



BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER

Table 1.

Special Rules Providing for the Original Consideration of Legislation in the House, 103rd-117th Congresses (1993-2022)

(117th Congress- through March 31,2021)

<i>Congress</i>	<i>Open/Modified Open</i>		<i>Structured</i>		<i>Closed</i>		<i>Totals</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
103rd (1993-94)	46	44%	49	47%	9	9%	104	100%
104th (1995-96)	83	58%	40	28%	19	14%	142	100%
105th (1997-98)	74	53%	42	30%	24	17%	140	100%
106th (1999-00)	91	51%	49	27%	39	22%	179	100%
107th (2001-02)	40	37%	44	41%	23	22%	107	100%
108th (2003-04)	34	26%	62	47%	37	28%	133	101%
109th (2005-06)	24	19%	61	49%	40	32%	125	100%
110th (2007-08)	23	14%	81	50%	59	36%	163	100%
111th (2009-10)	0	0	73	66%	38	34%	111	100%
112th (2011-12)	25	18%	65	46%	50	36%	140	100%
113th (2013-14)	12	8%	65	44%	72	48%	149	100%
114th (2015-16)	8	5%	82	53%	65	42%	155	100%
115th (2017-18)	0	-	77	44%	98	56%	175	100%
116th (2019-20)	0	-	54	46%	63	54%	117	100%
117th (2021-22)	0	-	7	37%	12	63%	19	100%

Sources: Committee on Rules Tables for 103rd & 104th Congresses; House Calendars, and personal examination of texts of and reports on special rules reported by the House Rules Committee, from the THOMAS and Rules Committee web sites for 105th-116th Congresses. **Notes:** The table applies only to special rules providing for the initial consideration for amendment of bills, joint resolutions, and significant simple or concurrent resolutions. for the same measure, to conference reports, or to special rules that only waives points of order against appropriations bills but do not provide for consideration in the Committee of the Whole. Rules making in order more than one bill are counted as a separate rule for each measure made in order, e.g., a rule providing for the consideration of four bills under closed rules is counted as four closed rules. An open rule is one which permits any Member to offer an amendment otherwise germane in the Committee of the Whole under the five-minute rule. A structured rule is one which limits the amendments that can be offered to those specified in the special rule and/or report on the rule. R & NR indicates whether the bill was reported or not reported. **(Compiled by Don Wolfensberger/Fellow, Bipartisan Policy Center)**

Table 2.

Self-Executing Rules 101st-117th Congresses

Congress	Total Rules	Self-Executing Rules	As Percent of Total
101st (1989-90)	90	16	18%
102nd (1991-92)	150	26	17%
103rd (1993-94)	135	30	22%
104th (1995-96)	151	38	25%
105th (1997-98)	147	52	35%
106th (1999-00)	184	38	21%
107th (2001-02)	115	41	36%
108th (2003-04)	139	30	22%
109th (2005-06)	125	29	23%
110th (2007-08)	162	52	32%
111th (2009-10)	111	45	41%
112th (2011-12)	141	36	26%
113th (2013-14)	149	55	37%
114th (2015-16)	155	47	30%
115th (2017-18)	175	78	45%
116th (2019-20)	117	73	62%
117th (2021-22)	19	10	53%

Notes: A self-executing rule is a simple House resolution reported by the Rules Committee providing for the consideration of a bill or joint resolution that also provides for the adoption of an amendment to the bill or joint resolution upon adoption of the special rule (i.e., the specified amendment is automatically adopted before the bill is even taken up). For example, the special rule will often read, "The amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on ___ now printed in the bill, modified by the amendment printed in Part A of the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution, shall be considered as adopted."

Table 2. (continued)

Self-Executing Rules for Committee Amendments Versus New Amendments, 101st-117th Congresses

<i>Congress</i>	<i>Committee Amendments</i>	<i>Committee Amendments as Percent of Total</i>	<i>New Amendments</i>	<i>New Amendments as Percent of Total</i>	<i>Total Self-executing Rules</i>
101st (1989-90)	2	13%	14	87%	16
102nd (1991-92)	4	15%	22	85%	26
103rd (1993-94)	4	13%	26	87%	30
104th (1995-96)	4	11%	34	89%	38
105th (1997-98)	12	23%	40	77%	52
106th (1999-00)	11	29%	27	71%	38
107th (2001-02)	13	32%	28	68%	41
108th (2003-04)	10	33%	20	67%	30
109th (2005-06)	8	28%	21	72%	29
110th (2007-08)	14	27%	38	73%	52
111th (2009-10)	15	33%	30	67%	45
112th (2011-12)	8	22%	28	78%	36
113th (2013-14)	17	31%	38	69%	55
114th (2015-16)	17	36%	30	64%	47
115th (2017-18)	39	50%	39	50%	78
116th (2019-20)	11	15%	62	85%	73
117th (2021-22)	0	-	10	100%	10

Notes: A self-executing provision in a special rule is one which provides for the automatic adoption of additional language into the legislation upon the adoption of the rule. The total number of rules used for self-executing rules is sometimes greater than the total used for amendment type rules because it includes not only rules for initial consideration of bills and joint resolution, but for simple and concurrent resolution and for adopting Senate amendments to House bills.

Table 3.

Special Rules, 117th Congress (2021-2022)

<i>Rule Number</i>	<i>Bill Number</i>	<i>Subject</i>	<i>Rule Type</i>	<i>Amendments By Party</i>	<i>Self-Executing: New or Committee Amendments</i>	<i>Previous Question</i>	<i>Adoption</i>	<i>Date</i>
H. Res. 38	H. Res. 21 (NR)	VP Invoke 25 th Amendment	C		New	219-206	222-204	1/12/21
H. Res. 41	H. Res. 24 (NR)	Impeaching President Trump	C		0	221-205	221-203	1//13/21
H. Res. 85	H.R. 447 (NR)	Apprenticeship Act	S	R:3; D:29; B:5	New	219-207	216-210	2/2/21
H. Res. 85	H. Con. Res. 11 (NR)	Budget Resolution	C		New	""	""	""
H. Res. 91	H. Res. 72 (NR)	Removing member from committees	C			218-209	218-210	2/4/21
H. Res. 101	S. Con. Res. 5 NR	Senate budget resolution	C		New	220-210	219-209	2/5/21
H. Res. 147	H.R. 803 (NR)	Public Lands Act	S	R:12; D:15; B:3	New	219-211	218-208	2/24/21
H. Res. 147	H.R. 5 (R)	Equality Act	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 166	H.R. 1319 (R)	Reconciliation	C		New	217-205	219-210	2/26/21
H. Res. 179	H.R. 1 (NR)	For the People Act	S	R:8; D:49; B:1	New	220-201	218-207	3/1/21
H. Res. 179	H.R. 1280 (NR)	George Floyd Policing Justice	C			""""	""""	""""
H. Res. 188	H.R. 842 (NR)	Protecting Right to Organize	S	R:9; D:11; B:0	New	213-195	218-197	3-8-21
H. Res. 188	H.R. 8 (NR)	Bipartisan Background Checks	S	R:1; D:6; B:1		""""	""""	""""
H. Res. 188	H.R. 1446 (NR)	Enhanced Background Checks	S	R:1; D:3; B:0		""""	""""	""""

H. Res. 233	H.R. 1620 (NR)	Violence Against Women Act	S	R:3; D:36; B:3	New			
H. Res. 233	H.R. 6 (NR)	American Dream Act	C		New			
H. Res. 233	H.R. 1603 (NR)	Farm Workforce Modernization	C					
H. Res. 233	H.R. 1868 (NR)	To Prevent Across the Board Cuts	C					
H. Res. 233	H.J. Res. 17 (NR)	Extension of ERA Ratification	C					

Table 4.

**Amendments Made in Order by Party Sponsor
In Structured Rules Reported by the House Rules Committee
(111th- 117th Congresses, 2009-2022)**

	<i>111th Congress (2009-2010)Democratic Majority</i>	<i>112th Congress (2011-2012)- Republican Majority</i>	<i>113th Congress (2013-2014)- Republican Majority*</i>	<i>114th Congress (2015-2016) – Republican Majority</i>	<i>115th Congress (2017-2018) – Republican Majority</i>	<i>116th Congress (2019-20) Democratic Majority</i>	<i>117th Congress (2021-22) Democratic Majority</i>
Democratic Amendments: Number (& Percent of Total)	551 (62%)	493 (60%)	446 (47%)	554 (45%)	850 (48%)	1,708 (63%)	149 (75%)
Republican Amendments: Number (& Percent of Total)	336 (38%)	279 (34%)	374 (39%)	486 (39%)	692 (39%)	461 (17%)	37 (19%)
Bipartisan Amendments: Number (& Percent of Total)	NA	52 (6%)	132 (14%)	193 (16%)	231 (13%)	522 (19%)	13 (7%)
Total Amendments	887	824	952	1,233	1,773	2,691	199
Total Structured Rules	73	65	65	82	77	54	7
Average Amendments Per Structured Rule	12.2	12.7	14.6	15	23	50	28

Total Rules	111	140	149	155	175	117	19
Structured Rules as Percent of Total Rules	66%	46%	44%	53%	44%	46%	4%

Notes: Data extracted from special rule tables maintained by Don Wolfensberger, Bipartisan Policy Center, based on inspections of individual rules and committee reports and summaries on them. Structured rules include all those special rules reported by the Rules Committee that specify the amendments that can be offered (and include modified closed rules that only allow for one minority amendment). Open rules here include modified open rules that may impose a time cap on the amendment process and/or require pre-printing of amendments in the Congressional Record, but otherwise to no restrict or specify what amendments may be offered (so long as they otherwise comport with House rules). Beginning in the 112th Congress under the House Republican majority, certain amendments were designated as bipartisan by the Rules Committee as the request of their authors. **N.B.:** The above amendments do not include those offered under open rules in the 112th -114th Congresses (primarily on appropriations bills).

Table 5.

**Comparative Data on Unreported Measures On Which
Special Rules Were Granted in House
109th – 117th Congresses**

<i>Item</i>	<i>109th Congress (2005- 2006)</i>	<i>110th Congress (2007- 2008)</i>	<i>111th Congress (2009- 2010)</i>	<i>112th Congress (2011- 2012)</i>	<i>113th Congress (2013- 2014)</i>	<i>114th Congress (2015- 2016)</i>	<i>115th Congress (2017- 2018)</i>	<i>116th Congress (2019- 20)</i>	<i>117th Congress 2021-22)</i>
Total Measures with Special Rules	125	163	111	140	149	155	175	117	19
Unreported Measures with Special Rules	34	35	29	38	55	39	55	40	17
Unreported Measures as Percent of Total	27%	21%	26%	27%	37%	25%	31%	34%	89%
Unreported Measures with Closed Rules	28	32	21	31	47	35	45	37	10
Total Closed Rules	40	59	38	50	72	65	98	63	12
Unreported Closed as Percent of All Closed	70%	54%	55%	62%	65%	54%	46%	59%	83%

Source: Compiled by Don Wolfensberger, Bipartisan Policy Center, from examination of special rules on the Rules Committee's website.

Table 6.

Unreported Bills Considered in the House Under Special Rules, 117th Congress

<i>Bill Number</i>	<i>Subject of Bill</i>	<i>Rule Type</i>	<i>Rule Number</i>	<i>Date Rule Considered</i>
H. Res. 21	Urging VP to Invoke 25 th Amend.	C	H. Res. 38	1/12/21
H. Res. 24	Impeaching President Trump	C	H. Res. 41	1/13/21
H.R. 447	National Apprenticeship Act	S	H. Res. 85	2/2/21
H. Con. Res. 11	Concurrent Resolution on Budget	C	H. Res. 85	2/2/21
H. Res. 72	Removing member from committees	C	H. Res. 91	2/4/21
S. Con. Res. 5	Senate budget resolution	C	H. Res. 101	2/5/21
H.R. 5	The Equality Act	C	H. Res. 147	2/24/21
H.R. 1	For the People Act	S	H. Res. 179	3/1/21
H.R. 1280	George Floyd Policing Justice	C	H. Res. 179	3/1/21
H.R. 842	Protecting Right to Organize Act	S	H. Res. 188	3/8/21
H.R. 8	Bipartisan Background Checks Act	S	H. Res. 188	3/8/21
H.R. 1446	Enhanced Background Checks Act	S	H. Res. 188	3/8/21
H.R. 1620	Violence Against Women Act	S	H. Res. 233	3/17/21
H.R. 6	American Dream Act	C	H. Res. 233	""
H.R. 1603	Farm Workforce Modernization	C	H. Res. 233	""
H.R. 1868	Prevent Across-the-Board Cuts	C	H. Res. 233	""
H.J. Res. 17	Extending ERA Ratification Period	C	H. Res. 233	""