

INDIAN DEMOCRACY IN APPLICATION

PERFORMANCE OF XV LOK SABHA - A PERSPECTIVE

Lok Sabha Performance Overview - Sittings & Disruption

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This research report has been compiled by Rezorce Research Foundation for purpose of information dissemination and serious discussion on the state of today's Parliament in India. All information is sourced from official documents published by different departments concerned. You agree to credit Rezorce Research Foundation for any information used from this report. All inferences are responsibility of Rezorce and no one else. Please contact Narendra KV, Director for any further information

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Research Purpose

Democracy is the single biggest achievement that we can claim as a country. Democracy is not just about elections. It is more about what happens between elections.

We have seen popular, street side movements over the last couple of years. Popular disenchantment with political process is reflected in these street protests. It is not in the best interest of Indian democracy for its citizens to be cynical about the system and about its democratic representatives.

We have taken our democratic institutions and the process for granted. Like in a good marriage, all stakeholders have to continuously contribute to make things work. Brinkmanship cannot be an “all weather strategy” for any group or section within the Parliament.

Indian Parliament, like all institutions, needs feedback and collective resolution to become responsive to popular aspirations. Democratic practice is an expensive exercise. It is also an involved exercise. An audit of specific performance parameters would help practitioners make the institution more relevant to the aspirations of the citizens. Constant public review is the best safeguard to assure ourselves that we are getting the best returns for our collective investment in this institution. This study is an exercise in that direction.

The culmination of XV Lok Sabha gives us an opportunity to examine the state of our democratic institutions. We analyze whether Parliamentary India is experiencing tiredness or is as vigorous as in the past 63 years.

Report Methodology

We have divided parliamentary participation into six sections. The division is based on the **Key Result Areas** for the role of a Parliamentarian

1. Administration
 - a. Session Information + Disruptions
 - b. Attendance
 - c. MPLAD Scheme
2. Legislation
 - a. Government Bills
 - b. Private Member Bills
 - c. Private Member Resolutions
 - d. Parliamentary Committees
3. Oversight
 - a. Questions – Efficiency
 - b. Questions – Effectivity
 - i. Assurances – Given + Executed + Pending
 - ii. Half – An – Hour Discussion [Rule 55]
4. Budget
 - a. Budget Debates
 - b. Budget Proposal Vs Execution – Railway Proposals
5. Representation
 - a. State + Constituency
 - b. Debates
 - i. Adjournment Motions
 - ii. No – Day – Yet – Named Motion
 - iii. Calling Attention – Rule 197
 - iv. Matters under Rule 377
 - v. Short Duration Discussions
 - vi. Statement Under Rule 199
 - vii. Petitions

6. Inclusivity

- a. Special Groups
 - i. Women Issues
 - ii. SC / ST / OBC
 - iii. Disability
 - iv. Minority
- b. Special Interests [Covers multiple departments]
 - i. Agriculture
 - ii. Rural Development
 - iii. Urban Development
 - iv. Primary Education
 - v. Higher Education
 - vi. MSME
- c. Department – wise Summary
 - i. Questions
 - ii. Debates
 - iii. Assurances

This completely covers the complete scope of what a Parliamentarian can do. We are sharing the report section – wise.

This documents deals with Sittings and Disruptions

What Indian Parliament Costs?

Parliament is an expensive institution. During the tenure of this Lok Sabha, the Planning Commission released the official figures on poverty line. It reduced the official figures to Rs.28.65 per capita daily consumption in cities and Rs.22.42 per capita daily consumption in villages, scaling down India's poverty ratio to 29.8%. Without commenting on the validity of these figures, one has to remember that a person earning less than Rs.30 daily contributes substantially to the making of this democracy. The government concedes that 3 out of 10 Indians belong to this class and their aspirations are represented equally by this elected body. When we comment on the performance of this institution, we consider the hard work, the monetary contribution and the aspirations of these sections, as equally as the industry and middle class, who voices have alternate avenues for articulation.

There are two types of costs involved in the working of Parliament. Direct costs are those that involve maintenance of Parliamentary administration through the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs, salaries and expenses of parliamentarians and associated costs. These are directly billed under Major Head 2011.

Every department and affiliated organization of the government has to spend directly and indirectly to provide information to the Parliament. These are indirect costs. The actual indirect costs are not accounted in the system.

The actual direct costs voted by the Parliament are as follows:

Sl. #	Year	Amount
1	2009 – 2010	3,846,500,000.00
2	2010 – 2011	3,816,500,000.00
3	2011 – 2012	4,150,356,000.00
4	2012 – 2013	4,694,262,000.00
5	2013 – 2014 [Estimate]	5,351,100,000.00
Total [INR]		21,858,718,000.00

Source: Demand of Grants – Lok Sabha – Annual Statements

The total amount of money spent on XV Lok Sabha is approximately 22 billion Indian Rupees.

Cost / Minute of Session

SESSION	START	END	DAYS	ACTUAL	HOURS
XV LOK SABHA					
I SESSION	25-05-2009	09-06-2009	9	7	28:03:00
II SESSION	02-07-2009	07-08-2009	37	26	162:11:00
III SESSION	19-11-2009	18-11-2009	30	21	105:12:00
IV SESSION	22-02-2010	07-05-2010	75	32	137:51:00
V SESSION	26-07-2010	27-08-2010	37	26	136:22:00
VI SESSION	09-11-2010	13-12-2010	35	23	7:35:00
VII SESSION	21-02-2011	25-03-2011	33	23	116:40:00
VIII SESSION	01-08-2011	08-09-2011	39	26	104:15:00
IX SESSION	22-11-2011	29-12-2011	38	24	85:01:00
X SESSION	12-03-2012	22-05-2012	72	35	187:36:00
XI SESSION	08-08-2012	07-09-2012	31	19	24:22:00
XII SESSION	22-11-2012	20-12-2012	29	20	61:45:00
XIII SESSION	21-02-2013	08-05-2013	77	32	94:57:00
XIV SESSION	05-08-2013	06-09-2013	33	21	73:11:00
XV SESSION	05-12-2013	20-12-2013	15	10	10:00:00
TOTAL			590	345	1335:01:00

Source: Statement of Work, Lok Sabha

Lok Sabha has spent a total of **1,335** hours, **01** minute of parliamentary time. Co – terminus to the XV Lok Sabha, Rajya Sabha held 14 Sessions. They had a total sitting of **334** days and **1,183** hours, **25** minutes. The total Parliamentary time comes to **2,518** hours and **26** minutes.

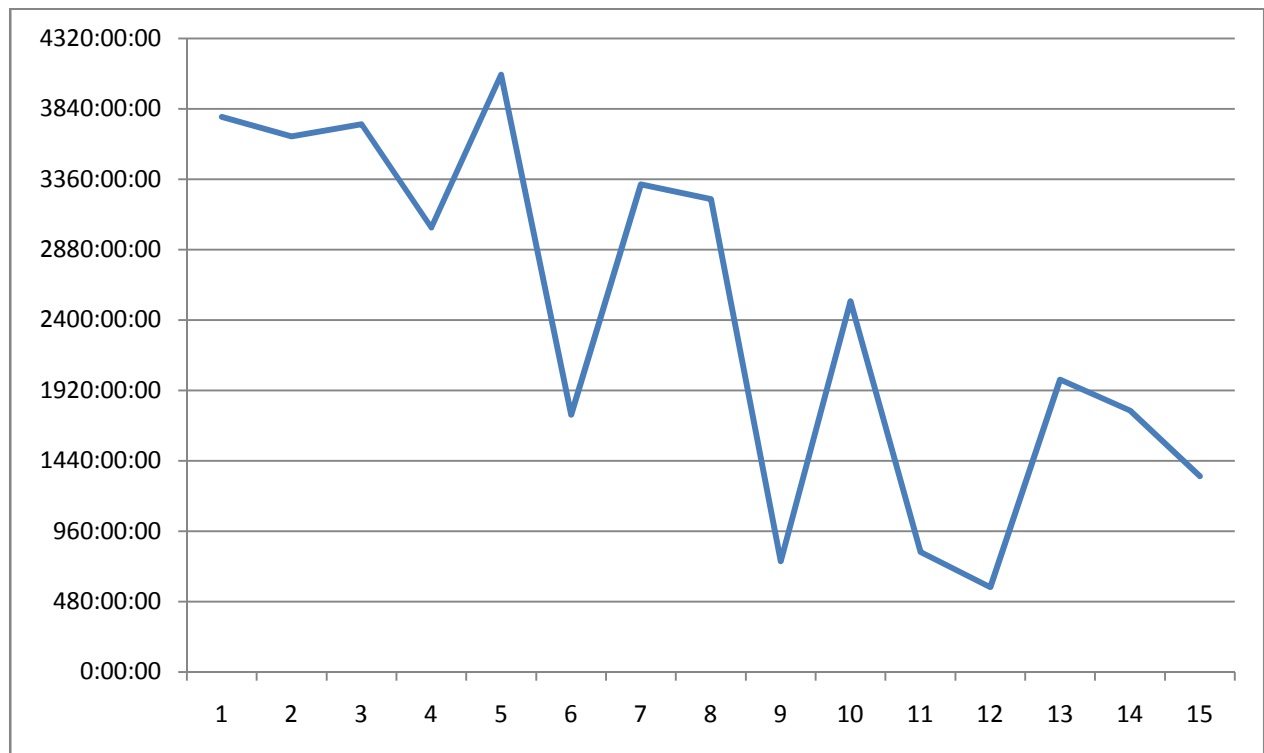
Considering equal cost for each minute spent by either house, the actual cost per minute of deliberations in Lok Sabha is **Rs.86,79,491.57**

Each minute of Lok Sabha time costs Rs.86.79 Lakhs

Lok Sabha Sittings – Declining Trend

LOK SABHA	SESSIONS	SITTINGS	HOURS	DUR / SES
I	15	697	3784:00:00	252:16:00
II	16	581	3651:00:00	228:11:15
III	16	578	3733:00:00	233:18:45
IV	12	469	3029:00:00	252:25:00
V	18	613	4072:00:00	226:13:20
VI	9	267	1753:00:00	194:46:40
VII	15	475	3324:01:00	221:36:04
VIII	14	485	3223:52:00	230:16:34
IX	7	109	754:00:00	107:42:51
X	16	423	2527:56:00	157:59:45
XI	6	125	816:37:00	136:06:10
XII	4	88	577:43:00	144:25:45
XIII	14	356	1994:01:00	142:25:47
XIV	15	332	1782:36:00	118:50:24
XV	15	462	1335:01:00	89:00:04

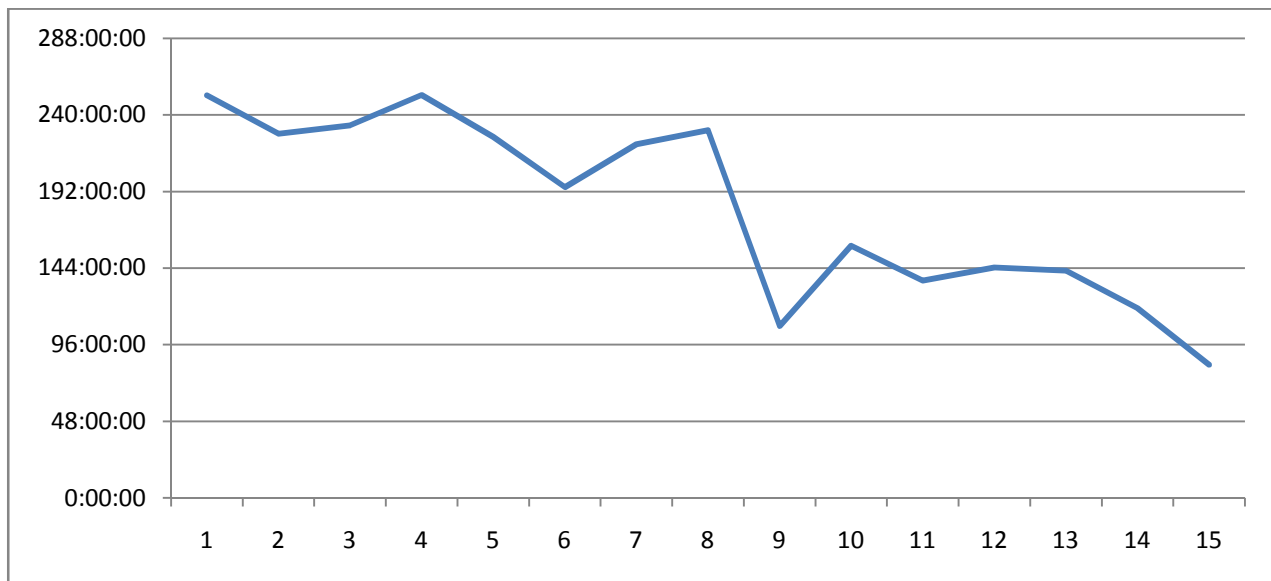
Source: Lok Sabha Statistics Handbook, 2013 and Statement of Work, Lok Sabha



A perusal of number of working hours of Lok Sabha suggests India has lost its enthusiasm for democracy. Parliamentary proceedings during the early years were quite elaborate and it appears that members were enthusiastic about their participation.

The Current Lok Sabha just sat **30.74%** of the time that V Lok Sabha transacted business.

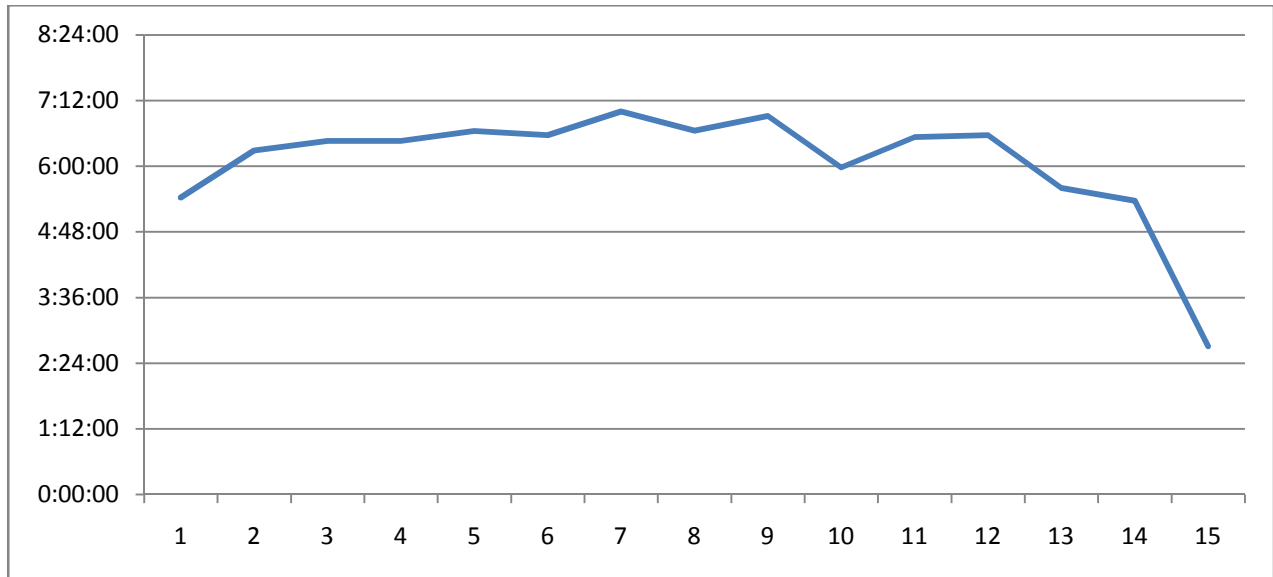
Duration / Session



In terms of duration / session [i.e. the numbers of hours that each session transacted business], the IV Lok Sabha average was **252H:25M** compared to **83H:27M** for the present Lok Sabha. The average time per session has dropped to **32%** of its almost uniform peak during the first 30 years of Parliament.



Duration / Sitting



The average amount of time that Parliament works on an average day during session has dropped to **2 hours, 53 minutes** from **6 hours, 19 minutes** for earlier 14 Lok Sabha gatherings

What India Lost Due to Interruptions

SESSION	START	END	LOST
XV LOK SABHA			
I SESSION	01-06-2009	09-06-2009	0
II SESSION	02-07-2009	07-08-2009	23:45
III SESSION	19-11-2009	18-11-2009	31:49:00
IV SESSION	22-02-2010	07-05-2010	69:51:00
V SESSION	26-07-2010	31-08-2010	45:00:00
VI SESSION	09-11-2010	13-12-2010	124:40:00
VII SESSION	21-02-2011	25-03-2011	25:18:00
VIII SESSION	01-08-2011	08-09-2011	51:06:00
IX SESSION	22-11-2011	29-12-2011	76:21:00
X SESSION	12-03-2012	22-05-2012	48:42:00
XI SESSION	08-08-2012	07-09-2012	77:51:00
XII SESSION	22-11-2012	20-12-2012	59:07:00
XIII SESSION	21-02-2013	08-05-2013	92:40:00
XIV SESSION	05-08-2013	06-09-2013	73:41:00
XV SESSION	05-12-2013	20-12-2013	25:00:00
TOTAL			824:51:00

Source: Statement of Work, Lok Sabha – Annual Statements

SESSION	START	END	LOST
RAJYA SABHA			
216	04-06-2009	09-06-2009	0:00:00
217	02-07-2009	07-08-2009	9:50:00
218	19-11-2009	22-12-2009	13:00:00
219	22-02-2010	07-05-2010	47:00:00
220	26-07-2010	31-08-2010	35:00:00
221	09-11-2010	13-12-2010	102:29:00
222	21-02-2011	25-03-2011	19:55:00
223	01-08-2011	08-09-2011	53:35:00
224	22-11-2011	29-12-2011	56:27:00
225	12-03-2012	22-05-2012	22:35:00
226	08-08-2012	07-09-2012	65:30:00
227	22-11-2012	20-12-2012	47:32:00
228	21-02-2013	08-05-2013	82:55:00
TOTAL			602:17:00



Indian Democracy in Application
Performance of XV Lok Sabha – Sessions & Disruptions

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The cost of political squabbles in Parliament is as follows: **86,79,491.57**

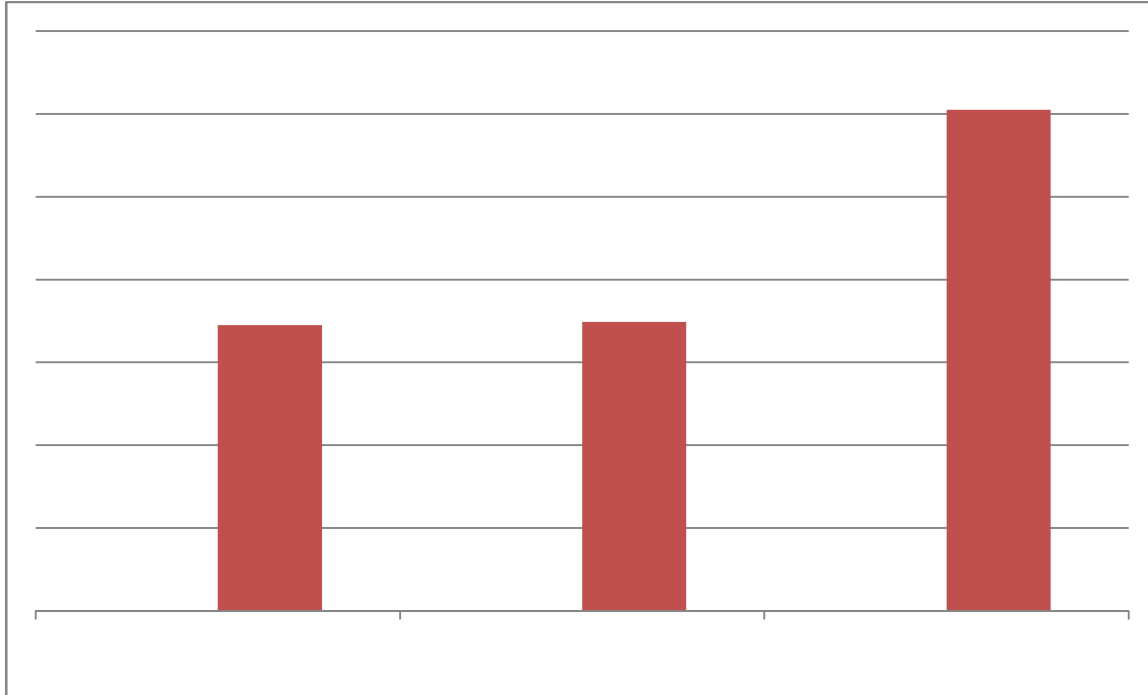
HOUSE	COST / MINUTE	DISRUPTION	TOTAL COST
LOK SABHA	8,679,491.57	824:51:00	715,92,78,623.77
RAJYA SABHA	8,679,491.57	602:17:00	522,75,12,826.75
TOTAL		1,427:08:00	1238,67,91,450.52

Cost of political squabbles in Parliament = Rs.1238.67 Crores

Disruptions – An Alarming Trend

Lok Sabha	Disruption Hours
XIII	414:05:00
XIV	418:26:00
XV	726:10:00

Source: Statement of Work, Lok Sabha – Annual Statements



The number of hours of disruption has risen over the last three Lok Sabha. The number of hours of disruption has increased by over **175%** this Lok Sabha as compared to NDA and UPA I. Our elected representatives have forgotten basic political etiquette and core responsibilities to the people who have voted them to power. Televised parliamentary proceedings of this wanton behavior have only hastened public disenchantment.

Rezorce Observations

Disruption Reasons

Parliamentary disruptions imply inability of parties to accommodate other person's views in discussions. It is a legitimate way to stall discussions on uncomfortable matters on the floor of the house.

The dedication and sacrifices of the freedom movement held Parliament together for nearly three decades. We have a generation that has just heard of the freedom struggle, but has not experienced the hardship personally. We are at an inflexion point in the maturity of our Parliamentary systems and the trend to disrupt Parliament is just a pointer towards that maturity process. As a part of the maturity process, and with change in attitudes of the stakeholders, systemic changes are required.

Our analysis indicates three strong trends in Parliament disruption:

1. Political posturing in Parliament for benefit of voters in home state
2. Government's hesitation to debate inconvenient subjects
3. Sheer parliamentary boredom

Political Posturing

Live parliamentary / legislature coverage encourages disruptive behavior that 24 * 7 news coverage happily consume. A political party member can get immediate publicity and viewer interest by taking up an emotive issue with the sole intention of disrupting Parliament. Leaders' become heroes in their constituencies overnight. Notoriety guarantees mind space that years of dedicated and sincere parliament work seldom bring. This is one of foremost reasons for disruptions of Parliament.

Example:

1. Telegu Desam Party disrupted Parliament through the XV Session of the XV Lok Sabha on the issue of Lok Sabha. Nearly 90 hours was lost on the issue. The whole

issue of Telengana formation is an emotive issue that has created a deep divide in one of India's largest state

2. However, neither proponents of Telangana nor its opponents ever initiated a planned discussion on the issue.
3. Through the XV Lok Sabha there have been three brief debates on the formation of Telengana state
 - a. 15 – 12 – 2009 – Special Mention - Mr. Konakalle Narayana Rao, Machilipatnam - Telugu Desam MP
 - i. Mr. Narayana Rao had not even provided the necessary notice, but the speaker still allowed discussion.
 - ii. Mr. Narayana Rao did not communicate anything due to interruptions
 - b. 05 – 08 – 2011 – Calling Attention Motion [Rule 197] – Ms. Sushma Swaraj, Vidisha – BJP MP & Leader of Opposition
 - i. Ms. Sushma Swaraj and Mr. Gurudas Dasgupta spoke on behalf of BJP and Congress
 - ii. Mr. Satyanarayana Sarvey [Malkajgiri] and Mr. KS Rao [Eluru] – both of Congress Party spoke from an Andhra Pradesh perspective
 - iii. Mr. Chidambaram spoke on behalf of the Government
 - c. 07 – 03 – 2013 – Special Mention – Rajaiah Siricilla, Warangal – Indian National Congress MP
 - i. He raised the issue of creation of Telengana state and wanted the creation of the state ASAP.
4. The Telugu Desam Party [or for that matter any other Party] involved in the dispute sought a discussion and present their point of view. The focus of the two special mention was done keeping in mind their constituency and not to take the discussion forward.

In just the XV Session, some of the other issues that led to disruption of Parliament, but did not lead to any attempt at discussion include:

1. Disruption of Parliament by Samajwadi Party on 26 – 08 – 2013 over the 84 Kose Yatra planned by VHP in Ayodhya, UP

2. Disruption of Parliament by BJP on 22 – 08 – 2013 uproar over the killing of Dr. Narendra Dabholkar, a noted social activist on 20th August, 2013 in Pune
3. Disruption of Parliament by BJP & other opposition parties on 06 – 08 – 2013 and 07 – 08 – 2013 over an uproar on the issue of ambush close to the Line of Control in Punch Sector of Jammu and Kashmir by the Pakistan Army on August 6, 2013
4. Disruption of Parliament by Opposition parties on 05 – 09 – 2013 uproar over the issues of reservation for SCs/STs in Government jobs

If there is a change of law that prohibits national publicity for notoriety and disruption, then the issues of disruption for just publicity sake will come down dramatically.

Hesitation to Debate

Governments believe that stalling discussion in parliament diffuses uncharitable media attention. The enthusiasm for Parliament [and legislative sessions] comes down dramatically when one moves from opposition benches to the government.

Trust deficit, absence of mutual respect and personal ego clashes add to the conundrum of hesitation to be publicly accountable to the country through the Parliament.

In the initial days, when most persons in the opposition shared a close personal rapport and friendship with the government, the differences were only political and seldom personal. Differences between Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajaji and his formation of Swatantra Party were purely political and there was never any personal animosity between the gentlemen. However, in current context, personal animosity and personal attacks come out with all ugliness even in debates. Small, but significant systemic changes can be used to interrupt Parliament. These systemic changes need to be addressed.

The Systemic Reasons

Lok Sabha has an institution called **Business Advisory Committee**. The Business Advisory Committee has 15 members representing every significant political party. The speaker heads the Committee. The Committee has to plan the agenda for the Parliament by

consensus. Members can veto subjects that they believe should not be discussed in the House. The Business Advisory Committee has met 15 times this Lok Sabha.

Even though it is the Business Advisory Committee that has to decide the agenda, it is the government that drives the business. The ruling party by virtue of its Lok Sabha majority has a maximum percentage of seats in the BAC. In the current Lok Sabha, Indian National Congress had six members and ruling UPA had 10 members including DMK, AITC, BSP and SP.

The government by virtue of this majority in BAC stops all inconvenient subjects that hurt the credibility of the government from discussion in the House. A frustrated opposition stalls Parliament in retaliation. It is a different question that the government has finally relented to the opposition in each case. The disruptions ahead of the discussion are a tremendous waste of time and opportunity.

Some of the systemic changes that we believe can drastically reduce disruptions in the house include the following:

1. Reduce government's and Business Advisory Committee's discretion regarding defining the parliamentary agenda.
2. If 5% of the members desire to have a debate on any non – voting motion and 10% of the members sign on a voting motion, then the debate must be held as per defined procedures.

Parliamentary Boredom

It appears that there is a broad political consensus on disrupting parliament. Political parties take turns to block parliament about specific issues and then move on without any apparent parliamentary resolution. If it is one party today, it is a different party tomorrow. The issues may be different, but the result is the same. It is akin to students disrupting teachers to stop classes in colleges – the net effect is that every student loses.

This parliamentary boredom can only be resolved; if Parliamentary Parties can plan the issues they want their members to highlight every session.

Rezorce Other Observations

1. It is an interesting piece of statistics that the V Lok Sabha [15 – 03 – 1971 to 18 – 01 – 1977] which coincided with the Emergency had most hours of Parliamentary Sitting. Mrs. Indira Gandhi is seen as an autocrat, because she clamped the Emergency. The performance of the Lok Sabha during her tenure, from all aspects, is actually the best.
2. Except the brief period that the Janata Party was in power [between 1977 – 1980 – VI Lok Sabha], at all other times from 1952 to 1989, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Sastri, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi were Prime Ministers, the Lok Sabha met for over 3,000 hours with each the average duration / session being 235 hours. The average working day was 6 hours, 37 minutes. The current Lok Sabha in contrast worked 1251 hours at 2 hours, 42 minutes per day.
3. Strong leaders, with belief in plurality, drive Parliament. Anecdotal evidence for the current Lok Sabha suggests the absence of such drive from the government. What erodes further faith is that the projected alternatives from the opposition or the ruling party fare no better on this count.

About Rezorce Research Foundation

Rezorce Research Foundation [http://www.rezorce.com/rezorce_research_foundation] is a not – for – profit research foundation registered under the Trusts Act. We focus on research in three different areas: [1] Staffing; [2] Forensic Research; [3] Software Labs and [4] Public Policy. Our achievements in the last three years are as follows:

1. Forensic Research

- a. We are one of the only Forensic research organizations in the private sector globally focused on business intelligence
- b. We have four patents in the areas of investigation and verification
- c. “Role Based Verification” is a service focused to help Indian private sector companies eliminate résumé padding during hiring

2. Staffing

- a. We have listed 7,000+ bogus employers on our web portal, Rezorce~Check Employer Red Data around India [<http://www.rezorce.com/rezorcecheckemployerredata.php>].
- b. These companies are in the business of giving fake employment offers and certificates and cheating people
- c. The portal access is given free to all Employers. 13,500+ access the portal every month

3. Software Labs

- a. We manage 28 Professional Groups on LinkedIn. Senior architects globally interact professionally through these forums on software architecture and design related areas
- b. 8 of the Groups have the largest professional members from around the world in their space. 18 other groups are among the Top 5 in their technology space globally.

4. Public Policy

- a. Our intervention is to make parliamentary and legislative bodies function better
- b. We contribute to public debate that Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha invite through different committees.
- c. We believe that petitions are a powerful tool for a common man in a democracy to get administration to act. We have filed petitions to the committee of petitions in different areas to validate our beliefs
- d. We have actively contributed in the following areas:
 - i. Reducing banking frauds and NPA through better risk management
 - ii. Hoysala temples on Karnataka tourist circuit