The Senedd and Devolution in Wales
A bibliography
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The Senedd and Devolution in Wales: a bibliography

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

A web version of the bibliography is also available on the Senedd Research website: The Senedd and devolution in Wales: a bibliography

Updated: January 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.

- Democracy and devolution: proposals for Scotland and Wales 1974 Cm 5732
- Devolution: financing the devolved services 1977 Cm 6890


Our changing democracy: devolution to Scotland and Wales 1975 Cm 6348


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)
- Government of Wales Act 1998 (chapter 38)
- McAllister, Laura (1999) The road to Cardiff Bay: the process of establishing the National Assembly for Wales, Parliamentary Affairs, 52. p634-648
- Referendums (Scotland and Wales) Act 1997 (chapter 61)
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.

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.

- 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.
- *Wales Act 2014* chapter 29
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.
- Draft Wales Bill 2015 Cm 9144
- Evans, Gareth, Devolution in Wales: from Assembly to Parliament. UK Constitutional Law blog (15th April 2020)
- National Assembly for Wales (2016) Consultation: changing the name of the National Assembly for Wales. 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.

- 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


- Wales Act 2017 (chapter 4)

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 / Cardiff University, (2013- ) Elections in Wales blog [web page]
- Blair, Jessica (2021) A decisive moment can’t go unnoticed. The Welsh Agenda, 65 Autumn/Winter 2021, p30


- Green paper on future electoral arrangements for the National Assembly for Wales 2012 Cm 8357


- Osmond, John (2007) the watershed election, *Planet, 183*, p18-23
- Senedd and Elections (Wales) Act 2020
- Senedd Research (2021) Election results 2021: what’s changed?
Wales Governance Centre (2016) *Reshaping the Senedd: how to elect a more effective Assembly*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.


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.

- Parties and party systems: realignment or readjustment?, Parliamentary Affairs, 57 (2), p396-407.
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.


*Devolution: a decade on: Government response* 2009 Cm 7687


Evans, Gareth, Devolution in Wales: from Assembly to Parliament, UK Constitutional Law blog (15th April 2020)


Jones, Glyndwr Cennydd (2019) *Constitutional relationships and sovereignty in these isles.* Cardiff: IWA.


Jones, Gwynoro & Gibbard, Alun (2021) *Whose Wales? The battle for Welsh Devolution and Nationhood: 1880 to 2020*


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]


Tanburn, Sarah (2013) Wales, the United Kingdom and Europe: a conference report. [Cardiff]: British Academy, Learned Society of Wales.


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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 / Cardiff University, (2013-) Elections in Wales blog opinion polls [web page]
- 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]
- 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.
- 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.
Senedd Procedure

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

- National Assembly for Wales / Welsh Parliament (2010-) *Corporate policies and procedures* [web page]
- National Assembly for Wales Research Service (2018) *Presiding Officer and Deputy Presiding Officer*. 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.


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.
- Economic and Social Research Council, Swansea University & Warwick University (2009) Gender and political processes in the context of devolution: research findings. Swansea: Swansea University.


McAllister, Laura (2019) Why the Welsh Assembly should lower the voting age to 16, UCL Constitution Unit Blog, 22 May 2019.


National Assembly for Wales / Welsh Parliament (2007-) Annual equalities reports and Diversity and Inclusion annual reports since 2007 [web page]


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.


The Senedd building

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

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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.

- Bush, Keith (2006) Wales measures up: reforms to the structure and powers of the Welsh Assembly will have a beneficil effect on the law in Wales, New Law Journal, 156 (7229), p978-979
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.


- Memorandum to Welsh Affairs Committee post-legislative assessment of the Government of Wales Act 2006 Cm 8256


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- The Government of Wales Act 1998 (chapter 38)
- The Government of Wales Act 2006 (chapter 32)
- Wales Act 2014 (chapter 29)
- Wales Act 2017 (chapter 4)


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.

- Cabinet Office, (2011) *Devolution guidance note 17: Modifying the legislative competence of the National Assembly for Wales*. 


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.


- 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.


- Lodge, Guy, Schmuecker, Katie & Coutts, Adam (eds.) *Devolution in practice 2010: public policy differences in the UK*. [Newcastle]: IPPR.

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: October 2013


National Assembly for Wales Research Service (2012) *The Secretary of State for Wales.* Cardiff: NAfW.


- Political and Constitutional Reform Select Committee (2013) *Do we need a constitutional convention for the UK?* HC 371. London: TSO.
- Scotland in the United Kingdom: and enduring settlement 2015 Cm 8990
- 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


**United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020 (Chapter 27)**


UK Government Cabinet Office (2021-) Quarterly reports on intergovernmental relations. London: Cabinet Office.


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.


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.


### 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.

- Bell, David (2010) *Devolution in a downturn.* [Newcastle]: IPPR.


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.

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


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 Governance Centre (2016) *For Wales (Don't Always) See Scotland: adjusting the Welsh block grant after tax devolution*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.


Brexit and Devolution

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

- Dougan, Michael et al. (2020) *UK Internal Market Bill, devolution and the constitution*, Edinburgh: Centre on Constitutional Change / Wales Governance Centre.


- United Kingdom Internal Market Act 2020 (Chapter 27)


