

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

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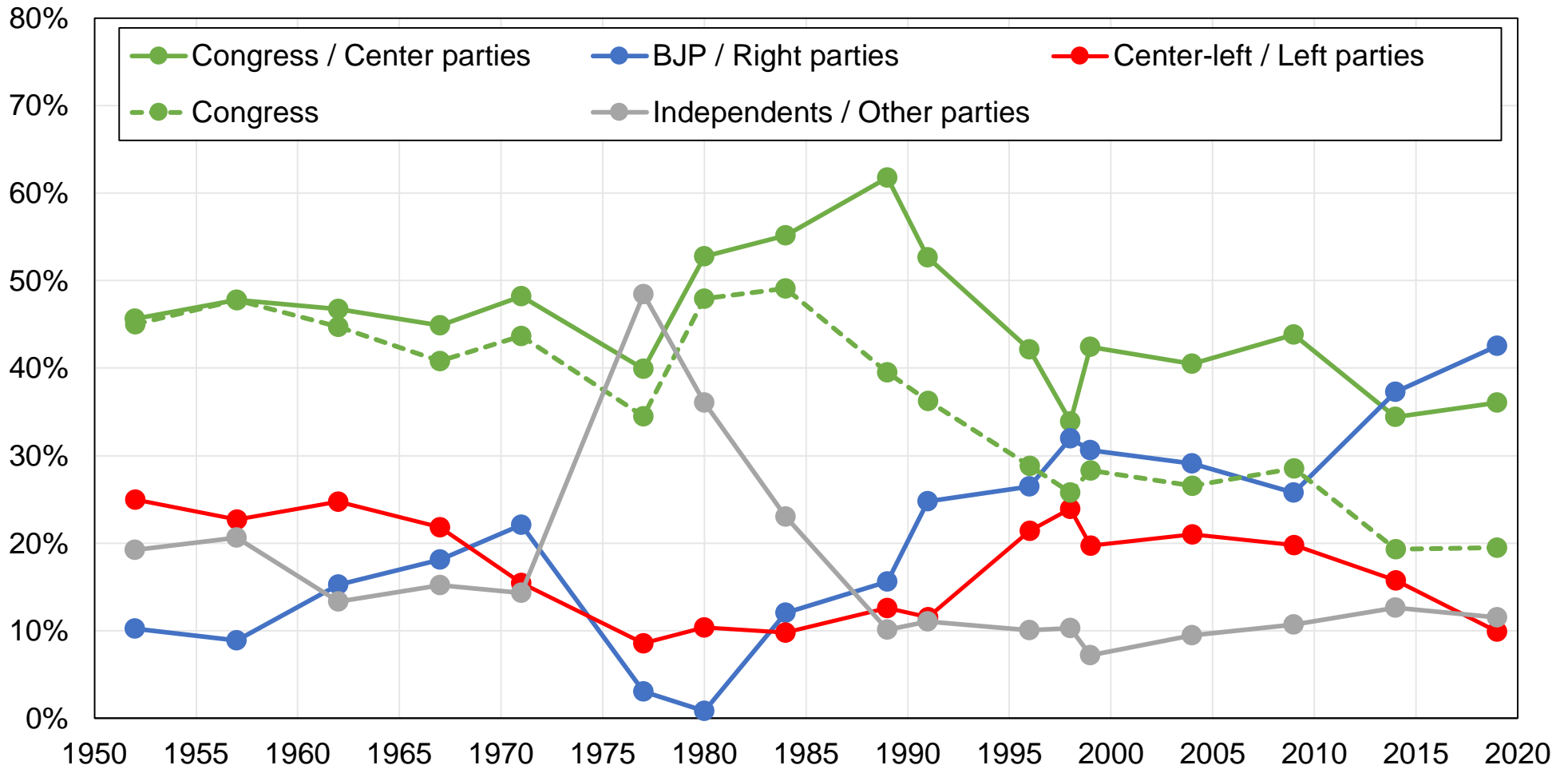
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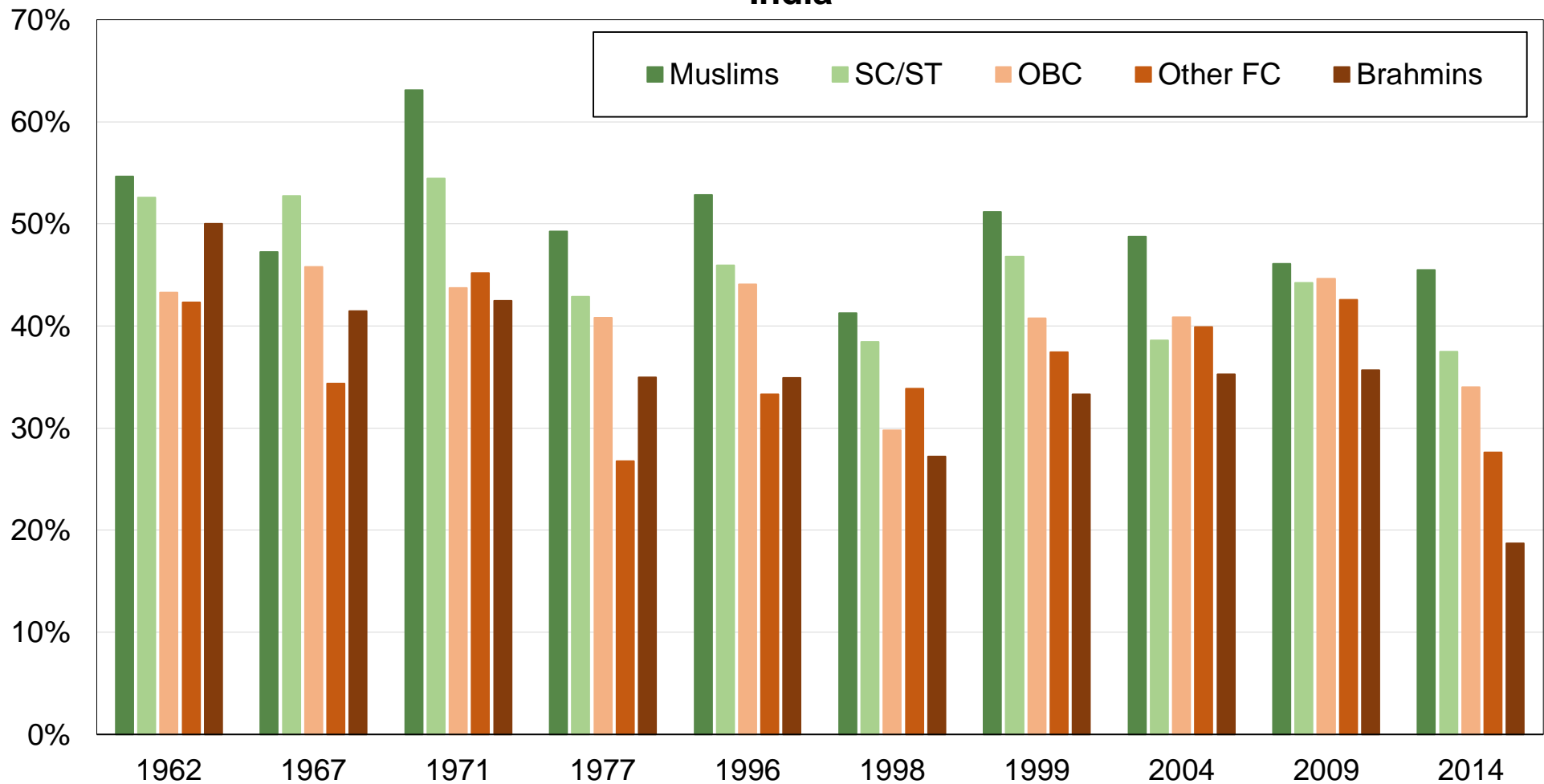
Figure 9.1 - Election results in India, 1952-2019



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.

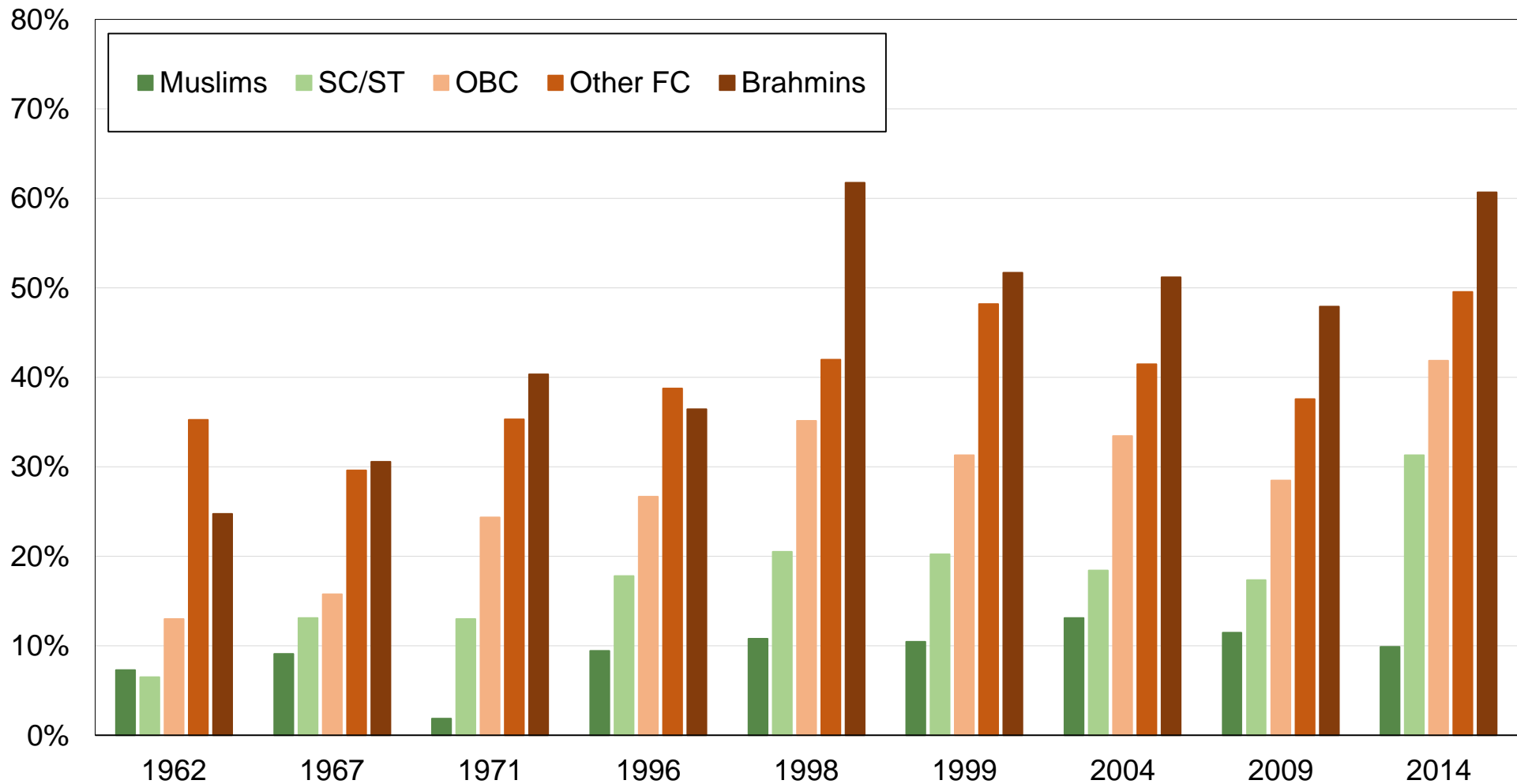
Figure 9.2 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by caste / religion in India



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.

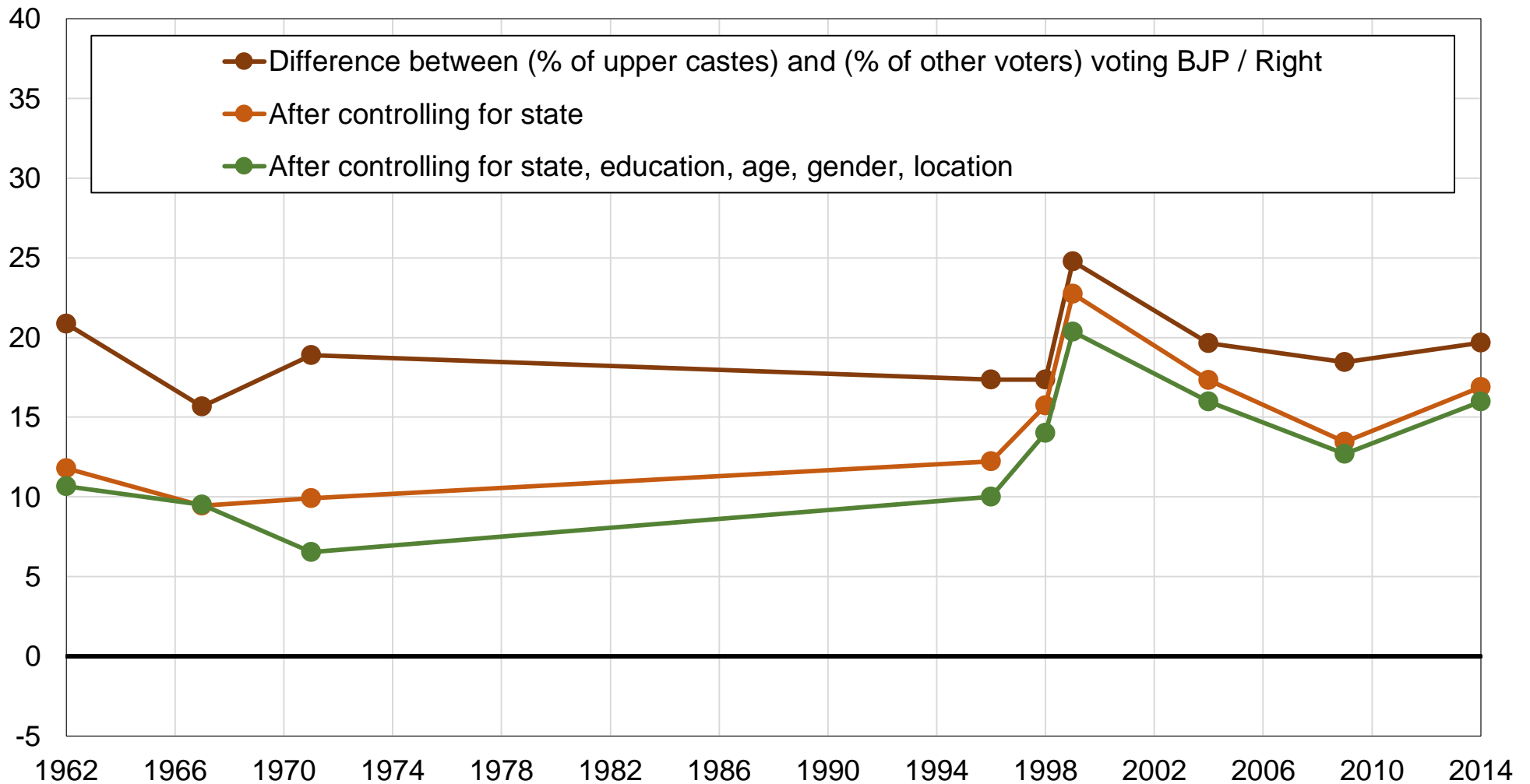
Figure 9.3 - Vote for BJP / Right by caste / religion in India



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.

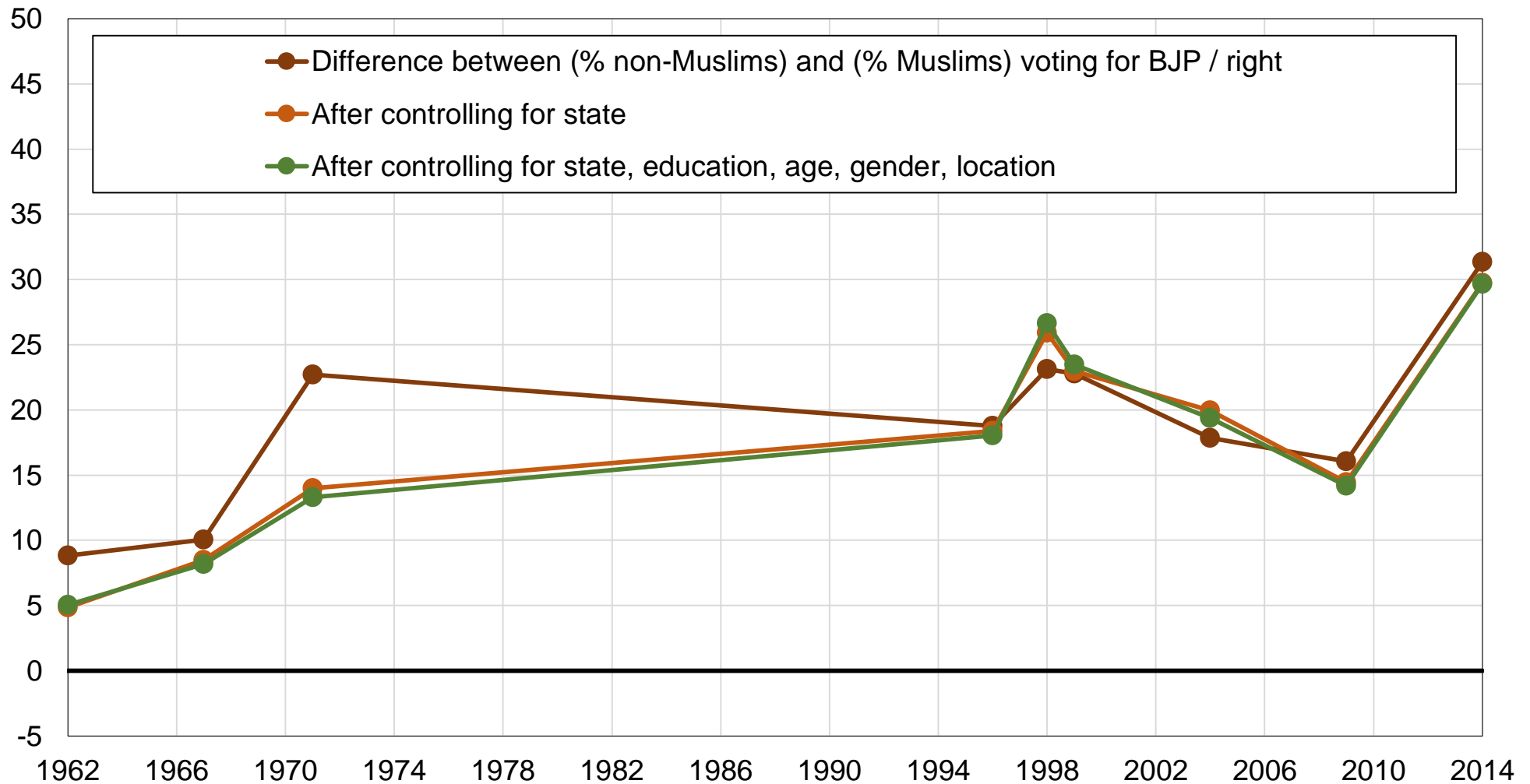
Figure 9.4 - Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes in India



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.

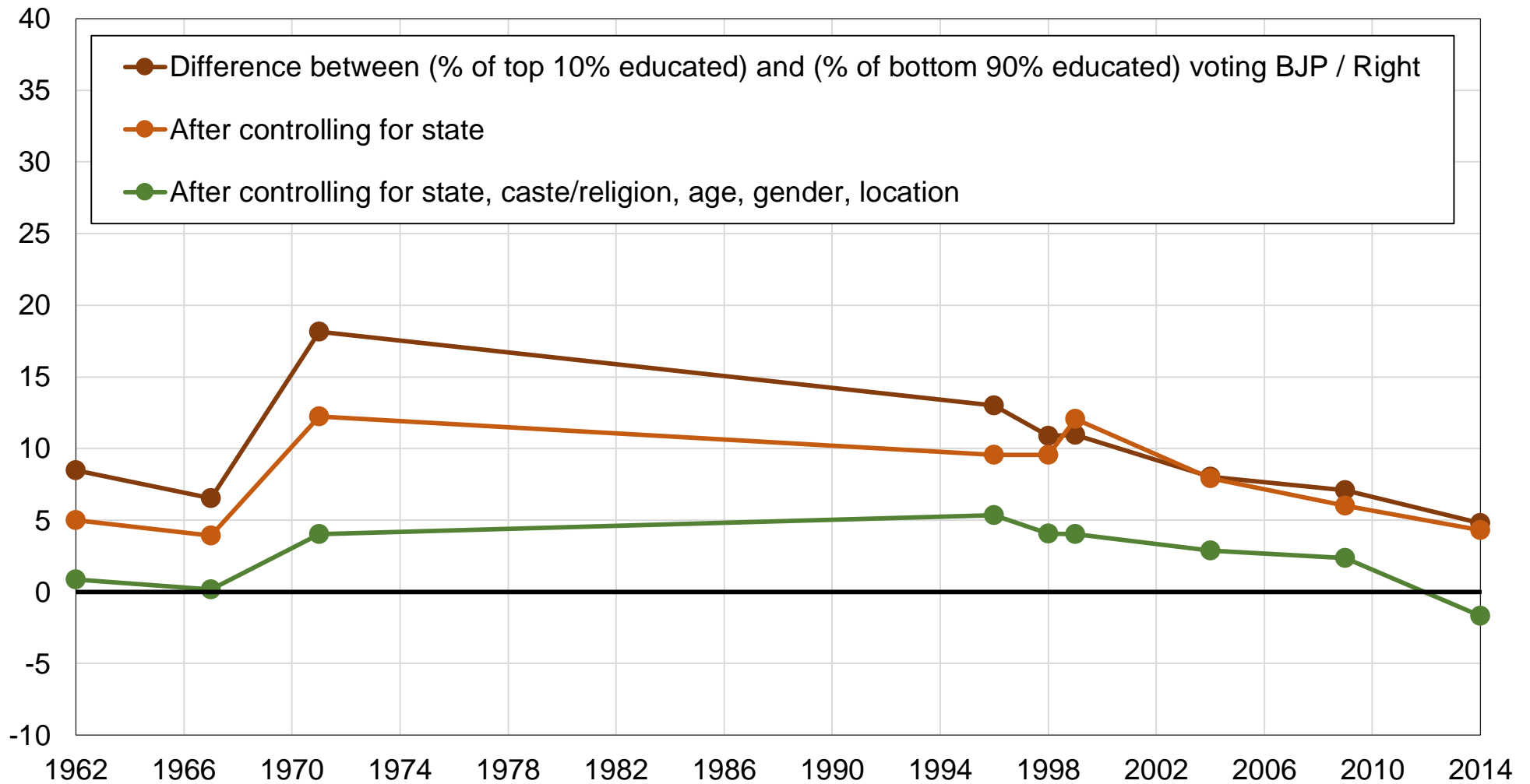
Figure 9.5 - Vote for BJP / Right among non-Muslims in India



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.

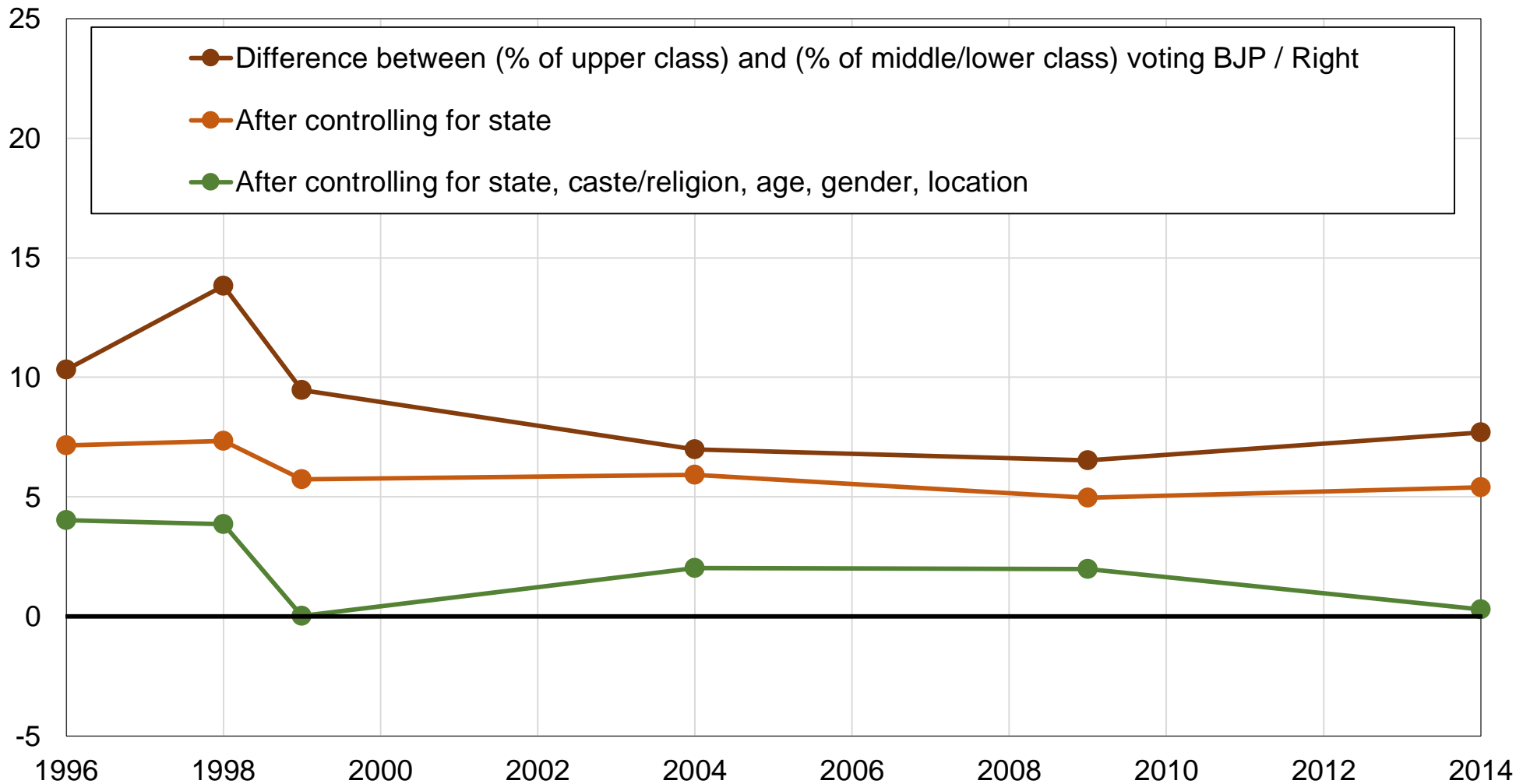
Figure 9.6 - Vote for BJP / Right among higher educated voters in India



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.

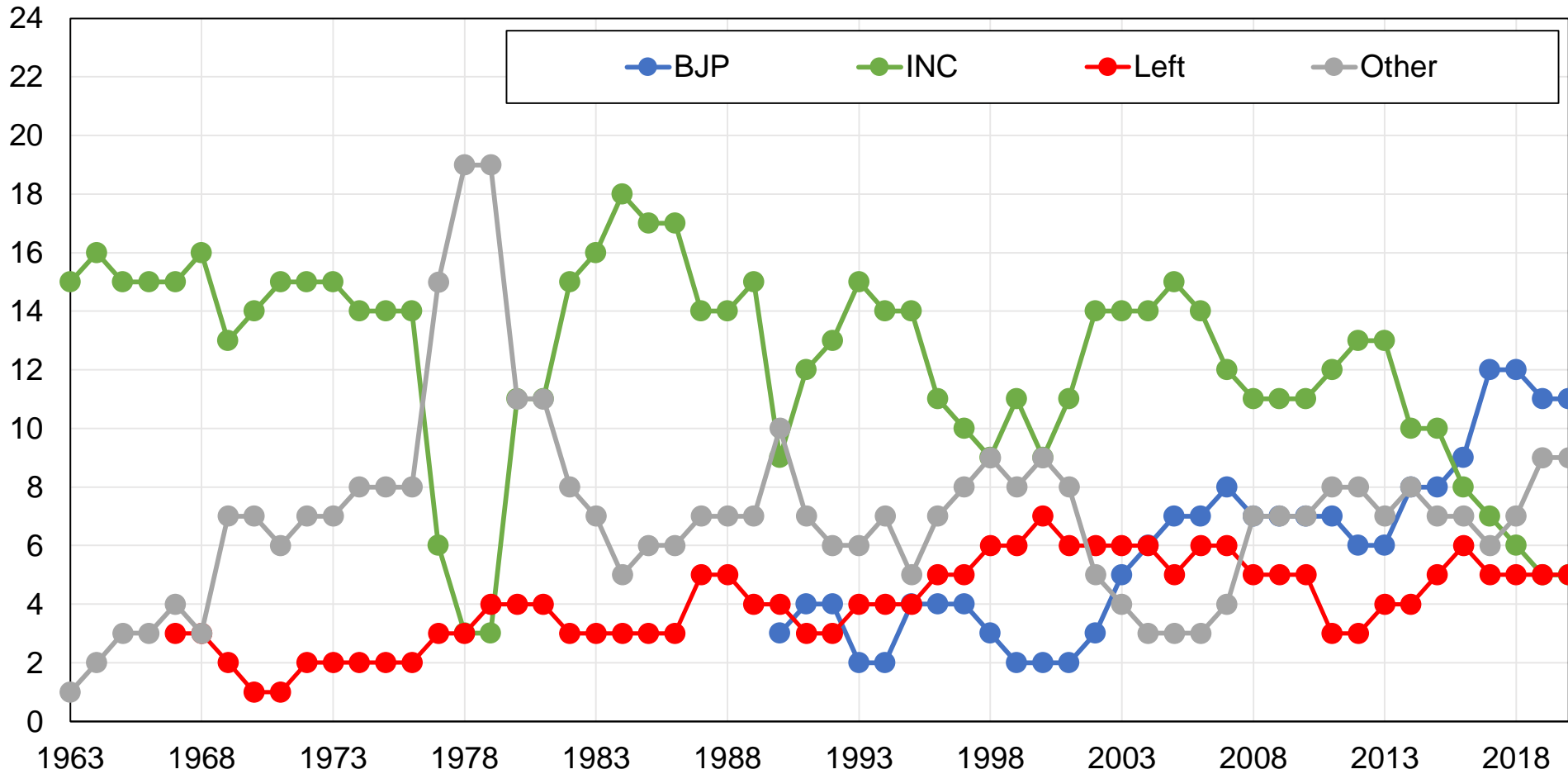
Figure 9.7 - Vote for BJP / Right among the upper class in India



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.

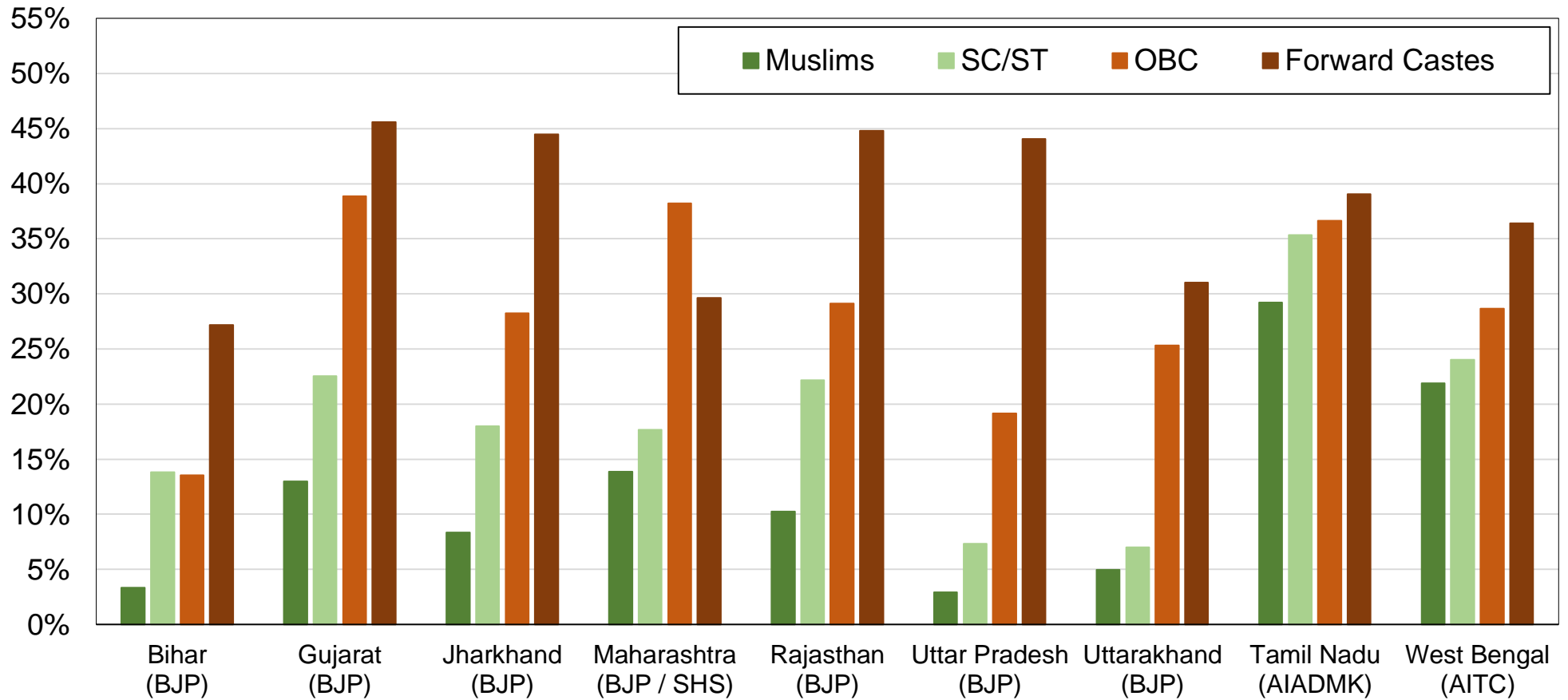
Figure 9.8 - Number of Indian states ruled by party, 1963-2020



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.

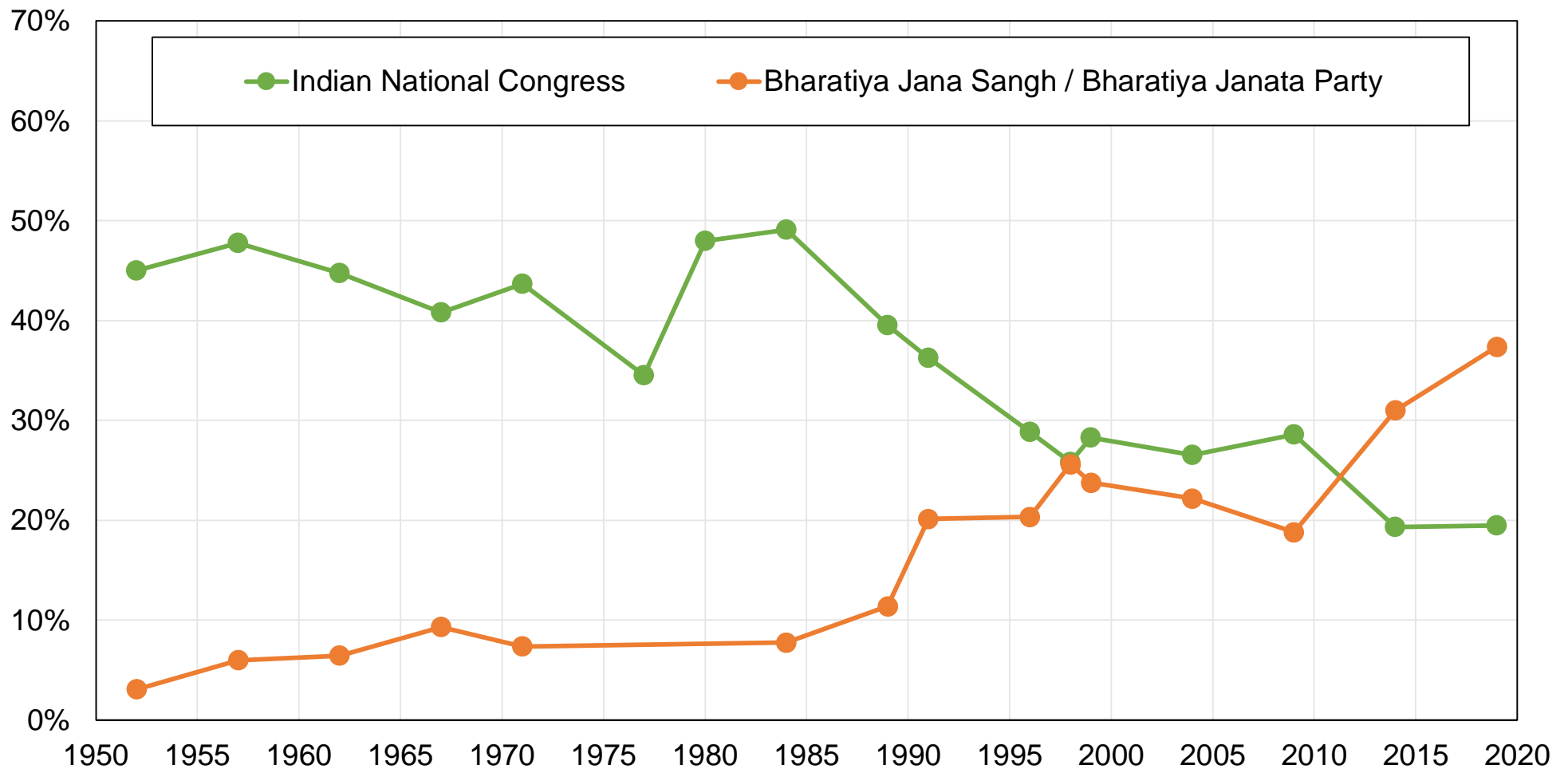
Figure 9.9 - Vote for selected parties in Legislative Assembly state elections by caste / religion in India, 1996-2016



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.

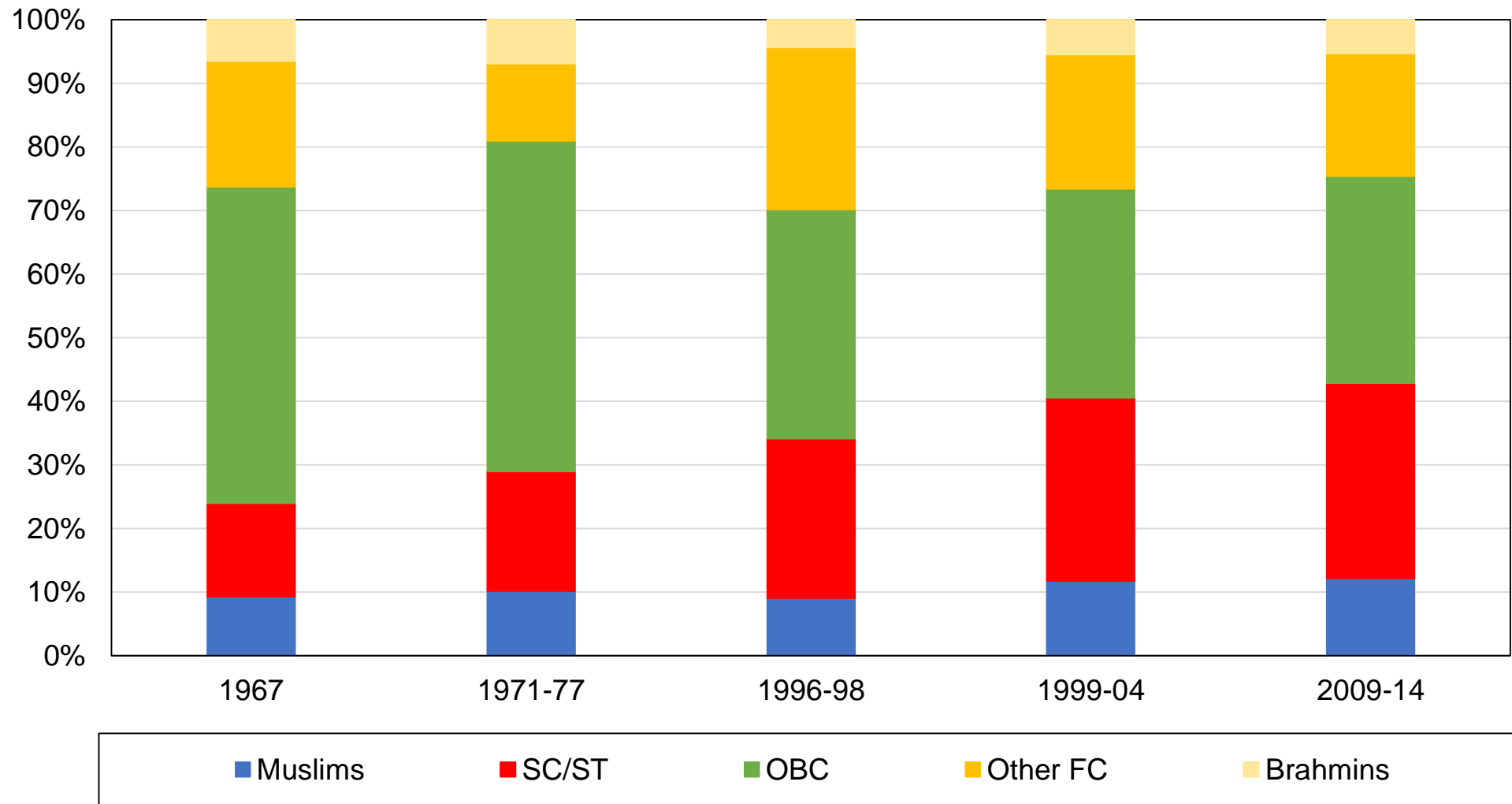
Figure A1 - Lok Sabha election results, 1952-2019: INC versus BJS/BJP



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.

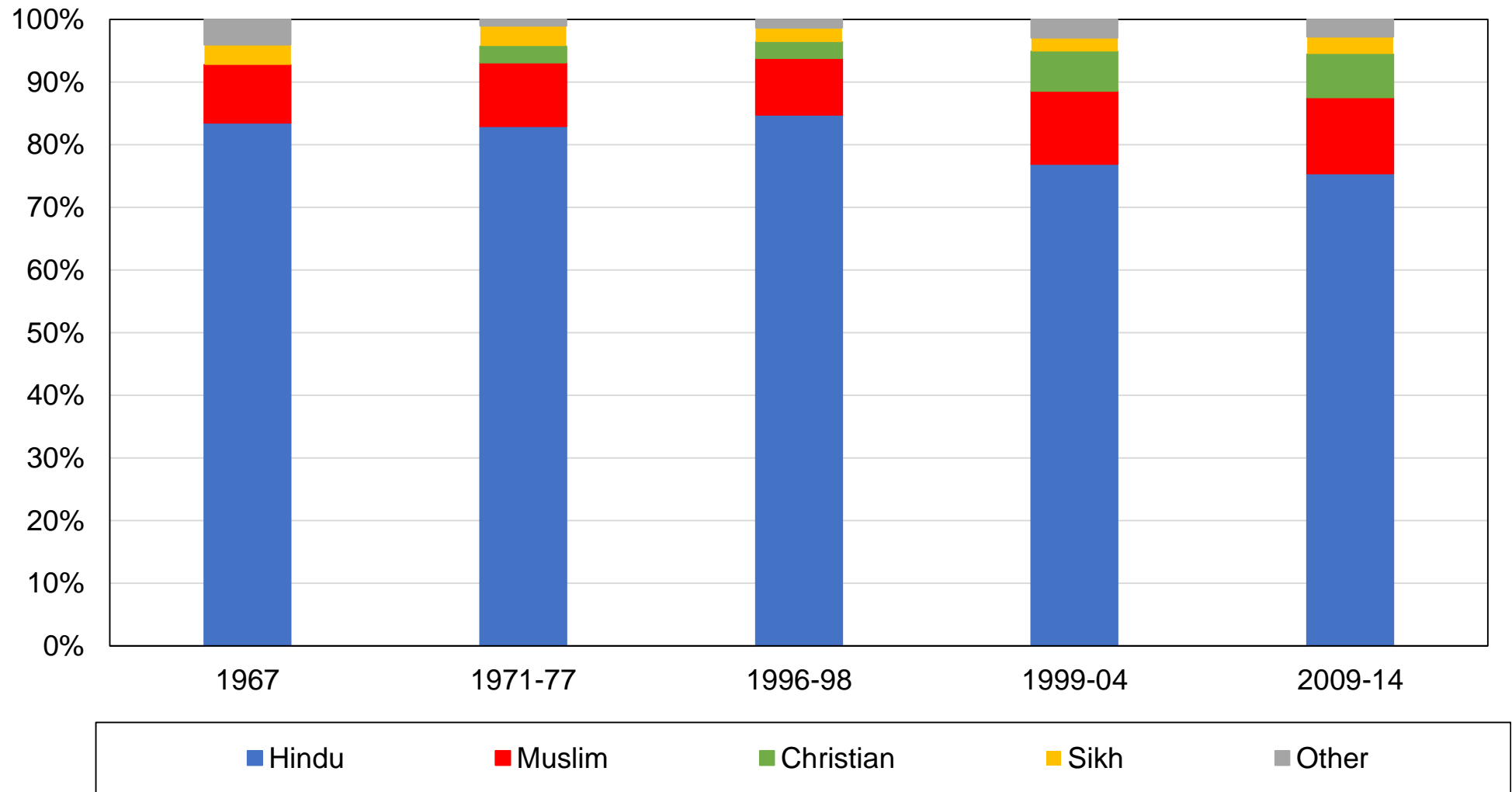
Figure A2 - Composition of the electorate by caste group and religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

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

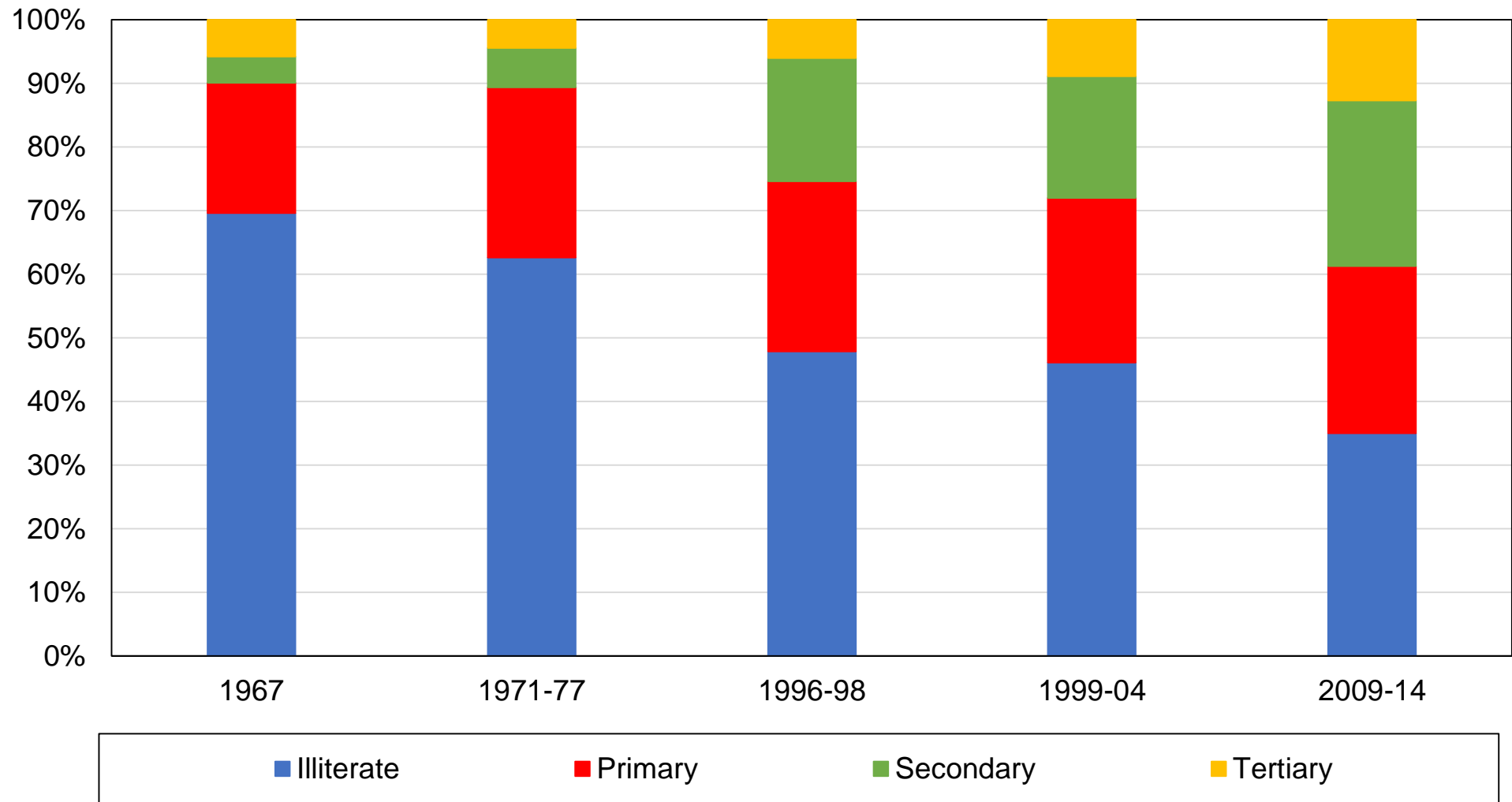
Figure A3 - Composition of the electorate by religion



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

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

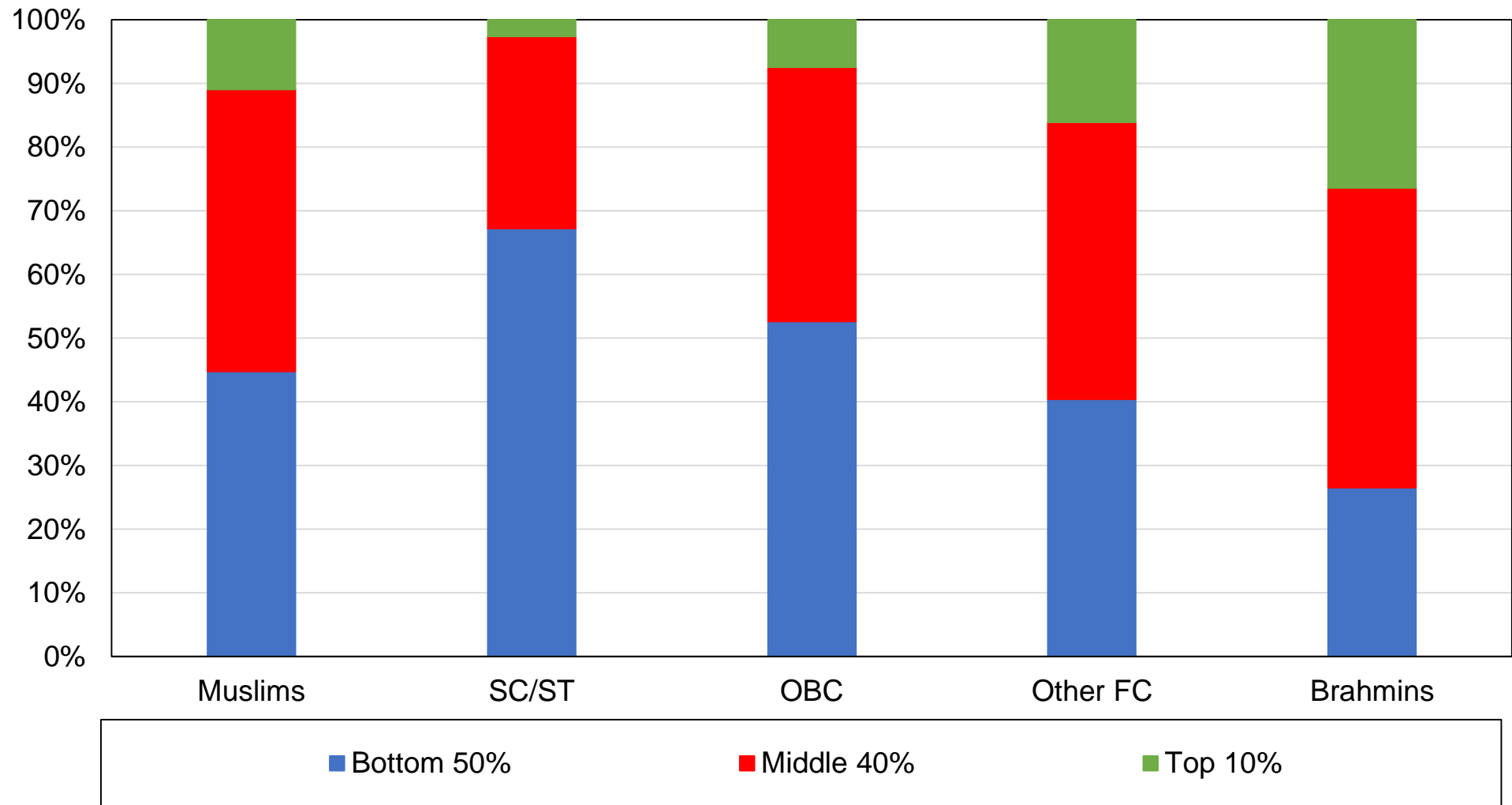
Figure A4 - Composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

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

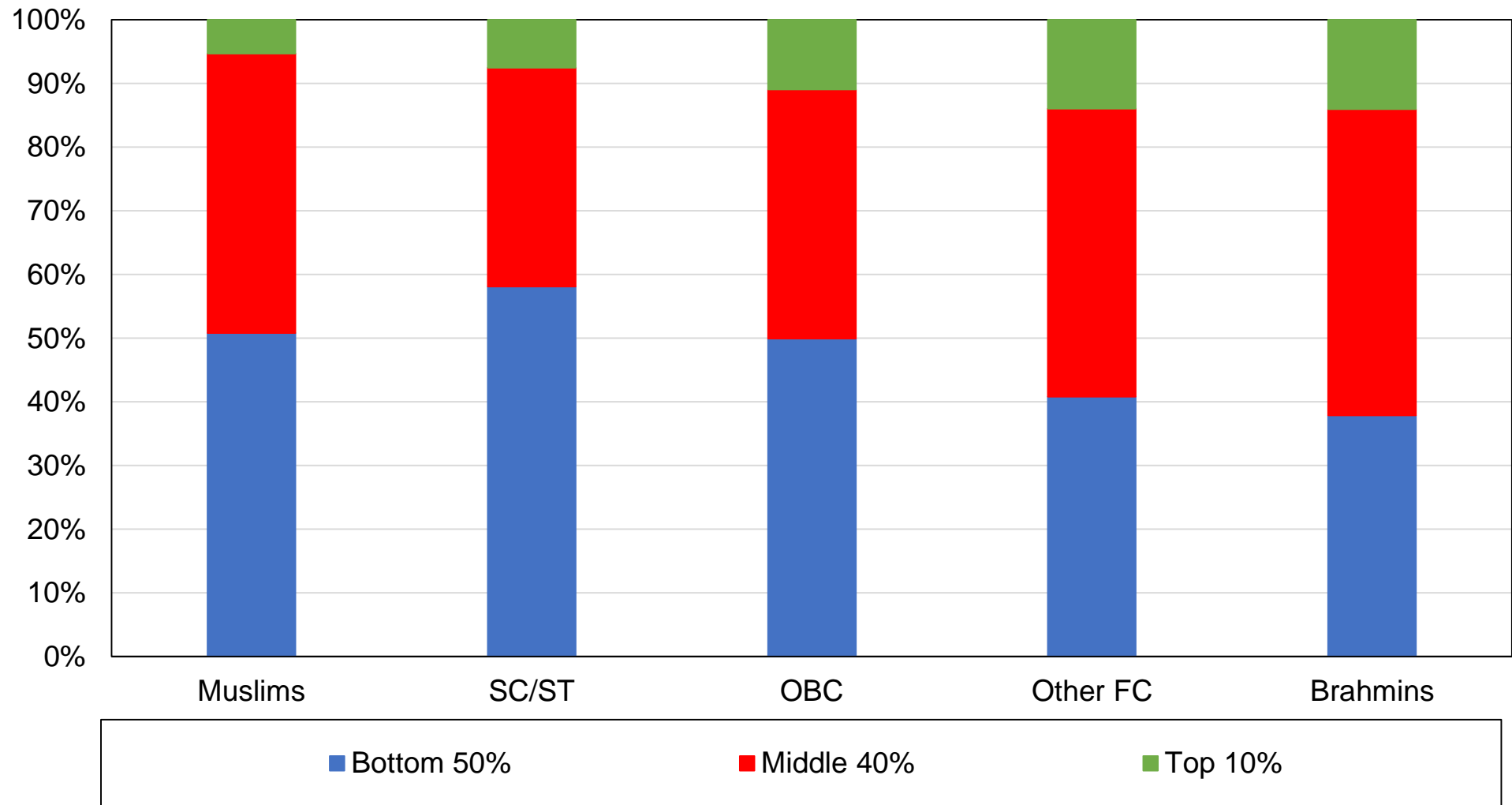
Figure A5 - Composition of caste groups by income group, 1967



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

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

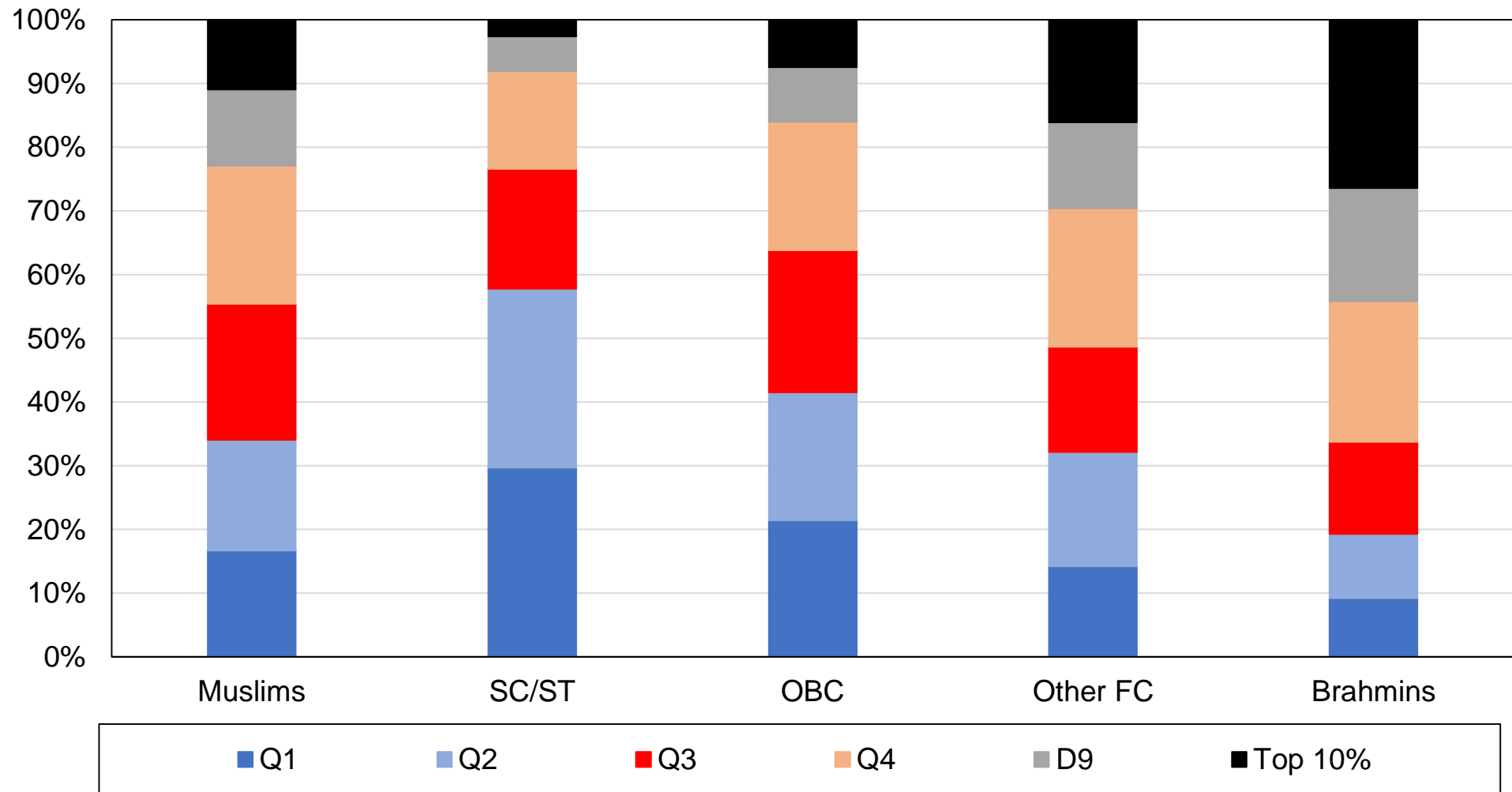
Figure A6 - Composition of caste groups by income group, 2014



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

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

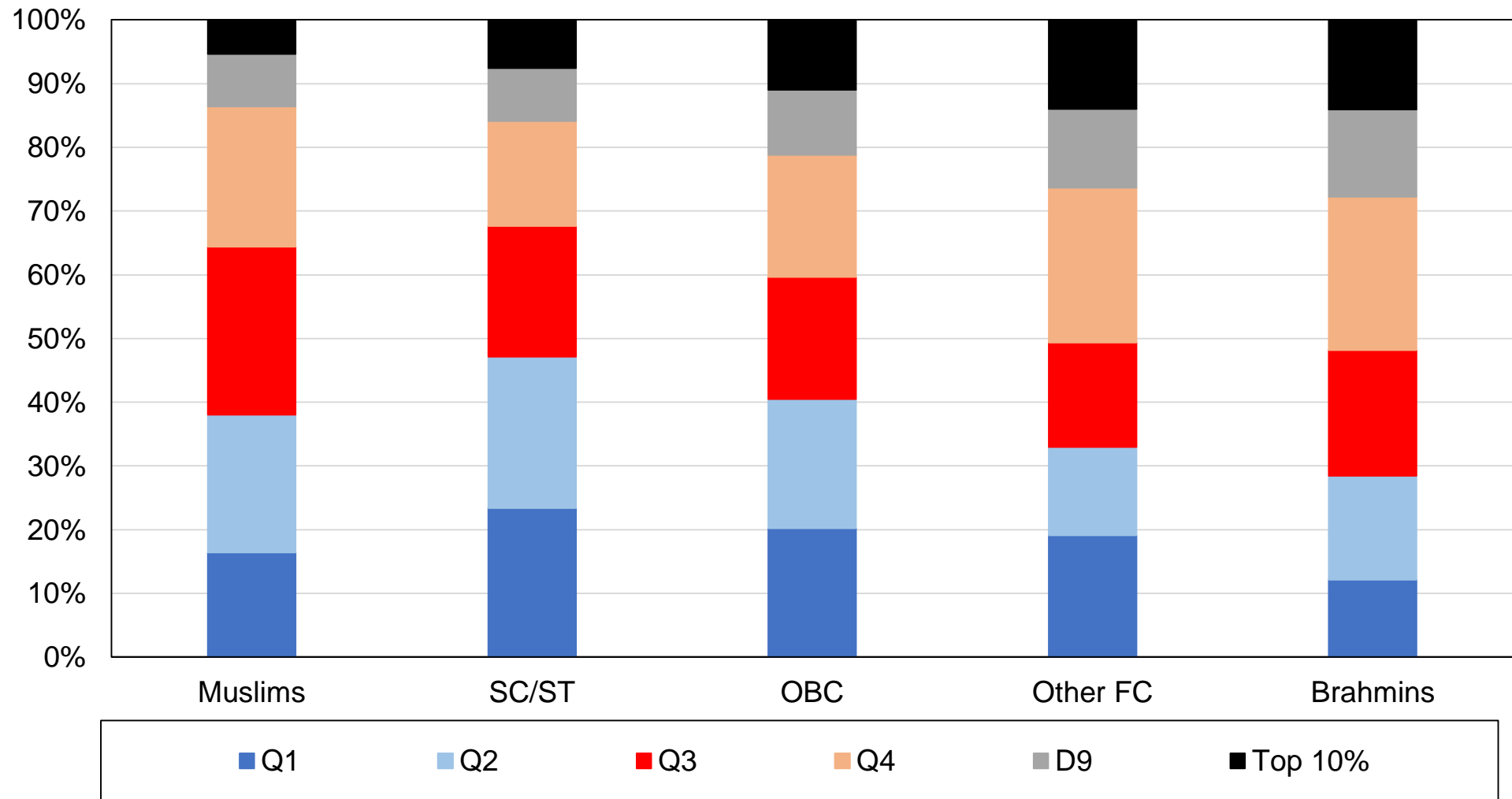
Figure A7 - Composition of caste groups by income quintile/decile, 1967



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.

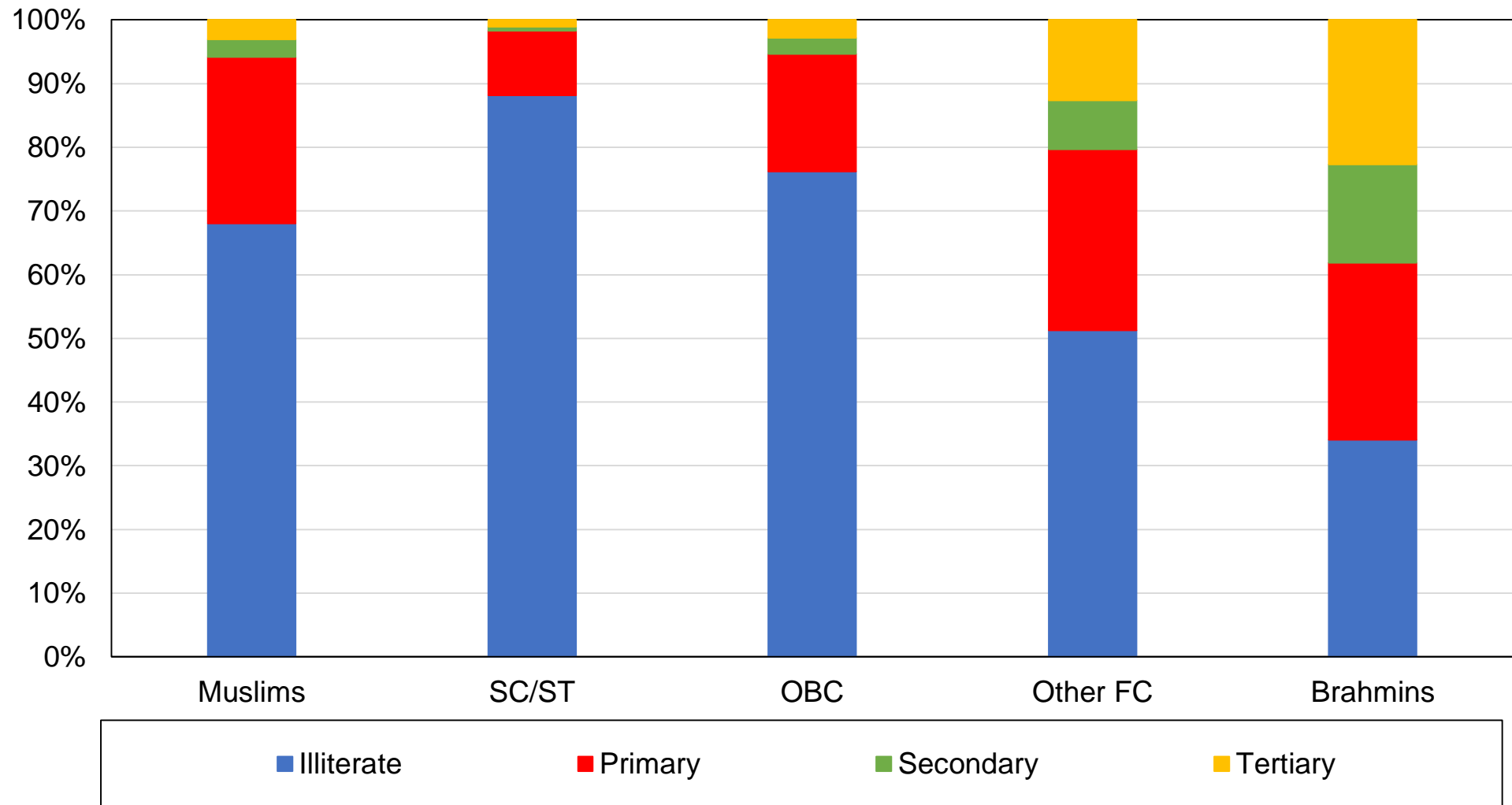
Figure A8 - Composition of caste groups by income quintile/decile, 2014



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.

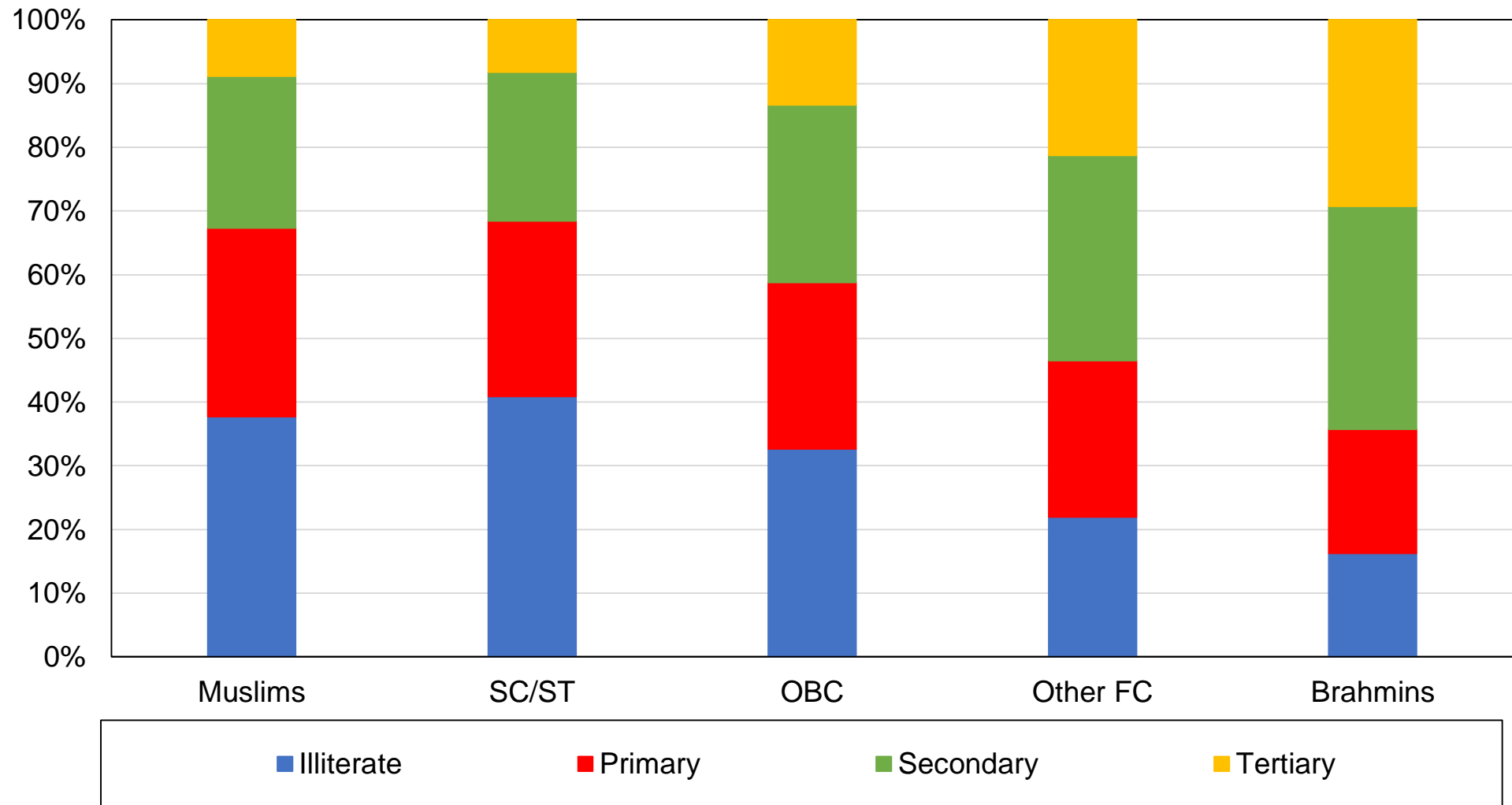
Figure A9 - Composition of caste groups by education level, 1967



Source: authors' computations using Indian political attitudes surveys.

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

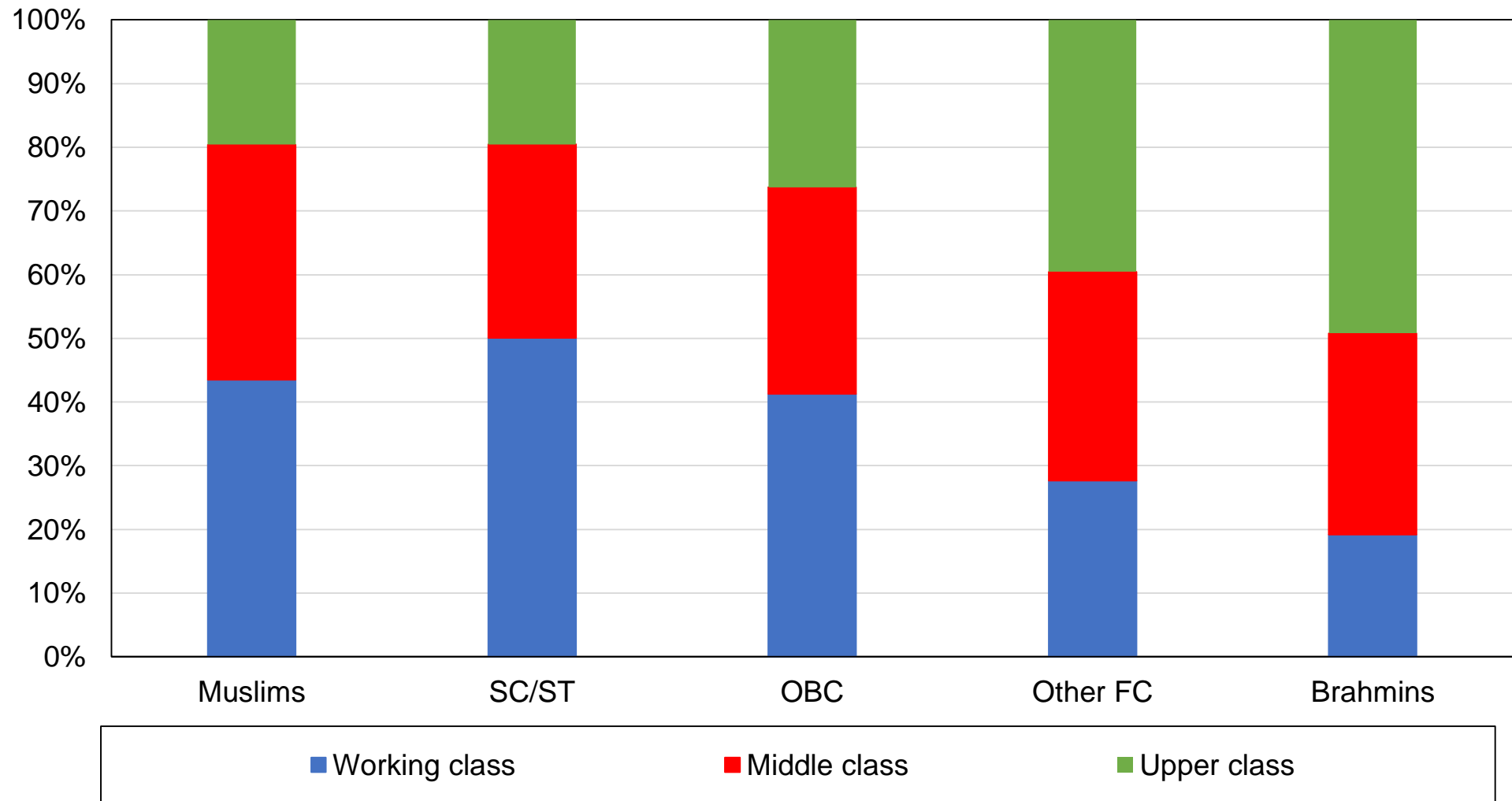
Figure A10 - Composition of caste groups by education level, 2014



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 (Prajantrik)	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.

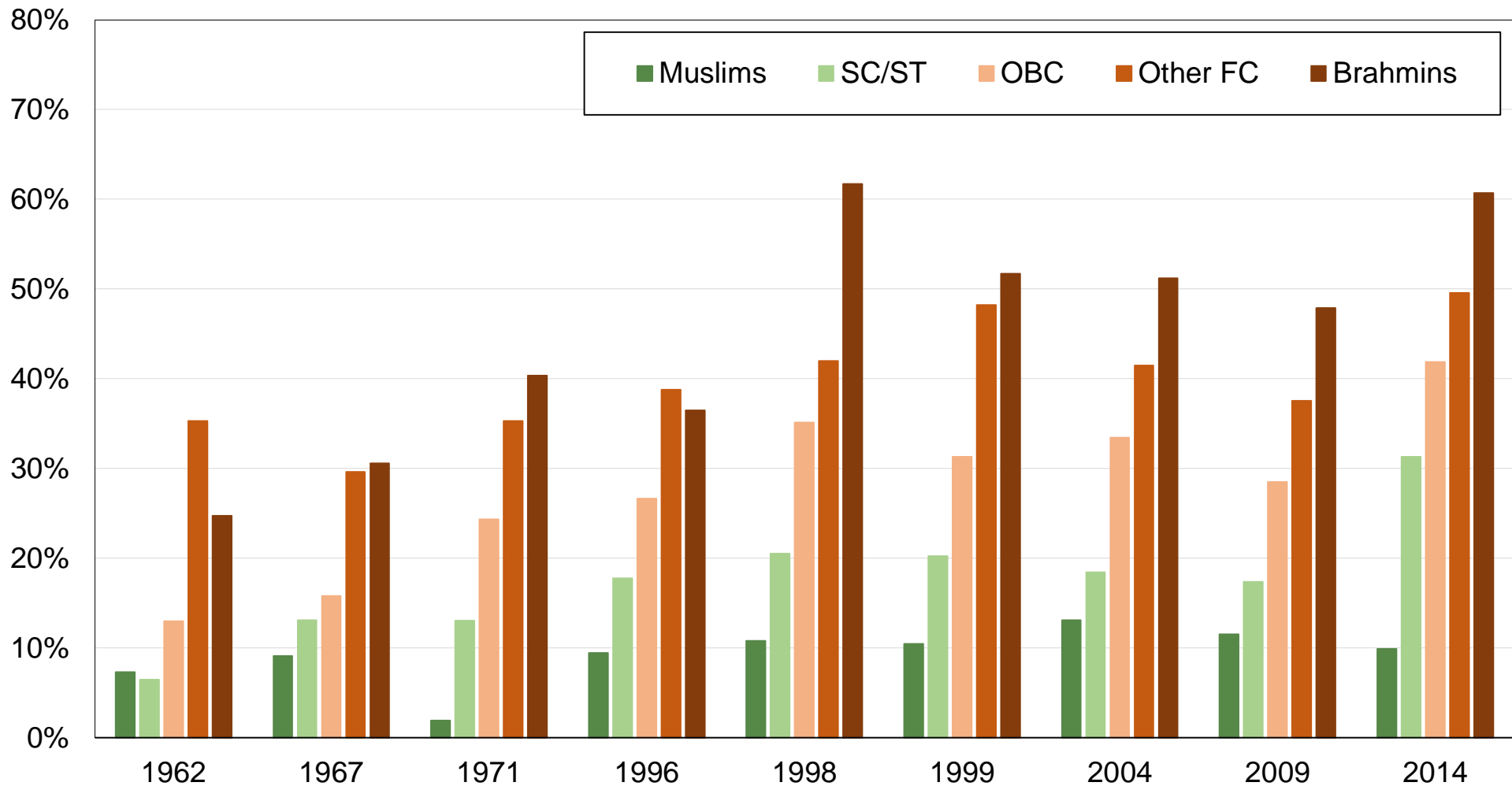
Table A5b - Complete descriptive statistics

	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.

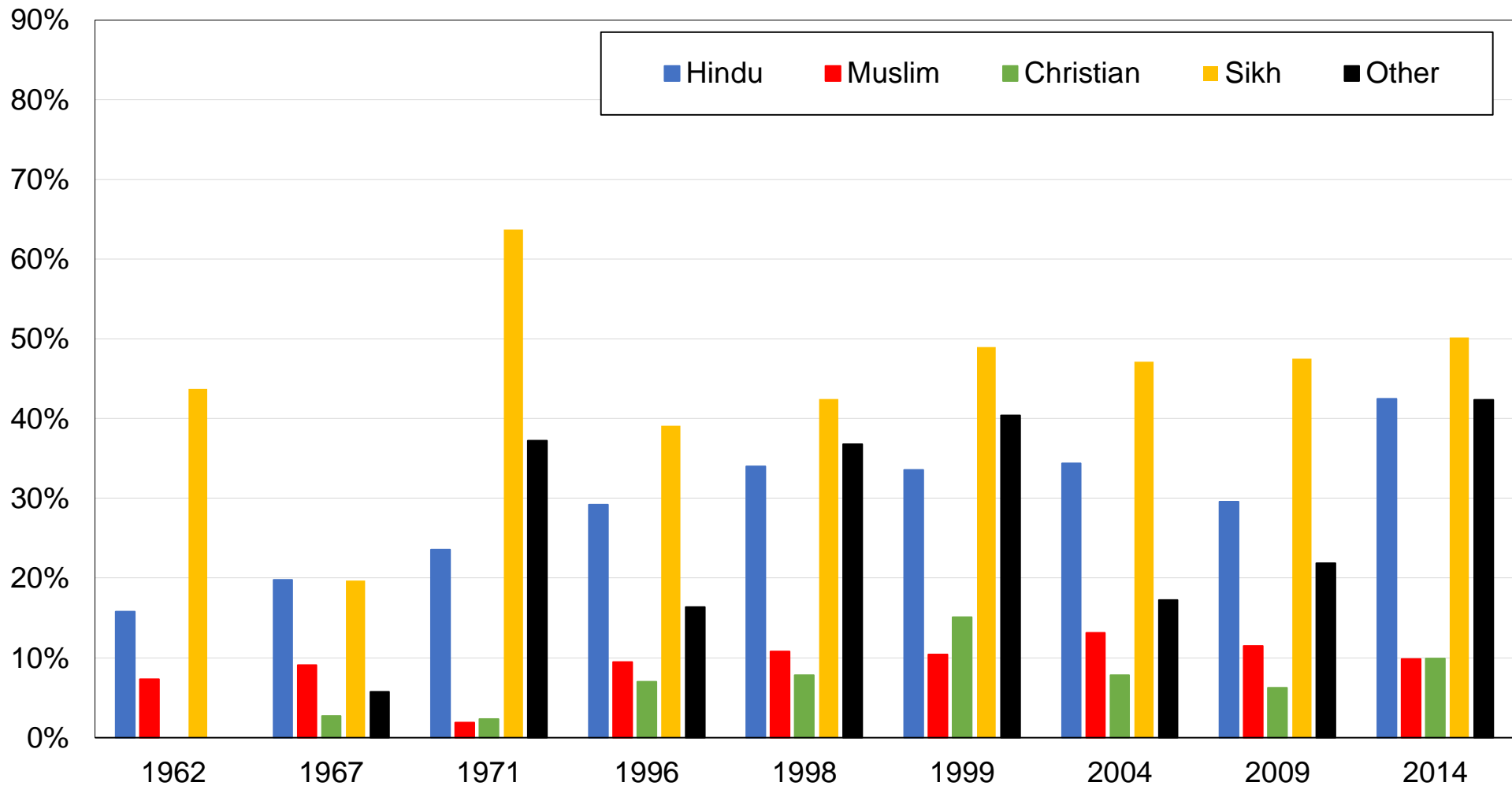
Figure B1 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by caste / religion



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.

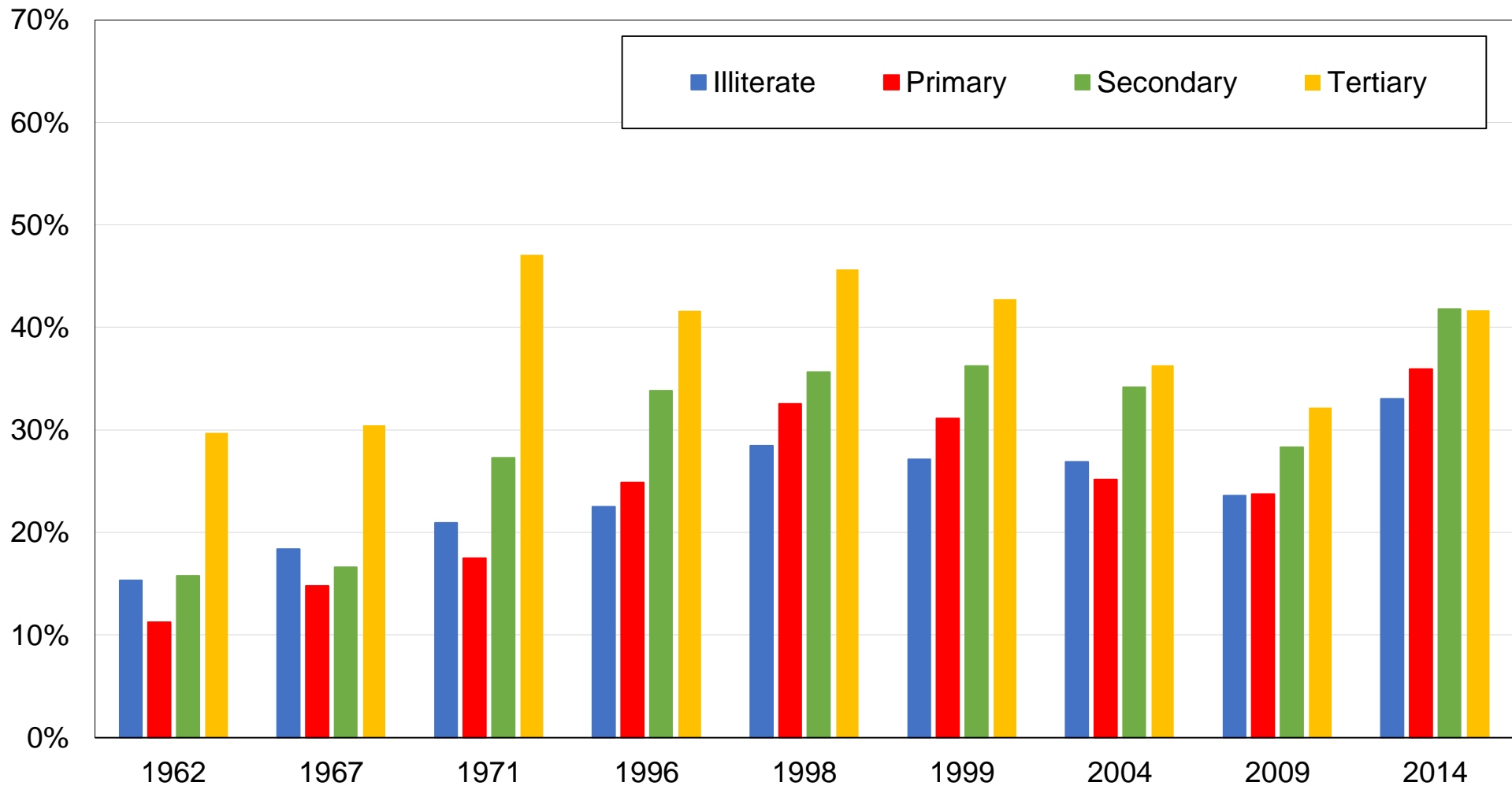
Figure B2 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by religion



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.

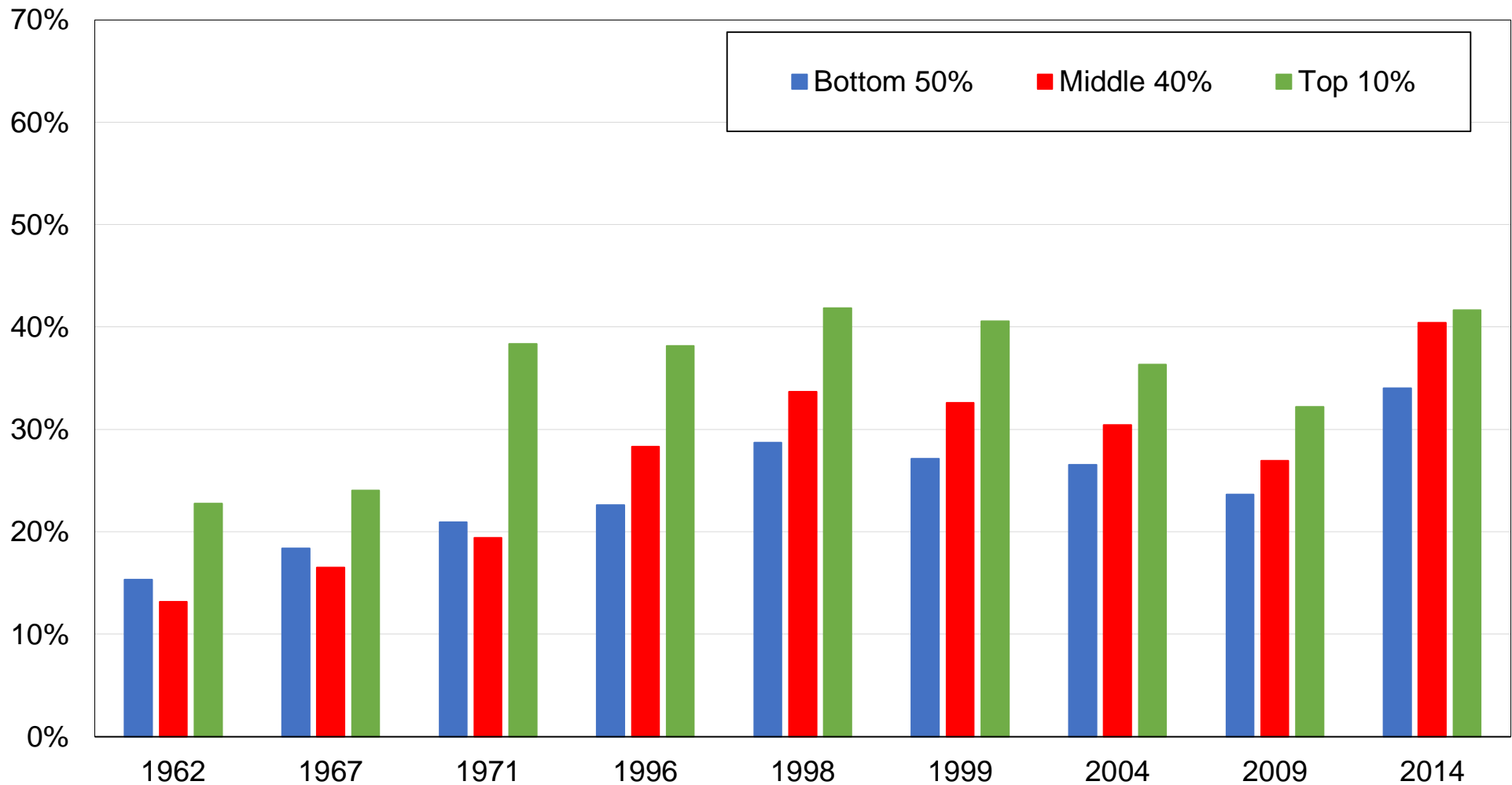
Figure B3 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by education



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.

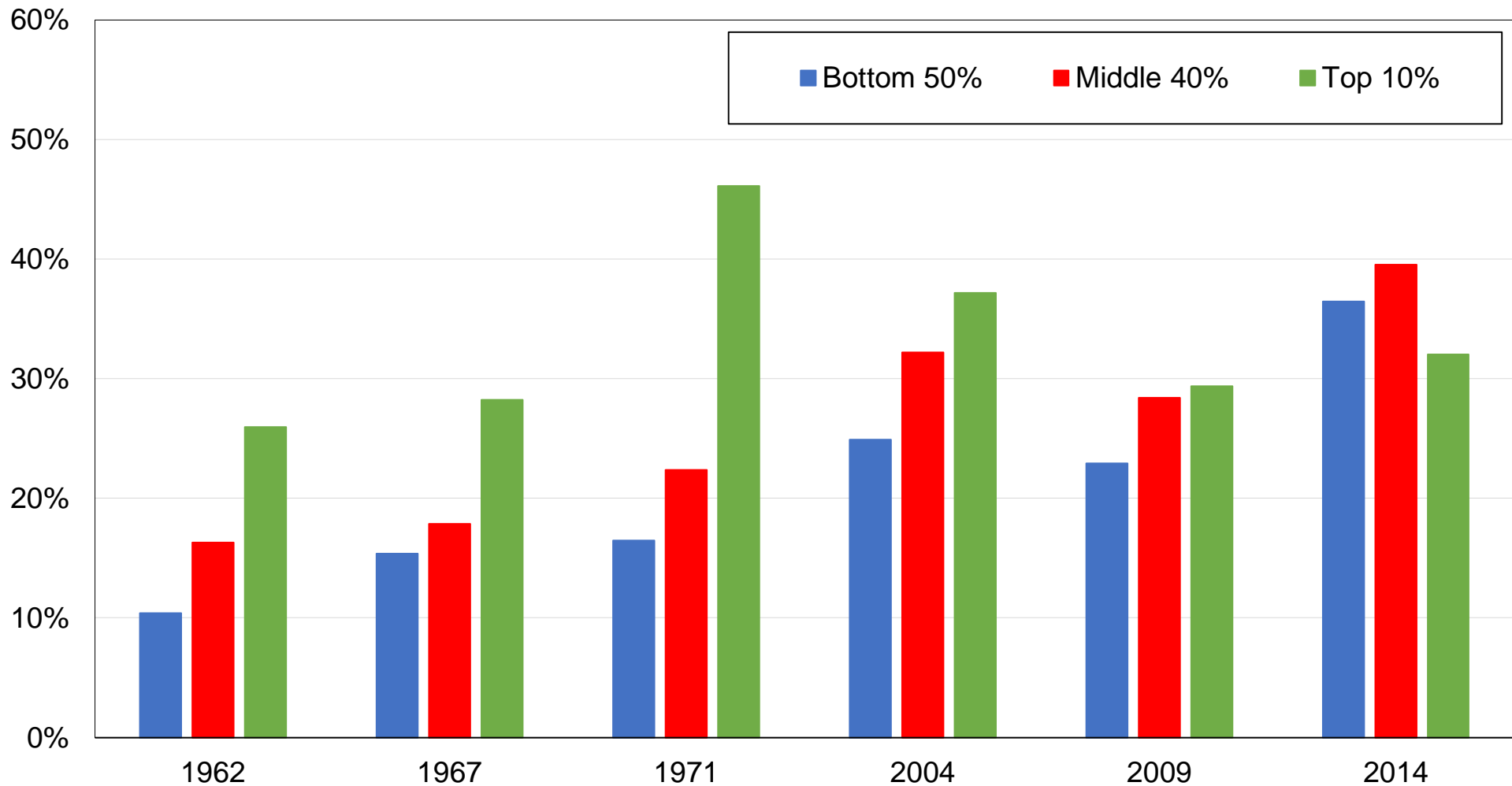
Figure B4 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by education group



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.

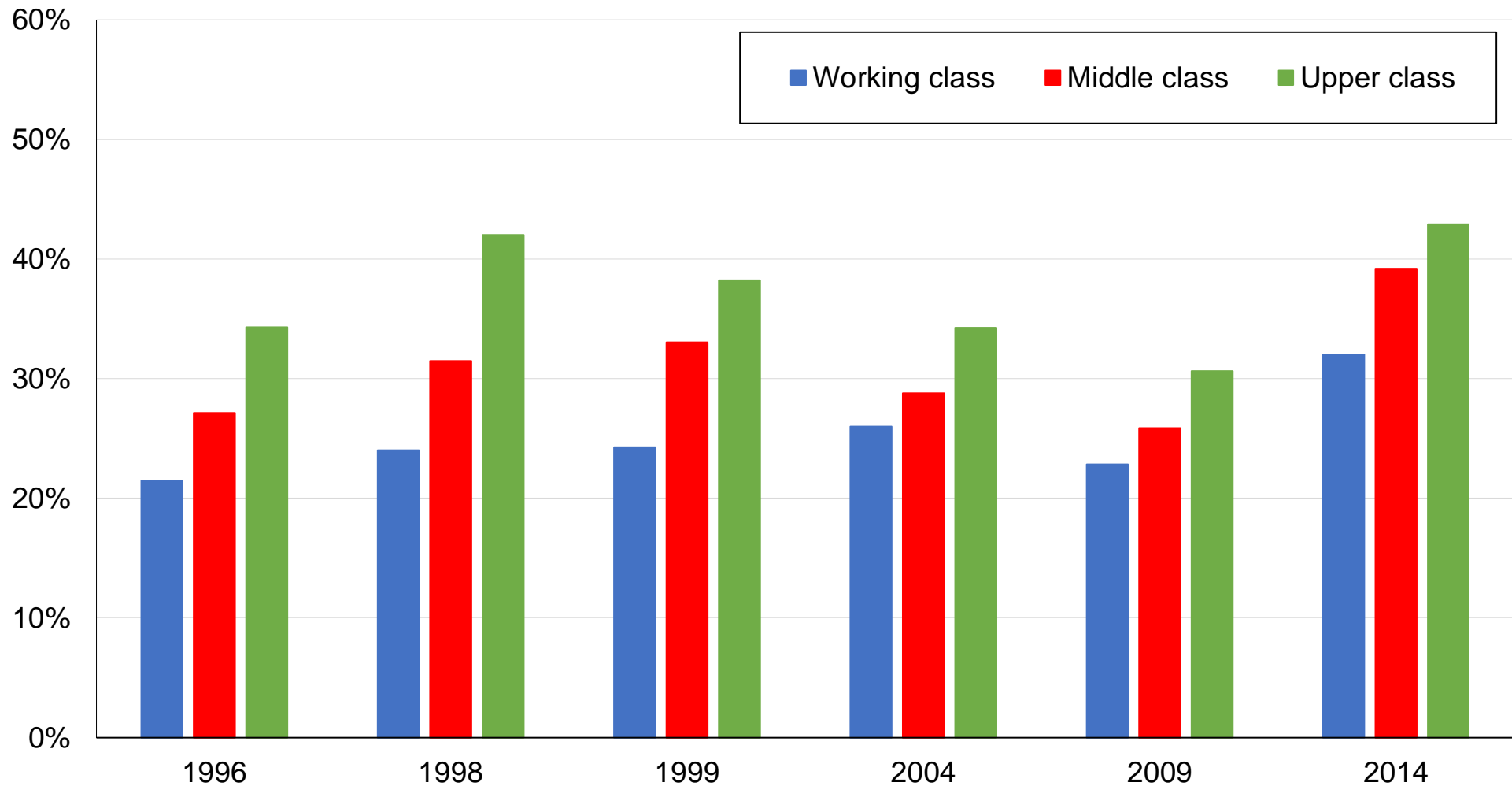
Figure B5 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by income group



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.

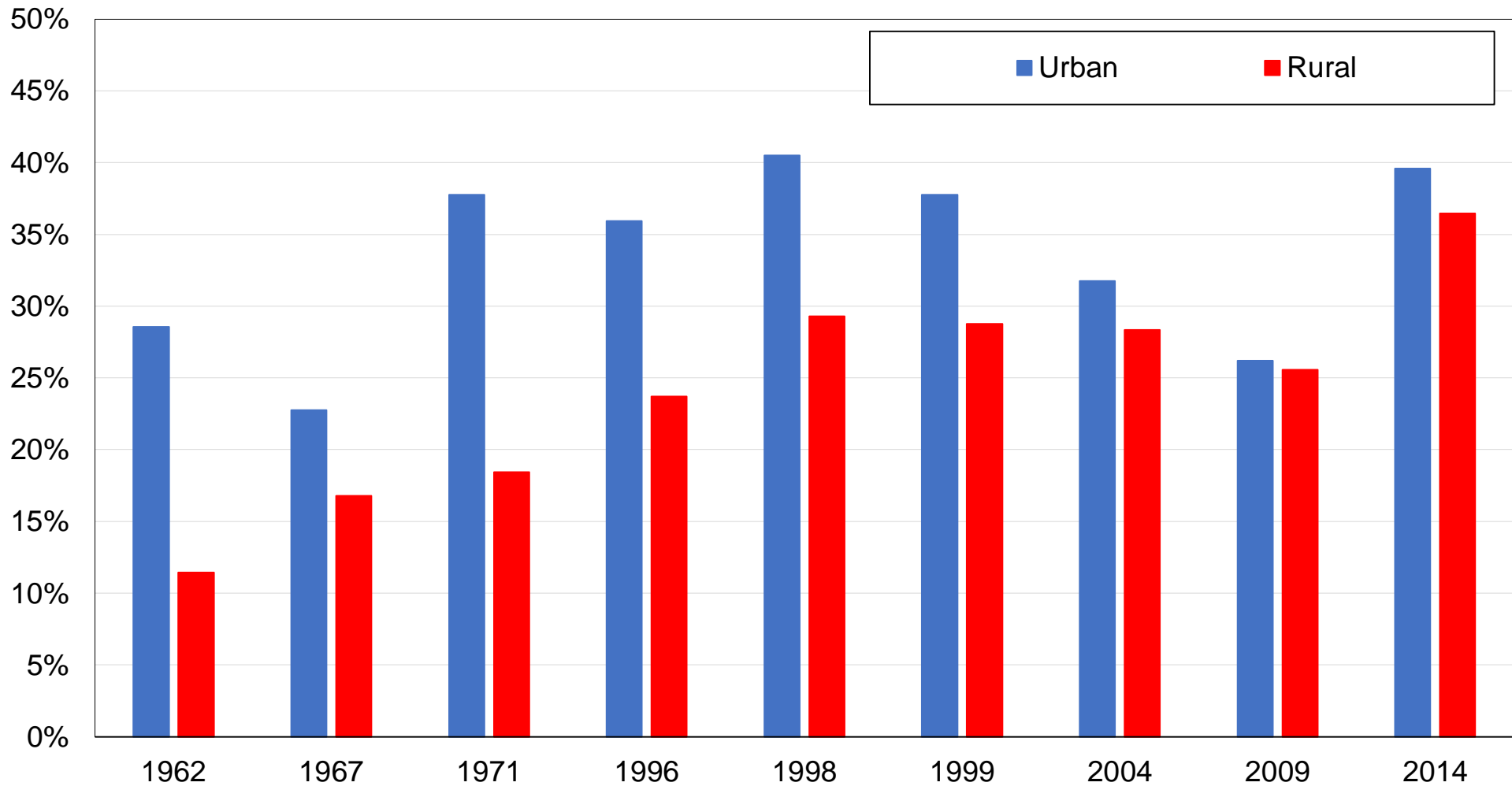
Figure B6 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by social class



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.

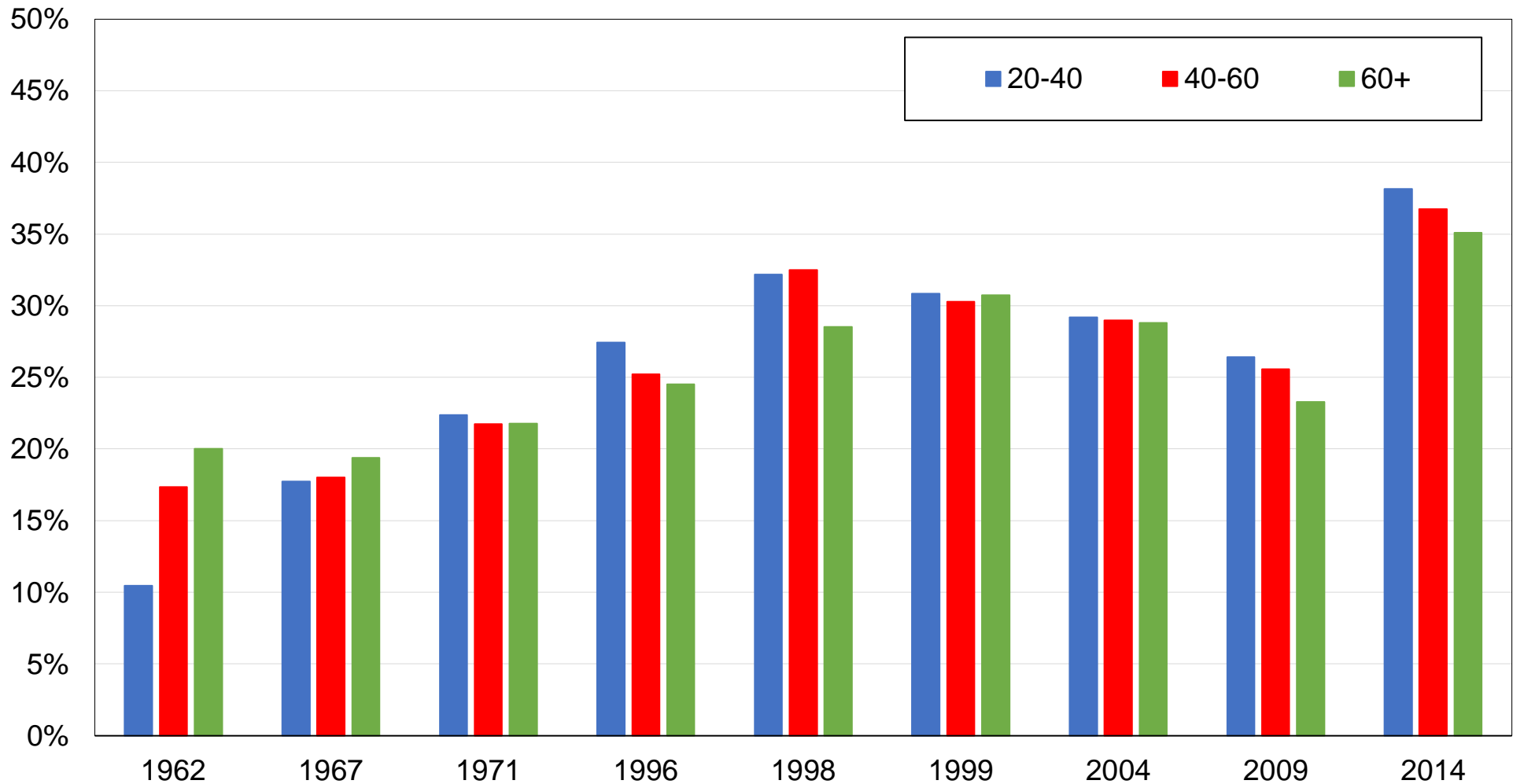
Figure B7 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by location



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.

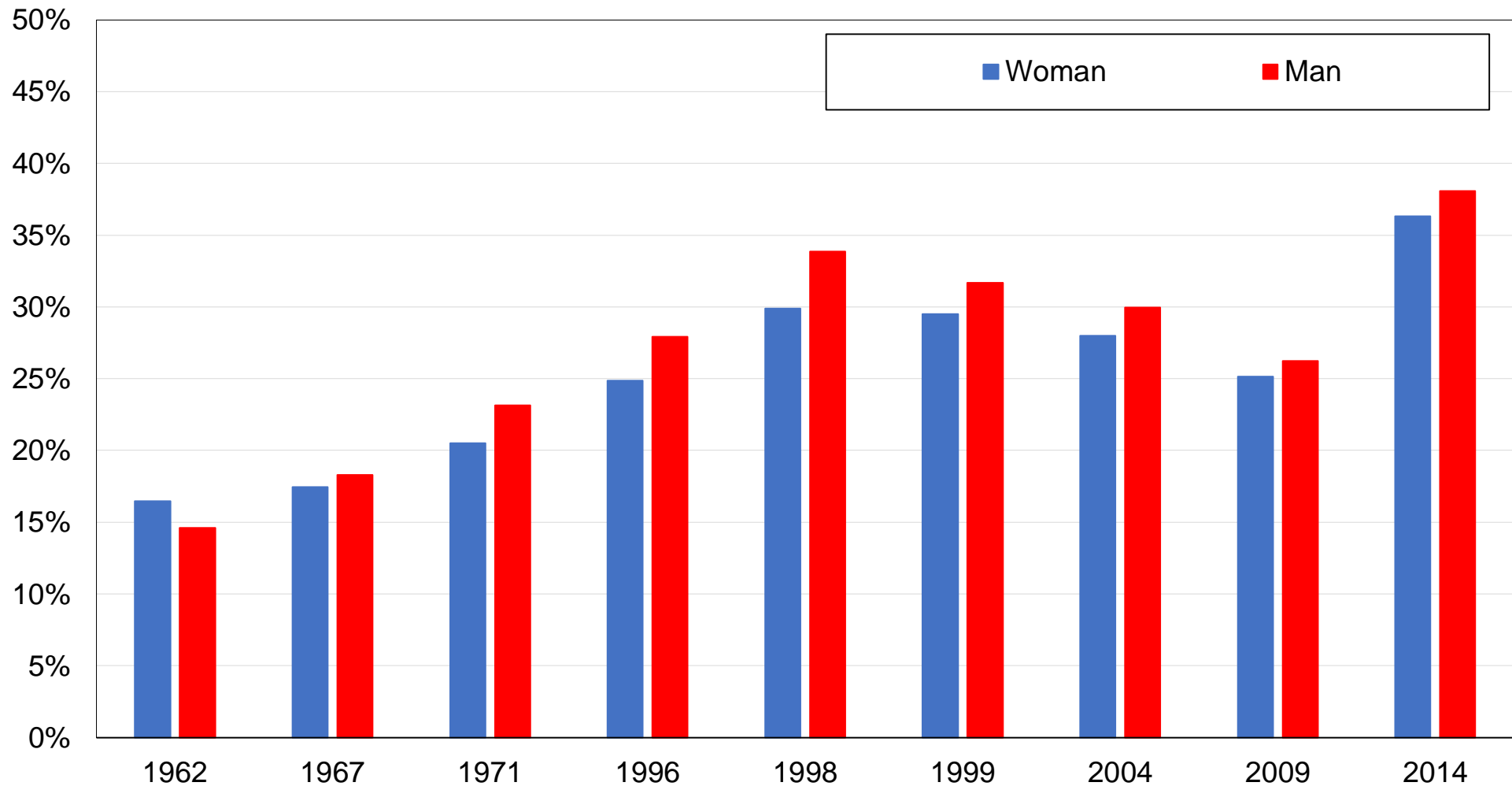
Figure B8 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by age group



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.

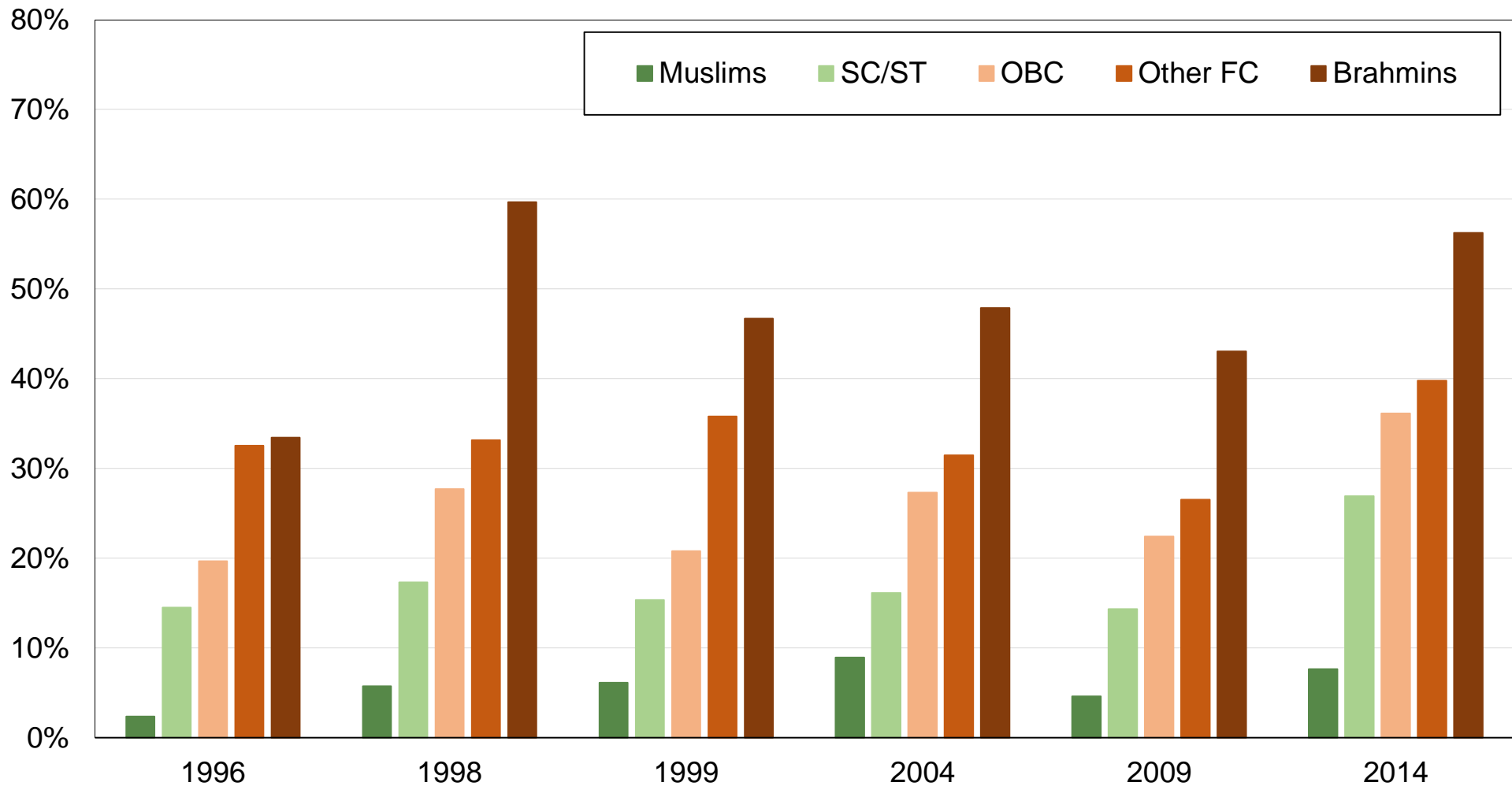
Figure B9 - Vote for BJP and right-wing parties by gender



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.

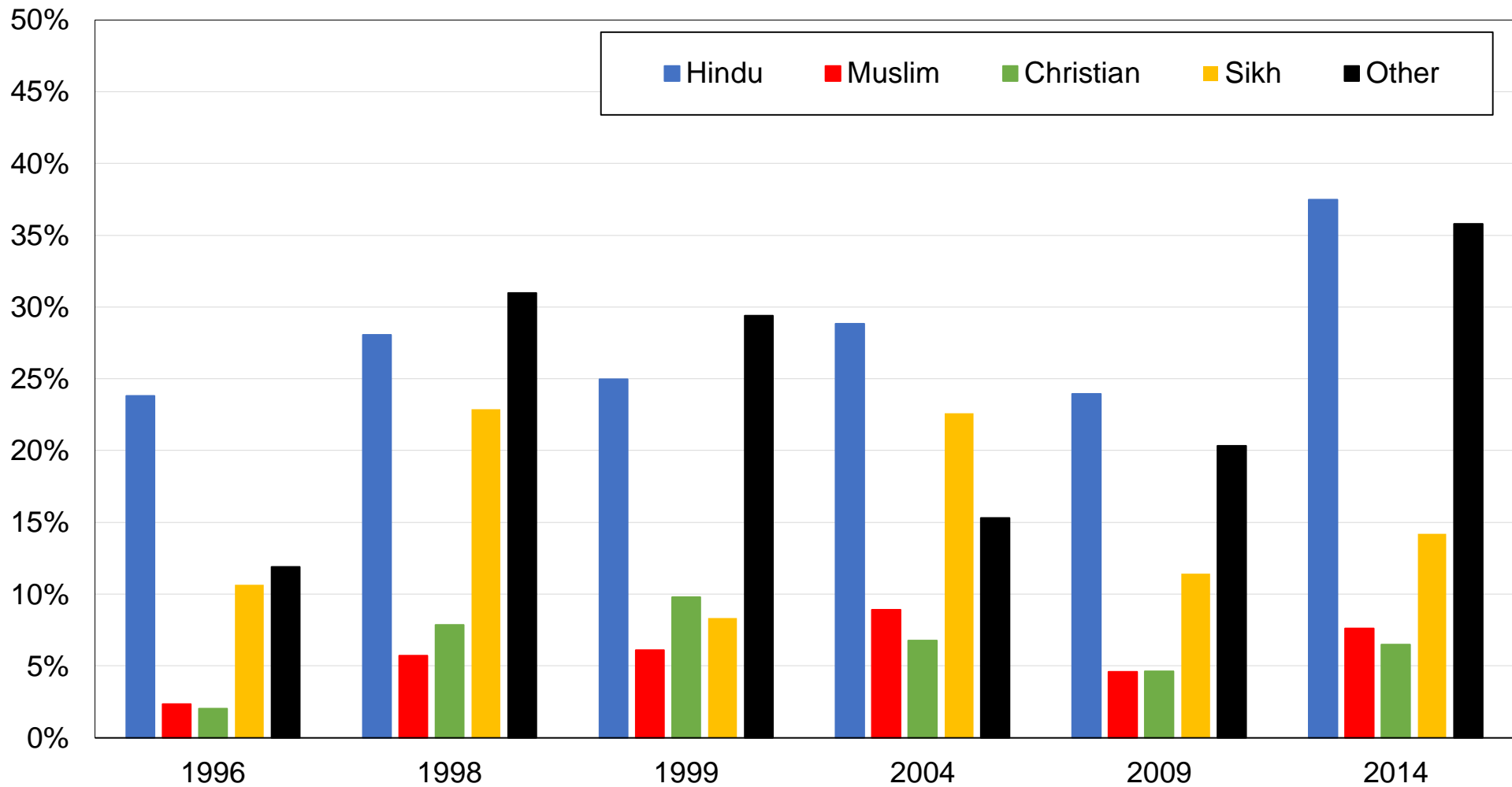
Figure B10 - Vote for BJP by caste / religion



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.

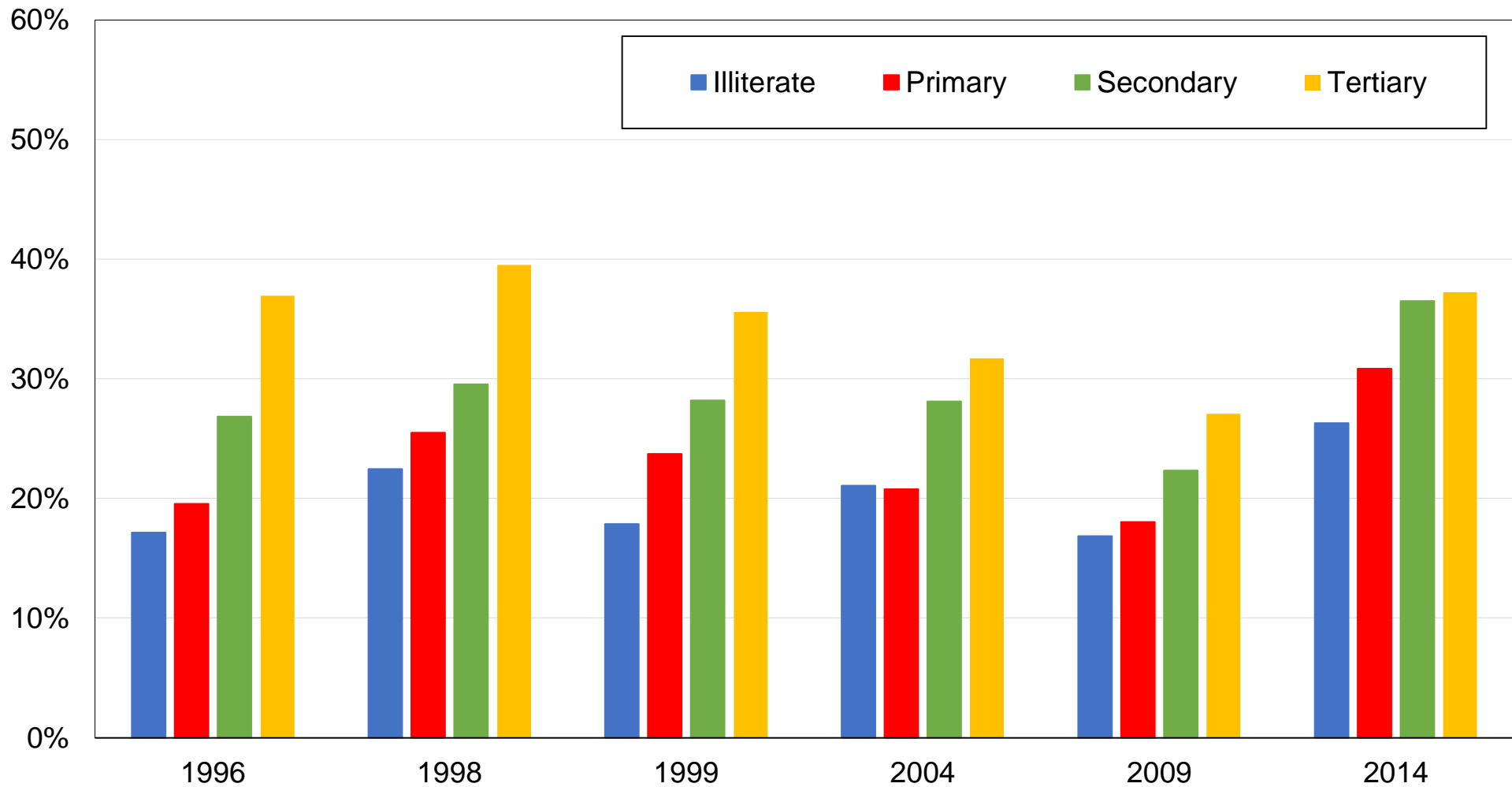
Figure B11 - Vote for BJP by religion



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.

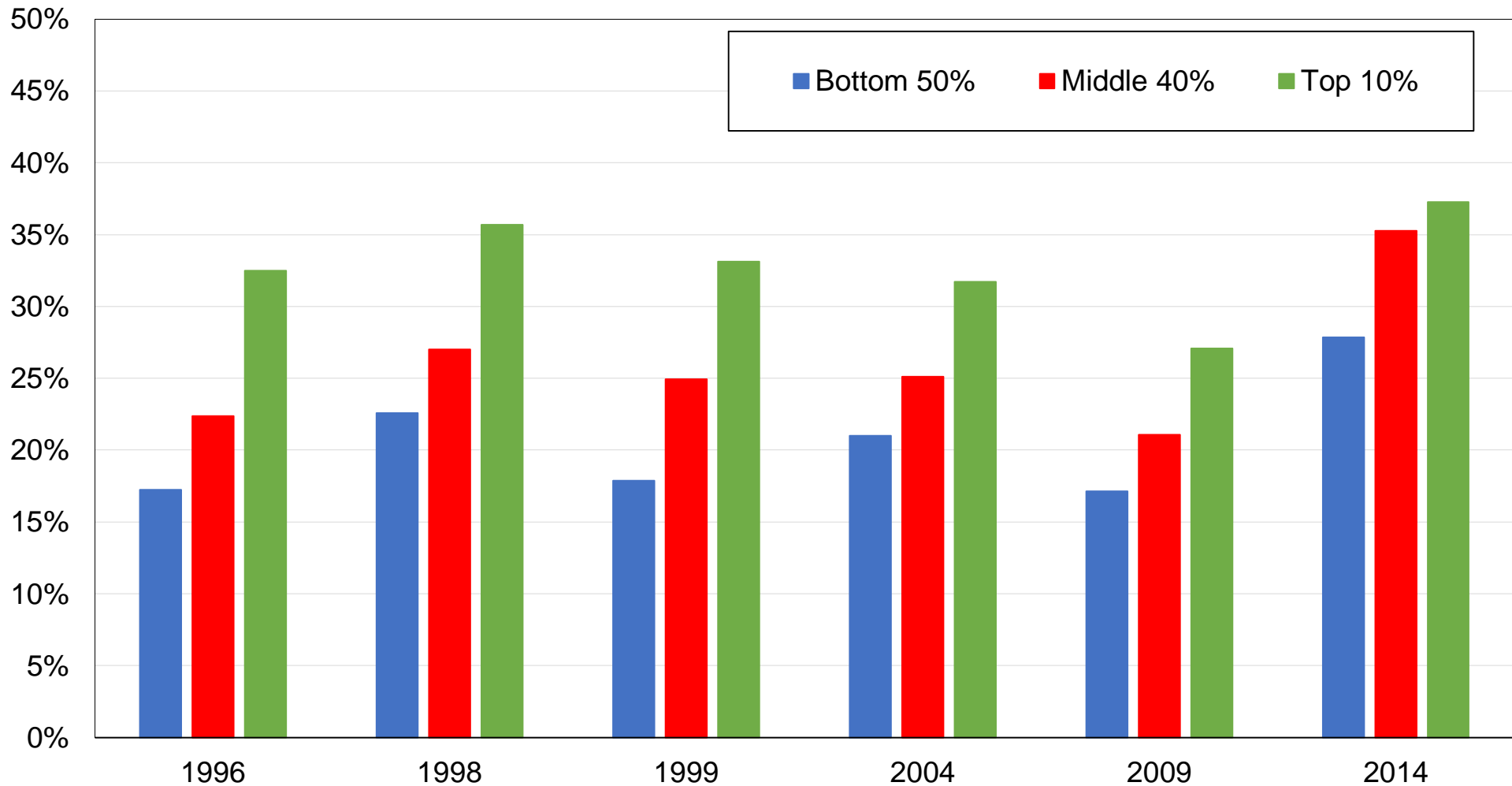
Figure B12 - Vote for BJP by education



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.

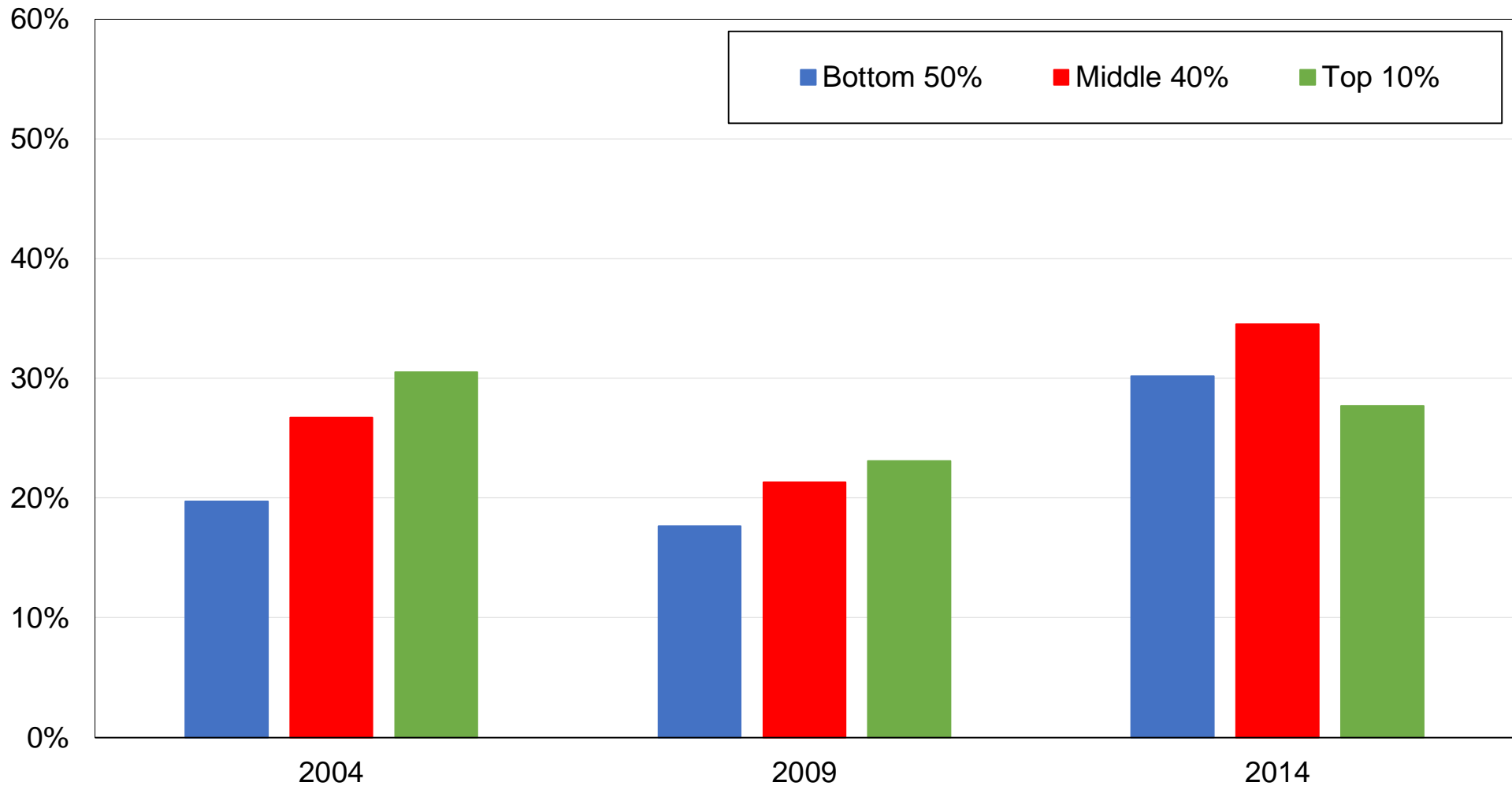
Figure B13 - Vote for BJP by education group



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.

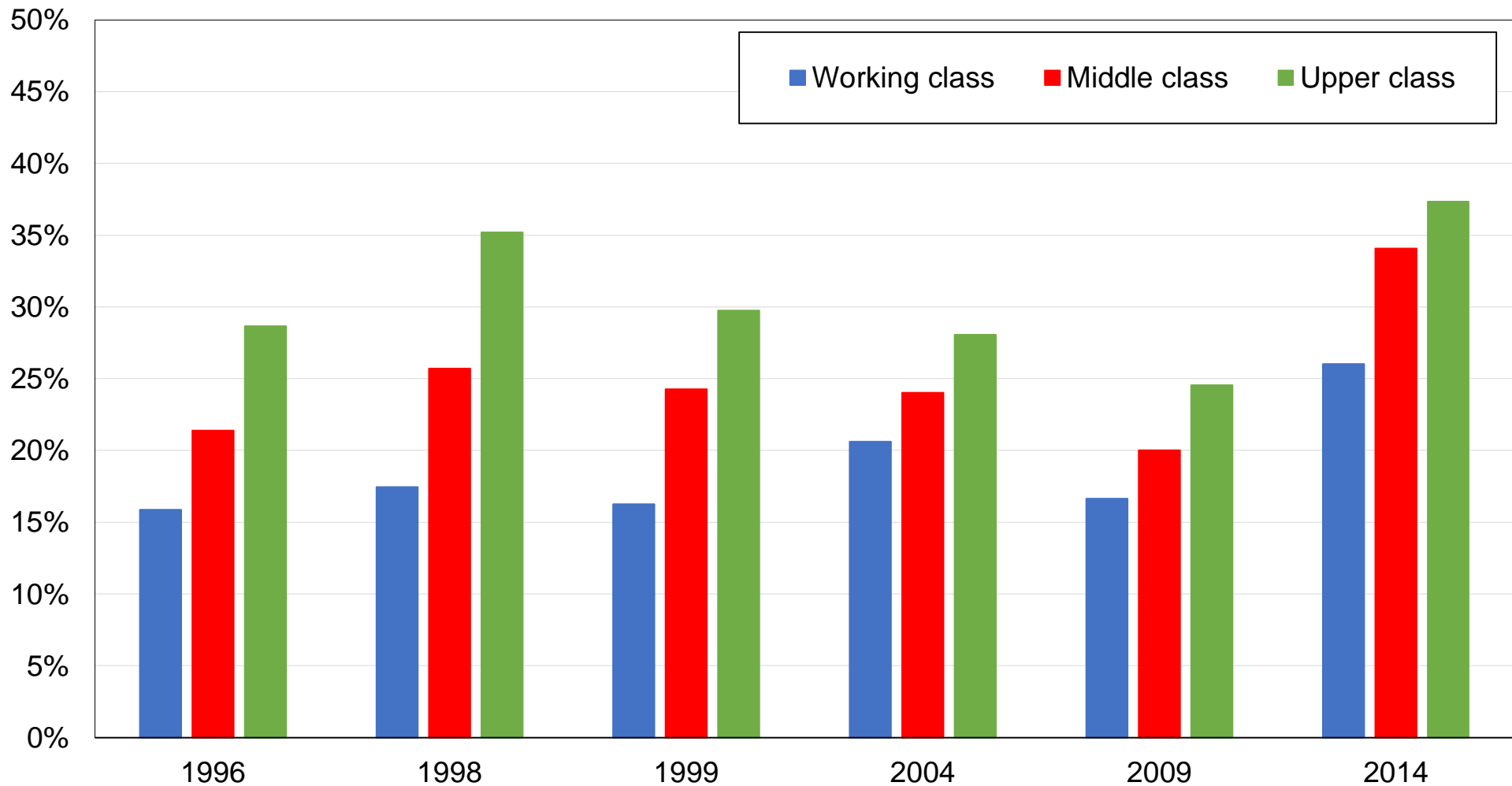
Figure B14 - Vote for BJP by income group



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.

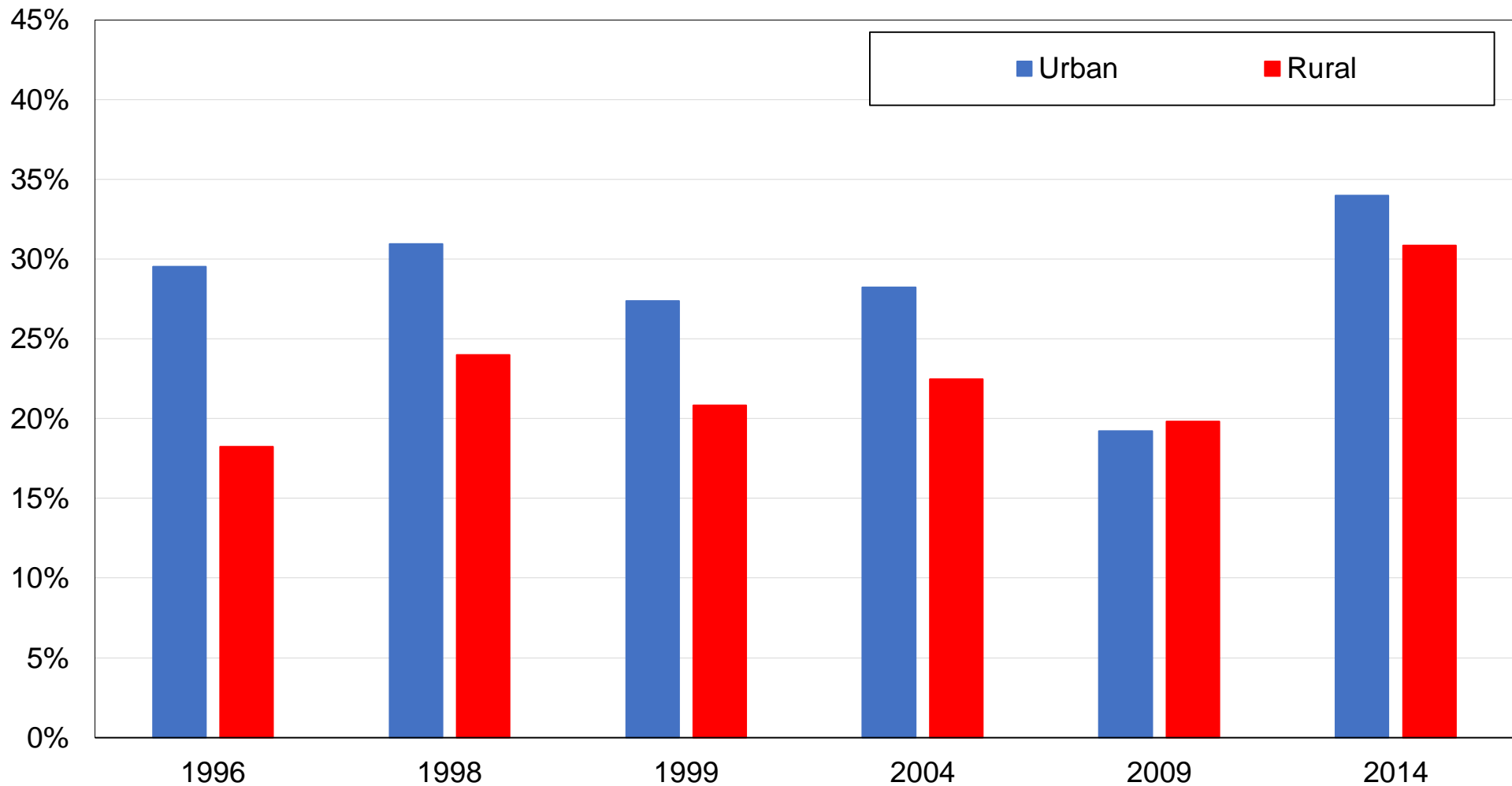
Figure B15 - Vote for BJP by social class



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.

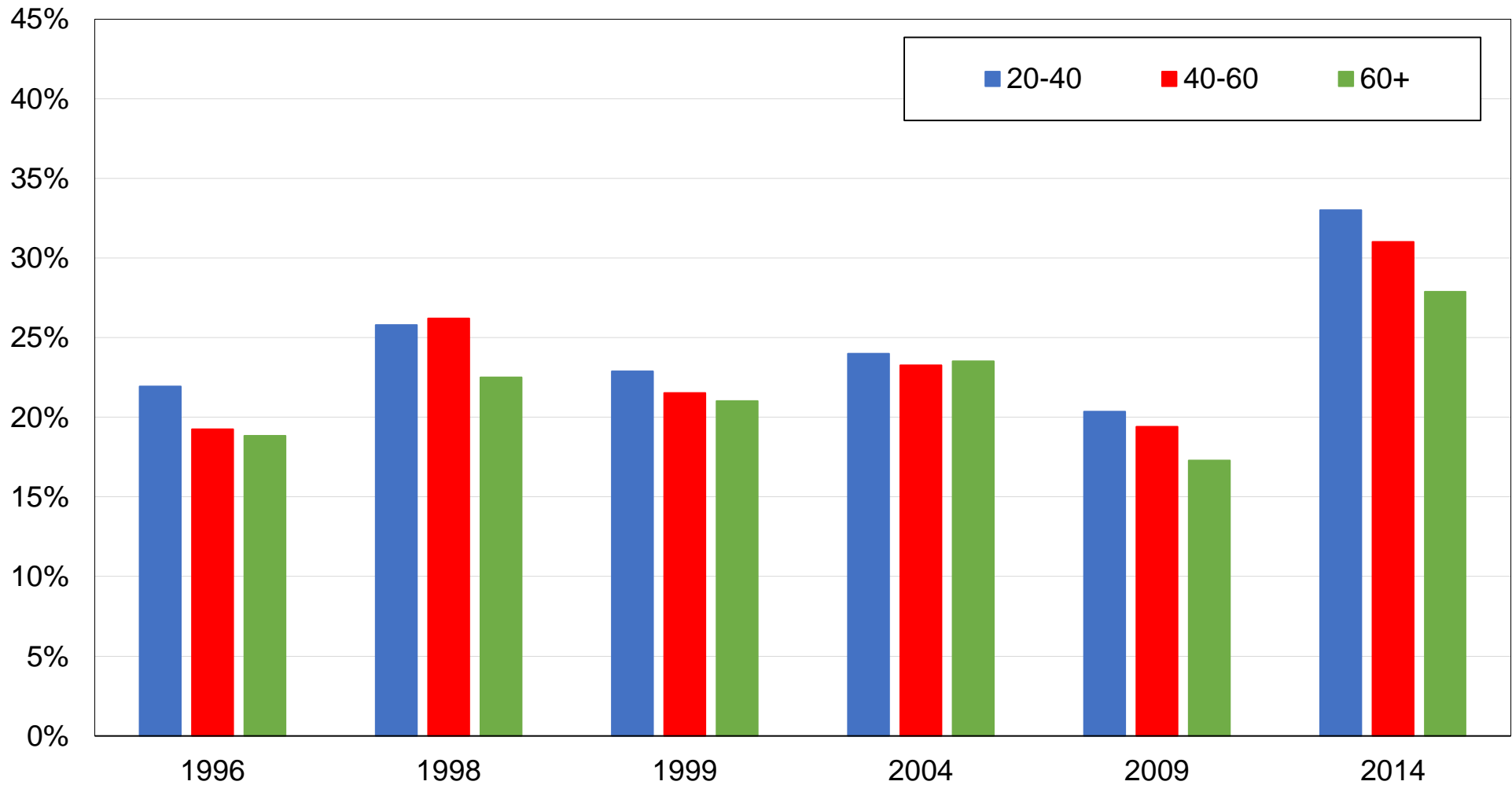
Figure B16 - Vote for BJP by location



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.

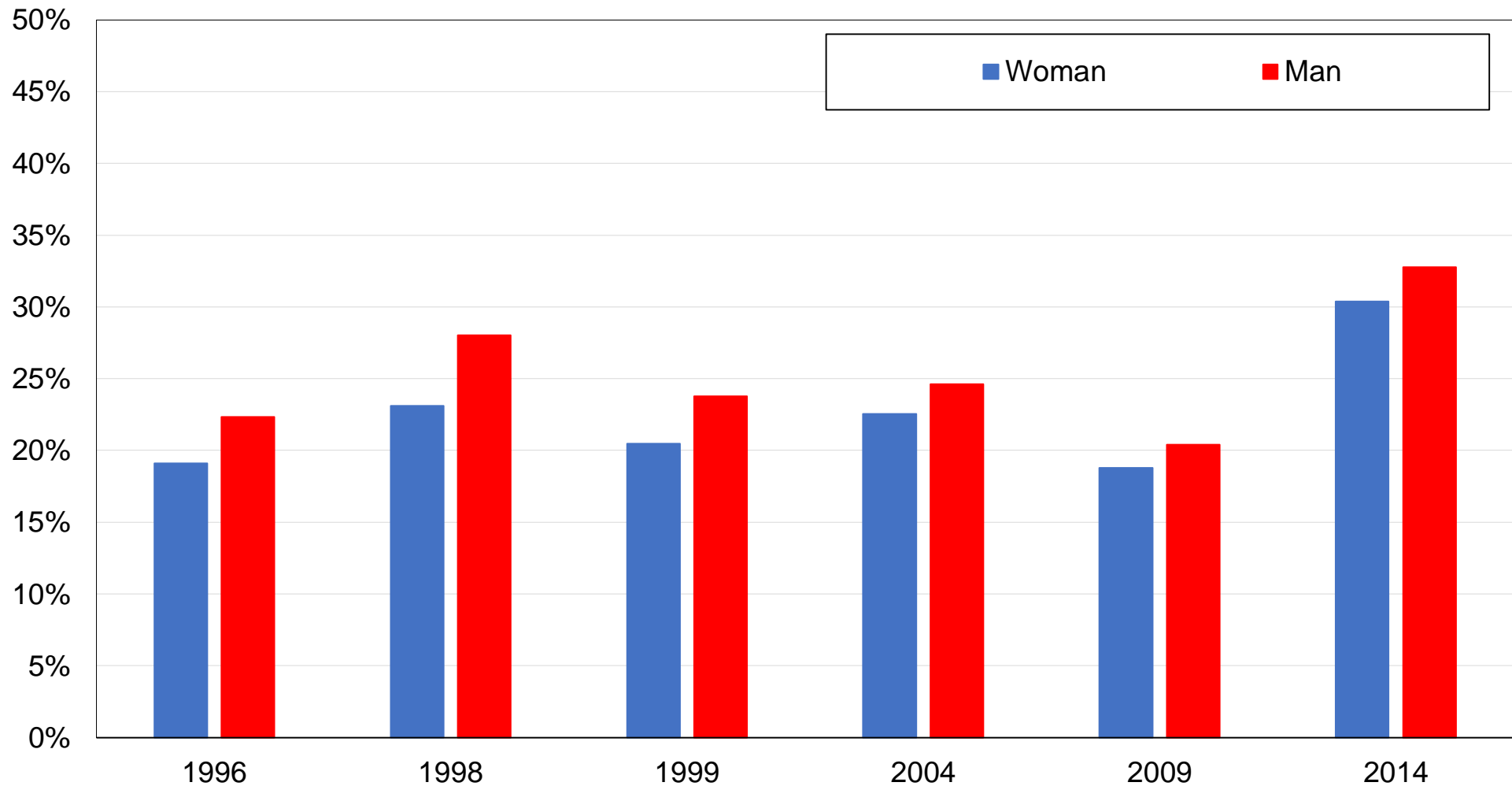
Figure B17 - Vote for BJP by age group



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.

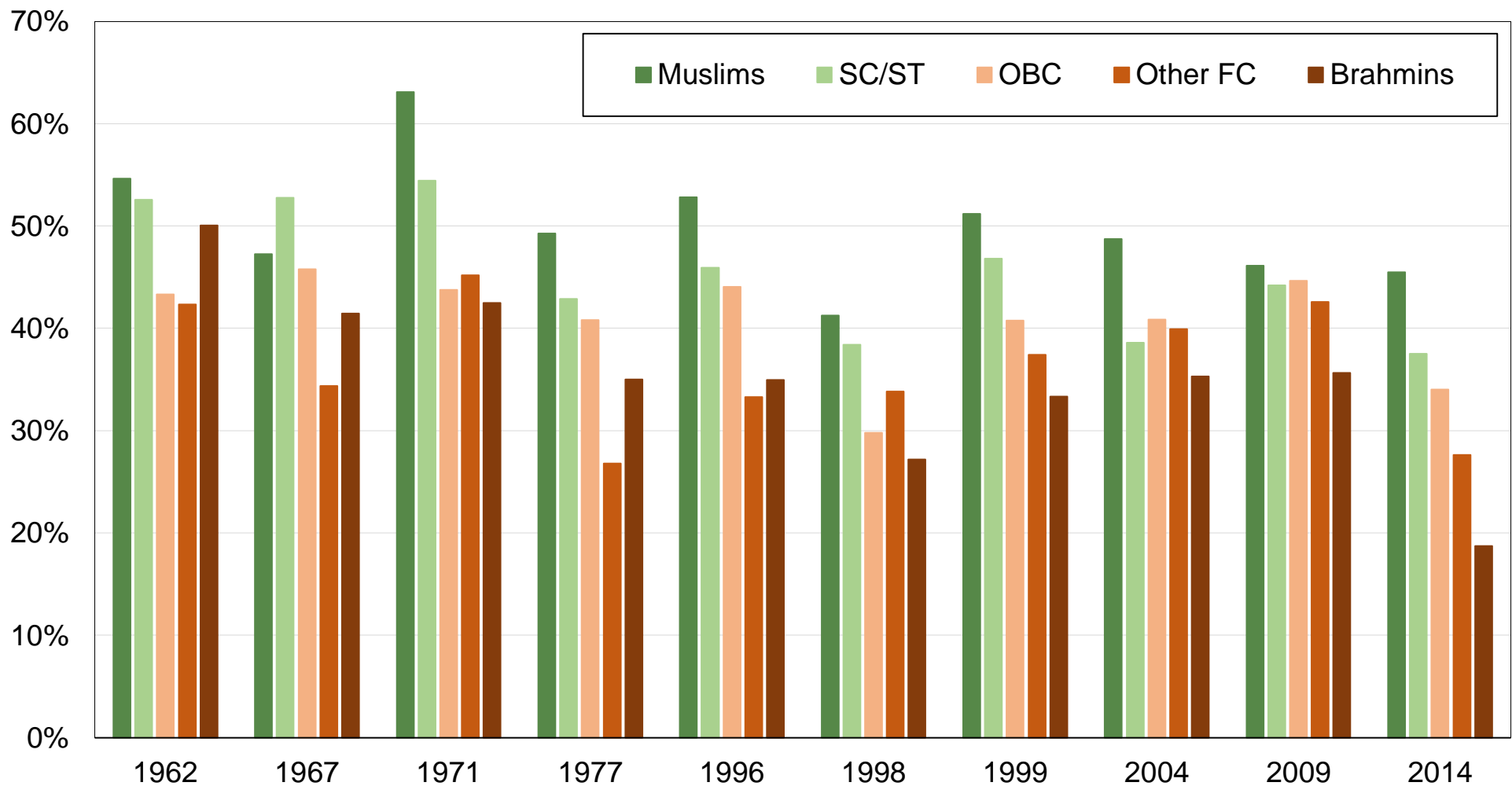
Figure B18 - Vote for BJP by gender



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.

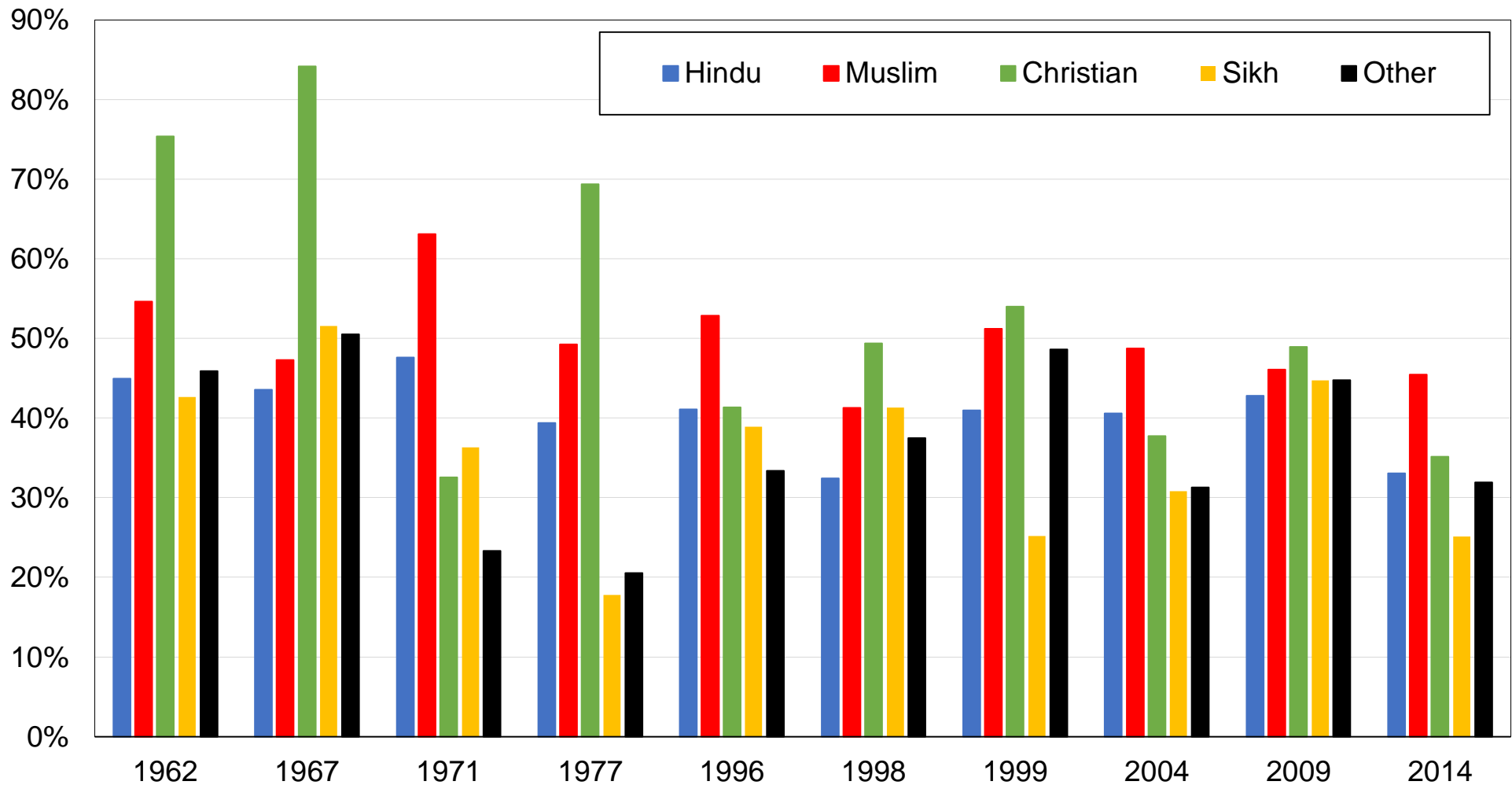
Figure B19 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by caste / religion



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.

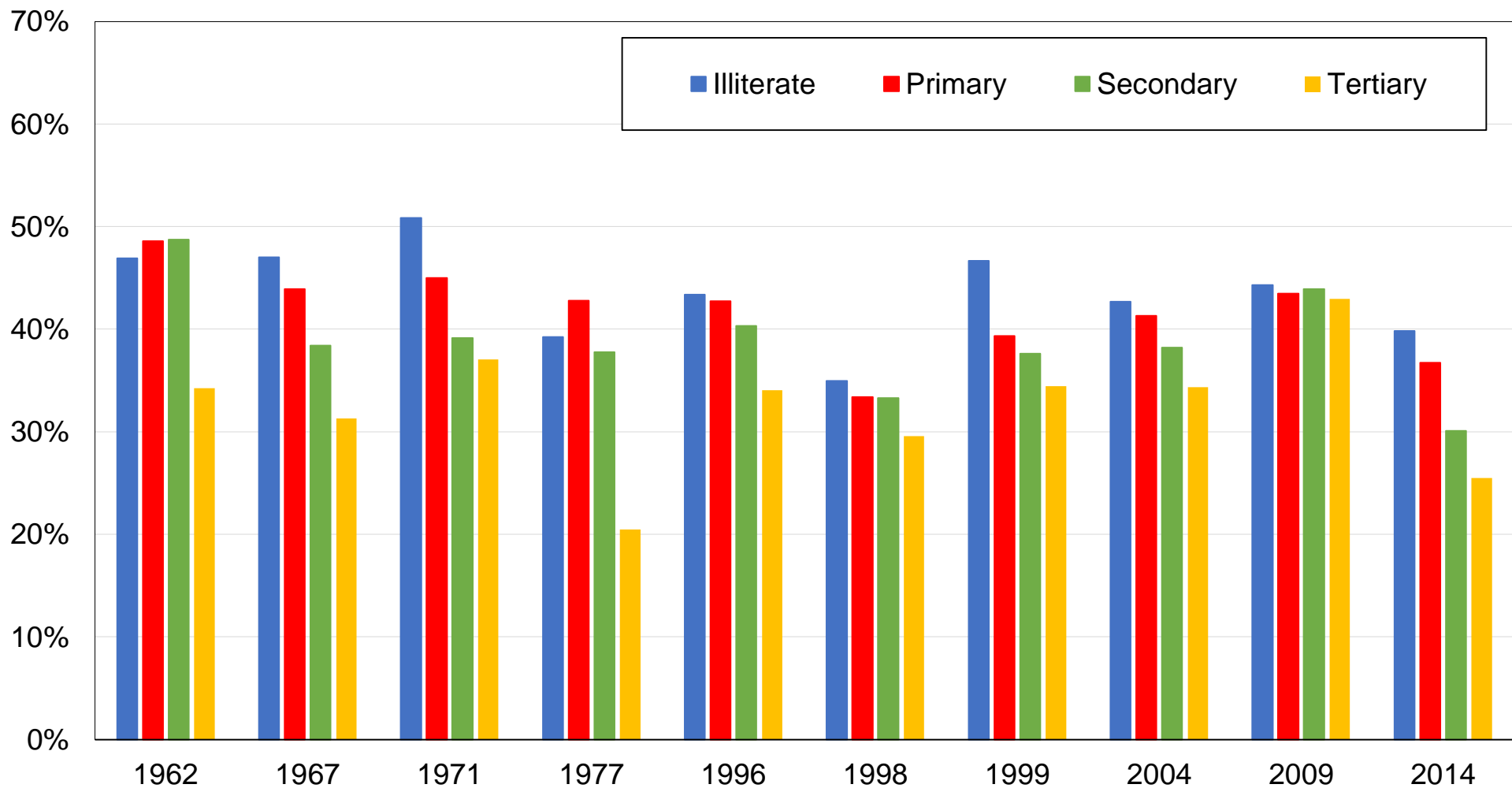
Figure B20 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by religion



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.

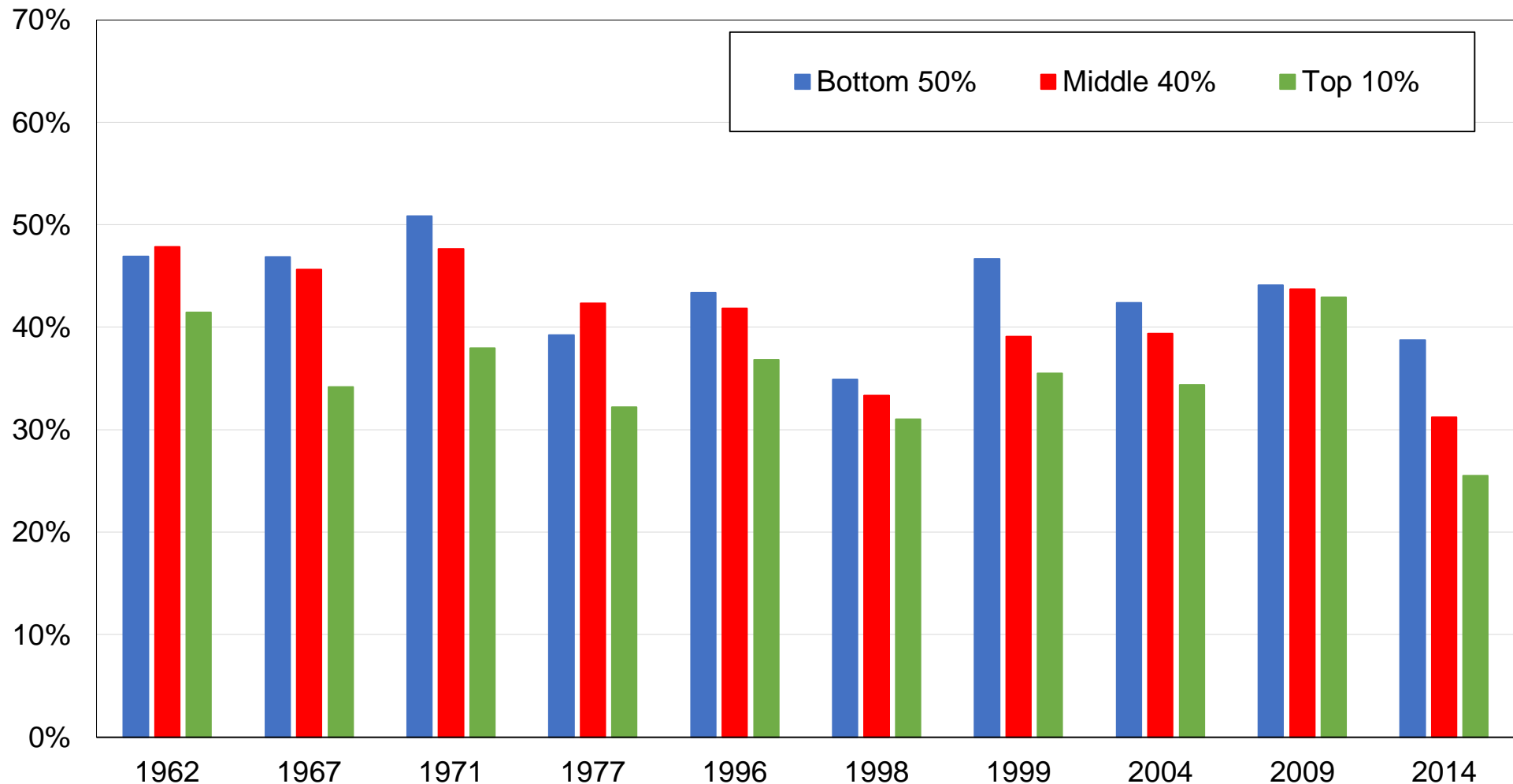
Figure B21 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by education



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.

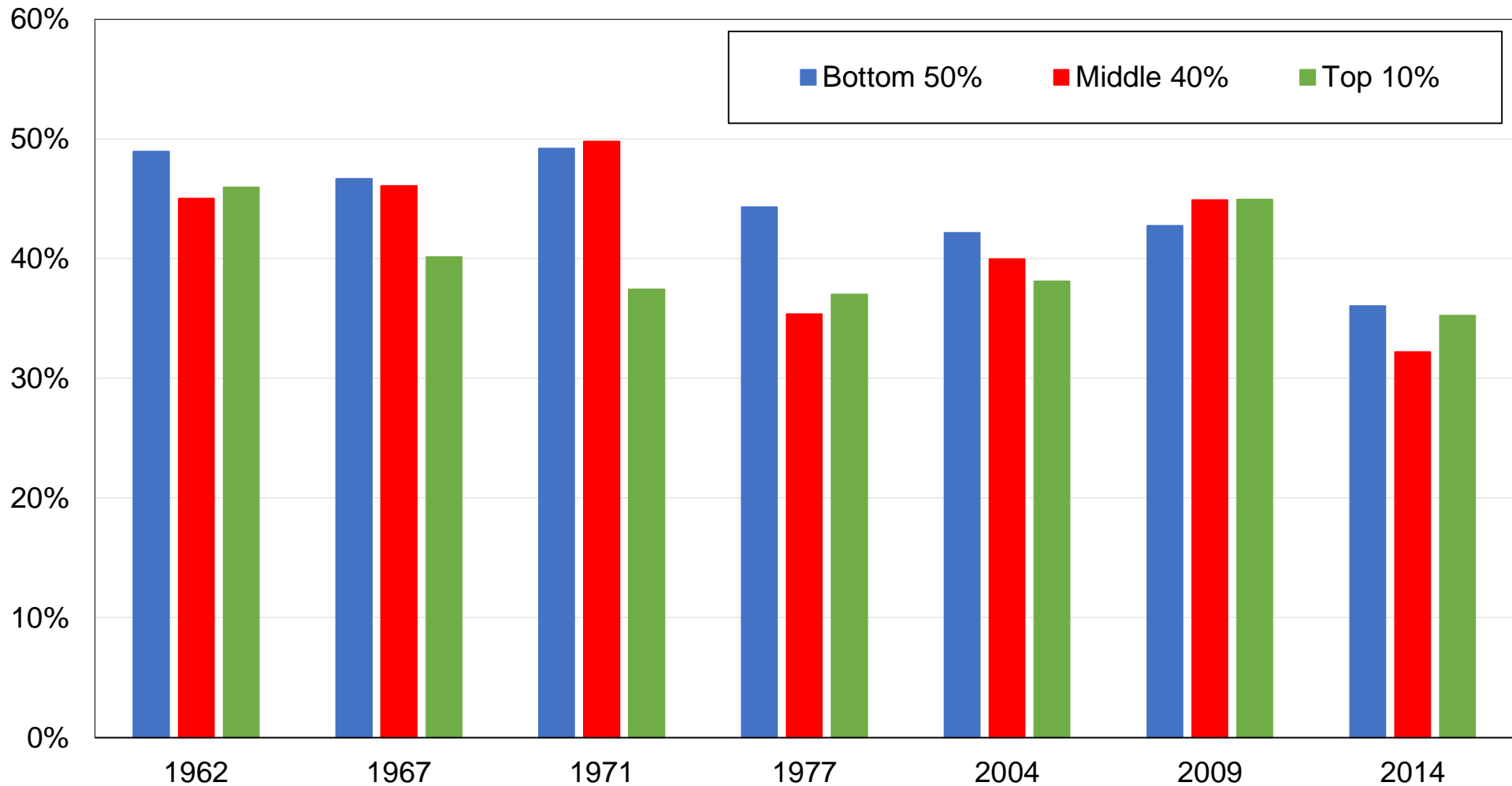
Figure B22 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by education group



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.

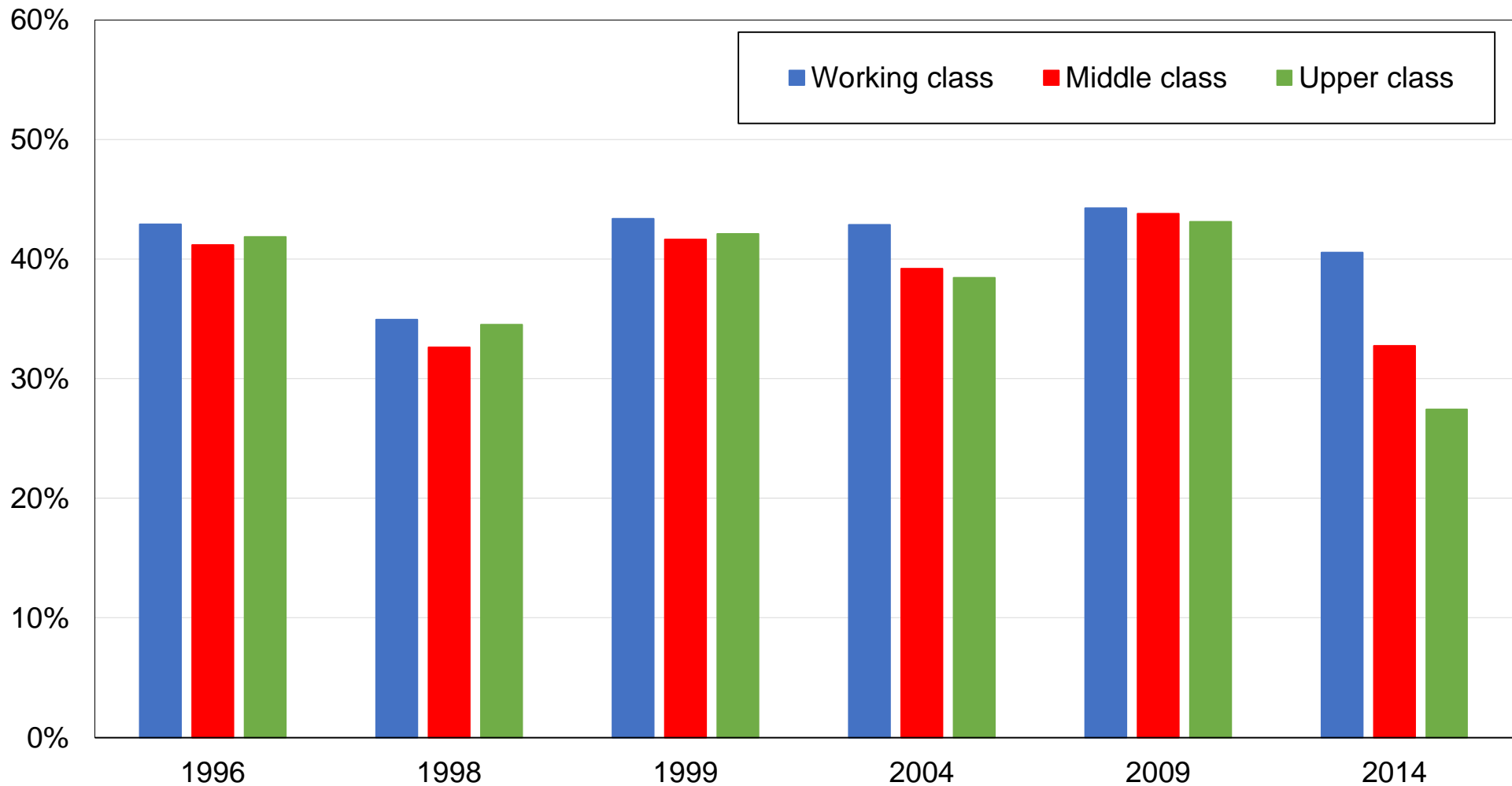
Figure B23 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by income group



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.

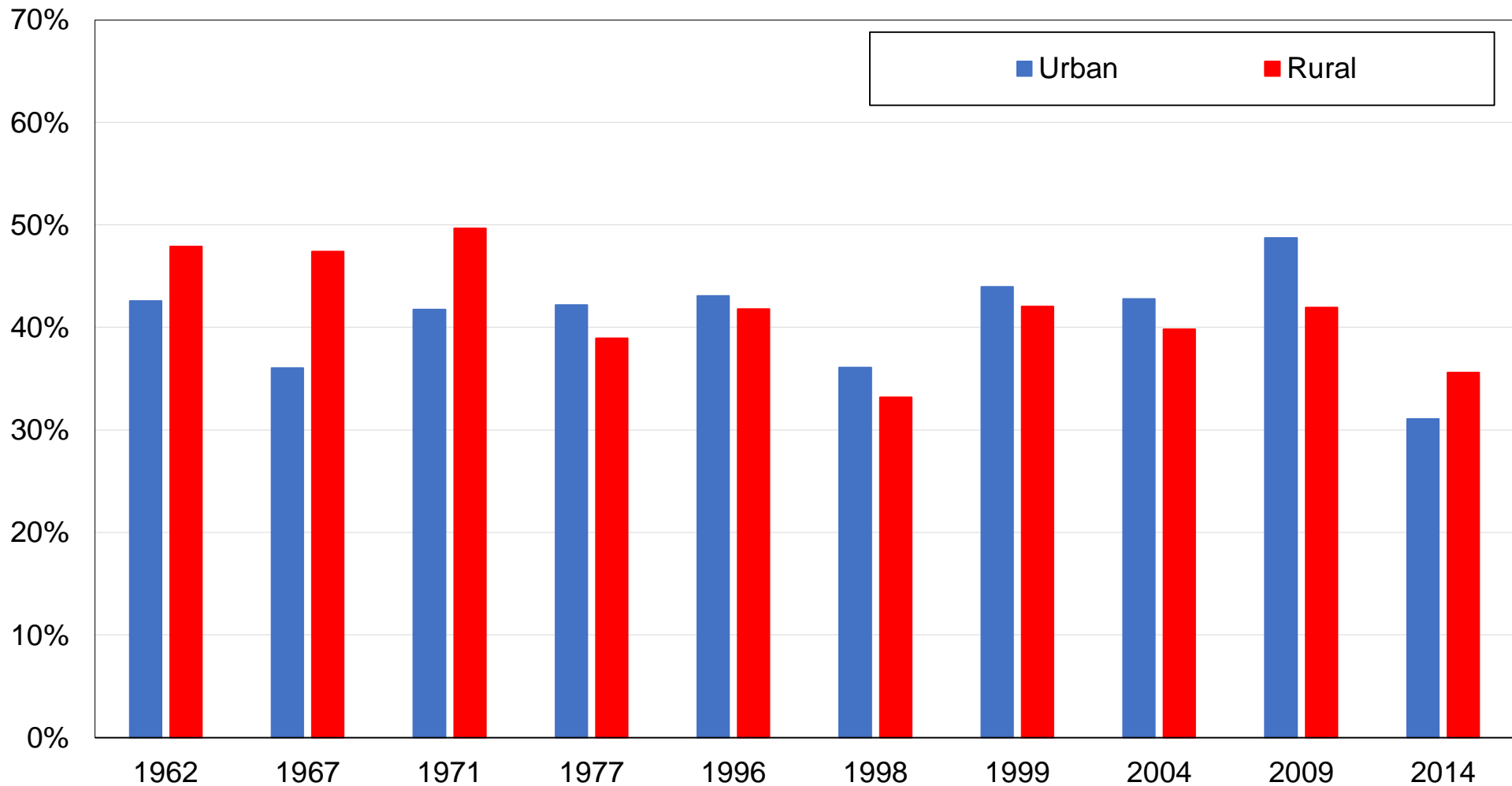
Figure B24 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by social class



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.

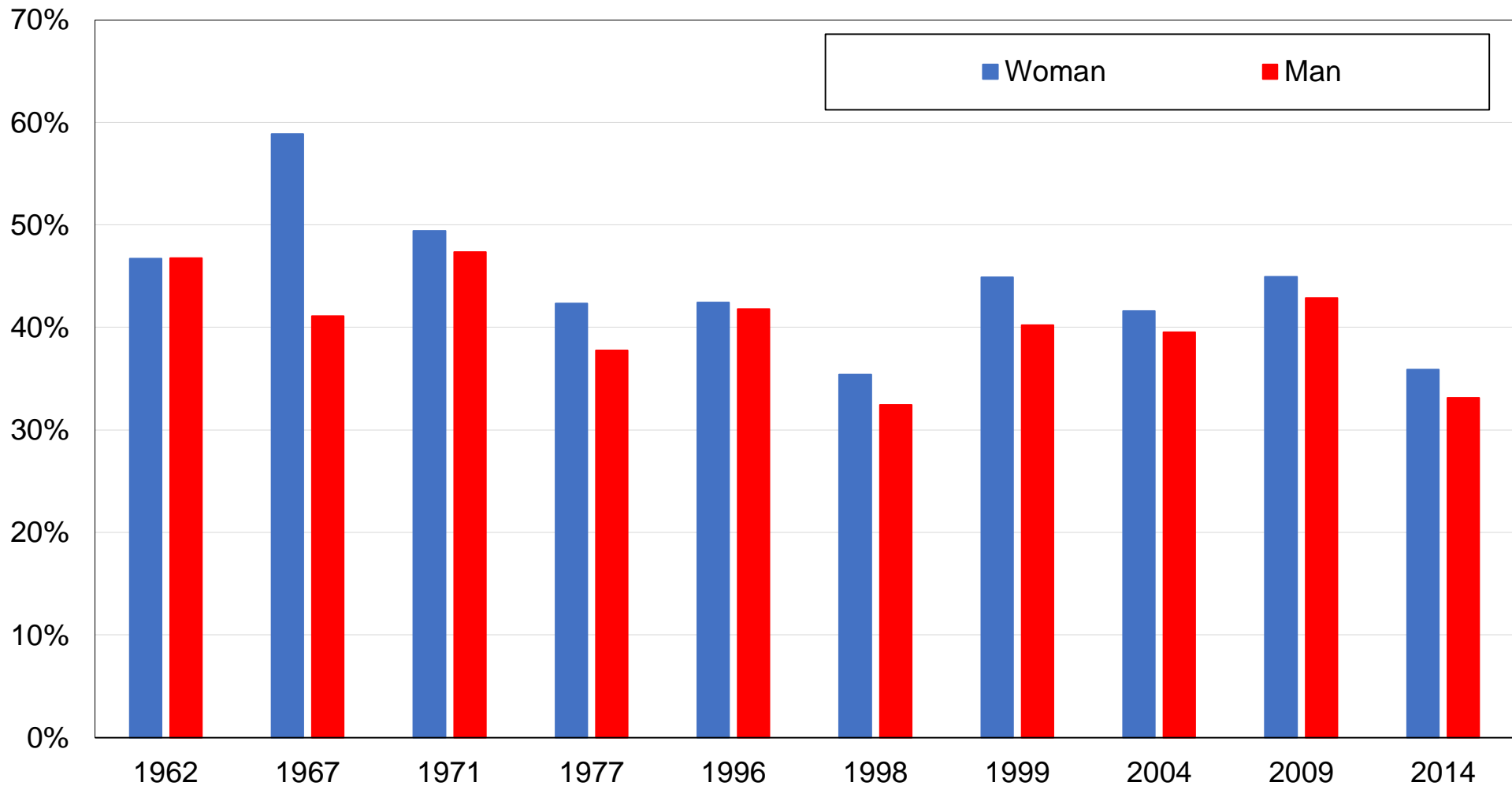
Figure B25 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by location



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.

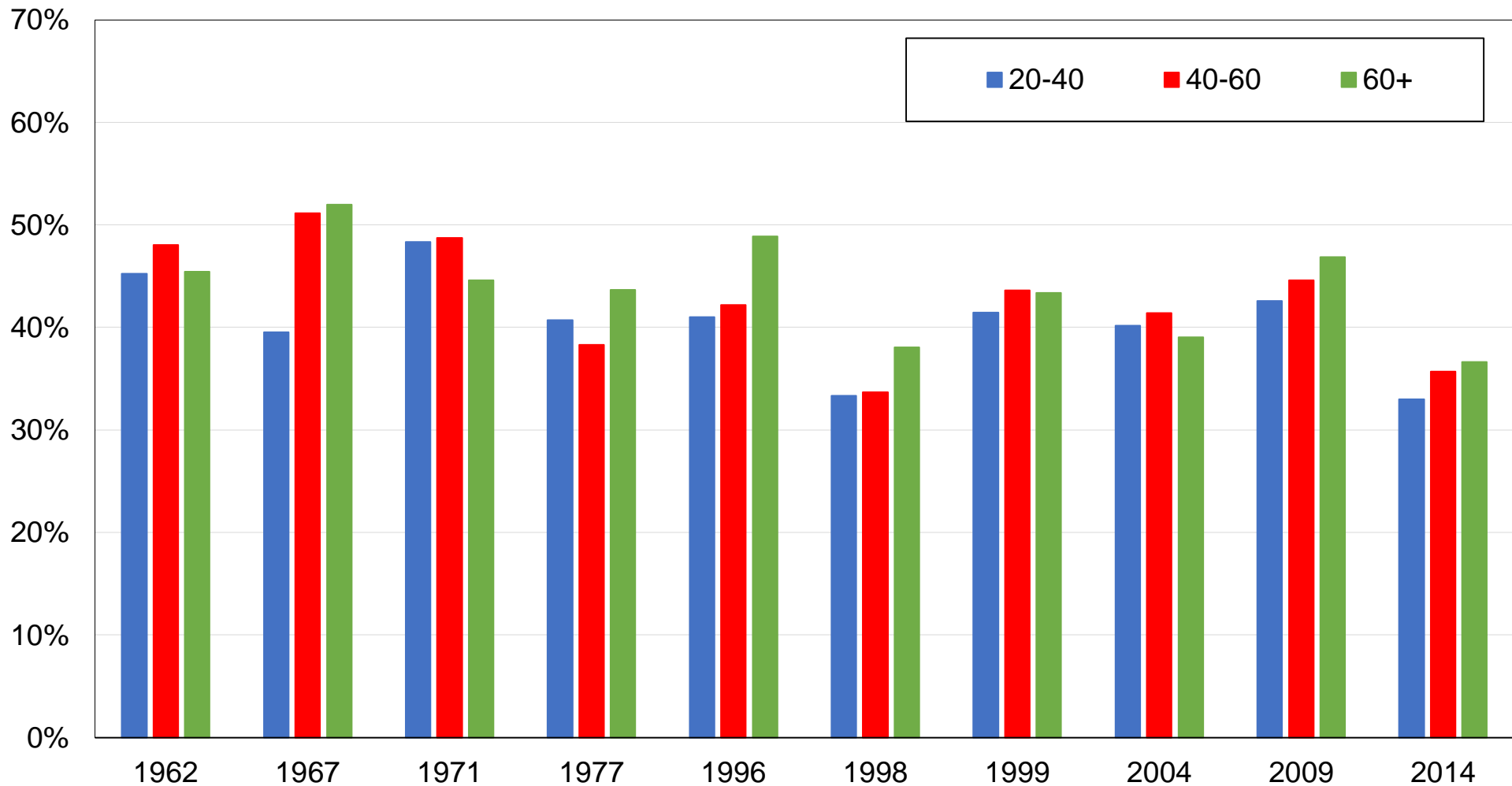
Figure B26 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by gender



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.

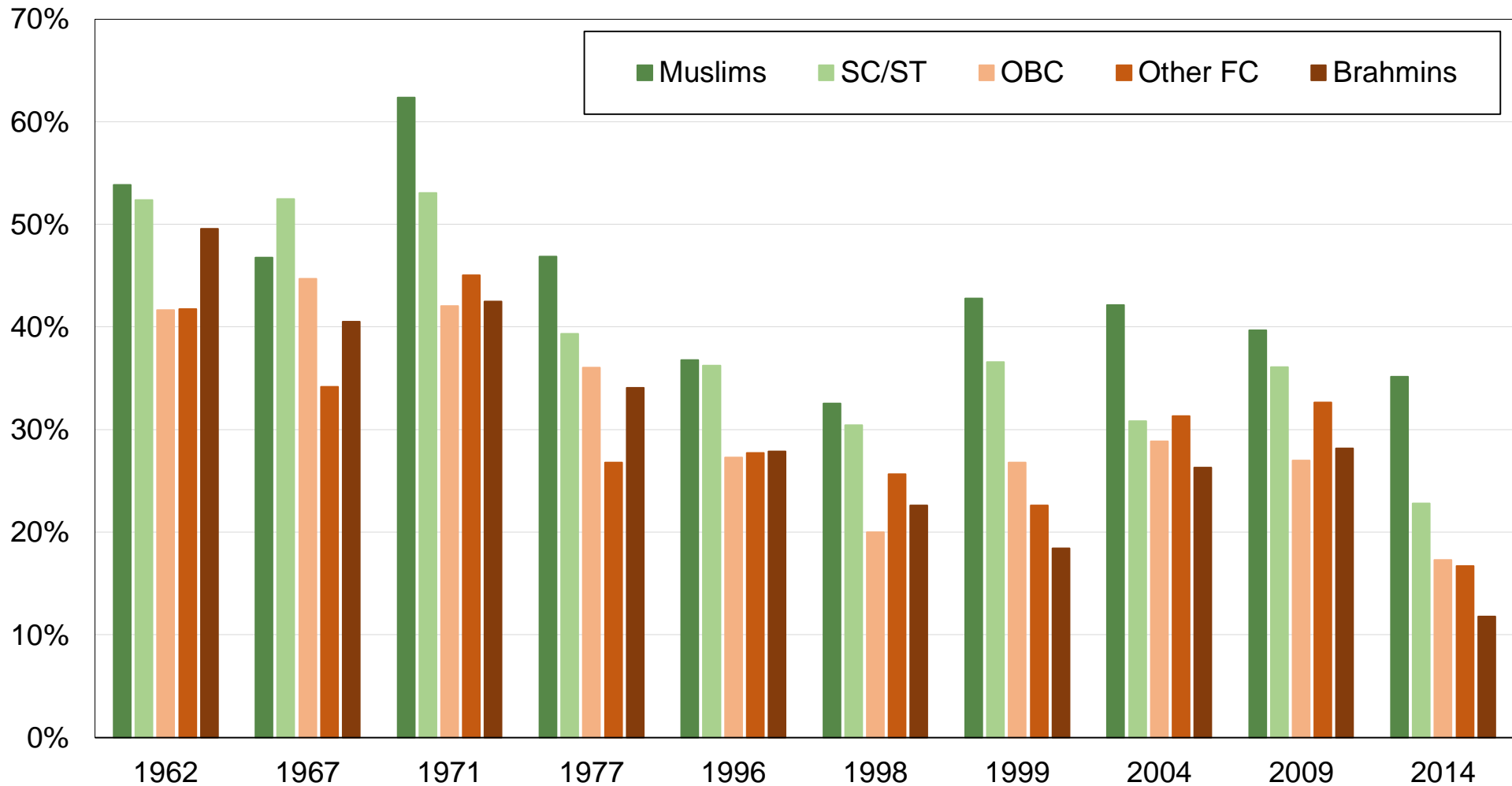
Figure B27 - Vote for Congress and centre parties by age group



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.

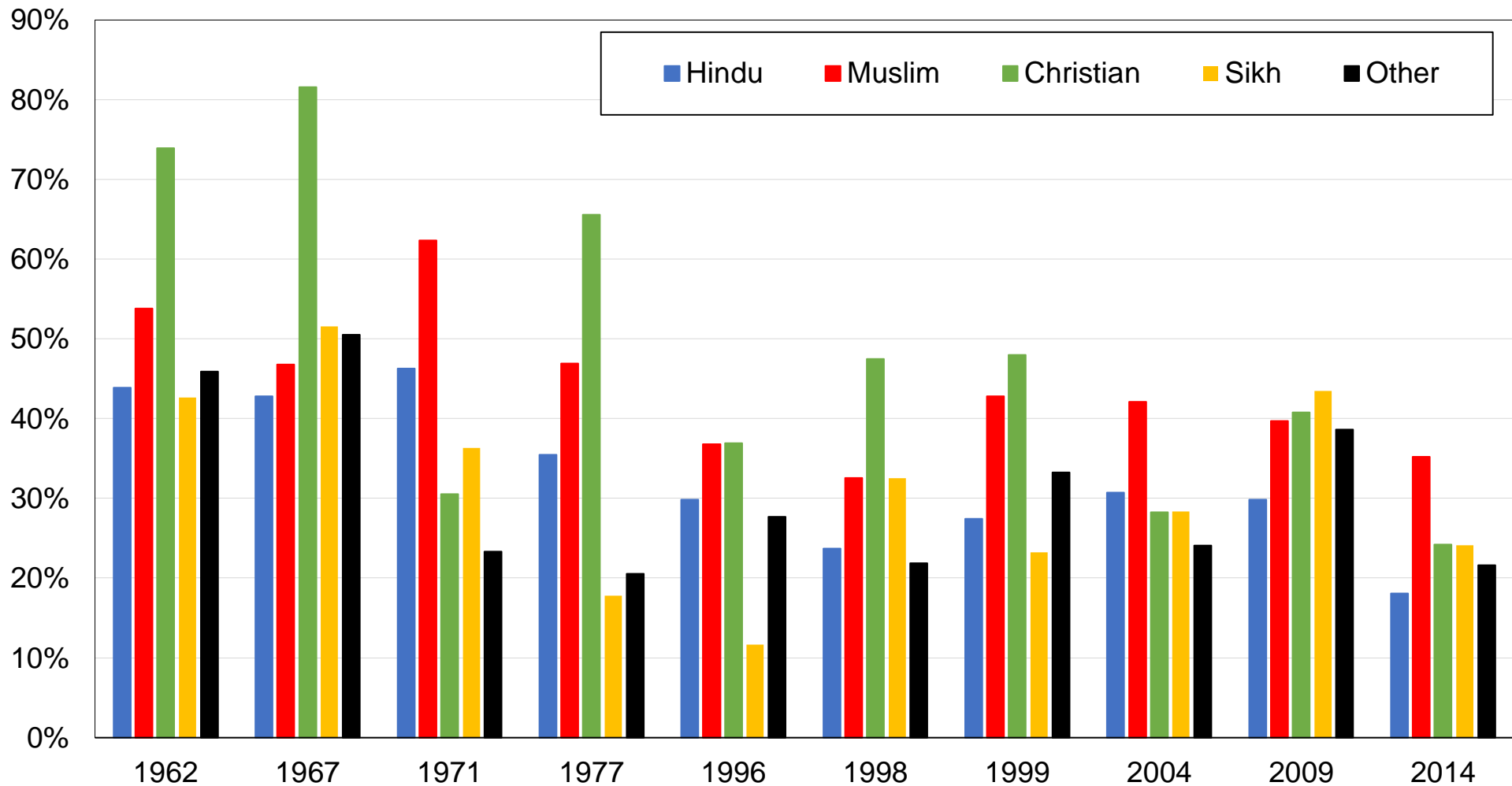
Figure B28 - Vote for Congress by caste / religion



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.

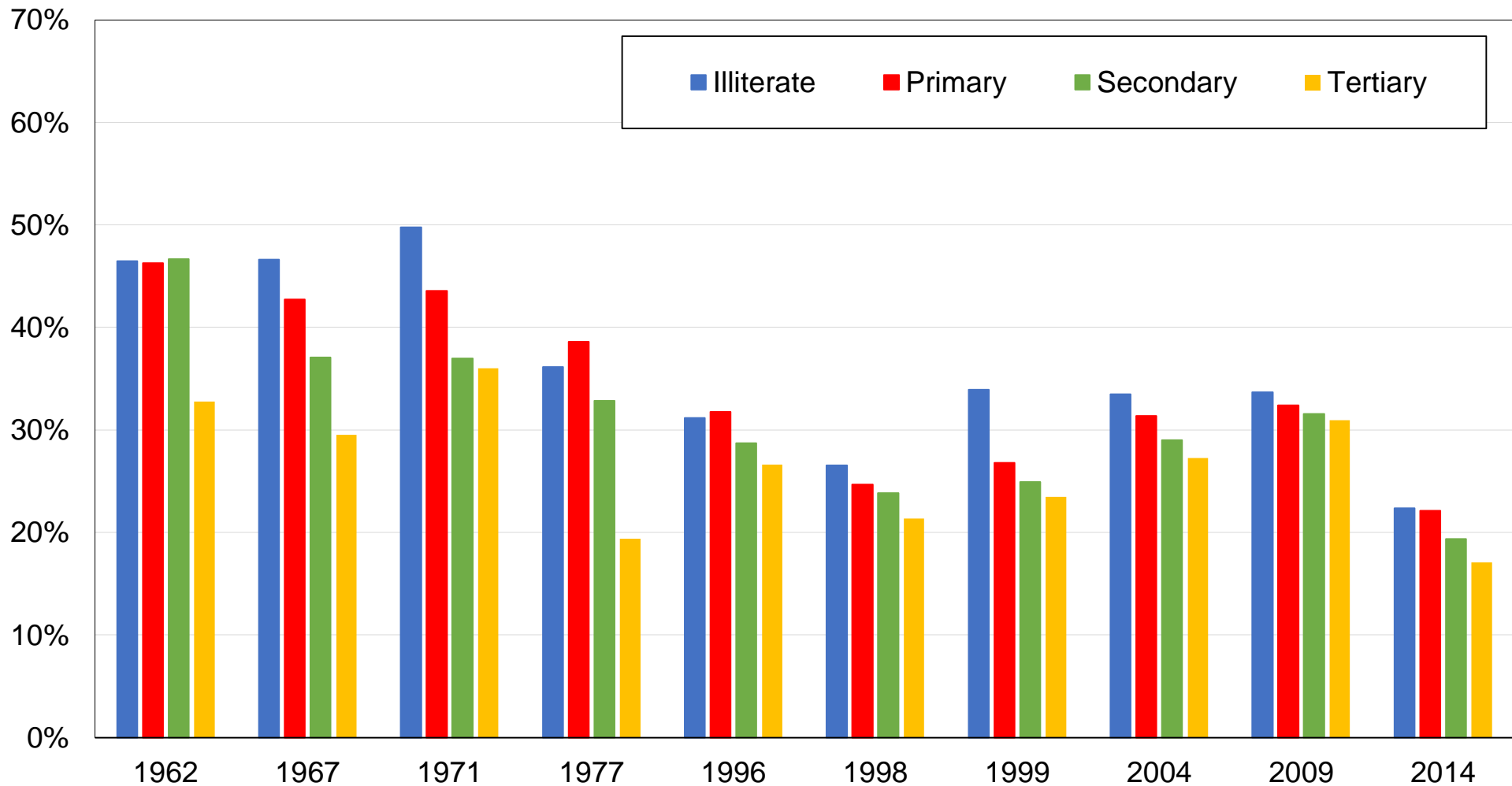
Figure B29 - Vote for Congress by religion



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.

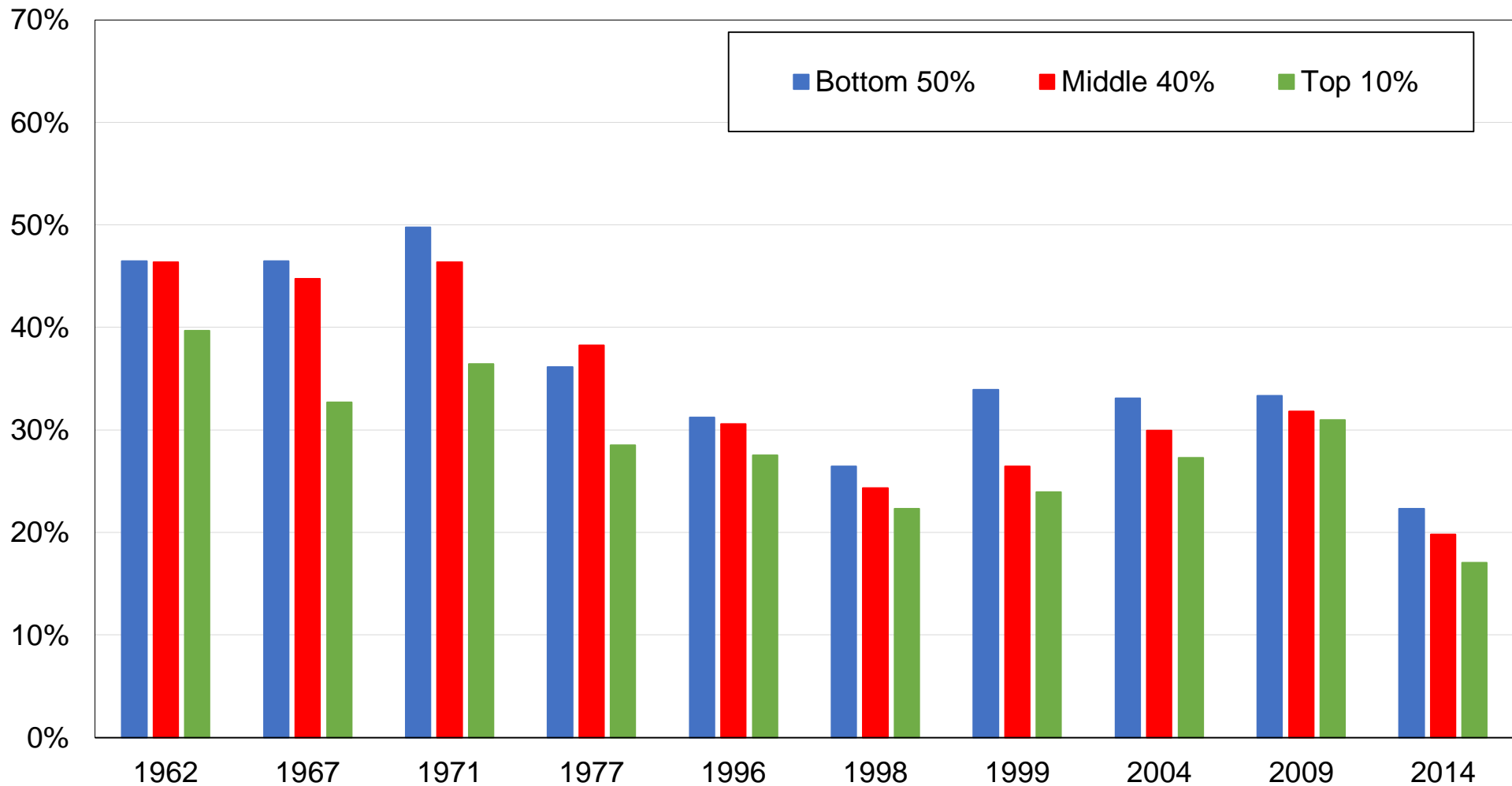
Figure B30 - Vote for Congress by education



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.

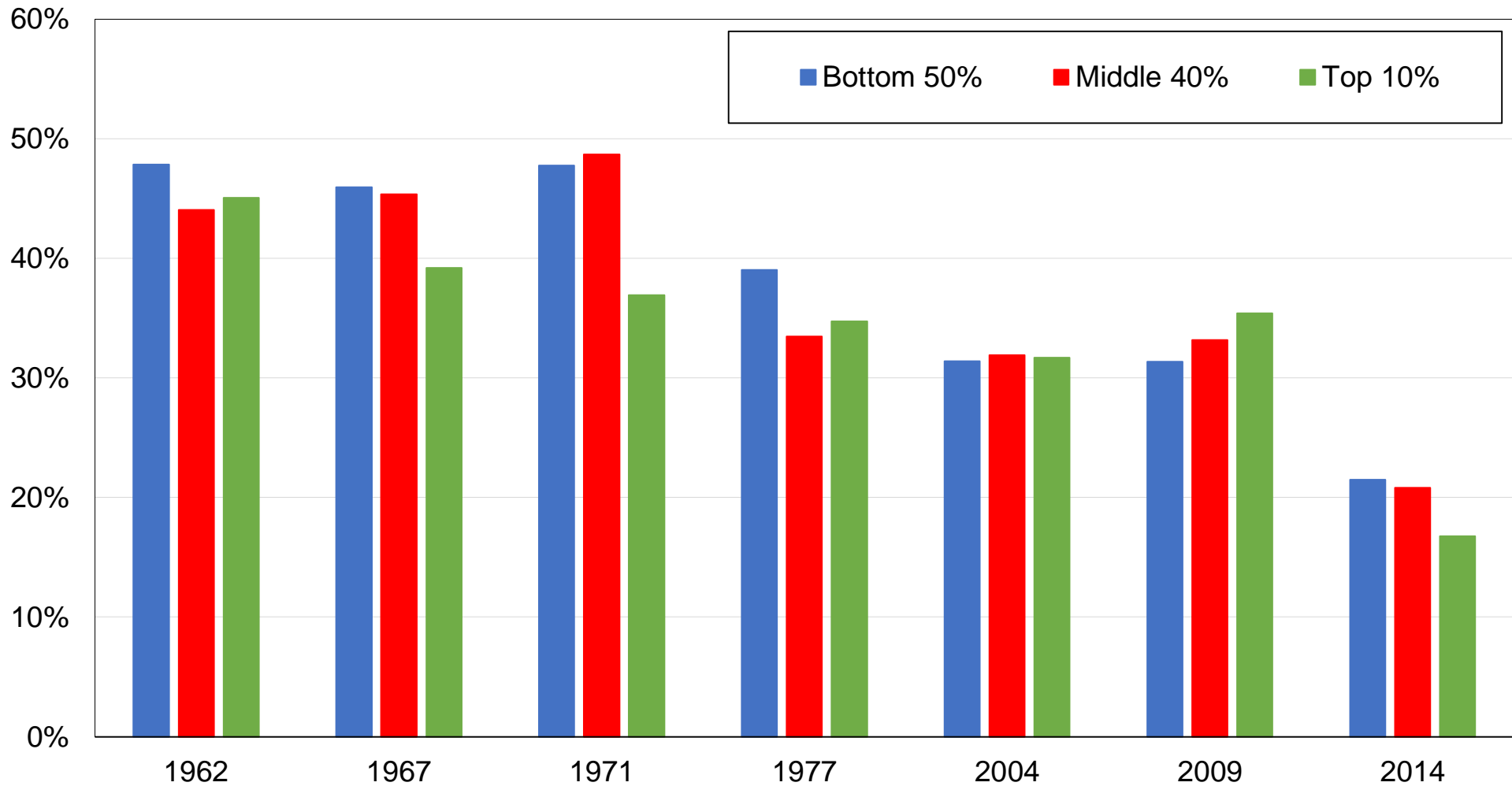
Figure B31 - Vote for Congress by education group



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.

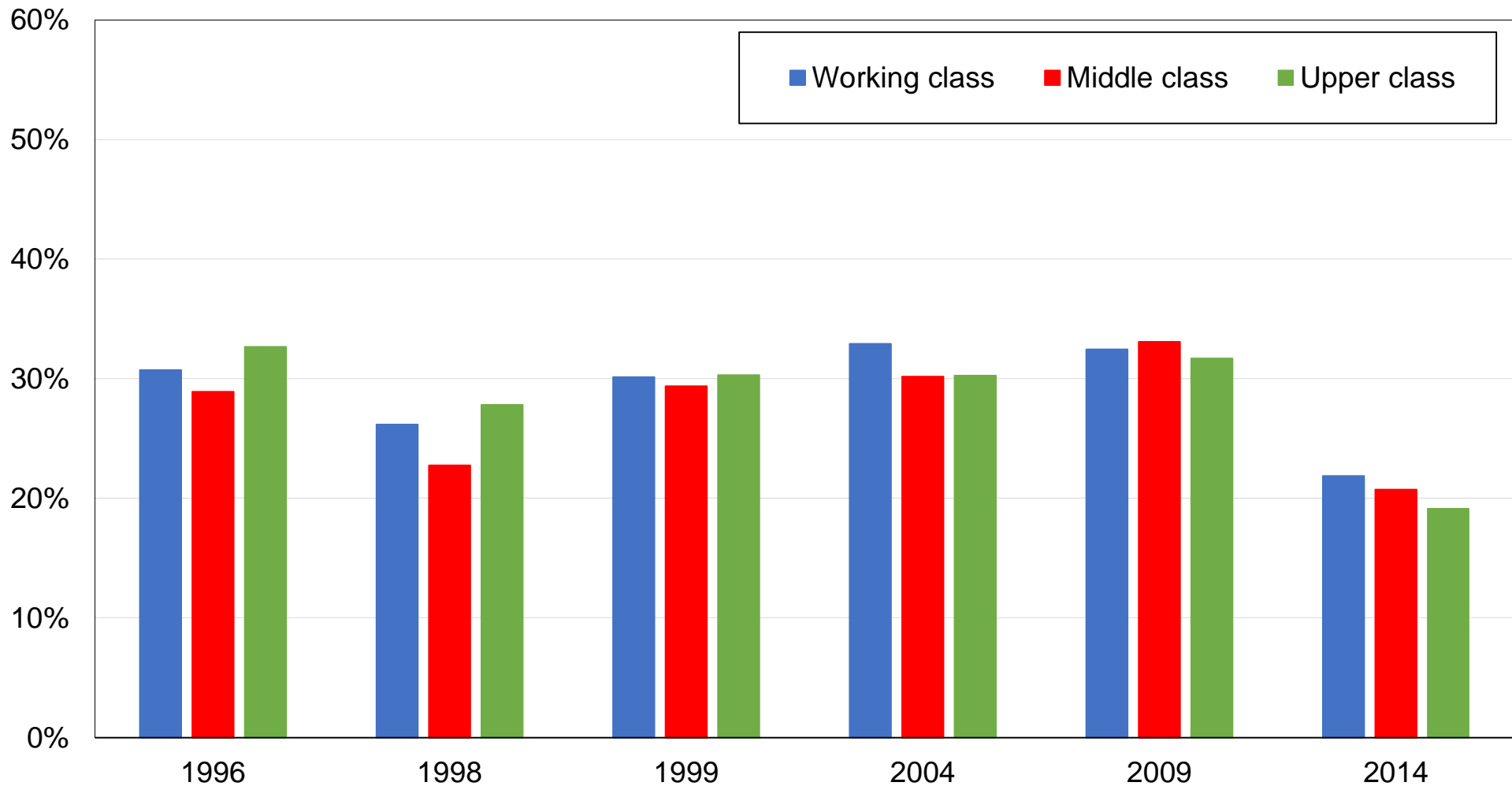
Figure B32 - Vote for Congress by income group



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.

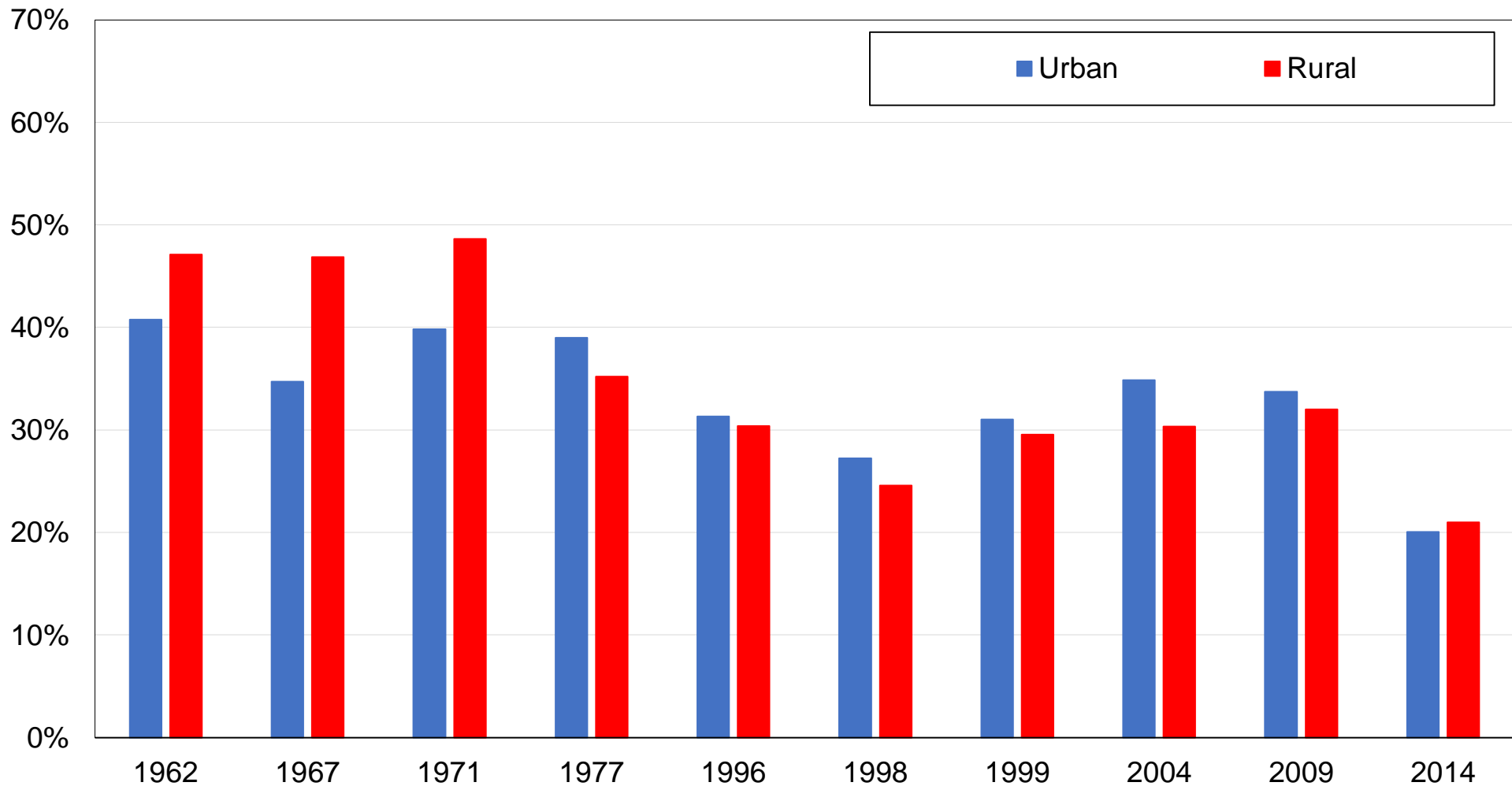
Figure B33 - Vote for Congress by social class



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.

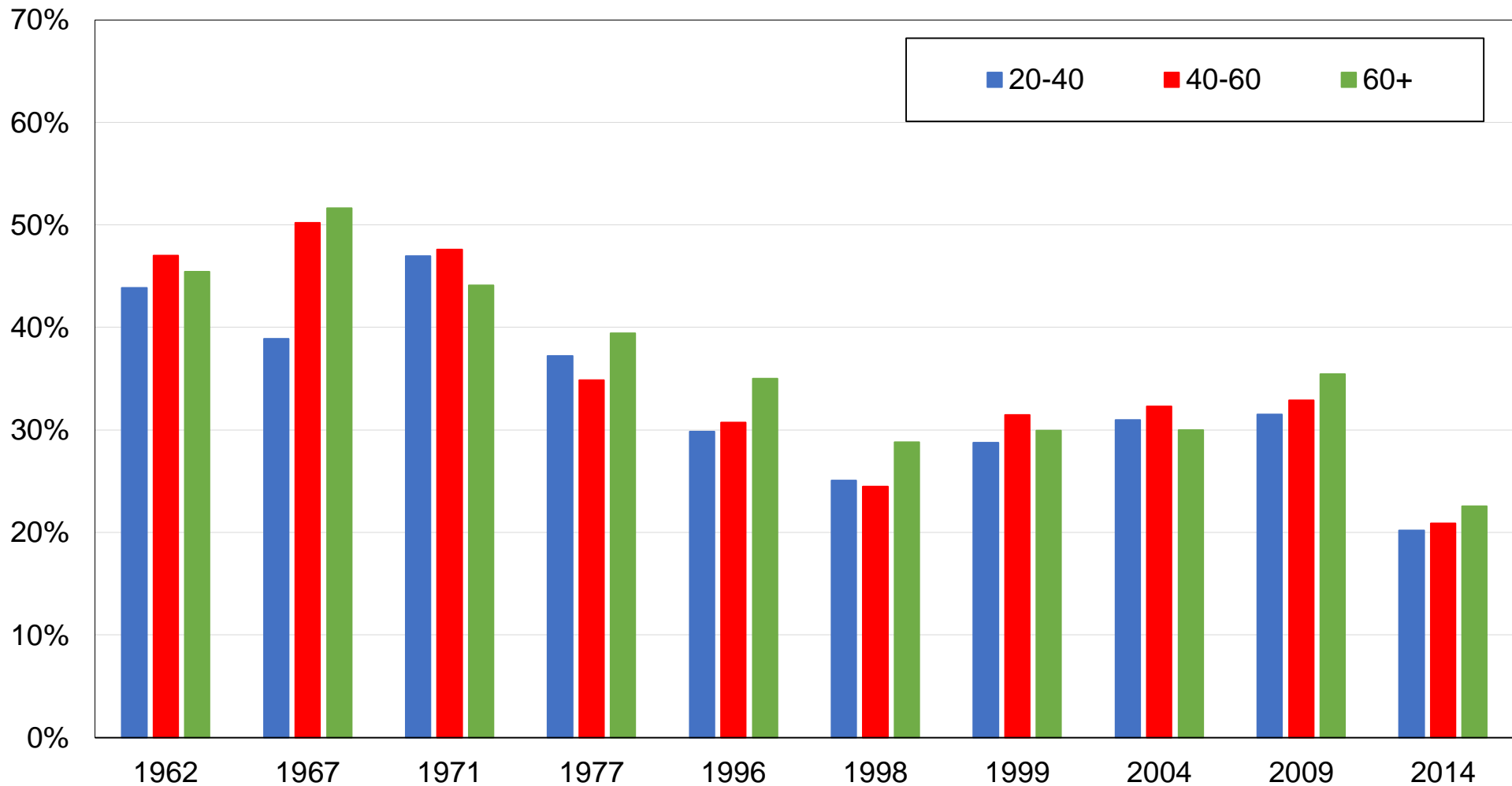
Figure B34 - Vote for Congress by location



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.

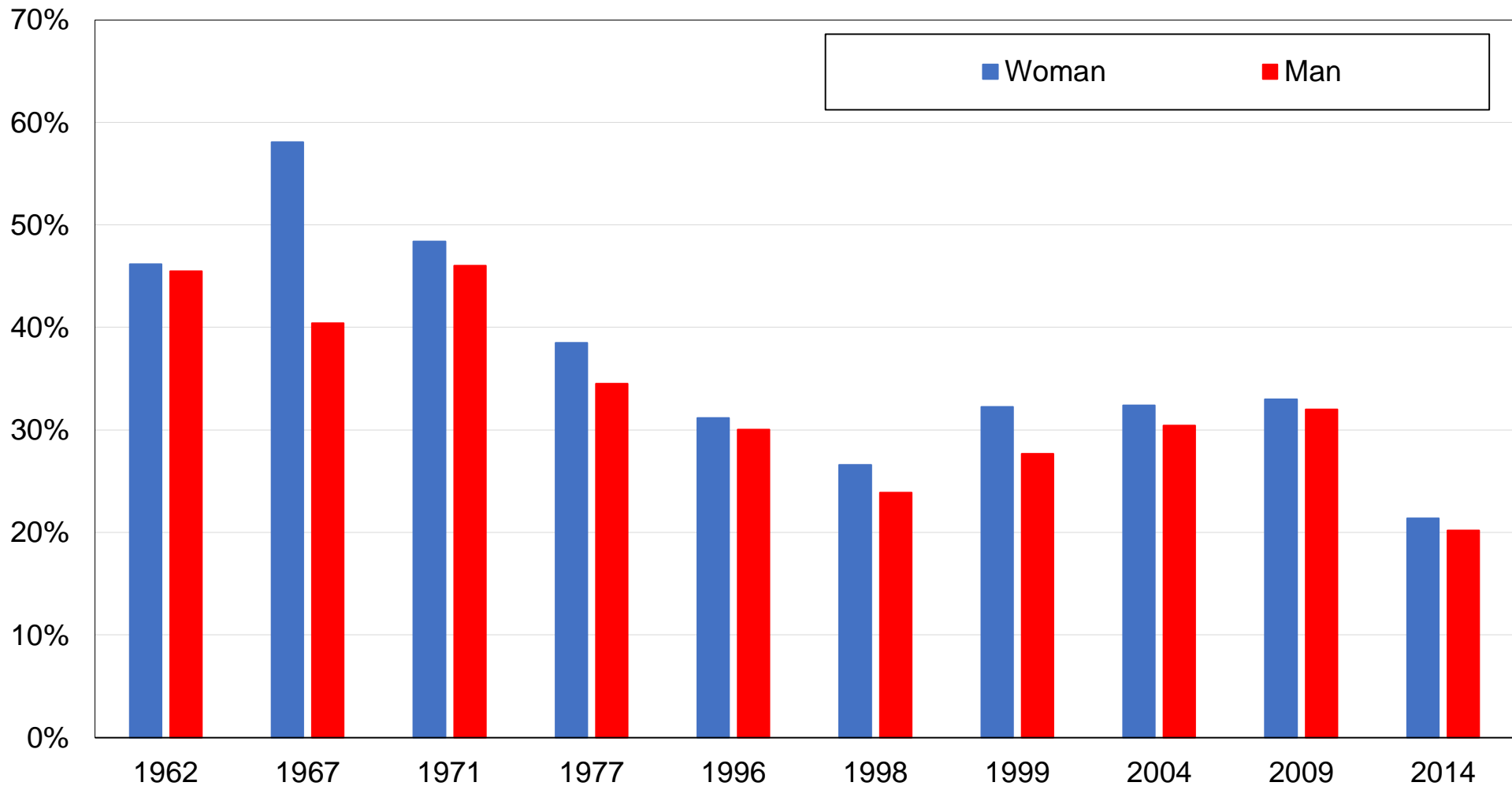
Figure B35 - Vote for Congress by age group



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.

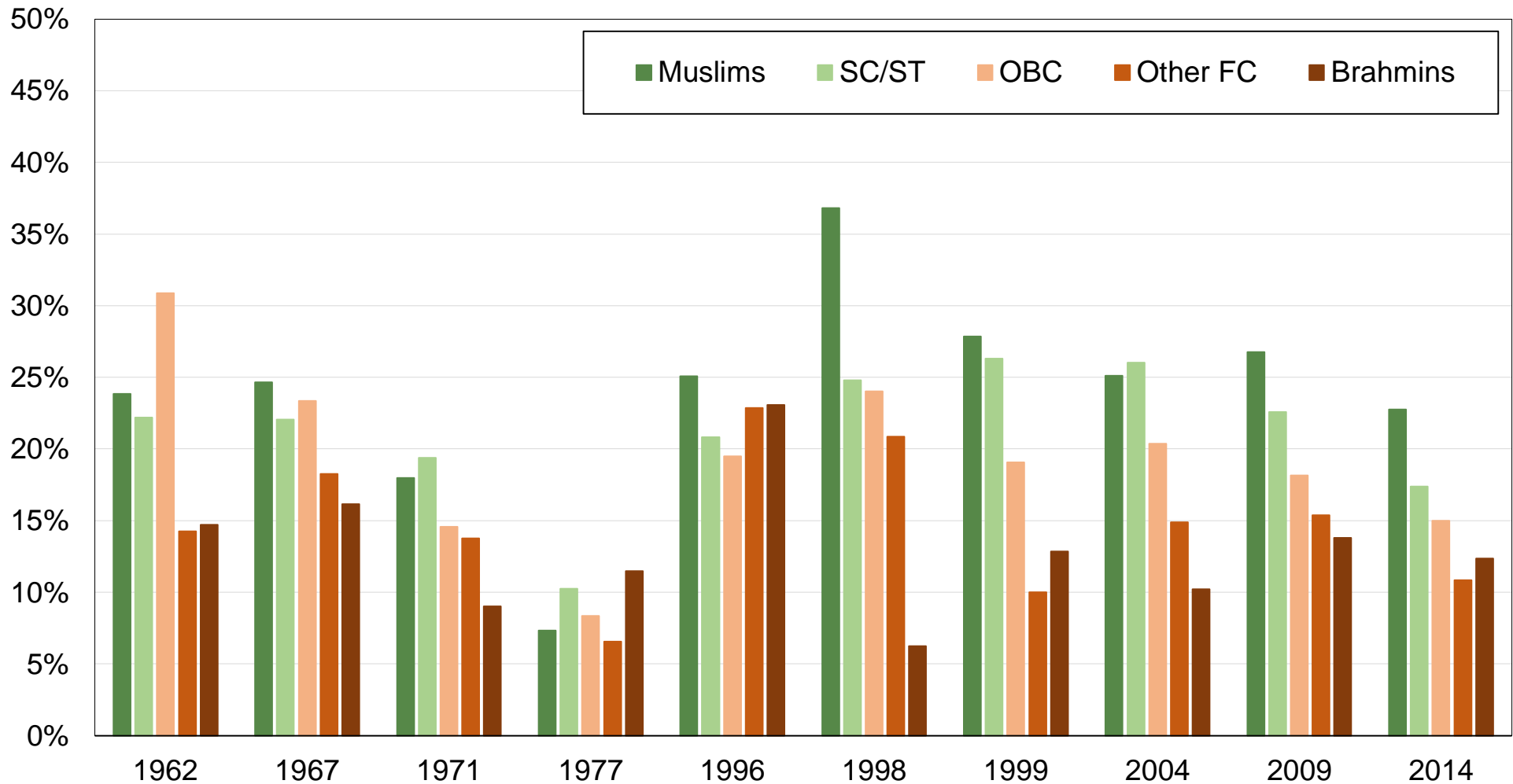
Figure B36 - Vote for Congress by gender



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.

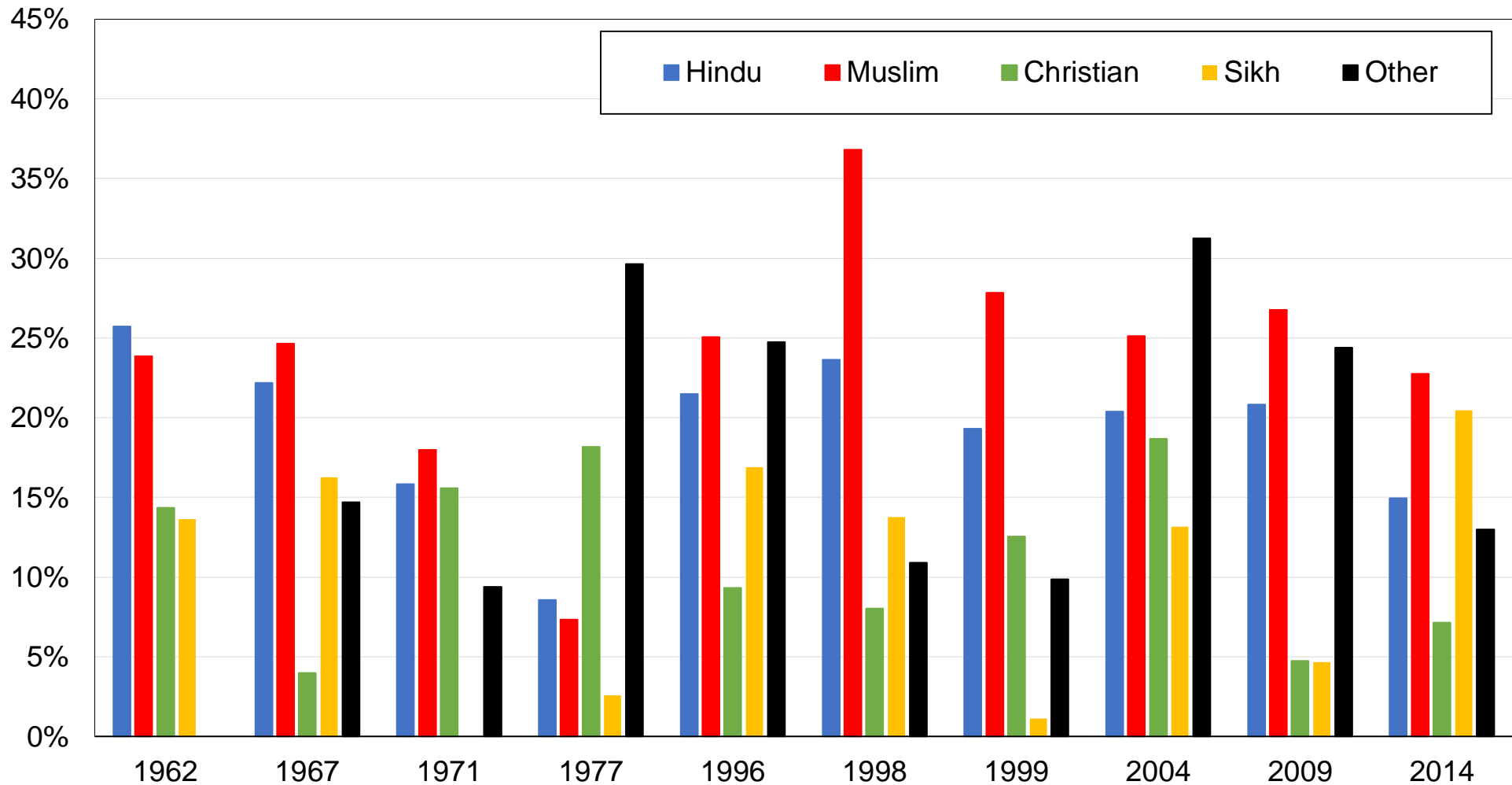
Figure B37 - Vote for left parties by caste / religion



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.

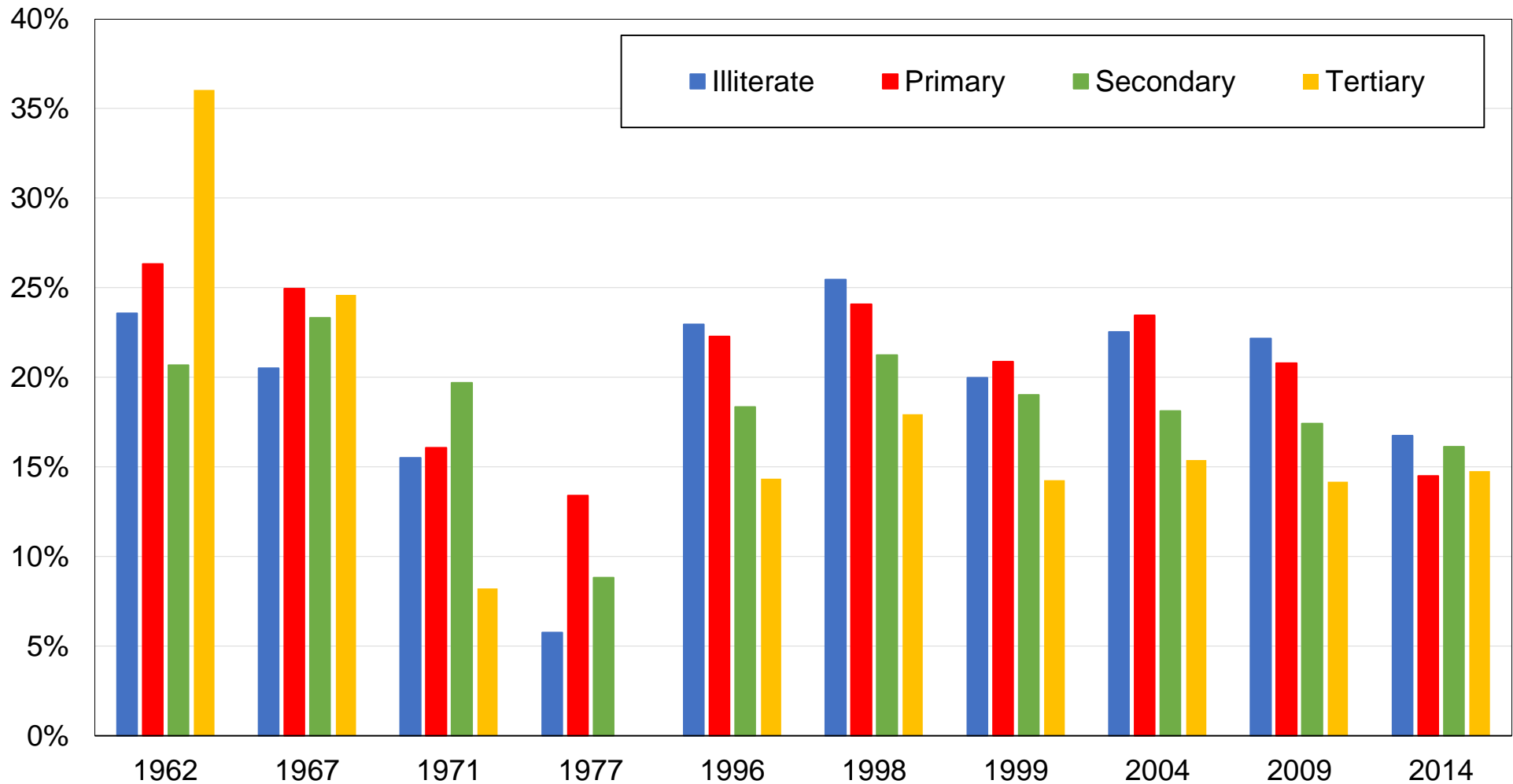
Figure B38 - Vote for left parties by religion



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.

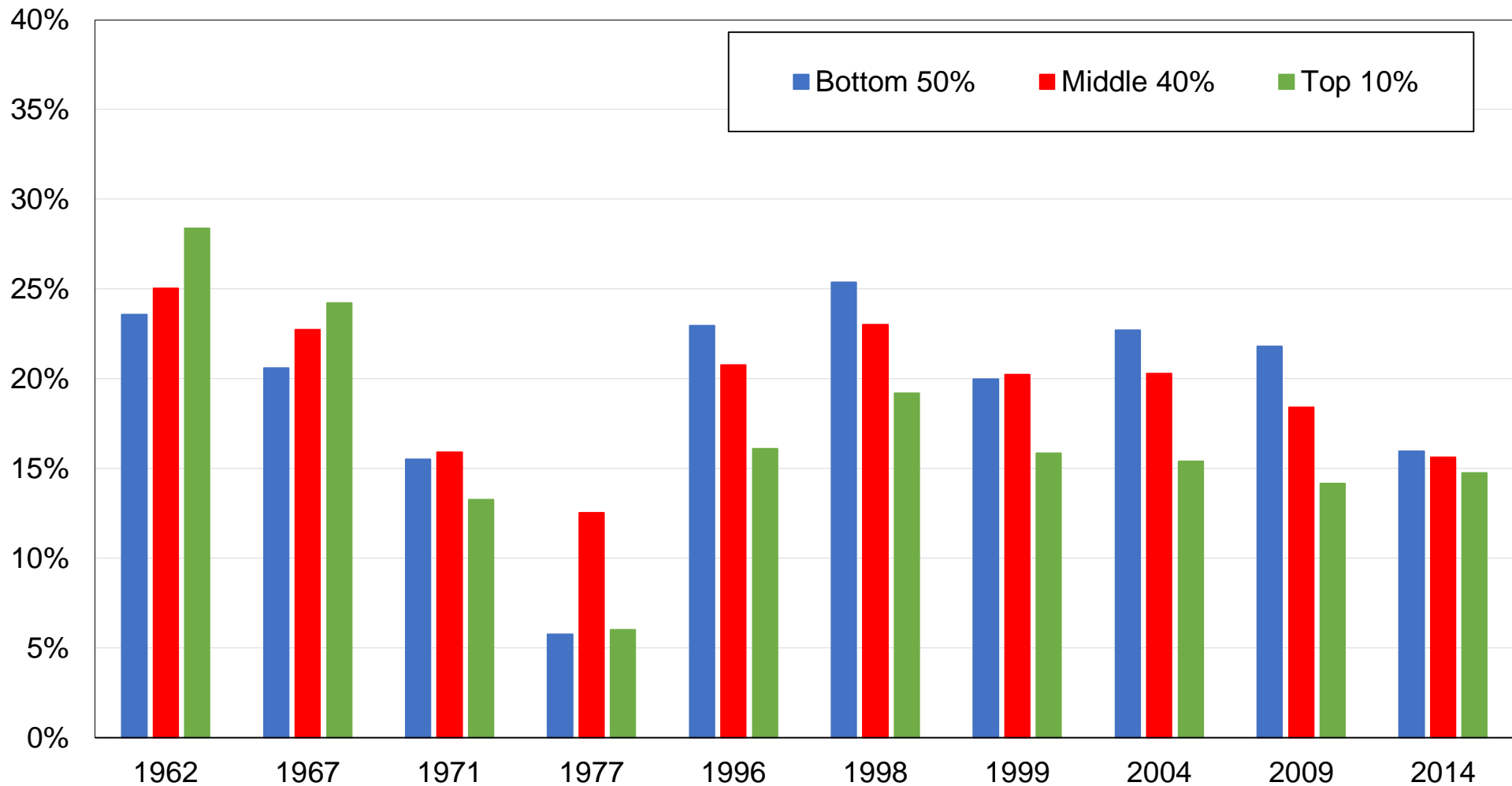
Figure B39 - Vote for left parties by education



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.

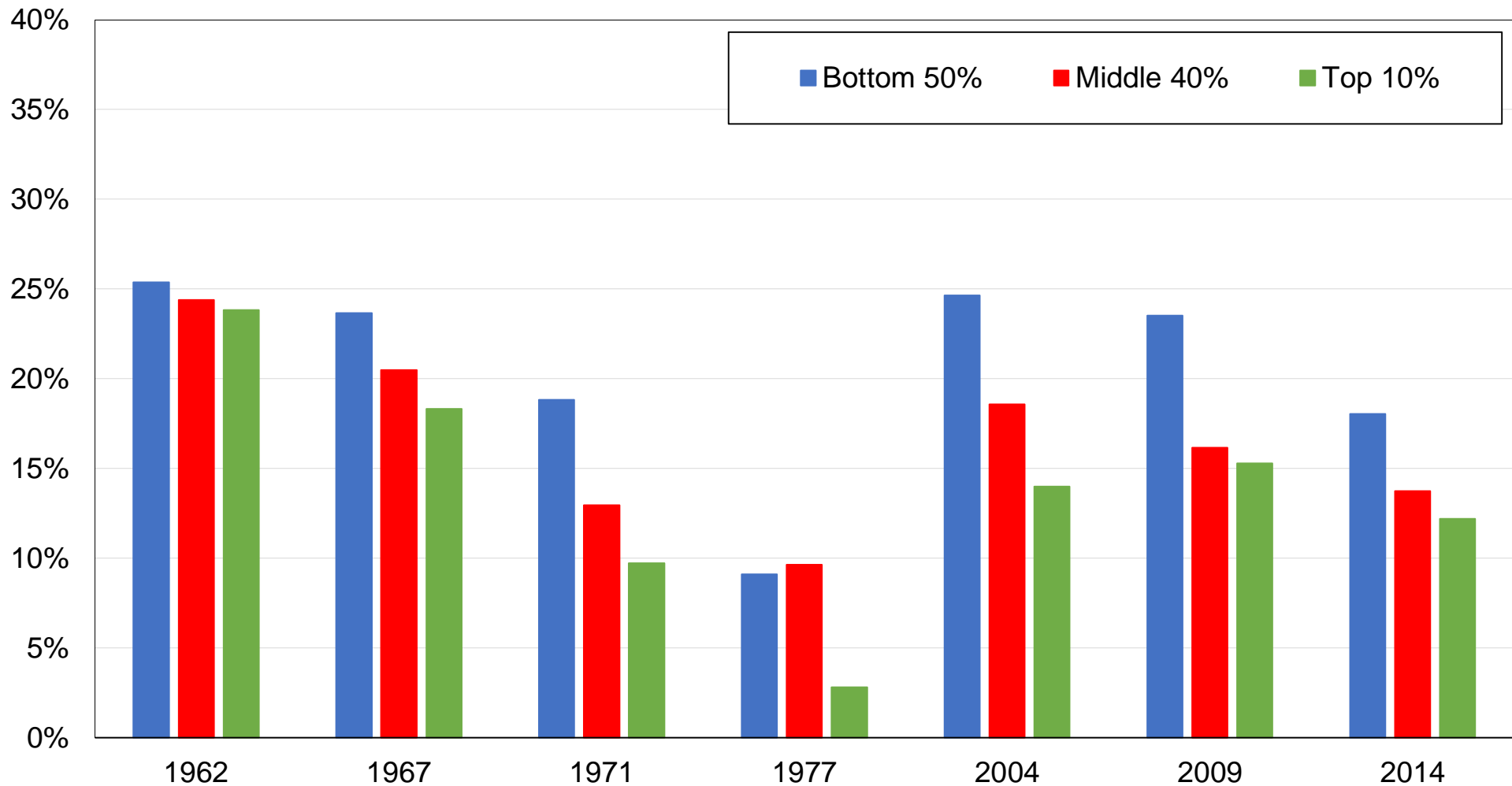
Figure B40 - Vote for left parties by education group



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.

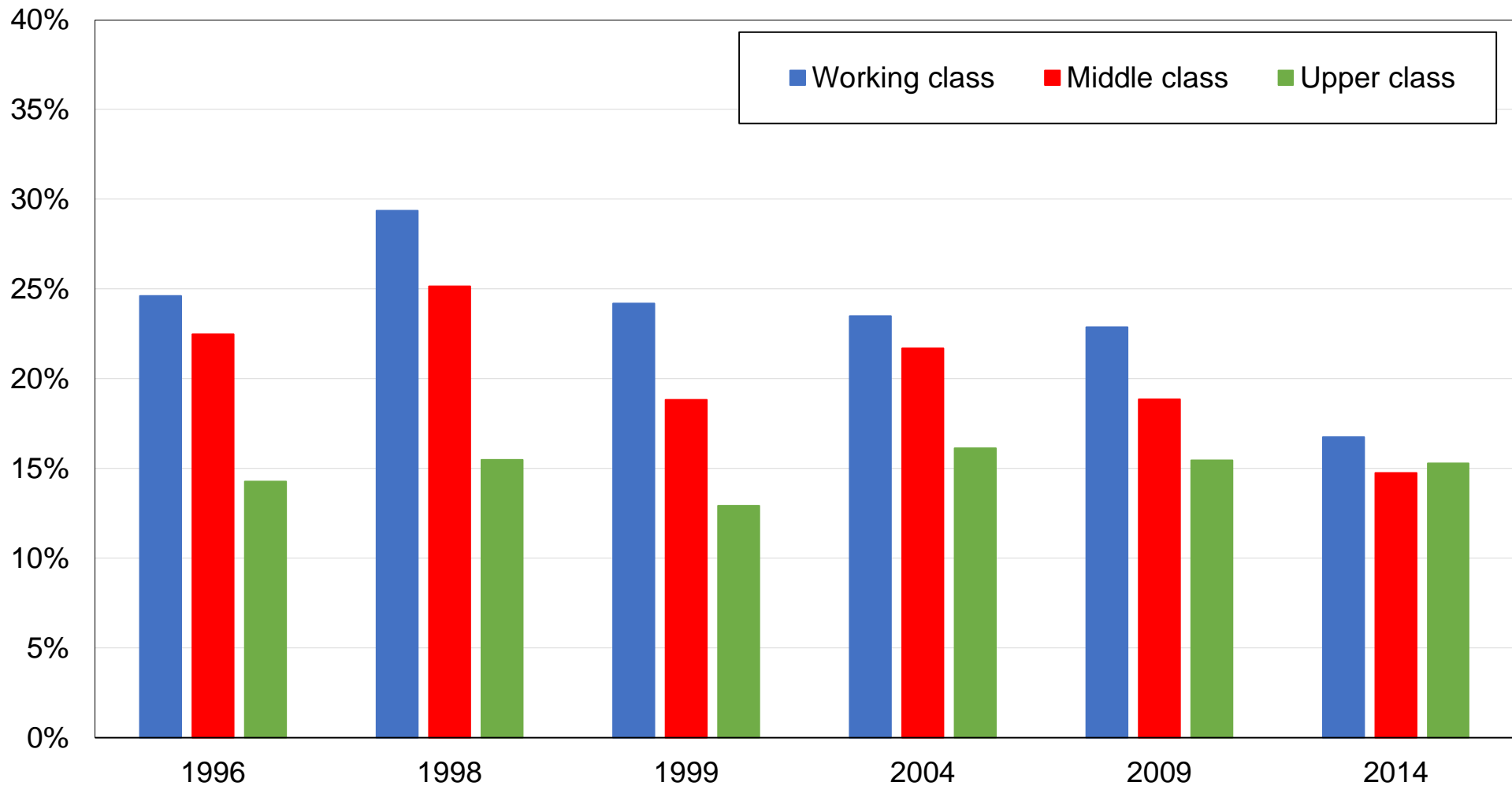
Figure B41 - Vote for left parties by income group



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.

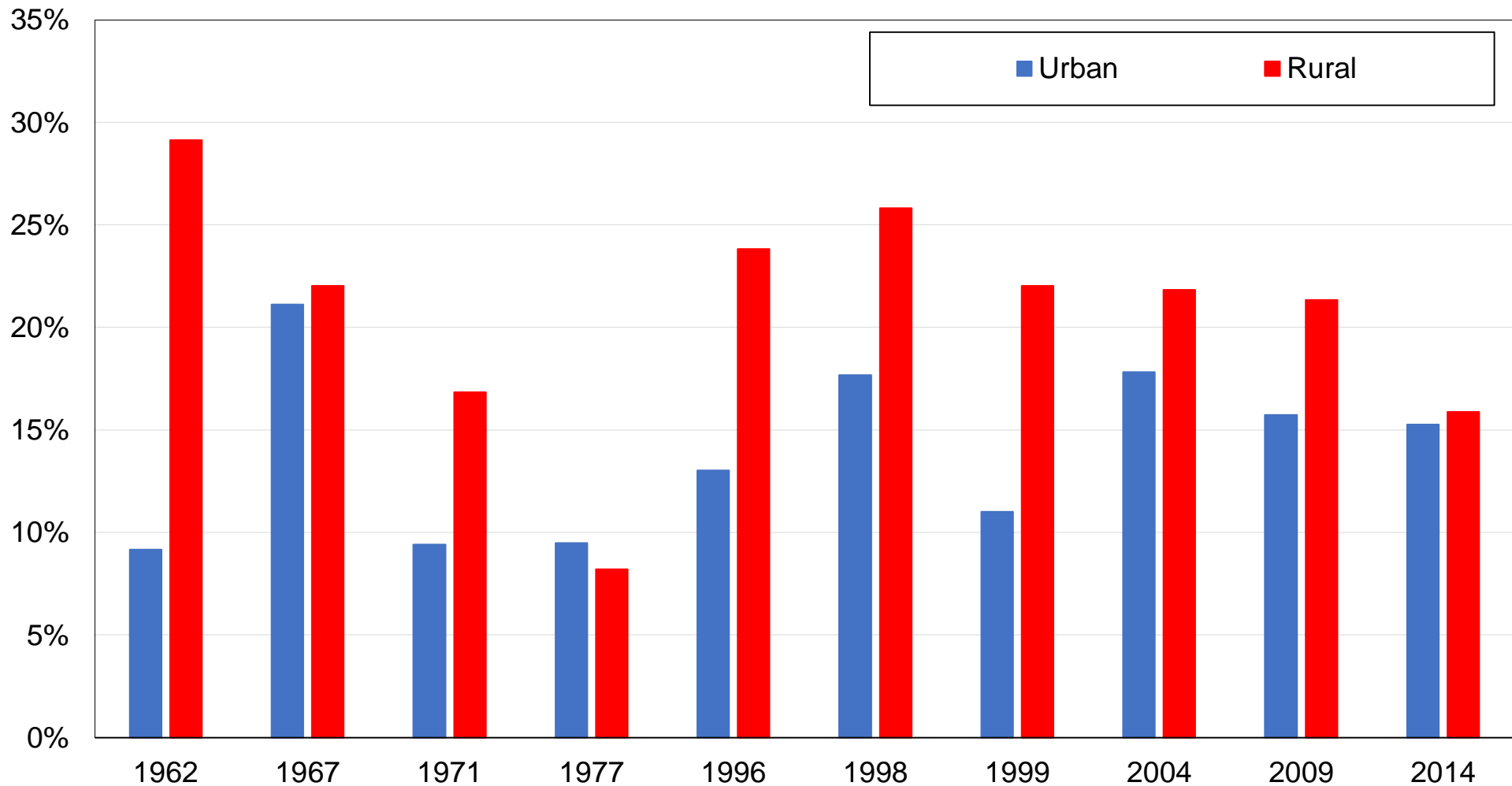
Figure B42 - Vote for left parties by social class



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.

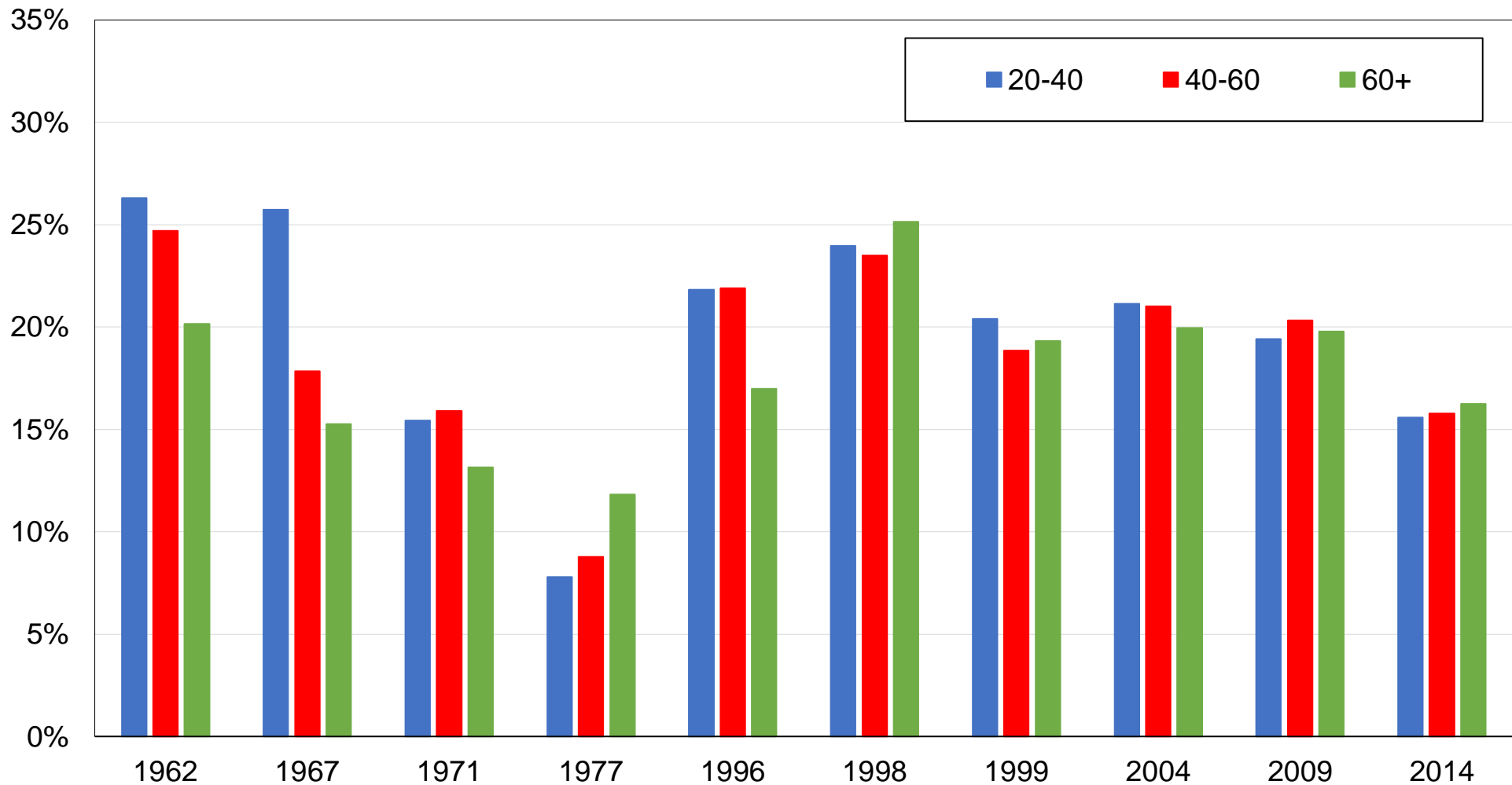
Figure B43 - Vote for left parties by location



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.

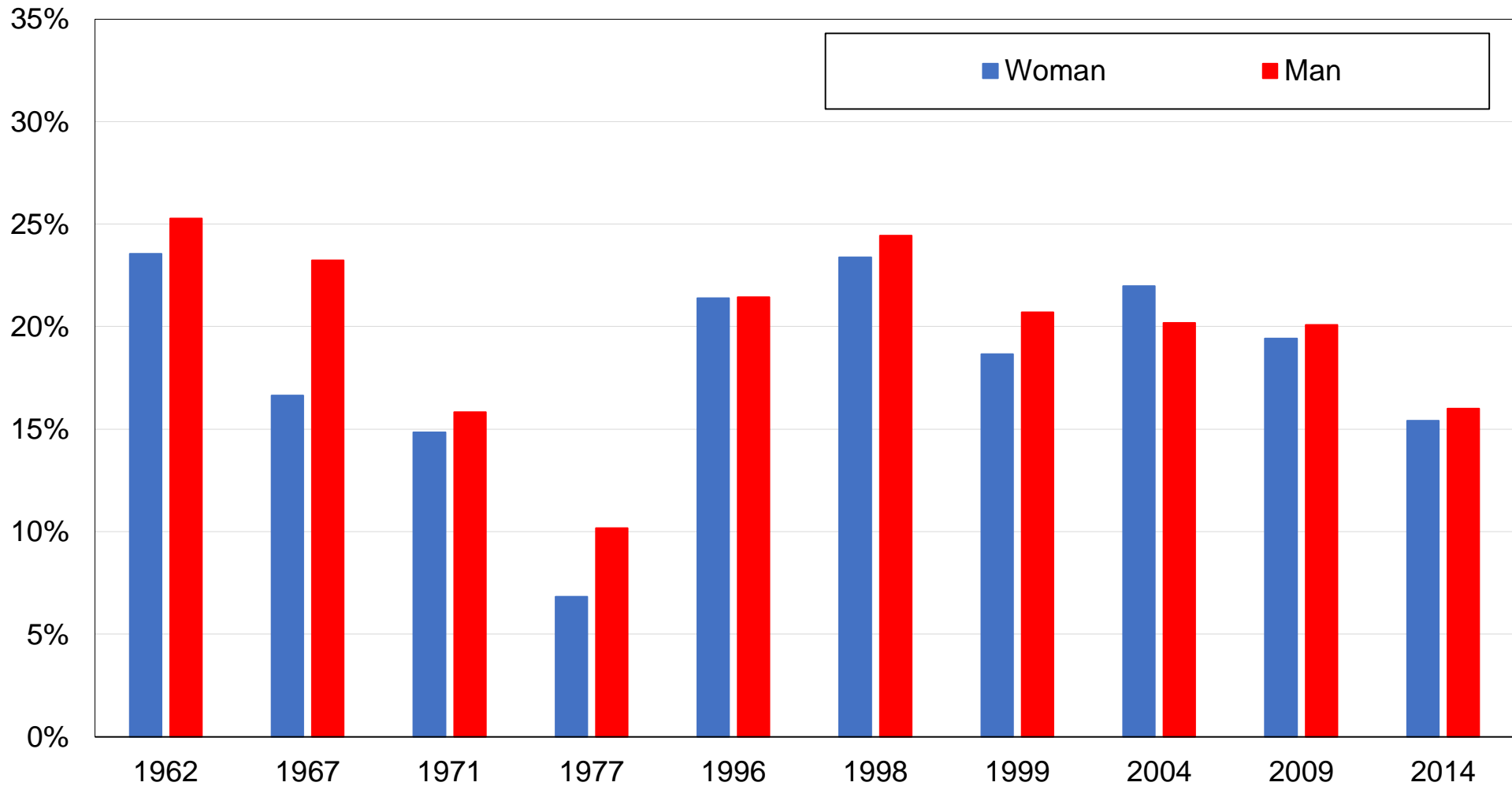
Figure B44 - Vote for left parties by age group



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.

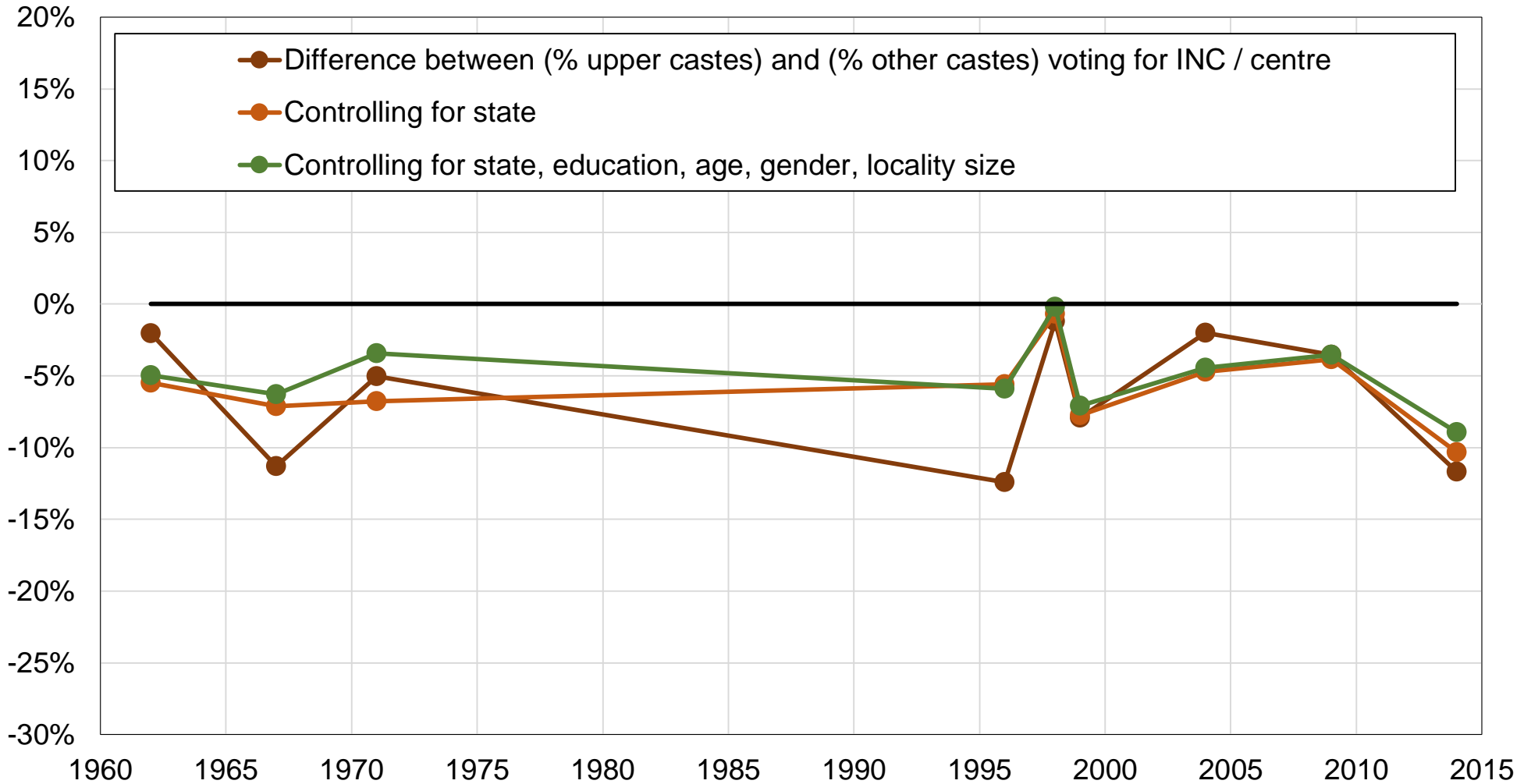
Figure B45 - Vote for left parties by gender



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.

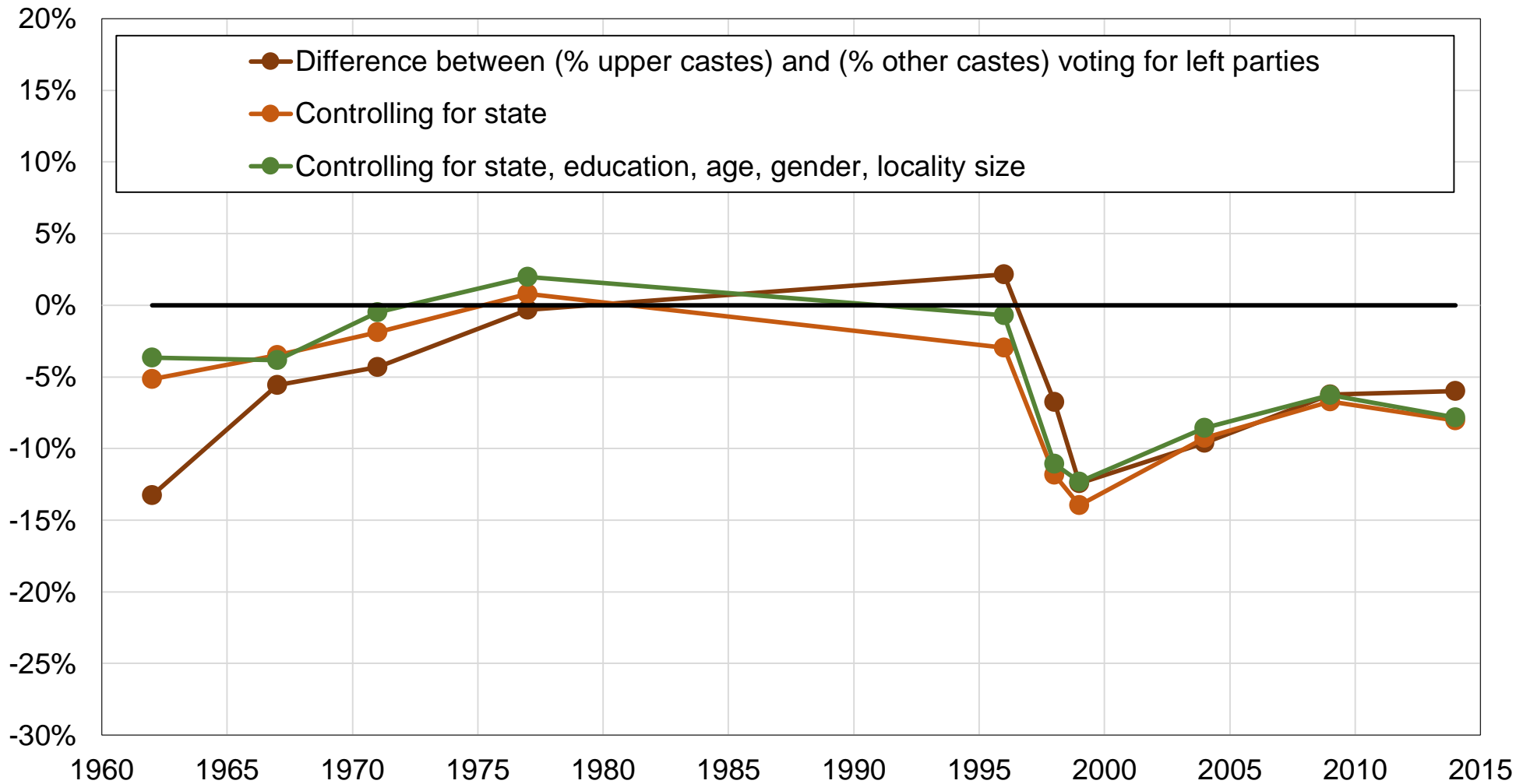
Figure B46 - Vote for Congress / centre among upper castes



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.

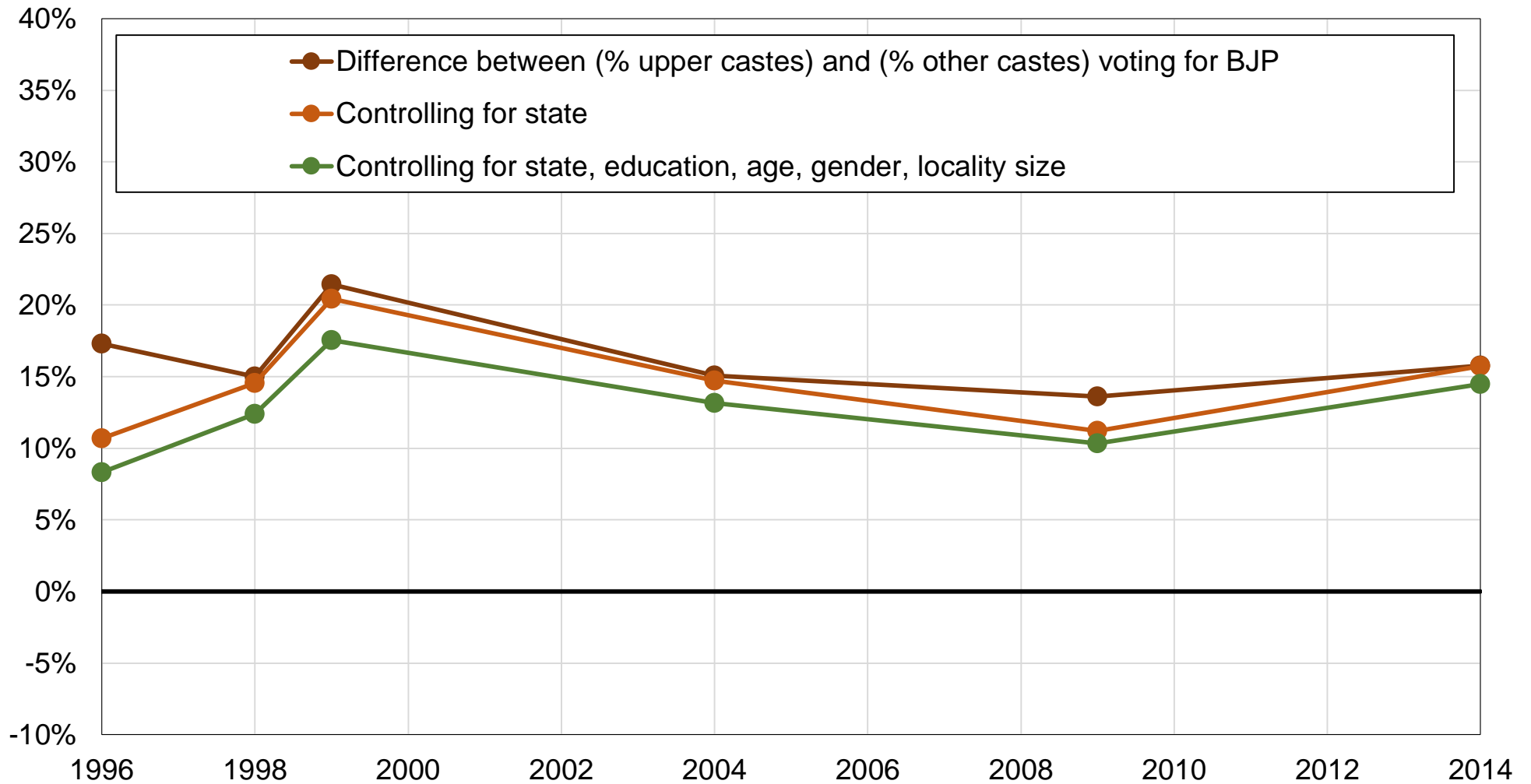
Figure B47 - Vote for left parties among upper castes



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.

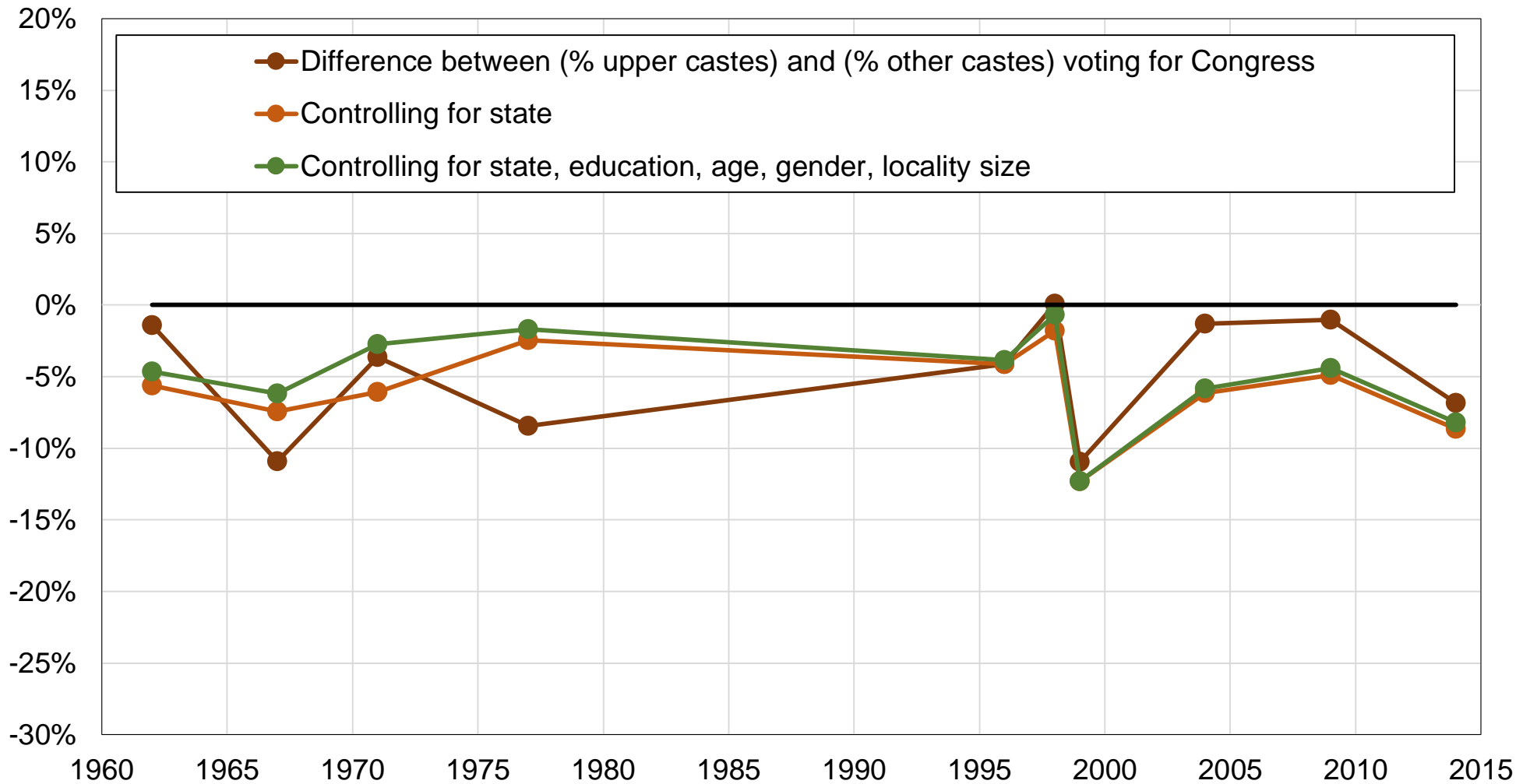
Figure B48 - Vote for BJP among upper castes



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.

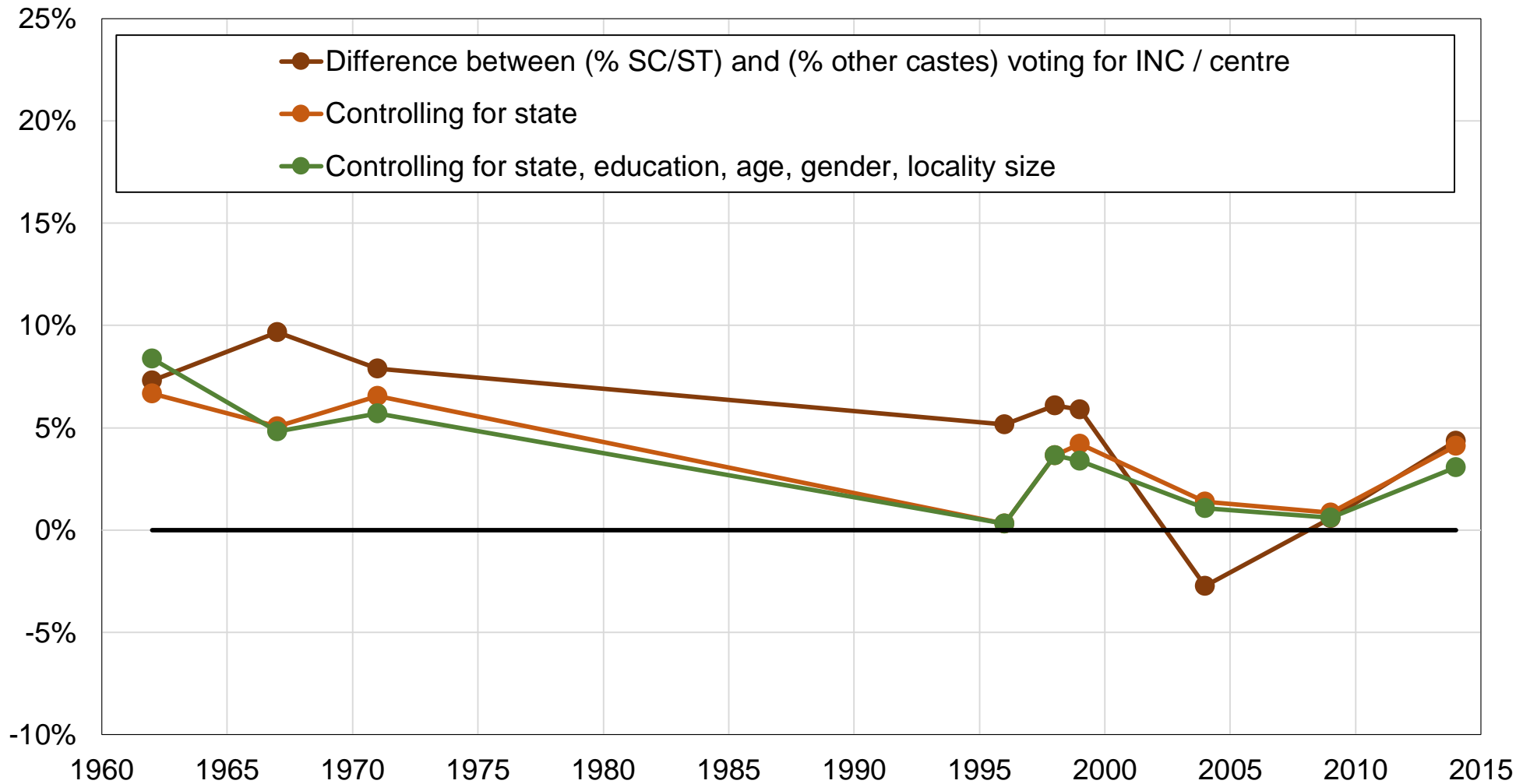
Figure B49 - Vote for Congress among upper castes



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.

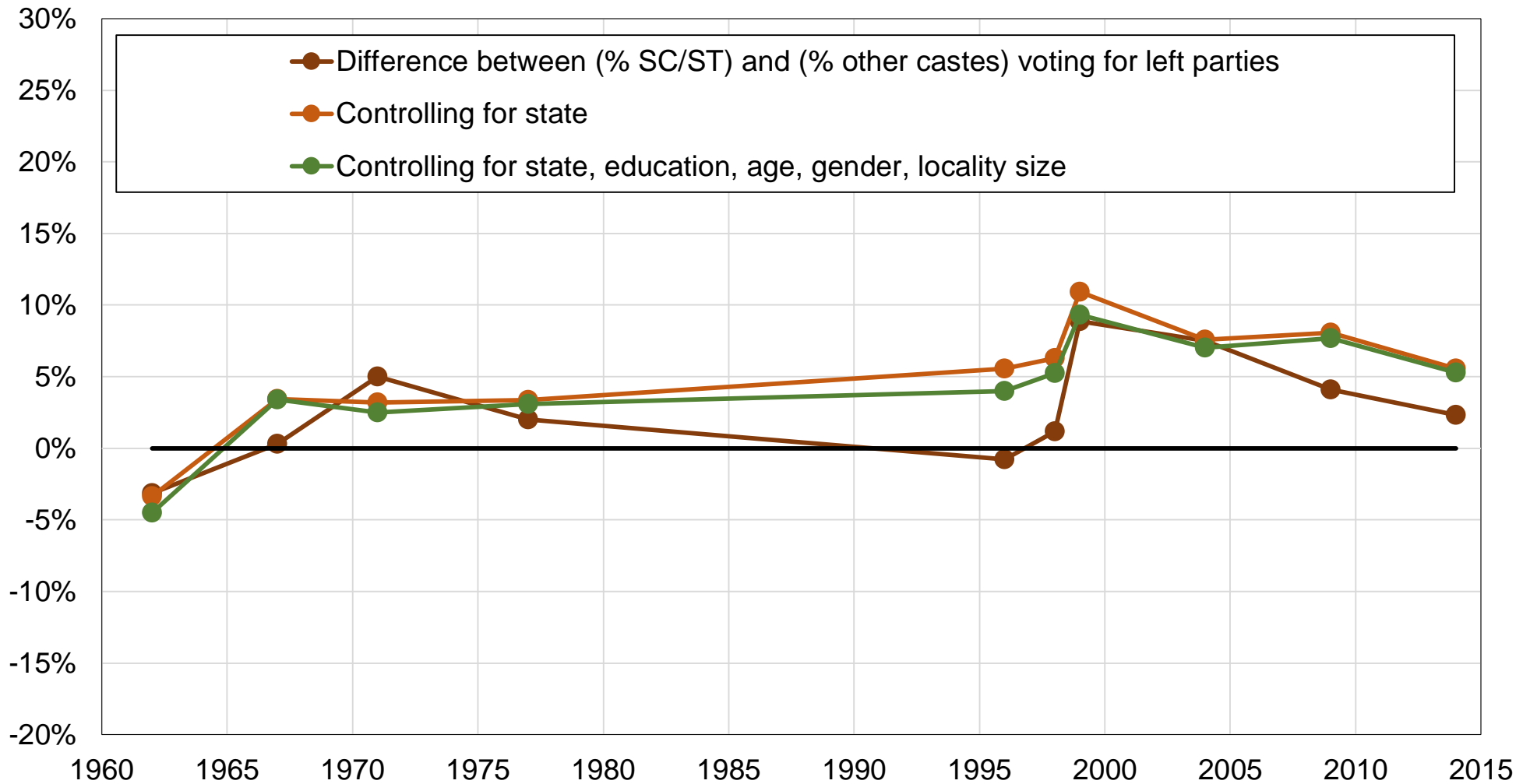
Figure B50 - Vote for Congress / centre among SCs/STs



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.

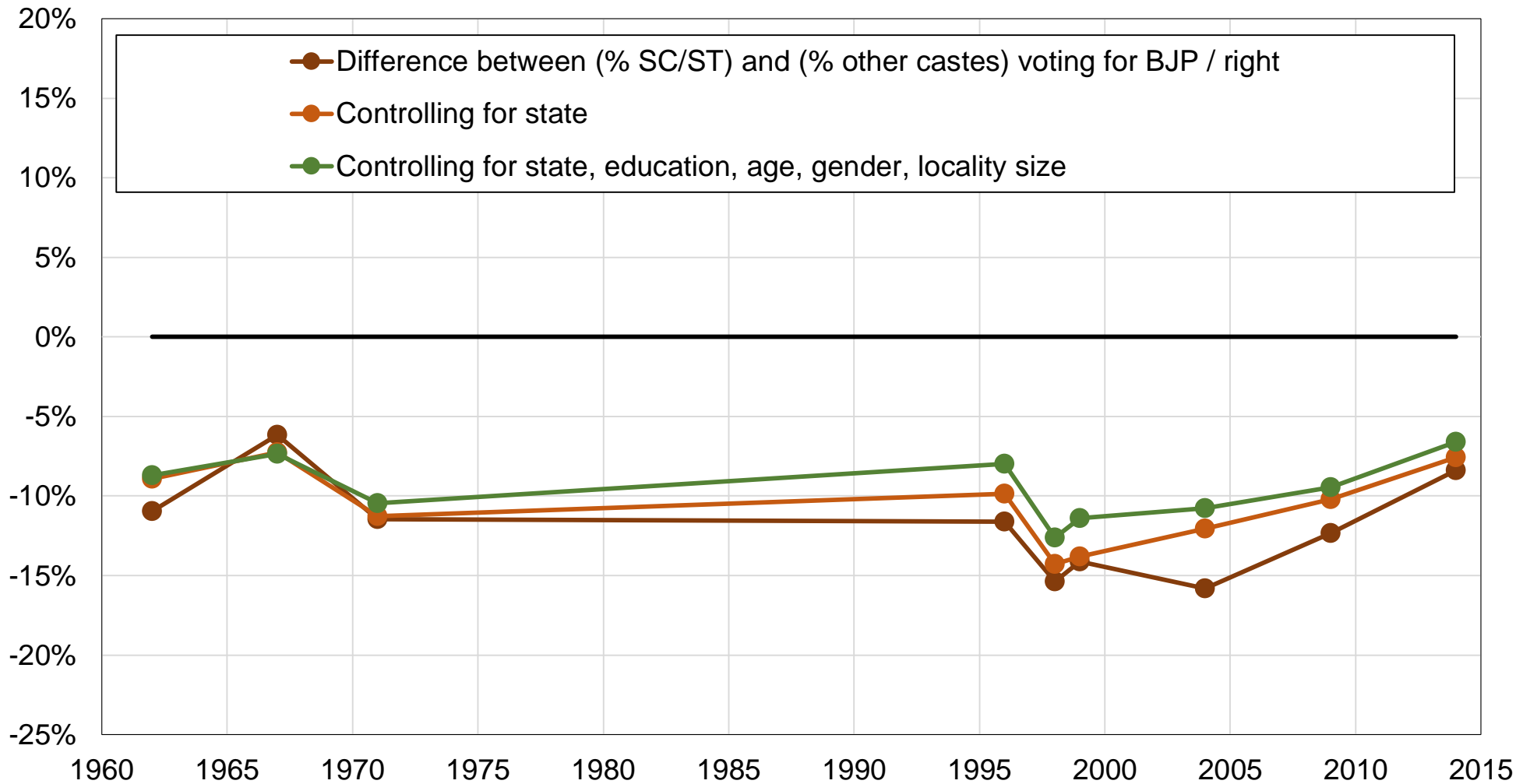
Figure B51 - Vote for left parties among SCs/STs



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.

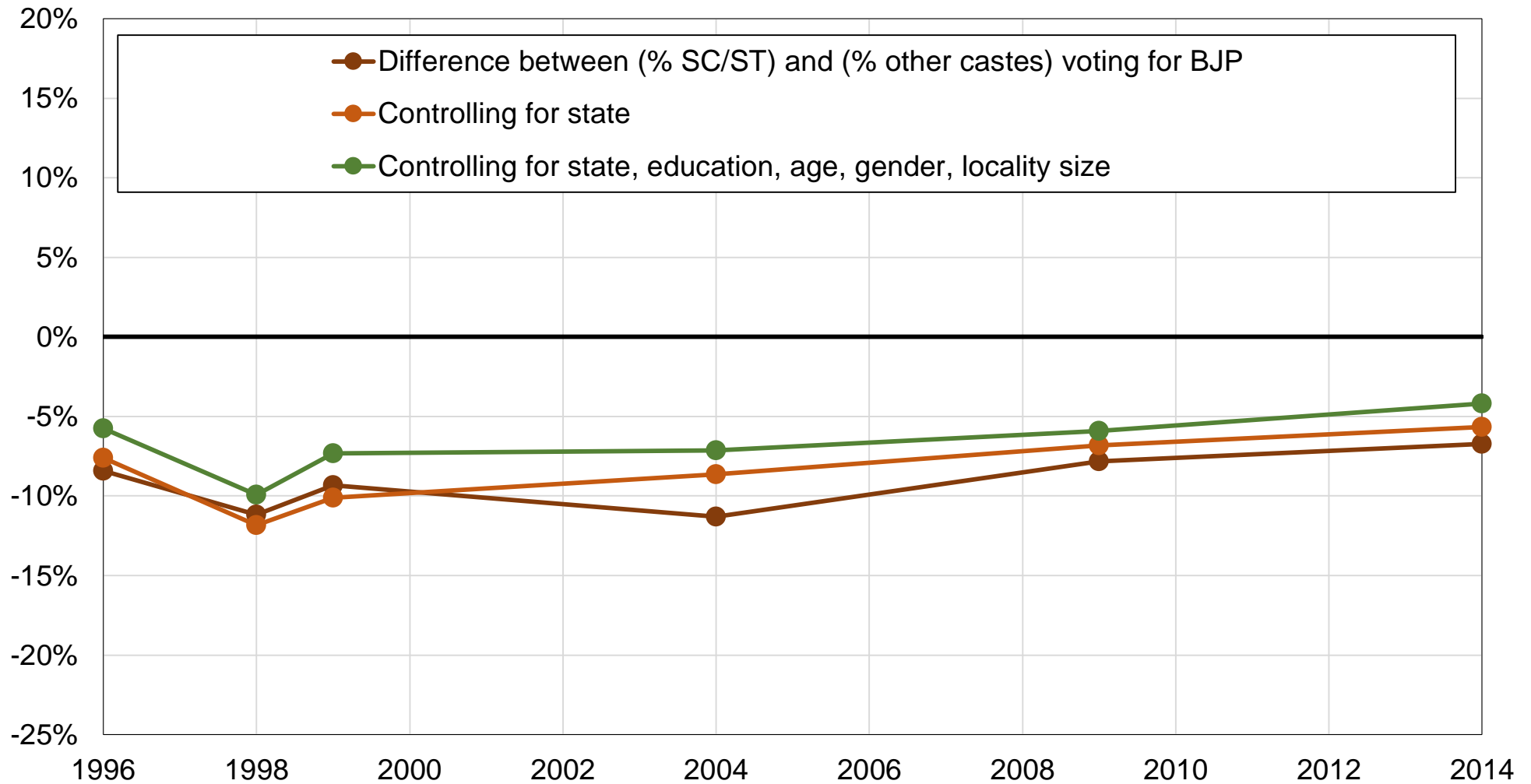
Figure B52 - Vote for BJP / right among SCs and STs



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.

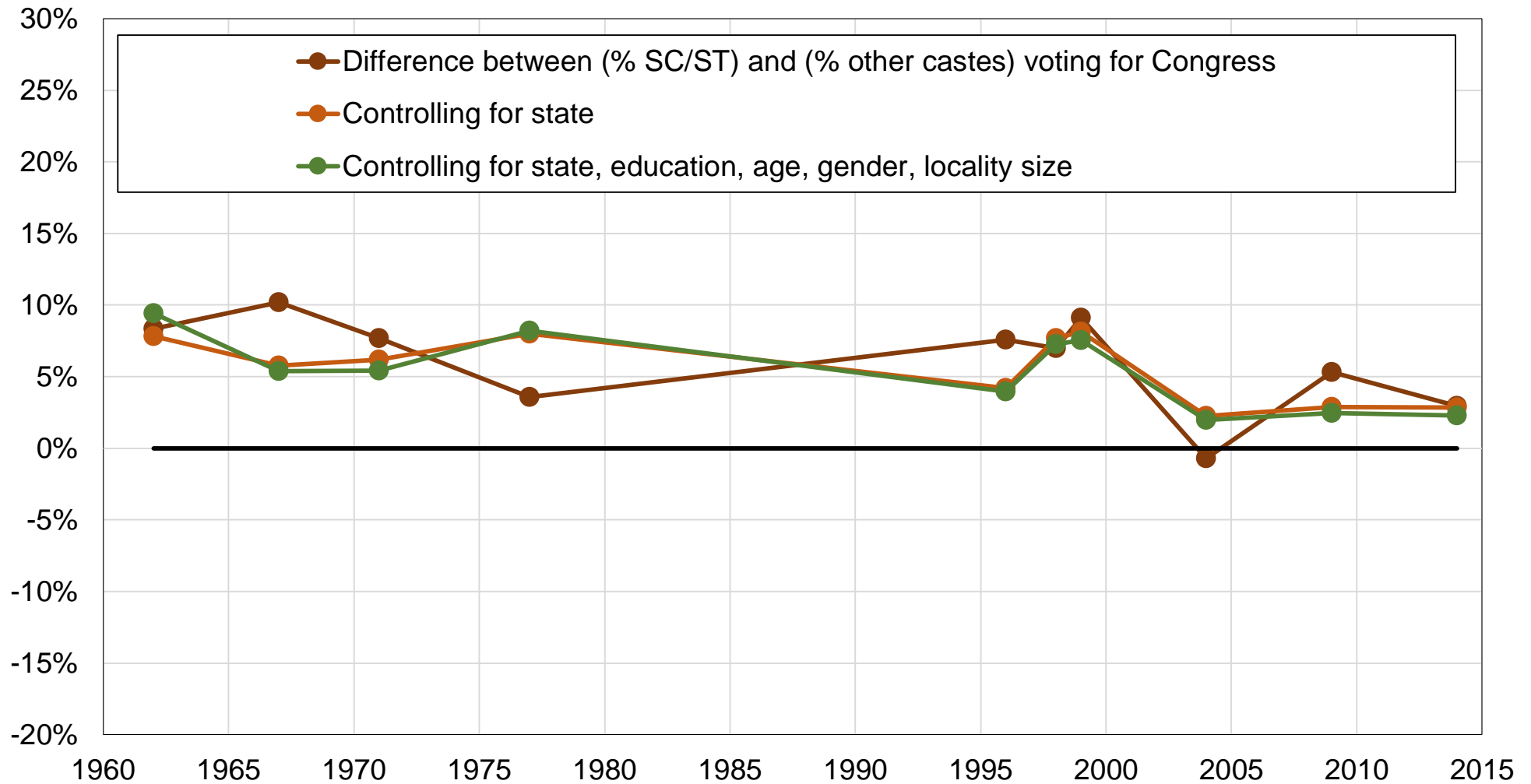
Figure B53 - Vote for BJP among SCs/STs



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.

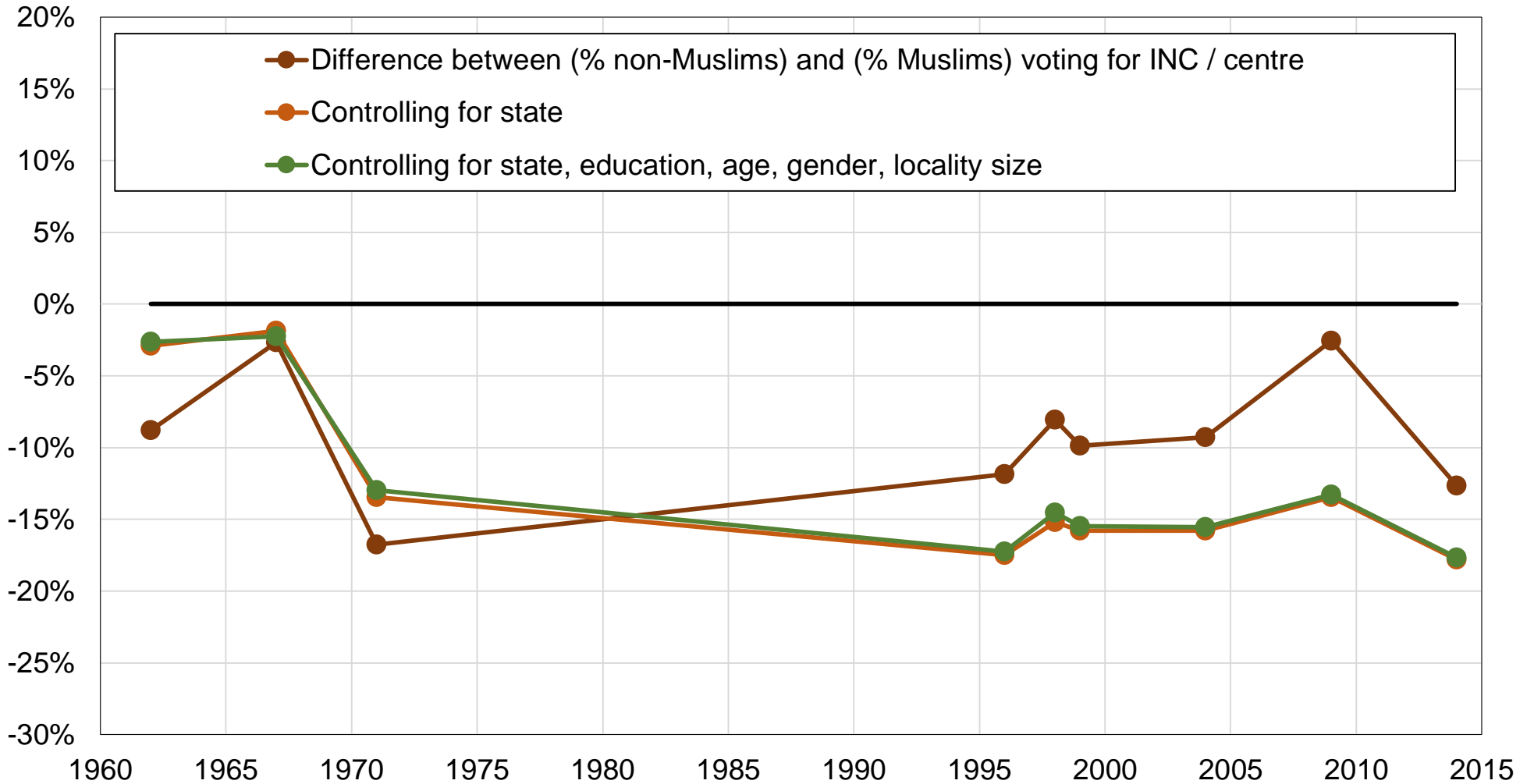
Figure B54 - Vote for Congress among SCs/STs



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.

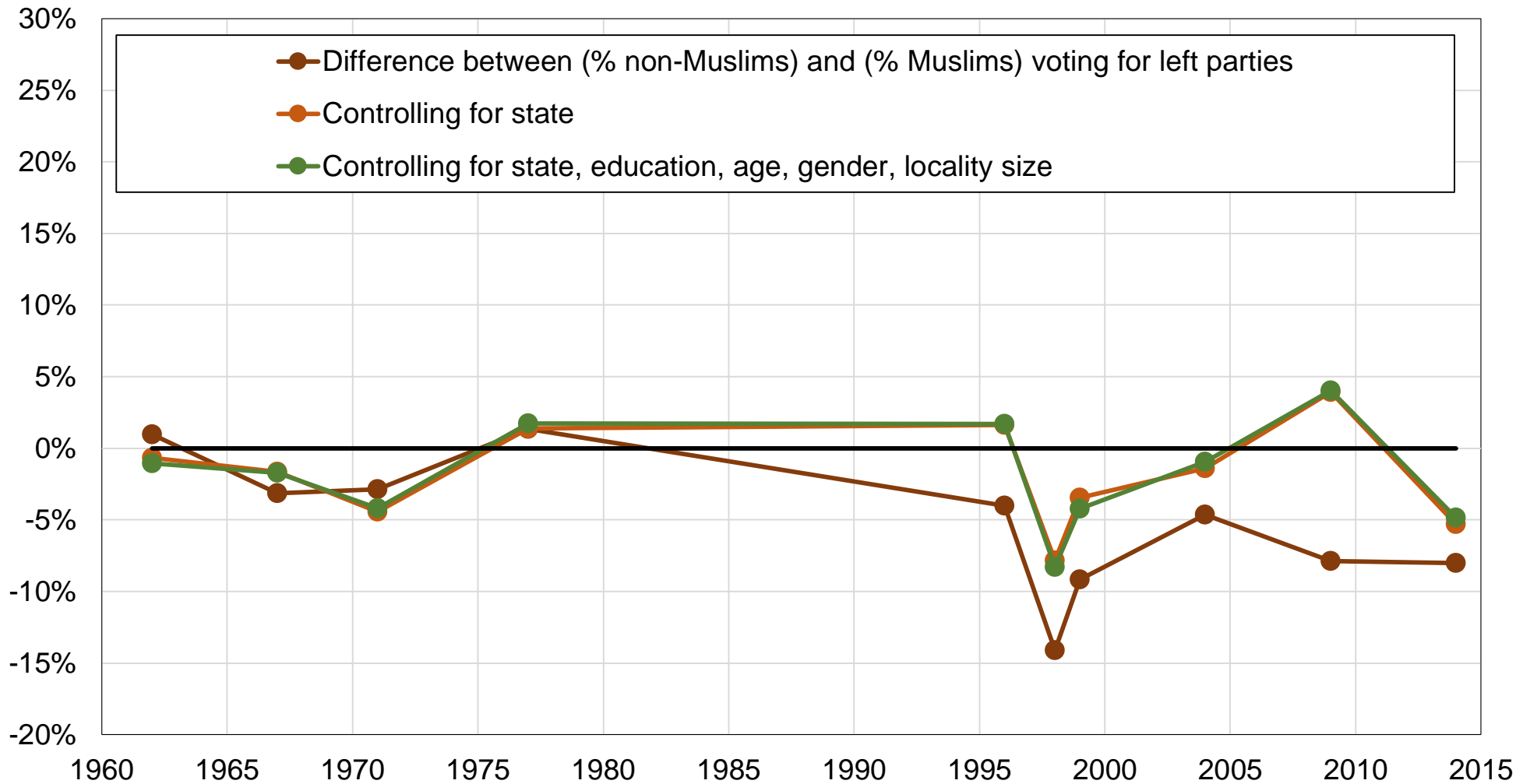
Figure B55 - Vote for Congress / centre among non-Muslims



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.

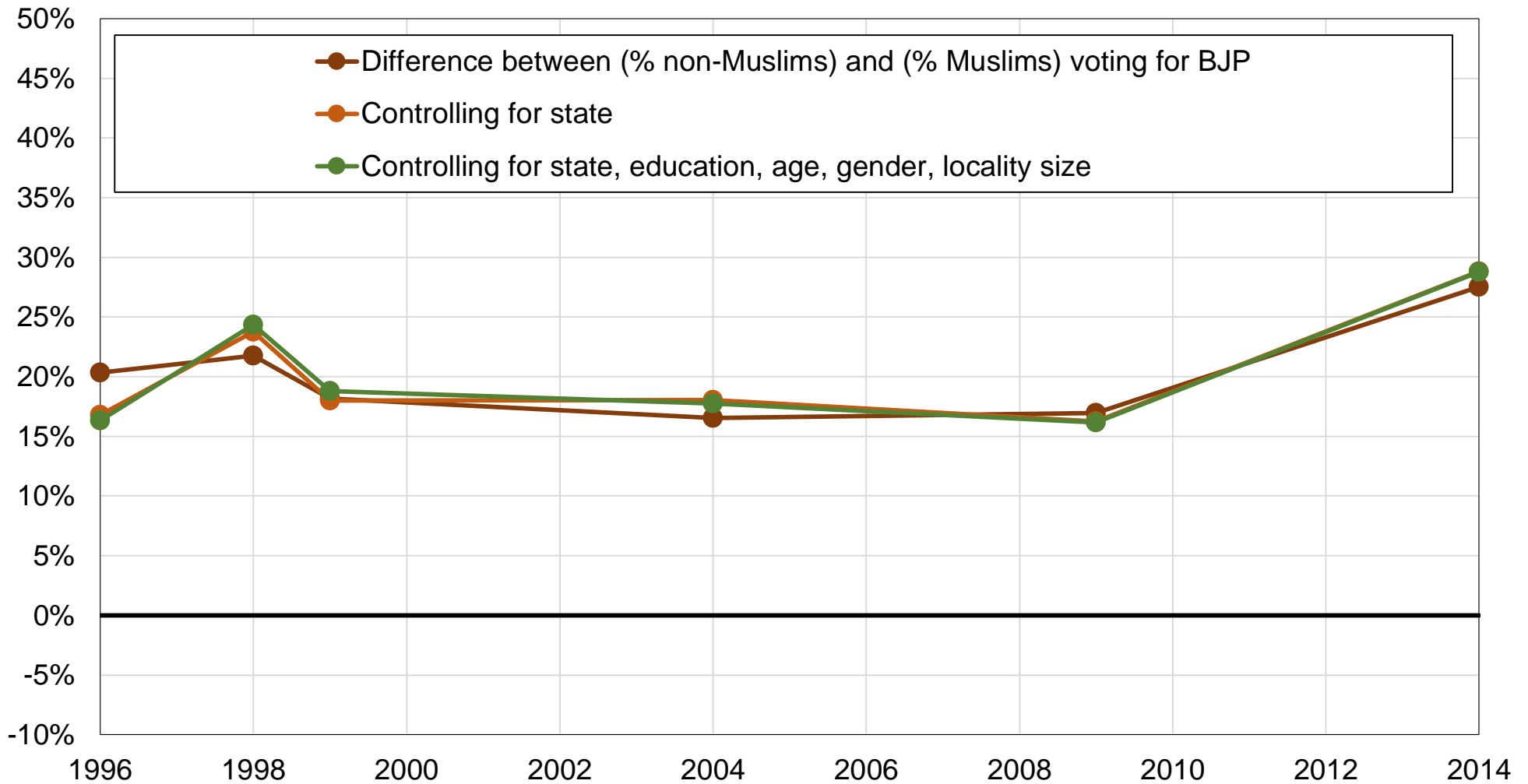
Figure B56 - Vote for left parties among non-Muslims



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.

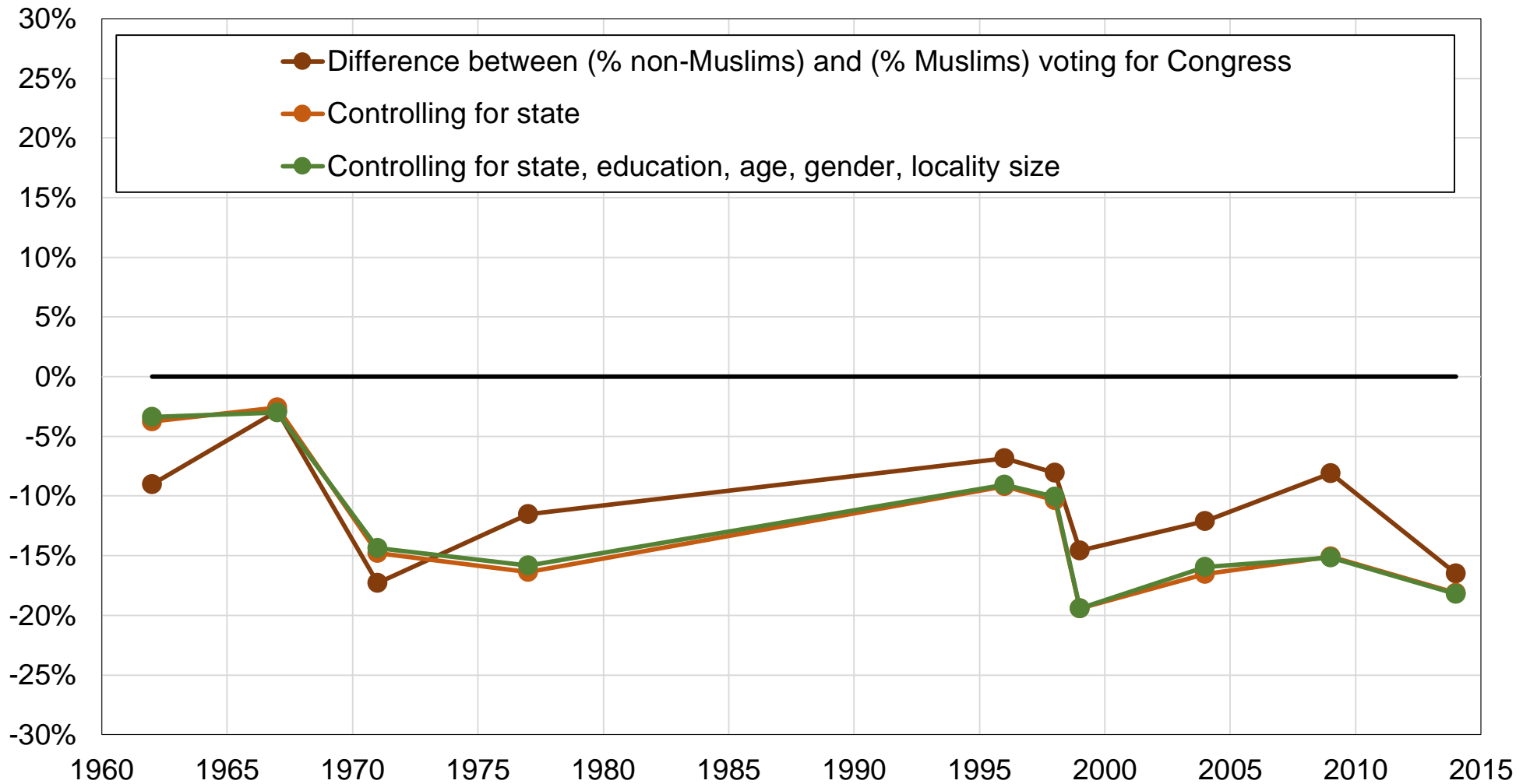
Figure B57 - Vote for BJP among non-Muslims



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.

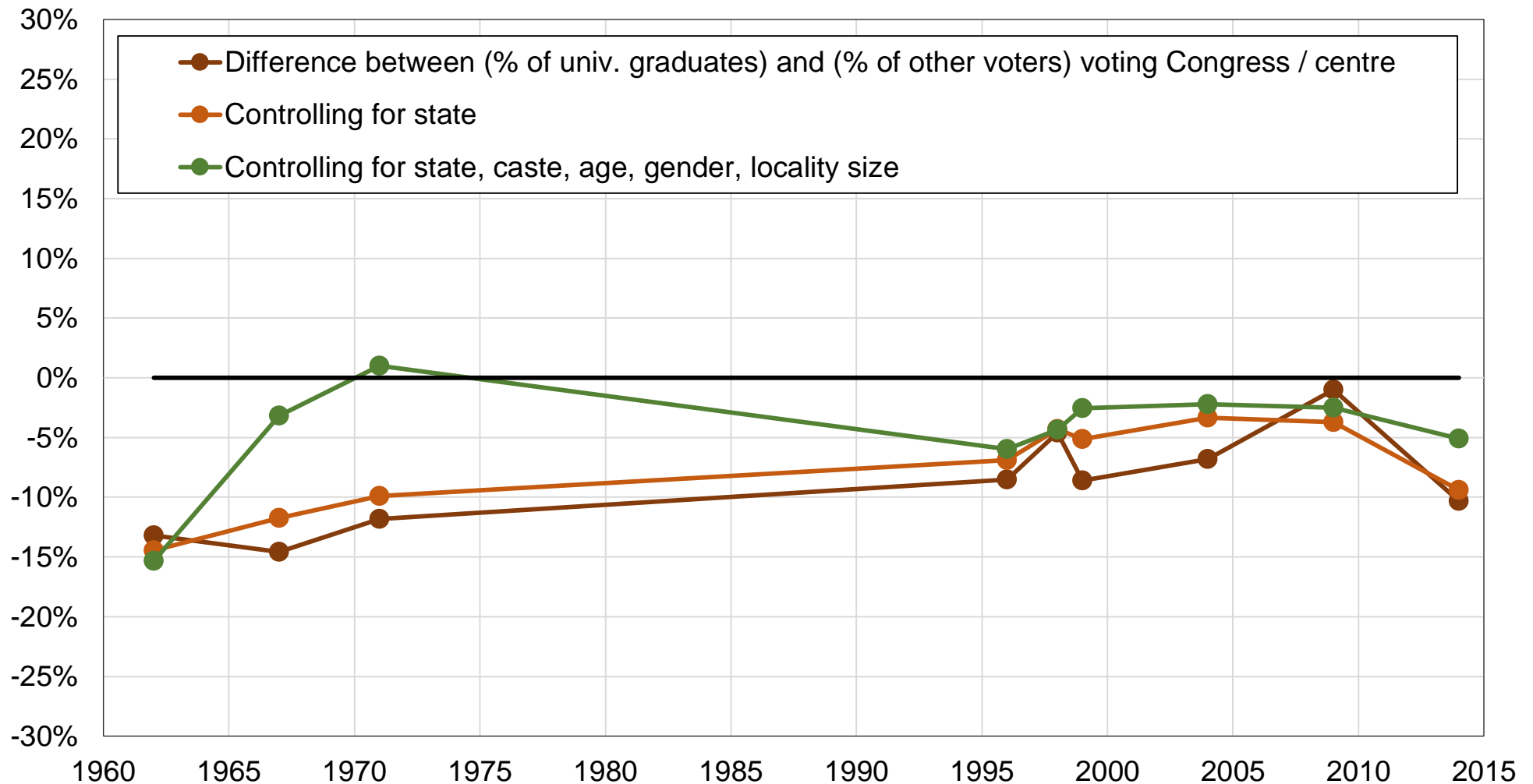
Figure B58 - Vote for Congress among non-Muslims



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.

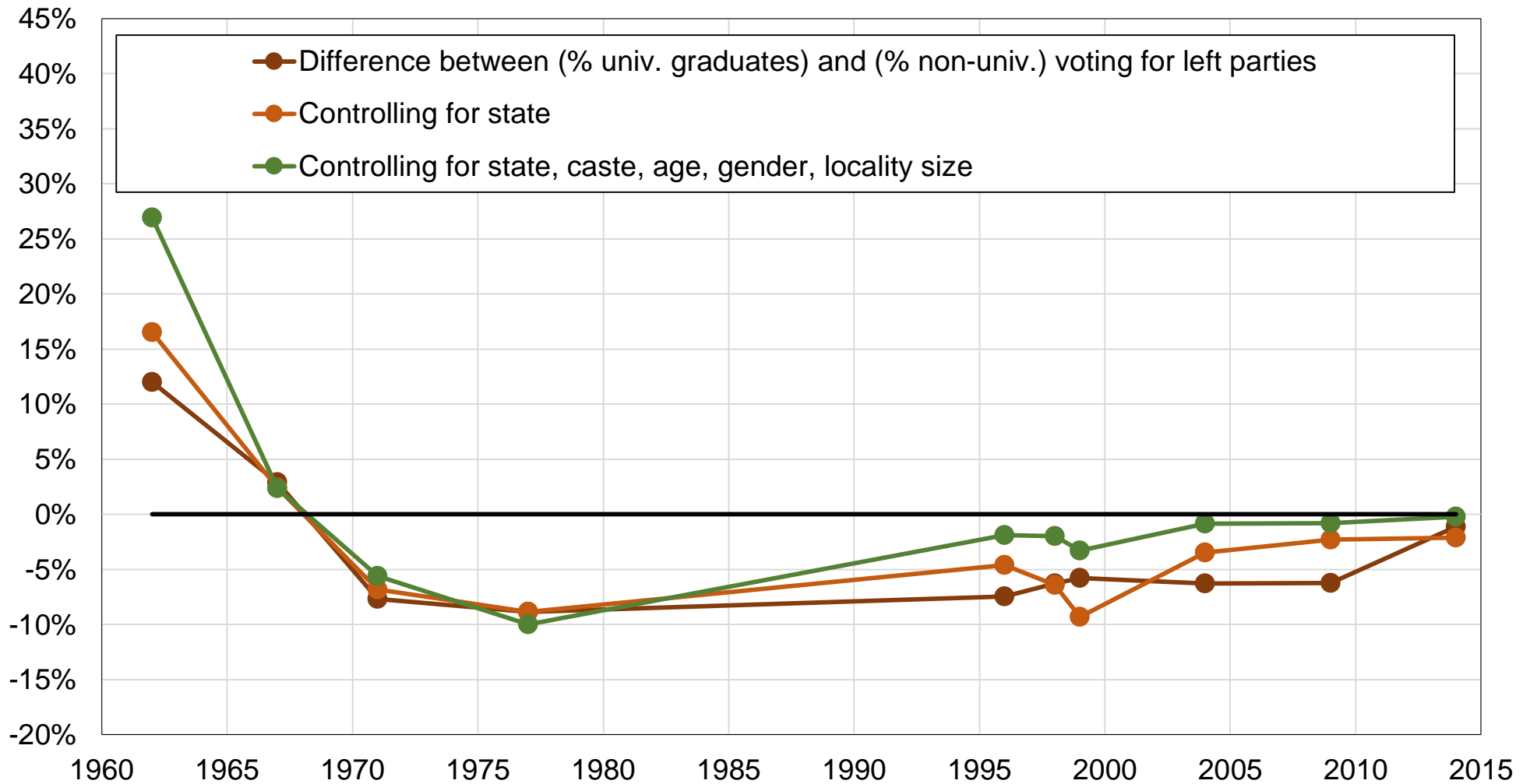
Figure B59 - Vote for Congress / centre among university graduates



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.

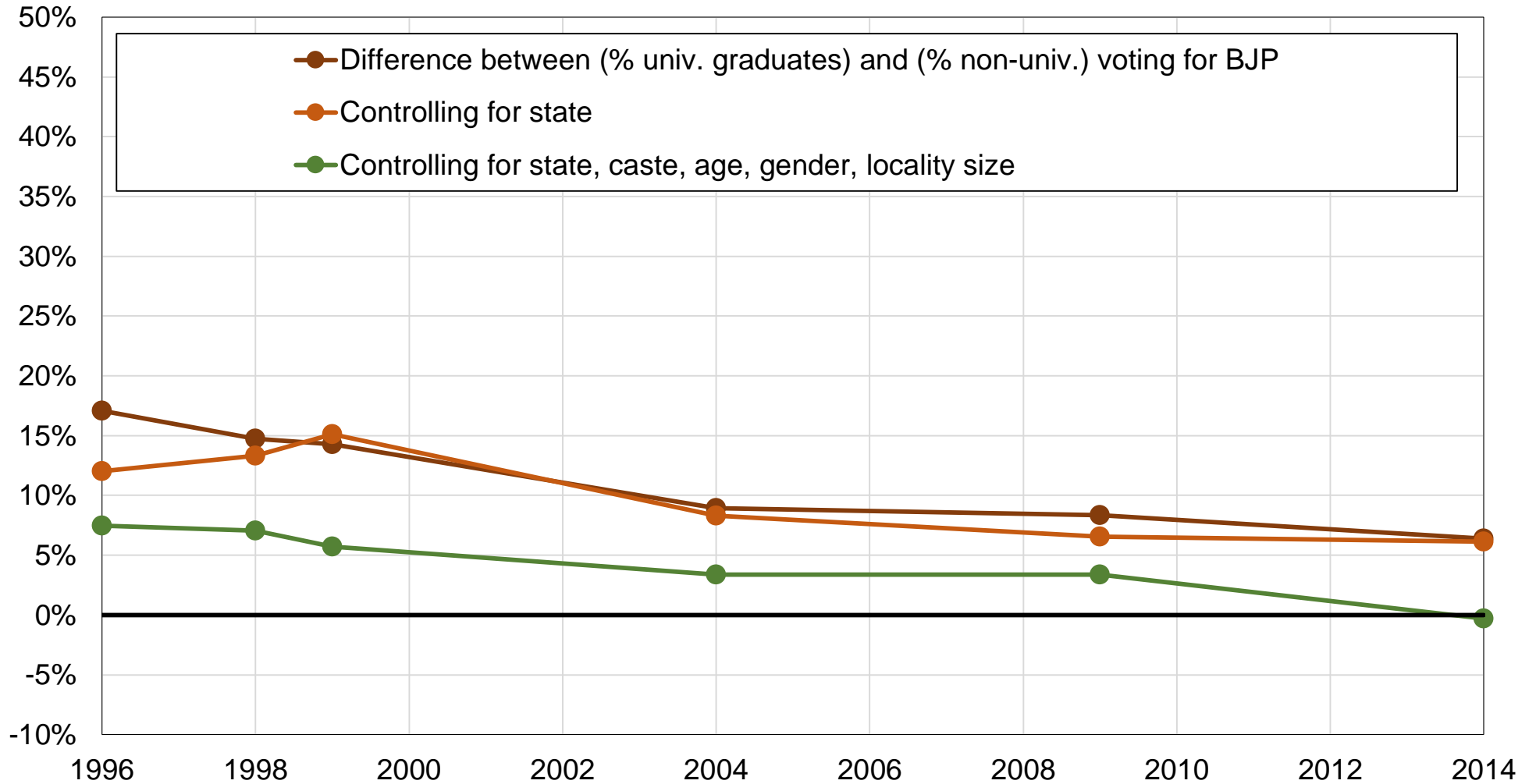
Figure B60 - Vote for left parties among university graduates



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.

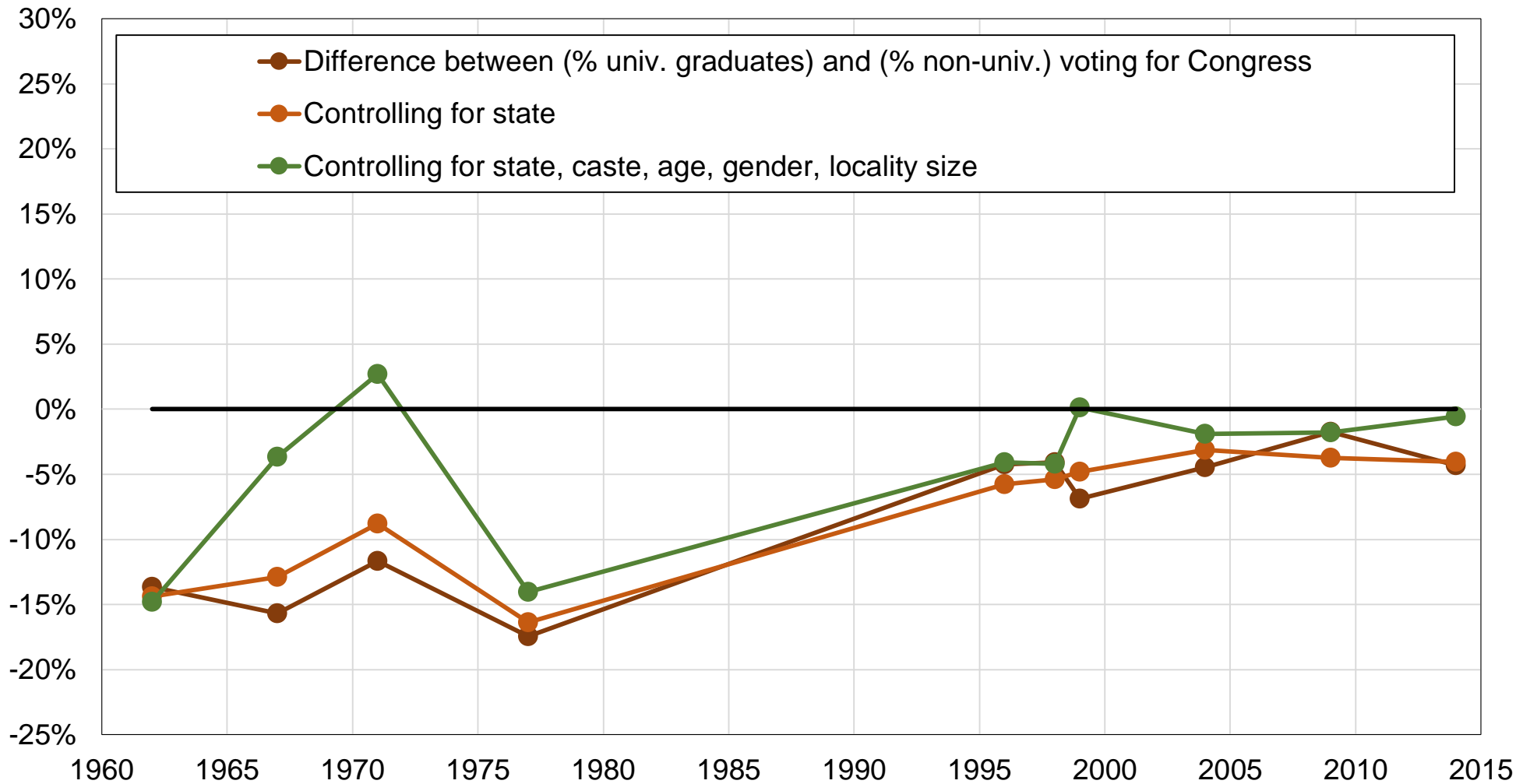
Figure B61 - Vote for BJP among university graduates



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.

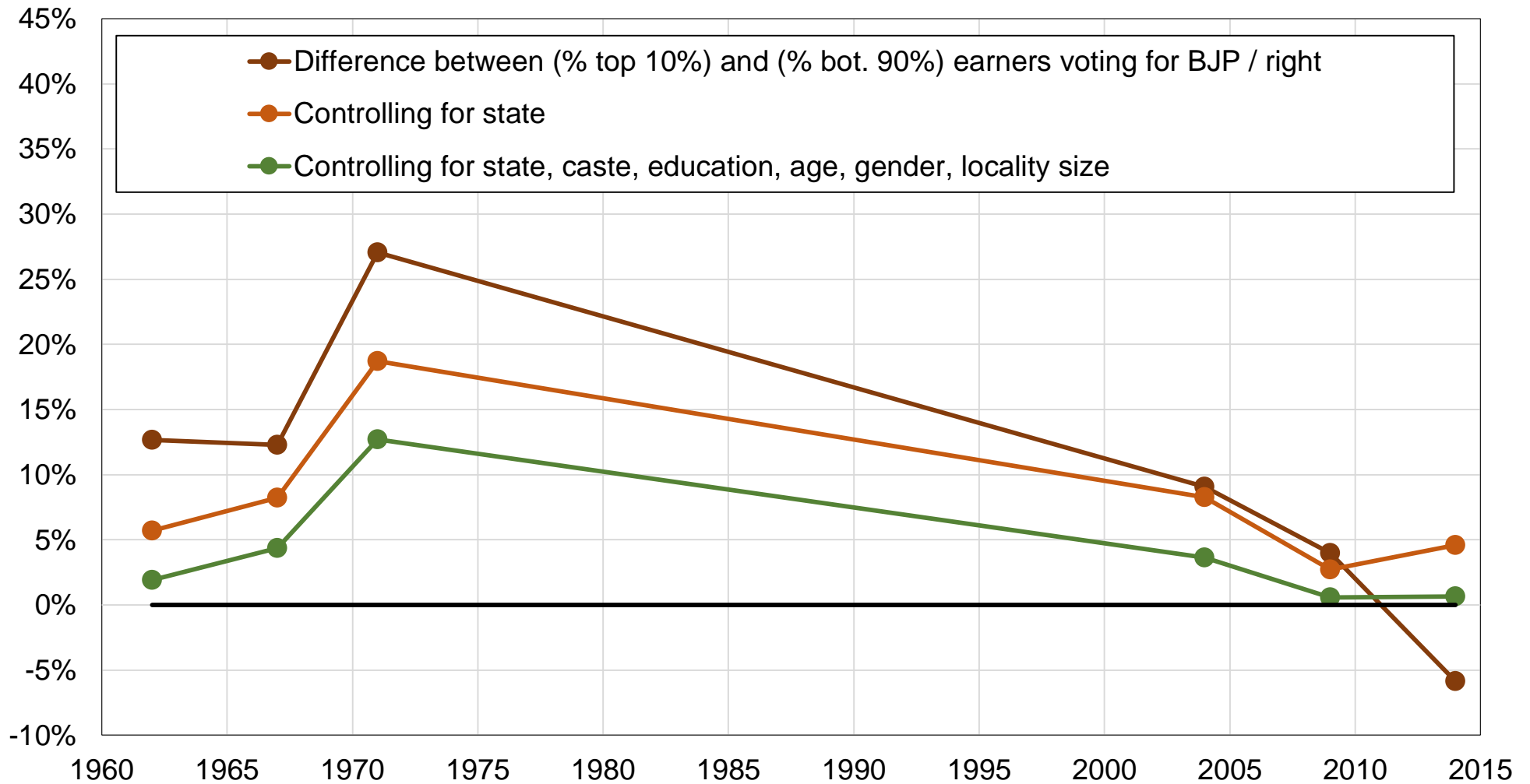
Figure B62 - Vote for Congress among university graduates



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

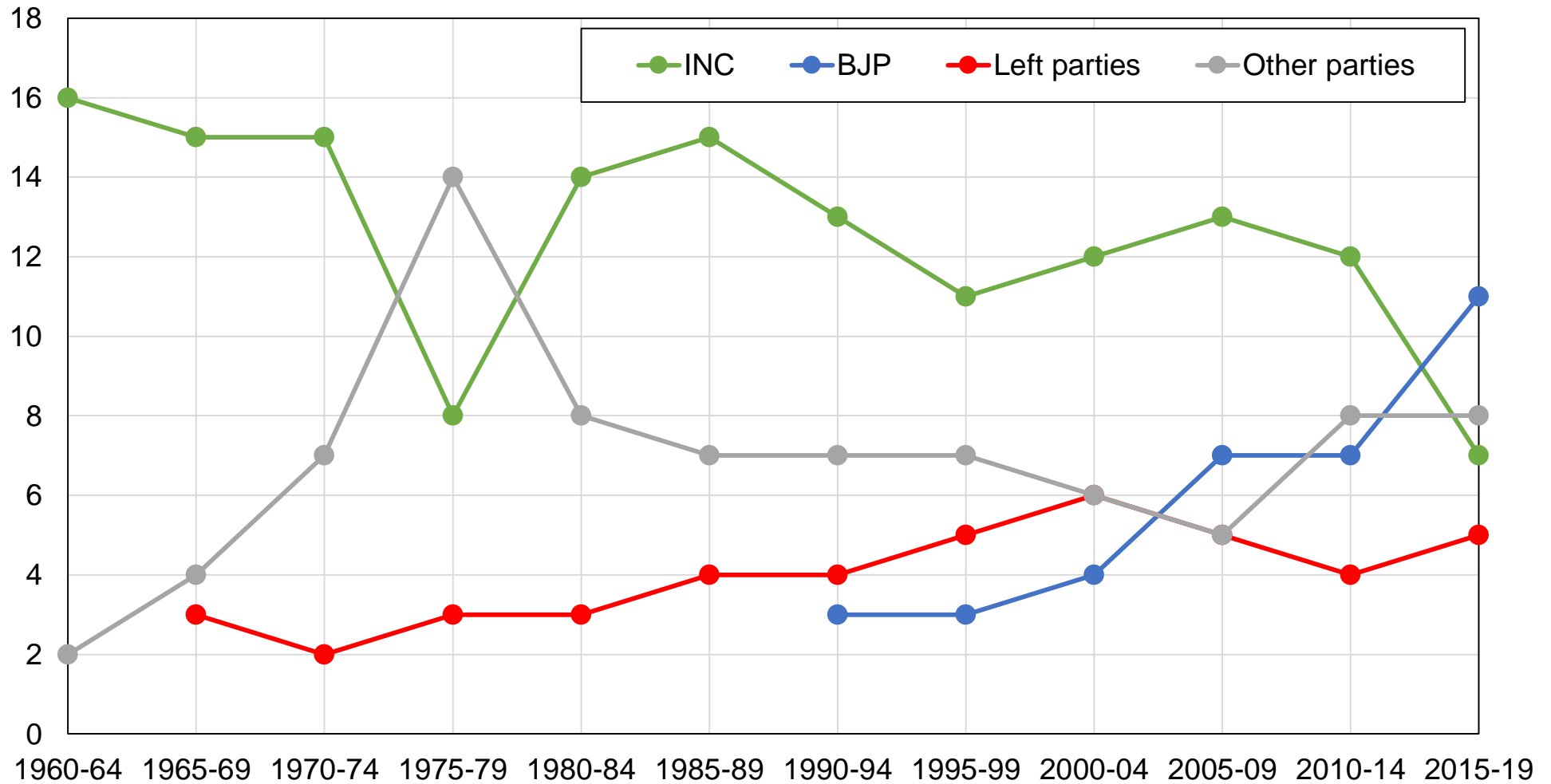
Note: all models include state fixed effects. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

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

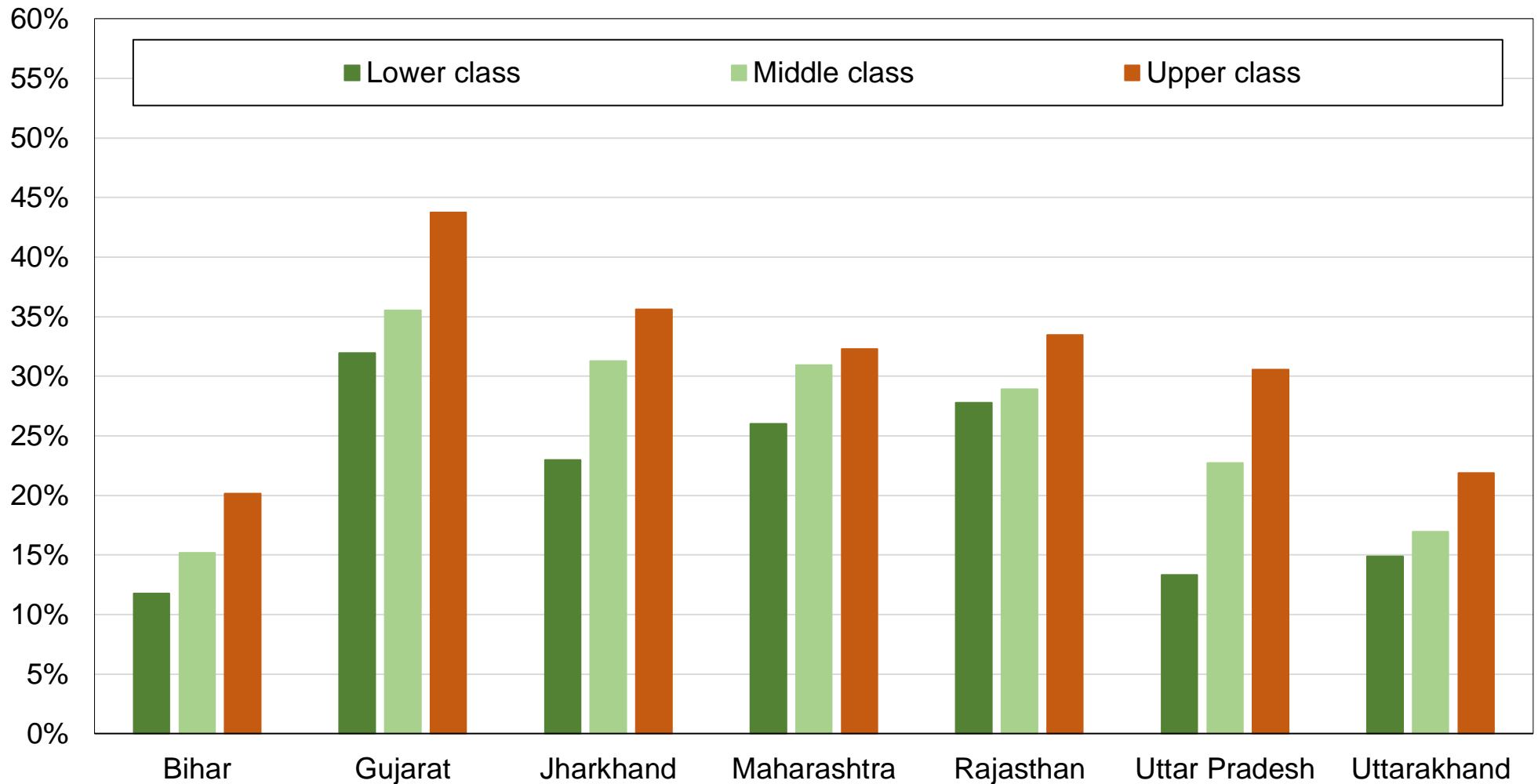
Figure 9 - Number of states ruled by party, 1962-2019



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.

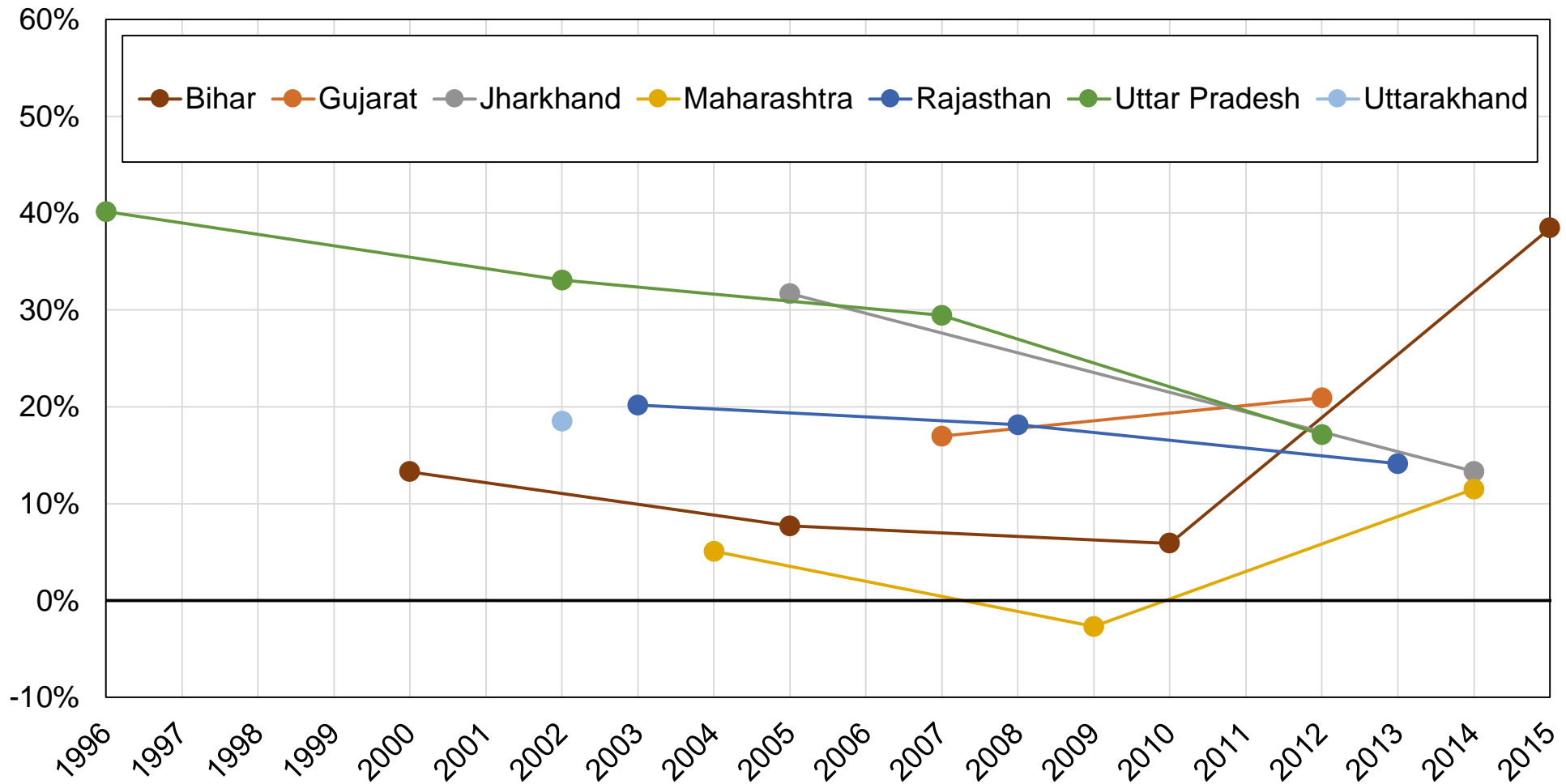
Figure C2 - Vote for BJP / Right by social class in state elections



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.

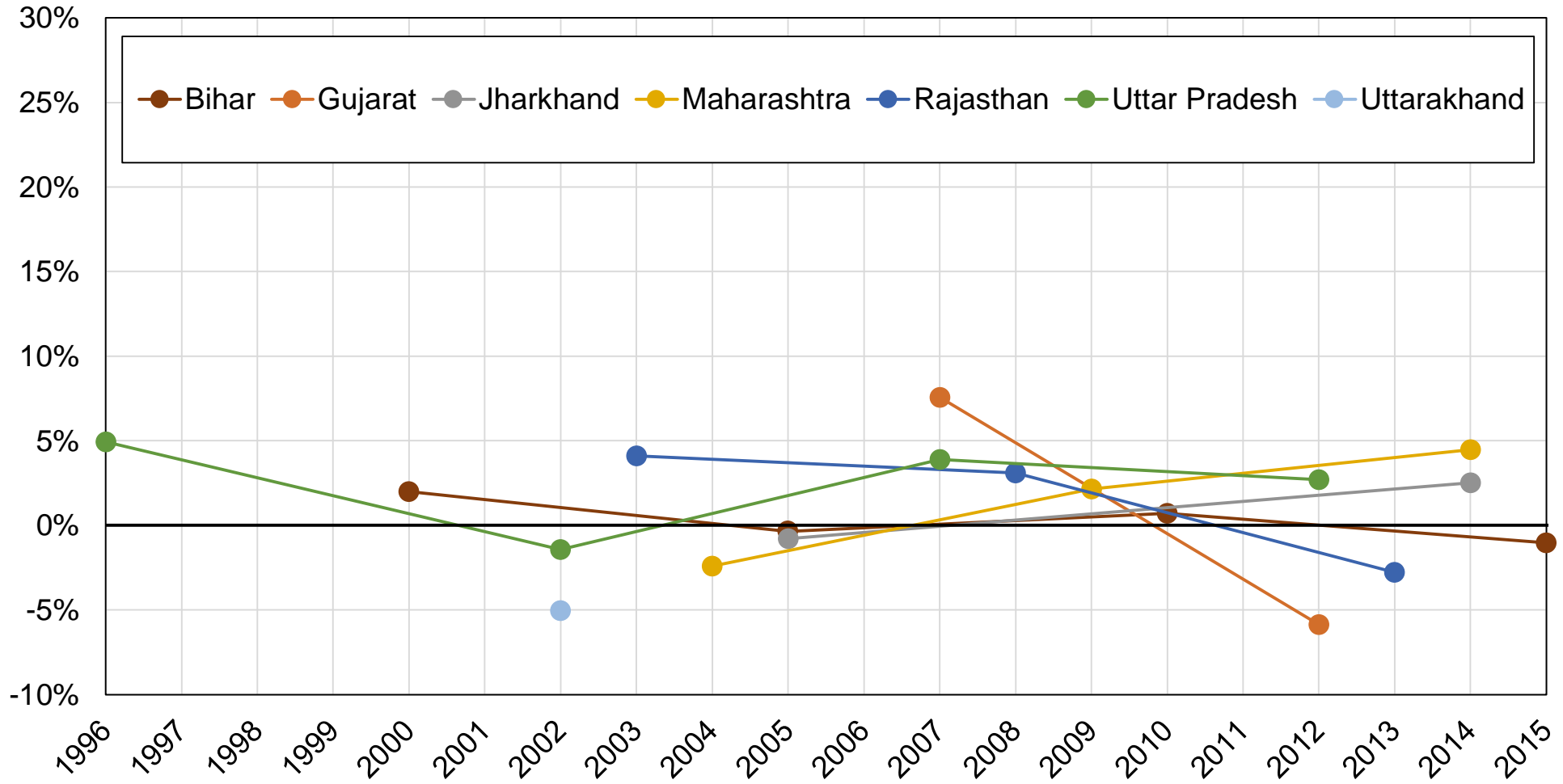
Figure C3 - Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes by state



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.

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

	<i>AIADMK</i>				<i>Congress / DMK</i>			
	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

	<i>BJP / Right</i>				<i>INC / JD(U) / NCP</i>				<i>BSP / SP / RLD / Other left</i>			
	1996	2002	2007	2012	1996	2002	2007	2012	1996	2002	2007	2012
Caste: Muslims	-0.074*** (0.009)	-0.080*** (0.016)	-0.053*** (0.006)	-0.024** (0.010)	0.051*** (0.017)	0.036* (0.019)	0.072*** (0.009)	0.023 (0.015)	-0.054** (0.026)	-0.011 (0.042)	-0.123*** (0.023)	-0.202*** (0.031)
Caste: OBC	0.193*** (0.013)	0.128*** (0.020)	0.069*** (0.007)	0.059*** (0.010)	-0.050*** (0.013)	-0.005 (0.013)	0.023*** (0.006)	-0.035*** (0.011)	-0.287*** (0.021)	-0.183*** (0.033)	-0.253*** (0.018)	-0.198*** (0.026)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.477*** (0.018)	0.360*** (0.032)	0.317*** (0.013)	0.193*** (0.014)	-0.094*** (0.013)	0.048** (0.020)	0.076*** (0.008)	0.046*** (0.014)	-0.516*** (0.020)	-0.446*** (0.035)	-0.418*** (0.018)	-0.336*** (0.026)
Social class: Middle class	0.032** (0.015)	0.042** (0.018)	-0.000 (0.008)	0.004 (0.010)	0.010 (0.012)	0.027** (0.012)	0.025*** (0.006)	0.052*** (0.011)	-0.045** (0.019)	-0.007 (0.027)	0.012 (0.016)	-0.038* (0.022)
Social class: Upper class	0.074*** (0.018)	0.052* (0.032)	0.028** (0.011)	0.037*** (0.014)	0.007 (0.013)	0.023 (0.021)	0.019** (0.008)	0.047*** (0.013)	-0.056*** (0.020)	-0.034 (0.038)	-0.028 (0.019)	-0.025 (0.026)
Age: 40-60	-0.019 (0.013)	0.020 (0.018)	0.001 (0.008)	-0.010 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.009)	0.008 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.006)	0.010 (0.010)	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.022 (0.025)	-0.019 (0.014)	-0.018 (0.020)
Age: 60+	-0.025 (0.022)	0.072** (0.032)	0.008 (0.012)	0.034** (0.015)	-0.017 (0.016)	0.038 (0.024)	0.018* (0.010)	0.002 (0.014)	-0.057** (0.026)	0.006 (0.042)	-0.048* (0.025)	0.044 (0.033)
Gender: Man	-0.028** (0.014)	0.015 (0.017)	0.003 (0.007)	0.016* (0.009)	0.020** (0.010)	0.011 (0.011)	0.000 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.009)	-0.009 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.025)	-0.009 (0.014)	-0.005 (0.019)
Location: Rural area	-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.076*** (0.025)	-0.024** (0.011)	-0.050*** (0.012)	0.025** (0.012)	-0.114*** (0.021)	-0.049*** (0.010)	-0.056*** (0.014)	-0.050*** (0.017)	0.034 (0.030)	0.163*** (0.020)	-0.004 (0.022)
Constant	0.126*** (0.020)	0.117*** (0.030)	0.082*** (0.013)	0.093*** (0.014)	0.132*** (0.017)	0.131*** (0.024)	0.069*** (0.011)	0.151*** (0.019)	0.734*** (0.026)	0.654*** (0.043)	0.659*** (0.027)	0.728*** (0.030)
R-squared	0.24	0.15	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.18	0.11	0.11	0.05
Observations	5984	2057	9337	6264	5984	2057	9337	6264	5984	2057	9337	6264

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

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