

This online supplementary material includes a detailed coding scheme for the Standing Orders reform, as well as a detailed overview of the historical changes of the Orders.

Appendix A

A.1 Coding Scheme

The typology outlined below creates a dimension that ranges from high to low dilatory power. A useful vantage point for this part of the analysis is to think in terms of two ideal-type regulatory environments. As the term implies, a high-dilatory-power situation is one where MPs are better able to delay proceedings on legislation. In contrast, a low-dilatory-power scenario is defined as one in which legislators do not enjoy the freedom to use debate to block the discussion and/or passage of bills. Three specific categories are formulated with a set of rules each. These include: *initiative* (**A**), *debate duration* (**B**), and *member speech* (**C**).

Table A1 includes a detailed overview of the coding scheme, which specifies an exhaustive list of changes that constitute an anti-dilatory reform, accompanied by references codes that are used throughout the paper. This table also includes examples of reforms that correspond with the typology (rightmost column), which are drawn from Table A2.

Initiative (A). First, the *initiative* (**A**) category looks at the ability of the MP to submit motions, resolutions or proposals that compete with the Cabinet programme for the attention of the House. Such documents provide the basis for discussion in the plenary and may be of a dilatory nature as parliament will need to spend time to either discuss the proposals, or at the very least to vote them down. This leads us to inquire into three rules that affect the delaying power of MPs: i) whether debate may be initiated freely or requires the presence of a minimum number of attendees (**A1.quorum**); ii) whether the MP can submit a certain type of bill that (s)he wishes to discuss in the first place during that specific sitting (**A2.precedence**); and finally iii) whether there subsequently are any restrictions on the tabling of that motion or bill for discussion (**A3.tabling**).

Duration (B). Second, after the debate has started, a set of rules determine the overall *duration* (**B**) of the discussions. Again, there is scope for MPs to delay legislative business: if they can control the sitting schedule and there is a lack of firm time limits the debate may continue indefinitely, allowing MPs to extract concessions from the Cabinet and colleagues in return for their cooperation. Four key rules may undermine the ability of MPs to do so: i) the existence of *ex ante* time limits and a sitting schedule for conducting the business of the House (**B1.schedule**); ii) a procedure to end the debate on a specific matter on an *ad hoc* basis (**B2.closure**), iii) the ability to interrupt debate temporarily and reschedule the discussion to a later session, allowing the chamber to continue with other business (**B3.adjournment**); and finally, when the debate has started iv) whether the discussion may be assigned to a committee instead of to the plenary (**B4.committee assignment**).

¹The data, replication instructions, and the data's codebook can be found at <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/NEAG2L>.

Number/Length (C). Third, at the micro-level, there are procedures to manage the floor time of MPs themselves, and their ability to compete with the Cabinet (*C.member speech*). Here, we look at how rules may restrict the dilatory power of MPs directly by constraining the speeches that they make. This may be done through: i) limiting the number or length of speeches (**C1.number/length**); ii) restricting the content of speeches, for example by prohibiting repetition or anticipation, i.e. the discussion of matters that are already tabled for a later time (**C2.content**); iii) disallowing explanatory statements upon the tabling of a legislative proposal, or in the case of opposition thereto (**C3.explanatory statements**), and iv) removing an individual MP from the debating chamber altogether due to obstructive behaviour (**C4.penalties**).

TABLE A.1: A Typology of Rules of Debate (Detailed)

High Dilatory Power	Low Dilatory Power	Anti-dilatory reforms	Example ^a
A Initiative	<i>Can a member of parliament start a legislative debate whenever they want?</i>		
A1. Quorum: Debate on a bill can proceed regardless of the number of MPs present.	A1. Quorum: A minimum number of MPs has to be present before debate on a bill may proceed.	A1.1 A quorum rule is introduced.	1902: At least 40 members need to be present for evening sittings to proceed.
A2. Precedence: Any type of bill may be tabled at any sitting.	A2. Precedence: Government bills have precedence during certain sittings.	A2.1 A precedence rule is introduced.	1835: Mondays and Fridays become days on which government business has precedence.
A3. Tabling: MPs are free to propose a bill or amendment, without any restrictions. Bills are discussed in the order in which they are proposed.	A3. Tabling: MPs may not introduce bills or amendments freely. The order of debate is determined by the floor/Speaker/a Minister.	A2.2 The number of sitting days on which/number of hours during which only a specific type of bills may be discussed increases. A2.3: Private members' business is explicitly given lower priority.	2002: Not more than six Thursdays are appointed in each session on which only debates on select committees reports chosen by the Liaison Committee may be held. 1855: The first reading (introduction of new bills) is relegated to the lowest place on the precedence list of private bill debates.
		A3.1: Notice has to be given, a fee paid, leave granted by the House or the Speaker, an explanation given, or seconded, before a bill or amendment may be tabled.	1967: Consent from the Speaker has to be obtained before a motion to adjourn for an emergency debate may be made.
		A3.2: The time limit, or timetable, for tabling a bill/amendment is introduced and/or reduced.	1867: Petitions against bills on provisional orders or certificates now have to be submitted within seven instead of ten days.
		A3.3: A certain type of bill or amendment may no longer be tabled altogether.	1842: The right to start a debate upon a petition is banned.
		A3.4: The Speaker/a Minister gains the power to determine the order in which items tabled may be discussed.	1888: On days on which government business has precedence, it may decide the order in which proposals are discussed.
B Debate duration	<i>Can a member of parliament make a legislative debate last for as long as they want?</i>		

TABLE A 1: A Typology of Rules of Debate (Detailed) (Continued)

High Dilatory Power	Low Dilatory Power	Anti-dilatory reforms	Example ⁶
<p>B1. Schedule: Members can debate whenever they wish to do so, and there is no timetable for bills.</p>	<p>B1. Schedule: The floor may decide to hold a debate at a different time, or <i>ex ante</i> time frames exist at which the House convenes.</p>	<p>B1.1: A time limit is set for the discussion of specific (types of) bills.</p> <p>B1.2 Less time is reserved for (specific types of) bills, or for specific sittings.</p> <p>B1.3 The government may attach a timetable to a bill.</p> <p>B1.4: The floor has the power to impose a different schedule for debate.</p>	<p>1980: The liaison committee gets the power to recommend specific allocations of time for consideration by the House of estimates; and these recommendations have the status of Standing Orders if approved by the House.</p> <p>1927: The time for Wednesday sittings is reduced.</p>
<p>B2. Closure: Members can discuss a bill for as long as they want.</p>	<p>B2. Closure: Debate can be ended through closure.</p>	<p>B2.1 A closure rules is introduced.</p> <p>B2.2 Rules are amended so that one member can propose a motion for closure.</p>	<p>1927: A Minister may make a motion for allocation of time for consideration of a bill, which has to be voted on within three hours after it has been made.</p> <p>1852: The floor majority may decide to have an evening session at a different time than stipulated in the Standing Orders.</p> <p>1882: A closure rule is adopted, which is passed with the support of 200 members or more/less than 40 members against and 100 or more in favour.</p> <p>1887: Individual MPs may now propose closure. The Speaker rules whether the motion is acceptable under the House Rules, or constitutes an infringement of minority rights.</p>
<p>B3. Interruption: The floor cannot adjourn or otherwise postpone the debate on a bill.</p>	<p>B3. Interruption: The floor can decide to interrupt a legislative debate when it wishes, upon a vote.</p>	<p>B2.3 Rules are amended so that a Minister can propose a motion for closure.</p> <p>B2.4 The relative number of votes necessary to close a debate decreases.</p> <p>B3.1: A rule is introduced that allows for the postponement or interruption of legislative debate.</p> <p>B3.2 An existing rule for postponement or interruption of legislative debate is extended to pertain to more classes of bills/amendments.</p>	<p>1968: A motion to close a debate may now be proposed by a Minister.</p> <p>1888: The threshold for closure is reduced from 200 to 100 members.</p> <p>1980: The Speaker may now, on Friday sittings reserved for private business, motions and petitions, from 11 a.m. interrupt proceedings in order to allow for urgent questions, Ministers' statements, or personal explanations.</p> <p>1953: The rule to suspend debate in case of opposition to commencing the second or third reading on a private member's bill is extended to amended bills after the committee stage.</p>

TABLE A 1: A Typology of Rules of Debate (Detailed) (Continued)

High Dilatory Power	Low Dilatory Power	Anti-dilatory reforms	Example ^a
		B3.3 Rules are amended so that a Minister can propose a motion for interruption/postponement.	1947: If a Minister proposes a motion that proceedings on a bill are exempted from the provisions of the Standing Orders on sittings of the House, such business may not be interrupted.
		B3.4 An interruption/postponement rule may be invoked earlier and/or more often than previously.	1906: The time at which the Speaker has to adjourn the House under Art. 1 is changed from midnight to 11 p.m..
B4. Committee Assignment: The entire debate on the bill is held in the plenary, including debate on the general principles as well as the details.	B4. Committee Assignment: The bill is assigned to a committee, which discusses the bill. Assignment happens automatically, or is proposed by the Speaker or a Minister.	B4.1 A new committee for the consideration of specific business is created, <i>unless</i> it is specifically intended to promote Private members' or backbench business.	1975: A standing committee for Regional Affairs is created.
	B4.2: A specific type of business (e.g. report, bill, amendment) that would otherwise stand part of the plenary proceedings on legislation is referred to a committee.		1870: Petitions against bills on provisional orders or certificates are now also referred to committees.
	B4.3: A time limit is imposed on the committee stage.		1847: The time between the second reading and the committee stage for any bill is increased from seven to fourteen days
	B4.4 A Minister may participate in the deliberations in a committee.		1995: A minister may henceforth participate in the business of the Scottish Grand Committee, albeit without a vote.
	B4.5 A Minister/MPs is/are given the power to propose a motion to assign a bill to a committee.		1995: A member may propose a motion to re-assign a bill to the Scottish Grand Committee, after a report has been given, in the case of a private bill; so can the government in case of a public bill.
	B4.6 A committee may be discharged from considering a legislative proposal.		1948: The committee of supply may be discharged from considering the estimates in the debate on supply bills that fall under the remit of the Secretary of State for Scotland.

TABLE A 1: A Typology of Rules of Debate (Detailed) (Continued)

High Dilatory Power	Low Dilatory Power	Anti-dilatory reforms	Example ^a
<p>C Member speech</p> <p>C1. Number/length: MPs may speak on any one issue as often as they wish, and for as long as they wish.</p>	<p><i>Can a member of parliament speak as long as they want, without any topical limitations?</i></p> <p>C1. Number/length: MPs may only take the floor a set number of times, and their speeches are subject to time limits.</p>	<p>B4.7 Government bills have precedence at the committee stage.</p>	<p>1983: If committees are charged with considering bills relating to Scotland, government bills have precedence in one of these standing committees.</p>
<p>C1. Number/length: MPs may speak on any one issue as often as they wish, and for as long as they wish.</p>	<p>C1.1 A rule is introduced that imposes limits on the number of speeches/length of speeches per member.</p> <p>C1.2 The allowed length of members' speeches is (temporarily or permanently) reduced.</p> <p>C1.3 The number of speeches allowed per member is reduced.</p>	<p>2014: The limit on the number of motions for amendments allowed to be debated in the final two days of the debate on the Queen's Speech is increased from two to four</p> <p>1998: When the Speaker imposes time limits on speeches, the minimum is eight minutes (instead of ten previously).</p> <p>1948: If a bill has been committed to a standing committee, members who are in charge of the bill, or those who have proposed an amendment or new clause, counter to the general rule, may speak more than once in the debate.^b</p>	<p>1988: The Speaker may, if a large number of MPs registered to speak, impose a time limit of ten minutes on members' speeches.</p> <p>1914: The Speaker has the discretionary right to rule out a discussion on the grounds of anticipation.</p>
<p>C2. Content: MPs are allowed to discuss any matter during discussions on a bill.</p> <p>C3. Explanatory statements: MPs who introduce a bill are free to make a statement on the proposal.</p>	<p>C2. Content: Restrictions are in place as concerns the content of MP speeches.</p> <p>C3. Explanatory statements: MPs may not make an explanatory statement when introducing a bill.</p>	<p>C2.1 A rule is introduced that imposes a limit on the substance of members' speeches (e.g. matters currently under review in court, anticipation, or unparliamentary language).</p> <p>C3.1 A rule is introduced that disallows speakers from making an explanatory statement when introducing a bill or amendment.</p>	<p>1888: In case a motion to bring in a bill for discussion is opposed, the Speaker may allow brief explanatory statements from both the person opposing and the proposing member.^b</p>

TABLE A 1: A Typology of Rules of Debate (Detailed) (Continued)

High Dilatory Power	Low Dilatory Power	Anti-dilatory reforms	Example ^a
		C3.2 The Speaker gains the right to refuse explanatory statements on an ad hoc basis.	1919: The Speaker may select a submitted amendment or clause to a bill under discussion, upon which the proposing member may give an explanatory statement. ^b
C4. Penalties: MPs cannot be penalised for certain types of behaviour during debates on a bill.	C4. Penalties: MPs can be suspended if they obstruct the work of the House.	C4.1 A suspension rule is introduced.	1880: The Speaker may propose a motion—to be decided upon by the floor—to suspend a member who ‘persistently and wilfully’ obstructs the work of the House.
		C4.2 The suspension rules (or penalties related thereto) are made more stringent (e.g. the length of the suspension period is increased; or salary is withheld for the duration of the suspension).	1998: The salary of a member who is suspended is withheld for the duration of the suspension.

Notes: ^aDetails of these reforms are provided in Table A 2.

^bMP-empowering reform; no anti-dilatory reform of this specific nature occurred over the time period studied.

A.2 Standing Orders Reform 1811-2015

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be Printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
5 Mar. 1811	4	5	1811 (248)	21 Jan. 1811	Spencer Perceval (Tory)	Initiative (precedence): The introduction of "Order Days" gives the discussion of legislation a distinct advantage on specific days. Before its introduction, the House first had to deal with notice of motions before proceeding to dealing with Orders of the Day. Now, the House could start immediately with Orders on certain days (Cox 1987, 45–47).	A2.1	-1
13 Jul. 1831	10	1	1837 (515)	15 Aug. 1838	Duke of Wellington (Tory)	Initiative (precedence): Introduction of Wednesday Order Day, during which Orders were taken in regular rotation, giving a specific day on which no precedence was given to the government (47–48).	A2.1	Score session 4.5: -1 +1
1833	11	1	1837 (515)	15 Aug. 1838	Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey (Whig)	Duration (schedule): The hearing of petitions is confined to morning sittings, which gave private members the opportunity to raise a discussion (Fraser 1960, 452).	B1.1	Score session 10.1: -1
1833	11	1	1837 (515)	15 Aug. 1838	Charles Grey, 2nd Earl Grey (Whig)	Duration (committee Assignment): Committees are given the power to meet from 10 a.m. until 5 p.m. and to convene during sittings of the House (Redlich 1908, 77).	B4.1	-1
1835	12	1	1837 (515)	15 Aug. 1838	William Lamb, 2nd Viscount Melbourne (Lib.)	Initiative (precedence): Mondays and Fridays become days on which government business has precedence (Fraser 1960, 45).	A2.1	Score session 11.1: -2 -1
24 Nov. 1837	13	1	1837 (515)	15 Aug. 1838	William Lamb, 2nd Viscount Melbourne (Lib.)	Initiative (tabling): No notice for a debate is allowed to be placed in the order book after four notice days after which such notice was entered in the book, which amounts to a limit of fifteen/sixteen days (Redlich 1908, 80).	A3.2	Score session 12.1: -1 -1
14 Apr. 1842	14	2	1844 (588)	6 Aug. 1844	Sir Robert Peel (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): The right to start a debate upon a petition is banned altogether (this practice was introduced in 1839, but became an official Standing Order in 1842. See Redlich (1908, 77)).	A3.3	Score session 13.1: -1 -1
1844	14	4	1844 (588)	6 Aug. 1844	Sir Robert Peel (Con.)	Duration (committee Assignment): Any report by the board of made on a railway bill is forwarded directly to a committee (Art. 117a).	B4.2	Score session 14.2: -1 -1
1845	14	5	1845 (586)	8 Aug. 1845	Sir Robert Peel (Con.)	Initiative (Tabling): Private member's bills now have to be tabled within fourteen days (instead of twenty days previously) after the first Friday in every parliamentary session (Art. 102).	A3.2	Score session 14.4: -1 -1
1845	14	5	1845 (586)	8 Aug. 1845	Sir Robert Peel (Con.)	Duration (committee Assignment): for the 1846 session, the time between the second reading and the committee stage for private bills is shortened to three days, instead of the standard seven prescribed in Art. 127 (Art. 125a).	B4.3	-1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
1846	14	6	1846 (684)	25 Aug. 1846	Lord Russell (Whig)	Initiative (tabling): The floor now determines the deadline by which all private petitions have to be presented to the House (14-day limit previously, Art. 115).	A3.3	Score session 14.5: -2 -1
1847	14	7	1847 (665)	15 Jul. 1847	Lord Russell (Whig)	Initiative (precedence): The rules now specify a clear list of priorities as to what is discussed first during private business (Lords' Amendments, Third Reading, Consideration of Report, Second Reading) (Art. 170).	A2.1	Score session 14.6: -1 -1
1847	14	7	1847 (665)	15 Jul. 1847	Lord Russell (Whig)	Initiative (tabling): Members no longer need to pay a fee in order to table a Private Member's Bill (Art. 125 is removed).	A3.1	+1
1847	14	7	1847 (665)	15 Jul. 1847	Lord Russell (Whig)	Initiative (tabling): Petitions for leave to bring in a private bill have to be presented three days prior to the debate thereon in the first reading (Art. 145).	A3.2	-1
1847	14	7	1847 (665)	15 Jul. 1847	Lord Russell (Whig)	Initiative (tabling): Private petitions have to be endorsed by an examiner before they may be tabled (Art. 144).	A3.1	-1
1847	14	7	1847 (665)	15 Jul. 1847	Lord Russell (Whig)	Duration (committee assignment): The time between the second reading and the committee stage for any bill is increased from seven to fourteen days (Art. 159).	B4.3	-1
1849	15	3	1849 (563)	1 Aug. 1849	Lord Russell (Whig)	Duration (committee assignment): Every petition against a private bill that is submitted within seven days after second reading is referred to the relevant committee (Art. 167).	B4.2	Score session 14.7: -3 -1
1850	15	4	1850 (704)	12 Aug. 1850	Lord Russell (Whig)	Interruption: If there is opposition to commencing the second or third reading on a private member's bill, the debate is postponed to the next sitting day (Art. 165).	B3.1	Score session 15.3: -1 -1
1852	15	6	1852 (526)	25 Jun. 1852	Lord Russell (Whig)	Initiative (tabling): Public Bills have to be discussed in the order in which they are recorded in the order paper. However, Ministers may decide the order in which public business is discussed on government order days (Art. 3).	A3.5	Score session 15.4: -1 -1
1852	15	6	1852 (526)	25 Jun. 1852	Lord Russell (Whig)	Duration (schedule): Creation of a schedule for evening, afternoon, and Wednesday sessions (Arts. 5, 9).	B1.1	-1
1852	15	6	1852 (526)	25 Jun. 1852	Lord Russell (Whig)	Duration (schedule): The floor majority may decide to have an evening session at a different time than stipulated in the Standing Orders (Art. 9).	B1.4	-1
1852	15	6	1852 (526)	25 Jun. 1852	Lord Russell (Whig)	Duration (interruption): The Speaker has to adjourn the debate at specific times. The House has no say in this matter (Arts. 6, 7, and 10).	B3.1	-1
1853	16	2	1853 (888)	5 Aug. 1853	Lord Aberdeen (Peelite)	Initiative (schedule): If a discussion is not concluded by 5:45 p.m. (was 6 p.m. under 1852 orders) on Wednesdays, it is adjourned to the next day (Art. 8).	A2.2	Score session 15.6: -4 -1
1853	16	2	1853 (888)	5 Aug. 1853	Lord Aberdeen (Peelite)	Duration (interruption): The rule that when there is opposition to commencing the second or third reading on a private member's bill, the debate is postponed to the next sitting day, now also applies to the amended bill after the committee stage (Art. 175).	B3.2	-1
1853	16	2	1853 (888)	5 Aug. 1853	Lord Aberdeen (Peelite)	Member speech (committee assignment): All committees are allowed to sit on Wednesdays and morning sittings, except during prayers or adjournment (select committees, Art. 1).	C1.2	-1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
1854	16	3	1854 (388)	19 Jul. 1854	Lord Aberdeen (Peelite)	Duration (schedule): The Speaker is under an obligation to adjourn the House if business is not concluded before 3.50 p.m. (Art. 10). Duration (schedule): If the House convened before 2 p.m., it will again sit at 6 p.m. <i>unless</i> the House decides otherwise.	B3.1	Score session 16.2: -4 -1
1854	16	3	1854 (388)	19 Jul. 1854	Lord Aberdeen (Peelite)		B3.1	-1
1855	16	5	1855 (402)	18 Jul. 1855	Viscount Palmerston (Lib.)	Initiative (precedence): The first reading (introduction of new bills) is now explicitly relegated to the lowest place on the precedence list of private bill debates (Art. 190).	A2.3	Score session 16.3: -2 -1
1858	17	3	1858 (476)	27 Jul. 1858	The Earl of Derby (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): The first reading on a private bill can now be initiated within one day after presentation of a petition for leave to bring in the bill (Art. 159). Duration (committee assignment): Reports from <i>any</i> public agency on a private bill are referred directly to the relevant committee (Art. 177).	A3.2 B4.2	Score session 16.5: -1 +1 -1
1867	19	2	1867 (553)	16 Aug. 1867	The Earl of Derby (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): Petitions against a bill now have to be submitted within ten days instead of seven days previously, after which they shall be discussed in the relevant committee (Art. 201).	A3.2	Score session 17.3: -1 -1
1870	20	3	1870 (429)	9 Aug. 1870	W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	Duration (committee assignment): Petitions against bills on provisional orders or certificates are now also referred to committees (Art. 200).	B4.2	Score session 19.2: -1 -1
1876	21	3	1876 (411)	10 Aug. 1876	Benjamin Disraeli (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): Petitions against bills, on provisional orders or certificates now have to be submitted within seven instead of ten days (Art. 210). Duration (committee assignment): All bills that are put forward by London authorities (Metropolitan Board of Works; later: London County Council) that have financial implications have to be introduced as public bills, and after the second reading are referred to a select committee (Art. 194).	A3.2 B4.2	Score session 20.3: -1 -1 -1
1876	21	3	1876 (411)	10 Aug. 1876	Benjamin Disraeli (Con.)			
18 Feb. 1879	21	7	1879 (379)	13 Aug. 1879	Benjamin Disraeli (Con.)	Duration (schedule): With the exception of money bills, no new public bills may be discussed after 11.50 p.m. (Art. 5).	B1.2	Score session 21.3: -2 -1
28 Feb. 1880 ³	22	3	1880(405)	3 Sep. 1880	W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	Member speech (formality): The Speaker may propose a motion to suspend a member who "persuently and wilfully" obstructs the work of the House. The floor decides upon the motion (Art. 1).	C4.1	Score session 21.7: -1 -1
27 Nov. 1882	22	4	1882 (429)	1 Dec. 1882	W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	Duration (closure): The closure rule is introduced. The power to propose a motion to end the debate lies with the Speaker. It is passed with the support of 200 members or more/less than 40 members against and 100 or more in favour (Art. XIV).	B2.1	Score session 22.3: -1 -1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
27 Nov. 1882	22	4	1882 (429)	1 Dec. 1882	W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	Duration (interruption): The floor may decide to interrupt a debate before all matters on the order paper have been completed. A motion for adjournment passes if forty or more people rise immediately, or if it is accepted upon a division (Art. IX).	B3.1	-1
27 Nov. 1882	22	4	1882 (429)	1 Dec. 1882	W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	Member speech (content): The Speaker may stop the speech of a member who makes irrelevant remarks or engages in tedious repetition (Art. XIII).	C2.1	-1
22 Nov. 1882	22	4	1882 (429)	1 Dec. 1882	W. E. Gladstone (Lib.)	Member speech (penalties): Only one member may be suspended at a time, except when a group of members have jointly disregarded the Speaker's authority (Art. XII(4)).	C4.2	+1
Score session 22.4: -2								
1 Mar. 1887	24	2	1887 (294)	20 Aug. 1887	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (closure): Individual MPs may now propose closure. The Speaker has to rule whether the motion is acceptable under the House Rules, or constitutes an infringement of minority rights. The motion may not be debated. Members may also make a second motion for closure on a question already proposed to the chair (Art. XIVa(1-2)).	B2.2	-1
Score session 24.2: -1								
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Initiative (precedence): Sessions that start at 2 p.m. are limited to discussing certain types of motions, including Private Business (Art. 13(1)).	A2.1	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): On days on which government business has precedence, it may decide the order in which proposals are discussed (Art. 15).	A3.4	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): New Art. 41: at the report stage of any bill no amendment may be proposed, which could not have been proposed in committee.	A3.3	-1
8 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (schedule): A new schedule for House sittings is introduced, which now end at 7 p.m., while evening sittings start at 9 p.m. (Arts. 5 and 6). Any business under discussion at these times will be adjourned.	B1.2	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (closure): The Speaker loses the power to propose closure, which now lies exclusively with MPs. (Art. XIV is deleted). However, the threshold for closure is reduced from 200 to 100 members (Art. 26).	B2.4	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (interruption): The Speaker is obliged to end any debate on a bill at 1 a.m., unless the debate has previously been interrupted (Art. 8).	B3.1	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (interruption): Debate is interrupted on multiple occasions, i.e. at midnight on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, and at 4.30 p.m. on Wednesdays (Art. 1(2)).	B3.4	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): Committees may now sit on any day (instead of only on Wednesdays and mornings previously), still with the exception of prayers and adjournment (Arts. 47 & 66).	B4.3	-1
7 Mar. 1888	24	3	1888 (368)	11 Aug. 1888	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Member speech (explanatory statement): In case a motion to bring in a bill for discussion is opposed, the Speaker may allow brief explanatory statements from both the person opposing and the proposing member (Art. 16).	C3.1	+1
Score session 24.3: -7								
21 Jun. 1892	24	9	1892 (324)	21 Jun. 1892	Marquess of Salisbury (Con.)	Duration (interruption): The Speaker is no longer obliged to interrupt the debate at 1 a.m.; instead, it has to be interrupted at 5.30 p.m. (amendment to Art. 8, which now makes Wednesday sessions subject to the rules of Standing Order 1(2)).	B3.1	-1
Score session 24.9: -1								
1 May 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Initiative (quorum): A quorum of 40 members is needed at evening sittings before ten o'clock. Otherwise, the business is delayed to the next sitting (Art. 25).	A1.1	-1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
11 Apr. 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Initiative (precedence): Government business has precedence on three sitting days per week (Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday). Other proposals/motions may be discussed during the evening sittings of Tuesday and Wednesday only. It also has precedence during specific periods, such as after Easter (Art. 4).	A2.2	-1
17 Feb. 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): A member is free to present a bill without an order from the House for its introduction, after notice (Art. 31(2)).	A3.1	+1
2 May 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): The floor may no longer decide when to schedule business that stands over from a previous sitting (Art. 1(2)).	A3.3	-1
28 Apr. 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Duration (schedule): The House may only spend twenty days maximum to discuss the budget bill (Art. 15(2)).	B1.1	-1
2 May 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Duration (schedule): The times for afternoon and evening sessions are reduced (Art. 1(1)).	B1.2	-1
2 May 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Duration (interruption): Debate is interrupted on two occasions instead of one (Art. 1(2)).	B3.4	-1
29 Apr. 1902	27	3	1902 (386)	1 Dec. 1902	Arthur James Balfour (Con.)	Duration (interruption): The floor may now only interrupt the proceedings during the afternoon sitting, and those proceedings now automatically stand over to the evening session of the same day (Art. 10).	B3.4	+1
Score session 27.3: -4								
3 Apr. 1906	28	1	1906 (108,378)	3 Apr. 1906	David Lloyd George (Coalition)	Initiative (precedence): Government precedence is extended to more hours (Art. 4).	A2.2	-1
2/3 Apr. 1906	28	1	1906 (108, 378)	3 Apr. 1906	Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (Lib.)	Duration (interruption): The final time at which the Speaker has to adjourn the House under Art. 1 is changed from midnight to 11 p.m. (Art. 1(3)).	B3.4	-1
Score session 28.1: -2								
5 May 1914	30	4	1914 (443)	10 Aug. 1914	H. H. Asquith (Lib.)	Member speech (content): The Speaker has the discretionary right to rule out a discussion on the grounds of anticipation (Art. 10A).	C2.1	-1
Score session 30.4: -1								
19 Feb. 1919	31	1	1919 (22,213)	21 Feb. 1919	D. Lloyd George (Nat. Coal.)	Member speech (number/length): If a motion to recommit a bill is opposed, the Speaker is obliged to give the floor to both the proposer and the opposer (Art. 40b).	C3.1	+1
20 Feb. 1919	31	1	1919 (22,213)	21 Feb. 1919	D. Lloyd George (Nat. Coal.)	Member speech (explanatory statement): The Speaker may select a submitted amendment or clause to a bill under discussion, upon which the proposing member may give an explanatory statement (Art. 27a).	C3.2	+1
Score session 31.1: +2								
21 Dec. 1927	34	3	1927 (134)	21 Dec. 1927	Stanley Baldwin (Con.)	Initiative (quorum): Friday sittings are not proceeded with after 1 p.m. if fewer than 40 members are present (Art. 24a).	A1.1	-1
21 Dec. 1927	34	3	1927 (134)	21 Dec. 1927	Stanley Baldwin (Con.)	Duration (schedule): The time for Wednesday sittings is reduced (Art. 2).	B1.2	-1
21 Dec. 1927	34	3	1927 (134)	21 Dec. 1927	Stanley Baldwin (Con.)	Duration (interruption): Friday sittings are adjourned an hour earlier than before (Art. 1(3)).	B3.4	-1
Score session 34.3: -3								
14 Nov. 1933	36	3	1933 (172)	17 Nov. 1933	Ramsay MacDonald (Nat. Coal.)	Duration (interruption): Friday sittings are adjourned 3.5 hours later than before (Art. 1(3)).	B3.4	+1
Score session 36.2: +1								

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Initiative (precedence): New Art. 23a allows the government to propose to the Speaker to call the House to meet at a time when it is adjourned, to conduct government business if the "public interest" so requires.	A2.2	-1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948 (211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Initiative (tabling): Members are free to propose new bills without requiring leave from the House, and they may appoint the day for the second reading of the Bill (new Art. 35).	A3.1	+1
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Initiative (tabling): New Art. 33a holds that members may continue to submit amendments, new clauses, and schedules if the House is adjourned for more than one day.	A3.2	+1
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Debate duration (schedule): The procedure for discussing supply estimates (Art. 14) is changed so that outstanding votes must be taken before the lapse of 26 days (increased from 20). However, debate may no longer be extended.	B1.2	-1
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Debate duration (closure): In a debate on a bill in a Committee of the Whole House, the chairman may, if he thinks the principle of a clause has been sufficiently discussed, propose to the floor to close the debate on that clause and make it part of the bill (new Art. 45B).	B2.1	-1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948 (211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (interruption): A new Art. 1(9) is inserted that limits the number of motions that a Minister may make that interrupt a bill from the provisions of the Standing Orders on sittings on the House to one per sitting. This gives the government fewer means to expedite their proposals.	B3.1	-1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948 (211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (interruption): A new Art. 10 allows a minister to make a motion for adjournment, upon which a bill in a committee is adjourned after 30 minutes, and decided upon after the lapse of those 30 minutes.	B3.3	-1
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (interruption): Adjournment now requires a resolution by a member, instead of a simple speaker decision, increasing member control over adjournment (Art. 1(2)).	B3.3	+1
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): If a Minister proposes a motion that proceedings on a bill are exempted from the provisions of the Standing Orders on sittings of the House, such business may not be interrupted (see new provision Art. 1(9)).	B3.3	-1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948 (211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): By virtue of the new Art. 38, public bills are automatically referred to a standing committee after the second reading, unless the House decides otherwise.	B4.2	-1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948 (211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): For estimates in the debate on supply bills that fall under the remit of the Secretary of State for Scotland, the committee of supply may be discharged from considering it, and be referred to the Scottish Standing Committee under a strict six-day deadline.	B4.6	-1
4 Nov. 1947	38	3	1947 (6)	4 Nov. 1947	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): The ability of members to stall bills in committees is diminished as every new bill now has to be accompanied by a set schedule for its consideration in committee (new Art. 48b).	B4.3	-1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948 (211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Member speech (number/length): If a bill has been committed to a standing committee, a new rule (Art. 52) provides that members who are in charge of the bill, or those who have proposed an amendment or new clauses, counter to the general rule, may speak more than once in the debate.	C1.3	+1
28 Jul. 1948	38	3	1948(211)	28 Jul. 1948	Clement Attlee (Lab.)	Member speech (explanatory statements): A new clause (Art. 38(d)) provides that when bills are committed in part to a standing committee, and in part to a committee of the Whole House, an opponent and proponent to the bill may make a brief explanatory statement.	C3.1	+1
6 Nov. 1957	41	3	1957 (42)	18 Dec. 1957	Harold Macmillan (Con.)	Duration (interruption): The new Art. 95a (which pertains to statutory instruments, or statutes) provides that after 11:30 pm, no new motion may be entered upon, and shall be adjourned if under discussion.	B3.1	-1

Score session 38.3: -6

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
18 Dec. 1957	41	3	1957 (42)	18 Dec. 1957	Harold Macmillan (Con.)	Member speech (committee assignment): Unless ten members object, upon a motion by a Minister, a specific matter relating to Scotland may be referred to the Scottish Grand Committee, which subsequently may only spend two days to consider it in that session (see new Art. 61a).	B4.5	-1
8 Feb. 1960	42	1	1960 (100)	10 Feb. 1960	Harold Macmillan (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): A motion or amendment does not need to be seconded before the question thereon may be proposed from the chair (new Art. 11a).	A3.1	+1
25 Oct. 1960	42	1	1960 (2)	2 Nov. 1960	Harold Macmillan (Con.)	Duration (interruption): The power of a Minister to propose a motion that proceedings on a bill are exempted from the provisions of the Standing Orders on sitting of the House is removed; and thus such business may now be interrupted (Arts. 1(8) and 1(9) removed).	B3.1	+1
10 Feb. 1960	42	1	1960 (100)	10 Feb. 1960	Harold Macmillan (Con.)	Member speech (content): A new rule is introduced that provides an exemption to the rule that no reference may be made on a motion for adjournment relating to matters requiring legislative action: the Speaker may henceforth permit this in the interest of the discussion (new Art. 14a).	C2.1	+1
1 Aug. 1963	42	4	1963 (341)	2 Aug. 1963	Harold Macmillan (Conservative)	Initiative (precedence): Private members' bills now have precedence on ten Fridays in each session, as appointed by the House (new clause 5(5)).	A2.3	+1
24 Oct. 1967	44	1	1967 (675)	26 Oct. 1967	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Initiative (tabling): Art. 53 (originally introduced as Art. 41 in 1888) is amended so that the House can authorise amendments to be proposed at the reporting stage, in spite of the general rule that this is prohibited if such an amendment could have been proposed in committee.	A3.3	+1
14 Nov. 1967	44	2	1967-68 (16)	15 Nov. 1967	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Initiative (tabling): The rule that allows members to adjourn the House to table the discussion of an urgent matter (Art. 9) is amended so that, prior to the floor vote, consent from the Speaker has to be obtained before such motion may be made.	A3.1	-1
12 Dec. 1967	44	2	1967 (53)	14 Dec. 1967	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (interruption): An amendment to art 2(1) provides that if the Speaker deems a debate important, they may interrupt and reschedule the debate instead of putting the question on that bill, thus providing an extra opportunity for extending debate.	B3.1	+1
24 Oct. 1968	44	2	1967-68 (452)	24 Oct. 1968	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): New Art. 64a establishes a Grand Committee for Welsh affairs.	B4.1	-1
6 Dec. 1967	44	2	1967 (53)	14 Dec. 1967	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Member speech (committee assignment): A new Art. 43a stipulates that if a committee cannot reach agreement on the timetable for a bill, or that the agreement arrived at is deemed to be ineffective by a Minister, the latter may make a motion that the bill be reported on before a specified day, in which case the Business Committee puts forward a schedule for the processing of the bill.	B4.3	-1
24 Oct. 1968	44	2	1967-68 (452)	24 Oct. 1968	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): New Art. 64a stipulates that Ministers may make a motion to refer specific matters to this body.	B4.5	-1
12 Nov. 1968	44	3	1969 (160)	21 Feb. 1969	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (closure): The newly introduced Art. 1a allows a Minister to make a motion to suspend the debate on a day's sitting. This question is decided upon without debate or amendment, and if agreed to, a motion for adjournment may be made immediately thereafter, which has to be concluded within half an hour after its proposal.	B2.1	-1
12 Nov. 1968	44	3	1969 (160)	21 Feb. 1969	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (closure): The new closure procedure of Art. 1a may be proposed by a Minister.	B2.3	-1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
8 Mar. 1971	45	1	1971 (308)	7 Apr. 1971	Edward Heath (Con.)	Duration (interruption): An amendment ensures that motions to adjourn may only be made until all questions for public business have been discussed (Art. 1G2). Duration (committee assignment): A new select committee (Joint Committee on Consolidation, &c., Bills) is created to deal with special classes of bills (new Art. 87a).	B3.4	Score session 44.3: -2 +1
16 Jul. 1971	45	1	1971 (524)	21 Jul. 1971	Edward Heath (Con.)		B4.1	-1
16 Nov. 1971	45	2	1972 (126)	1 Feb. 1972	Edward Heath (Conservative)	Duration (schedule): The rule that allows the Minister to propose a timetable for a bill if the committee cannot agree on one (originally Art 43a, introduced on 6 Dec. 1967; now: Art. 44) is changed so the Minister may make a motion for allocation of time for consideration of a bill without this first requirement, which has to be voted on within three hours after it has been made.	B1.3	Score session 45.1: 0 -1
28 Jan. 1974	45	4	1973/74 (142)	7 Feb. 1974	Edward Heath (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): Standing committees are created for the consideration of statutory instruments (new Art. 73a).	B4.1	Score session 45.2: -1 -1
15 Nov. 1974	47	1	1975 (154)	22 Jan. 1975 & 15 Feb. 1975	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): The rules for referring a Bill to the Grand Committee for Welsh Affairs (originally introduced as Art. 64a on 24 Oct. 1967; now: Art. 72) is amended so that the Minister moving it now has to give ten day's notice for the motion.	B4.5	Score session 45.4: -1 +1
10 Feb. 1975	47	1	1975 (154)	22 Jan. 1975 & 15 Feb. 1975	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): A standing committee for Northern Ireland is created (new Art. 72a).	B4.1	-1
10 Feb. 1975	47	1	1975 (154)	22 Jan. 1975 & 15 Feb. 1975	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): Ministers have the right to refer matters to the new standing committee for Northern Ireland (new Art. 72a).	B4.5	-1
3 Dec. 1975	47	2	1976 (214)	25 Feb. 1976	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): A standing committee for Regional Affairs is created (new Art. 72b).	B4.1	Score session 47.1: -1 -1
3 Dec. 1975	47	2	1976 (214)	25 Feb. 1976	Harold Wilson (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): Ministers have the right to refer matters to the new standing committee for Regional Affairs (new Art. 72b).	B4.5	-1
31 Jan. 1980	48	1	1980 (820)	31 Oct. 1980	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (schedule): The liaison committee gets the power to recommend specific allocations of time for consideration by the House of estimates; and these recommendations have the status of Standing Orders if approved by the House (new Art. 86c). Duration (interruption): The Speaker may now, on Friday sittings reserved for private business motions and petitions, from 11 a.m. interrupt proceedings in order to allow for urgent questions, Ministers' statements, or personal explanations (new Art. 5(3a)).	B1.1	Score session 47.2: -2 -1
17 Jan. 1980	48	1	1980 (820)	31 Oct. 1980	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): Select committees are created to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of government departments (new Art. 86b).	B3.1	-1
25 Jun. 1979	48	1	1979 (266)	8 Nov. 1979	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A select committee is established to consider the expenditure, administration and policy of the Welsh Office and associated public bodies (new Art. 86b).	B4.1	-1
26 Jun. 1979	48	1	1979 (266)	8 Nov. 1979	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A select committee is established to consider the expenditure, administration and policy of the Scottish Office and associated public bodies (new Art. 86c).	B4.1	-1
31 Oct. 1979	48	1	1979 (266)	8 Nov. 1979	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)		B4.1	-1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
31 Oct. 1979	48	1	1979 (266)	8 Nov. 1979	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): Members in charge of a private bill may now make a motion to refer the bill to a second reading committee on days on which private members' bills or notices of motions have precedence (new Art. 66(1b)).	B4.5	-1
30 Oct. 1980	48	1	1980 (820)	31 Oct. 1980	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A standing committee on European Community documents is created, to consider EC-related business (new Art. 73b).	B4.1	-1
30 Mar. 1983	48	4	1983 (307)	31 Mar. 1983	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (precedence): If committees are charged with considering bills relating to Scotland, government bills have precedence in one of these standing committees (new clause 72(2)).	B4.7	Score session 48.1: -7 -1
23 May 1985	49	2	1985/86 (294)	14 Mar. 1986	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (precedence): Opposition business gets precedence on a set number of days (Art. 6(2)).	A2.1	Score session 48.4: -1 -1
27 Feb. 1986	49	3	1986 (1)	12 Nov. 1986	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (closure): When a member is making a motion or amendment, another member may propose that the question be immediately put to a vote (new Art. 14a; n.b. Art. 28 in SO 1986 (1)).	B2.1	Score session 49.2: -1 -1
27 Feb. 1986	49	3	1986 (1)	12 Nov. 1986	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Member speech (number/length): A time limit of three minutes is introduced in relation to an explanatory speech upon a motion to move the adjournment for the purpose of discussing a matter of urgency (amendment to Art. 10(1); n.b. Art. 28 in SO 1986 (1)).	C1.1	-1
13 Jul. 1988	50	1	1988 (1)	22 Nov. 1988	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Member speech (number/length): The Speaker may, if a large number of MPs registered to speak, impose a time limit of ten minutes on members' speeches (new Art. 45a).	C1.4	Score session 49.3: -2 -1
1 Feb. 1990	50	3	1990 (271)	7 Mar. 1990	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): On a day on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has declared his intention to open his budget, no notice for leave to bring in bills or to nominate select committees may be made at the start of public business (new Art. 19a).	A3.3	Score session 50.1: -1 -1
21 Feb. 1990	50	3	1990 (271)	7 Mar. 1990	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Initiative (tabling): On normal sitting days, the kinds of private members' notices that may be received are severely restricted (for example, they are refused if they impinge on the rules of precedence, or would allocate any time to any proceedings, or would have the effect of amending a Standing Order) (new Art. 13a).	A3.3	-1
24 Oct. 1990	50	3	1990 (2)	28 Nov. 1990	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A select committee for the consideration of European legislation is created (Art. 127(1)).	B4.1	-1
19 Dec. 1994	51	3	1995 (1)	15 Nov. 1995	John Major (Con.)	Duration (schedule): A sessional resolution is adopted (which is made order 50A of the House on 2 November 1995) that prescribes that the question is put on ways and means resolutions after three quarters of an hour; previously there was no special provision for ways and means resolutions.	B1.1	Score session 50.3: -3 -1
2 Nov. 1995	51	3	1995 (1)	15 Nov. 1995	John Major (Con.)	Duration (schedule): The House appoints ten Fridays on which the House shall not sit. If a Minister makes a motion to that effect, it shall be decided right away (new Art. 11a).	B1.1	-1
24 Nov. 1994	51	3	1994 (1)	24 Nov. 1994	Margaret Thatcher (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A Deregulation Committee is created to consider proposals made by virtue of the Deregulation and Contracting Out Act 1994. The Committee has to report on the documents referred to it within fifteen days (new Art. 124a).	B4.1	-1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
2 Nov. 1995	51	3	1995 (1)	15 Nov. 1995	John Major (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): Legislative proposals that give effect to the proposals contained in the Law Commissions' report automatically stand referred to a standing committee for second reading, unless the House otherwise orders, or unless the bills is referred to the Scottish Grand Committee (Art. 58b).	B4.2	-1
19 Dec. 1995	51	4	1995 (100)	17 Jan. 1996	John Major (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A minister may henceforth participate in the business of the Scottish Grand Committee, albeit without a vote (new clause, Art. 94a(5)).	B4.4	-1
19 Dec. 1995	51	4	1995 (100)	17 Jan. 1996	John Major (Con.)	Duration (committee assignment): A member may propose a motion to re-assign a bill to the Scottish Grand Committee, after a report has been given, in the case of a private bill; so can the government in case of a public bill (new Art. 94e).	B4.5	-1
4 Jun. 1998	52	1	1998 (7)	17 Dec. 1998	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Member speech (length/number): Art. 47 (originally Art. 45a, introduced on 13 Jul. 1988) is amended so that, when the Speaker imposes time limits, the minimum is eight minutes instead of ten.	C1.2	-1
4 Jun. 1998	52	1	1998 (7)	17 Dec. 1998	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Member speech (penalties): The salary of a member who is suspended is withheld for the duration of the suspension (new Art. 45a).	C4.2	-1
17 Jan. 2001	52	4	2001 (15)	21 Jan. 2001	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): A joint select committee (together with the Lords) is created to consider Tax Simplification Bills (new Art. 152b).	B4.1	-1
15 Jan. 2001	52	4	2001 (15)	21 Jan. 2001	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Duration (committee assignment): A select committee for human rights is created that meets jointly with the Lords' committee, for the consideration of matters relating to that area (new Art. 152c).	B4.1	-1
29 Oct. 2002	53	1	2002 (2)	13 Nov. 2002	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Initiative (precedence): Not more than six Thursdays are appointed in each session on which only debates on select committees reports chosen by the Liaison Committee may be held (Art. 10(13)).	A2.2	-1
29 Oct. 2002	53	1	2002 (2)	13 Nov. 2002	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Speech number (length/number): Article 47 (originally introduced as Art. 45a on 13 Jul. 1988) is amended so that in case the Speaker limits time for speeches to ten minutes, he has to add one minute in case one intervention is accepted, and two the case of two interventions.	C1.2	+1
26 Jun. 2005	53	4	2005(2)	10 Oct. 2005	Tony Blair (Lab.)	Duration (schedule): Art. 12 (originally Art. 11a introduced on 2 Nov. 1995) is amended so that the default option is that the House does not sit on Fridays; except on Fridays on which private Members' bills have precedence.	B1.2	-1
25 Oct. 2007	54	2	2005(2)	21 Dec. 2010	Gordon Brown (Lab.)	Duration (schedule): A new Art. 24A imposes a time limit of 1.5 hours for emergency debates. ^a	B1.1	-1
15 Jun. 2010	55	1	Addendum of 23 Jun. 2010	23 Jun. 2010	David Cameron (Coal.)	Initiative (precedence): The number of days on which only select committee reports chosen by the Liaison Committee may be debated is extended from six to twenty days (amendment to Art. 10(13)).	A2.2	-1

Score session 51.3: -4

Score session 51.4: -2

Score session 52.1: -2

Score session 52.4: -2

Score session 53.1: 0

Score session 53.4: -1

Score session 54.2: -1

TABLE A.2: Standing Orders Reform, 1811–2015 (Continued)

Amend. date	Parl.	Session	SO Ref.	Ordered to be printed	Cabinet	Reform	Reform code	Score
15 Jun. 2010	55	1	Addendum of 23 Jun. 2010	23 Jun. 2010	David Cameron (Coal.)	Initiative (tabling): A new select committee, the Backbench Business Committee is created to select the proposals that shall be discussed at the time for backbench business; no Minister, parliamentary private secretary (PPS) or a principal front-bench person may sit on this committee (new Art. 152). Duration (committee assignment): Backbench business gets precedence on 35 days in each session (new Art. 14(3a)).	A3.4	-1
15 Jun. 2010	55	1	Addendum of 23 Jun. 2010	23 Jun. 2010	David Cameron (Coal.)		B4.3	+1
8 May 2014	55	4	Addendum of 11 Jun. 2014	11 Jun. 2014	David Cameron (Coal.)	Member speech (Number/length): The limit on the number of motions for amendments allowed to be debated in the final two days of the debate on the Queen's Speech is increased from two to four (Art. 33).	C1.1	+1
								Score session 55.1: -1
								Score session 55.5: +1

Notes: Compiled on the basis of the yearly versions of the Standing Orders, available from the House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP), *parliamentarypapers.chadwyck.co.uk*. Note that the numbering of the Standing Orders has changed substantially. In this overview, the articles mentioned reflect the numbering of the year in which the change occurred.

^aSee Redlich 1908, 93.

^bHere, I follow Cox's finding, who takes the moment of the creation of the rule; whereas Fraser (1960, 453) claims it was officially implemented in 1835.

^cSee Cannon (1882, 207).

^dThe new Art. 24A also allows the Speaker to impose time limits on speeches by virtue of Art. 47; however the latter article already allows the Speaker to do so in any debate. The inclusion of such a provision in Art. 24A (and later removal on 15 June 2010) thus is of no consequence.

Appendix B

B.1 Validation of Obstruction

I rely on change-point analyses based on the Bai-Perron (1998) method to validate this measure of obstruction.² The two breakpoints identified as 1888 and 1916 correspond to a crucial and well-documented historical episode of obstruction in the House, framed by two equally significant and extensively studied institutional changes—the Gladstonian reforms off the 1880s, and the Balfour railway timetable reforms. Although a full validation exercise is beyond the scope of this article, these findings are encouraging.³

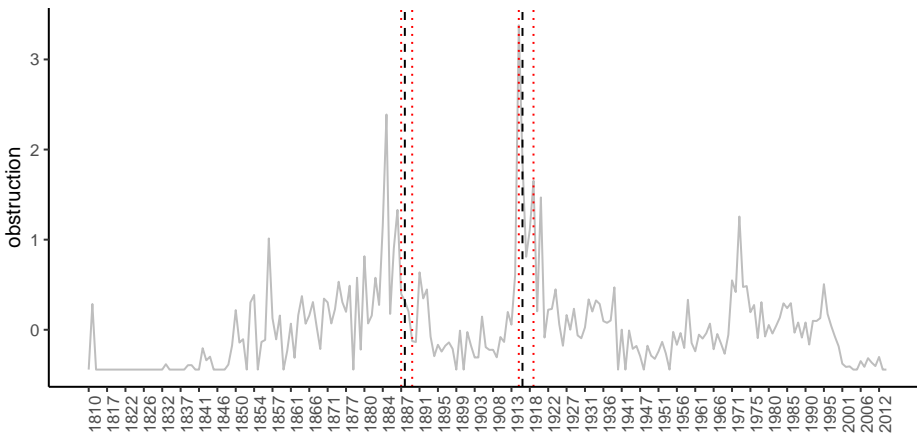


Figure B1: Changepoint Analysis of Obstruction

Note: Changepoint locations (Bai-Perron method) are indicated by vertical dashed lines. Vertical dotted lines represent the 90 percent confidence intervals. Estimation based on model that includes all (re-scaled) predictors.

B.2 Robustness

The results discussed in the paper are robust to excluding specific parliaments and sessions. I exclude parliaments and sessions one by one and re-estimate the model on the sub-sample. For the SPD models, significance levels are maintained for GOVERNMENT POLARISATION, OPPOSITION POLARISATION, and GOVERNMENT-OPPOSITION POLARISATION (at a minimum of 95 percent confidence), regardless of what parliament is excluded.

For the session-by-session exclusion, GOVERNMENT POLARISATION retains its effect at a 95 percent confidence level regardless of what session is excluded. For GOVERNMENT-OPPOSITION

²For an excellent discussion of the use of chang-e-point analysis in quantitative historical studies, see Wawro and Katznelson (2014).

³One limitation of the measure employed in this article is that it may not fully capture the intensity of obstruction. Especially after the Irish obstruction of the 1880s, it is not unlikely that MPs developed an obsession with obstruction, irrespective of its occurrence or intensity, thereby instigating reform. The analyses should be read with this limitation in mind. (I thank an anonymous reviewer for making this point).

POLARISATION, we obtain less robust results, with 1 problematic sessions and in the worst case a p-value of 0.237 (for session 24.2). Finally, OPPOSITION POLARISATION maintains confidence levels of at least 95 percent, regardless of which session is excluded.

B.3 Regression models


TABLE B1: GLMM Regression Results

	Anti-dilatory reform (x = 1), or not (x = 0)	
	(1)	(2)
obstruction (H1)	0.564 (0.371)	0.538 (0.361)
gov. polarisation (H2)	-0.847* (0.445)	
opp. polarisation (H3)		-0.648 (0.415)
gov.-opp. polarisation (H4)	-0.102 (0.484)	
workload	1.127** (0.479)	1.171*** (0.428)
party control change	-0.505 (0.593)	-0.574 (0.590)
party strength	0.350 (0.411)	0.492 (0.379)
majority	-0.179 (0.390)	-0.260 (0.360)
days until election	-0.196 (0.396)	-0.229 (0.391)
reform t - 1	-0.184 (0.421)	-0.148 (0.418)
intercept	-1.395*** (0.221)	-1.358*** (0.216)
N	219	218
Log Likelihood	-104.009	-104.637
AIC	230.019	229.274
BIC	267.298	263.119

* p < .1; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

TABLE B2: Split-sample Duration Model Estimates

	(1)	(2)
Duration model		
obstruction (H1)	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.15 (0.11)
gov. polarisation (H2)	0.66*** (0.13)	
opp. polarisation (H3)		0.7*** (0.12)
gov.-opp. polarisation (H4)	0.61*** (0.15)	
workload	-0.48*** (0.14)	-0.37*** (0.14)
party control change	-0.03 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.16)
party strength	-0.43*** (0.14)	-0.39*** (0.11)
majority	-0.19* (0.11)	-0.1 (0.11)
days until election	-0.24** (0.1)	-0.48*** (0.12)
reform t - 1	-0.51*** (0.11)	-0.63*** (0.11)
intercept	1.08*** (0.05)	1.12*** (0.07)
Risk model		
obstruction (H1)	2.54 (2.51)	3.27** (1.62)
gov. polarisation (H2)	2.35 (2.05)	
opp. polarisation (H3)		1 (1.18)
gov.-opp. polarisation (H4)	1.56 (2.51)	
workload	0.08 (1.31)	0.96 (0.99)
party control change	0.19 (1.61)	-0.33 (1.58)
party strength	-1.4 (2.07)	-0.56 (0.95)
majority	-1.98 (1.42)	-1.19 (1.3)
days until election	-1.79** (0.89)	-2.47* (1.29)
reform t - 1	-1.32 (1.02)	-1.16 (1.07)
intercept	2.74** (1.24)	2.22** (0.91)
BIC	172.22	176.79
AIC	162.05	166.64
N	219	218



* p < .1; ** p < .05; *** p < .01

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