

Chapter 9. "Caste, Class, and the Changing Political Representation of Social Inequalities in India, 1962-2019"

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Appendix: Figures, tables and raw results

Main figures and tables

| | |
|----------|--|
| Figure 1 | Lok Sabha election results, 1952-2019 |
| Figure 2 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by caste / religion |
| Figure 3 | Vote for BJP / Right by caste / religion |
| Figure 4 | Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes |
| Figure 5 | Vote for BJP / Right among non-Muslims |
| Figure 6 | Vote for BJP / Right among higher educated voters |
| Figure 7 | Vote for BJP / Right among the upper class |
| Figure 8 | Number of states ruled by party, 1963-2020 |
| Figure 9 | Vote for selected parties in state elections by caste / religion |

Appendix A - Structure of the Indian electorate

| | |
|------------|---|
| Figure A1 | Lok Sabha election results, 1952-2019: INC versus BJP |
| Figure A2 | Composition of the electorate by caste group and religion |
| Figure A3 | Composition of the electorate by religion |
| Figure A4 | Composition of the electorate by education |
| Figure A5 | Composition of caste groups by income group, 1967 |
| Figure A6 | Composition of caste groups by income group, 2014 |
| Figure A7 | Composition of caste groups by income quintile/decile, 1967 |
| Figure A8 | Composition of caste groups by income quintile/decile, 2014 |
| Figure A9 | Composition of caste groups by education level, 1967 |
| Figure A10 | Composition of caste groups by education level, 2014 |
| Figure A11 | Composition of caste groups by social class, 2014 |
| Table A1 | Expert classifications of major Indian political parties |
| Table A2 | Classification of main Indian political parties |
| Table A3 | Full classification of Indian political parties |
| Table A4 | List of surveys used |
| Table A5 | Complete descriptive statistics |

Appendix B - Structure of the vote in Lok Sabha elections

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Figure B1 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by caste/religion |
| Figure B2 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by religion |

| | |
|------------|---|
| Figure B3 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by education level |
| Figure B4 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by education group |
| Figure B5 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by income group |
| Figure B6 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by social class |
| Figure B7 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by location |
| Figure B8 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by age group |
| Figure B9 | Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by gender |
| Figure B10 | Vote for BJP by caste/religion |
| Figure B11 | Vote for BJP by religion |
| Figure B12 | Vote for BJP by education level |
| Figure B13 | Vote for BJP by education group |
| Figure B14 | Vote for BJP by income group |
| Figure B15 | Vote for BJP by social class |
| Figure B16 | Vote for BJP by location |
| Figure B17 | Vote for BJP by age group |
| Figure B18 | Vote for BJP by gender |
| Figure B19 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by caste/religion |
| Figure B20 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by religion |
| Figure B21 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by education level |
| Figure B22 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by education group |
| Figure B23 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by income group |
| Figure B24 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by social class |
| Figure B25 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by location |
| Figure B26 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by age group |
| Figure B27 | Vote for Congress and centre parties by gender |
| Figure B28 | Vote for Congress by caste/religion |
| Figure B29 | Vote for Congress by religion |
| Figure B30 | Vote for Congress by education level |
| Figure B31 | Vote for Congress by education group |
| Figure B32 | Vote for Congress by income group |
| Figure B33 | Vote for Congress by social class |
| Figure B34 | Vote for Congress by location |
| Figure B35 | Vote for Congress by age group |
| Figure B36 | Vote for Congress by gender |
| Figure B37 | Vote for left parties by caste/religion |

| | |
|------------|---|
| Figure B38 | Vote for left parties by religion |
| Figure B39 | Vote for left parties by education level |
| Figure B40 | Vote for left parties by education group |
| Figure B41 | Vote for left parties by income group |
| Figure B42 | Vote for left parties by social class |
| Figure B43 | Vote for left parties by location |
| Figure B44 | Vote for left parties by age group |
| Figure B45 | Vote for left parties by gender |
| Figure B46 | Vote for Congress / centre among upper castes |
| Figure B47 | Vote for left parties among upper castes |
| Figure B48 | Vote for BJP among upper castes |
| Figure B49 | Vote for Congress among upper castes |
| Figure B50 | Vote for Congress / centre among SCs/STs |
| Figure B51 | Vote for left parties among SCs/STs |
| Figure B52 | Vote for BJP / Right among SCs/STs |
| Figure B53 | Vote for BJP among SCs/STs |
| Figure B54 | Vote for Congress among SCs/STs |
| Figure B55 | Vote for Congress / centre among non-Muslims |
| Figure B56 | Vote for left parties among non-Muslims |
| Figure B57 | Vote for BJP among non-Muslims |
| Figure B58 | Vote for Congress among non-Muslims |
| Figure B59 | Vote for Congress / centre among university graduates |
| Figure B60 | Vote for left parties among university graduates |
| Figure B61 | Vote for BJP among university graduates |
| Figure B62 | Vote for Congress among university graduates |
| Figure B63 | Vote for BJP / Right among high-income earners |
| Table B1 | Determinants of vote for BJP / Right in Indian national elections |
| Table B2 | Determinants of vote for BJP in Indian national elections |
| Table B3 | Determinants of vote for Congress / centre in Indian national elections |
| Table B4 | Determinants of vote for Congress in Indian national elections |
| Table B5 | Determinants of vote for left parties in Indian national elections |

Appendix C - Structure of the vote in state elections

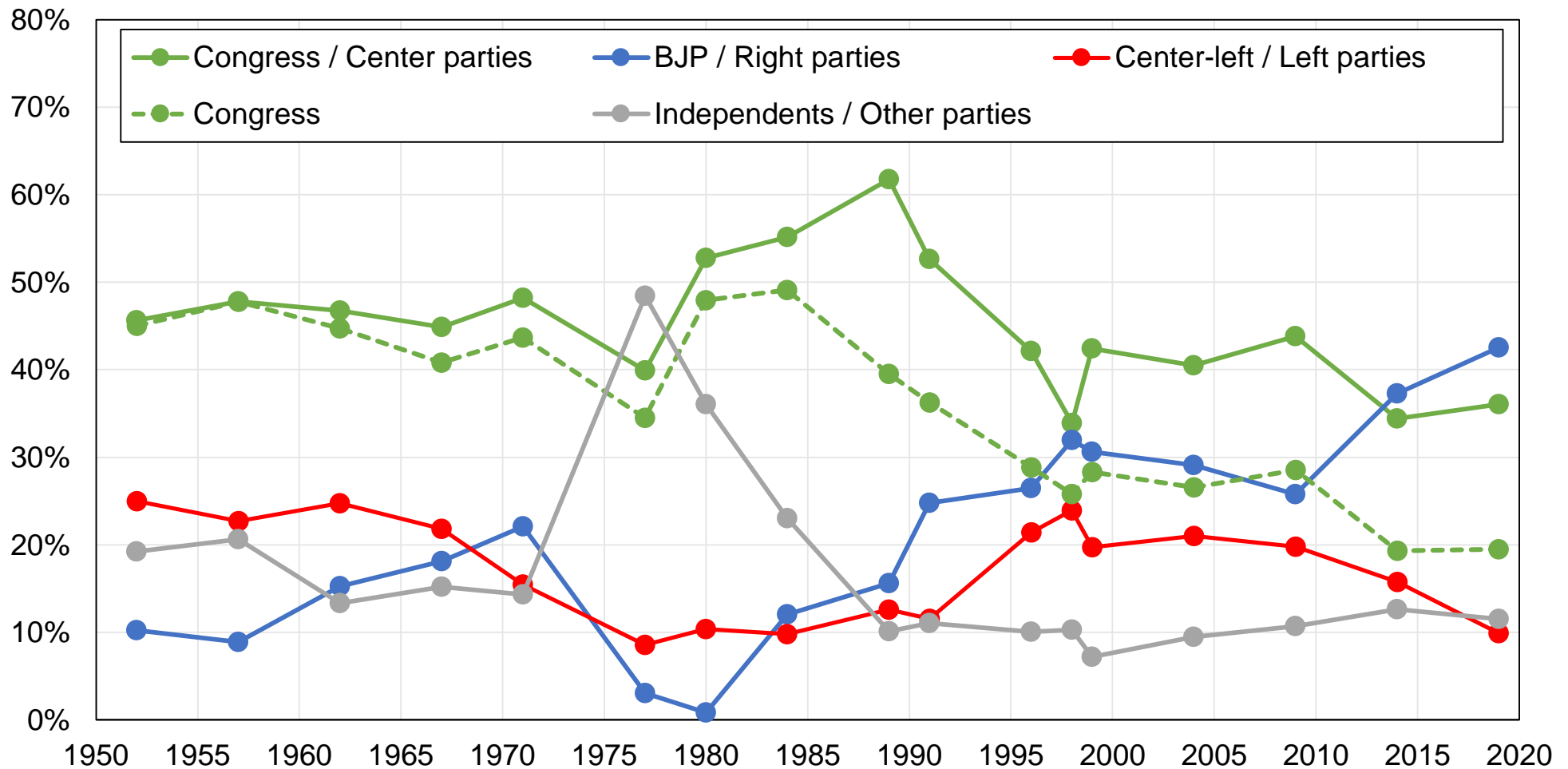
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|-----------|---|
| Figure C1 | Number of state ruled by party, 1963-2020 |
| Figure C2 | Vote for BJP / Right by social class in state elections |
| Figure C3 | Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes by state |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Figure C4 | Vote for BJP / Right among the upper class by state |
| Figure C5 | Vote for INC / Centre among upper castes by state |
| Table C1 | Determinants of electoral behavior in state elections |
| Table C2 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Bihar |
| Table C3 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Gujarat |
| Table C4 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Jharkhand |
| Table C5 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Maharashtra |
| Table C6 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Rajasthan |
| Table C7 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Tamil Nadu |
| Table C8 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Uttar Pradesh |
| Table C9 | Determinants of electoral behavior in Uttarakhand |
| Table C10 | Determinants of electoral behavior in West Bengal |

Appendix D - Structure of the vote and social expenditures

| | |
|-----------|---|
| Figure D1 | Social expenditure and BJP / Right vote share, 2003-2018 |
| Figure D2 | Change in social expenditures and change in BJP / Right vote share, 2003-2018 |
| Table D1 | Social expenditures and vote shares for party groups |
| Table D2 | Social expenditures and ideological orientation of state ruling parties |
| Table D3 | Social expenditures and government bias towards caste groups |
| Table D4 | Social expenditures and government bias towards social classes |

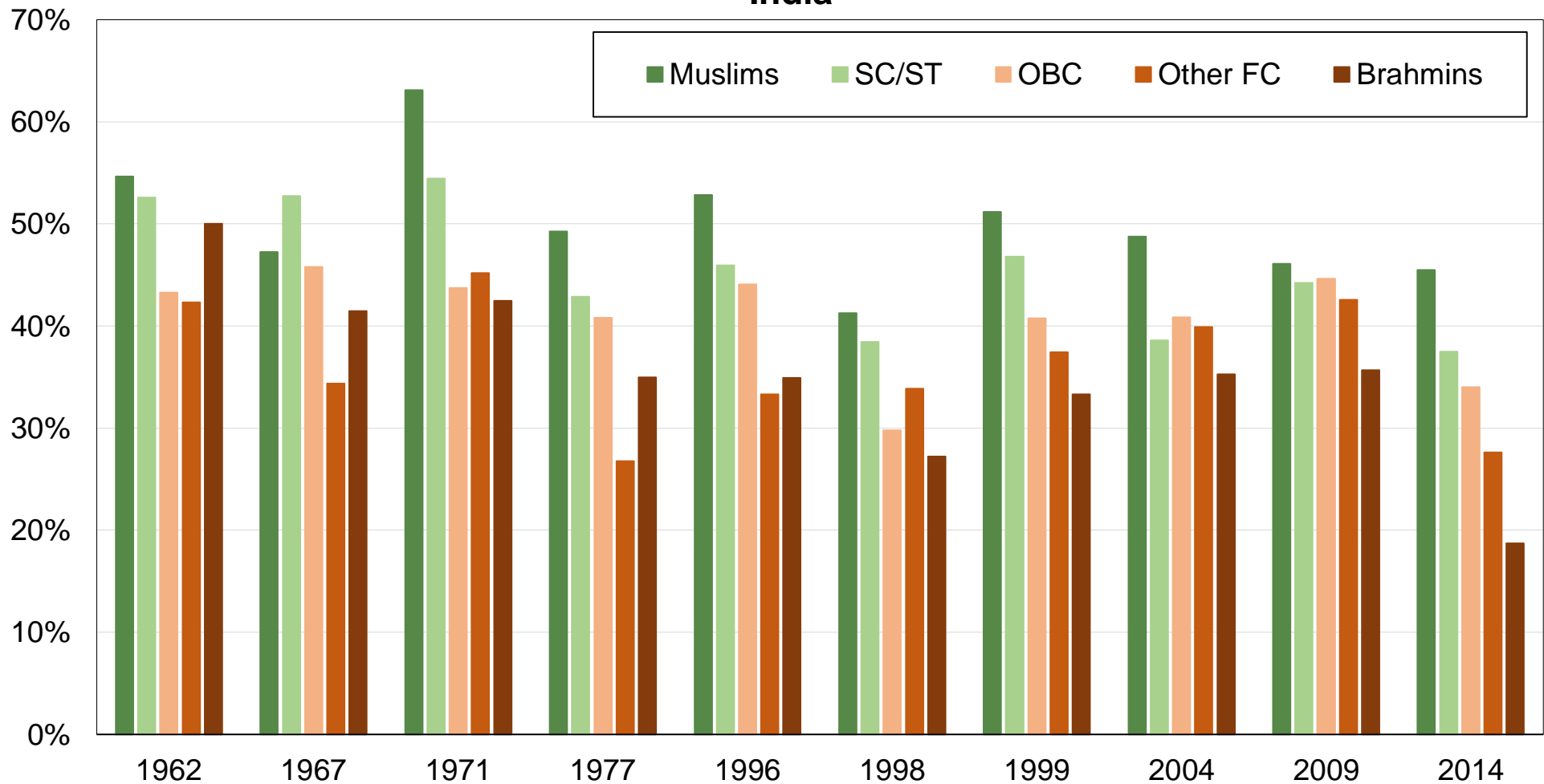
Figure 9.1 - Election results in India, 1952-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

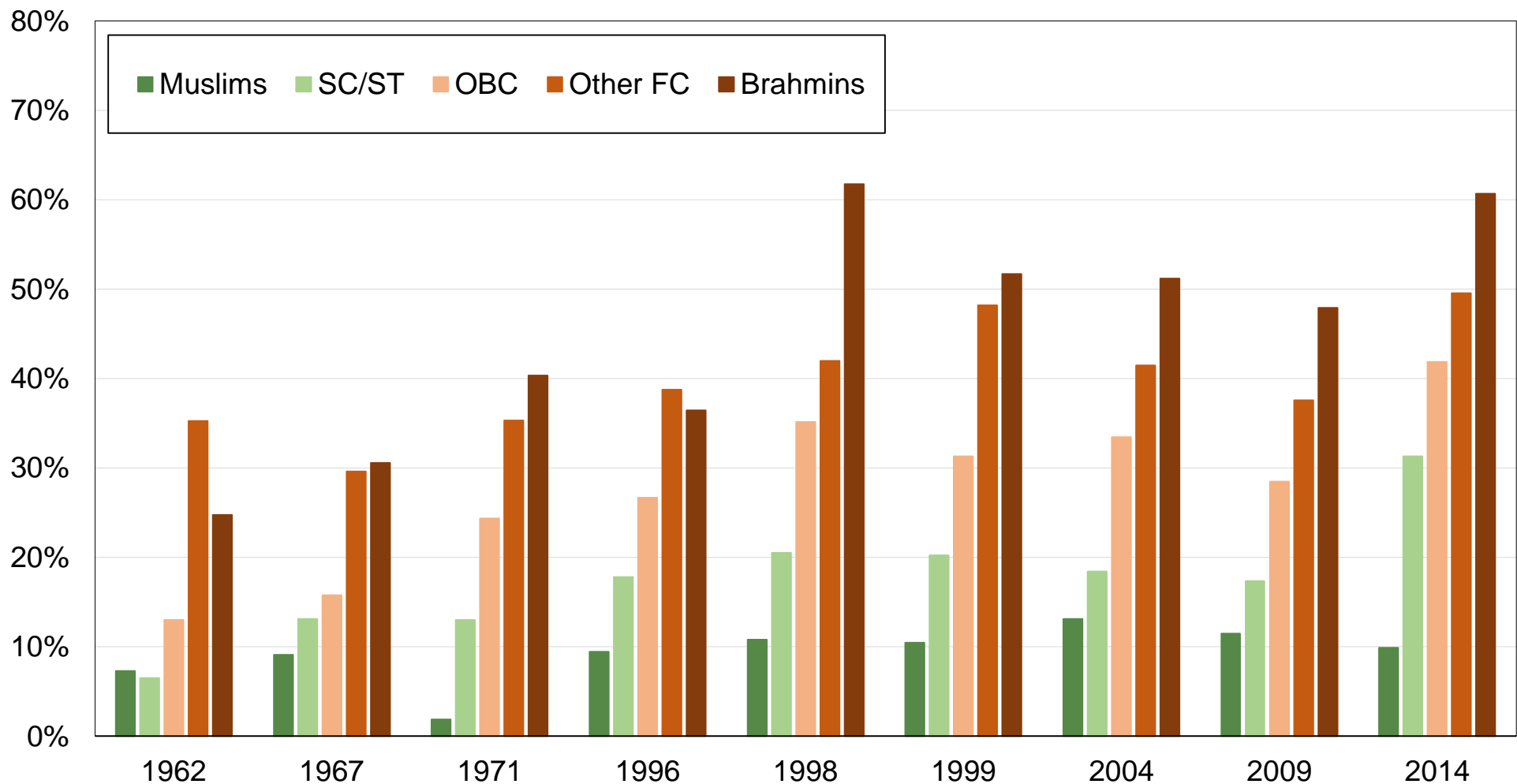
Figure 9.2 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by caste / religion in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

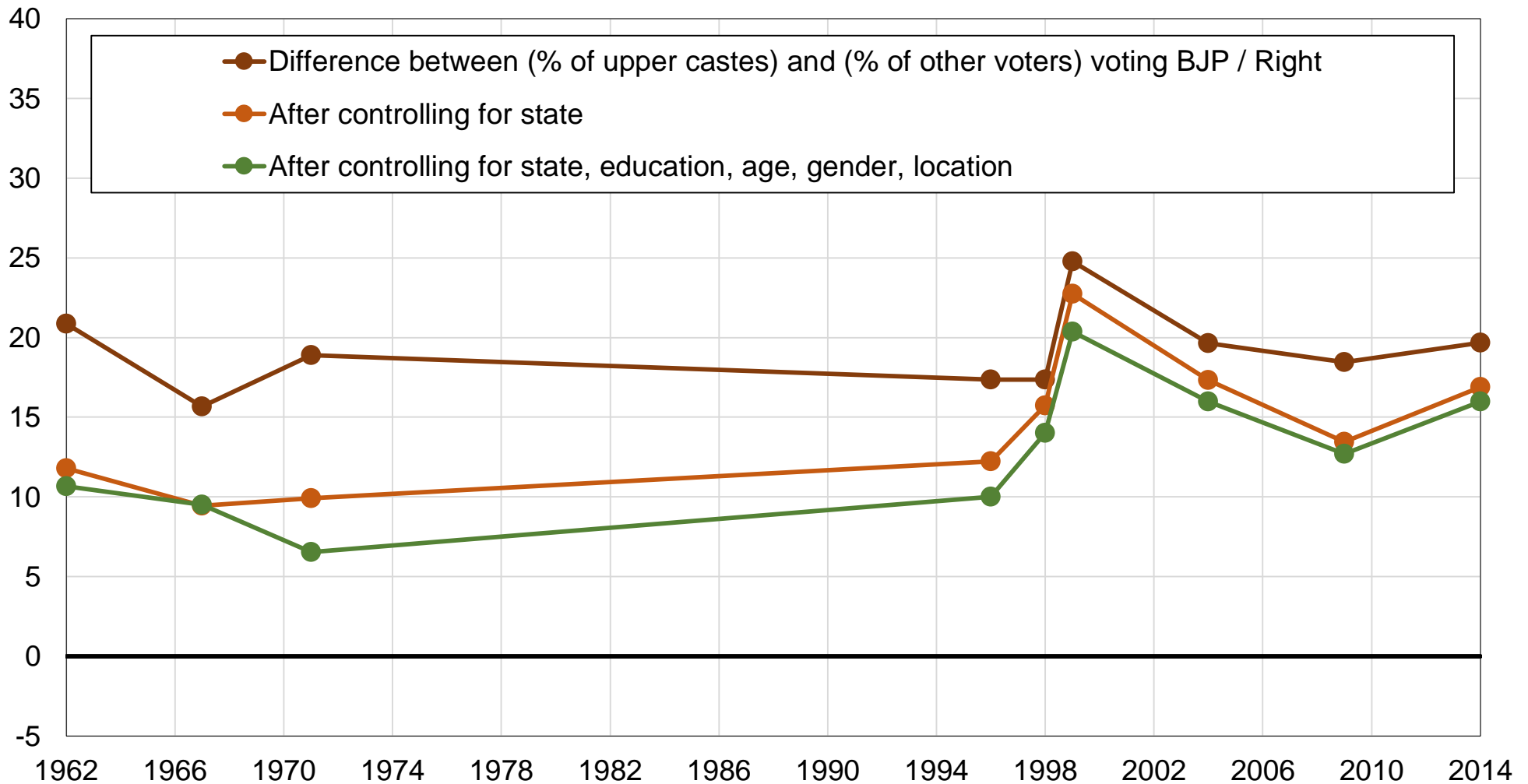
Figure 9.3 - Vote for BJP / Right by caste / religion in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

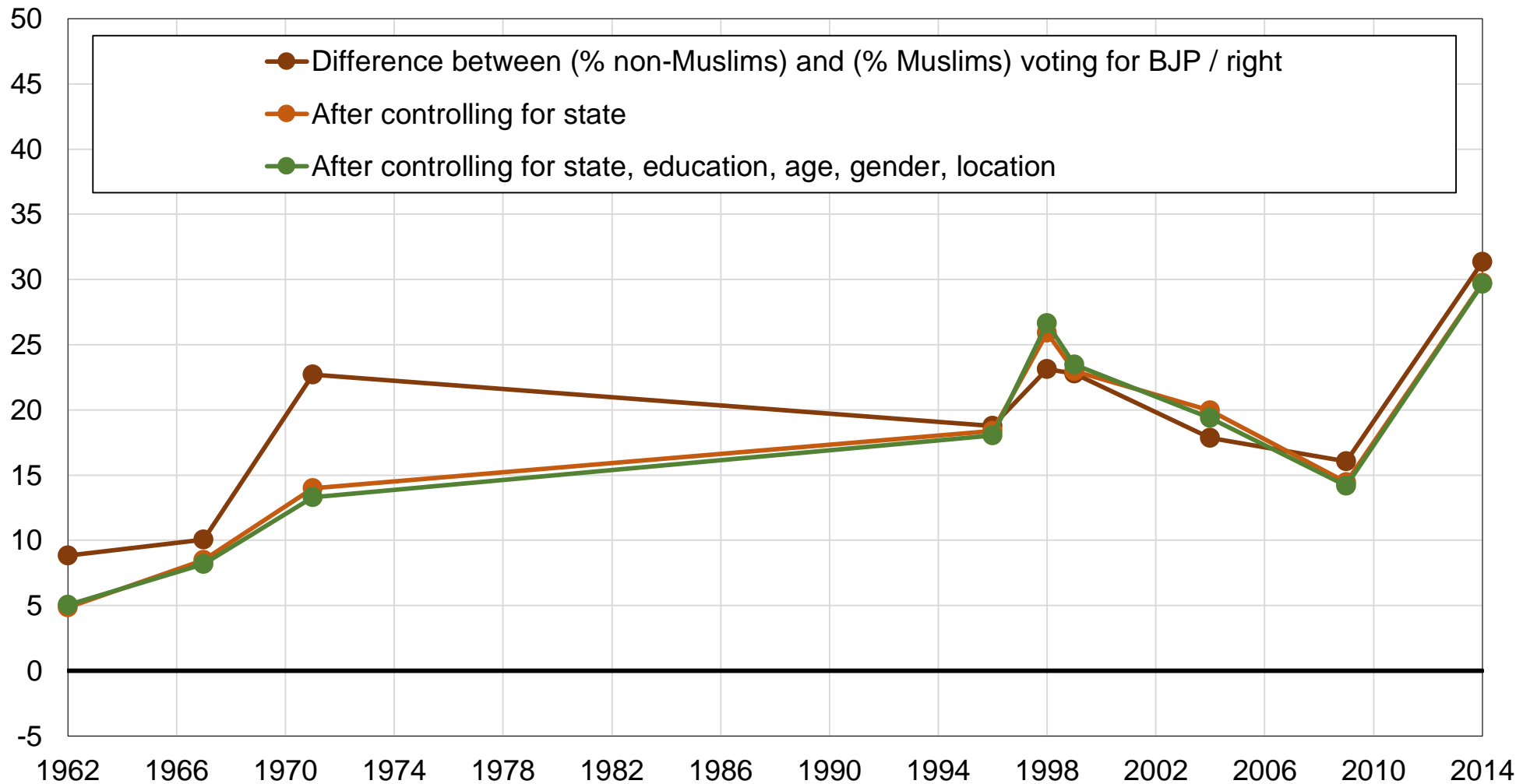
Figure 9.4 - Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

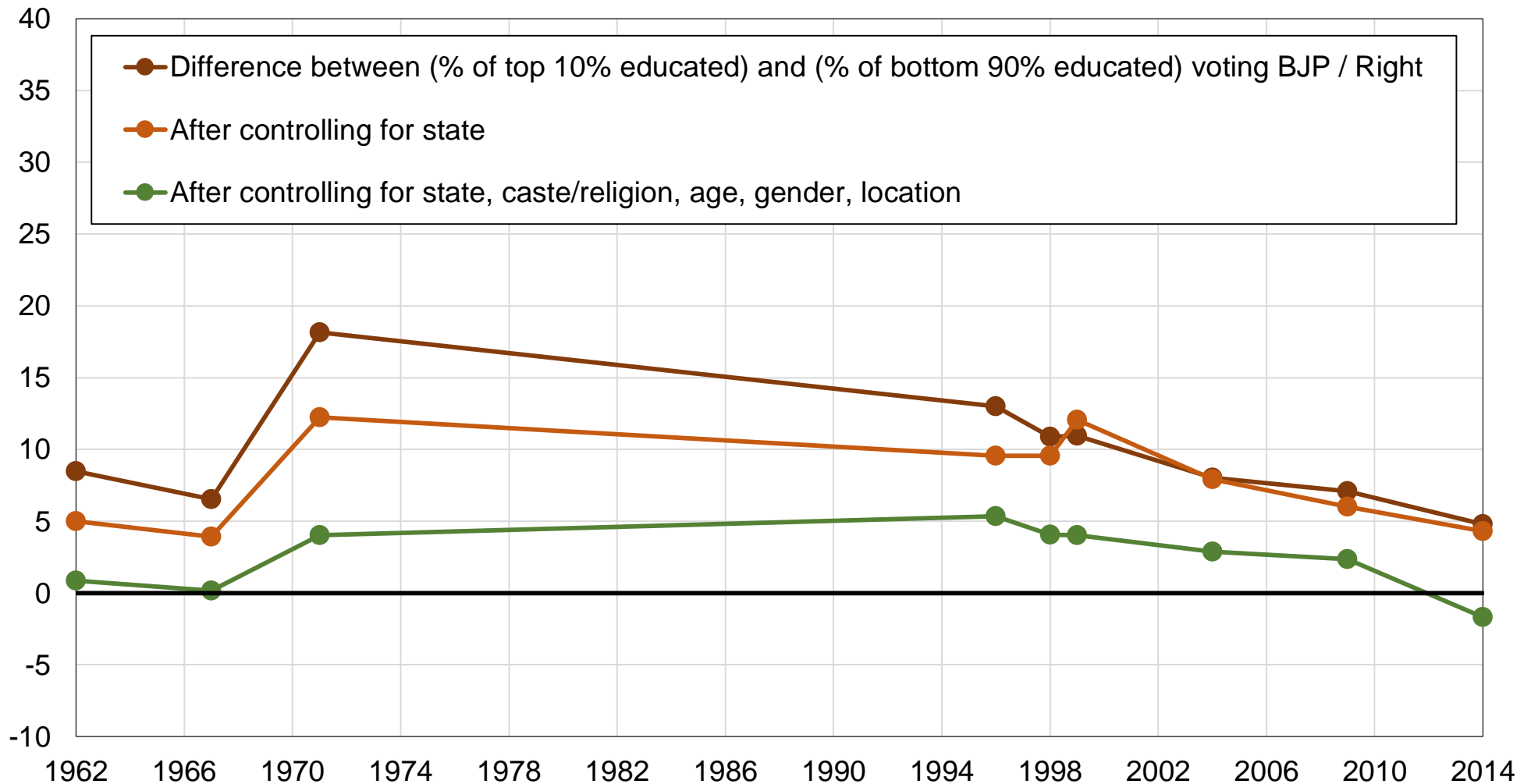
Figure 9.5 - Vote for BJP / Right among non-Muslims in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of non-Muslims and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

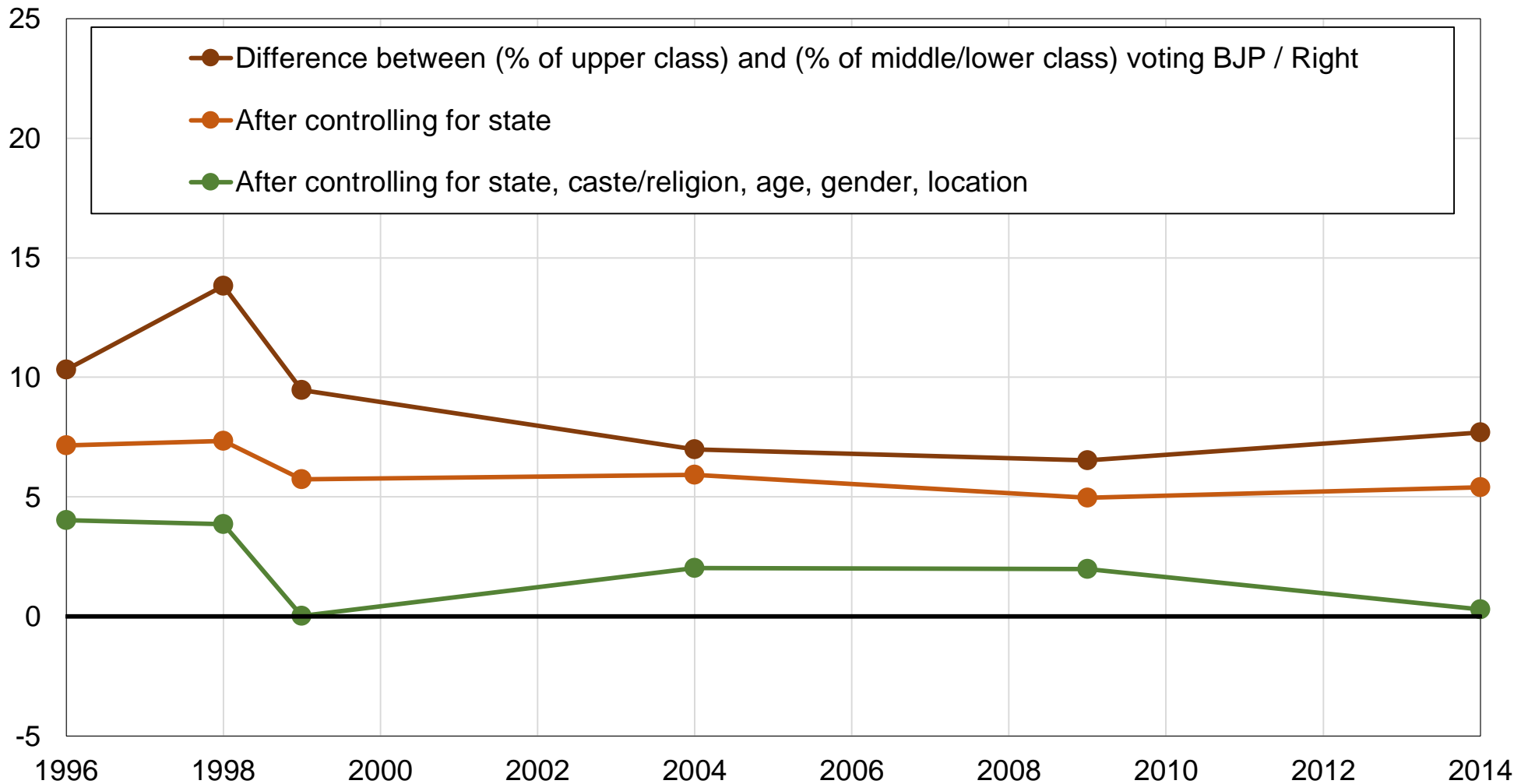
Figure 9.6 - Vote for BJP / Right among higher educated voters in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

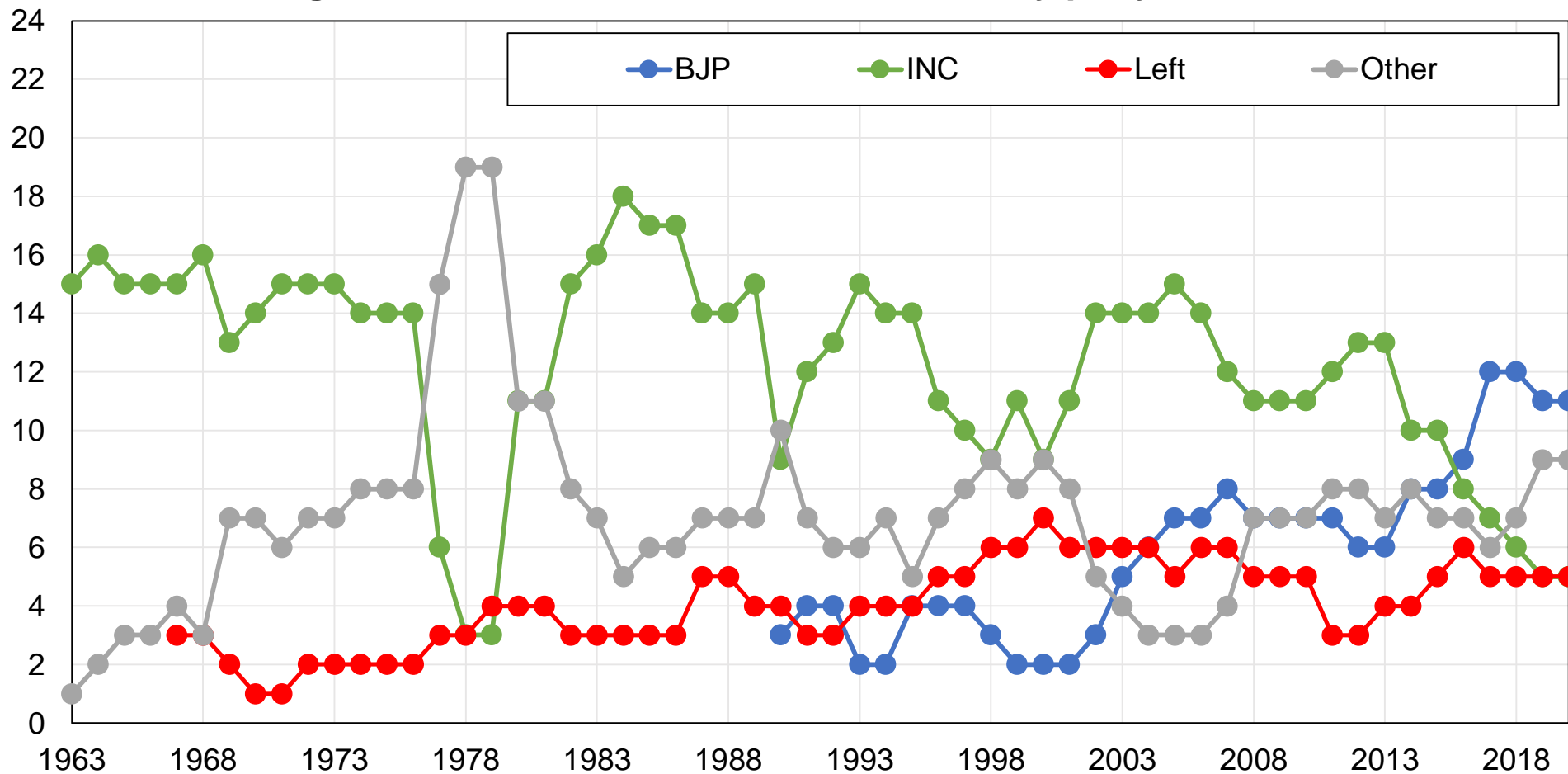
Figure 9.7 - Vote for BJP / Right among the upper class in India



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper class voters and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

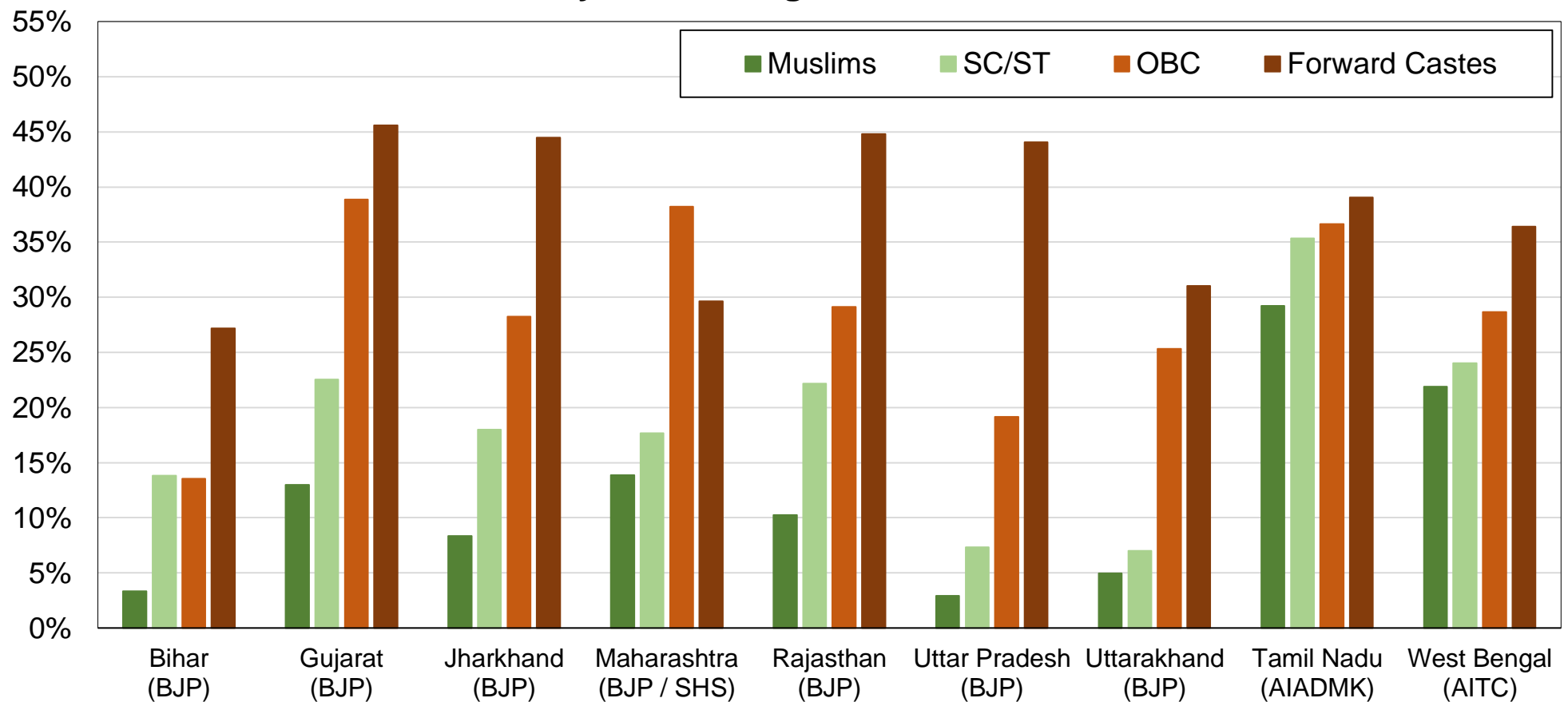
Figure 9.8 - Number of Indian states ruled by party, 1963-2020



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 manually coded data since 2015.

Note: the figure shows the number of states ruled by selected political parties or groups of political parties between 1962 and 2019. Excludes union territories with no elected legislature.

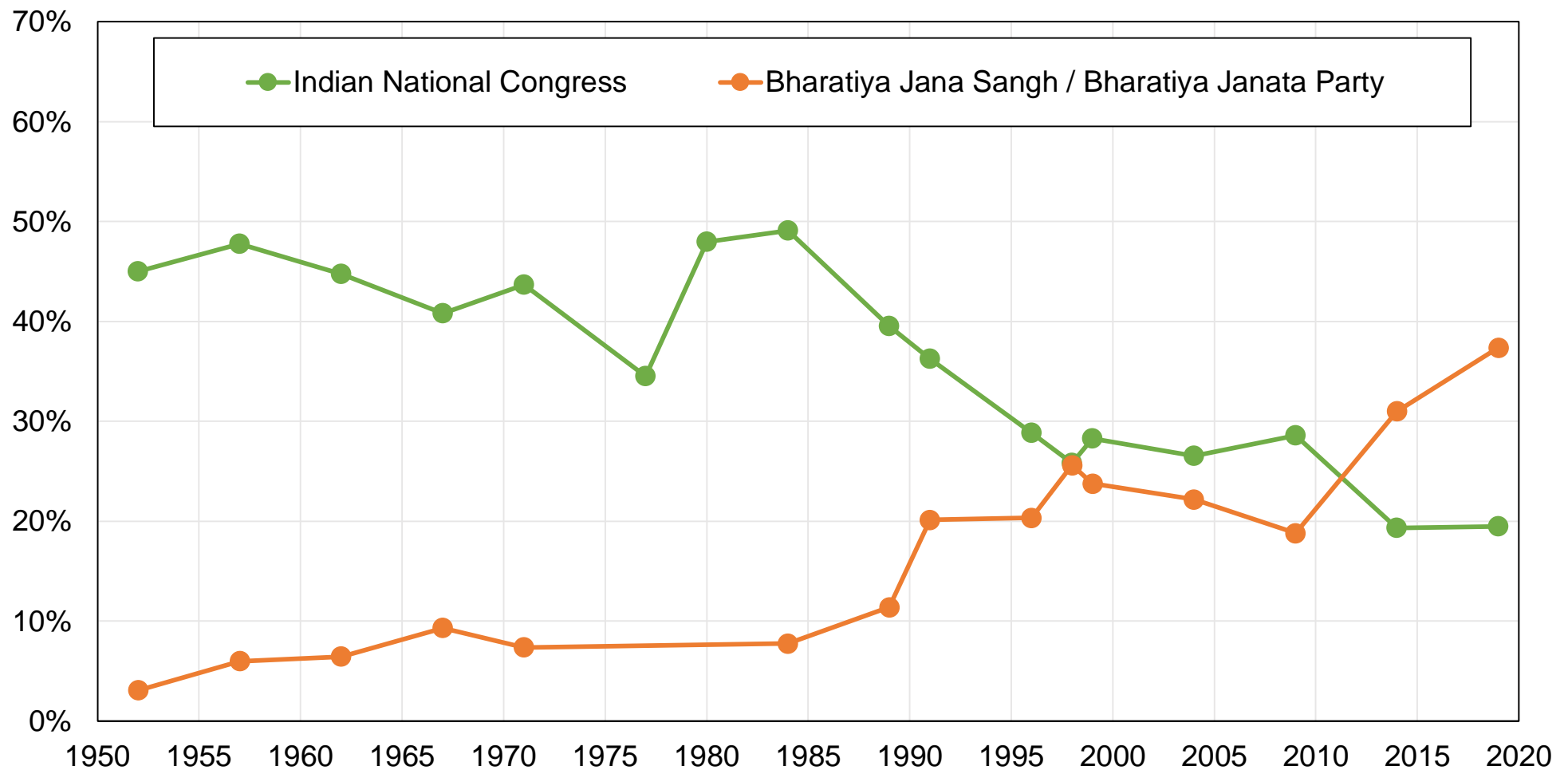
Figure 9.9 - Vote for selected parties in Legislative Assembly state elections by caste / religion in India, 1996-2016



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected political parties by caste and religion in state elections for selected Indian states. 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; AITC: All India Trinamool Congress.

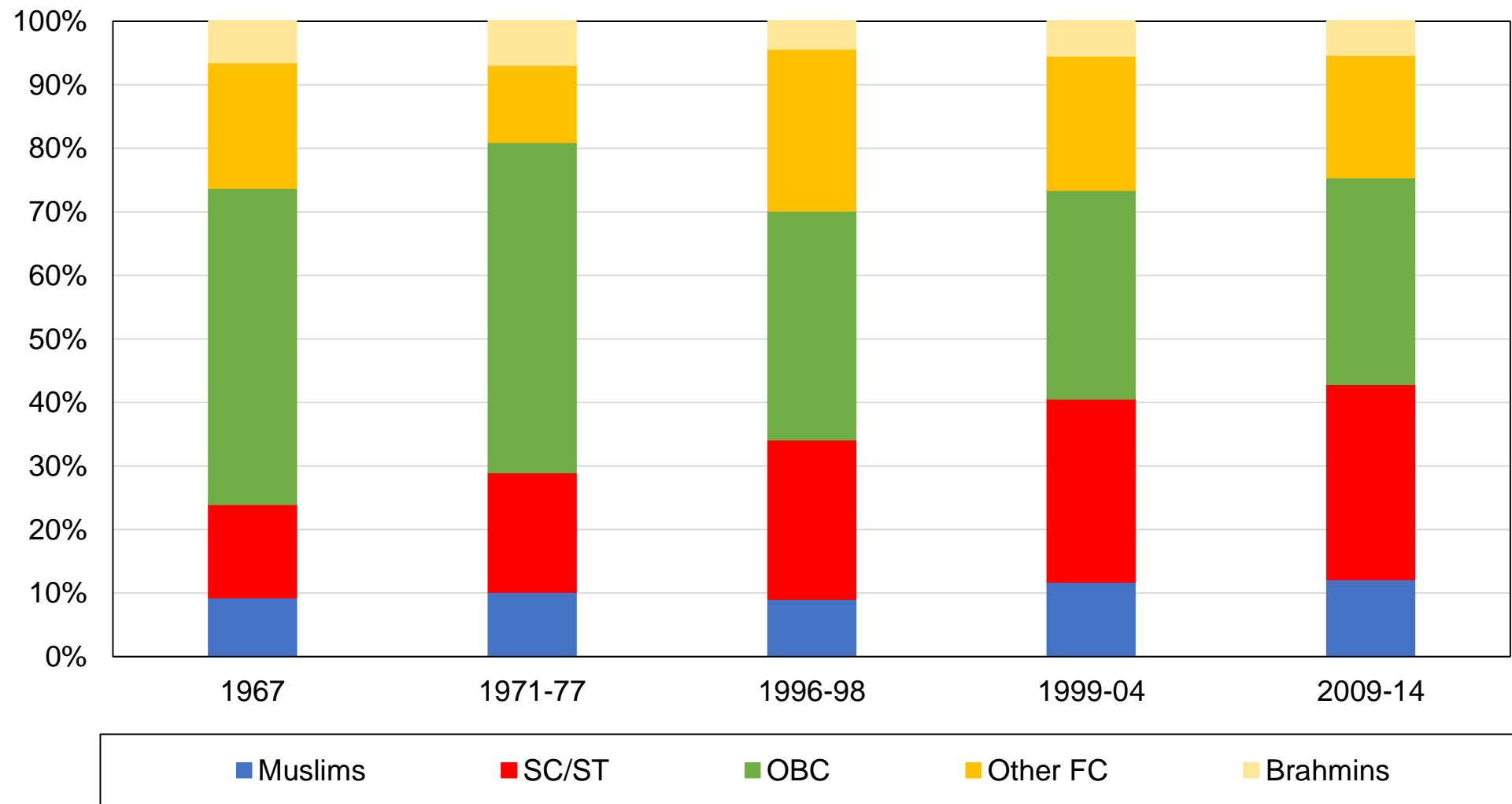
Figure A1 - Lok Sabha election results, 1952-2019: INC versus BJS/BJP



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

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

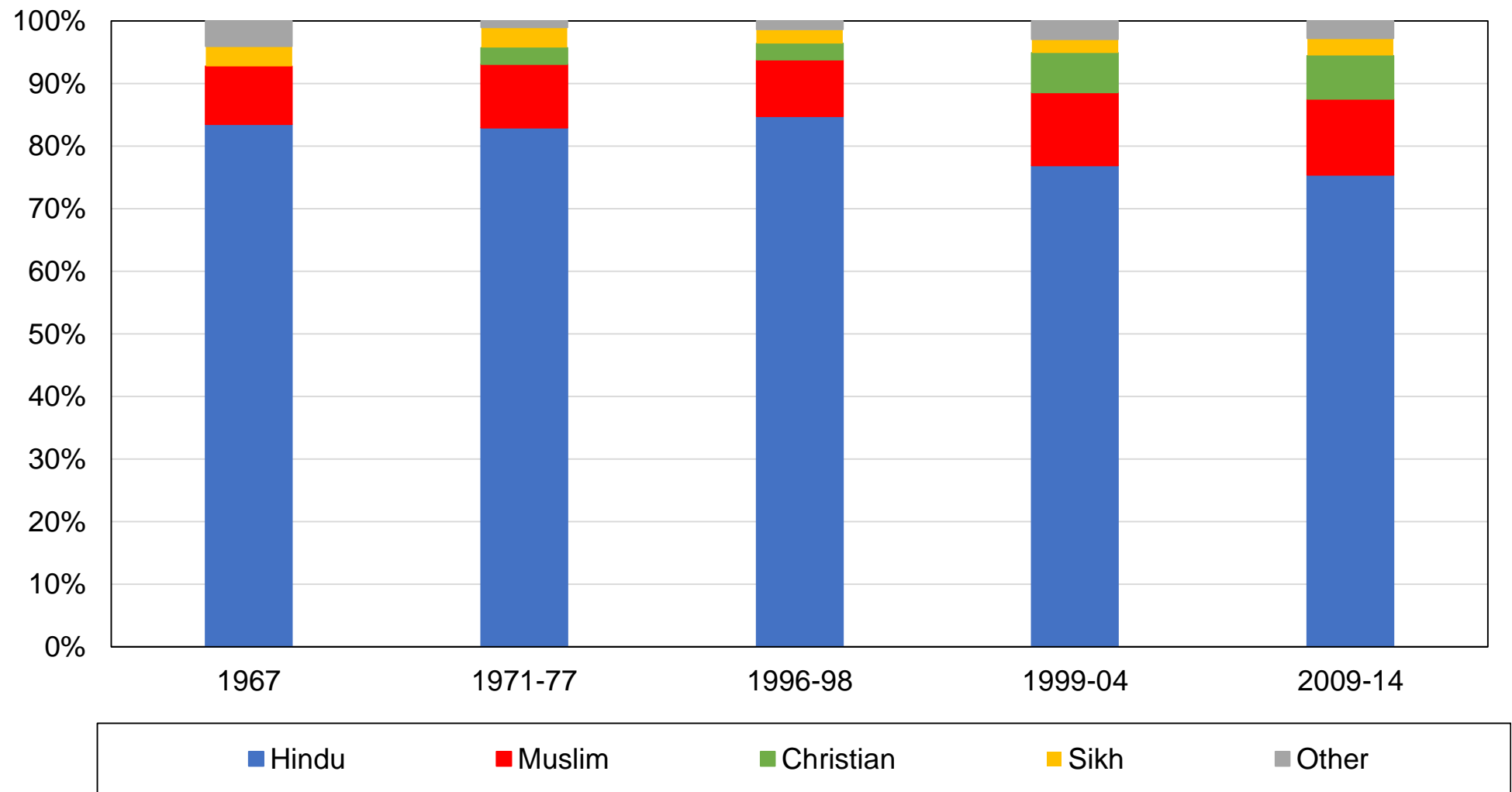
Figure A2 - Composition of the electorate by caste group and religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of caste groups in the Indian adult population.

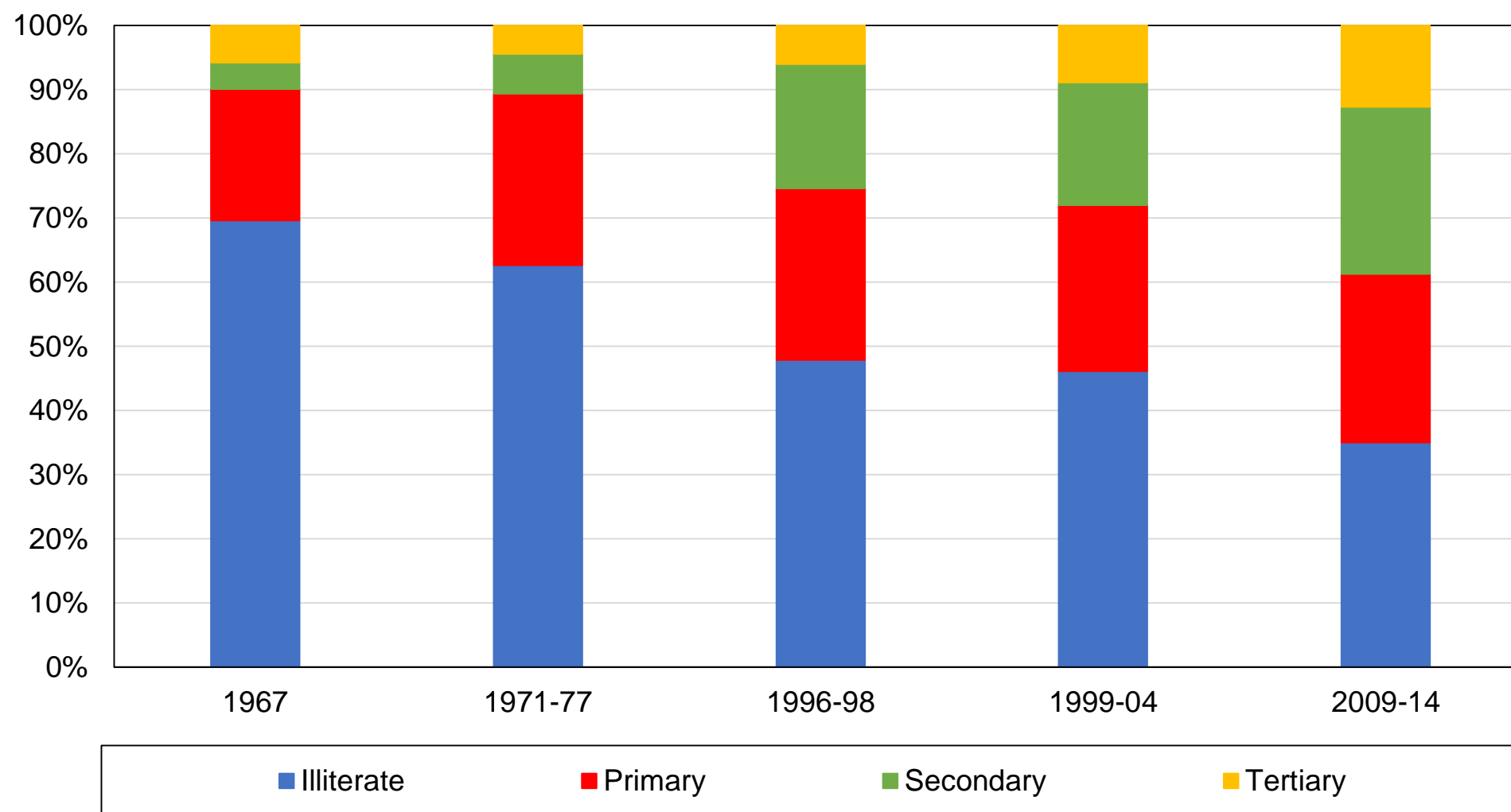
Figure A3 - Composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of religious affiliations in the Indian adult population.

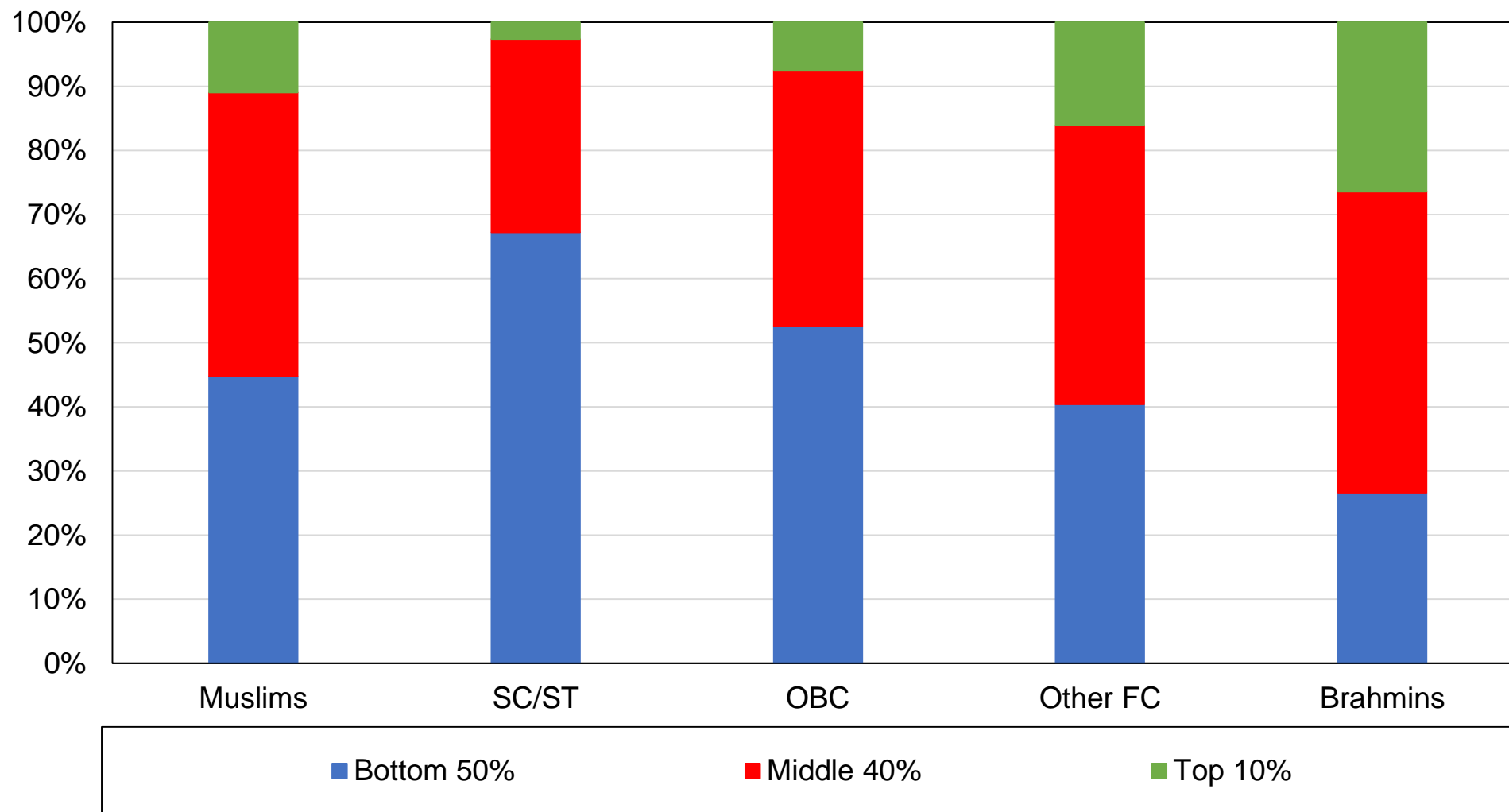
Figure A4 - Composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels in the Indian adult population.

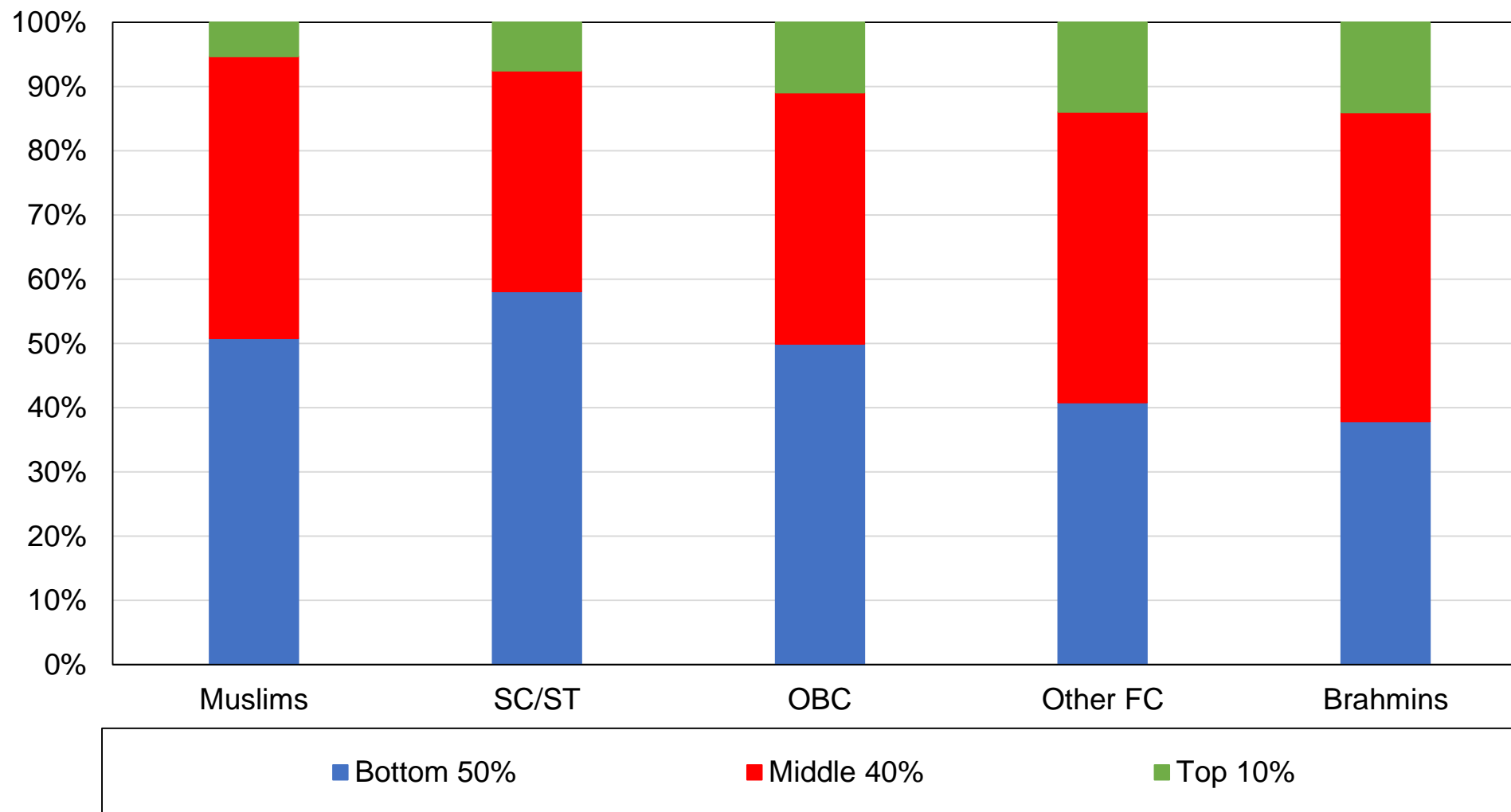
Figure A5 - Composition of caste groups by income group, 1967



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income group by caste group in 1962.

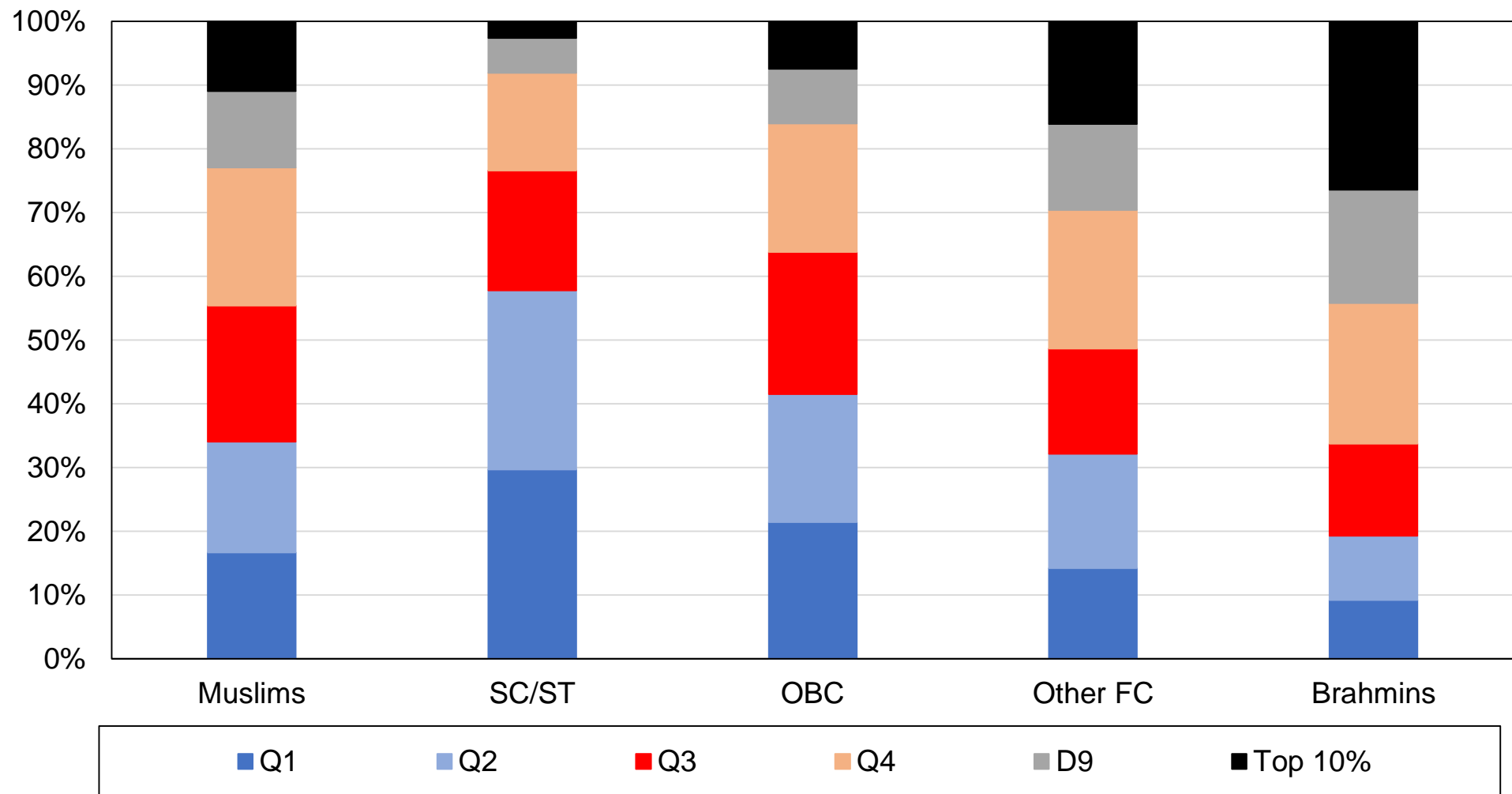
Figure A6 - Composition of caste groups by income group, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income group by caste group in 2014.

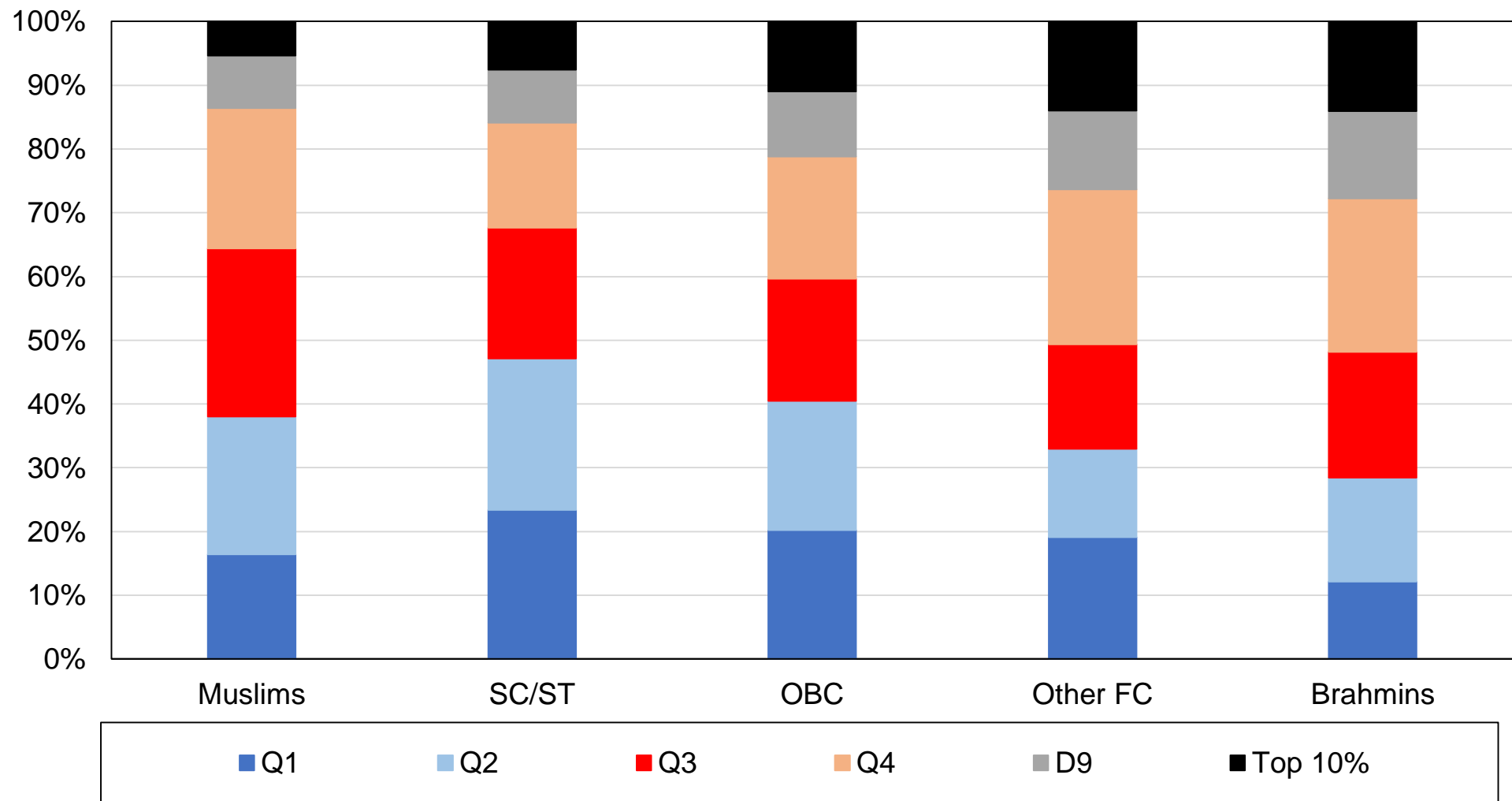
Figure A7 - Composition of caste groups by income quintile/decile, 1967



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles, with a further decomposition of the top 20%, by caste group in 1962.

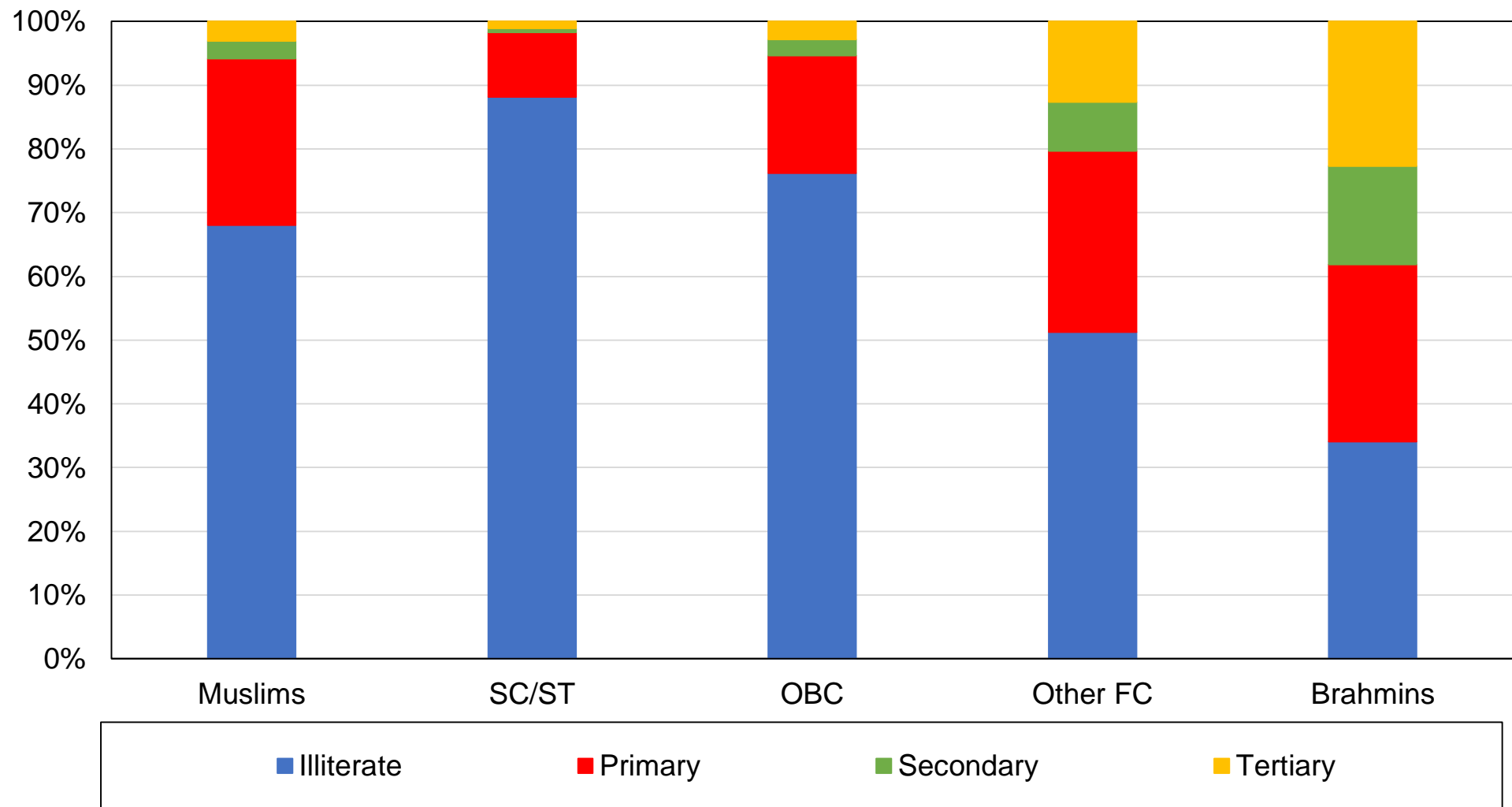
Figure A8 - Composition of caste groups by income quintile/decile, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles, with a further decomposition of the top 20%, by caste group in 2014.

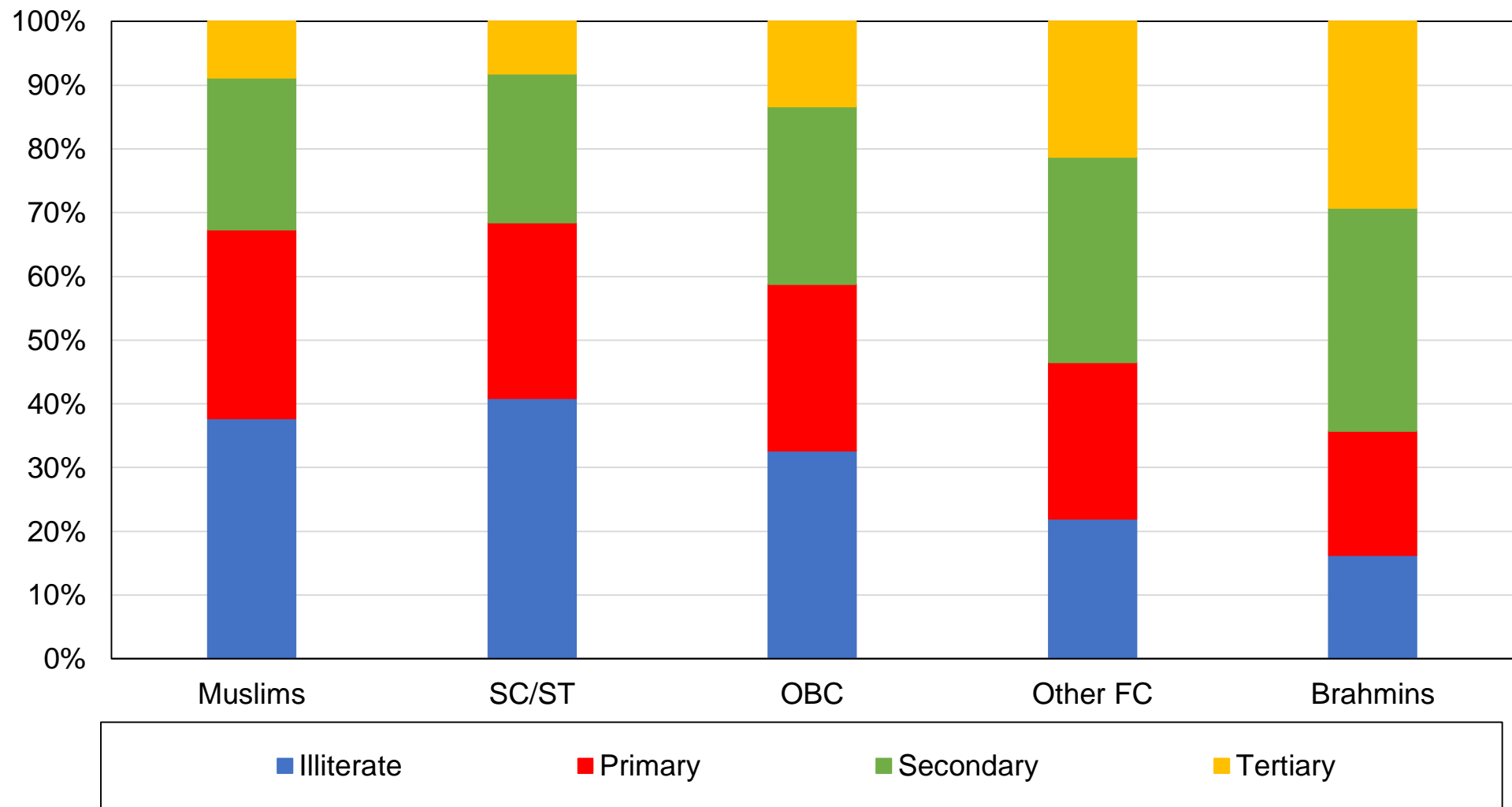
Figure A9 - Composition of caste groups by education level, 1967



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels by caste group in 1962.

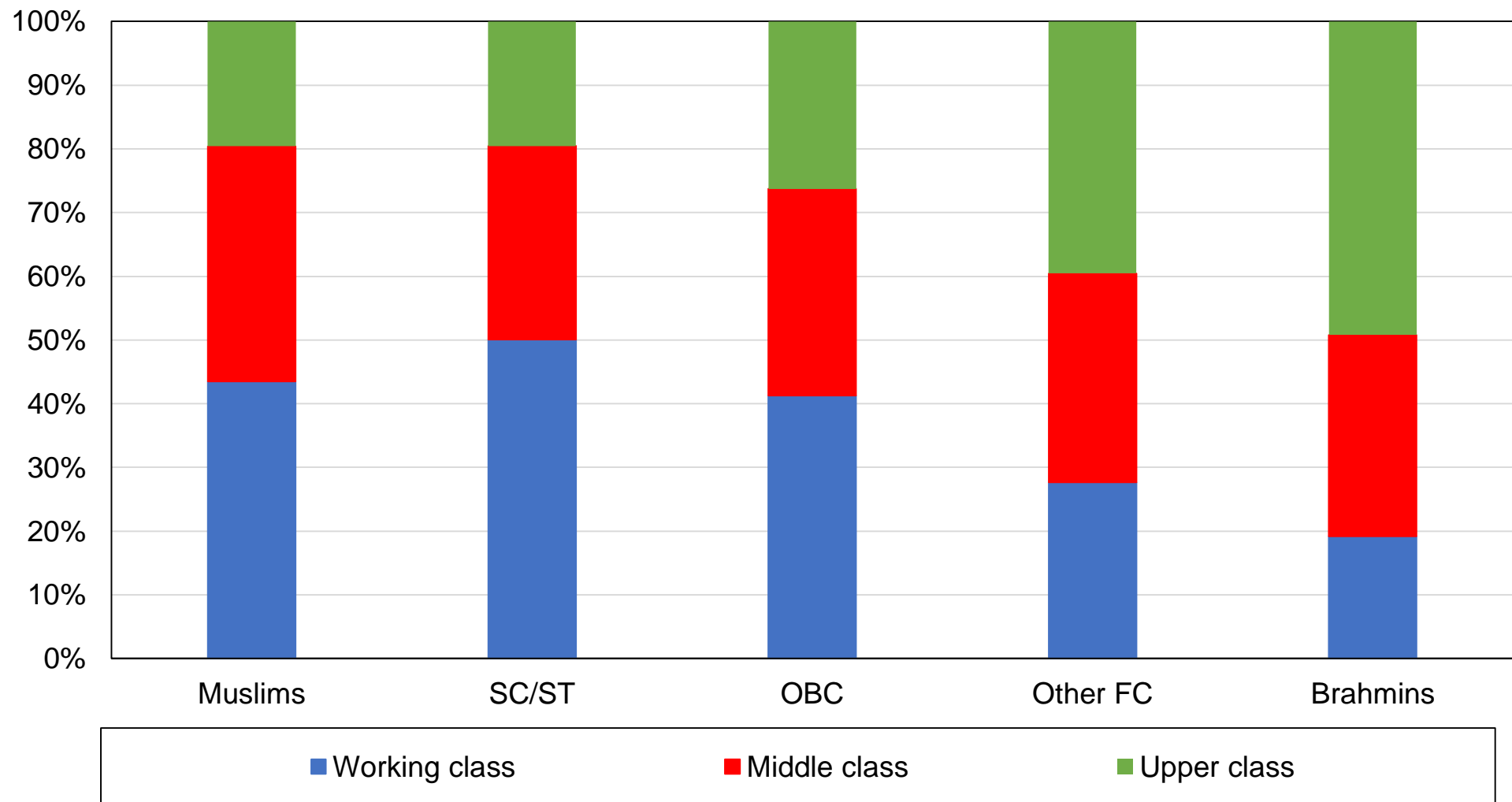
Figure A10 - Composition of caste groups by education level, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education levels by caste group in 2014.

Figure A11 - Composition of caste groups by social class, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of social class by caste group in 2014.

Table A1 - Expert classifications of major Indian political parties

| Party name | Acronym | Number of experts | | | | | Final party group |
|--|---------|-------------------|-------------|--------|--------------|-------|-------------------|
| | | Left | Centre-left | Centre | Centre-right | Right | |
| Bharatiya Janata Party | BJP | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | Right |
| Shiv Sena | SHS | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 13 | Right |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | SAD | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 6 | Right |
| Telugu Desam Party | TDP | 0 | 0 | 8 | 6 | 0 | Right |
| All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | AIADMK | 0 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 0 | Centre |
| Biju Janata Dal | BJD | 0 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 0 | Centre |
| Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | DMK | 0 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 0 | Centre |
| Indian National Congress | INC | 0 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 0 | Centre |
| National Congress Party | NCP | 0 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 0 | Centre |
| Telangana Rashtra Samithi | TRS | 0 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 0 | Centre |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | BSP | 1 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 0 | Left |
| Communist Party of India | CPI | 12 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Left |
| Communist Party of India (Marxist) | CPM | 13 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Left |
| Janata Dal (Union) | JD(U) | 0 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 0 | Left |
| Janata Dal (Secular) | JD(S) | 0 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 0 | Left |
| Rashtriya Janata Dal | RJD | 0 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | Left |
| Samajwadi Party | SP | 0 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 0 | Left |
| Tamil Maanila Congress | TMC | 0 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 1 | Left |

Table A2 - Classification of main Indian political parties

| Party name | Abbreviation | Party group |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| Bharatiya Janata Party | BJP | Right |
| Shiv Sena | SHS | Right |
| Shiromani Akali Dal | SAD | Right |
| Telugu Desam Party | TDP | Right |
| All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | AIADMK | Centre |
| Biju Janata Dal | BJD | Centre |
| Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | DMK | Centre |
| Indian National Congress | INC | Centre |
| National Congress Party | NCP | Centre |
| Telangana Rashtra Samithi | TRS | Centre |
| Bahujan Samaj Party | BSP | Left |
| Communist Party of India | CPI | Left |
| Communist Party of India (Marxist) | CPM | Left |
| Janata Dal (Union) | JD(U) | Left |
| Janata Dal (Secular) | JD(S) | Left |
| Rashtriya Janata Dal | RJD | Left |
| Samajwadi Party | SP | Left |
| Tamil Maanila Congress | TMC | Left |

Table A3 - Full classification of Indian political parties

| Group | Name | Acronym |
|--------|--|---------|
| Centre | All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | ADMK |
| Centre | All India Indira Congress (Tiwari) | AIIC(T) |
| Centre | All India N.R. Congress | AINRC |
| Centre | All India Trinamool Congress | AITC |
| Centre | Biju Janata Dal | BJD |
| Centre | Democratic Indira Congress | DIC |
| Centre | Democratic Revolutionary Peoples Party | DRPP |
| Centre | Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | DMK |
| Centre | Goa Rajiv Congress Party | GRCP |
| Centre | Goa Vikas Party | GVP |
| Centre | Haryana Janhit Congress (BL) | HJCBL |
| Centre | Haryana Vikas Party | HVP |
| Centre | Himachal Vikas Congress | HVC |
| Centre | Hindustani Awam Morcha | HAM |
| Centre | INC(I) | INC(I) |
| Centre | INC(U) | INC(U) |
| Centre | Indian National Congress | INC |
| Centre | Indian National Congress (Socialist) | ICS |
| Centre | Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party | PDP |
| Centre | Janata Dal | JD(U) |
| Centre | Karnataka Congress | KCP |
| Centre | Kerala Congress | KEC |
| Centre | Lok Tantik Congress | LTC |
| Centre | Manipur Peoples Party | MPP |
| Centre | Manipur State Congress Party | MSCP |
| Centre | National Congress Party | NCP |
| Centre | Orissa Jana Congress | JAC |
| Centre | People's Party of Punjab | PPOP |
| Centre | Peoples Democratic Movement | PDM |
| Centre | Pondicherry Makkal Congress | PMC |
| Centre | Praja Rajyam Party | PRAP |
| Centre | Sikkim Congress (Revolutionary) | SCR |
| Centre | Sikkim Janata Parishad | SJP |
| Centre | Sikkim Prajatantra Congress | SPC |
| Centre | Telangana Rashtra Samithi | TRS |
| Centre | Tripura Upajati Juba Samiti | TJS |
| Centre | Vishal Haryana Party | VHP |
| Centre | YSR Congress Party | YSRCP |
| Right | Akali Dal master tara singh group | ADM |
| Right | Akhil Bharatiya Ram Rajya Parishad | RRP |
| Right | All India Ganatantra Parishad | GP |
| Right | All India Rashtriya Janata Party | AIRJP |
| Right | All India United Democratic Front | AIUDF |
| Right | Arunachal Congress | AC |
| Right | Asom Gana Parishad | AGP |

| | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Right | Bharatiya Jana Sangh | JS |
| Right | Bharatiya Janata Party | BJP |
| Right | Bharatiya Janshakti Party | BJSH |
| Right | Gujarat Parivartan Party | GPP |
| Right | INC (organisation) | NCO |
| Right | Indian National Lok Dal | INLD |
| Right | Jammu Praja Parishad | PP |
| Right | Jan Kranti Party | JKP |
| Right | Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (Prajatantrik) | JVM |
| Right | Karnataka Janata Paksha | KJP |
| Right | Krishikar Lok Party | KLP |
| Right | Maharashtra Navnirman Sena | MNS |
| Right | National People's Party | NPP |
| Right | National People's Party | NPEP |
| Right | Nationalist Democratic Movement | NDM |
| Right | Natun Asom Gana Parishad | NAGP |
| Right | Shiromani Akali Dal | SAD |
| Right | Shiv Sena | SHS |
| Right | Swatantra Party | SWA |
| Right | Telugu Desam Party | TDP |
| Left | Aam Aadmi Party | AAP |
| Left | All India Forward Bloc | AIFB |
| Left | Apna Dal | AD |
| Left | Bahujan Samaj Party | BSP |
| Left | Bangla Congress | BAC |
| Left | Bharatiya Kisan Kamgar Party | BKKP |
| Left | Bharipa Bahujan Mahasangh | BBMS |
| Left | Bihar People's Party | BPP |
| Left | Bodoland People's Front | BOPF |
| Left | Communist Party of India | CPI |
| Left | Communist Party of India (Marxist) | CPI(M) |
| Left | Democratic National Conference | DNC |
| Left | Indian Socialist Party | ISP |
| Left | Lok Janshakti Party | LJP |
| Left | Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party | MAG |
| Left | Manipur National Conference | MNC |
| Left | Mizo National Front | MNF(N) |
| Left | Peasants and Workers Party of India | PWP |
| Left | People's Front | PF |
| Left | Praja Socialist Party | PSP |
| Left | Rashtriya Janata Dal | RJD |
| Left | Rashtriya Lok Dal | RLD |
| Left | Rashtriya Lok Samta Party | RLSP |
| Left | Republican Party of India | REP |
| Left | Revolutionary Socialist Party (India) | RSP |
| Left | Samajwadi Party | SP |
| Left | Samta Party | SAP |
| Left | Samyukta Socialist Party | SOP |
| Left | Sikkim Democratic Front | SDF |
| Left | Sikkim Krantikari Morcha | SKM |

| | | |
|-------|---|--------|
| Left | Socialist Unity Centre of India | SUCI |
| Left | Tamil Maanila Congress | TMC |
| Left | Tamil Maanila Congress (Moopanar) | TMC(M) |
| Left | Uttarakhand Kranti Dal | UKD |
| Left | Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi | VCK |
| Left | West Bengal Socialist Party | WBSP |
| Left | Zoram Nationalist Party | ZNP |
| Other | AJSU Party | AJSUP |
| Other | Akali Das Sant Fateh Singh Group | ADS |
| Other | All Party Hill Leaders Conference | AHL(A) |
| Other | All-India Muslim League | IML |
| Other | Bharatiya Kranti Dal | BKD |
| Other | Bharatiya Lok Dal | BLD |
| Other | Congress for Democracy | TCD |
| Other | Desiya Murpokku Dravida Kazhagam | DMDK |
| Other | Federal Party of Manipur | FPM |
| Other | Gomantak Lok Pox | GLP |
| Other | Gondwana Ganatantra Party | GGP |
| Other | Gorkha Janmukti Morcha | GJM |
| Other | Hill State People's Democratic Party | HPSD |
| Other | Hindu Mahasabha | HMS |
| Other | Independents | IND |
| Other | Indigenous Nationalist Party of Twipra | INPT |
| Other | Indigenous People's Front of Tripura | IPFT |
| Other | Jamaat-e-Islami | JMI |
| Other | Jammu & Kashmir National Conference | JKN |
| Other | Jammu and Kashmir National Panthers Party | JKNPP |
| Other | Jan Kranti Dal | JKD |
| Other | Janata Party | JNP |
| Other | Jharkhand Mukti Morcha | JMM |
| Other | Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha | KRS |
| Other | Khun Hynniewtre National Awakening Movement | KHNAM |
| Other | Lok Rajya Party Himachal Pradesh | LRP |
| Other | Manipur Hills Union | MHU |
| Other | Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam | MDMK |
| Other | Meghalaya Democratic Party | MDP |
| Other | Mizoram People's Conference | PC |
| Other | Muslim League | MLO |
| Other | Naga National Democratic Party | NND |
| Other | Nagaland Nationalist Organisation | NNO |
| Other | Nagaland Peoples Conference | NPC |
| Other | Nagaland Peoples Front | NPF |
| Other | National Convention of Nagaland | NCN |
| Other | National Democratic Progressive Party | NDPP |
| Other | Pattali Makkal Katchi | PMK |
| Other | People's Democratic Front | PDF |
| Other | People's Party of Arunachal | PPA |
| Other | Plain Tribals Council of Assam | PTC |
| Other | Public Demands Implementation Convention | PDC |
| Other | Puthiya Tamilagam | PT |

| | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Other | Rising Sun Party | RIS |
| Other | Shoshit Dal | SHD |
| Other | United Democratic Front | UDF |
| Other | United Democratic Party (Meghalaya) | UDP |
| Other | United Front of Nagaland | UFN |
| Other | United Goan Superia Group | UGS |
| Other | United Goans Democratic Party | SGF |
| Other | United Goans Party | NMG |
| Other | Utkal Congress | UTC |

Table A4 - List of surveys used

| State | Year | Sample size |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| <u>National Election Studies</u> | | |
| All India | 1967 | 2287 |
| All India | 1971 | 4922 |
| All India | 1979 | 3790 |
| All India | 1996 | 9614 |
| All India | 1998 | 8133 |
| All India | 1999 | 9418 |
| All India | 2004 | 27189 |
| All India | 2009 | 36629 |
| All India | 2014 | 22295 |
| <u>State election studies</u> | | |
| Bihar | 2000 | 2225 |
| Bihar | 2005 | 7695 |
| Bihar | 2010 | 4959 |
| Bihar | 2015 | 3946 |
| Gujarat | 2002 | 1405 |
| Gujarat | 2007 | 3096 |
| Gujarat | 2012 | 3748 |
| Jharkhand | 2005 | 816 |
| Jharkhand | 2014 | 1678 |
| Maharashtra | 2004 | 1448 |
| Maharashtra | 2009 | 1972 |
| Maharashtra | 2014 | 1542 |
| Rajasthan | 2003 | 3102 |
| Rajasthan | 2008 | 1573 |
| Rajasthan | 2013 | 2986 |
| Tamil Nadu | 2001 | 1581 |
| Tamil Nadu | 2006 | 4681 |
| Tamil Nadu | 2011 | 5499 |
| Tamil Nadu | 2016 | 3252 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 1996 | 6019 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 2002 | 2318 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 2007 | 11331 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 2012 | 7291 |
| Uttarakhand | 2002 | 733 |
| West Bengal | 2001 | 1793 |
| West Bengal | 2006 | 3377 |
| West Bengal | 2011 | 5166 |
| West Bengal | 2016 | 3471 |

Table A5a - Composition of the Indian electorate, 1967-2014

| | 1967 | 1971-77 | 1996-98 | 1999-04 | 2009-14 |
|-----------------------|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Caste: Muslims | 9% | 10% | 9% | 12% | 12% |
| Caste: SC/ST | 15% | 19% | 25% | 29% | 31% |
| Caste: OBC | 50% | 52% | 36% | 33% | 33% |
| Caste: Other FC | 20% | 12% | 26% | 21% | 19% |
| Caste: Brahmins | 6% | 7% | 4% | 5% | 5% |
| Religion: Hindu | 84% | 83% | 85% | 77% | 75% |
| Religion: Muslim | 9% | 10% | 9% | 12% | 12% |
| Religion: Christian | 0% | 3% | 3% | 6% | 7% |
| Religion: Sikh | 3% | 3% | 2% | 2% | 3% |
| Religion: Other | 4% | 1% | 1% | 3% | 3% |
| Education: Illiterate | 70% | 63% | 48% | 46% | 35% |
| Education: Primary | 20% | 27% | 27% | 26% | 26% |
| Education: Secondary | 4% | 6% | 19% | 19% | 26% |
| Education: Tertiary | 6% | 4% | 6% | 9% | 13% |
| Location: Rural area | 76% | 76% | 76% | 78% | 72% |

Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected available variables.

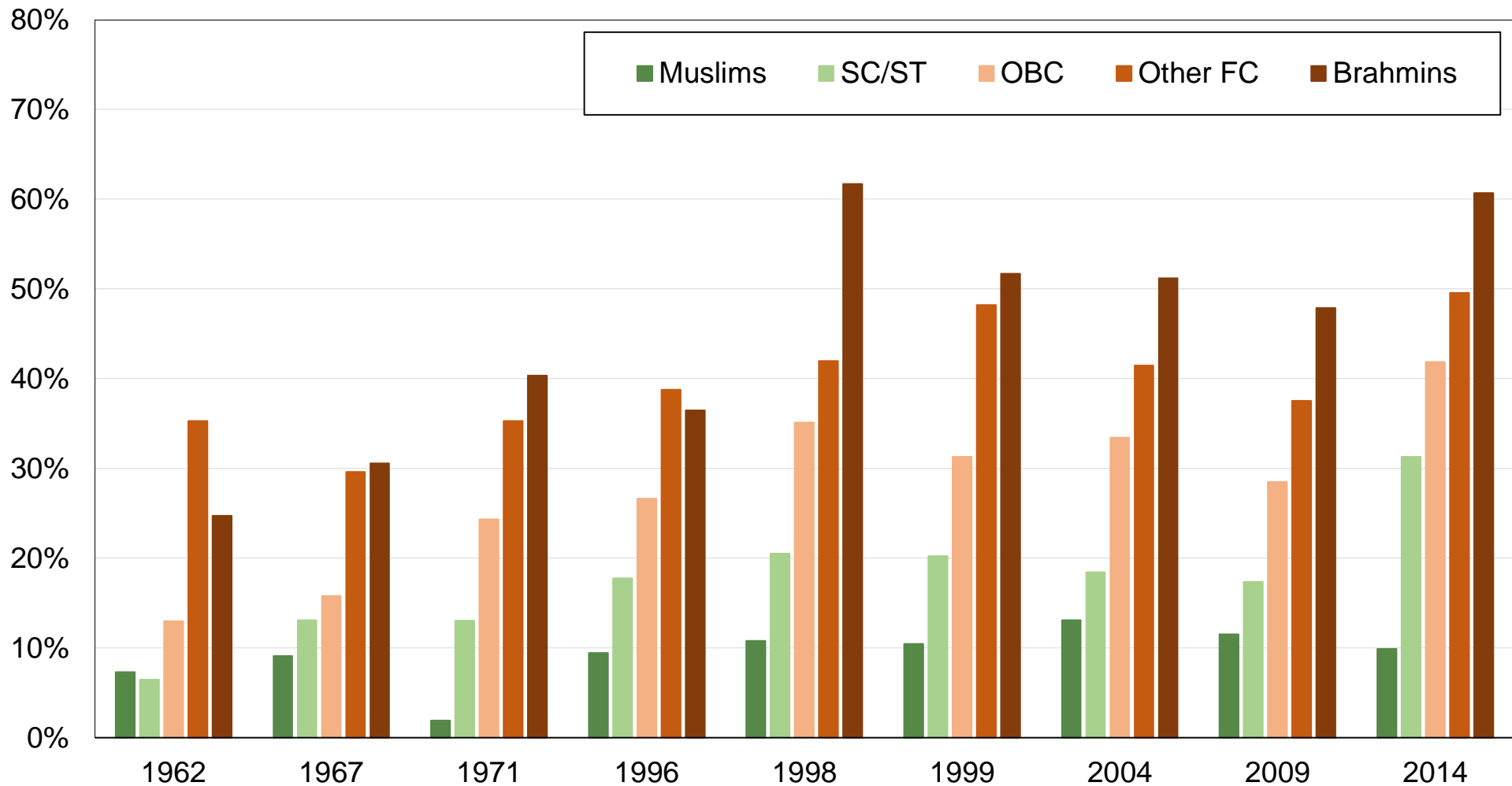
Table A5b - Complete descriptive statistics

| | 1967 | 1971-77 | 1996-98 | 1999-04 | 2009-14 |
|-----------------------------|------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Caste: Muslims | 9% | 10% | 9% | 12% | 12% |
| Caste: SC/ST | 15% | 19% | 25% | 29% | 31% |
| Caste: OBC | 50% | 52% | 36% | 33% | 33% |
| Caste: Other FC | 20% | 12% | 26% | 21% | 19% |
| Caste: Brahmins | 6% | 7% | 4% | 5% | 5% |
| Religion: Hindu | 84% | 83% | 85% | 77% | 75% |
| Religion: Muslim | 9% | 10% | 9% | 12% | 12% |
| Religion: Christian | 0% | 3% | 3% | 6% | 7% |
| Religion: Sikh | 3% | 3% | 2% | 2% | 3% |
| Religion: Other | 4% | 1% | 1% | 3% | 3% |
| Education: Illiterate | 70% | 63% | 48% | 46% | 35% |
| Education: Primary | 20% | 27% | 27% | 26% | 26% |
| Education: Secondary | 4% | 6% | 19% | 19% | 26% |
| Education: Tertiary | 6% | 4% | 6% | 9% | 13% |
| Social class: Working class | | | 37% | 39% | 42% |
| Social class: Middle class | | | 37% | 38% | 32% |
| Social class: Upper class | | | 26% | 23% | 26% |
| Age: 20-40 | 63% | 52% | 58% | 55% | 52% |
| Age: 40-60 | 30% | 39% | 33% | 34% | 36% |
| Age: 60+ | 8% | 9% | 9% | 11% | 12% |
| Gender: Man | 87% | 54% | 50% | 53% | 53% |
| Location: Rural area | 76% | 76% | 76% | 78% | 72% |

Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics for selected available variables.

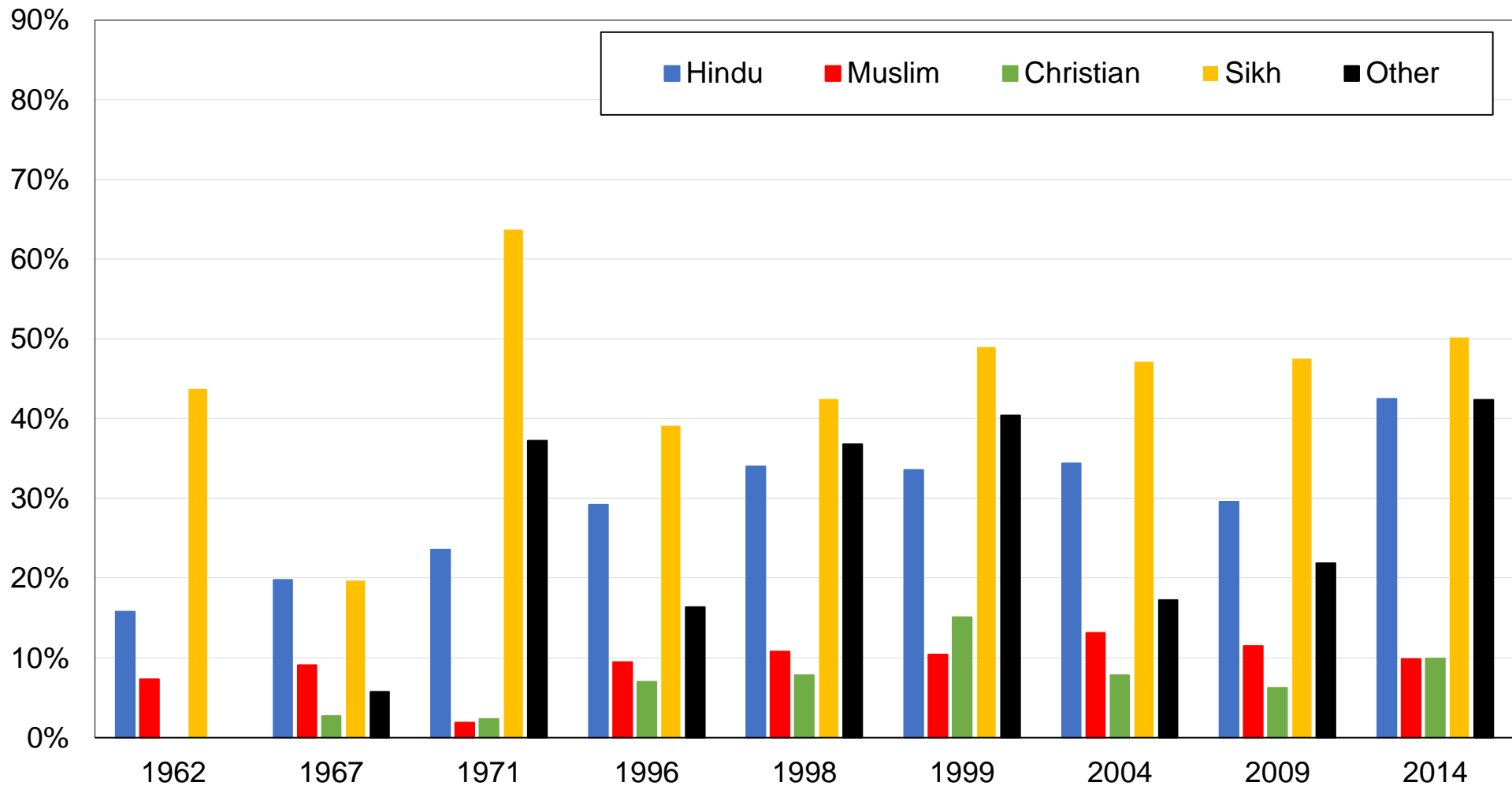
Figure B1 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by caste / religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

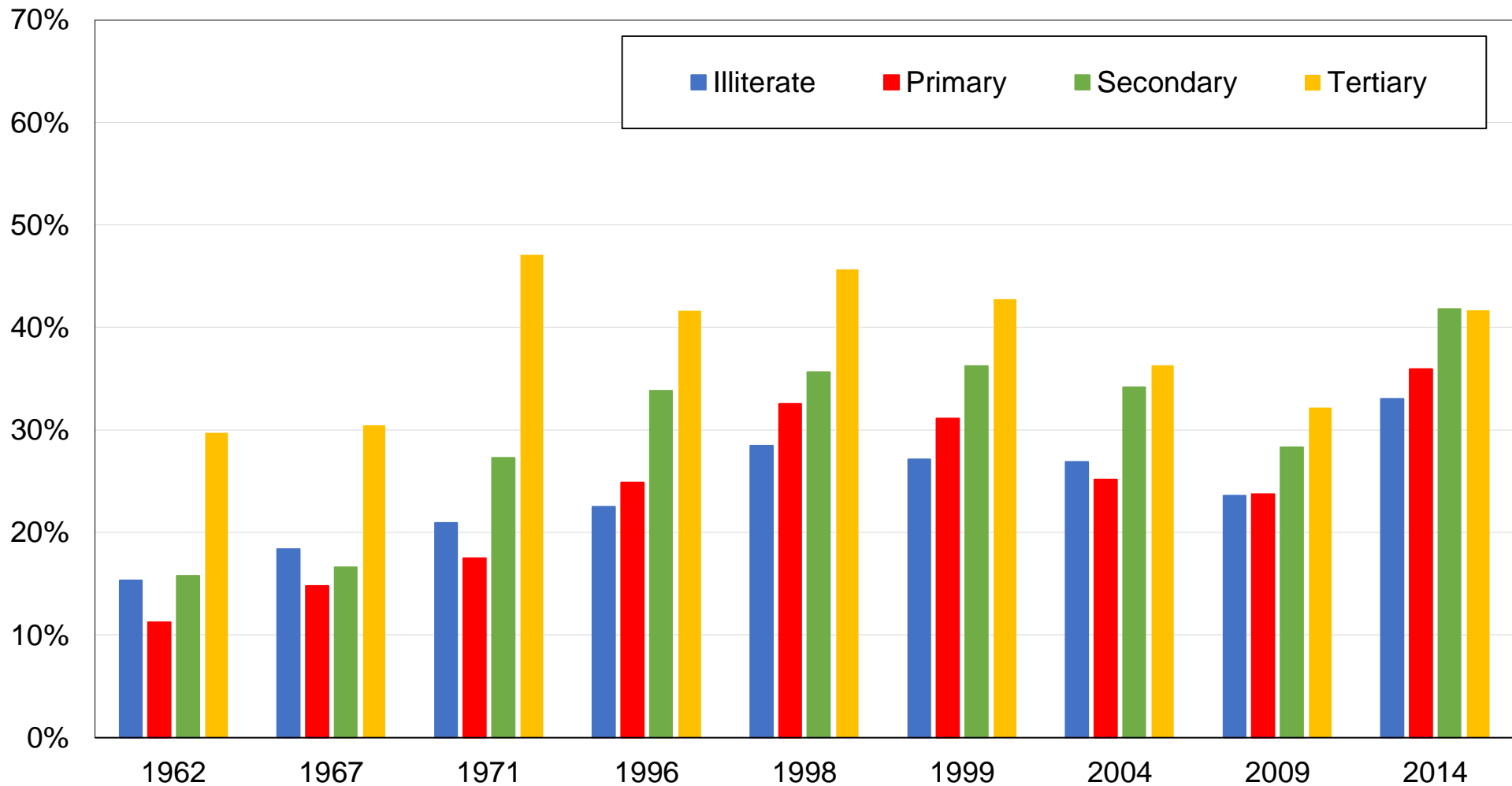
Figure B2 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

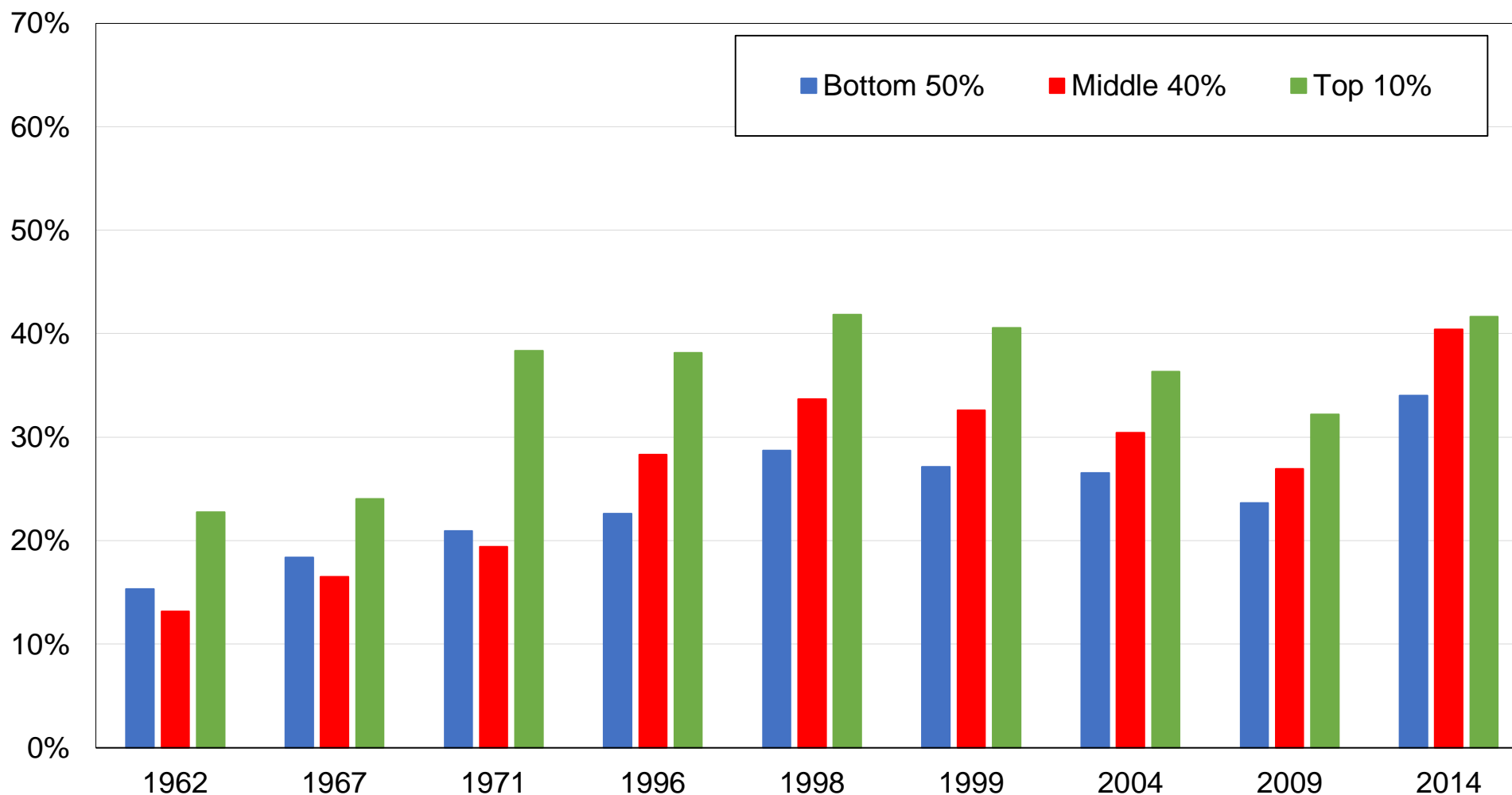
Figure B3 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by education level in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

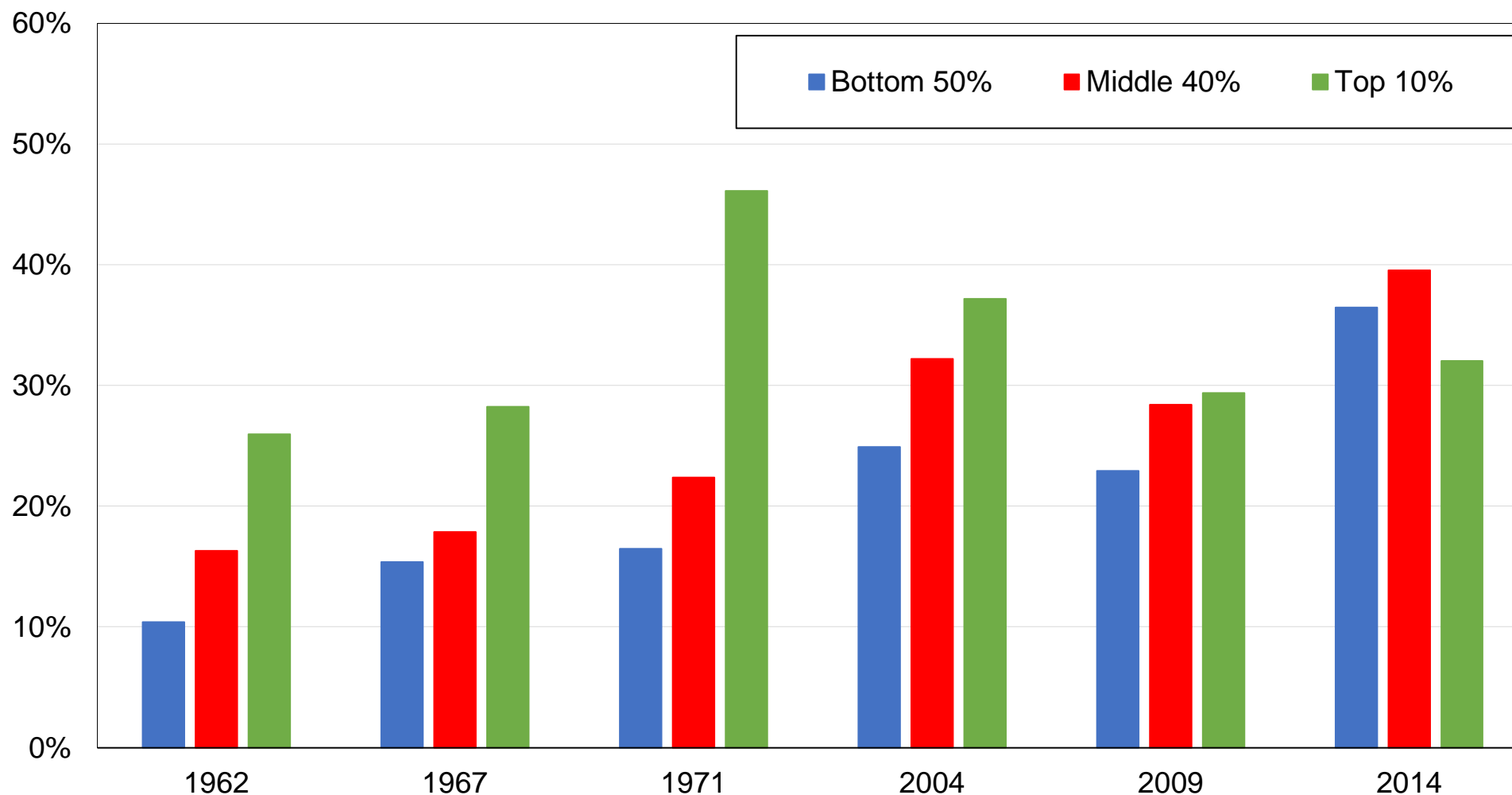
Figure B4 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by education group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

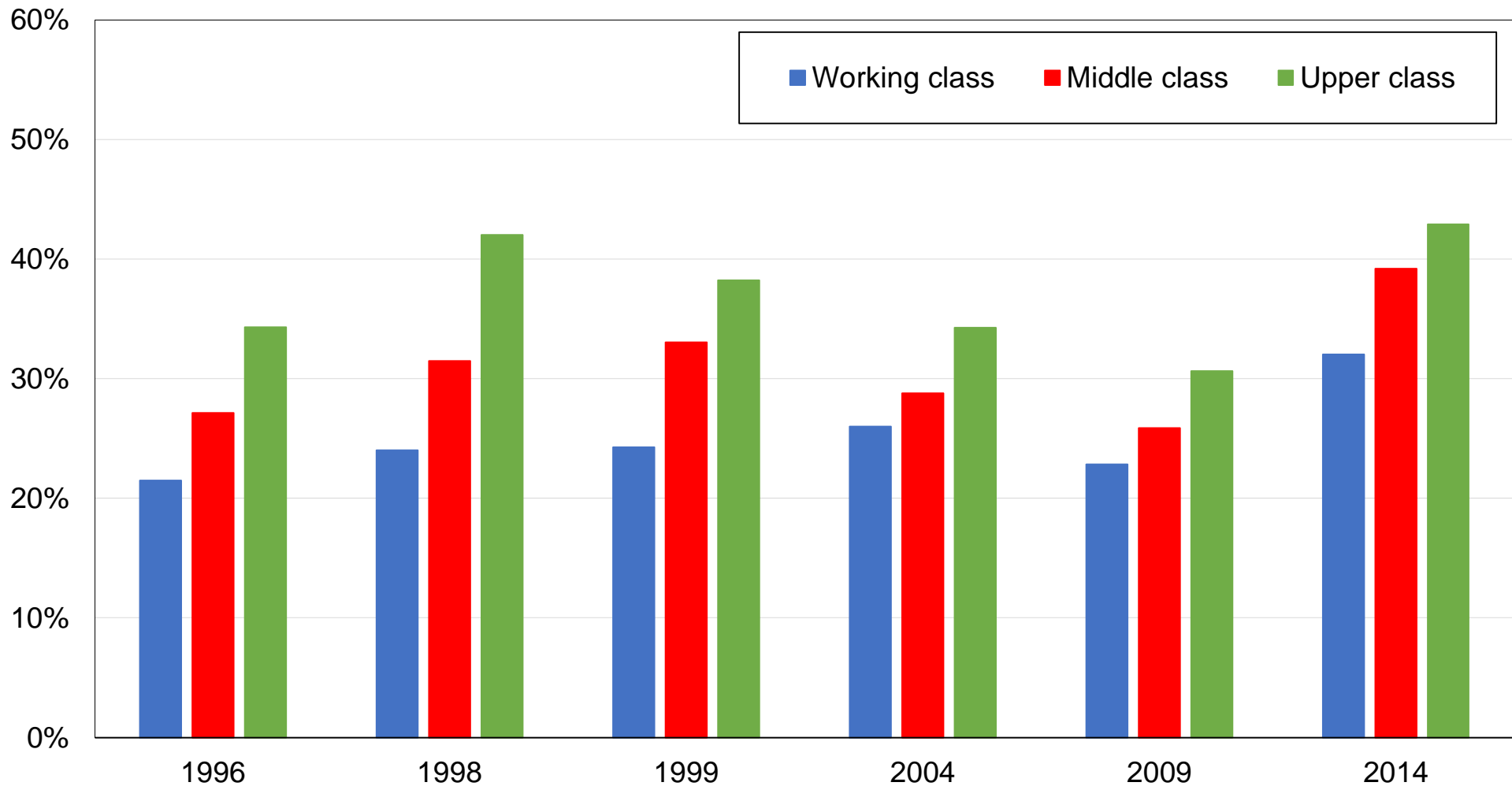
Figure B5 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by income group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

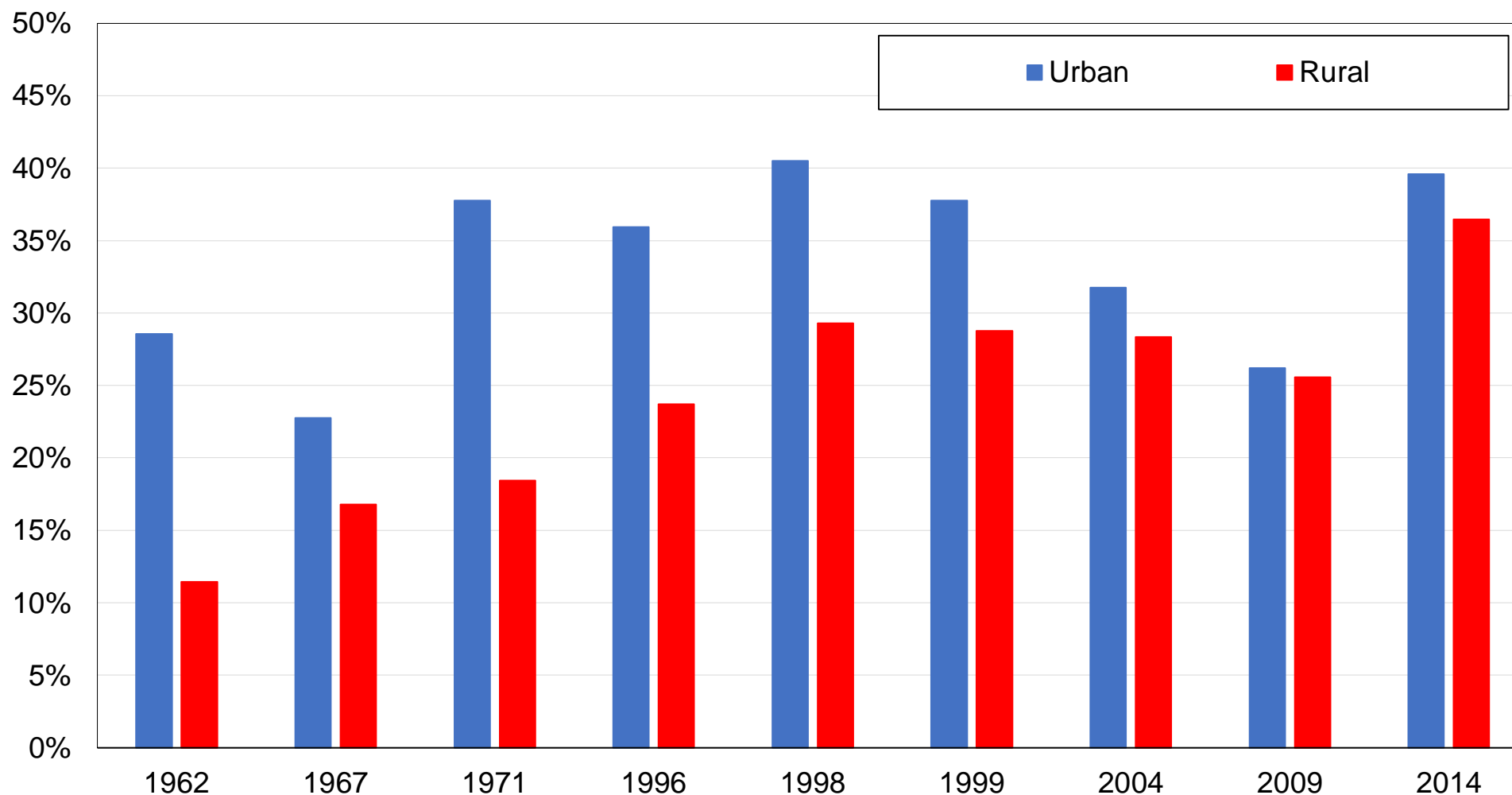
Figure B6 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by social class



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by social class in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

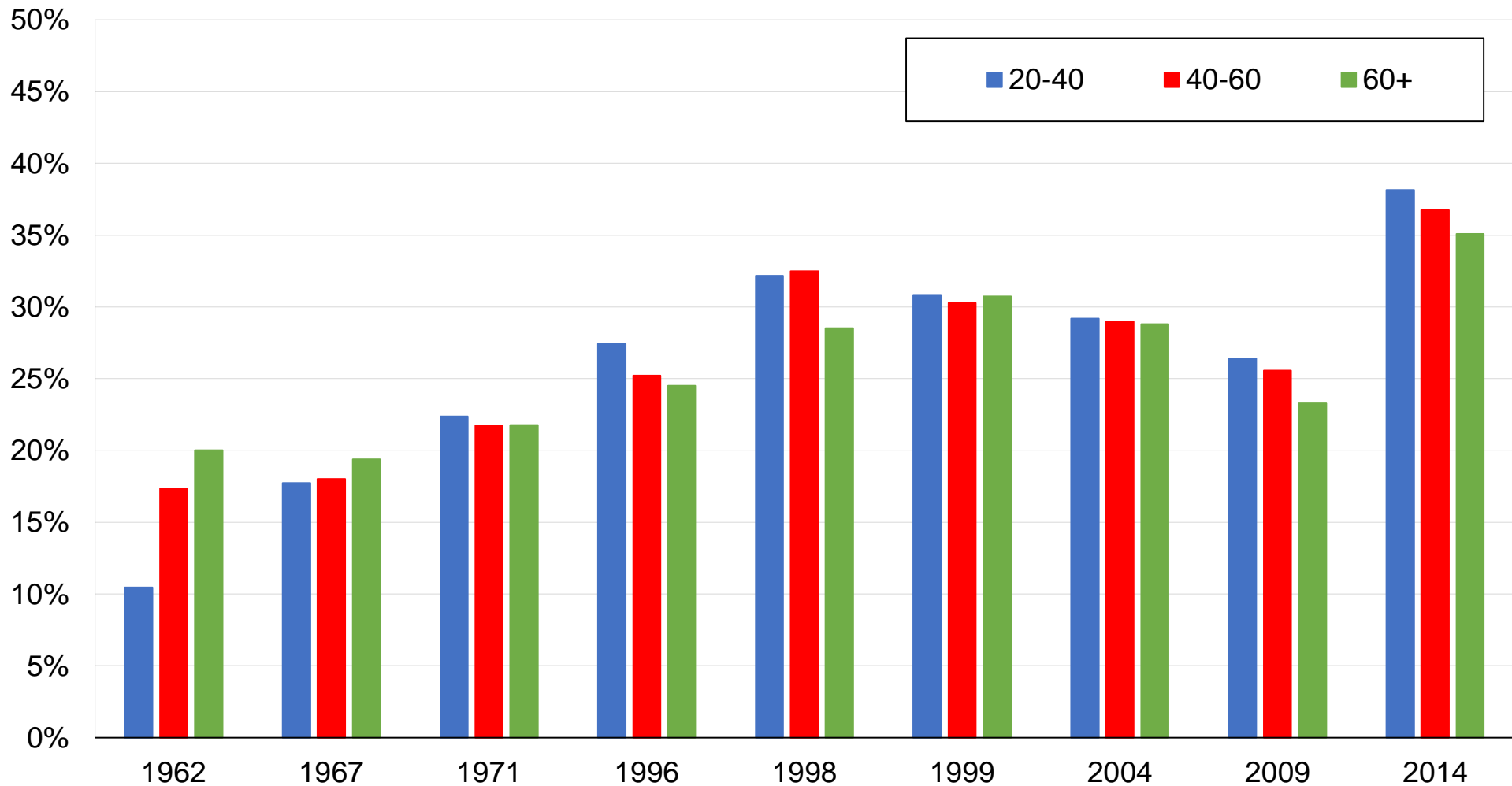
Figure B7 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by rural-urban location in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

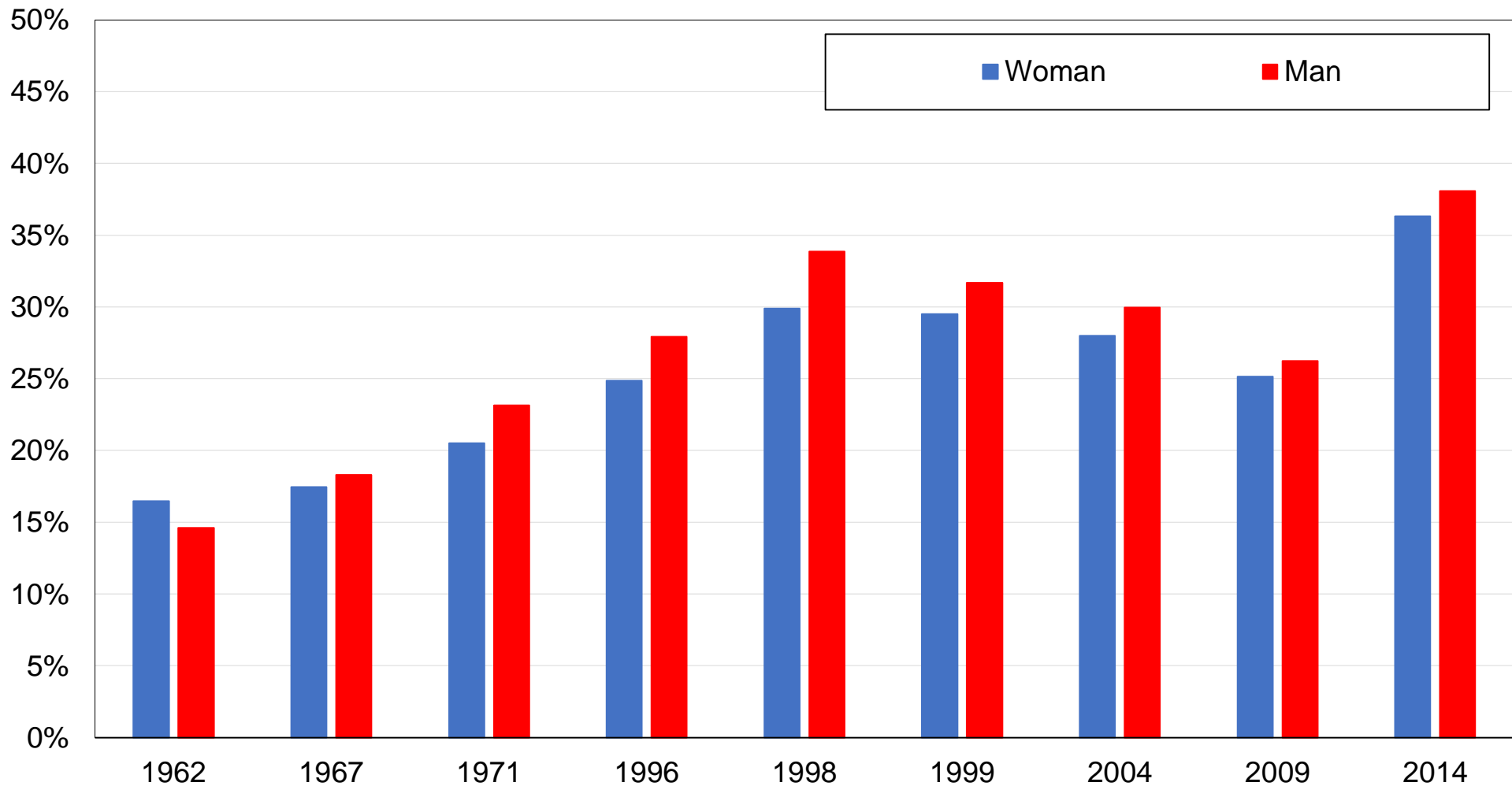
Figure B8 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by age group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

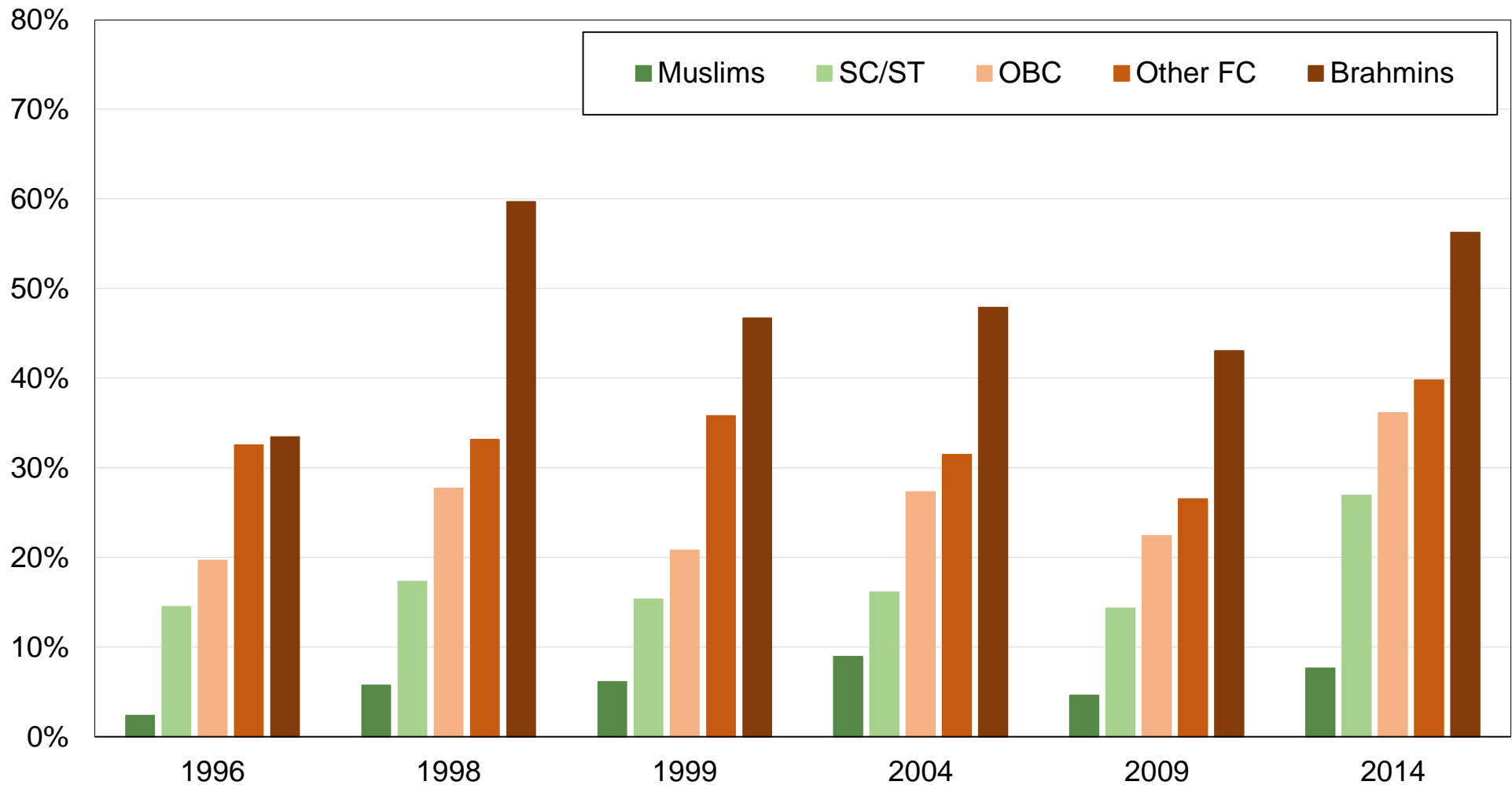
Figure B9 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by gender in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

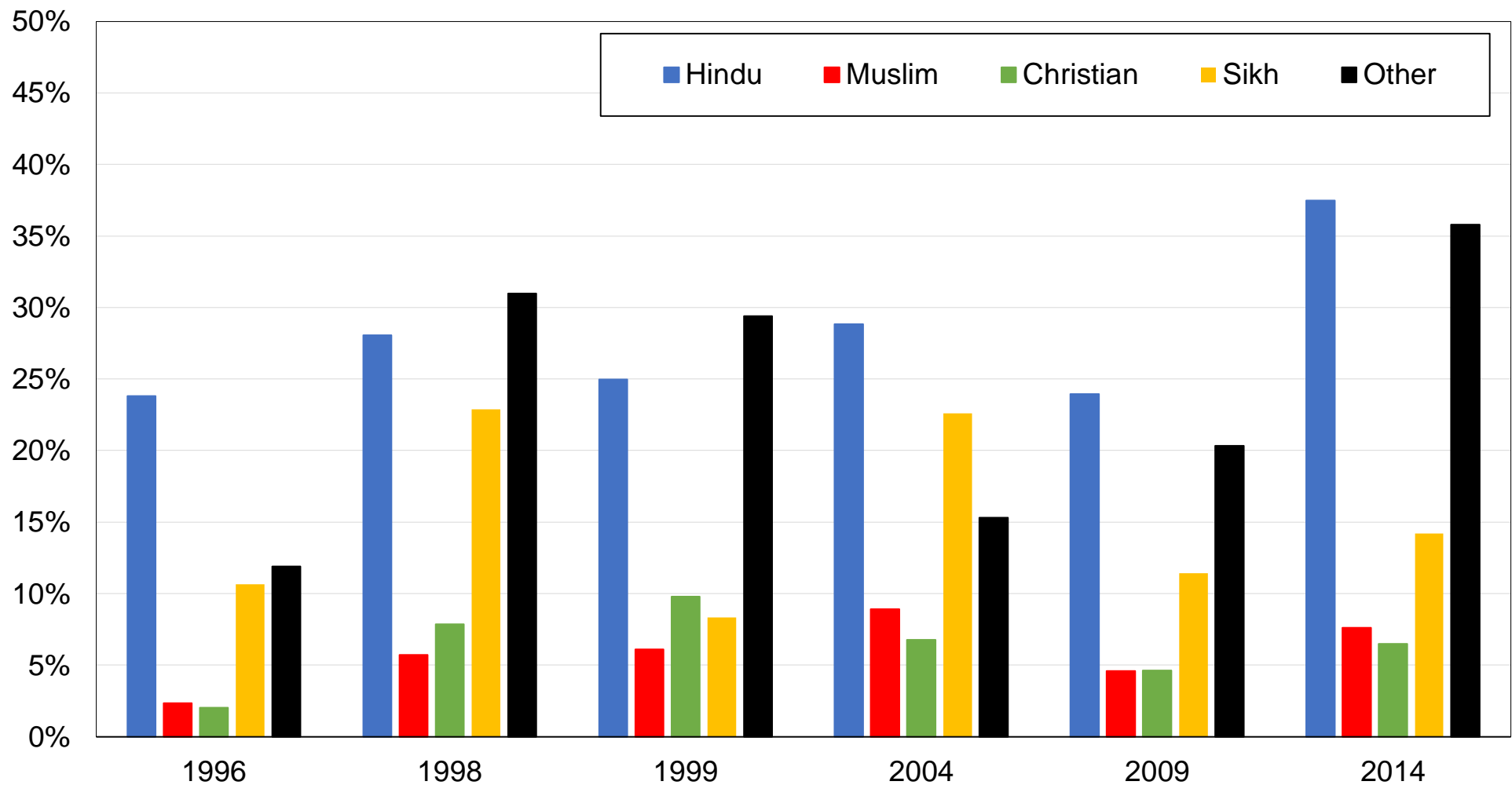
Figure B10 - Vote for BJP by caste / religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

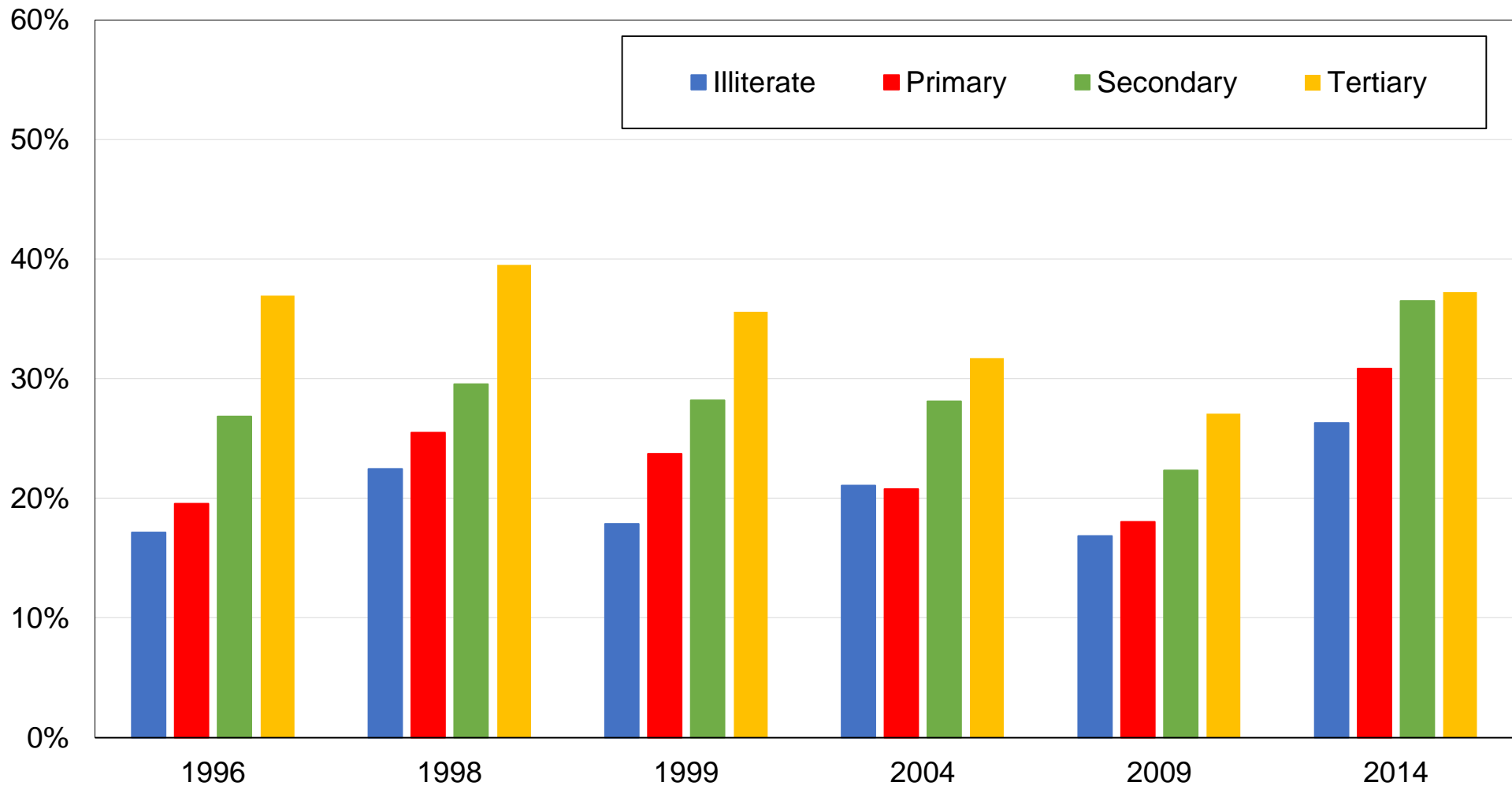
Figure B11 - Vote for BJP by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

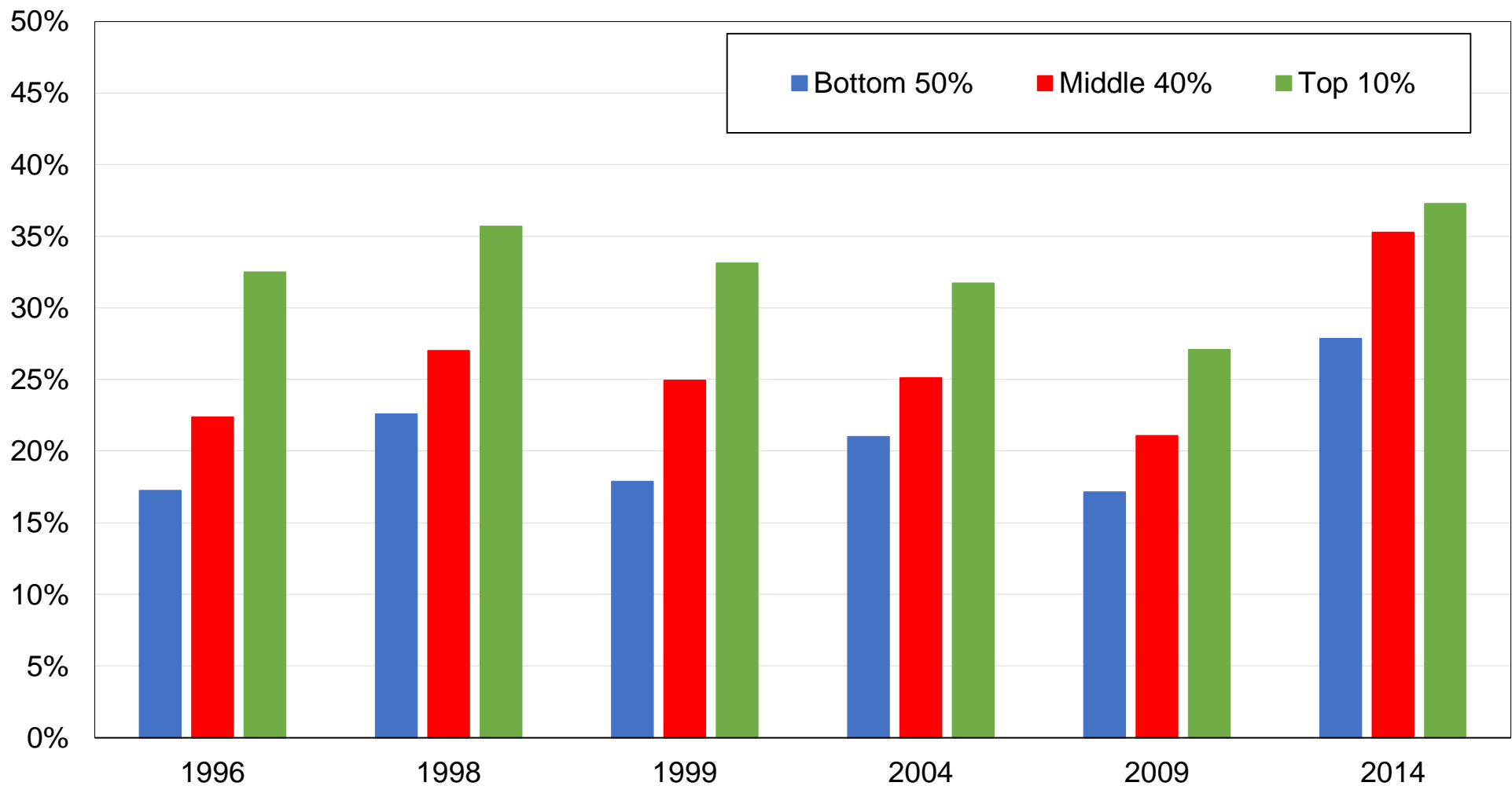
Figure B12 - Vote for BJP by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by education level in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

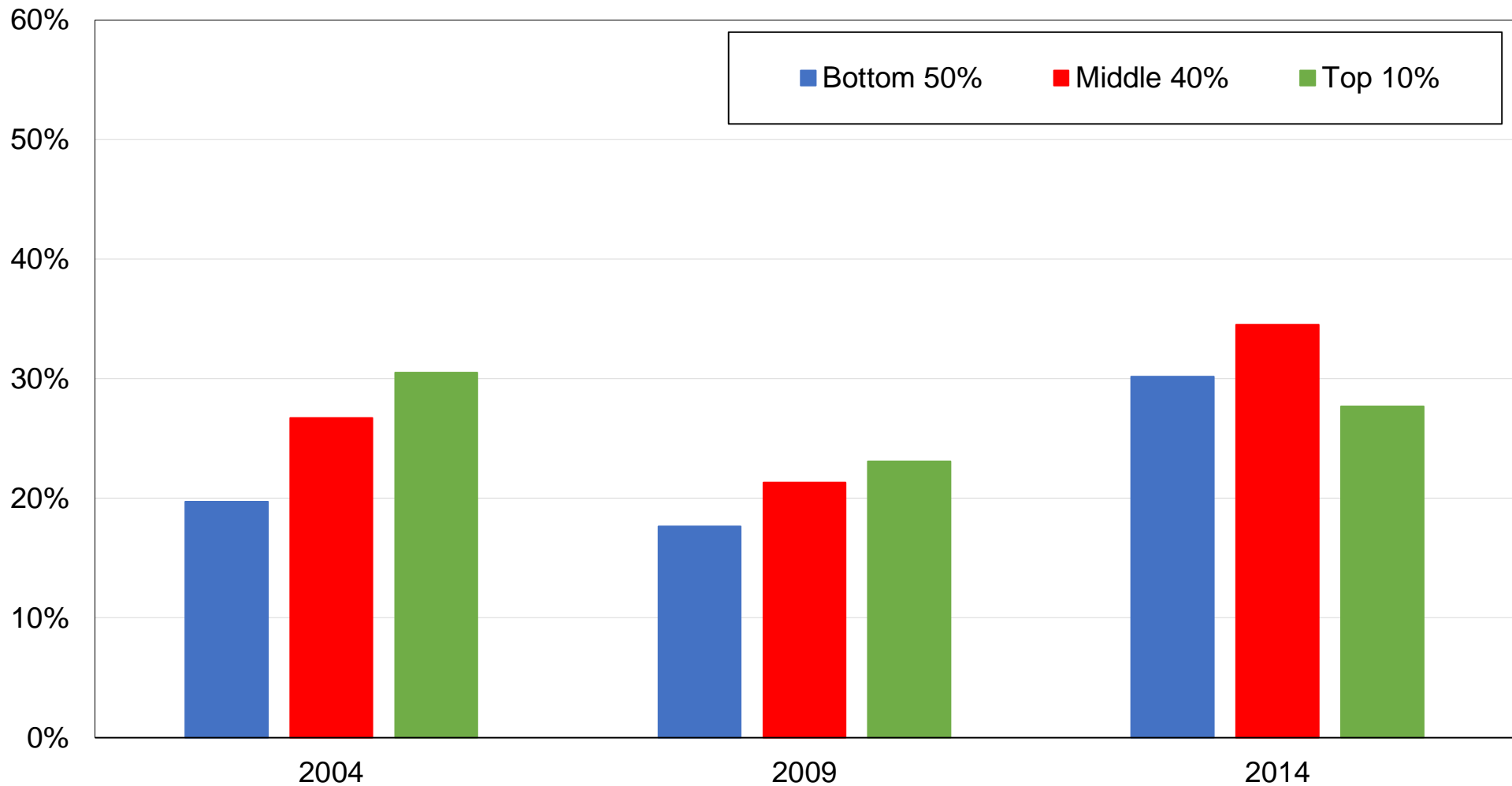
Figure B13 - Vote for BJP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by education group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

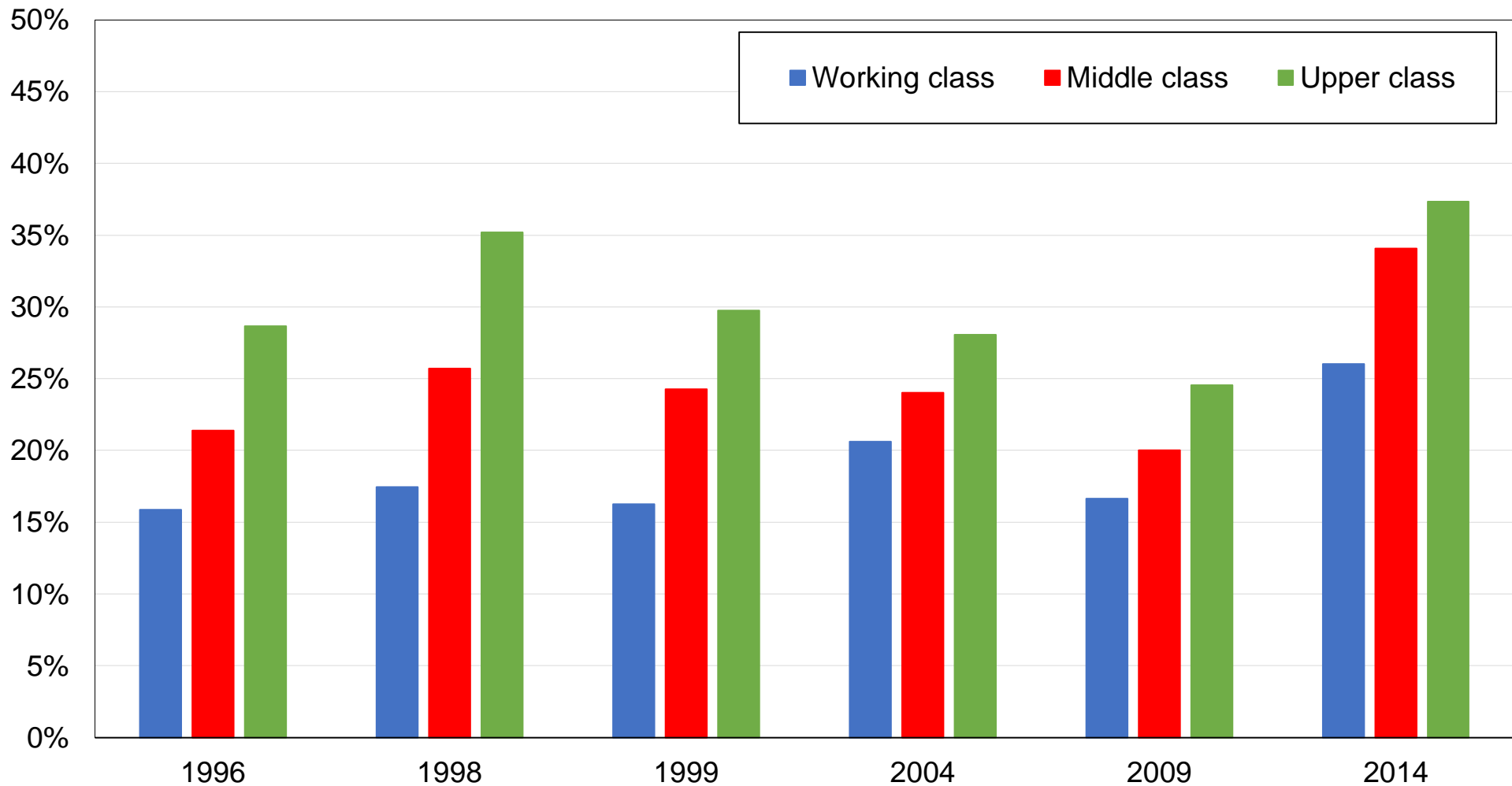
Figure B14 - Vote for BJP by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by income group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

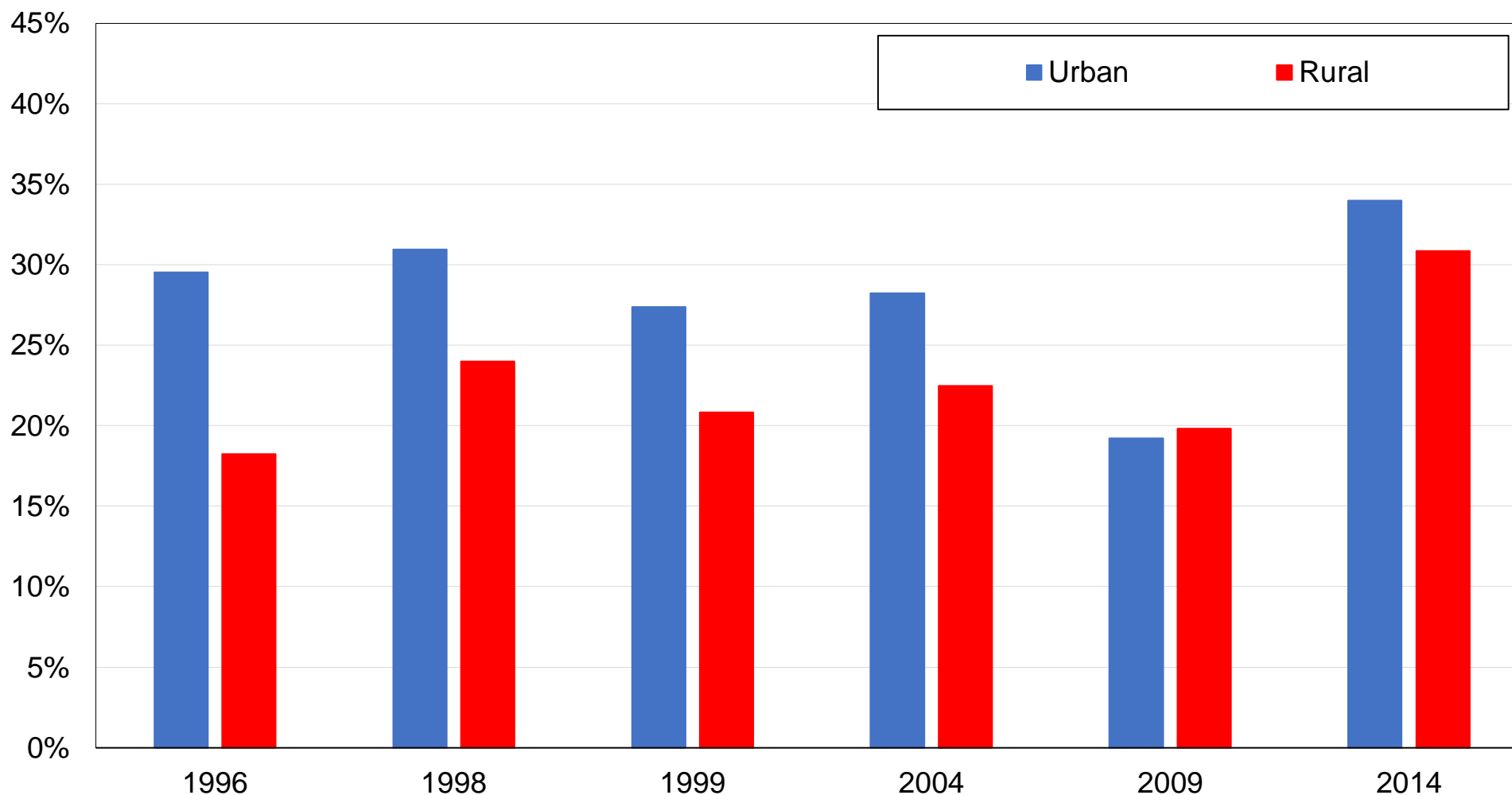
Figure B15 - Vote for BJP by social class



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by social class in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

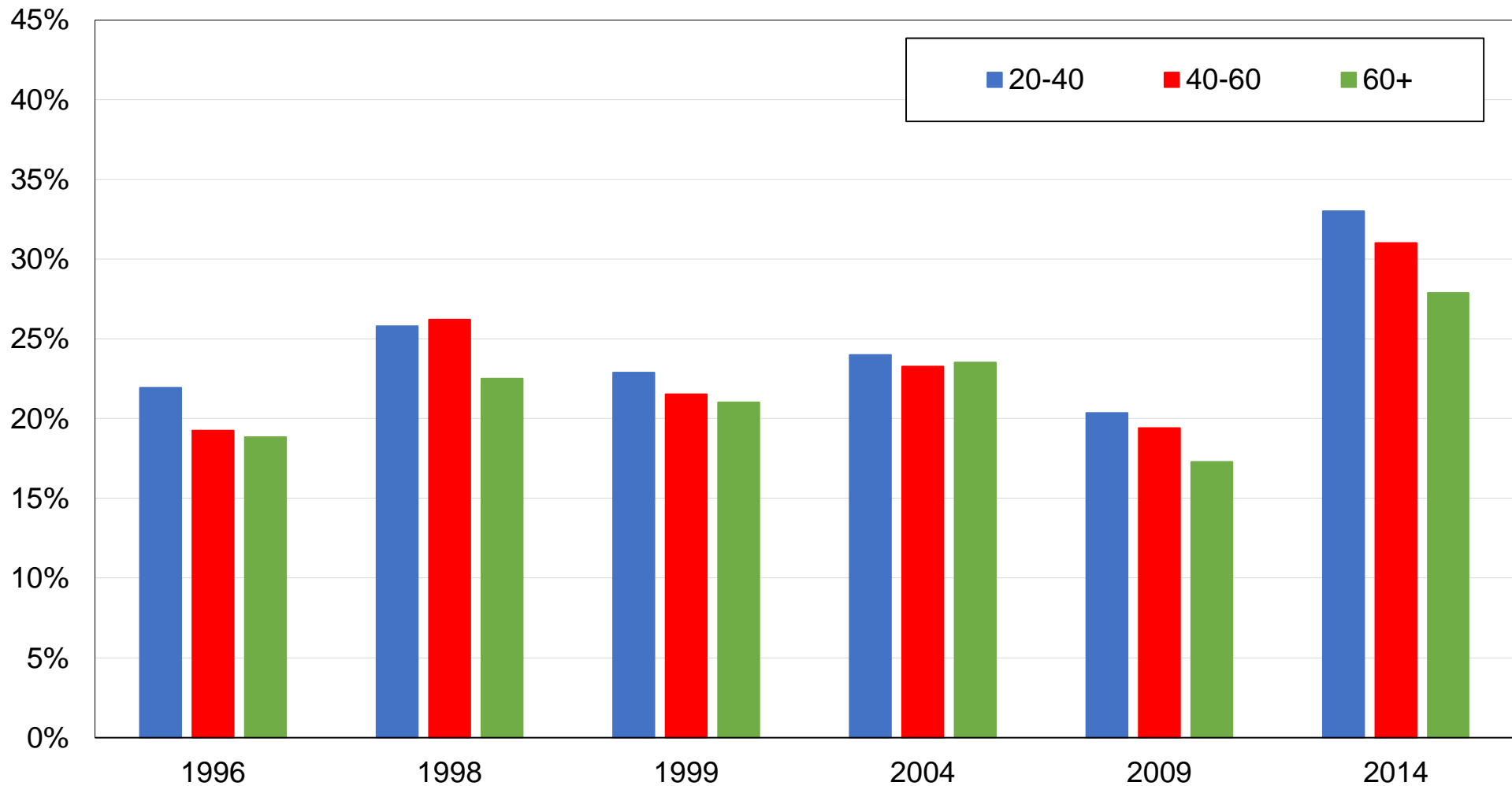
Figure B16 - Vote for BJP by location



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by rural-urban location in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

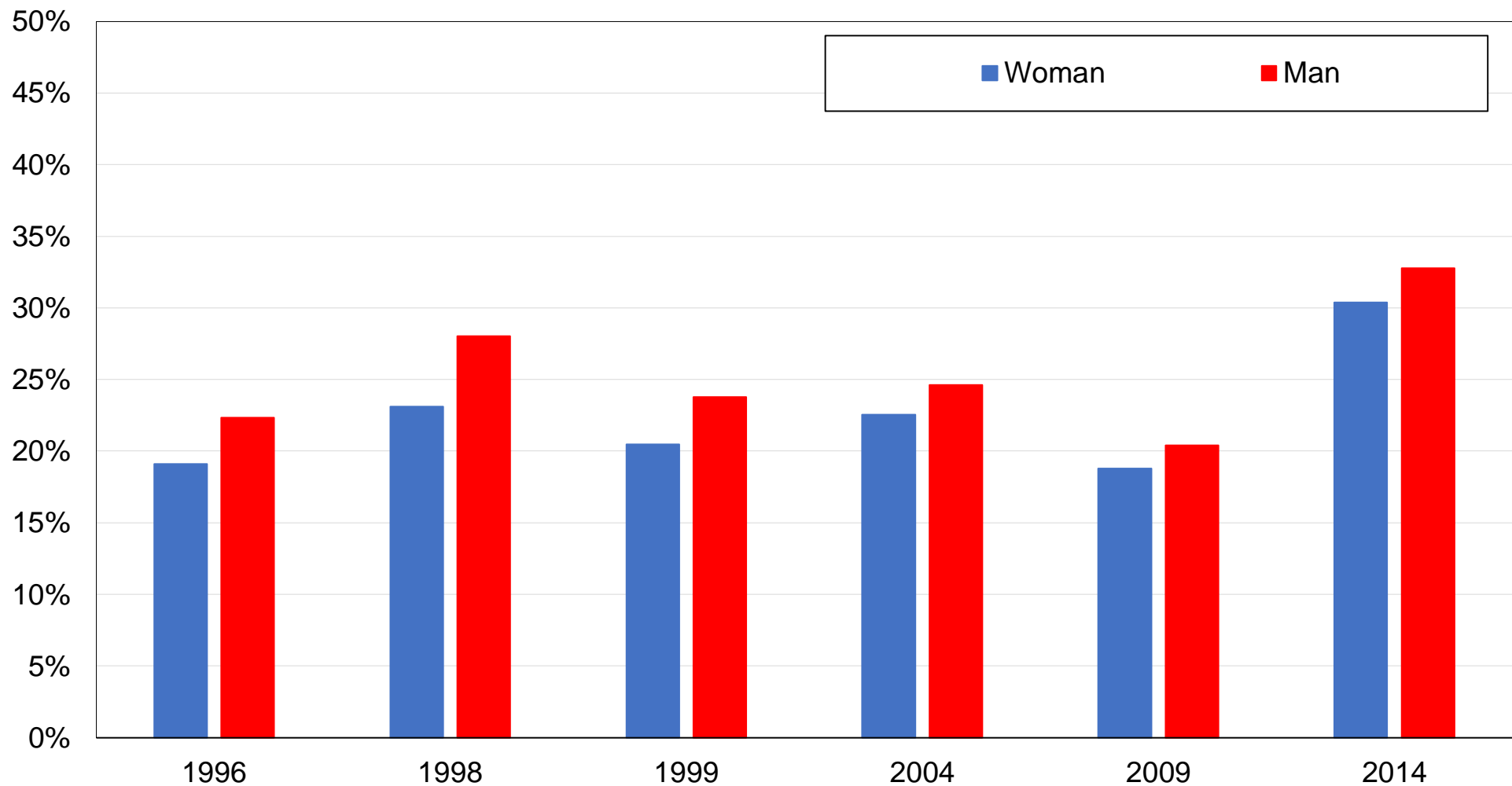
Figure B17 - Vote for BJP by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by age group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

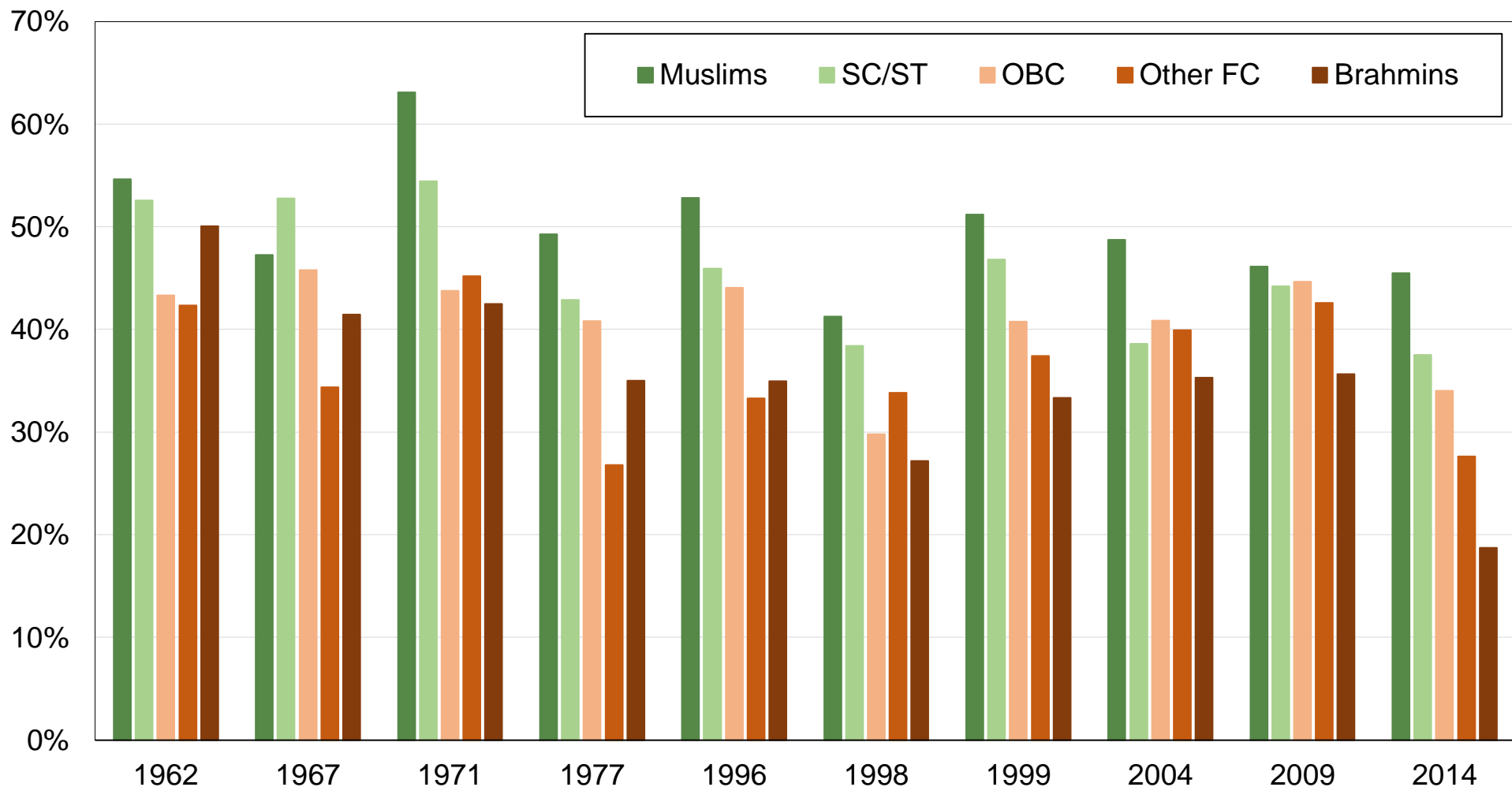
Figure B18 - Vote for BJP by gender



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP by gender in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

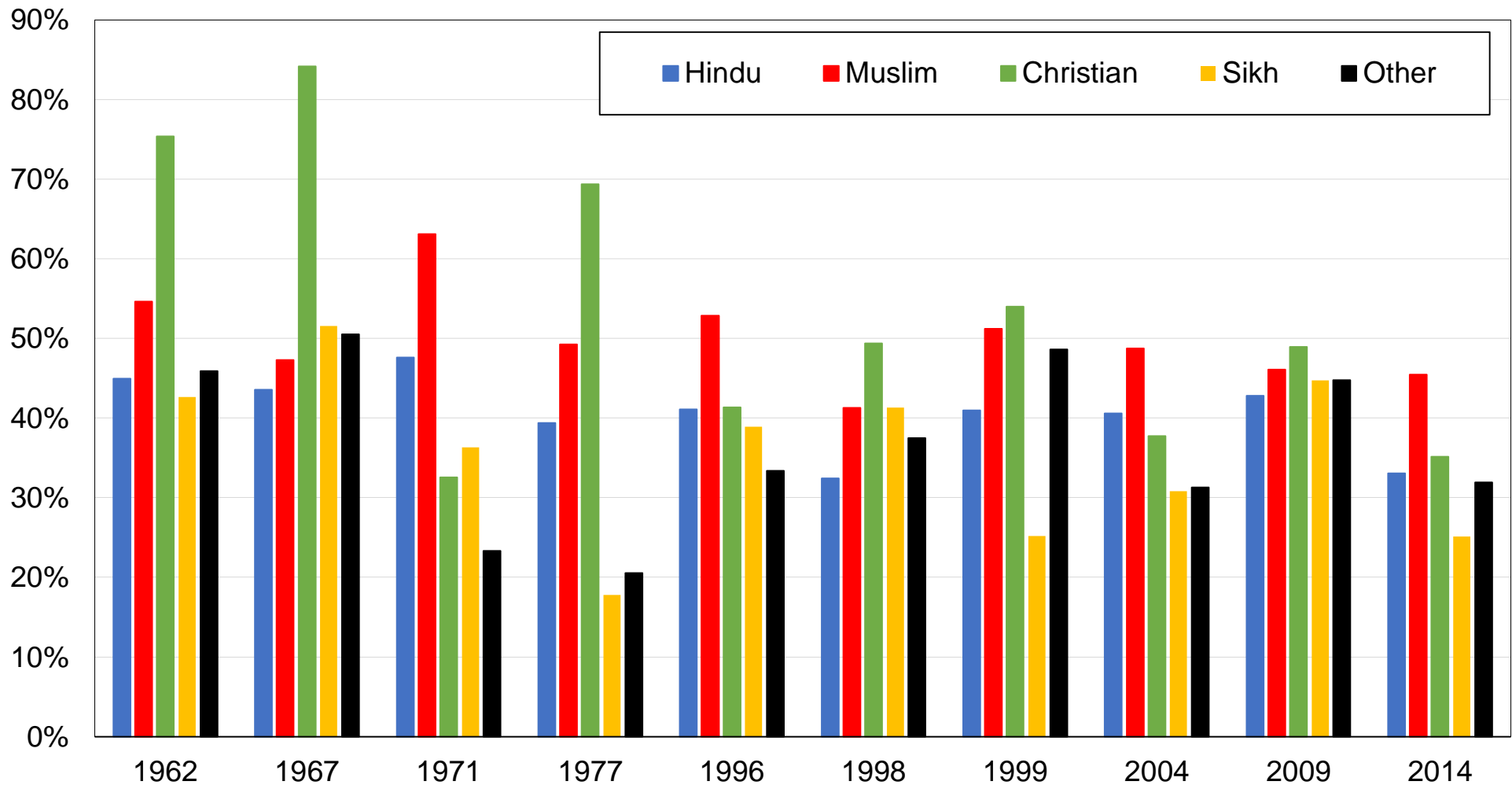
Figure B19 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by caste / religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

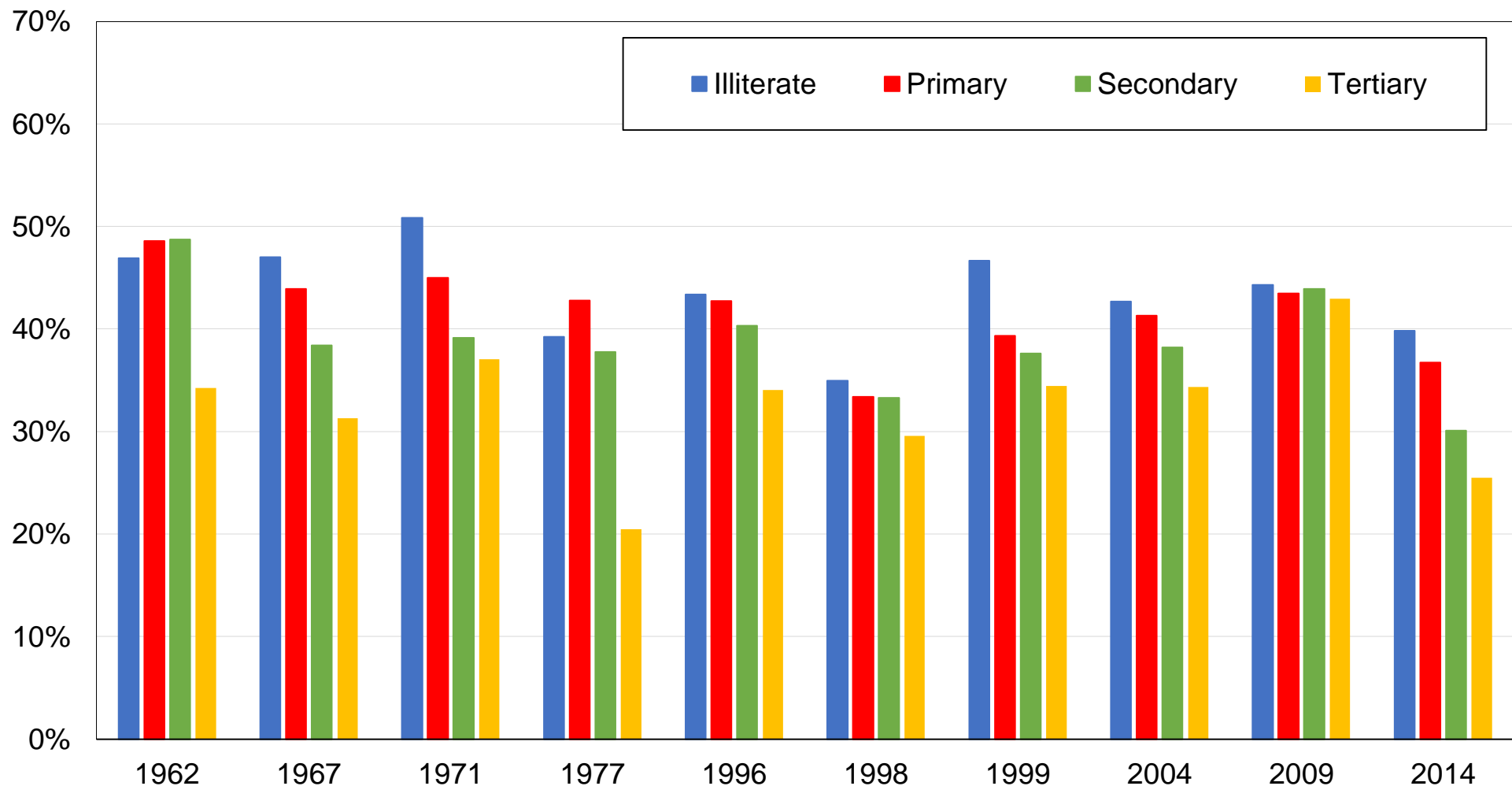
Figure B20 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

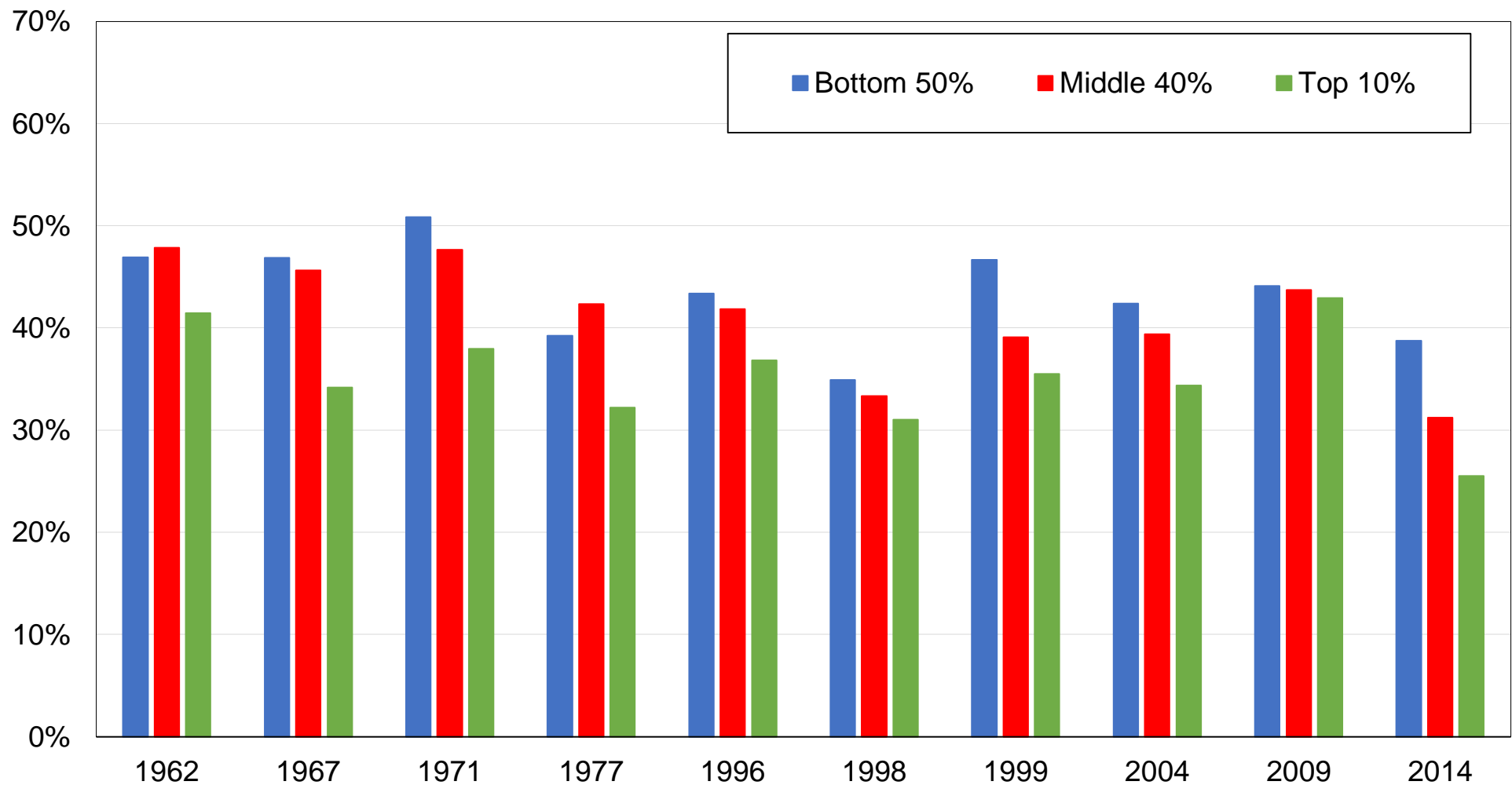
Figure B21 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by education level in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

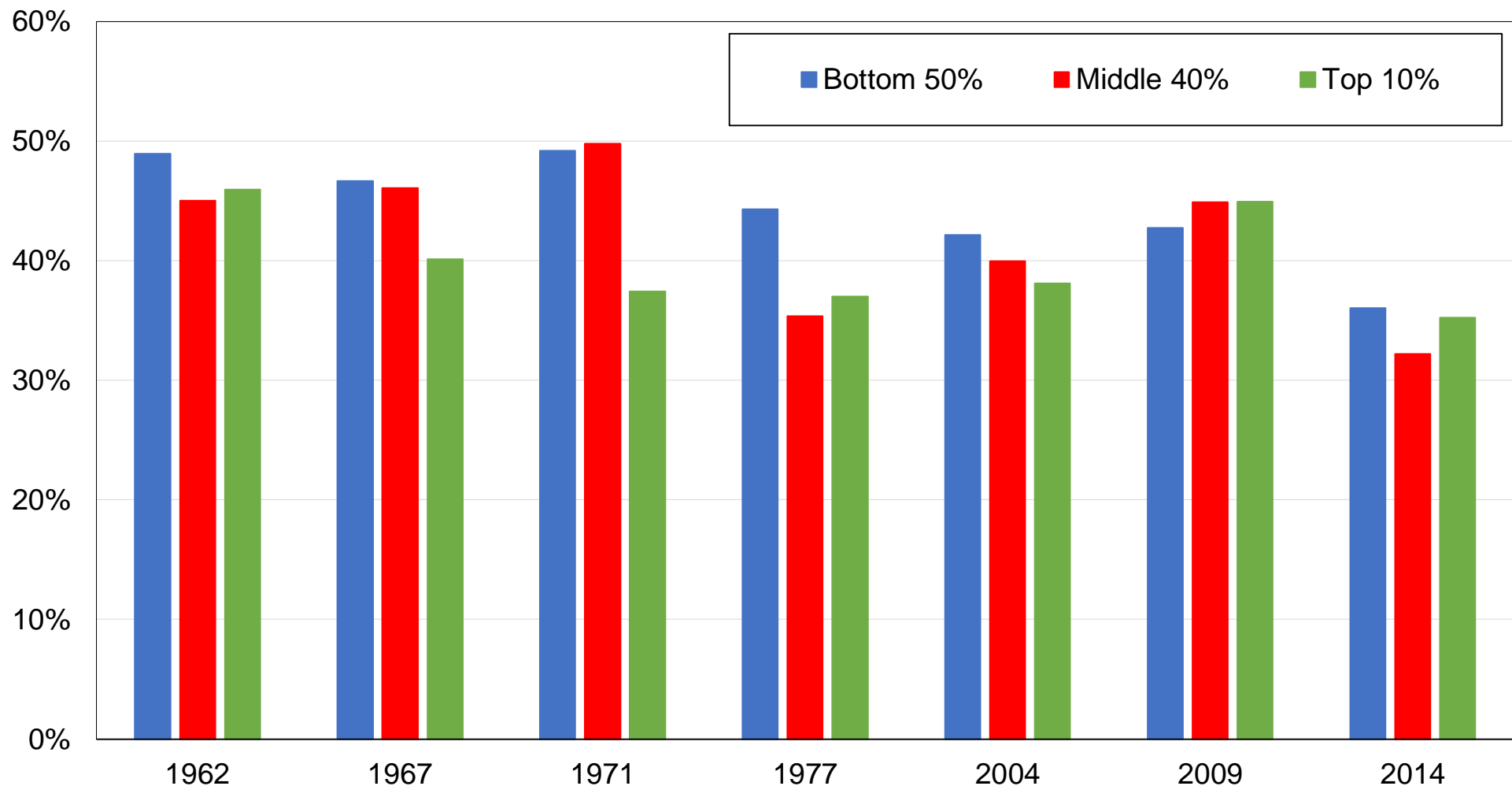
Figure B22 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by education group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

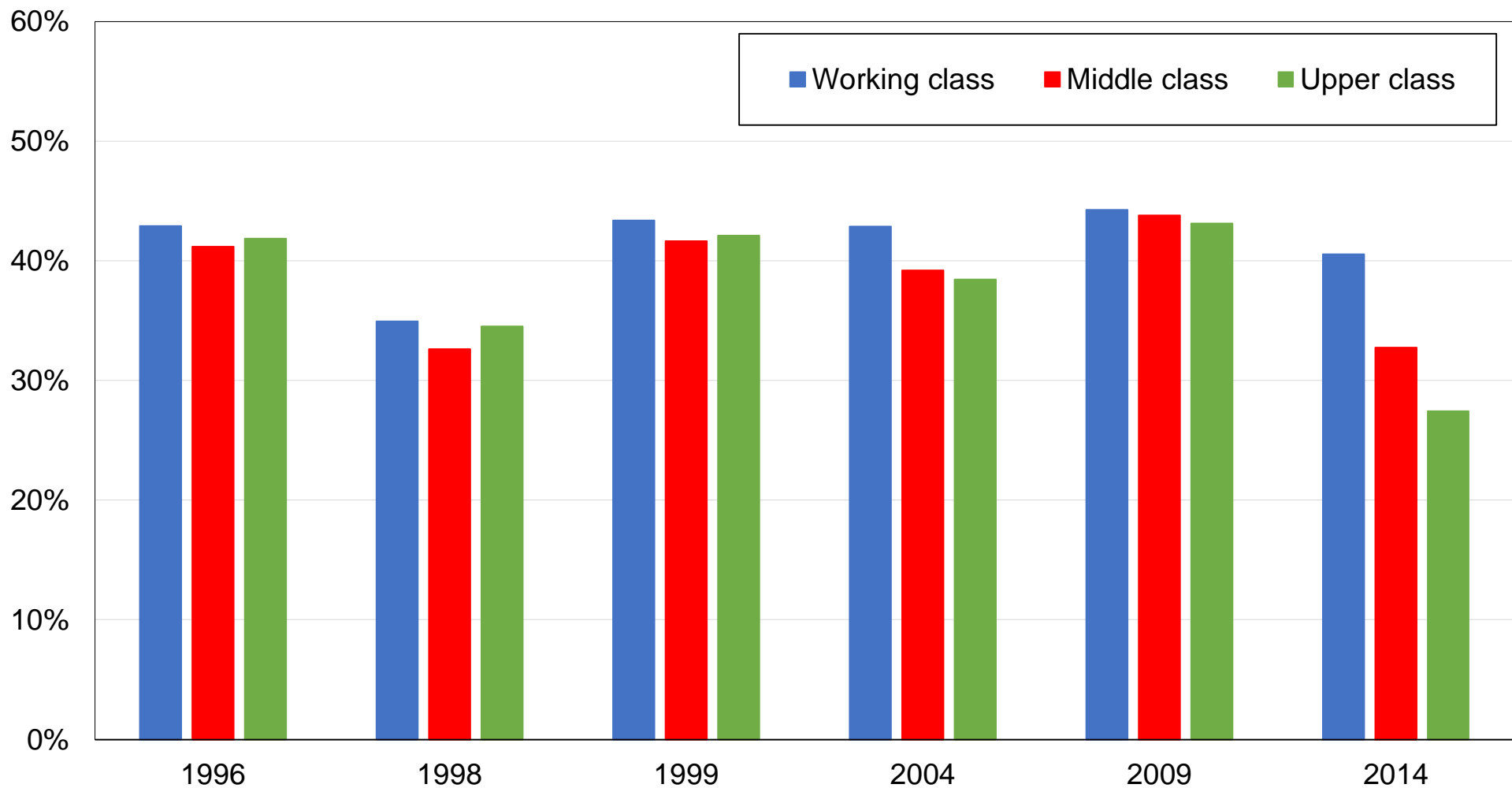
Figure B23 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by income group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

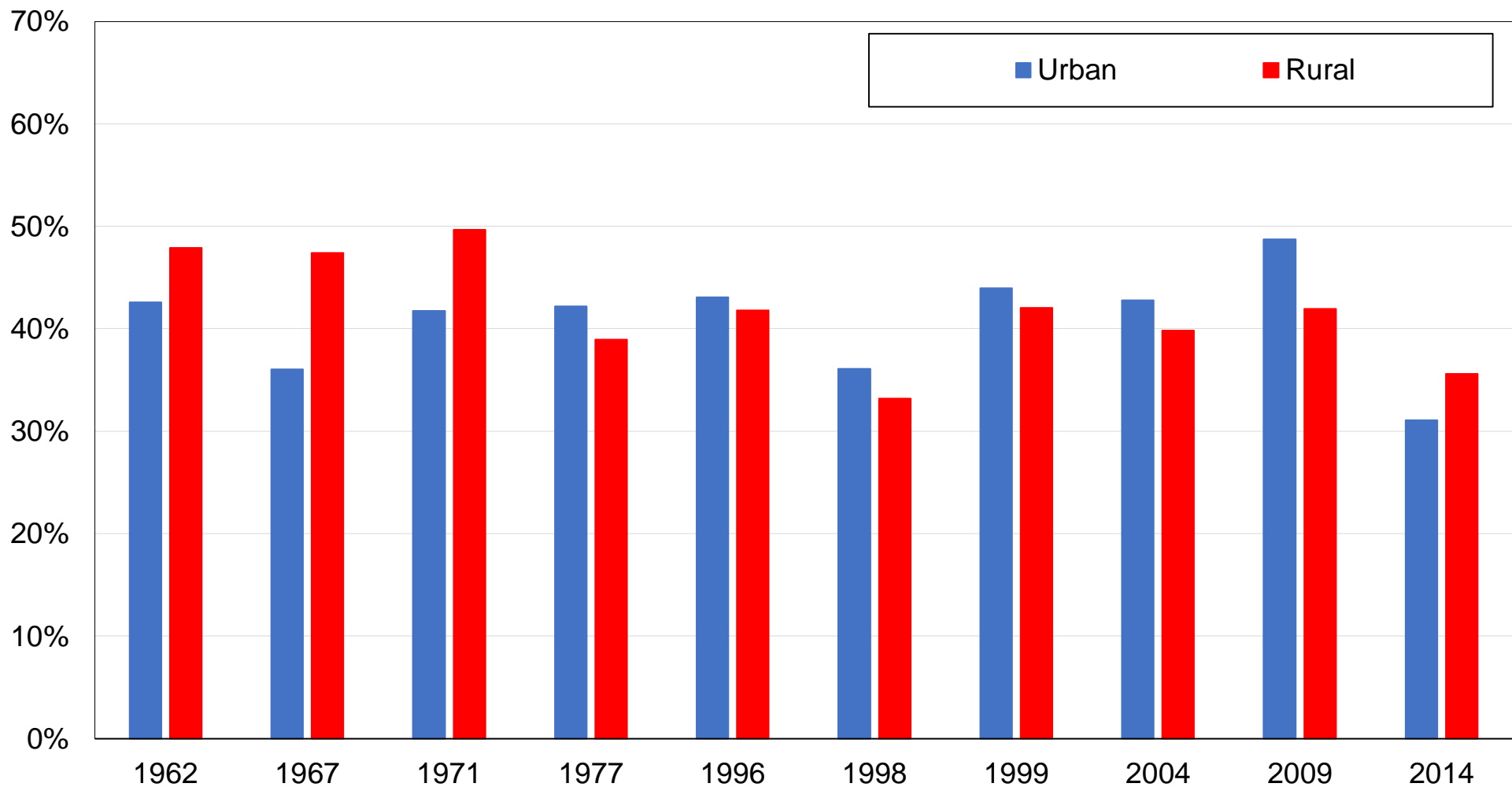
Figure B24 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by social class



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by social class in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

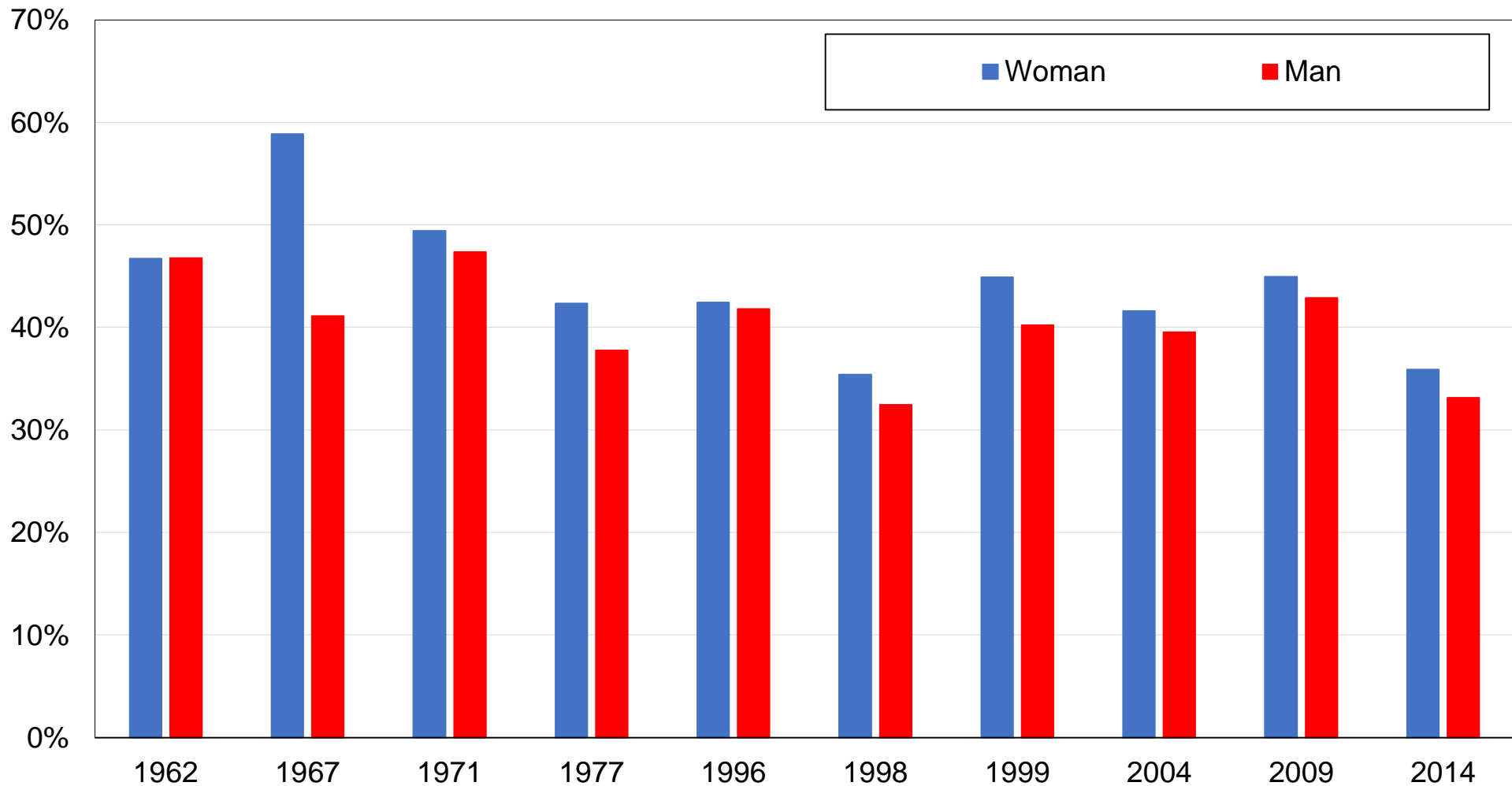
Figure B25 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by rural-urban location in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

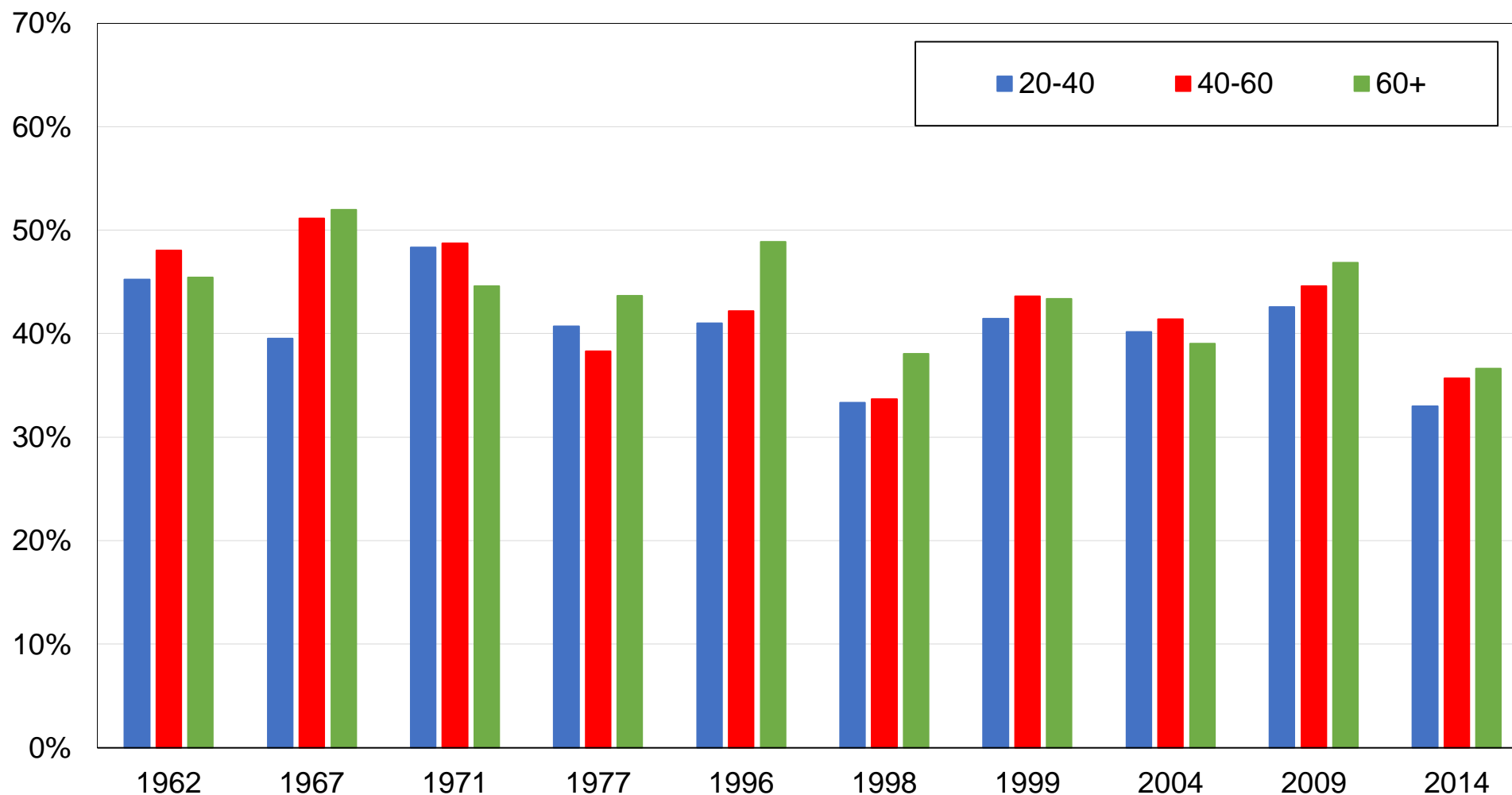
Figure B26 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by gender in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

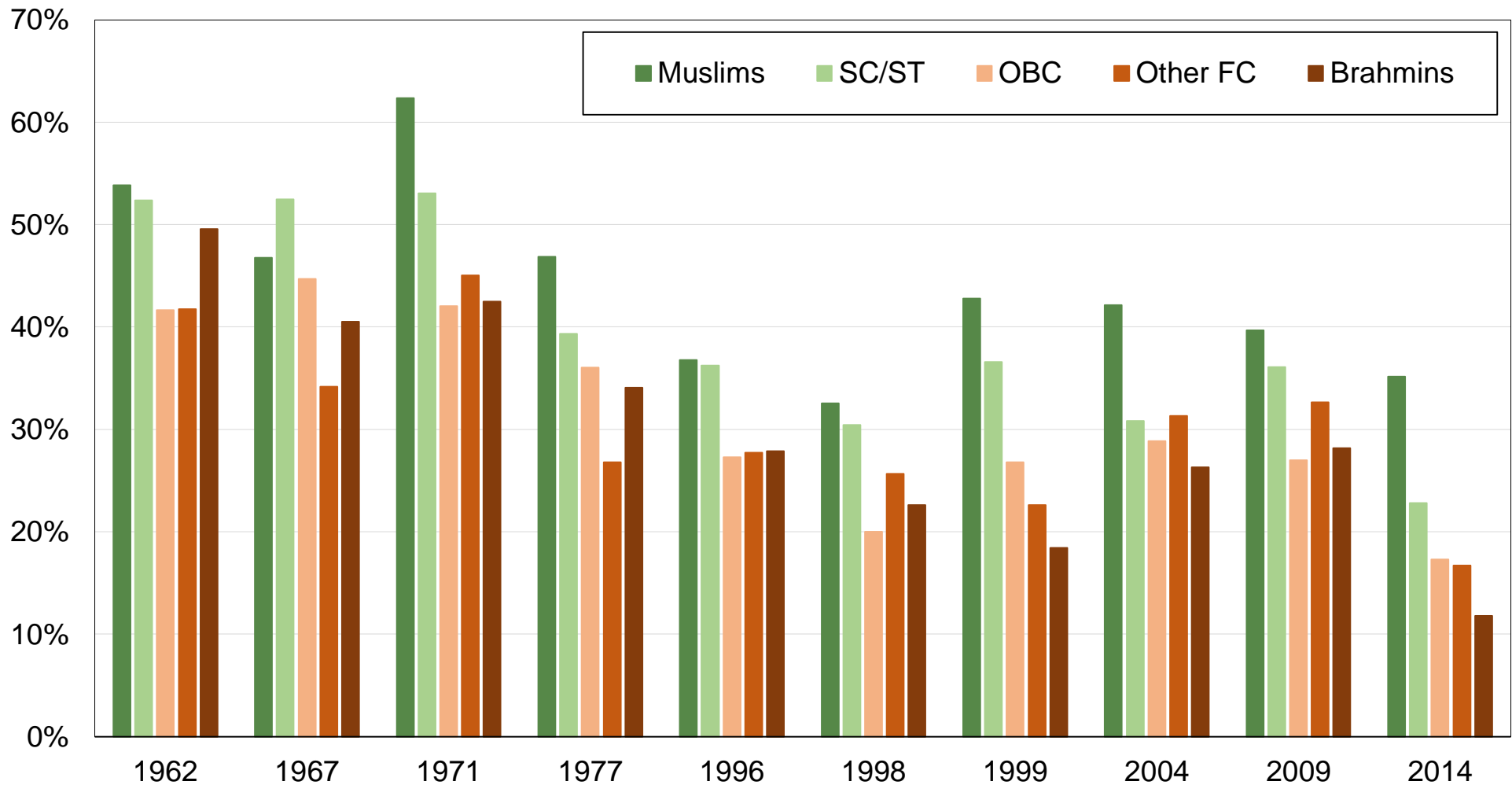
Figure B27 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress and other centrist parties by age group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

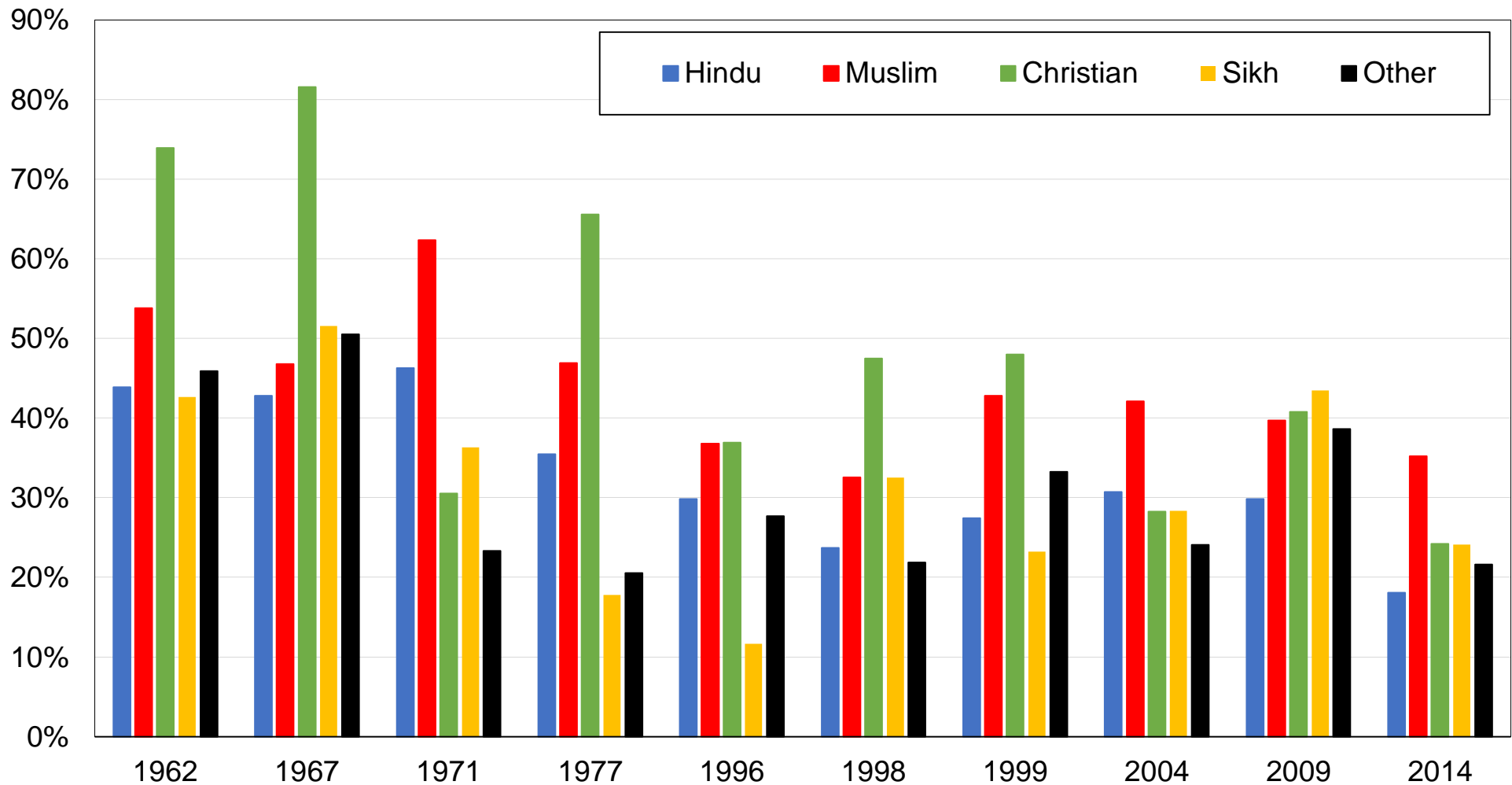
Figure B28 - Vote for Congress by caste / religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

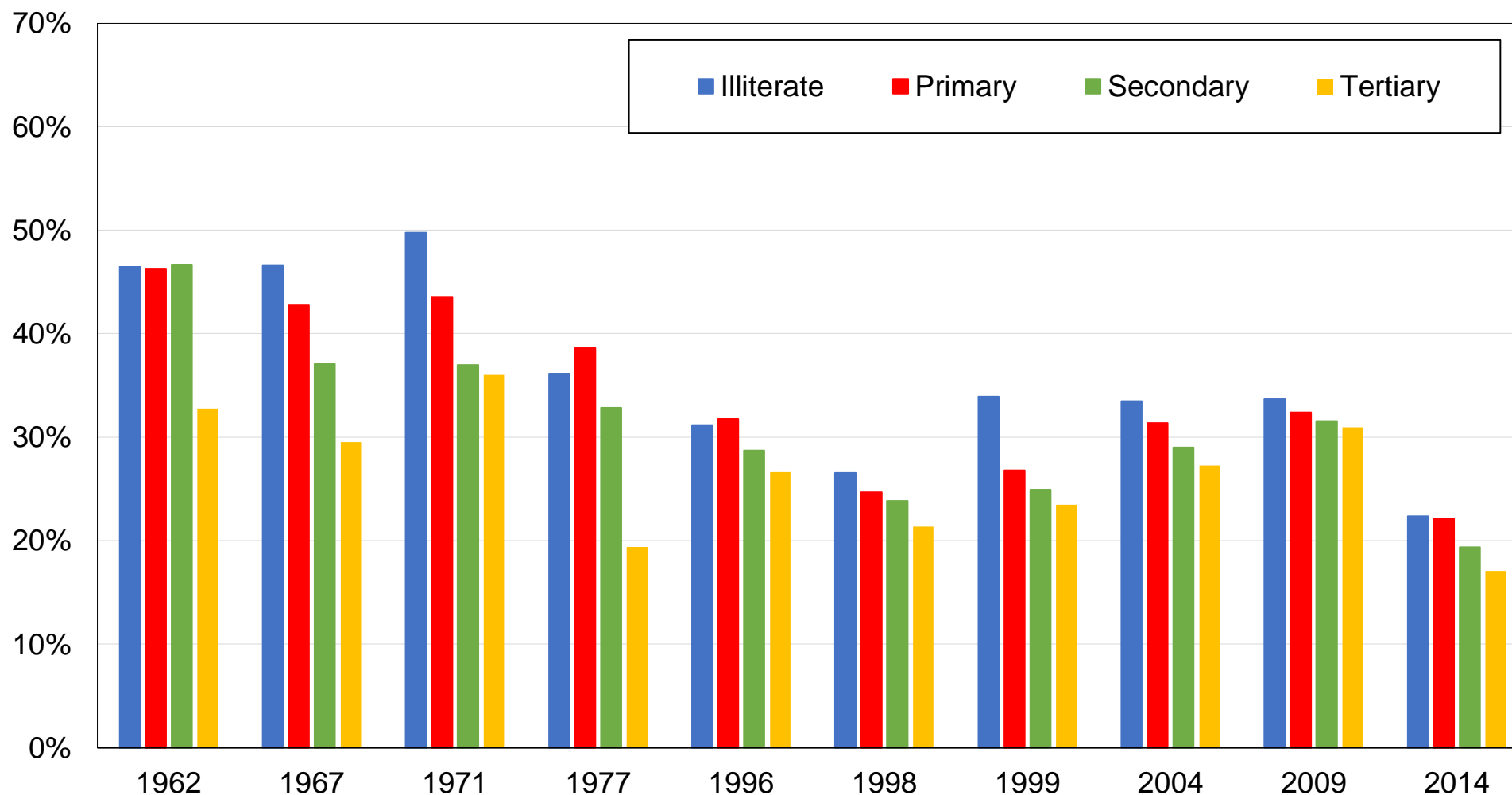
Figure B29 - Vote for Congress by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

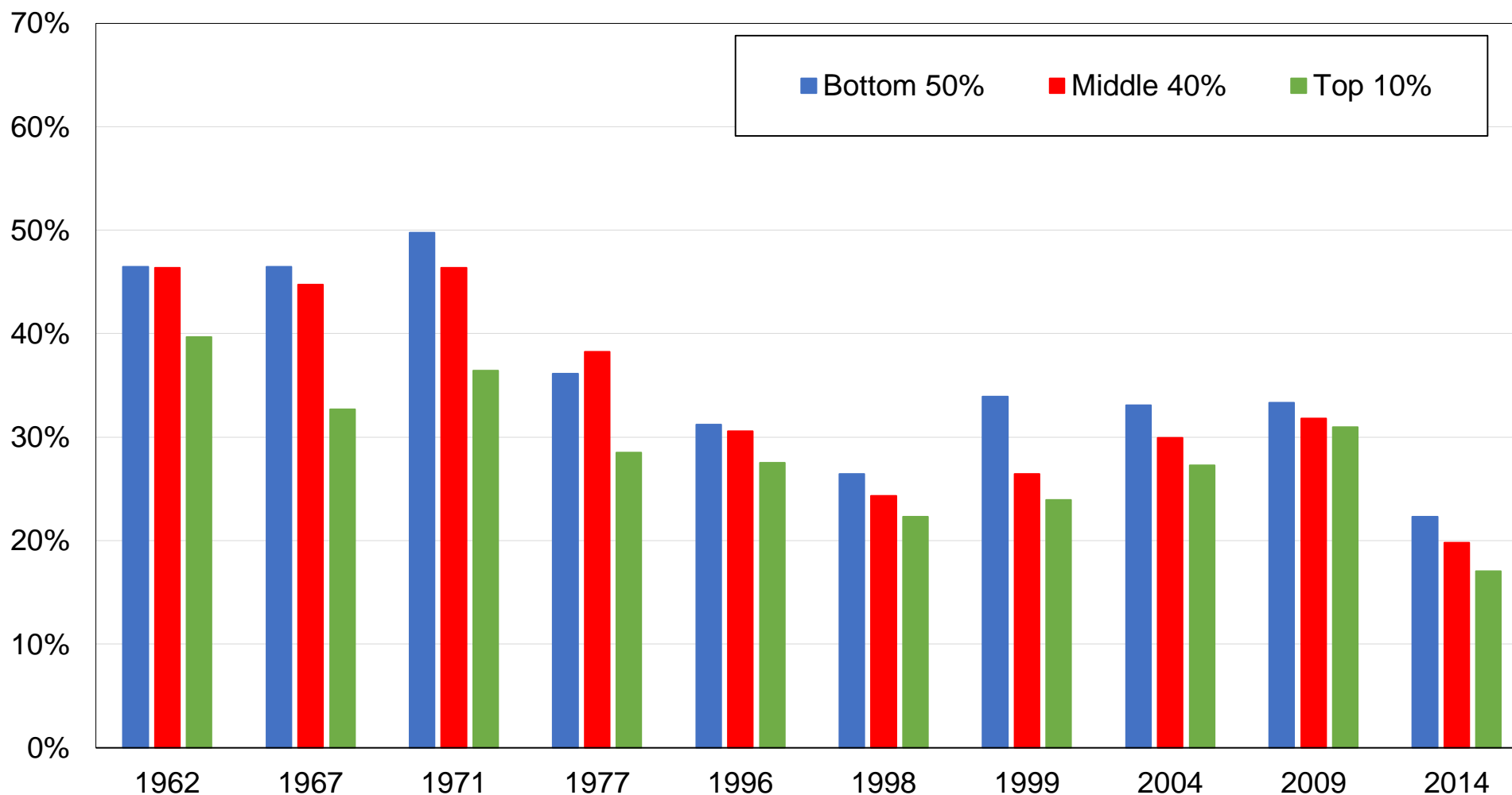
Figure B30 - Vote for Congress by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by education level in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

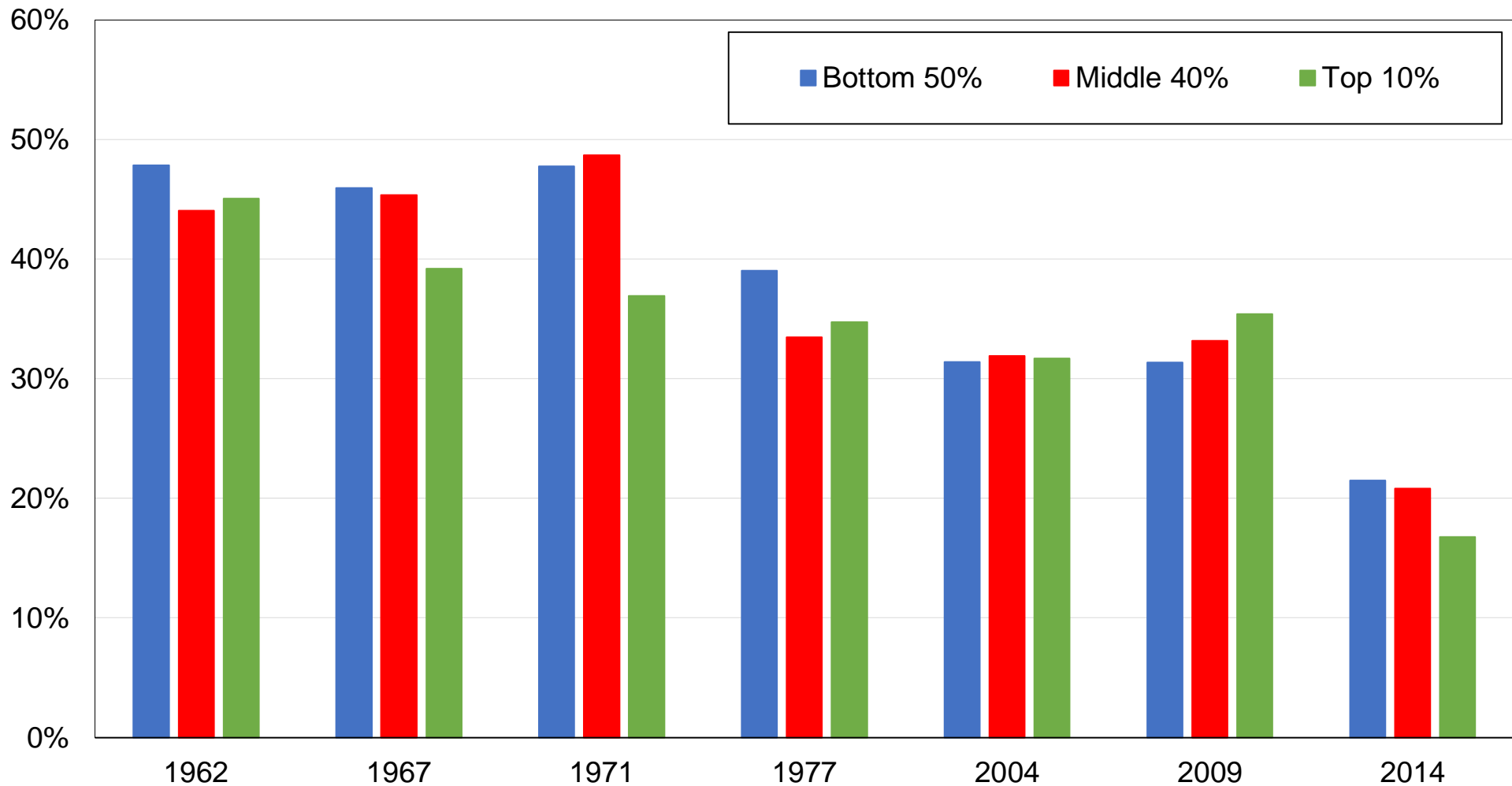
Figure B31 - Vote for Congress by education group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by education group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

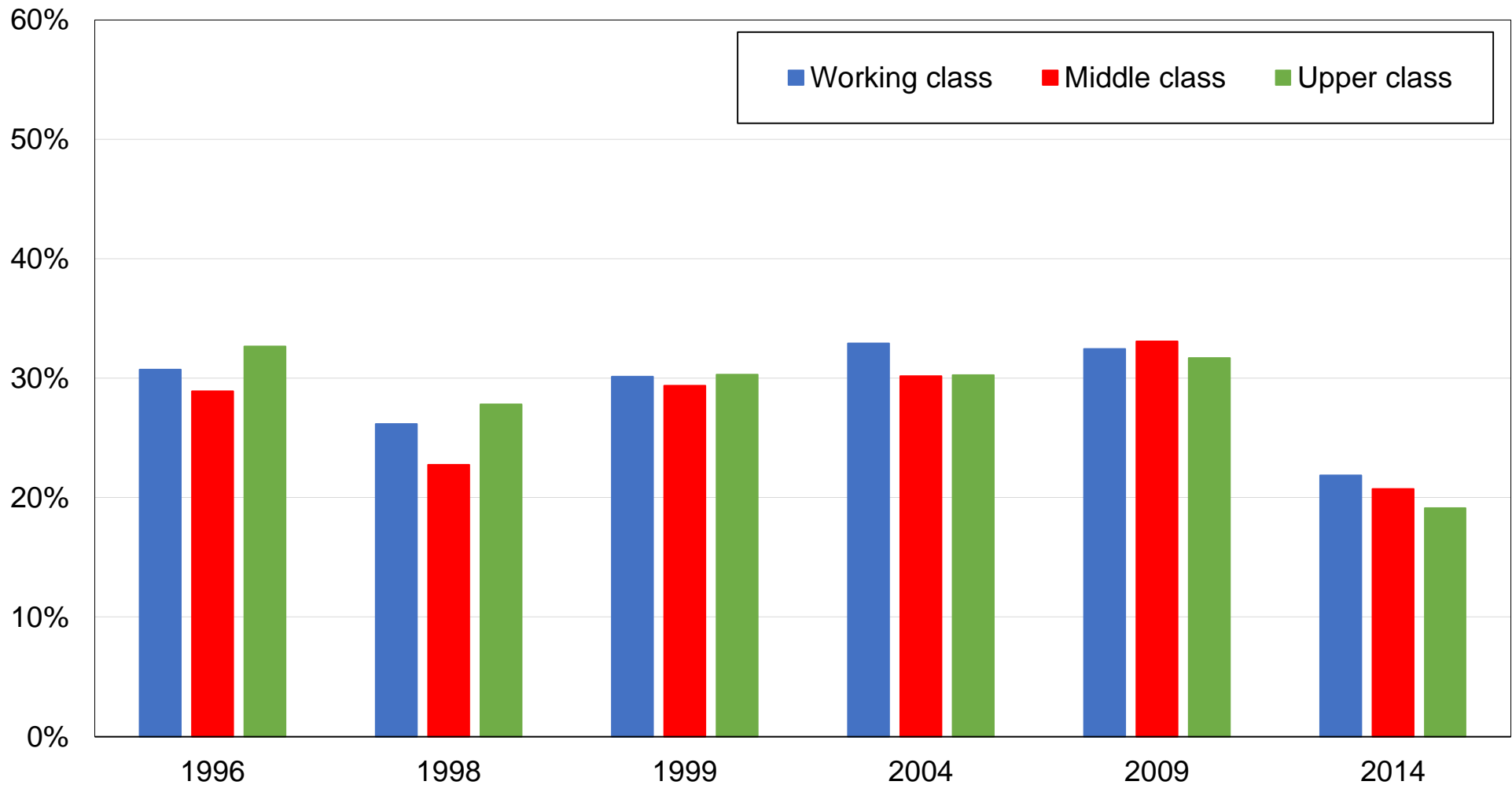
Figure B32 - Vote for Congress by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by income group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

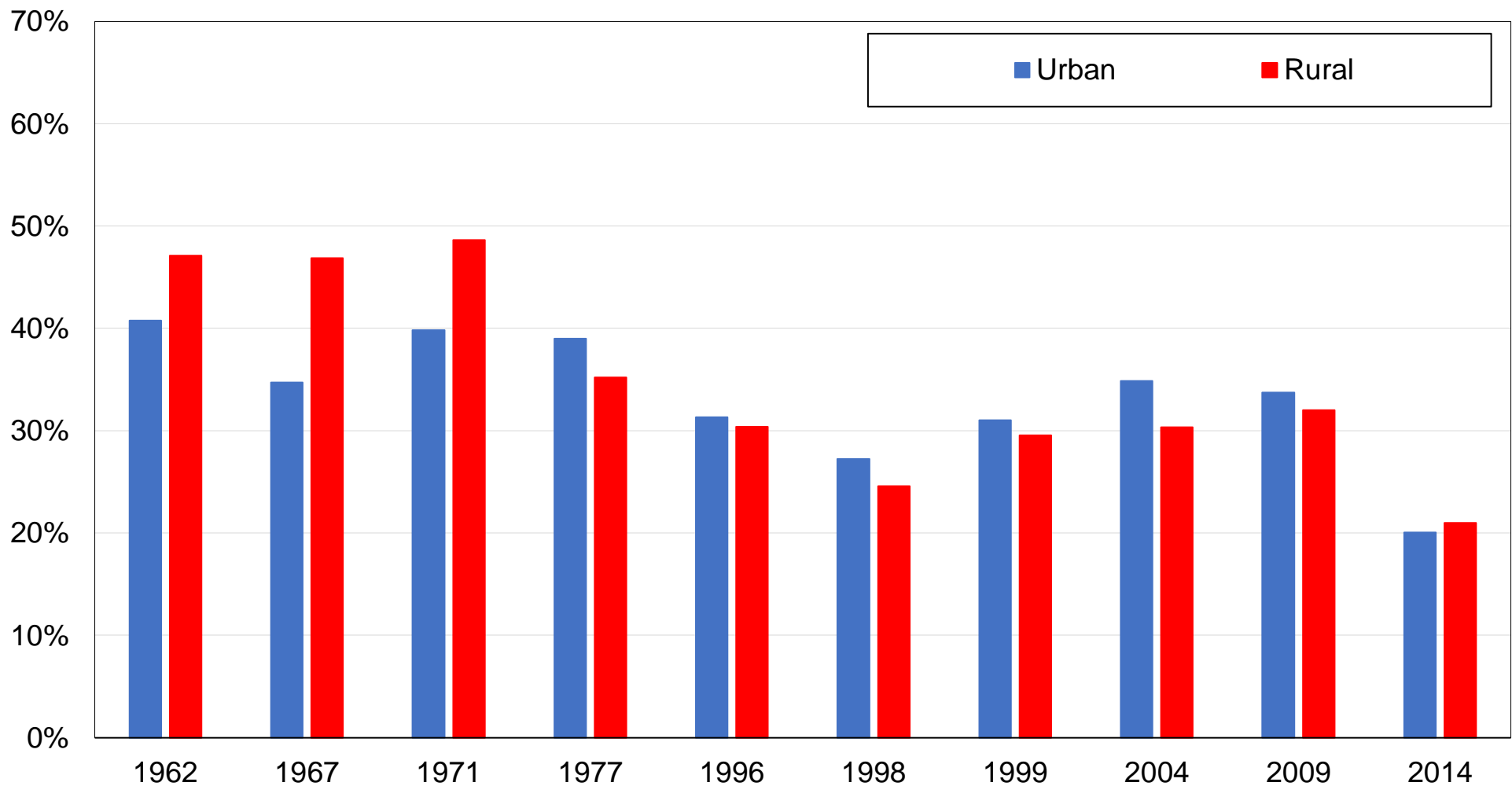
Figure B33 - Vote for Congress by social class



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by social class in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

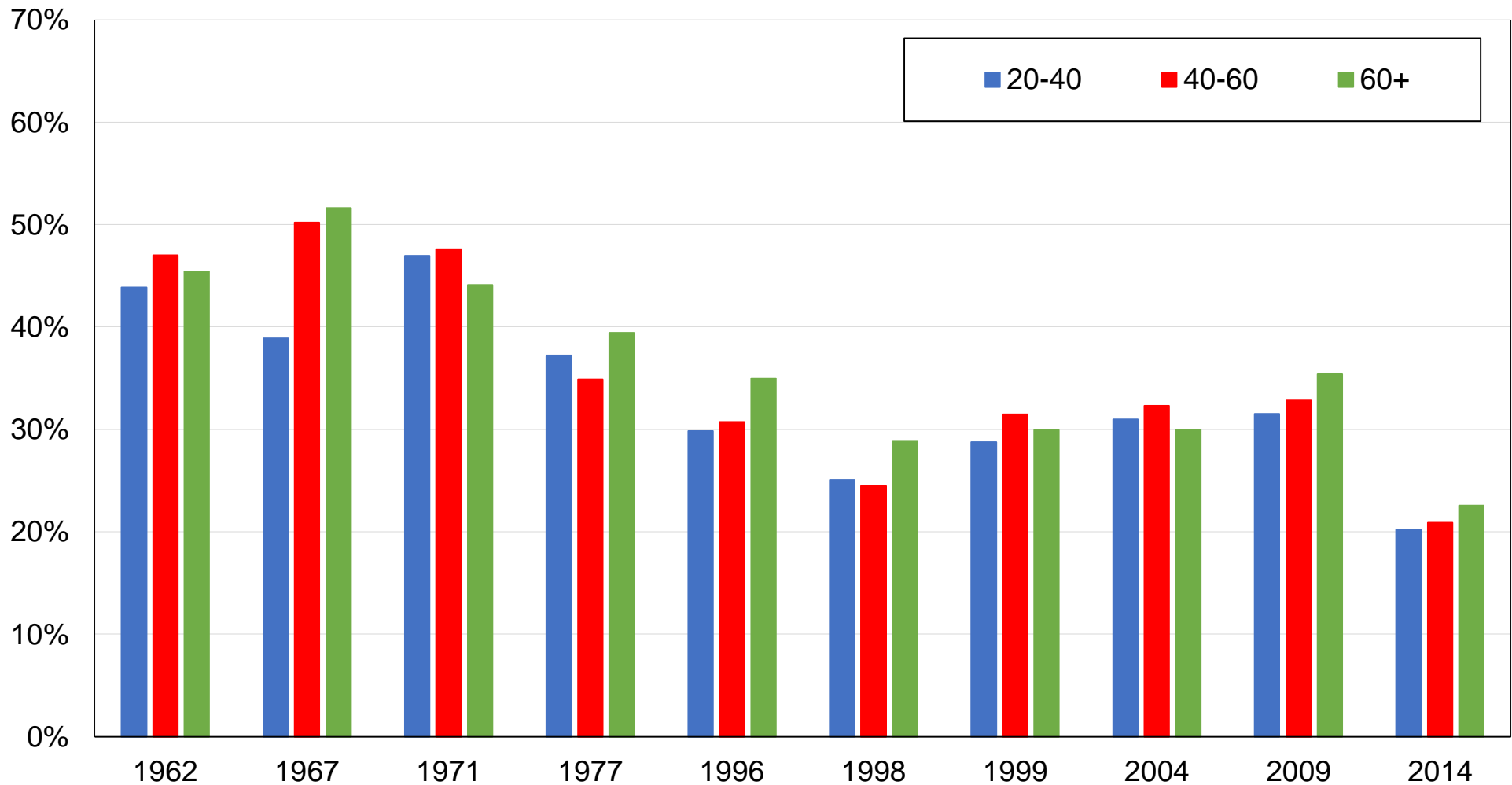
Figure B34 - Vote for Congress by location



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by rural-urban location in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

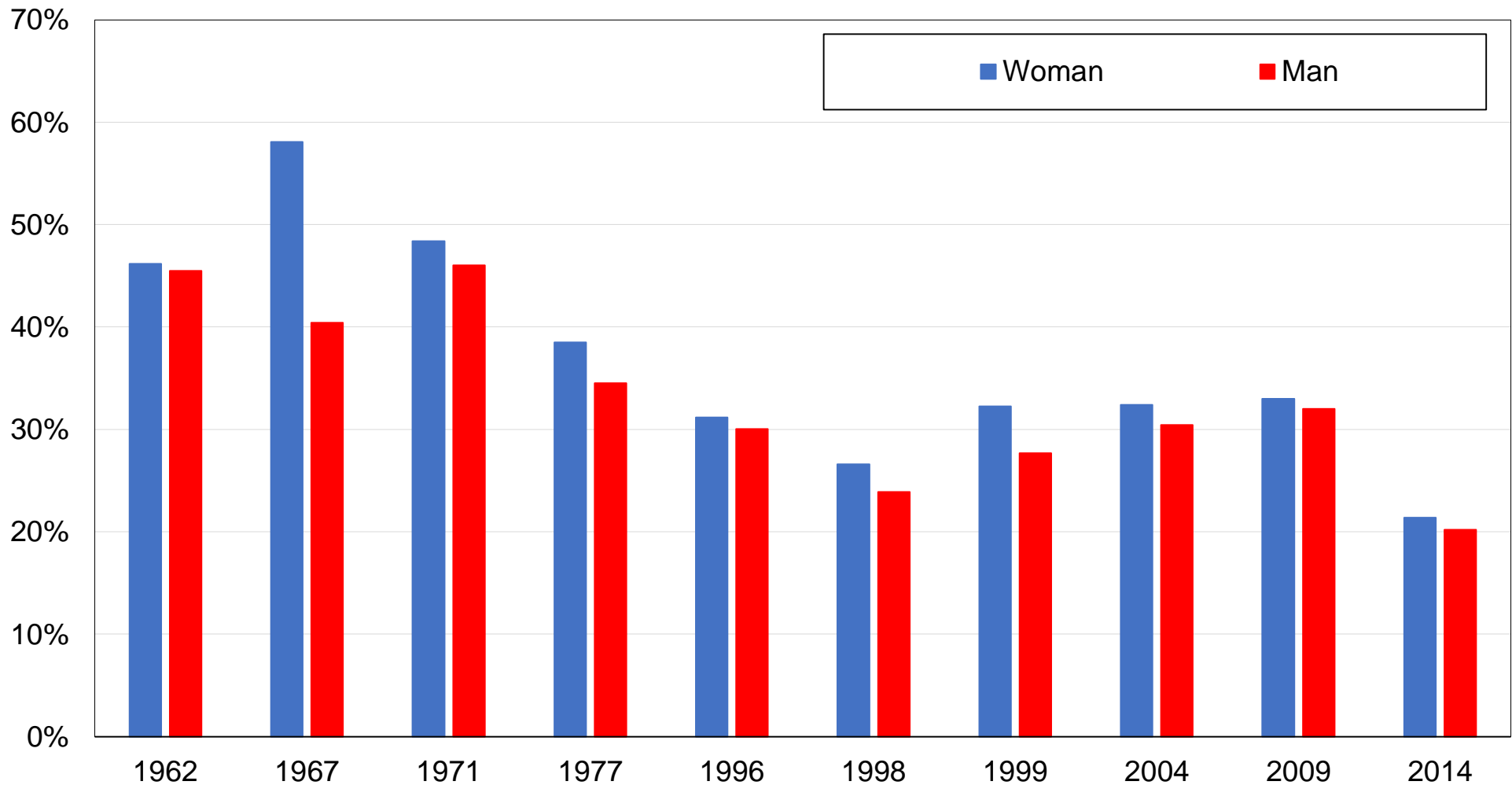
Figure B35 - Vote for Congress by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by age group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

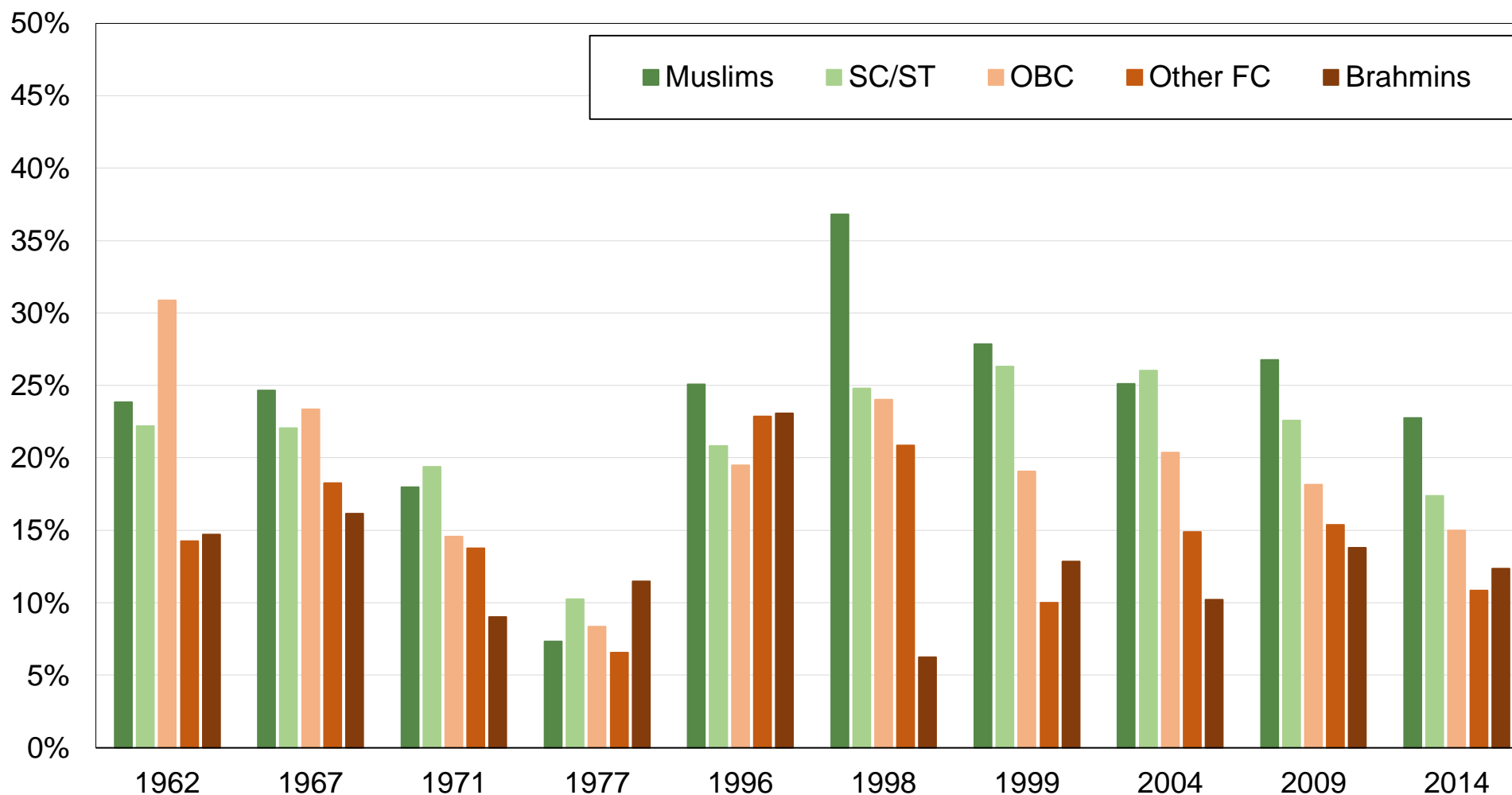
Figure B36 - Vote for Congress by gender



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Congress by gender in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

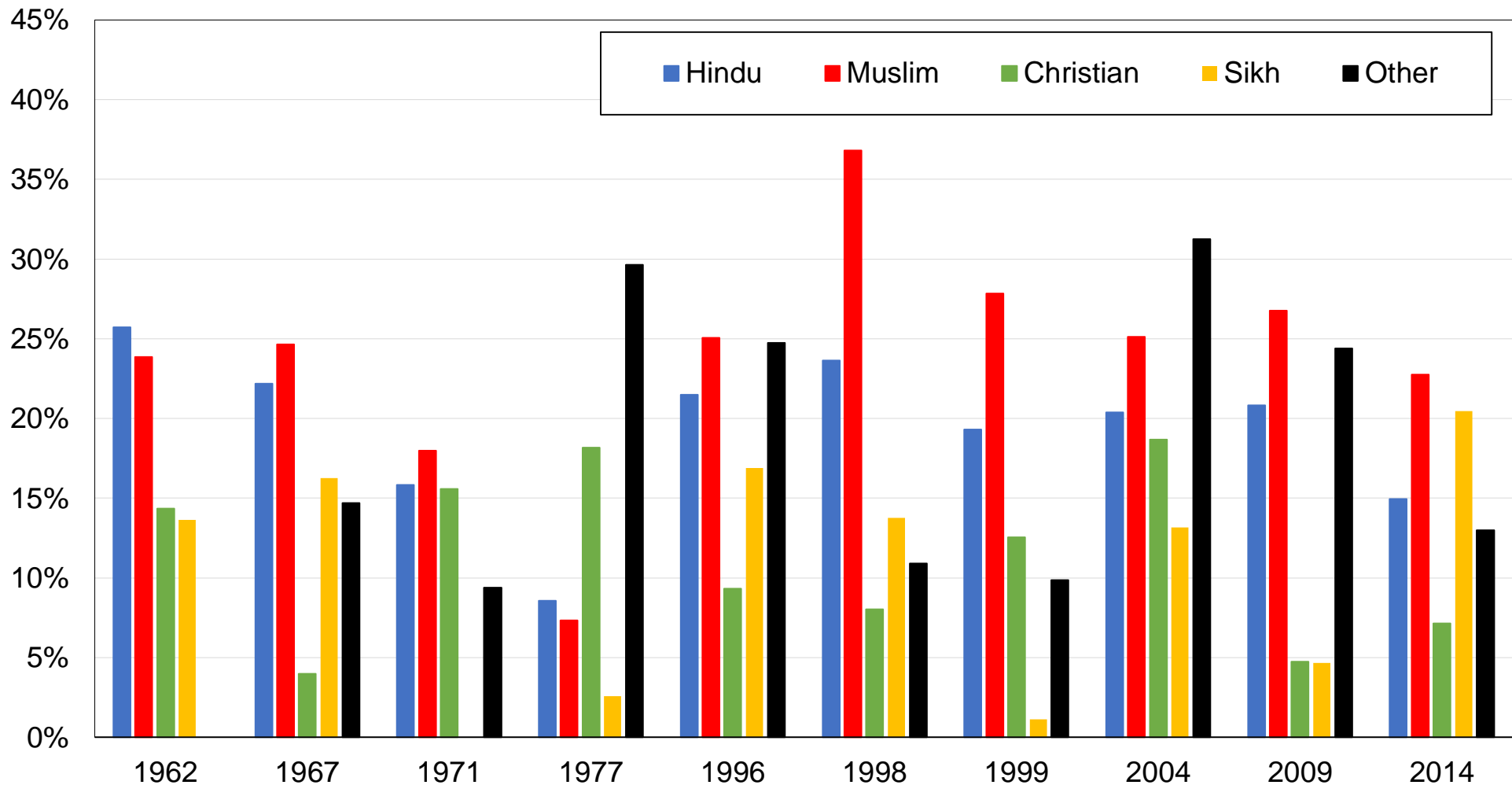
Figure B37 - Vote for left parties by caste / religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by caste and religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

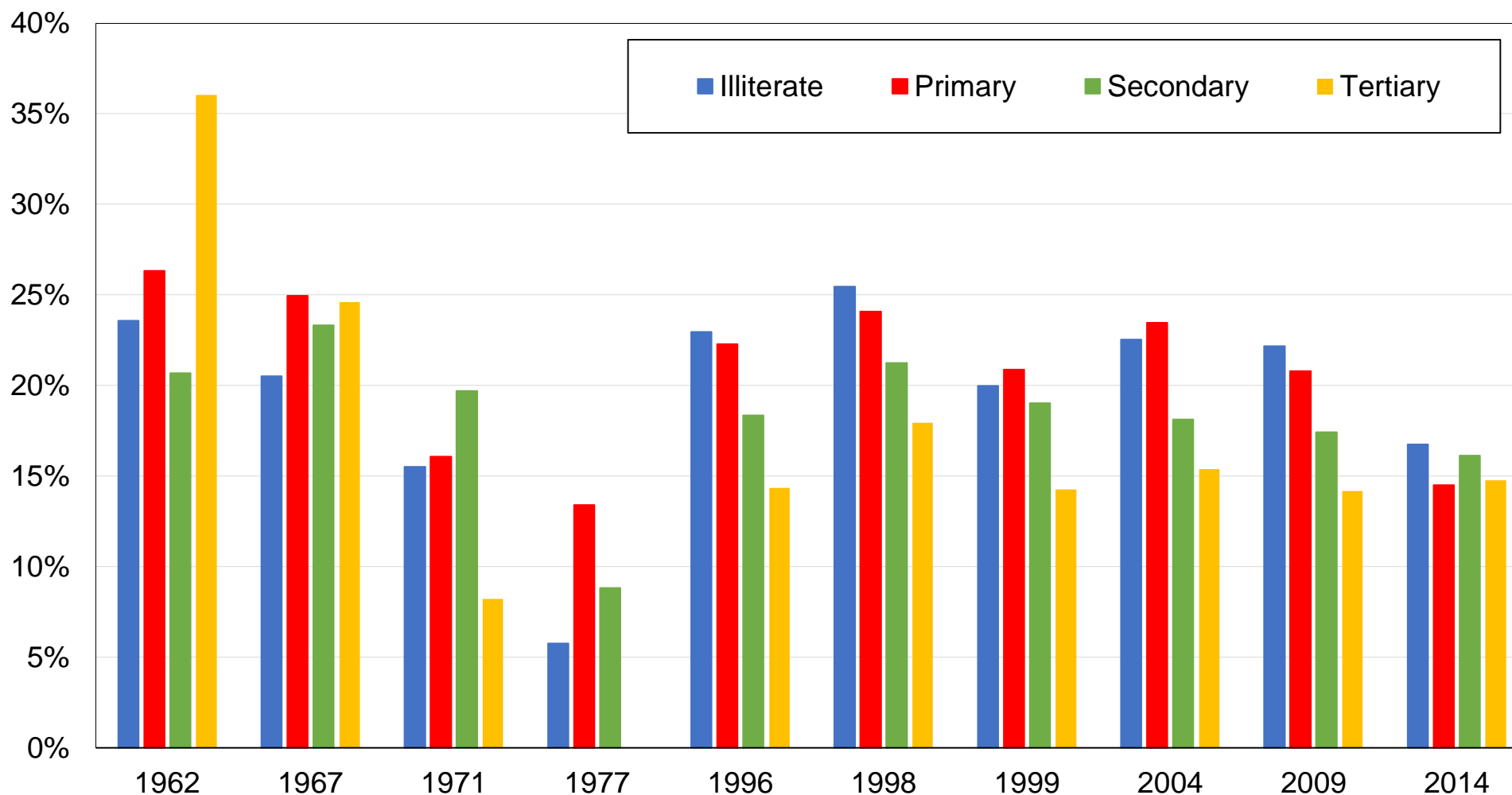
Figure B38 - Vote for left parties by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by religion in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

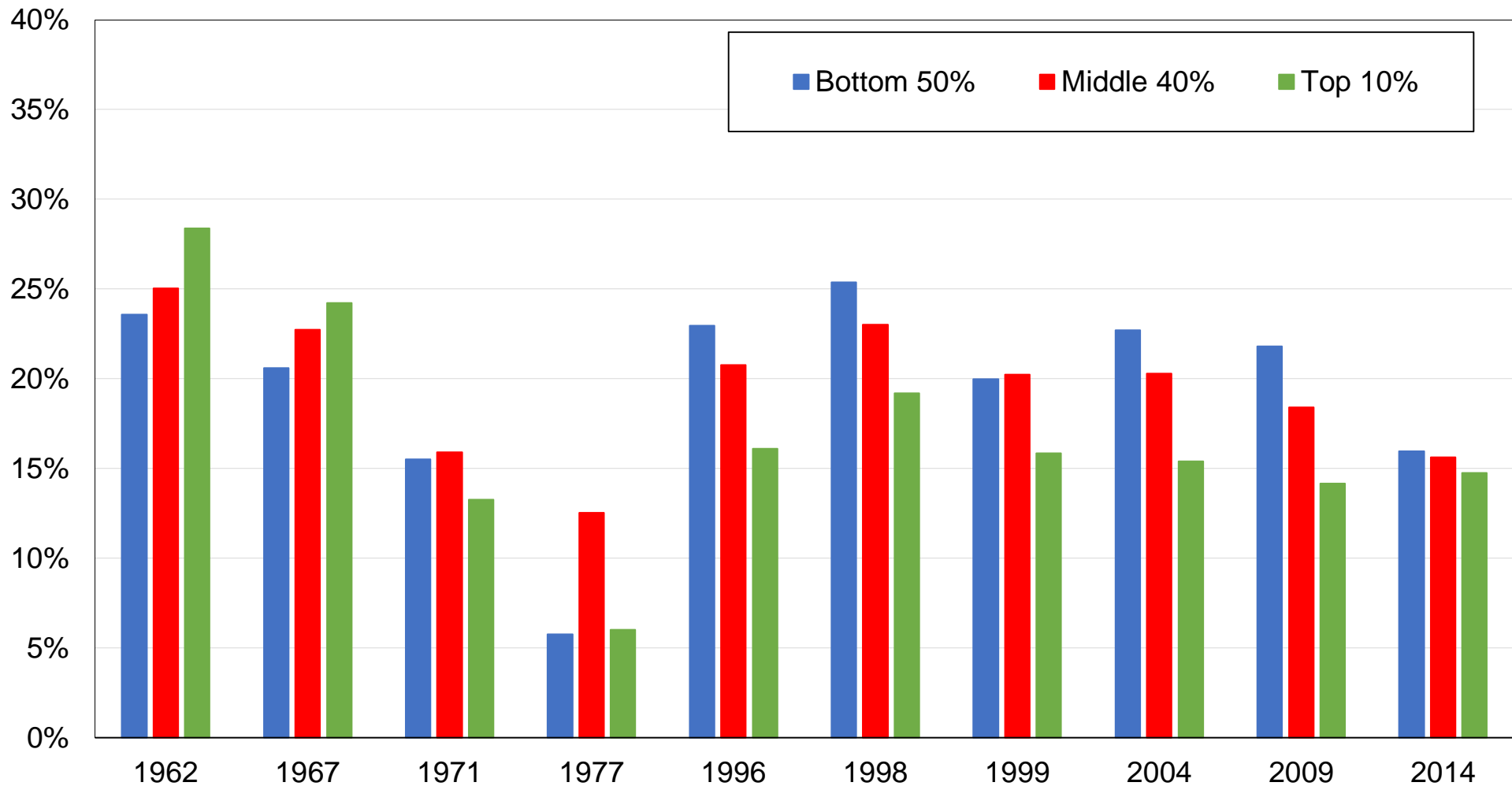
Figure B39 - Vote for left parties by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by education level in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

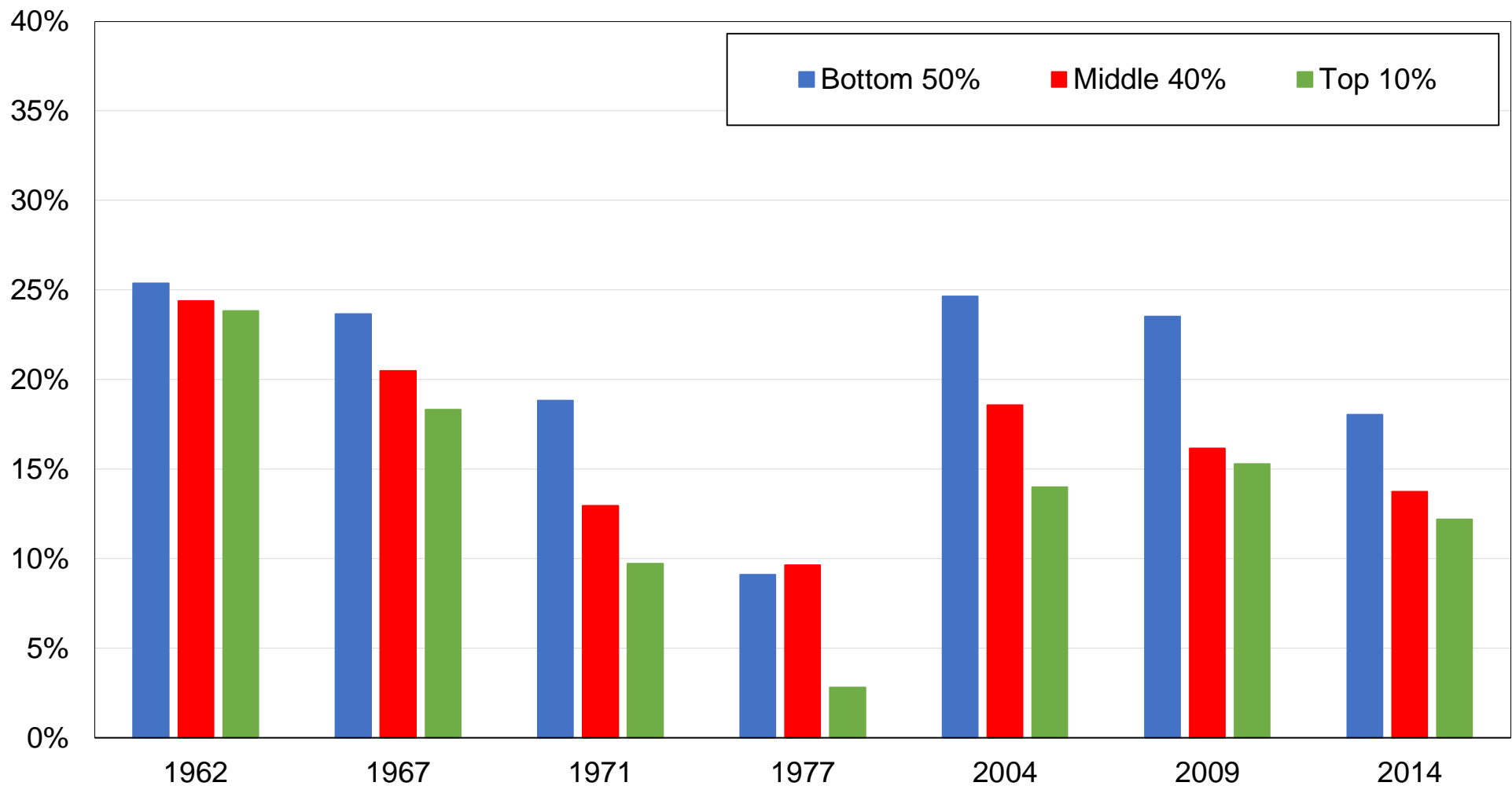
Figure B40 - Vote for left parties by education group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by education group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

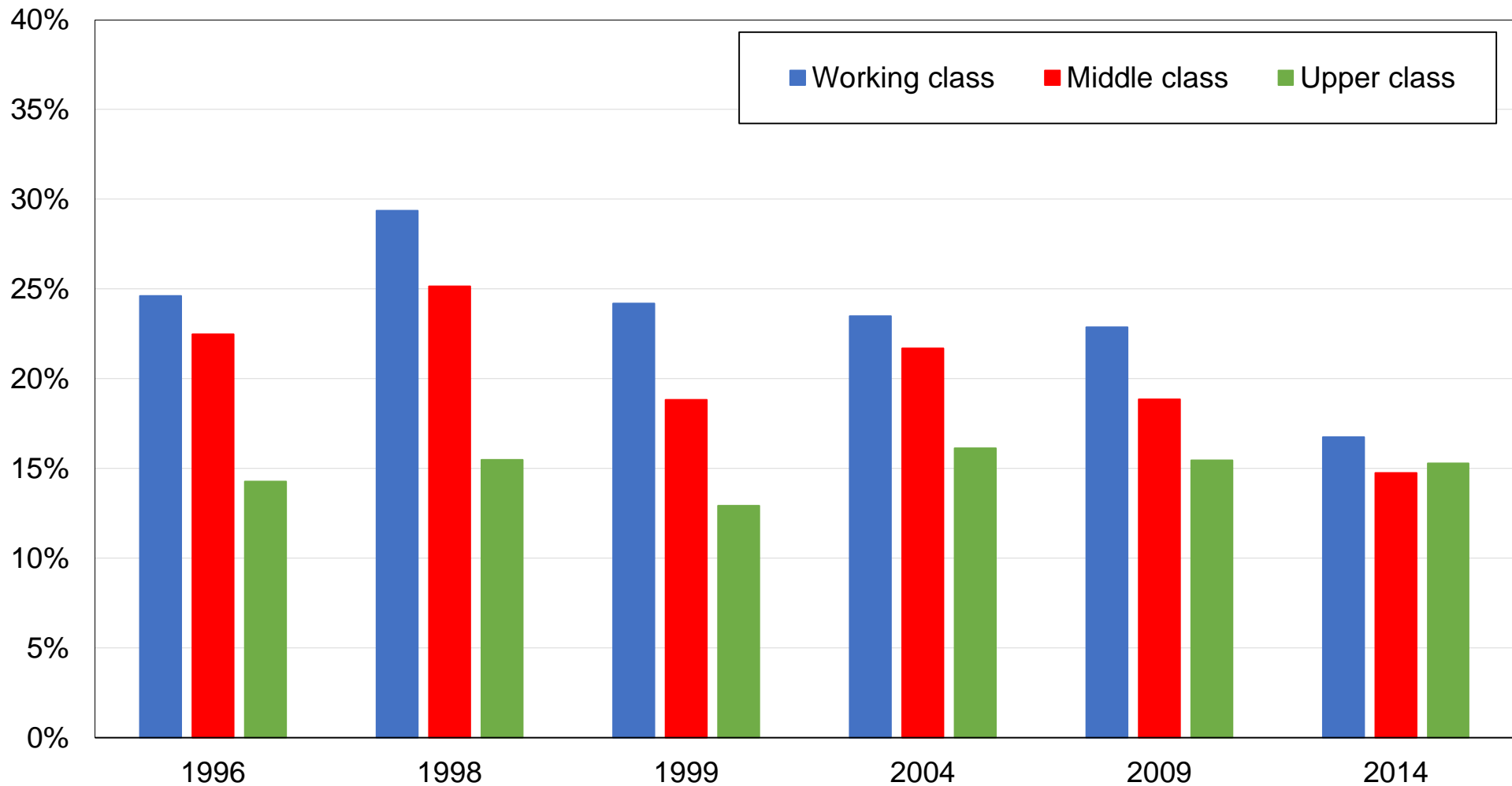
Figure B41 - Vote for left parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by income group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

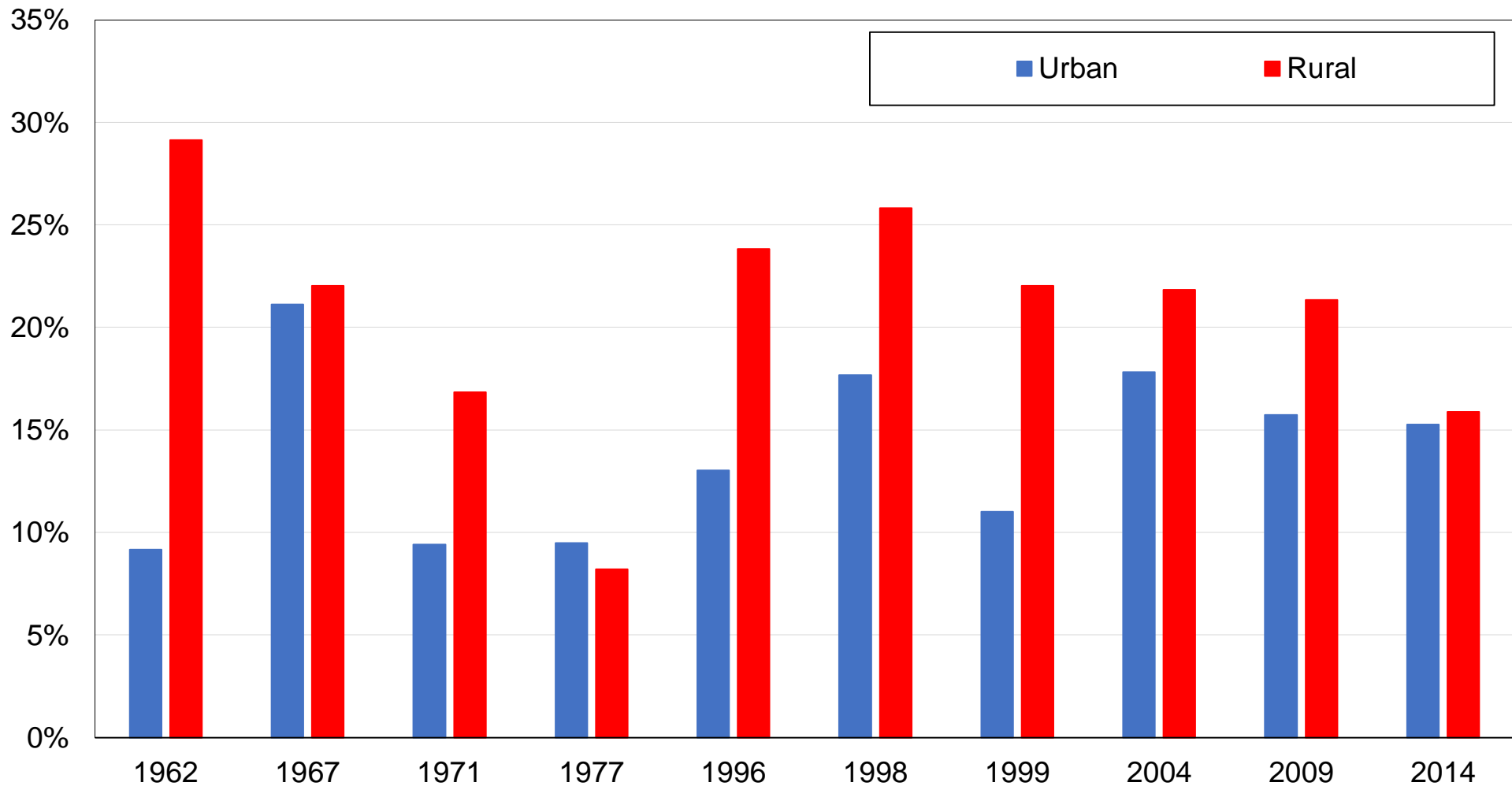
Figure B42 - Vote for left parties by social class



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by social class in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

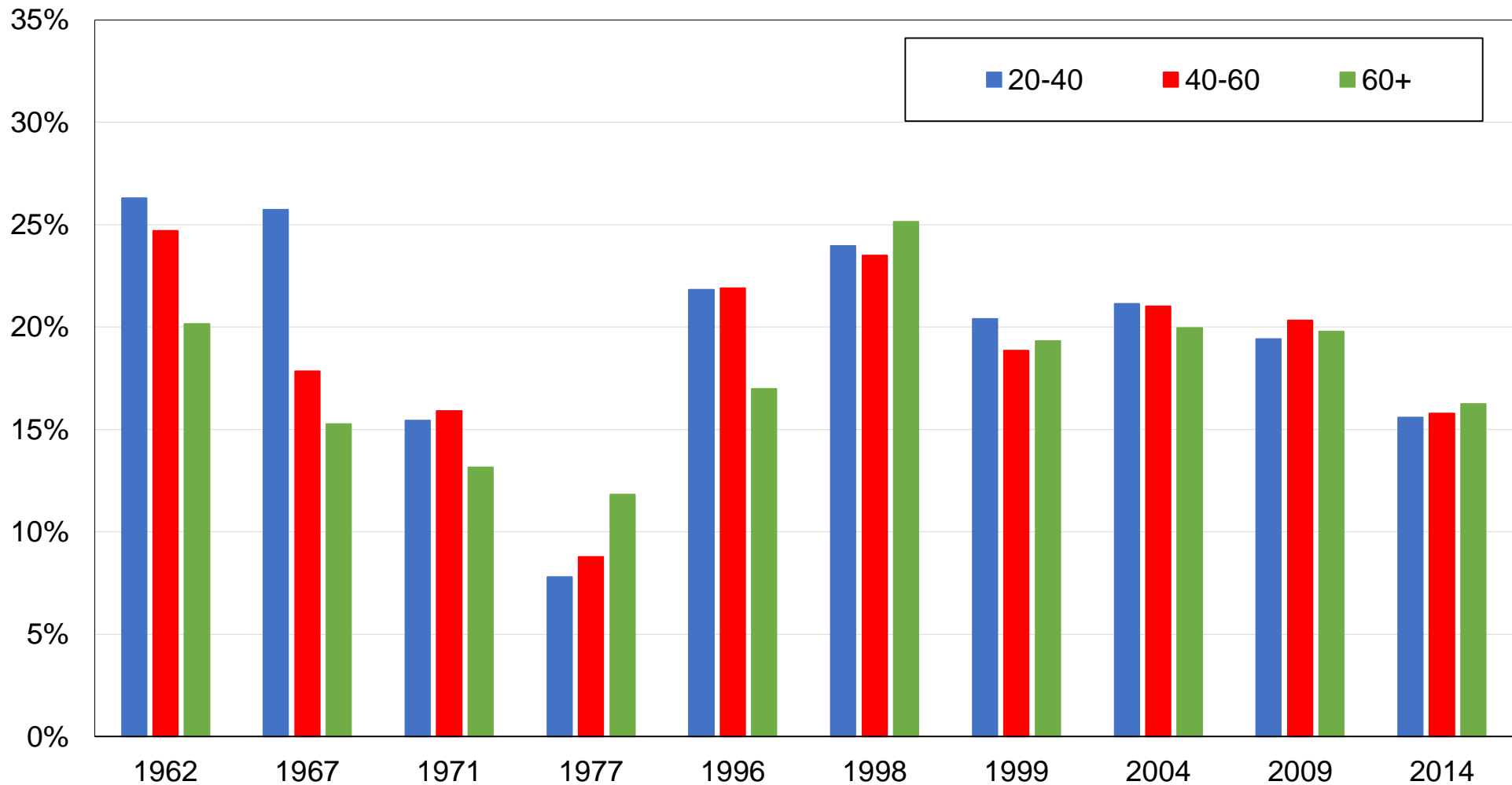
Figure B43 - Vote for left parties by location



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by rural-urban location in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

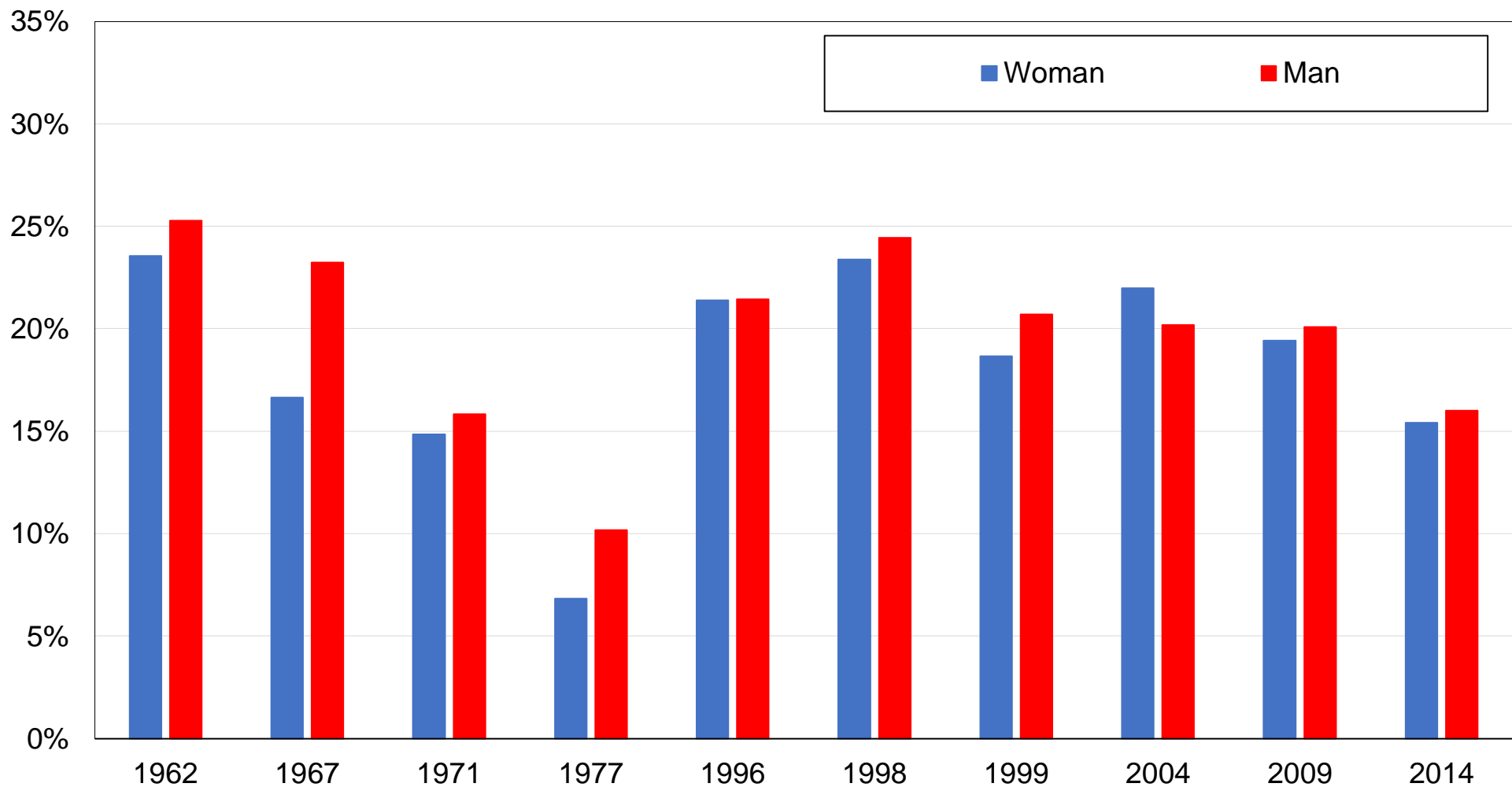
Figure B44 - Vote for left parties by age group



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by age group in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

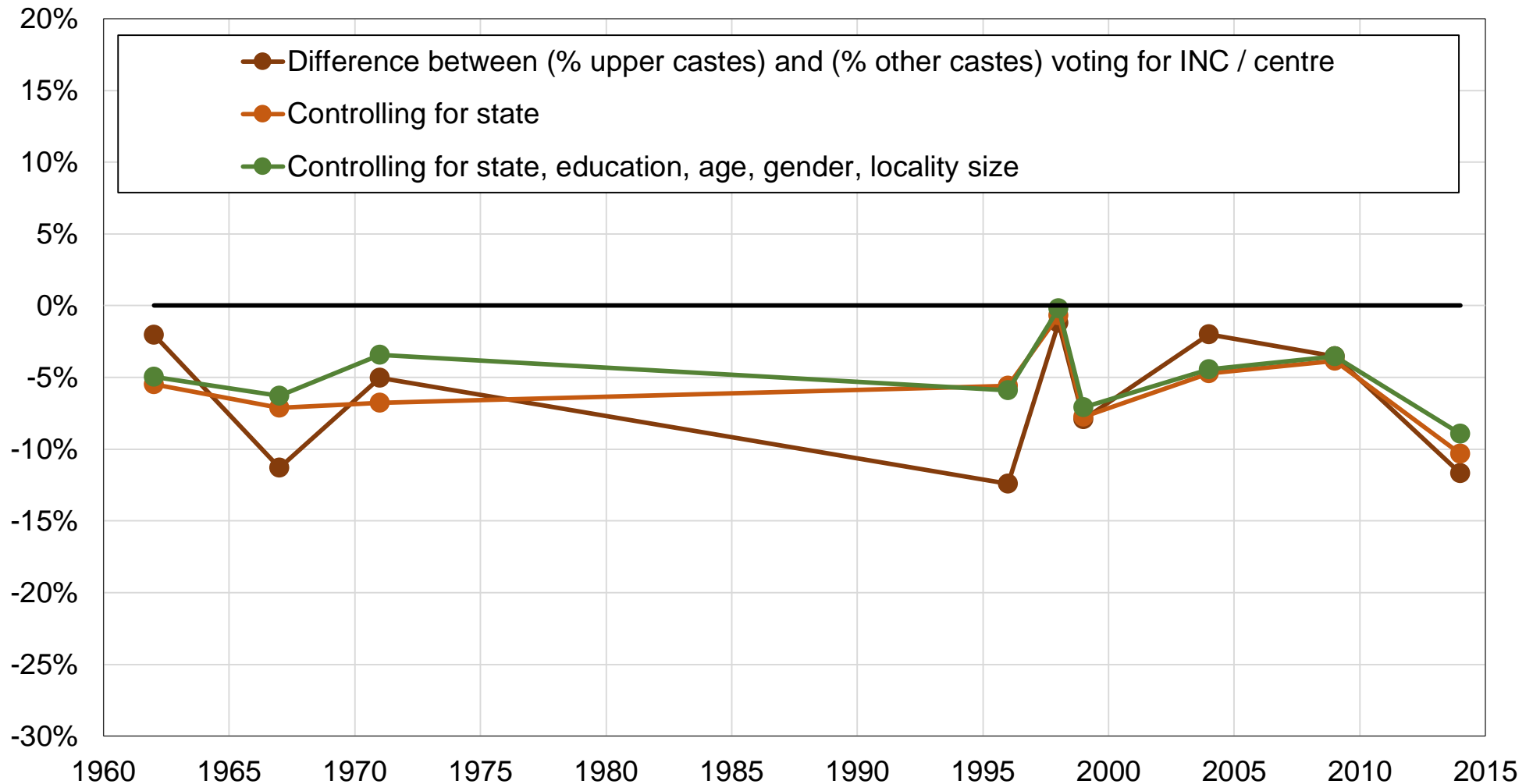
Figure B45 - Vote for left parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by left parties by gender in Lok Sabha elections between 1962 and 2014.

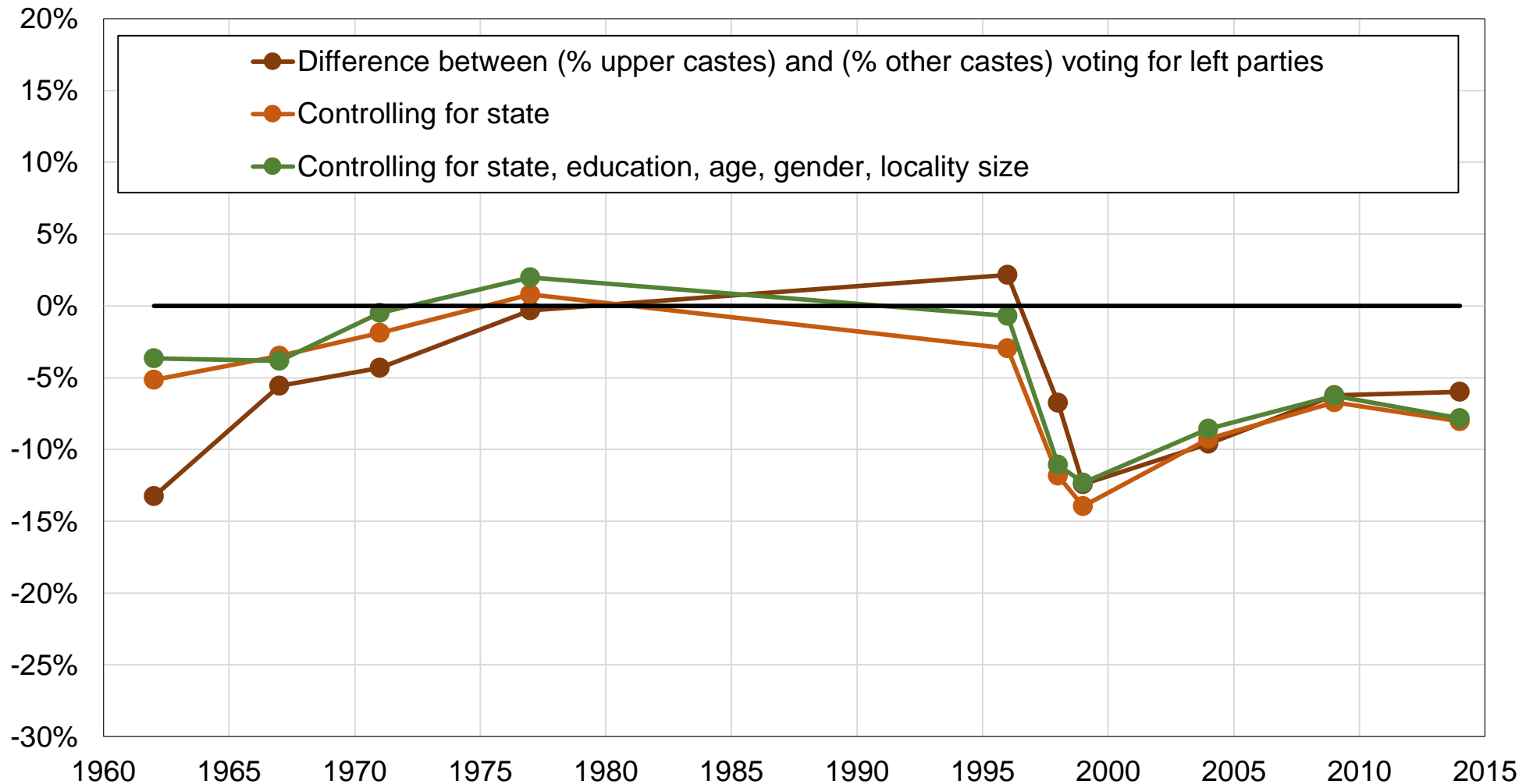
Figure B46 - Vote for Congress / centre among upper castes



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting the Congress and other centre parties in Lok Sabha elections.

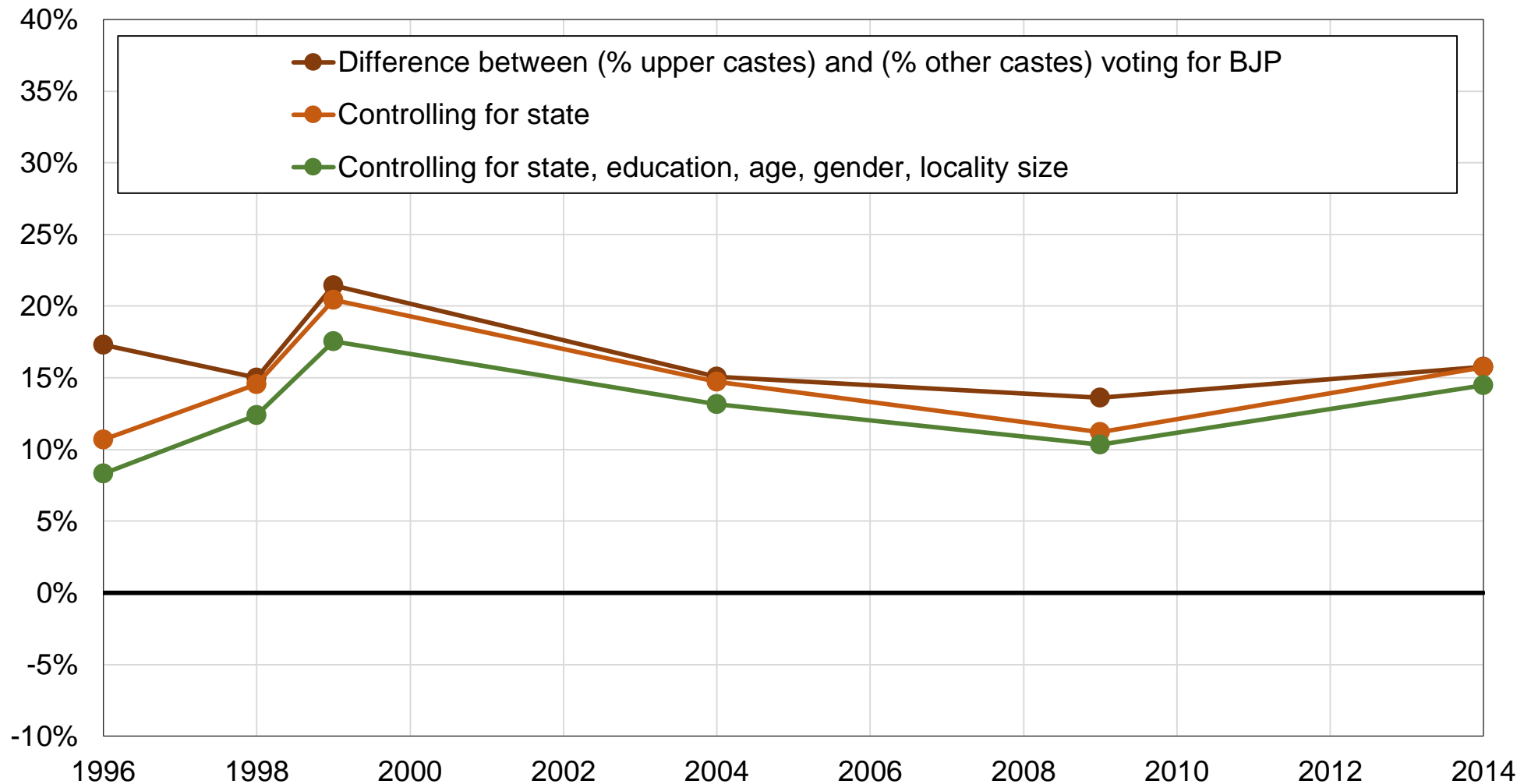
Figure B47 - Vote for left parties among upper castes



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting left-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

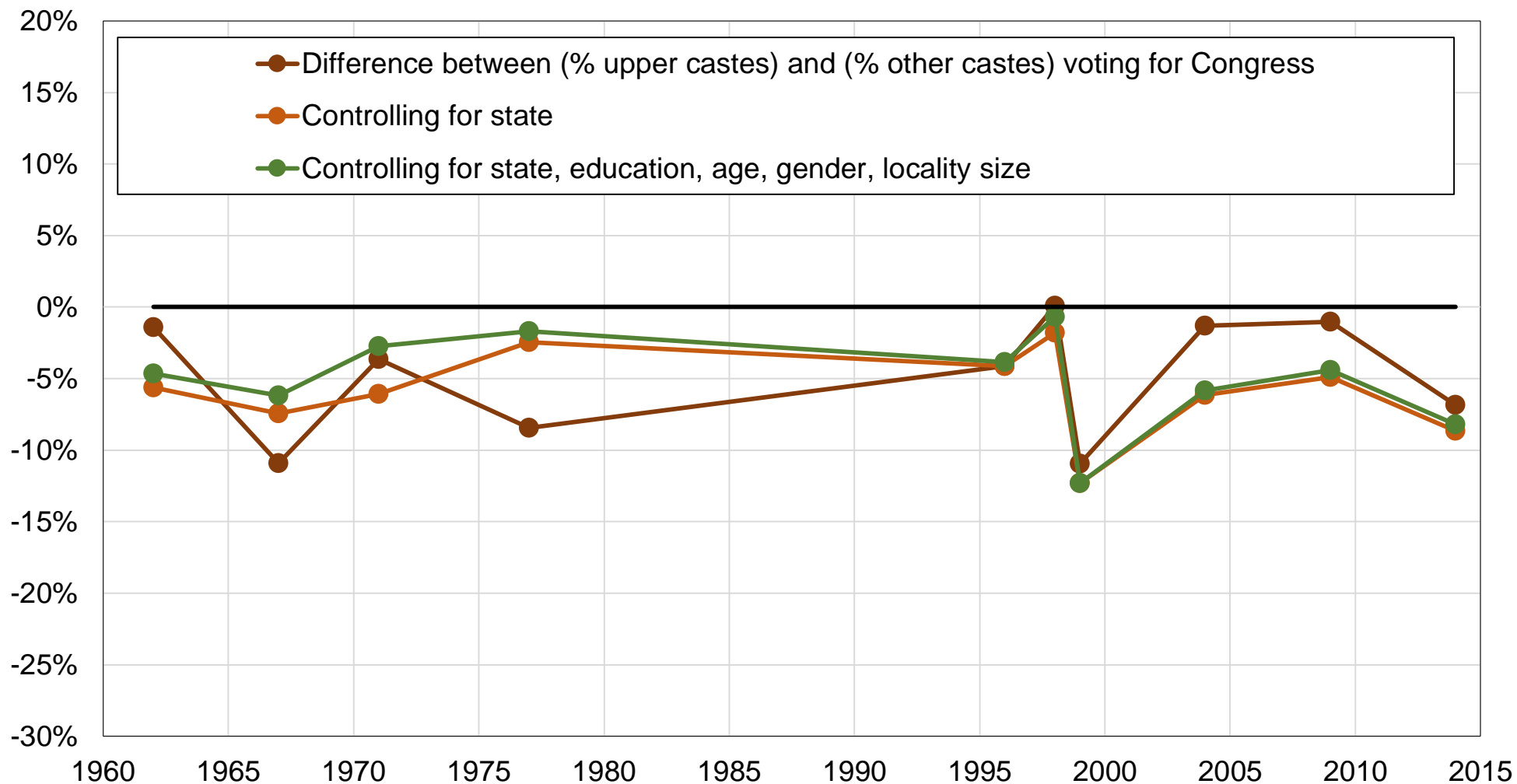
Figure B48 - Vote for BJP among upper castes



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting the BJP in Lok Sabha elections.

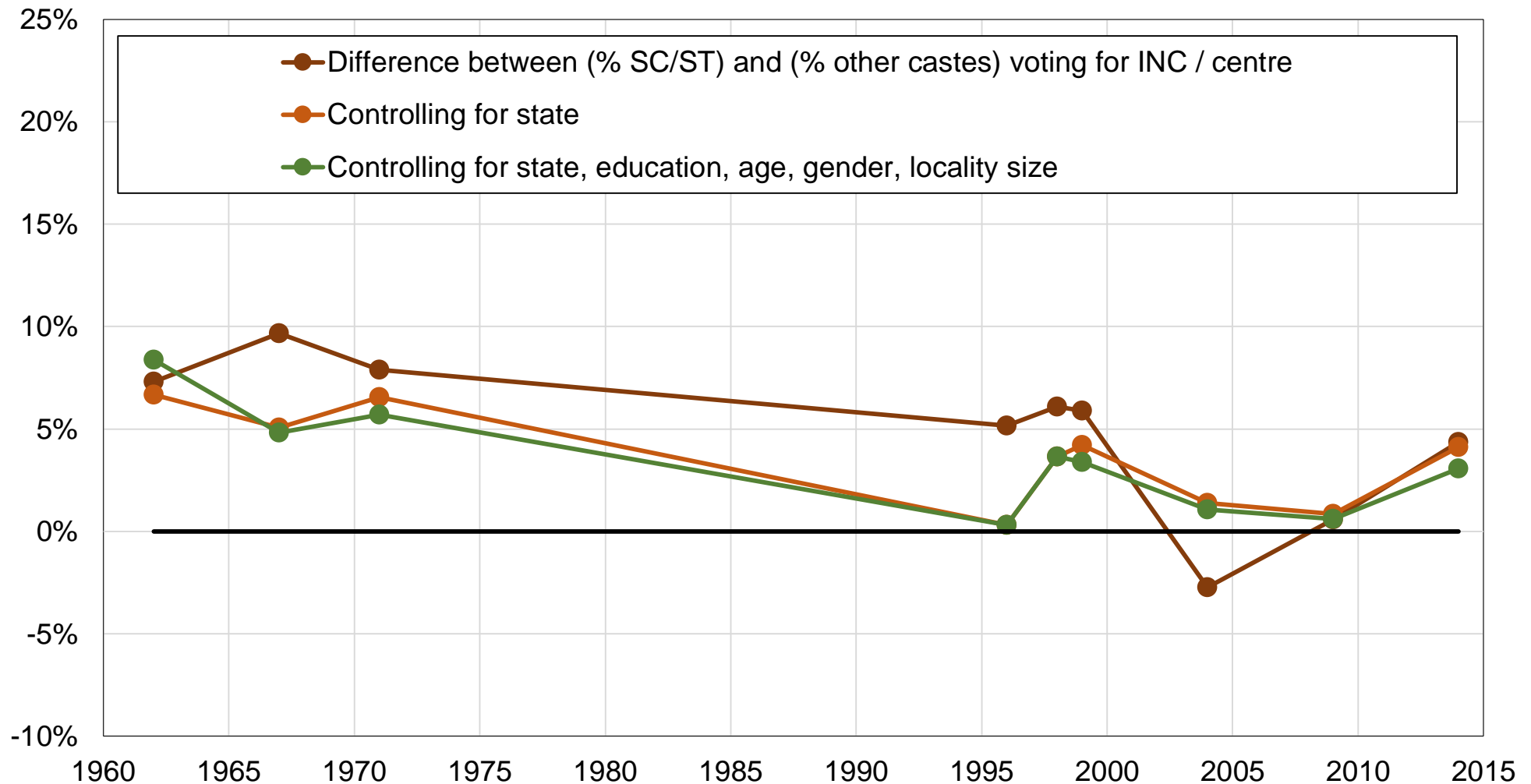
Figure B49 - Vote for Congress among upper castes



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting the Congress in Lok Sabha elections.

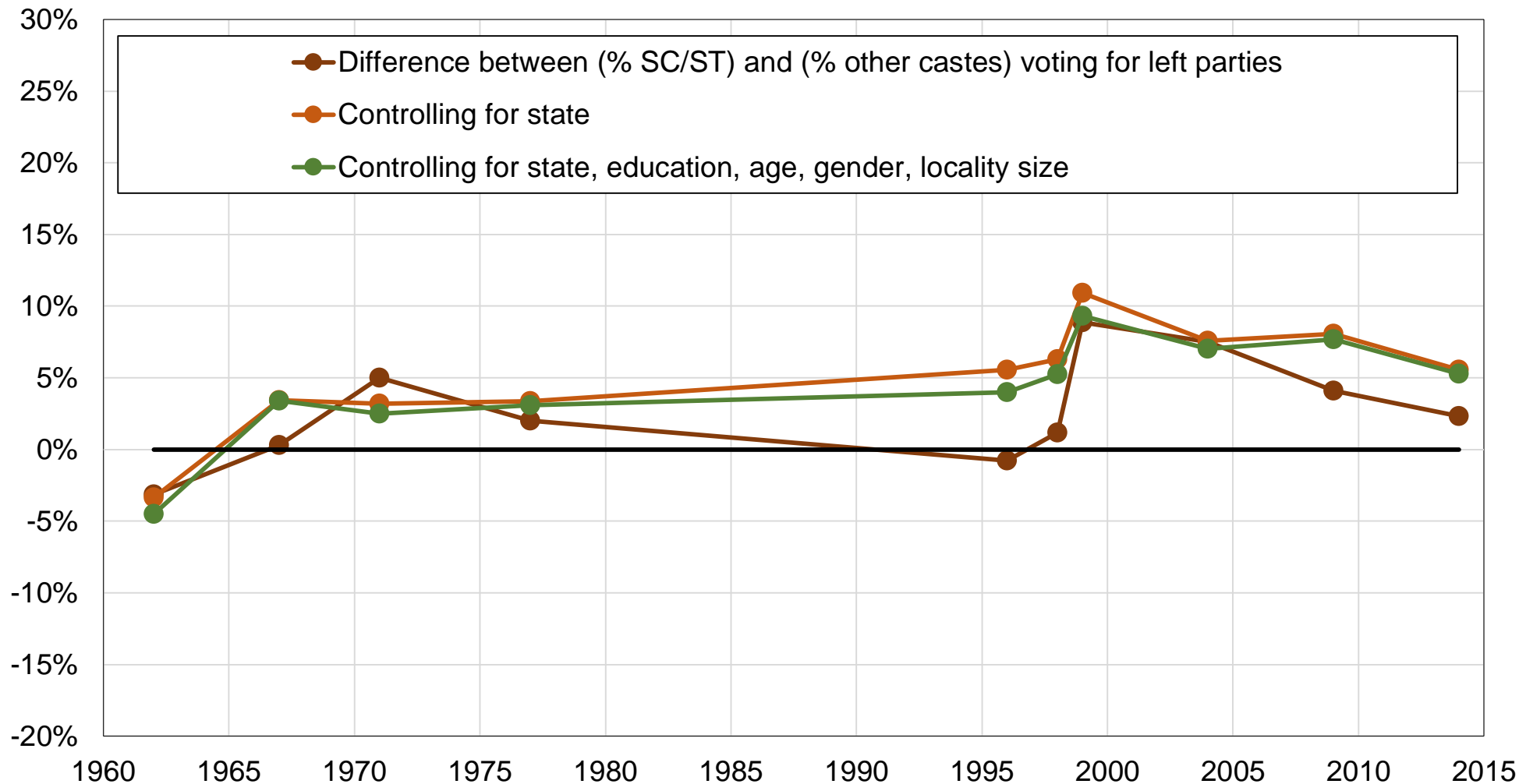
Figure B50 - Vote for Congress / centre among SCs/STs



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of SCs/STs and the share of other voters supporting the Congress and other centre parties in Lok Sabha elections.

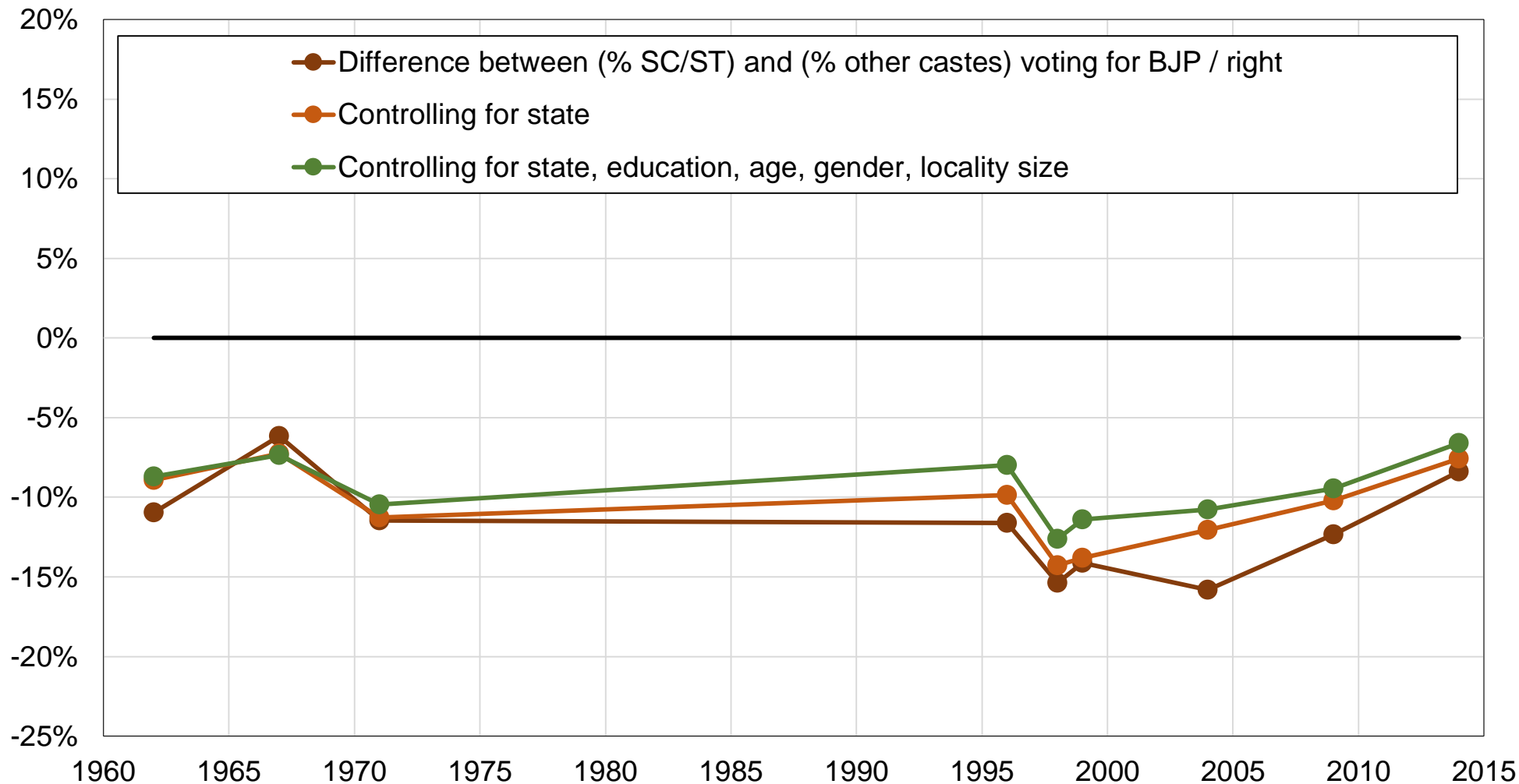
Figure B51 - Vote for left parties among SCs/STs



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of SCs/STs and the share of other voters supporting left-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

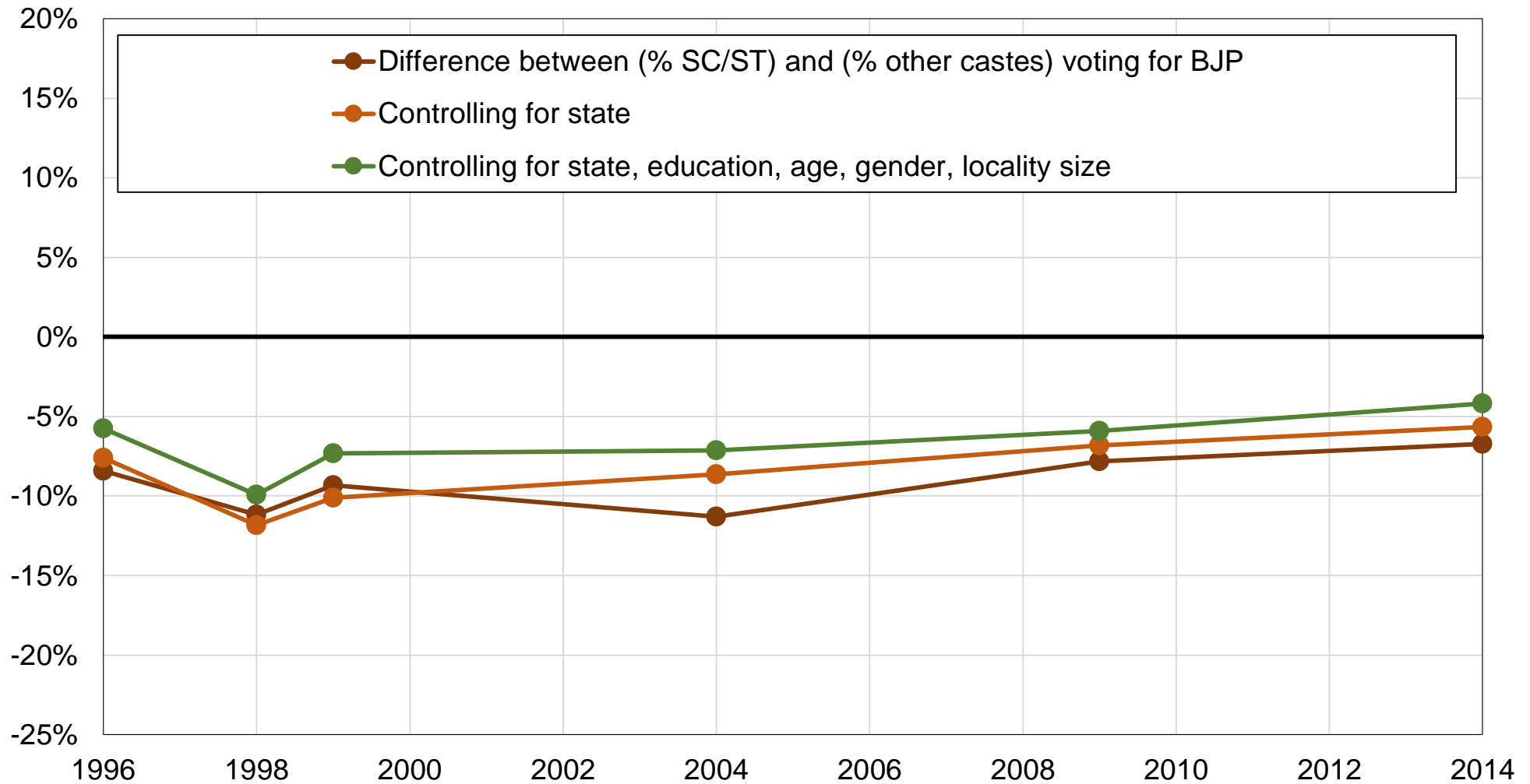
Figure B52 - Vote for BJP / right among SCs and STs



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of SCs/STs and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

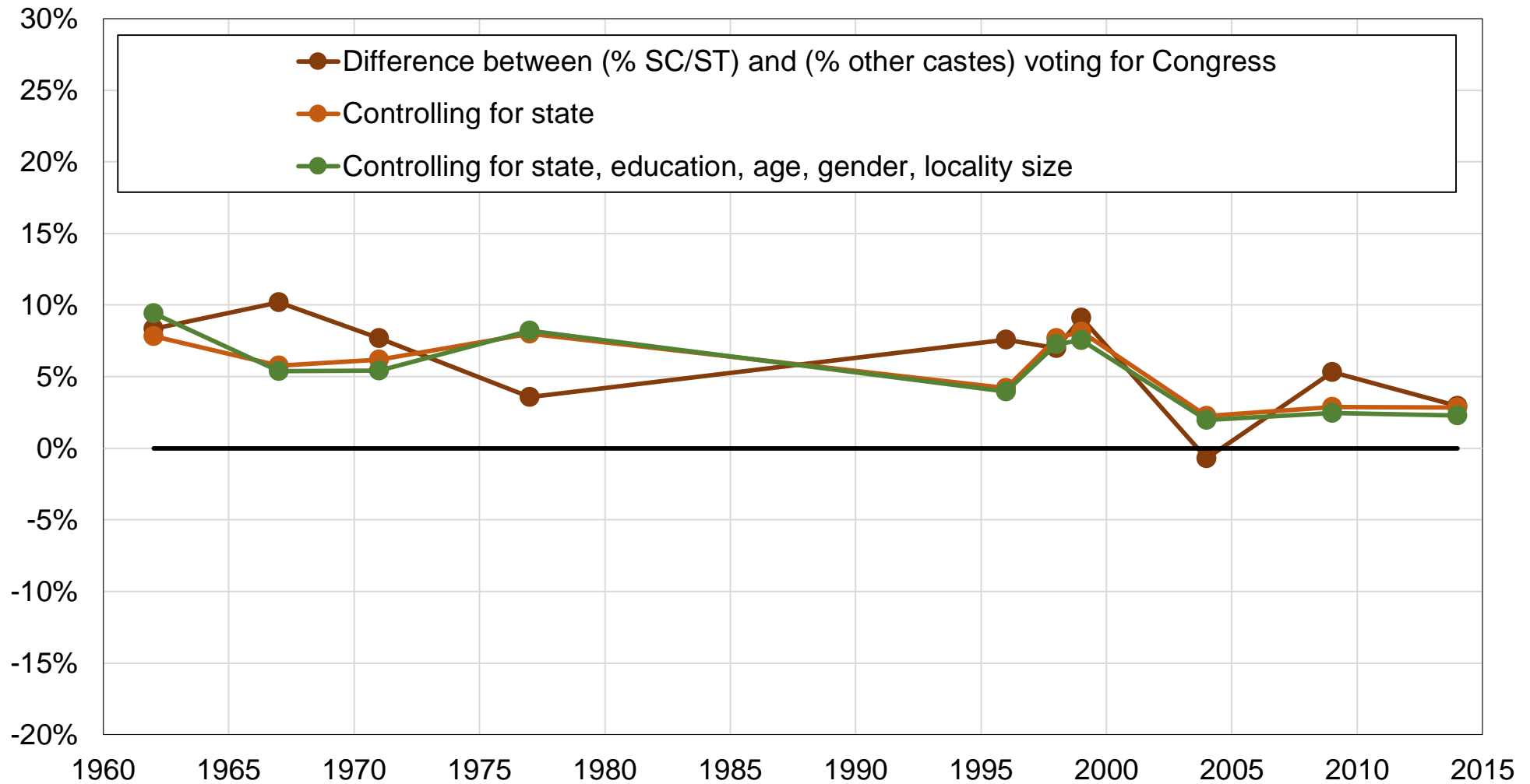
Figure B53 - Vote for BJP among SCs/STs



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of SCs/STs and the share of other voters supporting the BJP in Lok Sabha elections.

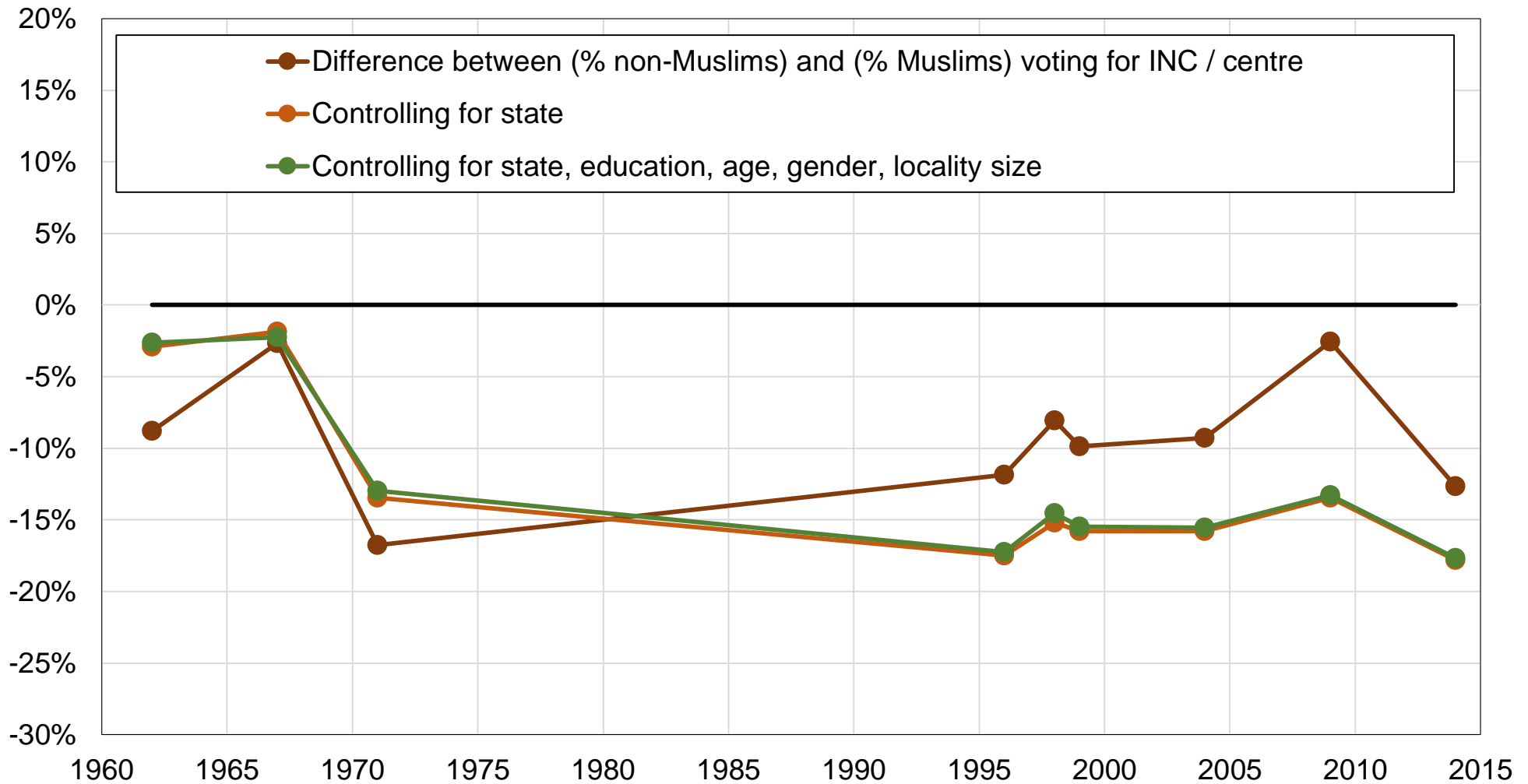
Figure B54 - Vote for Congress among SCs/STs



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of SCs/STs and the share of other voters supporting the Congress in Lok Sabha elections.

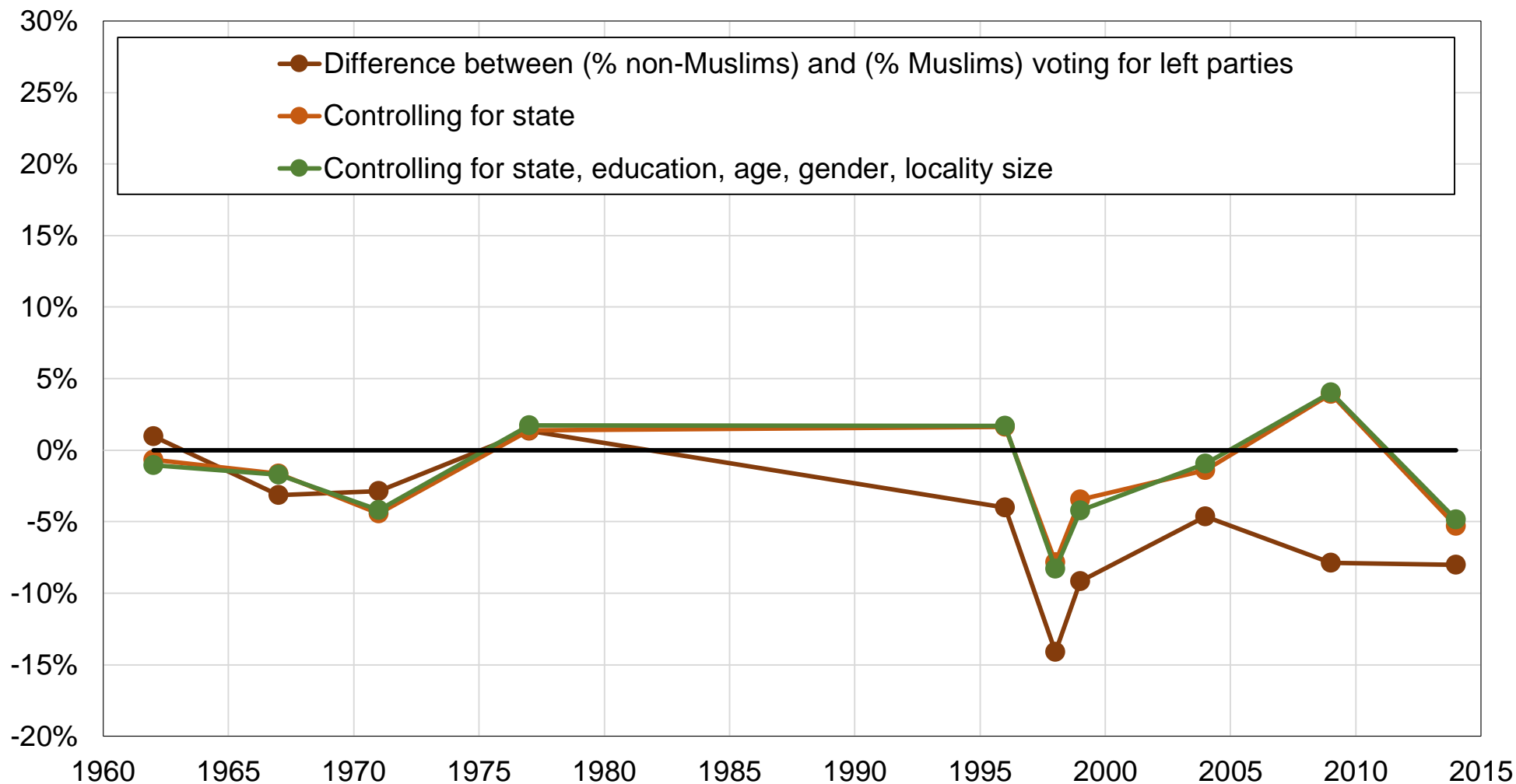
Figure B55 - Vote for Congress / centre among non-Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of non-Muslims and the share of Muslims supporting Congress and centre parties in Lok Sabha elections.

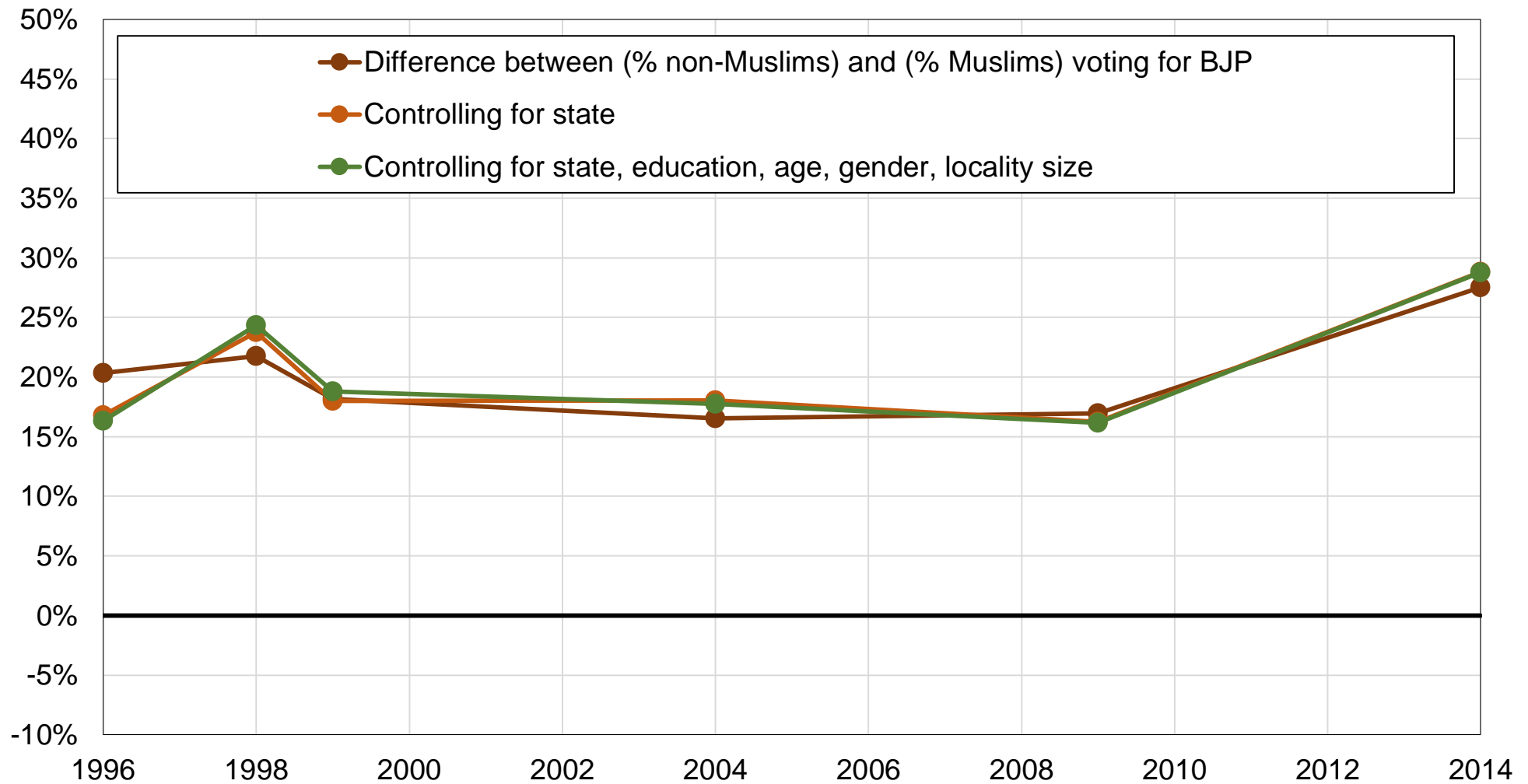
Figure B56 - Vote for left parties among non-Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of non-Muslims and the share of Muslims supporting left-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

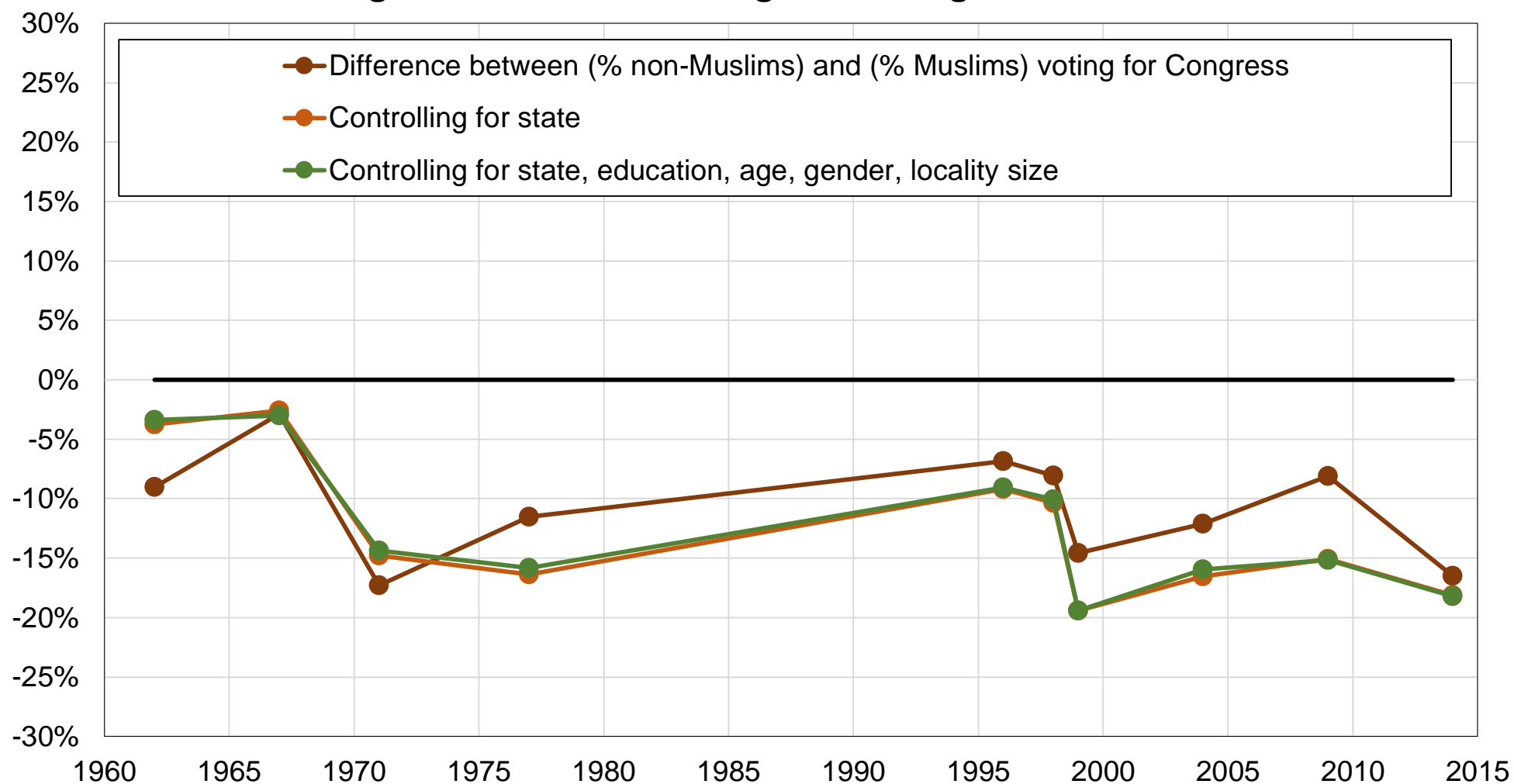
Figure B57 - Vote for BJP among non-Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of non-Muslims and the share of Muslims supporting the BJP in Lok Sabha elections.

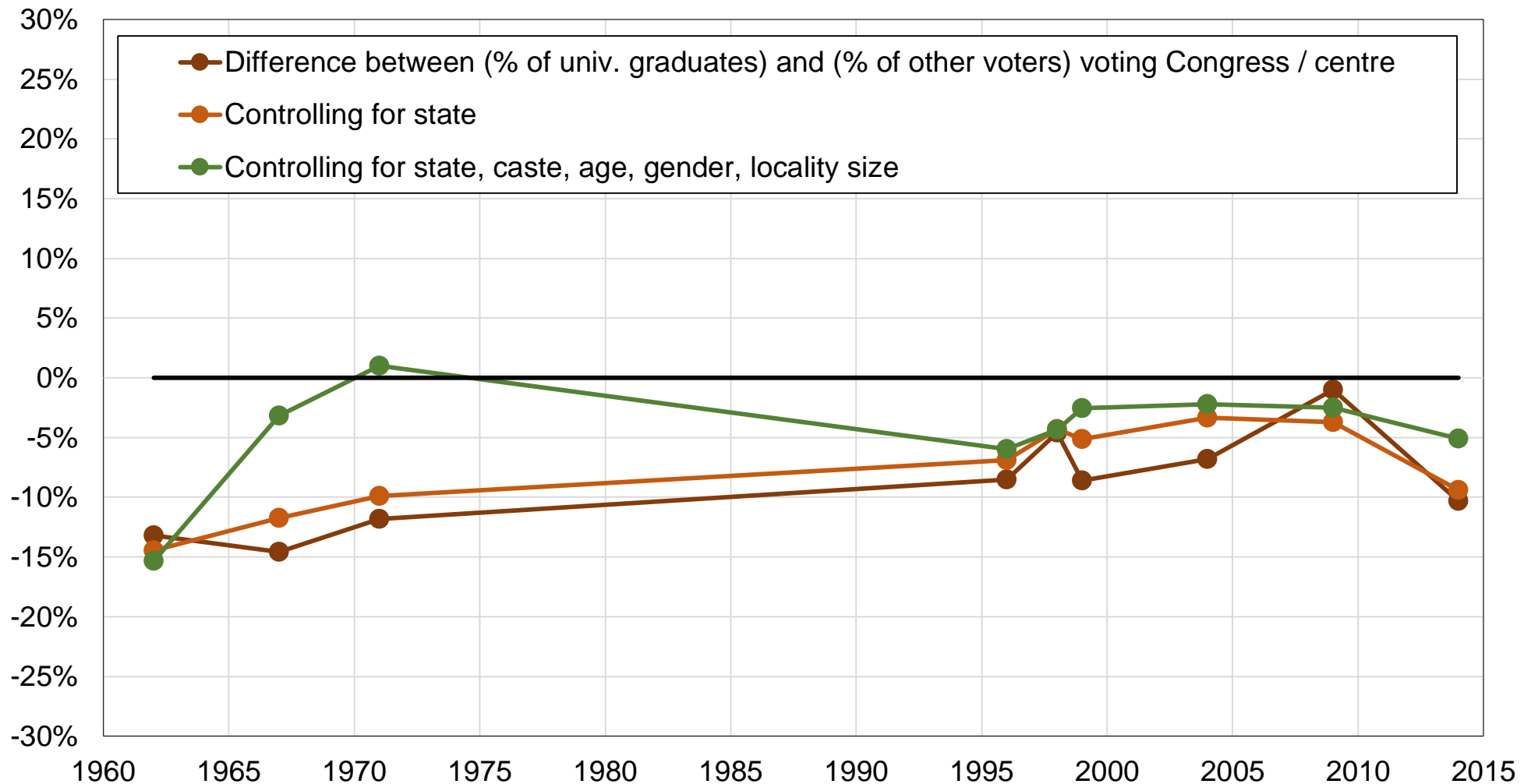
Figure B58 - Vote for Congress among non-Muslims



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of non-Muslims and the share of Muslims supporting the Congress in Lok Sabha elections.

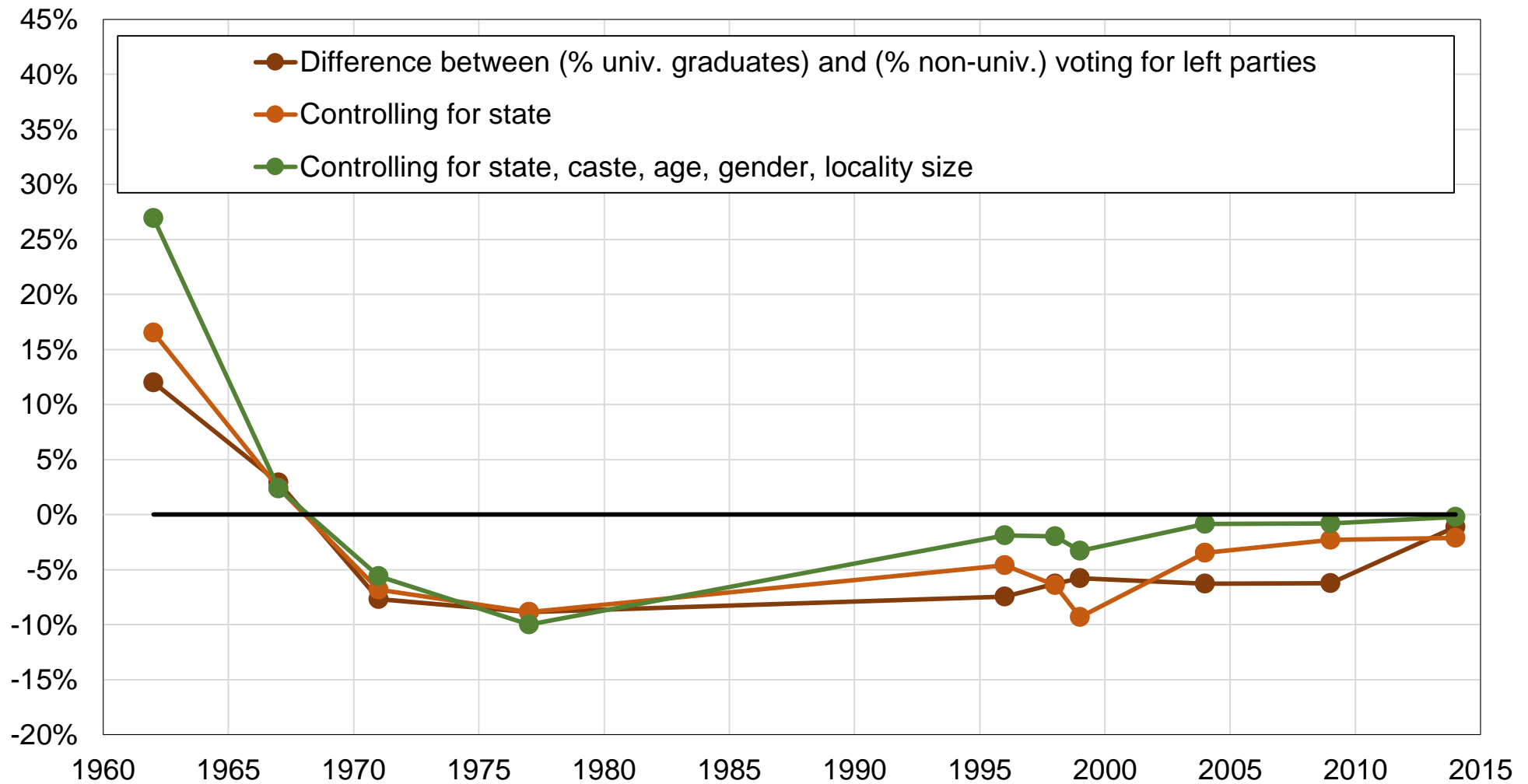
Figure B59 - Vote for Congress / centre among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters supporting the Congress and other centre parties in Lok Sabha elections.

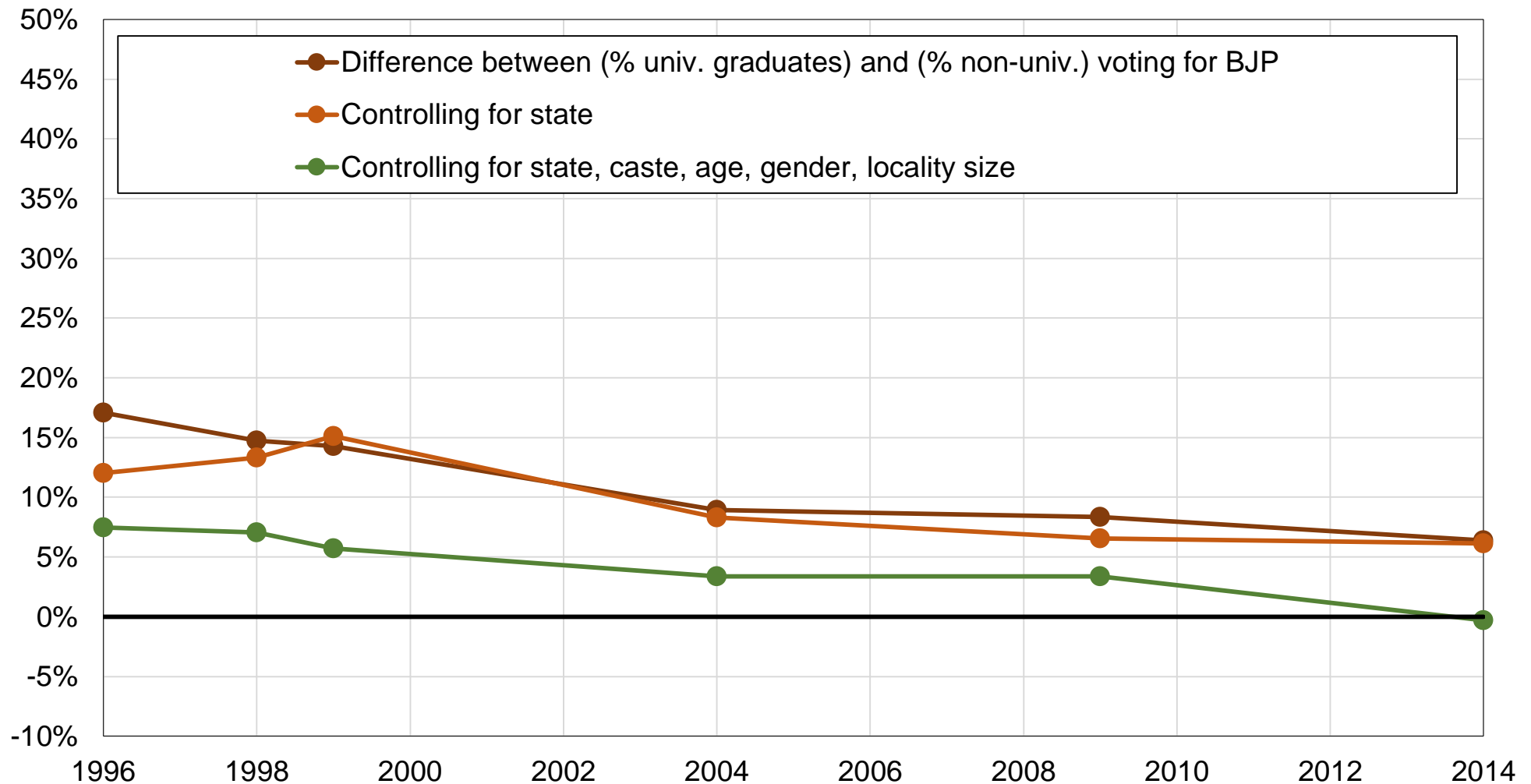
Figure B60 - Vote for left parties among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters supporting left-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

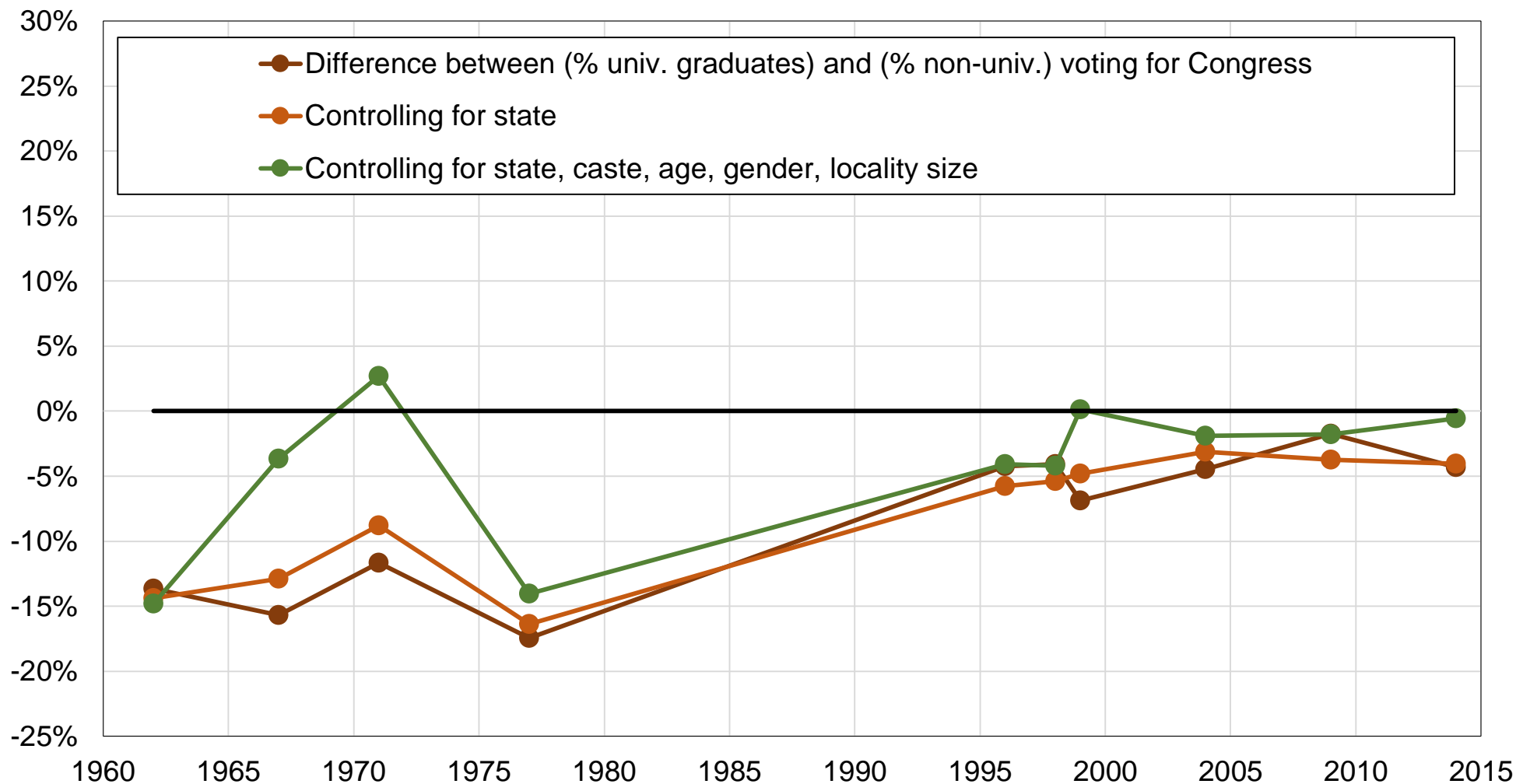
Figure B61 - Vote for BJP among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters supporting the BJP in Lok Sabha elections.

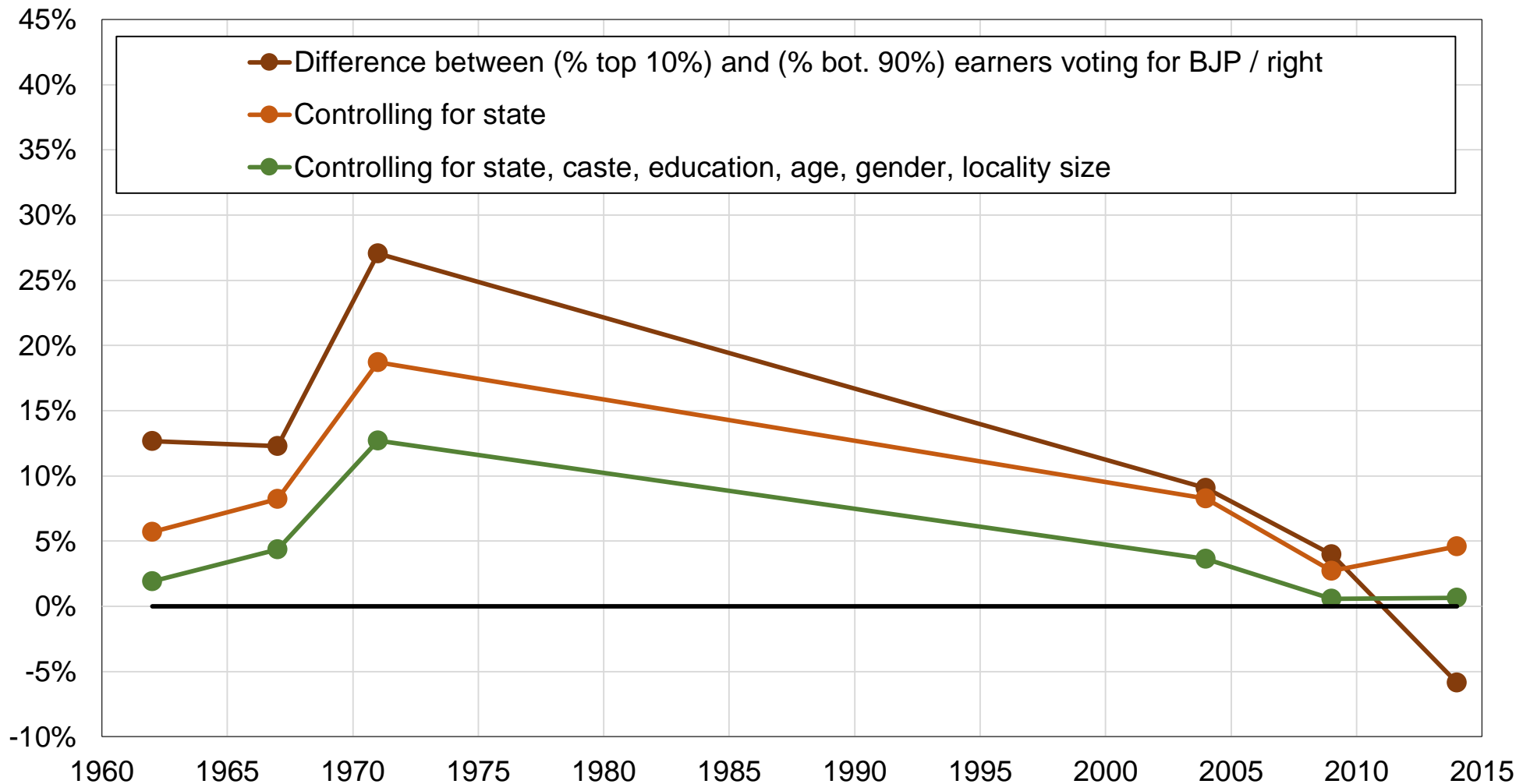
Figure B62 - Vote for Congress among university graduates



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of university graduates and the share of other voters supporting the Congress in Lok Sabha elections.

Figure B63 - Vote for BJP / right among high-income earners



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in Lok Sabha elections.

Table B1 - Determinants of vote for BJP / Right in Indian national elections

| | 1962 | 1967 | 1971 | 1996 | 1998 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 | 2014-1962 |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| Caste group: Muslim | -0.054 (0.048) | -0.081*** (0.020) | -0.168*** (0.020) | -0.192*** (0.013) | -0.274*** (0.017) | -0.229*** (0.013) | -0.208*** (0.009) | -0.154*** (0.008) | -0.314*** (0.010) | -0.26*** |
| Caste group: SC/ST | -0.078** (0.033) | -0.070*** (0.018) | -0.128*** (0.021) | -0.091*** (0.012) | -0.132*** (0.013) | -0.108*** (0.012) | -0.114*** (0.008) | -0.100*** (0.006) | -0.101*** (0.009) | -0.02 |
| Caste group: Other FC | 0.083 (0.055) | 0.062*** (0.020) | -0.024 (0.033) | 0.043*** (0.014) | 0.044*** (0.015) | 0.122*** (0.015) | 0.058*** (0.009) | 0.042*** (0.008) | 0.056*** (0.012) | -0.03 |
| Caste group: Brahmin | 0.067 (0.061) | 0.090*** (0.031) | 0.070* (0.039) | 0.011 (0.025) | 0.144*** (0.031) | 0.164*** (0.024) | 0.166*** (0.015) | 0.144*** (0.014) | 0.133*** (0.018) | 0.07 |
| Education: Primary | -0.023 (0.033) | -0.014 (0.016) | -0.038* (0.022) | 0.037*** (0.011) | 0.046*** (0.012) | 0.054*** (0.012) | 0.001 (0.007) | 0.012* (0.006) | 0.023** (0.009) | 0.05 |
| Education: Secondary | -0.042 (0.052) | -0.045 (0.029) | -0.032 (0.039) | 0.098*** (0.014) | 0.031** (0.015) | 0.062*** (0.015) | 0.049*** (0.008) | 0.020*** (0.007) | 0.040*** (0.010) | 0.08 |
| Education: Tertiary | 0.041 (0.074) | 0.026 (0.034) | 0.072 (0.045) | 0.097*** (0.025) | 0.090*** (0.024) | 0.085*** (0.022) | 0.051*** (0.011) | 0.038*** (0.009) | 0.007 (0.013) | -0.03 |
| Age: 25-34 | 0.018 (0.162) | -0.054** (0.023) | 0.004 (0.032) | -0.005 (0.013) | 0.019 (0.015) | 0.007 (0.016) | 0.000 (0.008) | 0.005 (0.008) | 0.001 (0.012) | -0.02 |
| Age: 35-49 | 0.072 (0.163) | -0.035 (0.024) | 0.010 (0.031) | -0.012 (0.013) | 0.009 (0.014) | -0.019 (0.016) | 0.013 (0.008) | 0.010 (0.008) | -0.021* (0.012) | -0.09 |
| Age: 50-64 | 0.102 (0.163) | -0.061** (0.025) | 0.010 (0.034) | -0.003 (0.015) | 0.014 (0.016) | 0.002 (0.018) | -0.012 (0.010) | -0.003 (0.009) | -0.020 (0.013) | -0.12 |
| Age: 65+ | 0.081 (0.165) | -0.005 (0.037) | -0.008 (0.040) | -0.016 (0.019) | -0.020 (0.021) | 0.011 (0.021) | 0.008 (0.012) | -0.012 (0.010) | -0.031* (0.016) | -0.11 |
| Gender: Male | 0.012 (0.031) | 0.021 (0.016) | 0.023 (0.017) | -0.004 (0.009) | 0.018* (0.010) | 0.003 (0.010) | 0.009 (0.006) | 0.004 (0.005) | 0.010 (0.007) | -0.00 |
| Location: Rural area | -0.047 (0.040) | 0.015 (0.018) | -0.114*** (0.028) | -0.012 (0.013) | -0.029** (0.013) | -0.034*** (0.012) | -0.002 (0.007) | 0.010* (0.006) | -0.034*** (0.009) | |
| R-squared | 0.25 | 0.26 | 0.29 | 0.17 | 0.21 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.20 | 0.19 | |
| Observations | 1329 | 4007 | 3560 | 8283 | 7354 | 8352 | 21966 | 28085 | 19343 | |

Note: all models include state fixed effects. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B2 - Determinants of vote for BJP in Indian national elections

| | 1996 | 1998 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Caste group: Muslim | -0.171*** (0.010) | -0.246*** (0.015) | -0.166*** (0.011) | -0.181*** (0.008) | -0.168*** (0.006) | -0.296*** (0.009) |
| Caste group: SC/ST | -0.068*** (0.011) | -0.104*** (0.012) | -0.058*** (0.011) | -0.076*** (0.007) | -0.072*** (0.006) | -0.076*** (0.008) |
| Caste group: Other FC | 0.037*** (0.012) | 0.035*** (0.014) | 0.116*** (0.013) | 0.047*** (0.008) | 0.025*** (0.007) | 0.048*** (0.011) |
| Caste group: Brahmin | 0.009 (0.024) | 0.191*** (0.030) | 0.183*** (0.024) | 0.171*** (0.014) | 0.133*** (0.013) | 0.141*** (0.017) |
| Education: Primary | 0.034*** (0.010) | 0.039*** (0.011) | 0.052*** (0.011) | 0.010 (0.006) | 0.015*** (0.005) | 0.028*** (0.008) |
| Education: Secondary | 0.095*** (0.012) | 0.052*** (0.014) | 0.069*** (0.014) | 0.043*** (0.008) | 0.024*** (0.006) | 0.060*** (0.009) |
| Education: Tertiary | 0.124*** (0.023) | 0.102*** (0.023) | 0.100*** (0.021) | 0.055*** (0.011) | 0.050*** (0.008) | 0.035*** (0.012) |
| Age: 25-34 | -0.012 (0.012) | 0.018 (0.014) | 0.020 (0.015) | -0.002 (0.008) | 0.000 (0.007) | 0.004 (0.011) |
| Age: 35-49 | -0.015 (0.012) | 0.011 (0.013) | -0.011 (0.014) | 0.010 (0.008) | 0.002 (0.007) | -0.011 (0.011) |
| Age: 50-64 | -0.006 (0.014) | 0.022 (0.015) | 0.014 (0.016) | -0.010 (0.009) | -0.006 (0.008) | -0.007 (0.012) |
| Age: 65+ | -0.019 (0.017) | -0.005 (0.020) | 0.028 (0.019) | 0.009 (0.011) | -0.007 (0.009) | -0.029** (0.015) |
| Gender: Male | -0.006 (0.008) | 0.018* (0.009) | 0.003 (0.009) | 0.006 (0.005) | 0.003 (0.004) | 0.009 (0.007) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.005 (0.011) | -0.031** (0.012) | -0.060*** (0.011) | -0.027*** (0.007) | 0.005 (0.005) | -0.044*** (0.008) |
| Constant | 0.039** (0.017) | 0.161*** (0.022) | 0.071*** (0.019) | 0.102*** (0.013) | 0.018** (0.009) | 0.052*** (0.015) |
| R-squared | 0.18 | 0.22 | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.23 | 0.21 |
| Observations | 8283 | 7354 | 8352 | 21966 | 28085 | 19343 |

Note: all models include state fixed effects. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B3 - Determinants of vote for Congress / centre in Indian national elections

| | 1962 | 1967 | 1971 | 1977 | 1996 | 1998 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Caste group: Muslim | 0.043 (0.076) | 0.027 (0.030) | 0.156*** (0.031) | 0.204*** (0.029) | 0.168*** (0.020) | 0.175*** (0.020) | 0.162*** (0.018) | 0.168*** (0.011) | 0.141*** (0.010) | 0.183*** (0.013) |
| Caste group: SC/ST | 0.083 (0.052) | 0.040* (0.022) | 0.080*** (0.022) | 0.127*** (0.025) | 0.015 (0.015) | 0.067*** (0.014) | 0.051*** (0.013) | 0.039*** (0.008) | 0.029*** (0.008) | 0.051*** (0.009) |
| Caste group: Other FC | -0.057 (0.065) | -0.059*** (0.023) | 0.023 (0.032) | 0.021 (0.027) | -0.025* (0.015) | 0.053*** (0.014) | -0.022 (0.015) | 0.002 (0.009) | 0.001 (0.009) | -0.041*** (0.010) |
| Caste group: Brahmin | 0.039 (0.081) | -0.026 (0.032) | -0.020 (0.038) | 0.034 (0.037) | -0.043* (0.025) | -0.009 (0.028) | -0.036 (0.024) | -0.012 (0.015) | -0.008 (0.014) | -0.046*** (0.013) |
| Education: Primary | 0.109** (0.051) | 0.038* (0.020) | 0.047** (0.023) | 0.030 (0.021) | 0.016 (0.014) | -0.024* (0.013) | -0.048*** (0.013) | 0.004 (0.008) | -0.008 (0.008) | -0.006 (0.010) |
| Education: Secondary | 0.112 (0.090) | 0.028 (0.037) | 0.031 (0.040) | -0.062 (0.040) | -0.001 (0.016) | -0.019 (0.016) | -0.042*** (0.016) | -0.016* (0.009) | -0.007 (0.008) | -0.027*** (0.010) |
| Education: Tertiary | -0.084 (0.094) | -0.012 (0.037) | 0.037 (0.043) | -0.143*** (0.055) | -0.055** (0.027) | -0.059** (0.024) | -0.058** (0.023) | -0.027** (0.012) | -0.031*** (0.011) | -0.066*** (0.013) |
| Age: 25-34 | 0.123 (0.143) | 0.047* (0.027) | 0.024 (0.032) | 0.058 (0.047) | 0.004 (0.016) | 0.004 (0.016) | -0.022 (0.018) | 0.007 (0.009) | 0.014 (0.010) | -0.006 (0.012) |
| Age: 35-49 | 0.139 (0.138) | 0.111*** (0.028) | 0.018 (0.031) | 0.059 (0.047) | 0.027* (0.016) | 0.003 (0.016) | -0.012 (0.017) | -0.007 (0.009) | 0.016* (0.009) | 0.012 (0.012) |
| Age: 50-64 | 0.139 (0.141) | 0.138*** (0.030) | 0.027 (0.035) | 0.080 (0.049) | 0.023 (0.018) | -0.005 (0.017) | 0.009 (0.020) | 0.009 (0.011) | 0.035*** (0.011) | 0.036*** (0.013) |
| Age: 65+ | 0.185 (0.149) | 0.132*** (0.047) | 0.022 (0.042) | 0.114** (0.058) | 0.091*** (0.025) | 0.037 (0.023) | -0.003 (0.024) | 0.003 (0.013) | 0.054*** (0.013) | 0.021 (0.016) |
| Gender: Male | 0.001 (0.042) | -0.059*** (0.022) | -0.013 (0.018) | -0.031 (0.019) | 0.000 (0.012) | -0.012 (0.011) | -0.023** (0.011) | -0.008 (0.006) | -0.007 (0.006) | -0.013* (0.007) |
| Location: Rural area | 0.043 (0.060) | 0.089*** (0.022) | 0.204*** (0.028) | -0.026 (0.023) | -0.043*** (0.015) | -0.024* (0.014) | -0.040*** (0.014) | -0.015* (0.008) | -0.020*** (0.007) | 0.030*** (0.009) |
| R-squared | 0.14 | 0.17 | 0.24 | 0.23 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.18 |
| Observations | 1329 | 4007 | 3560 | 2901 | 8283 | 7354 | 8352 | 21966 | 28085 | 19343 |

Note: all models include state fixed effects. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B4 - Determinants of vote for Congress in Indian national elections

| | 1962 | 1967 | 1971 | 1977 | 1996 | 1998 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 |
|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Caste group: Muslim | 0.056 (0.074) | 0.038 (0.030) | 0.172*** (0.029) | 0.187*** (0.029) | 0.103*** (0.019) | 0.137*** (0.018) | 0.203*** (0.017) | 0.170*** (0.011) | 0.169*** (0.010) | 0.190*** (0.012) |
| Caste group: SC/ST | 0.097* (0.050) | 0.048** (0.022) | 0.082*** (0.022) | 0.110*** (0.025) | 0.051*** (0.014) | 0.101*** (0.013) | 0.089*** (0.012) | 0.044*** (0.008) | 0.054*** (0.007) | 0.047*** (0.007) |
| Caste group: Other FC | -0.051 (0.064) | -0.055** (0.023) | 0.028 (0.032) | 0.014 (0.027) | -0.002 (0.014) | 0.054*** (0.013) | -0.054*** (0.013) | -0.010 (0.009) | 0.007 (0.008) | -0.035*** (0.008) |
| Caste group: Brahmin | 0.054 (0.081) | -0.023 (0.032) | -0.004 (0.038) | 0.045 (0.038) | -0.016 (0.023) | 0.000 (0.026) | -0.069*** (0.021) | -0.023* (0.014) | 0.001 (0.013) | -0.036*** (0.011) |
| Education: Primary | 0.098** (0.049) | 0.038* (0.020) | 0.052** (0.022) | 0.037* (0.021) | 0.013 (0.013) | -0.019 (0.012) | -0.025** (0.012) | -0.004 (0.008) | -0.009 (0.007) | 0.002 (0.008) |
| Education: Secondary | 0.101 (0.089) | 0.027 (0.036) | 0.029 (0.039) | -0.056 (0.041) | -0.010 (0.015) | -0.032** (0.014) | -0.011 (0.014) | -0.034*** (0.008) | -0.014* (0.008) | -0.007 (0.008) |
| Education: Tertiary | -0.086 (0.094) | -0.017 (0.037) | 0.056 (0.043) | -0.127** (0.053) | -0.040* (0.024) | -0.060*** (0.021) | -0.012 (0.020) | -0.034*** (0.011) | -0.027*** (0.010) | -0.008 (0.010) |
| Age: 25-34 | 0.114 (0.146) | 0.045* (0.027) | 0.018 (0.031) | 0.058 (0.046) | -0.009 (0.014) | 0.006 (0.014) | -0.024 (0.016) | 0.003 (0.009) | 0.019** (0.009) | 0.015 (0.009) |
| Age: 35-49 | 0.136 (0.142) | 0.107*** (0.027) | 0.020 (0.031) | 0.067 (0.046) | 0.012 (0.014) | -0.003 (0.014) | -0.009 (0.016) | -0.011 (0.009) | 0.020** (0.009) | 0.016* (0.010) |
| Age: 50-64 | 0.145 (0.145) | 0.139*** (0.030) | 0.034 (0.034) | 0.077 (0.048) | 0.010 (0.017) | -0.002 (0.015) | 0.021 (0.018) | 0.003 (0.010) | 0.040*** (0.010) | 0.041*** (0.011) |
| Age: 65+ | 0.184 (0.153) | 0.130*** (0.047) | 0.024 (0.042) | 0.129** (0.055) | 0.048** (0.022) | 0.032 (0.021) | -0.001 (0.021) | 0.001 (0.013) | 0.061*** (0.012) | 0.024* (0.013) |
| Gender: Male | -0.003 (0.041) | -0.066*** (0.022) | -0.021 (0.017) | -0.030 (0.019) | -0.005 (0.010) | -0.011 (0.010) | -0.028*** (0.010) | -0.008 (0.006) | -0.001 (0.005) | -0.007 (0.006) |
| Location: Rural area | 0.056 (0.059) | 0.100*** (0.022) | 0.220*** (0.027) | -0.032 (0.023) | -0.009 (0.014) | -0.003 (0.012) | -0.008 (0.013) | -0.033*** (0.008) | -0.003 (0.006) | 0.028*** (0.007) |
| R-squared | 0.13 | 0.17 | 0.26 | 0.19 | 0.11 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.10 | 0.11 |
| Observations | 1329 | 4007 | 3560 | 2901 | 8283 | 7354 | 8352 | 21966 | 28085 | 19343 |

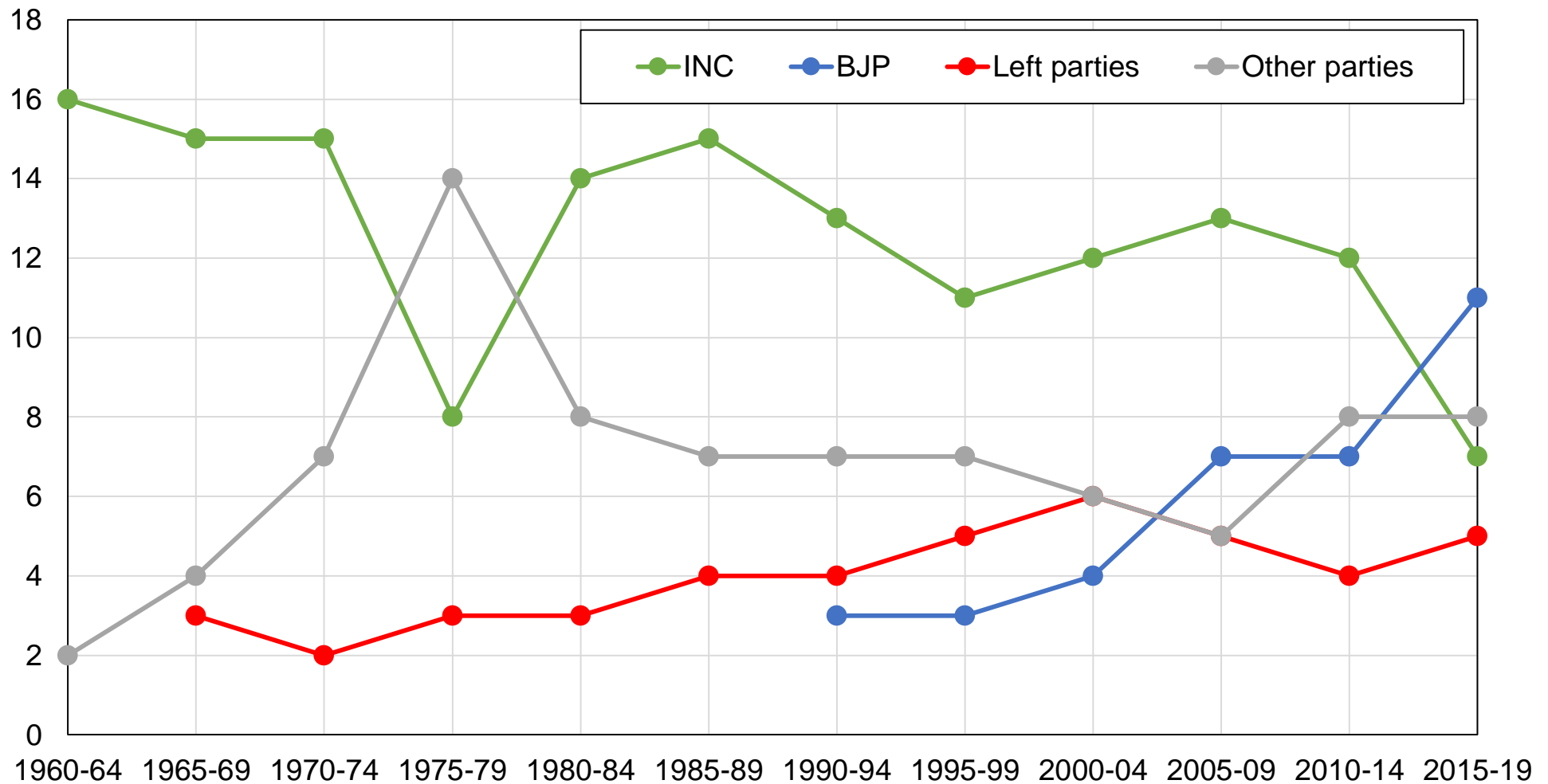
Note: all models include state fixed effects. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B5 - Determinants of vote for left parties in Indian national elections

| | 1962 | 1967 | 1971 | 1977 | 1996 | 1998 | 1999 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Caste group: Muslim | -0.018 (0.083) | 0.013 (0.030) | 0.055* (0.028) | -0.005 (0.022) | -0.003 (0.017) | 0.058*** (0.019) | 0.034** (0.015) | 0.006 (0.009) | -0.039*** (0.008) | 0.052*** (0.009) |
| Caste group: SC/ST | -0.056 (0.051) | 0.030 (0.022) | 0.036* (0.020) | 0.034** (0.016) | 0.042*** (0.011) | 0.026** (0.012) | 0.069*** (0.011) | 0.047*** (0.006) | 0.055*** (0.005) | 0.046*** (0.006) |
| Caste group: Other FC | -0.008 (0.071) | -0.020 (0.022) | 0.033 (0.023) | 0.019 (0.020) | 0.000 (0.012) | -0.088*** (0.012) | -0.095*** (0.010) | -0.053*** (0.006) | -0.035*** (0.006) | -0.040*** (0.007) |
| Caste group: Brahmin | -0.132* (0.078) | -0.056* (0.030) | -0.023 (0.024) | 0.034 (0.029) | 0.047** (0.020) | -0.139*** (0.020) | -0.092*** (0.018) | -0.120*** (0.010) | -0.105*** (0.009) | -0.091*** (0.011) |
| Education: Primary | -0.078 (0.052) | 0.002 (0.021) | -0.036* (0.020) | -0.004 (0.016) | -0.041*** (0.011) | -0.009 (0.011) | -0.016 (0.010) | -0.006 (0.006) | -0.008 (0.005) | -0.023*** (0.006) |
| Education: Secondary | -0.060 (0.093) | -0.005 (0.041) | 0.001 (0.034) | -0.032 (0.027) | -0.062*** (0.012) | -0.006 (0.013) | -0.025* (0.013) | -0.028*** (0.007) | -0.015*** (0.005) | -0.017** (0.007) |
| Education: Tertiary | 0.224** (0.110) | 0.023 (0.038) | -0.071** (0.029) | -0.108*** (0.025) | -0.058*** (0.018) | -0.025 (0.019) | -0.047*** (0.017) | -0.022** (0.009) | -0.017** (0.007) | -0.018** (0.009) |
| Age: 25-34 | -0.122 (0.175) | 0.020 (0.032) | -0.003 (0.026) | 0.009 (0.025) | -0.017 (0.012) | -0.006 (0.013) | 0.010 (0.013) | 0.008 (0.007) | -0.009 (0.006) | 0.000 (0.008) |
| Age: 35-49 | -0.174 (0.170) | -0.030 (0.032) | 0.004 (0.026) | 0.009 (0.025) | -0.035*** (0.013) | 0.004 (0.013) | 0.013 (0.013) | 0.005 (0.007) | -0.011* (0.006) | 0.000 (0.008) |
| Age: 50-64 | -0.153 (0.175) | -0.041 (0.033) | 0.006 (0.029) | 0.015 (0.028) | -0.019 (0.015) | 0.013 (0.015) | -0.017 (0.014) | 0.007 (0.008) | -0.013* (0.007) | -0.007 (0.009) |
| Age: 65+ | -0.264 (0.181) | -0.101*** (0.039) | -0.018 (0.037) | 0.014 (0.038) | -0.070*** (0.018) | 0.025 (0.019) | -0.009 (0.018) | -0.005 (0.010) | -0.020** (0.009) | 0.000 (0.011) |
| Gender: Male | -0.012 (0.042) | -0.003 (0.018) | -0.001 (0.014) | 0.023* (0.012) | 0.011 (0.009) | -0.002 (0.009) | 0.021*** (0.008) | -0.007 (0.005) | 0.004 (0.004) | 0.001 (0.005) |
| Location: Rural area | 0.161*** (0.060) | -0.018 (0.024) | -0.018 (0.021) | -0.010 (0.015) | 0.056*** (0.011) | 0.027** (0.011) | 0.064*** (0.010) | -0.005 (0.006) | -0.010** (0.004) | -0.009 (0.006) |
| R-squared | 0.28 | 0.23 | 0.22 | 0.37 | 0.23 | 0.28 | 0.25 | 0.44 | 0.42 | 0.26 |
| Observations | 1329 | 4007 | 3560 | 2901 | 8283 | 7354 | 8352 | 21966 | 28085 | 19343 |

Note: all models include state fixed effects. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

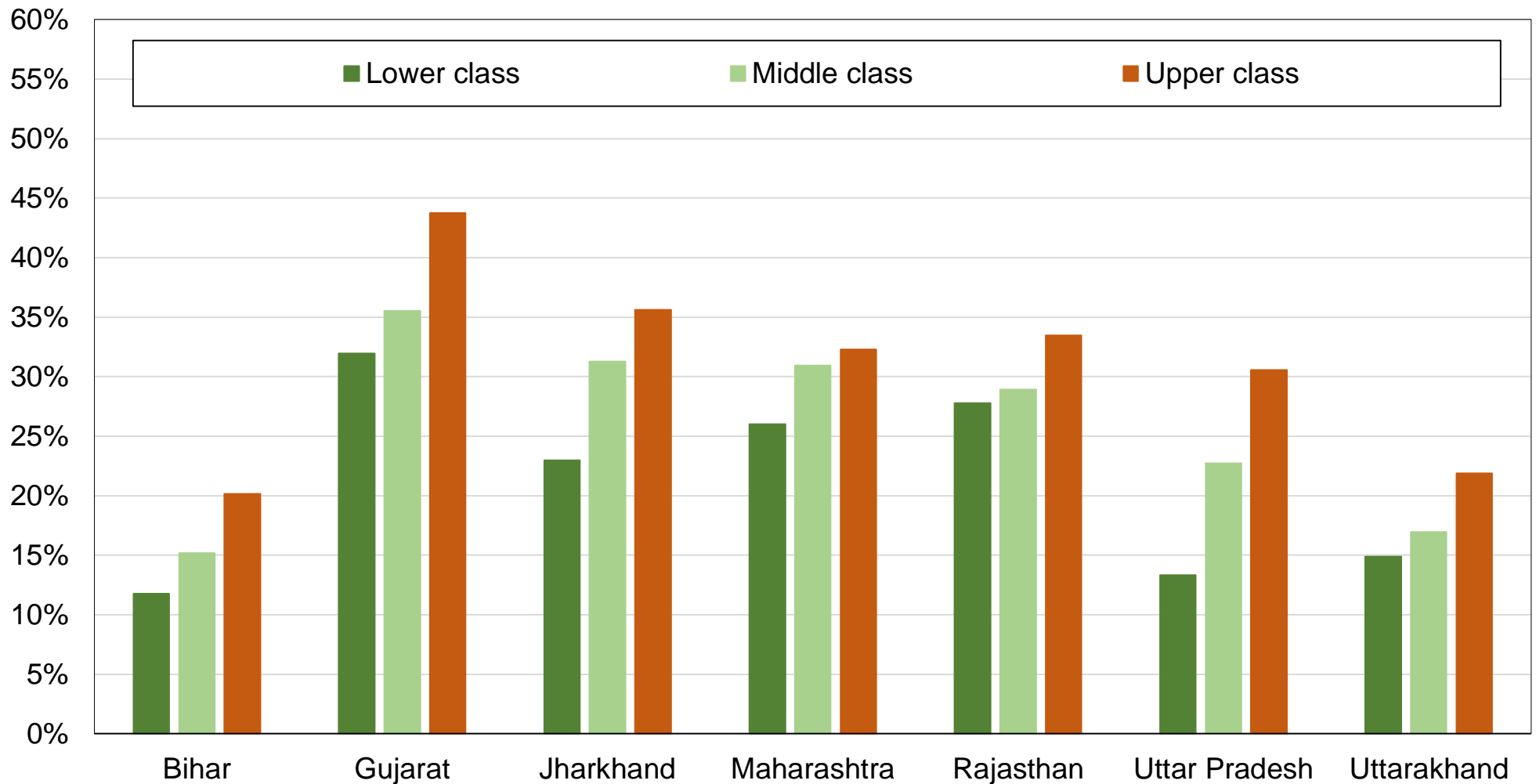
Figure 9 - Number of states ruled by party, 1962-2019



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the average number of states by intervals of five year led by specific parties or groups of parties between 1962 and 2019.

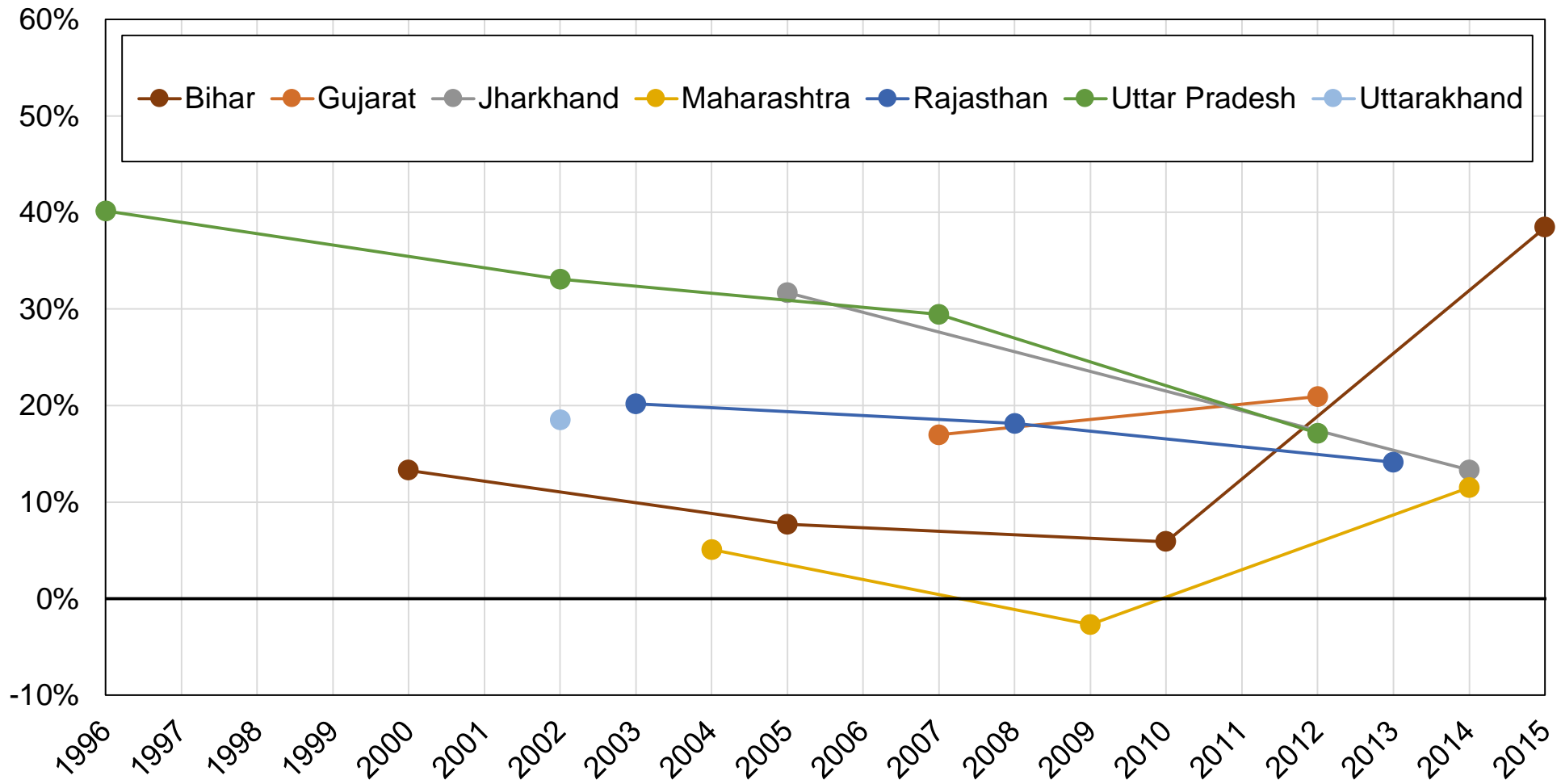
Figure C2 - Vote for BJP / Right by social class in state elections



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the BJP and other right-wing parties by social class in state elections for selected states.

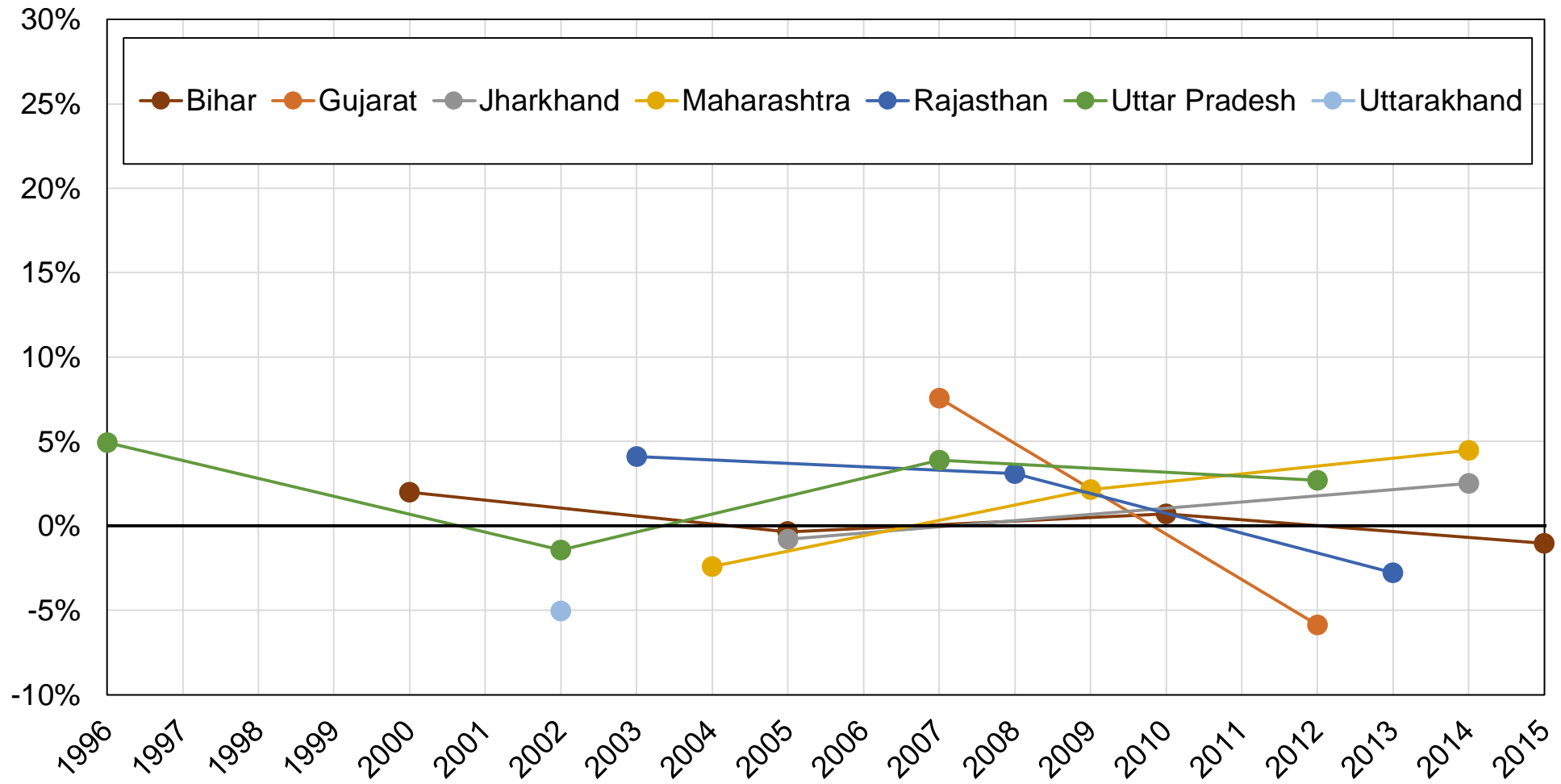
Figure C3 - Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes by state



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in selected state elections.

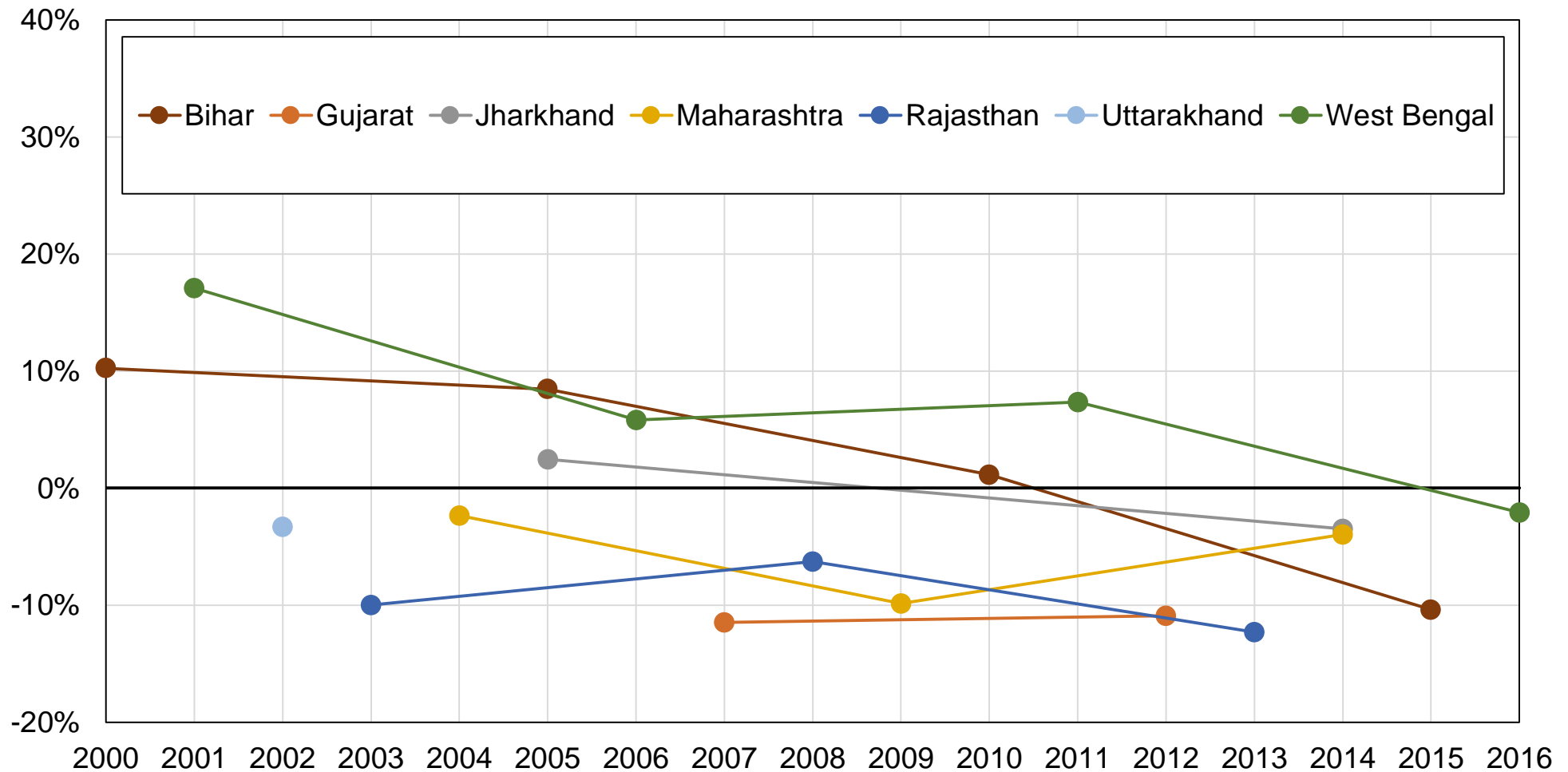
Figure C4 - Vote for BJP / Right among the upper class by state



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper-class voters and the share of other voters supporting the BJP and other right-wing parties in selected state elections.

Figure C5 - Vote for INC / Centre among upper castes by state



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other voters supporting the Congress and other centre parties in selected state elections.

Table C1 - Determinants of electoral behavior in state elections

| | (1) BJP / Right | (2) Congress / Centre | (3) Centre-left / left parties | (4) Other parties |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Caste: Muslims | -0.056*** (0.005) | 0.075*** (0.009) | 0.002 (0.008) | -0.021 (0.014) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.066*** (0.005) | -0.018*** (0.006) | -0.011** (0.005) | -0.037*** (0.010) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.153*** (0.006) | 0.000 (0.007) | -0.079*** (0.005) | -0.075*** (0.012) |
| Middle class | 0.010** (0.004) | 0.011** (0.005) | -0.017*** (0.004) | -0.005 (0.009) |
| Upper class | 0.028*** (0.006) | -0.009 (0.006) | -0.020*** (0.005) | 0.001 (0.011) |
| Age: 25-34 | -0.001 (0.006) | 0.005 (0.007) | -0.006 (0.006) | 0.001 (0.013) |
| Age: 35-49 | 0.005 (0.006) | 0.013* (0.007) | -0.003 (0.006) | -0.015 (0.012) |
| Age: 50-64 | -0.002 (0.007) | 0.005 (0.008) | 0.006 (0.007) | -0.009 (0.014) |
| Age: 65+ | -0.003 (0.009) | 0.018* (0.010) | 0.004 (0.008) | -0.019 (0.017) |
| Gender: Male | 0.002 (0.004) | -0.004 (0.005) | 0.001 (0.004) | 0.001 (0.008) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.028*** (0.005) | -0.044*** (0.006) | -0.008** (0.004) | 0.081*** (0.010) |
| Constant | 0.205*** (0.012) | 0.289*** (0.013) | 0.300*** (0.012) | 0.207*** (0.025) |
| R-squared | 0.14 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.05 |
| Observations | 84817 | 84817 | 84817 | 84817 |

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C2 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Bihar

| | <i>BJP</i> | | | | <i>JD(U) / INC</i> | | | | <i>RJD / LJP</i> | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | 2000 | 2005 | 2010 | 2015 | 2000 | 2005 | 2010 | 2015 | 2000 | 2005 | 2010 | 2015 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.097*** (0.016) | -0.031*** (0.006) | -0.067*** (0.013) | -0.262*** (0.023) | -0.069*** (0.023) | 0.048*** (0.016) | 0.014 (0.031) | 0.291*** (0.034) | 0.279*** (0.044) | 0.109*** (0.030) | 0.036 (0.029) | 0.074*** (0.024) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.006 (0.016) | 0.036*** (0.007) | 0.009 (0.013) | -0.098*** (0.023) | -0.024 (0.020) | 0.104*** (0.013) | -0.028 (0.024) | 0.083*** (0.020) | 0.164*** (0.025) | -0.047** (0.022) | -0.017 (0.021) | 0.120*** (0.020) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.121*** (0.026) | 0.096*** (0.011) | 0.052** (0.021) | 0.262*** (0.034) | 0.091*** (0.032) | 0.173*** (0.019) | 0.003 (0.034) | -0.070*** (0.021) | -0.043* (0.024) | -0.260*** (0.023) | -0.162*** (0.021) | -0.030 (0.021) |
| Social class: Middle class | -0.040*** (0.014) | 0.013** (0.006) | 0.021* (0.012) | 0.036** (0.017) | 0.068*** (0.018) | 0.016 (0.013) | 0.063*** (0.022) | -0.046** (0.020) | -0.085*** (0.024) | -0.029* (0.017) | 0.014 (0.017) | -0.021 (0.018) |
| Social class: Upper class | 0.008 (0.031) | 0.006 (0.011) | 0.028 (0.019) | 0.031 (0.020) | 0.050 (0.035) | 0.001 (0.020) | 0.053* (0.032) | -0.031 (0.026) | -0.080* (0.042) | -0.047** (0.021) | -0.009 (0.022) | -0.044** (0.022) |
| Age: 40-60 | 0.020 (0.015) | 0.004 (0.006) | 0.024** (0.011) | 0.008 (0.016) | 0.017 (0.018) | -0.018 (0.012) | 0.061*** (0.021) | -0.024 (0.019) | -0.008 (0.024) | 0.018 (0.015) | 0.031* (0.016) | 0.002 (0.017) |
| Age: 60+ | 0.032 (0.027) | -0.007 (0.010) | 0.021 (0.020) | -0.023 (0.027) | 0.033 (0.033) | -0.021 (0.020) | 0.051 (0.036) | 0.059** (0.028) | -0.009 (0.045) | -0.014 (0.023) | 0.032 (0.028) | 0.009 (0.026) |
| Gender: Man | -0.002 (0.014) | -0.004 (0.006) | -0.012 (0.010) | 0.009 (0.014) | -0.033* (0.017) | -0.002 (0.012) | 0.002 (0.019) | -0.003 (0.017) | -0.012 (0.022) | -0.011 (0.014) | 0.001 (0.015) | 0.016 (0.015) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.141*** (0.035) | -0.025** (0.012) | -0.081*** (0.022) | -0.244*** (0.026) | 0.082*** (0.025) | 0.081*** (0.018) | -0.016 (0.030) | -0.022 (0.025) | -0.015 (0.041) | 0.142*** (0.016) | -0.008 (0.024) | 0.033 (0.021) |
| Constant | 0.259*** (0.039) | 0.067*** (0.013) | 0.177*** (0.025) | 0.487*** (0.035) | 0.041 (0.032) | 0.050** (0.022) | 0.247*** (0.038) | 0.189*** (0.032) | 0.227*** (0.047) | 0.276*** (0.027) | 0.220*** (0.031) | 0.120*** (0.029) |
| R-squared | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.18 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.10 | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Observations | 1809 | 6492 | 4509 | 3759 | 1809 | 6492 | 4509 | 3759 | 1809 | 6492 | 4509 | 3759 |

Table C3 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Gujarat

| | <i>BJP / Right</i> | | <i>Congress / Centre</i> | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| | 2007 | 2012 | 2007 | 2012 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.113** (0.047) | -0.012 (0.035) | 0.234*** (0.076) | 0.198*** (0.070) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.145*** (0.040) | 0.220*** (0.027) | 0.061 (0.037) | -0.068** (0.030) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.217*** (0.048) | 0.306*** (0.033) | -0.031 (0.036) | -0.111*** (0.029) |
| Social class: Middle class | -0.055 (0.038) | 0.026 (0.030) | -0.054 (0.034) | -0.033 (0.030) |
| Social class: Upper class | -0.008 (0.051) | -0.024 (0.036) | -0.047 (0.040) | -0.151*** (0.031) |
| Age: 40-60 | -0.001 (0.039) | -0.067** (0.028) | -0.038 (0.032) | -0.060** (0.024) |
| Age: 60+ | -0.075 (0.063) | -0.059 (0.045) | -0.061 (0.050) | -0.024 (0.033) |
| Gender: Man | -0.022 (0.035) | 0.041 (0.026) | -0.035 (0.029) | 0.021 (0.021) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.066 (0.046) | 0.087*** (0.027) | 0.062* (0.033) | 0.065*** (0.023) |
| Constant | 0.341*** (0.060) | 0.143*** (0.039) | 0.268*** (0.047) | 0.354*** (0.043) |
| R-squared | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.04 | 0.07 |
| Observations | 2366 | 3481 | 2366 | 3481 |

Table C4 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Jharkhand

| | <i>BJP / JVM</i> | | <i>INC / JD(U)</i> | | <i>Left parties</i> | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| | 2005 | 2014 | 2005 | 2014 | 2005 | 2014 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.103*** (0.037) | -0.154*** (0.036) | 0.183*** (0.056) | 0.198*** (0.043) | 0.265*** (0.059) | 0.090*** (0.034) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.009 (0.033) | 0.147*** (0.029) | 0.112*** (0.034) | -0.017 (0.016) | 0.188*** (0.035) | 0.049*** (0.015) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.303*** (0.053) | 0.169*** (0.039) | 0.085* (0.044) | -0.018 (0.022) | -0.003 (0.030) | 0.047** (0.020) |
| Social class: Middle class | 0.036 (0.031) | 0.037 (0.028) | 0.023 (0.032) | 0.028 (0.018) | 0.048 (0.030) | 0.004 (0.015) |
| Social class: Upper class | 0.056 (0.044) | 0.047 (0.033) | -0.022 (0.040) | 0.004 (0.020) | 0.020 (0.035) | 0.019 (0.018) |
| Age: 40-60 | 0.015 (0.031) | 0.017 (0.027) | -0.057* (0.029) | 0.014 (0.017) | 0.066** (0.030) | 0.006 (0.014) |
| Age: 60+ | -0.004 (0.051) | -0.056 (0.043) | -0.044 (0.053) | 0.013 (0.030) | -0.032 (0.047) | 0.010 (0.027) |
| Gender: Man | -0.020 (0.029) | 0.019 (0.024) | 0.042 (0.028) | 0.002 (0.015) | 0.004 (0.026) | 0.004 (0.013) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.032 (0.047) | -0.046 (0.031) | -0.096* (0.052) | -0.106*** (0.022) | 0.034 (0.044) | 0.051*** (0.015) |
| Constant | 0.174*** (0.056) | 0.306*** (0.042) | 0.192*** (0.059) | 0.163*** (0.029) | 0.005 (0.052) | -0.016 (0.021) |
| R-squared | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.02 |
| Observations | 663 | 1554 | 663 | 1554 | 663 | 1554 |

Table C5 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Maharashtra

| | <i>BJP / SHS / MNS</i> | | | <i>INC / NCP / Centre</i> | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 | 2004 | 2009 | 2014 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.125*** (0.034) | -0.060 (0.038) | 0.041 (0.072) | 0.099 (0.082) | 0.232*** (0.064) | 0.481*** (0.068) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.224*** (0.034) | 0.203*** (0.031) | 0.191*** (0.058) | -0.133*** (0.043) | -0.022 (0.035) | 0.050 (0.044) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.140*** (0.029) | 0.069** (0.029) | 0.199*** (0.057) | -0.068 (0.044) | -0.080** (0.035) | 0.029 (0.043) |
| Social class: Middle class | -0.031 (0.029) | -0.062** (0.027) | 0.098* (0.052) | -0.053 (0.038) | 0.004 (0.030) | 0.033 (0.042) |
| Social class: Upper class | -0.036 (0.034) | -0.026 (0.035) | 0.151** (0.067) | -0.074 (0.046) | -0.009 (0.039) | -0.043 (0.043) |
| Age: 40-60 | 0.038 (0.026) | -0.005 (0.024) | 0.124** (0.053) | 0.048 (0.038) | 0.002 (0.028) | 0.027 (0.038) |
| Age: 60+ | 0.033 (0.041) | -0.031 (0.031) | 0.110 (0.073) | 0.035 (0.046) | -0.015 (0.037) | 0.033 (0.053) |
| Gender: Man | 0.032 (0.025) | 0.041* (0.022) | 0.066 (0.046) | -0.089*** (0.033) | 0.003 (0.025) | 0.062* (0.033) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.147*** (0.030) | -0.102*** (0.025) | 0.027 (0.049) | -0.080** (0.038) | -0.116*** (0.029) | 0.045 (0.035) |
| Constant | 0.213*** (0.039) | 0.241*** (0.034) | 0.075 (0.066) | 0.518*** (0.054) | 0.431*** (0.041) | 0.128*** (0.049) |
| R-squared | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.06 |
| Observations | 1281 | 1607 | 1140 | 1281 | 1607 | 1140 |

Table C6 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Rajasthan

| | <i>BJP</i> | | | <i>INC / JD(U)</i> | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 | 2003 | 2008 | 2013 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.147*** (0.022) | -0.155*** (0.036) | -0.188*** (0.035) | 0.345*** (0.047) | 0.446*** (0.070) | 0.279*** (0.078) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.080*** (0.019) | 0.076*** (0.025) | 0.009 (0.030) | -0.056*** (0.021) | -0.098*** (0.033) | -0.208*** (0.028) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.247*** (0.029) | 0.211*** (0.039) | 0.136*** (0.043) | -0.097*** (0.024) | -0.088** (0.039) | -0.235*** (0.032) |
| Social class: Middle class | -0.007 (0.019) | 0.014 (0.025) | 0.070** (0.031) | -0.056*** (0.020) | -0.075** (0.030) | -0.024 (0.023) |
| Social class: Upper class | 0.048 (0.030) | 0.048 (0.039) | 0.005 (0.037) | -0.045 (0.029) | -0.053 (0.040) | -0.041 (0.028) |
| Age: 40-60 | -0.009 (0.018) | 0.007 (0.025) | -0.036 (0.029) | 0.006 (0.019) | -0.036 (0.028) | -0.013 (0.023) |
| Age: 60+ | 0.008 (0.032) | -0.075** (0.032) | -0.045 (0.039) | 0.023 (0.031) | -0.018 (0.042) | 0.049 (0.031) |
| Gender: Man | -0.039** (0.018) | 0.022 (0.023) | -0.051* (0.027) | 0.014 (0.019) | -0.013 (0.027) | -0.052** (0.021) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.086*** (0.026) | -0.225*** (0.045) | 0.057 (0.037) | -0.081*** (0.026) | -0.017 (0.039) | -0.044 (0.029) |
| Constant | 0.300*** (0.031) | 0.361*** (0.051) | 0.312*** (0.048) | 0.397*** (0.034) | 0.411*** (0.054) | 0.490*** (0.040) |
| R-squared | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.10 |
| Observations | 2944 | 1488 | 2734 | 2944 | 1488 | 2734 |

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C6 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Tamil Nadu

| | AIADMK | | | | Congress / DMK | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| | 2001 | 2006 | 2011 | 2016 | 2001 | 2006 | 2011 | 2016 |
| Caste: Muslims | 0.008 (0.051) | -0.103*** (0.036) | -0.098*** (0.033) | -0.065 (0.067) | 0.078 (0.060) | 0.183*** (0.043) | 0.112*** (0.040) | 0.197*** (0.070) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.064** (0.028) | 0.017 (0.018) | 0.006 (0.015) | -0.025 (0.023) | -0.123*** (0.031) | 0.032* (0.017) | -0.080*** (0.016) | -0.004 (0.023) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.052 (0.038) | 0.035 (0.028) | -0.018 (0.031) | 0.080** (0.032) | -0.018 (0.044) | 0.023 (0.027) | -0.166*** (0.030) | -0.068** (0.031) |
| Social class: Middle class | 0.052* (0.028) | -0.048*** (0.018) | -0.078*** (0.016) | -0.005 (0.028) | 0.029 (0.030) | 0.030* (0.017) | 0.023 (0.016) | 0.027 (0.026) |
| Social class: Upper class | -0.007 (0.037) | -0.078*** (0.023) | -0.035** (0.018) | -0.159*** (0.029) | 0.065 (0.042) | 0.023 (0.022) | -0.023 (0.018) | 0.038 (0.027) |
| Age: 40-60 | 0.031 (0.027) | 0.041** (0.017) | -0.004 (0.014) | -0.046** (0.022) | 0.002 (0.029) | 0.002 (0.016) | 0.004 (0.015) | 0.030 (0.022) |
| Age: 60+ | -0.004 (0.041) | 0.047* (0.027) | 0.003 (0.023) | -0.006 (0.032) | -0.065 (0.043) | 0.069*** (0.026) | 0.050** (0.024) | -0.057* (0.031) |
| Gender: Man | -0.030 (0.025) | -0.072*** (0.016) | -0.001 (0.013) | -0.071*** (0.020) | 0.031 (0.027) | 0.050*** (0.015) | -0.005 (0.014) | 0.050** (0.020) |
| Location: Rural area | 0.006 (0.031) | -0.059*** (0.018) | 0.024* (0.014) | -0.005 (0.023) | 0.029 (0.032) | -0.032* (0.017) | -0.078*** (0.015) | 0.067*** (0.022) |
| Constant | 0.258*** (0.040) | 0.468*** (0.025) | 0.355*** (0.021) | 0.558*** (0.038) | 0.393*** (0.044) | 0.286*** (0.023) | 0.480*** (0.022) | 0.261*** (0.036) |
| R-squared | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.02 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Observations | 1444 | 4010 | 4941 | 2400 | 1444 | 4010 | 4941 | 2400 |

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C8 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Uttar Pradesh

[illegible]

Table C9 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Uttarakhand

| | <i>BJP</i> | <i>INC</i> | <i>Left parties</i> |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | 2002 | 2002 | 2002 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.039 (0.040) | 0.121 (0.074) | 0.242*** (0.079) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.168*** (0.053) | 0.138** (0.067) | 0.053 (0.049) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.218*** (0.037) | 0.012 (0.041) | 0.054 (0.034) |
| Social class: Middle class | -0.005 (0.031) | 0.040 (0.040) | -0.020 (0.033) |
| Social class: Upper class | 0.031 (0.050) | 0.018 (0.052) | -0.020 (0.047) |
| Age: 40-60 | 0.027 (0.030) | 0.010 (0.036) | -0.002 (0.031) |
| Age: 60+ | 0.067 (0.058) | 0.292*** (0.067) | 0.027 (0.058) |
| Gender: Man | -0.032 (0.029) | -0.032 (0.034) | 0.033 (0.029) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.045 (0.044) | -0.016 (0.048) | -0.143*** (0.049) |
| Constant | 0.116** (0.049) | 0.219*** (0.062) | 0.243*** (0.057) |
| R-squared | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.07 |
| Observations | 638 | 638 | 638 |
| * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01 | | | |

Table C10 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in West Bengal

| | <i>INC / AITC</i> | | | | <i>CPI(M) / Other left</i> | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| | 2001 | 2006 | 2011 | 2016 | 2001 | 2006 | 2011 | 2016 |
| Caste: Muslims | -0.166*** (0.030) | 0.116*** (0.041) | 0.065** (0.027) | 0.115*** (0.027) | -0.236*** (0.043) | -0.015 (0.050) | 0.012 (0.026) | -0.062*** (0.023) |
| Caste: OBC | 0.013 (0.045) | 0.027 (0.041) | 0.187*** (0.047) | 0.024 (0.032) | -0.018 (0.054) | -0.037 (0.061) | 0.148*** (0.039) | -0.005 (0.028) |
| Caste: Forward Castes | 0.117*** (0.042) | 0.104*** (0.032) | 0.122*** (0.031) | 0.023 (0.027) | -0.074* (0.044) | 0.034 (0.044) | 0.068** (0.027) | -0.018 (0.023) |
| Social class: Middle class | 0.085*** (0.026) | -0.026 (0.028) | 0.087*** (0.025) | -0.020 (0.024) | -0.033 (0.037) | -0.142*** (0.042) | 0.024 (0.023) | 0.003 (0.021) |
| Social class: Upper class | 0.110*** (0.041) | 0.053 (0.044) | 0.108*** (0.036) | -0.056* (0.029) | -0.064 (0.048) | -0.026 (0.056) | -0.004 (0.029) | -0.005 (0.024) |
| Age: 40-60 | -0.012 (0.026) | -0.040 (0.027) | -0.030 (0.025) | -0.020 (0.022) | 0.073** (0.034) | -0.054 (0.036) | 0.015 (0.022) | 0.029 (0.018) |
| Age: 60+ | 0.030 (0.046) | -0.038 (0.053) | 0.016 (0.038) | -0.075** (0.033) | 0.061 (0.061) | 0.011 (0.069) | 0.040 (0.036) | 0.076** (0.030) |
| Gender: Man | -0.014 (0.025) | 0.020 (0.026) | -0.013 (0.023) | -0.040** (0.020) | -0.025 (0.031) | -0.008 (0.036) | 0.010 (0.020) | 0.021 (0.017) |
| Location: Rural area | -0.105*** (0.037) | -0.127*** (0.035) | -0.156*** (0.034) | 0.017 (0.027) | -0.009 (0.038) | -0.144*** (0.044) | -0.042 (0.027) | 0.003 (0.024) |
| Constant | 0.322*** (0.046) | 0.324*** (0.050) | 0.373*** (0.042) | 0.614*** (0.039) | 0.476*** (0.055) | 0.592*** (0.075) | 0.260*** (0.037) | 0.240*** (0.035) |
| R-squared | 0.13 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Observations | 1579 | 3039 | 4519 | 2778 | 1579 | 3039 | 4519 | 2778 |