

# **The Senedd and Devolution in Wales**

## A bibliography



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# The Senedd and Devolution in Wales: a bibliography

Since the referendum on devolution in Wales in 1997, academics, political commentators, politicians and journalists from Wales and beyond have written about the different aspects of the devolution process in Wales. This bibliography attempts to list some of the most important of these publications in order to offer a balanced picture of the life of the Senedd and devolution in Wales up until the present moment.

A web version of the bibliography is also available on the Senedd Research website: [\*\*The Senedd and devolution in Wales: a bibliography\*\*](#)

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## Background to Devolution in Wales

The issue of "Home Rule" in Wales goes back more than a century to when the young David Lloyd George was campaigning as part of the Cymru Fydd movement. The publications below chart the progress toward devolution from the nineteenth century to 1997.

- Davies, Gwilym Prys, (2008) **Cynhaeaf hanner canrif: gwleidyddiaeth Gymreig 1945-2005**. Llandysul: Gomer.
- Deacon, Russell Martin, (2002) **The governance of Wales: the Welsh Office and the Policy Process 1964-99**. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.
- **Democracy and devolution: proposals for Scotland and Wales** 1974 Cm 5732
- **Devolution: financing the devolved services** 1977 Cm 6890
- Edwards, A. and Tanner, D. (2006) Defining or dividing the nation? Opinion polls, Welsh identity and devolution, 1966-1979. **Contemporary Wales**, 18, p54-71.
- Evans, John G., (2006) **Devolution in Wales: claims and responses 1937-1979**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Evans, John Gilbert (2019) **Labour and devolution in Wales**. Tal-y-bont: Y Lolfa.
- Foulkes D., Jones, J.B. and Wilford, R.A., (1983) **The Welsh veto: the Wales Act 1978 and the referendum**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Gooberman, Leon (2017) **From depression to devolution: economy and government in Wales, 1934-2006**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Information Commissioner's Office, (2010) **Report to Parliament: Freedom of Information 2000: ministerial veto on disclosure of the minutes of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on Devolution in Scotland, Wales and the regions**. London: TSO.
- Jones, Barry & Balsom, Dennis (eds.), (2000) **The road to the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- King, Richard (2022) **Brittle with relics: a history of Wales, 1962-1997**. London: Faber and Faber.
- Morgan, Kenneth O., (2014) **Revolution to devolution: reflections on Welsh democracy**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Morgan, Kenneth O., (1980) **Wales in British Politics 1868-1922**. 3rd ed.
- Morgan, Kenneth O. (1980) **Wales: a nation again**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacKay, R. Ross, (1997) **The economic impact of a Welsh Assembly**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.

- Parliament for Wales Campaign, (1997) **Power to the people of Wales: Government of Wales Bill 1997**. Cardiff: Parliament for Wales Campaign.
- Osmond, J., (1992) **The democratic challenge**. Llandysul: Gomer.
- Osmond, J. (1994) **A Parliament for Wales**. Llandysul: Gomer.
- Osmond, J. (2007) **Building the nation: creating internal political solidarity: the 1979, 1997 and 2011 referendums in Wales. (Discussion Papers)** Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Osmond, J., Aughey, A and Bort, B. (2011) **Unique paths to devolution: Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- **Our changing democracy: devolution to Scotland and Wales** 1975 Cm 6348
- Philip, A.B., (1975) **The Welsh question: nationalism in Welsh politics 1945-1970**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Rowlands, T. (2004) Whitehall's last stand: the establishment of the Welsh Office, 1964, **Contemporary Wales** 16, p39-52
- Tanner, D. (2006) Richard Crossman, Harold Wilson and devolution, 1966-70: the making of government policy, **Twentieth Century British History**, 17 (4), p545-578
- University College London Constitution Unit, (1996) **An Assembly for Wales**. London: UCL

## A 'Voice for Wales' and the 1997 Referendum

After the 1997 General Election, the new Labour UK Government published the White Paper, 'A Voice for Wales' which outlined its plans for a National Assembly for Wales. These publications include analysis of the referendum campaign and the result.

- **A voice for Wales: the Government's proposals for a Welsh Assembly 1997 Cm 3718**
- Andrews, Leighton, (1999) **Wales says yes: the inside story of the 'Yes for Wales' referendum campaign.** Cardiff: Seren.
- Denver, D. (2002) Voting in the 1997 Scottish and Welsh devolution referendums: information, interests and opinions, **European Journal of Political Research**, 41, p827-844
- Jones, Gwynoro & Gibbard, Alun (2021) **Whose Wales? The battle for Welsh Devolution and Nationhood: 1880 to 2020**
- Government of Wales Act 1998 (chapter 38)
- McAllister, Laura (1998) The Welsh devolution referendum: definitely maybe?, **Parliamentary Affairs** 2
- McAllister, Laura (1999) The road to Cardiff Bay: the process of establishing the National Assembly for Wales, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 52. p634-648
- National Assembly Advisory Group (1998) **National Assembly for Wales: have your say on how it will work: a consultation paper.** Cardiff: Welsh Office Devolution Unit.
- National Assembly for Wales, (1999) **Preparing for the Assembly: a management strategy.** Cardiff: NAFW.
- Referendums (Scotland and Wales) Act 1997 (chapter 61)
- Welsh Office, (1998) **The National Assembly for Wales: record of proceedings: a consultation paper by the Welsh Office.** Cardiff: Welsh Office.

## The All-Wales Convention and 2011 Referendum on further powers

The All-Wales Convention was set up to examine the possibility of extending the law-making powers of the Assembly. The publications below look at the work of the Convention and the 2011 referendum on further powers for the Assembly.

- All-Wales Convention (2009) **Report of the All-Wales Convention**. Cardiff: All Wales Convention.
- Bowers, Paul (2010) **Standard note: referendum in Wales: draft orders**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Bowers, Paul (2010) **Standard note: referendum for Wales: extending the scope of Assembly powers**. London: House of Commons Library
- Bowers, Paul (2011) **Standard note: referendum in Wales**. London: House of Commons Library.
- David, Wayne (2011) Why the case for a 'yes' vote is unanswerable. **Bevan Foundation Review**, 16, p4-5.
- Electoral Commission (2010) **Referendum on law-making powers of the National Assembly for Wales: report of the view of the Electoral Commission on the proposed referendum question**. Cardiff: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission (2011) **Report on the Referendum on law-making powers of the National Assembly for Wales: 3 March 2011**. Cardiff: Electoral Commission.
- Harvey, Malcolm (2011) How to lose a referendum in seven ways: thoughts on the upcoming Welsh powers referendum. **Regional and Federal Studies**, 21 (1), p91.
- House of Commons Welsh Affairs Select Committee (2010) **The proposed amendment of Schedule 7 to the Government of Wales Act 2006: second report of session 2010-11**. London: TSO.
- House of Commons Library (2011) **Political developments in Wales to June 2011**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Jennings, Martin (2011) **Results of the National Assembly for Wales referendum 2011: March 2011**. Cardiff: NAFW Members' Research Service.
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: May 2009**. London: UCL
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: January 2009**. London: UCL
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: September 2008**. London: UCL

- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: May 2008**. London: UCL
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: January 2008**. London: UCL
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: September 2007**. London: UCL
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: April 2007**. London: UCL
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (eds) **Wales devolution monitoring report: January 2007**. London: UCL
- Jones, Richard Wyn, (2007) Craffu ar y confensiwn, **Barn**, 539-540, p12-14.
- Jones, Richard Wyn, (2008) Ymlaen at y refferendwm, **Barn**, Rhagfyr 2008, p14-16.
- Osmond, John (2011) **Accelerating history: the 1979, 1997 and 2010 referendums in Wales**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Roberts, Owain & Thomas, Alys (2010) **Steps to a referendum on further powers: updates**. Cardiff: NAFW Members' Research Service.
- Roberts, Owain & Nicholson, Siân (2011) **Summary of Assembly Measures approved**. Cardiff: NAFW Members' Research Service.
- Roberts, Owain & Nicholson, Siân (2011) **The National Assembly for Wales referendum 2011**. Cardiff: NAFW Members' Research Service.
- Roberts, Owain (2011) **Legislative powers of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: NAFW Members' Research Service.
- Stafford, Ian (2011) Devolution in Wales and the 2011 referendum. **Scottish Affairs**, 77, autumn 2011, p28.
- Stirbu, Diana & McAllister, Laura (2011) An exercise in democratic deliberation: the All-Wales Convention's contribution to constitutional change. **Contemporary Wales**, 24 (1) winter 2011, p64-85.
- Wyn Jones, Richard & Scully, Roger (2012) **Wales says yes: devolution and the 2011 Welsh referendum**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.



## The Silk Commission and Wales Act 2014

The Commission on Devolution in Wales, set up by the UK Coalition Government and chaired by Sir Paul Silk, began its work in 2011, with a remit to look at further financial and legislative powers for Wales. The publications below look at the work of the Commission and its outcomes.

- Bourne, Nick (2011) The Silk Commission: devolution's last word, **Bevan Foundation Review** (18), p32-33
- Bowers, Paul & Webb, Dominic (2011) **Devolution in Wales: the Silk Commission: Commons Library Standard Note**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Changing Union Partnership Finance and Funding Working Group (2012) **Wales in a changing union: first submission to the Silk Commission**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Changing Union Partnership (2013) **A stable, sustainable devolution settlement for Wales: evidence to the Commission on Devolution in Wales**. Cardiff: Changing Union Partnership.
- Commission on Devolution in Wales (2012) **Empowerment and responsibility: financial powers to strengthen Wales** (Silk Report Part I) (PDF, 2.08MB). Cardiff: The Commission on Devolution in Wales.
- Commission on Devolution in Wales (2014) **Empowerment and responsibility: legislative powers to strengthen Wales** (Silk Report Part II) Cardiff: The Commission on Devolution in Wales.
- Holtham, Gerald (2011) Wales faces choice between Northern Ireland and Scotland on tax powers. **Agenda**, Winter 2011, p20-23.
- Jones, Carwyn (2014) **First Minister of Wales: speech on a new union**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- National Assembly for Wales (2014) **Submission to the House of Lords Constitution Committee on the inquiry into Scottish Independence: constitutional implications for the rest of the UK**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- Osmond, John (2012) Radical tax varying powers recommended for Wales, **Agenda**, 48, winter 2012. Cardiff: IWA.
- Osmond, John & Upton, Stevie (eds.) (2013) **A stable, sustainable devolution settlement for Wales: research papers**. Cardiff: UK's Changing Union.
- Plaid Cymru (2013) **Submission to part II of the Commission on Devolution in Wales**. Cardiff: Plaid Cymru.
- Roberts, Owain (2011) **The road to the Independent Commission on devolution in Wales: September 2011**. Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Thomas, Alys (2011) **The Silk Commission**. Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.

- Thomas, Alys (2013) **Summary of consultation responses to part 2 of the Silk Commission on Devolution in Wales.** Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Torrance, David (2018) **'A process not an event': devolution in Wales, 1998-2008.** London: House of Commons Library.
- UK Government, (2013) **UK Government's evidence to the Commission on Devolution in Wales: Part II: The Welsh Devolution Settlement.** Cardiff: Wales Office.
- [Wales Act 2014 chapter 29](#)
- Wales Office & HM Treasury (2013) [Empowerment and responsibility: devolving financial powers to Wales](#). London: TSO.
- Welsh Affairs Select Committee (2014) **Fourth report: Pre-legislative scrutiny of the draft Wales Bill.** London: TSO.
- Welsh Conservatives in the National Assembly for Wales, (2013) **Evidence submitted to the Commission on Devolution in Wales.** Cardiff: Welsh Conservatives.
- Welsh Government, (2013) **Evidence submitted by the Welsh Government to the Commission on Devolution in Wales.** Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Liberal Democrats (2013) **Securing home rule: Welsh Liberal Democrat submission to the Silk Commission.** Cardiff: Welsh Liberal Democrats.

## Wales Act 2017, Senedd and Elections Act 2020 and the Welsh Parliament

The Wales Act 2017 amended the devolution settlement and enabled the Senedd to legislate on its own electoral arrangements. The publications below look at the development of the Act and also the subsequent constitutional developments as a result of this legislation, which led to the renaming of the Welsh Parliament, and changes to the electoral system.

- Cogbill, Alan (2016) [The Wales Bill 2016: a marked improvement but there are fundamental questions yet to be resolved](#). UCL Constitution Unit Blog, 26 July 2016. London: UCL
- Crabb, Stephen (2017) Inside story: Wales Act. **Agenda**, 58, p35-36. Cardiff: IWA.
- [Draft Wales Bill 2015 Cm 9144](#)
- Evans, Gareth, Devolution in Wales: from Assembly to Parliament, **UK Constitutional Law blog** (15th April 2020)
- Expert Panel on Assembly Electoral Reform (2017) [A parliament that works for Wales](#). Cardiff: Expert Panel on Assembly Reform.
- Jones, Elin (2017) [Towards a parliament that works for Wales: Wales Governance Centre annual lecture, 6 December 2017](#).
- Jones, Richard Wyn (2016) Bil Cymru: 'gwrthnysig a chrintachlyd': pennod fethiannus arall. **Barn**, 646, Tachwedd 2016.
- House of Commons Welsh Affairs Committee (2016) [Pre-legislative scrutiny of the draft Wales Bill: First report of Session 2015-16](#). London: TSO.
- National Assembly for Wales (2016) [Consultation: changing the name of the National Assembly for Wales](#). Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales (2018) [Creating a Parliament for Wales: consultation document](#). (PDF, 3MB) Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales (2018) Consultation on creating a Parliament for Wales: summary of the main findings: July 2018, Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2015) [Report on the UK Government's draft Wales Bill](#). Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2015) [The UK Government's proposals for further devolution to Wales](#). (PDF, 508KB) Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2016) [Report on the UK Government's Wales Bill](#). (PDF, 1MB) Cardiff: NAFW.

- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2016) [Written evidence on the UK Government's Wales Bill](#). (PDF, 11MB) Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales (2018) Consultation on creating a parliament for Wales: summary of the main findings: July 2018. Cardiff: NAW.
- [Powers for a Purpose: towards a lasting devolution settlement for Wales 2015](#) Cm 9020
- Renwick, Alan (2017) [Reforming the Welsh Assembly: how do you choose an electoral system?](#) UCL Constitution Unit Blog, 12 December 2017
- Roderick, Vaughan (2015) The St David's Day declaration: not the last word. **The Welsh Agenda**, 54, Spring/Summer 2015, p33-34
- [Senedd and Elections \(Wales\) Act 2020](#)
- Thomas, Alys (2016) **Research briefing: The Wales Bill 2016**. Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Wales Governance Centre & UCL Constitution Unit (2015) **Challenge and opportunity: the draft Wales Bill 2015**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Wales Governance Centre & UCL Constitution Unit (2015) **Delivering a reserved powers model of devolution for Wales**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Welsh Government (2016) [Government and Laws in Wales draft Bill](#) and Explanatory Summary. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- [Wales Act 2017 \(chapter 4\)](#)
- Wales Office (2017) [Wales Act 2017: explanatory notes](#) (PDF, 6MB). London: TSO.

## Senedd Reform

Senedd reform refers to proposals to change the make-up of the Senedd to create "a strengthened parliament to represent the people of Wales". These works look at the process of Senedd reform.

- Davies, Rhun, Lewis, Phil and Moss, Nia (2022) [Senedd to debate proposals for a Senedd of 96 members](#), **Senedd Research web pages**, 6 June 2022.
- Davies, Rhun, Lewis, Phil and Moss, Nia (2022) [Senedd reform: a glossary](#). **Senedd Research web pages**, 6 June 2022.
- Expert Panel on Assembly Electoral Reform (2017) [A parliament that works for Wales](#) (PDF, 7MB). Cardiff: Expert Panel on Assembly Reform.
- Hayman, Josh (2022) [How should Wales be governed in the future?](#) **Senedd Research web pages**, 8 December 2022.
- Independent Commission on the Constitutional Future of Wales (2022) [Interim report](#). Cardiff: Independent Commission.
- Lewis, Phil (2022) [Electoral reform in Wales: beyond votes at 16](#). **Senedd Research web pages**, 25 October 2022.
- McAllister, Laura (2022) [Wales needs a larger Senedd, but a closed list system is not the best way to achieve it](#). **UCL Constitution Unit blog**, 29 June 2022.
- Morgan Jones, Ifan (2022) Diwygio'r Senedd: cynlluniau pellgyrhaeddiol. **Barn**, 713, Mehefin 2022.
- Owen, Gruffydd (2021) [Senedd reform: the story so far](#). **Welsh Parliament web site**, 22 November 2021.
- Owen Gruffydd (2021) [Senedd electoral reform: Research Briefing](#). Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- Welsh Government (2022) [Press release: a way forward for Senedd reform](#). **Welsh Government web pages**, 10 May 2022.
- Welsh Government (2022) [Have your say: the constitutional future of Wales: \[consultation documents\]](#). **Welsh Government web pages**, 31 March 2022 - 31 December 2022
- Welsh Parliament (2022) [Senedd reform: what is it? \(and other questions!\)](#). **Welsh Parliament web site**, 31 May 2022.
- Welsh Parliament Committee on Senedd Electoral Reform (2020) [Senedd reform: the next steps](#). Cardiff: Welsh Parliament.
- Welsh Parliament Special Purpose Committee on Senedd Reform (2022) [Reforming the Senedd: a stronger voice for the people of Wales](#). Cardiff: Welsh Parliament.



## Senedd Elections

There have been six sets of general elections to the Senedd and National Assembly for Wales to date. These publications include analyses of the results and of issues such as candidate selection.

- Awan-Scully, Roger (2018) **The end of British party politics?** London: Biteback.
- Bevan Foundation (2006) **Public attitudes to dual candidacy in elections to the National Assembly for Wales.** Cardiff: Bevan Foundation
- Blair, Jessica (2021) A decisive moment can't go unnoticed. **The Welsh Agenda**, 65 Autumn/Winter 2021, p30
- Bradbury, J., Bennie, L, Denver, D. & Mitchell, J. (2000) Devolution, parties and new politics: candidate selection for the 1999 National Assembly Elections. **Contemporary Wales**, 13.
- Bradbury, J. (2007) Constituency representation in Wales: the roles, relationships and regulation of Members of Parliament and the National Assembly. **Contemporary Wales**, 19 (1), p77-95.
- Bradbury, J. & Mitchell, J. (2007) The constituency work of members of the Scottish Parliament and National Assembly for Wales: approaches, relationships and rules, **Regional and Federal Studies**, 17 (1), p117-145.
- Brooks, Steve & ap Gareth, Owain (2016) **Women in the National Assembly.** Cardiff: Electoral Reform Society.
- Curtice, John (2006) Forecasting and evaluating the consequences of electoral change: Scotland and Wales, **Acta Politica**, 41 (3), p300-314
- Deacon, Russel Martin & McDonnell, Ellen, (2017) **Has Wales developed a political elite?: an analysis of the career comings and goings of Welsh Assembly Members from 1999-2016.** Cardiff: Gorwel.
- Edwards, J. & Chapman, C. (2000) Women's political representation in Wales: waving or drowning?, **Contemporary Politics**, 6 (4).
- Electoral Commission, (2016) **The National Assembly for Wales General Election 2016: report on the administration of the 5 May 2016 elections to the National Assembly for Wales.** London: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission, (2006) **Wales - poll position: public attitudes towards Assembly elections.** London: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission, (2007) **The National Assembly for Wales elections 2007.** London: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission, (2002) **Wales votes? public attitudes towards Assembly elections: research report December 2002.** London: Electoral Commission.

- Electoral Commission, (2003) **The National Assembly for Wales elections 2003: the official report and results**. London: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission, (2008) **Accounting for elections: the National Assembly for Wales elections 2007: March 2008**. London: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission, (2011) **Report on the National Assembly for Wales general election 5 May 2011**. London: Electoral Commission.
- Evans, Gareth, 'The Senedd election and the constitutional prospects for Welsh Devolution', **UK Const. L Blog** (13 May 2021)
- Expert Panel on Assembly Electoral Reform (2017) **A parliament that works for Wales** (PDF, 7MB). Cardiff: Expert Panel on Assembly Reform.
- **Green paper on future electoral arrangements for the National Assembly for Wales 2012 Cm 8357**
- Hill, Darran, (2011) The results that woke us up. **Bevan Foundation Review**, 17, p4-5
- Ingram, R. (2003) First or second order? Will the Scottish and Welsh elections deliver devolution?, **British Elections and Parties Review**, 13, p107-133
- James, Toby & Clark, Alastair (2021) 'Wales has put effective legislation in place to make the Senedd polls COVID-safe', **UCL Constitution Unit blog**, February 22, 2021.
- Jones, Richard Wyn (2021) Pleidiau cenedlaethol Cymru: dadansoddiad o etholiad Senedd Cymru 2021, **Barn** 702, Gorffennaf 2021.
- Jennings, Martin (2011) **2011 Assembly Election results: May 2011** (PDF, 1MB). Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Jones, B. (1999) The first Welsh National Assembly election, **Government and Opposition**, 34 (3), p323
- Jones, Helen & Holzinger, Owen (2016) **2016 Assembly Election Results** (PDF, 2MB). Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Jones, R.W. & Scully, R. (2006) Devolution and electoral politics in Scotland and Wales. **Publius**, 36 (1), p115-134.
- Larner, Jac & Scully, Roger (2017) A successful defence: the 2016 National Assembly for Wales election. **Parliamentary Affairs**, 70 (3), July 2017, p507-529
- Larner, Jac, Jones, Richard Wyn, Poole, Ed Gareth, SurrIDGE, Paula and Wincott, Daniel (2022) Incumbency and identity: the 2021 Senedd Election. **Parliamentary Affairs**, gsac012, 10 May 2022.
- Lewis, Phil (2022) **The UK elections act: what does it mean for Welsh voters?** **Senedd Research web pages**, 23 May 2022.
- Lewis, Phil (2022) **Electoral reform in Wales: beyond votes at 16**. **Senedd Research web pages**, 25 October 2022.



- MacKay, F. (2004) Women's representation in Wales and Scotland. **Contemporary Wales**, 2004, p140-161.
- McAllister, Laura (2016) Wales' politics gets exciting. **Exchange**, Summer 2016, p2-5.
- McAllister, Laura (2012) The 2011 Welsh general election: an analysis of the latest staging post in the maturing of Welsh politics. **Parliamentary Affairs**, 65 (3).
- McAllister, Laura (2004) Steady state or second order? The 2003 elections to the National Assembly for Wales, **Political Quarterly**, 75 (1), p73-82.
- McAllister, Laura (2000) Changing the landscape: the wider political lessons from the elections in Wales, **Political Quarterly**, 75 (1), p73-82.
- National Assembly for Wales Members' Research Service (2007) [2007 Assembly Election results \(updated\): July 2007](#) (PDF, 1MB) Cardiff: NAFW Members' Research Service.
- Osmond, John (2007) the watershed election, **Planet**, 183, p18-23
- Owen, Gruffydd & Morgan, Lucy (2021) **Welsh elections (coronavirus) bill: bill summary**, Cardiff: Senedd Research
- Patchett, K. (2002) **Issues and methodology: observations by the Institute of Welsh Affairs to the Commission on the Powers and Electoral Arrangements of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Scully, Roger (2004) Business as usual? comparing Westminster and National Assembly Elections in Wales, **Contemporary Wales**, 16, p75-82.
- Scully, Roger (2011) The best and worst of times. **Agenda**, Winter 2011, p33-34
- Scully, Roger & Jones, Richard Wyn (2012) Still three Wales?: social location and electoral behaviour in contemporary Wales, **Electoral Studies** 31(4), p656-667
- Scully, Roger, Jones, Richard Wyn & Trystan, Dafydd (2004) Turnout, participation and legitimacy in post-devolution Wales, **British Journal of Political Science**, 34(3), p519-538.
- [Senedd and Elections \(Wales\) Act 2020](#)
- Senedd Legislation, Justice and Constitution Committee (2021) **Report on the Welsh Elections (Coronavirus) Bill**, Cardiff: Senedd.
- Senedd Research (2021) [Election results 2021: what's changed?](#) Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- Senedd Research (2021) [Senedd Election 2021: research briefing](#). Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- Taylor, G. (2003) Hugs and tears: the Assembly election results, **Planet**, 159, p13-18

- Tonge, Jonathan, Loughran, Thomas and Mycock, Andrew (2021) Introduction: the 'Votes-at-16' debate in the UK. **Parliamentary Affairs**, 74 (3) July 2021 p503-506.
- Thomas, J., Cushion, S. & Jewell, J. (2004) Stirring up apathy? Political disengagement and the media in the 2003 Welsh Assembly elections, **Journal of Public Affairs**, 4(4), p355-363
- Trystan, Dafydd, Scully, Roger and Jones, Richard Wyn (2003) Explaining the 'quiet earthquake': voting behaviour in the first election to the National Assembly for Wales, **Electoral Studies**, 22, p635-650
- Wales Governance Centre (2016) **Reshaping the Senedd: how to elect a more effective Assembly**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Wales Governance Centre (2021) **Welsh Election Study 2021**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Wall, Matthew & Williams, Sophie (2017) Seeking evidence for a Welsh progressive consensus: party positioning in the 2016 National Assembly for Wales election, **Parliamentary Affairs**, gsx045, November 2017.
- [Welsh Elections \(Coronavirus\) Bill](#)
- Welsh Parliament (2021) [Election results](#) [web page]

## Political Parties and Devolution

Devolution provided a challenge for political parties to adapt to a new level of governance. The publications below look at the various aspects of how political parties strived to meet this challenge, especially in the early days of the Assembly.

- Andrews, Jonathan & Bradbury, Rhys (2010) State devolution and national identity: continuity and change in the politics of Welshness and Britishness in Wales, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 63, 2, p229.
- Awan-Scully, Shazia (2021) A rewarding, fascinating, wonderful, frustrating job? **Welsh Agenda** 65 Autumn/Winter 2021, p40
- Betts, C. (2007) Y genhedlaeth nesaf, **Barn**, 533, p17-19
- Bourne, Nick (2007) Up for the challenge, **Parliamentary Monitor**, 153 (2007), p.191.
- Bratberg, Oivind (2010) Multi-level parties in process: Scottish and Welsh MEPs and their home parties. **West European Politics**, 33 (4), p851-869.
- Davies, Nick & Williams, Darren (2009), **Clear red water: Welsh devolution and socialist politics**. Cardiff: Francis Boutle.
- Davies-Lewis, Theo (2021) Opposing Welsh Labour. **The Welsh Agenda**, 67, p22-25.
- Denton, Alison and Deacon, Russell (2018) 'Welsh politics, ideology and Political Parties' in Russell Deacon, Alison Denton and Robert Southall, **The Government and Politics of Wales**, Edinburgh: University Press.
- Elias, Anwen, (2013) 'Policy-making capacity of political parties in Wales' in John Osmond & Stevie Upton (eds.), **A stable, sustainable settlement for Wales: research papers**, Cardiff: UK's Changing Union.
- Griffiths, I. (2004) The Wales Green Party and the National Assembly for Wales elections 2003, **Environmental Politics**, 13(2), p461-466.
- Laffin, M., Taylor, G. & Thomas, A. (2004) Devolution and party organisation: the case of the Wales Labour Party, **Contemporary Wales**, 16 (4).
- Laffin, M., Shaw, E. & Taylor, G. (2005) **The Labour Party and devolution**. (Devolution Briefings; no.14). Birmingham: ESRC Devolution Programme.
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## Devolution and the Constitution in the Assembly and Senedd eras

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## Equality, representation and the Senedd

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## Scrutiny and committees

Senedd committees have been a key element in the scrutiny of Welsh Government policies and legislation during the lifetime of the legislature. These publications look at aspects of the committees' work and the capacity of the Senedd to carry out these functions effectively.

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- Stirbu, Diana (2021) **Power, influence and impact of Senedd Committees: developing a framework for measuring committees' effectiveness**. London: London Metropolitan University.
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## The Senedd building

The new building, the Senedd was officially opened in Cardiff Bay on 1 March 2006. The publications below look at the design and construction of the building.

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- Welsh Parliament (2021) **The Senedd: a landmark building** [web page], Cardiff: Senedd.

## Law and Legislation

Since May 2007, the Senedd has been able to pass primary legislation, but even before this, Welsh law was becoming increasingly distinctive in certain areas. The publications listed below trace the development of Welsh law since 1999.

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## The Policy Context

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