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**“Mapping the Productivity of Parliament
under Modi Government, 2014-2022”**

IQAC

Sri Venkateswara College

University of Delhi

Dhaura Kuan

New Delhi -110021

Name of Mentor: Dr. SANTOSH KUMAR SINGH

Name of Department: POLITICAL SCIENCE





Designation: ASSISTANT PROFESSOR




SRIVIPRA PROJECT 2022

**Title : Mapping the Productivity of Parliament under Modi Government,
2014-2022**

List of the Students under the SRIVIPRA Project

S.No	Name of the Student	Course	Photo
1.	KIRTI SINGH	B.A. (HONS.) POLITICAL SCIENCE	
2.	AYUSHI SINGH	B.A. (HONS) POLITICAL SCIENCE	
3.	AKANKSHA NEGI	B.A. (HONS) POLITICAL SCIENCE	
4.	GARGI MISHRA	B.A. (HONS) POLITICAL SCIENCE	

5.	VARDAN UPADHYAY	B.A. (HONS.) HINDI	
6.	ARSHA T S	B. A. (HONS.) ECONOMICS	
7.	SARAL VASHISHTA	B.A. (HONS.) POLITICAL SCIENCE	
8.	DIVYANSHI RAWAT	B.SC(HONS) MATHEMATICS	
9.	SHRIBALA N	B.A (HONS) POLITICAL SCIENCE	

Signature of Mentor

Certificate

This is to certify that the aforementioned students from Sri Venkateswara College have participated in the summer project SVP-2239 titled “Mapping the Productivity of Parliament under Modi Government, 2014-2022”. The participants have carried out the research project work under my guidance and supervision from ...21st June 2022 to s25th September 2022. The work carried out is original and carried out in an online mode.



Signature of Mentor

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Preface

India being the largest democracy in the world has the most vibrant and comprehensively strong system of governance. India has decided to pursue the path of inclusivity and participation keeping in mind the diversity of our land when we started our journey as an independent and sovereign nation. Therefore, our forefathers and political stalwarts decided to pursue the ideals of parliamentary democracy which provided room for the opinions of all

kinds from different sections of the society. India followed the model of democracy which had the best features from all the existing systems.

Parliament performs a key role in the life of the nation. It plays a pivotal role to guide the nation through legislative and executive functions. In this series, in India the Lok Sabha (Lower House) and Rajya Sabha (Upper House) perform pillar roles to protect and promote democracy. Parliament not only performs the function of examining bills and passing them into laws, checking the work of the executive, but also closely watches the functioning of government. It also reflects the direction and growth of the nation. It also carries the roles and responsibilities of citizens. For being a developing country and population size the role and responsibilities of Indian parliament get increased.

This present research is trying to analyse and study the impact and role of one-party and the stable Government on India. This work has tried to understand the role and contribution of both the houses. It has also studied the productivity of parliament in terms of time utilised and bills passed since 2014 to 2022. The work has also done the analysis of productivity of the Indian Parliament.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The idea of Indian parliament is an outcome of complex intellectual churning. The process initiated in the early discourse in the nationalist circle had a mixed understanding about the parliamentary institutions. In the process, the different acts introduced by the British administration have also played an important role in establishing the model of Indian parliament. Some were strongly in favour of parliamentary institutions while others thought it was not suitable for India. Lord Peel suggested that the Swiss or the American model were more appropriate for India (Shanker and Rodrigues, 2011: 30). But there was no consensus on any one particular model of parliament. In this regard, Gandhi has not shared much enthusiasm for Parliamentary Institutions (Brown, J & Parel, Anthony, 2011). The nationalist consensus on the issue was formulated in the Nehru Report of 1928. It demanded a dominion model of Parliament and an Executive responsible to that Parliament (Pylee, 2004).

Along with this debate the India's Parliamentary institutions were getting embedded in India through numerous interventions. Some of the progressive princely states such as Mysore and Travancore set up their own legislatures. Although the modes and procedures of the functioning of these bodies closely followed the British experience, there was a great deal of innovation that could be seen (*Shanker & Rodrigues, 2011: 30*).

Apart from this, some important Political Thinkers of Modern India, such as Gopal Krishna Gokhale and B.R. Ambedkar, formulated their arguments in the debate of the legislature. There were contrasting opinions that came forward. For instance, there were basic disagreements between Gandhi, Nehru and socialists such as Rammanohar Lohia and Jayprakash Narayan on the kind of institutions they proposed. While Nehru was strongly committed to Parliamentary Democracy, Gandhi subscribed to a loosely knit polity with the village as its primary unit. Socialists wanted to 'broad base the polity with decentralization, encouraging linguistic pluralism and small-scale, labour-intensive industry' (Bhikhu, 1991).

Even Ambedkar had his misgivings about the parliament. Writing at the end of the World War-II, he felt that Parliamentary Democracy had not succeeded in meeting the socio-economic aspirations of the masses which made way for the appeal of fascism in Europe. In spite of the progress of representative bodies, it was still uncertain whether parliamentary

institutions would be the future of India at the time of Independence. The Constituent Assembly Debates (CAD) in the early stages bear witness to such confusions.

Many Speakers drew attention to the fact that several generations of Indians were schooled in the Parliamentary system of government and their embedded collective experience could not just be ignored. Gadgil stated it as follows: 'We have been brought up in an atmosphere which has been conducive to the establishment of what we are generally accustomed to term Parliamentary responsible government ' (Constitutional Assembly Debates, Vol. IV: 640)

Morris- Jones cited the argument of experience as probably the most decisive one which eventually tilted the balance in favour of the Parliamentary model. (Morris Jones, 81-2.)

Reasons to be counted for Parliamentary form of government chosen over presidential form by the constitution makers were numerous. First of all due to colonial experience, they argued to opt for a system of continuous accountability of the executive through parliamentary system. Moreover, Indian leadership already had some Prior experience of running the parliamentary system under the Acts of 1919 and 1935. The presidential system has the president as the chief executive and as source of all executive power. Therefore, a danger of personality cult to perpetuate existed. Thus, the American Model was betrayed arriving at the conclusion. Since the executive is a part of the legislature, and generally holds the majority, therefore it makes it easier to pass laws and their implementation (reduced possibility of standstill between executive and legislature).

One of the biggest reasons for opting a parliamentary form of institution was that, India being a diverse country, parliamentary system ensures a more representative and diverse cabinet. Therefore, it was the most suitable option for the Indian context. The objective resolution moved by Jawaharlal Nehru did not mention the Parliamentary form of Government at all. He said, 'Obviously, we are aiming at Democracy and nothing less than a democracy. What form of democracy, what shape it might take is another matter. We are not going just to copy, I hope, a certain democratic procedure or an institution of democratic country. It will be for this House to determine what shape to give that democracy'(Constitutional Asembly Debates Vol.1, page.62)

The first major indication of the form of Government was suggested when Sardar Patel presented the reports of the committees on Principles of a model Provincial Constitution and Principles of the Union Constitution. He stated that the committees concluded "that it would suit the condition of this country better to adopt the parliamentary system of constitution, the British type of constitution with which we are familiar. The provincial constitutional committee has accordingly suggested that this constitution shall be a parliamentary type of cabinet". (Constitutional Assembly Debates, Vol. IV, page 579-80)

CONCERNS REGARDING FUNCTIONING OF PARLIAMENT

Through this study, we aim to understand the working of the Parliament in the past eight years. The Indian Parliament has undergone various changes throughout these years. These changes have been seen in terms of devaluation of parliamentary autonomy, poor standards of debates and discussions among many others (Shankar and Rodrigues, 2011: 7). Scholars working on the Indian parliament have drawn attention to the 'decline thesis' (Verma and Tripathi, 2013: 1). However, this decline isn't limited to the grounds of efficiency, it has also been witnessed in other parameters. These issues can be classified into various heads:

Legislative Scrutiny

Under parliamentary democracy, law-making is a deliberative and consultative process. Hence, discussions and debates are significant in ensuring social welfare and progress. However, the parliament has observed procedural lapses in pushing key legislations by avoiding scrutiny.

According to the PRS Legislative Research Data, "In the 16th Lok Sabha (2014-19), 25% of the Bills introduced were referred to Committee, much lower than 71% and 60% in the 15th and 14th Lok Sabha respectively." Further, in the 16th Lok Sabha, the government passed 133 Bills, 15% higher than the previous Lok Sabha (Roy, 2022)

Aside from lawmaking, parliament approves the annual budget brought forth by the ruling government. As per PRS data, though 17% of the budget was discussed, more than in 2018-19 Budget, however, "100% of the demands were passed without discussion."

Another paradigm shift is the abolition of question hour in the monsoon session of the parliament in 2021. The available data from the last four Lok Sabhas points out the reduce in functioning of question hour. On average only 59% of the allotted time is used. While in the 15th and 16th Lok Sabha only 41% of the question hour was used in Rajya Sabha (PRS Legislative Research, August 11, 2021).

Table: Score of India on various political regards

Vital Statistics	Score(2021)	Score(2011)
Electoral process and pluralism	8.5	7.2
Functioning of Govt.	7.6	7.6
Political Participation	7.5	5
Political culture	5	5
Civil liberties	6	9.7

Source: 'The ailing body politic', The Economist, Feb 12th 2022; Accessed from: <https://www.economist.com/asia/2022/02/12/the-organs-of-indias-democracy-are-decaying> on: 15th July, 2022

An analysis of the Parliament reveals several missing or half-functioning vital systems. The number of days per year that the Parliament actual meets has fallen from more than 100 in the 1950s to 66 in the 2014-19 term and further during covid-19 (The Economist, 2022).

Disruptions and Dismissal of the role of Opposition

Parliament's functioning involves the role of the opposition to hold the ruling government accountable. Recent decade has seen the rise of adversarial politics, and a domineering executive that has sidelined all other institutions (Hasan, 2021).

The monsoon session of 2021 was an important instance of dismissing the role of the opposition by the ruling government. With vital issues in discussion, the opposition is entrusted with raising key concerns for the public. However, the session saw the ruling government deflecting these concerns. Bills such as the Pegasus affair, Covid-19

mismanagement, farm laws and the deepening economic crisis were passed amidst fierce protests (Hasan, 2021).

Source: Percentage of working hours lost by the Lok Sabha due to disruptions

Session of lok sabha	Working hours lost (in %)
10th	10
11th	5
12th	11
13th	19
14th	25
15th	35

Source: Verma and Tripathi (2013), Making sense of the House: Explaining the decline of the Indian Parliament amidst Democratisation, Sage Publications; New Delhi, Accessed from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/270671106_Making_Sense_of_the_House_Explaining_the_Decline_of_the_Indian_Parliament_amidst_Democratization

Other than disturbing the ethos of the legislature, there is also the financial cost of such disruptions. According to the then Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Pawan Bansal the cost of parliamentary disruption is Rs. 2.5 lakh per minute. Despite being unmeasurable cost of parliamentary disruption, the entire country incurs an opportunity loss with the delay in making national laws. Added to this is the cost of ineffective laws passed with no concrete discussions due to disruptions. Further, the country suffers the cost of missing accountability of the government, without debates and question hour (Roy,2021).

In 2003, Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said, “In a democracy, there are bound to be differences among political parties, and there is bound to be vigorous debate among divergent viewpoints in Parliament. Differences and their well-researched, articulate expression both inside and outside Parliament is the very stuff of democracy...But the vitality of democracy also demands discipline, constructive approach, and a readiness to contribute to consensus-building on pressing issues before the nation — and adherence to rules.” Hence, the

opposition and ruling government have an equally important role to ensure deliberative Parliament. (Roy, 2021)

Chapter 2:

Conceptualising the nature of Indian Parliament

The Parliament of India was officially established after the first General Election in India in 1952. But the historical evidence of many functioning republics during post-Vedic period of history are found in *Aitareya Brahaman*, *the Mahabharata*, Panni's *Ashtadhyayi*, the *Manusmirthi* and many more. The Pali texts also provide details of the working of these republic assemblies. According to some scholars, these assemblies adopted the concepts of "legalism and constitutionalism of a most advanced type". (Kashyap, Subhash; 2004)

Existence of early democracy can also be found in the functioning of *Janpads* (Regional Councils), *Paura Sabhas* (City Councils) and *Gram Sabhas* (Village Assemblies). These institutions were common in India. Though *Sabha* and *Samiti* and the republican states disappeared, *Gram Sanghas*, *Gram Sabhas* or *Panchayats* survived. They continued their working through the rule of many Hindu and Muslim dynasties, even the British rule, in one way or the other. (Kashyap, Subhash; 2004)

The beginning for the base of the Central Legislature for India was the Charter Act, 1833. This led to the introduction of important changes in the system of Indian administration and also in legislative power. For the first time, the Governor-General's Government is known as the Government of India. It also led to the addition of 'fourth' or legislative members. In the Charter Act, 1861 Governor-General was authorized to nominate to his council "not less than six nor more than twelve" additional members, at least half of whom were to be non-officials. Assurance was given to the House of Commons that Indians would also be appointed. This was an important step for the future of parliamentary functioning as making law was no longer the exclusive duty of Executives. Although this council was merely a suggestive unit which exercised no power whatsoever and had no rights to question the working of government. (Kashyap, Subhash; 2004)

The Government of India act, 1935 introduced federal structure. The Federal Legislature consisted of the Governor-General. It also had two chambers known as the Council of States (the Upper House) and the House of Assembly (the Lower House). Each house was to elect its Chairman and Deputy Chairman. No Bill would become law unless passed by both the houses and signed by the Governor-General. Both the houses were given equal powers although differences were there in dynamics of finance. It used four key sources for

information. They were Report of the Simon Commission, discussions at the Third Round Table Conference, the White Paper of 1933 and the reports of the Joint select committees.

As the development of representative institutions during colonial India grew, Indian nationalists were weary whether to adopt the British model of parliamentary institutions or not. Whereas some nationalists like C. Shankaran Nair were in favor of introduction of British Parliamentary institutions, others such as Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan strongly opposed this idea. Although there were different views about the idea, formulation of broad consensus on futuristic government was visible in the *Nehru Report* of 1928, which was a memorandum to appeal for a new dominion status and a federal set-up of government for the constitution of India. It recommended Nineteen fundamental rights including equal rights for women, right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage. (Singh, Kshetrimayum Subarta; 2020)

2.1 PHILOSOPHY OF INDIAN PARLIAMENT

Although numerous forms of representative government existed throughout the ancient world, with few exceptions, most were autocratic and limited the representation to members of the nobility with no direct representation by the common people. Over time, subjects demanded a greater role in the decision making process of their societies. Rulers incrementally acquiesced to these demands, and various forms of commoner representation took hold and their influence gradually expanded. In the modern era, particularly in the democratic system, the authority to rule rests more in the legislative body than with a ruler.

The modern parliamentary system originated in England in the late thirteenth century, and was formalized by King Edward I of England at a meeting in 1295, where representatives of rural landowners and townsmen were invited to participate in the Kings Council (Curia Regis) as members of the Commons.

In ancient India, during the Vedic civilization, there are mentions of two Parliament-like gatherings of the Indo-Aryan kingdoms called the Sabhā and the Samiti. There are differing views on the character and function of the Sabha and Samiti, and their precise role is unclear, but it is widely understood that the Samiti was an assembly of the whole people, and the

Sabha was a council of elders. Also, the Sabha performed judicial functions and the Samiti did not, and the Samiti fought in wars, while the Sabha did not. (J. L. Shastri, (ed.), Ralph T. H. Griffith, Hymns of the Rg Veda, (Motilal 2004 [1896]).

The two largely democratic institutions, which kept a check on the absolutism of the king, were given a sacred position, and have been called the daughters of the deity Prajapati in the Vedas, the holiest of all Hindu scriptures and the earliest Indo-European literature. However, these democratic institutions became weaker as republics became larger and elected chieftainship moved towards hereditary and absolute monarchy. The Samiti was not a sovereign body from a constitutional point of view and eventually passed out of existence. The Sabha and the Samiti bear almost no mention in later Vedic literature. In the modern democratic Parliament of India, the two Houses still bear the ancient name of Sabha. (Ram Sharan Shama. Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. 2002 [1959].

The adoption of the parliamentary system by the Constituent Assembly (1946–49)—considering the long British tradition—can be viewed as a ‘natural or inevitable choice’ (Zins, 1988; 153). During the colonial period, two complex strands came together through a long historical development which led to the adoption of the parliamentary form of government. With the commencement of rule by the Crown in 1858, liberal British statesmen held that there was need to gradually impose the parliamentary system, witnessed in the various Acts passed, beginning with the Indian Councils Act of 1861, and ending with the Government of India Act of 1935 (Johari, 1984; 1). At the same time, these Acts were the products of much struggle and demand for democratic institutions by the nationalist leadership (Kashyap, 1994). Despite this legacy, the protagonists of a presidential executive in the Constituent Assembly made their voices heard, and—it is an argument left their imprint on the final text of the Constitution. The Constituent Assembly, when it met, was not clear whether parliamentary institutions were suitable for independent India: the early stages bear witness to much prevarication (ibid.: 32). Moving the Objectives Resolution, Jawaharlal Nehru held, ‘Obviously we are not aiming at democracy, what shape it might take is another matter. We are not just going to copy, I hope, a certain democratic procedure or an institution of a so-called democratic country. It will be for this house to determine what shape to give to

that democracy.’ (Shankar and Rodrigues, 2011: 32) It was only after much debate and deliberation in the Constituent Assembly that decisive arguments favouring a parliamentary form of government came to be worked out.

Different leaders had different beliefs and ideas about the Indian parliament. Many members argued for the adoption of the parliamentary system by pointing out that several generations of Indians were schooled in it, and this collective experience could not be ignored. But many had doubts, and voiced them stridently. Some Muslim leaders voiced their fears of a majoritarian electoral dispensation in a polity that was deeply divided, and hence preferred a fixed-term executive chosen by proportional representation through election by the legislature, as in the Swiss composite executive model (Morris-Jones 1957: 83). A number of members offered reasons for establishing a presidential system: an authoritarian system was more suited to India; it would avoid the pitfalls of rule by a ‘majority party’ and prevent corruption. Some equated adoption of a parliamentary model with ‘slavish surrender to the West’, but had no alternative to offer. The Gandhians in the Constituent Assembly were keen that an indigenous system based on ‘village republics’ be adopted, but their ideas were sought to be accommodated in other provisions of the Constitution.

Attempts were made by leaders such as K. M. Munshi, B. R. Ambedkar, N. V. Gadgil and Nehru to assuage the fears expressed. They pointed out that the British parliamentary system had the strongest executive consistent with a democratic constitutional structure. Eventually, the argument that parliamentary experience had already been gained proved the most important reason for the adoption of the parliamentary model (ibid.). The first major indication of a decision on the form of government emerged when Vallabhbhai Patel, in the fourth session, presented the reports of the committees (set up in April 1947) to work out the ‘Principles of a Model Provincial and Union Constitution’ (Morris Jones, 1957: 83). The Constituent Assembly accepted the principle of the parliamentary executive collectively responsible to the popular house of Parliament (as recommended by the Union Constitution Committee), which was subsequently incorporated into the Draft Constitution. While introducing the Draft Constitution and recommending the parliamentary system in the Constituent Assembly on 4 November 1948, Ambedkar, the chairman of the Drafting Committee, also held that ‘the Draft Constitution in recommending the Parliamentary System of executive has preferred more responsibility to more stability’ (CAD, VII: 32-33). Some dissenting voices were heard, but the overwhelming opinion was in favour of a full-fledged parliamentary government with preference for responsibility.

Max Zins has argued that a study of the Constituent Assembly Debates (CAD) shows that the 'parliamentary option' was the 'initial compromise' that emerged. But the original text of the Constitution did not clearly mention that the president was bound by the advice of the prime minister, making the former something more than a mere 'potiche'. This ambiguity allowed, he feels, a presidentialism reading of the Constitution, which enabled presidents beginning with Rajendra Prasad to question the powers of Parliament and the prime minister (Zins 1988: 109).

A parliamentary form was adopted with many modifications in parliamentary sovereignty to suit Indian conditions and requirements. First, a written constitution to which Parliament is subordinate and which provides separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary, and a federal structure with clear division of powers between the Centre and the states. Second, the provision of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy places a number of limitations on the powers of Parliament (Shankar and Rodrigues, 2011). Third, while the Constitution did not specifically give the judiciary the power of judicial review, the judiciary has successfully been claiming so, and has, in fact, expanded the scope of judicial review over the years. Hence, the Indian constitutional system is a mixed one; it has borrowed ideas from various constitutions in order to meet Indian requirements. (Pai, S. & Kumar, A.; 2014)

2.2 KEY FEATURES OF INDIAN PARLIAMENT

India's government is parliamentary in nature. The Indian Constitution's Articles 74 and 75 deal with the parliamentary system at the national level, whereas Articles 163 and 164 talk about the states and their individual legislatures. This democratic form of government is classified as a parliamentary one based on how the executive and legislature interact. In parliamentary governments, the government holds the executive branch accountable for its policies and actions. The Westminster style of government, also known as cabinet government or responsible government, is favoured in the United Kingdom, Japan, Canada, and India.

The executive is an arm of the legislature in India's parliamentary system. It specifies that in order to serve in the executive branch, a person must be a member of parliament. However, the constitution states that if a person is not a member of the parliament, they may be

appointed as a minister for a maximum of six consecutive months before they are no longer a minister. The party that gets the majority of seats in the Lower House (Lok Sabha) elections establishes the government, which is another element of this system. In India, the President extends an invitation to the Lok Sabha majority party chief to form the government. The leader is chosen by the President to serve as Prime Minister, while the President chooses the other ministries on the Prime Minister's recommendation. If no party has a majority, the President may request a coalition of parties to form the government.

The model functioning in India stresses huge importance on the idea of collective responsibility where, the council of ministers are collectively responsible to the parliament. The lower house of parliament has an ability to dismiss a government by getting the no confidence motion passed in the house. In India, the government survives till the time it enjoys support of the majority of members in the Lok Sabha. Thus, Lok Sabha is empowered to introduce no-confidence motion against the government.

The Prime Minister is the principal decision-maker in India's parliamentary system. The Prime Minister of India is the actual executive. He is the leader of the executive branch, the cabinet, and the governing body. He must therefore take an active part in how the government functions. And in this situation, the opposition is crucial in preventing the political executive's arbitrary use of power. India, like the majority of nations in the world, has a bicameral legislature made up of the Lok Sabha (the lower house) and the Rajya Sabha (the upper house). The members of the Lower House of all these countries are elected by the people. The Lower House can be dissolved if the term of the government is over or there is no scope of government formation due to lack of majority in house. In India, the President can dissolve the Lok Sabha on recommendation of the Prime Minister.

2.2.1 A Bicameral System in Function

India's Parliament is bicameral, The Lok Sabha (the lower chamber) and the Rajya Sabha are the two houses of India's bicameral parliament (the upper house). The two chambers are treated equally, and all legislation must be approved by both houses and the president's signature before it may become law. There are two exceptions: the Lok Sabha has precedence in these situations when it comes to collective responsibility of the Council of Ministers and certain financial matters (a money bill can only be submitted in the Lok Sabha and cannot be

altered by the Rajya Sabha). Joint sessions of both Houses may be held, with the Lok Sabha Speaker presiding . At the state level, citizens are represented in Vidhan Sabha, or legislative assemblies. This is the only house in states with a unicameral system, while in the seven states that have a bicameral system, the Vidhan Sabha makes up the lower house. The Vidhan Parishad, or Legislative Council, is the higher house in certain circumstances. Parliament has the power to form a new state or Union territory, or to alter its territory and name.

Parliament meets three times a year: in February through May for the budget session, in July and August for the monsoon session, and in November and December for the winter session. The only directly elected body that speaks for the Indian people is the Lok Sabha (House of the People). The speaker, who is chosen by the House members, is in charge of overseeing work in the chamber. The Indian people are represented by a total of 552 members, of whom 530 can represent the 28 states of India and 20 can represent the nine Union territories. First-past-the-post voting is used to elect each of them. If the Indian President feels that the Anglo-Indian community is underrepresented in the house, they may propose two more members from this group. After a six-week election process, the current 543 members were chosen for a five-year term in May 2019.

Since 1999, elections to the Lok Sabha have coincided with those for the European Parliament. Of the 22 languages recognized by the Constitution, 15 are spoken in the House and simultaneously interpreted into Hindi and English, but not vice versa. Up to 250 members of the Rajya Sabha (Council of States), which represents the states, are indirectly elected. Twelve of them are chosen by the President, and the remaining ones are chosen by state legislatures or union territories. The Rajya Sabha currently has 239 members. Members of the house serve six-year terms and are appointed for one-third of the time every two years. The Rajya Sabha cannot be dissolved because it is a perpetual body. The Chairman, who is also India's Vice-President by default, oversees the Rajya Sabha's operations. (Enrico D'Ambrogio (2022), European Parliamentary Research Service; March 2022)

2.2.2 The 'Leader of the House' and the 'Leader of the Opposition'

The two branches of the Indian Parliament have historically each had a Leader of the House and a Leader of the Opposition, drawing on British customs but with some changes in the roles. The Lok Sabha's rules of procedure provide that the Prime Minister is the House's Leader, albeit he or she may choose another minister to this position. The Leader of the House has direct control over how parliamentary business is conducted, and in particular, he

or she has the final say in deciding the agenda for the House in cooperation with the Speaker. Also having the last word on amendments, government support for private member's bills, and whether a question should be put to a free vote, the Leader has a significant impact on the legislative process. The Cabinet Committee on Parliamentary Affairs, one of the eight Cabinet Committees led by the Minister of Defence, is also heavily involved in private members' business.

The Leader of the House leads their party, but on rare occasions, the Leader also represents the stance of the entire House in front of an outside entity. In the Rajya Sabha, the Leader of the House is typically a different minister who also serves on the Business Advisory Committee. However, in the Lok Sabha, this is contingent upon the Speaker recognizing the leader. The Leader of the Opposition requests debates on topics important to the opposition, among other things, and keeps an eye out for violations of minority rights. The government occasionally extends a special invitation to the opposition party leader to attend an appointment committee, even if they are not formally the Leader of the Opposition. The Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha is typically involved in appointments to significant offices. If an opposition party wins 10% of the seats, it is allowed to claim to have a Leader of the Opposition in any of the houses (the House quorum). (Enrico D'Ambrogio (2022) European Parliamentary Research Service; March 2022)

2.3 FUNCTIONING OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT

The Constitution of India entrenched a bicameral parliament for the union made up of the President, the Council of States (Rajya Sabha), and the House of the People (Lok Sabha)¹. Articles 79 to 122 of the constitution (modified up to 26th January 2014) talk about the parliament. The Indian Parliament abides by the laws it has enacted. Every Bill must receive the approval of the President and both Houses before it may become law. Other than money bills and financial bills², all the bills can be introduced in either the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha. Money bills³ and financial bills⁴ can only be introduced in the Lok Sabha, thus, it has the upper hand in this respect. (Our parliament, Lok Sabha secretariat, 2014).

¹ Article 79, chapter 2, part V, constitution of India

² Article, 109 and article 117, chapter 2, part V, constitution of India

³ As per article 110 of the constitution, a Bill shall be deemed to be a Money Bill if it contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following matters, namely:— (a) the imposition, abolition, remission, alteration or

There are three sessions of the parliament, which are held throughout the year, in which the parliament performs all its functions. The president periodically summons each House of Parliament in such a way to avoid gaps of more than six months between sessions.⁵ There are typically 3 sessions in one year: budget session, where the provisions of the budget are thoroughly discussed, is held in the months of February- may; monsoon session, to discuss public related matters, is typically held in the months of July- August and winter session is held in November- December to discuss the leftover matters in the previous monsoon session (Our parliament, lok sabha secretariat, 2014).

As per article 118, clause 1, part V of the Indian constitution, each house of the parliament is given the freedom to make its own rules for regulating, its procedure and the conduct of its business. According to the sixth edition of “RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA” by the Lok Sabha secretariat, rule number 32, the first hour of every sitting is known as the question hour which is available for asking and answering questions, unless the speaker otherwise directs. Question hour, which usually starts at 11 a.m. is the liveliest part of the parliament as it involves debate and discussion. Members of Parliament question ministers during this hour-long session and hold them responsible for the performance of their ministries. The queries that MPs pose are intended to uncover information and provoke the appropriate response from ministries. There are abundant questions in front of the parliament thus, the ministries are divided into five sections in order to simplify responding to MPs' inquiries. On the designated day, each group responds to

regulation of any tax ; (b) the regulation of the borrowing of money or the giving of any guarantee by the Government of India, or the amendment of the law with respect to any financial obligations undertaken or to be undertaken by the Government of India (c) the custody of the Consolidated Fund or the Contingency Fund of India, the payment of moneys into or the withdrawal of moneys from any such Fund ; (d) the appropriation of moneys out of the Consolidated Fund of India ; (e) the declaring of any expenditure to be expenditure charged on the Consolidated Fund of India or the increasing of the amount of any such expenditure ; (f) the receipt of money on account of the Consolidated Fund of India or the public account of India or the custody or issue of such money or the audit of the accounts of the Union or of a State ; or (g) any matter incidental to any of the matters specified in sub-clauses (a) to (f).

⁴ As per article 117 of the constitution of India, a financial bill is of 3 types: (1) a money bill, (2) A Bill or amendment making provision for any of the matters specified in sub-clauses (a) to (f) of clause (1) of article 110 shall not be introduced or moved except on the recommendations of the President and a Bill making such provision shall not be introduced in the Council of States :Provided that no recommendation shall be required under this clause for the moving of an amendment making provision for the reduction or abolition of any tax. And (3) A Bill which, if enacted and brought into operation, would involve expenditure from the Consolidated Fund of India shall not be passed by either House of Parliament unless the President has recommended to that House the consideration of the Bill.

⁵ Article 85, clause (1), chapter 2, part V, constitution of India

inquiries. There are three types of questions that are put forward, namely starred, unstarred and short notice questions. (our parliament, Lok sabha secretariat, 2014).

- A starred question⁶ is raised by a member of parliament, to which the minister in charge responds orally. Each MP is entitled to ask only one starred question per day. Only 20 of the starred questions⁷ are chosen by ballot for an oral response on any given day, and they must be presented 15 days in advance. (our parliament, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2014)
- The Ministry responds in writing to unstarred questions⁸ as per rule 39 (1) of the sixth edition of “RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA” by the Lok Sabha secretariat. These are also delivered 15 days beforehand. For each day, a maximum of 230 unstarred questions⁹ are chosen. An MP per day may submit a maximum of five questions. One of the inquiries displayed next to his name might be a starred inquiry. (Our Parliament, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2014)
- Short notice questions address an issue of immediate public relevance¹⁰. With justification for the short notice, they can be contacted with less than ten days' notice. They are answered verbally and then followed by follow-up questions, just the same as starred questions. These are permitted, based on the Speaker's judgement and with the consent of the relevant Minister. This type of question is a rarely used device and in the past ten years, not a single admission of such queries has been made. (our parliament, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2014)

⁶ Starred questions are more suited to elicit information about the government's policy preferences and viewpoints on certain topics. The MP may then follow up with additional questions and they can be joined by other MPs too. Supplementary questions can also be used to acquire information on topics that the government might not have covered in its answer as per rule 50 (1) of the sixth edition of “RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA” by the lok sabha secretariat. The question list is at hand, five days in advance. This provides MPs a chance to get ready for follow-up inquiries. Usually, 5–6 questions are addressed during the allotted hour for Question Hour. Therefore, while preparing supplementaries, it might be desirable to concentrate on the first few questions.

⁷ Rule number 37, clause 1, sixth edition of “RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA” by the lok sabha secretariat.

⁸ Follow-up questions cannot be asked for unstarred inquiries. They are therefore more beneficial for generating responses to questions about data or information.

⁹ Rule number 45 (2) of sixth edition of “RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA” by the lok sabha secretariat.

¹⁰ Rule 54 (1) of the sixth edition of “RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA” by the lok sabha secretariat

The Zero Hour, which is an Indian parliamentary innovation, is the term used to refer to the hour that immediately follows Question Hour. This time frame is typically utilised to address urgent issues that can't afford to wait for the notice period that is required under other procedures. MPs must notify the Speaker of their intentions to raise issues during the Zero Hour before 10 a.m. on the day of the meeting. The topic they intend to bring up in the House must be specified in the notification. The decision to permit the topic to be raised resides with the Speaker. Throughout the Zero Hour, Short Notice Questions are also answered. The term zero hour is nowhere mentioned in the rules of procedure. The idea of Zero Hour naturally emerged during the first ten years of the Indian Parliament when the Indian MPs felt the need to bring up significant local and national issues(Chakshu Roy, Indian Express, September 3, 2020)

MPs may raise and discuss a plethora of issues. Some of these questions are then presented in the form of motions, and the House then votes on them. In its broadest definition, the term "motion" refers to any proposal submitted with the intent of eliciting a House decision. Motions are categorised into the following categories:

- Substantive motions: A substantive motion is an independent and enclosed proposal, submitted to the House for consideration and written in such a way that it can represent a House decision. (MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS IN PARLIAMENT, lok sabha secretariat, 2019)
- Substitute motions: Substitute motions are those made in place of the original motion to address a policy, circumstance, statement, or another topic. Even though the substantive motions are written in a form that allows them to express an opinion on their own, they are not substantive motions because they rely on the initial motion. (MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS IN PARLIAMENT, lok sabha secretariat, 2019)
- Subsidiary motions: They are dependent upon, related to, or a result of other House motions or proceedings. They are meaningless on their own and are unable to convey the House's conclusion without addressing the original motion or the House's proceedings. (MOTIONS AND RESOLUTIONS IN PARLIAMENT, lok sabha secretariat, 2019)

Additionally, MPs are free to bring up and discuss matters on their own. A member who desires to bring to the attention of the House an issue that is not a point of order¹¹ must notify

¹¹ Rule 377 of the sixth edition of "RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA" by the lok sabha secretariat.

the Secretary-General in writing, stating precisely and clearly the content of the matter to be raised. With the Speaker's approval, MPs may bring up issues to be discussed in their individual capacities. To bring a significant issue to the government's attention, any MP who isn't even a minister may also move a resolution. This resolution, called the Private Member's resolution¹², can be in the form of a declaration of opinion, recommendation or disapproval or approval of an act or policy of the government or can be related to any urgent matter that needs the government's attention. Another tool available to the MPs is 'half-hour discussions'¹³. An MP may request a half-hour discussion if an answer to a question, be it starred or unstarred, requires more elaboration. In order to request a half-hour discussion, he must submit a notification three days in advance. The Speaker has the right to approve such a warning at his or her sole discretion. Another important and extraordinary procedure of the parliament is the adjournment motion that helps the parliament to discuss a crucial matter of public importance. Its main objective is to inform the House about a recent issue of significant public concern that could have serious consequences and for which a resolution or motion with adequate notice would be too late. (roshni Sinha and Sanat Kanwar, PRS, 2019)

According to rule number 198 of the sixth edition of "RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA" by the Lok Sabha secretariat, a no-confidence motion can be submitted against the Council of Ministers. the notice for this type of motion must be submitted before 10 am on the day of the meeting itself. If a member of parliament (MP) believes the government's actions have not been satisfactory and that the government should resign, the MP can introduce a no-confidence motion. After ensuring that the motion of no confidence is in order, the Speaker asks the House if it can be adopted. The motion can only be moved if it receives the support of at least 50 Members.(Sruthi Radhakrishnan, July 2018, the hindu) At the completion of such deliberation, the motion is submitted to a vote. If the motion is accepted, the government is required to resign.

2.4 INDIAN PARLIAMENT IN CONTRAST TO THE WORLD

¹² MPs are required to give a two- day notice to move a Private Member Resolution. The last two and a half hours of sitting on Fridays alternate between Private Member Resolutions and Private Member Bills. This is mentioned in rule 26 of the sixth edition of "RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA" by the lok sabha secretariat.

¹³ Rule 55 of the sixth edition of "RULES OF PROCEDURE AND CONDUCT OF BUSINESS IN LOK SABHA" by the lok sabha secretariat.

The concept of the Indian parliament did not emerge in a single day. The roots of the Indian parliament can be traced back to the glorious revolution which took place in Britain in 1688. The Glorious Revolution, which is also known as the bloodless revolution or revolution of 1688 was a coup which took place in Britain against James 2 who tried to rule without the existence of a parliament and resulted in the accession of the James's daughter, Mary 2 and her husband William 3 to the throne. The revolution led to the establishment of the English bill of rights in 1689. (UK Parliament,2022)

This bill of rights laid down the essential principles of parliamentary supremacy including the control over the monarch and frequent meetings of the parliament. One of the most significant features of the bill of rights was that it established the constitutional monarchy in Britain wherein the powers and functions of the king or queen were constrained or limited by the laws of the parliament. Thus, this revolution sowed the seeds of parliamentary democracy in Britain. The parliament became supreme in Britain and acquired the power to make, amend, repeal or substitute any of the law. It was from Britain that the concept of parliamentary democracy spread to the other parts of the world. This revolution had overall a profound and severe impact upon the various colonies of Britain and also led to various uprisings in its colonies. This glorious revolution had a massive impact on American colonies and the constitution of the USA. Many of the provisions of this bill of rights were adopted by the USA in its constitution after its decolonization. From Britain, the parliamentary system was replicated in many of its colonies and many of them even decided to continue with this system after the process of decolonization and hence, parliamentary democratic systems spread to its colonies and were established in Germany, South Africa, Australia and other European countries. Britain had a long lasting impact on the political system of its colonies. (UK Parliament,2022)

India was also a colony of Britain and decided to adopt the parliamentary form of the government as a result of the influence of Britain's colonisation. Parliamentary institutions started developing in India during the British rule and Britain ruled and governed India in accordance with this system only. After independence, due to the familiarity with the parliamentary system, India decided to continue with it but with a few changes in order to suit the Indian society and circumstances. (Fadia, B.L.,2011:14)

India adopted the best provisions from the other parts of the world and established its own parliamentary democratic system. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said that the Indian constitution was

made after ransacking almost all the known constitutions across the world.(Basu, Durga Das, 2009:32)

From Britain, the concept of the parliamentary government was borrowed where the parliament is composed of the crown (king/queen), house of the lords and house of the commons. In India too , a bicameral legislature was adopted. Under article 79 of the Indian constitution, parliament consists of the president, house of the people (Lok Sabha) and council of states (Rajya Sabha). The seats in the council of states are filled by the representatives of states and union territories as per article 80{2} of the constitution while the Lok Sabha represents the people of the country as a whole as per article 81{1}. The provision of single citizenship under article 10 of the Indian constitution was also adopted by the United Kingdom. The country from which India borrowed the concept of fundamental rights is the United States. In America, the bill of rights grants various rights to the citizens of the country just like article 13 to 35 of the constitution of India. The Indian federal system is based upon the Canadian model. it resembles the Canadian federation 1) in its formation by the way of disintegration 2) in its preference to the term "union" (the Canadian federation is also called a union) and 3) in its centralising tendency i.e. vesting more powers in the centre vis-a-vis states. The Constitution of Australia gave India the provisions of Freedom of Trade and Commerce within the country and between the states the provisions of which are laid down in the Articles 301-307 of the Indian Constitution. The provisions of the Concurrent list and the joint sitting of both the houses of Parliament were also borrowed from the Australian constitution. The procedure for the amendment of the constitution which is contained in article 368 of the Indian constitution was borrowed by India from South Africa whereas Germany gave India the provision of the suspension of the Fundamental rights during the time of the proclamation of emergency. (Laxmikanth, 2019).

Chapter 3:

Structure of Parliament

3.1 BACKGROUND OF MP'S:

Indian parliament have three components, i.e. Rajya Sabha, Lok Sabha and the President. Background of MPs (of both Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha) is determined by Educational Qualification, Profession, Experience and average age of the members. All these factors directly or indirectly, willingly or unwillingly affect the democratic process of policy making. This particular section could be categorised into two major subcategories in terms of the 2 houses of Parliament, i.e., Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.

3.1.1 Lok Sabha:

3.1.1.1 Educational Qualification of the members of Lok Sabha:

16th Lok Sabha: The 16th Lok Sabha 424 members with at least Graduate degree, out of which only 49 females are having at least a graduate degree compared to 388 males in the Lok Sabha with a graduate degree. The sharp contrast between male and female education in the country is even reflected in the Parliament of the country. In absolute figures BJP has the majority both in house and in all the categories of 'level of Education'. The maximum number of BJP representatives in the house are graduates and post graduates and make up 74.74 percent of the BJP MPs in parliament. Whereas in the same category of maximum education we see 82 percent of INC members, 86.82 percent of AITC, 89.18 percent of AIADMK and 85 percent of BJD members of the respective parties. The highest number of 10th or below 10th grade educated members are in BJP in Absolute terms (21 members) and in case of percentage the list is topped by RLD or Rashtriya Lok Dal with just one member representation in the house and the single member is under the least educated bracket, therefore making 100 percent of the total representation form the party in house matrix pass. (*Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2021*).

Table:1 Party wise educational qualification of Members of Lok Sabha (16th Lok Sabha)

Sr. No.	Name of Party	Below 10 th or 10 th pass	High School Pass	Graduate and Post Graduate or similar degree	Doctorate
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	BJP	21	32	216	20
	INC	1	5	41	3
	BJD		1	18	2
	AITC	1	1	33	3
	RLSP			2	1
	TRS			11	2
	AAP			3	1
	AIADMK	1	2	33	1
	YSRCP		1	7	1
	SS	3	3	14	
	TDP	2	3	12	
	JMM	1			
	INLD	1		1	
	RLD	1			
	LJP	1		4	
	NCP	1		4	

	SAD	1		2	
	IUML		1	2	
	SWP			1	
	CPI			1	
	CPI(M)		1	7	
	JD(S)			1	
	JD(U)		2		
	JKNC			1	
	AINRC			1	
	Apna Dal			2	
	JKPDP			3	
	RJD			4	
	SP			5	
	NFP			1	
	SDF			1	
	KC(M)			1	

	NPP			2	
	AIUDF			1	
	RSP			1	
	AIMIM			1	
	PMK			1	
	Independent		1	1	

Table 1: Source: “Who’s Who, Sixteenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; Accessed from: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/789224/1/publications_whoswho_books_16_2016.pdf Accessed on: 30th August, 2022

17th Lok Sabha: The 2019 Parliament is dominated by 135 Post graduates, followed by graduates (133 members) and Graduate (100 members) Professionals respectively. These three categories make up 54 percent of the total members of Parliament. Thus, this reflects that even though we have a greater number of members with higher educational qualifications, more than 40 percent of the total MPs are only Senior secondary school graduates. 16 members have not even passed the Secondary school examination in 2019 making 3 percent of the total members. A remarkable shift could be traced as only 20 percent of the MPs had studied till class 12 in 2014 contrary to 27 percent in 2019. (*Seventeenth Lok Sabha, 2022*).

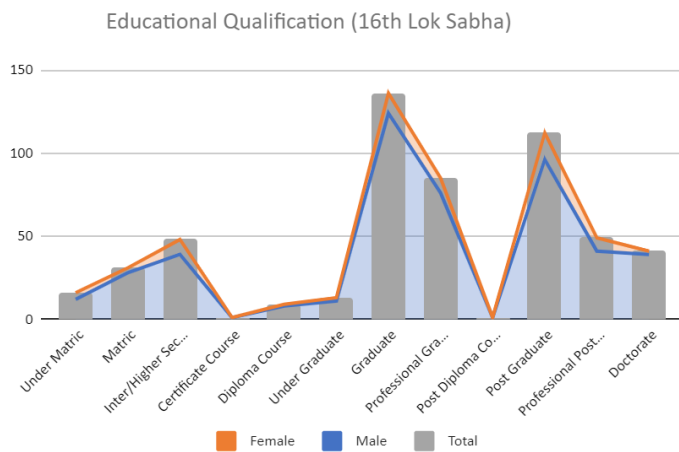


Figure 1: Source: “Who’s Who, Sixteenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; Accessed on: 30th August 2022; Accessed From: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/789224/1/publications_whoswho_books_16_2016.pdf

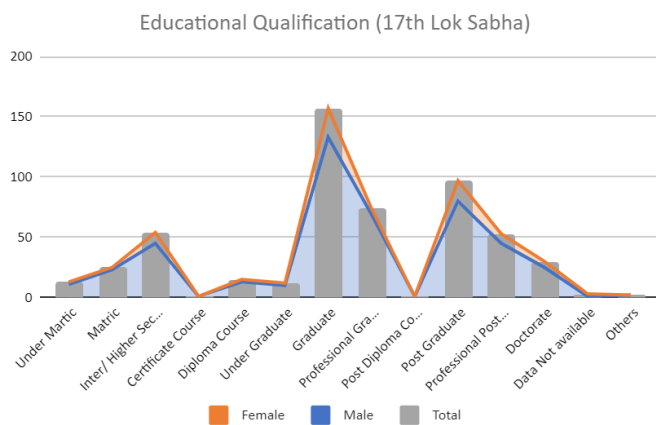


Figure 2: Source: “Who’s Who, Seventeenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; Accessed on: 30th August, 2022; Accessed From: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/835595/1/Publication_whoswho_17_2021.pdf

Table 2: Party wise educational qualification of Members of Lok Sabha (17th Lok Sabha)

Sr. No.	Name of Party	Below 10th or 10th pass	High School Pass	Graduate and Post Graduate or similar degree	Doctorate
	BJP	20	42	223	18
	INC	2	4	43	4
	AITC		3	19	1
	BJD	1	1	9	1
	JD(U)	4	2	10	
	JD(S)			1	
	CPI	1	1		
	CPI(M)		1	2	
	DMK	1	2	17	4
	JMM	1			
	LJSP	1		5	

	SS	2	6	9	1
	SP			3	
	AIMIM			2	1
	BSP			10	
	MNF			1	
	TDP	1		2	
	TRS		1	7	1
	NCP		1	4	
	NDPP			1	
	NPP			1	
	IUML		2		
	AJSU			1	
	AIUDF			1	
	AIADMK			1	
	SKM			1	
	RLP			1	

	SAD			2	
	SAD(M)			1	
	KC(M)			1	
	NPF			1	
	RSP			1	
	VCK				1
	Apna Dal (S)	1		1	
	YSR Congress	1	1	20	
	J&KNC			3	
	Independent		2	1	

Table 1: Lok Sabha Website, (2022), Member Search By Qualification, Seventeenth Lok Sabha, <https://loksabhaph.nic.in/Members/MemberSearchByQualification.aspx>; Accessed From: <https://loksabhaph.nic.in/Members/MemberSearchByQualification.aspx>; Accessed on: 14th September, 2022

The Seventeenth Lok Sabha is dominated by the Graduates and Post graduates, 73.59 percent of BJP members in the lower house are either Graduates or postgraduates or have an equivalent degree. In case of INC this percentage is as high as 81.13 percent, for other political parties like DMK, AITC and YRS Congress the percentage stands at 70.83, 82.60, 90.90 respectively. Therefore, one can clearly observe in the top five parties with highest number of seats in Lok Sabha that INC, AITC and YRS Congress have greater percentage of graduates and postgraduates' members, with more than 90 percent of YRS Congress Members falling in the category. But in case of parties with smaller representation in the House of

Commons the percentage of graduate or postgraduate members could be as high as 100 percent, as in the case of AJSU, AIUDF and AIADMK. All these parties have just 1 member in Lok Sabha. (Lok Sabha Website, 2022)

BJP has the highest number of 10th pass or below 10th pass students in absolute terms, but JMM (Jharkhand Mukti Morcha) here needs a special mention for 100 percent representatives being in the first category. JMM just has one Lok Sabha representative to be 10th pass. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2022)

3.1.1.2 Age profile of MPs:

16th Lok Sabha: The Age profile of MPs that dominated 2014 Lok Sabha is the age group of 56- 70, the same age group also dominated the 2019 Lok Sabha. In the first category i.e. the age group of 25- 40 years one can see a great disparity between the males and females in absolute numbers. There are 35 male members in this category but only 19 female members in the 16th Lok Sabha. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, August 2014).

Five out of the top nine youngest members of Lok Sabha are from BJP[1]

Figure 3: Average Age of Members of Lok Sabha (2014)

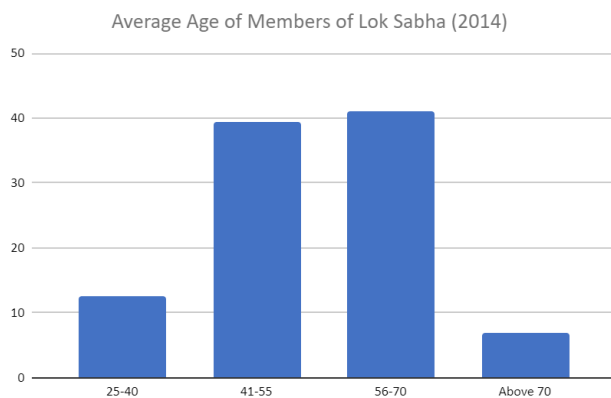


Figure 3, Source: “Members of the 16th Lok Sabha: A Study”. Research and Information division, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August 2014; **Accessed on:** 15th August, 2022; **Accessed from:** http://164.100.47.193/Refinput/Research_notes/English/PAR-INFOR_BULLE-English.pdf

17th Lok Sabha: The members above 70 years of age have decreased from 7 percent to 6 percent between these two Terms. The numbers of MP’s in Lok Sabha declined from 10 to 4 in the age group of 25-30 (Number of female decreased by 1 and number of male decreased by 5) between the two terms. This age includes the Generation X and Generation Z, that are often considered to be well aware of gender issues and rigorously manifest equality for all the sexes. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, August 2021).

The Average Age of MPs in Lok Sabha was 55.64 years in 2014 and reduced to 55 years in 2019. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, August 2021).

Figure 4: Average Age of members of Lok Sabha (2019)

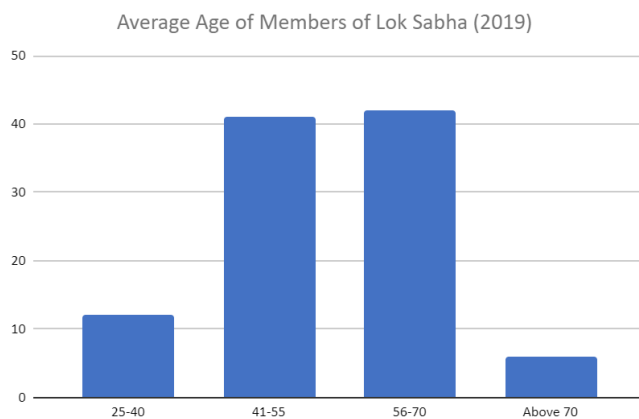


Figure 5: Source: “Profile of the newly elected 17th Lok Sabha”, PRS legislative Research. May 24, 2019. Accessed on: 16th August, 2022; Accessed From: <https://prsindia.org/parliamenttrack/vital-stats/profile-of-the-newly-elected-17th-lok-sabha>

Figure 6: Age Wise Data (16th Lok Sabha)

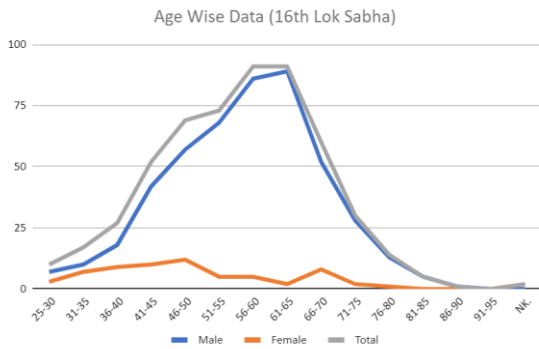


Figure 5: Source: “Who’s Who, Sixteenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; Accessed on: 29th August 2022; Accessed From: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/789224/1/publications_whoswho_books_16_2016.pdf

Figure 7: Age Wise Data (17th Lok Sabha)

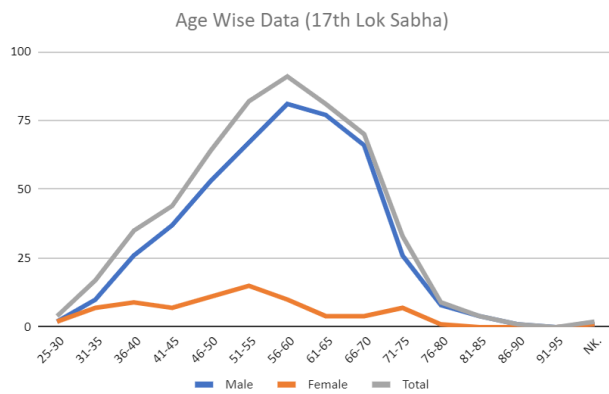


Figure 6: Source: “Who’s Who, Seventeenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; Accessed on: 29th August 2022; Accessed From: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/835595/1/Publication_whoswho_17_2021.pdf

Table 3: Party wise age of members of Lok Sabha

Sr. No.	Name of party	No. of members in age group 25-40	No. of members in age group 41-55	No. of members in age group 56-70	No. of members in age group above 70
1	Bhartiya Janta Party	17	107	143	35
2	INC	4	17	20	10
3	AITC	4	3	10	5
4	BJD	2	3	5	2
5	JD(U)	2	4	7	3
6	JD(S)	1			
7	BSP	1	4	5	
8	JMM	1			
9	DMK		13	5	6
10	LJSP	3	1	2	
11	SKM	1			
12	SS	2	8	8	1

13	TDP	1		2	
14	YSR Congress Party	5	8	8	1
15	AIADMK		1		
16	CPI(M)		1	1	1
17	CPI			1	1
18	AIMIM		2		
19	NCP		3	1	1
20	NPP		1		
21	TRS		3	6	
22	AJSU		1		
23	AIUDF			1	
24	IUML		1	1	1
25	RLP		1		
26	SP			1	2
27	J&KNC			1	2

28	Apna Dal (S)		1	1	
29	KC(M)			1	
30	MNF			1	
31	NDPP			1	
32	NPF			1	
33	RSP			1	
34	SAD			1	
35	VCK			1	
36	SAD(M)				1
37	Independent	1	1	1	

Table 2: Member Search By Age, Seventeenth Lok Sabha, 2022; **Source:** <http://164.100.47.194/Loksabha/Members/MemberSearchByAge.aspx>; **Accessed on:** 10th September, 2022

Given that BJP is in the majority in the 17th Lok Sabha in absolute terms, BJP members in Lok Sabha have the highest number of members in all the age groups. 5.61 percent of the elected members of the Party lie in the first bracket of age group (25- 40 years), 35.31 percent are between the age of 41-55, 47.19 percent are in the age group of 55-70 and 11.55 percent of the party members are above 70 years of age. In case of INC, the second largest party in the house in absolute terms, 7.54 percent of the members are in the age group of 41-55, 32.07 percent of the members lie in the 2nd age group, 37.73 percent of the members lie in the 3rd

age group category and 20 percent in the last category. Comparing BJP and INC it is noticeable that the percentage of members above the age of 70 in BJP are less compared to INC. Thus, congress emerged as the ‘Grand Old Party[2]’. (Seventeenth Lok Sabha, 2022)

3.1.1.3 Experience of Members of Lok Sabha:

16th Lok Sabha: The 16th Lok Sabha saw 321 first time elected Members of Lok Sabha that makes up about 59.11 percent of the total members in Lok Sabha. One major reason for drastic change in the number of new members in the 16th Lok Sabha elections could be credited to the *change in party at the centre after a long time*, i.e., almost 10 years and the previous decline of BJP at the lower house. Taking a closer look one can very well spot the huge disparity when it comes to the number of males and female first-time members of Lok Sabha, though the difference between both the genders have reduced when the latter period is being compared to the earlier one. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, August 2021)

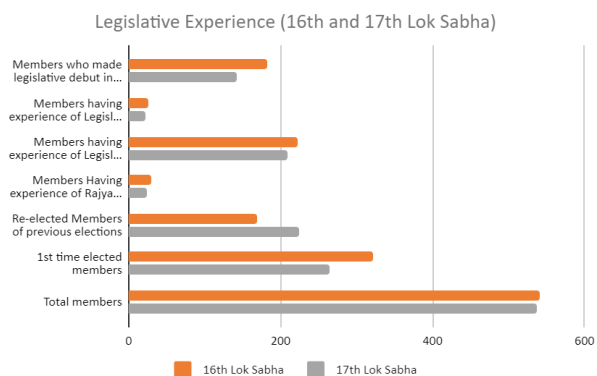


Figure 7: Source: “Who’s Who, Sixteenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; & “Who’s Who, Seventeenth Lok Sabha”. Lok Sabha Secretariat, Government of India. August; Accessed on: 29th August 2022; Accessed From: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/835595/1/Publication_whooswho_17_2021.pdf & https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/789224/1/publications_whooswho_books_16_2016.pdf

17th Lok Sabha: A remarkable fall in numbers of first time Members of Lok Sabha could be seen in the 17th Lok Sabha Elections, i.e. 265 members that make up 48.8 percent of the total members of Lok Sabha. BJP had 136 first time members, followed by 31 of INC and 18 of DMK and YSR Congress. The reason for the maximum number of 1st time members from BJP is because the BJP is in majority in the 17th Lok Sabha Elections. Thus, out of 303 members of BJP 136 members are first timers making 44.88 percent of the party members in Lok Sabha. Whereas in case of INC the first time members make up 58.49 percent of the members of INC in Lok Sabha at present. (*Lok Sabha Secretariat, August 2021*)

Table 4: First Time Elected Members Party-wise List, Seventeenth Lok Sabha

Srno.	Political party	First Time Members
1	Bharatiya Janata Party(BJP)	136
2	Indian National Congress(INC)	31
3	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam(DMK)	18
4	Yuvajana Sramika Rythu Congress Party(YSR Congress Party)	18
5	Janata Dal (United)(JD(U))	10

6	Bahujan Samaj Party(BSP)	9
7	Biju Janata Dal(BJD)	9
8	All India Trinamool Congress(AITC)	7
9	Shiv Sena(SS)	5
10	Telangana Rashtra Samithi(TRS)	5
11	Lok Jan Shakti Party(LJSP)	4
12	Communist Party of India (Marxist)(CPI(M))	2
13	Independent(Ind.)	2
14	Indian Union Muslim League(IUML)	2
15	Jammu and Kashmir National Conference(J&KNC)	2
16	Nationalist Congress Party(NCP)	2
17	AJSU Party(AJSU)	1

18	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam(AIADMK)	1
19	All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimeen(AIMIM)	1
20	Janata Dal (Secular)(JD(S))	1
21	Kerala Congress (M)(KC(M))	1
22	Mizo National Front(MNF)	1
23	Naga Peoples Front(NPF)	1
24	Rashtriya Loktantrik Party(RLP)	1
25	Samajwadi Party(SP)	1
26	Sikkim Krantikari Morcha(SKM)	1

Table 3: First Time Elected Members Party-wise List, Seventeenth Lok Sabha, 2019; **Source:** https://loksabhaph.nic.in/Members/partywiselist_f.aspx ; **Accessed on:** 26th August, 2022

3.1.2 Rajya Sabha:

3.1.2.1 Age profile of MPs:

The minimum age for members of Rajya Sabha is 30 years, whereas in case of Lok Sabha it is 25 years. One can observe that the maximum number of members of Rajya Sabha at

present are between the age of 56 to 70. The problem could be figured out from the graph, as the least number of members of Rajya Sabha fall between the age of 30 to 40 years. In fact, in 2022 only one member fall of each BJP, INC and AAP falls in the first category, i.e. 30 to 40 years of age, and that is Raghav Chadha from Aam Aadmi Party, Imran Pratapgarhi of INC and Shambhu Sharan of BJP. This reflects the lack of youth in the upper house. 15.38 percent of the BJP candidates in the upper house lie in the last category of age above 70. Whereas in case of INC the percentage under the same category is almost double the percentage of BJP, i.e. 29.03 percent of the total INC members. Finally, The average age of members of Rajya Sabha at present is 61.66[3]. (*Rajya Sabha Secretariat, 2022*)

Table 5: Average Age of members of Rajya Sabha (2022)

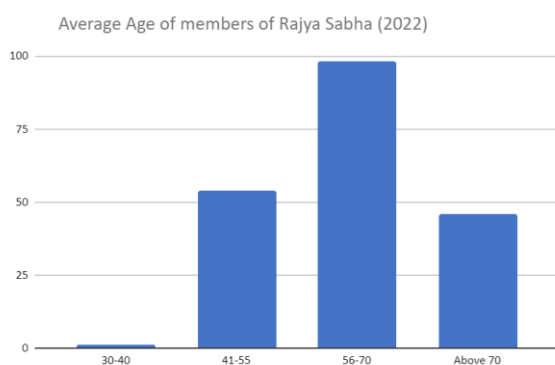


Figure 9: Source: Rajya Sabha Secretariat; Accessed on: 15th September, 2022 Access from: <https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Members/AgeWise>

Table 6: Age Wise Members Of Rajya Sabha 2022

Sr. No.	Name of Party	No. of Candidates between 30-40	No. of Candidates between 41-55	No. of Candidates between 56-70	No. of Candidates between above 70

1.	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	1	29	47	14
2.	Indian National congress (INC)	1	7	14	9
3.	Aam Aadmi Party (AAP)	1	3	5	1
4.	Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)	0	2	3	1
5.	Biju Janata Dal (BJD)	0	7	1	1
6.	All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)	0	6	4	3
7.	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	0	3	4	1
8.	Communist Party of India (CPI)	0	1	1	0
9.	Communist Party of India (Marxist)	0	1	3	0
10.	Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	0	1	0	0

11.	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)	0	1	1	1
12.	Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD)	0	1	0	0
13.	Shiv Sena (SS)	0	1	2	0
14.	Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS)	0	1	3	1
15.	Paattali Makkal Katchi (PMK)	0	1	0	0
16.	<i>Mizo</i> National Front (MNF)	0	1	0	0
17.	Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party (YSRCP)	0	1	5	1
18.	Sikkim Democratic Front (SDF)	0	1	0	0
19.	Telugu Desam Party (TDP)	0	0	1	0
20.	Republican Party of India	0	0	1	0

	(Athawale)				
21.	Asom Gana Parishad	0	0	1	0
22.	Samajwadi Party (SP)	0	0	1	2
23.	Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	0	0	3	1
24.	Janata Dal (United) (JD(U))	0	0	2	2
25.	National People's Party (NPP)	0	0	1	0
26.	Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM)	0	0	1	1
27.	Kerala Congress (M) (KC(M))	0	0	1	0
28.	Tamil Maanila Congress (TMC(M))	0	0	1	0
29.	Indian Union Muslim League (IUML)	0	0	0	1

30.	Janata Dal (Secular) (JD(S))	0	0	0	1
31.	Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	0	0	0	1
32.	Nominated	0	0	2	1
33.	Independent & Others	0	1	1	1

Table 6: Source: Rajya Sabha Secretariat; Accessed on: 15th September, 2022; Accessed From: <https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Members/AgeWise>

3.1.2.2. Profession of MP's:

Figure 8: Profession wise Representation of Members of Rajya Sabha (2022)

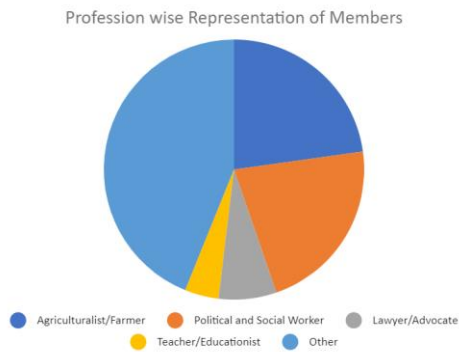


Figure 10 Source: Rajya Sabha Secretariat; Accessed on: 9th September, 2022; Accessed From: https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Graphical/ProfessionWise_Graphical_Analysis

The Profession that dominates the Rajya Sabha is that of Agriculturalist consisting of 22.78 percent of the members, a similar trend was also seen in the Lok Sabha's professional composition. This was followed by 21.94 percent of the members of Rajya Sabha being political and social workers. Lawyers makeup 7.71 percent and educationalists make up 4.22 percent of the total workforce. (*Rajya Sabha Secretariat, 2022*)

Table 7: Party Wise profession of Members of Rajya Sabha

Sr. No.	Party Name	Social and Political worker	Industrialist/Businessmen	Agriculturalist	Teacher/Educationalist/Researchers	Doctors / medical practitioners	Diplo mats/ Ex-govt Servants	Advocate	Chartered Accountant	Artist/ film industry	Others
1	BJP	43	22	36	13	7	4	7	2	4	8
2	INC	16	2	7	6	0	1	9	0	0	6
3	All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)	5	1	1	0	1	1	6	0	0	4
4	AAP	4	3	2	4	0	0	0	2	0	2
5	Dravida Munn	3	1	4	0	1	0	3	0	0	1

etra										
Kazha										
gam										
(DM										
K)										

Table 5: Source: Party Wise (All Members) List, Rajya Sabha; Accessed on: 10th September, 2022; Accessed from: <https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Members/PartyWise>

In Absolute terms BJP has the highest number of candidates in all the categories of Profession except for ‘Advocates’. *INC is dominated by Advocates* therefore emerged as the *Lawyers party* in Rajya Sabha. 47.25 percent members of Rajya Sabha in BJP are Social and political workers whereas 39.56 percent of the party members called themselves Agriculturalist. Under the Same category, 51.61 percent of INC, 38.46 percent of AITC, 40 percent of AAP and 30 percent of DMK members classified themselves as Social and political Workers, whereas 22.58 percent of INC, 7.69 percent of AITC, 20 percent of AAP and 40 percent of DMK members in the upper house are Agriculturalist. Thus, *DMK in both absolute and percentage terms is dominated by Agriculturalists in Rajya Sabha.* (Party Wise (All Members) List, Rajya Sabha, 2022)

3.1.2.3. Educational Qualification:

Figure 9: Education Wise Representation of Members of Rajya Sabha

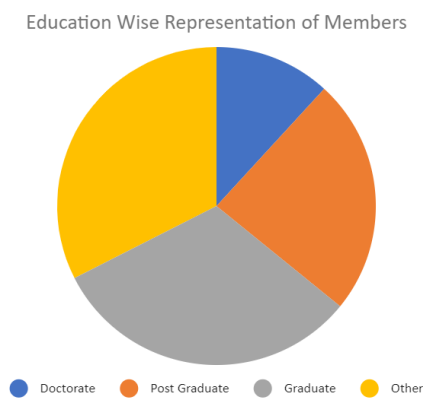


Figure 11: Source: Rajya Sabha Secretariat; Accessed on: 9th September 2022; Accessed From: https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Graphical/Education_Graphical_Analysis

31.61 percent of the members of Rajya Sabha are graduates whereas 24.05 percent of members are post graduates. Therefore at least 55.66 percent of the members of Rajya Sabha are Graduates and Post graduates. This doesn't include 11.81 percent of doctorate holders. Thus, one can conclude that at least 79.71 percent of the members have at least a graduate degree. But about 32.49 percent legislators in the upper house lack higher education. (*Rajya Sabha Secretariat,2022*)

Table 8: Party wise education qualification of members of Rajya Sabha

Sr. No.	Name of Party	Below 10 th or 10 th pass	High School Pass	Graduate and Post Graduate or similar degree	Doctorate	Total No. of Members in Rajya Sabha
1	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	4	6	69	12	91
2	Indian National Congress (INC)	0	2	24	5	31
3	All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)	0	0	13	0	13

4	AAP	0	2	7	1	10
5.	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	2	1	7	0	10

Table 6: Source: Party Wise (All Members) List, Rajya Sabha; **Accessed on:** 13th September, 2022; **Accessed from:** <https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Members/PartyWise>

Out of the top five Parties in the Rajya Sabha in absolute terms, one can see that BJP has the highest number of members in each category, this is because the highest number of members of Rajya Sabha are from BJP. 4.39 percent of the total members of BJP are literate only till 10 grade or below. Whereas in percent terms 20 percent of the members of DMK in Rajya Sabha lie in the first category of having the maximum educational qualification till 10th class only. In absolute terms BJP has the highest number of Doctorate holders in the Rajya Sabha but they make up only 13.18 percent of the total BJP members in the house. In case of INC the same category makes up 16.12 percent of the total party members in the house and in case of AAP the percentage lies at the figure of 10. (Party Wise (All Members) List, Rajya Sabha, 2022)

The ‘Award for Outstanding Parliamentarian’ is given annually to the best performing parliamentarian by the Indian Parliamentary group. In 2014 the award was conferred by Shri Hukmdev Narayan Yadav of B.J.P, this was a divergence from the regular trend of awarding senior MPs only. In 2015, Gulam Nabi Aazad of I.N.C received the honour. This was followed by Dinesh Trivedi and Bharatruhari Mahtab receiving the award in 2016 and 2017 respectively. (Indian parliamentary Group, Parliament of India, 2022)

3.2 CRIMINALISATION OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT:

Criminalisation of the parliament is another rising issue. Many MPs have a criminal background. The very presence of such members reflect that they might have won the elections through force. Also, it involves a question if such MPs can really reflect the goals

and aspirations of common citizens. From 2014 to 2019 the number of MPs with non-serious criminal charges increased from 73 to 74. (Kudrati, Mohammed; 2019) In the same period the number of serious criminal charges increased from 112 to 115.[4] The latter one specially becomes important as the serious charges include severe crimes like assault, murder, rape, corruption, electoral offences etc. The list of criminal cases against an MP is topped by *Kerala's Dean Kuriakose with 204 cases*[5] booked against him. One even needs to take care of the fact that many cases against MPs are not even reported because of powerplay, corruption of bureaucracy or threat. (Chowdhury A.; 2019)

Table 9: Rise in Criminal charges (2014 & 2019)

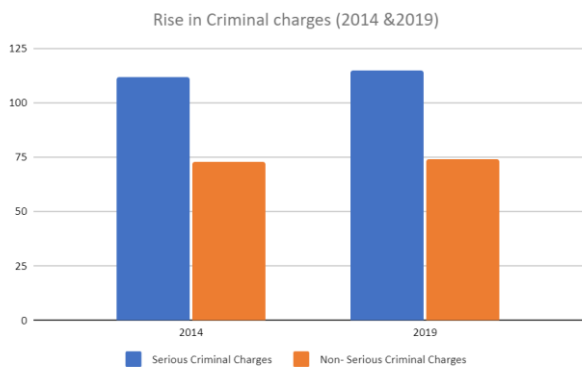


Figure 12, Kudrati, Mohammed. "17th Lok Sabha: Highest Number Of MPs Facing Criminal Charges Since 2004" *Source: ADR Report; Accessed on: 10th August, 2022. Accessed from: <https://www.boomlive.in/17th-lok-sabha-highest-number-of-mps-facing-criminal-charges-since-2004/?infinitescroll=1>*

The present ruling party, i.e. BJP, constitutes maximum number of members facing criminal charges both serious and non-serious, the reason for the maximisation of absolute numbers could be because BJP because of majority in parliament sends maximum number of members of Parliament. JD(U) sent the largest percentage of candidates with criminal cases, with 50% of their MPs facing serious criminal charges, while 31% faced other non-serious charges – thus leading to 81% of their overall members at the parliament facing some form of criminal charge. (Kudrati, Mohammed; 2019)

Table 10: Criminal Charges against MPs (by Party)

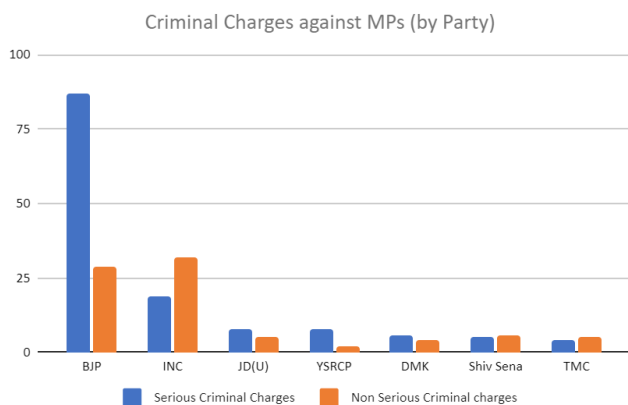


Figure 13: Kudrati, Mohammed. “17th Lok Sabha: Highest Number Of MPs Facing Criminal Charges Since 2004” Source: ADR Report Accessed on: 10th August, 2022; Accessed from: <https://www.boomlive.in/17th-lok-sabha-highest-number-of-mps-facing-criminal-charges-since-2004/?infinitiescroll=1>

3.3 INCOME DISTRIBUTION:

In the 16th Lok Sabha, the number of members with assets more than Rs. 1 crore made up 82 percent of the total members. Later, 49.4 percent of the total members elected in Lok Sabha in 17th Lok Sabha have assets more than or equal to 5 crore Rupees. Whereas 72.6 percent of MPs have as asset more than Rs. 2 crores, hinting at the lack of members from a poor or even a middle-class background in the country. BJP Have the maximum number of Crorepatis followed by INC, AIADMK, AITC and SHS. 19 political parties have all the members representing in Lok Sabha as Crorepatis, i.e. 100 percent of the representation in Lok Sabha is Rich, this fact directly reflects the use of ‘money power’ in politics and how ‘money’ can help one in becoming an MP in the country. (ET Online, The Economic Times; 2019)

Table 11: Crorepatis in Lok Sabha

Party	Total MPs	Crorepati	Percentage

AAP	4	3	75
AIADMK	37	29	78
AITC	34	21	62
AIUDF	3	2	67
All India majilis-e-ittehadul Muslimeen	1	1	100
All India N. R. Congress	1	1	100
Apna Dal	2	2	100
BJD	20	14	70
BJP	277	235	85
CPI	1	1	100
CPI(M)	9	3	33
INC	44	35	80
IND	3	2	67
SHS	18	17	94

Source: "Lok Sabha is Dominated by Crorepatis". The Economic Times. Accessed on: 20th September, 2022; Accessed from: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/elections/lok-sabha/india/lok-sabha-is-dominated-by-crorepatis/articleshow/68847388.cms>

Chapter 4:

Productivity of Parliament

The parliament is the highest deliberative authority in the country to discuss and debate upon the various bills which are introduced in both the houses of the parliament. However, we can observe that during the 16th and 17th lok sabha sessions there is a sharp rise in the total time lost due to disruptions and various interruptions in the Indian parliament. In the first inaugural session of the 16th Lok Sabha which took place from 7th July 2014 to 14th August 2014, total number of the sitting hours were 23hours and 51minutes and time lost due to interruptions was 16minutes(Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2014) whereas in the second session time lost was 13hours and 51 minutes and total sitting hours were 167 during which 20 government bills were introduced and 13 of them were passed.(Lok Sabha Secretariat,2014). In 2014, during the third session, total sitting hours were 129hours and 27minutes and time lost due to disruptions was just 03hours and 28minutes. Some of the important bills such as The Lokpal and Lokayuktas and other related Law (Amendment) Bill, 2014, The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2014, The National Capital Territory of Delhi Laws (Special Provisions) Second (Amendment) Bill, 2014, etc. were introduced during the third session. (Lok Sabha Secretariat,2014)

Only 7hours and 04minutes were lost as a result of the disruptions in the fourth session of the 16th Lok Sabha and total number of sitting hours in the same were 242 hours and 54minutes. 47hours and 27minutes were the total sitting hours and 34hours and 04minutes was the total time lost during the fifth session of the 16th Lok Sabha. In 2015, the total number of sitting hours in the sixth session of the 16th Lok Sabha were 117 hours and 14minutes while the total time lost due to forced adjournments was 08hours and 37minutes. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2015)

During the seventh session, 105 hours 26minutes were the total number of the sitting hours and 04 hours and 45 minutes was the total time lost due to various interruptions.(Lok Sabha

Secretariat, 2016). No time at all was lost during the eighth session of the 16th Lok Sabha in which the total number of sitting hours was 93hours 43 minutes. Hence, it was one of the most fruitful and productive sessions of the 16th Lok Sabha.(Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2016). In the year of 2016, ninth session of the 16th Lok Sabha took place in which the total number of sitting hours were 121 hours 23minutes and total time lost was 06hours and 33 minutes. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2016).19 hours 26 minutes were the total number of sitting hours in the tenth session and 91 hours and 59 minutes was the total time lost due to disruptions. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2016)

Maximum number of sitting hours were there in the eleventh session of the 16th Lok Sabha (took place in the year 2017) which were 178 hours and total time lost was 8hours and 12 minutes. This shows that the majority of the sitting hours were utilized by the parliamentarians in discussions and passing of the bills without wasting much of their time. During this, *The Central Goods and Services Tax Bill, 2017* which was one of the path breaking bills which laid the foundation of the new tax regime in the country was also introduced during this session.(Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2017)

In the twelfth session of the 16th lok sabha which took place in the same year 2017, the total number of sitting hours were 76 hours 41 minutes and total time lost was 29 hours and 57 minutes (Lok Sabha Secretariat,2017). In 2017, in the thirteenth session total number of sitting hours were 61 hours 48 minutes and total time lost was 14 hours and 51 minutes(Lok Sabha Secretariat,2017). The maximum time was lost during the fourteenth session of the 16th Lok Sabha in 2018 which was 127 hours and 45 minutes in which the total number of sitting hours were 34 hours 05 minutes (Lok Sabha Secretariat,2018) The total number of government bills introduced and passed were both 5 in number. 112 hours were the total number of sitting hours and 8 hours and 26 minutes was the total time lost during the fifteenth session in 2018(Lok Sabha Secretariat,2018). In this session of the 16th Lok sabha, On 20th July 2018, a no-confidence motion was moved against the government and it was discussed for 11 hours 46 minutes and was negated thereafter (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2018).

During the sixteenth session, 46hours 48minutes were the total number of sitting hours and total time lost due to disruptions was 62hours 42minutes. During this, one of the most

progressive Muslim women (protection of the rights of marriage) bill 2019 was passed (Lok Sabha Secretariat,2018). In 2018, during the seventeenth session, 38 hours 28 minutes were the total number of sitting hours while the total time lost was 16 hours and 54 minutes . It was not much of a very productive session because the majority of the time was lost due to disruptions and only a few bills were introduced (3) and passed (5) such as The Appropriation Bill, 2019, The Finance Bill, 2019, etc. during the last session.(Lok Sabha Secretariat,2019) Overall speaking, the 16th Lok Sabha worked for a total number of 1,615 hours, 20% more than the 15th Lok Sabha. However, this is 40% lower than the average of all full-term Lok Sabhas (2,689 hours). The proportion of time spent by 16th Lok Sabha on legislation (32%) is higher than other Lok Sabhas. (PRS Parliamentary diary:Overview of the 16th Lok sabha).

Table: Time for sittings and time lost due to disruptions (16th Lok Sabha)

Number of session	Number of sittings	Total number of sitting hours	Total time lost in disruptions/ interventions and forced adjournments
First Session	6	23hours and 51minutes	16minutes
Second Session	27	167 hours	3hours and 51 minutes
Third Session	22	129 hours and 27minutes	03hours and 28minutes
Fourth Session	35	242 hours and 54minutes.	7hours and 04minutes
Fifth Session	17	47hours and 27minutes	34hours and 04minutes
Sixth Session	20	117 hours and 14minutes	08hours and 37minutes.
Seventh Session	16	105 hours	04hours and 45 minutes

		26minutes	
Eighth Session	13	93hours 43 minutes.	NIL
Ninth Session	20	121 hours 23minutes	06hours and 33 minutes.
Tenth Session	21	19hours 26minutes	91hours and 59 minutes
Eleventh Session	29	178 hours	8hours and 12 minutes
Twelfth Session	19	76 hours 41minutes	29hours and 57 minutes.
Thirteenth Session	13	61hours 48minutes	14hours and 51 minutes
Fourteenth Session	29	34hours 05minutes.	127 hours and 45 minutes
Fifteenth Session	17	112 hours	8hours and 26minutes
Sixteenth Session	17	46hours 48minutes	62hours 42minutes.
Seventeenth Session	10	38hours 28minutes	16hours and 54 minutes.

Source: Lok Sabha Secretariat (2022), Government of India, statement of work accessed on 15th october,2022 accessed from <https://pprloksabha.nic.in/StatofWork.aspx>

4.1 PRODUCTIVITY OF 17th LOK SABHA

In the first session of the seventeenth Lok Sabha in 2019 which took place from 17th June 2019 to 6th August 2019, total number of sitting hours were 280 and no time at all was wasted due to interruptions/ disruptions or forced adjournments. This proved to be one of the most productive sessions of the 17th Lok Sabha, as out of the 33 bills introduced, 35 government bills were passed and majority of the time was spent by the members on discussions and other productive work. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, January 2019). 130 hours 45 minutes were the total number of the sitting hours and 6 hours and 31 minutes was the total time lost during the second session which took place in the same year. During this session, one of the most heated and debated citizenship amendment acts in 2019 was passed. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, January, 2019)

In 2020, the third session of the seventeenth Lok Sabha took place in which the total number of sitting hours were 110 hours and 15 minutes and 32 hours and 15 minutes was the total time lost. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2020). Only 03 hours and 03 minutes were lost due to interruptions in the fourth session and the total number of sitting hours were 60 hours. Despite COVID September, 2020 -19, the productivity of the House was 167% in the fourth session of the 17th Lok Sabha, which is historic. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2020).

In 2021, Absolutely no time was lost during the fifth session which took place in the year 2020 and the total number of sitting hours was 131 hours 56 minutes. The average productivity of work during the first Five Sessions of the 17th Lok Sabha stands at 122.2%. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2021). While during the sixth session, 21 hours 21 minutes was the total number of sitting hours and maximum time was lost which was 77 hours 48 minutes. This monsoon was the least productive session of the Lok Sabha so far in which the productivity of the House was less than 22%. There were frequent disruptions and protests caused by the opposition MPs over the issues such as the *pegasus spyware controversy* in which the government of India is alleged to have bought the Pegasus software from Israel for surveillance, the *three controversial farm Bills* which also led to huge protests by the farmers and so on. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2021)

In 2022, 18 hours 48 minutes was the total time lost and 83 hours 20 minutes were the total number of the sitting hours during the seventh session of the 17th Lok Sabha. The productivity of the House was recorded at 82 percent and this session was marred by opposition on a host of issues such as the involvement of junior home minister's son in

lakhimpur kheri violence and so on. However, the most significant Bills that got the green light from both the Houses include the *Farm Laws Repeal Bill, 2021*, to repeal the contentious farm laws, and the Election Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2021, which sought to link *Aadhaar numbers with voter IDs* and overall, the session proved to be a fruitful and productive one(lok sabha secretariat,2021)

Time lost during the eighth session was very less which was 02hours and 49 minutes and the total number of sitting hours were very much which were 177hours 50minutes. The House recorded an overall business productivity of 129 per cent, which is consistent with the high productivity associated with the 17th Lok Sabha. The session was also very productive in terms of the bills passed. A total of 12 government bills were introduced out of which 13were passed.(Lok Sabha Secretariat,2022)

During the ninth session, the total number of the sitting hours were 44hours 38minutes and total time lost due to interruptions/ disruptions and forced adjournments was 53hours 41minutes. This session proved to be least productive because the majority of the time was lost in disruptions only. (Lok Sabha Secretariat,2022)

Table: Time for sittings and time lost due to disruptions (17th Lok Sabha)

NUMBER OF SESSIONS	NUMBER OF SITTINGS	TOTAL NUMBER OF SITTING HOURS	TOTAL TIME LOST DUE TO DISRUPTIONS AND FORCED ADJOURNMENTS
First Session	37	280 hours	NIL
Second Session	20	130 hours 45minutes	6hours and 31minutes
Third Session	23	110 hours and 15minutes	32hours and 15 minutes
Fourth Session	10	60hours.	03 hours and 03minutes

Fifth Session	24	131 hours 56minutes.	NIL
Sixth Session	17	21 hours 21minutes	77hours 48minutes.
Seventh Session	18	83 hours 20minutes	18 hours 48minutes
Eighth Session	27	177hours 50minutes.	02hours and 49 minutes
Ninth Session	16	44hours 38minutes	53hours 41minutes.

SOURCE: Lok Sabha Secretariat, statement of work, accessed on 30th october 2022 accessed from <https://pprloksabha.nic.in/StatofWork.aspx>

4.2 TOTAL BILLS PASSED BY THE LOK SABHA

Table : BILLS PASSED BY THE LOK SABHA (16th Lok Sabha)

SESSIONS OF 16th LOK SABHA (2014- 2019)	NUMBER OF BILLS PASSED
1 st	0
2 nd	13
3 rd	18
4 th	24
5 th	6
6 th	13
7 th	10

8 th	10
9 th	13
10 th	4
11 th	23
12 th	14
13 th	13
14 th	5
15 th	20
16 th	14
17 th	5
Total	205

Source :16th Lok Sabha Statement of work, Press and Public Relations Lok Sabha Secretariat, accessed from <https://pprloksabha.nic.in/UplodedStatment/17.pdf> on 21st september 2022.

In the 16th (2014-2019) Lok Sabha total number of bills passed were 205. The greatest number of bills were passed in the 4th session accounting for 24 and 11th session accounting for 23. And the least number of bills were passed in 10th, 14th and 17th session accounting for 5 bills each session. It can be seen from the above given table that during the initial sessions of 16th Lok Sabha the number of bills being passed were in increasing order with 13 bills passed in 2nd session and 18 and 24 being passed in 3rd and 4th session respectively, this showed the increasing productivity of the Indian parliament. The 5th session witnessed a dip by recording only 6 bills being passed. But it again picked up the little pace in the following 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th sessions by bills being passed ranged between 10 to 13 per session. By doing our analysis from the above presented table it is inferred that in the 10th session the productivity of the lower house again witnessed a reduced pace by giving assent to only 4 bills which accounted as the lowest number of bills being passed in the 16th Lok Sabha. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2019).

But contrast to its previous session, the 11th session of the 16th Lok Sabha can be categorized as a 2nd session after 4th session which witnessed the greatest number of bills being passed accounting 23 in number. In the subsequent 12th and 13th sessions 14 and 13 bills were passed respectively. In the 14th session a dip was recorded in the productivity of the Lok Sabha by only 5 bills getting the clearance from the Lower house. In the 15th session it again picked up

some pace as 20 bills were passed. In the 16th session the number could only reach up to 14 and the closing session of the 16th Lok Sabha was one of the session with least number of bills being passed as only 5 bills could make it to the upper house of the parliament. (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2019).

Table : BILLS PASSED BY THE LOK SABHA (17th Lok Sabha)

SESSIONS OF 17th LOK SABHA (2019 till 2022)	NUMBER OF BILLS PASSED
1 st	35
2 nd	14
3 rd	15
4 th	25
5 th	18
6 th	20
7 th	9
8 th	13
9 th	7
Total	156

Source: 17th Lok Sabha Statement of work, Press and Public Relations Lok Sabha Secretariat, accessed from <https://pprloksabha.nic.in/UploadingStatement/66.pdf> on 18th august 2022.

In the 17th Lok Sabha (2019- 2024) till now (2022) total number of bills passed are **156**. Where the most number of bills are passed in the 1st session and least number of bills passed are in the latest session that is 9th session. With the 16th Lok Sabha concluding as one of the most productive Lok Sabha 17th Lok Sabha began on a very positive note by breaking the records of the previous Lok Sabha the first session of the 17th Lok Sabha witnessed the passing of 35 bills which is so far the highest under the present government led by Narendra Modi. The following 2nd and 3rd session passed the 14 and 15 bills each respectively. And again in the 4th session the passing of 25 bills indicated that the productivity and the functioning of the Lok Sabha in its 17th session was higher than its previous session. As by

now in the 16th Lok Sabha in total of 55 bills were passed as compared to 89 in the 17th Lok Sabha. Following 5th and 6th session accounted 18 and 20 bills being passed respectively. In the 7th session there was a dip in the productive return of the Lok Sabha since only 7 bills got the clearance from the Lower house and in the subsequent 8th Lok Sabha there was only a slight increase with 13 bills getting passed. But the 9th session witnessed the lowest number of bills being passed in the 17th Lok Sabha recording only 7 in number. The last session of the ongoing Lok Sabha calls for scrutinizing the productivity of the Lower house since the dip from its first session is very significantly visible (Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2022).

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<https://loksabha.nic.in/>

<https://prsindia.org/s>

4.3 SESSION WISE DISCUSSION- QUESTION HOUR AND ZERO HOUR

Commented [1]: review. Arsha

4.3.1 Question Hour:

The question hour in the parliament is an hour session where the Members of Parliament ask questions to ministers. It ensures that ministers are held accountable for the functioning of their ministries. These sessions have been successful parliamentary devices to monitor government functioning. Since broadcasting of these sessions from 1991, these have exposed financial irregularities and brought forth such information in the public domain. (Roy, 2020).

Functioning of Question Hour

Table: Percentage of the time utilised out of allotted hour

Session	% of the time utilised out of allotted hour for Lok Sabha	% of the time utilised out of allotted hour for Rajya Sabha
Budget 2014	90	40
Budget 2015	80	80
Winter 2015	90	15
Monsoon 2016	90	70
Budget 2017	90	80
Winter 2017	60	40
Monsoon 2018	90	70
Budget 2019	15	0
Winter 2019	90	80

Source: 'An Expert Explains:What are Question Hour and Zero Hour, and why do they matter?', Indian Express, Sept 3rd 2020; Accessed from: <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/an-expert-explains-what-are-question-hour-zero-hour-parliament-session-6580747/> on: 31st Oct, 2022

During the sessions since 2014, there has been huge variations in the amount of time allotted for the question hour. Most recently however, in view of the pandemic and the monsoon session Parliament decided not to have Question hour and curtailed Zero Hour. This move was strongly opposed by the Opposition as the facility to question the actions of the government would be taken away. Such an event previously had occurred but only in 1962, however after the agreement between both parties to suspend the question hour. (Roy, 2020)

4.3.2 Zero Hour:

Zero Hour is a parliamentary innovation of India, which unlike Question Hour is not strictly regulated. When the MPs felt the need to bring up significant local and national concerns, the idea of Zero Hour naturally emerged during the first ten years of the Indian Parliament. During the early days, Parliament had lunch break at 1PM. As a result, at 12 o'clock the possibility for MPs to bring up national concerns without giving notice opened up and could continue for an hour until the House broke for lunch. Due to this, the hour became known as Zero Hour, and the concerns brought up at this period were known as Zero Hour contributions. . (Roy, 2020)

The presiding officers of both Houses have issued directives throughout time to simplify Zero Hour's operations in order to increase its effectiveness. (Roy, 2020)

Table: Number of Matters of Urgent public importance raised during zero hour (16th Lok Sabha)

Sessions of 16th Lok Sabha	Number of Matters
1	0
2	607
3	684
4	1036
5	253
6	629
7	354
8	371
9	618
10	124
11	541
12	252

13	198
14	0
15	534
16	81
17	140

Source: Statement of Work, 2019, Lok Sabha official site, 8 Aug, 2019; Accessed from: <https://loksabha.nic.in/Business/StatementOfWork.aspx> on: Sept 12, 2022

Table: Number of Matters of Urgent public importance raised during zero hour (17th Lok Sabha)

Session of the 17th Lok Sabha	Number of Matters
1	1066
2	934
3	436
4	370
5	583
6	0
7	563
8	696
9	98

Source: Statement of Work, 2022, Lok Sabha official site, 8 Aug, 2022; Accessed from: <https://loksabha.nic.in/Business/StatementOfWork.aspx> on: Sept 12, 2022

In the sixteenth and seventeenth Lok Sabha, the highest recorded matters which were discussed was in the first session of the 17th Lok Sabha. Further, in the winter session in

2017, for the first time all Zero Hour submissions, all special mentions were fully completed. (Sarna, 2018). The key concern for adjournments during both Question hour and Zero Hour has been narrowed to disruptions and uproarious scenes in the Parliament which have risen in the past decade.

References:

Statement of Work, Lok Sabha official site; Accessed from: <https://loksabha.nic.in/Business/StatementOfWork.aspx> on: Sept, 2022

Roy, Chakshu (2020), 'What are Question Hour and Zero Hour, and why do they matter?', Indian Express

Sarna, Aakarshuk (2018), 'Rajya Sabha Creates Record, Takes Up All Listed Questions for the First Time in 15 Years', News 18

4.3.3. Members Attendance

As per the rules a member is considered present in either of the Houses if they sign the attendance register. If they were present but did not sign the register, they will be considered absent. Since it is not mandatory for the Prime Minister, Council of Ministers, Speaker and Deputy Speaker to sign the register, their presence can't be verified.

The 16th Lok Sabha since its inception in 2014 witnessed four non-minister members with an impressive 100% attendance. Mr. Kulamani Samal from BJD, Ramesh Chander Kaushik, Gopal Chinayya Shetty and Bhairon Prasad Mishra from BJP. Ashok Gajapati Raju (TDP) and Sadhvi Niranjana Jyoti (BJP) also recorded 100% attendance and all six were first time MPs. The average attendance of MPs in the Lok Sabha was 81% while in the Rajya Sabha for the same duration was 80%. (Vital Stats, Budget Session 2021, PRS Legislative Research)

Table: Party wise % of MPs with more than 90% attendance(till Dec 2021 of 17th Lok Sabha)

Political Party	attendance(%)
IUML	67

BSP	60
Janata Dal	50
BJP	44
CPI	33
Shiv Sena	21
LJSP	20
NCP	20
Samajwadi Party	20
INC	19
BJD	17
YSR	9
DMK	8

Source: Attendance of Members, 2021, Lok Sabha official site; Accessed from: <https://loksabha.nic.in/Members/SessionWiseAttn.aspx> on: 31st Oct, 2022

For the 17th Lok Sabha, reportedly the Prime Minister had urged the MPs of BJP to be regular to the Parliament. Of the 481 members who didn't hold ministerial portfolios, only 148 had more than 90% attendance. 93 members had less than 50% and 6 MPs attended the seven sessions with a recorded 100% attendance. (Lok Sabha official site) Among the national parties, IUML, BSP and Janata Dal (United) were the only parties with more than 50% of its members attending more than 90% of the sittings. For the first session, only BJP recorded 90% attendance. No party recorded 100% attendance in the second session. Out of the major parties, it was only by the fifth session that Janata Dal (United) recorded a 90% attendance. From the other parties present, it was in the fourth session that the greatest number of parties (6) recorded 100% attendance. (Vital Stats, Budget Session 2021, PRS Legislative Research).

Out of the 237 sitting members of the Rajya Sabha after the commencement of the 17th Lok Sabha, 23 held positions where attendance wasn't required. The latest data indicates that only

42 MPs have more than 90% attendance and 80% have less than 50%. S. R. Bala Subhramanian of AIADMK was the only MP to attend all sessions. (Members Attendance,Rajya Sabha official site)

Table: Party wise % of MPs with more than 90% attendance(from 249-255th sessions of rajya sabha)

Political Party	attendance(%)
BJP	12.82
INC	15.15
RJD	20
BJD	33.33
SAD	33.33
Samajwadi Party	40
AIADMK	40
Janata Dal	50
AAP	66.67
TDP	100

Source:Attendance of Members, Rajya Sabha official site; Accessed from: <https://rajyasabha.nic.in/Members/MemberAttendance> on: 31st Oct, 2022

Aam Aadmi Party, Janata Dal (United) and Telugu Desam Party are the only parties with more than 50% of its members attending more than 90% of the sittings. No national party has more than 50% of its members with an attendance of 90% and above. Out of the 12 nominated members of the Rajya Sabha, 9 have recorded an attendance of more than 70%. Swapan Dasgupta who was nominated only after the 253rd session has recorded an 100% attendance. (Members attendance, Rajya Sabha official site)

4.4 MATTERS RAISED UNDER RULE- 377

The practice of "Special mention" in the Rajya Sabha and raising matters under Rule 377 in the Lok Sabha was witnessed in the Mid 1960s. The view was to devise some method to make members enable to raise issues which were felt needed to be raised by them. The issues which were not a subject matter of a recent question, Adjournment Motions, Calling Attention notices, etc. The Rule 377 was firstly exercised in the Lok Sabha on May14, 1966. The matter raised was related to ill-treatment meted out to an M.P. by the Police (Kashyap, Subhash; 2004).

Notice for raising a matter under rule 377 is to be given in writing addressed to the Secretary General specifying clearly and precisely the text of the matter to be raised. Standard printed forms for giving notices are available in the Parliamentary Notice Office. The text of the statement proposed to be made should not ordinarily exceed 150 words (*Lok Sabha secretariat, Sixteenth Edition; 2019*).

4.4.1 Validity of notices

All notices under rule 377 are valid for the week in which these have been tabled. Notices received up to 1000 hrs. on the last day of the week on which the House sits and not selected automatically lapse. However, such notices can be revived for the following week. Notice referred for facts under orders of the Speaker does not lapse till it is finally disposed of. The notices for the following week can be given only after 1000 hrs. on the last day of the week on which the House sits and is valid for the entire following week.

In order to obviate inconvenience to the members, all notices given after 1000 hours and upto 1030 hrs. on the last day of the week on which the House sits, are deemed to have been received at the same point of time and these are balloted together to determine the inter-se priority of the members. Notices received subsequently are arranged in accordance with the date and time of their receipt (*Lok Sabha secretariat, Sixteenth Edition; 2019*).

4.4.2 Conditions of admissibility

A notice to be admissible must satisfy inter-alia the following conditions: It should not refer to a manner which is not primarily the concern of the Government of India. It should not relate to a matter which has been discussed in the same session or which is substantially

identical to the matter already raised by a member during the session. It should not ordinarily exceed 150 words. It should not raise more than one issue. It should not contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions, imputations, epithets or defamatory statements. It should not refer to proceedings of a Parliamentary Consultative Committee. It should not be on a subject on which a question/calling attention/motion etc. has been discussed or admitted. It should not raise purely local issues or be of concern to some individual(s) only. It should not relate to a matter which is sub-judice. It should not refer to the correspondence between the Centre and the State or between States. (*Lok Sabha secretariat, Sixteenth Edition; 2019*).

4.4.3 Numbers of matters raised under rule 377 in the 16th and 17th Lok Sabha respectively

4.4.3.1 SESSION WISE MATTERS RAISED IN 16TH LOK SABHA (2014-19)

Sessions	No. of matters raised
SESSION 1-	34
SESSION 2-	354
SESSION 3-	271
SESSION 4-	412
SESSION 5-	195
SESSION 6-	358
SESSION 7-	281

SESSION 8-	236
SESSION 9-	367
SESSION 10-	311
SESSION 11-	493
SESSION 12 -	281
SESSION 13-	226
SESSION 14-	238
SESSION 15-	326
SESSION 16-	224
SESSION 17-	109

Source: *STATEMENT OF WORK XVII SESSION 2019, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Press and Public Relation Wing*. Accessed from: <https://pprloksabha.nic.in/UplodedStatment/17.pdf>
 Accessed on: 14th August, 2022

Within the duration of 01.01.2018- 31.03.2019 876 matters were raised under Rule 377 in Lok Sabha totalling the number to 2024 till 31.03.2019. Out of which 135 answers of the raised matters were given to 135 concerned members and 1889 matters were pending as of 31.03.2019. (*Annual Report, 2018-19*)

4.4.3.2. SESSION WISE MATTERS RAISED IN 17TH LOK SABHA (2019-ONGOING)

During the period (2021-22) under report 1205 matters were raised in the Lok Sabha under Rule 377 leading to a total of 2712 matters raised during the 17th Lok Sabha. As per intimations received in this Ministry, replies in respect of 2265 have been sent to the Members concerned leaving a pendency of 447 matters as of 31.12.2021. (*Annual Report, 2018-19*)

Session	No. of matters raised
SESSION 1-	488
SESSION 2-	364
SESSION 3-	399
SESSION 4-	183
SESSION 5-	405
SESSION 6-	331
SESSION 7-	383
SESSION 8-	486
SESSION 9-	319

Source: STATEMENT OF WORK IX SESSION 17th LOKSABHA, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Press and Public Relation Wing, Accessed from: <https://pprloksabha.nic.in/UploadedStatment/66.pdf> Accessed on: 11th September, 2022

4.4.4 Major matters Raised under Rule 377 in the 16th and 17th Lok Sabha.

4.4.4.1 16th Lok Sabha

MINISTRY OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- Regarding the need to confer legitimate civil rights to people belonging to Valmiki community in Jammu & Kashmir, Regarding the need to set up a separate Ministry for senior citizens, Regarding the need to provide disabled-friendly facilities in public buildings and the transport system etc.

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FARMERS WELFARE-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- Regarding the need to fix Minimum Support Price of Milk in the country, Regarding the need to give crop insurance claims to all farmers, Regarding the plight of tenant farmers in the country ,Regarding monitoring of Agriculture colleges in the country etc.

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, FORESTS & CLIMATE CHANGE-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- Regarding socio-environmental impact caused by Power Transmission Projects, Regarding air pollution, degrading AQI(Air Quality Index)in Delhi, Regarding better waste management in the country, Regarding wildfires in Srinagar of Pauri Garhwal district in Uttarakhand etc.

MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- Regarding eradication of Acute Encephalitis Syndrome in the country, Regarding the need to introduce the Ayushman Bharat Scheme in Rajasthan, Regarding the need to permit Ayush doctors to practice Allopathy, Regarding the need to take effective measures to control the growth of population in the country etc.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- Regarding the need to frame rules and regulations for Pre-Primary Schools in the country, Regarding regularisation of services of Shiksha Mitra in Uttar Pradesh, Regarding the need to ban the sale of junk food in school premises, Regarding promotion of Sanskrit language in the country.

(Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs; 2019)

4.4.4.2 17th Lok Sabha

MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FARMERS WELFARE-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- The matters raised under these categories are-Regarding grant of Minimum Support Price for cultivation of Gloriosa Superba, Regarding drought like conditions in Uttar Pradesh, Regarding sanctioning of a Central Agriculture University in Tamil Nadu, Regarding the need to provide financial assistance to farmers to promote organic farming etc.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are- Regarding grant of pension under the Central Civil Services Pension Rules (1972) to employees of Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas who joined services prior to 1.1.2004, Regarding salary of Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Schools employees and regularisation of services of KGBV workers, Regarding establishment of a National Tribal University in eastern region etc.

MINISTRY OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS-

Some of the matters raised under these categories are-Regarding Scheduled Tribe status to Lohara caste in Bihar, Regarding the need to include Banjara community of Uttar Pradesh in the list of Scheduled Tribes, Regarding the need to include Irular and Narikuravar communities in the list of Scheduled Tribes etc.

MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS -

Some of the matters raised under these categories are-Regarding the Nemom coaching/satellite Terminal Project, Regarding the need to restore the operation of trains discontinued due to Covid-19 pandemic, Regarding saving small and medium railway contractors, Regarding restoration of concession on Railway ticket fare to senior citizens etc.

(Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs; 2019)

4.5 STARRED AND UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

Questioning the government about their functioning and future policies is an important aspect of the Question Hour Session held in Parliament. The first hour of every parliamentary sitting is termed as question hour session. It is during this session that ministers are asked questions about their decisions and policies. They are held responsible for their duties. The questions asked by MPs must be related to the functioning of the government. Also, the questions should be precise and not general. The presiding officers of the two houses decide whether the question raised by the MP will be acknowledged by the government for answering.

The questions raised in parliament are categorised as starred and unstarred questions.

Starred questions are the ones which are to be answered orally by the Minister in the house. As these questions require oral response by the minister, supplementary questions can follow. The list of these questions is printed in green. These questions are distinguished by marking them with asterisk (*). 15 such questions are listed each day. Unstarred questions are the ones which are to be answered in the written format by the Minister in the house. No oral answers are expected for these questions and no supplementary questions are asked. The list of these questions is printed in white colour. Almost 160 such questions are listed separately each day.

Table: Sessions of 16th Lok Sabha

YEAR	SESSION	NO. OF STARRED QUESTIONS	ANSWERED STARRED QUESTIONS	NO. OF UNSTARRED QUESTIONS
2014				
	First	0	0	0
	Second	540	126	5339
	Third	440	103	5058
2015				
	Fourth	620	135	7118

	Fifth	360	48	4140
	Sixth	360	78	4140
	Seventh	280	71	3220
2016				
	Eighth	260	76	2990
	Ninth	400	99	4600
	Tenth	440	49	5060
2017				
	Eleventh	560	136	6440
	Twelfth	380	63	4370
	Thirteenth	280	45	3220
2018				
	Fourteenth	580	17	6670
	Fifteenth	360	75	4140
	Sixteenth	400	33	4600
2019				
	Seventeenth	160	16	1840

Source: 'List of Questions for ORAL ANSWERS', Question List, Sixteenth Lok Sabha; 2019
 Accessed from: <https://loksabhaph.nic.in/Questions/questionlist.aspx> Accessed on: 13th
 August, 2022

Table: Sessions of 16th Lok Sabha

YEAR	SESSION	NO. OF STARRED QUESTIONS	ANSWERED STARRED QUESTIONS	NO. OF UNSTARRED QUESTIONS
2019				
	First	500	183	5711
	Second	380	140	4369
2020				
	Third	419	98	4823
	Fourth	0	0	2300
2021				
	Fifth	440	84	5057
	Sixth	320	66	3680
	Seventh	340	91	3910
2022				
	Eighth	500	182	5750
	Ninth	319	46	3672

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Source: 'List of Questions for ORAL ANSWERS', Question List, Seventeenth Lok Sabha; 2019 Accessed from: <https://loksabhaph.nic.in/Questions/questionlist.aspx> Accessed on: 13th August, 2022

IMPORTANT STARRED QUESTIONS ASKED IN VARIOUS LOK SABHA SESSIONS:

Sixteenth Lok Sabha:

One of the most important questions asked in the 16th Lok Sabha session was related to unemployment rate. Shri Ram Mohan Naidu Kinjaraopu asked the Minister of LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT whether it is true that the unemployment rate has increased to 7.4 per cent in December, 2018. He further asked if it is also true that 84 per cent of the job losses came from the rural population and whether it is further true that 3.7 million jobs were lost by the salaried employees. And if so, the details thereof. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 18 October 2022)

Another important question was raised by PROF. SAUGATA ROY: DR. KULAMANI SAMAL related to farmer's suicide. He asked the Minister of AGRICULTURE AND FARMERS whether the Government has maintained the correct data relating to suicides by farmers in the country, if so, the details thereof including the total number of such cases reported and compensation paid during each of the last five years and the current year, gender and State/UT-wise. Further he questioned if the Government has identified the reasons behind farmers' suicides and if so, the details thereof and the action taken to redress the grievances of farmers in the country. He also asked about the steps taken by the government to improve the economic conditions of farmers and measures taken to check farmer's suicides and the outcome thereof. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, on 18 October 2022)

SHRIMATI VASANTHI M. questioned the Minister of DEFENCE whether it is true that the induction of women in the military police is proposed to be done in a graded manner in order to make up 20 per cent of its strength and if so, the details thereof and the time-frame set in

this regard. She also asked about the range of role played by women in army. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 18 October 2022)

PROF. RAVINDRA VISHWANATH GAIKWAD asked the Minister of HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE whether the Government is aware of scams reported in procurement of drugs under the National Rural Health Mission (NRHM) in Maharashtra during the last five years and the details of punitive action taken by the Government against the persons involved therein. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 18 October 2022)

Question about Special Courts for SCs and STs was also raised during the session by SHRIMATI TABASSUM BEGUM. She asked Minister of LAW AND JUSTICE the total number of special courts set up throughout the country for hearing cases registered under the provisions of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, as amended in the year 2016, the number of cases disposed of within a period of sixty days along with the number of cases lying pending till date; and the steps being taken/proposed to be taken by the Government to prevent the atrocities taking place against the persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and the Scheduled Tribes (STs) and to provide them speedy justice. . (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 18 October 2022)

Seventeenth Lok Sabha:

In the 17th Lok Sabha session major questions related to academic Loss during COVID-19 Pandemic were raised. SHRI SANJAY JADHAV: SHRIMATI DELKAR KALABEN MOHANBHAI questioned Minister of EDUCATION whether the Government has any assessment regarding academic loss due to school closure during the pandemic especially with regard to Dadra and Nagar Haveli and Lakshadweep and if so, the details thereof and if not, the reason thereof. He also asked the steps taken by the Government to compensate for the academic loss of students due to closure of schools during the pandemic. And whether the Government proposes to make changes in the pattern of examinations to provide equal opportunities to all the students and if so, the details thereof.

SHRI RAHUL KASWAN also asked the Minister of EDUCATION about the low quality of primary and intermediate education and the enrolment of students in the country particularly in rural areas. He also requested details of the steps taken/proposed to be taken to improve the primary and intermediate education in the country. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 20 October 2022)

SHRI VISHNU DAYAL RAM asked the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS whether drug trafficking is a national crime and whether the Government has taken any steps to improve coordination with the international agencies and other countries to deal with the issue of narcotic drugs. SHRI SUSHIL KUMAR SINGH asked the Minister of PLANNING whether the NITI Aayog has tried to gauge the level of poverty in the country after 2016. He further questioned whether any vertical in NITI Aayog works for gauging poverty in the country. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 20 October 2022)

Question related to increased prices of drugs was also raised by SHRI SADASHIV KISAN LOKHANDE. He asked the Minister of CHEMICALS AND FERTILIZERS about the percentage increase in prices of drugs during the last five years. He asked if permission to increase prices was sought from the government and if so, then the names then the prices of drugs including the names thereof. He also asked about the details of the drugs whose prices have come down. (Parliament of India Lok Sabha Council of States, 20 October 2022)

Chapter 5:

Debate and Discussions

5.1 BACKGROUND:

Debate and discussions are essential components of the parliamentary system. In fact, parliament is the highest platform of debate and discussion of the country. The law-making body needs consensus of all the representatives which can only be formed through a fruitful and engaging debate and discussion.

The First Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 4th June to 11th June 2014. The session saw the introduction of 0 government Bills and 0 Bills were passed by the house. A record 61 private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing) The Second Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 7 July 2014 to 14 August 2014. The session saw introduction of 20 government Bills and 13 Bills were passed by the house. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. September, 2014) A record 129 private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

The Third Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 24 November 2014 to 23 December 2014. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. April, 2015) The session saw introduction of 16 government Bills and 18 Bills were passed by the house. A record 68 private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

The fourth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 23 February, 2015 to 13 May, 2015. The session saw the introduction of 25 government Bills and 24 Bills were passed by the house. A record 129 private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing) This session of the 16th Lok Sabha saw a maximum number of Bills introduced and passed. The fifth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 21 July, 2015 to 13 August, 2015. The session saw introduction of 14 government Bills and 13 Bills were passed by the house. A record of 45 private members bills was introduced but none passed. The Sixth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha was initiated from 26 November 2015 to 23 December 2015. The session saw introduction of 10 government Bills and 6 Bills were

passed by the house. A record 117 private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. February, 2016 & Lok Sabha Secretariat. October, 2015 & Lok Sabha Secretariat. August, 2015)

The Seventh Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 23 February, 2016 to 16 March, 2016. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. May, 2016) The session saw introduction of 12 government Bills and 10 Bills were passed by the house. The Eighth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 25 April, 2016 to 11 May, 2016. The session saw introduction of 4 government Bills and 10 Bills were passed by the house. A record of 33 private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

The Ninth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 18 July, 2016 to 12 August, 2016. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. July, 2017) The session saw introduction of 14 government Bills and 13 Bills were passed by the house. A record 84 private members bill was introduced but none passed. The Tenth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 16 November, 2016 to 16 December, 2016. The session saw introduction of 10 government Bills and 4 Bills were passed by the house. No private members bill was introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

The Eleventh Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 31 January, 2017 to 12 April, 2017. (Press and Public Relations Wing) The session saw introduction of 24 government Bills and 23 Bills were passed by the house. A record 158 private members bill was introduced but none passed. The Twelfth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 17 July 2017 and lasted till 11 August 2017. The session saw introduction of 17 government Bills and 14 Bills were passed by the house. 28 private members bills were introduced but none passed. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. January, 2018 & Lok Sabha Secretariat. July, 2017)

The Thirteenth Session of the 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 15 December, 2017 and lasted till 05 January, 2018 (Lok Sabha Secretariat. February, 2018). The session saw the introduction of 17 government Bills and 13 Bills were passed by the house. The Muslim Women (protection of rights on marriage) Bill, 2017 was discussed for 4 hours 45 minutes and thus became the most discussed bill of the house. The repealing and Amending bill were the least discussed Bill of the session. 98 private members bills were introduced but none passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

Fourteenth session of 16th Lok Sabha was held from 29 January, 2018 to 06 April, 2018 (Lok Sabha Secretariat. June, 2018). 5 Bills were introduced by the government and 5 bills were passed by the house. All the Bills passed during this session were not considered for more than 10 minutes, except for the Finance Bill of the Session that took 19 minutes to pass. To all surprise no private member bill was introduced, and none of the bills under this category passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing).

Fifteenth session of 16th Lok Sabha was held from 18 July, 2018 to 10 August, 2018. 20 Government bills were introduced and 21 bills were given green signal from the house (Press and Public Relations Wing). The Constitution (Hundred and Twenty-third (Amendment) Bill, 2017 was discussed for the maximum duration of time that makes up 4 hours and 57 Minutes of the house. The least considered bill was The Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill, 2017 for 1 Hour 13 minutes. The number of private bills introduced in the house stood at 128, also no private member bill was passed (Lok Sabha Secretariat. January, 2019).

Sixteenth session of 16th Lok Sabha initiated from 11 December, 2018 and lasted till 08 January, 2019. During this session 12 Government bills were introduced and 14 Bills passed. The Most Discussed Bill was The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 201, that consumed about 4 hours and 58 minutes of the house. The National Trust for Welfare of Persons with Autism, Cerebral Palsy, Mental Retardation and Multiple Disabilities (Amendment) Bill, 2018 was approved in a record time of 7 minutes (Lok Sabha Secretariat. January, 2019). 88 Private members bill were initiated but not even a single one passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

The 17th session of 16th Lok Sabha was held from 31 January, 2019 to 13 February, 2019 3 Government bills were introduced and 5 Bills passed in this duration (Press and Public Relations Wing). The maximum time was taken by the Finance Bill, 2019, i.e., 3 Hours and 59 minutes. On the contrary The Banning of Unregulated Deposit (amended) Schemes Bill, 2018 took the least time in approval from the House, i.e. 38 minutes. 4 Bills were sent to the Committees and 29 private members bills were introduced but none passed. 24 Bills were pending at the end of the Seventeenth Session of Sixteenth Lok Sabha. The Session saw 38 hours 28 minutes of sittings but only 6 Hours and 2 Minutes were devoted for the discussion of Government Bills (Lok Sabha Secretariat. May, 2019).

Table: 16th Lok Sabha: Bills introduced and Passed

Sessions of Seventeenth Lok Sabha	Number of Government Bills introduced	Number of Government Bills passed	Number of Private members Bills introduced	Number of Private members Bills Passed
First	0	0	0	0
Second	20	13	61	0
Third	16	18	68	0
Fourth	25	24	129	0
Fifth	10	6	45	0
Sixth	9	13	117	0
Seventh	12	10	51	0
Eighth	4	10	33	0
Ninth	14	13	84	0

Tenth	10	04	00	0
Eleventh	24	23	158	0
Twelfth	17	14	28	0
Thirteenth	17	13	98	0
Fourteenth	5	05	00	0
Fifteenth	21	20	128	0
Sixteenth	12	20	88	0
Seventeenth	3	05	29	0

Source: 'Resume Of Work Done By Lok Sabha, Sixteenth Lok Sabha' Lok Sabha Secretariat; Accessed from: https://eparlib.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/786106/1/rsm_16_17_31-01-2019_13-02-2019.pdf Accessed on: 10th September, 2022

The 17th Lok Sabha saw nine sessions till September 2022. The first Session took place from 17 June, 2019 to 06 August, 2019. This duration saw the introduction of 33 government bills and 35 bills were passed (Press and Public Relations Wing). The Jammu and Kashmir Reservation (Second Amendment) Bill, 2019 and The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill, 2019 were the most discussed and were together devoted 8 hours of discussion. It was during this session that The Repealing and Amending Bill, 2019 was passed in a record time of fourteen-minute discussion. The total time devoted during this session for discussion was 126 hours 31 min (approx.) out of 280 hours of Sitting. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. January, 2020)

In the Second Session that was held between 18 November, 2019 to 13 December, 2019, the number of bills introduced dropped to 18 and the number of bills passed also dropped drastically to 14 bills (Press and Public Relations Wing). The most discussed bill was the Citizenship Amendment Bill, 2019 that was devoted 8 hours 49 minutes in total and was discussed for 2 consecutive days. The least discussed bill that was given consent during this session was the Appropriation bill that was passed within 4 minutes, but in case of this bill no MP can introduce amendments in this stage. Only 54 Hours and 51 min of 130 hours 45 minutes of sitting was utilised in discussion of the bills. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. January, 2020)

In the Third Session of the term a similar trend of low productivity was mapped with 18 government bills introduced and 15 passed (Press and Public Relations Wing). The Institute for teaching and research in Ayurveda Bill, 2020 turned out to be the most discussed bill devoted 3 hours and 29 minutes. The least discussed bills of this session that were passed were, the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (second amendment) bill, 2019 and The Mineral Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2020 that gained approval of the house within 9 minutes. Also, the bills that took the least time to be passed were the appropriation bills, but they are not meant to be discussed in the house at this phase. 14 hours 53 minutes (approx.) was devoted for discussion out of 110 hrs and 15 minutes of sitting this term. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. June, 2020)

The Fourth Session of the term, held between 14 to 23 September 2020, saw introduction of 16 bill and 25 bills were passed (Press and Public Relations Wing). The code on social security 2020 was the least discussed bill passed within 2 minutes. Whereas maximum time was devoted to The Taxation and other Laws (relaxation and amendment of certain provision) bill, 2020 i.e. 4 hour 52 minutes. In the Fourth session no day was allocated for discussion of private members' bills on request of the government to the speaker. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. November, 2020)

The fifth Session was presented with 17 bills and 18 bills were passed in the session period from 29 January, 2021 to 25 March, 2021 (Press and Public Relations Wing). The most discussed bill was the Farmers produce trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Bill, 2020 that took 5 Hours and 48 minutes whereas the least discussed bill was the Code on Social Security passed in 2 minutes of discussion. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. November, 2020)

The sixth Session extended from 19 July, 2021 to 11 August, 2021 and saw introduction of 13 Bills and 20 bills were passed (Press and Public Relations Wing). The most discussed bill was the Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty- seventh Amendment) Bill, 2021 that utilised 7 hour 54 minutes of the House. One remarkable trend during this session was that all the other bills passed were not discussed for more than 10 minutes, thus lowering the productivity of the house to a very great extent. The number of Sitting hours was reduced by 21 hours 21 minutes and the discussion period shrunk to 12 hours 37 minutes. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. November, 2021)

The Seventh stretched from 29 November, 2021 to 22 December, 2021. A total of 12 bills were introduced and 9 passed the house (Press and Public Relations Wing). The High Court and Supreme Court (Salaries and Conditions of Service) Amendment Bill, 2021 consumed a recorded time of 5 hours 41 minutes of the house. The least discussed bill passed was the Farm Laws Repeal Bill, 2021 passed within 2 minutes of introduction. 6 Bills were referred to the Standing committee. 145 private members bills were introduced but none of them passed. (Lok Sabha Secretariat. March, 2022)

The Eighth Session extended from 31 January, 2022 to 7 April, 2022. This session saw the introduction of 12 government bills and 13 bills were passed in the house. The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill, 2022 was the least discussed bill that was passed within 2 minutes of Introduction. On the contrary the Delhi Municipal Corporation (Amendment) Bill, 2022 consumed 4 hours and 56 minutes of the house (Lok Sabha Secretariat. June, 2022). 154 Private member Bills were introduced during this session but all of them are pending. This just led to an overburdened addition to the already pending 279 bills introduced by the private members. (Press and Public Relations Wing)

The latest session, i.e., the Ninth session of the house lasted till 08th of August 2022 from its initiation on 18th July 2022. This was the least productive session of the 17th Lok Sabha as only 6 bills were introduced and 7 bills passed (Press and Public Relations Wing). Thus, this term saw a drop of both bills introduced and passed in *single digits for the first time in the 17th Lok Sabha*. 91 private member bills were introduced during this period but none was passed. (Press and Public Relations Wing, Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2022)

Table: 17th Lok Sabha: Bills introduced and Passed

Sessions of Seventeenth Lok Sabha	Number of Government Bills introduced	Number of Government Bills passed	Number of Private members Bills introduced	Number of Private members Bills Passed
First	33	35	118	0
Second	18	14	28	0
Third	18	15	0	0
Fourth	16	25	-	-
Fifth	17	18	0	0
Sixth	13	20	0	0
Seventh	12	09	145	0
Eighth	12	13	154	0
Ninth	06	07	91	0

Source: 'Resume Of Work Done By Lok Sabha, Seventeenth Lok Sabha' Lok Sabha Secretariat; Accessed from: <https://loksabhaph.nic.in/Business/ResumeOfWork.aspx> Accessed on: 10th September, 2022

5.2 MAJOR BILLS PASSED BY INDIAN PARLIAMENT

The finance industry and Labour

The companies amendment Bill 2014 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 12 Dec, 2014 passed in Lok Sabha- 17 Dec, 2014, passed in Rajya Sabha- 13 May, 2015. The Bill addresses a number of reforms, including those related to Related Party Transactions, fraud reporting by auditors, the removal of the common seal, and the authority of special courts to trial specific offences. The elimination of minimum paid-up share capital is the main goal of the measure. Penalties for violations related to accepting deposits from the public include accepting, inviting, or allowing another person to accept or invite any deposit that violates the Act's or its rules' stipulated restrictions. The bill also discusses the role and responsibilities of auditors. The latest revisions to the bill stipulate that a certain sum must now be involved in order for it to qualify as a fraud offence. The auditor is only required to notify the central government in such circumstances. (Rao, Prianka, prsindia bill summary March 19, 2015).

The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2015 was introduced in the Lok Sabha- 21 Dec 2015, passed in Lok Sabha- 05 May 2016, passed in Rajya Sabha- 11 May 2016. The Code establishes timelines for the resolution of corporate and individual insolvency. If these procedures are not completed within 180 days as required by the bill, the debtor's assets may be liquidated to satisfy creditors if insolvency cannot be resolved. The code states that certified insolvency specialists would handle the resolution procedures (IPs). These IPs will be members of insolvency professional agencies (IPAs). Additionally, IPAs will provide performance bonds that are equal to a company's assets under insolvency settlement. Information utilities (IUs) will be created in accordance with this code to gather, compile, and disseminate financial data to aid insolvency resolution. Resolutions involving corporate insolvency shall be decided by the National Company Law Tribunal (NCLT). The Debt Recovery Tribunal (DRT) will make decisions about individual insolvency resolution. The operation of IPs, IPAs, and IUs will be governed by the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Board of India, which will be established. . (Khullar Vatsal, prsindia bill summary January 4, 2016).

The Benami Transactions (Prohibition) (Amendment) Bill, 2015 was introduced in the Lok Sabha- 13 May 2015. The Bill aims to modify the definition of "benami transactions," establish benami transaction adjudicating authority and an appellate tribunal, and outline the punishment for engaging in benami transactions. A benami transaction is one in which property is owned by or transferred to a person but has been paid for or provided for by another person, according to the Act. The Bill modifies this definition to include additional transactions that meet the criteria for being benami, such as real estate deals made under a false name, where the owner is unaware of or denies knowledge of the ownership of the property, or where the person providing the consideration for the deal is untraceable. The Bill defines a beneficial owner as the person for whose benefit the property is being held by the benamidar and a benamidar as the person in whose name the benami property is kept or transferred. The Act required the Rules to create an Authority to purchase Benami properties. . (Deshpande Tanvi, prsindia bill summary, May 29, 2015).

The Central Goods and Service Tax Bill 2017 was Introduced in Lok Sabha- 27 March 2017, passed in Lok Sabha- 29 March 2017, passed in Rajya Sabha- 06 April 2017. The Bill outlines how the Central Goods and Services Tax will be levied (CGST). This document specifies that the centre will impose CGST on the supply of goods and services inside a state's borders. Supply covers all sales, transfers, and leases that are made with the intention of advancing a business. The GST Council will recommend the CGST tax rates. This rate will not exceed 20%. The measure also has provisions that allow the centre to notify the exclusion of specific items and services from the scope of the GST. This will be based on the GST Council's suggestions.

The value of the provision of goods and services that include (i) the price paid for the supply, (ii) taxes and duties assessed under a separate tax legislation, and (iii) interest, late fees, and penalties for late payments, among other things, will be subject to the CGST. The CGST Commissioner has the authority to impose fines, jail time, or both for crimes like failing to submit incorrect information about (i) goods and services provided, or (ii) details provided in invoices. Such orders are subject to appeal to the High Court and the Goods and Services Tax Appellate Tribunal. (Gayam Aravind, prsindia bill summary December 26, 2017)

The Fugitive Economic Offenders Bill 2018 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 18 March 2018, passed in Lok Sabha- 19 July 2018, passed in Rajya Sabha- 25 July 2018. A person may be designated as a fugitive economic offender (FEO) under the terms of the bill if they meet both of the following criteria: (I) an arrest warrant has been issued for them for any specified offences with a value exceeding Rs 100 crore; and (ii) they have left the country and refuse to return to face charges. A Special Court (designated under the Prevention of Money-Laundering Act, 2002) would receive an application detailing the properties to be seized as well as any information regarding the person's whereabouts in order to declare a person a FEO. The person must appear before the Special Court at a designated location at least six weeks after receiving notice. If the person shows up, the case will be over. While the application is being processed by the Special Court, this Bill gives authorities the authority to temporarily seize an accused person's property. A person's property may be seized and given to the central government, free of any liens, upon being declared a FEO (rights and claims in the property). Additionally, the FEO or any business connected to him may be prohibited from bringing or opposing civil lawsuits. (Khullar Vatsal, prsindia bill summary March 16, 2018)

Governance and strategic affairs

The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Bill, 2018 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 3 Aug 2018, passed in Lok Sabha- 6 Aug 2018, passed in Rajya Sabha- 09 Aug 2018. The Act forbids crimes against people who are a part of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and creates special courts to handle these cases and victims' rehabilitation. In 2018, the Supreme Court ruled that in order to make an arrest of a person suspected of violating the Act, permission from the Senior Superintendent of Police is first required. In addition, the Deputy Superintendent of Police may make a preliminary investigation to see whether there is a legal claim that meets the Act's requirements. According to the Bill, the investigating officer will not need permission from any authorities before arresting an accused. Additionally, it stipulates that a preliminary investigation will not be necessary for the filing of a First Information Report against a person who has been charged under the Act. According to the Act, those who have been charged with breaking the law cannot request anticipatory bail. The Bill aims to make it clear that this clause will be enforced despite any court rulings or orders that state the contrary.. (Sinha Roshni, prsindia bill summary August 6, 2018).

The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 21 July 2019, passed in Lok Sabha- 25 July 2019, passed in Rajya Sabha -30 July 2019. The Bill declares all talaq declarations to be invalid (i.e., not legally enforceable) and unlawful, regardless of whether they are made orally or in writing. It defines talaq as a Muslim male pronouncing talaq-e-biddat or some similar form of talaq, which results in an immediate and irrevocable divorce. The Bill designates the proclamation of talaq as a criminal offence punishable by up to three years in prison and a fine. According to the Bill, the Magistrate may give the offender bail. Only after the woman (against whom talaq has been pronounced) has been heard and if the Magistrate is convinced that there are reasonable grounds for granting bail, may the bail be given. A Muslim woman who has had talaq proclaimed against her is allowed to ask her husband for a living stipend for both her and her dependent children. The Magistrate will choose how much the allowance will be. A Muslim woman who has had talaq pronounced against her is allowed to ask for custody of her minor children under the bill's terms. The Magistrate will choose how to handle custody. . (Sinhab Roshni, prsindia bill summary June 25, 2019).

The Consumer Protection Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 08 July 2019, passed in Lok Sabha- 30 July 2019, passed in Rajya Sabha- 06 Aug 2019. According to the bill, a consumer is defined as a person who purchases any good or uses a service in exchange for payment. It excludes anyone who purchases a product for resale or a good or service for profit. This bill's coverage of transactions made through all channels, including teleshopping, multi-level marketing, direct selling, and offline as well as online through technological means, is its most unique feature.

Consumers' rights under this bill include the following: (I) protection from the marketing of products and services that endanger life and property; (ii) knowledge of the quality, quantity, potency, purity, standard, and price of products or services; (iii) assurance of access to a variety of products or services at reasonable prices; and (iv) recourse against unfair or restrictive business practises. The central government will also establish a Central Consumer Protection Authority (CCPA) to promote, protect, and uphold consumers' rights in order to ensure the correct operation of the act. At the district, state, and state and national level, the bill also calls for the creation of Consumer Disputes Redressal Commissions (CDRCs). Only the State and National Appeals from a District CDRC will be heard in complaints against unfair contracts, according to the State CDRC. The National CDRC will consider appeals

from the State CDRC. The Supreme Court will hear the final appeal. In cases where the value of the goods and services does not exceed Rs 1 crore, the District CDRC would consider complaints. When a complaint's worth is greater than Rs 1 crore but less than Rs 10 crore, the State CDRC will consider it. The National CDRC will take complaints for goods and services worth more than Rs. 10 crore. . (Sinha Roshni, prsindia bill summary July 12, 2019).

The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 08 July 2019, passed in Lok Sabha- 24 July 2019, passed in Rajya Sabha- 02 Aug 2019. The Act, among other things, stipulates unique protocols for handling terrorist activity. According to the Act, a group may be labelled a terrorist organisation if it: (i) engages in or supports terrorism; (ii) plans or encourages terrorism; or (iii) engages in any other aspect of terrorism. The Bill also gives the government the authority to label anyone as terrorists for the same reasons. The Act also includes activities conducted in accordance with any of the treaties listed in a schedule to the Act when it defines terrorist acts. The Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings (1997) and the Convention against the Taking of Hostages are two of the nine treaties listed in the Schedule (1979). Another treaty is included in the Bill's list. The International Convention for the Punishment of Nuclear Terrorism is this (2005). . (Sinha Roshni, prsindia bill summary July 12, 2019).

The Right to Information (Amendment) Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 19 July 2019, passed in Lok Sabha- 22 July 2019, passed in Rajya Sabha- 25 July 2019. A chief information commissioner (CIC) and information commissioners (ICs) are appointed at the national and state levels under this new amendment to carry out the Act's provisions. According to the Act, the CIC and other ICs who are appointed at the federal and state levels would serve terms of five years. The Bill eliminates this clause and mandates that the national government notify the CIC and ICs of their terms of office. . (Sinha Roshni, prsindia bill summary July 19, 2019).

The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill, 2019 was introduced in Rajya Sabha- 05 Aug 2019, passed in Rajya Sabha- 05 Aug 2019, passed in Lok Sabha- 06 Aug 2019. According to the Bill, Jammu and Kashmir will be divided into the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir and the Union Territory of Ladakh. In accordance with the proposed legislation, Jammu and Kashmir will be divided into two union territories: Ladakh, which will not have a legislature,

and Jammu and Kashmir, which will have one Kargil and Leh districts would be included in the Union Territory of Ladakh, and the other areas of the current state of Jammu and Kashmir will be included in the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The Lieutenant Governor will be in charge of running Ladakh and the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The Bill establishes a five-year term for the Union Territory of Jammu and Kashmir's legislative assembly. . (Krishnan Vinayak, prsindia bill summary August 6, 2019).

The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 09 Dec 2019, passed in Lok Sabha- 09 Dec 2019, passed in Rajya Sabha- 11 Dec 2019. The 2019 Bill aims to offer citizenship to illegal immigrants from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Pakistan who are Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis, and Christians. Certain North Eastern regions are free from this requirement. The Bill also modifies clauses that concern owners of OCI cards. According to the 1955 Act, a foreigner who is of Indian descent (such as a former citizen of India or their descendants) or who is married to an Indian national may register as an OCI. This will provide them access to perks like the freedom to visit India and the ability to work and study there. The Bill modifies the Act to provide revocation of OCI registration in cases when a person has broken a law that has been made known to the central government. . (Sinha Roshni, prsindia bill summary December 09, 2019).

The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Amendment Bill 2021 was introduced in Lok Sabha- 15 March 2021, passed in Lok Sabha- 24 March 2021, passed in Rajya Sabha- 28 July 2021. The act specifically deals with the provisions of adoptions in detail; under the Act, an adoption agency makes an application in a civil court to get the adoption order once potential adoptive parents accept a kid. The Bill states that the district magistrate (including extra district magistrates) will carry out these responsibilities and issue all such orders in place of the court. The Bill further stipulates that, within 30 days of the district magistrate's adoption order, any individual who feels wronged by it may appeal to the Divisional Commissioner. Such appeals must be resolved within four weeks of the appeal's filing date. The Juvenile Justice Board is required by the Act to investigate every child who is charged with a serious offence. Serious offences are those that carry a sentence of three to seven years in jail. According to the Bill, major offences will also include those for which the maximum sentence is more than seven years in prison and the minimum sentence is either not specified or is less than seven years. According to the Act, a crime that carries a sentence of three to seven years in prison is both cognizable (meaning that an arrest is permitted without a

warrant) and non-bailable. According to the Bill, these offences won't be cognizable and won't be subject to bail.

According to the Act, each district shall establish one or more CWCs to deal with children who need care and protection. It outlines certain requirements for CWC member appointments. A member should, for instance, (i) have worked for at least seven years in the fields of children's health, education, or welfare; or (ii) be a working professional with a degree in child psychology, psychiatry, law, or social work. The Bill sets additional requirements that must be met before a person can be denied membership in the CWC. These include (i) having a history of violating children's or human rights, or (ii) being a member of the administration of a district-based child care facility. (Kaur Prachi, *Prsindia bill summary* March 17, 2021).

5.2.3 Category- Education and Social Welfare.

5.2.3.1. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (Amendment) Bill, 2017

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (Amendment) Bill, 2017 was introduced by the Minister of Human Resource Development, Mr. Prakash Javadekar in Lok Sabha on April 10, 2017. The Bill amends the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 by extending the deadline for teachers to acquire the prescribed minimum qualifications for appointment.

Under the Act, if a state does not have adequate teacher training institutions or sufficient number of qualified teachers, the provision to possess minimum qualifications is relaxed for a period not exceeding five years i.e. till March 31, 2015. The Bill further adds to this provision by stating that those teachers who do not possess the minimum qualifications as on March 31, 2015 will acquire the minimum qualifications within a period of four years i.e. by March 31, 2019. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, April 26, 2017*)

5.2.3.2 The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill, 2019

The Transgender Persons (Protection of Rights) Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha on July 19, 2019 by the Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment, Mr. Thaawarchand Gehlot. The Bill defines a transgender person as one whose gender does not match the gender assigned at birth. It includes trans-men and trans-women, persons with intersex variations, gender-queers, and persons with socio-cultural identities, such as kinnar and hijra. Intersex variations is defined to mean a person who at birth shows variation in his or her primary sexual characteristics, external genitalia, chromosomes, or hormones from the normative standard of male or female body.

The Bill prohibits the discrimination against a transgender person, including denial of service or unfair treatment in relation to: (i) education; (ii) employment; (iii) healthcare; (iv) access to, or enjoyment of goods, facilities, opportunities available to the public; (v) right to movement; (vi) right to reside, rent, or otherwise occupy property; (vii) opportunity to hold public or private office; and (viii) access to a government or private establishment in whose care or custody a transgender person is.

The Council will advise the central government as well as monitor the impact of policies, legislation and projects with respect to transgender persons. It will also redress the grievances of transgender persons. (PRS BILL SUMMARY, July 24, 2019)

5.2.3.3 The Indian Medical Council (Amendment) Bill, 2016

The Indian Medical Council (Amendment) Bill, 2016 was introduced by Minister of Health and Family Welfare, Mr. Jagat Prakash Nadda in Lok Sabha on July 19, 2016. The Bill seeks to amend the Indian Medical Council Act, 1956. The Act provides for the constitution of the Medical Council of India (MCI). The MCI regulates: (i) standards of medical education, (ii) permission to start colleges, courses or increase the number of seats, (iv) registration of doctors, (v) standards of professional conduct of medical practitioners, among others.

The Bill seeks to replace the Indian Medical Council (Amendment) Ordinance, 2016. The Bill states that its provisions will come in to force from May 24, 2016. The Bill seeks to introduce a uniform entrance examination for all medical educational institutions. This would be applicable at the undergraduate and the post-graduate level. The Bill states that in case a state has not opted for the uniform entrance examination, then the examination will not

be applicable at the undergraduate level for the academic year 2016-17. This provision will apply to state government seats in government and private medical colleges.

The Bill states that the entrance examinations will be conducted in Hindi, English and other languages. The Bill provides powers to the MCI to frame regulations with regard to: (i) the authority designated with the conduct of the exams, (ii) the manner of conducting the exams, and (iii) specifying languages other than English and Hindi in which the examinations may be conducted. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, July 25, 2016*)

➤ **Category- Constitutional Amendment**

The Constitution (122nd Amendment (GST) Bill), 2014

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty- Second Amendment) Bill, 2014 was introduced in the Lok Sabha on December 19. The Bill amends the Constitution to introduce the goods and services tax (GST). Parliament and state legislatures will have concurrent powers to make laws on GST. Only the centre may levy an integrated GST (IGST) on the interstate supply of goods and services, and imports.

Alcohol for human consumption has been exempted from the purview of GST. GST will apply to five petroleum products at a later date. The GST Council will recommend rates of tax, period of levy of additional tax, principles of supply, special provisions to certain states etc. The GST Council will consist of the Union Finance Minister, Union Minister of State for Revenue, and state Finance Ministers. The Bill empowers the centre to impose an additional tax of up to 1%, on the inter-state supply of goods for two years or more. This tax will accrue to states from where the supply originates. Parliament may, by law, provide compensation to states for any loss of revenue from the introduction of GST, up to a five year period.

An ideal GST regime intends to create a harmonised system of taxation by subsuming all indirect taxes under one tax. It seeks to address challenges with the current indirect tax regime by broadening the tax base, eliminating cascading of taxes, increasing compliance, and reducing economic distortions caused by inter-state variations in taxes. The provisions of

this Bill do not fully conform to an ideal GST regime. Deferring the levy of GST on five petroleum products could lead to cascading of taxes. The additional 1% tax levied on goods that are transported across states dilutes the objective of creating a harmonised national market for goods and services. Inter-state trade of a good would be more expensive than intra-state trade, with the burden being borne by retail consumers. Further, cascading of taxes will continue.

The Bill permits the centre to levy and collect GST in the course of inter-state trade and commerce. Instead, some experts have recommended a modified bank model for inter-state transactions to ease tax compliance and administrative burden. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, January 5, 2015*)

The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Orders (Amendment) Bill, 2017

The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order (Amendment) Bill, 2017 was introduced in Lok Sabha on March 10, 2017 by the Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment, Thawar Chand Gehlot. It was passed by Lok Sabha on March 23, 2017. The Bill amends the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950 and the Constitution (Pondicherry) Scheduled Castes Order, 1964.

The Constitution empowers the President to specify the Scheduled Castes in various states and union territories. Further, it permits this list of notified Scheduled Castes (SC) to be modified by Parliament. **Amendments to the 1950 Order:** The Bill seeks to modify the list of SCs for the state of Odisha. The castes Sualgiri, Swalgiri will be introduced as synonyms to the Sabakhia caste in the list of SCs for the state of Odisha. **Amendments to the 1964 Order:** The name of the Union Territory of Pondicherry was modified to Puducherry by a central Act in 2006. The Bill seeks to incorporate this change and replace 'Pondicherry' with 'Puducherry' in the Order. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, MARCH 29, 2017*).

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty Fourth Amendment) Bill, 2019

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-Fourth Amendment) Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha by the Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment, Mr. Thaawar Chand

Gehlot on January 8, 2019. The Bill seeks to provide for the advancement of “economically weaker sections” of citizens. Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination against any citizen on the grounds of race, religion, caste, sex, or place of birth. However, the government may make special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes, or for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The Bill seeks to amend Article 15 to additionally permit the government to provide for the advancement of “economically weaker sections”. Further, up to 10% of seats may be reserved for such sections for admission in educational institutions. Such reservation will not apply to minority educational institutions.

Article 16 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination in employment in any government office. However, the government can allow reservation for any “backward class of citizens”, if they are not adequately represented in the services under the state. The Bill seeks to amend Article 16 to permit the government to reserve up to 10% of all posts for the “economically weaker sections” of citizens. The reservation of up to 10% for “economically weaker sections” in educational institutions and public employment will be in addition to the existing reservation. The central government will notify the “economically weaker sections” of citizens on the basis of family income and other indicators of economic disadvantage. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, JANUARY 08, 2019*)

➤ **Category- Infrastructure and Environment**

The Atomic Energy (Amendment) Bill, 2015

The Atomic Energy (Amendment) Bill, 2015 was introduced in Lok Sabha on December 7, 2015. The Bill was introduced by the Minister of State in the Department of Atomic Energy, Mr. Jitendra Singh. The Bill proposes to amend the Atomic Energy Act, 1962. The Act empowers the central government to produce, develop, control, and use atomic energy. Under the Act, a government company is one in which at least 51% of the paid-up share capital is held by the central government. Paid-up share capital is the capital received by a company from the issue of shares.

The Bill expands this definition to include companies where the whole of the paid up share capital is held by one or more government company and whose articles of association

empower the central government to constitute its Board of Directors. This provision will allow for the formation of joint ventures between Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited and other government companies.

Under the Act, a license is required for acquisition, production, use, export and import of any plant designed for the production and development of atomic energy or research. The Bill makes consequential amendments to state that such license will only be granted to entities such as a government company or a department of central government. The Bill states that any license granted for matters such as: (i) producing atomic energy, and (ii) acquiring and using substances or minerals from which atomic energy can be obtained, will be cancelled if a licensee ceases to be a government company. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, DECEMBER 07, 2015*).

The Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill, 2015

Under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1988 (MV Act), no person can be granted a learner's license to drive a transport vehicle unless he has held the driving license for a period of at least one year. E-rickshaws and E-carts are being defined to have three wheels and limited power of 4000 watts. Further, the specification for speed and dimension can be regulated through the rules which can be made under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1988.

These vehicles may be allowed to be driven by drivers who have been found eligible to drive E-rickshaws and E-carts through tests. As most of the E-rickshaw and E-cart drivers do not have any licence, the extant provision will debar them from operating e-Rickshaws/e-Carts for a year. In order to remove this difficulty and facilitate plying of e-rickshaw and e-Cart, the Central Government proposes to amend sub-section (1) of section 7 of the Motor Vehicles Act, 1988 which will give relaxation to e-Rickshaw and e-Cart drivers only. In addition, the definition of e-Rickshaw and e-Cart is also proposed to be included under the said Act.

Accordingly, a provision is included in sub-section (1) of section 7 for relaxation for granting learner's licences for E-cart and E-rickshaw. The proposal will relax the conditions for issue of learner's licence for driving a transport vehicle with three wheels and net power not more than 4000 watts.

Sub-section (1) of section 2A is proposed to be inserted after section 2 of MV Act. This aims to bring the E-cart and E-rickshaw under the ambit of MV Act. It will provide employment to innumerable people who have upgraded from the manually pulled rickshaws to the electric powered three-wheeled vehicles. It is also proposed to insert sub-section (10) in section 9 of MV Act, prescribing the manner in which, and conditions subject to which driving licences to drive E-rickshaw or E-cart shall be issued.

The Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill, 2014 was passed in the Lok Sabha on 18th December, 2014. It was pending in the Rajya Sabha. Based on the said Bill, an Ordinance, namely, the Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Ordinance, 2015 (2 of 2015) was promulgated by the President on 7th January, 2015. The Bill seeks to replace the said Ordinance. (*Lok Sabha, New Delhi, February 20, 2015, Gadkari Nitin Jairam, Minister of road transport and highways*)

The Indian Forest (Amendment) Bill, 2017

The Indian Forest (Amendment) Bill, 2017 was introduced in Lok Sabha by Mr. Harsh Vardhan, Minister of Environment, Forest, and Climate Change on December 18, 2017. The Bill replaces the Indian Forest (Amendment) Ordinance, 2017 and amends the Indian Forest Act, 1927. The Act consolidates laws relating to forests, transit of forest-produce and the duty to be levied on them.

Under the Act, the definition of tree includes palms, bamboos, stumps, brush-wood, and canes. The Bill amends this definition of tree to remove the word bamboos. Since bamboo is defined as a tree under the Act, its inter-state movement requires permit when in transit in other states. Consequent to the amendment, felling or transportation of bamboos growing in non-forest areas will not require any permits. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, December 18, 2017*)

Category- Health Education and Social Welfare

The Central Universities (Amendment) Bill, 2019

The Central Universities (Amendment) Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha by Mr. Ramesh Pokhriyal Nishank, Minister of Human Resource Development on July 8, 2019. The Bill seeks to amend the Central Universities Act, 2009, which establishes universities for teaching and research in various states. The Bill provides for the establishment of two central universities in Andhra Pradesh to be known as the Central University of Andhra Pradesh and the Central Tribal University of Andhra Pradesh. The Central Tribal University will take additional measures to provide higher educational and research facilities in tribal art, culture, and customs primarily to the tribal population of India.

The Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Bill, 2020

The Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Bill, 2020 was introduced in the Rajya Sabha on September 14, 2020. It amends the Epidemic Diseases Act, 1897.

The Act provides for the prevention of the spread of dangerous epidemic diseases. The Bill amends the Act to include protections for healthcare personnel combatting epidemic diseases and expands the powers of the central government to prevent the spread of such diseases.

The Bill repeals the Epidemic Diseases (Amendment) Ordinance that was promulgated on April 22, 2020. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, September 16, 2020*)

The Family Courts (Amendment) Bill, 2022

The Family Courts (Amendment) Bill was introduced in Lok Sabha on July 18, 2022. The Bill amends the Family Courts Act, 1984. The Act allows state governments to establish Family Courts. The central government is empowered to notify dates for the Act to come into force in different states. The governments of Himachal Pradesh and Nagaland have set up Family Courts in their states under the Act. However, the central government has not extended the application of the Act to these states.

Application of Act in Himachal Pradesh and Nagaland: The Bill seeks to extend the application of the Act to the state of Himachal Pradesh, with effect from February 15, 2019, and to the state of Nagaland, with effect from September 12, 2008. The establishment of

Family Courts in both the states will be retrospectively valid from these dates. All actions taken under the Act in both the states, including the appointment of judges, and orders and judgments passed by the Family Courts, will also be deemed to be valid from these dates retrospectively. *(PRS BILL SUMMARY July 18,2022)*

Category – Constitutional Amendments

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Amendment) Bill, 2019

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-Sixth Amendment) Bill, 2019 was introduced in Lok Sabha by the Minister of Law and Justice, Mr. Ravi Shankar Prasad, on December 9, 2019. The Bill amends provisions related to reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs).

The Constitution provides for reservation of seats for SCs and STs and representation of the Anglo-Indian community by nomination, in Lok Sabha and Legislative Assemblies of states. This has been provided for a period of 70 years since the enactment of the Constitution and will expire on January 25, 2020. The Bill seeks to extend the reservation for SCs and STs by another 10 years till January 25, 2030. *(PRS BILL SUMMARY, December 09,2019).*

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-seventh Amendment) Bill, 2021

The Constitution (One Hundred and Twenty-Seventh Amendment) Bill, 2021 was introduced in Lok Sabha by the Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment, Dr. Virendra Kumar, on August 9, 2021. The Bill amends the Constitution to allow states and union territories to prepare their own list of socially and educationally backward classes.

List of socially and educationally backward classes: The National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC) was established under the National Commission for Backward

Classes Act, 1993. The Constitution (One Hundred and Second Amendment) Act, 2018 gave constitutional status to the NCBC, and empowered the President to notify the list of socially and educationally backward classes for any state or union territory for all purposes. The 2021 Bill amends this to provide that the President may notify the list of socially and educationally backward classes only for purposes of the central government. This central list will be prepared and maintained by the central government. Further, the Bill enables states and union territories to prepare their own list of socially and educationally backward classes. This list must be made by law, and may differ from the central list.

- **Consultation with the NCBC:** Article 338B of the Constitution mandates the central and state governments to consult the NCBC on all major policy matters affecting the socially and educationally backward classes. The Bill exempts states and union territories from this requirement for matters related to preparation of their list of socially and educationally backward classes. (*PRS Bill Summary, August 10, 2021*)

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Orders (Amendment) Bill, 2022

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill, 2022 was introduced in Lok Sabha on February 7, 2022 by the Minister of Tribal Affairs, Mr. Arjun Munda. The Bill seeks to amend the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1950, which specifies the tribes and tribal communities deemed to be Scheduled Tribes (STs) in various states and union territories.

Inclusion of certain community in the list of STs in Tripura: The Bill seeks to amend Part XV of the Schedule to the 1950 Order, which specifies the STs in Tripura. It includes the Darlong community as a sub-tribe of the Kuki tribe in the list of STs in Tripura. (*PRS Bill Summary, February 22, 2022*)

Category- Infrastructure and Environment

The Dam Safety Bill, 2019

The Bill provides for the surveillance, inspection, operation, and maintenance of all specified dams across the country. These are dams with height more than 15 metres, or height between 10 metres to 15 metres with certain design and structural conditions. It constitutes two national bodies: the National Committee on Dam Safety, whose functions include evolving policies and recommending regulations regarding dam safety standards; and the National Dam Safety Authority, whose functions include implementing policies of the National Committee, providing technical assistance to State Dam Safety Organisations (SDSOs), and resolving matters between SDSOs of states or between a SDSO and any dam owner in that state.

It also constitutes two state bodies: State Committee on Dam Safety, and State Dam Safety Organisation. These bodies will be responsible for the surveillance, inspection, and monitoring the operation and maintenance of dams within their jurisdiction. Functions of the national bodies and the State Committees on Dam Safety have been provided in Schedules to the Bill. These Schedules can be amended by a government notification. An offence under the Bill can lead to imprisonment of up to two years, or a fine, or both. (*PRS BILL SUMMARY, July 30, 2019*).

The Commission for Air Quality Management in National Capital Region and Adjoining Areas Bill, 2021

The Commission for Air Quality Management in National Capital Region and Adjoining Areas Bill, 2021 was introduced in Lok Sabha on July 30, 2021. The Bill provides for the constitution of a Commission for better co-ordination, research, identification, and resolution of problems related to air quality in the National Capital Region (NCR) and adjoining areas.

Adjoining areas have been defined as areas in Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh, adjoining the National Capital Territory of Delhi and NCR, where any source of pollution may cause adverse impact on air quality in the NCR. The Bill also dissolves the Environment Pollution Prevention and Control Authority established in the NCR in 1998. An Ordinance establishing a similar Commission was promulgated in October 2020. (*PRS Bill Summary, July 30, 2021*)

The Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (Amendment) Bill, 2021

The Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi (Amendment) Bill, 2021 was introduced in Lok Sabha on March 15, 2021. The Bill amends the Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi Act, 1991. The Act provides a framework for the functioning of the Legislative Assembly and the government of the National Capital Territory (NCT) of Delhi. The Bill amends certain powers and responsibilities of the Legislative Assembly and the Lieutenant Governor.

Restriction on laws passed by the Assembly: The Bill provides that the term “government” referred to in any law made by the Legislative Assembly will imply Lieutenant Governor (LG).

Rules of Procedure of the Assembly: The Act allows the Legislative Assembly to make Rules to regulate the procedure and conduct of business in the Assembly. The Bill provides that such Rules must be consistent with the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Lok Sabha.

Inquiry by the Assembly into administrative decisions: The Bill prohibits the Legislative Assembly from making any rule to enable itself or its Committees to: (i) consider the matters of day-to-day administration of the NCT of Delhi and (ii) conduct any inquiry in relation to administrative decisions.

Further, the Bill provides that all such rules made before its enactment will be void.

- **Assent to Bills:** The Act requires the LG to reserve certain Bills passed by the Legislative Assembly for the consideration of the President. These Bills are those: (i) which may diminish the powers of the High Court of Delhi, (ii) which the President may direct to be reserved, (iii) dealing with the salaries and allowances of the Speaker, Deputy Speaker, and members of the Assembly and the Ministers, or (iv) relating to official languages of the Assembly or the NCT of Delhi. The Bill requires the LG to also reserve those Bills for the President which incidentally cover any of the matters outside the purview of the powers of the Legislative Assembly.

- **LG’s opinion for executive actions:** The Act specifies that all executive action by the government, whether taken on the advice of the Ministers or otherwise, must be taken in

the name of the LG. The Bill adds that on certain matters, as specified by the LG, his opinion must be obtained before taking any executive action on the decisions of the Minister/ Council of Ministers. (PRS Bill Summary, March 16, 2021)

BILLS PASSED WITHOUT DISCUSSION

16th LOK SABHA

The 16th lok sabha met for 1,615 hours, 40% lower than all full-term Parliaments. This shows a decline in the number of sitting days over the decades as well as a significant part of the scheduled time lost to disruptions. This Lok Sabha sat for 331 days (against a 468-day average for all previous full-term Lok Sabhas), and lost 16% of its time to disruptions. (PRS Legislative Research, 2019, 16th Lok Sabha Vital Stats, Functioning of the 16th Lok Sabha)

The proportion of bills passed in this tenure varies to different sectors. 26 % of the bills passed were related to financial sector, 10% of the bills passed were of education sector and health and transport sector saw a lower proportion of 30% to 40% bills passed as compared to introduced. this Lok Sabha has referred a significantly lower proportion of Bills to Committees for scrutiny. In the 16th Lok Sabha, 25% of the Bills introduced were referred to Committees, much lower than 71% and 60% in the 15th and 14th Lok Sabha respectively. Some key Bills passed in the financial sector include the GST Bill, the Bankruptcy Code, the Insurance Amendment Bill, and the Fugitive Economic Offenders Bill. One of the major role of parliament is to approve the Union Budget and authorize the expenditure of the government. the union budget includes the demands for grants of various ministries which authorizes their expenditure. These demands are discussed ministry-wise. The 2018 Union Budget of India was the annual financial statement, demand for grants, appropriation bill and finance bill of india for the financial year 2018-19. It was presented to parliament on 1 February 2018 by Finance Minister Arun Jaitley and also was passed on the same day without holding much of a discussion by the lok sabha. (PRS Legislative Research, 2019, 16th Lok Sabha Vital Stats, Functioning of the 16th Lok Sabha)

The Union budget contained a number of significant announcements. It included a healthcare programme called the National Health Protection Scheme (Ayushman Bharat) to cover 10 crore poor families. The Government proposed to contribute 12% to the Employees' Provident Fund for new employees for three years. It was proposed that the medical allowance and transportation allowance be replaced by a standard deduction of ₹40,000 for salaried employees. The allocation to the Ministry of Defence was ₹404,365 crore (equivalent to ₹4.6 trillion), with ₹195,947.55 crore (equivalent to ₹2.2 trillion) to be spent on the day-to-day running of the armed forces, and ₹99,563.86 crore (equivalent to ₹1.1 trillion) on modernisation, with the rest being allocated for pensions. (PRS Legislative Research, Union Budget Analysis of Major demands 2018-19, 2018)

There was no reduction in personal income tax rates, and the Cess on income tax was to be increased from 3% to 4%. A 10% tax on long-term capital gains (LTCG) was reintroduced after a 14-year absence. The Corporate tax was reduced from 30% to 25% for companies with turnover up to ₹250 crore (equivalent to ₹284 crore). Customs duties were increased for various products. A special scheme to tackle air pollution in Delhi was also introduced. The salaries of Members of Parliament were doubled and their total emoluments are likely to go up from Rs 1.4 lakh to Rs 2.3 lakh per month. Further, the salaries will be increased every five years. (PRS Legislative Research, Union Budget Analysis of Major Demands 2018-19, 2018)

17% of the union budget was discussed in the 16th lok sabha whereas 83% of the budget was passed by the lok sabha without discussion. The proportion of the union budget discussed is ironically higher than the previous two lok sabhas. In the budget session 2018-19, 100% of demands were passed without discussions and this also can be witnessed in the 2004-05 and 2013-14 budget sessions as well. (PRS Legislative Research, 2019, 16th Lok Sabha Vital Stats, Functioning of the 16th Lok Sabha)

Article 107 of our constitution says that no Bill shall be deemed to have been passed unless both Houses have agreed to it. The word "agreed" has been presumably used with intent. Normally, we agree to a proposal only after discussing it in detail. So this word presupposes discussion. (Hussain, 2019, "How Democratic was 16th lok sabha?")

What Article 107 makes clear is that Bills shall be deemed to have been passed only when both Houses discuss them and then agree to them. The makers of the constitution could have

used the word “passed” in place of “agreed”. The word “passed” appropriately refers to the act of passing, namely, the voting etc. But they wanted both houses to fully discuss legislative proposals before agreeing to them. Hence the word “agreed”. Discussion is implied in this word. Rules for passing Bills have been framed under this Article. Rules require a mandatory three-stage consideration of every Bill. At the first stage, the general principles of the Bill are considered; at the second stage, each clause, and amendments, are considered; at the third stage, there is a final round of observations, after which the Bill is passed. Bills have been passed without discussion in the Indian parliament during the past two decades or more. The passing of Bills without discussion in parliament constitutes a violation of Article 107 and the rules of the house, and may necessitate judicial intervention. (Madhavan, 2019, "How the 16th Lok Sabha fared")

17th LOK SABHA

For a Bill to become an Act, it has to pass through various stages which include circulation, introduction, second reading, clause-by-clause discussion, and final vote. A Bill may also be referred to a Standing or Select Committee for scrutiny after introduction. In normal times, each important Bill is discussed for a few hours before it is passed. However, During the sixth session of the 17th lok sabha which was the monsoon session, The three important bills namely, The Limited Liability Partnership (Amendment) Bill 2021, The Insurance and Credit Guarantee Corporation (Amendment) Bill 2021 and The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill 2021 were passed by Lok Sabha in just **20minutes** without much discussion and debate upon these bills. The limited liability partnership (amendment) bill 2021 was passed by the Lok Sabha on aug 09, 2021. The limited liability partnerships are regulated by this act. A limited liability partnership is a type of partnership in which a person’s liability is limited to their interests in the company. Not every partner is responsible for the carelessness of the other partner in an LLP. This act amended the limited liability partnership act of 2008 and also provided for the formation of “small LLPs”. Certain offenses were converted into civil defaults by this act and it also changed the nature of the punishment for such acts. It also provided for the establishment of the special court and adjudicating officers and defined small LLPs. (PRS Bill Summary, august 2,2021,Tushar Chakraborty)

The Insurance and Credit Guarantee Corporation (Amendment) Bill 2021 was introduced in rajya sabha by the minister of finance mrs. Nirmala Sitharaman on july 30th 2021 and was

passed by the lok sabha on aug 09 2021. The deposit insurance and credit guarantee corporation act of 1961 was amended by this act. Security of their money is provided to the account holders by this act by allowing access to upto rs. 5lakh within 90 days of a bank coming under a moratorium.This Act established the Corporation to provide insurance for bank deposits and guarantee credit given by banks and financial institutions. (PRS Bill Summary,august 2,2021,Suyash Tiwari)

The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill 2021 amended the constitution (scheduled tribes) order 1950.This act removed the Abor tribe from the list of identified STs in Arunachal Pradesh. Further, it replaced certain STs with other tribes.(PRS Bill Summary,August 3,2021,Shruti Gupta)

Some of the other important bills which were passed by the lok sabha without much scrutiny and discussions were Tribunal Reform Bills, 2021 and the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (Amendment) Bill, 2021. The tribunal reforms bill 2021 was passed by the lok sabha in less than ten minutes during the monsoon session itself. This act dissolved certain existing appellate bodies and transferred their functions to other existing judicial bodies. (PRS Bill Summary, August 3, 2021,Aditya Kumar)

The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (Amendment) Bill, 2021 which was passed in just 5minutes was introduced in the lok sabha on 26th july 2021.The Bill replaces the Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (Amendment) Ordinance, 2021.it introduced an alternate insolvency resolution process for micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs) with defaults upto rs. 1 crore called the pre- packaged insolvency resolution process. (PRS Bill Summary, July 27,2021,Tushar Chakrabarty)

Mostly all the bills which were passed during this monsoon session lacked all the serious and necessary discussions, debates, and scrutiny over them. Also, in most instances, the bills were passed within very few minutes or a few days of introduction. During the seventh session of the 17th Lok Sabha which took place between 29 November 2021 to 22 December 2021, some significant bills like the farm laws repeal bill,2021 were discussed for just four minutes before being passed in the Lok Sabha and for eight minutes in the Rajya Sabha. Also, the election laws (amendment) bill 2021 was discussed in the Lok Sabha only for twenty-six minutes.(Sana Ali,2021)

The farm laws repeal bill,2021 was introduced by the minister of agriculture and farmers welfare Mr. Narendra which repealed the three bills passed by the parliament in 2020. The bills which were repealed were 1) the Farmers (Empowerment and Protection) Agreement on Price Assurance and Farm Services Act, 2020, (2) the Farmers' Produce Trade and Commerce (Promotion and Facilitation) Act, 2020, and (3) the Essential Commodities (Amendment) Act, 2020. (PRS Bill Summary,november 29,2021,Shashank Srivastava)

The election laws (amendment) bill 2021 amended the Representation of the People Act, 1950 and the Representation of the People Act, 1951 to implement certain electoral reforms.

MAJOR BILLS PENDING

year	bills pending
2014	1
2015	0
2016	1
2017	0
2018	0
2019	8
2020	1
2021	4
2022	5

source: prs

The main function of parliament is to form laws and make sure they are executed. The process of formulation of a law starts with proposal of a bill in the parliament. A bill is a proposed law that needs to be discussed in the parliament before it becomes law. A bill is either introduced by a minister or member other than minister. It has to be passed in both the houses and assessed by the President. There are many bills pending in the parliament. Some of the important pending bills are:

The Constitution (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) Orders (Second Amendment) Bill, 2022:

This bill was introduced in Lok Sabha on March 28, 2022 under Ministry of Tribal Affairs. It seeks to amend the Constitution (ST) (Uttar Pradesh) Order, 1967 (ST Order) and the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 regarding its execution in Uttar Pradesh. Tribal Affairs Minister Arjun Munda made the statement that the government is committed to the tribal welfare and has gradually increased the budget for the welfare schemes over the years.

In this bill, it is proposed that the Gond community is to be recognised as a scheduled tribe in four districts: Chandauli, Kushinagar, Sant Kabir Nagar, and Sant Ravidas Nagar. (Bureau, The Hindu, Lok Sabha Updates, April 1, 2022, accessed from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/lok-sabha-live-updates-april-1-2022/article65280509.ece>, on 25 October, 2022)

The Prohibition of Child Marriage (Amendment) Bill, 2021

This bill was introduced in Lok Sabha on December 21, 2021 under Ministry of Women and Child Development. It seeks to amend the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act, 2006 to increase minimum age of females to 21 years. Under the 2006 Act, a person married below the minimum age may apply for annulment within two years of attaining majority (i.e., before 20 years of age). The Bill increases this to five years (i.e., 23 years of age).

Though the bill aims at the betterment of the society, Dr. Vageshwari Deswal criticises the amendment by stating that by merely increasing the age of marriage we cannot expect higher participation of women in higher education or workforce. What is really required is a sustained effort at gender equality and women empowerment. (Deswal, Vageshwari, The Times of India, Prohibition of Child Marriage (Amendment) Bill, 2021: A critique, 25 January, 2022, accessed from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/blogs/legally-speaking/prohibition-of-child-marriage-amendment-bill-2021-a-critique/>, on 25 October, 2022)

The Inter-State River Water Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 2019

This bill was introduced in Lok Sabha on July 25, 2019 by the Minister of Jal Shakti, Mr. Gajendra Singh Shekhawat. It seeks to amend the Inter-State River Water Disputes Act, 1956. Under this act, the state government can request the centre to refer an inter-state river dispute to a Tribunal known as Disputes Resolution Committee. The DRC will seek to resolve the dispute through negotiations, within one year (extendable by six months), and submit its report to the central government. If a dispute cannot be settled by the DRC, the central government will refer it to the Inter-State River Water Disputes Tribunal.

This bill seeks to amend the Inter State River Water Disputes Act, 1956 to streamline the adjudication of inter-State river water disputes. A key feature of the Bill is the constitution of a single tribunal with different benches, and the setting of strict timelines for adjudication. (PTI, The Hindu, Bill to set up single tribunal to settle inter-State water introduced, 25 July 2019, access from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/bill-to-set-up-single-tribunal-to-settle-inter-state-water/article28707736.ece>, on 25 October 2022)

The Assam Legislative Council Bill, 2013

This bill was introduced in Rajya Sabha on December 10, 2013 by the Minister for Law and Justice, Mr. Kapil Sibal. The Bill provides for the creation of a Legislative Council for the state of Assam. The Bill states that the total number of seats in the Assam Legislative Council shall be 42. The Bill also proposes amendments to The Representation of the People Act, 1950 and The Representation of the People Act, 1951. (PRS Legislative Research, 2022)

The mines and minerals amendment bill, 2011

This bill was introduced in Rajya Sabha on March 23, 2011 by the Minister of Labour and Employment, Mr. Mallikarjun Kharge. The Bill amends the Mines Act, 1952 which regulates the operation of mines and provides a mechanism for the supervision and safety of the labour working in the mines. It aims at providing a safe environment to miners using new technology used in mines. The Bill increases the penalty payable for breaking the law. The penalty payable by the owner in case of loss of life resulting has been increased from Rs 5,000 to Rs five lakh and the term of imprisonment has been increased from 2 years to 5 years. The penalty for serious bodily injury has similarly been increased from Rs 3,000 to Rs three lakh. (PRS Legislative Research, 2022)

The Mediation Bill, 2021

This bill was introduced in Rajya Sabha on December 20, 2021. The Bill aims to promote, encourage, and facilitate mediation, especially institutional mediation, to resolve disputes, commercial and otherwise(*G.S. Bajpai, the hindu, 2022*). The Bill requires persons to try to settle civil or commercial disputes through mediation before approaching any court or tribunal. The mediation process must be completed within 180 days, which may be extended by another 180 days by the parties. If the parties agree, they may appoint any person as a mediator. If not, they may apply to a mediation service provider to appoint a person from its panel of mediators. Agreements resulting from mediation will be binding and enforceable in the same manner as court judgments (PRS india). One of the key issues in this bill is that it makes participation in pre-litigation mediation mandatory. Mediation is a voluntary dispute resolution process. The question is whether it is appropriate to mandate parties to attempt pre-litigation mediation. On one hand, this could lead to more out of court settlements and reduce the pendency in courts. On the other hand, mandating mediation goes against its voluntary nature (PRS india) The Bill applies to international mediations only if they are conducted in India. It does not provide for enforcement of settlement agreements resulting from international mediation conducted outside India. (**G.S. bajpai, vikram karuna, The hindu 2022**)

Conclusion

The Parliament was established in 1952 after the first General Election. There is much historical evidence of many functioning republics during post-Vedic period. The details of their working can also be found in the Pali texts. Early democracy can be found in Janpads, Paura Sabhas and Gram Sabhas. Only Gram Sabhas, Gram Sanghas or Panchayats continue to exist through the rule of many Hindu and Muslim dynasties and even during the British rule. Later on, it was a big question for Indian nationalists whether they want to adopt the British model of parliamentary institutions or not. While some nationalists like C. Shankaran Nair was in favor of this idea, others such as Mahatma Gandhi opposed this idea strongly. The formulation of broad consensus on futuristic government was visible in the Nehru Report of 1928. It recommended Nineteen fundamental rights including equal rights for women, right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage.

A Parliament is a central institution of the democratic state under the rule of law. A Parliament is a representative institution, usually elected by direct universal suffrage. Political scientists and historians study parliaments from closely related viewpoints. The functions of parliaments differed according to the system of government. Contemporary parliaments are classified as bicameral or unicameral, as 'active' or 'deliberative.' Modern parliaments stem from two roots: first, the corporative assemblies of the Estates that were summoned under the Ancien Regime in Europe, and the second, the broad-based popular representation originating from revolutionary movements. The role of parliaments evolved during the course of the nineteenth century from being initially consultative to being deliberative. Central to an understanding of the evolution of parliaments is the concept of popular sovereignty. There are five principal trends in the historical research on modern parliaments are recovery and systemization of sources; sociological analysis of the composition of parliamentary representation; a prosopographic examination of parliamentary speeches; analysis of the role and impact of parliamentary speeches; and analysis of the role of parliaments in public administration

Questioning the policy and working of government is an important aspect of a democratic state. In the sixteenth Lok Sabha important questions were related to unemployment rate, farmer's suicide, defense, health care and scheduled castes and tribes. In the seventeenth Lok Sabha major questions related to education, drug trafficking, poverty level and increased prices of drugs. A bill is a proposed law that needs to be discussed in parliament and passed in both the houses and assessed by the President for it to become law. Some of the major pending bills are: The Constitution (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) Orders (Second Amendment) Bill, 2022, The Prohibition of Child Marriage (Amendment) Bill, 2021, The Inter-State River Water Disputes (Amendment) Bill, 2019, The Assam Legislative Council Bill, 2013 and The Mediation Bill, 2021.

There are many important bills being passed in the 16th and 17th sessions of Indian parliament so far catering to many different sectors, for instance, in the finance, labour and industry sector important legislations took place which led to passing of many important bills like The companies amendment Bill 2014, The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code 2015, The Benami Transactions (Prohibition) (Amendment) Bill, 2015, The Central Goods and Service Tax Bill 2017, The Fugitive Economic Offenders Bill 2018. In the government and strategic affairs field critical bills like The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Bill, 2018, The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Marriage) Bill, 2019, The Consumer Protection Bill, 2019, The Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Amendment Bill, 2019, The Right to Information (Amendment) Bill, 2019, The Jammu and Kashmir Reorganisation Bill, 2019, The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill 2019, The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Amendment Bill 2021 were passed.

The Indian Parliament has undergone various changes throughout these years. These changes have been seen in terms of devaluation of parliamentary autonomy, poor standards of debates and discussions among many others. Apart from the deterioration in the efficiency of the parliament, there are other parameters of concern.

Under parliamentary democracy, lawmaking is a deliberative and consultative process. Hence, discussions and debates are significant in ensuring social welfare and progress. However, the parliament has observed procedural lapses in pushing key legislations by

avoiding scrutiny. According to PRS Legislative Research Data, the 16th Lok Sabha has referred only 25% bills introduced which are far lower than the previous Lok Sabha. Aside from lawmaking, parliament has also slacked in discussing the annual budget. Further, the data suggests that there has also been a reduction in the amount of time utilized from the allotted for question hour, with only 59% for the Lok Sabha and only 41% in the Rajya Sabha, around the 16th Lok Sabha.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth Lok Sabha, the highest recorded matters which were discussed was in the first session of the 17th Lok Sabha. Further, in the winter session in 2017, for the first time all Zero Hour submissions, all special mentions were fully completed. The key concern for adjournments during both Question hour and Zero Hour has been narrowed to disruptions and uproarious scenes in the Parliament which have risen in the past decade.

Tracing the productivity of the Parliament has a very important aspect of analysing the functioning of parliament in terms of passing the bills without proper discussion. As a democracy, parliament's sole job is to hold discussions as they are the representatives of the People and the diverse community India holds and their respective aspirations and interests which has to be kept the utmost priority by the elected leaders of our country. But eventually all these morals and values are not practically prevalent in the Indian democracy there has been a practice of passing the bills introduced immediately without designating it the proper amount of time needed to analyse the bill's need and validity and other major aspects. As far as 16th Lok Sabha is concerned, The 16th Lok Sabha met for 1,615 hours, 40% lower than all full-term Parliaments. This shows a decline in the number of sitting days over the decades as well as a significant part of the scheduled time lost to disruptions. This Lok Sabha sat for 331 days (against a 468-day average for all previous full-term Lok Sabhas), and lost 16% of its time to disruptions. One of the major role of parliament is to approve the Union Budget and authorize the expenditure of the government. The union budget includes the demands for grants of various ministries which authorizes their expenditure. These demands are discussed ministry-wise. The 2018 Union Budget of India was the annual financial statement, demand for grants, appropriation bill and finance bill of India for the financial year 2018-19. It was

presented to parliament on 1 February 2018 by Finance Minister Arun Jaitley and also was passed on the same day without holding much of a discussion by the lok sabha.

17% of the union budget was discussed in the 16th lok sabha whereas 83% of the budget was passed by the lok sabha without discussion. The proportion of the union budget discussed is ironically higher than the previous two lok sabhas. In the budget session 2018-19, 100% of demands were passed without discussions and this also can be witnessed in the 2004-05 and 2013-14 budget sessions as well.

Debates, discussions and deliberations on the important issues facing the country in the Indian parliament are the cornerstone of parliamentary democracy. Parliamentary debates strengthen social cohesion by putting political divisions into words. They therefore help to institutionalize the social conflict – a process that is at the heart of the functioning of representative democracy. In India also, each of the bills is discussed and deliberated upon by both of the houses of the parliament before it is passed and changes are also proposed during this process in the bill. Article 107 of the Indian constitution clearly mentions that no bill shall be deemed to have been passed unless both the houses have agreed to it. However, during the 17th lok, we observe that certain bills were passed by the parliament without much discussion and debate on them. There was a declining trend in the time spent on discussions on the bill. The 17th lok sabha passed approx. 35 percent of the bills in less than 30 minutes. The Limited Liability Partnership (Amendment) Bill 2021, The Insurance and Credit Guarantee Corporation (Amendment) Bill 2021 and The Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill 2021 were passed by Lok Sabha in just **20 minutes**. The Insurance and Credit Guarantee Corporation (Amendment) Bill 2021 was passed on 09 august 2021 in less than 20 minutes. Tribunal reforms bill 22021 was also passed by the lok sabha without a discussion even after being asked the opposition for it specifically. One of the bills which is The Insolvency and Bankruptcy Code (Amendment) Bill, 2021 was passed in just 5 minutes which is very less time for such an important bill. The farm laws repeal bill, 2021 concerning the farmers of the country also was not even discussed properly. Another example of the bill which was passed without necessary discussion was the election laws (amendment) bill 2021 which was also discussed for less than 30 minutes before being passed. Hence, we can conclude by saying that all of the above-mentioned important bills were passed by the Indian parliament which lacked all the necessary discussion, deliberation, scrutiny on them.

Parliament's functioning involves the role of the opposition to hold the ruling government accountable. Recent decade has seen the rise of adversarial politics, and a domineering executive that has sidelined all other institutions. Other than disturbing the ethos of the legislature, there is also the financial cost of such disruptions. According to the then Parliamentary Affairs Minister, Pawan Bansal the cost of parliamentary disruption is Rs. 2.5 lakh per minute. Such disruptions cost the nation with inefficient laws and lack of a constructive approach on pressing issues before the country.

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