing more men promote the issue of gender equality. That is not to suggest we need them to talk for us. Far from it, but we do need men who really understand the importance of gender equality and who are prepared to sign up to do their bit to help bring it about.

Maybe next time I see a t-shirt with Women's rights are Human rights printed on it I will buy one for all the men in my life – not just the women!

---

**Dr Eleri Evans** is a journalist and academic specialising in community engagement. She is a campaigner for women's rights and vice-chair of Wales Assembly of Women

# Women in Welsh public life



**I, for one, am not content to wait for several more generations before women assume their rightful, and equal, place in our society**

*Shazia Awan-Scully marks the centenary of female suffrage with a personal take on the ongoing marginalisation of women in Welsh public life*

**T**his year is, famously, the centenary of women's suffrage in the UK – when the female half of the population was first permitted to take part in the democratic process. In reality, of course, the history is a little more complicated and nuanced than that. 1918 saw the arrival of universal male suffrage (from the age of 21, reduced much later to 18), whereas voting rights were initially much more limited for women, and we didn't reach full equality with men until some ten years later. Nonetheless, this centenary is an historic date, and it is right both to celebrate the achievement of votes for women as well as to try to remember the length and difficulty of the struggle that was needed to get there.

Women may have had the vote for a century, but we are still a marginalised voice in politics, and even more so in many other areas of public life. And for all that many of us in Wales like to cherish a self-image that we are more politically 'progressive' than our English neighbours, the marginalisation of women has been particularly stark here.

Women are less represented than men at nearly all levels of public life in Wales. In the relatively short history of devolution, the National Assembly has had a fairly good record for female representation – and it now has its second female Presiding Officer. But elsewhere the picture is much less good. Fewer than



one quarter of our MPs are women, and only just over a quarter of our local councillors. Just two of the leaders of those councils are female. Similarly, among Wales' top 100 businesses only two have female chief executives. Across much of the upper reaches of public, private and third sectors, the story is much the same.

Indeed, the recent Welsh Power Report, published by the Electoral Reform Society on International Women's Day, pointed out that in some ways respects we may be going backwards. As the ERS noted, women 'are still being systematically locked out of power'. The numbers of women representing Wales are actually declining across Westminster and the National Assembly. Though much progress has been made, there is much still needed; a lot done, a lot still to do.

This year also sees another centenary celebration. The general election of December 1918 was not only the first one in which (at least some) women in the UK were allowed to vote. That general election was also the last one in which someone other than the Labour party came first in Wales. Since Lloyd George's victory, in the wake of his triumph in the Great War, it has been Labour all the way in Wales: we have now seen 26 general election victories in a row by Welsh Labour. Labour have been similarly dominant at all other political levels, winning every National Assembly election ever held in Wales and all but one European election. And they have long dominated local government: no other party currently has even close to half the number of local councillors in Wales that Labour does.

The coincidence of these two anniversaries is particularly interesting to me, as a Welsh woman. Yet it is a coincidence that I look on rather differently than I once did. I was once a Conservative. Indeed, I was not merely a card-carrying party member: I even stood for Parliament for the Conservatives, although outside

**I have myself found that, as a Muslim woman who has publicly supported LGBT and feminist causes, you can attract abuse from all sorts of weird-but-definitely-not-wonderful directions**

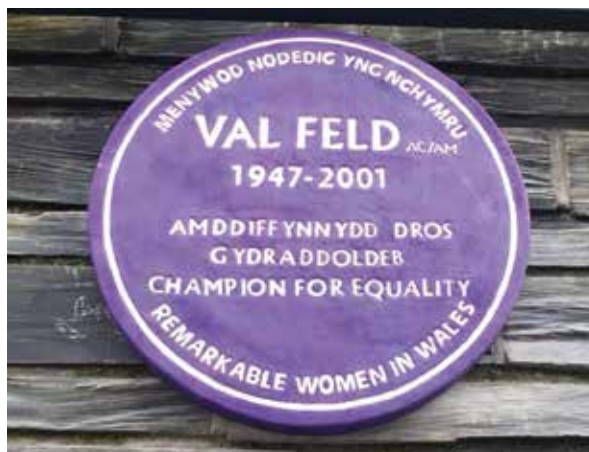


Wales – in Leigh, against Andy Burnham. The Tories might not seem the most obvious choice for a Welsh woman; for one of Muslim and Asian origin it made me practically unique. I was the first Muslim woman to address the Conservatives’ Welsh conference and, as I have talked about elsewhere, at times I was treated by some in the party as some sort of exotic exhibit.

Even during my staunchest Tory days I was a feminist. To the extent I had thought deeply enough about such matters at the time, I saw the marginalisation of women in Welsh public life as a Labour failure, and something to attack Labour for. After all, they were the dominant party in Welsh politics, so they had the principal responsibility for doing something about it. At the same time, and in line with the traditional Conservative stance on such matters, I was very much opposed to many positive action measures, such as all-women shortlists for candidate selections. As far as I was concerned at the time, I wanted to get ahead in the Conservative Party, and also to change that party for the better – but I wanted to do so on my own merits, and not through anything that smacked of ‘reverse discrimination’.

As we move through life we all learn (or at least try to), and we change our minds on various things. In my case, I have become more aware of the multiple ways in which women’s voices and potential contributions are marginalised or even silenced. Some of these are deeply embedded in societal norms and internalised so much (including by many women) that we barely notice them.

**for all that many of us in Wales like to cherish a [politically ‘progressive’] self-image... the marginalisation of women has been particularly stark here**



Women are less likely to push themselves forward in many settings than are men; when they do so they are much more likely to attract negative comments for being ‘pushy’ (rather than, say, ‘confident’); women are less likely to be listened to in meetings, or have their ideas adopted by groups, and so on. Social media have given new visibility to the strength of some of these norms. Here, in stark text, we can see very clearly how women seeking to take part in public debate, or to advance controversial views, are so often subject to vitriolic abuse. Of course, not all women are equal. Black and Minority Ethnic women are particularly likely to encounter hostility – as seen so obviously in the horrific scale of online abuse suffered by Diane Abbott. I have myself found that, as a Muslim woman who has publicly supported LGBT and feminist causes, you can attract abuse from all sorts of weird-but-definitely-not-wonderful directions for daring to take part in public debate.

There are some wonderful female role models for us in Wales to celebrate. Just to mention a few: Sophie Howe, the accomplished Future Generations Commissioner; Laura McAllister, a professor at Cardiff University and an ex-Wales international footballer; Nikki Giant, running Girls Circle to empower and encourage the next generation; and La-Chun Lindsay, MD of Wales’ largest manufacturing company, GE Aviation; and closer to home for me, a wonderful woman I have the pleasure to work with every day, Azeemeh Zaheer: under forty,

## among Wales' top 100 businesses only two have female chief executives

self-made, and now one of the largest landlords in Cardiff having recently acquired the House of Fraser building and Stadium Plaza in the heart of the city.

Yet in positions of power and authority these women are the exceptions and not the norm. Over the years I've witnessed many occasions where women are asked to justify themselves. As my understanding of the multiple ways by which women are often marginalised and silenced has grown and developed, particularly sharply for women from minority groups, I have changed my mind about the ways in which we must seek to combat our under-representation in public life. It simply isn't enough to remove overt and obvious discrimination, when so many practices throughout our society have been developed and become embedded during periods of such discrimination. As the civil rights movement in the U.S. discovered, you can remove racist legislation and yet still find that racism and discriminatory practices live on. So, it is in public life in our society: at every stage and every level we find it permeated by deeply gendered assumptions about how things should be done, and what sorts of people should do them.

I've therefore become much more positive about the idea of using various measures, including all-women candidate shortlists, to advance change in our public life. Sometimes we need to use methods that will bring about a step-change in a society; and I, for one, am not content to wait for several more generations before women assume their rightful, and equal, place in our society. Actually a diversity of tactics is needed. We need to much more actively acknowledge women's contributions to our past (through things like Purple Plaques), not least to help provide girls and young women with more role-models and exemplars that they can take inspiration from. We need to challenge the everyday sexist practices that make many aspects of public life hostile territory for many women. Women are of course the majority of the population (51%) across

the country and yet power still remains concentrated in the hands of the minority. When we look at women across society, it is clear that quite often a diverse talent pool, which can enrich the economy and society in so many ways, is being ignored.

We need to understand the diversity of female experience – which means that issues highlighted by some feminists (childcare, division of labour, shared parental leave) are acknowledged as important. But we also need to understand that for many women living here in the UK other issues – such as forced marriages, violence within the home, and infringement of basic human rights – loom much larger as concerns in their everyday lives. This is why a party such as the Women's Equality Party, arguably led and founded by the most middle class of London women, can seem like women who care about a certain kind of equality which is palatable to them. Every mainstream political party has pushed forward some sort of positive agenda for women. When you have, as we did in the last general election, the Women's Equality Party fielding candidates in seats already held by women, there seems to me something inherently un-feminist about that in itself.

There's one other matter on which I have changed my mind. The failure of female representation in Welsh public life has been in significant part a Labour failure, but Labour was hardly alone in failing. Our dominant political party was for a long time closely linked with overwhelmingly male industrial trade unions; even as those links have slipped into history, some of their legacy has lived on.

However, in the last two decades, Labour has also taken more decisive action than any other party to try to advance female representation in public life. Before Tony Blair took office, only 40 female MPs had ever held ministerial office. The struggle is ongoing, but there are many strong women in the party, and some important male allies, who continue to work to ensure that the female half of our population are heard properly. And as someone who joined the Labour party this year, this struggle is one that I will now be taking a fuller part in.

---

**Shazia Awan-Scully** is Director at Shoot From The Hip Media


# Leanne Wood – *at the crossroads*

*Six years into her leadership of Plaid Cymru, Leanne Wood is under more pressure than ever to deliver greater electoral success. Dylan Moore met her the week before Carwyn Jones announced his intention to stand down*

---

**T**he roadworks that make Leanne Wood's constituency office in Porth town centre a nightmare to access are perhaps a good metaphor for where her party and her leadership are at. Midway through the Assembly term, the expulsion of Neil McEvoy and defection of Dafydd Elis Thomas have brought Plaid Cymru representation in the Assembly to an all-time low of just 10 seats. In a term which began with Wood's audacious challenge for the role of First Minister and the subsequent 'compact' that ensured many of Plaid Cymru's manifesto ideas made it into Labour's Programme for Government, few would disagree that Wood's stock has fallen slightly since the heady night she proclaimed a 'new dawn' for Welsh politics after her impressive victory over Leighton Andrews in the Rhondda.

But it's not only Leanne Wood who seems snarled up in mid-term roadworks, busily mending the car as it pootles along. 'Wales [itself] now stands at a crossroads,' she writes in *The Change We Need*, the pamphlet she published to coincide with her speech at the St David's



**When it's a case of a woman's voice against a man's voice, the assumption is that she just won't win that battle**



**I'm not just interested in women's representation at the top of organisations. We still have a situation where the poorest paid people are women; the welfare reforms are impacting worse on women; austerity is impacting worse on women; carers are still struggling with zero hours contracts and poor conditions**

## **Leanne Wood – *a leader's journey***

**13 December 1971**

Born in Penygraig, Rhondda.

**1984–5**

Following the Miner's Strike, Wood's father is made redundant from his job at a builder's merchants yard. 'All small businesses were reduced substantially.'

**Youth**

'I went to a fantastic youth club. Some of my contemporaries ended up in trouble with the law.'

**1997–2000**

**Mid Glamorgan  
Probation Service**

'Part of the reason for going into that job was that I felt there were certain injustices that were faced by people who came from the class that I come from, working class people in... former industrial areas. But it didn't take me long to realise that social work and probation support was really only a sticking plaster.'

Hotel & Spa at the turn of the year. Less a junction than a traditional fork in the road, the supposed choice the country faces – ‘between a future where we play a peripheral role in an increasingly right-wing, centralised and reactionary British state, or one where we can develop our own democracy and economy from the bottom up’ – is classic Wood. The tract is widely seen as a redoubling of her efforts to retain the party leadership amid growing discontent, but there’s zero sense of a diversion. Despite the many barriers to her party’s progress, she has set the sat-nav on a particular course and will not be thrown off. *The Change We Need* hammers some core principles: decentralisation, decisions about Wales made in Wales, putting free enterprise at the service of the common good.

It is light on policy detail but deep on ambition. It wears its influences heavily; Wood’s reading list is shorthand for her politics. Raymond Williams looms large. Wood is keen on Williams’ concept of ‘real independence’, which she describes as an ‘attitudinal shift... whereby we become responsible, and confident in our own ability to run our own affairs. For Wood, ‘independence is not a goal in and of itself. The point of independence is to improve lives for people in Wales.’

For a moment she seems to equivocate about her party’s core aim: ‘Independence could be one of a range of options [to allow decisions about Wales to be made in Wales].’ The problem we have, she says ‘is that we have a set of problems... we don’t have the power to deal with’ and ‘a government which refuses to take responsibility.’ Citing the different position of Scotland prior to devolution – with separate criminal justice and education systems as well as banking and finance infrastructure – it is clear the Plaid Cymru leader believes ‘we still have a long way to go’ before we could even consider independence. ‘It’ll only happen when people are ready to join us on a journey... the first step is a Plaid Cymru government.’

If that seems a distant prospect to many, perhaps it looks different from the desk of this tireless campaigner, who has seemingly turned a red-rosette-on-a-donkey Labour heartland to something if not quite a personal fiefdom then at least a two-way marginal. An Ordnance Survey map of Wood’s beloved Rhondda valley, carefully marker-penned into community ward divisions, is the only thing affixed to the wall that isn’t a bland Assembly infogram or generic party campaign poster. A bare

lightbulb hangs gloomily over the centre of the room.

I struggle to imagine some of Leanne Wood’s national television debate opponents at home in such an environment. Many of them – David Cameron, Ed Miliband, Nigel Farage – have given up the leadership of their parties since those debates in 2015. Leanne Wood’s six-year incumbency as Plaid Cymru’s first female leader has coincided with a tumultuous time in politics across these islands. It is some testament to her resilience that she is still around, preemptively fighting for the chance to keep Plaid Cymru on the course she has set.

The latest attack on Wood has come from the *Sunday Times* journalist Rod Liddle, in a nasty little piece objecting to objections to the proposed renaming of the Second Severn Crossing. Wood dismisses ‘this journalist’ in the same way she would ‘ignore any internet troll’, but recalls pointedly that ‘Owen Smith raised this as well’ – the idea that she is ‘That Plaid Cymru woman who is always on *Question Time*’ – and says: ‘It keeps coming up.’ She allows herself the briefest of bitter laughs before her tone turns steely. ‘There are some men,’ she says pointedly, ‘who seem to think this is a problem... I wonder whether it’s linked to a perception that some women get extra breaks because they’re women. *That* I’d contest.’

But Wood doesn’t flat-out deny that her own profile in the UK media has sometimes overshadowed the party as a whole, preferring to emphasise the ‘access it has given to an audience [Plaid] have not reached before’ and



## Twitter followers



Leanne Wood  
56k

Carwyn Jones  
42.1k

Kirsty Williams  
12.6k

Neil Hamilton  
10.4k

Andrew RT Davies  
8.2k

the ‘positive feedback’ she has personally received from those ‘who don’t live in Wales but would love to have the opportunity to vote for a party like Plaid Cymru’ and the ‘very strong social media platform’ she has been able to build off the back of it.

She also draws attention to the fact that ‘so many people in Wales get their news from London-based sources’, highlighting the importance of her party ‘getting our message across [and] not to miss huge swathes of population in Wales’.

Asked about the downside of social media, particularly for women, Wood is keen not to dwell on the negatives. ‘I try to be optimistic and positive in life generally,’ she says, highlighting the space it has given for people to have a say who wouldn’t have been able to have a say before.’ Citing recent examples of a water shortage in the Rhondda caused by frozen pipes, and a call-out to help carers reach patients in the snow, she says of social media: ‘It’s created a real forum for practical good.’

There are a number of times in our conversation when Leanne Wood takes a challenge, problem or provocation and turns it over to see the positive side. Part of this is the practised art of the political interview; a couple of times Wood skilfully avoids being drawn into awkward self-examination by simply turning the question around. But part of it is undoubtedly deep in her character.

She applies this positivity to the strides made by women in the fifteen years during which she has served in the National Assembly. ‘With every hard fought for win,’ she considers, choosing her words carefully, ‘sometimes you go forward a bit and sometimes back a bit. I see more opportunities for young women in Wales than there were even fifteen years ago. There hadn’t been a woman leader of a political party then’. Tracing the Assembly’s broadly positive story of gender balance, she



### Politics

‘I joined Plaid Cymru because I met a group of people who shared my politics, my values and my worldview. They were in the youth section of Plaid Cymru. When an opportunity came up to run [to become] a local councillor, I took it.’

### May 2003

Elected to the National Assembly for Wales as a list member for South Wales Central.

### December 2004

Became the first AM to be expelled from the chamber, for referring to the Queen as ‘Mrs Windsor’.

### July 2007

Wood became Plaid Cymru’s spokesperson on sustainability in the ‘One Wales’ coalition government.

### March 2012

Became Leader of Plaid Cymru, defeating Elin Jones and Dafydd Elis-Thomas.

### May 2016

Re-elected to the National Assembly for Wales as member for the Rhondda, beating incumbent Labour minister Leighton Andrews on a 24% swing.

## Plaid Cymru seats in the National Assembly for Wales

YEAR	LEADER	SEATS	0	5	10	15	20
1999	Dafydd Wigley	17					
2003	Ieuan Wyn Jones	12					
2007	Ieuan Wyn Jones	15					
2011	Ieuan Wyn Jones	11					
2016	Leanne Wood	12 (10)					

admits ‘we don’t have enough women MPs and women at the tops of organisations’, but her tone changes as she warms to her real theme. ‘But I’m not just interested in women’s representation at the top of organisations. We still have a situation where the poorest paid people are women; the welfare reforms are impacting worse on women; austerity is impacting worse on women; carers are still struggling with zero hours contracts and poor conditions.’ Wood does agree that a key to unlocking some of these perennial problems lies in furthering female representation. ‘And we need more women in politics to change cultures as well.’

As a long-time feminist and equalities campaigner, the #MeToo hashtag and focus on sexual harassment in the wake of the Harvey Weinstein scandal has made Wood reflect deeply on the world she wants her 13-year-old daughter to enjoy her adulthood in. Again, hope shines through: ‘I’m hopeful that the world she operates in won’t have to be negotiated through various people abusing power’.

On the role of men in all of this, Wood takes a deep breath: ‘Men need to listen,’ she says. ‘Too often women assume that they won’t be listened to, won’t be heard. When it’s a case of a woman’s voice against a man’s voice, the assumption is that she just won’t win that battle.’

When the tape clicks off, Wood’s uncompromising political persona swiftly relaxes into a softer version of herself, a fun-loving working-class woman from Penygraig who has, through a mixture of chance, political opportunism and sheer force of principled personality become one of the foremost Welsh politicians of her generation. As we step out onto the balcony for a brief photoshoot, Wood exchanges

small talk with the women on a fag break nextdoor. The river Rhondda rushes by. I reflect that it must be easy to be a conviction politician because all you have to do is be true to yourself, your community and your values, but then that in the current climate those qualities are perhaps the hardest to hold on to.

‘Have you got a crystal ball?’ she laughs when I put it to her that many commentators expect that neither she nor Carwyn Jones will lead their respective parties into the next Assembly election. The following week, the First Minister gives notice of his intention to stand down in September. Leanne Wood wastes no time in barbing her well-wishing with a demand for a change of government. She too could face a leadership challenge in the autumn, but there seems little prospect that she’ll fall on her sword.

After politics, Wood would like to run a business, a ‘kind of community-based social enterprise’, although ‘where it would be, who it would be with, I’ve no idea’. She thinks that Wales’ future lies in such ventures. ‘Gone are the days when some external benefactor would set up a factory and provide lots of jobs. We’re just not living in that world anymore.’ Whatever the future holds, this is one woman whose voice, you sense, will always be heard.

---

**Dylan Moore** is Editor of *the welsh agenda*

### More online:

- > Leanne Wood on Catalonia, UKIP and political education in schools.
- > Listen to Dylan Moore’s interview with Leanne Wood in full on the IWA podcast.



# P PARKER PLANT HIRE

OPERATED & NON OPERATED PLANT HIRE • SITE ACCOMMODATION HIRE  
• POWER TOOL HIRE • EVENT HIRE



LLANELLI 01554 778666 • CARDIFF 02920 452255 • PEMBROKE 01646 400044



[www.parker-plant.co.uk](http://www.parker-plant.co.uk)



S4C

Yn falch o gefnogi'r diwydiannau  
creadigol yng Nghymru.

Proud to support the  
creative industries in Wales.



Ffres ac arloesol  
Bold and innovative



Creu sgwrs a chyffwrdd y galon  
Heartwarming and talked-about



Dramâu o'r radd flaenaf  
World-class dramas



Gwasanaethau gwerthfawr i blant  
Valuable services for children



s4c

s4c

s4cymru

s4cymru

s4c.cymru



# After Brexit...

**Sir Emyr Jones Parry** *says that Wales needs to step confidently onto the global stage if we are to make a success of external relations post-Brexit*

---

## **Global Britain?**

The advocates of Brexit conjure up a vision of a Global Britain, outward looking, exercising a leadership role free from the shackles of the European Union. In regaining our sovereignty, Britain will press the case for free trade, support the rules based international system, and invest in new partnerships, notably in Asia and Africa. A Westminster Committee recently asked how much of this approach was rhetorical, a branding exercise?

Certainly meat needs to be put on these bones and the substance spelt out more clearly. The case

for free trade is well established. It leads to increased prosperity and economic growth. But in practice trade negotiations are tortuous, dictated by national self-interest. Agriculture is invariably sensitive with pressure to protect individual sectors. Agreeing free trade in Services is always difficult and the protection of sensitive industries the norm. Successive WTO and GATT Rounds illustrate the point forcefully. Britain may champion free trade but will enough other countries join us soon enough to produce early agreed benefits?

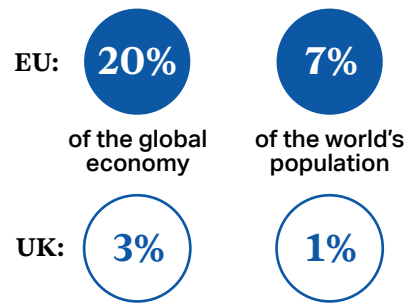
Free trade attracts adjectives – unfettered trade, tariff free trade, frictionless trade, unhindered trade. The most complete free trade arrangement excludes tariffs and duties, eliminates non-tariff regulatory barriers, prohibits government aid to producers and unfair competition, and ensures that rules are enforced. Those conditions are only fully embodied within the Internal



## The most important partner for the Welsh Government before and after Brexit should be the British Government



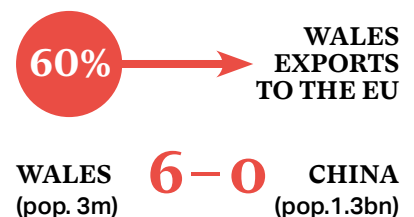
GLOBAL  
BRITAIN



**We need to tell the story loudly – an outward looking, very special Wales which should be more assertive post devolution**



GLOBAL  
WALES



Market of the European Union. When we leave, any future deep special relation with the EU can only offer less economic benefit than today's access, and no new external UK agreement with a third country or regional grouping will be able fully to reproduce these advantages.

Much is rightly made of Britain's international assets – our defence spending and military capability, a generous aid budget, permanent membership of the UN Security Council, membership of G7 and so on. But we should be careful of claiming the leadership credential. A leadership yes and powerfully so. However, a leadership role requires those who want to be led. We shouldn't assume this is readily available. The Commonwealth has no real political structure or unity. Nor do most third countries share British interests and values in the same way as our European neighbours. Perhaps above all in the EU we share much and have

the habit of working together within an institutional structure. It will be much harder to influence others after Brexit than it has been to take a leading role within an EU of 28. During the UK Presidency of the EU in 2005 when I set out EU position in the UN General Assembly, the EU represented 20% of the global economy and 7% of the world's population. The representative of the UK post Brexit will represent 3% and 1% respectively and will have to work even harder to have real influence.

Foreign policy is adapting to the challenges the United Kingdom faces. These are increasingly global – environmental, cleaner energy, climate change, terrorism, cyber attacks, migration flows and demographic change and more. They have in common the need to work with friends and the like minded to find collective responses. Of course Britain will have national objectives, but Britain alone will not be able to deliver solutions. It will be a real challenge to exercise influence and leadership, and will require strategic direction, backed by sufficient resources. Leaving the EU may offer an opportunity but it will come with a requirement to adopt a new strategic approach backed up by increased resources.

### **Global Wales?**

Foreign and defence policy are issues reserved for the British Government and Westminster. Yet of course policies put in place and decisions taken will impact inevitably on Wales. A few examples illustrate this. A free trade agreement with New Zealand would directly affect the Welsh sheep industry. Similarly, an UK external agreement with a third country or institution which includes areas devolved within the United Kingdom should as a minimum have been discussed with the devolved administrations.

The terms of the UK's future relations with the EU will be vital for Wales: 60% of our exports of manufactured goods go to the EU. Free access to the EU market for manufactured goods, and unhindered movement of components to and from the EU will be crucial for aeronautical, automobile products. Agricultural exports similarly.

This underlines a truism. The most important partner for the Welsh Government before and after

Brexit should be the British Government. The closest cooperation and consultation should be routine, and should involve all the devolved administrations.

Future decisions on immigration will be pivotal for Wales. Despite the rhetoric of the referendum, immigrants play a vital role in Wales, in social care, the NHS, in our universities, the food industry, and much more. Their presence is a real contribution to the quality of Welsh life. This needs to continue.

A strong Welsh voice and greater influence in London is needed, on UK and international policies, and this voice should be better heeded. But post Brexit, projecting the Welsh voice globally becomes more necessary also. We need to tell the story loudly – an outward looking, very special Wales which should be more assertive post devolution.

There are many ways in which Wales is represented to the world. The arts, music, culture and audio-visual representations are powerful ambassadors for Wales. The Welsh universities underline the quality of our higher education and the research carried out, much of it in cooperation with international partners. We are well known for our sporting prowess, and not only rugby. Premier League Swansea City and the Wales football team's recent 6-0 victory over China in Nanning promote Wales to a huge audience. Welsh business and tourism play their part, as do many other industries.

It is the internationally recognised state, the United Kingdom, which is the member of international organisations. This limits the possibilities for Wales. But every opportunity should be taken to ensure Welsh participation where it can be secured. Welsh universities want to maintain their participation in EU programmes. Creative Europe, another EU programme, is important for our cultural sector. Offices of the Welsh Government abroad can play a part, especially on economic issues, but they will have to establish a role in their host country. Wales must look for opportunities to make its influence felt. The lead and projection by politicians will be determinant if there is to be a concerted, stronger voice to defend Welsh interests externally as the opportunities and challenges of a post Brexit world emerge.

---

**Sir Emyr Jones Parry** is a former United Kingdom Ambassador to the United Nations

# Wales in a Post-Brexit World

**Kevin Morgan** argues that Brexit should mean deeper, not looser ties between Wales and its European neighbours

This year Wales was scheduled to be part of a small but innovative EU project – Higher Education for Smart Specialisation (HESS) – designed to help universities to become more engaged in the development of their cities and regions. The fact that it never materialised was the first tangible evidence that Wales had been ejected from a European network on account of Brexit. This story never made the news because no one, other than the EU officials with whom I was working,

was aware of the fact that Wales had even been selected to be a beneficiary of the HESS project. I mention the story now because I fear it could be the ‘canary in the coalmine’ of post-Brexit Britain, a harbinger of the realities to come even if the UK manages to remain in some EU programmes after 2020.

How many people realise that the UK government wants to remain in the EU’s research programme for example? The UK Government made its position clear in its Brexit paper, *Collaboration on Science and Innovation*, stating: ‘It is the UK’s ambition to build on its uniquely close relationship with the EU, so that collaboration on science and innovation is not only maintained, but strengthened. Therefore, as part of the new, deep and special partnership, the UK will seek an ambitious science and innovation agreement with the EU that will support and promote science and innovation across Europe both now and in the future’.

The current EU research programme, Horizon 2020, runs from 2014 to 2020 and commands a budget of nearly €80 billion. The next research programme, Framework Programme 9, will run for another seven years and it may have a budget closer to €120 billion.



Why does all this matter to Wales? It matters because, whatever the Brexit deal, the UK will almost certainly participate in the FP9 research programme and this will be one of the main sources of funding for science and innovation after 2020. Wales will face two major problems in accessing FP9 funds.

Firstly, like the rest of the UK, it will have zero influence over the shape of the FP9 research programme because, while non-EU countries can ‘pay to play’ in EU research programmes, they do not have a formal vote over the work programme. In other words, post-Brexit Britain will be a rule-taker in science and innovation funding and not a rule-maker.

Secondly, EU research funds are allocated on the principle of ‘excellence’, in contrast to the EU’s regional aid funds, which are allocated on the principle of ‘need’. Worryingly, Wales has not fared particularly well in accessing EU research funds compared to England and Scotland or compared to even smaller areas, like the Basque Country for example. To secure more research funds in the post-Brexit era, Wales

## Wales should retain a presence in Brussels whatever the shape of Brexit to enable it to be a well-informed player in EU programmes like FP9, Erasmus+ and Creative Europe

will need to redouble its efforts across the board – universities will need to be more proactive in forging research networks with their peers across Europe, businesses will need to be more engaged with cross-border R&D alliances and public sector bodies will need to become more competent and confident about addressing the global challenges that look set to be one of the pillars of the FP9 research programme.

The research programme commands so much attention because it looms large in the UK government’s Brexit wish list. This is not to say that the EU will accede to the UK’s wish list; indeed, the very idea of a wish list looks dangerously like the cherry-picking exercise that

Figure 1 – Welsh Government’s International Offices (2018)



the EU has rejected in the negotiations to date.

But, as Hywel Ceri Jones and Geraint Talfan Davies have argued so well, Wales should aim to remain in as many EU programmes and institutions as possible – the ideal candidates being the single market, the customs union, as well as Erasmus+ for educational mobility and Creative Europe for the sake of our creative and cultural industries.

Whatever the form of our future involvement in Europe, Wales will need to forge deeper and stronger links with like-minded regions and nations in and beyond the EU. Forging robust alliances requires a step change in performance because Wales has not been one of the leaders in regional networking in the EU. One of the most influential regional networks is the Vanguard Initiative, a network of 30-odd European regions formed in 2013 that aims to build inter-regional alliances to support cross-border value chains in business and industrial clusters in emerging technologies.

The Vanguard Initiative (VI) is widely believed to be a model of the kind of inter-regional alliances that regions need if they are to stay abreast of innovation and development opportunities in the EU in the future. The VI has a political goal as well as a technical goal.

The political goal is to obtain recognition for the important role played by regions in promoting innovation and development. To do this, it works to influence European innovation and industrialisation policies so that support programmes take into account the specific needs of interregional cooperation.

The technical goal is to promote regional alliances in particular technologies. For example, the Basque Country and Scotland are leading the VI project in Advanced Manufacturing for Energy Applications in Harsh Environments. Other VI projects include High Performance Production through 3D printing (led by Flanders and North Brabant); Nanotechnology (led by Tampere and Region Skåne); Bioeconomy (led by Lombardy and South-Netherlands).

Although the Vanguard Initiative is not well known in the UK, it is the most compelling example of the new geopolitical alliances that are driving innovation and development in and beyond Europe. Wales was late to the VI network, having just recently become a member, and this is worrying because being a latecomer could mean being a loser in the post-Brexit world.

## Can Wales become a leader rather than a laggard in the international networking stakes?

Can Wales become a leader rather than a laggard in the international networking stakes? The answer depends on many things, not least political commitment and civic engagement.

As regards political commitment the Welsh Government will need to become more proactive in building international alliances with partner regions and nations. If this analysis is correct, Wales should retain a presence in Brussels whatever the shape of Brexit to enable it to be a well-informed player in EU programmes like FP9, Erasmus+ and Creative Europe. Beyond Europe the Welsh Government will have to seriously re-assess the costs and benefits of its international office network. Is the current network (shown in Figure 1) sufficiently aligned with the cultural and economic goals of Wales as a nation? And where and with whom do we wish to trade?

Brexiteers are belatedly rediscovering the Commonwealth as an alternative to the EU. But in economic terms this is a comical notion because the value of UK exports to the latter is five times greater than it is to the former.

But economic alliances are not the be-all and end-all of international engagement. The Wales for Africa programme and the fact that Wales became the first Fair Trade Nation in 2008 testify to the enduring power of civic engagement, where schools, towns and professional communities have sought to twin with and help the poorest of the poor.

As Wales prepares to re-think its role in and beyond Europe, let's try to remember that civic engagement is just as important as governmental action in connecting the nation to the wider world.

---

**Kevin Morgan** is Professor of Governance and Development in the School of Geography and Planning at Cardiff University, where he is also the Dean of Engagement



**Wales is missing a  
conviction politician  
like a Margaret Thatcher  
or a Donald Trump**

Llyr Powell



# The Betrayal of Wales

**Christopher Gage** *hails the rise of the 'millennial conservative' and the arrival of right-wing think tank Centre for Welsh Studies in a political scene primed for populism*

---

**B**eing a conservative in Wales is like admitting one dines on the flesh of poor children at garish banquets hosted by Rupert Murdoch and the ghost of Margaret Thatcher. Not too popular, then.

So stubborn is Labour's hegemony, a fraying cliché defies its own definition. Honestly, one would wager good money on a donkey with a Labour rosette beating any Conservative candidate in the blood-red Valleys. 'My old man voted Labour,' they say. As if that contention has forever sedated the political bloodline of large swathes of a proud, and sadly bleeding nation.

After all, Wales is Western Europe's one-party state. Labour has cleaned up in 38 of the last 39 national contests, and, though wobbly on occasion, the red machine, like the house, always wins.

Even when the Prime Minister called an election last year – a full twenty points ahead of Jeremy Corbyn – anyone with a drop of bluer ink in their veins knew the eventual score. The Conservatives led in Wales, briefly. One doesn't need to belabour what happened next.

But, such unfettered dominance breeds complacency. Labour's all-but-hereditary clamp on power, of course, backed by their kissing cousins Plaid Cymru, has led to some quite scandalous results in the name of 'progress'.

Wales is the poorest country in Western Europe; the school system is worse than Vietnam's; the people are some of the most unhealthy, and most likely to be signed-off work long-term.

Still, mention 'Thatcher' and the Labour votes get weighed, rather than counted.

But nothing in politics is permanent. The populist squall washing over Europe shows there's no such thing as a job for life. Centre-left parties, semi-permanent fixtures in France, Italy, Germany, and Austria, have been either rubbed out entirely, or taken firm beatings from upstart rivals since the British (and Welsh) voted to leave the European Union almost two years ago.

Unable to deal with the fallout of the 2008 financial crisis, the traditional centre-left across Europe and America founders and flails, having abandoned its working-class base for intellectual skirmishing and identity politics, preserves of the cognitive and cosmopolitan elite.

The vacuum, of course, has been occupied by what many are calling the New Right – conservative-minded parties with a nationalistic bent, in particular eschewing the neoliberal economic creed which promised much and delivered little. Look no further than the wanton destruction of the U.S. Rust Belt, together with large swathes of the former industrial heartlands in both Britain and continental Europe. Provinces of the traditional left, until recently.

But conservatives in Wales are not kidding themselves. A right-wing revival here would demand a new approach, led from the ground up. Like their European brethren, a new generation, millennial conservatives, threaten to upend long established political environs,

## Labour's all-but-hereditary clamp on power... backed by their kissing cousins Plaid Cymru, has led to some quite scandalous results in the name of 'progress'



### France

*National Front (Front national)*

**Founded:**

1972 by Jean-Marie Le Pen

**President:** Marine Le Pen

**Membership:** 51,000

**Vote share**

National Assembly: 8.8%

European Parliament (2014):  
24.9%

Presidential Election, 2nd round  
(2017): 33.9%



### Italy

*Five Star Movement  
(Movimento 5 Stelle)*

**Founded:** 2009 by Beppe Grillo &  
Gianroberto Casaleggio

**Leader:** Luigi Di Maio

**Membership:** 135,000

**Vote share**

Italian Parliament (2018): 32% (1st)

European Parliament (2014): 21%  
(2nd)

deposing a blunted conservative movement en route.

That's why Llyr Powell, co-director of Centre for Welsh Studies, set up his think tank amongst the seismic shock of Brexit.

Mr Powell knows all too well, the stubborn seduction of Labour-Plaid politics in Wales.

'As it stands there isn't a real challenge to Labour and Plaid's dominance,' he says. 'That's why the Centre for Welsh Studies was founded. The biggest problem the right and centre-right in Wales have is fear.'

'Leading conservative figures don't speak or suggest anything that they think would make them unpopular. Wales is missing a conviction politician like Margaret Thatcher or a Donald Trump. Someone who is willing to challenge the narrative Plaid-Labour push, and actually offer the voters something different at the ballot box.'

Far from conceding the seeming hopelessness of conservatism in Wales, Powell points out UKIP's success in drawing traditional Labour voters to pull the lever for conservative policies, and of course, Brexit, showed a European-style fraying of political fact was underway.

'The referendum showed that fighting on the economy makes it hard to win an election. People tend to worry if we discuss the NHS and believe the right should follow England. Michael Gove's changes to education in England have been a huge success,' he said.

'Adding choice and competition with free schools, academies, technical colleges and grammar schools has produced results which the left can't argue with.'

A millennial conservative, Powell is a former denizen of South Wales' blood-red heartlands. He sees two issues key to prizing the working-class vote from the grip of Labour and Plaid.

'UKIP proved the popular case for migration control, and that ending the 0.7 per cent target on foreign aid [is a] popular polic[y] with working-class voters. At the last Assembly election, migration was the second most concerning issue for voters after the NHS. Migration policy isn't even devolved.'

Alas, UKIP's genetic tendency to war-like opposing factions of a working men's club hasn't done their brand much good. But conservative-minded votes are there for the taking. After all, Wales voted to leave the EU despite being among its most reliant client states.

But what can small 'c' conservatives do to make inroads in the Welsh Labour fiefdom?



A festival celebrating the 70th birthday of the NHS  
Gŵyl yn dathlu penblwydd y GIG yn 70

Throughout July 2018  
Trwy gydol Gorffennaf 2018

Locations throughout Wales  
Lleoliadau ledled Cymru

#NTWNHS70



Book your tickets, sing along with Gruff Rhys and join NTW  
as we celebrate the birth of one of Wales' best exports.

Archebwch eich tocynnau, canwch gyda Gruff Rhys ac ymunwch â NTW  
wrth i ni ddathlu genedigaeath un o allforion gorau Cymru.

National Theatre Wales will celebrate the NHS' 70th birthday in July 2018 with a month-long festival inspired by the staff and patients of this unique institution. This country-wide tribute to the NHS will feature productions and events made and performed across Wales, taking in new writing, sensory and immersive theatre, dance, music and live comedy.

Bydd National Theatre Wales yn dathlu penblwydd y GIG yn 70 ym mis Gorffennaf 2018 gyda gŵyl mis o hyd, wedi'i hysbrydoli gan staff a chleifion y sefydliad unigryw hwn. Bydd yr Ŵyl hon, fydd yn digwydd ledled y wlad, yn cynnwys cynrychiadau a digwyddiadau fydd yn cael eu gwneud a'u perfformio ledled Cymru, ac yn cwmpasu ysgrifennu newydd, theatr synhwyrddid ac ymrochol, dawn, cerddoriaeth a chomedi fyw.

[nationaltheatrewales.org](http://nationaltheatrewales.org) [@NTWTweets](https://twitter.com/NTWTweets) [National Theatre Wales](https://www.facebook.com/NationalTheatreWales)

Company Registration No. 6693227 / Rhif Cofrestrddig Y Cwmni: 6693227 Charity Registration No. 1127952 / Elusen Cofrestrddig Rhif: 1127952

# SUCCESS IS NOW EVEN MORE AFFORDABLE

GET UP TO £4,500 FUNDING TOWARDS LIVING COSTS ON OUR PART-TIME COURSES\*

## MAE LLWYDDIANT YN FWY FFORDDIADWY FYTH ERBYN HYN

CEWCH HYD AT £4,500 O GOSTAU BYW AR EIN CYRSIAU RHAN-AMSER\*

\*Eligibility rules apply for financial support. Mae rheolau cymhwysedd yn berthnasol ar gyfer cymorth ariannol.

The Open University is incorporated by Royal Charter (RC 000391), an exempt charity in England & Wales and a charity registered in Scotland (SC 038302). The Open University is authorised and regulated by the Financial Conduct Authority in relation to its secondary activity of credit broking.

Ymgorfforir y Brifysgol Agored drwy Sliarter Frenhinol (RC 000391), saf elusen aithredig yng Nofymru a Lloegr ac elusen gofrestrddig yn yr Alban (SC 038302). Awdurdodir a rheoleiddir y Brifysgol Agored gan yr Awdurdod Ymddygiad Ariannol mewn perthynas â'i gweithgaredd eiddad o froceru credyd.



The Open University  
Y Brifysgol Agored

WALES CYMRU



SEARCH  
OU WALES

CHWILIO  
OU CYMRU

## It's really no use parachuting a stockbroker from Woking into Labour territory, six weeks from an election and hoping for the best

David Jones MP



### Germany

*Alternative für Deutschland*

#### Founded:

2013 by Bernd Lucke, Alexander Gauland & Konrad Adam

#### Leaders:

Jörg Meuthen & Alexander Gauland

**Membership:** 29,000

#### Vote share

Bundestag (2017): 12.6%

European Parliament (2014): 7.1%  
(5th)



### Austria

*Austrian People's Party  
Österreichische Volkspartei*

**Founded:** 1945

**Chairman:** Sebastian Kurz

**Membership:** 600,000

#### Vote share

National Council (2017): 31.4%  
(1st)

European Parliament (2014): 27%  
(1st)

Conservative MP David Jones says that the key to any resurgence lies with an authentic offering. Falling short of using the term 'populist', Jones insists that Conservative party candidates must follow the Stephen Crabb method – an independent-style candidacy from a local face who knows the issues and knows he or she can address them.

'It's really no use parachuting a stockbroker from Woking into Labour territory, six weeks from an election and hoping for the best,' said the former DExEU minister.

'That is really a no-hoper. What can work? Local faces who know the problems, know the policies and know the people. It's not impossible! I think Stephen Crabb got it right on his third attempt. Voters, especially in these times, want to know who they are voting for and why they are voting for them.'

The member for Clwyd West also agreed with the admittedly unpopular contention that Jeremy Corbyn, despite skilful politicking, is not the prime minister in-waiting.

Yes, Labour may have enjoyed a strong night in Wales last June, retaking three Welsh seats from the Tories, but no political party surges by 15 per cent in a six-week election. Or any election, for that matter.

Corbyn's vote will fall away once Brexit goes through, with that larded 15 percent finding new homes in a Rejoinder Liberal Democrat party, or a similar centrist offering.

So, what would a right-wing alternative look like? Well, taking lessons from the heady populist insurgency currently realigning European and American political landscapes, conservatives must adopt a street-corner conservatism, with particular scepticism aimed at untrammelled globalisation and the illusory benefits of rigged 'free' trade. Free markets must be tempered, and thus, free. Strong controls on immigration, and a gleeful dispelling of political correctness, could reignite the driving force behind Brexit.

Doesn't sound so crazy, now, does it?

**Christopher Gage** is a freelance journalist and contributor to *The Spectator* and *American Greatness*

# Age of Saints to Age of Robots:

## *Wales – A View from Hong Kong*

**Keith Griffiths** *reflects on his Pembrokeshire childhood and his architectural career in Hong Kong, and sees a positive future for a Wales that harnesses its assets to fuel tourism and tech*

**T**he unique experience of having being brought up in the tiny, wild and remote village city of St Davids in the 1950s and 1960s has shaped many of my life's decisions.

St Davids is located on a peninsula at the extreme west of Wales. It is within the extremely beautiful Pembrokeshire Coast National Park, surrounded by beaches and with an ever-shifting benign climate. It is steeped in history and culture stretching back to the Stone Age. Home to St David in the 5th Century, the Normans established the bishopric which gave it a grand Cathedral and Palace belying the remoteness and small size of the settlement.

To live in St Davids is to constantly breathe culture, history and myth whilst living in harmony with nature. St Davids' remoteness brought a rugged insularity to its tiny population of 1500 people. I was always aware of the lives of others and their needs and situation. Families helped each other, crops were gathered together, the lifeboat was manned by local heroes and the NATO Air Force base at Brawdy provided much needed employment whilst injecting a touch of international glamour with the attendant roar of the fighter jets overhead.

Education and religion were the touchstones of life in those days. As a Baptist, I was taught to eschew luxury and live frugally. That frugality remains with me to this day as an affinity with simple and elegantly spare design.

The local school, Ysgol Dewi Sant provided an



extremely high standard of education with an excellent record for placement in universities. The farming community around the area were very focused upon education as a means for their children to get on in life.

The school was also a centre of the community, providing space and organisation for community theatre, music events, dance, extra curricular teaching, games clubs, sports and debate. In later years television would replace this community life but in those days

it was particularly vibrant and ensured that the small community was always full of vitality and exchange.

Education had a wider definition whereby the entire village would be involved in school life. This broad understanding of the purpose of education stood me well in my university days.

Life in the countryside was superb for a young lad in his pre-teen years with plenty of opportunity for harmless mischief; however, for a teenager, the remoteness and lack of connectivity was stultifying and frustrating so most young people worked hard to get good academic results and leave the area. My own experience upon leaving to attend university was one of great relief and determination to do well.

Most students at Cambridge were better travelled than I, who had never been abroad, and were better able to converse and socialise. However, they were also generally a lot less secure and confident, particularly as most had come from boys-only schools. A robust country life in St Davids had made me self reliant and secure in my own skin at an early age although I had a lot of country bumpkin rough edges!

That same robust upbringing also provided me with a determination to succeed well beyond the aspirations of more affluent and sheltered students.

Possibly the most valuable aspect of my upbringing was a huge preparedness and zest for taking risks. My background had provided me with strong roots and a rejection of the concept of failure. I was thus superbly equipped to take risks to excel in education, design and later on, in business.

I left St Davids at the age of 18 for university, followed by work for ARUP and then Fosters, the latter taking me to Hong Kong in 1983. In 1985 I established my own architectural practice in Hong Kong which steadily grew until by 2006 it had become one of the ten largest architectural practices in the world with offices throughout Asia as well as in London, LA, Seattle and Dubai.

For over 20 years from 1982 to 2006, as I built up the practice, I spent very little time in Wales. But as my children grew up in the uncertainties of Hong Kong, I noticed they lacked the strong roots that I had enjoyed in Wales and which had equipped me so well. I determined to give them a second location to call their home and what better choice than my own home town of St Davids where

I had the idea of purchasing and restoring Roch Castle as a historic luxury hotel to ground the entire family for generations to come. The income from the six bedroom Roch Castle Hotel would not be able to support its own maintenance so I purchased and restored Twr y Felin and Penrhiw Hotels to provide the necessary recurrent income to keep all three properties financially safe and secure for the future.

Restoration work commenced in 2009 with Penrhiw Hotel opening in 2011, Roch Castle in 2012 and Twr y Felin Hotel in 2016. The total investment exceeds £17 million and with only 35 rooms the rate of return is extremely low – but the properties are now self sustaining.

Seven years of construction injected £12 million and 40 jobs into the local construction industry. The hotels now employ over 35 local staff, attract 15,000 high end tourists each year and have significantly elevated the local tourist economy which previously depended solely upon guest house, caravan and self catering cottage rentals. Twr y Felin Hotel was awarded the AA award for Best Hotel in Wales for 2017/18, whilst Roch Castle was awarded the Trivago award for Best 5-star Hotel in Wales for 2017. These accolades attract excellent national press coverage for St Davids.

This project to restore historic buildings as hotels is sustainable but does not make much of a financial return on the investment. The returns are gained from invigorating one of Wales' most important rural communities, the home of its patron saint and a place of great historic and cultural significance which should I think, be placed under the direct care of the Welsh Assembly and not the Pembrokeshire County Council.

The intent of the project is to reposition the tourist economy of St Davids at a higher level and thereby strengthen the community through the introduction of higher paid, less seasonal hotel work, and a greater tourist spend. Over half the 1,500 citizens of St Davids are retirees and, with the closure of Brawdy airbase and the demise of mixed farming, the community now has a very small working population and only 400 students in the already threatened secondary school. Should the school close, the Cathedral will lose its much admired choir and the seasonal tourist industry will lose a large student workforce as more families leave to the nearby towns. The hotels aim to reverse this trend.

My architectural work is mostly focused upon



the urbanisation of China. With 20 million people urbanising every year, China is building new cities which lead the world in sustainability, reduction of carbon footprint and the creation of dynamic live-work-recreate communities. We design multi tower high density, high rise developments, each tower housing a working population of several thousand people and many times the size of St Davids.

However, regardless of size, communities have common needs for work, recreation, housing, leisure and public services. My venture in St Davids is of no less importance than any of our large China projects and, because St Davids is the place of my upbringing, it follows that it is very important to me.

I believe that the future of Wales lies in its ability to be relevant to the new age of Internet and Data Technology. The Internet permits remote work which will revolutionise traditional offices. Already we are seeing the beginnings of shared work space, co-location of companies and staff, flexible work location and hours and the integration of work and leisure.

I predict that many will choose to work and live away from major cities once office staff no longer require physical proximity. Smaller cities and towns which are rich in culture, history, education and natural beauty will become attractive to a small group of people who wish to work away from a large city.

However, cities will remain attractive particularly to

young people due to improved facilities, infrastructure and open space, reduced pollution and congestion, vibrancy and life choices.

The world is embarking on new definitions of work and life and new definitions of urbanism and ruralism. These new ways of living must be grasped quickly if we are to position our communities to take best advantage.

Wales must invest in the highest quality of data connection and seek opportunities to attract major data centres. The development of Artificial Intelligence (AI) requires short, high speed, high capacity fibre optic link between large conglomerates of data centres. South Wales' cool climate and good connectivity is ideal for the growth of an AI industry.

Alongside AI comes robot technology. Once again, South Wales has an excellent infrastructure, workforce and manufacturing experience to introduce robot research and manufacture.

Wales could position itself at the forefront of current DT and AI development should it attract a major Chinese multinational such as Hua Wei or TenCent to establish their European research and manufacturing base here. To achieve such a success would require the Welsh Assembly to approach these companies with an attractive package of incentives.

---

**Keith Griffiths** is a design leader and Chairman of Aedas

---

# United

---

# We

---

# Stand

---



**Brett John** says that post-Brexit, it's time to take the Commonwealth seriously

**W**ales needs a union that it can work with. An alliance that could bolster economic development, international stability and bring people closer together. If only someone came up with a concept like that.

The union I have in mind transcends region, race and religion, and spans over 2.4 billion people across the globe. It could also be critical to our future prosperity. This radical, new and endearing fusion of nations celebrated its 69th birthday in April – ‘The Commonwealth of Nations’.

As we tie our shoelaces and head for the door of the European Union, a thick fog of confusion and risk shrouds us. That is why the diplomatic and economic ties that already exist through our shared history within the Commonwealth are more important now than ever before.

At her Lancaster House speech, Prime Minister Theresa May stood on a platform before the emboldened words ‘A Global Britain’. If we want to see a global Wales, the Commonwealth may be a key to securing a future that doesn’t simply see our country end up in economic ruin and adversity through pandering to those who believe the United Kingdom can stand on its own two feet by rejecting other nations. Working together by striking new deals and reinvigorating old friendships will be central to reestablishing integrity.

The Commonwealth may currently be a loose union which convenes semi-regularly, but the issues it explores are vital: development, democracy and peace. It also presents huge and largely untapped potential for us to work with countries across the world. Our historic ties will act as solid future foundations to develop relations – should we choose to pursue them.

The formalisation of these bonds could even be to the extent of an EU-like agreement with a selection of Commonwealth countries. That sentence may send shivers down the spines of many who campaigned in the 2016 Referendum, on both sides. However, if countries like the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand with similar standards of living, income and costs of living – aligned, it would be of clear benefit to Wales. That is exactly what is being proposed with the ‘CANZUK’ suggestion, which would see heightened relations in terms of trade, foreign policy and mobility of citizens. For many, this concept may be a venture too far given the rocky relationship and ensuing difficult divorce with the EU that we are currently experiencing. More than a mid-life crisis, this idea has merit for taking advantage of an alignment of which we are already a member; post-Brexit, tapping into its potential will be essential.

We must not, however, fall into the trap of allowing the ‘United Kingdom’ visage to take the lead. Wales faces some very unique and significant challenges as we leave the European Union, which has had us reliant on its trading agreements and financial handouts, as well as the fantastic opportunities it has presented for younger people like myself. As a natural consequence of that framework, Wales-centric solutions need to be assessed and proposed.

As Wales begins to consider extending the voting franchise to 16 year olds, younger generations are still often criticised for their idealism and belief that things can be better when it comes to politics. We haven’t yet been given the ‘enlightening’ experience of being hammered by unresponsive or uncaring governments; our enthusiasm is untouched by sobering reality. With that in mind, it is important to point out that, like most things, the Commonwealth has its flaws. One example that is contrary to my idea of a Wales that thrives within a more close-knitted framework of nations is the fact that the union, as a formal entity, does not hold the status of our country in a sufficiently autonomous nature. In



many Commonwealth contexts, Wales is often regarded as a region of the UK as opposed to a nation, though the Commonwealth Games and Youth Parliament can be lauded for recognising Wales in its own right.

The issue of status and regard is not a new or surprising conundrum for Wales. It is as much an issue in people's minds as it is in statutes. Deliberate centralisation to the Westminster hub of financial and political concentration leaves the devolved parliaments in a weak starting position to begin bolder assertion through a unique prism at a global level. People in positions of power often revel in reminding us that Wales is a small, insignificant country that does not deserve a place on the international stage or to command respect globally. But within the Commonwealth, our nation is not so small; 30 of its countries possess a population of less than 1.5 million.

Nonetheless, as we find ourselves half way through the exit process from one of the globe's most powerful economic and political powerhouses, fresh ideas are necessary to ensure that we are taken seriously on an international level. Radical solutions need to be forged, and we need to be unapologetic when it comes to thinking boldly.



The Commonwealth of Nations may be an uncomfortable concept for many to come to terms with, particularly so for those who consider themselves republicans, given that the Queen acts as its symbolic Head. It is also a union that reflects the legacy of the British Empire, 'on which the sun never sets'. Indeed, to a certain demographic of voters in the EU Referendum – namely the Union Jack waving, blue passport reminiscing, 'take back control' cohort – the Commonwealth may be something of a pleasant and welcome reminder of British global dominance. To the sensible, level-headed and justifiably concerned, it should be looked at seriously, not as a nostalgia trip, but as a modern engine of international engagement and trade.

When I was 14 years old, I participated in an enterprise task at my comprehensive school. We were challenged to come up with a business idea on a nautical theme, encouraging economic prosperity in the Swansea Bay area. As Managing Director, I was reluctant to let other members of the group become too involved in the operating of the business, with the logic that if I was simply reliant on my own work then things would work out how I like them – my way. Admittedly, I was wrong. I progressively began to allow others to become more involved and worked alongside them to form a better partnership. That is when things worked best – when we worked together. That is my message to some within the 52% at the EU Referendum, that cooperation with others is vital. A belief that the clock will reset to a pre-1970s era, before the UK entered the EU, will not fill people's wallets, nor will it protect agricultural workers or address other job insecurity. Equally, pursuing a protectionist agenda that involves turning our backs on our allies will not work either.

Collaborating on ideas, promoting fundamental goals and nourishing relations is something that most people will be able to invest themselves in. After all, united we stand and divided we fall – that is the ethos we need to adopt, if Brexit is to have led to progress and learning. There is little alternative.

---

**Brett John** is a 19 year old from Llanelli, currently studying Politics at Cardiff University. He also works at the National Assembly for Wales, sits on the IWA Governance Policy Group and is the Welsh Political Editor for Voting Counts



# Re-energising Wales Maximising Renewable Energy Generation

**Shea Buckland-Jones** provides an update on the progress of the IWA Re-energising Wales project

*“Yes, the Scots have an advantage over us, which will no longer be there in 2018, where they control the consenting process of major energy projects, which we didn’t, and that was a major difficulty for us... But with 2018, and the new powers that will come to this place, that will then give us the opportunity to catch up with Scotland.”*

Rt. Hon Carwyn Jones, First Minister of Wales  
(Plenary, December 2016)

**S**cotland produced a record amount of energy from renewables in 2017: green schemes generated 68.1% of Scotland’s electricity needs with significant increases in wind and hydro generation. Wales has a huge amount of natural resource potential but statistics show green schemes here only generated 43% of our electricity needs in 2016. A range of extra powers over energy were transferred to the National Assembly for Wales in April 2018 as a result of the Wales Act 2017. The power to realise our energy ambitions in Wales is now firmly within our gift.

My last article for *the welsh agenda* outlined the

potential of the IWA’s ‘Re-energising Wales’ project to address economic and environmental challenges that face Wales. A lot has changed since then, so this is an opportune time to reflect on progress and the challenges that lie ahead.

‘Re-energising Wales’, a three year project due to conclude in 2019, will create a blueprint to demonstrate how Wales can use its natural resources to meet our projected energy demands via renewable energy sources by 2035, whilst delivering co-benefits in the areas of economic and community resilience.

In September 2017, the Welsh Government set a target for Wales to generate 70% of its electricity consumption from renewable energy by 2030. Wales generated 43% of its electricity consumption from renewables in 2016; we have a long way to go. Furthermore, the fact that Wales generates about twice as much energy per head as the rest of the UK should be taken into account when considering how consumption in Wales relates to Wales’ generation. To put this into context, of the estimated 38.8 TWh of electricity that was generated in Wales in 2016, only 6.9

Key Opportunity	Activities
<b>Creation of a Welsh building power-house</b>	A massive uptake of energy efficiency measures, combined with heat-pump technology and on-site renewable generation through roof-top and integrated building PV offers the opportunity for Wales to lead in the area of building efficiency and local power generation
<b>Harnessing offshore wind and marine energy</b>	The SBCR has a significant amount of marine resource: The SBCR could achieve a new offshore wind farm in the region of 600-1,200 MW; the Swansea Bay Tidal Lagoon has a planned installed capacity of 320 MW; and the SBCR could achieve at least 130 MW of marine energy by 2035
<b>Maximise the commercial potential of bioenergy</b>	The energy system vision to 2035 envisages making best use of indigenous resource, with biomethane playing a significant role in delivering 15% of total heat demand
<b>Smart, flexible and local energy</b>	Wales could seize the opportunity to be in the vanguard of the technological and business transformation that will accompany the drive towards smarter energy. The 2035 vision for SBCR includes a significant amount of flexibility including storage assets able to provide 350 MW of energy power charge or discharge
<b>Leading the transport revolution</b>	With electric vehicles and other ultra low emission vehicles, increased active travel, increased use of public transport and conventional fuel efficiencies, SBCR could attain a 44% transport carbon reduction

TWh was from renewables (nearly 18%). As for generating renewable energy to meet Wales' heat and transport energy demands, Wales still does not have targets and these are the areas which will throw up the most challenges.

To demonstrate what is possible, we have worked with Regen and our steering group partners to put together an exemplar case study of the Swansea Bay City Region (SBCR) to test our ambition at a regional level. We have articulated how the region can make best use of its renewable energy resources and assets to:

- Maximise the region's contribution to reaching or exceeding Wales' and the UK's decarbonisation targets
- Make best use of local generation and renewable energy resources to meet the energy demands within SBCR
- Enable the transition of Wales to an energy efficient, smart and clean energy system

The geography of the region includes Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, Swansea and Neath Port Talbot. The choice of the SBCR as a case study recognises the

ambition that has been shown by the region's leaders and stakeholders. It also reflects the city region's good mix of urban and rural communities, social diversity and the range of potential renewable energy resources including wind, solar and marine energy, which we expect will provide learning beyond the region.

The purpose of developing an energy system vision for a region of Wales has been to present a case study of the targets, challenges and actions that would be needed to achieve a radical transformation of an energy system at a regional and local level. This insight can then be applied to other regions in Wales and at national levels as part of the wider debate about Wales', and the UK's, future energy strategy.

We launched our findings at the end of April 2018. It is no surprise that the SBCR is in a prime position to exploit its energy resources and to position itself in the vanguard of energy transformation.

We identified five opportunity areas for the SBCR, which are just the tip of the iceberg in terms of what is possible.

**Wales has the potential to demonstrate leadership and seize the commercial, societal and economic benefits that will come from the transformation of energy systems and transition to a low carbon economy.**



Further details on the opportunities and recommendations identified within the case study can be seen within the research report on the IWA website: [www.iwa.wales](http://www.iwa.wales)

From this case study we have the numbers and one potential roadmap for the SBCR to be seen as a renewable energy regional leader worldwide. However, the opportunities can only be met through regions working together within an overall supportive policy framework and in partnership with industry. That is why we believe an integrated, cross-government energy strategy and delivery plan will be essential for Wales to reach its renewable energy potential.

While this case study is ambitious, the local and regional opportunities identified are achievable and realistic. Wales has the potential to demonstrate leadership and seize the commercial, societal and economic benefits that will come from the transformation of energy systems and transition to a low carbon economy.

Arguably, the high level policy framework from Welsh Government is now mostly in place. Greater ambition as well as practical action at all levels is now needed to achieve our shared vision. This can be achieved by turning those overarching goals and policy targets into short to medium term objectives that can be actioned at a local and regional level. These will need to be specific enough to function as a call to action for the many individuals, communities, businesses and other

organisations that will be needed to deliver the new low carbon Wales.

The Re-energising Wales project has started to outline these targets and objectives. As a result of our project recommendations to date, we have seen progress in a number of areas. For example, Sophie Howe, the first Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, voiced her support for the IWA's local government pension fund fossil fuel divestment recommendations (as outlined in the Re-energising Wales 'Funding renewable energy projects in Wales' report) and wrote to each of the Welsh local government pension funds, quoting our evidence to urge them to act. In March 2018, the Greater Gwent (Torfaen) Fund called for the fund that manages its pensions to withdraw an estimated £245m it has invested in fossil fuels.

Whilst Re-energising Wales is an ambitious project, its delivery is firmly within Wales' grasp. Watch this space for another raft of recommendations coming out of the project soon in relation to community ownership of renewable energy, strategy to decarbonise transport and where power should best sit to deliver the project outcomes.

---

**Shea Buckland-Jones** is the Re-energising Wales Project Coordinator. If you would like further information about this project please contact Shea on [shea@iwa.org.uk](mailto:shea@iwa.org.uk)



# WALES NEEDS LEGISLATION TO STOP FRACKING

Fracking is the process of extracting unconventional oil and gas from shale rock deep underneath the Earth's surface.

### WHY SHOULD WE BAN FRACKING IN WALES?

- It hinders our current commitments to decarbonise and adhere to the Paris Agreement and The Environment (Wales) Act
- Some of the pollutants associated with fracking may pose a risk to public health
- It is a short-term solution – we should be investing in renewable sources of energy

### WHY DO WE NEED LEGISLATION?

From October 2018, the power to decide on fracking licences will be devolved to Wales. We need to go further than the current moratorium to cement the future well-being of Wales.

Wales is a world leader in green policies – let's keep it that way.

Add your support to our call for a ban on fracking in Wales by signing our petition at: [bit.ly/2G4WXAy](https://bit.ly/2G4WXAy)

#BanFrackingNow

[www.foe.cymru](http://www.foe.cymru) [@foecymrucydd](https://twitter.com/foecymrucydd) [Friends of the Earth Cymru](https://www.facebook.com/FriendsOfTheEarthCymru)

## HOW CAN WE HELP?

Grayling is one of the world's leading public relations and public affairs agencies, with a flagship presence in Wales since before devolution. Our expert consultants are trusted by major international brands and SMEs alike.



If you're interested in hearing more about how Grayling can support you, please contact Fay and the team in Cardiff.

**Fay Jones**  
Head of Grayling Wales  
Telephone: +44 (0) 2920 504 892  
Email: [fay.jones@grayling.com](mailto:fay.jones@grayling.com)

## GRAYLING

 Political contact programmes and stakeholder engagement	 Select Committee preparation	 Influencing legislative change
 Political monitoring and analysis	 Parliamentary events and receptions	 In-house public affairs training
 Party Conference support	 Strategic communications advice	 Thought leadership programmes

PEOPLE IN WALES  
HAVE **BIG HEARTS.**  
THEY BELONG IN  
A **SMALL COUNTRY**  
BUT, OH MAN,  
THEY REALLY  
HAVE **THE KICK**  
**OF A MULE!**

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

---

**‘The kick of a mule’ –  
Wales and internationalism**

*Martin Pollard traces Wales’ proud  
history of small-scale internationalism,  
and assesses the current opportunities and  
threats to the nation as a global player*

---

**I**n 2012, Archbishop Desmond Tutu made a widely publicised visit to Wales in which he thanked local activists for their role in ending apartheid. ‘It wouldn’t have happened,’ he said, ‘had it not been for people like yourselves who helped us.’ By the time the 81-year-old ‘Arch’ arrived at Cardiff’s Temple of Peace and Health the following evening, he was exhausted but still exuberant. He took the time to meet people in small groups, talking quietly and intently to all, high-fiving children and laughing at jokes.

## Key dates

<b>1918</b>	David Davies MP describes the potential for Wales' role in achieving world peace	<b>1924</b>	Women's Peace Petition calls for USA to join the League of Nations	<b>1938</b>	Minnie James of Dowlais opens the Temple of Peace and Health, Cardiff	<b>1985</b>	Dolen Cymru link between Wales and Lesotho launched	<b>2008</b>	Wales becomes the world's first Fair Trade Nation
-------------	--	-------------	--	-------------	---	-------------	---	-------------	---

I know this because I welcomed him at the door, and because we're still using the photos in our promotional materials, five years on. Tutu's visit was, we all felt, an endorsement – a definitive stamp of approval for Wales' internationalist ways. That view was strengthened further by something else he said, this time when visiting one of the many Wales–Africa community linking projects: 'People in Wales have big hearts. They belong in a small country but, oh man, they really have the kick of a mule!'

Three years later, Carl Sargeant quoted Tutu's heart-swelling remarks in the Senedd, as he discussed the Well-being of Future Generations Act. Presenting the new law in the context of the UN Sustainable Development Goals, he shared a vision of Wales as a global player; he looked forward to going to the Paris climate change talks and explaining how 'Wales is leading the way' in legislating for UN objectives as a subnational government. He mentioned the UK just once.

Yet the extent to which Wales can be a distinctive small-nation actor remains open to question. Is our internationalism truly of such a positive variety? Or will Wales, without full sovereignty or at least further devolution, always be on the sidelines of the international stage, trying to make our achievements heard despite our lack of power?

This year is bulging with significant anniversaries, so let us detour into history to remind ourselves of the past strengths of Welsh internationalism. In 1918, months before the Armistice that ended the First World War, David Davies MP was at the National Eisteddfod in Neath, describing the potential for Wales' role in achieving world peace. Two years later, the Welsh League of Nations Union (LNU) had been established and, like its parent body in London, it was hugely popular. By 1926,

Wales boasted an astonishing 652 LNU branches with 34,999 members; there were also 133 youth branches.

Peace campaigns were by no means the preserve of the male political elite. A 1924 women's peace petition – calling for the United States to join the League of Nations – received an astonishing 390,296 signatures, representing over 40% of women in 'Wales and Monmouthshire' at the time. A delegation travelled to New York with the petition and was greeted by more than 400 American women; the following day they met with President Calvin Coolidge. 'Our constant hope and prayer,' said the Welsh women to their audience, 'is that our message may contribute something towards the realisation of the proud heritage of a warless world.' This tradition was continued in the 1980s by the women who established the Greenham Common anti-nuclear camp, following a march that began in Cardiff.

On 23 November 1938, Minnie James of Dowlais was chosen to open the doors of the Temple of Peace for the first time. Mrs James had lost three sons in the First World War; she expressed hope that the striking art deco building 'may come to be regarded by the people of Wales as a symbol of our determination to strive for justice and peace in the future.' The Temple became one of David Davies' lasting contributions to the pursuit of peaceful international relations. It was the centre for Welsh leadership on several global campaigns, has hosted international development initiatives since the 1960s, and since 1973 has been the headquarters of the Welsh Centre for International Affairs. Another of Davies' legacies – the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth University – was the first of its type in the world, and endures as a world-class centre for the study of international relations.

Then there is the annual Neges Heddwch ac Ewyllys

# Will Wales... always be on the sidelines of the international stage, trying to make our achievements heard despite our lack of power?

Da (Message of Peace and Goodwill), first broadcast in 1924 – one expression of international solidarity that we can say with confidence is uniquely Welsh. Crafted by children and translated into multiple languages, by 1927 it had received the backing of the Nobel laureate Fridtjof Nansen, who said: ‘I feel convinced that it is the spirit in this message of the children of Wales which humanity needs’. The Urdd took over responsibility for the message in the 1950s, and continues to announce it on 18 May each year.

Of course, the hugely popular peace movements of the 1920s and 1930s may appear to have limited significance, in light of the devastating Second World War that followed. (The irony of opening the Temple of Peace just as that conflict was brewing was not lost on Davies, who sadly died a year before it ended.) Yet the end of the war, and the subsequent dismantling of European empires, led to new forms of internationalism in which, again, Welsh people played prominent roles.

Reverend Gwilym Davies of Bedlinog, who had initiated the Neges Heddwch, was prominent in the drive for education for international understanding. During the war he was asked to draft a constitution for a global education organisation, which is thought to have

significantly influenced the creation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Another Welshman, Sir Ben Bowen Thomas, was one of the organisation’s first British delegates and a prominent member of its executive committee. When he died in 1977, UNESCO’s chairman paid tribute to his insight, as a Welsh speaker, into the value of historic cultures and the challenges facing linguistic minorities.

The post-1945 period also saw an emerging desire (for reasons both humanitarian and political) to improve global access to food, health, security and wealth. Sir David Owen, a senior Foreign Office official from Newport, played a prominent role. Having been in charge of League of Nations affairs during its crucial transition into the United Nations, he helped launch the new organisation at Church House in Westminster. (At the door, Sir David and his secretary were challenged: ‘Who are you?’ He replied, ‘We are the United Nations.’) He went on to lead the UN’s Technical Assistance Board (which became the UN Development Programme) and the International Planned Parenthood Federation – two pioneering roles at the outset of our modern understanding of human development.

So far, so good for prominent people and the affairs of state; though it’s tempting to argue that these individuals just happened to be Welsh, rather than making a particularly distinctive ‘Welsh’ contribution. So let us turn to the area of international solidarity and partnership – areas which might mark out a people as being more authentically ‘outward looking’. This arguably began in the 1930s, with the Welshmen who joined the International Brigade to fight fascism in the Spanish Civil War, and the solidarity between coal miners and Paul Robeson. It continued with a number of initiatives linking Wales to Latin American countries (including Cymru-Ariannin, Cymru Cuba and the Wales Haiti Fund) as well as international volunteering work camps realised through two Cardiff-based charities, Voluntary Community Service and UNA Exchange.

Wales can claim a special relationship with three African countries in particular. With Somaliland the link is obvious – Cardiff’s Butetown area has been home to a Somali population since the 1880s, and the community is one of the fastest-growing ethnic minorities in Wales. In 1991 Somaliland became effectively autonomous, and in 2015 Cardiff Council became only the second British local





Understanding Government, Politics,  
Policy and Change in Wales.

Yn deall Llywodraeth, Gwleidyddiaeth,  
Polisi a Newid yng Nghymru.

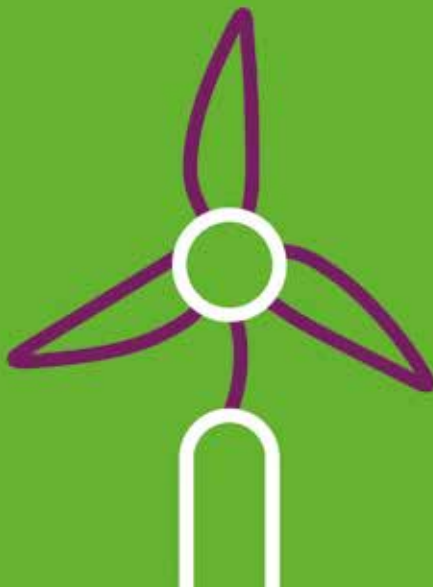
Contact / Cysylltwch

[www.deryn.co.uk](http://www.deryn.co.uk)

[info@deryn.co.uk](mailto:info@deryn.co.uk)

02920 099066

@DerynConsulting



Proud to be investing in Wales

Inspired by renewable energy

[www.innogy.com/renewablesuk](http://www.innogy.com/renewablesuk)

authority to recognise its independence. Somaliland has a virtually identical population to Wales (3.5 million), and there are active programmes of mutual support and cooperation. Prominent members of the Somaliland community include Eid Ali Ahmed, who helped found the Welsh Refugee Council, and Ali Abdi, a community organiser chosen by IWA as one of the ‘Next 30’ people contributing to the Wales of the future.

The Dolen Cymru link between Wales and Lesotho was launched in 1985. This connection arose not because of a diaspora community, but because of the two countries’ similarities in terms of size, landscape, bilingualism and distinctive culture. According to the founding secretary Paul Williams, it emerged from public dialogues in which it was proposed that ‘Wales’ role is to build a world community based on care’. This led to a formal country-to-country linking arrangement – perhaps the only one of its type in the world – and numerous links between communities, schools and organisations. In 2008 King Letsie III undertook a four-day visit to Wales, and Lesotho’s High Commissioner in London said that the link with Wales was her ‘number one top priority’.

More recently, Uganda (particularly the eastern Mbale district) has become the focal point for several Welsh initiatives. These include the PONT link between Mbale town and Rhondda Cynon Taf, and tree-planting by the climate change charity Size of Wales. When the First Minister visited Mbale in 2014 – albeit against a backdrop of criticism for not raising the issue of gay rights with the Ugandan government – he announced that a tree would be planted in Uganda for every child born in Wales.

A common factor is that these links have arisen from community collaboration: an active choice by citizens in different countries to be friends and partners. Numerous such links have emerged in the past 15-20 years, with a particular focus on Africa as a result of Welsh Government funding and civil society partnerships like Hub Cymru Africa. Most cannot really be labelled as ‘international development’ projects on the model of large-scale government or NGO intervention. As Craig Owen of Wales Africa Community Links noted in 2014, they are more properly described as ‘development cooperation’ – building the capacity of African partners while providing

**£10M**

Scotland’s  
International  
Development Fund

**£1M**

Wales for Africa  
Programme  
Total Budget

**100,000**

People engaged by Wales  
for Peace project

mutual support for people in Wales.

In the 21st century, it is perhaps in this area that Wales’ ‘small nation internationalism’ most clearly comes into its own. At a basic level, we are the right size to partner directly and practically with other countries or regions. Within Wales, there is also a strong community of practitioners who can meaningfully connect through national networking and conferences. And Wales can act ‘as one’ on issues such as trade justice: we became the world’s first Fair Trade Nation back in 2008, following concerted efforts across the nation by communities, schools and businesses.

There’s also the Future Generations Act itself, which takes sustainable development from being a founding principle of the Assembly (itself a pioneering move) to the ‘central organising principle’ of the Welsh Government. Importantly, our public bodies are required to cast aside parochial short-termism and embrace the challenge of creating a ‘globally responsible Wales’. While it is too early to judge whether this ambition will truly take hold, the fact that it has happened at all highlights a strengthened confidence in devolution, as well as a gratifying level of cross-party consensus in the Assembly.

So what can we expect next from Welsh internationalism, in this third decade of devolution?



Archbishop Desmond Tutu meets children at the Temple of Peace and Health, Cardiff. Image © Dawn Wilkins

Well, in contrast to the mood of the inter-war years, there is not an obvious modern appetite for popular peace movements. For sure, there is the occasional large anti-war demonstration, but support for peace tends to be expressed more subtly in civil society. Our own Wales for Peace project has reached over 100,000 people and engaged new generations with Wales' heritage, as well as establishing a Peace Schools scheme. There is also a nascent effort to establish a Wales Peace Institute, which is gaining traction amongst our higher education institutions. The comparable institutions are in other small nations such as Norway and Costa Rica, and autonomous regions like Flanders and Catalonia.

In the field of international development, Wales does not have the levers for direct aid spending in other countries; it is a power reserved by Westminster. Arguably we have made a virtue of this drawback – with an emerging model of community partnerships that can deliver strong results without vast investment. Whether we go further is partly a question of our collective ambition for devolution. Scotland has a 'letter of comfort' from the UK government, allowing it to establish a £10 million International Development Fund which provides aid and commercial investment in Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia and Pakistan. The amount, while tiny in

comparison to DFID's budget, still dwarfs the £1 million spent on the Wales for Africa programme. The question for the Welsh Government, therefore, is one of both direction and scale.

Finally, all of these developments must be seen in the context of looming Brexit. At governmental level, Wales is about to lose considerable access to European corridors of power; our sub-national status lends itself well to the subsidiarity principle, and EU membership has played a key role in strengthening the cause of devolution. Wales will need to find new ways to have its voice heard around the table of international relations.

On the other hand, this likely loss of government influence could be a rallying cry for civil society to strengthen its hand. After all, Welsh internationalism has long been owned by communities and individuals as much as it has by government. Perhaps – to borrow Desmond Tutu's phrase – civil society is the hindquarters of the mule that gives Wales such an almighty kick, and we should embrace that fact.

---

**Martin Pollard** is Chief Executive at the Welsh Centre for International Affairs

# Poverty and suicide – finding a way forward for Wales

**Sarah Stone** outlines the stark link between suicide and socioeconomic deprivation, and calls for urgent action to combat inequality and its effects

---



**Suicide is the most common cause of death for men aged 20–49 and the leading cause of death of people under 35**

**T**here is now overwhelming evidence of a strong connection between socioeconomic deprivation and suicidal behaviour. Areas of higher socioeconomic disadvantage tend to have higher rates of suicide and the greater the level of deprivation experienced by an individual, the greater their risk of suicidal behaviour.

Each year, between 300 and 350 people die by suicide in Wales, which is around three times the number killed in road accidents. It is the most common cause of death for men aged 20–49 and the leading cause of death of

people under 35. Alongside this, almost a quarter of the Welsh population (23%) live in poverty. It costs Wales £3.6bn a year; a fifth of the Welsh Government budget.

In 2016, Samaritans commissioned eight leading social scientists to review and extend the existing body of knowledge on the connection between socioeconomic disadvantage and suicidal behaviour. The report, titled *Dying from Inequality*, was launched in March 2017 and included key findings on the link between suicide and deprivation and recommendations for mitigating this connection.

**Key findings of our report were:**

- Suicide risk increases during periods of economic recession, particularly when recessions are associated with a steep rise in unemployment, and this risk remains high when crises end, especially for individuals whose economic circumstances do not improve
- Countries with higher levels of per capita spending on active labour market programmes, and which have more generous unemployment benefits, experience lower recession-related rises in suicides
- During the most recent recession (2008–09), there was a 0.54% increase in suicides for every 1% increase in indebtedness across 20 EU countries, including the UK and Ireland
- Social and employment protection for the most vulnerable in society, and labour market programmes to help unemployed people find work, can reduce suicidal behaviour by reducing both the real and perceived risks of job insecurity and by increasing protective factors, such as social contact. In order to be effective, however, programmes must be meaningful to participants and felt to be non-stigmatising
- There is a strong association between area-level deprivation and suicidal behaviour: as area-level deprivation increases, so does suicidal behaviour. Suicide rates are two to three times higher in the most deprived neighbourhoods compared to the most affluent
- Admissions to hospital following self-harm are two times higher in the most deprived neighbourhoods compared to the most affluent
- Multiple and large employer closures resulting in unemployment can increase stress in a local community, break down social connections and increase feelings of hopelessness and depression, all of which are recognised risk factors for suicidal behaviour

To explore the implications, challenges and opportunities of this report for Wales, we invited key partners, stakeholders and experts to join us in discussion. The conversations that followed were revealing, troubling and inspiring. We heard from a wide range of participants, many of them frontline staff, from the police service to third sector organisations to job centres. All recognised the reality of the link between poverty, distress and suicide and the urgency with which we must do all we can to tackle it.

Poverty means facing constant insecurity and uncertainty. Its features include inadequate housing, poor mental health, low educational attainment, unemployment, loneliness and low social mobility. Knowing that these are also risk factors for suicide should add concentrate efforts to mitigate both poverty and its impact on individuals and communities.

One of the comments from our seminar was that everyone wants to be a competent member of society and to feel a sense of belonging and meaning. This emphasis on connection between people is close to our own values as an organisation. The need to engage individuals with their communities was identified as an issue of primary importance, with the closure of Communities First being flagged as a significant concern. Feeling part of a network, a community and a society is a vital part of good mental health. Despite the lack of community engagement in areas of socioeconomic deprivation, the power of communities in Wales overall was highlighted as a major asset which needs to be utilised.

Loneliness and isolation were described as leading and underpinning causes of distress for individuals living in areas of socioeconomic deprivation. Referrals to mental health and secondary services can often be attributed to loneliness and lack of engagement with the community. A community approach to loneliness and isolation, one which specifically focuses on reintegrating individuals into community networks, particularly through volunteering, was described as being very successful.

The resulting report, *Finding a way forward for Wales*, which we launched in February, concludes with ten recommendations for Wales:

- 1 The Welsh Government should set out a Wales Poverty Strategy
- 2 There must be local implementation of Talk to me 2, the suicide and self harm prevention strategy for Wales
- 3 Local health services, local authorities, public services and the wider public sector must invest and work to prevent and reduce adverse childhood experiences
- 4 There should be better public information to support financial literacy and help to reduce unmanageable debt
- 5 Community groups and outreach should be promoted and supported as a means of early intervention
- 6 There should be mental health and suicide awareness training for frontline staff
- 7 There should be better support for those bereaved by suicide
- 8 We need to address the stigma attached to poverty and vulnerability
- 9 We need a compassionate approach to poverty
- 10 We need to address the cost of exclusion from education

## **A community approach to loneliness and isolation... particularly through volunteering, was described as being very successful**

Poverty must be treated with urgency. Growing up or living in poverty can have devastating consequences for individuals and communities, affecting education, health, social mobility, child development and life expectancy. Most significantly, poverty can increase the risk of suicide. A centralised strategy for poverty which promotes cross-governmental and cross-sectoral involvement would play an important part in addressing this major public health issue, alongside the economic benefit it would bring.

Suicide is preventable. It is crucial that we have effective collaboration across central and local government, multi-agency groups, communities and all the local agencies which can play a role in preventing suicides in Wales. While reading this report, we must remember that behind the figures, shocking in themselves, there are individuals who have left behind a family and community devastated by their loss. By taking action together, we *can* reduce suicide.

**Everyone wants to be a competent member of society and to feel a sense of belonging and meaning**

---

**Sarah Stone** is Executive Director for Samaritans in Wales. Socioeconomic disadvantage and suicidal behaviour – *Finding a way forward for Wales* is available at [www.samaritans.org/wales](http://www.samaritans.org/wales)

# acuity DATAGUARD



## NEW DATA PROTECTION LAW ARE YOU READY?

The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is a new regime for processing personal data. It means significant changes to the way data is handled, used and stored.

## WHAT ARE THE RISKS OF NON-COMPLIANCE?

- Severe financial penalties - fines as high as €20 million or 4% of annual global turnover
- Incalculable reputational damage as a result of a data breach

## WHAT ARE THE BENEFITS?

- Embrace the changes to maximise the commercial benefits
- Make smarter decisions to increase customer trust and strengthen your brand

## ONE SIMPLE SOLUTION

Acuity DataGuard™ is the full-spectrum solution for data security and GDPR compliance.

Start with a tailored audit to assess the risks and highlight any gaps. Then choose from a range of optional services to build a solution that's right for you, such as:

- Corrective action & training
- 24/7 data breach hotline
- Security monitoring & penetration testing
- Cyber security standards

## GET GDPR READY NOW!

Speak to us today about getting GDPR ready. We'll get you started on the journey to GDPR compliance quickly and easily!

### Contact us on:

info@acuitylegal.co.uk  
029 2048 2288

3 Assembly Square  
Britannia Quay  
Cardiff Bay  
Cardiff  
CF10 4PL

acuitylegal.co.uk



# Breaking out of our bubble?

## Wales and global learning





**Susie Ventris-Field** *talks to pupils and education professionals about the potential impact of Donaldson on global learning, uncovering both excitement and concern*

---

‘**P**eople stay in their bubble, sticking to themselves and their friends; they don’t worry about things outside that bubble,’ says Bianca Moreira, Year 11 student at Willows High School in Tremorfa, Cardiff.

Global learning in school – exploring, thinking about and acting on the issues that affect all of us – should help young people to break out of their bubbles, supporting learners to make sense of the world and understand their role in it. Since 2005 in Wales, global learning has been covered across the curriculum, under the name of Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship (ESDGC).

Although Estyn’s review of ESDGC in 2014 contained positives, some significant areas for improvement were identified. Polly Seton, Professional Lead for the Global Learning Programme Wales (GLP-W), said: ‘Except in some pockets, schools were still tending to focus on sustainable development, rather than global citizenship. Due to a lack of training and confidence, the challenging or controversial issues that build critical thinking skills were often ignored. It wasn’t uncommon for schools to run an annual fundraiser and consider global citizenship delivered.’

In her role helping to bring together a national network of schools into global learning communities, Polly has seen improvements since 2014. This has been helped by changes to the Welsh Baccalaureate qualification; it includes a Global Citizenship Challenge as part of a certificate intended to demonstrate learners’ wider skills. Polly says: ‘The Welsh Bac has helped to raise the profile of global citizenship. Through GWP-W networks and training, teachers all over Wales, including those in rural and disadvantaged areas, have benefitted improved their confidence to deliver global learning.’

Cath Tucker, Coordinator of the GLP-W Special Schools Network at Ysgol Maes y Coed in Neath, gives an example: ‘We have moved away from the idea that global



**The risk is that standards initially go down as schools work out how to implement Donaldson, and the Welsh Government wobbles under media pressure**

Jane Harries

learning can be achieved through involvement in charity fundraisers. We now look at far wider global themes and encourage our pupils to use their critical thinking skills to look at different solutions to global issues.'

But delivery is not consistent. Jane Harries, Learning Coordinator for Wales for Peace, said: 'There is some great practice – links with other countries, pupil groups promoting global citizenship and progress through subjects like history. But it's usually a project or theme that's not embedded across the school. It's also dependent on passionate teachers, who also need the leadership team on board to make it happen.'

Polly Seton agrees there is more to be done: 'We still need to engage more with headteachers. It can be difficult in secondary schools to do anything that is cross curricular. Communication and collaboration across departments is more challenging when teachers have to focus on preparing their pupils for exams.'

Exams and assessment culture certainly seem to be a barrier to delivering global learning; Bianca and her Year 9 teammate Ellen Eccleshare had just taken part in the Wales Schools Debating Championships, where teams across the nation debate global issues like migration,

renewable energy and military action.

Along the way, Bianca and Ellen built problem-solving and critical thinking skills, but Bianca very nearly didn't complete the competition: 'My teammates dropped out because of exam pressure, and I nearly didn't do it myself. But I kept going because it was the best chance in school to really get into depth on global issues.' Her school, Willows High, does make concerted efforts to promote global learning: 'For example, we've changed the school day to include a devoted afternoon tutorial which places emphasis on responsible world citizenship. They live in the world, not just Tremorfa,' says teacher Nicola Lo Celso. But exams can take over for pupils: 'There is no focus at all on skills [during GCSEs] – there is no time for it, except in the Welsh Bac,' says Bianca.

Most businesses think young people in the UK are in danger of being left behind unless they learn to think more globally, but this is not the focus of inspections, assessment and exams; instead, schools face relentless pressure to focus on academic results. Geraint Huws, teacher at Ysgol Gyfun Gymraeg Plasmawr, recognises the importance of such results but said: 'The recent escalation in assessment is not healthy for our learners.'



## We still need to engage more with headteachers. It can be difficult in secondary schools to do anything that is cross curricular

Polly Seton

Following the Donaldson report on education in Wales, change is on its way. A reformed curriculum is coming to Wales and is already being developed in 'pioneer schools' across the country. The changes will see a shift where skills ('learning to') take precedence over knowledge ('learning for'). One of the four pillars of Donaldson is developing 'ethical, informed citizens who are ready to be citizens of Wales and the world.'

To those working to promote global education in Wales, the reform is welcome. Jane Harries says: 'It's essential that we move towards skills. It's unusual to find global education embedded in a whole school approach, especially in secondary education.'

Teachers also see the skills focus as important. Geraint Huws says: 'The pupils live in a world that's information rich but context poor... I see teaching skills as the way forward, particularly facilitating learners to interpret information... Any changes in the curriculum should aim to satisfy the needs of our learners in a more complex world. It should also satisfy the needs of our society in Wales as a tolerant, ambitious and sustainable nation.'

But there are concerns about implementation: 'The risk [of a skills-based approach] is total freedom on context – we might still need some shared base of understanding. I'm a geographer and think we will still need this kind of expertise. Multi-disciplinary teams are already happening with the skills challenge certificate qualification (Welsh Bac); however, it will always be a challenge to pull teachers who specialise in their field away from subjects they love, and away from a subject-based system that they themselves went through.'

Primary schools may be a source of inspiration: 'Some of the most successful networks we've seen in GLP-W have involved secondary schools working with their feeder primary schools. Year 6 teachers have been showing what their students have been doing and secondary teachers have been pleasantly surprised at the

level of work. The teachers have then been able to plan together to ensure there is meaningful progression in pupils' understanding of global issues across key stages,' says Polly Seton.

But exams in secondary school will continue to pose a challenge. Jane Harries says: 'Donaldson discusses assessment but it's not clear how formal exams like GCSEs and A-levels will be handled. The current exam board papers are extremely knowledge focused.' This is also a concern for learners who feel that they will be required to learn skills while still cramming for the same exams, creating additional stress.

If implementation of Donaldson is to be successful, there is a need for investment and strong will from the Welsh Government. Jane Harries says: 'The risk is that standards initially go down as schools work out how to implement Donaldson, and the Welsh Government wobbles under media pressure. They must stick to their guns if they believe this is what is best. There will be gaps initially and it will take a lot of adaptation. It's a whole different way of thinking and will need proper investment in training and support.'

Chair of the Wales Alliance for Global Learning, Martin Pollard, adds: 'Funding for organisations that support global education in Wales has been cut, and many organisations specialising in the field have had to reduce their staffing. There will be a huge need for resources for teacher training and networks of organisations and individuals qualified to deliver that training.'

Despite the concerns, there is excitement among education professionals that Donaldson might bring the globally responsible Wales of the Well-being of Future Generations Act closer to reality: 'Our hope is that this brings a more open generation, much better at thinking and discerning' says Jane Harries. Martin Pollard adds: 'If informed, ethical global citizenship truly sits at the heart of the new curriculum, this has the potential to be transformational for young people and their communities.'

---

**Susie Ventris-Field** has worked in education in the UK, South Korea, Kenya and Eritrea and is now Deputy Chief Executive at the Welsh Centre for International Affairs (WCIA)

# Lessons from Ontario

*Wales and Canada are poles apart in the international education league tables. Gareth Evans joined five Welsh headteachers on a study visit to Ontario to see what could be learned from colleagues in a top-ranked education system*

---

**T**he growth of international league tables and the ease with which one can travel between countries has opened our eyes to a wealth of knowledge and understanding. While their benefits and pitfalls can be debated, benchmarking tools such as PISA have helped education systems across the globe compare and contrast their practice with that of others, often many thousands of miles away.

It was with that in mind that Yr Athrofa, the University of Wales Trinity Saint David's Institute of Education, last summer led a study visit to Canada to see what Wales could learn from one of the world's leading school systems. A delegation of nine, including five headteachers and senior Welsh Government officials,

held meetings with representatives from the Ontario Ministry of Education, the Ontario College of Teachers (OCT) and test agents at the Education Quality and Accountability Office (EQAO). These were supplemented by visits to local elementary, middle and high schools, where delegates were given opportunity to chat with principals, teachers and pupils.

In the most recent PISA report, published by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in December 2016, Canada scored 528 points in science, 527 in reading and 516 in maths. By comparison, Welsh pupils scored 485 in science, 477 in reading and 478 points in maths. The difference is stark but Canada is a relative newcomer to PISA's top table and as recently as 20 years ago its teachers were in dispute with government and trust in the profession was at an all-time low. If nothing else, Canada's educational revival is proof a system can be turned around if conditions are conducive to positive change.

So what does Canada do differently to Wales – and what can we consider emulating as we embark on our own reform journey?

The first thing that strikes you when visiting Ontario, which accounts for approximately 40% of the nation's five

## Ontario's pupils are happy and engaged... its teachers energised and inspirational... its leadership steadfast and stimulating



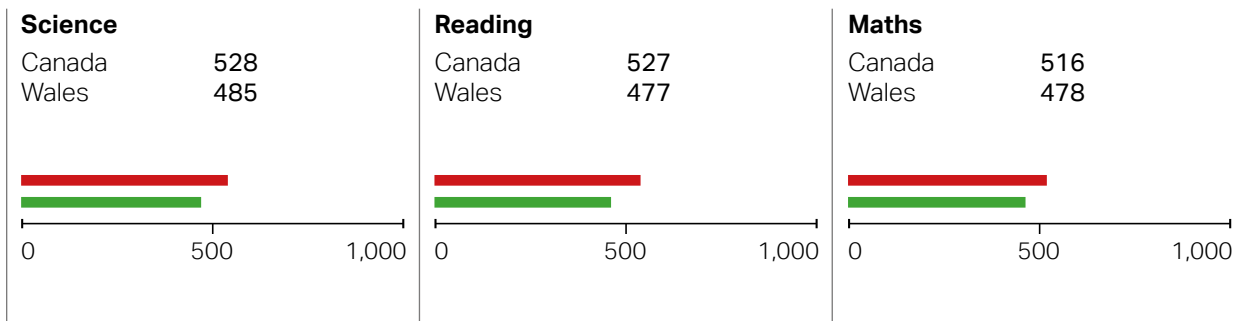
million students, is the high level of public confidence in both its education system and province more generally. There is a very noticeable culture of togetherness and pride in Canada's rich history and heritage – Canadian flags are commonplace, flying proudly above civic offices, department stores and indeed schools. The Maple Leaf is instantly recognisable wherever you go and is a symbol of what it means to live, work and learn in Canada.

It is no great surprise, therefore, that Ontario's education system is characterised by high expectations and success for all. 'Ensuring Equity' and inspiring every child to reach their full potential is one of the government's four key goals for education. And there is nothing superficial about their expectation that all pupils have access 'to rich learning experiences that begin at birth and continue into adulthood'.

Toronto is considered one of the most diverse cities in the world and that was very evident during our visits to schools. The student population was extremely varied, but there was an unquestionably visible tolerance of different races, religions and socio-economic backgrounds. Ontarians celebrate and embrace their diversity, believing wholeheartedly that it creates a better and stronger society. Statistics show around 27% of Ontario's pupils are born outside of Canada and 20% are visible minorities. But the children of newly-arrived,

## Comparative PISA scores

Source: PISA, 2016



migrant families are able to integrate at such a pace that they perform at the same high level as their classmates.

This is, without question, an enviable trait and proves that factors such as poverty and immigration should not be used as an excuse for failing to provide a sound education. Ontarians recognise that excellence in education is diluted, if not diminished entirely, without equity. But while significant progress has been made in negating the impact of socio-economic factors, it was surprising to learn that Ontario streams its children in early high school.

Students in Grade 8 (aged 13–14) are required to choose between academic and applied courses that largely determine their educational pathways. It appears somewhat contradictory that a system so dedicated to equity in education operates a form of selection based on two levels of learning – and the irony was not lost on our accompanying headteachers.

Nevertheless, individual learner need is assessed regularly and a sophisticated form of national testing

**the children of newly-arrived, migrant families are able to integrate at such a pace that they perform at the same high level as their classmates**

acts as a valuable diagnostic tool. The EQAO measures pupils’ achievement in reading, writing and maths at key stages of their education and provides schools with detailed reports used to improve school programming and classroom instruction. But this data has to be used effectively and the celebrated Ontario Leadership Strategy notes the critical role school and system leaders play in creating the conditions for success. The strategy has two goals: to attract the right people into principalship; and

# Invest

---

in Welsh  
community  
windpower

from £50






---

www.awel.coop • 01639 830870  
• info@awelamantawe.co.uk •

- Take action on climate change
- Get a return on your investment
- Generate clean energy
- Support communities

---

Two 2.35 MW turbines near Pontardawe generating enough clean energy to power c.2,500 homes

---

**rate of return projected at 5%**

---



to help principals and vice-principals develop into the best possible instructional leaders.

Building capacity within the education workforce is of as much importance to Ontarians as it is to us in Wales. The difference, perhaps, is that teachers in Ontario are extremely well supported in their endeavours across all facets of the education system. Their role as change agents is well understood and there is a wide range of options available to practitioners to enhance their qualifications throughout their careers. The OCT is



## **Wales has a lot to be proud of and, as a nation, we must be better at celebrating the good practice that takes place on a daily basis in our schools**

a thriving professional body that gives teachers a greater sense of ownership over their profession, and its slogan – ‘what’s good for teachers is good for all Ontarians’ – speaks volumes.

There is an underlying commitment from all within and outside Ontario’s school system to better the life chances of children and young people and the passion for learning is palpable. More generally, Ontario’s pupils are happy and engaged (and not in the slightest bit fazed at having visitors in their classrooms); its teachers are energised and inspirational; and its leadership across all

levels, steadfast and stimulating. It is clear that Wales’ education system has much to learn from Ontario. But so too was our visit helpful in affirming the things that Ontario can learn from us.

Canadian officials showed considerable interest in our ‘pioneer’ approach to curriculum reform, while Wales’ Foundation Phase and school-to-school collaboration is seemingly ahead of the curve. Striking was the unwavering honesty and propensity to engage in free and frank discussion; the Ontarian education system has matured to a level that allows it to critically analyse, in public fora, its weaknesses as well as its strengths. Despite having some of the very best in educational provision, Ontarians are keen to test what they are doing with others to validate progress and ascertain areas for improvement. Quite frankly, the tea-stained, monochrome test papers that were the staple diet of children in one Toronto classroom should not be replicated in any context.

Truth is, what I have seen here on our own doorstep would rival much of what they had to show in terms of teaching and learning. Wales has a lot to be proud of and, as a nation, we must be better at celebrating the good practice that takes place on a daily basis in our schools. There is certainly some truth in the OECD’s assertion that Wales is not a strong enough cheerleader for what it does well.

Michael Fullan, Avis Glaze, Carol Campbell – Canadian education has a long list of exports that sell a very positive message across the globe. We must all aspire, as our visiting headteachers did, to welcome international delegates into our classrooms to see for themselves the very best of what we have to offer. Countries like Canada, that have been there and done it on the world stage, can help show us the way.

---

**Gareth Evans** is Director of Education Policy at Yr Athrofa (Institute of Education), University of Wales Trinity Saint David. Yr Athrofa’s full report comparing education in Wales and Canada is available at [www.athrofa.cymru](http://www.athrofa.cymru)

# Delivering Psychological Therapies in Wales

**Kim Williams, Dr Elanor Maybury and Nicola Massie** *give an account of developments in the delivery of psychological therapies and the difference they are making*

---

**P** psychological therapies can be transformative, enabling people to overcome emotional difficulties, improve their quality of life and develop coping skills that will help them be more resilient when facing challenges in the future. There is a strong body of evidence demonstrating that psychological therapies are effective in treating common mental health problems such as anxiety, depression and overcoming the effect of traumatic life events such as loss, abuse or injury as well as enabling people to live well with long term mental health conditions such as dementia and psychosis. They are effective for people at all stages of life from childhood and adolescence to old age, and for helping people with developmental disorders such as ADHD and for people with learning difficulties.

Engaging in a psychological therapy is a collaborative process which begins with a discussion about areas in which a person is seeking to make changes and what has occurred leading to that point. Sharing the story with someone who listens attentively, compassionately and without being judgemental may be therapeutic in its own right but is not necessarily sufficient to bring about change. However, the relationship that develops between the person seeking therapy and the therapist is critical to the outcome of therapy as it is the vehicle through which change is achieved. Developing a shared understanding of what has happened to someone, and

what maintains the difficulty, as well as focusing on areas of strength and resilience is sometimes referred to as a psychological formulation. From this point, goals for ongoing psychological therapy can be agreed and work can begin.

Engaging in a psychological therapy is an active process in which the goals are set by the person him or herself, not prescribed by the therapist. It is not based on diagnosis, although some therapies have a stronger evidence base to address a particular problem profile than others. Therapists have expertise in different types of therapy and knowledge of which therapy has the best evidence to achieve desired outcomes for particular problems. They will be able to describe both therapy modalities and the evidence base for them but the person engaged in therapy is the expert in what they wish to achieve and the resources they have to support them in making changes. A mutually respectful and open discussion of all these factors is necessary to achieve an optimum outcome.

The demand for psychological therapies far outstrips the resource available to deliver them in Wales at the present time but progress has been made to improve access over the past decade. In 2006 the Welsh Government began the process of trying to measure the time that people wait to receive psychological therapies after referral to the relevant services. It quickly became clear that there was no standardised process by which Health Boards monitored waiting time in either primary or more specialist mental health services.

A combination of mental health legislation such as the Mental Health (Wales) Measure 2010, and strategy documents such as Together for Mental Health have pushed the psychological therapy agenda forward since this time. Health boards were required to set up Primary Care Mental Health Support Services (PCMHSS) in each local area, offering a range of psychological therapies and incorporating psychological therapies in the treatment domain of care and treatment plans for people with more severe or enduring mental health problems. Development of specific guidance for the delivery of psychological therapies was published in 2012 (Psychological Therapies in Wales, Policy Implementation Guidance) and more recently in 2017 (Matrics Cymru). Since January 2018 the Welsh Government requires Health Boards to report each month on how long adults of all ages wait for a



psychological therapy to start once a referral has been made. These waiting time targets bring this area of mental health reporting in line with those already in place for treatment of physical health conditions, emphasising parity between the needs of people with physical and mental health conditions.

Access to psychological assessment and interventions have increased in Wales over the past ten years; however, an audit of psychological therapy services and gap analysis carried out by Psychological Therapy Management Committees in each Health Board in 2015 identified that significant variation remains in terms of service availability and waiting times.

Over the past five years, Welsh Government has made ring fenced funding available to support training of existing staff and to develop new posts to deliver psychological therapies to the required standards. This has helped raise the availability of specialist psychological therapies such as Cognitive Remediation Therapy to slow the intellectual changes in dementia, Eye Movement Desensitisation and Reprocessing (EMDR – a gold standard treatment for psychological trauma) and Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT – an intensive treatment for people with severe emotional distress) across Wales.

Matrics Cymru, published in September 2017 and available on the Public Health website is a structured guide to assist planning and delivery of evidence-based psychological therapies within local authorities and Health Boards in Wales, including those services commissioned from third sector organisations. The aim is to support better quality and consistency as well as increased access to services. It is a detailed and technical document designed for use by those commissioning and delivering services but a forthcoming 'easy read' version

**There is a strong body of evidence demonstrating that psychological therapies are effective in treating... anxiety, depression and... the effect of traumatic life events**



will soon be available. Matrics Cymru sets standards across six key elements of service delivery: a service model; psychological therapy practice; minimum levels of training and standards expected from psychological practitioners; therapists' levels of supervision; measuring outcomes, and evidence tables setting out what is likely to work for whom. It contains a useful document written by service user representatives on aspects of the therapeutic relationship. Whilst psychological therapies are useful and effective interventions for many people either in combination with medication or as stand-alone treatments, they will not be suitable for everyone. Psychological therapy is an active participatory treatment which makes demands of both the person seeking treatment and the therapist. It requires a commitment to carry out activities beyond the therapy room and some people may not feel they have the energy or support to follow this through at a particular point in their lives. This should not preclude an offer of therapy if their situation changes. The National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) recommends that psychological therapy be the first treatment offered for many common mental health problems such as anxiety or depression, but research has shown that where someone seeking treatment has a strong preference for a pharmacological treatment the outcome is better when this is offered. Psychological therapy is effective using the criteria of reducing symptoms of distress to non-clinical levels in 40–60% of cases. This exceeds the effectiveness

of medication for many mental health problems and confers a longer lasting effect by building skills, resilience and independence. Just as with medication, where one modality of therapy or one therapist is not successful an alternative may achieve a better outcome. Choice of initial therapy type, matching the level of treatment intensity, developing a collaborative therapy relationship and setting realistic, meaningful goals will all play a part in whether or not the desired outcomes are reached. The offer of an alternative therapy or therapist is advocated within Matrics Cymru if an initial treatment does not help.

Mental health services are increasingly aware of the impact of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) on people's mental health in childhood and adulthood. Many mental health services help people make sense of what has happened to them. This represents a move away from asking 'what is wrong with you?' to 'what has happened to you?' Routine enquiry into ACEs has become a standard part of mental health assessment, and staff have been trained in how to ask sensitively and respond appropriately. As many as 80% of people supported in secondary care adult mental health teams have experienced significant ACEs or trauma in adulthood. Being aware of trauma also requires services to think about how their actions might potentially re-traumatise people and work on ways of reducing this. This is particularly important in crisis and inpatient services.

It is possible for people with an intellectual disability to engage successfully in psychological therapy; however, care must be taken to ensure that the person is consenting to the intervention and understand what it might be. People with an intellectual disability are often socialised into expecting to be talked about and done to rather than worked with. In order to meet the needs of this client group, the therapeutic approach needs to be adapted – particularly in relation to communication. Verbal, written and pictorial communication are all in common use between psychological therapist and client.

An example of the type of therapy that may be offered in learning difficulty services is that of Marc. Marc engaged in psychological therapy for three years. As a child he lived in an environment that resulted in neglect and associated trauma. Marc worked hard in therapy sessions to help him understand and change responses he learnt earlier in his life. If he thought he was being threatened he felt very anxious and responded

## Mental health services help people... [by moving] away from asking 'what is wrong with you?' to 'what has happened to you?'

with aggression, even though this was not helpful in his present situation. Helping him problem solve in new situations and talking to someone outside his support staff in a safe and predictable environment has helped him to develop better self care skills including looking after his mental health. Marc has identified psychological therapy as helping him to live a more autonomous life. Many people who have completed a psychological therapy identify the benefits in terms of helping them to manage the stress inherent in everyday life better than before as the following comments explain: 'I now live a normal life with this illness (depression). Lots of things worry me but worry is different from depression. I have had lots of worries this year and so far I have coped with them. My friends are glad to see the old me and my husband feels he has a life back'.

A three year National Psychological therapy Plan will be launched early in the 2018–19 financial year. The plan, based on Matrics Cymru will be supported by £5.5 million additional recurring funding to develop and deliver psychological therapy for adults across Wales and £0.5 million additional funding to develop psychological therapy services for children and young people. Three years is an ambitious timetable in which to deliver Matrics Cymru but should be sufficient to see significant and visible changes benefiting service users.

---

**Dr Elanor Maybury** is Consultant Clinical Psychologist Cwm Taf University Health Board; **Nicola Massie** is Consultant Counselling Psychologist, Learning Disability Service, Abertawe Bro Morgannwg University Health Board; **Kim Williams** is Consultant Clinical Psychologist Cwm Taf University Health Board

# Time to legalise?

**Urtha Felda** argues that we can't afford not to make cannabis available for medical use

---

**M**uch has been said in Wales recently about the efficacy of cannabis for medicinal purposes. Following a debate in the Senedd in January, Assembly Members voted in favour of a motion calling on the UK Government to reschedule cannabis for medicinal use. Newport West MP Paul Flynn's Bill on medicinal cannabis is set to receive its second reading in the House of Commons in July. Charlotte Caldwell from Northern Ireland recently spoke to AMs about her successful campaign to enable her son Billy to be the first person in the UK to be prescribed medicinal cannabis, and the campaign for Alfie Dingley to get his prescription for medicinal cannabis is also gaining ground.

Thus far, the view of Welsh Government has been to question the clinical evidence on the efficacy of medicinal cannabis and to stress that the cannabinoid symptom management drug Sativex is available here.

Wales leads the way on many fronts and this was certainly the case when the All Wales Medicine Strategy Group decided to licence Sativex in Wales for the treatment of spasticity in people living with Multiple Sclerosis (MS). The decision taken in November 2014 was contrary to the recommended approach of the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence making Wales the only UK nation where Sativex is available on the NHS.

Since 2014 however, access to Sativex has been patchy across Wales and it is only in recent months that all Local Health Boards (LHBs) have been able to prescribe it. Implementing a service to deliver new medication can be complex. LHBs are expected to put



### Case study

Ann Jones, 63, from Rhondda Cynon Taff was diagnosed with Secondary Progressive MS in 2002 and around three months ago started using Sativex to help alleviate her pain and muscle spasms. 'For Secondary Progressive MS there is not a lot that they can offer. I have previously used Gabapentin, Baclofen [and] Amitriptyline but nothing seemed to be helping to manage my symptoms. After an assessment I was deemed suitable for Sativex and had the prescription.

*'Since taking Sativex, it's made such a big difference. My walking is easier and I'm able to sleep all night which is amazing as I haven't done that for a long time. We've experienced long delays in getting Sativex available in the Cwm Taf area. It took over three years for a Sativex clinic to be set up here as we didn't have the infrastructure to prescribe and monitor it. I know people locally who have struggled over the years to get access to Sativex [while] their condition has deteriorated – that is not good enough'.*

newly approved drugs onto their formulary and to have their implementation plans in place within three months but this has not happened with Sativex.

For the Betsi Cadwaldr University Health Board (BCUHB) there were added problems in the provision of Sativex due to cross country border issues. The Governance Lead for Pharmacy and the North Wales MS Nurse at BCUHB worked closely with the Walton Centre to overcome the barriers they faced and in June 2016 the first clinic began in Ysbyty Glan Clwyd, Bodelwyddan to prescribe Sativex for people living with MS. Shared Care Agreements between the managing consultant and the local GPs has facilitated valuable clinic time to provide follow on prescriptions and ongoing monitoring.

The issues surrounding availability of Sativex clearly illustrate the challenges clinicians and people living with MS face. Approval of new and more effective MS treatments leads to additional assessment and monitoring requirements which inevitably places further demand on a service which is already working at full capacity. Dealing with pain and muscle spasms when you have MS can be exhausting and make it impossible to manage daily life.

Sativex is licensed only for the treatment of spasticity and only then available to a small group of people living with MS who meet the strict criteria. Anecdotal evidence suggests that in the absence of access to Sativex some people with MS have tried using cannabis in other forms to manage their symptoms. Other people may have tried licensed treatments for pain and spasticity, and found that they do not work for them, and so turn to cannabis instead. In either type of case they cannot be sure of its quality and cannot access medical advice on the most safe and effective way of taking it.

Currently, people who use illegal cannabis risk prosecution with a maximum penalty of five years in prison and an unlimited fine. In light of positive evidence of the use of cannabis in treating pain and spasticity, the MS Society UK has changed its policy position and is now calling on the UK Government and health bodies to develop a system that legalises cannabis for medicinal use. We estimate that around 10,000 people with MS in the UK could benefit from this.

---

**Urtha Felda** is Local Networks and External Relations Officer for the MS Society in North Wales



# Intolerant nation?

**Uzo Iwobi** reports on the rise of hate crime in Wales and argues that education is the key to reversing this worrying trend

Stock photo, posed by model

**D**iversity is part of the fabric of Wales, and further steps by Welsh Government, public, private, third sector bodies and individuals living in Wales need to be taken in order for this to be in the wider public consciousness. Data from the Home Office shows a rise of 22% in hate crimes across Wales, with 500 more incidents taking place in the last year. Victim Support Cymru reported a record 76% rise in the reporting of racist incidents across Wales. Upward of 2,000 incidents were recorded, with police forces in South Wales confirming the highest number at 1,355. In addition to racial intolerance, hate crimes against disabled people rose by 101%. BBC Radio's 5 Live Investigates reported an increase from 1,531 in 2014-15 to 3,079 in 2016-17. Crimes targeting children increased at an even higher rate, with reports ranging from verbal and online attacks, to arson and violent physical attacks.

An investigation by the Disabled Children's

Partnership, from approximately 2,700 parents of disabled children, reported that hate crime was frequent. The organisation's representative Amanda Batten commented that '[f]amilies often feel like they can't go into busy public spaces or post images onto social media' for fear of the distressing comments that are commonplace. The Crown Prosecution Service for England and Wales has observed annual increases in prosecutions and convictions for disability hate crime. Statistics from the Home Office further detailed that hate crimes around sexual orientation had risen across Wales, to 461 incidents in the year 2016-17, compared to the 372 in the 12 months previous. The number of LGBT+ individuals in Wales who had experienced a hate crime incident soared from 11% in 2013 to 20% in 2017. Stonewall Cymru conducted a survey of more than 1,000 people in Wales, which discovered that four in five anti-LGBT+ hate crimes go unreported, with people in the age bracket of 18-24 less

## Diversity is part of the fabric of Wales. Despite progression in overcoming intolerance, there is still much further to go. In a time of global anti-immigrant and anti- Muslim environments, Wales' longstanding multicultural history should be celebrated

### 76%

Overall recorded rise in racist incidents across Wales  
(Source: Victim Support Cymru)

### 41%

Percentage increase in recorded hate crime in month following the referendum on EU membership  
(Source: Home Office)

### 43%

Percentage of LGBT+ people who have experienced hate crime; 7% – percentage of LGBT+ people who have reported hate crime  
(Source: Home Office)

### 67%

British Muslims of a South Asian ethnicity; 8% – British Muslims of a white ethnicity  
(Source: 2011 census)

likely to report incidents; 43% of the demographic had faced a hate crime, with only 7% reporting it. The survey also found that 39% of the respondents were reluctant to hold a partner's hand in public, and this fear was higher in gay men (57%). Half of trans people (52%) had endured a hate crime or incident in the year 2016–17, and 30% of disabled LGBT+ people had reported that incidents had occurred due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity. The Stonewall Cymru charity shared distressing examples of such victimisation. Gethin, 42, said: 'I had bleach thrown at me, bricks through the windows, I had fireworks taped to the windows and blown out and my boyfriend was beaten half to death.'

Statistics in religious hate crime committed in Wales, produced by the Home Office, show little disparity between the 123 reported incidents of the year 2016–17, to 119 in the preceding year. This is likely due to the sustained trend of surges in hate crimes committed following terror attacks. The National Police Chiefs Council (NPCC) declared brief increases in hate crime following the events at Westminster Bridge in London on 22 March, Manchester Arena on 22 May and London Bridge on 3 June, but not after the attack in Finsbury Park in London on 19 June. The trend correlates to anti-Muslim sentiment; the pattern of hate crime rising following terror attacks linked to Islamic extremism, and the lack of noticeable increase subsequent to the far-right extremist attack, demonstrates the alarming level of Islamophobia. This is not surprising given the findings of a number of studies carried out across Europe in the wake of terror attacks that have found that they influence negative attitudes towards Muslims in particular (Cohu et al., 2016;



Stock photo, posed by model

Nugier et al., 2016; Van de Vyver et al., 2016). What is concerning about the findings of these studies is that it is not just those who may hold prejudiced attitudes who are affected, but also those who do not harbour prejudiced attitudes (an effect known as the reactive-liberals hypothesis; Nail et al., 2009). Islamophobia is clearly a result of the racialised perception of what a Muslim is, the identity so often linked to people of colour, due to 67% of British Muslims being of a South Asian ethnicity, while only 8% are white, according to 2011's census.

A further catalyst for intolerance has been the EU referendum and Brexit. According to the Home Office, in the month following the outcome of the Referendum the number of hate crimes recorded by police in England and Wales jumped 41%, with 5,468 incidents being logged. A cause for concern about the increase in hate crimes is that it has escalated anti-immigrant sentiment and wider racism. These factors exemplify how both politics and the situation of state security play fundamental roles in social cohesion, and permeate these personal crimes. The government's Hate Crime Action plan for 2016 to 2020 is a substantial foundation, with its aims to increase reporting of hate crime incidents, improve victim's support, and spread an understanding of hate crime. Its funding towards security measures for vulnerable places of worship is also crucial in securing peaceful communities. However, long term preventative measures should be an increased priority.

Strides in this direction are being made by particular schemes such as the Race Council Cymru's (RCC) Black History and Race Equality Programmes for Schools and Ethnic Youth Support Team's (EYST)

'Resilience' project. It aims to increase the resilience of young people in Swansea and Cardiff by supporting them to make 'informed choices' to prevent extreme behaviour. RCC, EYST and Show Racism the Red Card's preventative workshops that take place in schools, clarify misconceptions, challenge attitudes and educate about Islamophobia, and spread information on far-right extremism. Preventative action at this early stage within education will help shape well informed young people, who will in turn be more resilient to the potential risk of extremist behaviour that causes hate crime. Communities could be strengthened by more projects that adopt a preventative educational stance. Furthermore, changes to education will only enhance community cohesion. A more inclusive national curriculum that is more diverse, and embraces the teaching of Black History as part of Welsh History, and reflects the country's multicultural history is essential in creating lasting social change.

Wales is an ever-evolving country, with a vibrant, diverse community. Despite progression in overcoming intolerance, there is still much further to go. The model of preventative and educational projects that deconstruct the myriad of identities that exist in Welsh communities should be replicated in workshops tailored for community workers. People on the front lines, those holding roles in the NHS, emergency services and across the public sector, should be informed and educated in order to create a more welcoming Wales. In a time of global anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim environments, Wales' longstanding multicultural history should be celebrated; Wales' Muslim community dates back to the 12th century, and the Somali and Yemeni Islamic communities have lived in Cardiff since the mid-19th century.

It is clear from examples such as the tribute paid by Ms Chantelle Haughton, a lecturer at Cardiff Met who was one of the pupils taught about Black History by the late Mrs Betty Campbell at Mount Stuart Primary School in Cardiff, that the benefit of studying Black History enabled her to develop her understanding of diversity and grow up appreciating the values of celebrating a cohesive Wales. Education and training is key.

---

**Uzo Iwobi OBE** is the CEO for Race Council Cymru and Vice Chair of the Black History Association Wales

## Academi Heddwch/ Wales Peace Institute – *‘a symbol of our determination’*

**Mererid Hopwood** outlines some stages on the journey of the peace movement in Wales, and makes the case for an institute to promote information, analysis and materials on peace, justice, human rights and sustainability

**D**avid Davies of Llandinam had been there too. Just like Mrs Minnie James of Dowlais’ three sons. Only he had come home. They hadn’t. And twenty years after the end of the First World War, on November 23rd 1938, the survivor and the bereaved stood together. Lord Davies had used £72,000 of his vast wealth to build a temple in Cathays Park that was to promote two things: health and the Welsh people’s concern for international peace. Mrs James had been invited to open the temple’s grand doors as a representative of the Mothers of Wales.

Growing up in Cardiff in the 1960s and 1970s, the whole of Cathays Park was a source of wonder for me. We would sometimes drive home after chapel through its empty-Sunday, red roads. They alone said ‘this is special territory’. But I remember being struck by the name of the building called The Temple of Peace (this was before I had met Professor John Wyn Owen who relentlessly, and rightly, insists on the ‘and Health’ of the original title). It was in the same beautiful league as the plaque that

declared on the statue in the Hayes that John Batchelor was a ‘Friend of Freedom’, (the one who always wore a cone on his head the morning after the Saturday night before). Later, having been taken on a pilgrimage to Tregaron, I could add Henry Richard’s amazing epithet: ‘Yr Apostol Heddwch’ to this collection of awe-inspiring public monuments.

Academi Heddwch, or Wales Peace Institute, has a similarly uplifting ring to it, one that has been chiming with various degrees of resonance for ten years or so in meetings the length and breadth of Wales. The first call for such an establishment was heard following the announcement in 2007 of a proposal to create a Military Academy in St Athan. This was meant to concentrate British military training in the village which takes its name from a 6th century saint and which has been home for an MOD unit since 1 September 1938 (somewhat ironically, just under three months before the Temple of Peace and Health was opened twenty miles down the road in Cardiff).

Under the leadership of Jill Evans MEP, a steering







group was set up and the idea of an Academi Heddwch/Wales Peace Institute soon gathered widespread support. A Wales Peace Institute Initiative was established to promote the cause, and in 2009, a petition signed by 1,525 people was presented to the National Assembly's cross-party Petitions Committee. This called for an investigation into the 'potential and practicality of having an institute in Wales that is concerned with peace and human rights'. A public consultation followed and attracted an impressive range of responses. These were overwhelmingly positive, and the committee's final report declared that it too was 'supportive of the principle', adding that in its view such a body could help contribute to the development of peace in its broadest sense within Wales and to the work of both the Assembly and the Government. In March 2014, the Senedd debated the recommendations and accepted the principle of setting up the Academi Heddwch, with the broad proviso that further detailed work on its practical feasibility needed to be carried out.

**A hundred years since the end of the first world war... it is surely time to build on the culture of peace we really do have in Wales**

**Wales Peace Institute Initiative – 13 examples worldwide**

*Peace Research Institute, Oslo*

1959

*Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*

1966

*Peace Research Institute Frankfurt*

1970

*United States Institute of Peace, Washington DC*

1984

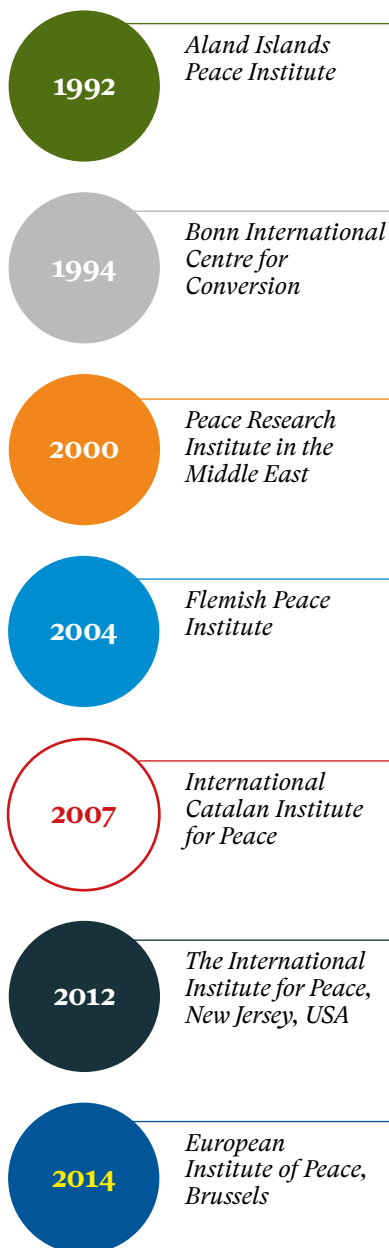
*Peace Research Institute of Khartoum*

1986

*The Peace Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia*

1991

**peace institutes worldwide have a considerable and positive impact on their constituent societies, from the very local to the national and international**



Since then, the steering group has continued to work on finding a practical way to develop the idea from initiative to existence, and although many such institutes are found across the world, this would be the first of its kind in the UK. A draft constitution states that the Academi Heddwch/Wales Peace Institute's founding principles should be that it is 'an independent organisation which produces, promotes, and disseminates objective, rigorous information, analysis and materials on matters relating to peace, justice, human rights and sustainability in Wales, the UK and beyond'.

In acknowledging that a peace institute in Wales would be different from its counterparts across the globe – just as the Welsh words 'heddwch' and 'tangnefedd' are different from the Latin 'pax' and English 'peace', or the German 'Frieden' and the Arabic 'salam' – the Wales Peace Institute Initiative deemed that an overview of what peace institutes looked like in other countries would be useful. It commissioned Emily Forbes to examine thirteen examples worldwide. The resulting report shows how varied these are in terms of all manner of criteria, from origin, location and funding to remit.

Some have originated as non-governmental, some as non-profit organisations, others have evolved from separate institutions or organisations and some have come into being by law. The institute in Flanders, for example, came about as a result of an arms scandal, while the one in Sweden was created to commemorate Sweden's 150 years of unbroken peace. In terms of remit, some, like the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), have a particular research agenda, in this instance the resolution of the Arab-Israeli Conflict through education; others, such as the Aland Islands Peace Institute, the International Catalan Institute for Peace and the Flemish Peace Institute place emphasis on offering a broader range of services, including the creation of educational resources and publication of research for officials, academics and the general public.

National governments are a significant source of funding for many of the institutes examined, and some receive contributions from councils, cities and research funding bodies. A significant number have strong relationships with universities, enhancing the universities' reputations as well as adding significant value to the quality of each peace institute's research.

Encouraged by this, in recent months the steering

**there are plenty of modules and courses on offer in our institutes of higher education that could be classified as providing teaching and learning about peace**



Temple of Peace and Health, Cathays Park, Cardiff

group in Wales has been meeting with representatives from universities to explore ways forward – after all, google ‘peace studies’ courses and you will find a plethora of options, but none in Wales. Then again, put ‘peace’ into the UCAS search engine, and while Bradford, Leeds Beckett, Lancaster, Reading, Leeds Metropolitan, Wolverhampton, Liverpool Hope, Glasgow, University of East London, Warwick and Kent all offer options for undergraduate courses – and ten or so more universities for postgraduate courses – nothing comes up for Wales.

This is misleading. There are plenty of modules and courses on offer in our institutes of higher education that could be classified as providing teaching and learning about peace, but their invisibility in itself suggests a case for a collaborative institute in Wales that can bring together researchers active in the field.

But a more pressing need for an Academi Heddwch/ Wales Peace Institute becomes evident when we return to Forbes’ report and find that, most importantly, it shows how peace institutes worldwide have a considerable and positive impact on their constituent societies, from the very local to the national and international. With an eye on this, the group is now also working with other partners, in particular the Welsh Centre for International

Affairs and Dr Jo Nurse of the Interaction Council.

The words we use to denote many abstract concepts often derive from the concrete and tangible. Etymologists suggest that ‘war’ is related to the Germanic verb *wirren* (‘to cause confusion’), *heddwch* to the verb to sit. A hundred years since the end of the first world war and eighty since Mrs James, in her best hat, flowers in one hand, the Temple’s key in the other said ‘I pray this Temple of Peace may come to be regarded ... as a symbol of our determination to strive for justice and peace in the future’, it is surely time to build on the culture of peace we really do have in Wales, make it more visible and develop from it work that could see Wales bring about tangible results in preventing violence and promoting peace, *heddwch* and *tangnefedd* at home and further afield.

---

**Mererid Hopwood** is chair of *Cymdeithas y Cymod*

- > [www.walesforpeace.org/wfp/Wales\\_Peace\\_Institute](http://www.walesforpeace.org/wfp/Wales_Peace_Institute)
- > [www.cymrudrosheddwch.org/wfp/hafan](http://www.cymrudrosheddwch.org/wfp/hafan)

# Culture

## Rocking the Boat

Merlin Gable meets Angela V. John to discuss her new book about Welsh women who championed equality

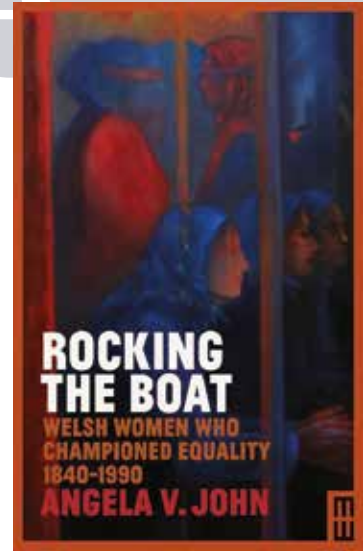
A classic interviewer's tactic is to read the subject through their home: their motivations in their works of art, their influences through the books on their shelves, their foibles on their wallpaper. However, this part of the interviewer's arsenal is unavailable to me when I meet Angela V. John. It's late March, one of the first proper, sunny spring days, and light is streaming into her central Cardiff flat. I find myself in a very clean, plain and minimally furnished monochromatic living room, the only books in evidence John's own.

And yet these are, I reflect, fitting surroundings to discuss with John her latest book, *Rocking the Boat: Welsh Women Who Championed Equality, 1840–1990*, a collection of biographical essays on Welsh women – suffragettes, authors, scientists – staking a claim for the unsung. These are Welsh women placed in a distinctly British historical context but one immediately gets a sense of the significance that Welsh-ness (however each woman found meaning in that term) played in their achievements. John is a writer more interested in 'biographical

history than historical biography' she insists. Her aim, she tells me, is to 'focalize a moment, a movement or a period through people'. The self-effacing surroundings seem right: in writing biography she too must be in a sense as anonymous and unreadable as the flat in which we talk.

This is, John admits, merely her 'city pad'; she spends most of her time in the small village of Newport in Pembrokeshire. I catch her between delivering a talk in Bath and another to Gelligaer Historical Society the following day. 'I'll be back home on Sunday,' she says with some relief. What follows is a curious sort of interview. We do talk about John's life – she is an academic, a feminist, a Welsh woman – but she is at her most animated when talking about others, especially her old friend and subject of the book's final chapter, the novelist Menna Gallie. We return again and again to commonalities, to shared meanings and patterns that tie lives into history.

Although John has an extensive academic and popular publishing history – with notable biographies of Henry W. Nevinson, Lady Charlotte



Guest, Elizabeth Robins and Evelyn Sharp – as well as the authoritative life of Margaret Haig Thomas, the suffragette and businesswoman Lady Rhondda, and an entire career as an academic historian, for the most part at the University of Greenwich, her latest book seems to have received an unusually warm and enthusiastic welcome. It has come at the perfect time, and she finds herself in high demand.

'It's no coincidence in that I knew what I was doing when I wrote it', John says, laughing when I note the synchronicity of the book's launch in the Senedd with the celebrations surrounding the centenary of the passing of the Representation of the People Act in 1918, which for the first time gave some women the vote. However, to see her book as a straightforward homage to that moment, and to the suffragette campaign that achieved

it, is, she tells me, limiting. Again, her focus is history, not people, and 'the women's suffrage movement is only a tiny part of the story' – 'obviously they were the ones who got all the publicity because they were so good at it!' However, as the book demonstrates, 'the roots of suffrage go back much deeper and extend further on anyway'.

This is not to dismiss the importance of the suffrage movement or the centenary celebrations, she is quick to assure me. Indeed, several of her chosen subjects for the book were involved in the women's suffrage movement, and Lady Rhondda is in many ways most notable – and certainly best remembered – for her protests and brief imprisonment for that cause. And these celebrations need not be a bad thing: John has been kept very busy. She has been involved in the creative process behind Welsh National Opera's new commission *Rhondda Rips It Up!*, a light-hearted retelling of the suffragette's life, and has even spoken for the unveiling of Lady Rhondda's portrait at the Palace of Westminster.

However, reading *Rocking the Boat* can't help but complicate the somewhat simplistic narrative applied to that first 'wave' of feminist organising. There were



suffragists as well as suffragettes – in greater numbers even – and the sorts of oppression that are presented in the lives John describes are not so starkly different and abstract from our own time as the campaign to extend the franchise can sometimes feel. Patriarchal university dons, finding resistance in being recognised as an equal in your field could as easily describe the frustrations of many women today rather than a group born at least 100 years ago.

John cut her teeth as an academic and a feminist activist in the 70s and 80s, involved in the production of key revisionist histories and participating in women's history groups in a moment characterised by the wide-ranging reassessment of long-neglected women's writings and histories that was being spearheaded by groups such as the early feminist Virago Press. How, then, does she view the recent resurgence in feminist discourse and action, particularly amongst younger, digitally-native women? 'I've always been wary of the term "waves"', she begins carefully; 'I think it both minimises the significance of a movement but also doesn't understand that although history never repeats itself exactly, people are always drawing consciously or otherwise upon what has come before.' Of course, key victories have been achieved in the battle for gender equality, and causes change and realign over time, but it feels as though our current moment heralds the arrival of a more intersectional understanding of equality and the

various different and conflicted loyalties a person can feel through their identities. These are all good things John says, 'because gay men have got involved in things as well, and because all sorts of issues about "genderbending" and identity, all kinds of things have come together and people are speaking much more openly... I think the whole of people's lives is now being questioned and challenged rather than just simply following the old traditional structures of political parties or the Labour Party Women's Section'. What is often disparagingly termed 'identity politics' – far from being a negative distraction – is in John's eyes the source of modern feminism's energy and a form of solidarity in the internet age: 'in the last few years the extent to which people have banded together and spoken collectively and more as one voice has been incredibly important'.

Ever the historian, John is careful throughout to draw my myopically millennial view back to

**John cut her teeth as an academic and a feminist activist in the 70s and 80s**

a longer history of struggle. She always returns to sources and past examples in analysing the present day. The long battle for legislative equality – the 1918 and 1928 Representation of the People Acts, the 1970 Equal Pay Act – has always been fought in the context of a wider social struggle. We see a clear analogue today in the public disgracing of Harvey Weinstein or in the Everyday Sexism project founded by feminist activist Laura Bates, to give two examples John cites. Legislation is one thing but for John it is attitudes – a quite different and deeply interpersonal form of political organising – that are at the heart of true equality. ‘You can pass all the laws in the world but people can only change from within,’ she observes.

The women John writes about are all exiles: Welsh-identified people who lived the majority of their lives outside of the country. John was herself part of this diaspora for much of her life, having only returned here after retiring in 2004. As someone with a career’s worth of experience of Welsh marginality in British public discourse, John says that she ‘still gets slightly depressed by people who either write about “Welsh history” or write about what they purport to be British history – but of course it isn’t – and the people I’m writing about kind of fall into the interstices’. Indeed, the hybridity of John’s subjects is part of the fascination of reading their lives. There is Frances Hoggan, the first woman to receive a medical degree in Europe, who described herself as English or Welsh depending

upon her audience, and whose pioneering advocacy of girls’ education in Wales is little known. There are also the ‘Janus-faced’ Rhÿs sisters who never lived in Wales but operated in an England-based Welsh coterie. The point, John says, is to ‘try to make those histories work in tandem and not as totally separate’. These women too, our conversation reveals, were in certain ways intersectional feminists *avant la lettre*.

And then there is Margaret Wynne Nevinson, who, as John memorably observes in *Rocking the Boat*, ‘surrounded herself with symbols of Welshness’ to the point of approaching stereotype. Welshness as an experience versus Welshness as an identity comes up multiple times in our conversation. How, then, has John found Wales’s presence rise up in her own work? ‘I grew up in Port Talbot, which is a steel town and is very much on the South Wales coast,’ she responds. ‘Although I had a year in Swansea University when I did an MA, my first degree I did in Birmingham, I did my doctorate in Manchester and then I was in London for more than thirty years... When I was working and lecturing in History obviously I would try to bring in Welsh history wherever possible but primarily I was a historian of Britain.’ Here John seems at her most apologetic: ‘it wasn’t until I returned to Wales that I really immersed myself in Welsh history’.

This brief survey, however, minimises John’s own place in Welsh feminist history. Her first monograph was a seminal reappraisal of the women who

worked in Victorian coal mines and her later book *Our Mothers’ Land* is a vital collection of essays on Welsh women’s history. Later in our conversation she expands on the place of women’s history in the Welsh academy: ‘there simply were not women in history in academia to provide the role models that were necessary’. When John first joined Llafur, the Welsh History People’s History Society, she was the only woman on the committee – now she is vice president. ‘I think things have changed quite rapidly in Wales,’ she says. ‘There’s often been more willingness to engage with grassroots organisations. I think that those who are involved in the women’s movement in Wales tend to represent a slightly wider cross-section of society than in England’.

John’s book is therefore not only timely in the sense of tying in with an important anniversary. She finds herself in a long line of women who are rocking the boat, championing equality and fighting for change. As John amply demonstrates in her book, history is as much a process of negotiation as it is a testament to progress and the achieving of equality cannot simply be evidenced in theoretical rights and values. ‘If people don’t change from within’, John says, ‘if they don’t change the fundamental ways they treat other people, and if they don’t realise the significance of that in gender terms, then actually all you’re going to do is find people trying to get around the law or paying lip service.’

**Merlin Gable** is Culture Editor of *the welsh agenda*

From the archive

## Towards 2000, Beyond Brexit

Daniel G. Williams on  
*Raymond Williams' classic*

In returning to Raymond Williams's *Towards 2000* in the year 2018 we are faced with a paradox. On the one hand, it might be argued that the Welsh-European vision espoused in Williams's later writings is further from being realised today, after the Brexit vote, than at any time since that volume's publication in 1983. On the other hand, it might not be wholly misleading to suggest that, in this year of its 35th anniversary, Raymond Williams's last completed book-length study speaks to us with a greater immediacy than at any point since its original appearance. Williams's responses to a triumphant Thatcherism unleashed on a Wales that had voted against its own political existence in the '79 referendum, and facing feeble resistance from a Labour Party divided between 'left' and 'centrist' factions, seems to speak directly to Brexit Britain. What Williams describes in *Towards 2000* as 'Plan X' we would now term 'neoliberalism', but his description of a 'plan' that has no goal beyond the systematic pursuit of temporary advantage for the capitalist ruling class and its elite functionaries

has lost none of its accuracy. The dystopian prospect imagined in 1983 envisages authoritarian regimes of the Right, having broken the back of a residual working class, policing social distress at home and embarking on reckless military confrontations abroad which, as the Falklands War had indicated, would be largely endorsed by a complicit media. For Williams, socialism is the only alternative, but he recognises that what remains of an organised working class has been largely reduced to piecemeal sectarian negotiations around wages, and that

all significant movements of the last thirty years have started outside the organized class interests and institutions: The peace movement, the ecology movement, the women's movement, solidarity with the third world, human rights agencies, campaigns against poverty and homelessness.

These movements, argues Williams, need to be integrated into a 'wide remaking' which 'begins from primary human needs'. He notes that those 'primary needs' will become increasingly hard to satisfy if the ecological awareness of environmental limits are not wedded to economic planning, and acknowledges that those needs can also pull in different directions, with the movements formed to address them seeking contradictory ends. Women's liberation offers a new front for socialist activism, for instance, but simultaneously confronts traditional patriarchal socialism with a political

and moral challenge. Williams accepts that a socialist movement based on a 'general interest' that draws on a diversity of social movements is a utopian desire as opposed to a material reality, and begins his volume by underlining the need for the Left to think creatively in a society that seems to have lost a 'sense of the future'.

By the early 1980s Williams was referring to his mode of criticism as 'cultural materialism'. The word 'materialism' was meant to foreground the historical and social determinants exerting a pressure on all cultural practices, and marked Williams's divergence from a liberal aesthetic theory which centred on the individual practitioner. By 'cultural', Williams was indicating that culture is not a superstructural product of economic conditions as argued by vulgar (and even some more sophisticated) forms of Marxism. Culture, for Williams, does not merely respond to power, nor to economic determinants; it actually shapes the moral world in which that power is exercised and enacted. This is the basis for Williams's discussion of the national question in *Towards 2000* where he emphasises the ways in which 'many forms of modern nationality and patriotism are artificial'.

Opposition to the nation-state, notes Williams, comes from 'radicals' who may see through the 'artificialities' and from 'incompletely assimilated or still actively hostile minority peoples who have been incorporated within the nation-state'. He draws attention to the radical potential of 'Irish or Scots or Welsh or Breton

or Basque' nationalisms. Though these 'rely on the same apparent bonding though within a political subordination' a successful fusion of nationalism and political revolution is possible, as evinced in 'many other parts of the world, from Cuba to Vietnam'. It is therefore unfortunate that

not only the majority people, with 'their own' nation-state, but also many among the minority peoples, regard this kind of nationalism as disruptive or backward-looking, and are even confident enough to urge 'internationalism' against it, as a superior political ideal. It is as if a really secure nationalism, already in possession of its nation-state, can fail to see itself as 'nationalist' at all.

Welsh nationalism has the potential to play a radically deconstructive role in the 'Yookay' (Williams's dismissive term for the United Kingdom), but it would be a mistake to see Williams's self-defined 'Welsh-Europeanism' as being based on the replacing of a bigger by a smaller nation-state in Europe. The challenge for minority nationalisms following the radical moment of revolution or independence is to think beyond national bonding. We have to 'begin again with people', concludes Williams, 'and build new political forms'.

What would this entail in practice? Williams warns us in *Towards 2000* that 'there is no point in jumping from the nation to a projected internationalism', that no headway can be made 'by

the familiar jump to this or that universality', and that 'indeed, we have to move in the other direction'. While emphasizing the necessity of legal citizenship, Williams argues that 'to reduce social identity to the formal legal definitions, at the level of the state, is to collude with the alienated superficialities of "the nation" which are the limited functional terms of the modern ruling class.'

It is perhaps now, after the Brexit vote, that Williams's emphasis on the 'culture' of nations can come into its own. That which has often been seen as the weakest argument of *Towards 2000* may now, retrospectively, be its strength. That which was the basis for accusations of intolerance against Williams by critics such as Paul Gilroy and Henry Louis Gates, who questioned the xenophobic implications of his emphasis on 'place' and 'settled communities', may now seem to offer the basis for a more tolerant society. For might it not be true to say that in the years after the successful referendum of 1997 the Welsh Left in both Labour and Plaid Cymru allowed Wales to become 'another political unit', a 'civic shell' with no cultural content? The assumption – supported by theories of post-nationhood in academia – seems to have been that developing political structures was the key, while culture could look after itself. A cultural vacuum resulted. The Brexit vote, in south Wales especially, demonstrated that by failing to define our culture for ourselves we allowed others to do so for us. Beyond remaining voting areas of relative affluence

(Monmouth, Cardiff, Swansea West) and the remaining Welsh-speaking heartlands (Gwynedd, Dwyfor Meirionydd, Ceredigion), the Welsh embraced a form of British anti-European xenophobia – espoused by UKIP and widely disseminated by the tabloid press – partly because the cultural basis for an alternative vision was not sufficiently developed. The originality and relevance of Williams's work today lies precisely in his rejection of a purely civic national identity, in his emphasis on the 'culture' of nations.

The establishment of what Raymond Williams termed 'self-governing societies' may be one way of trying to counterbalance the centralising, culturally assimilationist, force of a post-Brexit Britain with its built-in 85% English majority. The struggle for a 'variable socialism' – for a looser, more equitable and less centralised political structure in the United Kingdom – is, after Brexit, more necessary than ever. In the case of Wales, the term that I would use to describe the political and cultural movement most likely to achieve this desired outcome is 'nationalism'. And if we are to avoid the evasions of Williams's analysis, the term for that outcome may be 'independence'.

**Daniel G. Williams** is Professor of English Literature and Director of the Richard Burton Centre for the Study of Wales at Swansea University



# Welsh Centre for International Affairs

*Ysbrydoli Cymru Fyd-eang ers 19737*

*Inspiring a World Wide Wales since 1973*



**WCIA**

WELSH CENTRE FOR  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
CANOLFAN MATFFAI  
RHYNGWLADOL Cymru

Ymunwch â'r sgwrs / Join the conversation

@WCIA\_Wales #cymrufydeang #worldwidewales

[www.wcia.org.uk](http://www.wcia.org.uk)

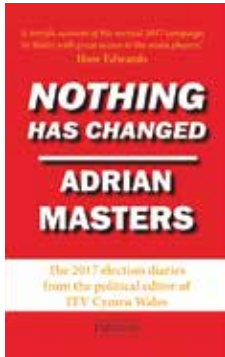


**Temple of Peace**  
The venue with a heart

Pan fyddwch yn archebu digwyddiad yn y Deml Heddwch, mi fyddwch yn helpu WCIA i ysbrydoli dysgu a gweithredu ar faterion byd-eang.

When you book your event at the Temple of Peace, you help the WCIA to inspire learning and action on global issues.

[www.templeofpeace.wales](http://www.templeofpeace.wales) [bookings@wcia.org.uk](mailto:bookings@wcia.org.uk)



# Nothing Has Changed

Adrian Masters | Parthian, 2018  
*Jess Blair*

**N**othing Has Changed is the title of Adrian Masters' first book and yet it covers a period of nothing but change; from multiple terrorist attacks, to the death of Rhodri Morgan, to an election result that defied early polls.

The book tells the story of the 2017 snap general election from the perspective of Masters, ITV Cymru's Political Editor. It's a view from an insider, someone at the centre of critical events who had face-to-face access to a Prime Minister who started off at the pinnacle of power but headed back to Downing Street wounded, with the ramifications still playing out nearly a year later. What's unique about this book is its Welsh insight on the events of last April, May and June.

This was an election that had a big impact on Wales, from the decision to call it (made while Theresa May was on a walking holiday in Snowdonia) to those shock polls that projected this traditionally Labour-voting country turning blue. All of a sudden Wales became of interest to the London media and a focal point for Conservative campaigning.

For all the talk of a Conservative victory in Wales, when election night came it was Labour who celebrated, not only protecting those seats they were at one stage resigned to losing, but taking three seats from the Tories. Much of the book is dedicated to analysing what went wrong: chief among the reasons was infighting within the Conservative camp, a revelation which makes for interesting reading.

Masters outlines how at every stage in the campaign the Westminster Tories were at odds with those sitting in the Senedd. While Labour went ahead with their own successful 'Welsh Labour' campaign, highlighting Carwyn Jones as leader and publishing a manifesto which relied heavily on Welsh issues, the Tories were held back from doing the same. In a diary entry for the day after the election Masters reports on 'some explosive words from a Welsh Conservative source on the election campaign', who said:

There are serious questions to those responsible for devising the non-existent 'Welsh election strategy'. It's astonishing that we

weren't given sight of the final manifesto before its publication.

This is just the tip of the iceberg for a party completely at odds with its Westminster counterpart. One of the most jaw-dropping moments of the book is when another Conservative source reveals to Masters that the party in Wales was warned 'not to compete for TV time with Theresa May and shouldn't even put out press releases on Assembly-related issues'. They were even warned that they shouldn't use social media.

Contrast this to a Welsh Labour campaign that thrived off its devolved focus and put Carwyn Jones front and centre. Labour actually got a lot of flak for the Welsh elements of their campaign where they fielded Assembly Members – not standing for election – for media appearances and promoted policies around health and education, both devolved for nearly two decades; however it was clearly effective and protected the party at a time when they were concerned about Jeremy Corbyn's popularity in the polls.

The book often goes beyond party politics to the personal. These moments will likely be the most interesting for many. From a very touching account of former First Minister Rhodri Morgan's funeral to tales of how politicians on opposing sides interact when the cameras are off (a reveal from Carolyn Harris that she's done salsa with David TC Davies was a personal highlight), it's the human element of Masters' account that resonates. In fact, the nature of Welsh politics is a real

benefit for a diary like this. Cardiff Bay does not operate in quite the same way as the closed doors and calculated moves of Westminster and that is clear from the close relationships across all parties depicted in this.

As a debut publication *Nothing Has Changed* is a clear success. Sometimes the combination of diary entries and post-election analysis dispersed throughout the text could be confusing for those less aware of the events of those three months in 2017. The nature of an election also means there's an extensive cast of characters to keep up with. Footnotes identify each individual but only once – non-political readers might struggle to

distinguish who is who at times. But these are small points and don't impact in any way on the quality of the text, the nuggets of information and the narrative that are enthralling in a way that books about politics often aren't. I hope that people outside of the 'Cardiff Bay Bubble' do give this a go. I think they'd get a significant insight into the historic events of last year that they certainly wouldn't otherwise.

Early in the book Masters quotes his own report for the ITV evening news in Wales in which he said:

Change is the new normal in politics. Upheaval is happening every day.

This is a piece of work that charts that change, but also one that gives an insider's account of how that change happened and the key players' reactions. It was an election that came at an unprecedented time for the UK and for Wales, and if this book was fiction and 2017 hadn't happened many would say it was unrealistic. Yet, it did happen, warts and all, and as a result this book is engaging and often quite shocking. It's a must read for anyone even vaguely interested in politics.

**Jess Blair** is Director of Electoral Reform Society Cymru

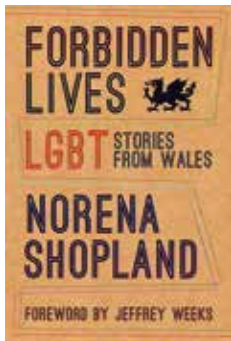
[www.geldards.com](http://www.geldards.com)  
+44 (0)29 2023 8239

**Geldards**  
law firm



**We stand out.**

Geldards has been growing with Wales for over 150 years. Our lawyers seek to understand our clients, building relationships that stand the test of time.



## Forbidden Lives: LGBT Stories from Wales

Norena Shopland | Seren, 2017  
*Cerith D. Rhys Jones*

**A**s a young, gay Welshman, I am embarrassed that before reading this book I had never heard of any of the people whose stories it tells. Perhaps that is my own fault; more likely though it's a result of the fact that society has effectively all but erased these people from history.

In his foreword, Jeffrey Weeks says that the only LGBT stories he heard while growing up in Rhondda in the 1950s and 1960s were ones of guilt and shame. What this book shows is that that was nothing new. Our stories have been tarred with shame for centuries because society has refused to accept us for who we are.

It is important at this stage to put on record my sincere thanks to Norena Shopland for her years of work researching the lives and stories of LGBT people in and from Wales. *Forbidden Lives* is not simply a book but a significant contribution to the LGBT community, and indeed the whole, of Wales.

In *Forbidden Lives*, Shopland charts the history of people who might today fit into what we call LGBT. In their time no equivalent terms existed and such phrases as 'romantic friendships' were used

to describe their lives. Shopland expertly explores their lives without categorising them with one label or another. Rather, she looks at each person – each story – and finds what was so different about them that society decided their history should be forgotten.

*Forbidden Lives* is a sensitive piece of work. Shopland has avoided making assumptions about people where definitive answers would simply be impossible. Indeed, the impression I get is that Shopland does not believe it her place to make such assumptions. But where the subjects' lives, relationships, and behaviour differed from the norm – that is, straight and cis-gendered – she tells their stories with great care and compassion.

I am relieved that *Forbidden Lives* doesn't hide its subjects' failings. It is a book of celebration, but it would have been a disservice to have forgotten that these people were exactly that: people. They weren't perfect and they weren't saints. But where characters were flawed – sometimes extremely so, such as Hugh Despenser – their story is told all the same. This book

isn't an effort to suggest that all these people did good, it simply says that they existed and that this part of their being should not be erased.

I was pleased by the number of LGBT women whose stories this book tells. From Marged ferch Ifan, whose supposedly masculine traits gave her great renown during her time to the wonderful story of the Ladies of Llangollen, who have, in some ways, become icons.

A number of the women whose stories are told in *Forbidden Lives* are rather steelier, more determined, than the men. When society expected women to be dainty ornaments, to dress in a certain way, and talk in a certain way, these women showed immense courage and defiance.

The men too were undeniably brave, but *Forbidden Lives* paints a picture of the men being somewhat quieter in their defiance, perhaps wanting to get on with life without drawing too much attention. But the women wanted to make a point. Good on them, I say.

Of course this is a generalisation, and this book only tells the stories of a very small number of LGBT people throughout the history of Wales, but it was a gentle reminder – if only to me – that I should more often look to the women in my life and in the world for strength and inspiration.

The first half of *Forbidden Lives* is somewhat beyond the realm of my imagination. Perhaps that's because the stories told are long before my time. Perhaps it's because the people it discusses weren't of our time and so didn't identify in ways with which I am familiar. But then the book moves

into the twentieth century and I start to see the Wales that I know. I start to see the same kind of attitudes and prejudices that I experienced growing up, and sometimes still experience. I start to see the kind of modern discussion of sexuality and gender identity to which I am used.

As *Forbidden Lives* draws to a close there is a marked change in the kind of stories it tells. The reader starts to hear about LGBT people (and non-LGBT people) who have made substantial contributions to the LGBT community in their own right. We hear of people who put on plays, arranged conferences, and introduced legislation. This is the story of a more strategic and

purposeful defiance. These acts weren't about the self but about something bigger.

The book's final chapter – 'Pride in Wales' – is, for me, the most difficult; its story is the most recent, and the one most familiar to me. It is not happy reading, but it is nevertheless important. The book's closing words remind me that I would need to have been born a decade later to have been in a Wales free of legal persecution of people like me.

It took me until the very end of *Forbidden Lives* to realise that this was never meant to be a book that made one happy. Instead, it tells the stories, for better or worse, of people like me who have been

erased from the history books. They were not perfect people, nor are these perfect stories, but my goodness, they are worth telling. And I am grateful to Norena Shopland for telling them so carefully and defiantly. Shopland makes her own view known throughout this book, so let me say this: today's Wales is still far from perfect. LGBT people here are still suffering, and facing discrimination.

This book serves as a call to action to make our stories known and our voices heard, and to keep up the fight.

**Cerith D. Rhys Jones** is External Affairs Manager at NUS Cymru/Wales



## CONNECTING WALES WITH THE WORLD THROUGH EDUCATION AND THE ARTS

In a globalised world, we believe that Wales must be an outward-looking nation, as the most successful countries – both culturally and economically – are those that embrace an ethos of open sharing of experience and expertise.

Visit our website today to find out how we are connecting Wales with the world through education and the arts.

## YN CYSYLLTU CYMRU Â'R BYD DRWY ADDYSG A'R CELFYDDYDAU

Mewn byd wedi'i globaleiddio, credwn fod yn rhaid i Gymru fod yn genedl sy'n edrych tuag allan, gan mai'r gwledydd mwyaf llwyddiannus – yn ddiwylliannol ac yn economaidd – yw'r rhai sydd ag ethos o rannu profiad ac arbenigedd yn agored.

Ewch i'n gwefan heddiw i gael gwybod sut yr ydym yn mynd ati i gysylltu Cymru â gweddill y byd drwy addysg a'r celfyddydau.





# Inspections of further education colleges are changing

Through consultation and listening to those working in the FE sector we have developed an inspection model that is fair, flexible and manageable.

We will be piloting our new approach in the summer term 2018. We welcome feedback from the FE sector throughout this process and will continue to consult with key stakeholders during the summer term 2018.

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

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

 [EstynHMI](https://www.facebook.com/EstynHMI)

# Ten Million Stars are Burning

John Osmond | Gomer | *Geraint Talfan Davies*

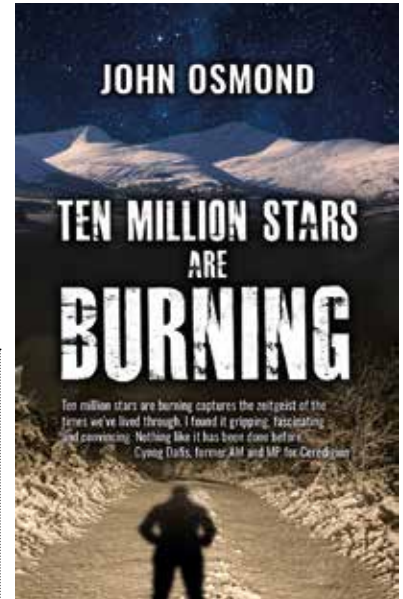
If ever you are troubled by the frenetic character of this digital age – the never-sleeping online world with its instant messaging, the unstoppable day and night drip of emails and blare of 24-hour news – this book is for you.

It transports you to a slower, analogue world where phone calls required you to search for a phone and, quite often, coins, where deadlines were daily at most, certainly not hourly, and where people read books of generous length, not tweets measured by their harassed authors in characters, not even words. Welcome to the 1970s. In Wales.

This was the decade when the heady, romantic visions of the sixties settled into the hard slog of making change happen. And no-one was more Stakhanovite in his application to that work than John Osmond, journalist, activist, shop steward to the nation and now author of *Ten Million Stars are Burning*, a 'documentary novel' that charts a truncated decade, from 1973–9, culminating in the first devolution referendum on 1 March 1979. Another two volumes are planned to bring us up to date with the first stages of self-governance in Wales.

It is a formidable beginning in every sense: 600 pages, no index but 17 pages of notes, a listing of 46 principal characters and potted biographies of no less than 206 people who inhabit the pages. It is not for the faint-hearted. But if you want to know whence present day Wales came, and get a feel for the interplay of people and ideas, culture and politics, it is essential reading. It is also far less daunting than the above figures might suggest.

First, a confession. John Osmond has been a friend and colleague for more than four decades. I know the indefatigable spirit that has sustained his vision for his own country, Wales, and which has both inspired and exhausted colleagues endowed with slightly less stamina. That spirit is still in evidence in this novel. John Osmond could more easily have written a straightforward history of the period, after all he already has a strong list of fascinating political studies to his credit. Instead he has chosen a hybrid form, the 'documentary novel', in which real people turn up alongside fictional characters. One might also call it a fictionalised autobiography, but however you wish to categorise it, it works, in the sense that it gives one



a much more rounded feel for the decade than a more conventional history would have allowed.

It creates a true sense of place, in colour rather than black and white, and it is no accident that the heading for each chapter is a place name. It has allowed the author to indulge a keen walker's appreciation of the Black Mountains and Cader Idris, the activist's appreciation of the role of Abersytwyth's Cooper's Arms (Y Cwps) in Welsh political life at that time, and of Pontcanna pubs in its cultural life, even to convey a feel of the interior of the late Leo Abse's home in St John's Wood or Raymond Williams' mountain cottage.

It also solves a problem that would have faced the author had he tried to write a more conventional history. The chosen form allows a real participant in the action to use the third person singular without any awkwardness, whereas in

**The chosen form allows a real participant in the action to use the third person singular without any awkwardness, whereas in a conventional history the first person singular might have been too intrusive**

a conventional history the first person singular might have been too intrusive. The point is important because John Osmond has not only been a spectator and commentator, he has also been a participant – an historically important connector in the community of Wales’s ‘organic intellectuals’. This is what has enabled him to paint such a multi-faceted portrait of that community, and one that points up so many contrasts with the Wales of today.

At this distance one is struck by the dominance of Westminster in that period, and the corresponding absence of a significant political cadre on the ground in Wales – something that had to await the achievement of democratic devolution in 1999. Also, the greater significance and richer culture of Welsh newspapers in that era; the sharper edge to the debate on language; the newness of the debate on the environment; and the tentative nature of the reaching out to Europe by both Plaid Cymru and Labour.

It is also a reminder of a generation of people too easily forgotten. Not the obvious leaders who went head to head on devolution throughout the decade – Gwynfor Evans, Neil Kinnock, Leo Abse, Dafydd Wigley, Dafydd Elis-Thomas – but less well remembered figures: Welsh Labour’s formidably cunning secretary, Emrys Jones; Gwyn Morgan, the Welshman who did so much to shape regional policy within the European Commission and who put a firm European stamp on a devolutionary cudgel; Raymond Williams, who bridged Wales and Cambridge; the Austrian economist, Leopold Kohr, who descended on Aberystwyth to encourage both nationalists and environmentalists by preaching the virtues of the small scale; J R Jones, the philosopher, who gave a deeper rationale to the Welsh Language Society’s direct action campaigns. It was also a time when poets, in both of Wales’s languages, seemed more engaged in the political sphere than today. Is it only in retrospect that they seem commendably less respectable than now?

I would have only one complaint. The characters take us to other places that shared the same debate about culture, identity and devolution of power – Scotland, Ireland and the Basque country – but less is said about the implied source of much of the problem, the big brother next door. The period covered by this book was also the period of the oil crisis after the Arab-Israeli war, when Britain itself was in crisis, when incomes were frozen, when unions were deemed

to have too much power, and when the country had to be bailed out by the IMF. For better or worse, this was an important context for what was happening in Wales and a vital factor in the result of 1979 referendum.

One implied comparison stands out above all: that between the two referendums – on devolution in 1979 and on our membership of the European Union in 2016. For those who were committed to the cause of devolution then or to Europe today, the results of both referendums were traumatic. Blame was thrown on Leo Abse and Neil Kinnock then, just as it is thrown on Boris Johnson and Michael Gove today. In 1979 the appeal to baser instincts was based on fear of the Welsh language. In 2016 the weapon was immigration. In both cases the political class failed to connect with a large section of the population. It took nearly 20 years to turn round that four-to-one defeat on devolution. I venture to suggest that it will take less time to turn round 2016’s close run thing.

But it will need another John Osmond to do so. Our greatest worry, therefore, must be that it is hard to imagine a modern Owen James being allowed the same time and space to immerse himself in the nooks and crannies of the nation in the way that John Osmond was given the freedom to do in that crucial decade. If one emerges, he or she will benefit immensely from this compendious guide.

**Geraint Talfan Davies** is the Chair of Wales for Europe and a former Chairman of the IWA



**Committed locally,  
connected globally**

Worldwide lawyers  
you can count on



---

Eversheds Sutherland is committed locally and connected globally. That means you get the personal service you want with the vision, resources and deeper insight of a world class law firm.

Our offices all share the same approach and determination to deliver what our clients need. You enjoy a genuinely seamless service and peace of mind wherever you do business.

*“Expertise everywhere. Quality everywhere.  
Eversheds is setting the standard.”*

**Kathryn Roberts**  
Senior Partner, Cardiff

**T:** +44 29 2047 7211  
**M:** +44 778 534 2898

# Q&A

Marc Thomas talks to **Dan Tyte** about his new book, *The Offline Project* (Graffeg, 2018)



## What is the central idea of this book?

We need to talk about our internet addiction. Over the past decade, almost the entire population has sleepwalked into becoming reliant on the internet. We can't work without it. It answers any question we ever wanted answered. It helps us meet people. It's a connector. But we can't work with it. It answers questions we didn't need the answers to. It tears relationships apart. It fries our connectors.

What would happen if we looked up from our phones for more than just a moment? If we looked up forever? Could we restart ourselves, our lives, society even, without the biggest ever crutch the world has known? That's what the book's about, with a page-turning plot and recognisable and sympathetic characters, of course. I want you to have fun with it, to avoid putting it down and checking your Instagram.

## I'm interested in the portrayal of Wales in this book. Place plays a big part in this book. Is that intentional?

The story takes place across two very different physical locations. Cardiff, and an unidentified Danish woodland, with two different themes: online and offline. The writing

happened in the Welsh capital in stolen moments on my phone, and finished in a cottage in St. Dogmaels before I was run out in the middle of the night by a rat the size of a housecat. The Wales of the book is a land that draws millennials back home from more clicked on countries. It's a land of international Airbnb guests, of craft ale bar overload, but of growing confidence, earthy charm, with the legends of a past that might just surprise never far from the surface.

## And how does digital life supersede place?

The book takes its name, *The Offline Project*, from a community which the protagonist joins in its second half. The internet's been a great leveller really, globalisation's greatest achievement, showing people in the countries that are allowed to use it freely that people the other side of the world aren't that different from them after all, that they laugh at the same cat memes. The main character Gerard's base could have been anywhere in the world really, but I wanted it to be Wales. My previous novel was deliberately ambiguous about its setting, a comment on the creeping uniformity of the major cities of the western world. The first half of Gerard's story could technically have happened anywhere – the internet's his muse, and it's the world wide web, after all – but it was important for it to be Wales. At its best, digital life can help elevate place too. But Gerard experiences it at its worst. When he breaks free from the internet and makes it to the Offline Project it

made sense for that to be in a place where other man-made crutches had been taken away.

## Your family background is Scandinavian isn't it? A large part of the novel plays out in Copenhagen. Tell us a little about how you see the interplay between your heritage from Wales and also from Scandinavia.

My great-grandfather on my mother's side stowed away from an archipelago in the Baltic Sea called the Åland Islands – a Swedish-speaking autonomous part of Finland – and disembarked in Cardiff, then one of the world's busiest ports of course and home to Tiger Bay, where he opened a hostel for Scandinavian seamen. The link's a few generations back, but in there was some correspondence with the remaining relatives, mainly a 70-something-year-old spinster living in Sweden. She called Wales 'England' in her letters. During the writing of the book, I took several trips to Scandinavia and spent hours and days writing, generally in minimalist cafes in Copenhagen. I'm a little obsessed with caring what Wales is known for overseas and it feels like a shame that it's rarely for having one of the earliest and most harmonious multicultural communities in Cardiff's docks. We need to tell that story more.

Dan Tyte's debut novel *Half Plus Seven* was published by Parthian in April 2014. His second novel, *The Offline Project* is published by Graffeg



4th July

# SMART ENERGY WALES

STORAGE • GRID • LIVING

[www.smartenergy.wales](http://www.smartenergy.wales)

Political keynote speaker  
Lesley Griffiths AM

Cabinet Secretary for Energy,  
Planning & Rural Affairs



Sponsored by



Llywodraeth Cymru  
Welsh Government



**WALES & WEST**  
UTILITIES

# Fellowship



The IWA Fellowship has been developed as a special category of membership as a mark of recognition for those who have made, or are making, a significant contribution to the life of Wales. To discuss becoming a fellow of the IWA please call Auriol Miller on 029 2048 4387.

Prof Jane Aaron  
Nigel Annett  
Ali Anwar  
Eurfyl ap Gwilym  
Tony Bagnall  
Mary Barnett  
Mark Barry  
Simon Baynes  
Prof Deirdre Beddoe  
Frances Beecher  
Alex Bird  
Sioned Bowen  
Dafydd Bowen Lewis  
Nigel Bowen-Morris  
Cllr Frank Bradfield  
John Bryant  
Dr John Burke  
Bill Capper  
Prof Harold Carter  
Prof Antony Chapman  
Prof Nickie Charles  
Prof Elan Closs Stephens  
Dr Carl Iwan Clowes  
David Clubb  
Philip Cooper  
George Crabb  
Dr Daniel Cunliffe  
Greg Dash  
Rhys David  
Brenig Davies  
Carole-Anne Davies  
Huw Davies  
Lynda Davies  
Paul Davies  
David Dixon  
Ceri Doyle  
Rev Aled Edwards  
Huw Edwards  
Richard Eley  
Henry Engelhardt

David M Evans  
Felicity Evans  
Jonathan Evans  
Robin Evans  
Christine Eynon  
Alan Francis  
Lord Brian Griffiths of Fforestfach  
Nigel Griffiths  
Peter L Griffiths  
Prof Ian Hargreaves  
Daran Hill  
Gerald Holtham  
Owen Gareth Hughes  
Judy Hutchings  
Gareth Ioan  
Dafydd Iwan  
Dyfrig James  
Jeffrey James  
Keith James  
Milwyn Jarman  
D Huw John  
Granville John  
Robert John  
Clare Johnson  
Chris Jones  
Dr Elin Jones  
Dr Geraint Stanley Jones  
Helen Jones  
Prof Phillip John Jones  
Ron Jones  
Tom Jones  
Prof Steven Kelly  
Mark Lang  
Roger Lewis  
Dr Dai Lloyd  
Sir Richard Lloyd Jones  
Dr David Lloyd Owen  
Prof David Marquand  
Prof Judith Marquand  
Prof Laura McAllister

David Melding  
Helen Molyneux  
Meirion Morgan  
Steve O'Dea  
Cynthia Ogbonna  
John Osmond  
Alan Peterson  
Jonathon Poyner  
Dr Eurwen Price  
Jenny Rathbone  
Prof Richard Rawlings  
Gruff Rhys  
Ken Richards  
Menna Richards  
Huw Roberts  
Lord Rowe-Beddoe  
Chris Rowlands  
Owen Sheers  
Paul Silk  
Wiard Sterk  
David Stevens  
Geraint Talfan Davies  
Rhodri Talfan Davies  
Andris Taurins  
Rt Hon Lord John Thomas  
of Cwmgiedd  
Ned Thomas  
Nigel Thomas  
Roger Geraint Thomas  
Dr Neil Thompson  
Martin Tinney  
W Tudor John  
Paul Twamley  
Lee Waters  
Rt Hon Lord Dafydd Wigley  
Deborah Wilcox  
Eilian S Williams  
Dr Ruth Williams