



# Resilient communities: meeting the challenge of being at the margins



Assets



Resilience



# Introduction

## About us and our work

Building Communities Trust (BCT) was established in 2015 with the purpose of supporting asset-based community development, to enable people to make their own neighbourhoods stronger and better places to live in. With the support of a £16.5m endowment from the National Lottery Community Fund, we established the Invest Local programme to provide £1m over 10-12 years for 13 communities across Wales, for residents to invest according to their own priorities. These communities were identified due to their position on the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) and their previous limited access to lottery funding.

Our experience has shown us that most Invest Local areas suffer from the issues outlined in this report and have chosen to prioritise tackling challenges resulting from low levels of community assets, limited civic engagement and poor connectivity. As the detail of our research shows, many issues are linked to the socio-economic peripherality of these areas even though they are not, largely, Wales' most physically isolated communities. BCT's wider work has meant that we have developed broader networks with community organisations across Wales, and for many of them – especially outside of larger cities – similar issues arise.

For most communities, ensuring they develop or maintain assets which are under local control and receptive to local needs is a top priority. Public spaces where people can access services (from childcare, to advice, to employment support), take part in social activities and, when needed, receive emergency assistance through initiatives such as food projects or warm hubs, are essential for almost all communities and, when given the option, residents in Invest Local areas have invested in these facilities and in the organisations who run them.

In many cases, the Invest Local programme started out in places without any significant community and voluntary activity, and there were often few confident and experienced individuals to lead local initiatives. Investing in efforts to expand that group of people has been a vital, but often slow, prerequisite to support wider action and the development of more community groups to cultivate and operate critical local activities and assets. Equally, most areas also experience poor connectivity. Transport links are inadequate, broadband infrastructure is often below the standards found in our cities and participating in major job markets typically requires a significant commute. While less can be done at community level to address these challenges (transport aside), mitigating for them should be a priority.

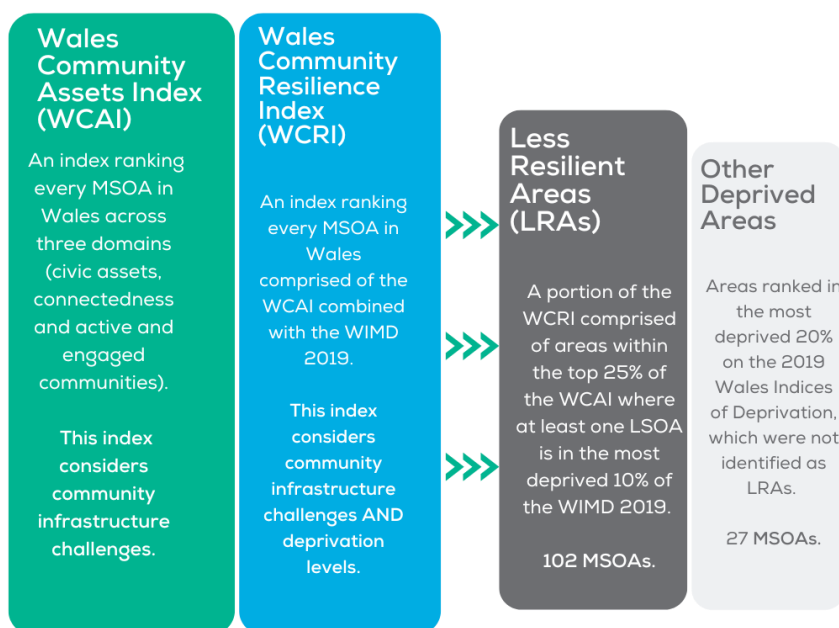
Having worked closely with our 13 Local Invest areas and associated organisations over the past eight years, we unequivocally recognise the critical role that community-based assets play in improving the lives of local people. To this end we have launched the Community Anchor Investment Programme to provide medium-term funding to key organisations across approximately a further 10 communities from early 2024. We will be working with groups who are at the heart of their communities, located in areas with low levels of community assets, to help them become stronger and better placed to face future challenges.

## About our research

We started our research during the COVID-19 pandemic, when the importance of the role of local community assets appeared to be gaining greater recognition. We wanted to see if the issues identified within our work were widespread and if the findings of the *Left Behind* report, led by the Local Trust who do similar work to us in England, had resonance in Wales.<sup>1</sup>

We commissioned Oxford Consultants for Social Inclusion (OCSI), a research and data consultancy who work with public and community organisations to improve services and combine expertise in research and technology to support groups working for social good to make evidence-based decisions. In the past, OCSI has helped the UK Government to develop and maintain an English Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) and supported Local Trust's research in order to establish a similar index for Wales. The results of OCSI's work are set out in this report. While we didn't expect to see the same findings as for England, given that there are significant differences in physical and political geography in comparison to Wales, some of the outputs surprised us considerably. In particular, the research demonstrates that the vast majority of communities identified as disadvantaged in Wales are also those most lacking in civic assets, with low levels of civic engagement and poor connectivity, ranking among the worst for the impacts of peripherality and socio-economic disadvantage.

Through our research, we have developed two separate yet complementary indexes – the Wales Community Assets Index (WCAI) and the Wales Community Resilience Index (WCRI). Both the WCAI and WCRI score and rank every small area in Wales. A rank of 1 means that an area has weaker provision of community infrastructure (WCAI) and is deemed to be less resilient (WCRI), whereas a rank of 410 means an area has greater community infrastructure and is regarded as more resilient. Through our indexes, we have been able to produce brand-new quantitative data, detailed to a local level, for the whole nation.



<sup>1</sup> Local Trust, *Left Behind? Understanding Communities on the Edge*, 2019.

We have used the well-established WIMD in conjunction with our new WCAI data to comprehensively rank community resilience across Wales, and in doing so, have identified 102 Less Resilient Areas (LRAs) nationwide – areas which experience significant community infrastructure challenges as well as deprivation. The research also compares the average figure for Less Resilient Areas against the Welsh average and the average for Other Deprived Areas across a range of socio-economic factors.<sup>2</sup>

Less Resilient Areas (LRAs) are a portion of the Wales Community Resilience Index (WCRI). Areas within its highest ranking 25% (meaning areas experiencing the most significant community infrastructure challenges and deprivation) which are also within the most deprived 10% of the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD), are categorised as 'less resilient.'  
There are 102 'less resilient' areas throughout Wales.

'Other deprived areas' are areas that are ranked in the most deprived 20% on the 2019 Wales Indices of Deprivation, which were not identified as LRAs  
There are 27 'other deprived areas' throughout Wales.

Recognising the constraints from the quantitative WCAI and WCRI, we commissioned a limited qualitative study to both evaluate the findings according to lived experiences within a small sample of communities and to provide contextual data for critiquing and enhancing the quantitative measures used. Case studies were undertaken in Penrhiwceiber in Rhondda Cynon Taf, South Riverside in Cardiff, Duffryn and Maesglas in Newport, and Cardigan and Aberporth in Ceredigion.

It's also important to make a point about the terminology we have used within this report.

We understand and recognise that the term 'less resilient' can be contentious and we do not use it to imply that areas categorised as such lack people with skills or commitment to an area's overall resilience. It is used to denote geographical areas which experience the dual disadvantage of high levels of deprivation and community infrastructure challenges. The use of this label simply reflects the ranking system inherent in any index. This is why, despite its difficulties and in the absence of a better term, we decided to use it.

We hope these findings will encourage a new perspective on thinking about place in Wales, recognising that accessing services and opportunities is critical to peoples' life chances. Our research clearly shows that to live in a poor community in Wales is (almost always) to live in a community with low levels of resilience. This critical point cannot be ignored in the future planning of policies which aim to genuinely address poverty and disadvantage across the nation. As austerity continues to bite, we hope our research will support policymakers and funders – as well as people working in communities – in making strong evidence-based decisions that will make a real difference to the people of Wales.

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<sup>2</sup> A full list of Less Resilient Areas and Other Deprived Areas can be found in the appendix on page 23.

## Table of contents

Introduction .....	2
About us and our work .....	2
About our research .....	3
Executive summary .....	6
List of abbreviations .....	7
About the data .....	8
The Wales Community Asset Index (WCAI) .....	8
The Wales Community Resilience Index (WCRI) .....	9
Statistical geography and Middle Layer Super Output Areas (MSOAs).....	10
Driver of need .....	11
Location of Less Resilient Areas (LRAs) .....	13
Relationship with deprivation and Other Deprived Areas .....	13
Outliers/Exceptions to the rules .....	14
The relationship between community resilience and community infrastructure .....	14
Limitations of the indexes .....	15
Measuring density.....	16
Measuring volunteering.....	16
Both indexes are static, based on fixed datasets .....	17
Contextual blindness.....	17
How to use the indexes and these findings .....	17
Key findings .....	18
Population .....	18
Housing .....	19
Economy.....	19
Employment and worklessness.....	20
Health.....	20
Education and skills.....	21
Access and services.....	21
Community needs and social infrastructure .....	22
Recommendations: what needs to happen next .....	22
Annexes.....	23
1. The Wales Community Assets Index and the Wales Community Resilience Index.....	23



## Executive summary

The research described in this report was commissioned by Building Communities Trust from Oxford Consultants for Social Inclusion. It maps and ranks areas across the whole of Wales for the presence of civic assets, levels of engagement within communities and their connectivity in terms of access to jobs, transport networks and IT infrastructure.

In undertaking this research, we have created two new indexes.

The Wales Community Assets Index (WCAI) has ranked all 410 Middle Layer Super Output Areas (MSOAs) in Wales across domains of connectivity, community assets and engaged communities, to show the combined levels of community infrastructure.

The Wales Community Resilience Index (WCRI) merges the assets index with the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) to show the degree to which communities experience challenges with both deprivation and lack of infrastructure. There is a striking degree of convergence between the WCAI and the WIMD, far more than might have been expected in a country like Wales, where so many people live in rural areas. For most people in Wales living in disadvantaged areas, it also means living in areas lacking in community infrastructure.

The research identifies a category of Less Resilient Areas (LRAs) which are the 25% of places with the least community infrastructure, which also have a Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) in the top 10% of the WIMD. 102 areas fall into that category: by comparison only 27 areas are in the 20% most deprived on the WIMD, but are not classed as an LRA.

Strikingly, many LRA communities experiencing infrastructure challenges and deprivation are found on the peripheries of major urban centres, on post-World War II housing estates and in former mining communities.

The data suggests that, relatively speaking, most rural areas have been able to sustain their civic assets, despite not normally being described as wealthy and experiencing often very poor connectivity. Deeper analysis of the data suggests that many rural areas across Wales experience high levels of active and engaged communities.

Our research shows that communities with fewer places to meet, a less engaged and active community and poorer connectivity to the wider economy, experience significantly different social and economic outcomes compared to communities possessing more of these assets. Communities with fewer of these assets have higher rates of unemployment, residents often do not have qualifications and experience limiting long-term illnesses than both areas typically regarded as experiencing deprivation which do have those assets and Wales as a whole. They also have lower levels of community activity and receive lower levels of funding from both the state and charitable funders despite their social challenges. And, despite the problems with connectivity, almost a third of households in LRAs do not own a car, making residents more likely to have problems accessing work and key public services.

Some of these findings are unsurprising: the relative peripherality of many LRAs has almost certainly led to the outmigration of more skilled, younger people; but the findings relating to health, community action and access to funding are not as obvious.

This unprecedented mapping and ranking of community infrastructure, combined with the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD), clearly demonstrates sustained, place-based inequality throughout the nation. These inequalities result in significantly different social and economic outcomes for people living in LRAs.

## To reduce these place-based disparities we recommend that:

- 01** Welsh Government should distribute resources based on resilience as well as deprivation, recognising the additional challenges facing vulnerable people living on the margins of Welsh towns and cities.
- 02** Transport planners need to prioritise LRAs for public transport services, including funding community transport where necessary.
- 03** Welsh Government should develop mandatory guidelines to ensure that all future housing developments are “future proofed” with good transport access and minimum provision of community assets, like a community centre.
- 04** Welsh Government must ensure, through stronger guidance or legislation, that communities have a simpler process to take over key community facilities.
- 05** To build community resilience across Wales, Welsh Government must create a ‘Community Wealth Fund’ using the new wave of money to be released under 2022’s Dormant Assets Act.
- 06** Funders need to recognise the needs of Less Resilient Areas and ensure they get their fair share of resources.

### List of abbreviations

- BCT** – Building Communities Trust
- IMD** – Index of Multiple Deprivation
- LRAs** – Less Resilient Areas
- LSOA** – Lower Layer Super Output Area
- MSOA** – Middle Layer Super Output Area
- OCSI** – Oxford Consultants for Social Inclusion
- ODA** – Other Deprived Area
- WCAI** – Wales Community Assets Index
- WCRI** – Wales Community Resilience Index
- WIMD** – Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation

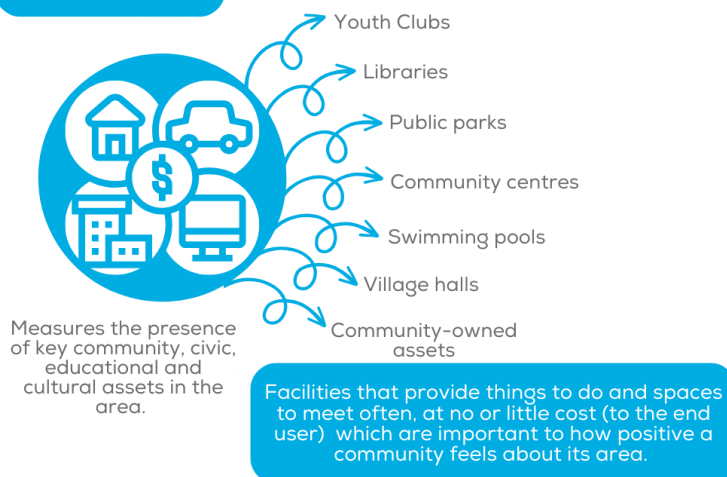
## About the data

### The Wales Community Asset Index (WCAI)

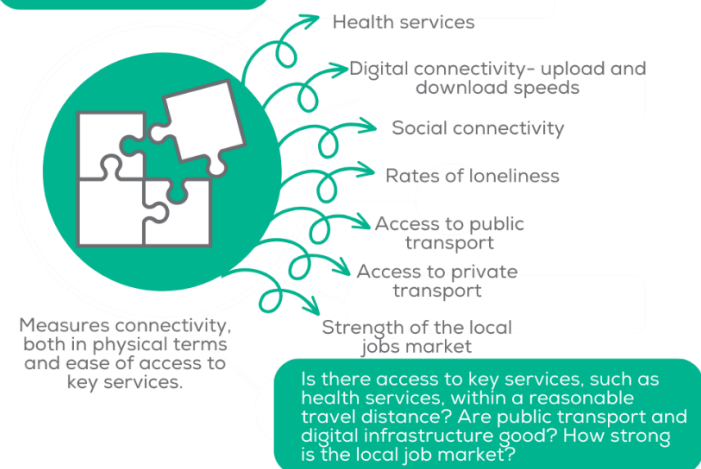
The WCAI was developed to compare the extent to which specific geographic areas experience challenges associated with poor community infrastructure, relative isolation, and low levels of participation. It combines a series of indicators under three domains: **civic assets**, **connectedness** and **active and engaged community**.

The WCAI was constructed using the same methodology, domain structure and geographic unit of analysis, as was adopted in the 2021 update of the Community Needs Index for England<sup>3</sup>; it also uses the same component indicators where possible.

#### Civic Assets



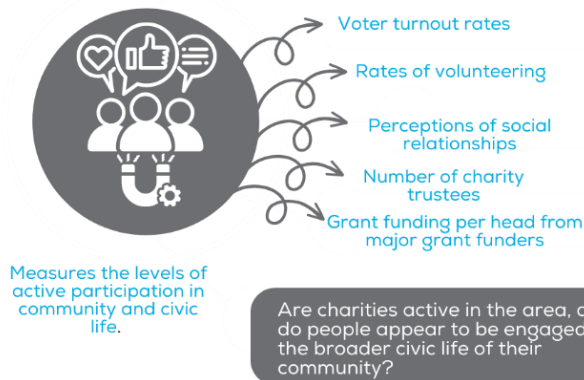
#### Connectedness



<sup>3</sup> Local Trust, *Left Behind? Understanding Communities on the Edge*, 2019.



## Active and Engaged Community



Comprehensive collation and examination of these measures has never been undertaken before in Wales, meaning that our new research has produced a forensic map of community infrastructure across the country. By design, the starting point of the WCAI was to measure strengths and what is present in a small geographic area, rather than measuring what is absent. The three domains incorporate measures linked to assets which are human and social, built and environmental, and economic, in order to provide a detailed, wide-ranging assessment of community infrastructure and levels of participation in an area.

We recognise that there are similarities between some of the indicators used here and in the WIMD. However, neither the *access to services* nor the *physical environment* domains in the WIMD adequately measure infrastructure in the form of community-owned assets. Nor do these, or any of the other WIMD domains, consider less tangible assets such as participation rates within communities.

### The Wales Community Resilience Index (WCRI)

Having created the WCAI, we were keen to explore its links with deprivation and chose to combine it with the well-established WIMD to develop the WCRI. Like the WCAI, the WCRI ranks every small area in Wales. However, the WCRI considers both community infrastructure challenges and deprivation levels, to provide a measure of resilience.

We define resilient communities as:

Communities that possess or have access to a range of tangible and intangible assets which are used by people in the community to enhance individual and community wellbeing.

These assets can be accessed by people both to enable opportunities for social and recreational activities, as well as providing vital support in adverse situations- be they sudden and unexpected or long-term and chronic in nature.

## Statistical geography and Middle Layer Super Output Areas (MSOAs)

Both new indexes use Middle Layer Super Output Areas (MSOAs) as the unit of geographical measure; they are not the same as wards or parishes. MSOAs are widely used in reporting small area statistics, comprising between 2,000 and 6,000 households, with a usually resident population between 5,000 and 15,000 persons.<sup>4</sup>

The decision to use MSOAs was due in large part to existing data availability. That said, MSOAs are also the preferred unit of measure because:

- They only change after every census, which means there is more consistency over time – even with changes made due to the census, about 95% will remain the same and therefore represent a more stable geography than wards
- They are generally all the same size (less than 5,000 people) but are sufficiently large enough that they are comparable to the average ward sizes
- They are less politically linked than wards, which was a concern raised by a few stakeholders when designing the English Community Needs Index – namely that ward boundaries can be gerrymandered but MSOAs are not linked politically
- MSOAs now have names (not just codes) so are easier to identify and are also increasingly used to disseminate statistics releases, such as the COVID-19 caseload<sup>5</sup>
- The list of ‘less resilient’ MSOAs can still be linked to wards and local authorities.

Despite being the measure of choice, we also recognise that individuals may be more familiar with Lower Layer Super Output Areas (LSOAs) which are utilised in the WIMD. MSOAs are groups of LSOAs, usually 4 or 5. We are also aware that the use of MSOAs to represent small geographical communities may not match up to people’s experiences, understanding and perception.

The use and definition of the term ‘community’ is also undoubtedly contested in a range of ways, including when trying to align the concept with an objective geographical measure.

Our qualitative research uncovered mixed feelings about the value of the MSOA to local peoples’ perception of their community. MSOAs may not always accurately represent coherent communities, as they can include multiple areas with diverse characteristics and assets. Opinions differ as to whether the measure is too large, too small, or acceptable.

While some ambiguity persists over the use of MSOAs as an ideal unit of place-based measurement and, despite the challenges presented by variations within an MSOA boundary, the unit is generally considered an appropriate measure for the indicators used, due to its relatively uniform size and the availability of data sources.

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<sup>4</sup><https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/geography/ukgeographies/censusgeographies/census2021geographies> [accessed 25/7/23]

<sup>5</sup> <https://coronavirus.data.gov.uk/>

## Driver of need

It is possible to identify a 'driver of need' for every small area ranked in the indexes. This describes the domain in the index which each MSOA scored the most poorly against, highlighting a possible priority for intervention and support.

When considering all 410 MSOAs throughout Wales, **connectedness** is the driver of need which appears most frequently, with 37.32% of all areas scoring most poorly in this domain. This is remarkably similar when comparing 'Less Resilient Areas' with 37.25% of LRAs scoring most poorly in the **connectedness** domain.

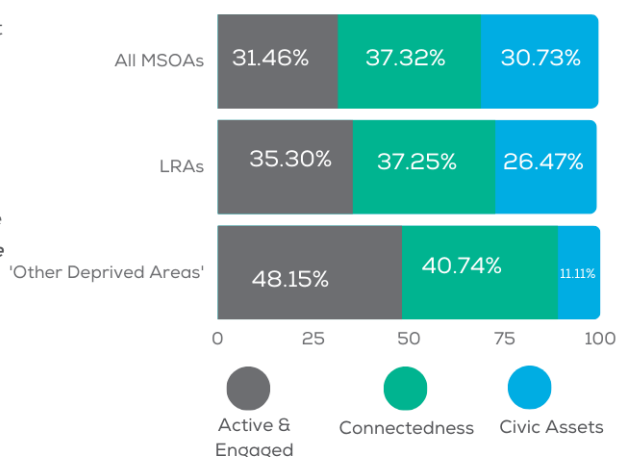
However, the pattern does not hold true when considering only Other Deprived Areas. In a marked difference, the driver of need for most Other Deprived Areas is the **active and engaged community** domain, with 48.15% of them scoring most poorly in this domain.

## Driver of Needs Comparison

### Findings

This graph demonstrates that the **connectedness** domain is most frequently identified as the driver of need across all MSOAs and LRAs, with the sole exception being within 'Other Deprived Areas' where the driver of need is the **active and engaged** domain.

It also shows that **civic assets** is the driver of need less frequently across each of the comparator groups, with a strikingly low figure within 'Other Deprived Areas'.



Strikingly, as seen above, the **civic assets** domain is where LRAs, Other Deprived Areas and all MSOAs in the index, collectively score least poorly. This underlines the vital role played by these assets in fostering community resilience. As we have seen within our own work, local residents often prioritise maintaining community assets where other services and facilities are reducing in scope or closing.<sup>6</sup>

In many places the loss of amenities makes the preservation or development of local community assets of great importance as their presence compensates for the removal of other services or poor access to those located more centrally. Our experience also reinforces the apparent contradiction of higher levels of community assets with low levels of volunteering, measured in the **active and engaged community** domain. Often critical assets are run by relatively small groups of people.

<sup>6</sup> BCT, [Mapping Community Assets in Wales](#), 2020.

The driver of needs comparison also shows that the **civic assets** domain is less of an issue in Less Resilient Areas than in Wales as a whole. Strikingly, it is hardly a challenge at all in Other Deprived Areas, where the **active and engaged community** domain is the driver of need in almost 50% of cases.

What this also serves to demonstrate is that policies and programmes which are designed to strengthen community resilience should incorporate the unique strengths and assets of the community itself, rather than seeking to provide a universal approach regardless of specific circumstances.

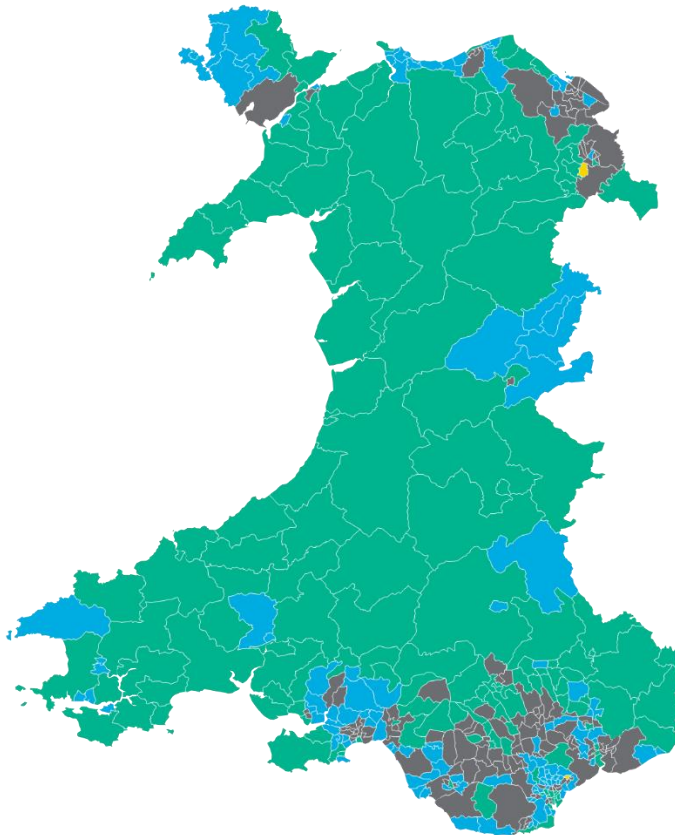
A geographical overview of the driver of needs is below. The map shows that **connectedness** is the domain with the highest proportion of MSOAs scoring most poorly. It also highlights concentrations of MSOAs scoring most poorly in the **civic assets** domain (in Anglesey and North East Powys) as well as within the **active and engaged community** domain (in the North East and South East of Wales).

Interestingly, there are two MSOAs (Johnstown North and Rhostyllen in Wrexham and Llanrumney North in Cardiff) which have a joint driver of need incorporating both the **civic assets** and **active and engaged community** domains.

### Driver of Need

This map displays the 'driver of need' for each MSOA. The driver of need is the domain in the index which the MSOA scored the most poorly against.

■ Active & Engaged ■ Civic Assets ■ Civic Assets & Active & Engaged ■ Connectedness



*The map demonstrates that connectedness is the domain with the highest proportion of MSOAs scoring most poorly. There are also concentrations of MSOAs scoring most poorly in the civic assets domain (in Anglesey, and North East Powys) as well as within the active and engaged communities domain (in the North and South East of Wales.)*

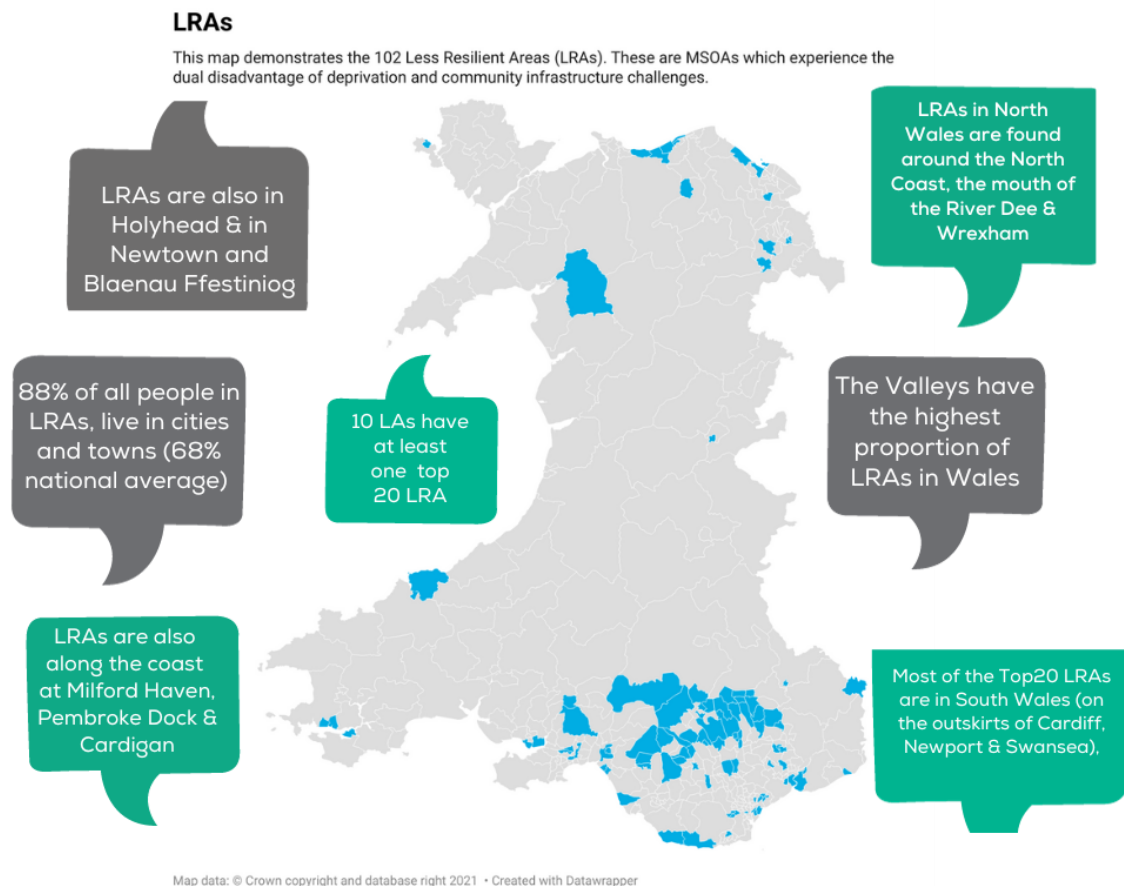
Map data: © Crown copyright and database right 2021 • Created with Datawrapper

## Location of Less Resilient Areas (LRAs)

As outlined on page four of this document, 102 areas in the WCRI are categorised as Less Resilient Areas (LRAs). LRAs are areas within the top 25% of the WCAI where at least one Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) is in the most deprived 10% of the 2019 WIMD.

LRAs are categorised as areas experiencing the dual disadvantage of:

- High levels of deprivation; and  
Community infrastructure challenges – namely areas with fewer community and civic assets experiencing relative isolation and low levels of participation



## Relationship with deprivation and Other Deprived Areas

There is a strong relationship between deprivation and community resilience, with the 10% of areas with the highest levels of deprivation (from the WIMD) having the highest average WCAI score (96.9). This relationship is broadly consistent across the decile groups i.e., the higher the level of deprivation, the lower the level of overall community resilience.

The findings of this research result from comparing the average figure for 'Less Resilient Areas' (LRAs) against the Welsh average and the average for 'Other Deprived Areas' across a range of socio-economic factors. The group categorised as 'Other Deprived Areas' are those ranked in the most deprived 20% on the WIMD, which were not identified as LRAs. There are 27 'other deprived areas' throughout Wales, which are overwhelmingly urban in nature.

## Outliers/Exceptions to the rules

However, there are some notable exceptions to this trend. There are also 7 areas (1.7%) ranked among the most deprived 20% on the WIMD, that are ranked among the highest ranking 20% in terms of community infrastructure:

- Cardiff – Splott
- Cardiff – Plasnewydd
- Cardiff – Grangetown South
- Newport – Stow Hill
- Cardiff – Grangetown North
- Cardiff – Adamsdown
- Cardiff – South Riverside

5 of these 7 areas however score poorly in the **connectedness** domain.

By contrast, there are 5 areas (1.2%) ranked among the least deprived 20% on the WIMD, that are among the most deprived 20% in terms of community infrastructure:

- Rhondda Cynon Taf – Church Village West
- Cardiff – Pontprennau
- The Vale of Glamorgan – Llantwit Major
- The Vale of Glamorgan – Rhoose and Airport
- Carmarthenshire – Swiss Valley and Llangennech

4 of these 5 areas score most poorly in the **civic assets** domain.

## The relationship between community resilience and community infrastructure

The maps on page 15 compare each MSOA according to their rank in the WCAI and their rank in the WCRI. Both indexes' ranks have been split into quarters and allocated a code between 1 and 4.

1 has been allocated to MSOAs in the highest ranking 25% (ranks 1-102) of the indexes (meaning least resilient or ranking poorly on the WCAI), with 4 allocated to the lowest ranking 25% (ranks 309-410) of the indexes (meaning most resilient or ranking well on the WCAI).

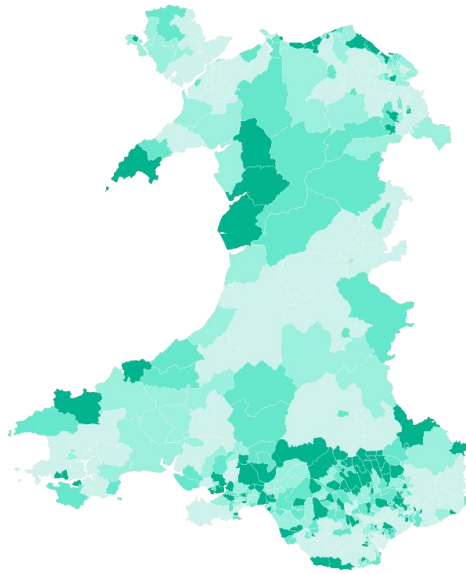
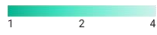
The community infrastructure map is based on the WCAI ranking and incorporates measures from the three domains, whereas the resilience map is based on the ranking within the WCRI and incorporates both community infrastructure as well as deprivation.

In the community infrastructure map, the darker the green, the higher ranking an MSOA on the WCAI – meaning weaker community infrastructure provision; the lighter the green the lower the MSOA ranks – meaning better community infrastructure provision. Similarly, in the resilience map, the darker the green, the less resilient an area, the lighter the green the more resilient an area.



### Community Infrastructure Map

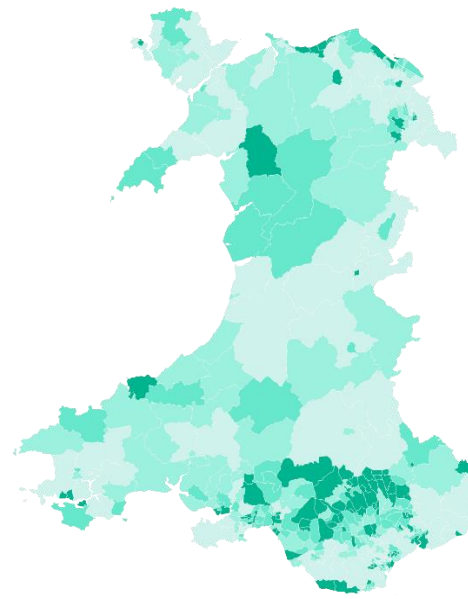
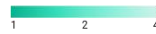
This map demonstrates which MSOAs are ranked most highly on the WCAI. MSOAs have been split into quarters based on their rank in the WCAI. An MSOA lacking community infrastructure is indicated by a higher ranking on the WCAI and darker shading. Lighter shading indicates greater provision of community infrastructure.



Map data: © Crown copyright and database right 2021 · Created with Datawrapper

### Resilience Map

This map shows how resilient each MSOA is. MSOAs have been grouped into quarters and the darker the green, the less resilient an MSOA is, the lighter the green, the more resilient an MSOA is according to the Wales Community Resilience Index.



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These maps demonstrate similarities between MSOAs ranking highly on both indexes and clearly indicate that areas such as Blaenau Ffestiniog, Cardigan and Aberporth, Cefn Mawr, Rhosllanerchrugog and Johnstown South, and Monmouth and Wyesham, among others, all rank low for community resilience as well as provision of community infrastructure.

An MSOA lacking community infrastructure (as indicated by a higher ranking on the WCAI and darker shading on the map on the left) is likely to experience challenges in relation to community resilience. However, this is not a universal trend with several clear exceptions including Newtown South, Abergavenny South and Crucorney, and Denbigh West, which all experience lower community resilience, in comparison to their WCAI ranking.

Perhaps more surprisingly, is the finding that large proportions of more rural Powys and Ceredigion are within the quarter of the WCAI with the lowest rank, and therefore have a greater level of community infrastructure. This is likely due to more sparsely populated areas impacting the footprint of the MSOA, in addition to the reliance of density measures inherent in the index's design. For example, in Llanidloes, Blaen Hafren and Llandinam there are multiple **civic assets**, and all also rank highly in the **active and engaged community** domain.

## Limitations of the indexes

As with any quantitative indexes there are limitations and we have already outlined the potential challenges associated with using MSOAs as the unit of geographical measure on page 10 of this document.

The section below expands firstly on the limitations specific to the Wales Community Assets Index and the Wales Community Resilience Index, as well as more generic limitations which likely apply to any quantitative index. The limitations are presented for reasons of transparency but, in our view, do not serve to undermine the usefulness and 'added value' presented by both indexes.

## Measuring density

Both the WCAI and the WCRI rely on measures of density. While having comprehensive data about the presence and density of civic assets is beneficial and fills a considerable evidence gap, the indexes do not provide information about how these assets are used, the frequency of use, and by whom.<sup>7</sup>

A focus on the density of civic assets enables an area with multiple civic and community assets to score more highly than an area with only one community asset; it also pays no consideration to usage rates or the range of opportunities resulting from the existence of the civic asset.

Consequently, in certain communities, while the indexes indicate a high density of assets on paper, spaces may remain underutilised due to factors that are not adequately accounted for by the indicators. A prime example of this issue is the use of green spaces in South Riverside in Cardiff. Despite having several green spaces in close proximity, community members have limited use of these spaces due to persisting issues with litter, antisocial behaviour, and psychological barriers.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, some indicators solely focus on the number of local activities, such as through the counting of third-sector organisations, without considering scale, level, or quality of these organisations. This is seen in Penrhiwceiber in Rhondda Cynon Taf, where many initiatives for residents are run through the Lee Gardens Pool Group, as well as in collaboration with the local church. The extensive range of activities run by just these two organisations are not captured adequately by the current **active and engaged community** indicators.<sup>9</sup>

## Measuring volunteering

Accurately measuring the number of volunteers and the impact that voluntary activity has on wider community resilience, is notoriously challenging.<sup>10</sup> Many people who would be regarded by data sources used in the **active and engaged community** domain as active volunteers, do not consider themselves as such. Both the WCAI and the WCRI use findings from the National Survey for Wales to capture information from self-reported surveys on people who volunteer.

However, this survey provides only a limited view of volunteering within a community and may not accurately represent the true scale and intensity of volunteering. This is a particular challenge in relation to 'informal' volunteering, activities such as shopping for a neighbour or collecting a prescription for another individual, which very often take place within community settings and yet typically go unrecorded.

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<sup>7</sup> There has been a persistent challenge in mapping community assets throughout Wales, see [Mapping Community Assets in Wales](#) and [Community Assets](#).

<sup>8</sup> Miller Research, internal research report, 2023.

<sup>9</sup> Miller Research, internal research report, 2023.

<sup>10</sup> Third Sector Support Wales, [The Economic Value of Volunteers](#).

## Both indexes are static, based on fixed datasets

Both the WCAI and WCRI are static indexes developed from stable data sources. They measure, score, and rank small geographical areas at a fixed point in time, providing a snapshot as opposed to a moving picture. It is of course possible to revise the indexes with updated data sources, should resources allow.<sup>11</sup> Notably, a significant majority of the data sources used in the development of the WCAI and WCRI precede the COVID-19 pandemic and the ongoing cost-of-living crisis. Therefore, the indexes may not accurately account for the substantial social changes that have occurred within this timeframe.

We also acknowledge that the indexes do not incorporate the latest 2021 census data, as at the time of development no census data was available within the public domain.

## Contextual blindness

As highlighted above, the indexes rank small geographical areas according to the presence of assets (and, in the case of the WCRI, measures of deprivation). The indexes were not designed to examine contextual factors such as particular demographic groups, including those with protected characteristics, issues with accessing the assets or additional barriers that particular demographic groups might experience. The analysis to accompany the indexes does however consider the demographic composition of LRAs according to several protected characteristics (sex, ethnicity, and disability). Our qualitative research was also designed to ensure that it explored contextual factors such as these in further detail.

## How to use the indexes and these findings

Regardless of the limitations outlined prior, the indexes remain a valuable addition to the evidence base of community assets and resilience in Wales. The Wales Community Assets Index provides unprecedented mapping and ranking of community infrastructure, including village halls, local charities, and public transport across Wales. The Wales Community Resilience Index combines the WIMD with the new WCAI data to comprehensively rank community resilience across Wales and in doing so has revealed the hitherto unknown 102 Less Resilient Areas. Both are based on quantitative, objective measures. The WCAI and WCRI, and accompanying resources, are particularly relevant for people working in communities, the public sector, funders and policy or decision-makers.

To get the most from the indexes, we suggest that they are used alongside local knowledge and experience, as well as complementary sources such as local development plans and wellbeing assessments. Using any data in isolation risks presenting an inaccurate, incomplete picture which could result in ineffective and inefficient programme or policy design. We also suggest that the findings of this research are used to shape nuanced approaches to tackling place-based inequalities by directing funding, support and targeting policy and programme work towards Less Resilient Areas, to strengthen community resilience.

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<sup>11</sup> The English Community Needs Index is currently undergoing its third revision, with additional indicators added.

## Key findings

Our research shows a strong link between peripherality and deprivation across Wales and it is especially marked in the nation's most disadvantaged areas. One of the more surprising findings from the research were how relatively few traditional inner-city areas there were in Wales which matched deprivation and indicated the presence of significant community infrastructure – this is essentially a feature of central parts of Cardiff. It was also remarkable to find how many more rural areas of Wales suffered less from some of the impacts of peripherality than outlying housing estates and former mining areas.

There are several reasons why the latter may be the case and some of our previous research has shown that many rural parts of Wales have been unusually successful in sustaining their community assets due to local demand and patronage, particularly in areas where residents have some disposable income, even if they would not normally be described as wealthy.<sup>12</sup>

What this does mean however, is that most people living in a disadvantaged area (33.2% of the Welsh population) are also facing the consequences of peripherality, and in some places the differences between peripheral disadvantaged areas (the least resilient) and other areas are stark and as a result will undoubtedly have a significant impact on people's wellbeing and life chances.

## Population

- There are 818,494 people living in Less Resilient Areas; 26.3 % of the total population.
- The resident population within the LRAs is, overall, relatively youthful; just under one-in-five people in LRAs (19.9%) are aged under 16 which is above the average in Other Deprived Areas (17.7%) and Wales as a whole (17.8%).
- By contrast, LRAs have a lower proportion of people of working age (61.6%) than Other Deprived Areas (68.5%) and a lower proportion of people aged 65+ (18.4%) than across Wales as a whole (21.1%). This strongly implies that children living in poverty are more likely to be living in LRAs with worse access to local assets than elsewhere in Wales. In qualitative terms this is reinforced by experience from the Invest Local programme, where 10 out of the 13 funded areas are classed as LRAs, and facilities for young people are almost universally very limited.
- LRAs have experienced a smaller population increase than other areas: their population increased by 6.6% between 2001 and 2020, compared with more than 17.1% in Other Deprived Areas and 8.9% across Wales over the same period.
- LRAs are less ethnically diverse than Other Deprived Areas of Wales, with a lower proportion of people identifying as White non-British (2.2%) or non-White (4.5%) than the average across Other Deprived Areas (4.6% and 15.3% respectively). However, the profile is similar to the average across Wales as a whole (2.4% and 4.4%).
- People living in LRAs are more likely to be born in Wales (80.1%), than the average across Other Deprived Areas (71.2%) and Wales as a whole (72.7%).

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<sup>12</sup> BCT, [Mapping Community Assets in Wales](#), 2020

## Housing

People in LRAs are more likely to live in social rented housing than in other parts of Wales but are also more likely to own their own homes than in Other Deprived Areas; the private rented sector is notably less prevalent than in other deprived areas.

A higher proportion of people in LRAs reside in post-war housing, with more than 30% of dwellings built between 1945 and 1972, compared with 15% in Other Deprived Areas and 25% across Wales. This reflects the geographic distribution of LRAs, with a high concentration in outlying social housing estates. These developments tend to be more single use than older developments where housing, commercial and leisure facilities were mixed closely together. Typically, post-World War Two developments have very limited community assets, a feature that continues to this day. Our experience in the Invest Local programme has shown that mixed use developments are much more conducive to supporting active communities as typically they incorporate more public space for community members to meet for a variety of purposes and usually slightly greater access to green spaces.

By contrast, there are few houses built this millennium in LRAs. 9.9% of all dwelling stock in LRAs was built after the year 2000, compared with 14.4% across Other Deprived Areas and 12.9% across Wales. This reflects the perceptions of developers and planners that fewer people want to live in LRAs, and of course the limited availability of land in some areas.

## Economy

There are substantially fewer local jobs available in LRAs compared with Other Deprived Areas. This is almost certainly a function of their peripherality, but also emphasises the need for good transport to central areas, especially given relatively low rates of car ownership.

In many of the more isolated Invest Local areas, and as shown in the recent research in Penrhiwceiber, individuals have significant limitations in public transport options which in turn creates a barrier for those trying to access jobs and services. Local initiatives, such as transport services provided by Bryncynon Strategy for Penrhiwceiber, attempt to mitigate these challenges by offering transportation options for members of the community. Similarly, in a number of Invest Local areas such as Plas Madoc and Caerau, the lack of affordable transport has served to create a significant demand for, and use of, assets that are available very locally.

There are 47 jobs per 100 working age adults in LRAs. This is only just over half the average across Other Deprived Areas (90 per 100 working age adults) and considerably below the average across Wales (69 per 100). This means that if working age adults were actively seeking work, less than half would be able to find work locally. Available jobs are also less likely to be highly skilled, with only 27% of people living in LRAs employed in high skilled occupations (27%) compared to 30.5% in Other Deprived Areas and 35.8% across Wales. As a result, the average annual household income in LRAs is more than £3,800 below the Welsh national average (once housing costs are taken into account) although slightly higher than in Other Deprived Areas.

## Employment and worklessness

Unemployment has been fluctuating between 2004 and 2022, with sharp rises during the financial crises of the late 2000s and the recent COVID-19 pandemic. Between 2004 and 2008 the unemployment rate remained relatively stable before rising sharply during the global financial crisis; during this period, unemployment rose more rapidly in LRAs than in Other Deprived Areas.

In February 2007 the unemployment claimant rate in LRAs was similar to that of the Other Deprived Areas (with both averaging 3.6%); however, by April 2009 the situation had changed, with unemployment rates in LRAs notably above the average in non-LRAs (6.3%, compared with 5.7% in other deprived areas).

From 2012 the unemployment rate began to fall across LRAs and Other Deprived Areas alike, before rising slowly from 2016. A second sharper spike in unemployment occurred following the COVID-19 lockdown in March 2020, with unemployment rising sharply across all areas – by 2.7% in LRAs, 2.5% in Other Deprived Areas and 2.3% in Wales as a whole. Following the initial spike, LRAs saw sharper rises than the national average, but smaller rises than Other Deprived Areas; consequently, the unemployment rate in LRAs has fallen below Other Deprived Areas.

More recently, unemployment rates have fallen across all parts of Wales following the historic highs in 2021. As of June 2022, they stand at 4.8% in LRAs, 5.6% in Other Deprived Areas and 3.3% in Wales as a whole.

People in LRAs are more likely to experience wider worklessness than Other Deprived Areas and Wales as a whole. Many people who are out of work are not receiving unemployment benefits and, in addition, many people are on benefits with no requirement to seek work due to health or disability issues or caring roles. Residents of LRAs are considerably more likely to be in this second category (7.1%) than across Other Deprived Areas (5.9%) and Wales as a whole (4.6%), indicating long term health and disability challenges in these areas.

## Health

People in LRAs experience a lower life expectancy and a higher prevalence of limiting long-term illness than across Wales as a whole. Residents of these communities can expect to live shorter, less healthy lives, than the average across Wales. Life expectancy in LRAs is 76 years, with a healthy life expectancy of 64 years, compared with 78 and 68 years respectively across Wales. However, figures for LRAs are broadly in line with the average for Other Deprived Areas.

More than one-in-four (25.9%) people in LRAs have a long-term illness, higher than across Other Deprived Areas (22%) and Wales as a whole (22.7%). This disparity is seen across all age groups and is reflected in the relatively high proportion of working age adults receiving benefits due to poor health and disability.

A higher proportion of people living in LRAs are informal carers – this is likely to be linked to the relatively high levels of sickness and disability in these areas, as well as a lack of access to formal care.



Mortality rates are also higher than across Other Deprived Areas. The overall mortality rate is marginally higher in LRAs (1,188 per 100,000 people) than across Other Deprived Areas (1,141 per 100,000 people) and Wales as a whole (1,039 per 100,000 people). This is also reflected in higher levels of mortality for all key conditions in LRAs than would be expected given the age profile of the area.

People living in LRAs have a considerably higher Personal Independence Payment (PIP) claimant rate than across the benchmark areas, with 14.8% of working age adults in LRAs receiving PIP, compared with 11.4% in Other Deprived Areas and 10.7% across Wales as a whole. Of these, approximately one-third are receiving these benefits due to mental health related conditions.

## Education and skills

People in LRAs are more likely to have no qualifications and less likely to have degree level qualifications than either Other Deprived Areas or Wales as a whole. More than one-in-three adults in LRAs hold no qualifications (34.2%), significantly above the average in Other Deprived Areas (27.7%) and across Wales (25.9%). By contrast, just 16% of adults in LRAs hold a degree or higher qualifications, this is notably below the average in Other Deprived Areas (21.7%) and Wales as a whole (24.5%).

These findings are partially mirrored in the educational outcomes for children. Attainment levels among both primary school and secondary school children are lower in LRAs than the average across Wales, with a larger attainment gap in older children, although this is very similar to children in Other Deprived Areas. Similarly, the percentage of young people accessing higher education is significantly lower in LRAs than the Welsh average (23.2% compared to 29.9%) though this too is similar to Other Deprived Areas. The discrepancy in graduate numbers in LRAs, compared to Other Deprived Areas when school level attainment is similar, is almost certainly explained by internal migration as graduates either don't return home after university or migrate to areas with more skilled job opportunities (which may include Other Deprived Areas which are more economically central).

## Access and services

Despite the issues faced by many LRAs with poor connectedness, households are less likely to own a car than the average across Wales; 31.7% of households in LRAs have no car or van, compared to 22.9% across Wales, even though most are more likely to be in outlying areas than across Other Deprived Areas. In our experiences from the Invest Local programme, lack of access to reliable, affordable transport has come up in community consultations as an issue in all 9 Invest Local areas which are classified as LRA, an issue which has become more significant since the cost-of-living crisis began. For example, residents in Cardigan highlighted the lack of options to get around without a car, particularly among older people, many of whom have mobility issues and may require transport that can accommodate a wheelchair. Even options for hiring private vehicles that are wheelchair-accessible were found to have reduced in recent years, with one bus firm having closed and other being too expensive.

## Community needs and social infrastructure

Community infrastructure is measured in terms of the availability of civic and cultural assets; the strength of the third sector via the work of charitable organisations and grant-giving in local areas; and an overview of community participation, with an exploration of voter turnout rates. LRAs have significantly lower levels of voter turnout than Wales as a whole, although they are very similar to Other Deprived Areas.

Unsurprisingly, LRAs score more poorly on each of the three new domains. The average rank for LRAs is particularly poor for the **active and engaged community** domain (117) relative to Other Deprived Areas (213) and Wales as a whole (205). Other Deprived Areas perform above average on the **civic assets** domain (279) compared to the whole of Wales (201), which suggests that the higher performance of Other Deprived Areas in comparison to the Welsh average reflects their proximity to urban centres.

There is also a clear shortage of third sector activity in LRAs, resulting in lower levels of funding compared with Other Deprived Areas. Interestingly, it is Other Deprived Areas who score far higher than LRAs or the Wales average in their ability to attract grants and sustain both third sector organisations and house successful businesses: the latter is likely to be linked to their location, but the stark difference in charitably funding allocations is harder to explain.

## Recommendations: what needs to happen next

1. Welsh Government should distribute resources based on resilience as well as deprivation, recognising the additional challenges facing vulnerable people living on the margins of Welsh towns and cities.
2. Transport planners need to prioritise LRAs for public transport services, including funding community transport where necessary.
3. Welsh Government should develop mandatory guidelines to ensure that all future housing developments are “future proofed” with good transport access and minimum provision of community assets, like a community centre.
4. Welsh Government must ensure, through stronger guidance or legislation, that communities have a simpler process to take over key community facilities.
5. To build community resilience across Wales, Welsh Government must create a ‘Community Wealth Fund’ using the new wave of money to be released under 2022’s Dormant Assets Act.
6. Funders need to recognise the needs of Less Resilient Areas and ensure they get their fair share of resources.

## Annexes

### 1. The Wales Community Assets Index and the Wales Community Resilience Index

MSOA Name	Local Authority Name	WCAI Rank	WCRI Rank	LRA?	Other Deprived Area?
Gurnos, Trefechan & Pontsticill	Merthyr Tydfil	1	1	✓	
Treherbert	Rhondda Cynon Taf	2	4	✓	
Abersychan	Torfaen	3	13	✓	
Cefn Mawr	Wrexham	4	18	✓	
St Mellons West	Cardiff	5	2	✓	
Duffryn & Maesglas	Newport	6	11	✓	
Penrhiw-ceibr	Rhondda Cynon Taf	7	9	✓	
Bettws	Newport	8	7	✓	
Rassau & Beaufort	Blaenau Gwent	9	25	✓	
Cornelly	Bridgend	10	27	✓	
Llanedeyrn	Cardiff	11	22	✓	
Abertillery North & Cwmillery	Blaenau Gwent	12	16	✓	
Monmouth & Wyesham	Monmouthshire	13	53	✓	
Rhose & Airport	The Vale of Glamorgan	14	66	✓	
Caerau West	Cardiff	15	10	✓	
Risca East	Caerphilly	16	43	✓	
Buckley South	Flintshire	17	62	✓	
Sirhowy	Blaenau Gwent	18	24	✓	
Penderry	Swansea	19	5	✓	
Old Colwyn & Llanddulas	Conwy	20	54	✓	
Llantwit Major	The Vale of Glamorgan	21	88	✓	
Fairwater & Greenmeadow	Torfaen	22	71	✓	
Townhill	Swansea	23	3	✓	
Bynea & Llwynhendy	Carmarthenshire	24	38	✓	
Abergele	Conwy	25	67	✓	
Abertillery South & Llanhilleth	Blaenau Gwent	26	19	✓	
Clydach & Mawr	Swansea	27	55	✓	
West Pontnewydd & Thornhill	Torfaen	28	15	✓	
Ringland	Newport	29	8	✓	
Sandfields	Neath Port Talbot	30	20	✓	
Aberaman	Rhondda Cynon Taf	31	30	✓	

Holywell & Bagillt	Flintshire	32	50	✓
Holyhead	Isle of Anglesey	33	29	✓
Tredegar & Georgetown	Blaenau Gwent	34	49	✓
Llanbradach & Penyrheol	Caerphilly	35	61	✓
Rhosllannerchrugog & Johnstown South	Wrexham	36	46	✓
Abergavenny North	Monmouthshire	37	58	✓
Kinmel Bay & Towyn	Conwy	38	40	✓
Treharris & Trelewis	Merthyr Tydfil	39	76	✓
Church Village West	Rhondda Cynon Taf	40	129	
Caldicot South	Monmouthshire	41	90	✓
Beddau & Tyn-y-nant	Rhondda Cynon Taf	42	102	✓
Trowbridge	Cardiff	43	12	✓
Barmouth & Dolgellau	Gwynedd	44	104	
Llanelli South	Carmarthenshire	45	14	✓
Cardigan & Aber-porth	Ceredigion	46	83	✓
Ely East	Cardiff	47	6	✓
Rhymney, Pontlottyn & Abertyswg	Caerphilly	48	21	✓
Brackla West	Bridgend	49	114	
Blaenau Ffestiniog & Trawsfynydd	Gwynedd	50	84	✓
Blaina & Nantyglo	Blaenau Gwent	51	32	✓
Swiss Valley & Llangennech	Carmarthenshire	52	133	
Merthyr Vale, Troed-y-rhiw & Bedlinog	Merthyr Tydfil	53	47	✓
Gorseinon	Swansea	54	105	
Gelli-deg & Town	Merthyr Tydfil	55	28	✓
Flint North East	Flintshire	56	37	✓
Mountain Ash	Rhondda Cynon Taf	57	45	✓
Pontardawe	Neath Port Talbot	58	117	
Nant-y-moel, Ogmore Vale & Blackmill	Bridgend	59	56	✓
Dowlais	Merthyr Tydfil	60	69	✓
Ebbw Vale North & Glyncoed	Blaenau Gwent	61	74	✓
Fishguard	Pembrokeshire	62	124	
Neath South	Neath Port Talbot	63	70	✓
Skewen & Jersey Marine	Neath Port Talbot	64	109	
Ystradgynlais & Tawe Uchaf	Powys	65	98	✓
West Cross	Swansea	66	142	
Ammanford & Betws	Carmarthenshire	67	97	✓
Birchgrove	Swansea	68	151	
Ystrad & Llwynypia	Rhondda Cynon Taf	69	36	✓
Pembroke Dock	Pembrokeshire	70	51	✓

Milford Haven West	Pembrokeshire	71	64	✓
New Tredegar & Darren Valley	Caerphilly	72	35	✓
Crosskeys South & Ynysddu	Caerphilly	73	120	
Llanrumney North	Cardiff	74	59	✓
Abergavenny South & Crucorney	Monmouthshire	75	156	
Ely West	Cardiff	76	99	✓
Morrison North	Swansea	77	160	
Prestatyn North	Denbighshire	78	106	
Bryn-mawr	Blaenau Gwent	79	79	✓
Milford Haven East	Pembrokeshire	80	87	✓
Pontprenau	Cardiff	81	195	
Hollybush & Henllys	Torfaen	82	181	
Gibbonsdown	The Vale of Glamorgan	83	52	✓
Rhos-on-Sea	Conwy	84	179	
Briton Ferry	Neath Port Talbot	85	34	✓
Bargoed	Caerphilly	86	57	✓
Rhyl East	Denbighshire	87	130	
Beechwood	Newport	88	107	
Pyle, Kenfig Hill & Cefncribwr	Bridgend	89	113	
Caerau	Bridgend	90	26	✓
Ebbw Vale South & Cwm	Blaenau Gwent	91	86	✓
Caia Park	Wrexham	92	17	✓
Abersoch & Aberdaron	Gwynedd	93	169	
Mostyn & Holway	Flintshire	94	141	
Tywyn & Llangelynnin	Gwynedd	95	162	
Griffithstown & Sebastopol	Torfaen	96	192	
Thornhill	Cardiff	97	222	
Porth East & Ynys-hir	Rhondda Cynon Taf	98	111	
Hirwaun & Rhigos	Rhondda Cynon Taf	99	68	✓
Hermitage & Whitegate	Wrexham	100	80	✓
Pengam & Cefn Fforest	Caerphilly	101	73	✓
Gowerton	Swansea	102	214	
Pentwyn	Cardiff	103	110	
Tylorstown	Rhondda Cynon Taf	104	33	✓
Pen-dre, Litchard & Coity	Bridgend	105	209	
Pen-y-cae & Minera	Wrexham	106	136	
Sarn, Bryn-coch & Bryncethin	Bridgend	107	121	
Mumbles & Newton	Swansea	108	231	
Mynydd-bach	Swansea	109	135	
Llandoverly, Cil-y-cwm & Cynwyl Gaeo	Carmarthenshire	110	145	
Pwllheli & Morfa Nefyn	Gwynedd	111	200	
Gaer	Newport	112	149	
Pont-y-clun & Llanharry	Rhondda Cynon Taf	113	224	

Glyncorrwg & Blaengwynfi	Neath Port Talbot	114	31	✓	
Amlwch & Llannerch-y-medd	Isle of Anglesey	115	140		
Crosskeys North & Abercarn	Caerphilly	116	157		
Machynlleth & Banwy	Powys	117	189		
Connah's Quay Wepre	Flintshire	118	228		
Connah's Quay North	Flintshire	119	111		✓
Tenby & Caldey	Pembrokeshire	120	201		
Llanrumney South	Cardiff	121	91	✓	
St Thomas	Swansea	122	103		✓
Chepstow South	Monmouthshire	123	183		
Broadlands	Bridgend	124	232		
	The Vale of				
Palmerstown	Glamorgan	125	165		
Brecon	Powys	126	216		
Tonypandy West & Clydach Vale	Rhondda Cynon Taf	127	85	✓	
Morrison South	Swansea	128	101		
Denbigh West	Denbighshire	129	81	✓	
Newbridge	Caerphilly	130	155		
Trefethin & Pen-y-garn	Torfaen	131	42	✓	
Blaenavon	Torfaen	132	108		✓
Maesteg East	Bridgend	133	94	✓	
Dunvant & Upper Killay	Swansea	134	247		
Glyn-coch & Ynys-y-bwl	Rhondda Cynon Taf	135	118		✓
Cydweli & Trimsaran	Carmarthenshire	136	119		✓
Llandudno Junction North & Deganwy	Conwy	137	249		
	The Vale of				
Barry West	Glamorgan	138	148		
Bala & Mawddwy	Gwynedd	139	197		
Llan-non, Cross Hands & Pen-y-groes	Carmarthenshire	140	215		
Rhyl North	Denbighshire	141	39	✓	
St Davids & Letterston	Pembrokeshire	142	225		
Loughor	Swansea	143	239		
Pentre-bach & Mountain Hare	Merthyr Tydfil	144	184		
Lawrence Hill	Newport	145	186		
Aber Valley	Caerphilly	146	92	✓	
Llanfairfechan & Penmaenmawr	Conwy	147	208		
Aberafan	Neath Port Talbot	148	65	✓	
Cefn-glas & Bryntirion	Bridgend	149	180		
Ystalyfera & Gwaun-Cae-Gurwen	Neath Port Talbot	150	126		✓
Maesteg West, Garth & Llangynwyd	Bridgend	151	174		
Caerphilly West	Caerphilly	152	194		
	The Vale of				
Penarth	Glamorgan	153	262		
Llanfyllin & Llanwyddyn	Powys	154	219		



Cwmafan & Bryn	Neath Port Talbot	155	161	
Aberdare East & Cwm-bach	Rhondda Cynon Taf	156	159	
Llangollen & Llandrillo	Denbighshire	157	212	
Ferndale & Maerdy	Rhondda Cynon Taf	158	63	✓
Llandudno Junction South & Llasanffraid Glan Conwy	Conwy	159	211	
Welshpool	Powys	160	172	
New Broughton & Bryn Cefn	Wrexham	161	173	
Liswerry & Uskmouth	Newport	162	78	✓
Llanrwst & Betws-y-coed	Conwy	163	230	
Llandrindod Wells	Powys	164	139	
Porthcawl West	Bridgend	165	257	
Hengoed & Maesycwmer	Caerphilly	166	137	
Fairwater North	Cardiff	167	153	
Caernarfon East	Gwynedd	168	166	
Knighton & Presteigne	Powys	169	244	
Ravenhill	Swansea	170	75	✓
Tonyrefail East	Rhondda Cynon Taf	171	171	
Pembrey & Burry Port	Carmarthenshire	172	205	
Pontllan-fraith	Caerphilly	173	191	
Pye Corner & Graig	Newport	174	264	
Acton & Maes-y-dre	Wrexham	175	188	
Beulah, Troed-yr-aur & Llandysul	Ceredigion	176	202	
Risca West	Caerphilly	177	177	
Gwersyllt West & Summerhill	Wrexham	178	185	
New Quay & Penbryn	Ceredigion	179	223	
Aberbargoed & Gilfach	Caerphilly	180	72	✓
Rhyl South West	Denbighshire	181	44	✓
Malpas	Newport	182	256	
New Brighton & Mynyddisa	Flintshire	183	295	
Trefforest	Rhondda Cynon Taf	184	123	✓
Pwll-mawr & St Mellons East	Cardiff	185	218	
Oakdale & Pen-twyn	Caerphilly	186	242	
Llanelli Bigyn	Carmarthenshire	187	143	✓
Tonyrefail West	Rhondda Cynon Taf	188	175	
Rhiwbina & Pant-mawr	Cardiff	189	302	
Llandeilo, Llangadog & Maenordeilo	Carmarthenshire	190	227	
Port Talbot East	Neath Port Talbot	191	138	✓
Porthcawl East	Bridgend	192	237	
Brynaman, Y Garnant & Glanaman	Carmarthenshire	193	152	
Cefncoedycymer, Heolgerrig & Park	Merthyr Tydfil	194	248	
Penrhyn Bay	Conwy	195	307	
Prestatyn Central & East	Denbighshire	196	193	
Pembroke West & Castlemartin	Pembrokeshire	197	128	✓
Gilwern & Llanfoist	Monmouthshire	198	275	
Caerphilly East	Caerphilly	199	163	

Cwmbwrla	Swansea	200	176	
Croesyceiliog	Torfaen	201	265	
Porth West	Rhondda Cynon Taf	202	93	✓
Llanishen	Cardiff	203	252	
Lower Penarth & Sully	The Vale of Glamorgan	204	308	
Ruthin	Denbighshire	205	294	
Rumney	Cardiff	206	235	
Central Bridgend	Bridgend	207	125	✓
Johnstown North & Rhostyllen	Wrexham	208	281	
Flint South West	Flintshire	209	300	
Llandudno Town & Gogarth	Conwy	210	158	
Pillgwenlly & Docks	Newport	211	23	✓
St Cattwg	Caerphilly	212	190	
Aberystwyth North	Ceredigion	213	279	
Church Village East & Ton-teg	Rhondda Cynon Taf	214	259	
Harlech & Llanbedr	Gwynedd	215	278	
Cwmbran	Torfaen	216	89	✓
Newtown South	Powys	217	96	✓
Cockett	Swansea	218	196	
Mold	Flintshire	219	272	
Bodedern & Rhosneigr	Isle of Anglesey	220	236	
Shotton & Garden City	Flintshire	221	144	✓
Rogerstone	Newport	222	317	
Baglan	Neath Port Talbot	223	289	
Neath Town	Neath Port Talbot	224	95	✓
Llantrisant & Talbot Green	Rhondda Cynon Taf	225	298	
Whitland, Laugharne & Llansteffan	Carmarthenshire	226	260	
Llandaf North	Cardiff	227	168	
Pontypool	Torfaen	228	146	✓
Glynneath	Neath Port Talbot	229	167	
Dafen & Felin-foel	Carmarthenshire	230	178	
Bangor-on-Dee, Overton & Penley	Wrexham	231	311	
Pontnewydd & Upper Cwmbran	Torfaen	232	204	
Bangor City	Gwynedd	233	271	
Dyserth & Tremeirchion	Denbighshire	234	255	
Central Swansea	Swansea	235	131	✓
Llandough & Cogan	The Vale of Glamorgan	236	310	
Caerau East	Cardiff	237	41	✓
Tre-lech, Cenarth & Llangeler	Carmarthenshire	238	217	
Prestatyn South	Denbighshire	239	277	
Abercynon	Rhondda Cynon Taf	240	170	
Dulais Valley	Neath Port Talbot	241	207	
Barry Island	The Vale of Glamorgan	242	241	

Betws-yn-Rhos, Llangernyw & Llangannan	Conwy	243	266	
Haverfordwest North	Pembrokeshire	244	198	
Saundersfoot	Pembrokeshire	245	280	
Chirk & Ceiriog Valley	Wrexham	246	245	
Ty-coch	Swansea	247	305	
Gronant, Ffynnongroyw & Trelawnyd	Flintshire	248	187	
Builth Wells & Llanwrtyd Wells	Powys	249	291	
Bon-y-maen	Swansea	250	134	✓
Llangefni	Isle of Anglesey	251	258	
Tonypany East	Rhondda Cynon Taf	252	127	✓
Rhaglan & Llantilio Crossenny	Monmouthshire	253	288	
Llandybie & Saron	Carmarthenshire	254	234	
Radyr, Morganstown & Gwaelod-y-garth	Cardiff	255	342	
Port Talbot South & Margam	Neath Port Talbot	256	221	
Killay	Swansea	257	347	
Carmarthen South & Llangynnwr	Carmarthenshire	258	254	
New Inn	Torfaen	259	330	
Cadoxton & Bryn-coch	Neath Port Talbot	260	332	
Llanfihangel-ar-arth & Llanybydder	Carmarthenshire	261	238	
Pen-y-groes, Tal-y-sarn & Dyffryn Nantlle	Gwynedd	262	246	
North Blackwood, Argoed & Markham	Caerphilly	263	242	
Blackwood	Caerphilly	264	290	
Cimla	Neath Port Talbot	265	331	
Barry East	The Vale of Glamorgan	266	132	✓
Porthmadog	Gwynedd	267	313	
Llangyfelach & Tircoed	Swansea	268	335	
Victoria & Somerton	Newport	269	115	✓
Pentre	Rhondda Cynon Taf	270	199	
Aberdare North & Llwydcoed	Rhondda Cynon Taf	271	206	
Upper Colwyn Bay	Conwy	272	319	
Ewloe & Hawarden	Flintshire	273	349	
Haverfordwest South	Pembrokeshire	274	263	
Aberdare West	Rhondda Cynon Taf	275	253	
Landore	Swansea	276	82	✓
Broughton & Saltney	Flintshire	277	322	
Aberaeron & Llanrhystud	Ceredigion	278	273	
Blaengarw, Pontycymer & Bettws	Bridgend	279	122	✓
Pen-y-ffordd & Higher Kinnerton	Flintshire	280	359	
Carmarthen North	Carmarthenshire	281	240	
Llansamlet	Swansea	282	261	
Barry Dyfan & Illtyd	The Vale of Glamorgan	283	362	
Treorchy	Rhondda Cynon Taf	284	210	

Cilgerran & Crymych	Pembrokeshire	285	284	
Ynysawdre & Aberkenfig	Bridgend	286	283	
Glyn & Pontyberem	Carmarthenshire	287	292	
Shaftesbury & Crindai	Newport	288	154	✓
Aberdulais & Resolfen	Neath Port Talbot	289	220	
Ystrad Mynach & Nelson	Caerphilly	290	301	
Borras & Rhosnesni	Wrexham	291	367	
Cyncoed North	Cardiff	292	361	
Tongwynlais & Coryton	Cardiff	293	323	
Corwen, Llanellidan & Efenechdyd	Denbighshire	294	299	
Borth & Bont-goch	Ceredigion	295	334	
Rhiwbina Village	Cardiff	296	370	
Bedwas & Trethomas	Caerphilly	297	270	
Connah's Quay South & Northop Hall	Flintshire	298	368	
Carmarthen West & Cynwyl Elfed	Carmarthenshire	299	325	
Neath Abbey	Neath Port Talbot	300	233	
Cyncoed South & Roath Park	Cardiff	301	381	
Colwyn Bay North	Conwy	302	182	✓
Llanmorlais & Three Crosses	Swansea	303	350	
Coedpoeth & Brymbo	Wrexham	304	304	
Llain-goch & Valley	Isle of Anglesey	305	326	
Hay-on-Wye & Talgarth	Powys	306	344	
Magor & Rogiet	Monmouthshire	307	366	
Fairwater South	Cardiff	308	229	
Queensferry & Sandycroft	Flintshire	309	251	
Lisvane	Cardiff	310	383	
Llanelli North	Carmarthenshire	311	226	
Cricieth & Llanaelhaearn	Gwynedd	312	324	
Rhayader, Newbridge-on-Wye & Elan Valley	Powys	313	309	
Pontarddulais	Swansea	314	296	
Ruabon & Marchwiel	Wrexham	315	329	
Bryn-cae & Llanharan	Rhondda Cynon Taf	316	339	
Llanddarog, Llangyndeyrn & Ferryside	Carmarthenshire	317	282	
Four Crosses & Guilsfield	Powys	318	354	
Whitchurch	Cardiff	319	375	
Llay South & Gwersyllt East	Wrexham	320	316	
Llandudno South	Conwy	321	286	
Tremorfa & Pengam	Cardiff	322	100	
Llanfair Caereinion & Caersws	Powys	323	328	
Lampeter & Llanfihangel Ystrad	Ceredigion	324	269	
Hope	Flintshire	325	357	
Caerphilly South	Caerphilly	326	369	
Brackla East & Coychurch Lower	Bridgend	327	374	
Aberystwyth South	Ceredigion	328	320	
St Julians & Barnardtown	Newport	329	276	
Taff's Well & Nantgarw	Rhondda Cynon Taf	330	287	

Beaumaris & Benllech	Isle of Anglesey	331	337	
Conwy & Afon Roe	Conwy	332	351	
Yr Hendy & Tŷ-croes	Carmarthenshire	333	353	
Bethel & Llanrug	Gwynedd	334	380	
Rhos-y-bol, Marian-glas & Moelfre	Isle of Anglesey	335	343	
Llanelli West	Carmarthenshire	336	268	
Leeswood, Treuddyn & Gwernaffield	Flintshire	337	358	
Pen-prysg, Hendre & Felindre	Bridgend	338	346	
South Riverside	Cardiff	339	48	✓
Bethesda	Gwynedd	340	293	
Neyland	Pembrokeshire	341	340	
Llanidloes, Blaen Hafren & Llandinam	Powys	342	364	
Adamsdown	Cardiff	343	60	✓
Rheidol, Ystwyth & Caron	Ceredigion	344	314	
Brynmill	Swansea	345	312	
Llantarnam & Oakfield	Torfaen	346	363	
St Asaph & Trefnant	Denbighshire	347	338	
Caernarfon West & Waunfawr	Gwynedd	348	303	
Newtown North	Powys	349	321	
	The Vale of			
Dinas Powys	Glamorgan	350	384	
Montgomery, Trewern & Berriew	Powys	351	372	
Grangetown North	Cardiff	352	116	✓
Bangor South	Gwynedd	353	318	
Caldicot North & Caer-went	Monmouthshire	354	387	
Pontypridd East & Cilfynydd	Rhondda Cynon Taf	355	267	
Pembroke East & Manorbier	Pembrokeshire	356	360	
Butetown	Cardiff	357	213	✓
Chepstow North & Trellech	Monmouthshire	358	391	
Caerwys, Halkyn & Nannerch	Flintshire	359	376	
Denbigh East & Pentre Llanrhaeadr	Denbighshire	360	388	
Mayals & Bishopston	Swansea	361	401	
Usk, Goytre & Llangybi Fawr	Monmouthshire	362	385	
Pontypridd West	Rhondda Cynon Taf	363	274	
	The Vale of			
Cowbridge	Glamorgan	364	395	
Maendy	Newport	365	203	✓
Abermule, Churchstoke & Kerry	Powys	366	355	
Gabalfa	Cardiff	367	345	
Newborough	Isle of Anglesey	368	315	
Stow Hill	Newport	369	147	✓
Machen	Caerphilly	370	327	
Birchgrove	Cardiff	371	393	
West Gower	Swansea	372	394	
Buckley North, Northop & Sychdyn	Flintshire	373	396	
Abergwili, Llanegwad & Carmel	Carmarthenshire	374	341	

Sennybridge & Talybont-on-Usk	Powys	375	377	
Crickhowell, Llangynidr & Llangorse	Powys	376	389	
Grangetown South	Cardiff	377	150	✓
Cathays South & Bute Park	Cardiff	378	285	
Narberth	Pembrokeshire	379	371	
Llanberis & Deiniolen	Gwynedd	380	333	
Johnston, Broad Haven & St Ishmaels	Pembrokeshire	381	348	
Uplands	Swansea	382	379	
Wrexham West	Wrexham	383	297	
Langstone & Llan-wern	Newport	384	378	
Sketty	Swansea	385	405	
Plasnewydd	Cardiff	386	164	✓
Pen-y-lan North	Cardiff	387	403	
Crundale, Clynderwen & Maenclochog	Pembrokeshire	388	365	
Caerleon	Newport	389	390	
Llandyrnog & Llanarmon-yn-Iâl	Denbighshire	390	392	
Llandaf & Danescourt	Cardiff	391	406	
Llanfair Pwllgwyngyll & Menai Bridge	Isle of Anglesey	392	397	
Gresford, Marford & Rossett	Wrexham	393	402	
Cardiff Bay	Cardiff	394	399	
Rhuddlan & Bodelwyddan	Denbighshire	395	356	
Pen-y-fai, Laleston & Merthyr Mawr	Bridgend	396	404	
Roath	Cardiff	397	306	
Splott	Cardiff	398	77	✓
Victoria Park	Cardiff	399	382	
Pen-y-lan South	Cardiff	400	352	
Cathays North	Cardiff	401	336	
Town North, University & Rhos-ddu	Wrexham	402	386	
Heath	Cardiff	403	409	
Canton	Cardiff	404	250	
Marshfield	Newport	405	398	
Creigiau, Pentyrch & St Fagans	Cardiff	406	410	
Pontcanna	Cardiff	407	373	
Ogmore-by-Sea & Llandow	The Vale of Glamorgan	408	408	
Ridgeway & Glasllwch	Newport	409	400	
Peterston-super-Ely & Wenvoe	The Vale of Glamorgan	410	407	