**MEMORANDUM** February 11, 2009

**To:** Senate Committee on the Budget

**From:** Bill Heniff Jr. (7-8646)
Analyst on the Congress and Legislative Process

**Subject:** **Budget Resolutions and Reconciliation Legislation in Calendar Years 1987-2008: Amendments Considered Before and After the Statutory Limit on Debate Expired**

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This memorandum responds to your request for information regarding amendments to budget resolutions and reconciliation legislation considered in calendar years 1987-2008, covering the 100th Congress through the 110th Congress.[1] Specifically, the memorandum examines the number of amendments considered, the number of roll call votes in relation to amendments, and the disposition of amendments, both before and after the expiration of the statutory limit on debate.

The Senate considers the budget resolution and reconciliation legislation under procedures set forth in the Congressional Budget Act of 1974 (Titles I-IX of P.L. 93-344, 2 U.S.C. 601-688), as amended, which are generally intended to expedite consideration. In particular, debate on the initial consideration of the budget resolution and reconciliation legislation, and all amendments, debatable motions, and appeals, is limited to 50 hours and 20 hours, respectively.[2] After debate time has expired, or is yielded back, the Senate may continue to consider, and Senators may continue to offer, amendments, motions, and appeals, but without debate. During this period, however, the Senate typically agrees by unanimous consent to consider amendments under accelerated voting procedures, allowing two minutes per amendment for explanation and a 10-minute limit per vote. Such consideration is usually referred to as "vote-arama," reflecting the nature of successive votes in relation to amendments pending and offered after debate time has expired.

The information contained in this memorandum was compiled from the Legislative Information Service (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and the *Congressional Record*. In particular, in order to determine when the statutory limit on debate expired or was yielded back, we reviewed the consideration of budget resolutions and reconciliations measures in the *Congressional Record*. In some years, there was a clear indication of when debate on the resolution or bill expired. The Presiding Officer, for example, explicitly stated that "all time for debate on the resolution [or bill] has expired," or the floor managers explicitly yielded back all time on the resolution or bill.[3] In other cases, there was no explicit indication of

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[1] Elizabeth Rybicki and Momoko Soltis, Analysts on the Congress and Legislative Process, assisted in compiling the information in this memorandum.

[2] Debate on a conference report, and amendments between the House and Senate, related to a budget resolution and reconciliation legislation is limited to 10 hours.

[3] In addition, in some cases, a Senator would state that the "vote-arama" would begin at a time or date certain. In 2000, for (continued...)

when debate time expired. In those cases, we attempted to approximate, in relation to the offering of amendments, and the roll call votes in relation to amendments, when the statutory limit on debate expired.[4]

## Budget Resolutions

### *Number of Amendments*

**Table 1** contains the number of amendments to budget resolutions considered in calendar years 1987-2008. During the 22 years under this study, the Senate considered an average of about 58 amendments to each of 21 budget resolutions.[5] This average, however, obscures an increase in the number of amendments beginning in 1993. Specifically, the Senate considered an average of only about 15 amendments per budget resolution from 1987 to 1992, whereas the Senate considered an average of over 74 amendments per budget resolution from 1993 to 2008. Perhaps not coincidentally, from 1987 to 1992, the Senate considered and disposed of all amendments to the budget resolution within the 50-hour statutory time limit on debate. In contrast, in only two years since 1992 (in 1994 and 2004) has the Senate considered and disposed of all amendments to the budget resolution before debate time expired.

Even after 1992, however, most amendments to budget resolutions were offered before the 50-hour statutory limit of debate expired. Between 1993-2008, an average of almost 44 amendments, or almost 59% of the total number of amendments, was offered, and presumably debated before time expired. When time expired, however, an average of almost 18 amendments, or almost 24% of the total number of amendments, was pending. Such a high average number of pending amendments seems to suggest that the disposition of such amendments is deliberately delayed, perhaps so as to not use the statutory debate time for roll call votes. While Senators presumably had an opportunity to discuss these amendments before debate time expired, debate immediately prior to disposition was likely limited. In addition, an average of 31 amendments, or 41% of the total number of amendments, was offered after debate time expired. Consequently, most amendments were disposed of after debate time expired. An average of almost 49 amendments, or 65% of the total number of amendments, was disposed of after debate time expired. This compares to an average of 26 amendments, or almost 35% of the total number of amendments, disposed of before debate time expired. In summary, between 1993 and 2008, while most amendments to budget resolutions were offered and presumably debated before the statutory limit on debate expired (i.e., almost 59% vs. 41%), most amendments were disposed of after debate time expired (i.e., about 35% vs. 65%).

Looking at individual years after 1992, however, there was significant variation in the number of amendments offered after debate time had expired. For six of the 15 budget resolutions considered since 1992, for instance, no more than 11 amendments were offered after time expired, with no amendments

(...continued)

example, in relation to the consideration of the FY2001 budget resolution, Senator Jeff Sessions announced that the "vote-arama" would begin at 9:00 a.m. on April 7. *Congressional Record* (daily edition), Apr. 6, 2000, p. S2333. In other cases, the Senate agreed by unanimous consent that all time for debate on the resolution or bill would expire at a time or date certain, or after some action occurred.

[4] In 1990, for example, during the consideration of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990, the Presiding Officer indicated, in response to a parliamentary inquiry, that all debate time on the budget resolution had expired at some previous point. Such point could not be determined from a review of the previous debate. Therefore, for purposes of this memorandum, debate was considered to have expired when the Presiding Officer responded to the parliamentary inquiry. *Congressional Record*, vol. 136, Oct. 18, 1990, p. 30668.

[5] The Senate did not consider the FY2003 budget resolution (S.Con.Res. 100, 107th Congress) on the floor.

offered in two of these instances, as noted above. In contrast, for the remaining nine budget resolutions, the number of amendments offered after time expired ranged from 20 in 1993 to a high of 92 in 2008. Further, over the past nine years, with the exception of 2002 (when the budget resolution was not considered) and 2004 (when all amendments were offered and disposed of within the statutory limit on debate), 35 or more amendments to the budget resolution have been offered after debate time has expired.

The proportion of amendments to budget resolutions offered after debate time has expired has varied by year as well. In six years, over half of the amendments were offered after time expired, ranging from almost 63% in 2000 to over 84% in 2003. While in the other nine years, less than half of the amendments were offered after time expired, the proportion of amendments offered after time expired ranged from zero to almost 48%.

### *Roll Call Votes in Relation to Amendments*

**Table 2** contains the number of roll call votes in relation to amendments offered to budget resolutions during the period 1987-2008.[6] Roll call votes were taken in relation to an average of about 25 amendments per budget resolution during the entire period. Like the number of amendments to budget resolutions considered by the Senate, the number of roll call votes in relation to such amendments also significantly increased beginning in 1993. An average of almost seven roll call votes was taken in relation to amendments to budget resolutions from 1987 to 1992, whereas an average of 32 roll call votes was taken in relation to amendments to budget resolutions from 1993 to 2008.

As noted above, between 1987 and 1992, the Senate did not consider any amendments after debate time expired, and therefore, no roll call votes occurred after time expired. After 1992, however, most roll call votes in relation to amendments to budget resolutions occurred after debate time expired. An average of about 19 roll call votes in relation to amendments to budget resolutions, or approximately 59% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred after debate time expired. In contrast, an average of 13 roll call votes, or 41% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred before debate time expired. Most roll call votes, however, occurred in relation to amendments offered and presumably debated before time expired. An average of over 20 roll call votes, or 64% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred in relation to amendments offered before debate time expired. In contrast, an average of almost 12 roll call votes, or approximately 36% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred in relation to amendments offered after debate time expired. Because debate time had expired, the Senate likely debated these amendments for two or fewer minutes prior to the roll call vote in relation to the amendments. In summary, between 1993 and 2008, while most roll call votes in relation to amendments to budget resolutions occurred after the statutory limit on debate expired (i.e., almost 59% vs. 41%), most roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments offered and presumably debated prior to debate time on the budget resolution expiring (i.e., 64% vs. almost 36%).

As with the number of amendments to budget resolutions, there was significant variation in the number of roll call votes after 1992, from a relatively few to several to a relatively large number of roll call votes after debate time expired. For four of the 15 budget resolutions considered since 1992, for instance, after time expired, no more than nine roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments after time expired, with no such roll call votes in two of these instances (1994 and 2004), as noted above. Further, for six of the

[6] Roll call votes in relation to amendments to budget resolutions include roll call votes on agreeing to an amendment, on a motion to waive a point of order against an amendment, and on a motion to table an amendment. For purposes of this memorandum, however, if the Senate voted affirmatively to waive a point of order against an amendment, only the vote on agreeing to the amendment was counted (i.e., in such a case, the vote on the motion to waive a point of order was not counted).

budget resolutions, between 11 and 20 roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments after time expired. Finally, for five of the budget resolutions, 24 or more roll call votes occurred after time expired, with a high of 43 roll call votes in 2003. As a proportion of all roll call votes in relation to such amendments after 1992, during the consideration of eight budget resolutions, over half of the roll call votes occurred after debate time expired, with all roll call votes occurring after debate time expired in 2008. Further, during the consideration of an additional two budget resolutions, more than 45% of the roll call votes occurred after debate time expired.

Some of these roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments that were offered and presumably debated before time expired and prior to the roll call vote, although debate immediately prior to the roll call vote was likely limited, as noted above. The remaining roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments that were offered after debate time expired, and therefore, the roll call votes occurred presumably after little or no debate (i.e., two minutes or less) on such amendments. For most of the budget resolutions considered after 1992, however, relatively few roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments offered after debate time expired; that is, during the consideration of nine of the 15 budget resolutions after 1992, eight or fewer roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments offered after such time expired.[7] During the consideration of the other six budget resolutions, the number of roll call votes in relation to amendments offered after debate time expired ranged from 13 to 40.

During the entire period covered by this study (1987-2008), a roll call vote did not occur in relation to most amendments offered to budget resolutions (see **Table 3**). That is, most amendments (almost 57% of all amendments) were disposed of without any associated roll call vote. After 1992, when the Senate regularly considered the budget resolution after debate time expired, however, roll call votes were more likely to occur in relation to amendments disposed of before debate time expired than in relation to amendments disposed of after debate time expired. About half of the amendments disposed of before debate time expired received a roll call vote. In contrast, only about 39% of the amendments disposed of after debate time expired received a roll call vote. Of the amendments disposed of after debate time expired, those offered before time expired were only slightly more likely to receive a roll call vote (42% of such amendments received a roll call vote) than those offered after debate time expired (37% of such amendments received a roll call vote).

## *Disposition of Amendments*

**Table 4** contains the percentage of amendments to budget resolutions adopted by the Senate. Between 1987 and 2008, most amendments (62%) to budget resolutions were adopted. The practice of considering the budget resolution after debate time expired does not appear to have significantly affected this success rate. Between 1987 and 1992, 66% of amendments to budget resolutions were adopted, and since 1992, almost 62% of amendments were adopted. During this latter period (1993-2008), while over half of the amendments were adopted regardless of when they were offered or disposed of, there are some differences. Of the amendments disposed of after debate time expired, amendments pending when time expired (i.e., offered and presumably debated) were less likely to be adopted (approximately 51%) than those offered and presumably debated for little or no time (almost 70%).

The disposition of an amendment is clearly correlated with the method of its disposition. As indicated in **Table 5**, amendments on which a roll call vote occurred were less likely to be adopted. Excluding the first two reconciliation measures, an average of about 17 amendments per budget resolution was either rejected on the roll call vote or fell on a point of order after a motion to waive the point of order was

[7] In three of these cases, no roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments offered after debate time expired.

rejected, whereas an average of 8 amendments per budget resolution was adopted by roll call vote. In contrast, as indicated in **Table 6**, amendments on which no roll call vote occurred were more likely to be adopted. Excluding the first two reconciliation measures, an average of approximately 28 amendments per budget resolution was adopted by either voice vote or unanimous consent, whereas an average of less than one amendments was rejected by voice vote, unanimous consent, or fell on a point of order. This pattern appears to hold regardless of when an amendment was offered or disposed of.

## Reconciliation Legislation

### *Number of Amendments*

**Table 7** contains the number of amendments to reconciliation legislation considered in the Senate in calendar years 1987-2008.[8] During the 22 years under this study, the Senate considered an average of about 44 amendments to each of 16 reconciliation measures.[9] The number of amendments to reconciliation bills ranged from a low of two in 1989 to a high of 80 in 1995. In addition, after exceeding 40 amendments during consideration of each of the reconciliation measures considered between 1993 and 2005, the number of amendments to reconciliation measures declined to 30, 14, and 25, respectively, during the consideration of the last three reconciliation measures.

The practice of considering reconciliation legislation, including amendments, after the statutory limit on debate expired appears to have begun earlier than such practice with budget resolutions. As **Table 7** indicates, the Senate considered reconciliation legislation after debate time expired in 1990, three years earlier than it first did in relation to the budget resolution. Since then, all reconciliation measures have been considered beyond the 20-hour statutory limit on debate.

Even so, most amendments to reconciliation legislation were offered before debate time expired. Between 1990 and 2007, an average of almost 29 amendments, or 60% of the total number of amendments, was offered and presumably debated within the 20-hour limit on debate. When time expired, an average of almost 17 amendments, or approximately 35% of the total number of amendments, was pending. While Senators presumably had an opportunity to discuss these amendments before debate time expired, debate immediately prior to disposition was likely limited. After debate time expired, an average of an additional 19 amendments, almost 40% of the total number of amendments, was offered, and presumably considered with little or no debate. Consequently, most amendments were disposed of after debate time expired. An average of 36 amendments per reconciliation bill, or about 75% of the total number of amendments, was disposed of after debate expired. This compares to an average of 12 amendments per reconciliation bill, or approximately 25% of the total number of amendments, disposed of before debate time expired. In summary, between 1990 and 2007, while most amendments were offered and presumably debated before the statutory limit on debate expired (i.e., 60% vs. 40%), most amendments were disposed of after debate time expired (i.e., approximately 75% vs. 25%).

[8] For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this memorandum also include motions to commit and recommit.

[9] Reconciliation is an optional process, and as such, reconciliation legislation has not been considered in each year. In addition, multiple reconciliation measures may be considered in a year. During the period covered by this study, the Senate considered two reconciliation measures in a year twice, in 1997 and 2005.

## Roll Call Votes in Relation to Amendments

**Table 8** contains the number of roll call votes in relation to amendments offered to reconciliation legislation during the period 1987-2008.[10] Roll call votes were taken in relation to an average of about 21 amendments per reconciliation bill during the entire period, ranging from zero in 1989 to a high of 51 roll call votes twice, in 1995 and 2001. Between 1990 and 2007, when the Senate regularly considered reconciliation measures beyond the 20-hour debate limit, most roll call votes in relation to amendments occurred after debate time expired. An average of 17 roll call votes in relation to amendments, or approximately 74% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred after debate time expired. In contrast, an average of six roll call votes, or 26% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred before debate time expired. Most roll call votes, however, like the disposition of amendments to reconciliation legislation, as noted above, occurred in relation to amendments offered and presumably debated before time expired. An average of 14 roll call votes, or almost 62% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred in relation to amendments offered before debate time expired. In contrast, an average of almost 9 roll call votes, or approximately 38% of the total number of roll call votes, occurred in relation to amendments offered after debate time expired. In summary, between 1990 and 2007, while most roll call votes in relation to amendments to reconciliation legislation occurred after the statutory limit on debate expired (i.e., almost 74% vs. 26%), most roll call votes occurred in relation to amendments offered and presumably debated prior to debate time on the budget resolution expiring (i.e., 64% vs. almost 36%).

During the entire period covered by this study (1987-2008), a roll call vote occurred in relation to less than half (46.5%) of the amendments offered to reconciliation legislation (see **Table 9**). After 1989, when the Senate regularly considered reconciliation legislation beyond the statutory limit on debate, roll call votes occurred in relation to only a slightly higher percentage (47.4%) of amendments. Between 1990 and 2007, roll call votes were more likely to occur in relation to amendments disposed before debate time expired than in relation to amendments disposed of after debate time expired, but the difference is not very great (50% vs. almost 48%). Of the amendments disposed of after debate time expired, those offered before time expired were only slightly more likely to receive a roll call vote (almost 49% of such amendments received a roll call vote) than those offered after debate time expired (46% of such amendments received a roll call vote).

## Disposition of Amendments

**Table 10** contains the percentage of amendments to reconciliation legislation adopted by the Senate. Between 1987 and 2007, less than half (43%) of the amendments offered during the consideration of reconciliation legislation were adopted. Most amendments were withdrawn, rejected, or fell on a point of order. A similar success rate (almost 42%) occurred in relation to reconciliation measures considered after 1989, when the Senate regularly considered the reconciliation measures, including amendments, beyond the 20-hour limit on debate. During this period (1990-2007), amendments disposed of before debate time expired were more likely to be adopted than those amendments disposed of after debate time expired. Specifically, 48% of the amendments disposed of before debate time expired were adopted, whereas 39% of the amendments disposed of after debate time expired were adopted. In addition, of the amendments disposed of after debate time expired, only 28% of the amendments pending when debate time expired

[10] As noted above regarding budget resolutions, roll call votes in relation to amendments to reconciliation legislation include roll call votes on agreeing to an amendment, on a motion to waive a point of order against an amendment, and on a motion to table an amendment. For purposes of this memorandum, however, if the Senate voted affirmatively to waive a point of order against an amendment, only the vote on agreeing to the amendment was counted (i.e., in such a case, the vote on the motion to waive a point of order was not counted).

were adopted. In contrast, amendments offered after debate time expired were more likely to be approved; over 39% of such amendments were adopted.

As with budget resolutions, the disposition of an amendment to reconciliation legislation is clearly correlated with the method of its disposition. As indicated in **Table 11**, amendments on which a roll call vote occurred were less likely to be adopted. Excluding the first two reconciliation measures, an average of almost 21 amendments per reconciliation bill was either rejected on the roll call vote or fell on a point of order after a motion to waive the point of order was rejected, whereas an average of only almost 3 amendments per reconciliation bill was adopted by roll call vote. In contrast, as indicated in **Table 12**, amendments on which no roll call vote occurred were more likely to be adopted. Excluding the first two reconciliation measures, an average of over 17 amendments per reconciliation bill was adopted by either voice vote or unanimous consent, whereas an average of less than two amendments was rejected by voice vote, unanimous consent, or fell on a point of order. This pattern appears to hold regardless of when an amendment was offered or disposed of.

## Table 1. Amendments to Budget Resolutions, 1987-2008

| | Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| Calendar Year | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| 1987 | 15 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 15 |
| 1988 | 12 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 12 |
| 1989 | 26 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 26 |
| 1990 | 1 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 1 |
| 1991 | 14 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 14 |
| 1992 | 21 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 21 |
| 1993 | 30 | 60.0% | 0 | — | 20 | 40.0% | 50 |
| 1994 | 39 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 39 |
| 1995 | 20 | 27.8% | 1 | 1.4% | 51 | 70.8% | 72 |
| 1996 | 17 | 25.8% | 38 | 57.6% | 11 | 16.7% | 66 |
| 1997 | 44 | 69.8% | 16 | 25.4% | 3 | 4.8% | 63 |
| 1998 | 52 | 49.1% | 53 | 50.0% | 1 | 0.9% | 106 |
| 1999 | 14 | 14.9% | 79 | 84.0% | 1 | 1.1% | 94 |
| 2000 | 21 | 37.5% | 0 | — | 35 | 62.5% | 56 |
| 2001 | 11 | 16.7% | 12 | 18.2% | 43 | 65.2% | 66 |
| 2002 | [Budget resolution was not considered on Senate floor.] | | | | | | |
| 2003 | 9 | 11.0% | 4 | 4.9% | 69 | 84.1% | 82 |
| 2004 | 64 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 64 |
| 2005 | 13 | 17.8% | 25 | 34.2% | 35 | 47.9% | 73 |
| 2006 | 31 | 35.6% | 17 | 19.5% | 39 | 44.8% | 87 |
| 2007 | 25 | 27.5% | 1 | 1.1% | 65 | 71.4% | 91 |
| 2008 | 0 | — | 21 | 18.6% | 92 | 81.6% | 113 |

| | Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| **Calendar Year** | **Number** | **Percentage** | **Number** | **Percentage** | **Number** | **Percentage** | |
| 1987-2008 | 479 | 39.6% | 267 | 22.0% | 465 | 38.4% | 1211 |
| Average Per Budget Resolution | 22.8 | — | 12.7 | — | 22.1 | — | 57.7 |
| 1987-1992 | 89 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 89 |
| Average Per Budget Resolution | 14.8 | — | 0 | — | 0 | — | 14.8 |
| 1993-2008 | 390 | 34.8% | 267 | 23.8% | 465 | 41.4% | 1122 |
| Average Per Budget Resolution | 26.0 | — | 17.8 | — | 31.0 | — | 74.8 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

## Table 2. Roll Call Votes in Relation to Amendments to Budget Resolutions, 1987-2008

| | Roll Call Votes Before Debate Time Expired | | Roll Call Votes After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| Calendar Year | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| 1987 | 11 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 11 |
| 1988 | 8 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 8 |
| 1989 | 4 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 4 |
| 1990 | 0 | | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 0 |
| 1991 | 6 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 6 |
| 1992 | 10 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 10 |
| 1993 | 27 | 62.8% | 0 | __ | 16 | 37.2% | 43 |
| 1994 | 12 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 12 |
| 1995 | 15 | 26.8% | 1 | 1.8% | 40 | 71.4% | 56 |
| 1996 | 7 | 17.5% | 25 | 62.5% | 8 | 20.0% | 40 |
| 1997 | 14 | 73.7% | 4 | 21.1% | 1 | 5.3% | 19 |
| 1998 | 17 | 51.5% | 15 | 45.5% | 1 | 3.0% | 33 |
| 1999 | 9 | 50.0% | 9 | 50.0% | 0 | __ | 18 |
| 2000 | 12 | 48.0% | 0 | __ | 13 | 52.0% | 25 |
| 2001 | 10 | 47.6% | 7 | 33.3% | 4 | 19.0% | 21 |
| 2002 | [Budget resolution was not considered on Senate floor.] | | | | | | |
| 2003 | 7 | 14.0% | 3 | 6.0% | 40 | 80.0% | 50 |
| 2004 | 24 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 24 |
| 2005 | 12 | 33.3% | 19 | 52.8% | 5 | 13.9% | 36 |
| 2006 | 17 | 50.0% | 10 | 29.4% | 7 | 20.6% | 34 |

| | Roll Call Votes Before Debate Time Expired | | Roll Call Votes After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| **Calendar Year** | **Number** | **Percentage** | **Number** | **Percentage** | **Number** | **Percentage** | |
| 2007 | 17 | 53.1% | 1 | 3.1% | 14 | 43.8% | 32 |
| 2008 | 0 | __ | 16 | 40.0% | 24 | 60.0% | 40 |
| 1987-2008 | 239 | 45.8% | 110 | 21.1% | 173 | 33.1% | 522 |
| Average Per Budget Resolution | 11.4 | __ | 5.2 | __ | 8.2 | __ | 24.9 |
| 1987-1992 | 39 | 100.0% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 39 |
| Average Per Budget Resolution | 6.5 | __ | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 6.5 |
| 1993-2008 | 200 | 41.4% | 110 | 22.8% | 173 | 35.8% | 483 |
| Average Per Budget Resolution | 13.3 | __ | 7.3 | __ | 11.5 | __ | 32.2 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Table 3. Percentage of Amendments to Budget Resolutions On Which a Roll Call Vote Occurred, 1987-2008**

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| 1987 | 73.3% | — | — | — | 73.3% |
| 1988 | 66.7% | — | — | — | 66.7% |
| 1989 | 15.4% | — | — | — | 15.4% |
| 1990 | 0.0% | — | — | — | 0.0% |
| 1991 | 42.9% | — | — | — | 42.9% |
| 1992 | 47.6% | — | — | — | 47.6% |
| 1993 | 90.0% | — | 80.0% | 80.0% | 86.0% |
| 1994 | 30.8% | — | — | — | 30.8% |
| 1995 | 75.0% | 100.0% | 78.4% | 78.8% | 77.8% |
| 1996 | 41.2% | 65.8% | 72.7% | 67.3% | 60.6% |
| 1997 | 31.8% | 25.0% | 33.3% | 26.3% | 30.2% |
| 1998 | 32.7% | 28.3% | 100.0% | 29.6% | 31.1% |
| 1999 | 64.3% | 11.4% | 0.0% | 11.3% | 19.1% |
| 2000 | 57.1% | — | 37.1% | 37.1% | 44.6% |
| 2001 | 90.9% | 58.3% | 9.3% | 20.0% | 31.8% |
| 2002 | [Budget resolution was not considered on Senate floor.] | | | | |
| 2003 | 77.8% | 75.0% | 58.0% | 58.9% | 61.0% |
| 2004 | 37.5% | — | — | — | 37.5% |
| 2005 | 92.3% | 76.0% | 14.3% | 40.0% | 49.3% |
| 2006 | 54.8% | 58.8% | 17.9% | 30.4% | 39.1% |
| 2007 | 68.0% | 100.0% | 21.5% | 22.7% | 35.2% |

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| 2008 | — | 76.2% | 26.1% | 35.4% | 35.4% |
| 1987-2008 | 49.9% | 41.2% | 37.2% | 38.7% | 43.1% |
| 1987-1992 | 43.8% | — | — | — | 43.8% |
| 1993-2008 | 51.3% | 41.2% | 37.2% | 38.7% | 43.0% |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Table 4. Percentage of Amendments to Budget Resolutions Adopted, 1987-2008**

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| 1987 | 33.3% | — | — | — | 33.3% |
| 1988 | 66.7% | — | — | — | 66.7% |
| 1989 | 88.5% | — | — | — | 88.5% |
| 1990 | 100% | — | — | — | 100% |
| 1991 | 50.0% | — | — | — | 50.0% |
| 1992 | 71.4% | — | — | — | 71.4% |
| 1993 | 56.7% | — | 25% | 25% | 44.0% |
| 1994 | 66.7% | — | — | — | 66.7% |
| 1995 | 30.0% | 0 | 39.2% | 39.2% | 36.1% |
| 1996 | 70.6% | 55.3% | 72.7% | 59.2% | 62.1% |
| 1997 | 61.4% | 56.3% | 100% | 63.2% | 61.9% |
| 1998 | 73.1% | 34.0% | 100% | 35.2% | 53.8% |
| 1999 | 64.3% | 59.5% | 100% | 60.0% | 60.6% |
| 2000 | 57.1% | — | 74.3% | 74.3% | 67.9% |
| 2001 | 63.6% | 66.7% | 83.7% | 80.0% | 77.3% |
| 2002 | [Budget resolution was not considered on the Senate floor] | | | | |
| 2003 | 44.4% | 50.0% | 55.1% | 54.8% | 53.7% |
| 2004 | 60.9% | — | — | — | 60.9% |
| 2005 | 38.5% | 52.0% | 85.7% | 71.7% | 65.8% |
| 2006 | 61.3% | 23.5% | 79.5% | 62.5% | 62.1% |
| 2007 | 48.0% | 0 | 78.5% | 77.3% | 69.2% |

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| 2008 | — | 61.9% | 82.4% | 77.9% | 77.9% |
| 1987-2008 | 60.9% | 50.6% | 69.9% | 62.8% | 62.1% |
| 1987-1992 | 66.3% | — | — | — | 42.4% |
| 1993-2008 | 59.7% | 50.6% | 69.9% | 62.8% | 61.8% |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

## Table 5. Disposition of Amendments to Budget Resolutions on Which a Roll Call Vote Occurred, 1987-2008

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| 1987 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 8 |
| 1988 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| 1989 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 1990 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1991 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| 1992 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| 1993 | 14 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 15 | 15 | 28 |
| 1994 | 3 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 |
| 1995 | 2 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 31 | 11 | 44 |
| 1996 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 6 | 2 | 18 | 22 |
| 1997 | 3 | 11 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 13 |
| 1998 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 15 | 18 |
| 1999 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 13 |
| 2000 | 5 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 10 | 15 |
| 2001 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 9 |
| 2002 | | | | | | | | |
| 2003 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 31 | 13 | 37 |
| 2004 | 5 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 19 |
| 2005 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 14 | 22 |

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| 2006 | 6 | 11 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 25 |
| 2007 | 5 | 12 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 12 | 7 | 25 |
| 2008 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 16 | 16 | 24 |
| **Averages Per Budget Resolution** | | | | | | | | |
| 1987-2008 | 4.0 | 7.4 | 2.0 | 3.2 | 2.3 | 6.0 | 8.3 | 16.5 |
| 1987-1992 | 2.3 | 4.2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2.3 | 3.8 |
| 1993-2008 | 4.7 | 8.7 | 2.7 | 4.5 | 3.2 | 8.3 | 10.7 | 21.5 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

## Table 6. Disposition of Amendments to Budget Resolution On Which No Roll Call Vote Occurred

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| 1987 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 1988 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 1989 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 |
| 1990 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1991 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1992 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 1993 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 0 |
| 1994 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 23 | 0 |
| 1995 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| 1996 | 9 | 0 | 12 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 23 | 1 |
| 1997 | 24 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 33 | 0 |
| 1998 | 31 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 42 | 2 |
| 1999 | 5 | 0 | 46 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 52 | 4 |
| 2000 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 28 | 0 |
| 2001 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 33 | 3 | 39 | 3 |
| 2002 | [Budget resolution was not considered on Senate floor.] | | | | | | | |
| 2003 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 29 | 0 | 31 | 0 |
| 2004 | 34 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 34 | 2 |
| 2005 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 28 | 2 | 34 | 2 |

| Calendar Year | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| 2006 | 13 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 30 | 2 | 45 | 2 |
| 2007 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 49 | 0 | 56 | 0 |
| 2008 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 67 | 0 | 72 | 0 |
| **Averages Per Budget Resolution** | | | | | | | | |
| 1987-2008 | 9.9 | 0.1 | 4.5 | 0.3 | 13.2 | 0.3 | 27.6 | 0.8 |
| 1987-1992 | 7.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.5 | 0.0 |
| 1993-2008 | 10.9 | 0.1 | 6.3 | 0.5 | 18.5 | 0.5 | 35.6 | 1.1 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

## Table 7. Amendments to Reconciliation Legislation, 1987-2008

| Reconciliation Legislation | Disposed Before Time Limit Expired | | Disposed After Time Limit Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Pending When Time Limit Expired | | Offered After Time Limit Expired | | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (S. 1920, P.L. 100-203) | 25 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 25 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989 (S. 1750, P.L. 101-239) | 2 | 100% | 0 | __ | 0 | __ | 2 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (S. 3209, P.L. 101-508) | 15 | 68.2% | 0 | __ | 7 | 31.8% | 22 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (S. 1134, P.L. 103-66) | 35 | 83.3% | 0 | __ | 7 | 16.7% | 42 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1995 (S. 1357, vetoed) | 22 | 27.5% | 7 | 8.6% | 51 | 63.8% | 80 |
| Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (S. 1956, P.L. 104-193) | 34 | 59.6% | 23 | 40.4% | 0 | __ | 57 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (S. 947, P.L. 105-33) | 13 | 16.7% | 65 | 83.3% | 0 | __ | 78 |
| Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 (S. 949, P.L. 105-34) | 19 | 33.9% | 8 | 14.3% | 29 | 51.8% | 56 |

| Reconciliation Legislation | Disposed Before Time Limit Expired | | Disposed After Time Limit Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Pending When Time Limit Expired | | Offered After Time Limit Expired | | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999 (S. 1429, vetoed) | 13 | 21.7% | 0 | — | 47 | 78.3% | 60 |
| Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000 (H.R. 4810, vetoed) | 1 | 2.5% | 38 | 95.0% | 1 | 2.5% | 40 |
| Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (H.R. 1836, P.L. 107-16) | 5 | 7.8% | 34 | 53.1% | 25 | 39.1% | 64 |
| Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 (S. 1054, P.L. 108-27) | 1 | 1.4% | 26 | 35.6% | 37 | 50.7% | 73 |
| Deficit Reduction Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 2005 (S. 1932, P.L. 109-171) | 1 | 2.4% | 16 | 38.1% | 25 | 59.5% | 42 |
| Tax Relief Act of 2005 (S. 2020, amended H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 6 | 20.0% | 13 | 43.3% | 11 | 36.7% | 30 |
| Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act of 2005 (H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 0 | — | 3 | 21.4% | 11 | 78.6% | 14 |
| College Cost Reduction Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669, P.L. 110-84) | 5 | 20.0% | 2 | 8.0% | 18 | 72.0% | 25 |

| Reconciliation Legislation | Disposed Before Time Limit Expired | | Disposed After Time Limit Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Pending When Time Limit Expired | | Offered After Time Limit Expired | | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| 1987-2008 | 197 | 28.1% | 235 | 33.5% | 269 | 38.4% | 701 |
| Average Per Bill | 12.3 | — | 14.7 | — | 16.8 | — | 43.8 |
| 1987-1989 | 27 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 27 |
| Average Per Bill | 13.5 | — | — | — | — | — | 13.5 |
| 1990-2008 | 170 | 25.2% | 235 | 34.9% | 269 | 39.9% | 674 |
| Average Per Bill | 12.1 | — | 16.8 | — | 19.2 | — | 48.1 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Note:** For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this table also include motions to commit and recommit.

**Table 8. Roll Call Votes in Relation to Amendments to Reconciliation Legislation, 1987-2008**

| Reconciliation Legislation | Roll Call Votes Before Debate Time Expired | | Roll Call Votes After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (S. 1920, P.L. 100-203) | 6 | 100.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 6 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989 (S. 1750, P.L. 101-239) | 0 | — | 0 | — | 0 | — | 0 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (S. 3209, P.L. 101-508) | 8 | 72.7% | 0 | 0.0% | 3 | 27.3% | 11 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (S. 1134, P.L. 103-66) | 21 | 91.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 2 | 8.7% | 23 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1995 (S. 1357, vetoed) | 18 | 35.3% | 6 | 11.8% | 27 | 52.9% | 51 |
| Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (S. 1956, P.L. 104-193) | 10 | 41.7% | 14 | 58.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 24 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (S. 947, P.L. 105-33) | 3 | 18.8% | 13 | 81.3% | 0 | 0.0% | 16 |
| Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 (S. 949, P.L. 105-34) | 5 | 20.0% | 4 | 16.0% | 16 | 64.0% | 25 |

| Reconciliation Legislation | Roll Call Votes Before Debate Time Expired | | Roll Call Votes After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999 (S. 1429, vetoed) | 7 | 35.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 13 | 65.0% | 20 |
| Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000 (H.R. 4810, vetoed) | 0 | 0.0% | 13 | 100.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 13 |
| Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (H.R. 1836, P.L. 107-16) | 3 | 5.9% | 27 | 52.9% | 21 | 41.2% | 51 |
| Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 (S. 1054, P.L. 108-27) | 1 | 3.6% | 18 | 64.3% | 9 | 32.1% | 28 |
| Deficit Reduction Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 2005 (S. 1932, P.L. 109-171) | 0 | 0.0% | 12 | 60.0% | 8 | 40.0% | 20 |
| Tax Relief Act of 2005 (S. 2020, amended H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 5 | 29.4% | 7 | 41.2% | 5 | 29.4% | 17 |
| Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act of 2005 (H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 0 | 0.0% | 0 | 0.0% | 7 | 100.0% | 7 |
| College Cost Reduction Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669, P.L. 110-84) | 4 | 22.2% | 1 | 5.6% | 13 | 72.2% | 18 |

| Reconciliation Legislation | Roll Call Votes Before Debate Time Expired | | Roll Call Votes After Debate Time Expired | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | |
| | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | Number | Percentage | |
| 1987-2007 | 91 | 27.6% | 115 | 34.8% | 124 | 37.6% | 330 |
| Average Per bill | 5.7 | — | 7.2 | — | 7.8 | — | 20.6 |
| 1987-1989 | 6 | 100% | 0 | — | 0 | — | 6 |
| Average Per Bill | 3.0 | — | 0 | — | 0 | — | 3.0 |
| 1990-2007 | 85 | 26.2% | 115 | 35.5% | 124 | 38.3% | 324 |
| Average Per bill | 6.1 | — | 8.2 | — | 8.9 | — | 23.1 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Note:** For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this table also include motions to commit and recommit.

**Table 9. Percentage of Amendments to Reconciliation Legislation On Which a Roll Call Vote Occurred, 1987-2008**

| Reconciliation Bill | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (S. 1920, P.L. 100-203) | 24.0% | — | — | — | 24.0% |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989 (S. 1750, P.L. 101-239) | 0% | — | — | — | 0% |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (S. 3209, P.L. 101-508) | 53.3% | — | 42.9% | 42.9% | 50.0% |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (S. 1134, P.L. 103-66) | 60.0% | — | 28.6% | 28.6% | 54.8% |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1995 (S. 1357, vetoed) | 81.8% | 85.7% | 52.9% | 56.9% | 63.8% |
| Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (S. 1956, P.L. 104-193) | 29.4% | 60.9% | — | 60.9% | 42.1% |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (S. 947, P.L. 105-33) | 23.1% | 20.0% | — | 20.0% | 20.5% |
| Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 (S. 949, P.L. 105-34) | 26.3% | 50.0% | 55.2% | 54.1% | 44.6% |
| Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999 (S. 1429, vetoed) | 53.8% | — | 27.7% | 27.7% | 33.3% |

| Reconciliation Bill | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000 (H.R. 4810, vetoed) | 0% | 34.2% | 0% | 33.3% | 32.5% |
| Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (H.R. 1836, P.L. 107-16) | 60.0% | 79.4% | 84.0% | 81.4% | 79.7% |
| Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 (S. 1054, P.L. 108-27) | 100% | 69.2% | 24.3% | 42.9% | 38.4% |
| Deficit Reduction Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 2005 (S. 1932, P.L. 109-171) | 0% | 75.0% | 32.0% | 48.8% | 47.6% |
| Tax Relief Act of 2005 (S. 2020, amended H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 83.3% | 53.8% | 45.5% | 50.0% | 56.7% |
| Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act of 2005 (H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | — | 0 | 63.6% | 50.0% | 50.0% |
| College Cost Reduction Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669, P.L. 110-84) | 80.0% | 50.0% | 72.2% | 70.0% | 72.0% |
| 1987-2007 | 46.2% | 48.9% | 46.1% | 41.7% | 46.5% |
| 1987-1989 | 22.2% | — | — | — | 22.2% |
| 1990-2007 | 50.0% | 48.9% | 46.1% | 47.7% | 47.4% |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Note:** For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this table also include motions to commit and recommit.

## Table 10. Percentage of Amendments to Reconciliation Legislation Adopted, 1987-2008

| Reconciliation Bill | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (S. 1920, P.L. 100-203) | 68.0% | — | — | — | 68.0% |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989 (S. 1750, P.L. 101-239) | 100% | — | — | — | 100% |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (S. 3209, P.L. 101-508) | 27.8% | — | 42.9% | 42.9% | 32.0% |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (S. 1134, P.L. 103-66) | 40.0% | — | 85.7% | 85.7% | 47.6% |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1995 (S. 1357, vetoed) | 36.4% | — | 43.1% | 43.1% | 41.1% |
| Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (S. 1956, P.L. 104-193) | 67.6% | 42.9% | — | 42.9% | 63.4% |

| Reconciliation Bill | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (S. 947, P.L. 105-33) | 69.2% | 52.2% | — | 52.8% | 58.3% |
| Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 (S. 949, P.L. 105-34) | 68.4% | 50.0% | 44.8% | 45.9% | 53.6% |
| Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999 (S. 1429, vetoed) | 46.2% | — | 55.3% | 55.3% | 53.4% |
| Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000 (H.R. 4810, vetoed) | 0% | 26.3% | 100% | 28.2% | 27.5% |
| Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (H.R. 1836, P.L. 107-16) | 20.0% | 8.9% | 20.0% | 13.6% | 14.1% |
| Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 (S. 1054, P.L. 108-27) | 0% | 30.8% | 56.8% | 46.0% | 45.3% |
| Deficit Reduction Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 2005 (S. 1932, P.L. 109-171) | 100% | 25.0% | 60.0% | 46.3% | 47.6% |
| Tax Relief Act of 2005 (S. 2020, amended H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 16.7% | 15.4% | 36.4% | 25.0% | 23.3% |

| Reconciliation Bill | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | All Amendments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Amendments Pending When Debate Time Expired | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | All Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | |
| Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act of 2005 (H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | — | 66.7% | 45.5% | 50.0% | 50.0% |
| College Cost Reduction Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669, P.L. 110-84) | 40.0% | 0% | 22.2% | 20.0% | 24.0% |
| 1987-2008 | 51.0% | 28.2% | 46.5% | 39.4% | 43.0% |
| 1987-1992 | 70.4% | — | — | — | 70.4% |
| 1993-2008 | 48.0% | 28.2% | 46.5% | 39.4% | 41.8% |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Note:** For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this table also include motions to commit and recommit.

**Table 11. Disposition of Amendments to Reconciliation Legislation On Which Roll Call Votes Occurred, 1987-2008**

| Reconciliation Legislation | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (S. 1920, P.L. 100-203) | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989 (S. 1750, P.L. 101-239) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (S. 3209, P.L. 101-508) | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 10 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (S. 1134, P.L. 103-66) | 2 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 20 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1995 (S. 1357, vetoed) | 7 | 11 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 26 | 10 | 41 |
| Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (S. 1956, P.L. 104-193) | 1 | 9 | 3 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 20 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (S. 947, P.L. 105-33) | 0 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 |
| Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 (S. 949, P.L. 105-34) | 0 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 4 | 21 |
| Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999 (S. 1429, vetoed) | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 1 | 19 |
| Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000 (H.R. 4810, vetoed) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 11 |

| Reconciliation Legislation | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (H.R. 1836, P.L. 107-16) | 0 | 3 | 2 | 25 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 48 |
| Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 (S. 1054, P.L. 108-27) | 0 | 1 | 4 | 14 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 23 |
| Deficit Reduction Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 2005 (S. 1932, P.L. 109-171) | 0 | 0 | 3 | 9 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 17 |
| Tax Relief Act of 2005 (S. 2020, amended H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 0 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 17 |
| Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act of 2005 (H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 1 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 17 |
| College Cost Reduction Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669, P.L. 110-84) | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 15 |
| **Averages Per Bill** | | | | | | | | |
| 1987-2008 | 1.0 | 4.9 | 1.1 | 6.5 | 0.4 | 7.2 | 2.5 | 18.4 |
| 1987-1989 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.5 | 1.5 |
| 1990-2008 | 1.1 | 5.4 | 1.3 | 7.4 | 0.5 | 8.2 | 2.9 | 20.9 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Note:** For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this table also include motions to commit and recommit.

**Table 12. Disposition of Amendments to Reconciliation Legislation On Which No Roll Call Votes Occurred, 1987-2008**

| Reconciliation Legislation | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 (S. 1920, P.L. 100-203) | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 0 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1989 (S. 1750, P.L. 101-239) | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (S. 3209, P.L. 101-508) | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 1 |
| Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993 (S. 1134, P.L. 103-66) | 12 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 17 | 0 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1995 (S. 1357, vetoed) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 23 | 0 |
| Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (S. 1956, P.L. 104-193) | 22 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 0 |
| Balanced Budget Act of 1997 (S. 947, P.L. 105-33) | 9 | 0 | 24 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 0 |
| Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997 (S. 949, P.L. 105-34) | 13 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 11 | 2 | 26 | 2 |
| Taxpayer Refund and Relief Act of 1999 (S. 1429, vetoed) | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 7 | 31 | 7 |
| Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000 (H.R. 4810, vetoed) | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 0 |

| Reconciliation Legislation | Amendments Disposed Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Disposed After Debate Time Expired | | | | All Amendments | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Amendments Pending Before Debate Time Expired | | Amendments Offered After Debate Time Expired | | | |
| | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order | Adopted | Rejected or Fell on Point of Order |
| Economic Growth and Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2001 (H.R. 1836, P.L. 107-16) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| Jobs and Growth Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2003 (S. 1054, P.L. 108-27) | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 20 | 6 | 24 | 6 |
| Deficit Reduction Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 2005 (S. 1932, P.L. 109-171) | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 15 | 1 | 17 | 1 |
| Tax Relief Act of 2005 (S. 2020, amended H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 5 |
| Tax Increase Prevention and Reconciliation Act of 2005 (H.R. 4297, P.L. 109-222) | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| College Cost Reduction Act of 2007 (H.R. 2669, P.L. 110-84) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| **Averages Per Bill** | | | | | | | | |
| 1987-2008 | 5.6 | 0 | 3.4 | 0.4 | 7.3 | 1.1 | 16.3 | 1.5 |
| 1987-1989 | 9.0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9.0 | 0 |
| 1990-2008 | 5.1 | 0 | 3.9 | 0.4 | 8.4 | 1.3 | 17.4 | 1.7 |

**Sources:** Legislative Information System (LIS) of the U.S. Congress [www.congress.gov] and *Congressional Record*, applicable years.

**Note:** For purposes of this study, motions to commit and recommit the reconciliation legislation to a committee were counted as amendments to the reconciliation legislation. Therefore, references to amendments in this table also include motions to commit and recommit.