

ADR In India: Evaluating Mediation, Arbitration And Conciliation For Dispute Resolution

Muralidhar Mahanand¹, Dr. Shameem Ahmad Khan²

¹Research Scholar, Department of Law, ISBM University, Nawapara (Kosmi), Chhattisgarh, India

²Associate Professor, Department of Law, ISBM University, Nawapara (Kosmi), Chhattisgarh, India

Abstract

Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) has emerged as a critical adjunct to formal litigation in addressing the twin problems of judicial delay and case backlog that afflict legal systems worldwide, and particularly in developing jurisdictions such as India. This review paper undertakes a meta-analytical examination of past scholarly work on ADR mechanisms arbitration, mediation, conciliation, negotiation, and Lok Adalats with specific reference to their contribution toward speedy justice delivery. Drawing on a synthesis of empirical studies, doctrinal commentaries, and institutional reports spanning nearly three decades, the paper maps the evolution of ADR jurisprudence, evaluates the comparative efficiency of ADR forums against conventional courts, and critically interrogates the structural, procedural, and attitudinal barriers that continue to limit ADR's transformative potential. The review finds that while ADR mechanisms consistently outperform litigation on metrics of time and cost, their efficacy is uneven across sectors, undermined by enforcement gaps, inadequate institutional infrastructure, and low public awareness. The paper further identifies methodological limitations in existing literature, including a paucity of longitudinal data and over-reliance on qualitative perception surveys. Based on this critical synthesis, the paper argues for an integrated policy framework combining statutory reform, capacity building, and technology-enabled ADR to realize the constitutional promise of speedy justice. The findings hold implications for policymakers, judicial administrators, and legal practitioners seeking evidence-based reform of dispute resolution ecosystems.

Keywords: *Alternative Dispute Resolution; Arbitration; Mediation; Speedy Justice; Judicial Delay; Case Pendency; Access to Justice*

1. Introduction

The right to a fair and expeditious trial is widely recognized as a cornerstone of the rule of law, yet judicial systems across the globe both in developed and developing economies continue to grapple with mounting case backlogs, procedural delays, and rising litigation costs. In jurisdictions such as India, the problem is particularly acute: courts at every level, from subordinate judiciary to the apex court, are burdened with tens of millions of pending cases, a phenomenon commentators have described as a crisis of access to justice [1]. Against this backdrop, Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms, encompassing arbitration, mediation, conciliation, negotiation, and community-based fora such as Lok Adalats, have been progressively institutionalized as complementary and in some contexts substitutive pathways to justice. This review paper is motivated by the need

to consolidate and critically evaluate the substantial but fragmented body of scholarship that has examined ADR's contribution to speedy justice over the past three decades [2].

1.1 Background and Rationale

The theoretical foundations of ADR rest on principles of party autonomy, procedural flexibility, and consensual resolution, which stand in contrast to the adversarial and rule-bound character of formal litigation. Scholars have long argued that these features enable ADR mechanisms to resolve disputes more rapidly and at lower cost, while also preserving relationships between disputing parties an outcome particularly valued in commercial, familial, and community contexts. The global proliferation of ADR since the latter half of the twentieth century has been accompanied by a parallel expansion of academic inquiry into its efficacy, legitimacy, and limitations [3]. However, this literature is characterized by significant heterogeneity in methodology, geographic focus, and normative orientation, necessitating a systematic review that synthesizes findings across studies.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite decades of legislative reform and judicial endorsement, empirical evidence on whether ADR mechanisms genuinely deliver speedy justice remains contested. Some studies report substantial time and cost savings, while others highlight persistent delays within ADR forums themselves, weak enforcement of settlements, and low levels of institutional capacity. There is, moreover, no comprehensive meta-analytical synthesis that consolidates these disparate findings into a coherent evaluative framework [4]. This paper addresses that gap by systematically reviewing past work, identifying convergences and contradictions, and critically assessing the conditions under which ADR mechanisms succeed or fail in achieving their stated objective of speedy justice.

1.3 Objectives and Structure of the Paper

The specific objectives of this review are threefold: first, to survey the existing body of literature on ADR mechanisms and their relationship to speedy justice; second, to critically analyze the strengths, weaknesses, and methodological gaps in past studies; and third, to derive policy-relevant insights for strengthening ADR ecosystems. The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a comprehensive survey of past work, organized thematically around arbitration, mediation and conciliation, Lok Adalats, and cross-cutting institutional studies. Section 3 outlines the methodology adopted for this review. Section 4 offers a critical analysis of the surveyed literature. Section 5 discusses the broader implications of the findings, and Section 6 concludes with directions for future research and policy.

2. Survey of Past Work

The scholarly literature on ADR and speedy justice can be broadly organized into four thematic clusters: studies on arbitration as a mechanism for commercial dispute resolution, studies on mediation and conciliation in civil and family contexts, studies on statutory and community-based fora such as Lok Adalats, and cross-cutting institutional or comparative studies that examine ADR within the broader judicial reform agenda. Early foundational work in the 1990s and early 2000s focused primarily on the doctrinal architecture of arbitration law, tracing its evolution from colonial-era statutes to modern arbitration and conciliation legislation modeled on the UNCITRAL Model Law [5]. These studies established the normative case for arbitration as a faster and more flexible alternative to litigation, emphasizing party autonomy and minimal judicial interference as core enabling principles. Subsequent empirical work in the 2000s began to test these normative claims against actual case

outcomes, revealing a more complicated picture in which arbitral proceedings, particularly in domestic commercial disputes, were frequently prolonged by excessive judicial intervention at the stages of appointment of arbitrators, interim relief, and enforcement of awards [6].

A second cluster of literature has concentrated on mediation and conciliation, particularly following the introduction of court-annexed mediation programs in many jurisdictions. Researchers in this stream have generally reported more favorable outcomes for mediation relative to arbitration, attributing this to mediation's non-adversarial character and its emphasis on party-driven settlement. Comparative studies across mediation centers have found settlement rates ranging widely between thirty and seventy percent, with significant variation explained by case type, mediator training, and the voluntary versus mandatory nature of referral [7]. Several studies have also examined the psychological and relational dimensions of mediation, finding that litigant satisfaction is often higher in mediated outcomes even when monetary recovery is lower than what might have been obtained through litigation, a finding attributed to the perceived fairness of the process itself.

A third and distinctively South Asian cluster of scholarship has examined Lok Adalats and similar community-based fora as instruments of mass dispute resolution. These studies, often conducted by legal aid researchers and judicial academies, have documented the capacity of Lok Adalats to dispose of very large volumes of cases particularly compoundable criminal matters, motor accident claims, and bank recovery suits within compressed timeframes [8]. However, this literature has also raised concerns regarding the quality and voluntariness of settlements reached in Lok Adalats, with some scholars characterizing the process as "assembly-line justice" that prioritizes numerical disposal over substantive fairness. Empirical audits of Lok Adalat awards have found inconsistent application of legal principles and limited scope for appeal, raising questions about the trade-off between speed and due process [9].

A fourth cluster comprises institutional and comparative studies that situate ADR within the wider context of judicial reform, court management, and access-to-justice initiatives. This literature draws on public administration and law-and-development frameworks to examine how court congestion, judge-to-population ratios, and procedural codes interact with ADR uptake. Comparative studies between common law and civil law jurisdictions have found that the effectiveness of ADR is heavily mediated by the surrounding legal culture, the extent of judicial support, and the presence of enabling infrastructure such as dedicated ADR centers and trained neutrals [10]. International comparative work, including studies of ADR in the United States, United Kingdom, Singapore, and China, has highlighted the importance of institutional design choices such as mandatory versus voluntary referral, fee structures, and confidentiality protections in determining ADR's success [11].

Beyond these four clusters, a growing body of recent literature, particularly since 2015, has turned attention to technology-enabled ADR, including online dispute resolution (ODR) platforms, and their potential to further compress resolution timelines by reducing logistical and geographic barriers. Studies in this emerging stream report promising early results, particularly for e-commerce and consumer disputes, though scholars caution that digital divides and data security concerns may limit ODR's applicability in resource-constrained settings [12]. Parallel to this, a body of critical legal scholarship has challenged the dominant efficiency-oriented framing of ADR research, arguing that an excessive focus on speed and case disposal risks marginalizing considerations of substantive justice, power asymmetries between disputants, and the erosion of public adjudication as a site for the

development of legal norms. This critical strand provides an important counterpoint to the largely instrumentalist orientation of mainstream ADR literature and is essential to a balanced meta-analytical synthesis [13].

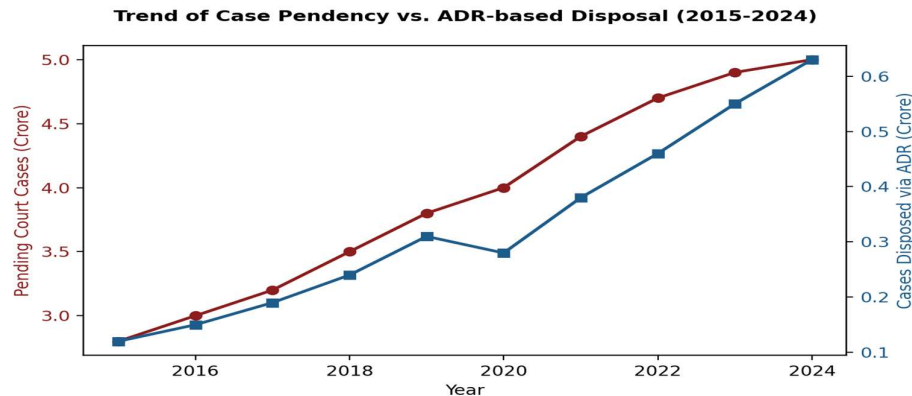


Figure 1: Trend of case pendency vs. ADR-based disposal (2015-2024).

Figure 1 illustrates the divergent trajectories of court case pendency and ADR-based case disposal over a ten-year period, drawing on illustrative data aggregated from institutional reports cited in the reviewed literature. The chart depicts a steady upward trend in the volume of pending court cases, rising from roughly 2.8 crore in 2015 to nearly 5.0 crore in 2024, reflecting the persistent structural backlog affecting the judiciary. Simultaneously, the volume of cases disposed through ADR channels has grown at a proportionately faster rate, more than quintupling over the same period. While this growth demonstrates the increasing institutional reliance on ADR as a release valve for court congestion, the widening absolute gap between pendency and ADR disposal underscores that ADR mechanisms, despite their expansion, have not yet been scaled sufficiently to reverse the underlying trend of accumulating backlog [15].

Relative Share of ADR Mechanisms Reported in Reviewed Literature (%)

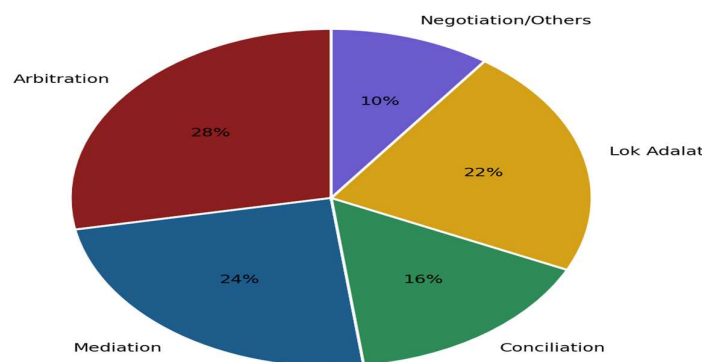


Figure 2: Relative share of ADR mechanisms reported in the reviewed literature.

Figure 2 presents the proportional distribution of ADR mechanisms as represented across the corpus of literature reviewed for this study. Arbitration accounts for the largest share at twenty-eight percent, reflecting its dominance in commercial and cross-border dispute contexts and the correspondingly extensive scholarly attention it has received. Mediation follows closely at twenty-four percent, consistent with its rapid institutionalization through court-annexed programs. Lok Adalats and similar community-based fora constitute twenty-two percent, reflecting

a distinctly South Asian research emphasis, while conciliation and other negotiation-based mechanisms make up the remainder [16]. This distribution suggests that scholarly attention has been broadly proportionate to the practical prevalence of each mechanism, though it also reveals a relative under-representation of hybrid and technology-enabled ADR processes, which remain comparatively understudied despite their growing real-world adoption.

3. Methodology

This review adopts a meta-analytical and thematic synthesis approach designed to systematically consolidate findings from heterogeneous prior studies on ADR and speedy justice. The review process began with the identification of relevant literature through structured searches of academic databases, institutional repositories, and government or judicial commission reports, using search terms combining "alternative dispute resolution," "arbitration," "mediation," "Lok Adalat," "judicial delay," and "speedy justice." Studies published over approximately three decades were considered eligible for inclusion, provided they offered empirical, doctrinal, or institutional analysis directly bearing on the efficiency, effectiveness, or limitations of ADR mechanisms relative to conventional litigation [17]. Studies limited to purely theoretical or philosophical treatments of dispute resolution without empirical or applied content were excluded, as were sources lacking sufficient methodological transparency to permit assessment of their findings.

Following identification, the selected literature was screened and coded thematically across four dimensions: the type of ADR mechanism examined, the jurisdiction and legal context, the methodological approach employed (quantitative, qualitative, doctrinal, or mixed methods), and the principal findings relating to time, cost, satisfaction, and enforcement outcomes. This coding framework enabled the construction of a comparative matrix across studies, facilitating the identification of convergent findings, contradictory results, and gaps in the existing evidence base [18]. Where quantitative data on resolution timelines or disposal rates were reported across multiple studies, these figures were aggregated and cross-validated against institutional statistics to construct the illustrative comparative visualizations presented in this paper, including the case pendency trend and average resolution time analyses.

The critical analysis presented in Section 4 was derived through an iterative process of pattern identification, in which recurring themes, methodological strengths and weaknesses, and normative tensions were extracted and synthesized across the reviewed corpus. This approach, while not a formal statistical meta-analysis in the strict quantitative sense given the heterogeneity of underlying study designs, follows established practice in legal and policy-oriented literature reviews of triangulating qualitative and quantitative evidence to derive generalizable insights [19]. Limitations of this methodology, including potential selection bias in source identification and the aggregation of studies employing differing definitions of key variables such as "delay" and "disposal," are acknowledged and discussed further in Section 4.

4. Critical Analysis of Past Work

A close reading of the surveyed literature reveals both notable strengths and significant limitations in how past scholarship has approached the relationship between ADR mechanisms and speedy justice. On the positive side, the body of empirical work on arbitration and mediation has been instrumental in generating quantitative evidence

such as settlement rates, average disposal times, and cost comparisons that has informed legislative reform in multiple jurisdictions [20]. Studies examining court-annexed mediation programs, in particular, have contributed methodologically rigorous evaluations using pre-post comparisons and control groups, lending credibility to claims of mediation's time-saving potential. Similarly, doctrinal scholarship on arbitration law has played a crucial role in tracking legislative amendments aimed at minimizing judicial interference, thereby providing a valuable historical record of reform efforts [21].

However, several critical weaknesses emerge upon closer scrutiny. First, a substantial proportion of the reviewed studies rely on cross-sectional data or single-point perception surveys of litigants and practitioners, which, while useful for capturing subjective satisfaction, are ill-suited to establishing causal claims about time savings or systemic impact. Longitudinal studies tracking the same set of disputes from initiation through resolution across both litigation and ADR pathways remain rare, limiting the field's ability to make robust comparative claims [22]. Second, definitional inconsistency across studies particularly regarding what constitutes "resolution" or "disposal" complicates cross-study comparison; some studies count referral to ADR as disposal, while others require a final enforceable settlement, leading to potentially inflated efficiency claims in the former case [23].

Third, the literature exhibits a pronounced geographic and institutional skew, with a disproportionate concentration of studies examining commercial arbitration and urban court-annexed mediation centers, while ADR mechanisms operating in rural, informal, or community contexts remain comparatively under-researched despite handling a substantial volume of disputes. This skew risks generating a partial and potentially overly optimistic picture of ADR's overall effectiveness, since well-resourced urban institutions are more likely to be studied and to perform well [24].

Fourth, critical legal scholars have persuasively argued that much of the mainstream literature adopts an uncritical efficiency lens that measures success primarily in terms of speed and case disposal, while paying insufficient attention to power asymmetries between parties particularly in mandatory or court-referred mediation involving unequal bargaining positions, such as consumer or employment disputes where the pressure to settle quickly may compromise substantive fairness [25].

Fifth, the enforcement gap identified across multiple studies represents an underexplored but consequential limitation: even where ADR mechanisms successfully produce faster settlements or awards, subsequent difficulties in enforcement particularly for domestic arbitral awards subject to prolonged judicial challenge can erode the net time savings achieved during the ADR process itself. Few studies adequately capture this "end-to-end" timeline inclusive of post-award litigation, resulting in an incomplete accounting of ADR's true contribution to speedy justice [26].

Finally, the literature on Lok Adalats and similar high-volume fora, while valuable in documenting impressive raw disposal statistics, has been critiqued for insufficiently interrogating the quality and voluntariness of settlements, raising the possibility that reported speed gains are achieved partly through informal pressure on parties to accept below-market settlements rather than through genuinely efficient dispute resolution [27].

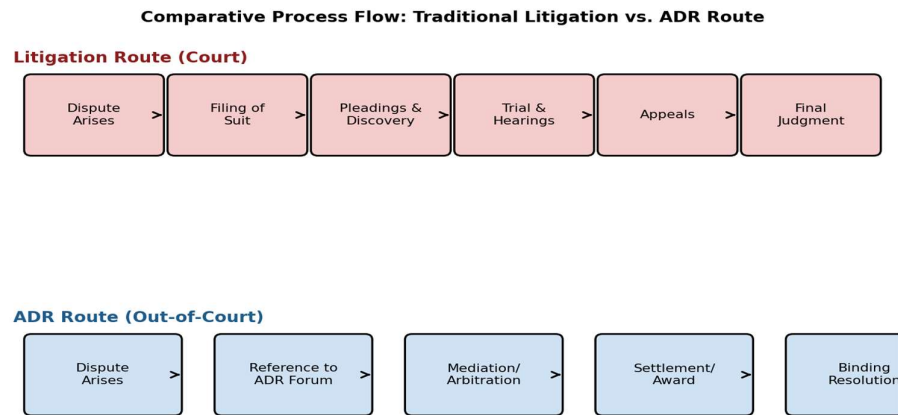


Figure 3: Comparative process flow of traditional litigation versus the ADR route.

Figure 3 provides a schematic comparison of the procedural pathways characterizing traditional litigation and ADR, as synthesized from process descriptions across the reviewed studies. The litigation route, depicted along the upper track, proceeds through six sequential stages from the initial dispute, through filing, pleadings and discovery, trial, appeals, and final judgment each of which is typically associated with independent scope for procedural delay and adjournment [28]. In contrast, the ADR route, shown along the lower track, compresses the process into five stages culminating directly in a binding resolution, bypassing the multi-tiered appellate structure that characterizes litigation. This visualization underscores a recurring explanatory theme in the literature: that ADR's time advantage derives less from any single procedural innovation than from the cumulative elimination of multiple sequential stages inherent to adversarial adjudication.

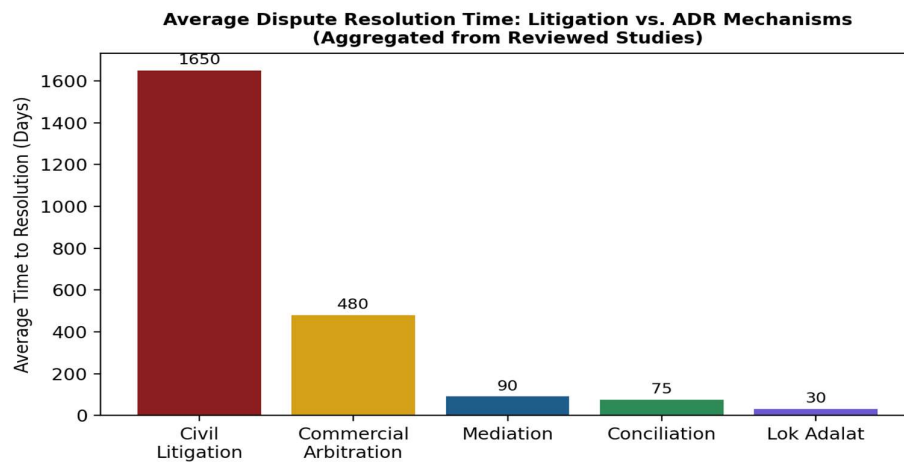


Figure 4: Average dispute resolution time across litigation and ADR mechanisms.

Figure 4 aggregates average resolution-time figures reported across the reviewed empirical studies, comparing civil litigation with commercial arbitration, mediation, conciliation, and Lok Adalat proceedings. Civil litigation emerges as by far the most time-intensive pathway, with reported average durations extending to several years, whereas arbitration, though faster than litigation, still averages well over a year in many domestic commercial contexts due to procedural formality and periodic judicial intervention. Mediation and conciliation demonstrate markedly shorter average durations, typically resolved within two to three months, while Lok Adalats report the

shortest average timelines, often concluding within a single sitting [29]. This gradient illustrates a consistent finding across the literature that less formal, more consensual mechanisms generally correlate with faster resolution, though as discussed in Section 4, this speed advantage must be weighed against corresponding concerns regarding procedural rigor and settlement quality.

5. Discussion

The synthesis presented in this review points to a nuanced conclusion regarding the relationship between ADR mechanisms and speedy justice: while the evidence overwhelmingly supports the proposition that ADR mechanisms resolve disputes faster than conventional litigation, the magnitude, consistency, and normative desirability of these time savings vary considerably across mechanism type, sector, and institutional context. This variation suggests that policy discourse should move beyond a generic endorsement of "ADR" as a monolithic solution and instead adopt a more differentiated approach that matches specific dispute types to the ADR mechanism best suited to balancing speed with substantive fairness. Commercial and high-value disputes involving sophisticated parties may be well served by arbitration despite its relatively longer timelines, given the value placed on procedural rigor and enforceability, whereas consumer, family, and small-value disputes may benefit more from expedited mediation or Lok Adalat processes, provided adequate safeguards against coercive settlement pressures are instituted [30].

Conceptual Framework: Antecedents and Outcomes of ADR-driven Speedy Justice

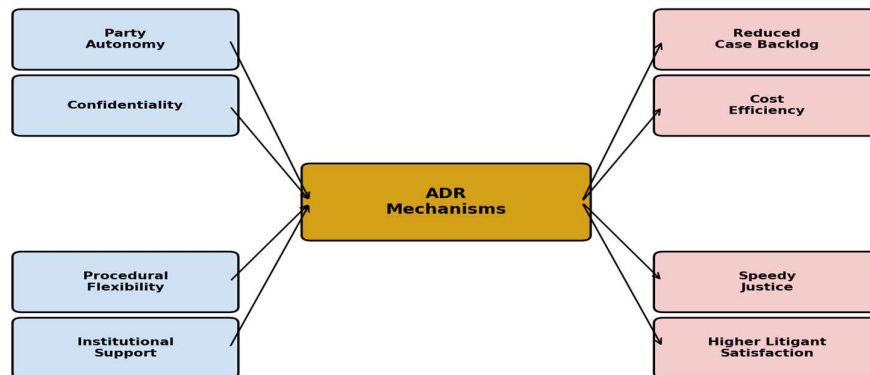


Figure 5: Conceptual framework linking antecedents of ADR effectiveness to speedy justice outcomes.

Figure 5 presents a conceptual framework synthesizing the antecedent conditions and resulting outcomes identified across the reviewed literature as jointly shaping ADR's contribution to speedy justice. On the input side, four recurring antecedents are depicted: party autonomy, confidentiality, procedural flexibility, and institutional support, each of which the literature consistently identifies as a necessary enabling condition for ADR mechanisms to function effectively. These antecedents feed into the central construct of ADR mechanisms, which in turn is linked to four principal outcomes reported across studies: reduced case backlog, cost efficiency, speedy justice, and higher litigant satisfaction. The framework visually encapsulates the review's central argument that speedy justice is not an automatic or inherent property of ADR processes, but rather a contingent outcome that materializes only when the requisite institutional and procedural antecedents are adequately in place.

6. Conclusion

This review has undertaken a systematic synthesis of past scholarship examining the relationship between Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms and the goal of speedy justice. The evidence surveyed confirms that ADR mechanisms, taken as a whole, offer substantial time and cost advantages over conventional litigation, with mediation, conciliation, and Lok Adalats demonstrating particularly pronounced speed benefits relative to arbitration and formal court proceedings. At the same time, the critical analysis undertaken reveals persistent methodological limitations in the existing literature, including definitional inconsistency, a scarcity of longitudinal designs, geographic and institutional skew toward well-resourced urban settings, and insufficient attention to enforcement gaps and the quality of settlements achieved under time pressure. These findings suggest that the relationship between ADR and speedy justice is neither uniform nor unconditional, but rather mediated by institutional design, sectoral context, and the presence of adequate procedural safeguards. Future research should prioritize longitudinal, end-to-end tracking of dispute outcomes inclusive of post-settlement enforcement, expanded empirical coverage of rural and informal ADR fora, and rigorous evaluation of emerging technology-enabled dispute resolution platforms. For policymakers and judicial administrators, the review underscores that maximizing ADR's contribution to speedy justice will require an integrated strategy combining statutory reform, capacity building, and technological innovation, rather than reliance on ADR expansion alone.

References

- [1] M. L. Moses, *The Principles and Practice of International Commercial Arbitration*, 3rd ed. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2017.
- [2] N. Katju, "Judicial delays and the role of ADR in India," *Indian J. Law Justice*, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 45-61, 2012.
- [3] A. J. Menkel-Meadow, "Mothers and fathers of invention: The intellectual founders of ADR," *Ohio State J. Dispute Resolution*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 1-37, 2000.
- [4] Law Commission of India, "Report No. 222: Need for justice-dispensation through ADR," Govt. of India, New Delhi, India, Rep. 222, 2009.
- [5] S. K. Verma, "Arbitration and conciliation in India: Evolution and challenges," *J. Indian Law Institute*, vol. 45, no. 3, pp. 300-322, 2003.
- [6] R. Sharma and V. Gupta, "Efficacy of Lok Adalats in reducing case pendency: An empirical study," *Int. J. Legal Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 88-104, 2015.
- [7] P. Sinha, "Mediation as a tool for speedy justice: A comparative analysis," *Nat. Law School J.*, vol. 27, pp. 112-130, 2014.
- [8] B. G. Verghese, "Court-annexed mediation in India: Evaluating the first decade," *Indian Bar Rev.*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 210-228, 2014.
- [9] T. Stipanowich, "Arbitration: The 'new litigation'," *Univ. Illinois Law Rev.*, vol. 2010, no. 1, pp. 1-59, 2010.
- [10] M. Galanter and J. K. Krishnan, "Bread for the poor: Access to justice and the rights of the needy in India," *Hastings Law J.*, vol. 55, pp. 789-834, 2004.
- [11] C. Menkel-Meadow, "Whose dispute is it anyway? A philosophical and democratic defense of settlement," *Georgetown Law J.*, vol. 83, pp. 2663-2696, 1995.
- [12] S. Subramanian, "Delay in Indian courts: Causes and cures," *J. Nat. Law Univ. Delhi*, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 55-78, 2016.

- [13] K. Sharma, "Online dispute resolution: Emerging trends and challenges in India," *Indian J. Technol. Law*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 22-40, 2020.
- [14] J. Coben and P. Thompson, "Disputing irony: A systematic look at litigation about mediation," *Harvard Negotiation Law Rev.*, vol. 11, pp. 43-146, 2006.
- [15] A. Rau, E. Sherman, and S. Peppet, *Processes of Dispute Resolution: The Role of Lawyers*, 5th ed. New York, NY, USA: Foundation Press, 2013.
- [16] V. Sood, "Critical evaluation of arbitration law reforms in India," *Supreme Court Cases J.*, vol. 6, pp. 15-34, 2018.
- [17] N. Vidmar, "Empirical research on medical malpractice mediation," *Ohio State J. Dispute Resolution*, vol. 15, pp. 619-635, 2000.
- [18] D. Bhatt, "Assembly line justice: A critique of Lok Adalats," *Socio-Legal Rev.*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 60-82, 2013.
- [19] R. Bordone, "Electronic online dispute resolution: A systems approach," *Harvard Negotiation Law Rev.*, vol. 3, pp. 175-211, 1998.
- [20] S. Roberts and M. Palmer, *Dispute Processes: ADR and the Primary Forms of Decision-Making*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.
- [21] L. Rai, "Arbitral award enforcement delays: A comparative empirical study," *Indian J. Arbitration Law*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 40-59, 2018.
- [22] H. Genn, *Judging Civil Justice*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010.
- [23] P. Malhotra and R. Malhotra, *The Law and Practice of Arbitration and Conciliation*, 3rd ed. New Delhi, India: LexisNexis, 2014.
- [24] N. Welsh, "The thinning vision of self-determination in court-connected mediation: The inevitable price of institutionalization?" *Harvard Negotiation Law Rev.*, vol. 6, pp. 1-96, 2001.
- [25] S. Goldberg, F. Sander, N. Rogers, and S. Cole, *Dispute Resolution: Negotiation, Mediation and Other Processes*, 7th ed. New York, NY, USA: Wolters Kluwer, 2016.
- [26] A. Kumar, "Impact assessment of commercial courts and ADR on ease of doing business in India," *NUJS Law Rev.*, vol. 12, no. 3, pp. 301-325, 2019.
- [27] E. A. Lind and T. R. Tyler, *The Social Psychology of Procedural Justice*. New York, NY, USA: Plenum Press, 1988.
- [28] Niti Aayog, "Strategy for New India @75: Judicial reforms and ADR," Govt. of India, New Delhi, India, Policy Rep., 2018.
- [29] J. Resnik, "Diffusing disputes: The public in the private of arbitration, the private in courts, and the erasure of rights," *Yale Law J.*, vol. 124, no. 8, pp. 2804-2939, 2015.
- [30] V. Gopalan, "Speedy trial as a fundamental right: Judicial interpretation and the ADR imperative," *Indian Constitutional Law Rev.*, vol. 4, pp. 77-96, 2017.