

Table of Content

Acknowledgements	9
1. A procedural perspective on parliamentary politics	11
1.1 Conceptualisation and transformation of the procedural ideal type	12
1.2 Max Weber on ‘objectivity’ as a procedural concept	13
1.3 The procedural character of ideal-typical parliamentary politics ...	15
1.4 Westminster procedural tracts on the parliamentary ideal type	20
1.5 Procedure and conceptual changes	22
2. History of Westminster procedural tracts	27
2.1 The genre of procedural tracts	27
2.2 A note on the origins of the English parliament and the <i>Modus</i>	29
2.3 Tracts from the Elizabethan era	31
2.4 The source-based tracts and their use in the struggle with the Stu- arts	35
2.5 Procedural tracts after the Glorious Revolution	38
2.6 John Hatsell’s codification of procedure	40
2.7 Tracts for the French Revolution: Samuel Romilly and Jeremy Bentham	42
2.8 Thomas Erskine May: <i>Treatise</i> and minor works	46
2.9 Popularisation of procedure and comparative perspective	51
2.10 Westminster procedure for foreign audiences	54
2.11 Twentieth-century procedure: Gilbert Campion	56
2.12 Contemporary procedure: J.A.C. Griffith & Michael Ryle	58
2.13 The changing agenda of procedural controversies	59

3.	The agenda of parliamentary powers	61
3.1	Parliament vs. the crown	61
3.2	The parliamentary freedom of members	67
3.3	Procedural means for the parliamentary control of government	78
3.3.1	Impeachment and other legal tools	78
3.3.2	The publicity of debates	80
3.3.3	Parliamentary questions	84
3.4	Vote of no confidence	88
3.5	Procedure as a form of protection for parliament and its members	94
3.5.1	Procedure as a limit to arbitrary powers	95
3.5.2	Consequences of a lack of procedure	97
3.5.3	Protecting parliament against its own members	100
3.5.4	The priority of unwritten rules	101
4.	Conceptualisation of parliamentary debating	107
4.1	Debate as a basic parliamentary operation	109
4.2	Concepts of Westminster procedure	113
4.3	Two styles of debate: House and Committee	121
4.3.1	The origins of committees	122
4.3.2	Two types of debates	126
4.3.3	Reforming the committee system	131
4.4	Regulating debates – forms and practices	136
4.4.1	The Speaker	136
4.4.2	Tactical uses of procedure	139
4.4.3	Parliamentary evils to be avoided	145
4.5	Unparliamentary language vs. fair play	151
5.	Times of parliamentary debate	159
5.1	Separation of items of debate	160
5.2	The politics of amendments	165
5.3	Times of adjournment	170
5.4	The passage of motions through parliament	178
5.5	Times of debate and dissensus	188

6. Times of parliamentary agenda	197
6.1 Pressure on parliamentary time	199
6.2 The parliamentary calendar	205
6.3 Time limits for parliamentary debates	212
6.4 Adaptation of debates to parliamentary government	221
6.4.1 Procedural limits to the government's monopoly of initiative	224
6.4.2 Rhetorical limits to governmental powers	226
6.4.3 Two dividing lines in the House of Commons	230
6.5 Limits to the governmentalisation of parliamentary time	234
7. Temporal layers of parliamentary politics	245
7.1 The politics and history of procedural tracts	245
7.2 Conceptual changes in procedure tracts	247
7.3 Adversarial and dissensual concepts of parliament	251
References	255
Abbreviations	255
Parliamentary debates (consulted 2 August 2013)	255
Parliamentary documents (consulted 26 December 2013)	255
Parliamentary papers (University of Jyväskylä Library, consulted 2 August 2013)	256
Other Primary sources (online publications consulted 25 December 2013)	256
Literature	261
Index	267