

## United Kingdom

### *Self-rule*

#### INSTITUTIONAL DEPTH AND POLICY SCOPE

The UK has a complex two-tier system of intermediate governance: at the highest level, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and, in England, nine combined authorities (since 2011; nine regions until 2012). Below the upper tier there is a diverse system of unitary authorities, counties, districts, and boroughs. Since 1999 Scotland and Wales have exercised significant policy competences; Northern Ireland has had home rule since 1950, but intermittently suspended. Because devolution varies across Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, we consider them autonomous regions. London has had a special status since 1888: as a county government with asymmetrical status until 1964, a special local authority between 1965 until its abolition in 1986, and after a hiatus of nearly fifteen years, it was reconstituted as a regional government with special autonomy from 2000.

We follow convention in conceiving the United Kingdom as a union of four countries, and therefore evaluate subnational government within each of these countries separately. We highlight where the laws or regulations are the same across all or some of the countries.

Modern-day *counties* came into being in 1888 (Law No. 41/1888; No. 73/1894; Law No. 37/1898; Martin 2014: 91–94; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–63). The law covered three of the four countries: England, Northern Ireland, and Wales—Scotland had its own regulations (see below). The law introduced a two-tier system of local government that consisted of an upper tier of (administrative) *counties and county boroughs*, and these were divided into rural districts, urban districts, and municipal boroughs. County councils were responsible for education, local police, public health, public transport, roads, and social care (John 2010; Law No. 41/1888, Arts. 3, 9–11). The county boroughs exercised the competences of both counties and districts (Law No. 41/1888, Art. 31 Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92). This local government system remained in place until the 1974 reform, which, as its predecessor, applied to the same three of the four countries but with local variation.

In England, the 1974 reform introduced 39 non-metropolitan and six metropolitan counties which were respectively divided into districts and metropolitan boroughs (John 2010; Law No. 70/1972, Art. 1; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92). Non-metropolitan counties are responsible for education, firefighting, housing, libraries, local police, museums, public transport, roads, social services, and spatial planning (Council of Europe: UK 2000, 2014; John 2001; Law No. 70/1972, Arts. 179–215). Metropolitan counties had fewer responsibilities than non-metropolitan counties because they shared some of their competences with their metropolitan boroughs and metropolitan boroughs were tasked with some competences such as libraries and social services that were allocated to non-metropolitan counties outside the metropolitan areas (Law No. 70/1972, Arts. 192, 195, and 206; Wilson and Game 2016: 118–140). We downgrade the score on policy scope to 1 for the six metropolitan counties.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Metropolitan counties governed over almost 11.5 million people which is about 18.2 per cent of the total

A reform effective in 1986 abolished the six metropolitan county councils and most of their functions were devolved to their 36 metropolitan boroughs and their task-specific joint boards and joint committees (Law No. 51/1985; Martin 2014: 91–94; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92). This reform made metropolitan boroughs de facto unitary authorities.<sup>2</sup> The Local Government Act of 1992 (Law No. 19/1992) introduced unitary authorities which are one-tier units which combine the competences of counties and districts. The first unitary authority was established on the Isle of Wight in 1995 and by the end of 1998 there were 46 unitary authorities covering almost 8.9 million inhabitants (John 2010; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92). An additional nine unitary authorities were established in 2009 covering about 3.3 million inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> In 2018, around 23.6 million English citizens are governed by a one-tier structure—i.e. 36 metropolitan boroughs and 55 unitary authorities—which is about 37.3 per cent of the total UK population whereas about 21.1 million English citizens are governed by a two-tier structure—26 counties subdivided into 192 districts—which is about 33 per cent of the total UK population.

In Wales, the 1974 reform merged the original 13 counties and four county boroughs into eight new non-metropolitan counties (upper tier), subdivided into 37 districts (lower tier) (Law No. 70/1972, Art. 20). In 1996, a new reform introduced unitary local government, which merged the two tiers into a single government. The reform established 22 principal areas that include counties, county boroughs and cities (Law No. 19/1994, Art. 1; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–63).

In Northern Ireland, unitary local government came already in 1974, which replaced the original six counties and two county boroughs established in 1898 (Law No. 37/1898, Arts. 4–19) by 26 one-tier local government districts (Law No. 9/1971; No. 9/1972; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–63). This number was reduced to 11 in 2015 (Law No. 421/2012).

Counties and county boroughs in England, Northern Ireland, and Wales score 2 on institutional depth and 2 on policy scope for 1950–1973. Non-metropolitan counties score 2 on institutional depth and 2 on policy scope for 1974–2018 in England and for 1974–1995 in Wales. Metropolitan counties (only present in England) score 2 on institutional depth and 1 on policy scope for 1974–1985.

Scotland had a separate system. Between 1890 and 1929, Scotland had county councils that were subdivided into parish and town councils and from 1930 onwards into districts and large and small burghs (Law No. 50/1889; No. 25/1929). In 1947, a reform created 37 *counties* including four *counties of city* as the upper tier and (landward) districts, large burghs, and small burghs as a lower tier (Law No. 43/1947, Art. 1; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92). Counties of city were the four largest burghs and they exercised the powers of both a county council and a large burgh and they were responsible for providing local services. The competences of Scottish counties were limited to education, local police, poverty, public health, and roads and they provided these

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UK population.

<sup>2</sup> We do not include metropolitan boroughs and unitary authorities in our measurement.

<sup>3</sup> When calculating country scores, we adjust the population weight for counties downwards each time a unitary authority was created. By 2018, unitary authorities in England covered around 12.1 million people which is about 19.2 per cent of the total UK population.

services in the small burghs and districts. The competences of counties exercised in large burghs (with a population over 20,000) was further restricted to education and local police except for large burghs with a population over 50,000 where counties only provided education (Law No. 25/1929; No. 43/1947, Arts. 105–112).

An overall reform in 1975 created a two-tier system of nine regions and 53 districts except for three island areas (Orkney, Shetland, and Na h-Eileanan Siar), which had a unitary government combining regional and district competences (Law No. 65/1973, Art. 1; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–63). The competences of regions were very similar to those of counties in England and Wales: they were tasked with education, environmental protection, firefighting, flood prevention, housing, parks, public transport, roads, sewerage, recreation, social work, spatial planning, and water (Law No. 65/1973, Arts. 123–184). From 1996, the two-tier system was replaced by 32 unitary authorities (Law No. 39/1994, Art. 1).

Counties in Scotland score 2 on institutional depth and 1 on policy scope and counties of city score 2 on institutional depth and 2 on policy scope for 1950–1974. Regions in Scotland score 2 on institutional depth and 2 on policy scope from 1975 until their abolishment in 1996.

London has had special arrangements since 1888. A separate section of the 1888 local government law created the county of London (Council of Europe: UK 2014; Law No. 41/1888, Art. 40). Instead of parishes and districts, the county of London was subdivided in 28 metropolitan boroughs (Law No. 14/1899, Art. 1), and the county also had somewhat less authority than other counties (see below). In 1963, a new law, the London Government Act 1963 (effective since 1965), created the Greater London council (Martin 2014: 91–94). The 28 metropolitan boroughs of the county of London were rearranged into twelve ‘inner London’ boroughs and merged with twenty ‘outer London’ boroughs annexed from neighboring counties (Law No. 33/1963, Art. 1).<sup>4</sup> The city of London has kept a special status throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century but apart from some minor differences functioned as a London borough (Law No. 41/1888, Art. 41; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92).

The county of (Greater) London was responsible for education, firefighting, flood prevention, housing, museums, public health, roads, sewerage, traffic and urban planning but most of these competencies were shared with the boroughs (Law No. 14/1899, Arts. 5–6; No. 33/1963, Art. 9–62). In 1986, the county of Greater London was abolished and its tasks were transferred to the central government (e.g. transport), to the borough councils (e.g. education and housing), or to joint boards (e.g. spatial planning and waste disposal) (Council of Europe: UK 2014; Law No. 51/1985; Wilson and Game 2016: 49–92). There was no second-tier government for the London area from 1986 until 1999 when the Greater London Authority was established (discussed below).

The county of London (1950–1964) and the county of Greater London (1965–1985) score 2 on institutional depth and 1 on policy scope. We code the county of London as an asymmetrical arrangement until 1964, and from 1965, when it becomes regulated by a special law, as a jurisdiction with special autonomy (except for 1986–1999, when it was abolished).<sup>β</sup>

In 1950, only Northern Ireland and Scotland had a regional government above counties. In

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<sup>4</sup> We adjust the population weight for the County of Greater London according to the increase of population.

1964, new interest in regional planning spurred the creation of eleven regions: eight in England, plus Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. In the regions, advisory Economic Planning Councils and Boards were set up, comprising appointed members from local authorities, business, trade unions, and universities (Balchin, Sýkora, and Bull 1999: 89–100; Sandford 2019b). Economic Planning Councils and Boards were assisted by central government departments. In 1979, the incoming Conservative government abolished Economic Planning Councils and Boards but central government departmental offices retained their role in the regions. By the 1990s the Conservative government reversed course and began to concentrate various functions in regional bodies with consistent boundaries. This led to the creation in 1994 of Government Offices for the Regions (GORs) which were designed to strengthen central coordination at the regional level, particularly in relation to EU and domestic regional funds (Burnham 2017: 132–134).

In 1999, the Labour government created Regional Development Agencies (RDAs), which existed alongside the Government Offices for the Regions and were subject to central government veto (Fenwick, McMillan, and Elcock 2009). RDAs were appointed by the central government and were funded by, and accountable to, central ministries. The reform also established consultative Regional Assemblies (later Regional Leader Boards) composed of representatives from local authorities, regional business, and public groups, including community organizations (Allen 2002; Law No. 45/1998, Arts. 2, 8, and 18; Sandford 2006; Wilson and Game 2016: 89–92). RDAs were responsible for economic policy, which included attracting investment, building infrastructure, improving skills, and coordinating economic development and regeneration policies (Ayres and Pearce 2004; Law No. 45/1998, Arts. 1 and 4).

In 2003, the Labour government set up a system in which referenda could be held on whether to set up directly elected regional assemblies to which RDAs would be accountable (Law No. 10/2003). However, the first referendum in the North-East of England in November 2004 was defeated heavily by 78 percent of those voting. Referendums that were planned for other regions were cancelled (Harrison 2010; Wilson and Game 2016: 89–92).

Plans to devolve power to London—from 2000, the ninth region—were more successful. A referendum in 1999 mandated the creation of a Greater London Authority (GLA) with a directly elected council and mayor with responsibility for culture, economic development, environment, fire protection, health inequalities, housing, spatial development, and transport (Greer and Sandford 2006: 242; Law No. 29/1999; No 24/2007; No. 20/2011; Pilgrim 2006; Rao 2006; Syrett 2006).<sup>5</sup> Most of these competences are shared with the borough councils<sup>6</sup> which implement GLA policy laid down in strategy documents which are produced by the mayor and which require consultation with the borough councils before they can be adopted (Law No. 29/1999; No. 24/2007; No. 20/2011; Wilson and Game 2016: 73–77).<sup>7</sup> In addition, the GLA has no service

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<sup>5</sup> Legally, policy authority rests with the mayor, but he is accountable to the assembly.

<sup>6</sup> Institute for Government. Explainers. Local Government. <<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/local-government>>

<sup>7</sup> Since 2011, the GLA assembly can reject strategy documents by a two-thirds majority (Law No. 20/2011, Art. 229).

delivery responsibilities and the borough councils—which are unitary authorities—are tasked with providing local services such as education, environmental health, libraries, leisure and recreation, social services, and waste disposal (Council of Europe: UK 2014; Sandford 2017; Wilson and Game 2016: 73–77). The GLA’s legislative authority over policy is weak;<sup>8</sup> it is constrained by the fact that the Secretary of State can at any time provide “guidance,” “directions,” and can “make regulations” that take precedence over GLA decisions (Law No. 29/1999). We score the GLA 2 on institutional depth and 1 on policy scope.

In March 2012, the Conservative–Liberal Democrat government abolished the RDAs, Government Offices for the Regions, and Regional Leaders Boards (Burnham 2017: 140–143). Some of the RDAs’ functions were transferred to Whitehall while others were taken over by local enterprise partnerships, i.e. voluntary partnerships between local governments and businesses. Land use planning became essentially a local function (Pearce and Ayres 2012).

Combined authorities were introduced by legislation in 2009 to enable a group of local authorities—i.e. (non-)metropolitan districts, counties, and unitary authorities—to pool resources and to receive delegated functions from central government (Sturzaker and Nurse 2020: 43–97).<sup>8</sup> The first combined authority was established in the Greater Manchester area in 2011 followed by four in 2014, two in 2016, two in 2017, and one in 2018.<sup>9</sup> In 2018, there were nine combined authorities (in England only) which cover 53 local government units and around 14.8 million people which is about 23.4 per cent of the total UK population.

There are two basic models, a non-mayoral and a mayoral combined authority.<sup>10</sup> A non-mayoral combined authority has an indirectly elected council which assumes the role of an integrated transport authority and economic prosperity board and which exercises competences in transport and economic development and regeneration (Law No. 20/2009, Arts. 89, 90, and 104–105). In 2011, non-mayoral combined authorities received a general competence to do ‘anything it considers appropriate for the purposes of the carrying-out of any of its functions’ (Law No. 20/2011, Arts. 13 and 15). A reform in 2016 removed the statutory limitation on the functions exercised by combined authorities (Law No. 20/2009, Art. 105A; No. 1/2016, Arts. 6–7). The 2016 reform also enabled combined authorities to introduce a directly elected mayor who can replace the police and crime commissioner and who is responsible for fire protection (Sturzaker and Nurse

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<sup>8</sup> The boundaries of combined authorities may not cross those of district or unitary authorities but they can cross county council boundaries which means that district councils can join combined authorities outside their county areas. Until 2016, counties had a veto over district councils doing this. Since 2016, county powers for the district’s area also can be transferred to the combined authority (Law No. 1/2016, Arts. 14–15). Until 2019, these ‘flexibilities’ have not been used but several combined authorities have associate members (Shutt and Liddle 2019: 201).

<sup>9</sup> The areas covered by the combined authorities overlap to great extent with those covered by the former metropolitan counties (1974–1986) and with the counties established in 1974 which were subsequently abolished when unitary authorities were created since 1995 (Townsend 2019).

<sup>10</sup> The establishment of a combined authority is regulated through a statutory instrument: Law No. 908/2011; No. 1012/2014; No. 863/2014; No. 864/2014; No. 865/2014; No. 449/2016; No. 126/2017; No. 251/2017; No. 510/2017.

2020: 43–97). In addition, a mayoral combined authority may apply a precept on the council tax and can increase the business rate up to two pence in the pound (Law No. 20/2009, Arts. 107F–107G; No. 1/2016, Art. 5). In 2018, there are seven mayoral and two non-mayoral combined authorities.<sup>11</sup> Each ‘devolution deal’<sup>12</sup> is unique but the competences for non-mayoral combined authorities are restricted to economic development and transport. All mayoral combined authorities are additionally responsible for adult education, housing, and spatial planning and some are tasked with business support and EU funding (Sandford 2019a).<sup>13</sup> All these competences are shared with the constituent local governments and the central government keeps control over implementation through intergovernmental transfers (Murphie 2019; Sandford 2019b; Sturzaker and Nurse 2020: 43–97). (Non-)mayoral combined authorities score 2 on institutional depth and 1 on policy scope.<sup>14</sup>

The UK has sometimes been described as a union state, or even a state of unions, rather than as a unitary state. Indeed, the British constitution is unique in how it “combines a single ultimate source of authority with considerable variation in the territorial arrangements for its component nations and regions” (Gamble 2006: 23). Over the past decades some of these parts have acquired significant powers.

Northern Ireland was granted home rule in 1920, that is, a directly elected government accountable to the Stormont (Law No. 67/1920). In March 1972, amid sectarian conflict, direct rule from Westminster was introduced. The Good Friday agreement of 1998 devised a new power sharing structure and paved the way for reinstating home rule after it was approved in a referendum (Law No. 47/1998).<sup>15</sup> However, disagreement between Ulster Unionists and Sinn Fein pushed forward the starting date until the end of 1999. Home rule hobbled along for the next year and a half until it was again suspended in October 2002. It was reinstated after the St. Andrews

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<sup>11</sup> Newcastle city council, North Tyneside borough council, and Northumberland county council split off from the North East combined authority and established the North of Tyne combined authority which held a mayoral election in 2019 (Lemprière and Lowndes 2019; Sandford 2019a).

<sup>12</sup> Only one devolution deal has been agreed that does not involve a combined authority. The unitary authority of Cornwall council received competences regarding business support, culture, employment and skills, energy, EU funding, health, heritage, public estate, social care, and transport (Willet 2016).

<sup>13</sup> The Greater Manchester combined authority exercises some competences in health, social care, and children’s services but under the supervision of and in close collaboration with the National Health Service (Sandford 2019: 18–19).

<sup>14</sup> We score non-mayoral combined authorities from the year their standing order was adopted and we score mayoral combined authorities from the year they held their first mayoral election (six in 2017 and one in 2018). When calculating country scores, we adjust the population weight for non-mayoral and mayoral combined authorities when the former develops into the latter.

<sup>15</sup> The Good Friday agreement is specified in a multi-party agreement among Northern Irish political parties and an international agreement between the British and Irish governments (the British–Irish agreement). On May 22 1998 the Good Friday agreement was adopted after referenda in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

Agreement of May 2007 (Law No. 53/2006; Murphy 2007).<sup>16</sup>

Before 1998 the Secretary of State (the Lord Lieutenant between 1920 and 1971) for Northern Ireland could refer legislation by the Northern Irish assembly to the Privy Council rather than submit it for royal assent (Law No. 67/ 1920, Art. 51). After 1998, the Secretary of State may revoke Northern Irish legislation or refer it to the House of Commons on finding that the law contains a provision which concerns an excepted or reserved matter or is incompatible with an international obligation (Law No. 47/1998, Arts. 14–15, 25–26).<sup>β</sup>

During the periods of home rule (until 1971, 2000–2002, 2007–2018), the parliament of Northern Ireland has general legislative authority in most areas except from the crown, foreign relations, defense, monetary system, telecommunication, air and marine transport, criminal law, immigration and citizenship and, since 2007, public order and police, which are reserved to the UK government (Law No. 67/1920, Art. 4; No. 47/1998, Art. 4).

Scotland (from 1892) and Wales (from 1964) had deconcentrated administrations overseen by secretaries of state in the British cabinet until 1999 (Loughlin 2016; Tierney 2012). Secretaries of state had responsibilities which, in the rest of the UK, were assumed by Whitehall. In 1999, following referenda held in 1997, Scotland and Wales each gained autonomous executives accountable to directly elected legislatures, the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly for Wales (Law No. 38/1998, Arts. 1–2; No. 46/1998, Arts. 1 and 44–47).

The Secretary of State in Scotland may refuse to submit a bill for royal assent only if he or she “has reasonable grounds to believe [that the bill] would be incompatible with any international obligations or the interests of defense or national security” or if the bill “make[s] modifications of the law as it applies to reserved matters and which the Secretary of State has reasonable grounds to believe would have an adverse effect on the operation of the law as it applies to reserved matters” (Law No. 46/1998, Art. 35).<sup>β</sup> We code Scotland 3 for institutional depth.

Scotland has legislative powers with respect to all policies except those designated as exclusive UK matters, which encompass the constitution, foreign affairs, defense, fiscal, economic, and monetary policy, social security schemes, trade and industry, competition, intellectual property, sea fishing, consumer protection, telecommunication, nuclear energy, coal, oil, gas, parts of rail, road, marine, and air transport policy, parts of employment, health, and media and culture policy, and immigration and citizenship (Cairney 2006; Law No. 46/1998, Arts. 28–30 and Schedule 5; Swenden 2006). The Scotland Act of 1998 was slightly revised in 2012 and more thoroughly revised in 2016 after the Scottish government had held a referendum on Scottish independence on

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<sup>16</sup> The government collapsed in January 2017 and after an election Sinn Féin refused to re-nominate a deputy First Minister. The St Andrews Agreement specifies that the two largest parties (of the two communities) need to nominate the First Minister and deputy First Ministry (Law No. 53/2006, Art. 8). In 2019, there was still no executive formed and the UK Parliament adopted a law that extends the period for forming an executive until 13 January 2020 and which extends the powers of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Law No. 22/2019). A new government was formed on 11 January 2020. Institute for Government. Explainers. Direct rule in Northern Ireland. <  
<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/direct-rule-northern-ireland.>>

18 September 2014 which was won by the “No” (to Scottish independence) side with 55.3 percent (Burnham 2017: 128–132; Law No. 11/2012; No. 11/2016).

The Scotland Act 2016 declared the Scottish Parliament and Scottish Government to be permanent parts of the United Kingdom’s constitutional arrangement which cannot be abolished except on the basis of a decision in a referendum (Law No. 11/2016, Art. 1). In addition, the Sewel convention—i.e. a political tradition that stipulates that the UK parliament will not normally legislate with regard to devolved matters without the consent of the devolved assemblies—is now codified and Scotland gained full control over its electoral system (Law No. 11/2016, Arts. 2 and 4). Finally, Scotland’s legislative competences were extended to employment, onshore oil and gas extracting, parking, rail franchising, road signs, speed limits, and welfare benefits such as allowances for disability, housing, and social security (Law No. 11/2016).

Welsh powers, in contrast to Scotland and Northern Ireland, were executive powers within the UK’s framework legislation and did not encompass the authority to write primary legislation until 2017. The Government of Wales Act of 1998 lists eighteen issues in which the Welsh assembly can pass secondary legislation: agriculture, economic development, environment, highways, industry; own planning, transport, water and flood defense; the Welsh language, culture, education, sport and recreation, tourism; health services, social services, housing; and local government (Law No. 38/1998, Schedule 2; Swenden 2006). The Secretary of State could influence the pace and scope of competence transfer (Law 38/1998, Arts. 22 and 56), and also retained the authority to make “such amendments or repeals as appear to him to be appropriate in consequence of this [Government of Wales 1998] Act” (Law No. 38/1998, Art. 151).

The Government of Wales 1998 Act was amended in 2006 (in force after the Welsh 2007 elections), which conferred primary legislative powers in twenty designated areas listed in Schedule 5 of the Government of Wales Act 2006 (Law No. 32/2006, Arts. 93–94, Schedule 5). Primary legislative powers were subject to a referendum and a referendum on whether the National Assembly for Wales should be given primary legislative powers was held on 3 March 2011 with 63 percent voting in favor (Harvey 2011; Law No. 32/2006, Art. 103). However, primary legislative powers were only granted in 2017. Until then, the National Assembly for Wales could adopt “measures” on matters in these fields subject to the consent of the UK Parliament (Devolution Guidance Notes Nos. 16–17 2015; Law No. 32/2006, Art. 95; Tierney 2012).

The Welsh Act 2017 specifies that Wales can legislate on any matter except for exclusive UK matters and the role of the Welsh Secretary of State has become similar to role of the Secretary of State for Scotland (Council of Europe: United Kingdom 2014; Law No. 4/2017, Art. 4 and Schedule 7A).<sup>17</sup> In addition, Wales gained authority over its own institutional set-up including

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<sup>17</sup> With the 2017 Wales Act (Law No. 4/2017) the central government lost its veto except for the provision that the Secretary of State may refuse to send a bill for royal assent when she or he “has reasonable grounds to believe” that the bill contains provisions that “would have an adverse effect on [non-devolved matters] ... might have a serious adverse impact on water resources in England, water supply in England or the quality of water in England, would have an adverse effect on the operation of the law as it applies in England, or would be incompatible with any international obligation or the interests of defense or national



control over the electoral system and local elections, the Sewel convention for Wales is codified, and the Welsh Assembly and Welsh Government are declared institutions that are permanent parts of the United Kingdom's constitutional arrangements which cannot be abolished except on the basis of a decision in a referendum (Law No. 4/2017, Arts. 1–8). Wales also received competences in energy, fracking, sewerage, teachers' pay, licensing gaming machines in new premises, speed limits, pedestrian crossings, and traffic signs (Law No. 4/2017). We score Wales 2 on institutional depth and 2 on policy scope for 1999–2016 and 3 on institutional depth and 3 on policy scope from 2017.

## FISCAL AUTONOMY

Between 1950 and 1983, counties in England, Northern Ireland, and Wales and the county of (Greater) London could set the rate of a property tax on the notional rental value of a dwelling (Law No. 41/1888, Art. 3; No. 37/1898, Art. 6; No. 14/1899, Art. 10; No. 33/1963, Art. 5; No. 9/1967; No. 70/1972, Art. 149). In 1984 the central government capped the rate, and in 1990 it replaced the property tax with a community charge, better known as the poll tax, which was a uniform tax per individual designed to cover the cost of community services (Law No. 41/ 1988; Potter 1997; Wilson and Game 2016: 205–210).<sup>18</sup> The community charge became deeply unpopular because it was based on the number of people living in a house rather than its estimated value. Public discontent regarding the poll tax precipitated Prime Minister Thatcher's resignation, and in 1994 Prime Minister Major replaced the poll tax with a council tax modeled on the prior property tax (James 2004; Law No. 14/1992). Counties can determine the level of the tax for different bands but must hold a referendum if they choose to raise council tax by more than 2 percent (Burnham 2017: 150–151; Council of Europe: UK 2000, 2014; King 2006; Law No. 17/2012, Arts. 11–12).

Between 1950 and 1974, county councils in Scotland could request an intergovernmental grant from their member burghs for the services they provided (Law No. 43/1947, Art. 214) and counties and counties of cities could set the rate of a property and land tax (Law No. 43/1947, Art. 224). Regions could levy a regional rate within the limits set by the Secretary of State (Law No. 65/1973, Arts. 107–111).

Regions in England were financially dependent on central government grants (Allen 2002: 17–23; Law No. 45/1998, Art. 10). The Greater London Authority has the discretion to set a precept on the council tax and can introduce fees and charges, such as the congestion charge (Council of Europe: UK 2014; Law No. 29/1999, Arts. 295–296). Since 2011, the Greater London Authority levies a supplementary business rate of two pence in the pound (Sandford 2017).

Non-mayoral combined authorities are fiscally dependent on transfers from the central government, membership fees from their constituent local authorities, and transport levies.<sup>19</sup> All

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security" (Law No. 32/2006, Art. 104). The law also lists 'excepted' matters which remain within the jurisdiction of the UK government (Law No. 32/ 2006, Schedule 5).<sup>β</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The poll tax was introduced in Scotland in 1989 but not in Northern Ireland.

<sup>19</sup> The Institute for Government. Explainers. English devolution: combined authorities and metro mayors.

mayoral combined authorities can increase the business rate—i.e. a tax on the occupation of non-domestic property—up to two pence in the pound subject to the approval of the local enterprise partnership (Law No. 7/2009; National Audit Office 2018; Sandford 2019b). In addition, all mayoral combined authorities, except for the West of England, have the power to impose a precept on council tax bills (Law No. 20/2009, Art. 107G; No. 1/2016, Art. 5; Sandford 2019a).

Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are about 90 percent reliant on unconditional block grants from the central government and, apart from the right to levy user charges, had limited tax revenue powers until recently (Commission on Devolution in Wales 2012; Commission on Scottish Devolution 2009; PricewaterhouseCoopers 2013).

Northern Ireland can levy any tax as long as the UK government has not already legislated on the matter (Law No. 47/1998, Art. 63 and Schedule 2; No. 67/1920, Art. 21).<sup>α</sup> This authority is limited to setting the rate of minor taxes because the UK government controls all major taxes, and local government taxes property.<sup>20</sup> Since 1996, the property tax in Northern Ireland consists of two elements. First a district rate set by each of the 26 district councils and, second, a regional rate which is set by the Northern Ireland Assembly (Council of Europe: UK 2014; PricewaterhouseCoopers 2013).

Scotland has the power to vary the basic rate of income tax, known as the Scottish variable rate, by up to plus-or-minus three pence in the pound until 2015 and across the bands since 2016 (Law No. 46/1998, Art. 73; No. 11/2016, Arts. 13–15). Since 2015, Scotland also controls a tax on land transactions and a landfill tax (Law No. 11/2012, Arts. 29–30; Lee 2017: 129) and Scotland receives 50 per cent of VAT revenues since 2016 (Law No. 11/2016, Art. 16).

Wales could not set the rate or base of any tax until the Wales Act 2014 devolved a stamp duty and landfill tax as of 2018 (Law No. 38/1998, Art. 80; No. 29/2014, Arts. 15 and 18; Lee 2017: 129). As of 2019, UK income tax rates will be reduced by 10 pence per pound in each band, on top of which the Welsh Government can set its own rate for each band (Law No. 29/2014, Art. 8; No. 4/2017, Art. 17).

## BORROWING AUTONOMY

Counties in England, Northern Ireland, and Wales and the county of (Greater) London have always been able to borrow with prior central government authorization, though the specific rules that apply have changed over time (Bailey, Asenova, and Hood 2012; Council of Europe 1997; Joumard and Kongsrud 2003; Law No. 41/1888, Arts. 3 and 69; No. 37/1898, Art. 60; No. 33/1963, Art. 5; No. 70/1972, Art. 11; No. 65/1980; No. 42/1989; No. 26/2003; Potter 1997; Watt 2002;

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<<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/english-devolution-combined-authorities-and-metro-mayors>>

<sup>20</sup> The December 2014 Stormont House agreement includes a commitment to devolve the corporation tax by 2017 on condition that the Northern Ireland executive produces a balanced budget (Law No. 21/2015). Plans to devolve the corporation tax have been postponed due to the collapse of power-sharing and the absence of an elected executive government since 2017 (see footnote 16). <<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/tax-and-devolution>>

Wilson and Game 2016: 192–194). Until 1963 counties could only borrow via the Public Works Loan Commissioners which is a central government agency (Law No. 41/1888, Art. 69; No. 18/1945). A 1963 law stipulates that counties can borrow at the rate of one penny in the pound and only for investment purposes (Law No. 46/1963, Arts. 6 and 8).

The 1980 Local Government, Planning and Land Act marked a shift away from control over subnational borrowing toward control over subnational expenditure (Watt 2002). County and local governments were required to submit annual capital expenditure plans for central government approval (Law No. 65/1980, Art. 18). The central government would allocate a total sum of capital expenditure which county governments could not exceed. In practice the system of capital expenditure controls was largely unsuccessful (Watt 2002). Subnational governments evaded controls by classifying current as capital spending and vice versa (Potter 1997).

A law adopted in 1989 introduced tight controls over the use of capital receipts of housing sales (Law No. 42/1989, Part IV). Counties were allowed to use only 25 percent of capital receipts from housing sales and 50 percent of other capital receipts for capital expenditure. The remainder was to be used for debt repayment (Watt 2002; Wilson and Game 2016: 192–194). The 1989 law shifted the balance away from controls over capital expenditure back to control of the sources of financing. Borrowing and subnational borrowing became subject of an annual approval process whereby the Secretary of State issues approval for a local authority's annual credit plan (Council of Europe: UK 2000; Joumard and Kongsrud 2003; Potter 1997; Law No. 42/1989, Art. 53). The Labour government which came to power in 1997 instituted budget reviews which are carried out every two years instead of annually, and since 2003, the Secretary of State may set limits to individual local authority borrowing (Law No. 26/2003, Art. 4; Watt 2002). The borrowing rules for counties apply equally to the Greater London Authority (Law No. 29/1999, Art. 111; No. 26/2003, Art. 3; Sandford 2017).

Counties and counties of cities in Scotland could borrow under specified conditions and without prior consent of the minister when the loan was less than half of the revenue of the preceding financial year or when the loan was repaid within the year. Loans for capital expenditure and loans that were repaid over multiple years required prior approval by the Secretary of State (Law No. 43/1947, Arts. 258–259; Wilson and Game 2016: 192–194). Regions in Scotland were not allowed to borrow except with the consent of the Secretary of State who could specify the conditions under which the consent was given (Law No. 65/1973, Art. 94).

Government Offices for the Regions in England were financially dependent on central government grants. Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in England could borrow only with prior consent from the Secretary of State and the law specified a collective borrowing limit above which the RDAs could not borrow (Law No. 45/1998, Arts. 11–13).

Combined authorities are allowed to borrow and their statutory orders detail the purposes for which the money may be borrowed which, in the case of non-mayoral combined authorities, is restricted to transport (Law No. 26/2003, Art. 23; No. 565/2018). A cap on borrowing must be agreed with the central government (National Audit Office 2018).

Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales may borrow in order to balance budgets but only after

prior approval by the Secretary of State and under the terms set by the Treasury (Law Nos. 3/1950, 38/1998, Art. 82; No. 46/1998, Art. 66; No. 32/2006, Art. 121). An amendment to the Scotland Act in 2016 increased borrowing autonomy: Scotland may now also borrow for investment purposes but still needs prior approval from the Treasury and needs to limit borrowing to three billion pounds per year (Law No. 11/2016, Art. 20). Wales can borrow up to 500 million pounds to finance capital expenditure but only with prior consent from the Treasury (Law No. 29/2014, Arts. 20 and 122A).

## REPRESENTATION

The county councils in England, Northern Ireland, and Wales and the county of (Greater) London are directly elected every three or four years and councils appoint their executive (Law No. 41/1888, Art. 2; No. 37/1898, Arts. 2 and 3; No. 70/1972, Arts. 3, 6, 22, and 25). The Local Government Act 2000 (Law No. 22/2000, Art. 9C) introduced in England and Wales the option for county councils to choose between a directly elected mayor assisted by a cabinet executive with members appointed by the mayor or a leader and cabinet executive elected by the council (Wilson and Game 2016: 93–117).

County councilors in Scotland were partly directly elected by citizens within the districts and by the town councilors from the burghs (Law No. 43/1947, Arts. 3, 6, and 12). Most of the population lived in districts and a majority of the councilors were directly elected.<sup>a</sup> The chairman was elected by and from the county councilors and executive officers such as the county collector, county clerk, and county treasurer were appointed by the county council (Law No. 43/1947, Arts. 14, 76–83). Town councilors of counties of cities were directly elected and executive officers such as the town chamberlain, town clerk, and burgh collector were appointed by the town council (Law No. 43/1947, Arts. 16 and 84–91). Regions in Scotland had directly elected councils with four year terms and the council appointed a chairman (Law No. 65/1973, Arts. 3–4).

In England, between 1999 and 2012, the eight RDAs had consultative assemblies (Regional Assemblies, later Regional Leader Boards) composed of representatives from local authorities, regional business, and community organizations. Local government representatives predominated, but executive authority lay with the agencies whose members were appointed by central government (Council of Europe: UK 2005; Humphrey and Shaw 2006; Law No. 45/1998, Art. 8). Since 2000, Greater London has had a popularly elected council and mayor (Law No. 29/1999, Arts. 2–4).

Each constituent council appoints one of its members to be a member of the council of the combined authority which elects a chairman and vice-chairman once every year. Mayoral combined authorities have a directly elected mayor which has a term of four years. Each member and the mayor have one vote and most combined authorities have a non-voting member nominated by the local enterprise partnership.

From 1921–1971, Northern Ireland had a bicameral assembly consisting of the House of Commons, which was directly elected, and the Senate, which was indirectly elected. Executive powers were exercised by the prime minister and his department, appointed by a Westminster-

appointed Lord Lieutenant and answerable to the House of Commons. The post of prime minister had no legal basis in the Government of Ireland Act or in statute law, which merely provided for an Executive Committee of the Privy Council appointed by the Governor (Law No. 67/1920, Arts. 8 and 14). However, the established practice from 1922 through 1971 was for the Lord Governor to appoint as prime minister the majority leader of the House.<sup>β</sup> Since 1998, the parliament is unicameral (Irish: *Tionól Thuaisceart Éireann*, Ulster Scots: *Norlin Airlan Assemblie*), but it only started operating when home rule was resumed in 2000. The directly elected assembly elects the executive (Law No. 47/1998, Art. 16; McEvoy 2006). We score assembly 2 under home rule, and we score executive 1 through 1971 to reflect its ambiguous legal character, and 2 from 2000.

Scotland and Wales acquired directly elected assemblies in 1999 (Law No.38/1998, Arts. 1–2; No. 46/1998, Art. 1; McEwen 2013). Scotland also obtained an executive elected by the Scottish parliament (Scottish Gaelic: *Pàrlamaid na h-Alba*; Scots: *The Scots Pairlament*) and the role of the Scottish Secretary of State in the national government was scaled back to representing Scottish interests in reserved matters (Devolution Guidance Notes Nos. 3–5 2014; Law No. 46/1998, Arts. 44–47). Executive authority in Wales was until 2006 exercised by a committee chaired by the First Secretary, elected by and accountable to the Welsh National Assembly (Welsh: *Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru*). The Secretary of State had executive power for non-devolved matters and was not accountable to the assembly (Law No. 38/1998, Arts. 22, 31, and 56). The Government of Wales Act (2006) established the Welsh Assembly Government (Law No. 32/2006, Arts. 45–47), but the powers for the Secretary of State for Wales remained in place until the Wales Act 2017 made the role of the Welsh Secretary of State similar to that of the Secretary of State for Scotland (Law No. 4/2017, Art. 3).

### *Shared rule*

Counties, county boroughs, (non-)metropolitan counties, counties of cities, the county of (Greater) London, and (non-)mayoral combined authorities have no power sharing.

## LAW MAKING

In neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords is the region the unit of representation, nor is there institutional representation. The House of Lords consists of hereditary peers (until 1999, when most were removed) and peers appointed by the central government.

There is some bilateral law making. The Scottish, Welsh, and Northern Irish members in the House of Commons meet as caucuses in grand committees to discuss bills affecting their countries (*L1, L5*). The committees have continued to function after devolution, though since devolution UK parliament bills relating to only one of the countries are rare.<sup>21</sup> Since 1999 the Sewel convention applies for all three devolved legislatures: “UK Parliament would not normally legislate with regard to devolved matters except with the agreement of the devolved legislature” (Devolution

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<sup>21</sup> <<http://www.parliament.uk/about/how/committees/grandcommittees>>.

Guidance Notes Nos. 8–10 2014), which implies a veto for these regions (*L5*).<sup>22</sup> The convention was written into a memorandum of understanding between the UK and its devolved parliaments in 1999 (Memorandum of Understanding 2002 paragraph 13, 2013 paragraph 14) and has since become embedded in practice and into law in the Scotland Act 2016 and Wales Act 2017 (Cairney 2006; Law No. 11/2016 and No. 4/2017; Tierney 2012).<sup>23</sup>

The Greater London Authority may provide input into national law making by virtue of its right to promote or oppose in parliament laws that affect the region. The Greater London Authority does not have a veto (*L5*) (Law No. 29/1999, Art. 77).

## EXECUTIVE CONTROL

There was no executive control before devolution and when home rule did not apply. Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland had centrally appointed Secretaries of State (from 1885, 1964, and 1972, respectively) who represented these territories in central government.

After devolution, a memorandum of understanding was signed in 1999 to set up a Joint Ministerial Committee which entitles the regional governments to consult with the UK government on legislation that impinges on them or to resolve disputes between regional and UK governments (Memorandum of Understanding 2002). However, after the sub-committees on health, knowledge economy, and poverty had met few times between 2000 and 2003, this instrument fell into disuse until 2008 except for the EU affairs committee (Hazell 2007: 581; Jeffery 2009: 304–305; McEwen and Petersohn 2015; Swenden and McEwen 2014).<sup>24</sup> Instead of multilateral executive

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<sup>22</sup> Alan Trench. Devolution Matters. “The Sewel convention.” <<http://devolutionmatters.wordpress.com/devolution-the-basics/the-sewel-convention/>>; The Scottish Government. “Legislative Consent Memorandums.” <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Government/Sewel/SewelMemosPdf/>>; National Assembly for Wales. “Legislative Consent Motions.” <[http://www.assemblywales.org/bus-home/research/bus-assembly-publications-monitoring-services/bus-lcm\\_monitor.htm](http://www.assemblywales.org/bus-home/research/bus-assembly-publications-monitoring-services/bus-lcm_monitor.htm)>.

<sup>23</sup> The Institute for Government. Explainers. Sewel Convention. <<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/sewel-convention.>>

<sup>24</sup> The Joint Ministerial Committee was intended to meet in several formats. The plenary session, convened annually, was to act as an overarching committee. The domestic session was to convene two to three times a year to discuss internal relations (Horgan 2004; Memorandum of Understanding 2002 Supplementary Agreement A). Four separate overarching concordats apply broadly uniform arrangements to EU affairs, financial assistance to industry, international relations, and statistics (Kenealy 2012: 66–68; Memorandum of Understanding 2002 Supplementary Agreement B–D).

In addition to the Joint Ministerial Committee, the UK government and the devolved administrations meet in the British–Irish Council, established by the UK and Irish governments in 1999 following the Good Friday agreement (McCall 2001). Membership includes Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, together with representatives of the Isle of Man, Guernsey, and Jersey. The British–Irish Council “aims to provide a forum where members can have an opportunity to consult, co-operate and exchange views with a view to agreeing common policies or common actions in areas of mutual interest.” <<http://www.britishirishcouncil.org>>.

control, asymmetrical devolution encouraged bilateral UK-wide intergovernmental relations through the use of non-binding bilateral and inter-departmental concordats and pacts (Bulmer et al. 2006; Horgan 2004; Kenealy 2012: 68–69; Swenden and McEwen 2014).<sup>25</sup>

From 2008, the domestic and plenary joint ministerial committees began to convene regularly and a newly created sub-committee on EU negotiations began to meet frequently from 2017 onwards (Kenealy 2012: 69).<sup>26</sup> Consultations are non-binding (Devolution Guidance Notes No. 1 2014). In 2012 a new memorandum of understanding introduced a protocol on dispute resolution (Memorandum of Understanding 2013). Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales score 1 on multilateral executive control from 2008 onwards.

## FISCAL CONTROL

Under the Scotland Act (Law No. 46/1998), the Government of Wales Act (Law No. 38/1998; 32/2006), and the Northern Ireland Act (Law No. 67/1920; No. 47/1998), the devolved administrations have substantial authority over spending decisions within the total set by the UK Treasury (Commission on Devolution in Wales 2012; Commission on Scottish Devolution 2009; PricewaterhouseCoopers 2013; Swenden 2006). Unconditional transfers from the UK government to Northern Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are determined by the Barnett formula which “gives the devolved administrations a proportionate share of spending on ‘comparable’ functions in England, given their populations compared to England”.<sup>27</sup> Amendments and changes to the Barnett formula fall under the purview of the Treasury (Lee 2017: 128–131). The devolved administrations are consulted on an ad hoc basis and, in case of disagreement, the devolved administration or Secretary of State can pursue the issue with the Treasury (Horgan 2004; Statement of Funding Policy 2010: 31).<sup>28</sup>

## BORROWING CONTROL

Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and London do not have borrowing control (Commission on Devolution in Wales 2012; Commission on Scottish Devolution 2009; PricewaterhouseCoopers 2013).<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The Scottish Government. <<http://www.scotland.gov.uk/About/Government/concordats>>; Welsh Government. <<http://wales.gov.uk/about/organisationexplained/intergovernmental/concordats>>.

<sup>26</sup> Institute for Government. Explainers. Devolution: Joint Ministerial Committee. <<https://www.instituteforgovernment.org.uk/explainers/devolution-joint-ministerial-committee>>

<sup>27</sup> Alan Trench. Devolution Matters. “The Sewel convention.” <<http://devolutionmatters.wordpress.com/devolution-the-basics/the-sewel-convention>

<sup>28</sup> Bilateral forums manage the transfer of tax powers to Scotland and Wales. The UK–Scotland Joint Exchequer Committee held its first meeting in 2011 and met again in 2012 and 2013. A similar UK–Wales Joint Exchequer Committee met in 2014 (McEwen and Petersohn 2015; House of Lords Select Committee on the Constitution 2015 <<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld201415/ldselect/ldconst/146/146.pdf>>).

<sup>29</sup> The devolved authorities set maximum expenditure for capital investment by the local authorities in their realm (Statement of Funding Policy 2010: 21).

## CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

The UK parliament has undiminished power to make laws for Northern Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and London (Law No. 67/1920; No. 38/1998; No. 46/1998, Art. 28.7; No. 47/1998, Art. 5.6; No. 32/2006, Art. 93.5).<sup>30</sup> However, according to the Sewel convention, three categories of provision are not enacted in primary legislation at Westminster unless the devolved assemblies have given their consent.<sup>β</sup> The three categories are (1) provisions that would be within the legislative competence of the devolved assemblies, (2) provisions that would extend the executive competence of the devolved executives, and (3) provisions that would alter the legislative competence of the devolved assemblies (Devolution Guidance Notes Nos. 8–10 2014; Memorandum of Understanding 2002 paragraph 13, 2013 paragraph 14). This convention is codified in the Scotland Act since 2016 and in the Wales Act since 2017 (Law No. 11/2016; No. 4/2017). The Sewel convention seems robust enough to warrant the highest score on bilateral constitutional reform for Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The Sewel convention does not apply to London. Before reinstatement of home rule for Northern Ireland, the Northern Ireland assembly did not have the power to repeal or amend its act (Law No. 67/1920, Arts. 6.1 and 75).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Legislative and executive authority and the method of election for the members of the Northern Ireland assembly are regulated by the Good Friday agreement but UK legislation determines the matters that are devolved.

<sup>31</sup> The Good Friday agreement opens up the possibility that Northern Ireland joins with the Republic of Ireland if a majority in Northern Ireland consents by referendum.



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## Self-rule in the United Kingdom

			Institutional depth	Policy scope	Fiscal autonomy	Borrowing autonomy	Representation		Self-rule
							Assembly	Executive	
<b>England</b>									
Counties/County boroughs	I	1950-1973	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
Non-metropolitan counties	I	1974-1993	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
	I → II	1994-2018	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
Metropolitan counties	I	1974-1985	2	1	1	1	2	2	<b>9</b>
County of London	I	1950-1964	2	1	1	1	2	2	<b>9</b>
County of Greater London	I	1965-1985	2	1	1	1	2	2	<b>9</b>
Greater London Authority	I	2000-2018	2	1	1	1	2	2	<b>9</b>
Regions/Regional authorities	I	1994-1998	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	I	1999-2011	2	1	0	1	1	0	<b>5</b>
Combined authorities	I	2011-2018	2	1	0	1	1	2	<b>7</b>
Mayoral combined authorities	I	2017-2018	2	1	1	1	1	2	<b>8</b>
<b>Northern Ireland</b>									
	I	1950-1971	2	3	1	1	2	1	<b>10</b>
	I	1972-1999	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	i	2002-2002	3	3	1	1	2	2	<b>12</b>
	i	2003-2006	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	I	2007-2018	3	3	1	1	2	2	<b>12</b>
Counties/County boroughs	II	1950-1973	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
<b>Scotland</b>									
	I	1950-1998	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	I	1999-2018	3	3	3	1	2	2	<b>14</b>
Counties	II	1950-1974	2	1	1	1	2	2	<b>9</b>
Counties of cities	II	1950-1974	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
Regions	II	1975-1995	2	2	1	0	2	2	<b>9</b>

<b>Wales</b>	I	1964-1998	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	I	1999-2016	2	2	0	1	2	1	<b>8</b>
	I	2017	3	3	0	1	2	2	<b>11</b>
	I	2018	3	3	2	1	2	2	<b>13</b>
Counties/County boroughs	I	1950-1963	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
	I → II	1964-1973	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>
Non-metropolitan counties	II	1974-1995	2	2	1	1	2	2	<b>10</b>

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<b>Scotland</b>	1950-1998	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	1999-2007	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	<b>6.5</b>
	2008-2018	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	<b>6.5</b>
Counties	1950-1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Counties of cities	1950-1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Regions	1975-1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Wales</b>	1964-1998	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
	1999-2007	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	<b>6.5</b>
	2008-2018	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0.5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	<b>6.5</b>
Counties/County boroughs	1950-1973	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Non-metropolitan counties	1974-1995	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>

National legislature has: L1 = regional representation; L2 = regional government representation; L3 = majority regional representation; L4 = extensive authority; L5 = bilateral regional consultation; L6 = veto for individual region. Total for shared rule includes the highest score of either multilateral (M) or bilateral (B).

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