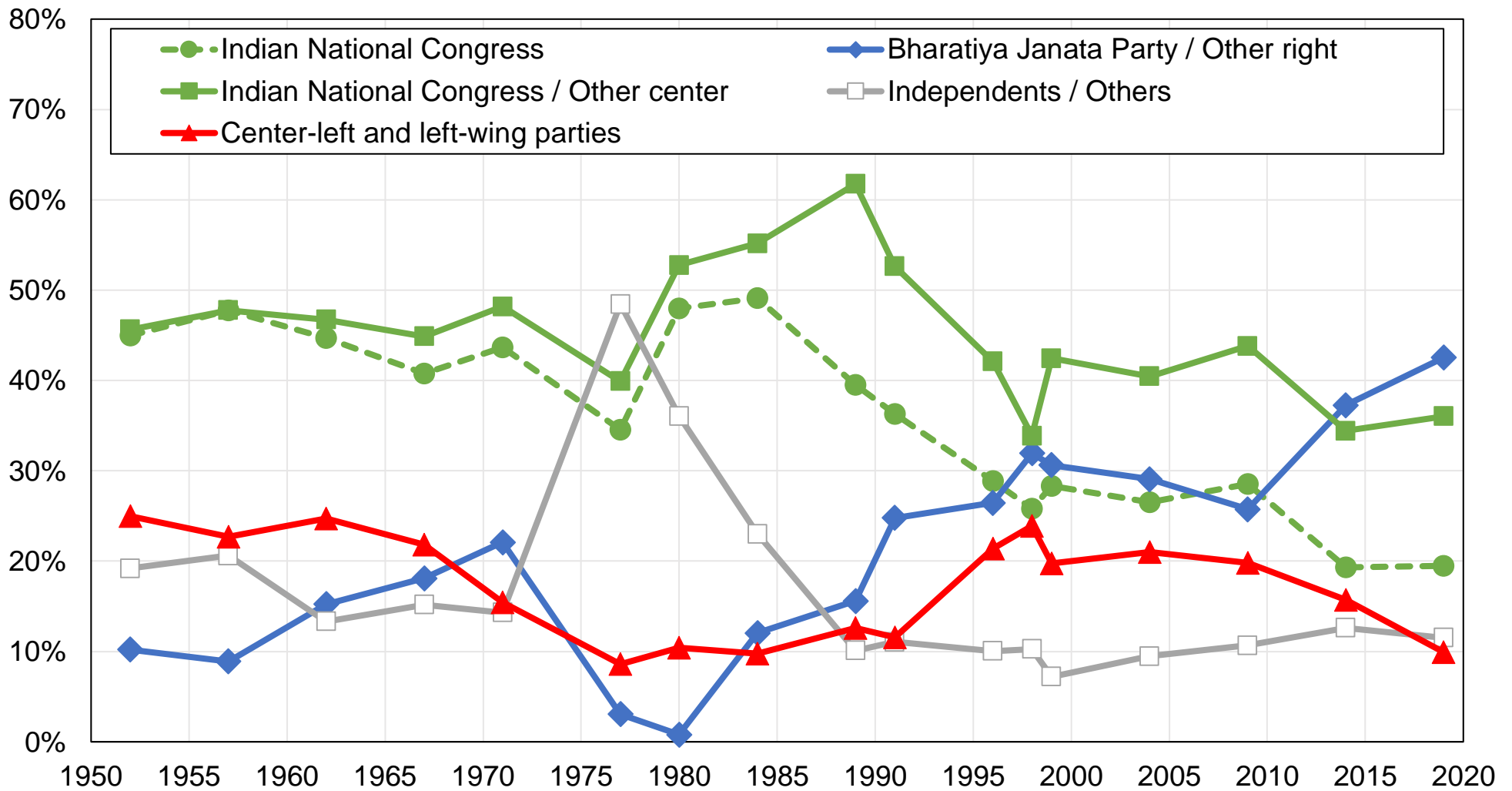


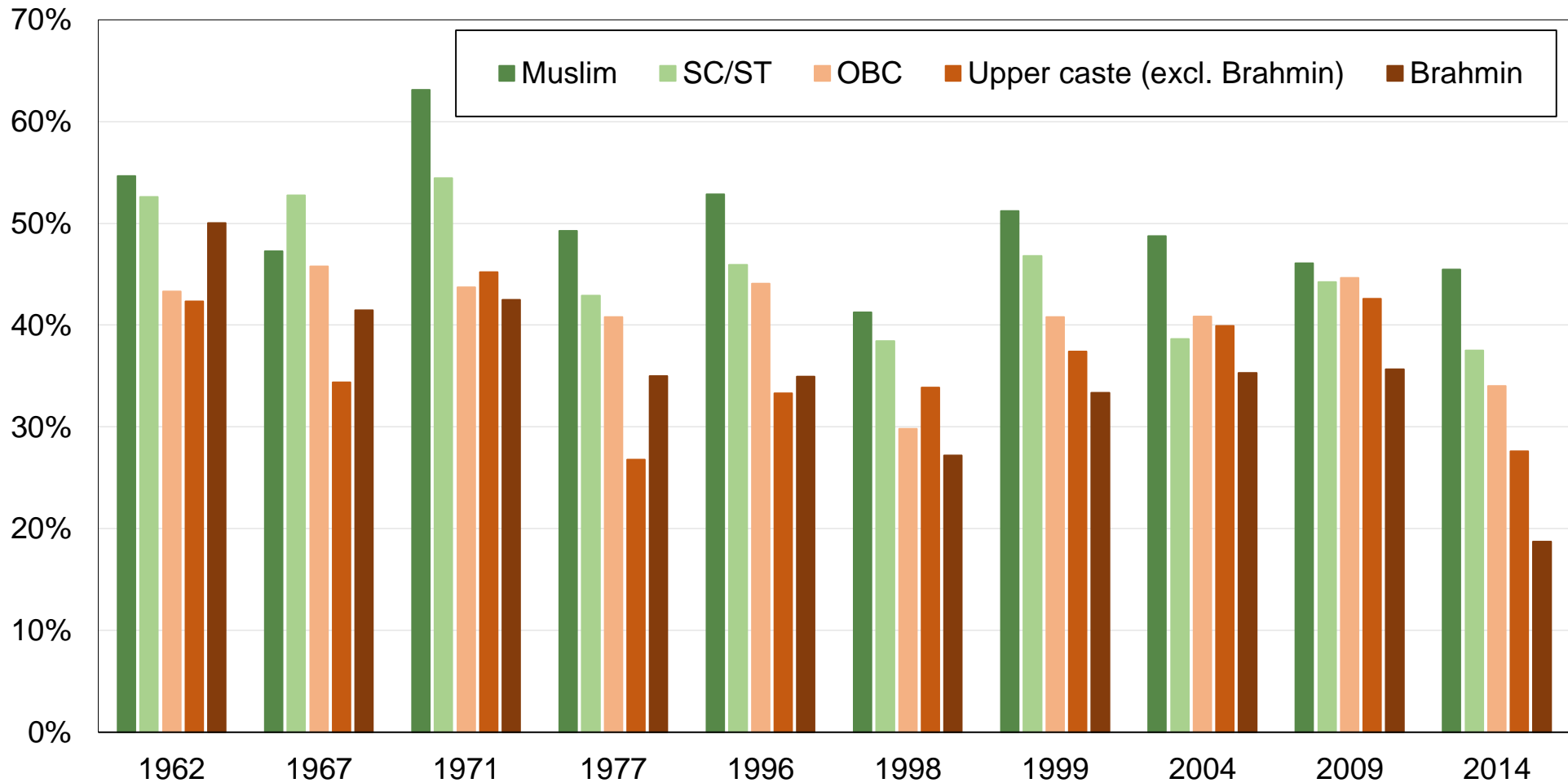
Figure 9.1 - Election results in India, 1952-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the main Indian political parties or groups of parties in Lok Sabha elections between 1952 and 2019.

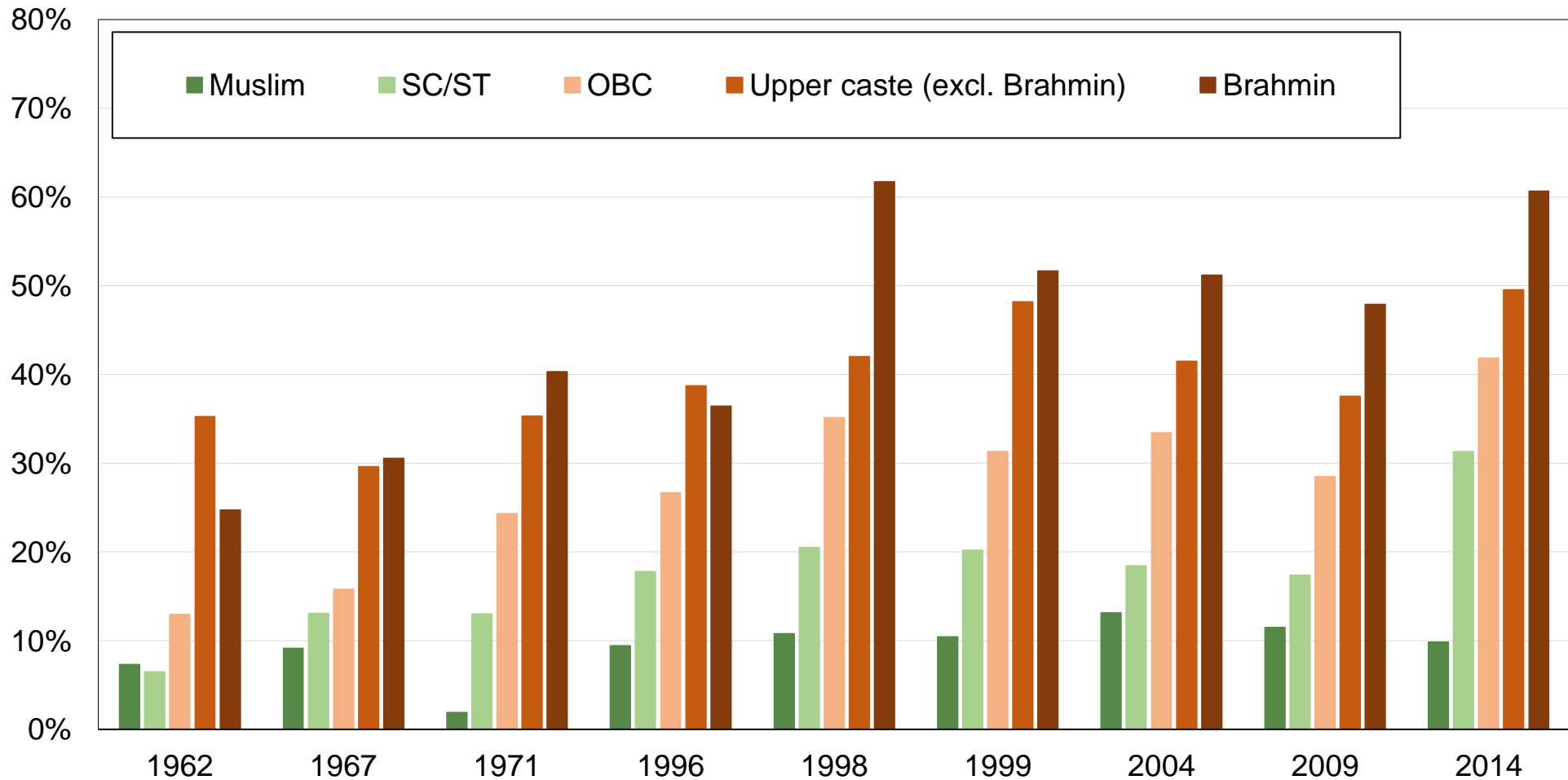
Figure 9.2 - The Congress vote by caste and religion in India, 1962-2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Indian National Congress and other centrist parties by caste and religion. In 2014, 45% of Muslim voters voted Congress / center, compared to 37% of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST), 34% of Other Backward Classes (OBC), 28% of upper castes (excluding Brahmins), and 19% of Brahmins.

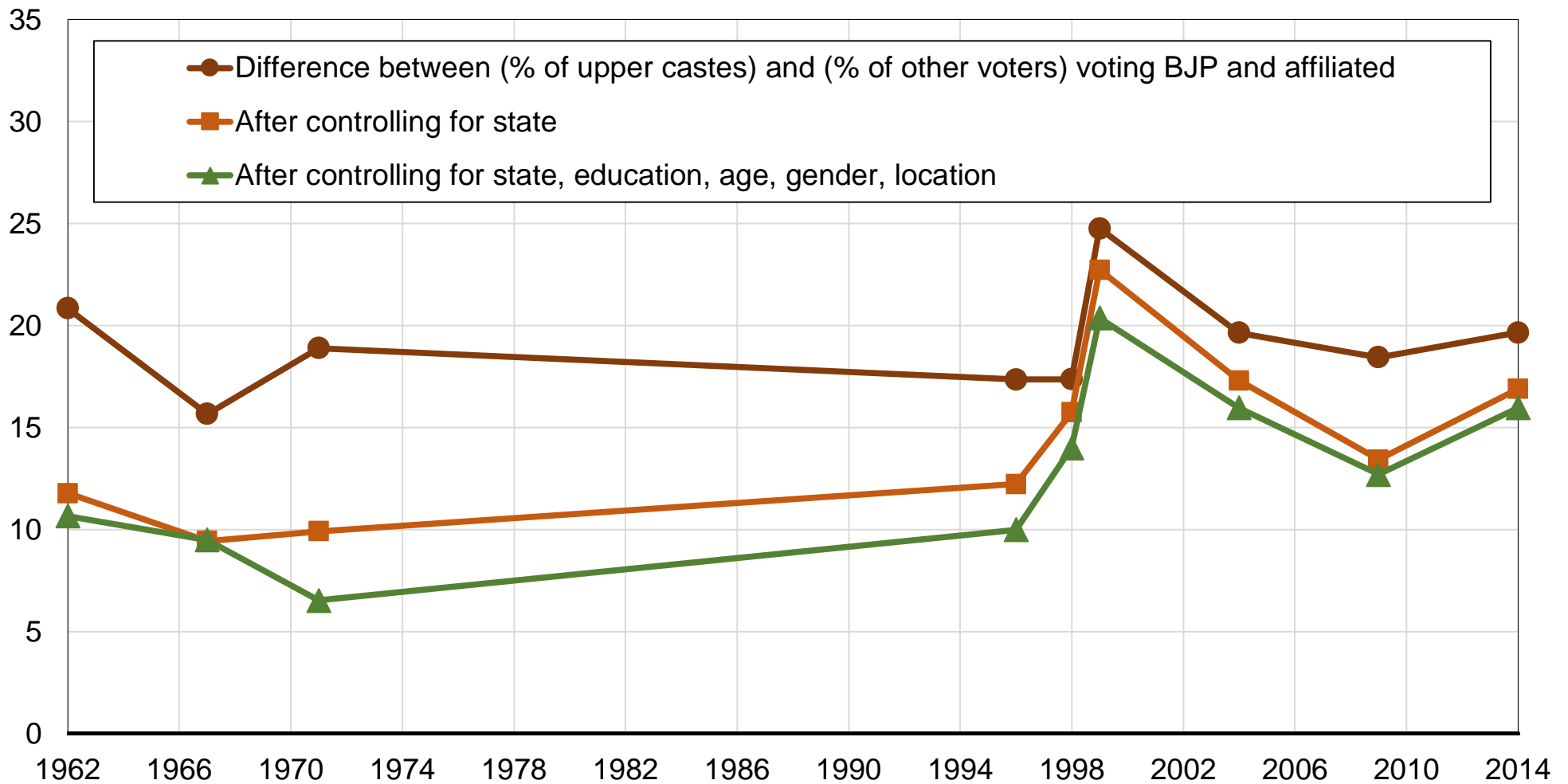
Figure 9.3 - The BJP vote by caste and religion in India, 1962-2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and affiliated parties by caste and religion. In 2014, 10% of Muslim voters voted BJP and affiliated, compared to 31% of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST), 42% of Other Backward Classes (OBC), 52% of upper castes (excluding Brahmins), and 61% of Brahmins.

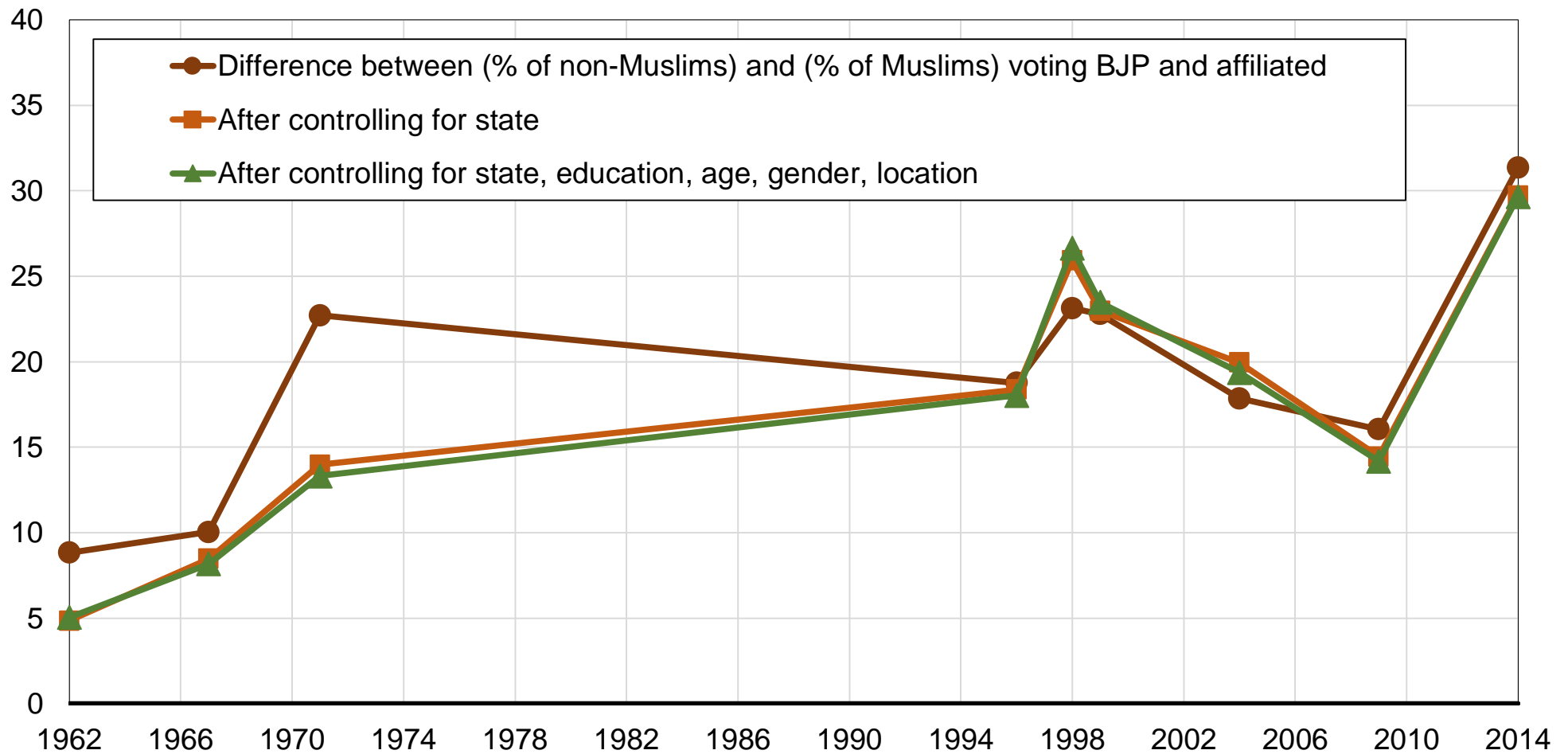
Figure 9.4 - Caste cleavages in India, 1962-2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters voting for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and affiliated parties, before and after controls. Upper castes have always been more likely than other voters to vote for the BJP (as well as for its predecessor the BJS) and other affiliated parties since the 1960s.

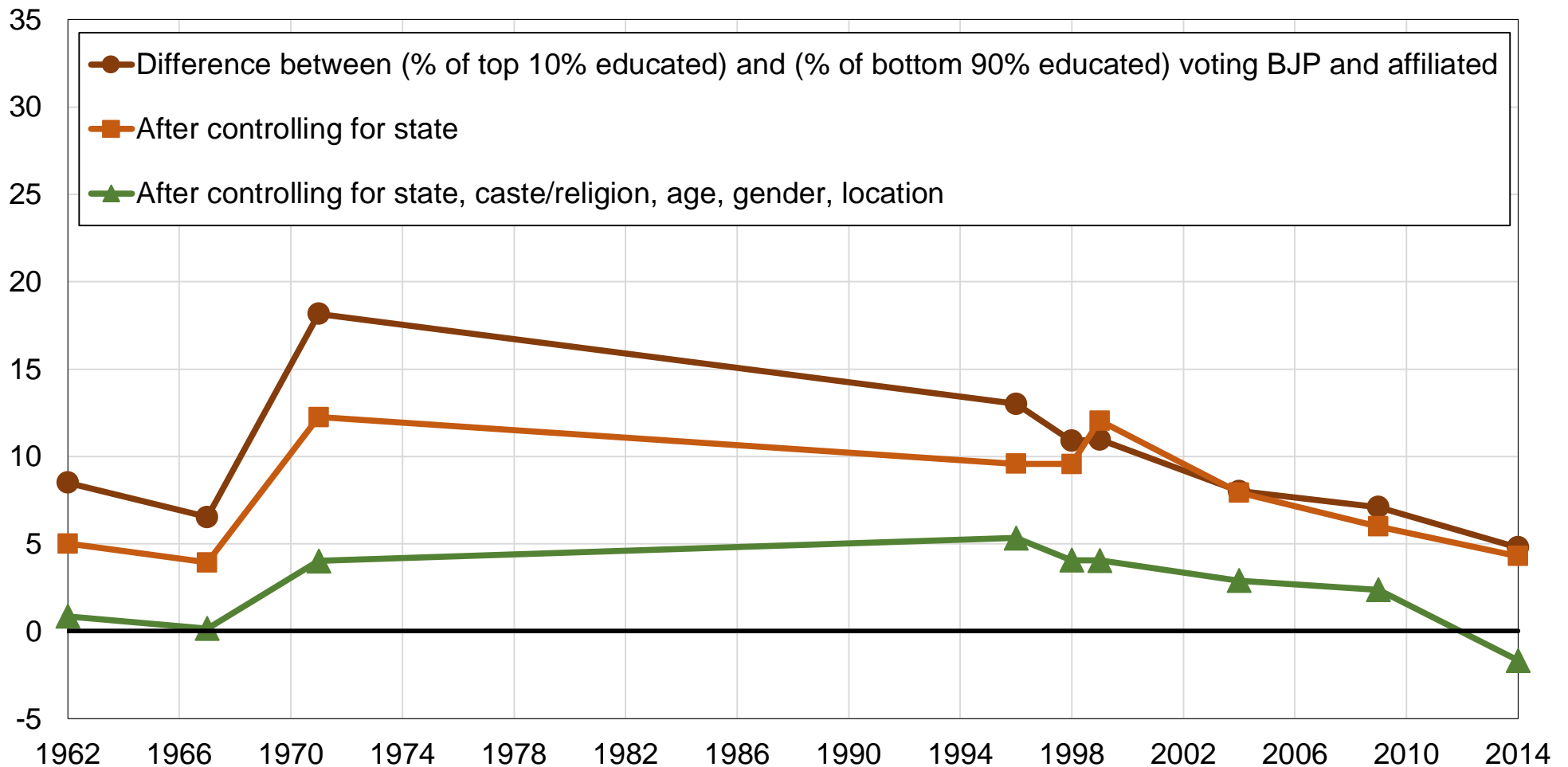
Figure 9.5 - The religious cleavage in India, 1962-2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of non-Muslims and the share of Muslims voting for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and affiliated parties, before and after controls. Muslim voters have always been much less likely than non-Muslims to vote for the BJP (as well as for its predecessor the BJS) and other affiliated parties since the 1960s, but this gap has grown dramatically, from 9 percentage points in 1962 to 32 points in 2014.

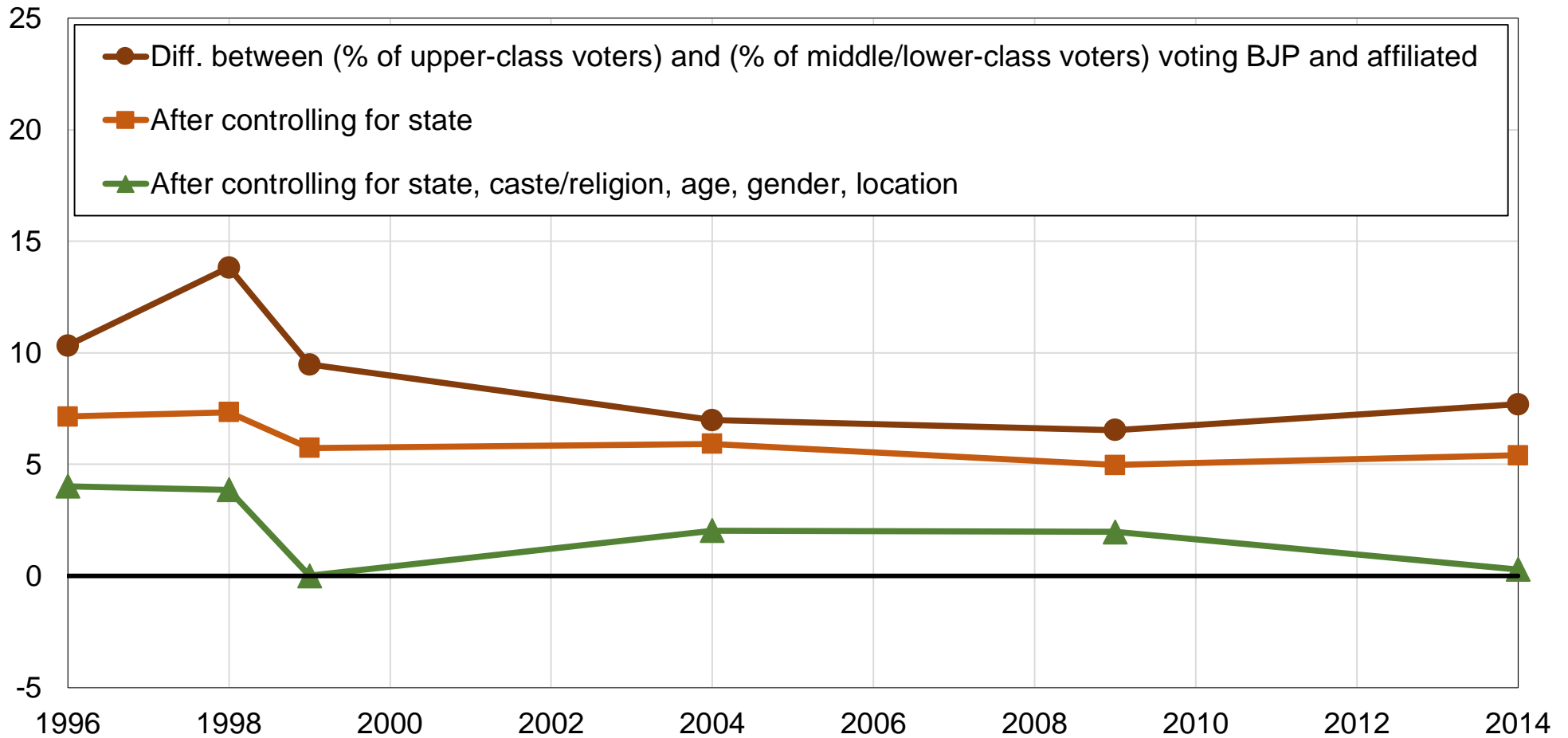
Figure 9.6 - The educational cleavage in India, 1962-2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voters voting for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and affiliated parties, before and after controls. Higher-educated voters have always been more likely than other voters to vote for the BJP (as well as for its predecessor the BJS) and other affiliated parties since the 1960s, but this gap has gradually decreased since the 1990s.

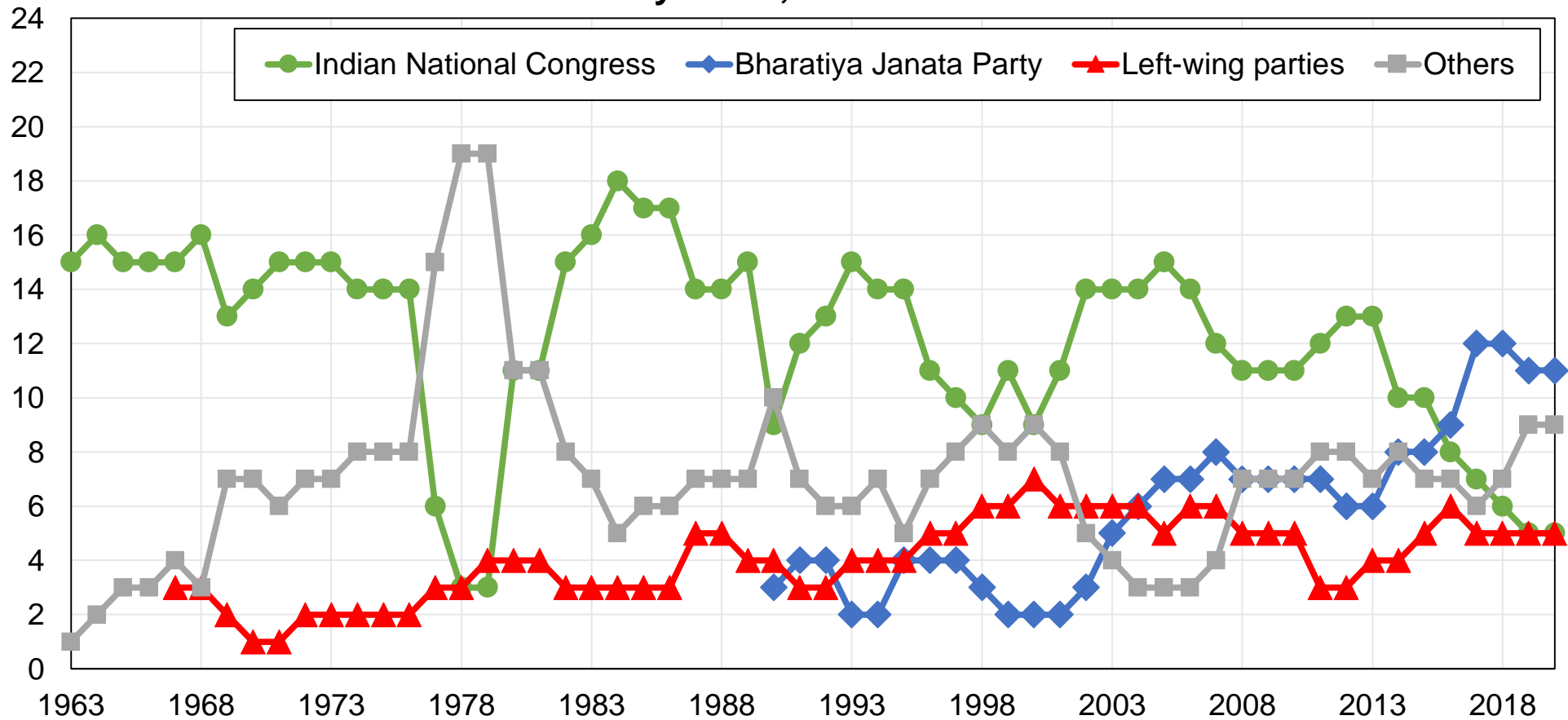
Figure 9.7 - Class cleavages in India, 1996-2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper-class voters and the share of middle- and lower-class voters voting for the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and affiliated parties, before and after controls. Upper-class voters have always been more likely than other voters to vote for the BJP since 1996, but this gap becomes statistically non-significant after controls, so that upper classes are not more or less likely to vote BJP at a given caste and other characteristics.

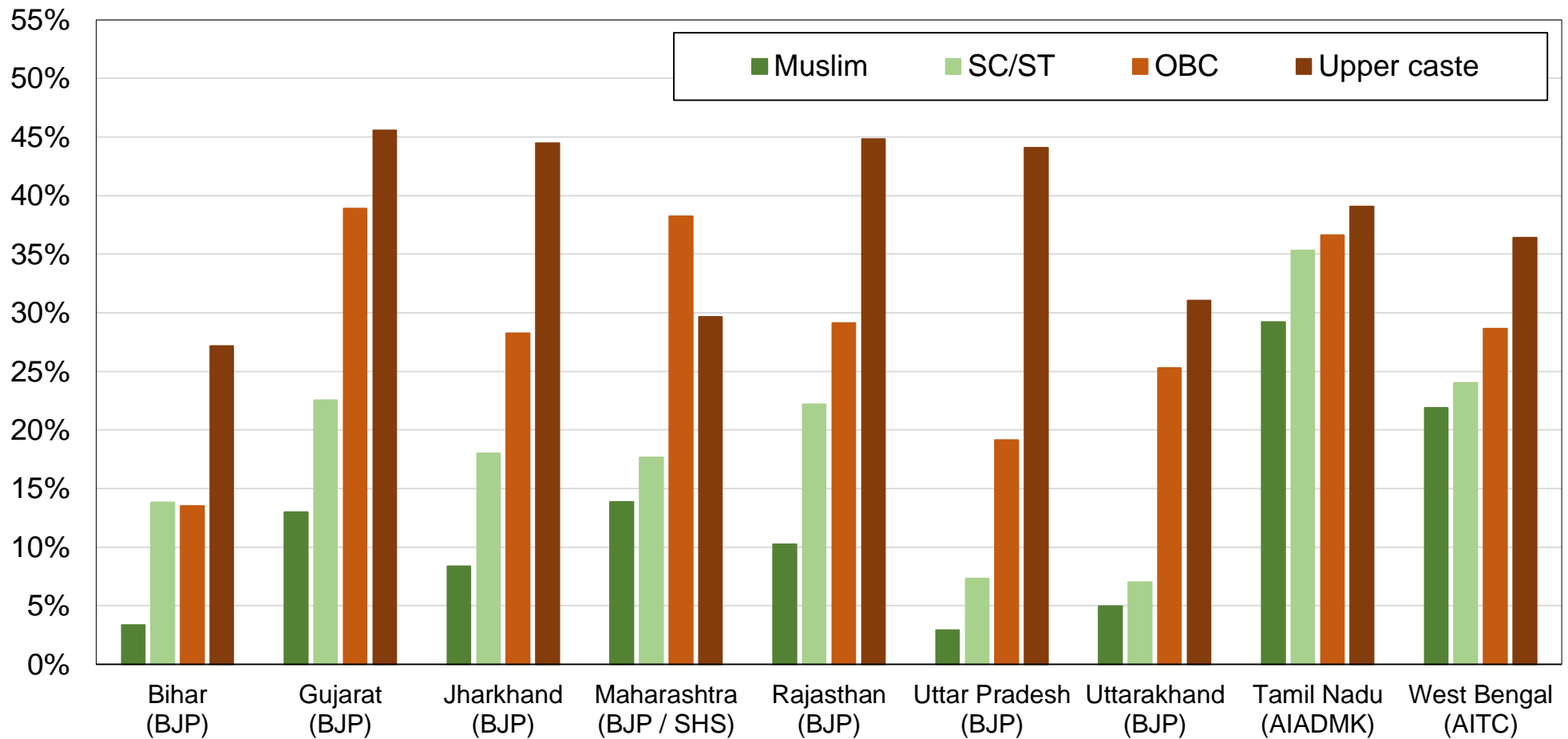
Figure 9.8 - State elections and the transformation of Indian party systems, 1963-2020



Source: authors' computations combining data from F. R. Jensenius, "Competing Inequalities? On the Intersection of Gender and Ethnicity in Candidate Nominations in Indian Elections," *Government and Opposition* 51, no. 3 (2016): 440–463 before 2015 and hand coded data after 2015 (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the number of Indian states ruled by selected parties or groups of parties between 1963 and 2020. Excludes union territories and states where no elections have been held. The number of states ruled by the Bharatiya Janata Party grew from 3 states in 1990 to 11 states in 2020 (october).

Figure 9.9 - Caste and religious cleavages in state elections in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian electoral surveys (see wpid.world).

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties by caste and religion in state elections for selected Indian states. The BJP has systematically received greater support from upper castes than from lower castes and Muslims. Caste and religious cleavages are lower in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. Figures are aggregated over the period available for each state (see appendix Table A3). BJP: Bharatiya Janata Party; SHS: Shiv Sena; AIADMK: All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam; AITC: All India Trinamool Congress.