



DG Undeb Sy'n Newid: Ein Dyfodol
UK's Changing Union: Our Future

Young People, Employment and Devolution in Wales



Young People, Employment and Devolution in Wales **Edited by Adam Evans and Llew Williams**

January 2014

About Ein Dyfodol/Our Future

The wider UK's Changing Union project believes that young people should have an active voice within the debates taking place surrounding devolution in Wales and the rest of the UK, and to facilitate this, Ein Dyfodol/Our Future was formed. Ein Dyfodol's work is led by young people and young professionals in Wales and works to engage people aged 18-35 in the devolution debate through engagement, facilitation of debates and dissemination of information.

The project is funded by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and the Nuffield Foundation. The Nuffield Foundation is an endowed charitable trust that aims to improve social well-being in the widest sense. It funds research and innovation in education and social policy and also works to build capacity in education, science and social science research. The Nuffield Foundation has funded this project, but the views expressed are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Foundation. More information is available at

www.nuffieldfoundation.org



Contents

p.2	Preface
p.4	Introduction Adam Evans and Llew Williams
p.8	Young People's Voting Intentions Roger Scully
p.19	An Uncertain Future: Welsh Devolution and Employment Prospects in the Legal Sector Gregory Davies
p.28	Broadcasting and Media Sian Beynon Powell
p.36	Conclusion Adam Evans and Llew Williams
p.40	About the contributors

Introduction: Young people, employment and devolution in Wales

Adam Evans and Llew Williams

The history of Welsh devolution can be defined by two words: change and commissions. Instability has been practically institutionalised, with the first review into the structures of Welsh devolution launched within its first term, under the aegis of the venerable Lord Richard. While Richard's recommendations were never properly implemented, the Commission's report eloquently showed the inadequacies of the dispensation created by the Government of Wales Act 1998 and in more practical terms forced the-then Westminster Labour Government to produce another Government of Wales Act in 2006.

The rest as they say is history... repeated. The 2006 Act's two phase journey to legislative devolution is now infamous for the creation of the difficult and complex Legislative Competence Orders; a model of legislative devolution that became rapidly discredited and abandoned within just one term of operation. A referendum was held (and won) in 2011 on a move to the second phase, the immediate devolution of legislative powers in the devolved fields, after the publication of yet another commission, the All Wales Convention. Since this landslide win for pro-devolutionists in 2011, the UK Coalition Government has created yet another review into Welsh devolution, the Commission on Devolution in Wales, more commonly referred to as the Silk Commission.



While this constant state of flux and introspection has resulted in the attitudes of political parties and politicians to further devolution to becoming public knowledge, there is one key demographic of which we know little; the young people and young professionals of Wales. Silk may be looking into the future of Welsh devolution, but few have looked into the attitudes of the generation that will be leading the next stages of political, social and cultural life in Wales. This is a situation that Ein Dyfodol believes is deeply unsatisfactory, particularly when the referendum on Scottish independence and the lowering of the voting age for the referendum to 16 has provided extremely useful and insightful research into the attitudes of young Scots to devolution, as seen most recently in the “Future of Scotland: Attitudes of 14-17 Year Olds on the Scottish Independence Referendum” study.

So to begin correcting this knowledge gap, Ein Dyfodol, in August last year (2013), commissioned Professor Roger Scully of Cardiff University's Wales Governance Centre to write a report on how young people's attitudes to devolution have changed since the 1997 referendum that established the National Assembly. This research attracted a considerable amount of media coverage and debate in Wales, in particular through the suggestion that young voters still "don't know" about devolution a decade and a half after the National Assembly was created. In light of these findings, Ein Dyfodol decided to probe more specifically on young people's attitudes to devolution, commissioning research on the attitudes of young people studying or working in fields that

could potentially be devolved to the National Assembly for Wales; broadcasting and the media and a Welsh legal jurisdiction. This research has explored young people's attitudes, their fears and hopes about devolution in these fields, looking not just at general opinions about devolution, but also what it could mean for students and young professional's employment prospects in the media and the law and what impact they feel such potential devolution could have had on their university and/or work choices.

These research papers have, therefore, focused on practical questions, seeking not only views, but also potential recommendations for how devolution might be implemented in these fields. Exploring whether young professionals and students' employment and educational choices would have been affected by devolution, what training they feel would be needed and what safeguards they would see as necessary to protect employability. In light of our intention to seek rich and detailed understandings of young people and professionals attitudes, the research has been conducted using qualitative methods, with focus groups of students, young employees and a small number of in-depth interviews with employers and lecturers.

It is fitting that this research has been student led, conducted by researchers from Cardiff University and the University of South Wales. On behalf of Ein Dyfodol, we would like to thank Gregory Davies of Cardiff University and Sian Powell from the University of South Wales for their sterling work in producing



such informative, innovative and incisive reports. These reports are ground-breaking studies and while they are not the definitive word on young people's attitudes to devolution, they represent a hugely important contribution to the devolution debate in Wales.

Attitudes of Young People Towards Devolution in Wales

Roger Scully

Introduction

This paper outlines attitudes towards devolution of young people in Wales. For the purposes of this discussion, 'young people' are defined as those within the 18-35 age group.¹ Their attitudes will be compared throughout with those of older age cohorts.

The evidence for this paper is drawn from the major academic surveys of political attitudes in Wales conducted between 1997-2013. Further details about these surveys are given in the Appendix.

Young People's Attitudes to Devolution

There are many potential ways of asking about attitudes towards devolution. Here we concentrate on three well-established questions types. Since 1997, all major surveys have included at least one form of 'Constitutional Preference' question: where respondents are given a set of possible options for how Wales might be governed, and asked to indicate which one they most prefer. Most surveys in recent years have followed the following format:

¹ There is only very limited evidence available for Wales on the political attitudes of those younger than 18, for two reasons: i. Most surveys of political attitudes and voting behaviour or intentions concentrate, understandably, on the voting age population; ii. Laws and codes of practice on the protection of children make surveys on the political attitudes of those below 16, in particular, difficult to carry out

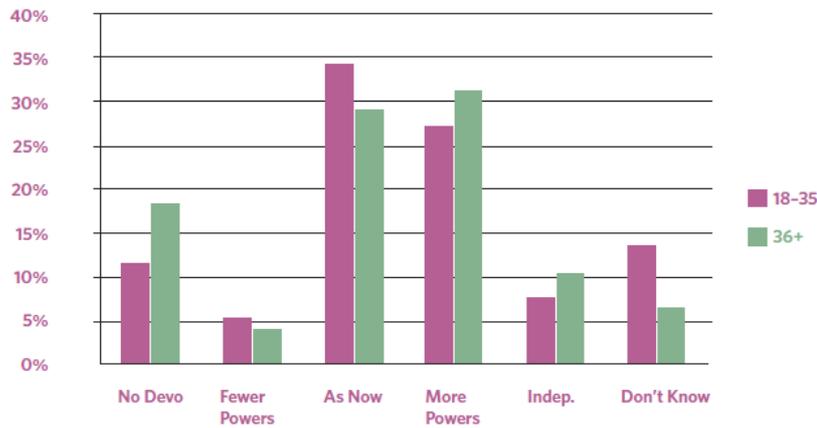
Which of these statements comes closest to your view?

- There should be no devolved government in Wales
- The National Assembly for Wales should have fewer powers
- We should leave things as they are now
- The National Assembly for Wales should have more powers
- Wales should become independent, separate from the UK
- Don't Know

Figure 1 displays findings for this question in 2012, showing support for each option among respondents aged 18-35 and those aged 36 and older. As can be seen, younger respondents are notably more likely to select the Don't Know option, as well as the 'As Now' one. Older voters, by contrast, are more likely to choose both the 'No Devolution' option as well as 'More Powers', and even 'Independence'. This suggests little overall difference in levels of support for devolution between younger and older voters; the distinction is more in older voters having more clearly established views.

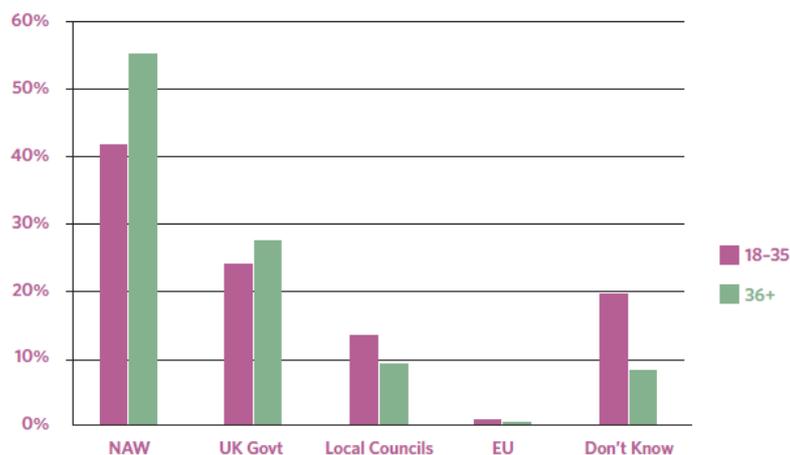
A second way of asking about attitudes to devolution asks respondents about the 'level of government that ought to have most influence over how Wales is run'. Respondents are given the four options of Local Councils, the NAW/WAG, the UK Government at Westminster, and the European Union. Figure 2 displays the percentage of respondents in 2012 who chose each option, again contrasting those 18-35 and those 36 and older.

Figure 1: Constitutional Preferences by Age (%), Wales 2012



The results here are very similar to those derived from the previous question, in that younger voters are significantly more likely to choose the Don't Know option. Older voters, however, do appear a little more favourable towards the idea of the devolved level of government being the most important in running Wales.

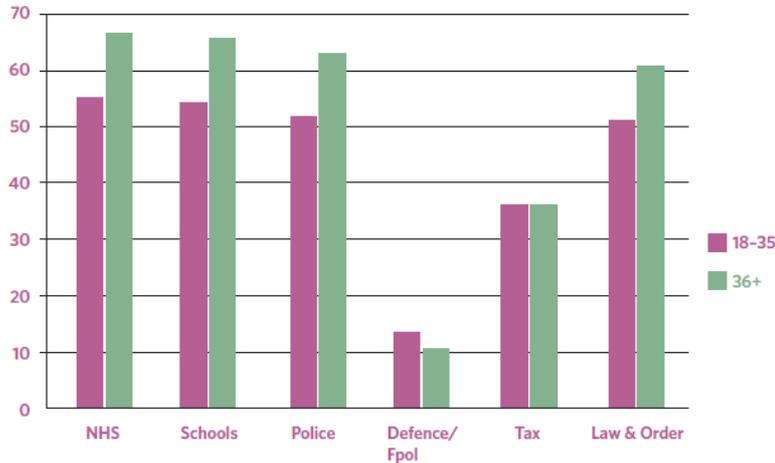
Figure 2: Most Influence over 'How Wales is Run' (%) Wales 2012



Several recent surveys have also asked about the level of government that ought to have most influence over specific policy areas. Figure 3 shows the percentage in 2013 who indicated that they *supported* the devolved level of government having such responsibility for each of several policy areas, with respondents again disaggregated into 18-35 and 36 and older. The figure shows that with only the marginal exceptions of 'Defence and foreign policy' and 'Taxation', older voters were more enthusiastic than younger ones about responsibility being devolved for all areas that respondents were questioned about.

However, this point requires two caveats. First, narrow majorities of younger voters support the devolved level of government being the most influential over all areas. Second, the lower level of endorsement for devolving these policies from younger voters does not reflect greater enthusiasm amongst them for the UK government in Westminster (or Councils or the EU) to wield power here: once again, the major difference is that younger voters were notably more likely to select a 'Don't Know' option.

Figure 3: Most Influence over Specific Policy Areas (%) Wales 2013



The consistency of evidence from the three different forms of question analysed here bolsters our confidence in the general conclusion that emerges. Young people in Wales are not notably more supportive of devolution than older age cohorts. Indeed, if anything the opposite is the case. But this does not reflect greater active opposition to devolution among the young; rather, it reflects them being notably less certain in their views, and more likely to respond to questions on the subject with a Don't Know response.

How Have Attitudes Changed Over Time?

There have been clear and substantial changes in attitudes to devolution in Wales since the 1997 referendum. Opposition to devolution fell substantially in the years after the narrow Yes vote; while support for independence has not grown at all, some form of devolved government for Wales has been the clear majority viewpoint expressed in all major surveys conducted in Wales since

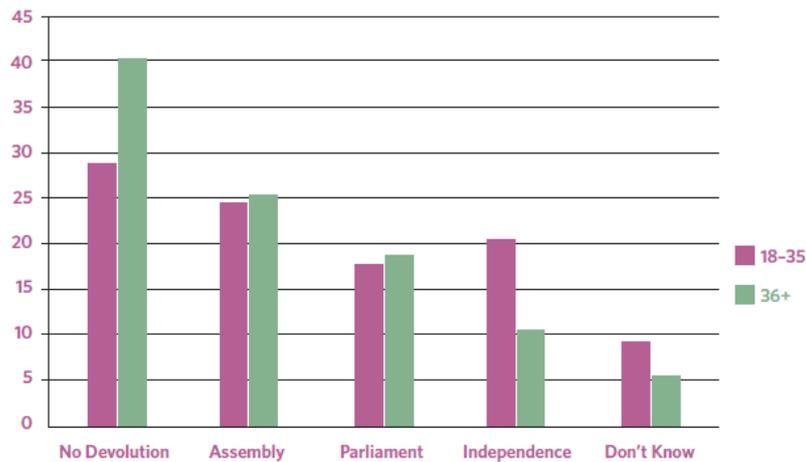
2003. And in recent years, clearer support has also been emerging for the scope and powers of the devolved institutions to be enhanced.²

To what extent have these changes in attitudes over time been general to all age groups? Have the attitudes of younger people change to a greater or lesser extent? We can address these questions by examining responses to a form of constitutional preference question asked in numerous surveys between 1997-2011.³ Figure 4a shows responses to this question in 1997; as before, the figure compares respondents in the 18-35 age group and those older. We see that, as before, younger respondents were somewhat more likely to select the Don't Know option. The most striking differences between the age groups, however, was that in 1997 younger respondents were much more likely than older ones to support independence, whereas older people were much more likely to oppose devolution outright.

² See discussion in Richard Wyn Jones and Roger Scully, *Wales Says Yes: Devolution and the 2011 Welsh Referendum* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), chapter 3.

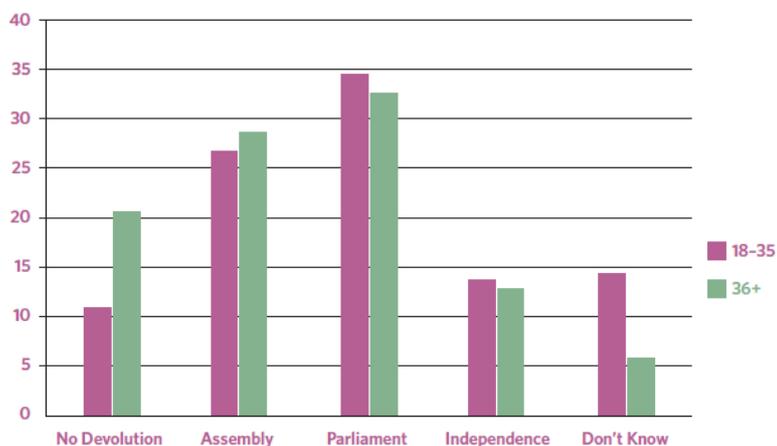
³ This question is similar to that discussed around Table 1 in presenting respondents with a series of constitutional alternatives for Wales and asking them to select their most preferred option. The question differs in the labelling of the options presented.

Figure 4A: Constitutional Preferences by Age (%) 1997, Wales



When we examine Figure 4b (which shows responses to the same question in 2011) we see that opinion as a whole has shifted, with opposition to devolution declining and support for the Parliament option having grown. While older respondents remain somewhat more likely to oppose devolution outright, the differences between them and younger people here have attenuated slightly; younger respondents continue to be more likely to select a Don't Know response.

Figure 4b: Constitutional Preferences by Age (%) 2011, Wales



In a number of other respects (such as with regards to national identity and geography) the years 1997-2011 witnessed a homogenisation of attitudes to devolution in Wales. Opposition to the existence of a National Assembly fell everywhere, but it fell particularly rapidly where opposition had previously been greatest. Such trends were reflected in the 2011 referendum result. The evidence here suggests that this is also true, to some extent, with regards to age.

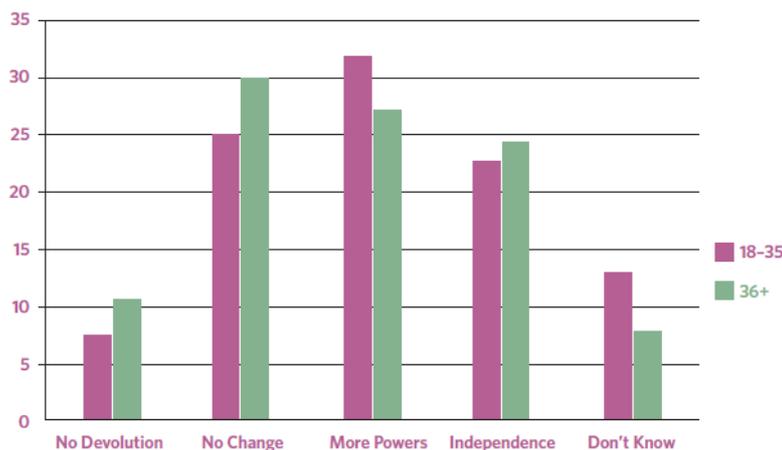
Wales and Scotland: How Do Attitudes Compare?

How do attitudes to devolution of young people in Wales compare with those of people in Scotland? The first, and perhaps most obvious, difference between the two nations, which is not one specific to young people, is that the 'centre of gravity' of public opinion in Scotland is in a rather different place than in Wales. Support for independence in Scotland is substantially higher, while support for a 'no devolution' option is notably lower. This can be seen from the findings presented in Figure 5, which shows responses to a question on constitutional preferences similar to those reported for Wales in Figures 1 and 4b.

Does Scotland see similar differences in attitudes according to age group as does Wales? To address this question the figure again compares those aged 18-35 with older respondents. While slight question wordings make comparisons a little imprecise, we see similar findings to Wales in that younger people are more uncertain (i.e. more likely to select Don't Know option). The findings are also

similar to Wales in that otherwise we see only modest differences between older and younger respondents.

Table 5: Constitutional Preferences by Age (%) 2011, Scotland



Summary

While younger voters were more likely to support devolution in the 1997 referendum,⁴ the evidence presented here suggests that attitudes towards devolution in Wales now differ little between younger and older members of the electorate. The major difference between the age cohorts is that younger voters tend to be notably more likely to opt for Don't Know options on the various questions used in surveys about the topic.

This likely primarily reflects the lower levels of engagement with much of 'conventional politics' often seen among the young – something also manifest, for example, in lower rates of voter turnout. The complexity of Wales' devolution

⁴ See Richard Wyn Jones and Dafydd Trystan, 'The 1997 Welsh referendum vote' in (B. Taylor and K. Thomson, eds.) *Scotland and Wales: Nations Again?* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999).

arrangements may be a particular turn-off for those already disinclined to have an interest in conventional politics.

Beyond this difference, the broad picture that emerges from the evidence is one of general support for devolution among the people of Wales, young and old.

Opposition to devolution is now confined to a distinct minority – around one in five of the population – while (unlike in Scotland) support for independence is even less common. This pattern of attitudes has been relatively stable for some years now. Devolution has become the settled will of the Welsh people, and there is no indication from the available evidence on attitudes of younger voters that this will change

Appendix: The Evidence

This paper draws on several surveys:

- The 1997 Welsh Referendum Study. This was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, with fieldwork conducted face-to-face by the National Centre for Social Research. The sample size was 686.
- The 2011 Welsh Election Study pre-election wave. This was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, with fieldwork conducted via the internet by YouGov UK. The sample size was 2359.
- The 2011 Scottish Election Study. This was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the UK, with fieldwork conducted via the internet by YouGov UK. The sample size was 2046.



– Surveys conducted in April 2012 and February 2013 by YouGov UK in collaboration with the Wales Governance Centre at Cardiff University. Fieldwork was conducted via the internet. The sample size of the April 2012 survey was 1039; in February 2013 the sample size was 1007.

Data from all these surveys was weighted during analysis to ensure that the samples were representative of the adult electorate.

An Uncertain Future: Welsh Devolution and Employment Prospects in the Legal Sector

Greg Davies

Introduction

The debates surrounding devolution in Wales have thus far neglected to consider a rather crucial issue: namely, its implications for job prospects in the UK legal sector. In light of this, this short study engaged with a variety of both aspiring and working legal professionals in order to gain some perspective on the matter⁵. This essay details the key views that emerged during the course of the research. The first section centres on the principal questions of how devolution has affected job prospects in law so far, and what the implications of further devolution might be. The second section focuses on current legal training and the changes that may be necessitated in the event of further devolution, while the third part concerns whether devolution has any bearing on prospective law students' choice of university. The fourth part looks at the participants' responses to whether they would actually like to work under a further devolved Welsh legal system, and the fifth section offers some concluding remarks.

⁵ Two focus groups were carried out, one consisting of four young legal professionals: a mixture of paralegals and trainee solicitors; the other consisting of two students enrolled on a Legal Practice Course (LPC) and one student studying for a Graduate Diploma in Law (GDL). Additionally, four in-depth interviews were carried out. The interview participants consisted of an undergraduate lecturer in law, a lecturer on an LPC course, a partner of a Welsh law firm and the human resources director of a Welsh law firm.

1. Job prospects

Under the current settlement

When asked whether devolution in Wales has had any bearing on job prospects so far, a recurring idea that emerged was that it may have played both a *direct* and *indirect* role. With regards to the former, the undergraduate lecturer suggested that devolution has played a direct role insofar as it has created a growing demand for academics, solicitors, barristers and judges specialising in the devolved areas. This view was shared by the partner, who pointed out that the Welsh Government's legal team alone now spans over one hundred. In contrast, however, the young professionals (YPs), students, Human Resources Director (HRD) and Legal Practice Course (LPC) lecturer all took the view that devolution has not, in any demonstrable way, enhanced job opportunities in the legal sector.

In terms of the indirect implications of devolution, there appeared to be a marked difference of view between those not working in legal practice and those who were. The undergraduate lecturer, along with one of the LPC students, argued that a sound grasp of Welsh devolution could serve as a 'unique selling point' for aspiring lawyers in the highly competitive legal job market⁶.

⁶ In support of this, they gave an anecdote of an undergraduate that had written their final year law dissertation on Welsh devolution and had subsequently obtained a training contract at a 'Magic Circle' law firm, with the interviewers apparently taking a keen interest in the former student's work on devolution. The term 'Magic Circle' is generally used to refer to the five largest

Conversely, neither the YPs nor the HRD shared this view, though the latter did comment that a thorough knowledge of devolved laws might serve as an 'extra point' where there is nothing else to distinguish two high quality applicants.

In the event of further devolution

With regards to the potential implications of further devolution, there was, again, little agreement between the participants' responses, though this was partly due to the uncertainty as to what 'further devolution' might actually entail. The undergraduate lecturer, HRD and partner were all optimistic that further devolution could create more legal job opportunities. Specifically, the partner suggested that further funding and a transfer of powers from the Ministry of Justice would enable the Welsh Government to employ more lawyers as legislative drafters and advisers and to provide legal aid in some areas of practice which would, in turn, potentially allow the firms affected to recruit more staff.

Taking a more sceptical view, however, the YPs, students and LPC lecturer shared a concern that if further devolution were to establish a separate legal jurisdiction, it may actually prompt certain law firms, particularly those specialising in commercial practice, to close their Welsh branches. While it was

not explained why this might be the case⁷, the prospect was nonetheless troubling to the YPs and students, who were concerned that the number of training contracts available in Wales is very low as it is, without the added complication of making Wales a separate legal jurisdiction.

It should be noted, however, that two compelling points were made in rebuttal of this view. Firstly, the HRD suggested that the comparatively low cost of property and employee salaries in Welsh cities is actually attracting firms to set up in Wales, which in turn could be creating job opportunities. Secondly, the undergraduate lecturer and partner argued, in light of the shared common law roots of England and Wales, that much of the law would likely remain the same even if Wales did become a separate jurisdiction, leaving no discernible reason for firms to close down.

2. Training

Under the current settlement

On the matter of training under the current framework, there was a clear division among the participants that are not working with devolved Welsh laws and those that are. In the former category, the YPs, students and HRD were all content with the education and training currently given with regards to

⁷ The implication, however, seemed to be that the creation of a Welsh legal jurisdiction would somehow interfere, in the words of one YP, with the 'benefits of working with London', arguably the UK's commercial epicentre.

devolution, sharing the view that appropriate training in devolved law would be given by employers as and when it was required.

In contrast, both lecturers and the partner called for Welsh devolution to be taught in greater detail on undergraduate law courses and as a compulsory module on both the LPC and BPTC⁸ for those who wish to practice law in Wales⁹. They were concerned by what they deemed to be the current lack of emphasis¹⁰ on understanding Welsh devolution in both legal education and training, which in their view is adversely manifesting itself in practice, with cases emerging in which lawyers had neglected, to their detriment, consideration of relevant Welsh laws. Such instances, in their view, were harmful to both the best interests of clients and the public confidence in the Welsh legal profession generally.

In the event of further devolution

While the uncertainty of what 'further devolution' might entail again restricted the participants' responses, this area of discussion generated the clearest consensus. All of the participants felt that in the event of further devolution, there would need to be further training with regards to those areas of law

⁸ Bar Professional Training Course

⁹ The partner went even further and suggested that the 'rudiments' of Welsh devolution, which in their view included the 1998 and 2006 (Government of Wales) Acts, significant cases such as the 'Brynmawr school case', and the interface between Welsh law and rights under the European Convention on Human Rights, should be compulsorily taught on all law courses in England and Wales so long as the two continue to share a legal jurisdiction.

¹⁰ The undergraduate lecturer pointed out that only one lecture on devolution in the UK generally is given at their institution.

affected¹¹. By the same token, however, each of the participants were of the view that the structure and content of law courses should not become so focused on Welsh law that further training would be warranted for those wishing to practice in England, as is the case for law graduates of Scotland.

3. Choice of university

Under the current settlement

There was a clear consensus among the YPs and students that devolution had not affected their decision to study law in Wales, though they did acknowledge that the former subsidisation of tuition fees for Welsh students studying at Welsh universities had influenced their decision¹².

In the event of further devolution

With regards to the question of whether further devolution might affect prospective law students' decision to study in Wales, there was agreement among the YPs and students. While it was widely accepted by the participants

¹¹ There was some difference of view, however, as to whether that training should be given at the undergraduate level, at postgraduate level, or in employment.

¹² On this point, the LPC lecturer expressed serious concern that the recent decision of the Welsh Government to expand the subsidisation of Welsh students' tuition fees wherever they choose to study in the UK has 'had a harmful effect upon universities in Wales', as it has created a 'recruitment battle' for students between Welsh and English universities which did not exist before.

that further devolution might only bring about significant divergences in one or two areas of law, as has been the case in Northern Ireland, which would in turn warrant further training only in those areas for those looking to practice in England, the YPs and students maintained that, faced with such a choice, they would prefer to study in England, with one YP joking that they 'couldn't think of anything worse than studying land law twice'.

4. The appeal of further devolution

When asked directly whether they would like to work under a further devolved Welsh legal system, there was a remarkable divide of opinion between the participants that have not worked with Welsh law and those that have. The YPs, students and the HRD, on the one hand, showed little enthusiasm for the prospect of further devolution, while both lecturers and the partner, on the other hand, favoured it.

5. Conclusion

While the views expressed during the course of this research cannot be generalised, they provide valuable insight into the possible divisions within attitudes towards devolution in Wales and its bearing on job prospects in law. The fact that there was such little consistency between the participants' views

with regards to each of the issues considered may be indicative of real uncertainty in store for the academic and practical legal professions in the event of further devolution.

Varied as the views expressed during this research might be, however, they have highlighted issues which are potentially deserving of further exploration. Policy considerations, such as how the Welsh Government might allocate further funding to governmental legal work and to the provision of legal aid, need to be carefully pondered. Additionally, further empirical research into the views of professionals working within the Welsh legal-commercial sector may be worthwhile to shed light on whether the fears of their departure in the event of further devolution are well founded. As for legal education and training, the concern expressed by some participants that there is not enough emphasis presently placed on understanding Welsh devolution should not be dismissed lightly. Both of the lecturers interviewed showed eagerness for Welsh devolution to be taught more extensively within legal education and training, as did the partner. While this eagerness was not shared by all of the participants, the concern that the present lack of emphasis on Welsh devolution may be affecting the quality of legal services in Wales suggests that there may be a case for re-evaluating current approaches to legal education and training in this regard.

However, on the basis of this research, it would seem that any changes to legal education and training in Wales would need to be finely balanced. It speaks

volumes that the most commonly articulated view during this research was that legal education and training in Wales should not, under the present or any future devolutionary settlement, become so focused on Welsh law that it necessitates further training and the expense that goes with it for those looking to practice in England. While the possibility of modifying the Qualifying Law Degree (QLD) in Wales to such a drastic extent is perhaps difficult to envisage in the near future, it highlights the value which aspiring and practicing lawyers potentially attach to the employment prospects open to them in England via the current QLD, which should not be readily dispensed with.

Young people, employment and devolution in Wales

Young Journalists

Siân Beynon Powell

Introduction

Since 1999 and the creation of the National Assembly for Wales, public policy divergence between the nations of the UK has increased in areas such as health and education; policy differences which have posed serious challenges for the British media. Many reports have looked at how devolved matters and the nations of the UK are reported across the nations and regions of the UK. As a result of these reviews a consensus has emerged that broadcasters have a London-centric mind-set, an outlook that has undermined the number of stories regarding devolved matters and how these policies differ within the nations of the UK.¹³

The weakness of the Welsh print media has meant that the public's reliance on British wide broadcasters for their news has been a particular concern, not least because of the mistakes, highlighted in the above mentioned reports, made by these organisations when covering devolution. This research aims to provide an insight into the attitudes of young journalists and young people studying media and journalism towards the potential devolution of powers relating to the field of journalism. Most specifically this research will investigate how the potential

¹³ The King Report 2008; Lewis, J. et al. 2008. *Four Nations Impartiality Review: An analysis of reporting devolution*. Project Report. Cardiff University; Cushion, S., Lewis, J. M. W. and Ramsay, G. 2010. *Four nations impartiality review follow-up: An analysis of reporting devolution*.).

devolution of broadcasting and media might impact upon their employment prospects. The research will firstly concentrate upon the training available for young journalists and journalism students regarding devolution; then the employment opportunities available to graduates within the field; and finally upon the respondents' thoughts about the potential effects the devolution of broadcasting would have upon their work and the industry more generally. The research is based upon interviews and focus groups held with postgraduate diploma journalism students, journalists, lecturers and employers all held in September and October of 2013.

Training

Lecturers and employers both felt there had been improvements in the way devolution was covered in recent years, mainly due to the findings of the King Report and its impact both in how BBC journalists, in particular, are taught and trained regarding devolution and devolved matters and in the establishment of, new guidelines within the BBC's College of Journalism. While the period since the King Report appears to have shown a marked improvement in the BBC's coverage of devolution, concerns were raised, however, regarding other broadcasters. This was raised by lecturers who also had concerns about the level of training available to their journalists and journalism students studying outside Wales.

Every lecturer interviewed agreed that it was imperative for all Public Administration modules offered to journalism students across the UK to give a full and complete picture of devolution within the context of the UK. Indeed, it was notable that all of the lecturers spoken to from outside Wales felt as though they weren't doing enough in this area. This was especially true of lecturers teaching in England; most of whom mentioned that they touched upon devolution, as expected within the National Council for the Training of Journalists' curriculum, but because of time constraints had failed to go into particular detail around devolved policy areas, therefore failing to give their students a full picture of politics within the UK.

Journalism students within Wales, and especially from studying in Cardiff, felt that they were more aware of devolution because it was more visible, however lecturers noted that students from outside Wales were often shocked about some of the devolved policy areas and the extent of devolution. Among current postgraduate students there was a feeling that there is adequate teaching of policy divergence and devolution. However, graduates who had studied the postgraduate diploma felt that, while their Public Administration module prepared them sufficiently to cover local government and to work for local news papers, it did not prepare them rigorously for either UK or devolved politics. Students and graduates both noted that they were given an overview of the devolution settlements, but not in any great detail. Indeed, graduates remembered only receiving a low number of lectures on devolution.

Importantly, employers also felt that postgraduate training courses concentrated too much upon local government and not enough on devolution and the difference between the UK and Welsh Government.

Journalists who had not undertaken a Postgraduate Diploma before working within the industry felt that they mainly did their own research before applying for jobs. This was especially the case for those who had graduated at universities outside Wales, with such respondents noting that they had applied for jobs without any specific knowledge of Welsh politics at all. Furthermore, none of journalists, both with and without a postgraduate diploma had received any formal training on how to cover devolution or devolved matters and policy areas correctly at work. However, some of the journalists taking part in the focus group mentioned being given or making a 'Devolved' and 'Non devolved' checklist to keep on their desks. Most could also name mistakes that they or others had made regarding a devolved matter and, significantly, all mentioned their nervousness regarding covering the grey areas of the Welsh devolution settlement. However, most felt that it was a part of their job, and therefore their responsibility, to keep on top of developments themselves regarding devolved matters, noting that journalists working in Westminster would not receive specific training regarding policy areas. Employers also expected their journalists to be able to know or be able to pick up details regarding devolution and devolved matters.

The lack of opportunities available for Welsh language students on postgraduate courses was highlighted by lecturers who suggested that this should be further developed in order to ensure that Welsh speaking journalists had the skills to cover devolution correctly and to a high standard. Employers explained the need to develop a module on devolution for postgraduate diploma courses and that students studying across the UK should be informed about devolution in order to cover the whole of the UK correctly wherever they would be working after graduating. Many employers and lecturers across the UK mentioned that devolution was not treated seriously on Public Administration modules, with devolved institutions instead treated as a Local Authority.

Jobs

After discussing the training undertaken by, and available to, aspiring and current young journalists regarding devolution and devolved matters, we continued to discuss their employability following devolution. Lecturers noted that the industry itself was changing and that students and graduates needed to be prepared accordingly. According to these lecturers such preparation includes encouraging students and graduates to gain the entrepreneurial skills that would encourage them to develop new business models, particularly because of the lack of media plurality within Wales. However, a few journalists currently working within the industry noted that devolution had been invaluable to them when applying for jobs or that their job was in fact dependent upon devolution because

of the further opportunities it offers. Lecturers and employers also noted that the infrastructure of devolution itself means that the industry needed highly skilled journalists with knowledge of Welsh politics in order to cover the developments correctly. However, the current economic situation of the industry itself has meant that fewer job opportunities are now available within the media industry as a whole.

Employers noted that the irony of devolution is that there needs to be more coverage of the National Assembly and scrutiny of the Welsh Government, however the reality of the industry has meant that as further powers have been devolved and are continuing to be devolved there are fewer people working within the industry. The result is that there fewer opportunities for graduates and heavier workloads resting on the shoulders of fewer journalists.

Further Devolution

The confusing nature of devolution within Wales was raised by all respondents especially the grey areas surrounding devolved matters in Wales. All agreed that the asymmetrical nature of devolution across the UK made covering devolution accurately very challenging. Most also mentioned the fact that two laws have been transferred to the High Court as evidence of the confusing nature of the current settlement and the difficulties this raises for journalists.

When asked about the further opportunities and training available for journalists if broadcasting was devolved, most believed that devolving, or giving the Welsh Government more influence or scrutiny over the BBC and S4C within Wales would offer more opportunities for journalism graduates within Wales.

However, many employers also noted that the nature of the industry and the availability of the resources and funding would finally determine this outcome.

The attainment of any further powers in any field to the Assembly should incentivise developments in the media to cover Welsh politics more comprehensively, although the financial situation of the media industry in general is increasingly unclear.

Conclusion

All respondents were in agreement that there is a greater need for covering devolved politics; concerns were expressed about the plurality of news stories within Wales and the correctness and clarity of the political stories, especially when ensuring that the public were aware of the policy changes that would effect upon their lives. Covering devolution correctly across all the regions of the UK was also raised by several respondents, especially in order to ensure that the correct picture of the UK is portrayed to all the nations and regions.

In order to ensure that this is achieved, many mentioned the need to ensure that all journalism students across the UK were taught to cover devolution and devolved policies accurately, all the journalism lecturers that responded from

England all agreed that they felt that they didn't cover devolution to the extent that they should. The young journalists spoke about their own confusion over devolved policy areas and thought that greater training should be offered within the industry in order to ensure that journalists were kept up to date with the rapid changes.

The asymmetrical nature of devolution across the UK was mentioned by all respondents, all noted that this makes covering devolution accurately very challenging. The fact that two laws have been transferred to the High Court was underlined and mentioned with regard to the confusing nature of the current settlement and the difficulties this raises for journalists.

Most agreed that giving the Welsh Government more influence or scrutiny over the BBC and S4C would offer greater job and training opportunities for young journalists and that greater opportunities were needed to report on devolution and to train journalists better across the UK most were pessimistic about any further opportunities available to young journalism students and graduates because of the financial situation of the media industry as a whole.

Conclusion

As noted in the introduction of this publication, the work undertaken by Professor Roger Scully on the general attitudes of young people painted a pretty stark picture in that the number of young people that still “don’t know” what their constitutional preference for Wales is still the same as in 1997, despite 14 years of active devolution.

Whilst the conclusions drawn to in the first paper by Professor Scully certainly highlight a big challenge on engaging young people in the devolution debate in Wales, other wider issues of education with further devolution have been identified in Greg Davies and Sian Powell’s papers.

These research papers have underlined the very real challenges facing the future of devolution in Wales and the opportunities. As both the media and law papers have shown, education is of fundamental importance when it comes to the current devolution settlement and the prospect of future devolution, particularly in broadcasting and in the creation of a Welsh legal jurisdiction.

In terms of respondents to the focus groups undertaken for the broadcasting research paper, the importance of education was stressed for two reasons. Firstly the need to ensure greater accuracy in reporting devolved politics, something that lecturers in England, in particular, acknowledged as a failing in

current journalism training. This is of significance for a second reason, the lack of clarity in the Welsh devolution dispensation, something which has been problematic for many public policy specialists in Wales, let alone journalists. It's quite clear from Sian Powell's research that across those interviewed, whether they were students, young professionals or academics, that the current dispensation, and the lack of clear boundaries over what is devolved and retained, raises huge difficulties for journalists in accurately covering devolution.

This should hardly be a surprise when one considers Professor Scully's suggestion that complexity of the Welsh devolution settlement can explain the large numbers of don't knows among young respondents to questions on constitutional preferences. If we are to ensure that devolution continues to be covered accurately, not only in Wales but the rest of the UK, then we need to ensure that the difficulties highlighted in this paper are listened to.

Education is also at the heart of the findings of the paper on attitudes among the young legal community to devolution. As with the paper on broadcasting, there was concern expressed by some of the respondents to Greg Davies' paper that not enough emphasis is presently placed on understanding Welsh devolution. Indeed, evidence from law lecturers and a partner in a Cardiff based law firm suggested that there may be a case for re-evaluating current approaches to legal education and training in this regard.

However, educational questions have also been raised in the context of a Welsh legal jurisdiction. In particular, it seems that clear safeguards need to be set in place were a Welsh legal jurisdiction to be established or at the very least in the future development of Welsh legal jurisdiction. As the paper suggests, it appears crucial that legal courses maintain a balanced syllabus that avoids becoming overly focused on Welsh law to the detriment of those looking to practice in England. Welsh Universities will need to maintain the value of the QLD, regardless of Welsh legal jurisdiction, so that employment opportunities in England remain for lawyers trained in Wales.

In terms of the more general issue of attitudes towards future devolution, it appears that such reform would receive a positive response among those studying or working in the media. The broadcasting research paper found a majority of interviewees welcoming the prospect of the devolution of broadcasting. In particular, there appears to be a belief that devolution would create greater opportunities for young journalists, both students and professionals, in Wales. However, it is worth noting on the latter point that the main challenge facing young journalists and media is not devolution, but the financial difficulties facing the wider media industry at present.

The picture, as the comments regarding educational safeguards outlined above perhaps suggest, is less positive for supporters of a Welsh legal jurisdiction. As Greg Davies' paper notes, the fact that there was such little consistency among

respondents to that research paper may “be indicative of real uncertainty in store for the academic and practical legal professions in the event of further devolution.”

The legal research paper was also useful in highlighting specific areas deserving of further research. For example, there are very real policy considerations that arise from a Welsh legal jurisdiction, such as how the Welsh Government might allocate further funding to governmental legal work and to the provision of legal aid, that need careful consideration. Furthermore, the fears raised of a post-legal jurisdiction flight of talent by some respondents should be further considered, with a very real need for more research into the attitudes of professionals within the Welsh legal-commercial sector.

As was stressed in the introduction, these research papers offer only a very partial inquiry into the attitudes of young people and young professionals towards the devolution of broadcasting and the establishment of a Welsh legal jurisdiction. However, the results of this research, despite their lack of generalisability, should still offer policy makers some much-needed food for thought, especially considering that poll after poll shows that devolution is now the settled will of the Welsh public.

Adam Evans and Llew Williams January 2014

About the contributors

Greg Davies is an ESRC-funded, second year PhD candidate and teaching assistant at Cardiff Law School. The focus of his research is the 'judicial dialogue' taking place between the appellate courts of the UK and the European Court of Human Rights, and its implications for the legitimacy of their respective decision-making.

Adam Evans is a President's Research Scholar at the Wales Governance Centre, Cardiff University where his PhD thesis explores unionism in England and Wales. He has written extensively on British and European politics, focusing particularly on the Liberal Democrats and is a member of the steering group of Ein Dyfodol.

Sian Powell is a PhD student at the University of South Wales funded by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. Sian is conducting a content and textual analysis of the news and current affairs programmes in order to assess the role of the media during the 2010 General Election and the 2011 National Assembly for Wales Election.

Roger Scully is Professor of Political Science at the Wales Governance Centre, Cardiff University

Lleu Williams is the project co-ordinator for the UK Changing Union project. The UK's Changing Union project is a three way partnership between the Wales Governance Centre at Cardiff University, Cymru Yfory/Tomorrow's Wales and the Institute of Welsh Affairs which looks at the Welsh devolution settlement and the changing nature of the UK.