

House of Commons Background Paper: Public Bills in Parliament

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This Standard Note sets out how legislation is passed through the House of Commons and the House of Lords and explains the terms involved. It includes details of **public Bills** - i.e. legislation introduced by the Government and by backbench members of Parliament – and **hybrid Bills** – legislation normally introduced by the Government but which has some specific effects on particular localities or groups of people.

The third type of legislation, **private Bills**, is handled via a number of quite different procedures. These are described in the Library standard note *Private Bills in Parliament* (SN/PC/06508).

Bills are draft laws, and must be considered by and agreed to by both Houses of Parliament in an agreed form before they become Acts of Parliament. Most of those that become law are introduced by the Government: however, individual Members can introduce Private Members' Bills. These rarely become law without Government support.

A Bill undergoes similar procedures in each House. It has three 'readings' and, between second and third readings, a 'committee stage'; in the latter, the Bill is scrutinised clause by clause. There is normally also a 'report stage' after the committee stage. After the Bill passes all of these stages in one House, it moves on to the other House. Most high-profile bills, though not all, begin in the Commons. The annual Finance Bill, which gives effect to the Budget, always begins in the Commons as the House of Lords has limited powers in this area.

There are a number of other types of Bill and Bill procedures which are not used routinely. These include hybrid Bills and consolidation Bills. The note also looks at the procedure of carry-over, post-legislative scrutiny, Statutory Instruments, and the history of Public Bill Committees.

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Contents

1	Introduction			
	1.1	Bills	4	
	1.2	Types of Bill	4	
	1.3	Structure of Bills	4	
	1.4	Government Bills	6	
2	Stages of Government Bills			
	2.1	Overview	6	
	2.2	Introduction and First Reading	6	
	2.3	Second Reading	7	
	2.4	Programming (House of Commons only)	8	
	2.5	Money Resolutions and Ways and Means Resolutions (House of Commons)	9	
	2.6	Committee stage	9	
		Public Bill Committees	9	
		Witness evidence	10	
		Consideration of clauses	10	
		End of committee stage	11	
	2.7	Report stage	11	
	2.8	Third Reading	11	
	2.9	Sending to the other House	12	
	2.10	Consideration of amendments made by the other House	12	
	2.11	Royal Assent	13	
	2.12	Commencement	13	
3	The	Parliament Acts	13	
4	Other types of Bill			
	4.1	Private Members' Bills	14	
		Ballot Bills	14	
		Presentation Bills (House of Commons only)	14	
		Ten-minute rule Bills (House of Commons only)	14	
		Drafting and presentation	15	
		Treatment in the Chamber	15	
	4.2	Private Bills	16	
	4.3	Draft Bills	16	

	4.4	Consolidation Bills	17
5	Hybrid Bills		
	5.1	Introduction	17
	5.2	Preliminary proceedings	18
	5.3	Second reading	18
	5.4	Petitions	18
	5.5	Select Committee	18
	5.6	Later Stages	19
	5.7	Carry-over between sessions	19
6	Other procedures associated with Bills		
	6.1	Carry-over of public bills	19
	6.2	Expedited legislation	19
	6.3	Re-committal of Bills	20
	6.4	Select Committee activity on Bills	20
	6.5	Post-legislative scrutiny	20
	6.6	Statutory Instruments	20
	6.7	House of Commons Public Bill Committees: historical practice	21
	6.8	Matters relating to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland	21
7	Find	ling Bills and Acts	21

1 Introduction

1.1 Bills

A Bill is a draft Act of Parliament. Bills can be introduced into either House of Parliament, and if a Bill is agreed in the same form in each House, it is submitted to the Queen for her approval (*Royal Assent*). It then becomes an Act of Parliament, and part of the law of the United Kingdom.

The basic procedure for passing legislation through the House of Commons and House of Lords is displayed in Figure 1 below:

1.2 Types of Bill

Bills may be:

- Public Bills, introduced by a Government Minister (a Government Bill) or another Member
 of either House (a Private Member's Bill), which propose to change the law for the whole
 of the United Kingdom or one or more of its constituent parts;
- *Private Bills*, which are requested by local authorities or other outside bodies to amend the law in their area or as it affects them;
- *Hybrid Bills*, which affect some private interests in a similar way to a Private Bill; these are subject to some of the extra procedures which apply to Private Bills.

In an average session lasting about one year, there might be about 30 Government Bills (nearly all of which would become Acts of Parliament), 100 Private Members' Bills (about five of which would become Acts of Parliament) and about three Private Bills (which will all normally become Acts of Parliament but may take several sessions to do so).

1.3 Structure of Bills

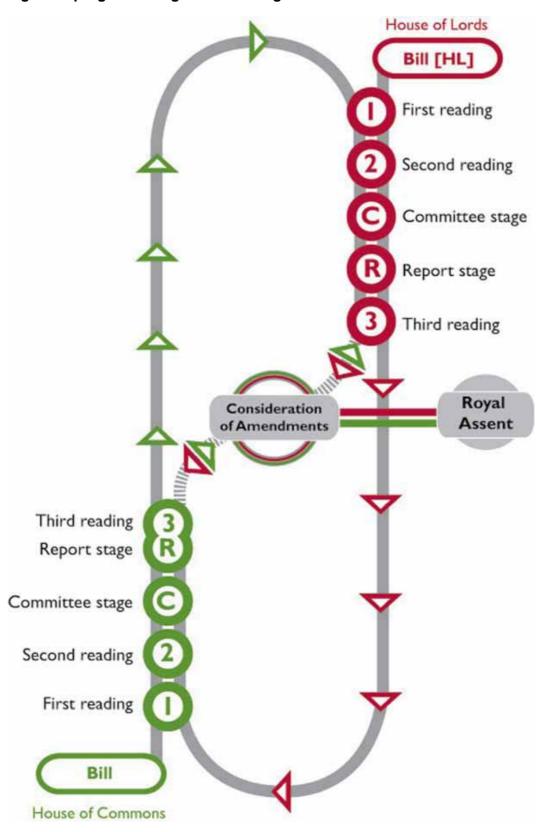
The main part of a Bill consists of clauses, which may be divided into subsections and paragraphs. Clauses may be grouped into parts (or chapters within parts). When a Bill is passed by Parliament it becomes an Act of Parliament, and its clauses become sections. Additional provisions may be contained in Schedules at the end of the Bill. Many key details of a Bill will often be found in the Schedules, and it may be necessary to read back and forth between clauses and the Schedules they refer to in order to understand the Bill.

Government Bills are usually accompanied by Explanatory Notes, which explain the purpose of the Bill and of each clause in clear language. They also contains sections on expected public sector costs, impact on the private sector, human rights implications and territorial extent (stating that the Bill applies to one, some, or all of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland).

A Bill begins with its *long title*, which describes in general or specific terms what the Bill does, followed by the *enacting words*, "Be it enacted ...". At the end of the Bill, the long title is repeated, with (for a Public Bill) a list of the Members who have presented it.

¹ A Bill is drafted as if it were already an Act, so cross-references from one clause to another will take the form "section 5 of this Act" rather than "clause 5 of this Bill".





As explained below, bills can be introduced into **either** the House of Commons or the House of Lords. In either case, a bill will pass through a number of stages in one house, followed by similar stages in the other house: it will then return to the first house for 'consideration of amendments'.

A Bill also has a *short title*, which is the name by which it is known in Parliament's business papers. If a Bill begins in the Lords it will be called "Health Bill [HL]" on the Bill itself and in Lords Business Papers and "Health Bill [Lords]" in Commons Business Papers. One of the final clauses of the Bill will say "This Act may be cited as the Health Act 2012". Act titles do not indicate whether the Bill started in the Commons or the Lords.

Both the long and short titles may be amended during the course of a Bill's passage through Parliament, but the enacting words may not.

1.4 Government Bills

The Government's programme of Bills is announced once a session (normally once a year) in the Queen's Speech, at the beginning of the Parliamentary session. However, some of these Bills may have been announced at an earlier date, and the Government can introduce Bills not mentioned in the Queen's Speech (which traditionally ends with the words "Other measures will be laid before you"). A Cabinet committee called the *Parliamentary Business and Legislation Committee* decides which Bills requested by Government Ministers should be approved for drafting, and then, when they are ready, approves their introduction into one House or the other.

Government Bills are drafted by the Office of the Parliamentary Counsel, who are civil servants in the Cabinet Office, on the instructions of the relevant Government department. Often drafts will be discussed several times between Parliamentary Counsel and the staff of the department before a Bill is ready for introduction. Parliamentary Counsel consult the Clerks in the Public Bill Offices in both Houses on an appropriate short and long title for the Bill and whether various technical procedures will apply to it.

2 Stages of Government Bills

2.1 Overview

The stages of Bills are largely the same in each House:

- (a) Introduction and First Reading (no debate);
- (b) Second Reading (a debate on the general principles of the Bill);
- (c) Committee Stage (the first opportunity to consider amendments to the Bill);
- (d) Report Stage (in the House): the second opportunity to amend the Bill;
- (e) Third Reading (in the House): the final opportunity for the House to say "yes" or "no" to the Bill before it goes to the other House (and, in the House of Lords, there is a very limited provision for further amending the Bill). The Lords debates two separate motions on Third Reading and passing the Bill, but in the Commons Third Reading and passing are the same thing;
- (f) Consideration of Amendments made by the other House;
- (g) Royal Assent.

2.2 Introduction and First Reading

There are very few procedural restrictions on which Bills can be introduced into each House. However, more politically controversial Bills are usually introduced into the House of

Commons, and the annual Finance Bill and the Supply and Appropriation Bills have to be introduced into the Commons; and more technical Bills will frequently be introduced into the House of Lords. The Government has to balance the legislative programme between the two Houses so that their Bills are not all in the same House at the same point in the session, to avoid overwhelming either House at particular points in the process.

In the Commons, the Government will give notice (usually on the previous sitting day) of a Bill it wishes to present. When the appropriate point on the Order of Business is reached, a Minister nods and the Clerk reads the title of the Bill. A Minister will name a date for Second Reading (normally the next sitting day, although it will not usually be taken until some days later) and the Bill will then be published. No debate takes place at this stage of the Bill.

Finance Bills and Supply and Appropriation Bills are introduced after the House of Commons has agreed to resolutions relevant to the subject matter of the Bill. A Minister will walk up the floor of the House and hand a "dummy Bill" (a piece of card bearing the short and long titles of the Bill) to the Clerk at the Table, who reads the title. The date for Second Reading is then fixed as above.

In the Lords, the Government presents a Bill without formal notice, but provides the text in advance so that the Bill can be published immediately after presentation.

Each Bill is allocated a Bill number, which is printed on the bottom left-hand corner of the front page (e.g. Bill 4). On a number of occasions throughout its passage, the Bill will be reprinted – normally after any stage at which it has been amended.³ When this happens, it is given a new number: therefore Bills can have several numbers during their passage through Parliament. Lords Amendments (and later lists of amendments made by the other House) are numbered in the same series.

2.3 Second Reading

It is normal practice for the Government to allow two weekends to elapse between the printing and the Second Reading of a Bill. In the Commons, the Leader of the House will announce the date for Second Reading in one of his weekly Business Statements in the House.

In both Houses the Second Reading debate on each major Government Bill will take a whole sitting (usually about five hours in the Commons). The Minister will open the debate by moving that the Bill be read a second time and outlining the purpose of the Bill and the political justification for it. An Opposition spokesperson will then oppose the Bill, backbench Members will then speak, and another Opposition spokesperson and a Government Minister will normally wind up the debate at the end.

There may then be a division (vote) on the Bill, seeking the House's approval to the motion "that the Bill be read a second time". The Opposition may table a 'reasoned amendment' stating "that the House declines to give a second reading to the Bill because...". Some Bills are agreed to without a division at Second Reading. In the Lords, there will not normally be a vote on second reading itself: a Member wishing to oppose the Bill can table a reasoned amendment.

The 're-printing' of a Bill constitutes the production of a 'clean version' of the Bill, including all the changes made. It is not normally done after report stage in the Commons, as third reading follows immediately. In addition to the versions of the Bill made available to the public, A 'House Bill' is prepared for transmission from one House to the other (once it has been passed by the House in which it is introduced), and any further amendments are written on or attached to this document, which constitutes the master copy of the Bill.

The Second Reading is the first stage at which a Government Bill can be defeated. This has not happened since 1986, when the *Shops Bill*, intended to relax the law on Sunday trading, was defeated in the Commons. Similarly, the *War Crimes Bill*, in 1989, was the last Government Bill to be defeated at Second Reading in the House of Lords.

Immediately after the Second Reading in the Commons, the House will usually vote without debate on a Programme Motion, Money Resolutions, and Ways and Means Resolutions.

2.4 Programming (House of Commons only)

Most Government Bills are programmed in the House of Commons. The Government tables a Programme Motion for the same day as the Second Reading debate. This normally specifies the type of committee which will consider the Bill; a limit to the amount of time it may take, either the number of days or a requirement to finish by a certain date; and how many days (usually one or two) will be spent on report stage and third reading. Appendix 2 shows a typical Programme Order – i.e. a programme motion that has been agreed by the House.

For Committee of the Whole House and Report Stage, the resolution may specify the order in which the Bill is to be considered and specify times by which proceedings on particular parts of the Bill should be finished. A further programme motion may also be tabled to allocate time for Lords Amendments, after the Bill has returned from the Lords (see below).

In a Public Bill Committee, a Programming Sub-Committee of the Committee draws up a timetable specifying the dates of the sittings and the order of consideration, and also the time on the final day on which proceedings are to be completed. It may also specify "internal knives" (times at which consideration of certain parts of the Bill are to be concluded), though this is unusual. Sub-Committee proposals are subject to approval by the main Committee. See Appendix 3 at the end of this document for an example of a Programming Sub-Committee Order.

When a deadline is reached, Standing Orders provide how the proceedings are to be brought to a conclusion. In general terms all remaining Government proposals are put to the Committee and may be voted on (usually in batches), but other Members' proposals may be voted on only if they have already been discussed and the Speaker or Chair allows a separate decision on them.

Programme motions have been used systematically, on most major Bills, since 1997.⁴ Debate continues to take place on their merits. Opponents claim that they are used to curtail debate on controversial clauses of Bills, of which the Government wishes to avoid scrutiny, and that they constitute Government control over the affairs of the House of Commons. Supporters claim that they ensure that all of the clauses of a Bill receive some debate. It was common in the past for only the first few clauses of longer Bills to be scrutinised in

⁴ 'Allocation of time motions' have been used in Parliament since the 19th century, to curtail debate on specific Bills or parts of a Bill. However, these were normally used when much debate had already taken place. Government Bills had been programmed before 1997, but the procedure was not used regularly before then. See the Modernisation Committee's report, *The Legislative Process*, HC 190 1997-98, July 1997.

committee, before passing on to third reading.⁵ See Library standard note SN/PC/00569 for further details.

2.5 Money Resolutions and Ways and Means Resolutions (House of Commons)

After Second Reading in the House of Commons, any Money or Ways and Means Resolutions are dealt with. Money Resolutions authorise any part of a Bill which involves a significant spend from central government funds; Ways and Means Resolutions are needed to authorise the levying of taxes or other charges. These Resolutions are not debatable if they are moved immediately after Second Reading. Otherwise, they may be debated for up to 45 minutes.

Money Resolutions, and Ways and Means Resolutions, are only considered in the House of Commons, because the Lords does not have the power to alter the financial decisions of the House of Commons.

2.6 Committee stage

In the House of Commons, a small number of Bills – bills of constitutional importance and urgent Bills – are taken in 'Committee of the Whole House'. The chamber of the Commons automatically resolves itself into committee when the order for a committee stage is read. The annual Finance Bill is usually divided between Committee of the whole House (about two days' debate on the most politically contentious matters) and Public Bill Committee. See the Library standard note on *The Budget and the annual Finance Bill* (SN/BT/00813) for more details on the Finance Bill.

In the House of Lords, the Committee of the Whole House is used for most major Bills. Some Bills are dealt with by the Grand Committee, sitting in the Moses Room, and split committal between Committee of the Whole House and Grand Committee also occurs. In Grand Committee, any peer may take part, but there can be no votes. Any amendment which attracts opposition is withdrawn but can be brought up again at the next stage. The Lords can also commit Bills to a Public Bill Committee, but this is much rarer than in the Commons.

Public Bill Committees

In the House of Commons, most other Bills are dealt with by Public Bill Committees. A Public Bill Committee normally consists of between 18 and 30 Members, chosen for that particular Bill by the Committee of Selection. Committee members are selected by the political parties, and the party balance on the Committee matches that in the House.

A Public Bill Committee usually sits four times a week for a total of about ten hours a week, in two sittings each on Tuesdays and Thursdays. It is chaired by a member of the Panel of Chairs, who acts as an impartial umpire, like the Speaker and Deputy Speakers in the House, and votes only in the (rare) event of a tie.⁷

When this happens, the un-scrutinised clauses simply remain in the Bill, un-scrutinised. The Committee would then have to agree for the un-scrutinised clauses to stand part of (i.e. remain in) the Bill before it passed on. It is not necessary, at any stage of the Bill's progress, for the House of Commons to take a vote to agree to each individual clause of a Bill.

See Library standard note SN/PC/05435 for a list of recent Bills which have been examined by a committee of the whole house.

A Chair would normally vote to leave the Bill un-amended in this scenario.

Witness evidence

A Public Bill Committee in the House of Commons which is considering a programmed Bill may also receive written evidence and may also take oral evidence on the Bill. Evidence sessions are often organised at very short notice, and it may prove difficult to obtain appropriate witnesses. The programme of oral evidence is set out in the proposals of the programming sub-committee and it has so far been the practice not to take oral evidence in the Commons on Bills which originated in the Lords. The oral evidence is taken before the Committee begins its line-by-line consideration of the Bill, and a transcript is included in the Official Report of the Committee's proceedings. In the Lords, a Public Bill Committee which can take evidence is called a "Special Public Bill Committee".

Consideration of clauses

In the Commons, by default, Bills are considered in their printed order, with the clauses followed by the schedules. Any proposed new clauses are considered after the clauses and any new schedules after the schedules. In the Lords, new clauses and new schedules are considered at the point where they are to be inserted. In both Houses, decisions are often made to take Bills in a different order, normally to take each schedule immediately after the clause which introduces it.

Members who wish to propose amendments to a Bill table them in each House's Public Bill Office, indicating the clause, page and line to be amended. The amendments are published the day after they are tabled, and a complete 'marshalled amendments list' is produced for each day on which the Bill is to be considered in Committee (see Appendix 4 for part of an amendment paper).

In the Commons, the Chair has the power to select amendments and group them. This includes omitting any amendments which are out of order. Grouping is designed to avoid repetition of debates: for instance, a series of amendments which are linked, competing amendments, amendments proposed to the same words etc. will usually be grouped. Selection and grouping are carried out on the recommendation of the clerks. See Appendix 5 for part of a selection list.

In the Lords, there is no power of selection (although the clerks will point out any amendments which they consider to be out of order), but the Government Whips' Office proposes a grouping, again intended to prevent repetitive debates. This is provisional, and can be changed at the request of the peers concerned.

In both Houses, the Committee considers not only any amendments to each clause or schedule but also the question that the clause or schedule stand part of the Bill (i.e. that it should remain in the Bill). A Member who wishes to leave a clause or schedule out of the Bill will therefore vote against this question rather than proposing an amendment to leave out the clause (although, in the Commons, an amendment to leave out a clause often appears as an indication that a Member will vote against clause stand part).

In the House of Commons, the Government has a majority on each Public Bill Committee, and therefore will normally be able to vote down an amendment that it does not wish to see pass. In some cases, the Member moving an amendment will say that they 'intend to divide' the committee – that is, to press the amendment to a vote – to put on record their support for the proposed change, even if they have no hope of winning the vote. In other cases, the

See the individual Bills recorded at http://services.parliament.uk/Bills/. Committee debates are available in hard copy from 1985-2007. Verbatim records before 1985 are not available.

Member may 'beg leave to withdraw' the amendment following reassurances from the Minister in charge during the debate. Some amendments are 'probing amendments', proposed in order to discover the Government's views on a particular matter, rather than intending actually to amend the Bill.

Debates in Public Bill Committees are published as part of Hansard, separate from the reports of debates in the Chamber. They are available as part of the proceedings recorded for each Bill, and can be found on the Parliamentary website. The lists of amendments tabled at committee stage can be found in the same location. The Government often uses committee stage to table amendments, reflecting points made in public or Parliamentary debate or simply because it has changed its position.

End of committee stage

When any type of Committee has concluded proceedings on a Bill, the Bill is reported to the House. The report to the House is purely formal and there is no document giving the Committee's views on the Bill. When a Public Bill Committee has completed its consideration of the Bill, it ceases to exist.

There are no systematic links between the Public Bill Committees and the departmental Select Committees. However, Bills can sometimes be committed to a Select Committee, in which case evidence may be taken and a report made, in addition to considering and amending the Bill.

2.7 Report stage

In most cases, the Committee Stage is followed by a Report Stage (sometimes called "Consideration stage"), at which any Member may propose further amendments to the Bill.⁹ Proceedings are very similar to Committee stage, except:

- in the Commons, selection and grouping are carried out by the Speaker, who will usually
 give preference to amendments which have not already been fully discussed in
 Committee. In the Lords an amendment defeated in Committee may not be re-tabled for
 Report;
- Clauses to which no amendments are proposed are not debated;
- the House considers the Bill in the form in which the Committee reported it: there is no need to ratify amendments which the Committee has already made. If the House wished to overturn an amendment made in Committee, this could be done by a further amendment at report stage (in the Lords, this would require unanimous approval).
- In the Commons, in the absence of any decision to the contrary, new clauses are
 considered before existing clauses and new schedules are considered before existing
 schedules. In the Lords, new clauses and new schedules are considered at the point in
 the Bill where they would be inserted, as at committee stage.

2.8 Third Reading

In the Commons, the third reading debate is the final opportunity for the House to consider the Bill before it is sent (or returned) to the Lords. Debate at this stage is limited to the

Report Stage may be omitted in the Commons if no amendments have been made at committee stage in Committee of the whole House.

contents of the Bill, and if the debate is programmed, an hour is normally allowed for it immediately after the end of the report stage.

In the Lords, amendments (with certain restrictions) may be made after third reading, and if this is to be done, any final debate on the Bill takes place on the separate question "that the Bill do now pass" after the amendments have been dealt with.

2.9 Sending to the other House

Once a Bill has received a third reading in the House in which it originated, the Clerk endorses it in Norman French (*Soit baillé aux Seigneurs* or *Soit baillé aux Communes*) and the Bill is carried to the other House, which gives it a formal first reading and prints it. The second House then considers the Bill in the same way (see Figure 1 above).

If the second House passes the Bill without amending it, the Bill is ready for Royal Assent. But if the second House amends the Bill, it is returned to the first House with a list of the amendments made.

2.10 Consideration of amendments made by the other House

The amendments made by the other House are printed in a list ("Lords Amendments" or "Commons Amendments"), and are considered by the House to which they have been sent. The first House may agree to an amendment, with or without amending it, or it may disagree to an amendment:

- If it agrees to an amendment, it may also make consequential amendments to the Bill;
- If it disagrees with an amendment, it may make an alternative proposal (an "amendment in lieu");
- If the receiving House does something other than agree to all the amendments made by the other House, the Bill has to be returned to the first House, so that the further amendments or disagreements can be considered.

Both Houses must agree on a final text for the Bill to pass. If the receiving House has disagreed to an amendment without proposing an amendment in lieu, it sends a reason for the disagreement, which is considered by the other House. This process can continue through several stages until either all the amendments have been agreed to or deadlock is reached, in a process known informally as "ping-pong".

If House B rejects an amendment made by House A, House A insists on its amendment, and House B insists on its disagreement (in each case without any alternative amendments being offered), deadlock is reached. In practice, considerable efforts are made to avoid deadlock: in the last analysis the Lords will frequently accede to the wishes of the Commons. However, it is possible for deadlock to cause a Bill to fail. This process becomes particularly fraught in the last few days before a prorogation (ending a session) or a dissolution (ending the Parliament). Bills may travel back and forth several times a day, as the Government attempts to avoid its legislation falling at the end of the session. Conversely, the opposition in both the Commons and Lords has an unusual degree of power, at this point, to obstruct and cause the abandonment of legislation.

2.11 Royal Assent

Bills are usually presented to the Queen for Royal Assent in batches at roughly monthly intervals. This is a purely formal process, as the Queen acts on the advice of her Ministers, and Royal Assent has not been refused since the *Scottish Militia Bill* of 1708. When Royal Assent has been granted, it is announced by the Speaker in each House and the Bill becomes an Act.

At the end of a session, any outstanding Bills awaiting Royal Assent are dealt with during the Prorogation ceremony, with the Clerk of the Parliaments speaking the words of Royal Assent in Norman French (usually "La Reyne le veult" – "the Queen wishes it").

2.12 Commencement

If a Bill contains no provision about its commencement, it comes into effect immediately on Royal Assent (technically at the beginning of the day of Royal Assent). In practice, nearly all Bills have a "commencement" clause near the end providing either that the Act comes into force at a specified time, or that the Government will bring it into force by order made by Statutory Instrument (see below). Normally power is given for different provisions of the Act to be brought into effect at different times. These "commencement orders" are not submitted for Parliamentary approval. Occasionally Acts (or parts of Acts) are not brought into effect for several years. The *Easter Act 1928*, which sought to give a fixed date for Easter, has still not been brought into force.

Commencement Orders are Statutory Instruments made by a Minister, and can be found, alongside other Statutory Instruments, at http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi. Enquiries about the commencement of sections of Acts should be made to the Government Department concerned.

3 The Parliament Acts

If the two Houses are unable to agree on the text of a Bill, it is possible for the House of Commons to override the Lords. There are two circumstances in which this may happen.

A Public Bill (originating in the Commons) concerning only national Government taxation and expenditure and subsidiary matters is certified by the Speaker as a "money bill" before it is sent to the Lords. ¹⁰ If the Lords do not pass the Bill within one month of receiving it, the Commons may present it for Royal Assent. No Bill has so far received Royal Assent under these provisions.

A Public Bill which is not a money bill, which has been passed by the Commons but not by the Lords, may be presented again in the following Session and passed again by the Commons: if the Lords reject it a second time it may receive Royal Assent. The most recent instance of this was the *Hunting Bill* in 2004.¹¹ One year must pass between the Commons second reading in the first session and the Commons third reading in the second session.

¹⁰ For full details, see section 1(2) of the Parliament Act 1911.

See section 2 of the *Parliament Act 1911*, as amended by the *Parliament Act 1949*.

Since the current requirements were established by the Parliament Act 1949, only three Bills have received Royal Assent under these provisions.¹²

4 Other types of Bill

4.1 Private Members' Bills

Private Members' Bills are presented by individual MPs or members of the House of Lords ('private Members'). They are not the same as Private Bills. They must go through the same procedures as Government bills in order to become law, but much less time is made available for them in the Parliamentary calendar. Most of them fail because there is not enough time for them to progress, rather than because of active opposition. Parliament has no special procedures for Bills supported by a committee or by a political party, so any such Bills are presented as private Members' Bills and are subject to the same rules. Most Private Members' Bills are used purely as a means to raise awareness of an issue. It is rare for them to become law without Government support.

Most of the procedures already described above for Government Bills apply also to Private Members' Bills, except that they are never programmed. The other main difference is that, in the Commons, only thirteen Fridays per session are set aside for them.

Ballot Bills

In the House of Commons, the Members who introduce the first Private Members' Bills each session are established by a ballot held at the beginning of each session. Usually about 400 Members put their names into the ballot, and 20 names are drawn out. These Members have the opportunity of presenting their Bills first, and therefore of putting them down for second reading on the Fridays allocated.

After the ballot Bills have been presented, other Members may present Bills by giving notice on any sitting day. In the House of Lords, there is no ballot and any Member may present a Bill.

Presentation Bills (House of Commons only)

Under Standing Order No. 57, any Member may give notice of their intention to present a Bill. They are then entitled formally to introduce the title of the Bill, but not to speak in its favour. They must choose a day for Second Reading. Although these Bills cannot be blocked by other Members at this stage, it is rare for them to make progress.

Ten-minute rule Bills (House of Commons only)

In addition, Members may give notice for any Tuesday or Wednesday for a motion for leave to bring in a Bill (only one such Bill per day). These are called "ten-minute rule" Bills, because the Member has the opportunity to make a 10-minute speech advocating his Bill, and then one Member who opposes it can make another 10-minute speech, after which the House decides (if necessary on a division) whether the Member should present the Bill. Leave to present a Bill is occasionally refused.

Transmission of Private Members' Bills from one House to the other

See SN/PC/00675 on the Parliament Acts, including a list of Acts which have become law under the Parliament Acts. The War Crimes Bill was initially rejected by the Lords: it was reintroduced by the Commons in the following session, before the Parliament Acts were finally used to submit it for Royal Assent. The more recent Bills had not finished proceeding through the Lords when they were given Royal Assent under the Parliament Acts.

Any Private Member's Bill arriving from the Lords is not printed for the Commons until a Member informs the Clerks at the Table that he wants to take charge of it and names a day for second reading. Private Member's Bills arriving in the Lords from the Commons are read a first time but no further progress can be made until a Member indicates that they wish to take charge of it.

Drafting and presentation

Members may draft their own Bills or may seek help from the Public Bill Office or outside bodies. In addition, the Government sometimes provides drafts of Bills ("hand-out Bills") for private Members to present if they wish. If a Bill not drafted by the Government receives a second reading, the Government will normally instruct Parliamentary Counsel to table amendments for committee stage to bring the drafting up to the standard of Government Bills (as well as to make policy changes if the Government does not agree with the policy in the Bill).

In the Commons, a private Member's Bill does not have to be printed immediately after it is presented, but the text does have to match the short and long titles specified when it was presented and it has to be published, at the latest, by the day before second reading. If it has not been published by then, the second reading will be removed from the Order of Business, though the Member can reinstate the Bill for a later day.

In the Lords, a private Member does not present a Bill until the text is ready.

Treatment in the Chamber

For a number of reasons, most Private Members' Bills in the House of Commons rarely make progress. This mainly relates to the time available to them. On a Friday set aside for Private Members' Bills, it is normal for only the first bill on the Order of Business for a particular Friday to receive a debate of a significant length. The first Bill must be dealt with before the second one can be considered. Therefore, a Bill which is not the first Bill on the list for a particular day is unlikely to make progress (unless there is no opposition to it).

If debate is still taking place at 2.30pm, the Bill has been "talked out" and another day must be named for the debate to be resumed. However, the Bill will appear at the end of the list on that day: so in practice, when a Bill is 'talked out' it has failed. A Member who wishes to avoid a Bill being talked out may move a closure motion to force a vote on second reading. This requires a majority – and at least 100 members - to vote in favour (and it is rare for that number to attend a private Members' Bill session).

Bills which have not been reached by 2.30pm are read out by the Clerk in the order in which they appear on the Order of Business. At this point, second reading of any Bill can be agreed to if no Member objects. A Government whip will always be present and will object to any Bills which the Government does not support.

A Private Member's Bill which has received a second reading is usually committed to a Public Bill Committee. A Bill reported from Committee is then put down for report stage on one of the subsequent Private Members' Bill Fridays. If large numbers of amendments are tabled, a Member may again need successfully to move a closure motion, potentially several times, to prevent a controversial Bill being talked out at report stage. Third reading would normally follow immediately after report stage.

On the eighth and subsequent Fridays of each session, the Private Members' Bills that have made most progress through the House are considered first.

It is possible for Lords Amendments to a Commons Private Member's Bill to be considered and agreed to, but only if they are received before the last Private Member's Bill Friday of the Session. In practice it is more usual for any Private Member's Bill passed by the Commons to be passed unamended by the Lords.

In the House of Lords, Bills are generally not talked out but only three or four at most will be scheduled for debate on a sitting Friday. All Private Member's Bills are sent to Committee of the Whole House, which can be discharged if no amendments are tabled but which if required will usually take place on a Friday.

4.2 Private Bills

A local authority or other body which wishes to promote a Private Bill approaches a Parliamentary Agent to draft the Bill and petition Parliament to pass it. Though the fundamental procedure for Private Bills is the same – three readings and a committee stage in each House – there are a large number of additional requirements, which are set out in Library standard note SN/PC/06508. These principally relate to safeguarding the rights of those people who will be particularly affected by the Bill's provisions. Private Bills are commonly carried over from one session to another (see paragraph 5.7 below).

4.3 Draft Bills

Bills had been published in draft sporadically up to the mid-1990s, to allow discussion and comment from interested parties in advance of the Bill being introduced into Parliament. From 1997 onwards, incoming Governments have committed to publishing more Bills in draft. The Select Committee on the Modernisation of the House of Commons published a report entitled *The Legislative Process* in July 1997, ¹³ welcoming the new Government's intention to publish more draft Bills. It recommended that more pre-legislative scrutiny should take place. It published a further report in 2002, making the same recommendation, and suggesting that pre-legislative scrutiny should normally be undertaken by select committees. ¹⁴ In the event, most pre-legislative scrutiny since then has been undertaken by specially-constituted committees.

On 29 October 2002, the House passed a motion:

That this House approves the Second Report from the Select Committee on Modernisation of the House of Commons, and endorses its proposals, in particular for more effective law making by more routine publication of Bills in draft for pre-legislative scrutiny...¹⁵

Despite this, the number of draft Bills has not substantially increased, and remains low in relation to the overall quantity of legislation. There are few examples of high-profile or controversial Bills being published in draft. The Committee produced a further report in 2006, in which they concluded:

Parliamentary scrutiny at the pre-legislative stage can play an important role in improving the law, even where there has already been lengthy and extensive external consultation by Government. Whatever its impact on the passage of legislation, the purpose of pre-legislative scrutiny is not to secure an easy ride for the Government's

¹³ House of Commons Modernisation Committee, *The Legislative Process*, HC190, 1997-98, July 1997

¹⁴ House of Commons Modernisation Committee, *Modernisation of the House of Commons: A Reform Programme for Consultation*, HC 1168, 2002-03.

¹⁵ HC Deb 29 Oct 2001 col 801

legislative programme, it is to make better laws by improving the scrutiny of Bills and drawing the wider public more effectively into the Parliamentary process.¹⁶

See also the Library standard note on pre-legislative scrutiny under the Coalition government, which includes a list of recent draft Bills; and also the standard note on pre-legislative scrutiny (SN/PC/02822).

4.4 Consolidation Bills

Consolidation Bills are prepared by the Law Commission, and bring together, sometimes with minor amendments, several existing Acts into one. The aim is to simplify the law, but not to change it. These are Public Bills, but the progress of such a Bill through Parliament differs from that of a Government Bill in several respects.

Consolidation Bills begin in the House of Lords where, following the Second Reading, they are committed to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses which considers any written representations and usually takes evidence from the Bill's draftsman. The Committee may amend the Bill and produce a Report, drawing the attention of the two Houses to any points which it believes are of special interest and stating whether or not the Bill is "pure consolidation" (i.e. whether or not it amends the existing law). Consideration and Third Reading in the Lords, and all stages in the Commons, are usually formal – that is, they take place without debate. Various other types of Bills, including Statute Law Revision Bills and Statute Law Repeal Bills, are treated as Consolidation Bills for this purpose.

5 Hybrid Bills

5.1 Introduction

Hybrid Bills are often described as containing elements of public and private Bills. Speaker Hylton-Foster described a hybrid Bill as "a public Bill which affects a particular private interest in a manner different from the private interests of other persons or bodies of the same category or class". Very few are introduced to Parliament: the most recent was the Crossrail Bill, introduced in 2004, which finally became law in 2008. Unlike Private Bills, they are always introduced by a Member, and usually by the Government.

It is not always immediately clear whether a Bill should be introduced through the public, private or hybrid Bill procedure. Every Public Bill is examined by clerks before Second Reading to ensure compliance with the House's rules. If the Clerks consider that private interests may be affected, the House will order the Bill to be considered by the Examiners of Petitions for private Bills (a principal clerk from each House). If they find that any standing orders for private business apply to the Bill it is treated as a Hybrid. Once the Bill has been referred to the Examiners, it appears on the Order Paper with a note 'to be reported on by the Examiners'. Second reading cannot take place until the Examiners report.

Bills which propose to undertake works of national importance, but in a local area, have usually been hybrid. Examples include the Croydon Aerodrome Extension Bill of 1924-25, the British Museum Bill of 1962-63, the Maplin Development Bill of 1972-73 and the Channel Tunnel Bills in the 1970s and 1980s. See Library standard note SN/PC/05279 for a list of all hybrid Bills receiving Royal Assent since 1979.

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¹⁶ House of Commons Modernisation Committee, *The Legislative Process*, 7 September 2006, HC 1079 2005-06, paragraph 24

¹⁷ Erskine May, 24th edition, p. 652

The main stages of a Hybrid Bill are the same as those for Public Bills, but there are several important differences, many of which arise from the need to accommodate 'petitioners' – individuals and groups who are particularly affected by the Bill's provisions.

5.2 Preliminary proceedings

A Minister or other Member in charge of a Public Bill will be made aware at an early stage that it could contain elements of a Hybrid Bill. In the case of a Government Bill, the Parliamentary draftsmen or Department concerned will almost certainly have pointed this out: steps will have been taken to ensure compliance with Standing Orders (with regard, for example, to advertisements, the drawing up of any necessary plans, etc). Where the Examiners find that the Bill has not complied with Standing Orders, it is referred to the Standing Orders Committee, which may decide that the Bill should not proceed.

5.3 Second reading

The procedure for second reading of a hybrid Bill is the same as for a public Bill. After second reading in the House of Commons, in order to enable anyone specially and directly affected by the Bill to make their case against it, the Bill is committed to a select committee, normally made up partly of members chosen by the House and of others chosen by the Committee of Selection. The Channel Tunnel Bill in 1985-86, however, was sent to a Committee of nine Members, wholly chosen by the Committee of Selection. The motion to refer the Bill to a select committee normally also sets down the requirements for the receipt of petitions against the Bill: an example from the Crossrail Bill can be seen in the Appendix.

5.4 Petitions

Any individuals or organisations that oppose the Bill because it affects their interests can submit petitions against it. The petitions have to be deposited within a stipulated time in the Private Bill Office, and must conform to the rules for petitions against private Bills. The select committee determines who may and who may not be heard and on which sections of the Bill. Decisions of the Court of Referees, who decide similar cases relating to private Bills, are binding on the Committee.

If no petitions are deposited against the Bill within the stipulated time, the Bill will pass on to a public bill committee (or committee of the whole House), which will then consider it in the same way as a public Bill.

5.5 Select Committee

If petitions are received, a select committee will meet and consider the Bill in very much the same way as a private Bill committee would. However, there are certain differences; in particular, the promoters do not need to establish the need for the Bill, since the House has already put on record its approval of the principle of the Bill at second reading.

First the petitioners make their case, calling witnesses if necessary. Witnesses are normally examined on oath. When the opponents of the Bill have completed their case, and the promoters have been heard in reply, the committee considers the Bill clause by clause, reporting it to the House. If the committee wishes to communicate its view on the subject matter of the Bill, or if the promoters no longer wish the Bill to proceed, the committee may make a special report to the House.

5.6 Later Stages

The Bill, once reported, is normally re-committed to a committee of the whole House or to a public bill committee. Report stage and third reading take the same form as all other public Bills. The Bill is then sent to the House of Lords, where there is a further opportunity for objectors to petition and to appear before a select committee.

When both Houses have approved a Hybrid Bill, it receives Royal Assent in the same way as a public Bill. These Acts are numbered in the Public General Acts series.

5.7 Carry-over between sessions

As with private Bills, the House has, when necessary, considered motions to suspend hybrid Bills from one session to another. The Crossrail Bill was introduced in 2004-05 and did not pass until 2007-08. When a General Election has been called, motions have also been considered to allow hybrid Bills to recommence at the point they had reached before the election. Motions of this kind may, of course, be opposed and negatived; in which case the Bill would fall, or have to start all over again.

6 Other procedures associated with Bills

6.1 Carry-over of public bills

By default, any Bill which has not received Royal Assent falls at the end of the Parliamentary session, and would have to be re-introduced in the next session and go through all its stages again.

Both Houses have agreed to carry over Public Bills in certain circumstances, provided they are still in the House in which they originated. The House of Commons made this decision in 1997:

The Committee agrees the principle that, in defined circumstances and subject to certain safeguards, Government Bills may be carried over from one session to the next in the same way as hybrid and private Bills.¹⁸

Only a small proportion of Public Bills (all of them Government Bills) are carried over. If the House agrees that a Bill should be carried over, it is re-presented in the next session (normally in its latest form) and taken formally (without any debate or voting) through any stages it has already been through in the previous session.

The first Bill to be treated in this way was the *Financial Services and Markets Bill* 1998–99, which the House agreed to carry over into the 1999–2000 session after a debate on 25 October 1999. Under proposals agreed by the House on 29 October 2002, a new standing order relating to the carry-over of Bills was agreed. This allows a Minister of the Crown to move a motion (a 'carry-over motion') that proceedings on a Public Bill not completed before the end of the session shall be resumed in the next session of Parliament. More details, including a list of Bills that have been subject to these procedures, are available from Library standard note SN/PC/03236.

6.2 Expedited legislation

Some Bills can undergo a very rapid passage through the House, normally when the principles of the Bill are agreed between all major parties in advance. This may take place for

¹⁸ House of Commons Modernisation Committee, *The Legislative Process*, HC 190, 1997-98, paragraph 102.

non-controversial Bills, or for emergency legislation. For instance, the *Banking (Special Provisions) Act 2008* passed through Parliament very quickly, due to the urgent need to shore up the financial services sector. The *Northern Ireland (St Andrews Agreement) Act 2007* gave effect to the St Andrews Agreement, and passed quickly through both Houses.¹⁹

6.3 Re-committal of Bills

Occasionally, a Bill may be 're-committed', that is, sent back to the Public Bill Committee (or, in the House of Lords, the Grand Committee or Committee of the Whole House) after it has finished its committee stage. This is an unusual procedure that is normally undertaken for political reasons (possibly to allow reconsideration of previous decisions or to avoid large numbers of amendments having to be considered at report stage). The most recent example was the Health and Social Care Bill 2010-12, which was re-committed in July 2011 following extensive public criticism of the Bill. This option would not be available if the Bill had already begun its report stage, but a Bill can be re-committed after its report stage and before third reading.

There are no set rules for how a re-committal must take place: this is dictated by the terms of the motion for re-committal. A Bill may be re-committed in full, or in part - i.e. with respect to certain clauses and not others. In the latter case, the committee must only consider the clauses it is asked to consider.²⁰

6.4 Select Committee activity on Bills

Departmental select committees do not normally have a role in the passage of Bills, but occasionally they may examine Bills which are passing through Parliament. This would not constitute the committee stage of a Bill, and any amendments recommended by a committee would have to be tabled by Members for the committee or report stage (or third reading in the Lords) in the normal way. In particular, the Joint Committee on Human Rights examines the human rights implications of most Bills, the Lords Delegated Powers and Regulatory Reform Committee examines all powers contained in Bills which would allow Ministers to make secondary (delegated) legislation; and the Lords Constitution Committee examines constitutional implications of Bills.

6.5 Post-legislative scrutiny

It is possible for any select committee to examine the working of any existing Act of Parliament. To assist this process, the Government has undertaken to provide a memorandum of evidence about any Act which has been in force for about three to five years, and send it to the select committee which scrutinises the relevant Government department. For further information see the Library standard note *Post-legislative scrutiny* (SN/PC/5232).

6.6 Statutory Instruments

Statutory Instruments, also known as 'regulations' or 'secondary legislation', are legislative instruments made under the terms of a specific Act ('the parent Act'). For instance, an Act may say that "The Secretary of State may by regulations prescribe a maximum salary for headteachers". A Statutory Instrument will be issued to set that salary. Acts of Parliament are also known as 'primary legislation'.

For further details, see Parliamentary Information List *Expedited legislation* (SN/PC/04974), which lists Bills which have passed very quickly through Parliament; and the Standard Note *Fast-track legislation* (SN/PC/5256).

²⁰ See Erskine May, 24th edition, p.592-594.

The Government typically issues some 3-4,000 Statutory Instruments per year. They are numbered with the year followed by their number, in chronological order. They must all pass through Parliament under one of a number of procedures – see Library standard note SN/PC/06509 for more details. A full list can be found at http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi.

It is also possible for local authorities to make statutory instruments. These may concern, for instance, access to certain roads. Statutory instruments governing such matters may be very old and hard to trace: no central record is kept of them. The relevant local authority is the best place to begin a search for any such instruments.

6.7 House of Commons Public Bill Committees: historical practice

Public Bill committees were known as 'standing committees' until November 2006, when the House accepted several recommendations from the Modernisation Committee. Previously, Standing Committees had been used: these appointed a new chair and membership for each bill, but were known for convenience as 'Standing Committee A, Standing Committee B', etc. They did not have the power available to select committees to "send for persons, papers and records".

In the past, a Bill was very occasionally committed to what was known as a Special Standing Committee, which spent a limited time taking evidence on the issues involved before going through the Bill in the usual way as a normal Standing Committee. However, Standing Order No.91, which provided for these committees, was repealed on 1 November 2006.²² This procedure was used for the *Immigration and Asylum Bill* 1998–99.

Proposals were made from 2009 onwards for a 'public reading' stage of legislation, where the public would have the opportunity to suggest amendments to Bills as they passed through Parliament. Further details are available in Library standard note SN/PC/05884.

6.8 Matters relating to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland

The power to legislate on various subjects has been devolved to the Scottish Parliament, the National Assembly for Wales and the Northern Ireland Assembly, and the United Kingdom Parliament does not usually legislate on these subjects for the relevant areas of the UK. However, it is sometimes convenient for the UK Parliament to legislate on a devolved matter in conjunction with making similar provision for England, and the Government has undertaken that in these circumstances it will seek the consent of the relevant Parliament or Assembly by means of a "Legislative Consent Motion". Any such motion, if agreed to, will be referred to in the Business Paper of the appropriate House on the next convenient occasion. There is no procedural obstacle to the UK Parliament legislating without waiting for a Legislative Consent Motion, or even doing so if such a motion has been defeated in the relevant Assembly or Parliament.

7 Finding Bills and Acts

Information on the progress of all Bills – public, private and hybrid – can be found by session on the Parliament website under Bills and Legislation.²³ Each Bill is listed separately together with links to all debates on the Bill, to amendment papers, and to relevant select committee reports and Library research papers.

21

²¹ These derived from the Modernisation Committee's report *The Legislative Process* (HC 1097, 2005-06).

The last Bill for which this procedure was used was the Adoption and Children Bill 2001-02. See the Modernisation Committee report The Legislative Process, HC 1097, 2005-06

²³ See http://services.parliament.uk/Bills/ .

The full text of recent Acts of Parliament, from the late 1980s onwards, can be found at www.legislation.gov.uk. Some older Acts are also available from that source, but its records are not complete. Details of Bills currently before Parliament, together with supporting documentation, can be obtained from the Bills Online service.

APPENDIX: EXAMPLES OF DOCUMENTS

Figure 1: Page from a Bill

This shows the short title "Defamation Bill" and the long title "A Bill to amend the law of defamation", followed by the enacting words and part of the first two clauses.

Defamation Bill



TO

Amend the law of defamation.

B E IT ENACTED by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

Requirement of serious harm

Serious harm

A statement is not defamatory unless its publication has caused or is likely to cause serious harm to the reputation of the claimant.

Defences 5

10

2 Truth

- It is a defence to an action for defamation for the defendant to show that the imputation conveyed by the statement complained of is substantially true.
- (2) Subsection (3) applies in an action for defamation if the statement complained of conveys two or more distinct imputations.

(3) If one or more of the imputations is not shown to be substantially true, the defence under this section does not fail if, having regard to the imputations which are shown to be substantially true, the imputations which are not shown to be substantially true do not seriously harm the claimant's reputation.

Appendix 2: Programme Order for the Defamation Bill

DEFAMATION BILL (PROGRAMME)

Motion made, and Question put forthwith (Standing Order No. 83A(7)),

That the following provisions shall apply to the Defamation Bill:

Committal

1. The Bill shall be committed to a Public Bill Committee.

Proceedings in Public Bill Committee

- 2. Proceedings in the Public Bill Committee shall (so far as not previously concluded) be brought to a conclusion on Tuesday 26 June 2012.
- 3. The Public Bill Committee shall have leave to sit twice on the first day on which it meets.

Consideration and Third Reading

- 4. Proceedings on Consideration shall (so far as not previously concluded) be brought to a conclusion one hour before the moment of interruption on the day on which those proceedings are commenced.
- 5. Proceedings on Third Reading shall (so far as not previously concluded) be brought to a conclusion at the moment of interruption on that day.
- 6. Standing Order No. 83B (Programming committees) shall not apply to proceedings on Consideration and Third Reading.

Other proceedings

7. Any other proceedings on the Bill (including any proceedings on consideration of Lords Amendments or on any further messages from the Lords) may be programmed.—(Stephen Crabb.)

Question agreed to.

Appendix 3: Programming Sub-Committee Resolution for the Defamation Bill

On this occasion the resolution did not provide for any oral evidence, because the Bill had been subject to pre-legislative scrutiny.

RESOLUTION OF THE PROGRAMMING SUB-COMMITTEE

The Programming Sub-Committee appointed by the Speaker in respect of the Bill agreed the following Resolution at its meeting on Thursday 14 June (Standing Order No. 83C):—

That—

- (1) the Committee shall (in addition to its first meeting at 10.30 am on Tuesday 19 June) meet—
 - (a) at 4.00 pm on Tuesday 19 June;
 - (b) at 9.00 am and 1.00 pm on Thursday 21 June;
 - (c) at 10.30 am and 4.00 pm on Tuesday 26 June;
- (2) the proceedings shall (so far as not previously concluded) be brought to a conclusion at 7.00 pm on Tuesday 26 June.

Mr Jonathan Djanogly has given notice of his intention to move a motion in the terms of the Resolution of the Programming Sub-Committee [Standing Order No. 83C].

Appendix 4: Part of an amendment paper for the Defamation Bill for the Committee Stage in the Commons

These amendments relate to the page of the Bill shown in appendix 1.

Helen Goodman

4

Clause 1, page 1, line 4, at end add 'or to the reputation of the claimant's close relative if that close relative died within the year prior to the defamatory statement being published'.

Helen Goodman

5

- Clause 1, page 1, line 4, at end add-
 - '(2) For the purposes of this section, "close relative" includes the claimant's—
 - (a) spouse or partner;
 - (b) son or daughter;
 - (c) brother or sister; and
 - (d) father or mother.'.

-

Robert Flello

12

- Clause 2, page 1, line 14, at end insert—
 - '(3A) The defence under this section does not fail on the basis that one or more of the imputations is not shown to be substantially true, if that imputation would not materially injure the claimant's reputation in the light of what the defendant has otherwise shown to be substantially true.'.

Appendix 5: Part of a Selection list for the Defamation Bill

On this occasion the Chair has grouped amendments 4 and 5 together for debate because they are related.

CHAIRS' PROVISIONAL SELECTION AND GROUPING FOR THE DEFAMATION BILL

Tuesday 19 June at 10.30am and 4pm

Clause 1	Clause 13
6	Clause 14
4+5	Clause 15
Clause 2	Clause 16
12	Govt 1+Govt 2+Govt 3
Clause 3	New Clauses
13	NC2