



BIPARTISAN POLICY CENTER

Table 1.

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

(117<sup>th</sup> Congress- through December 2021; End of First Session Final Data)

<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>
<b>103<sup>rd</sup> (1993-94)</b>	46	44%	49	47%	9	9%	104	100%
<b>104<sup>th</sup> (1995-96)</b>	83	58%	40	28%	19	14%	142	100%
<b>105<sup>th</sup> (1997-98)</b>	74	53%	42	30%	24	17%	140	100%
<b>106<sup>th</sup> (1999-00)</b>	91	51%	49	27%	39	22%	179	100%
<b>107<sup>th</sup> (2001-02)</b>	40	37%	44	41%	23	22%	107	100%
<b>108<sup>th</sup> (2003-04)</b>	34	26%	62	47%	37	28%	133	101%
<b>109<sup>th</sup> (2005-06)</b>	24	19%	61	49%	40	32%	125	100%
<b>110<sup>th</sup> (2007-08)</b>	23	14%	81	50%	59	36%	163	100%
<b>111<sup>th</sup> (2009-10)</b>	0	0	73	66%	38	34%	111	100%
<b>112<sup>th</sup> (2011-12)</b>	25	18%	65	46%	50	36%	140	100%
<b>113<sup>th</sup> (2013-14)</b>	12	8%	65	44%	72	48%	149	100%
<b>114<sup>th</sup> (2015-16)</b>	8	5%	82	53%	65	42%	155	100%
<b>115<sup>th</sup> (2017-18)</b>	0	-	77	44%	98	56%	175	100%
<b>116<sup>th</sup> (2019-20)</b>	0	-	54	46%	63	54%	117	100%
<b>117<sup>th</sup> (2021-22)</b>	0	-	23	35%	42	65%	65	100%

**Sources:** Committee on Rules Tables for 103<sup>rd</sup> & 104<sup>th</sup> 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 105<sup>th</sup>-117<sup>th</sup> 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. 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 101<sup>st</sup>-117<sup>th</sup> Congresses

Congress	Total Rules	Self-Executing Rules	As Percent of Total
<b>101<sup>st</sup> (1989-90)</b>	90	16	18%
<b>102<sup>nd</sup> (1991-92)</b>	150	26	17%
<b>103<sup>rd</sup> (1993-94)</b>	135	30	22%
<b>104<sup>th</sup> (1995-96)</b>	151	38	25%
<b>105<sup>th</sup> (1997-98)</b>	147	52	35%
<b>106<sup>th</sup> (1999-00)</b>	184	38	21%
<b>107<sup>th</sup> (2001-02)</b>	115	41	36%
<b>108<sup>th</sup> (2003-04)</b>	139	30	22%
<b>109<sup>th</sup> (2005-06)</b>	125	29	23%
<b>110<sup>th</sup> (2007-08)</b>	162	52	32%
<b>111<sup>th</sup> (2009-10)</b>	111	45	41%
<b>112<sup>th</sup> (2011-12)</b>	141	36	26%
<b>113<sup>th</sup> (2013-14)</b>	149	55	37%
<b>114<sup>th</sup> (2015-16)</b>	155	47	30%
<b>115<sup>th</sup> (2017-18)</b>	175	78	45%
<b>116<sup>th</sup> (2019-20)</b>	117	73	62%
<b>117<sup>th</sup> (2021-22)</b>	65	40	62%

**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, 101<sup>st</sup>-117<sup>th</sup> 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>
<b>101<sup>st</sup> (1989-90)</b>	2	13%	14	87%	16
<b>102<sup>nd</sup> (1991-92)</b>	4	15%	22	85%	26
<b>103<sup>rd</sup> (1993-94)</b>	4	13%	26	87%	30
<b>104<sup>th</sup> (1995-96)</b>	4	11%	34	89%	38
<b>105<sup>th</sup> (1997-98)</b>	12	23%	40	77%	52
<b>106<sup>th</sup> (1999-00)</b>	11	29%	27	71%	38
<b>107<sup>th</sup> (2001-02)</b>	13	32%	28	68%	41
<b>108<sup>th</sup> (2003-04)</b>	10	33%	20	67%	30
<b>109<sup>th</sup> (2005-06)</b>	8	28%	21	72%	29
<b>110<sup>th</sup> (2007-08)</b>	14	27%	38	73%	52
<b>111<sup>th</sup> (2009-10)</b>	15	33%	30	67%	45
<b>112<sup>th</sup> (2011-12)</b>	8	22%	28	78%	36
<b>113<sup>th</sup> (2013-14)</b>	17	31%	38	69%	55
<b>114<sup>th</sup> (2015-16)</b>	17	36%	30	64%	47
<b>115<sup>th</sup> (2017-18)</b>	39	50%	39	50%	78
<b>116<sup>th</sup> (2019-20)</b>	11	15%	62	85%	73
<b>117<sup>th</sup> (2021-22)</b>	6	15%	34	85%	40

**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, 117<sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> 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	A: 212-200	A: 216-204	3/16/21
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			""	""	""
H. Res. 303	H.R. 7 (R)	Paycheck Protection	S	R:1; D:6	New	A: 217-208	A: 217-207	4/14/21
H. Res. 303	H.R. 1195 (R)	Workplace Protection for Health & Social Service Workers	S	R:1; D:5	Committee	""	""	""
H. Res. 330	H.R. 51 (R)	D.C. Statehood	C		Committee	A: 216-206	A: 214-207	4/20/21
H. Res. 330	H.R. 1573 (R)	Rights of border detainees	C		Committee	""	""	""
H. Res. 330	H.R. 1333 (R)	Suspending entry rights of aliens	C		Committee	""	""	""
H. Res. 380	H.R. 2547 (R)	Comp. Debt Collection	S	R:3; D:12	New	A: 212-206	A: 214-210	5/13/21
H. Res. 380	H.R. 1064 (R)	Pregnant Workers Fairness	C		Committee	""	""	""
H. Res. 403	H.R. 1629 (NR)	Orphan Drug Fairness	C			A: 217-209	A: 212-206	5/18/21
H. Res. 403	H. Res. 275 (NR)	Condemning Violent Shootings	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 409	H.R. 3233 (NR)	Create 1/6 Commission	C			A: 217-209	A: 216-208	5/19/21

H. Res. 409	H.R. 3237 (NR)	Emergency Security Supp.	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 473	H.R. 256 (R)	Repeal Iraq War Resolution	C			A: 217-203	A: 216-206	6/14/21
H. Res. 473	H.R. 1187 (R)	Corporate Govern. Protect.	S	R:2; D:8	New	""	""	""
H. Res. 479	S. 475 (NR)	Juneteenth National Holiday	C			A: UC	A: 214-208	6/16/21
H. Res. 486	H.R. 2062 (R)	Older workers anti-discrimination	S	R:2; D:3; B:1	New	A: 218-209	A: 218-205	6/23/21
H. Res. 486	H.R. 239 (R)	Vets contraception Equal access	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 486	H.R. 1443 (R)	LGBTQ business equal credit	C		New	""	""	""
H. Res. 486	S.J. Res. 13 (NR)	EEOC conciliation rule disapproval	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 486	S.J. Res. 14 (R)	EPA emissions rule disapproval	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 486	S.J. Res. 15 (NR)	OCC bank & savings rule disapproval	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 504	H.R. 2662 (R)	IG Independence	S	R:1; D:5	Committee	A:214-195	A:218-207	6/29/21
H. Res. 504	H. Res. 3005 (NR)	Removing Busts in Capitol	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 504	H. Res. 503 (R)	Select Comm. on Jan. 6 attack	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 508	H.R. 3684 (R)	INVEST in America Act	S	R:27; D:104; B:18	New	A:219-188	A:219-190	6/30/21
H. Res. 535	H.R. 2467 (R)	EPA PFAS Action	S	R:0; D:7; B:3	New	A: 216-207	A: 219-208	7/20/21

H. Res. 535	H.R. 2668 (R)	Consumer Protection & Recovery	C		New	""	""	7/20/21
H. Res. 535	H.R. 3985 (NR)	Afghan Allies Protection	C		New	""	""	7:20/21
H. Res. 555	H.R. 4502 (R)	Labor-HHS-Ed mini-bus approps	S	R:73; D:113; B:42	New	A: 217-201	A: 218-207	7/27/21
H. Res. 567	H.R. 4346 (R)	Leg Branch Approps	S	R:3; D:9	New	A: 217-208	A: 217-208	728/21
H. Res. 567	H.R. 4373 (R)	State, For Ops Approps	S	R:9; D:24; B:3	New	""	""	""
H. Res. 567	H.R. 4505 (R)	Commerce-Justice Approps	S	R:10; D:41; B:10	New	""	""	""
H. Res. 601	H.R. 4 (NR)	Voting Rights	C		New	A: 220-212	A: 220-212	8/24/21
H. Res. 601	S. Con. Res. 14 (NR)	Budget Res./Reconciliation	C		New	""	""	""
H. Res. 667	H.R. 3755 (NR)	Women's Health Protection	C		New	A: 218-220	A: 217-207	9/21/21
H. Res. 667.	H.R. 4350 (R)	Defense Authorization	S	R:97; D:232; B:147	New	""	""	""
H. Res. 667	H.R. 5305 (NR)	Continuing Approps./Debt	C			""	""	""
H. Res. 688	S. 1301 (NR)	Debt Limit	C		New	A: 217-206	A: 214-212	9/29/21
H. Res. 716	H.R. 3110 (R)	PUMP for nursing mothers	S	R:0; D:2	New	A: V.V.	A: 219-206	10/12/21
H. Res. 716	H.R. 3992 (R)	Protect older Job applicants	S	R:1; D:1	New	""	""	""
H. Res. 716	H.R. 2119 (R)	Family violence protection	S	R:2; D:6	New	""	""	""
H. Res. 774	H.R. 5376 (R)	Build Back Better	C		New	A: 221-213	A: 221-207A	11/5/21

H. Res. 795	H. Res. 789 (NR)	To censure Rep. Paul Gosar	C		New	A: 221-207	A: 222-208	11/17/21
H. Res. 889	H.R. 6119 (NR)	Continuing Appropriations	C			A: 218-209	A: 219-208	12/2/21
H. Res. 848	H. Res. 851 (R)	Mark Meadows Contempt	C			A: 218-209	A: 220-210	12/14/21
H. Res. 849	H.R. 5665 (R)	Combating Islamophobia	C		New	A: 220-210	A: 219-213	12/14/21
H. Res. 852	S.J. Res. 33 (NR)	Public debt limit	C			A: 220-212	A: 220-212	12/14/21



Table 4.

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

	<i>111<sup>th</sup> Congress (2009-2010) Democratic Majority</i>	<i>112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011-2012)- Republican Majority</i>	<i>113<sup>th</sup> Congress (2013-2014)- Republican Majority*</i>	<i>114<sup>th</sup> Congress (2015-2016) – Republican Majority</i>	<i>115<sup>th</sup> Congress (2017- 2018) – Republican Majority</i>	<i>116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019-20) Democratic Majority</i>	<i>117<sup>th</sup> Congress (2021-22) Democratic Majority</i>
<b>Democratic Amendments: Number (&amp; Percent of Total)</b>	551 (62%)	493 (60%)	446 (47%)	554 (45%)	850 (48%)	1,708 (63%)	727 (59%)
<b>Republican Amendments: Number (&amp; Percent of Total)</b>	336 (38%)	279 (34%)	374 (39%)	486 (39%)	692 (39%)	461 (17%)	269 (22%)
<b>Bipartisan Amendments: Number (&amp; Percent of Total)</b>	NA	52 (6%)	132 (14%)	193 (16%)	231 (13%)	522 (19%)	237 (19%)
<b>Total Amendments</b>	887	824	952	1,233	1,773	2,691	1,233
<b>Total Structured Rules</b>	73	65	65	82	77	54	23
<b>Average Amends per Struct Rule</b>	12	13	15	15	23	50	54

Table 5.

## Unreported Measures on which Special Rules Were Granted in House 109<sup>th</sup> – 117<sup>th</sup> Congresses

<i>Item</i>	<i>109<sup>th</sup> Congress (2005- 2006)</i>	<i>110<sup>th</sup> Congress (2007- 2008)</i>	<i>111<sup>th</sup> Congress (2009- 2010)</i>	<i>112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011- 2012)</i>	<i>113<sup>th</sup> Congress (2013- 2014)</i>	<i>114<sup>th</sup> Congress (2015- 2016)</i>	<i>115<sup>th</sup> Congress (2017- 2018)</i>	<i>116<sup>th</sup> Congress (2019- 20)</i>	<i>117<sup>th</sup> Congress (2021-22)</i>
<b>Total Measures with Special Rules</b>	125	163	111	140	149	155	175	117	65
<b>Unreported Measures with Special Rules</b>	34	35	29	38	55	39	55	40	34
<b>Unreported Measures as Percent of Total</b>	27%	21%	26%	27%	37%	25%	31%	34%	51%
<b>Unreported Measures with Closed Rules</b>	28	32	21	31	47	35	45	37	27
<b>Total Closed Rules</b>	40	59	38	50	72	65	98	63	42
<b>Unreported Closed as Percent of All Closed</b>	70%	54%	55%	62%	65%	54%	46%	59%	64%

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, 117<sup>th</sup> 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 <sup>th</sup> 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. 803	Public Lands Act	S	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	""
H.R. 1629	Orphan Drug Fairness	C	H. Res. 403	5/18/21

H. Res. 275	Condemning Violent Shootings in Atlanta	C	H. Res. 403	5/18/21
H.R. 3233	Commission to Investigate 1/6/21	C	H. Res. 409	5/19/21
H.R. 3237	Emergency Security Supplemental	C	H. Res. 409	5/19/21
S. 475	Juneteenth National Holiday	C	H. Res. 479	6/16/21
S.J. Res. 13	EEOC conciliation rule disapproval	C	H. Res. 486	6/23/21
S.J. Res. 15	OCC bank & savings associations rule disapproval	C	H. Res. 486	6/23/21
H.R. 3005	Removing Certain Busts from Capitol	C	H. Res. 504	6/29/21
H.R. 3985	Afghan Allies Protection	C	H. Res. 535	7/20/21
H.R. 4	John Lewis Voting Rights	C	H. Res. 601	8/24/21
S. Con. Res. 14	Budget Resolution/Reconciliation	C	H. Res. 601	8/24/21
H.R. 3755	Women's Health Protection	C	H. Res. 667	9/21/21
H.R. 5305	Continuing Approps/Debt Limit	C	H. Res. 667	9/21/21
S. 1301	Public Debt Limit Increase	C	H. Res.688	9/29/21
H. Res. 789	Censure of Rep. Paul Gosar	C	H. Res. 795	11/17/21
H.R. 6119	Continuing Appropriations	C	H. Res. 829	12/2/21
S.J. Res. 33	Public Debt Limit	C	H. Res. 852	12/14/21