

The Senedd and Devolution in Wales

A bibliography



Contents

The Senedd and Devolution in Wales: a bibliography.....	2
Background to Devolution in Wales.....	3
A ‘Voice for Wales’ and the 1997 Referendum.....	5
The All-Wales Convention and 2011 Referendum on further powers.....	6
The Silk Commission and Wales Act 2014.....	8
Wales Act 2017, Senedd and Elections Act 2020 and the Welsh Parliament.....	10
Senedd Reform.....	12
Senedd Elections.....	13
Political Parties and Devolution.....	17
Devolution and the Constitution in the Assembly and Senedd eras.....	19
Public attitudes and engagement.....	24
Senedd Procedure.....	26
Equality, representation and the Senedd.....	28
Scrutiny and committees.....	31
The Senedd building.....	33
Law and Legislation.....	34
Inter-governmental and Inter-parliamentary relations.....	40
The Policy Context.....	47
Funding devolution.....	51
Brexit and Devolution.....	55

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**](#)

Updated: August 2022

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.
- 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 \(PDF, 3.3MB\)](#)
- 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, 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 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.
- 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 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.
- Larnier, Jac & Scully, Roger (2017) A successful defence: the 2016 National Assembly for Wales election. **Parliamentary Affairs**, 70 (3), July 2017, p507-529
- Larnier, 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.
- 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.
- Laffin, M. et al (2007) The new sub-national politics of the British Labour Party, **Party Politics**, 13(1), p88-108.
- Laffin, M. & Shaw, E. (2007) British devolution and the Labour Party: how a national party adapts to devolution, **The British Journal of Political & International Relations**, 9 (1), p55-72.

- Lynch, P. (2004) Saving the Union: Conservatives and the 'Celtic Fringe', **Political Quarterly**, 75 (4), p386-391.
- McAllister, L. (2001) The National Assembly election: Plaid Cymru's coming of age, **Contemporary Wales**, 14, p109-114.
- McAllister, L. (2000) The new politics in Wales: rhetoric or reality?, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 57 (2), p396-407.
- McAllister, L. (2016) Assembly No.5: A new reality, **The Welsh Agenda**, 57, Autumn / Winter 2016, p28-30.
- Manning, Polly (2022) The cost of survival, **The Welsh Agenda** 68, Spring 2022, p4-7.
- Morgan, R., Bourne, N., Williams, K. & Price, A. (2008) **Politics in 21st century Wales**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- National Assembly for Wales Standards of Conduct Committee (2013) **Report 03-13 to the Assembly on Lobbying and Cross-Party Groups**, Cardiff: NAFW.
- Osmond, J., (2007) **Crossing the rubicon: coalition politics Welsh style**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Osmond, J. (2008) **Ending sovereignty's denial**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Owusu Fofie, F. (2008) Decade into UK devolution, nationalists on the win? **Midwestern Political Science Association Conference papers**, p1.
- Parties and party systems: realignment or readjustment?, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 57 (2), p396-407.
- Price, Adam (2015) The one-and-a-half Party State, **The Welsh Agenda**, Autumn / Winter 2015, p28-30.
- Reckless, Mark (2016) Assembly No.5: Why we're here, **The Welsh Agenda**, 57, Autumn / Winter 2016, p32-33.
- Taylor, G., (2003) 'Labour' in John Osmond and J. Barry Jones (ed) **Birth of Welsh Democracy: the first term of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: IWA/WGC.
- Thomas, A., (2003) 'Liberal Democrats' in John Osmond and J. Barry Jones (ed) **Birth of Welsh Democracy: the first term of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: IWA/WGC.
- Waters, Lee (2012) **From little acorns...: the fall and rise of devolution in the Wales Labour Party: 1979-1995**. 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.
- Wyn Jones, Richard (2022) Plaid Cymru wedi'r cytundeb. **Barn**, Rhagfyr 2021 - Ionawr 2022.

Devolution and the Constitution in the Assembly and Senedd eras

The Senedd, the way it works and its constitution have evolved since 1999 with a number of step changes along the way, most notably its separation from the Welsh Government in 2007 and obtaining new legislative powers. The publications below show the way in which the Senedd has and is developing as a legislature.

- 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.
- Andrews, Leighton (2015) A new union mentality, **The Welsh Agenda**, Autumn / Winter 2015, p31-33.
- Antoniwi, Mick (2021) **A national civic conversation about constitutional future**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Bogdanor, Vernon (2001) **Devolution in the United Kingdom**, Chapters 5 & 7, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bogdanor, Vernon (2009) 'Devolution'. In **The new British constitution**, Chapter 4, [London]: Hart Publishing.
- Bourne, Nick (2014) **A written entrenched constitution for the United Kingdom: all of it and parts of it: Welsh Political Archive Lecture: 7 November 2014**. [Aberystwyth: Welsh Political Archive].
- Bradbury, J., Gay, O., Hazell, R. & Mitchell, J. (2003) **Local representation in a devolved Scotland and Wales: guidance for constituency and regional members: lessons from the first term. (Policy Paper; no.9)** Birmingham: ESRC Devolution Programme.
- Bradbury, J. (2008) 'Devolution in Wales: an unfolding process'. In J. Bradbury (ed.) **Devolution, regionalism and regional development: the UK experience**, Chapter 3. London: Routledge.
- Chaney, P., (2001) **New governance, new democracy? Post-devolution Wales**. Cardiff: University of Wales.
- Cheung, Aron et al. (2019) **Devolution at 20**. London: Institute for Government.
- Cole, A., Jones, J. B. and Storer, A. (2003) Inside the National Assembly for Wales: the Welsh civil service under devolution, **Political Quarterly**, 74 (2), p223-232.
- Cooke, P. & Clifton, N. (2005) **The Welsh Assembly and economic governance in Wales**. Cardiff: University of Wales.
- Crompton, Adrian, (2009) Infant parliament. **Agenda**, Winter 2009.

- Davies, Ron (1999) **Devolution: a process not an event**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Davies-Lewis, Theo (2021) Facing the future, taking back control. **The Welsh Agenda**, 66, p4-7.
- Deacon, R. & Sandry, A., (2007) **Devolution in the United Kingdom**. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Deacon, R., Denton, A. & Southall, R. (2018) **The government and politics of Wales**, Edinburgh: University Press.
- **Devolution: a decade on: Government response 2009 Cm 7687**
- Elias, Anwen and Jarvis, Matt (2021) What might a 'national conversation' look like? **The Welsh Agenda**, Autumn / Winter 2021, p26-28.
- Evans, Daniel, Smith, Keiron and Williams, Huw (eds.) (2021) **The Welsh way: essays on neoliberalism and devolution**. Cardigan: Parthian.
- Evans, Gareth, Devolution in Wales: from Assembly to Parliament, **UK Constitutional Law blog** (15th April 2020)
- George, Andrew & Crompton, Adrian (2004) Wales' National Assembly: analysing the progress of a first legislature, **Parliamentarian**, 85 (3), p242-245.
- Hannan, P. (2009), **A useful fiction: adventures in British democracy**. Bridgend: Seren.
- Hazell, R. & Trench, A (eds.) **The state of the nation 2000-2005**. London: UCL
- House of Commons Library, (2013) **Political developments in Wales to December 2012**. London: House of Commons Library.
- House of Commons Library, (2014) **Political developments in Wales to July 2014**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Huckle, Theodore (2015) **Fixes, fudges and falling short?: the need for a coherent and lasting devolution settlement for Wales: Sir William Dale Memorial Lecture, London, 30 November 2015**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Hughes, Gareth (2019) Sut oedd hi i chi felly? ugain mlynedd gyntaf ein Cynulliad, **Y Cymro**, Mehefin 2019.
- Hunter, J. (2004) The politics of identity: Wales. In M. O'Neill, ed. **Devolution and British Politics**, Chapter 5. London: Longman.
- Jenkins, S. (2003) Welsh devolution through London eyes. **Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion**, 2003, p175-184.
- Jones, Carwyn (2020) **Not just politics**. London: Headline.
- Jones, Glyndwr Cennydd (2019) **Constitutional relationships and sovereignty in these isles**. Cardiff: IWA.

- Jones, Glyndwr Cennydd (2021) Facing the future: the centre cannot hold? reimagining the constitutional structure of the British isles. **The Welsh Agenda**, 66, p8-14.
- Jones, Gwynoro, et al. (2017) **Towards federalism and beyond: a collection of essays**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Jones, Gwynoro & Gibbard, Alun (2021) **Whose Wales? The battle for Welsh Devolution and Nationhood: 1880 to 2020**
- Jones, Richard Wyn (2007) Diogelu'r deyrnas, **Barn**, 537, p12-15.
- Jones, Richard Wyn (2019) Pen-blwydd hapus, ond dim mwy o ddathlu, **Barn**, 677, p13-15.
- Jones, Richard Wyn & Scully, R. (2009) 'Welsh devolution: the end of the beginning and the beginning of...?' In Alan Trench (ed) **The State of the Nations 2008**, Chapter 3. Exeter: Imprint.
- House of Commons Justice Committee, **Devolution: a decade on, 24 May 2009**, HC 435-1 & HC 435-II
- Korris, Matt (2013) **Assembly line? the experiences and development of new Assembly Members**, London: Hansard Society.
- Melding, David (2019) **Unionism and nationalism in Welsh political life: an essay by David Melding AM to mark the 20th anniversary of devolution to Wales**. [Cardiff: David Melding]
- Melding, David (2012) **The reformed union: a British federation**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Melding, David (2010) Terrific twins of Welsh constitutional thought. **Agenda**, 42, p29.
- Melding, David (2009) **Will Britain survive beyond 2020?** Cardiff: IWA.
- Melding, David (2013) **The reformed union: the UK as a federation**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Mitchell, J. (2009) 'Devolution is a process: Wales'. In **Devolution in the UK**, Chapter 7. Manchester: University Press.
- Morgan, K., Mungham, G. (2000) **Redesigning democracy: the making of the Welsh Assembly**. Cardiff: Seren.
- Morgan, Kevin et al. (2002) Devolution dividend, **Agenda**, Spring 2009, p10-15.
- Morgan, R., (2000) **Variable geometry UK**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Murphy, Paul (2002) **Devolution: the view from Whitehall and Torfaen. Annual St David's Day lecture, 11 March 2002**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Nairn, T. (2006) **Gordon Brown: bard of Britishness**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- National Assembly for Wales: Senedd Research (2019) 20 years as a devolved nation - how has Wales changed? Devolution 20. Cardiff: NAFW.

- Osmond, J. (2002) **The future of Welsh devolution**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Osmond, J. and Jones, J.B. (2003) **Birth of Welsh democracy: the first term of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Osmond, J. (2004) Nation building and the Assembly: the emergence of a Welsh civic consciousness. In Alan Trench (ed.) **Has devolution made a difference?: the state of the nations 2004**, Chapter 11. Exeter: Imprint.
- Osmond, John (2003) 'From body corporate to virtual parliament: the metamorphosis of the National Assembly for Wales'. In Hazell, Robert (ed.) **The State of the Nations 2003: the third year of devolution in the United Kingdom**, Chapter 3. Exeter: Imprint Academic.
- Osmond, J. (2004) Wales: towards 2007. In A. Trench ed. **The dynamics of devolution: the state of the nations 2005**, Chapter 3. Exeter: Imprint.
- Osmond, J. (2004) Conclusion: the unfinished business of devolution: whither Wales. In A. Trench, ed. **Has devolution made a difference?: the state of the nations 2004**, Chapter 11. Exeter: Imprint.
- Paun, Akash & Macrory, Sam (2019) **Has devolution worked? The first 20 years**. London: Institute for Government.
- Perryman, Mark (ed.) (2009) **Breaking up Britain: four nations after a union**. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Pilkington, C., (2002) **Devolution in Britain today**, ii (4), iii (7). London: Politico.
- Price, Adam (2012) Why we need devolution in reverse. **Agenda**, 48, winter 2012. Cardiff: IWA.
- Pritchard, Huw & Davies, Greg (2021) **Constitution building in Wales: finding ways forward**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Rawlings, R. (2005) Hastening slowly: the next phase of Welsh devolution. **Public Law** 2005, p824-852.
- Rawlings, R. (2003) Towards a parliament: three faces of the National Assembly for Wales, **Contemporary Wales**, 15, p1.
- Renwick, Alan (2021) The Election Bill's proposals on Electoral Commission governance: risks to electoral integrity and devolution. **UCL Constitution Unit blog**, 30 September 2021.
- Royles, Elin (2007) **Revitalising democracy? Devolution and civil society in Wales**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Tanburn, Sarah (2013) **Wales, the United Kingdom and Europe: a conference report**. [Cardiff]: British Academy, Learned Society of Wales.
- Trench, Alan (ed) **State of the nations 2007: into the third term of devolution in the UK**. Exeter: Imprint.

- Schumann, William R. (2009) **Towards an anthropology of government: democratic transformation and nation building in Wales**. Palgrave MacMillan: London.
- Senedd Research (2021) **Constitutional Quick Guides: research briefing: November 2021**. Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- Shipton, Martin (2011) **Poor man's parliament: ten years of the Welsh Assembly**. Bridgend: Seren.
- Sullivan, M. & Clutton, S. (2005) The state of the nation or Welsh devolution comes of age: a reflective commentary on four devolution essays, **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 4 (1), p54-65.
- Torrance, David (2018) **A process not an event: devolution in Wales 1998-2018**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Torrance, David and Morgan, Lucy (2022) **Research briefing: Devolution in Wales: "a process not an event", 4 May 2022**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Trench, Alan (2008) Scotland and Wales: the evolution of devolution. In Robert Hazell (ed.), **Constitutional futures revisited: Britain's Constitution to 2020**, Chapter 2. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Waters, L (2006) A parliament by stealth? **Planet**, 175, p68-72.
- Welsh Government (2022) **Independent Commission on the Constitutional Future of Wales: progress report**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Wilkins, Siân (2008) devolution in Wales: a process not an event. **The Table: the journal of the Society of Clerks-at-the-table in Commonwealth Parliaments**, 76, p44.
- Williams, Jane (2022) **The impact of Devolution in Wales: social democracy with a Welsh stripe?** Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Wyn Jones, Richard & Lodge, Guy (2012) **The dog that finally barked: England as an emerging political community**. London: IPPR.
- Wyn Jones, Richard & Lerner, Jac (2020) Progressive home rule? **IPPR Progressive Review**, 27(3) Winter 2020, p235-245.

Public attitudes and engagement

The publications below look at some aspects of public attitudes towards the Senedd during the last twenty years, and ways in which the organisation has engaged with the people of Wales.

- Awan-Scully, Roger (2018) **The end of British party politics?** London: Biteback.
- Bond, Ross (2010) National identities and attitudes to constitutional change in post-devolution UK: a four territories comparison, **Regional and Federal Studies**, 20, 1 March 2010, p83-105.
- Blair, Jess & Mathias, Mat (2017) **Missing voices? How do people across Wales feel about politics?** Cardiff: Electoral Reform Society.
- Commission on Devolution in Wales (2015) [Evidence received by the Commission on Devolution in Wales \(the Silk Commission\), on Part I and Part II of its work](#) [Archived web page]
- Curtice, John & Syed, Ben (eds.) (2009) **Has devolution worked? The verdict from policy makers and the public.** Manchester: University Press.
- Electoral Commission, (2006) **Wales - poll position: public attitudes towards Assembly elections.** London: Electoral Commission.
- Electoral Commission, (2002) **Wales votes? Public attitudes towards Assembly elections: research report December 2002.** London: Electoral Commission.
- Gfk NOP (2009) **Research to support the work of the all Wales Convention: summary of findings from initial stages of quantitative and exploratory qualitative research.** Cardiff: GfKNOP.
- Gfk NOP Social Research (2009) **Research to support the work of the All Wales Convention: research report.** Cardiff: GfKNOP.
- Involve / National Assembly for Wales (2019) **National Assembly for Wales Citizen's Assembly: full report.** Cardiff: NAFW.
- Jowell, R. et al., (1998) **Scottish and Welsh referendum studies, 1997** [computer file], Colchester: UK Data Archive [distributor].
- Jones, R. Wyn et al., (2000) **Welsh Assembly Election Study, 1999** [computer file], Colchester: UK Data Archive [distributor].
- Jones, R. Wyn, Heath, A. & National Centre for Social Research, (2004) **Wales life and times study (Welsh Assembly Election Study).** Colchester: UK Data Archive [distributor]
- Jones, R. Wyn & Phillips, M., (2007) **Welsh Life and Times Study (Welsh Assembly Election Study).** Colchester: UK Data Archive [distributor]
- National Assembly for Wales, (2008) **Public attitudes 2008.** Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

- National Assembly for Wales Digital News and Information Taskforce, (2017) **Creating a digital dialogue: how can the National Assembly for Wales use digital to build useful and meaningful citizen engagement?** Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales, (2018) **Consultation on creating a Parliament for Wales: summary of the main findings: July 2018.** Cardiff: NAW.
- Parsons, Alex & Rumbul, Rebecca (2018) Did they write back? a mandate divide in response to constituent casework in devolved bodies. **Parliamentary Affairs**, 72, 3, July 2019, p552-541.
- Scully, Roger (2010) Double coalition land. **Agenda**, 41, p17-18.

Senedd Procedure

The Standing Orders of the Welsh Parliament and other corporate publications including annual reports and accounts.

- National Assembly for Wales, (2008) **Standing orders of the National Assembly for Wales [Third Assembly]**. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.
- National Assembly for Wales, (2011) **Standing Orders of the National Assembly for Wales [Fourth Assembly]**. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.
- National Assembly for Wales (2016) [Standing Orders of the National Assembly for Wales](#) (PDF, 599KB). Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.
- National Assembly for Wales (2015) **Presiding Officer's determination on proper form - Public Bills for Acts of the Assembly**. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.
- National Assembly for Wales Commission / Senedd Commission (2007) [Annual reports and accounts archive 2007-2019](#) [web page]
- National Assembly for Wales Commission / Senedd Commission (2013) [Corporate performance reports of the National Assembly for Wales Commission](#) [web page]
- National Assembly for Wales / Welsh Parliament (2010-) [Corporate policies and procedures](#) [web page]
- National Assembly for Wales Commission (2011) **Legacy report 2007-2011**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Commission (2016) **Legacy report 2011-2016**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Independent Review Panel (2010) **Review of bilingual services in the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Independent Review Panel (2009) **Getting it right for Wales: an independent review of the current arrangements for the financial support for Assembly Members**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Research Service (2018) **The Assembly Commission**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Research Service (2018) **Presiding Officer and Deputy Presiding Officer**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Research Service (2018) **Assembly Acts and the Legislative Process**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales (2011-) [Annual reports since 2011](#) [web page]

- Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales (2011) **Fit for purpose: report of the Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: Remuneration Board.
- Remuneration Board (2021) **Determination on Members Pay and Allowances for the Sixth Senedd**. Cardiff: Remuneration Board.
- Senedd Commission (2020-) Annual reports and accounts [web page]
- Senedd Research (2021) Emergency Bills. Cardiff: Senedd Research
- Study of Parliament Group (2021) **Parliaments and the pandemic: January 2021**. London: Study of Parliament Group.
- Welsh Parliament (2021-) Standing orders of the Welsh Parliament: Cardiff: Senedd.
- Welsh Parliament (2020) Code of conduct for Members of the Senedd. Cardiff: Welsh Parliament.
- Welsh Parliament (2020) Guidance on the proper conduct of Senedd business Issued by the Llywydd under Standing Order 6.17 (PDF) Cardiff: Welsh Parliament.

Equality, representation and the Senedd

Publications looking at equality and representation in the Senedd

- Awan-Scully, Roger (et al). (2018) Unpacking diversity: barriers and incentives to standing for election to the National Assembly for Wales: a report commissioned by the Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales (PDF, 1.5MB) Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Brooks, Steve & ap Gareth, Owain (2016) Women in the National Assembly. Cardiff: Electoral Reform Society Cymru.
- Chaney, Paul (2009) **Equal opportunities and human rights: the first decade of devolution in Wales**. Cardiff: EHRC.
- Chaney, Paul (2004) The post-devolution equality agenda: the case of the Welsh Assembly's statutory duty to promote equality of opportunity, **Policy and Politics**, 32 (1), p63-78
- Chaney, Paul (2004) Women and constitutional change in Wales, **Regional and Federal Studies**, 14 (2), p281-303.
- Chaney, Paul & Drakeford, Mark (2004) The primacy of ideology: social policy and the first term of the National Assembly for Wales. **Social Policy Review**, (16), p121-142,
- Chaney, Paul & Fevre, Ralph (2004) 'An absolute duty': an evaluation of the first five years of the Welsh Assembly's statutory equality duty. **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 3 (2), p135-156.
- Chaney, Paul (2006) critical mass, deliberation and the substantive representation of women: evidence from the UK's devolution programme, **Political Studies**, 54 (4), p691-714
- Dionne, Anna Manasco, (2010) 'Wales'. In Anna Manasco (ed.) **Women, men and the representation of women in the British parliaments: magic numbers?** Chapter 5. Manchester: University Press.
- Economic and Social Research Council, Swansea University & Warwick University (2009) **Gender and political processes in the context of devolution: research findings**. Swansea: Swansea University.
- Edwards, J. (2004) Mainstreaming equality in Wales: the case of the National Assembly building, **Policy and Politics**, 32 (1), p33-48
- Edwards, J. & Chapman, C. (2000) Women's political representation in Wales: waving or drowning?, **Contemporary Politics**, 6 (4)
- Edwards, J. & Chapman, C. (2003) Recent research, **Contemporary Politics**, 9 (4)
- Equality and Human Rights Commission (2012) **Who runs Wales? The journey towards gender equality**. EHRC: Cardiff.

- Electoral Reform Society (2011) [Women's representation in Scotland and Wales: report and analysis](#). Cardiff: Electoral Reform Society.
- Fevre, R. & Chaney, P., (2003) **Devolution and participation in Wales: Ron Davies and the cultivation of inclusiveness. (Working Paper series; 8)** Cardiff: Cardiff University School of Social Sciences.
- Fox, Ruth (2011) **Women at the top: politics and public life in the UK** [London: Hansard Society]
- Fox, Ruth (2011) **Boom and bust: in women's representation: lessons to be learned from a decade of devolution.** [London: Hansard Society]
- Lerner, 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.
- MacKay, F. (2004) Women's representation in Wales and Scotland, **Contemporary Wales**, 2004, p140-161
- McAllister, Laura (2001) Gender nation and party: an uneasy alliance for Welsh nationalism?, **Women's History Review**, 10 (1), p51-69
- McAllister, L & Edwards, J. (2002) One step forward, two step back: women in the two main political parties in Wales, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 55 (1), p154-166.
- McAllister, Laura (2019) [Why the Welsh Assembly should lower the voting age to 16](#), UCL Constitution Unit Blog, 22 May 2019.
- McMillan, Joyce & Fox, Ruth (2010) **Has devolution delivered for women?** [London]: Hansard Society.
- National Assembly for Wales / Welsh Parliament (2007-) [Annual equalities reports and Diversity and Inclusion annual reports since 2007](#). [web page]
- National Assembly for Wales (2016) **Diversity and inclusion strategy 2016-21**. Cardiff: NAW.
- Osmond, John, (2009) **Critical mass: the impact and future of female representation in the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Russell, M., McAllister, L & MacKay, F. (2002) Women's representation in the Scottish Parliament and National Assembly for Wales: party dynamics for achieving critical mass, **Journal of Legislative Studies**, 8, p849-876.
- Senedd Research (2021) [Election 2021: how diverse is the Sixth Senedd?](#) Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- 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.
- Usmani, Leila, et al (2021) **Do the right thing: achieving equity in racialised representation in public and political life in Wales**. Cardiff: Race Alliance Wales.

- Women in Public Life, (2015) Assembly Women in Democracy Caucus: report. Cardiff: NAFW.

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.

- Bochel, Catherine, (2012) Petitions: different dimensions of voice and influence in the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly for Wales, **Social Policy and Administration**, 46 (2), April 2012, p142.
- Cole, M., McAllister, L & Stirbu, D., (2014) **The capacity of the National Assembly for Wales**, Cardiff: UK's Changing Union.
- Cole, M., (2006) Asymmetrical public accountability: the National Assembly for Wales, questions and quangos, **Political Quarterly**, 77 (1), p98-106.
- Expert Panel on Assembly Electoral Reform (2017) [A Parliament that works for Wales: the report of the Expert Panel on Assembly Electoral Reform](#), Cardiff: Expert Panel, p60-89
- Gruffudd, Alun & Williams, Naomi (2014) **Scrutinising the scrutiny: the changing role of committees in the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: Bevan Foundation / Positif.
- Hollingsworth, K., (2000) The regional committees of the National Assembly for Wales: searching for a role?, **Wales Law Journal**, 1, p372-386.
- House of Lords Liaison Committee (2018) [Review of investigative and scrutiny committees - oral evidence by Christopher Warner, National Assembly for Wales, 27 June 2018](#) (PDF, 117KB). London: House of Lords.
- Jones, J. Barry & Osmond, John, (eds.) (2001) **Inclusive government and party management: the National Assembly for Wales and the work of its Committees**. Cardiff: IWA.
- McAllister, L & Stirbu, D., (2007) Developing devolution's scrutiny potential: a comparative evaluation for the National Assembly for Wales's subject committees, **Policy and Politics**, 35 (2), p289-310.
- National Assembly for Wales, (2016) **Organisational efficiency and effectiveness: review of the Assembly Commission's approach**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Commission (2011) **Legacy report 2007-2011**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Commission (2016) **Legacy report 2011-2016**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Commission, (2013) **Review of support for committees**. Cardiff: NAFW.

- National Assembly for Wales Standards of Conduct Committee, (2018) **Lobbying**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- Sandford, M. & Maer, L, (2004) **Effective scrutiny in the devolved institutions. (Briefing no. 6)** Birmingham: ESRC Devolution Programme.
- Schuman, William R., (2007) Transparency, governmentality and negation: democratic practice and open government policy in the National Assembly for Wales, **Anthropological Quarterly**, 80 (3), p837-862.
- Stirbu, Diana (2021) **Power, influence and impact of Senedd Committees: developing a framework for measuring committees' effectiveness**. London: London Metropolitan University.
- Thomas, Alys, (2009) 'Parliamentary officers in Wales: evolving roles' in Oonagh Gay & Barry Winetrobe (eds.) **Parliament's watchdogs: at the crossroads**, Chapter 4. London: UCL

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.

- Clancy, Claire, (2009) Wales' paperless parliament, **The Parliamentarian**, (2) 2009, p156.
- Fishlock, Trevor & Molyneux, Andrew (2010) **Senedd**. [Cardiff]: Graffeg.
- National Assembly for Wales, (2000) **New Assembly building project: project report 1/2000**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales, (2008) **The Senedd: Audit Committee report AC(3) 11-08**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Audit Office Wales, (2002) **The National Assembly's new building: update report**. Cardiff: National Audit Office Wales.
- Wales Audit Office, (2008) **The Senedd**. Cardiff: Wales Audit Office.
- 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.

- Beasley, Sarah (2003) The National Assembly - 'a voice for Wales'? **Statute Law Review**, 24, p211-236
- Lord Carlile of Berriew (2002) The evolution of devolution, **Wales Law Journal**, 2, p86-93.
- Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law (2015) **A constitutional crossroads: ways forward for the United Kingdom**. London: British Institute of International and Comparative Law.
- Bush, Keith (2006) Wales measures up: reforms to the structure and powers of the Welsh Assembly will have a beneficial effect on the law in Wales, **New Law Journal**, 156 (7229), p978-979
- Bush Keith, (2004) New approaches to UK legislative drafting: the Welsh perspective, **Statute Law Review**, 25 (2) p144-150.
- Bush, Keith (2012) A tale of two cities: legislating for Member remuneration at Cardiff Bay and Westminster, **Statute Law Review**, 33 (2), p141
- Bush, Keith (2004) The Planning and Compulsory Purchases Act 2004: a case study in post devolution primary legislation in Wales, **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 3 (2). p238-250.
- Bush, Keith (2003) Legal Wales, **Agenda**, Winter 2003, p35-36
- Bush, Keith & Pritchard, Huw, Implications of the Independent Review of Administrative Law for Devolved Government in Wales, **UK Constitutional Law blog** (22nd October 2020)
- Cabinet Office, (2012) **Devolution guidance note 17: modifying the legislative competence of the National Assembly for Wales**. London: HMSO.
- Commission for Devolution in Wales (Silk Commission) (2014) **Report of the Commission on Devolution in Wales: Part 2: empowerment and responsibility: legislative powers to strengthen Wales**. Cardiff: TSO.
- Commission on Justice in Wales (2019) **Justice in Wales for the people of Wales: report of the Commission for Justice in Wales: October 2019**. Cardiff: The Commission.
- Davies, Iwan (2010) Legislating between equals. **Agenda**, 41, p22-25
- Editorial (1999) Bilingualism in legislation, **Statute Law Review**, 20 (2), p105.
- Ellis, T. (2007) The law: wise or otherwise, **Planet**, 181, p34-39.

- Evans, Paul (2020) **Braking the Law: is there, and should there be, an executive veto over legislation in the UK Constitution?** London: UCL Constitution Unit.
- Greenberg, Daniel (2013) Welsh devolution, **Legal Information Management**, 13, p134-138.
- Griffiths, Sue & Evans, Paul (2012) Constitution by committee? Legislative competence orders under the Government of Wales Act (2007-2011), **Parliamentary Affairs** (2011), p1-31.
- Hill, Daran, Edwards, Huw & Jeffes, Leigh (2008) **The evolution of devolution: reflections on the operation of our legislative system.** Tredegar: Bevan Foundation.
- Holtham, Gerald (2010) Five fallacies of devolution. **Agenda**, 42, p24-26.
- House of Lords Select Committee on the Constitution, **Second report of session 2007-08: scrutiny of Welsh legislative competence orders**, 4 December 2007, HLP 17 07-08. London: TSO.
- Hughes, David (2017) The view from Wales. **Counsel**, December 2017.
- Hughes, Dylan & Davies, Huw G. (2012) Accessible bilingual legislation for Wales. **Statute Law Review**, 33(2) p103.
- Hunt, J., (2010) Devolution and differentiation: regional variation in EU law, **Legal Studies**, 30, 421-441.
- Institute of Welsh Affairs, (2009) **Putting Wales in the driving seat: legislative opportunities for the National Assembly as a result of implementing part 4 of the 2006 Wales Act.** Cardiff: IWA.
- Jones, T.H. & Williams, J.M. (2004) Cymru fel awdurdodaeth, **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 4(1), p33-53.
- Jones, T.H. & Williams, J.M. (2005) The legislative future of Wales, **Modern Law Review**, 68(4), p642-653.
- Jones, T.H. & Williams, J.M. (2004) Wales as a jurisdiction, **Public Law**, 2004, p78-101.
- Jones, T.H., Turnbull, J.H. and Williams, J.M. (2004) The law of Wales or the law of England and Wales?, **Statute Law Review**, 26 (3), p135-145
- Jones, T.H. (2003) The new Supreme Court: a Welsh perspective, **Wales Law journal**, 2, p369-373
- Jones, T.H. (2012) Wales, devolution and sovereignty. **Statute Law Review**, 33 (2), p151.
- Jones, R.W. (2006) Dadansoddi'r ddeddf, **Barn**, 526, p9-12.
- Justice Stakeholder Group (2016) **Law and justice in Wales: some issues for the next Assembly**, Cardiff: Justice Stakeholder Group.

- Lambert, D. (2002) Law making in Wales: legislation on-line, **Public Law**, p663-669.
- Lambert, D. (2002) **Statutory functions: the complications of executive devolution. Paper presented at the seminar 'Constitutional dilemma: decentralisation, devolution and federalism', 29 April 2002.** Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Lewis, Emyr (2011) The power of law. **Bevan Foundation Review**, 17, p8-9.
- Lewis, G. (2007) The Government of Wales Act 2006. **Judicial Review**, 33 (2), p151
- Lloyd, Dai (2011) On its own two feet. **Bevan Foundation Review**, 17, p8-9
- **Memorandum to Welsh Affairs Committee post-legislative assessment of the Government of Wales Act 2006 Cm 8256**
- Ministry of Justice (2007-) **Devolution guidance note 9: post-devolution primary legislation affecting Wales.** London: Ministry of Justice.
- National Assembly for Wales Committee on the Government of Wales Bill, (2006) **Report of the committee on the Government of Wales Bill: March 2006.** Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional Affairs Committee (2011) **Inquiry into the drafting of Welsh Government Measures: lessons from the first three years.** Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2012) **Inquiry into a separate Welsh jurisdiction: report.** Cardiff: NAFW
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2015) **Making laws in Wales: October 2015.** Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Constitutional and Legislative Affairs Committee (2016) **Report on the UK Government's Wales Bill,** Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Research Service, (2012) **Quick guide: reconsideration of Assembly Bills passed.** Cardiff: Research Service.
- Navarro, Marie (2014) Legislating for Wales 2013: law making for Wales reaches full speed. **Contemporary Wales**, 27 (1), p195-240.
- Navarro, Marie (2011) Legislating for Wales 2010-11. **Contemporary Wales**, 24 (1) Winter 2011, p192-211.
- Navarro, Marie & Lambert, David (2009) Legislative fog. **Agenda**, winter 2009, p26-28.
- Navarro, Marie & Lambert, David (2009) Bypassing the Assembly, **Agenda**, spring 2009, p34-36.
- Navarro, M. (2005) Devolution in Wales: its effect on subordinate legislation, **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 4 (2), p260-283.

- Navarro, M. & Lambert, D. (2007) Some effects of the Government of Wales Act 2006. **Contemporary Wales**, 20 (1), p13-30
- Navarro, Marie (2012) A substantial body of different Welsh law: a consideration of Welsh subordinate legislation. **Statute Law Review**, 33 (2), p163
- Navarro, M. & Lambert, D. (2005) **The nature and scope of the legislative powers of the National Assembly for Wales** (Devolution Briefings; no.13). Birmingham: ESRC Devolution Programme.
- Nason, Sarah (ed.) (2017) **Administrative justice in Wales and comparative perspectives**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Osmond, J., (2008) **Assembly to Senedd: the convention and the move towards legislative powers**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Owen, Richard (2018) Emerging law and procedure, **Law Society's Gazette**, 115 (5), p22-23.
- Patchett, K. (2007) Welsh law. **Agenda**, winter 2007-08, p22-24.
- Patchett, K. (2005) Principle or pragmatism? Legislating for Wales by Westminster and Whitehall. In R. Hazell and R. Rawlings (eds.) **Devolution, law making and the constitution**, chapter 4. Exeter: Imprint.
- Percival, Richard (2010) Reforming Welsh law. **Agenda**, 42, p41-42.
- Percival, Richard (2017) How to do things with jurisdictions: Wales and the jurisdiction question. In **Public Law** (2) 2017, p249-269.
- Pritchard, Huw (2017) Welsh law and policy: recent developments, **CILEx Journal**, Winter 2017, p42-43.
- Pritchard, Huw (2016) **Justice in Wales: principles, progress and next steps**. Cardiff: Cardiff University Wales Governance Centre.
- Rawlings, Richard (2018) The strange reconstitution of Wales. **Public Law**, January 2018, p62-83.
- Rawlings, Richard (2005) Law making in a virtual parliament: the Welsh experience. In R. Hazell & R. Rawlings (eds.) **Devolution, law making and the constitution**, Chapter 3. Exeter: Imprint.
- Rawlings, Richard (2003) **Delineating Wales: constitutional, legal and administrative aspects of national devolution (politics and Society in Wales)**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Rawlings, Richard (1998) The new model Wales, **Journal of Law and Society**, 25 (4), p461-509.
- Rawlings, Richard (2003) Of primary powers etc: two schemes of legislative (and executive) devolution, **Wales Law Journal**, 2, p408-424.
- Reyes, Eduardo (2013) The west wing. **Law Society Gazette**, May 2013. p16.

- Roddick, Winston (2006) The implications of the Government's White Paper 'Better Governance for Wales' on the development of legal Wales. **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 4 (3), p315-320.
- Roddick Winston (2003) Law-making and devolution: the Welsh experience, **Legal Information Management**, 3, p152-157.
- Roddick, Winston (2002) Creating legal Wales, **Agenda**, spring 2002, p37-39
- Roddick, Winston, (2002) Doing business with the Assembly: defining the parameters and utilising the opportunities, **Wales Law Journal**, 1, p305-312.
- Samuels, Alec (2012) Addressing the statute. **Statute Law Review**, 33 (2), p163.
- Senedd Research (2021) Emergency Bills, Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- Sherlock, Ann (2004) Wales: reviewing the Welsh devolution settlement, **European Public Law**, 10 (2), p237-244.
- Sherlock, Ann (2002) Government in Wales and the development of a new legal system within a system, **European Public Law**, 8, p16-23.
- Sherlock, Ann (2011) Devolution in transition in Wales. **European Public Law**, 17 (1) 2011, p25-34.
- Stevenson, Lillian (2013) An emerging Welsh legal identity: a brief overview of the information landscape, **Legal Information Management**, 13, p156-161.
- **The Government of Wales Act 1998 (chapter 38)**
- **The Government of Wales Act 2006 (chapter 32)**
- Thomas, Alys (2018) **Assembly Acts and the Legislative Process: a constitution quick guide**. Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Lord Thomas of Cwmgiedd (2018) A timely commission, **Law Society's Gazette**, 115 (8), 11, 2018.
- Torrance, David (2019) **Reserved matters in the United Kingdom: Briefing Paper CBP 8544**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Trench, Alan (2006) The Government of Wales Act 2006: the next steps on devolution for Wales, **Public Law**, 2006, p687-696.
- Trench, Alan (2016) Brexit, Article 50 and devolved legislative consent. Devolution Matters blog.
- Trench, Alan (2012) The courts and devolution in the UK, **British Journal of Politics & International Relations**, 14 (2)
- Turnbull, J. (2004) Primary legislation for Wales in 2003, **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 3, p105-112.
- **Wales Act 2014 (chapter 29)**
- **Wales Act 2017 (chapter 4)**

- Wales Governance Centre, (2016) **Justice in Wales: principles, progress and next steps**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Wales Governance Centre / UCL Constitution Unit, (2015) **Delivering a reserved model of powers for Wales**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Watkin, Thomas Glyn, (2015) **The legal history of Wales: second edition**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Watkin, Thomas Glyn & Greenberg, Daniel (2017) **The public law of Wales: legislating for Wales**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Williams, John (2010) The emerging need for a Welsh jurisdiction. **Agenda**, 42, p38-40.
- Williams, John (2004) Law making for Wales after the Richard Commission, **Wales Journal of Law and Policy**, 3 (2), p251-260.

Inter-governmental and Inter-parliamentary relations

Multi-level governance means there is dialogue between political actors at the different levels. These publications show some ways in which, since devolution, the Senedd has engaged with Westminster, local government and other devolved institutions.

- Andrews, R. (2003) Building a civic culture: institutional change, policy development and political dynamics in the National Assembly for Wales, **Local Government Studies**, 29, p129-130.
- Arnott, Margaret (2020) **Missing links: past, present and future inter-parliamentary relations in the devolved UK**, IWA: Cardiff.
- Aughey, Arthur, Bort, Eberhard and Osmond, John (2011) **Unique paths to devolution: Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Belzak, S. & Deacon, R.M. (2002) **Welsh devolution and grassroots democracy: a study of the initial effects of political and economic devolution on community and town councils in south Wales**. Cardiff: UWIC Business School.
- Bingham Centre for the Rule of Law (2015) **A constitutional crossroads: ways forward for the United Kingdom**. London: British Institute of International and Comparative Law.
- Birrell, Derek (2012) **Comparing devolved governance**. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bowers, Paul (2011) **The West Lothian question: Commons Library Standard Note**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Boyne, G.A., Midwinter, A.F. & Walker, R.M. (2005) **Devolution and regulation: political control of public agencies in Scotland and Wales**. Swindon: ESRC.
- Bradbury, J., (2005) **Union and devolution: territorial politics in the United Kingdom under Thatcher and Blair**, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bradbury, J. & Russell, M., (2005) **Learning to live with pluralism? Constituency and regional members and local representation in Scotland and Wales**. (Devolution Briefings; no.28) Birmingham: ESRC Devolution Programme.
- Bradbury, J. and Russell, M., (2005) **The local work of Scottish MPs and MSPs: effects of non-coterminous boundaries and AMs**. London: Constitution Unit.
- Cabinet Office, (2006) **Devolution guidance note 4: the role of the Secretary of State for Wales**.
- Cabinet Office, (2009) **Devolution guidance note 9: Parliamentary and Assembly primary legislation affecting Wales**.
- Cabinet Office, (2011) **Devolution guidance note 17: Modifying the legislative competence of the National Assembly for Wales**.

- Cabinet Office, (2018) **Devolution guidance note: Parliamentary and Assembly primary legislation affecting Wales: May 2018.**
- Cabinet Office (2022) **Review of intergovernmental relations: January 2022.** London: Cabinet Office.
- Carter, Caitriona A. (2008) Identifying causality in public institutional change: the adaptation of the National Assembly for Wales to the European Union, **Public Administration**, 86 (2), p345-361.
- Civil Service (2019) **Introduction to devolution.** London: Civil Service.
- Cowie, Graham & Torrance, David (2020) **Devolution: the Sewel Convention,** London: House of Commons Library.
- Davies, Iwan (2010) Legislating between equals. **Agenda**, 41, p22-25.
- Dickson, Francesca, (2011) Assembly denies international role. **Agenda**, Winter 2011, p41.
- Dunleavy, Patrick et al (eds) (2018) How democratic are the UK's devolved government arrangements? In Dunleavy et al (eds) **The UK's Changing Democracy: the 2018 democratic audit**, Chapter 6 London: LSE.
- Elis-Thomas, D. (2004) Cross-border obfuscation, **Agenda**, Summer 2004, p37-39.
- Evans, Adam (2018) Inter-parliamentary relations in the United Kingdom: devolution's undiscovered country? **Parliaments, Estates and Representation**, 25 June 2018.
- Evans, Paul (2020) **Braking the Law: is there, and should there be, an executive veto over legislation in the UK Constitution?** London: UCL Constitution Unit.
- Fofie, Felicia Owusu & Bettinson, Chris (2007) **The National Assembly for Wales and local government: partners together or a recipe for conflictual governance?** Midwestern Political Science Association Conference Papers 2007, p1-25
- Gay, Oonagh et al. (2003) **An introduction to devolution in the UK.** London: House of Commons Library.
- Cover, Daniel & Kenny, Michael (2018) Answering the West Lothian question? A critical assessment of 'English Vote for English Laws', **Parliamentary Affairs**, 17 February 2018.
- Harrington, J., Thomas, E. & Hughes-Moore, B., Is there a Welsh Health Law? Values, Divergence and Devolution after COVID-19, **UK Constitutional Law blog** (25th January 2021)
- Hazell, R. (2010) **The Conservative-Liberal Democrat Agenda for constitutional and political reform.** London: UCL
- Hazell, R. (2001) **Three into one won't go: the future of the territorial secretaries of state.** London: UCL

- House of Commons Public Administration and Constitutional Affairs Committee, (2016) **The future of the Union: Part 2: inter-institutional relations in the UK**. London: TSO.
- Huggins, R; Morgan, K & Rees, G., (2001) **Devolution and development: the Welsh Assembly and the governance of regional economic policy**. Cardiff: Welsh Governance Centre.
- Institute for Government (2021) **The United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020**. London: Institute for Government.
- Jeffery, C. (2006) Devolution and local government, **Publius**, 36 (1), p57-73.
- Jenkins, S. (2004) **Welsh devolution through London eyes**. Aberystwyth: Institute of Welsh Politics.
- Jones, Glyndwr Cennydd (2019) **These isles: an essay**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Jones, Glyndwr Cennydd (2021) **A sovereign Wales in an isle-wide confederation**. Cardiff: IWA.
- Jones, Glyndwr Cennydd (2021) Facing the future: the centre cannot hold? reimagining the constitutional structure of the British isles. **The Welsh Agenda**, 66, p8-14.
- Keating, Michael (2021) **State and nation in the United Kingdom: the fractured union**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kenealy, Daniel (2012) Concordats and international relations: binding in honour only?, **Regional and Federal Studies**, 22 (1), March 2012, p61-86.
- Kenny, Michael (2018) **Governing England: English identity and institution in a changing United Kingdom**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kenny, Michael et al. (2021) **Union at the crossroads: can the British state handle the challenges of devolution**. Cambridge: Bennett Institute for Public Policy, Cambridge University.
- Laffin, M. (2001) Beyond Westminster: the new machinery of subnational government, **Public Money and Management**, 21 (2), p3
- Laffin, M., Thomas A. & Webb, A. (2000) Intergovernmental relations after devolution: the National Assembly for Wales, **Political Quarterly**, 71 (2), p223
- Laffin, M. & Thomas, A. (2000) The United Kingdom: federalism in denial? **Publius**, 29 (3), 18p
- Laffin, M. & Thomas, A. (2001) New ways of working: political-official relations in the National Assembly for Wales, **Public Money and Management**, 21 (2), p45
- Laffin, M., Taylor, G. & Thomas, A., (2002) **A new partnership?: the National Assembly for Wales and local government**. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Laffin, M., Thomas, A. & Webb, A. (2002) **Intergovernmental relations after devolution: the National Assembly for Wales**. *Political Quarterly*, 71 (2).

- Lewis, Phil (2022) [The UK elections act: what does it mean for Welsh voters?](#) **Senedd Research web pages**, 23 May 2022.
- Lodge, Guy, Schmuecker, Katie & Coutts, Adam (eds.) **Devolution in practice 2010: public policy differences in the UK**. [Newcastle]: IPPR.
- Lundberg, T. C. (2006) Competition between Members of the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly: problem or virtue? **Political Quarterly**, 77 (1), p107-116.
- Masters, Adrian (2021) Don't we control Wales as well? **Welsh Agenda** 65 Autumn/Winter 2021, p44.
- **Memorandum of understanding between the United Kingdom Government, Scottish Ministers, the Cabinet of the National Assembly for Wales and the Northern Ireland Executive Committee Cm 5240**
- **Memorandum of understanding and supplementary agreements between the United Kingdom Government, Scottish Ministers, the Welsh Ministers and the Northern Ireland Executive Committee 2010 Cm 7864**
- **Memorandum of understanding and supplementary agreements between the United Kingdom Government, Scottish Ministers, the Welsh Ministers and the Northern Ireland Executive Committee: October 2013**
- Minto, Rachel; Hunt, Jo; Keating, Michael & McGowan, Lee (2016) A changing UK in a changing Europe: the UK state between European Union and devolution. **Political Quarterly** 87(2).
- Moore, C. (2006) Conflicts in representing the regions in Brussels: the case of Wales, **Regional Studies**, 40 (7), p793-799.
- National Assembly for Wales External Affairs and Additional Legislation Committee (2017) **The great repeal bill white paper: implications for Wales**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales External Affairs and Additional Legislation Committee (2018) **UK Governance post-Brexit**. Cardiff: NAFW
- National Assembly for Wales Research Service (2012) **The Secretary of State for Wales**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- Parry, Richard (2012) The civil service and intergovernmental relations in post-devolution UK. **British Journal of Politics and International Relations**, 14, p285
- Patchett, K. (2002) **Developing a partnership approach to primary legislation between Westminster and the National Assembly**. IWA submission to the Welsh Affairs Committee Inquiry into the legislative process as it affects Wales. (IWA Discussion Paper No.17). Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Paun, A., Munro, R., Randall, J. & Shaddock, L, (2014) **Governing after the referendum: future constitutional scenarios for Scotland and the UK**. London: Institute for Government.

- Paun, Akash (2009) Lost souls in the lobbies? Backbenchers from Scotland and Wales in post-devolution Westminster. In A. Trench (ed.) **The State of the Nations 2008**, Chapter 8. Exeter: Imprint.
- Paun, Akash et al. (2016) **Devolution as a Policy Laboratory: evidence sharing and learning between the UK's four governments**. London: Institute for Government.
- Paun, Akash et al. (2019) **Ministers reflect on devolution: lessons from 20 years of Scottish and Welsh government**. London: Institute of Government.
- Paun, Akash & Shuttleworth, Kelly (2020) **Legislating by consent: how to revive the Sewel Convention**. London: Institute for Government.
- Political and Constitutional Reform Select Committee (2013) **Do we need a constitutional convention for the UK?** HC 371. London: TSO.
- Roberts, Owain (2012) **Towards a UK Constitutional Convention?** Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Roberts, Owain (2013) **Wales and the Scottish Independence Referendum**. Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Royles, Elin (2010) Small, smart, successful: a nation influencing the 21st century world? The emerging Welsh paradiplomacy. **Contemporary Wales**, 142-170p.
- Sargeant, Jess (2020) **Co-ordination and divergence: devolution and coronavirus**. London: Institute for Government.
- Scully, Roger (2014) Lessons from Scotland. **Agenda**, 53, winter 2014/15, p4-5.
- Russell, M. & Bradbury, J. (2007) The constituency work of Scottish and Welsh MPs: adjusting to devolution. **Regional and Federal Studies**, 17 (1), p97-116.
- Sargeant, Jess (2020) **Co-ordination and divergence: devolution and Coronavirus**, London: Institute for Government
- **Scotland in the United Kingdom: and enduring settlement 2015 Cm 8990**
- Scott, Edward & Waitzman, Eren (2014) **Library note: debate on 29 October 2014: devolution following the Scotland Referendum**. London: House of Lords Library.
- Silk, Paul (2018) Devolution and the UK Parliament. In A. Horne & G. Drewry (eds) **Parliament and the Law**, second edition. Oxford: Hart. p.181-205
- Smith, Owen (2011) **Musings of a modern roundhead**. Bevan Foundation Review, 16, p8-9.
- Teaburn, Sarah (2013) **Wales, the United Kingdom and Europe: a conference report**, [Cardiff]: British Academy Learned Society of Wales.
- **The parties' published proposals on further devolution for Scotland 2014 Cm 8946**

- Thomas, Alys, (2012) **The Joint Ministerial Council: quick guide**, Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.
- Thomas, Lord Justice John (2010) **Our changing governance**, Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Torrance, David (2018) **Intergovernmental relations in the United Kingdom**, London: House of Commons Library.
- Trench, Alan (2014) **Intergovernmental relations and better devolution**, Cardiff: UK's Changing Union.
- Trench, Alan (2009) Opening doors: devolution in Wales and the Scottish Parliament. In C. Jeffery & J. Mitchell (eds.) **The Scottish Parliament 1999-2009: the first decade**. Edinburgh: Hansard Society.
- Trench, Alan, (2007) **Devolution in practice? Scottish and Welsh devolution and the Westminster Statute Book**. London: Constitution Unit.
- Trench, Alan, (2007) **Old wine in new bottles? Wales-Whitehall relations after the Government of Wales Act 2006**. London: Constitution Unit.
- Trench, Alan (2008) Tying the UK together? Intergovernmental relations and the financial constitution of the UK. In Robert Hazell (ed.), **Constitutional futures revisited: Britain's constitution to 2020**, Chapter 3. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Trench, Alan (2014) Devolution in the round: can Britain continue to muddle through? **Political Insight**, 5 (3).
- Trench, Alan & Greer, Scott (2010) Intergovernmental relations and health in Great Britain after devolution. **Policy and Politics**, 38 (4), p509.
- Tudor, Sarah (2022) [Calls for a UK-wide constitutional commission](#). House of Lords Library In Focus, May 26, 2022.
- **United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020 (Chapter 27)**
- UK Government Cabinet Office (2021) **Progress update on the review of intergovernmental relations: [March 2021]**. London: Cabinet Office.
- UK Government Cabinet Office (2021-) **Quarterly reports on intergovernmental relations**. London: Cabinet Office.
- Valsamidis, Lucy (2022) [The Review of Intergovernmental relations: a 'significant constitutional step forward'?](#) **Senedd Research web pages**, 25 March 2022.
- Valsamidis, Lucy and Moran, Sara (2022) [Common frameworks](#), **Senedd Research web pages**, 29 July 2022.
- Welsh Government (2019) **Reforming our Union: shared governance in the UK**, Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2021) **Reforming our union: shared governance in the UK: June 2021**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

- Whitaker, R. (2006) Ascendant assemblies in Britain? Rebellions, reforms and inter-cameral conflict, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 59 (1), p173-180.
- Wyn Jones, Richard & Lodge, Guy (2012) **The dog that finally barked: England as an emerging political community**, London: IPPR.
- Wyn Jones, Richard & Royles, Elin (2012) Wales in the world: intergovernmental relations and sub-state diplomacy. **British Journal of Politics and International Relations**, 14, p250-269.

The Policy Context

The publications listed below look at some of the broader observations on the process of policymaking in Wales since 1999, including the Senedd's engagement with civil society and policy divergence across the UK.

- Adams, J. & Schmuecker, K., (2005) **Devolution in practice 2006: public policy differences within the UK**. London: IPPR.
- Adams, J. & Robinson, P., (2002) **Devolution in practice: public policy differences within the United Kingdom**. London: IPPR.
- Andrews, Leighton (2014) **Ministering to education: a reformer reports**. Cardigan: Parthian.
- Alcock, Pete (2012) New policy spaces: the impact of devolution on third sector policy in the UK, **Social Policy & Administration**, 46(2).
- Audit Wales (2021) **Doing it differently, doing it right? Governance in the NHS during the COVID-19 crisis - key themes, lessons and opportunities**. Cardiff: Audit Wales.
- Batterbury, S., (2006) Evaluating policy initiatives to enhance civil society. In G. Day et al, eds. **Civil society in Wales: policy, politics and people**, Chapter 16. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Birrell, Derek (2009) **The impact of devolution on social policy**. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Bowen, Rachel (2011) The Welsh way for mental health. **Bevan Foundation review**, 16, p19.
- Bowyer, Osian (2018) **Public Service Reform in post-devolution Wales: a timeline of local government developments**. Cardiff: NAW Research Service.
- Bradbury, J. (2005) Devolution: between governance and territorial politics, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 58 (2). p287-302.
- Carter, Joseph (2010) Back to the drawing board on social care. **Agenda**, 41, p19-21.
- Cole, M. (2006) Assymetrical public accountability: the National Assembly for Wales, questions and quangos. **Political Quarterly**, 77(1), p98-106.
- Cole, Stuart (2005) Devolved government and transport: relationships, process and policy, **Public Money and Management**, 25(3), p179-185.
- Connell, Andrew, Martin, Steve & St. Denny, Emily (2017) How can subnational governments deliver their policy objectives in the age of austerity? Reshaping homelessness policy in Wales, **Political Quarterly**, 88 (3).
- Connolly, M.; Prosser, S.; Hough, R. and Potter K., (2006) **Making it happen in public service: devolution in Wales as a case study**. Exeter: Imprint Academic.

- Curtice, John & Seyd, Ben (eds.) (2009) **Has devolution worked? the verdict from policy makers and the public**. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Daugherty, Richard, Elfed-Owens, Prydwen (2003) A national curriculum for Wales: a case study of education policy-making in the era of administrative devolution. **British Journal of Educational Studies**, 51(3).
- Day, G. (2006) Chasing the dragon? Devolution and the ambiguities of civil society in Wales, **Critical Social Policy**, 26(3), p642-655.
- Dixon, Philip (2016) **Testing times: success, failure and fiasco in education policy in Wales since devolution**. Cardiff: Welsh Academic Press.
- Egan, David (2011) Schools, education and devolution in Wales. **Bevan Foundation Review**, 16, p20-22.
- Essex, Sue (2004) Local authority finance and accounting in Wales. **Public Money and Management**, 24 (3), p132-134.
- Harrington, J., Thomas, E. & Hughes-Moore, B., Is there a Welsh Health Law? Values, Divergence and Devolution after COVID-19, **UK Constitutional Law blog** (25th January 2021)
- Heley, Jesse (2012) Soft spaces, fuzzy boundaries and spatial governance in post-devolution Wales. **International Journal of Urban and Regional Research**, 37(4)
- Hodgson, Lesley (2004) Civil society and consultation, **Politics**, 24(2), p88-95.
- Holden, Russell (2011) Never forget you're Welsh: the role of sport as a political device in post-devolution Wales. **Sport & Society**, 14(2), p272-288.
- Institute of Welsh Affairs (2006) **Time to deliver: the third term and beyond: policy options for Wales**. Cardiff: Institute of Welsh Affairs.
- Jones, M. & Goodwin, M., (2005) **Devolution and economic governance**. Basingstoke: Taylor & Fancis Group.
- Jones, M., Goodwin, M. & Jones, R. (2005) State modernization, devolution and economic governance: an introduction and guide to debate, **Regional Studies**, 39(4), p397-404
- Jones, R. [et al] (2005) Filling in the state: economic governance and the evolution of devolution in Wales. **Environment and Planning**, 23(3), p337-360.
- Kay, A. (2005) Territorial justice and devolution, **The British Journal of Politics & International relations**, 7(4), p544-560
- Laffin, M. (2004) Is regional centralism inevitable? the case of the Welsh Assembly, **Regional Studies**, 38(2) p213-223.
- Lloyd, G. & Peel, D., (2008) Reconstructing regional development and planning in Scotland and Wales. In J. Bradbury (ed.) **Devolution, regionalism and regional development: the UK experience**, Chapter 9. London: Routledge.

- Loughlin, J. & Sykes, S. (2004) **Devolution and policy-making in Wales: restructuring the system and reinforcing identity**. (Policy Paper; no.11). Birmingham: ESRC Devolution Programme.
- MacKinnon, Danny (2013) Devolution, state restructuring and policy devergence in the UK. **Geographical Journal**, 181(1).
- McAllister, L. (2000) The new context for public policy-making: some lessons from the EU structural funds in Wales, **Public Policy and Administration**, 15(2), p.38-52.
- Mitchell, J. & Bradbury, J., (2004) Devolution: comparative development and policy roles, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 57(2), p329-346.
- Mitchell, J. (2006) Evolution and devolution: citizenship, institutions and public policy, **Publius**, 36(1), p153-168.
- Morgan, R. & Hain, P., (2007) **Wales united: partnership for progress**. Cardiff: Bevan Foundation.
- National Assembly for Wales, (2000) **Putting Wales first: a partnership for the people of Wales: the first partnership agreement of the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Senedd Research (2019) **20 years as a devolved nation: how has Wales changed? May 2019**. Cardiff: NAW Senedd Research.
- Peckham, Steven et al. (2012) Devolution and patient choice: policy rhetoric versus experience in practice. **Social Policy & Administration**, 46(2).
- Rees, Gareth (2007) The impacts of parliamentary devolution on education policy in Wales, **The Welsh Journal of Education**, 14, p8-20
- Royles, Elin (2006) Civic society and the new democracy in post-devolution Wales - a case study of the EU structural funds, **Regional and Federal Studies**, 16(2)p 137-156.
- Royles, Elin (2006) **Revitalising democracy? Devolution and civil society in Wales**. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Royles, Elin (2013) **A leader in a changing world? Welsh climate change policy** - Paper presented at 63rd Political Studies Association Annual International Conference, Cardiff.
- Royles, Elin (2011) A small nation but a global leader among sub-state governments? Investigating the Welsh Assembly Government's climate change and sustainable development activity. In McEwan, M. Swenden, W. & Bolleyer, N. (eds.) **Multi-level government & the politics of climate change**, p22-25. Edinburgh: University Press.
- Royles, E. & Powel, D.H. (2014) **Commissioners and the Ombudsman and the infrastructure of Welsh governance: lessons from Wales and lessons for Wales: Policy Briefing**. Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University.

- Sargeant, Jess (2020) **Co-ordination and divergence: devolution and Coronavirus**, London: Institute for Government
- Seyd, B., (2004) **Coalition Government in Scotland and Wales**. London: Constitution Unit.
- Sherlock, A., Royles, E. & Williams, J. (2016) A Welsh model of Commissioners? **Cambrian Law Review**, 45 (2014)
- Storer, A., & Cole, A., (2002) **An emerging policy community? In and around the National Assembly for Wales**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2001) Planning and the National Assembly for Wales: generating distinctiveness and inclusiveness in a new political context, **European Planning Studies**, 9(4), p553-562.
- Tewdwr-Jones, M. & Allmendinger, P. (eds) (2006) **Territory, identity and spatial planning: spatial governance in a fragmented nation**. London: Routledge.
- Thomas, A. & Taylor, G. (2006) Political culture and civil society Wales. In G. day et al, eds. **Civil Society in Wales: policy, politics and people**, Chapter 5. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Trench, Alan & Greer, Scott (2010) Intergovernmental relations and health in Great Britain after devolution. **Policy and Politics**, 38(4), p509
- Welsh Assembly Government, (2007) **One Wales: a progressive agenda for the Government of Wales**. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.
- Welsh Government, (2011) **The programme for government**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2016) **Taking Wales forward 2016-2021**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- While, A. (2003) Devolution in practice: public policy differences within the UK, **Regional Studies**, 37, p872-873.
- Williams, Jane (2022) **The impact of Devolution in Wales: social democracy with a Welsh stripe?** Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Winckler, Victoria (2011) Wales on the move: priorities for the next Assembly term. **Bevan Foundation review**, 17, p2-3.
- Woolvin, Mike; Mills, Sarah; Hardill, Irene & Rutherford, Alasdair (2014) Divergent geographies of policy and practice? Voluntarism and devolution in England, Scotland and Wales. **Geographical Journal**, 181(1).

Funding devolution

The publications listed below deal with different aspects of how the Senedd and other devolved UK institutions have been funded since devolution. They also include publications on the development of tax-raising powers in Wales.

- Armstrong, Angus & Ebell, Monique (2014) **Real devolution: the power to borrow**. London: NIESR
- Baston, Lewis & ap Gareth, Owain Llyr (2010) **'Reduce and equalise' and the Governance of Wales**. [Cardiff]: Electoral Reform Society.
- Bell, David (2010) **Devolution in a downturn**. [Newcastle]: IPPR.
- Bush, Keith (2012) A tale of two cities: legislating for Member remuneration at Cardiff Bay and Westminster. **Statute Law Review**, 33(2), p141.
- Commission on Devolution in Wales ('Silk Commission') (2012) **Empowerment and responsibility: financial powers to strengthen Wales**. Cardiff: Commission on Devolution in Wales.
- Economic and Social Research council (2004) **The Richard Commission and the financing of devolved government: the economics of devolution in Wales**. London: ESRC
- Gallagher, J. & Hinze, D. (2006) **Financing the options for devolved government in the UK**. Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- HM Government / Welsh Government (2016) **The agreement between the Welsh Government and the United Kingdom Government on the Welsh Government's fiscal framework**. London: HM Treasury.
- HM Treasury (2010) **Funding the Scottish Parliament, Welsh Assembly Government and Northern Ireland Assembly: statement of funding policy**. London: HM Treasury.
- Holtham, Gerald (2010) Five fallacies of devolution. **Agenda**, 42, p24-26.
- House of Commons Public Accounts Committee (2019) **Funding for Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland**, London: TSO
- House of Commons Library (2012) **Holtham Commission**, London: House of Commons.
- Hughes, Stephen (2021) **Ten year review of the arrangements for the Independent Remuneration Panel for Wales**. Cardiff: Independent Remuneration Panel.
- Ifan, Guto & Poole, Ed Gareth (2018) **The Welsh tax base: risks and opportunities after fiscal devolution**, Cardiff: Wales Centre for Public Policy.

- Independent Commission on Funding and Finance for Wales (2010) **Fairness and accountability: a new funding settlement for Wales: final report: July 2010**. Cardiff: ICFFW.
- John, Peter et al. (2011) The policy-option link and institutional change: the legislative agenda of the UK and Scottish Parliaments. **Journal of European Public Policy**, 18(7), October 2011, p1052-1068.
- MacKay, R.R. (2006) Identifying need: devolved spending in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. **Contemporary Wales**, 18, p236-255.
- McConnell, Jack (2003) Funding devolution. **New Economy**, 7(2).
- McLean, Iain, Lodge, Guy & Schmuecker, Katie (2008) **Fair shares? Barnett and the politics of public expenditure**. Newcastle: IPPR.
- Mellett, Russell (2009) A principles-based approach to the Barnett Formula, **Political Quarterly**, 80(1).
- Midwinter, A. (2006) The Barnett Formula and its critics revisited: evidence from the post-devolution period. **Scottish Affairs**, 55, p64-86.
- National Assembly for Wales Independent Review Panel (2009) **Getting it right for Wales: an independent review of the current arrangements for the financial support of Assembly Members**. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.
- National Assembly for Wales (2015) **The future of the Assembly: ensuring its capacity to deliver for Wales**. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.
- National Assembly for Wales Finance Committee (2015) **Collection and management of devolved taxes in Wales**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Assembly for Wales Finance Committee (2019) **The implementation of Fiscal Devolution in Wales: March 2019**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- National Audit Office (2019) **Administration of Welsh income tax 2017-18**. London: NAO.
- National Audit Office (2019) **Investigation into devolved funding**. London: NAO.
- HM Treasury (2007) **Funding the Scottish Parliament: National Assembly for Wales and Northern Ireland Assembly: a statement of funding policy**. London: TSO.
- Poole, E., Ifan, G. & Phillips, D. (2017) **Fair funding for taxing times?** Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales (2011) **Fit for purpose: report of the Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales: March 2011**. Cardiff: Remuneration Board.
- Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales (2011) **Office holder remuneration: July 2011**. Cardiff: Remuneration Board.
- Remuneration Board of the National Assembly for Wales / Welsh Parliament (2011-) **Annual reports**. Cardiff: Remuneration Board.

- Roberts, Owain (2011) **The road to the Independent Commission on Devolution in Wales: September 2011**. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales Research Service.
- Roy, Dr Eleanor (2011) **The Barnett Formula and the changing face of devolution funding**. Cardiff: NAFW.
- **Select Committee on the Barnett Formula, The Barnett Formula**, 17 July 2009, HL 139
- Shortridge, Sir John (2010) New development: the evolution of Welsh devolution, **Public Money and Management**, 30, 2, p87-90.
- Thomas, Dr Alys (2011) **The Silk Commission**. Cardiff: Research Service.
- Trench, Alan (2010) The options for devolution finance: the choices for the new government, **Political Quarterly** 81(4), p571-582.
- Trench, Alan (2010) Wales and the Westminster model, **Parliamentary Affairs**, 63, 1, p117-133.
- Trench, Alan (2010) The options for devolution finance: the choices for the new government. **Political Quarterly**, 81(4).
- Trench, Alan (2008) Tying the UK together? Intergovernmental relations and the financial constitution of the UK. In Robert Hazell (ed.) **Constitutional futures revisited: Britain's Constitution to 2020**, Chapter 3. Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Trench, Alan (2013) **Funding devo more: fiscal options for strengthening the union**. London: IPPR.
- **Wales Act 2014 (c.29)**
- Wales Audit Office (2016) **Preparations for the implementation of fiscal devolution in Wales**. Cardiff: WAO.
- Wales Office & HM Treasury (2013) **Empowerment and responsibility: devolving financial powers to Wales**. London: TSO.
- Wales Fiscal Analysis (2019) **Trends in the Welsh income tax base: an update April 2019**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Wales Governance Centre (2016) **For Wales (Don't Always) See Scotland: adjusting the Welsh block grant after tax devolution**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Wales Governance Centre (2016) **Barnett squeezed? Options for a funding floor after tax devolution**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Wales Governance Centre (2016) **Income tax & Wales: the risks and rewards of new model devolution**. Cardiff: Cardiff University.
- Welsh Government (2014) **White paper: collection and management of devolved taxes in Wales**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

- Welsh Government (2014) **Treasury paper: tax powers, purpose, principles and priorities**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2015) **Treasury paper 2: developments in Welsh fiscal devolution**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2016) **Treasury paper 3: preparing for devolved taxation**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2016) **Treasury paper 4: summary of engagement responses: Welsh taxes - a conversation: taxes, taxpayers and the Welsh Revenue Authority**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Winckler, Victoria & Mansour, Nisreen (2015) **Devolved taxes in Wales: the context**. Cardiff: Bevan Foundation.

Brexit and Devolution

The publications below look at how the decision to leave the European Union could affect devolution and the Senedd.

- Antoniwi, Mick (2018) [Devolution, Brexit and the prospect of a new constitutional settlement for the four countries of the UK](#). UCL Constitution Unit Blog, 1 March 2018.
- Bogdanor, Vernon (2019) **Beyond Brexit: towards a British Constitution**. London: Tauris.
- Cowie, Graeme (2018) **Brexit: devolution and legislative consent**. London: House of Commons Library.
- Dougan, Michael et al. (2020) **UK Internal Market Bill, devolution and the constitution**, Edinburgh: Centre on Constitutional Change / Wales Governance Centre.
- Doyle, Oran, McHarg, Aileen, and Murkens, Jo (eds.) **The Brexit challenge for Ireland and the United Kingdom: constitutions under pressure**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Institute for Government (2019) **No deal Brexit and the Union**. London: Institute for Government.
- Institute for Government (2021) **The United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020**. London: Institute for Government.
- Jack, Maddy Thimont et al. (2018) **Devolution after Brexit: managing the environment, agriculture and fisheries**. London: Institute for Government.
- Jones, Gwynoro et al. (2018) [Brexit, devolution and the changing union: 2018](#). Cardiff: IWA.
- Kilford, Nicholas (2021) The UK Internal Market's interaction with Senedd Competences: the Welsh Government's challenge, **UK Constitutional Law blog** (23 February 2021)
- McCorkindale, C. & Harg, A. (2018) Continuity and confusion: legislating for Brexit in Scotland and Wales: Part I & II. **UK Constitutional Law Association blog**, 6-7 March 2018.
- McEwen, Nicola (2019) [Towards a Devolution Backstop? UK Government-devolved government relations after Brexit](#). UCL Constitution Unit Blog, 11 April 2019.
- Menon, Amand et al. (2018) **Brexit: local and devolved government**. London: UK in a Changing Europe.
- Moss, Nia (et al.) (2018) **Bill summary: Law derived from the European Union (Wales) Bill: March 2018**. Cardiff: NAFW Research Service.

- National Assembly for Wales External Affairs and Additional Legislation Committee (2018) **UK governance post-Brexit**. Cardiff: NAFW
- Senedd Research (2020) **UK Internal Market Bill: research and legal briefing: November 2020**. Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- Senedd Research (2021) **UK Internal Market Act 2020: research briefing: August 2021**. Cardiff: Senedd Research.
- **United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020 (Chapter 27)**
- Wales Governance Centre / UK in a Changing Europe (2018) **Brexit, devolution and Wales: autumn 2018**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.
- Welsh Government (2017) **Brexit and devolution: securing Wales' future**. Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Welsh Government (2021) **The new relationship with the EU: what it means for Wales**, Cardiff: Welsh Government.
- Wincott, Dan & Hunt, Jo (2020) **The constitutional implications of the UK Internal Market proposals**. Cardiff: Wales Governance Centre.