WID.world WORKING PAPER N° 2019/05

Growing Cleavages in India?
Evidence from the Changing Structure of Electorates, 1962-2014

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March 2019

World Inequality Lab

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January 16, 2019

Abstract

This paper combines surveys, election results and social spending data to document the long-run evolution of political cleavages in India. From a dominant-party system featuring the Indian National Congress as the main actor of the mediation of political conflicts, Indian politics have gradually come to include a number of smaller regionalist parties and, more recently, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). These changes coincide with the rise of religious divisions and the persistence of strong caste-based cleavages, while education, income and occupation play little role (controlling for caste) in determining voters' choices. We find no evidence that India's new party system has been associated with changes in social policy. While BJP-led states are generally characterized by a smaller social sector, switching to a party representing upper castes or upper classes has no significant effect on social spending. We interpret this as evidence that voters seem to be less driven by straightforward economic interests than by sectarian interests and cultural priorities. In India, as in many Western democracies, political conflicts have become increasingly focused on identity and religious-ethnic conflicts rather than on tangible material benefits and class-based redistribution.

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1. Introduction

What governs the choice of who to vote for in India? How has it changed over time? One claim that one often hears is that the traditional cleavages of caste and religion have been shrinking over time and that this process accelerated because of Narendra Modi's leadership of the BJP, which placed it on a broad and inclusive platform around the theme of development. Milan Vaishnav, summarizing the 2014 Indian elections for the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, writes:

"Economic factors played an unusually large role in shaping voting behavior. Traditional patterns of caste-based voting were much less evident, and regional parties, often thought to be gaining ground, suffered a setback. A slightly deeper look, however, reveals that these changes were not necessarily unique to the 2014 general election. There is evidence to suggest that many of these trends have been percolating beneath the surface for some time. What 2014 has done is to bring these trends to the fore of public consciousness." (Vaishnav, 2015)

This emphasis on economic factors over social factors (such as caste and religion) makes a certain amount of theoretical sense in the context of India's rapid growth accompanied by growing inequality (Chancel & Piketty 2017, Bharti 2018) which opens a space for competition over different types of government interventions. Indeed, the BJP's 2014 campaign emphasized an aspiration to change the relation between the citizen and the state. But is it actually happening—are people in different economic positions voting very differently? And are social factors becoming less predictive of voting patterns?

To answer these questions, we make use of post-electoral surveys both for national elections and for state elections over the period 1962-2014 (though the data coverage is often patchy). The evidence shows some very clear patterns. First, the role of caste in predicting support for what are conventionally described as parties of the right (the BJP, Shiv Sena, Akali Dal) has not diminished over the period 1999-2014 – upper castes were always much more likely to support these parties than the rest of the electorate and this continues to be the case. There was a sharp increase in the upper caste bias in the support for these parties in the mid to late1990s, which has come down somewhat since

its peak, but if anything, the bias was higher in 2014 than in 2009. By contrast the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have always had a bias against the right, but that bias has not really changed very much since the end of the 1990s. The only group where we see a sharp change in their support for the right are the Muslims, who, interestingly, were moving closer to the non-Muslim population in terms of their support for the right between 1998 and 2009, but that trend was sharply reversed in 2014. These results are robust to just focusing on the BJP (as against the right) and including controls for voter characteristics other than caste (education, occupation, state of residence, etc.).

The story of the Congress is partly the flip side of this. In the 1960s and early 70s, Congress was the hegemonic party and there was relatively little variation across caste and religious groups in their support for the Congress. This has changed by the 1990s, when challenges from the right but also center-left parties (including a number of caste-based parties) ate into their support base, with the result that it lost part of their support from most social groups other than Muslims. Interestingly nonetheless, the bias against the Congress among upper castes (relative to the rest of the population) is not very different from what it was in 1962 and less sharp than in the late 1990s. Likewise the positive bias in support for the Congress among the SC/STs has declined slightly over the last sixty years, though it remains positive. In part, this is because SC/ST support has shifted to the left parties. At the same time, there has been a long-term shift of support away from left parties among the upper castes, though the nadir was in the late 1990s and the support has recovered a bit since.

In sharp contrast, while there was a sharp economic cleavage among right voters in the 1960s and 1970s—they were more educated and richer than the rest of the population, even after controlling for their location, their caste, religion and other demographics—this effect became much weaker in the 1990s and disappeared in the recent years. Correspondingly, the support for the Congress among university graduates has risen relative to its overall support in the population since 1970s and in 2014 was indistinguishable from that of the BJP.

In other words, the schisms based on caste and religion remain sharp, but the economic cleavages seem to have mostly disappeared over the last decades. It is only in this limited

sense that the support for the right is now more broad-based, as a number of commentators have suggested (for example, Vaishnav 2018).

These results are broadly confirmed by the results from state assembly elections. While the data here only starts in 1996 for UP and after 2000 for all the other states for which we have data, the patterns are very similar. Upper castes favor the right in general, though there are lots of ups and downs in the extent of upper caste bias. There is no clear pattern in whether the economically better off favor the right.

A final piece of evidence that supports the view that there is no clear division of economic interests across the parties, comes from looking at changes in spending patterns of the states when the state government shifts to the right. While right-wing ruled states in general have lower social spending, there is no evidence that switching to a right-wing party reduces social spending – in fact there is some evidence in the opposite direction. The one caveat here is that we do not have data for state level policies with respect to caste-based reservations for jobs, where the differential caste basis of these parties may make a big difference.

Taken together these results suggest that the main driver of political differentiation in India are the nature of caste and religious identification and the related variation in cultural and ideological positions. This is consistent with the argument in Piketty (2018). He makes the point that the straight economic model where the rich and the more educated vote for the right and the less educated and less wealthy vote for the left, described politics in countries like France, UK and USA well in the immediately post-war period but breaks down after 1990-2000 with well-educated now voting more and more for the left and the others aligning with the right.[1] There, as in India, voters seem to be less and less driven by straightforward economic interests, and more and more by sectarian interests and

[1] Relatedly Gethin and Morgan (2018) have shown that rising class cleavages in Brazil can be explained not only by poorer voters' support for the Workers' Party welfare policies, but also by upper classes' disappointment with the political system's corruption.

cultural priorities, though unlike in the West, this does not seem to require any sacrifice of economic interests for Indian voters, since all the parties support similar policies.

Another critical difference with the West is that caste identity is highly specific to India. One might be tempted to argue that caste provides in some cases a better proxy for permanent income and economic position than other indicators (i.e. income, education and especially asset ownership are not particularly well measured in surveys). However, the fact that income, education and occupation seem to play so little autonomous role in explaining political cleavages (controlling for caste) is still relatively surprising. One natural interpretation is that India's political conflict has given unusual importance to caste-based reservation policies and relatively little importance to income-based, education-based or wealth-based redistributive policies. The analogy would be the rising importance of migration-based and religious-ethnic conflicts in the West, in a time where policies aimed at reducing inequalities in income, education and wealth have lost strength. The decline of class-based redistribution in the West (and the fact that it never really took shape in India) can also be related to the changes in global ideology since the 1980s-1990s, an evolution which might possibly reverse itself in the future.

These results are also consistent with the general position taken by Chhibber and Verma (2018), who argue that the Indian voter is motivated by ideology as much as anything else and that the main ideological divide has its roots in the national movement and its immediate aftermath. They may also be consistent with theories that give a central place to politics of patronage that is targeted towards specific groups (Chandra 2017, Wilkinson 2009, Dunning and Nilekani 2013), under the assumption that the caste-based cleavages reflect different positions on the affirmative programs or other mechanisms to deliver patronage to specific social groups.

In terms of the overall agenda the paper that comes closest to us is Chakrabarti (2018). She shows that the fraction of the state legislature that is from the upper castes is strongly correlated with the share of total state development expenditure that goes to the social sector and this relationship survives a range of specifications, including those that include state fixed effects. By contrast our focus is on the ruling party or coalition, which may be identified with the upper castes but put up candidates from the lower castes for strategic

reasons – during the 2014 election the BJP, for example, was at pains to emphasize that its prime ministerial candidate, Narendra Modi, was not from the upper castes. Perhaps for this reason we find that once we control for a fixed effect for the state, the identity of the ruling party has no discernable effect on social spending.[2]

The paper proceeds as follows. In section 2, we describe how we define the different types of parties. In section 3, we then describe how the caste basis of support for these different groups of parties (and some individual parties) has evolved over the past fifty years, both at the federal level and in nine large states. In section 4, we ask whether being governed by the right reduces social spending and conclude that there is no clear evidence that it does. We conclude in section 5.

2. Classifying the parties

Given the sheer number of parties on the Indian political landscape, we need to classify them to make the analysis tractable. We start from the two main parties, the Indian National Congress (INC) and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Congress has held power most of the time since the first general post-independence elections in 1952, except briefly in 1977-1980 (following the Emergency period and the short-lived anti-Congress alliance) and 1989-1991, and most importantly in 1998-2004 and 2014-2019, when BJP was heading the government. In most of our results on the structure of the electorates, we include the Congress vote in a "center" alliance together with the vote for center parties like NCP, DMK or TRS that have usually allied with Congress. Likewise, we include the BJP vote in a "right" alliance together with parties with SHS, SAD or TDP. Finally we include the various communist parties, the BSP and the Janata Dal in a "left" alliance. We

[2] Chakrabarti does run a related regression where she uses the caste composition of the support for the ruling party or coalition as the independent variable, but she does not include the state fixed effect in these (Chakrabarti, Table 11).We will show that this makes a big difference and that our results without the state fixed effects are similar to what she finds.

refer to Table 2.1 for the full classification that we use for India's main contemporary political parties (and to Figure 3.1 for the corresponding election results since 1962).

Table 2.1 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	Centre-left / Left
Communist Party of India	CPI	Centre-left / Left
Communist Party of India (Marxist)	CPM	Centre-left / Left
Janata Dal (Union)	JD(U)	Centre-left / Left
Janata Dal (Secular)	JD(S)	Centre-left / Left
Rashtriya Janata Dal	RJD	Centre-left / Left
Samajwadi Party	SP	Centre-left / Left
All India Trinamool Congress	AITC	Centre-left / Left

We should stress that although we rely on the conventional usage of the terms right, left and center to refer to political alliances in the Indian context, we fully recognize that these terms originated in a Europe dominated by class politics that is very different from today's India (and that is also very different from today's Europe and North America). Our purpose

in this research is precisely to investigate the changing meaning of such classifications, by looking at the changing structure of the corresponding electorates.

To ensure that this classification is accurate we also asked a set of economists and political scientists working on Indian politics as well as some senior journalists in prominent newspapers and some active politicians to classify eighteen major Indian political parties based on a left-center-left-center-center-right-right scale. The results are in appendix A. As is evident there is an impressive amount of concordance both between the experts and between their views and our classification. Our main results do not change if we slightly alter the classification (in particular if we look separately at Congress and BJP votes, or if we exclude the CPI and the CPM from the centre-left and left coalition).

3. Where do different parties get their votes?

The data we use in this section combines surveys and official election results. Data on both state and Lok Sabha election results since 1947 are available at the constituency level from reports made public by the Election Commission of India.[3] They were recently digitized and harmonized by Francesca R. Jensenius (2016). We exploit her database to compute the share of total votes accruing to our four party groups of interest. We complete these series with a hand-coded database of Lok Sabha and state election winners covering the 1962-2014 period.

In order to study the individual-level determinants of electoral behaviors, we rely on surveys conducted jointly by the Lokniti Institute and by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). These include National Election Studies (NES), available from 1996 to 2014, as well as a number of other surveys conducted for specific state elections. In order to go back in time, we complete our database with three surveys

[3] See https://eci.gov.in/statistical-report/statistical-reports/.

conducted in 1967, 1971 and 1979 provided by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).[4] Appendix B lists all the surveys used in this paper.

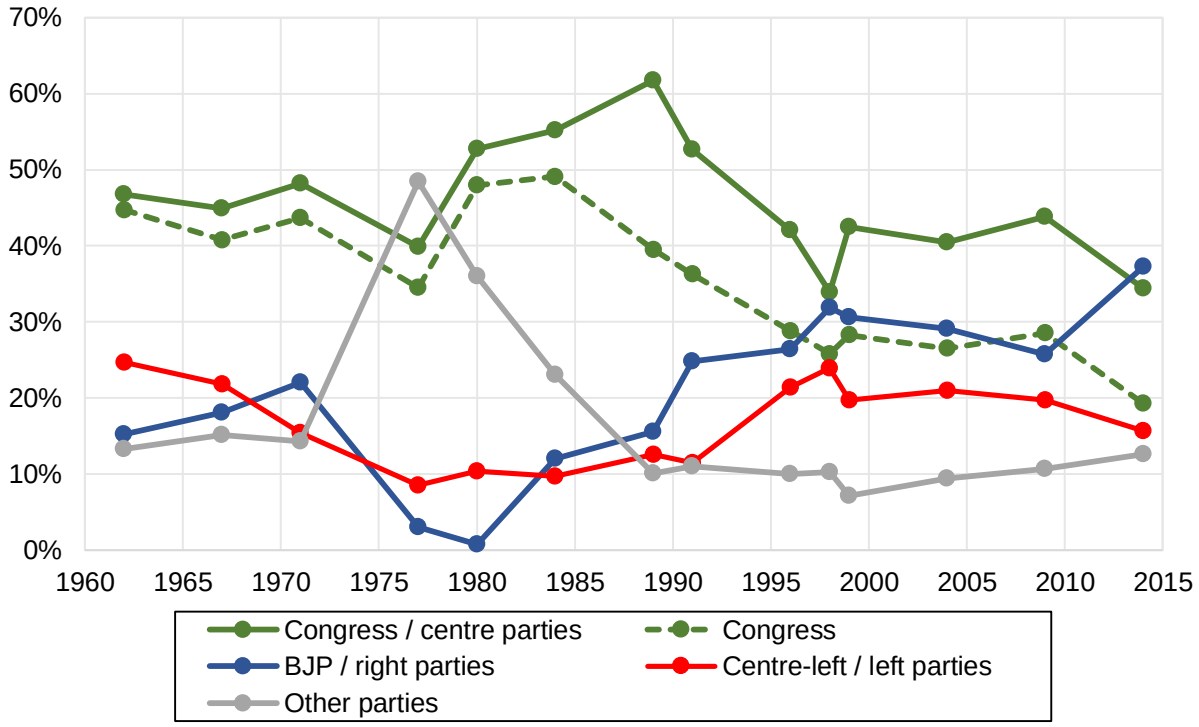
Given important variations in the definitions and the quality of available socio-demographic variables, we focus on a restricted set of individual characteristics which could be harmonized across surveys. We divide caste affiliations into five core groups: Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/ST), Other Backward Castes (OBC), Brahmins, other Forward Castes (FC) and Muslims. Education takes four values corresponding to illiteracy, primary education, secondary education and university degree. We decompose age into four groups (25-34, 35-49, 50-64 and 65+) and use dummy variables for gender and rural/urban areas. The harmonization of income is more challenging given that only income brackets were reported for the earlier years.

Following Piketty (2018), when income was only available in brackets, we approximate income deciles by expanding surveys and reweighting observations so as to attribute individuals to their multiple potential income groups. This is equivalent to assuming that voting patterns are constant within brackets.[5] We also construct a social class variable by following Chakrabarti's (2018) classification of different occupational groups. Lower

[4] Another pre-electoral survey was conducted in 1980 by the CSDS and is available from ICPSR. However, due to very low sample size and major inconsistencies in reported vote intentions, we choose to exclude it from our analysis.

[5] Consider for instance an income variable where the lower bracket covers 5% of the population, while the second lowest covers individuals between the 5th and 15th percentile. Then one can approximate the share of bottom 10% income earners voting for party p as the weighted average of (1) the share of individuals voting for party p in the first bracket and (2) the share of individuals voting for party p in the second bracket. The first component takes a weight of 1 (since all individuals among the bracket belong to the bottom 10%), while the weight of the second component is $\frac{0.05}{0.15-0.05} = 0.5$, since only half of individuals belonging to the second bracket belong to the bottom 10% (assuming that voting patterns are constant within brackets). This methodology can be extended to include control variables by expanding the dataset and attributing to individuals their various decile or quintile weights depending on the multiple groups to which they belong.

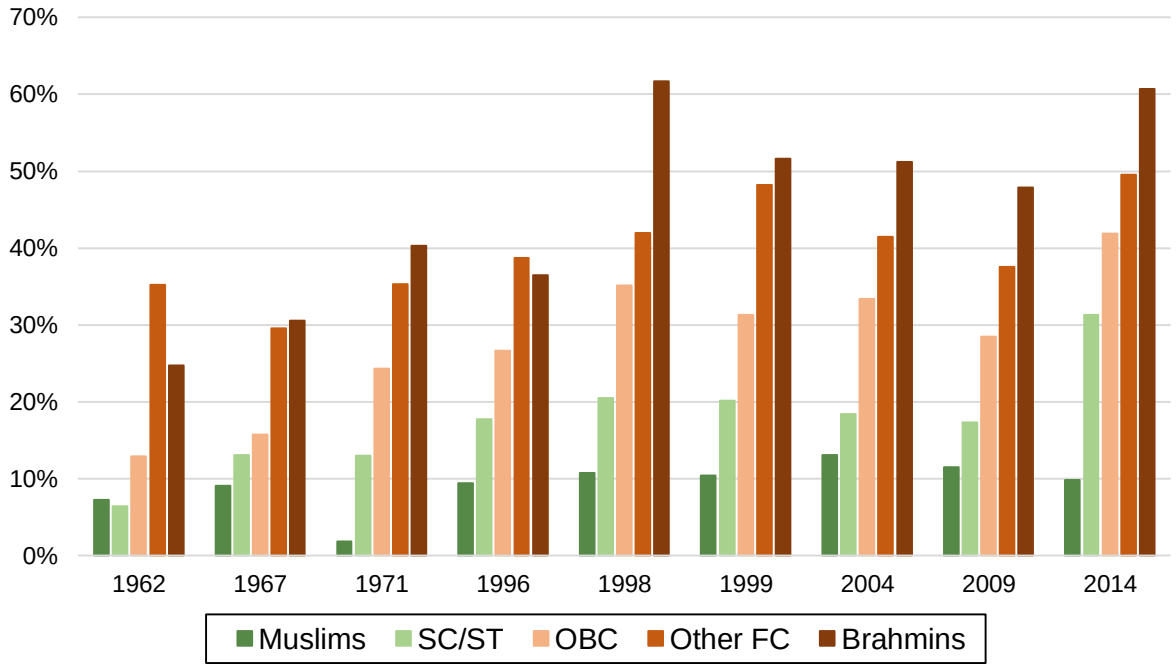
Figure 3.1 - Lok Sabha election results, 1962-2014



classes are mostly composed of low-skilled workers and illiterate individuals, the middle class includes small businessmen, craftsmen and skilled workers, and upper classes comprise mid-level and high-level civil servants, politicians, business-owners, medium and large landowners and higher educated voters.[6] Finally, since no other data was available, we combine retrospective questions from the 1979 and 1967 surveys to get information on electoral behavior in 1962.

[6] For a full list of occupations and education levels included in different social classes, see Chakrabarti (2018), appendix 3. When looking at the independent effect of social class on electoral behaviors, we restrict the sample to men since a large number of women are housewives. In tables reporting multivariate analyses, we define housewives' social class based on education levels, following Chakrabarti (2018). Excluding or including women in the analysis of social class leaves our results unchanged.

Figure 3.2 - Vote for BJP and other right-wing parties by caste, 1962-2014



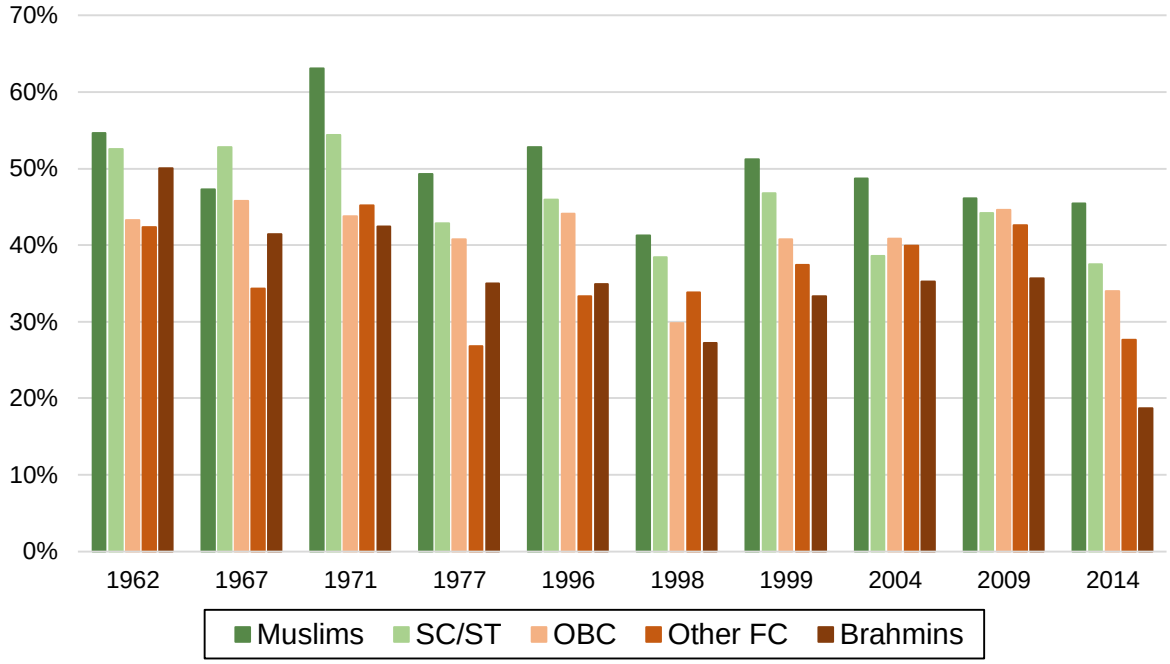
3.1 National elections results

We first use the long time-series data for the national elections to investigate the caste composition of support for right-wing parties, left-wing parties and centrist parties. These series show the shifting patterns of support for the different party groupings over time.

Figure 3.1 shows the overall pattern of the decline of the Congress from its original hegemonic state to its 2014 nadir and the rise of the BJP. Between 1962 and 1984, Congress was supported by between 40% and 50% of Indian voters. Starting in 1989, this share decreased steadily until today, reaching only 19% in 2014. Correspondingly, the BJP took an increasingly important place in India's political spectrum since its foundation in the early 1980s, receiving an unprecedented vote share of 31% in the last Lok Sabha election.

Figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 decompose support for centrist parties, right-wing parties and left parties by caste group. Electoral politics in India have always been characterized by very strong caste cleavages. It has always been the case that the Muslims and the

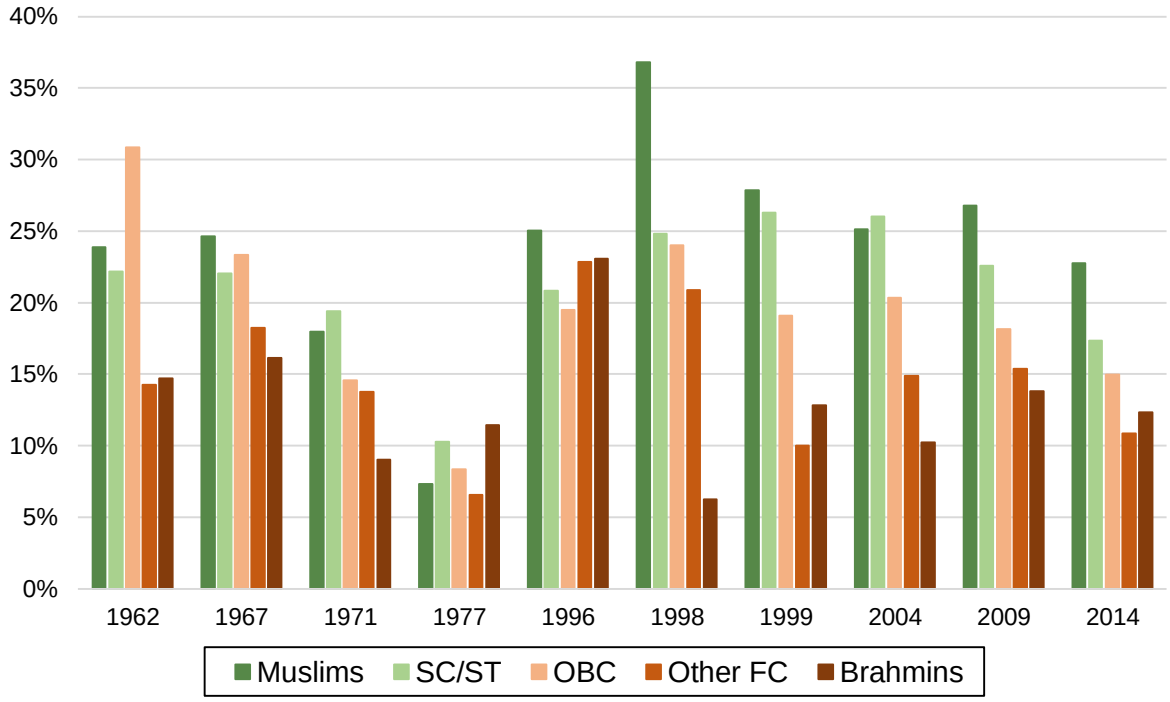
Figure 3.3 - Vote for Congress and other centrist parties by caste, 1962-2014



SC/STs are more likely to vote for the Congress and other centrist parties and that the Brahmins and other upper castes are most biased in favor of the BJP and other right-wing parties. Over time, the Congress' popularity has declined among all the groups while that of the BJP has mainly been going up, except among SC/STs and the Muslims where there is no clear long-run trend. The 2014 election was an exception: for the first time, nearly one third of SCs and STs supported the BJP and other right-wing parties. However, support for the right among other caste groups increased in similar proportions, leaving the voting gaps between upper castes and lower castes essentially unchanged.

The left parties have gone up and down, with a peak in the late 1990s. The groups that are most likely to support them are the Muslims, the SC/STs and the OBCs; they have less support among the upper castes. Overall, caste cleavages appear to be remarkably strong and persistent since the beginning of the 2000s: between 50% and 60% of Brahmins have voted for right-wing parties in all national elections, compared to less than 15% of Muslims.

Figure 3.4 - Vote for centre-left / left parties by caste, 1962-2014



To summarize this data in a single number, we look at the difference between the average vote share of these party groupings in that year's national election and the share they got from the upper castes/Brahmins on one side and the SC/STs on the other. Specifically we estimate:

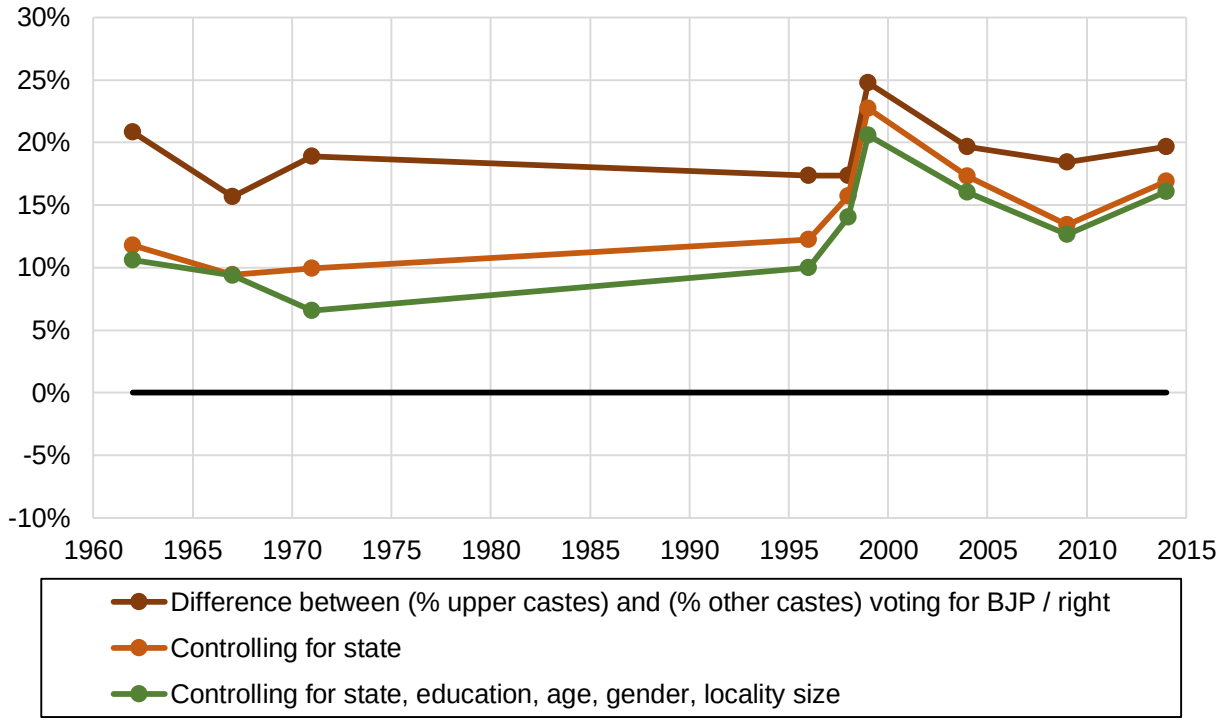
$$y_i^p = \alpha + \beta caste_i^c + X_i\gamma + \varepsilon_i$$

Where $y_i^p = 1$ if individual i voted for a party belonging to group p (centrist, right-wing, left-wing or other), and $y_{is}^p = 0$ otherwise. $caste_i^c$ is a dummy which takes 1 if individual i belongs to caste c and 0 otherwise. X_i is a vector of controls, including state, social class, income, education, gender and locality size (rural/urban). ε_i is the error term. In the case with no controls ($X_i = 0$), we have:

$$\beta = E(y^p|caste^c = 1) - E(y^p|caste^c = 0)$$

If $caste_i^c$ refers to belonging to an upper caste, for instance, then β corresponds to the difference between the proportion of upper castes voting for party p and the proportion of

Figure 3.5 - Vote for BJP / right among upper castes



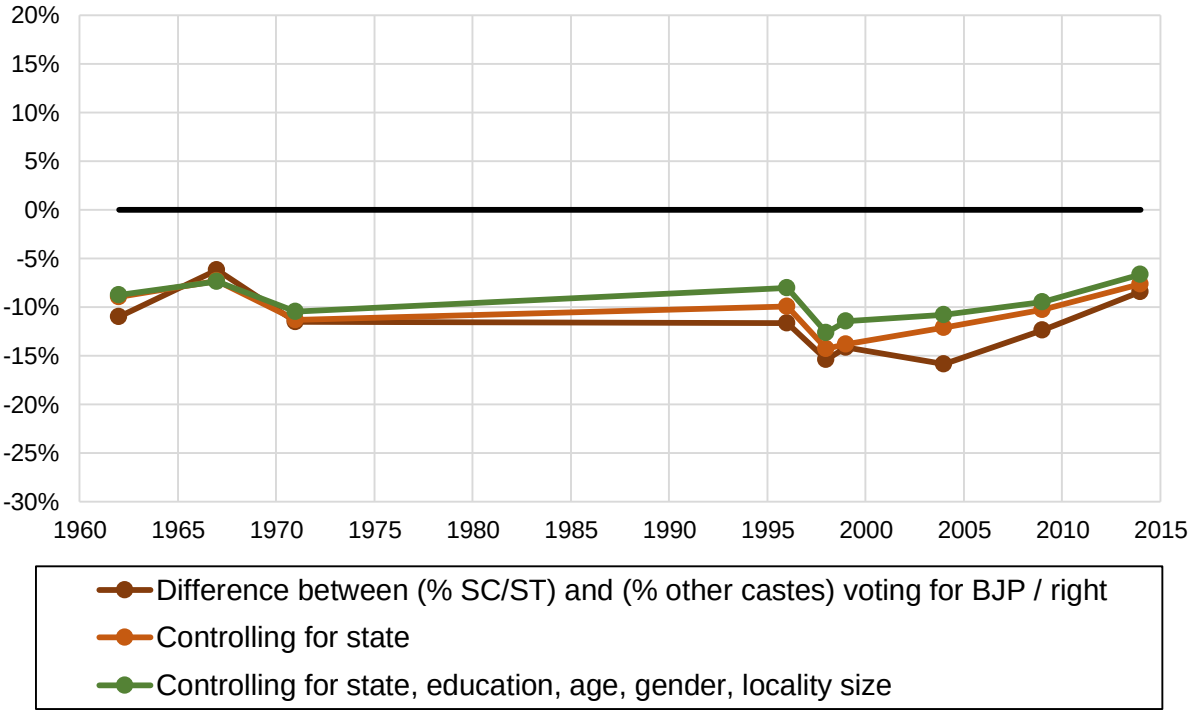
other castes voting for party p. In other words, it measures to what extent belonging to an upper caste increases one's probability to vote for p. This indicator can be estimated by ordinary least squares (OLS) using a linear probability model of the form:

$$P(y^p = 1|x) = \alpha + \beta caste^c + \varepsilon$$

Adding controls preserves the intuitive meaning of the indicator. In the previous example, it can be interpreted in the following way: all other things being equal, upper castes are more likely to vote for party p than other castes by β percentage points. We only include controls in the form of dummy variables. This implies that the linear probability model is saturated and can be estimated by OLS using heteroscedasticity-robust standard errors (Wooldridge, 2002).

In the main text of this section, we present results for right-wing parties. We extend this main specification to centrist parties, left-wing parties, Congress alone and the BJP alone

Figure 3.6 - Vote for BJP / right among SCs and STs

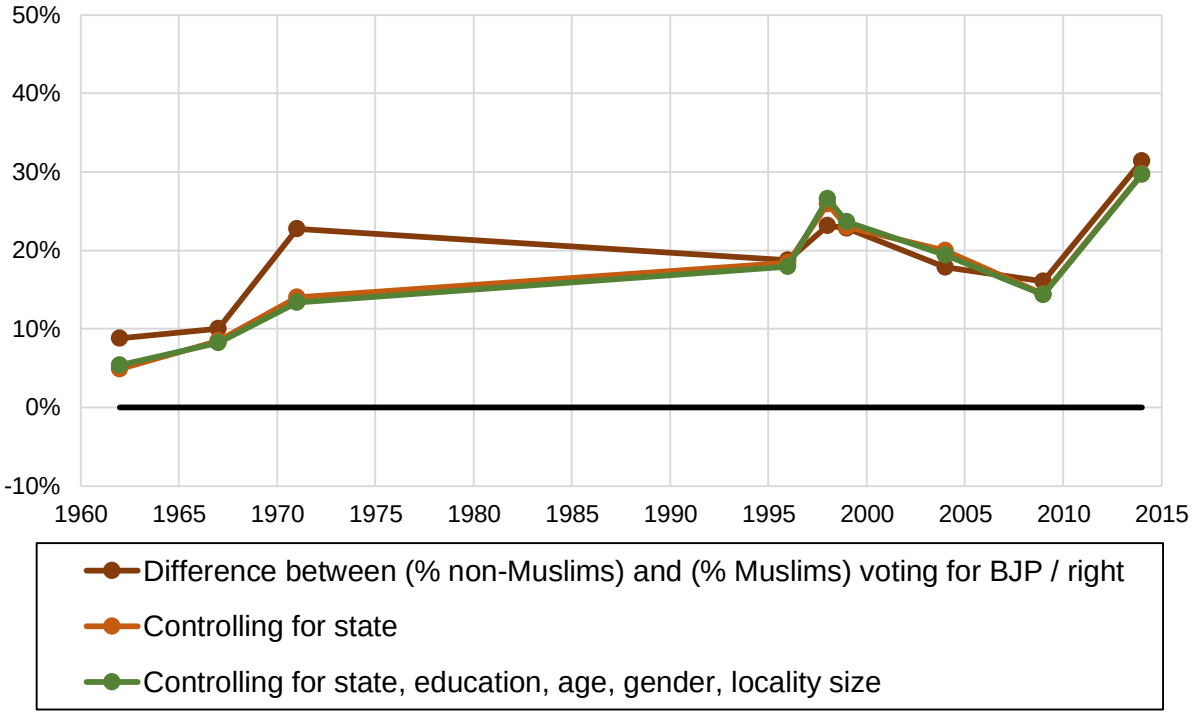


in appendix C.[7] Our main conclusions are robust to considering these different party groupings and to restricting the sample to Hindus alone. The right has always been biased towards Brahmins and other upper castes, while the Congress and other centrist and left parties have always enjoyed greater support among Muslims, SCs and STs. Interestingly, we find the voting bass of centrist and left parties to be very similar to that of the Congress alone, and the voting bases of right-wing parties to be similar to that of the BJP. This supports our categorizations and suggests that the multiplication of small parties in India has not altered the main caste cleavages that were already visible in the 1960s and persisted until the 2014 Lok Sabha election. Neither have these changes coincided with new economic divides. Caste, and increasingly religion, are the two most important determinants of Indian political behaviors.

Figure 3.5 describes the evolution of support for right-wing parties among upper castes before and after controls. As the dark line shows, without any controls the trend is

[7] Due to the specificity of the 1977 election (the Janata Party being a coalition of left-wing and right-wing parties), we exclude this election from the analysis of support for right-wing parties.

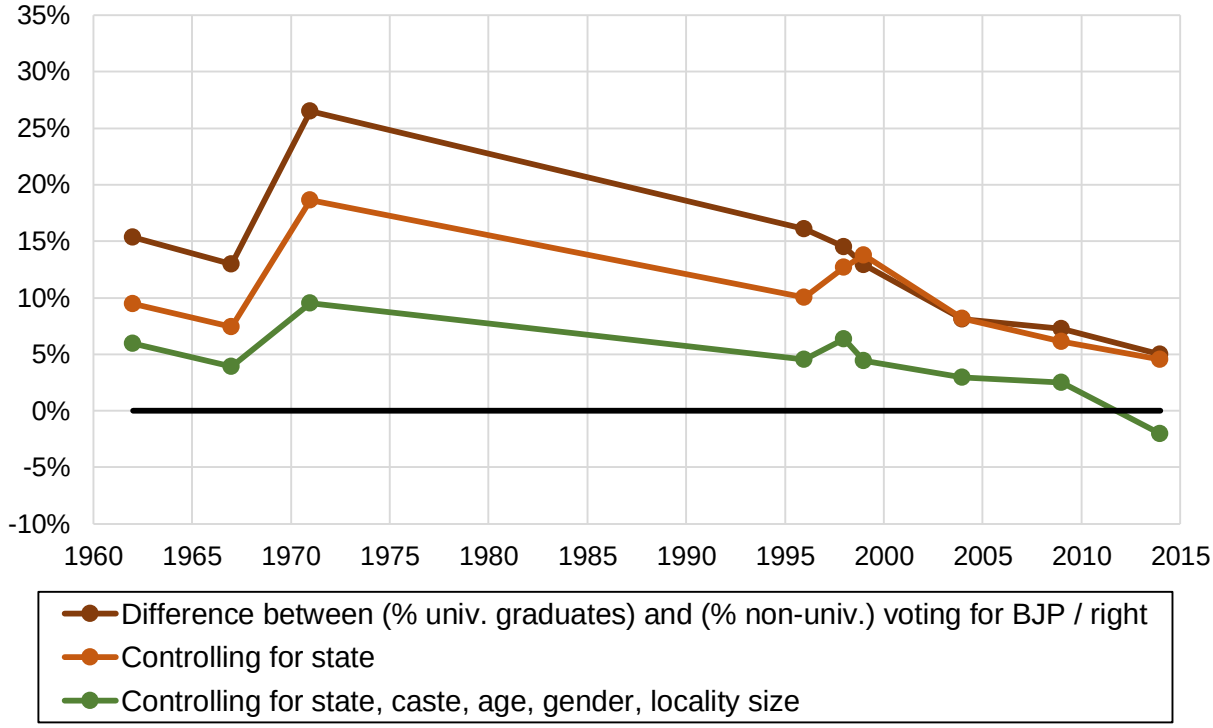
Figure 3.7 - The rise of religious cleavages in India



relatively stable — the upper castes have always been more likely to vote for the right by about 20 percentage points on average. However, this apparent stability conflates within state trends with the fact that the BJP may be growing faster in states where its support base is more or less biased towards the upper castes. The orange line controls for state effects and the green line controls in addition for other individual characteristics. This reduces the level of upper caste bias but the slope over time, if anything, goes up: while upper castes were more likely to support right-wing parties by 5 to 10 percentage points in the 1960s and 1970s, the gap has risen to 15-20 points in recent years.

Figure 3.6 shows similar results for the SC/STs, who have always been less favorable to the right than the rest of the population. Lower castes' opposition to right-wing parties seems to have remained stable over time, both before and after controlling for individual characteristics: the voting gap between SC/STs and other castes has always ranged between 5 and 10 percentage points. By contrast, Muslims have become increasingly inclined to vote for centrist or left-wing parties (figure 3.7). In the early 1960s, they were about as likely to support the right as other religious groups, while in 2014 non-Muslims

Figure 3.8 - Vote for BJP / right among university graduates

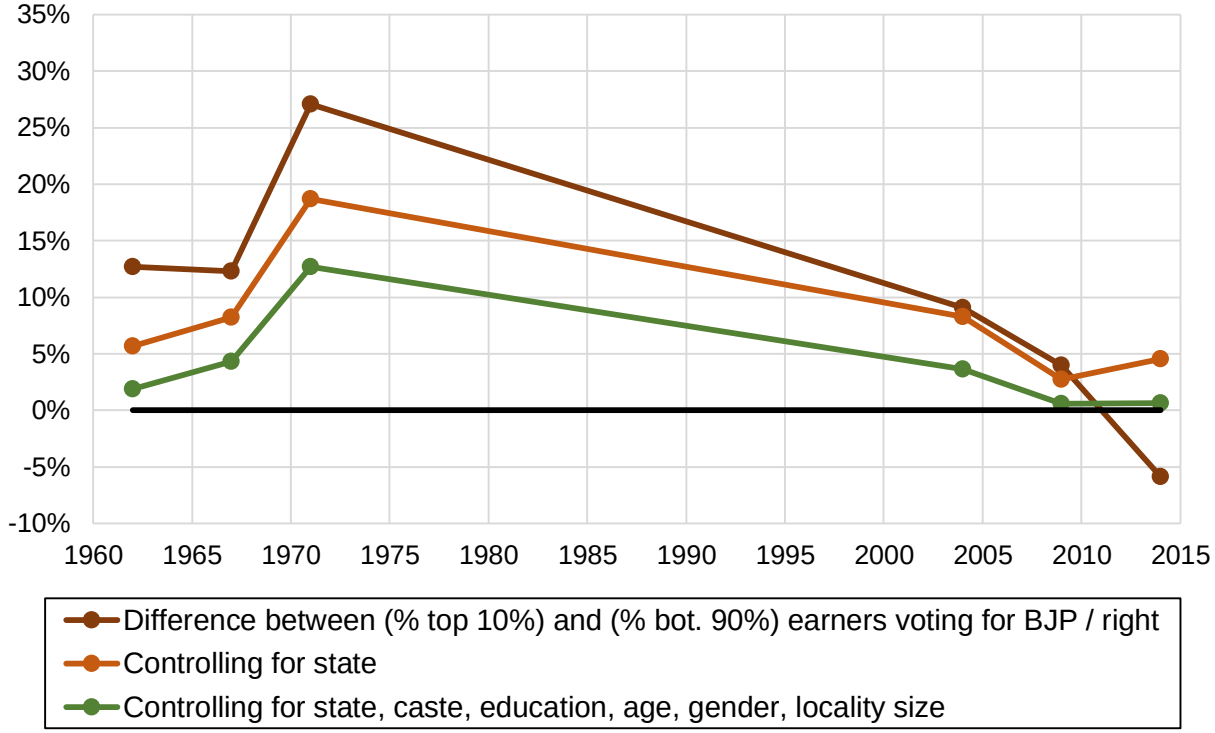


were more likely to do so by 30 percentage points. This extreme and rising religious polarization is due to Muslims being the only social group who has not become more supportive of the BJP. While a rising share of upper castes, OBCs, and more recently SCs and STs have been attracted towards the right, a stable 85% to 90% of Muslims have continued to vote for centrist, left-wing or other parties.

We do the same exercise for education, with a focus on university graduates. The dark, orange and green lines in figure 3.8 correspond to the same colors than in the previous figure. Strikingly, while it is always true that the graduates are biased in favor of right-wing parties, the bias appears to go down over time. Once we control for state effects and respondent fixed effects, the bias is significantly reduced, boiling down to zero in recent years. This suggests that education has become less and less important to understand political cleavages in India: state specificities and caste affiliation, which are strongly correlated to education, have remained much more fundamental.

The same conclusion holds for income (figure 3.9) and social class (figure 3.10), which are both generally strongly correlated to caste affiliation. While belonging to top 10%

Figure 3.9 - Vote for BJP / right among high-income earners

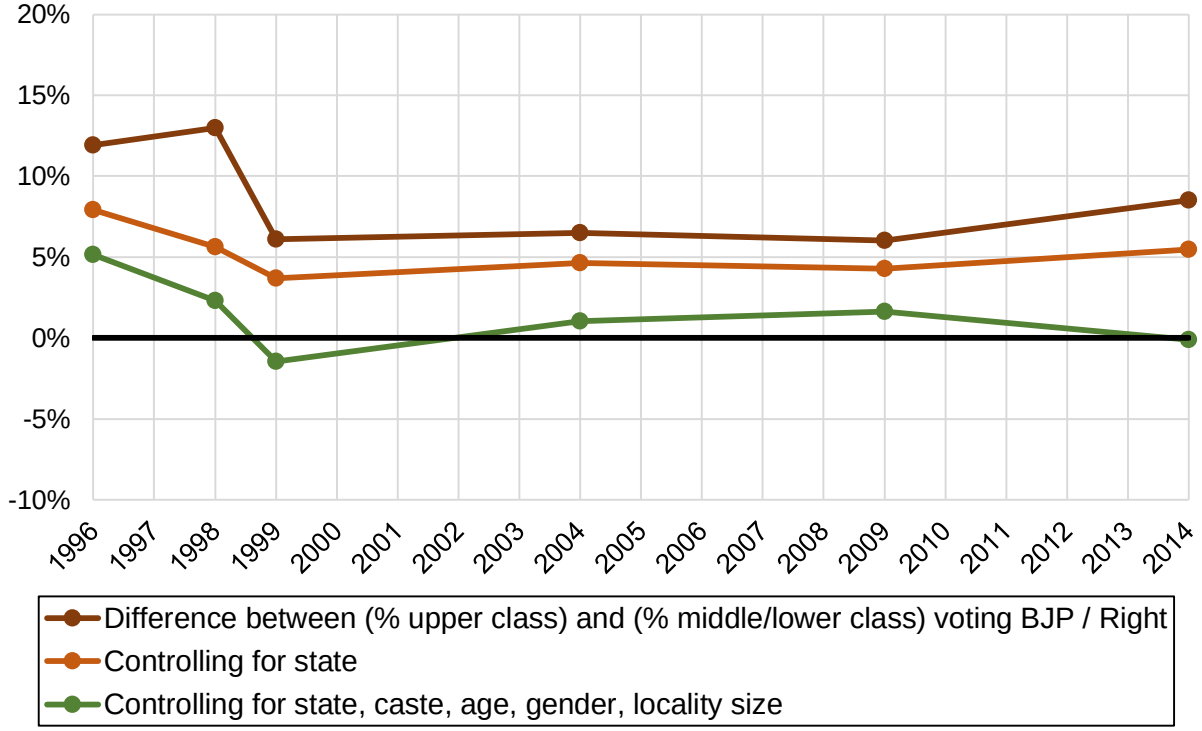


earners seemed to have an effect on vote choice in 1971, it has come close to zero in recent elections. Similarly, upper classes are generally more supportive of right-wing parties, but the effect is purely driven by the fact that they are more likely to belong to upper castes. Once one controls for available sociodemographic characteristics, upper classes are about as likely to support right-wing parties as middle or lower classes.

Table 3.1 reports regression results on the main determinants of support for the BJP or other right-wing parties between 1962 and 2014.[8] In line with what previous figures suggested, caste identity appears to be the strongest factor for understanding electoral behaviors in Indian national elections. In 2014, Muslims were less likely than OBCs to support the right by more than 30 percentage points, while Brahmins were more likely to do so by more than 10 percentage points. Education was not significantly associated with

[8] Income is excluded from this analysis since it was unfortunately not available in the 1996, 1998 and 1999 surveys. Social class is also excluded since occupation categories could not be harmonized before 1996.

Figure 3.10 - Vote for BJP / right among the upper class



vote choice before 1996; by then, university graduates were more likely to vote for the BJP or other right-wing parties than illiterates by about 10 percentage points, but this effect decreased again until 2014. Age and gender do not appear to play any significant role. The last column shows the difference between the 2014 and the 1962 estimated coefficients. Except for the Muslim bias against right-wing parties, which has dramatically increased over time, the caste gradient does not seem to have changed significantly during the past decades. Our results therefore suggest that caste-based cleavages have remained broadly stable.

The same exercise can be done for the centrist parties and left-wing parties (see appendix). Upper castes are less likely to vote for these parties than the rest of the population, and once we control for state and respondent characteristics, there is no stable long-run trend. Support for the center among SC/STs has been going down relatively to other caste groups, even though it remains slightly higher than that in the entire population. Among all groups of parties, Muslim support is increasingly biased towards centrist parties and in particular the Congress: in 2014, they were more likely to

vote for Congress alone than any other party by more than 15 percentage points. Basically, left-wing parties have attracted a large share of the Congress' former electoral base among lower castes, while the BJP has been more successful among upper castes, so that only Muslims have remained faithful to Congress.

In summary, India's national party system has substantially changed since the 1960s as the once hegemonic Congress became increasingly challenged by the BJP and the often caste-based parties of the center-left. Despite these structural changes, caste status has remained the most important social cleavage materialized in national elections. Even after accounting for other state-level and individual-level specificities, upper castes appear to be significantly biased towards the right-wing parties, while centrist and left parties receive higher support among the lower castes and the Muslims. While these caste divisions have remained more or less stable over time, religious cleavages have increased dramatically. Muslims have been the only social group to not become more likely to support the BJP, remaining faithful to the Congress and other centrist parties. Strikingly, while education and income has played a role in some specific elections, we find no evidence of the emergence of a new cleavage linked to economic or human capital in the long-run.

Table 3.1 - Determinants of vote for right-wing parties in Indian national elections, 1962-2014

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

3.2 State elections results

In this section, we show that despite large variations in the characteristics of political competition across states, caste and religion have remained two key socio-structural variables underlying electoral behaviors. From Congress dominance, India has gradually moved towards a multiplicity of fragmented party systems opposing the INC to regional parties and, more recently, to the BJP in state elections (figure 3.11). This transition has been associated with a progressive diversification of the nature of political competition in state elections. The Congress' decline has coincided with the emergence of powerful regional parties in the south and the northeast in the 1970s and 1980s, and with the rise of the BJP in other parts of the country since the 1990s.

We exploit a set of surveys conducted by Lokniti-CSDS during state elections to study how varieties in state party politics translate into specific cleavage structures. Our sample covers twenty-eight elections which took place between 1996 and 2016 in 9 major states: Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand and West Bengal (see appendix B). As in the National Election Studies, respondents were asked to provide information on the party they voted for in the most recent Vidhan Sabha election, as well as other sociodemographic characteristics.

There are large variations in the relative vote shares received by regional parties, Congress and the BJP. In some states, Congress hegemony was gradually replaced by a two-party system which opposed the INC to the BJP. This is the case in Gujarat and Rajasthan, where Congress has remained the only serious competitor to the BJP since the beginning of the 1990s. In another group of states, both Congress and the BJP have had to build coalitions with other smaller parties. In Jharkhand, the Congress has not completely disappeared but has been challenged by the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and the Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (JVM) since the formation of the state in 2000. In Maharashtra, a coalition of the BJP and Shiv Sena has been competing with a coalition between the Congress and the National Congress Party (NCP). In Uttarakhand, the INC, the BJP and the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) have become the three main competitors.

Figure 3.11– Party affiliations of state governments, 1962-2017

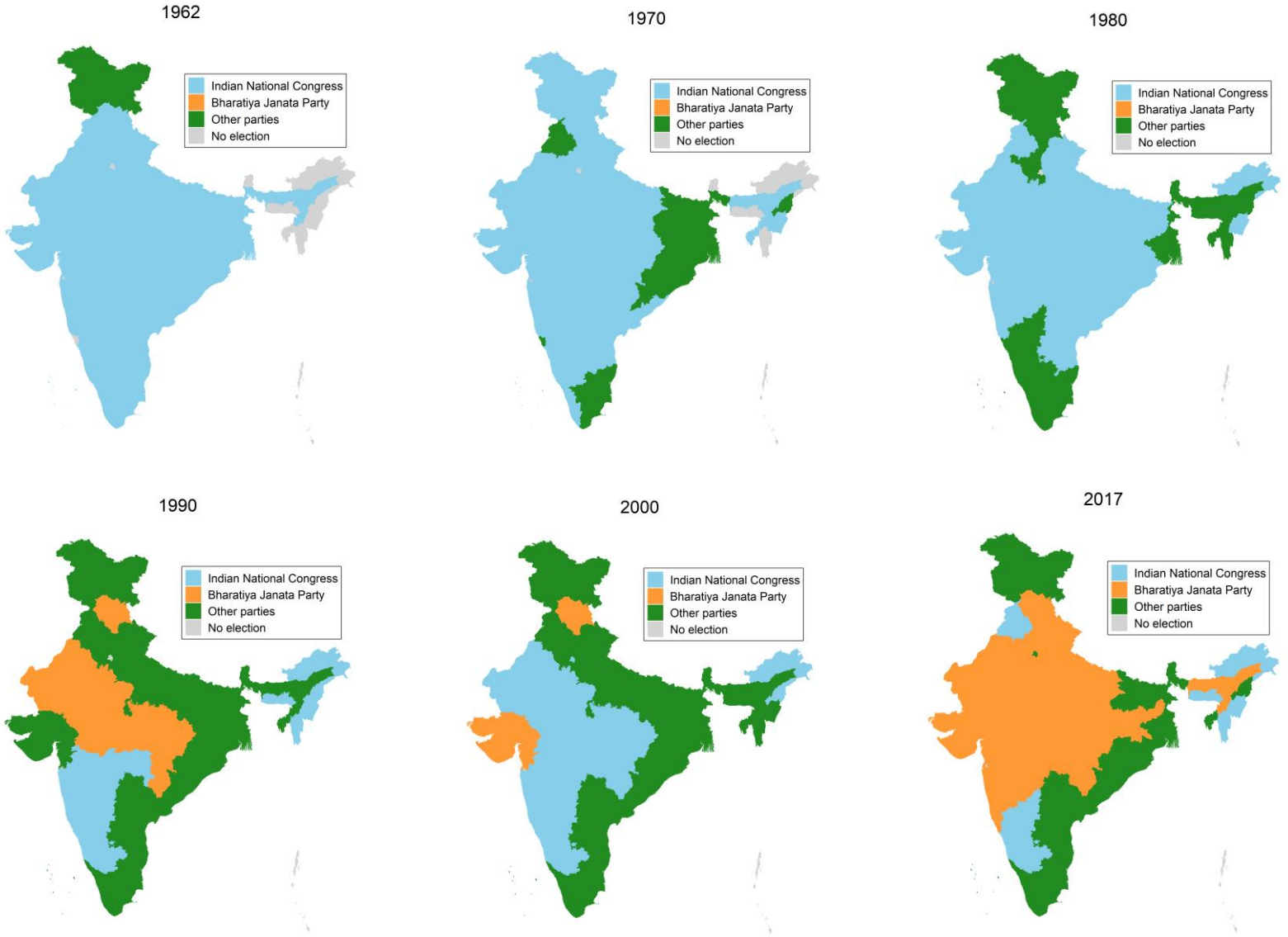
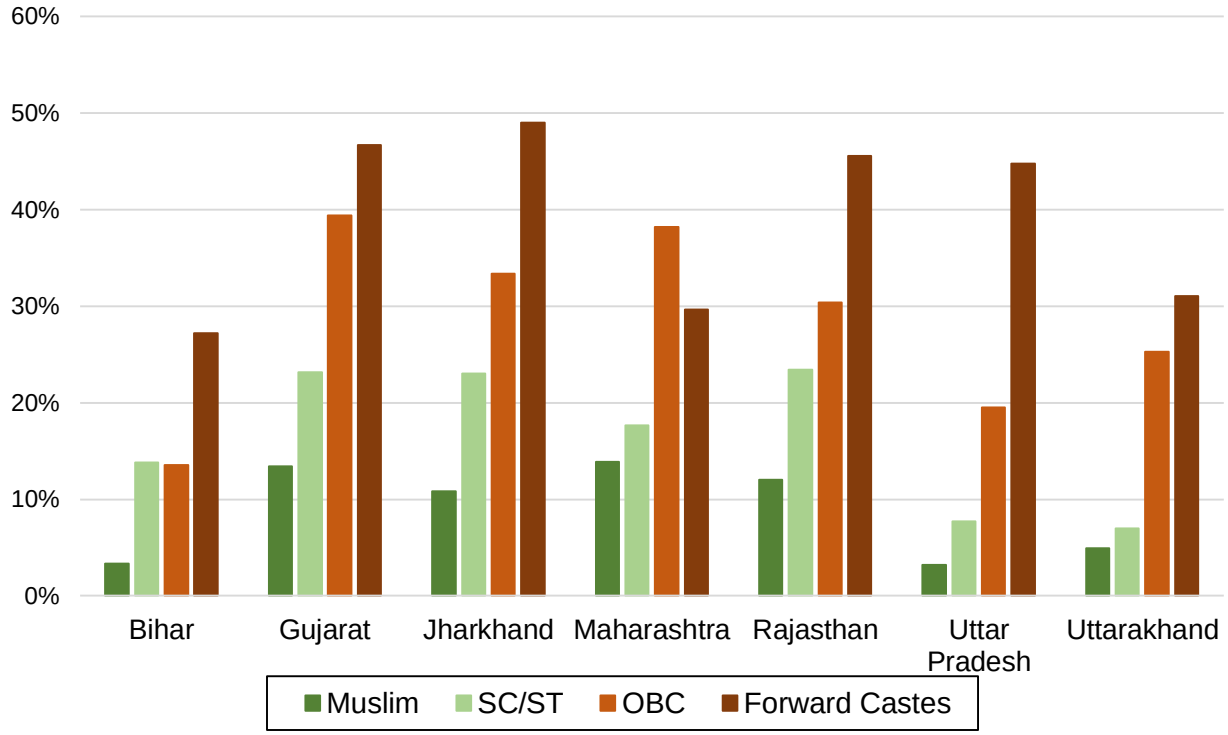


Figure 3.12 - Vote for BJP / Right by caste in state elections



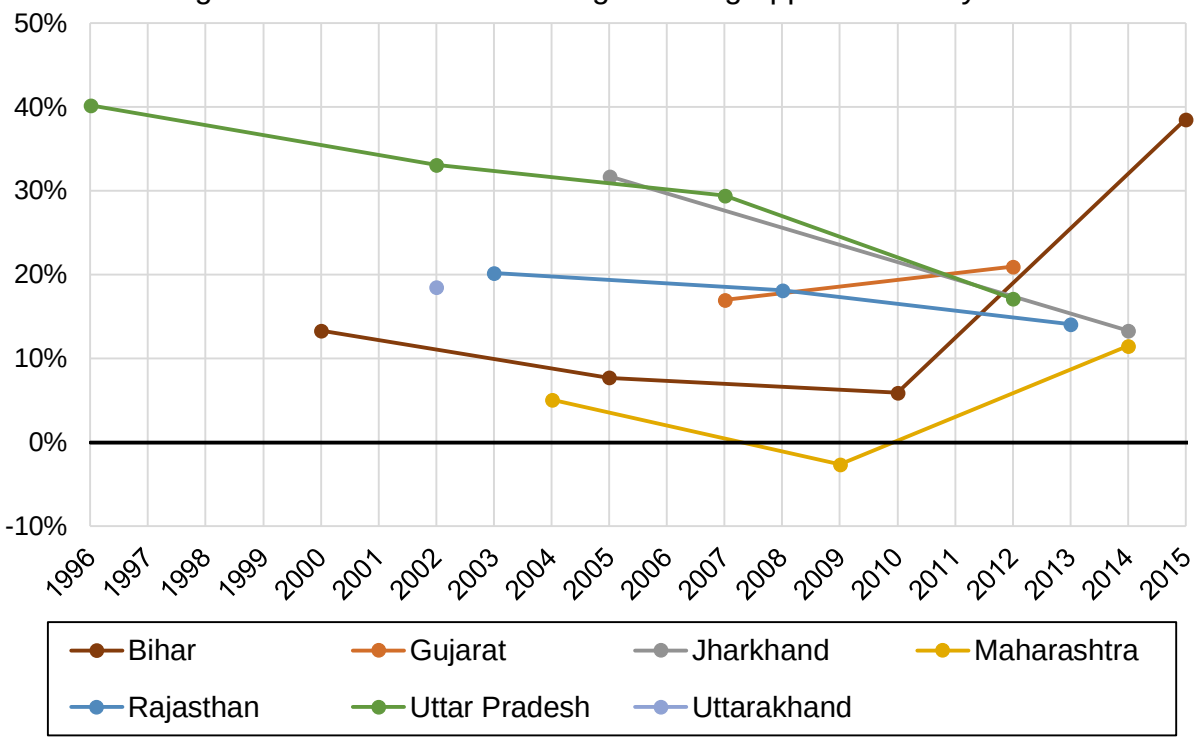
In another type of state, the Congress has almost completely disappeared and has been replaced by one or more regional parties. In Tamil Nadu, the AIADMK and the DMK have essentially alternated in holding power since the beginning of the 1970s, building coalitions with other minor parties such as the PMK, DMDK or MDMK. In Bihar, following the decline of the Congress in the early 1990s, the Janata Dal (U), the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and the BJP have become the three main political forces. Uttar Pradesh elections have opposed three main parties: the BSP, the Samta Party (SP) and the BJP. In West Bengal, finally, the Left Front –which includes the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the All India Forward Block (AIFB), the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Communist Party of India (CPI) and other minor left-wing parties–dominated the political landscape since the mid-1970s until the 2010s. Its main competitor till recently has been another center left party, the All India Trinamool Congress (AITC), who won the 2011 and 2016 elections by forming an alliance with the Congress, though the BJP is also trying to grow its support in the state.

Figure 3.13 - Vote for BJP / Right by social class in state elections

We start by looking at the caste and religious basis of support for right-wing parties in states where the BJP is a major competitor. Figure 3.12 decomposes the vote shares of right-wing parties by caste group, pooling all surveys available in each state. Support for the right is strongly differentiated by caste: in all states for which we have data, it is always the case that upper castes are more likely to support the right than SCs/STs or Muslims. The OBCs' voting patterns are more variable: in states with strong left parties (Bihar, Uttar Pradesh), they tend to be less supportive of the BJP, while their voting behaviors follow more closely that of the upper castes in states opposing the BJP to centrist parties. The relationship between social class and right-wing affiliation is also positive, but substantially weaker (figure 3.13): lower classes are always less likely to support the BJP than upper classes by about ten to fifteen percentage point.

However, given that income, wealth, social class and caste have always been strongly correlated and have remained so in recent years (Bharti 2018), these plots of the unconditional correlation are potentially misleading. Figure 3.14 plots the difference between the share of upper castes voting BJP/Right and the share of other caste groups

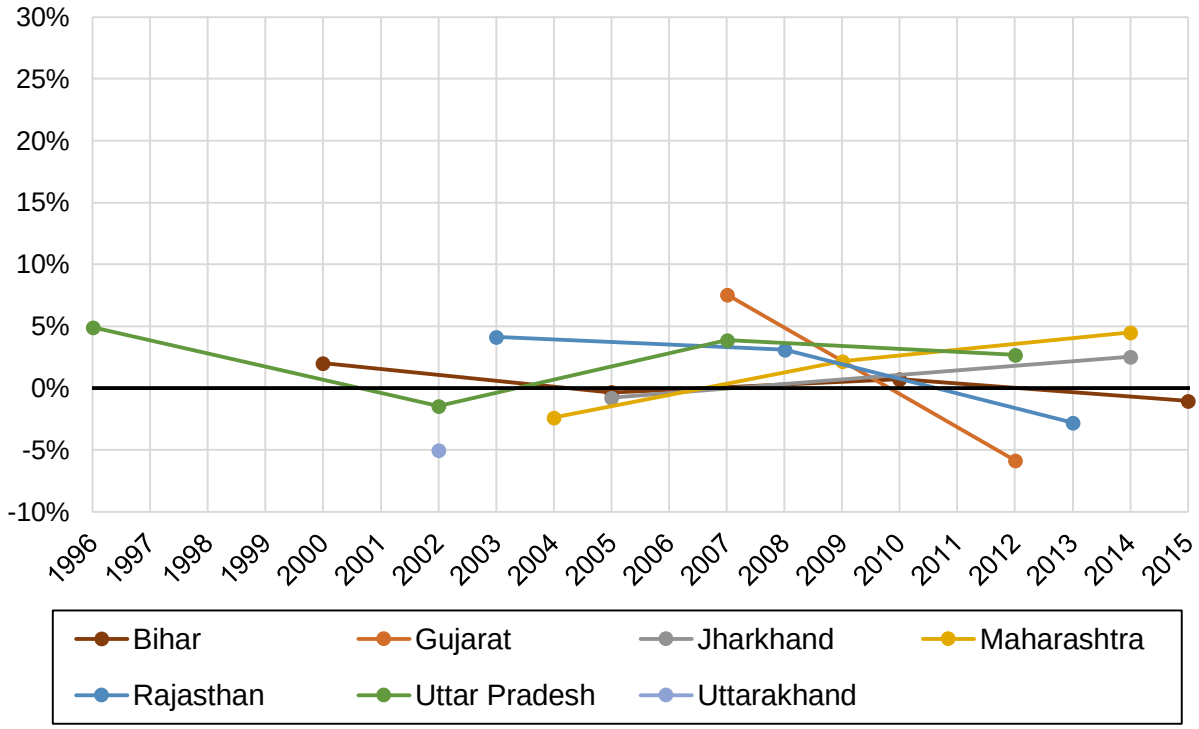
Figure 3.14 - Vote for BJP / Right among upper castes by state



Note: figures correspond to the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other castes voting for right-wing parties, after controlling for social class, age, gender, and locality size (rural/urban). Interpretation: all things being equal, upper castes were more likely to support right-wing parties than other castes by 40 percentage points in the 2015 Bihar election.

voting BJP/Right, after controlling for social class, age, gender and locality size (rural/urban). Right-wing bias towards upper castes survives the inclusion of controls in most surveys. In nearly all elections, upper castes were significantly more likely to support the right than other groups by 5 to 40 percentage points. State-specific dynamics are visible, but there does not seem to be any long-run common trend. In Bihar, for example, caste and religious cleavages increased dramatically in 2015 as support for the BJP reached historical levels among upper castes. By contrast, Uttar Pradesh elections have been associated with decreasing polarization since 1996, perhaps due to the BSP's increasing propensity to rely on governmental alliances with the BJP. Maharashtra's seemingly weak caste gradient is due to the fact that OBCs are about as likely to support the BJP and Shiv Sena as are upper castes.

Figure 3.15 - Vote for BJP / Right among the upper class by state

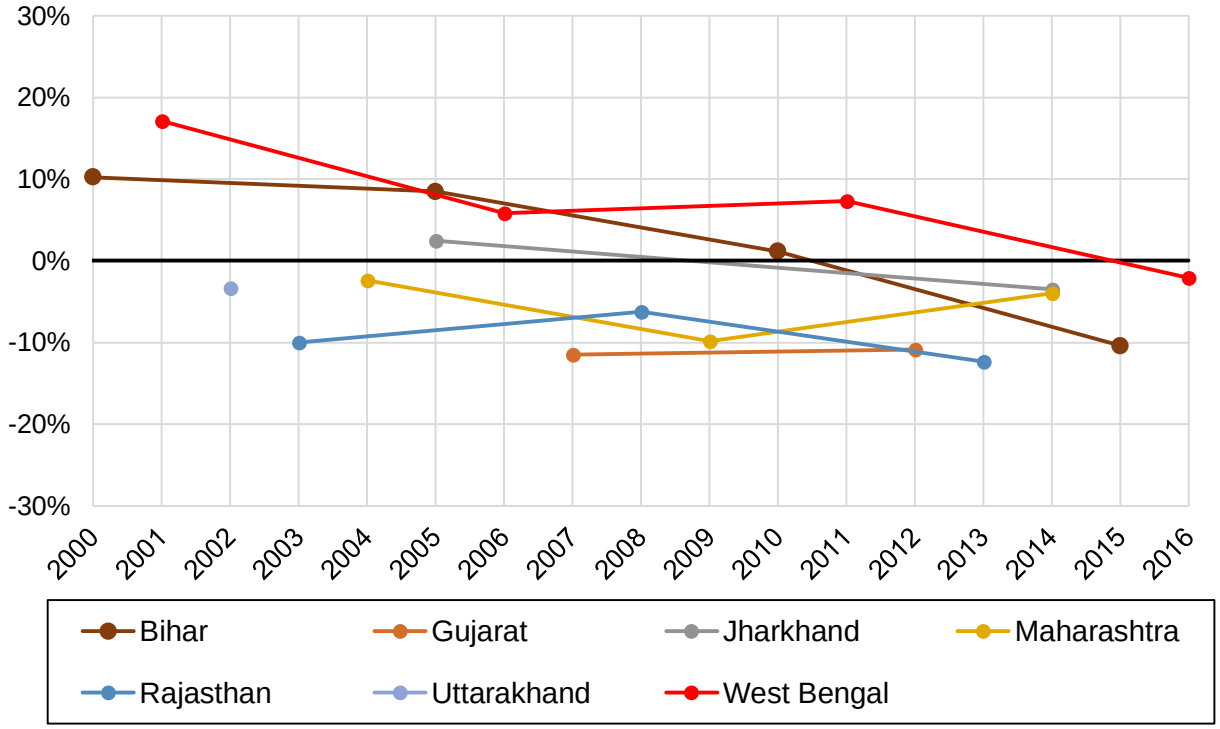


Note: figures show the difference between the share of upper class voters and the share of other voters supporting right-wing parties, after controlling for caste, age, gender, and locality size (rural/urban). Interpretation: all things being equal, the upper class was more likely to support right-wing parties than other groups by 5 percentage points in the 2014 Maharashtra election.

Figure 3.15 plots the difference in vote shares for right-wing parties between the upper class and the middle/lower classes, after controls. While there is evidence that the right tends to be slightly biased towards the upper class, the relationship is much weaker: in most elections, the gap does not exceed five percentage points.

In states where Congress is still a key competitor, the caste basis of centrist parties is less clear-cut and depends upon the nature of the state party system (figure 3.16). Centrist parties tend to receive stronger support among upper castes when they face a strong left-wing competitor (Bihar and West Bengal). When they face the BJP, on the

Figure 3.16 - Vote for INC / Centre among upper castes by state



Note: figures show the difference between the share of upper castes and the share of other castes voting for centrist parties, after controlling for education, age, gender, and locality size (rural/urban). Interpretation: all things being equal, upper castes were less likely to support centrist parties than other castes by 10 percentage points in the 2015 Bihar election.

other hand, they tend to attract a higher proportion of voters among lower castes and Muslims (as in Gujarat, Maharashtra or Rajasthan).

In table 3.2, we pool all state election surveys over the 1996-2016 period and run models equivalent to those used in section 3.1 to study the determinants of electoral behavior in national elections. After accounting for state fixed effects, year fixed effects and other individual characteristics, upper castes are more likely to support right-wing parties than SCs and STs by 15 percentage points. In line with our previous findings at the national level, centrist parties tend to be strongly biased towards Muslims, while left parties' electoral bases are more concentrated among lower castes. Social class is significant, but its role is much smaller: upper class individuals are more likely to support right-wing parties by only 3 percentage points. Finally, centrist and right-wing parties tend to receive

greater support in cities, while independents and other small parties are more common in rural areas.

Table 3.2 - Determinants of electoral behaviors in state elections, 1996-2016				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	BJP / Right	Congress / Centre	Centre-left / Left parties	Other parties
Caste: Muslims	-0.056***	0.075***	0.002	-0.021
	(0.005)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.014)
Caste: OBC	0.066***	-0.018***	-0.011**	-0.037***
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.010)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.153***	0.000	-0.079***	-0.075***
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.012)
Middle class	0.010**	0.011**	-0.017***	-0.005
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.009)
Upper class	0.028***	-0.009	-0.020***	0.001
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.011)
Age: 25-34	-0.001	0.005	-0.006	0.001
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.013)
Age: 35-49	0.005	0.013*	-0.003	-0.015
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.012)
Age: 50-64	-0.002	0.005	0.006	-0.009
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.014)
Age: 65+	-0.003	0.018*	0.004	-0.019
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.017)
Gender: Male	0.002	-0.004	0.001	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.008)
Location: Rural area	-0.028***	-0.044***	-0.008**	0.081***
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.010)
Constant	0.205***	0.289***	0.300***	0.207***
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(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				

Appendix D provides detailed regression results on the determinants of electoral behaviors in all states, focusing on key parties and coalitions. In line with our results in national elections, caste and religion appear in most cases to be strongly significant. Social class does seem to play a role in some elections, but voting differences, if anything,

seem to have decreased over time. Tamil Nadu is perhaps an exception: belonging to middle or upper classes was strongly associated with larger support for the AIADMK in recent years, while Muslims and lower castes are only moderately more likely to support the DMK or Congress. Rural areas tend to be significantly more supportive of centrist and left parties, even if there are variations across space and time and no clear trend is visible.

Our analysis of voting patterns in Indian states therefore suggest that caste has continued to structure local politics since the end of the 1990s, as in the case of national elections. The rise of the BJP and regional parties has contributed to reallocate voters: upper castes have been more likely to vote for the former while lower castes have drifted towards the latter. Yet, changing party labels have not undermined the caste and religious cleavages which already existed, and in most states, changes in the party system have not been associated with new stable class-based cleavages either.

4. Does social spending go down when there is a shift to the right?

The results suggest that the main dividing factor between the political parties is social rather than economic, except perhaps in their views of affirmative action quotas, which are both social and economic. A plausible implication of this is that the shift in which party governs a state should not affect its economic decisions. In this section, we investigate this by asking whether social spending goes up when there is a shift in political power away from the right, which is what one would find in the West.

Our data on social spending comes from the Reserve Bank of India, which has released a set of documents providing detailed information on the allocation of state budgets in recent years[9]. We digitize these reports to obtain a measure of total social spending covering the 2003-2017 period. The reports distinguish between revenue and capital expenditures and provide detailed information on the allocation of these expenditures to

[9] See:
https://www.rbi.org.in/scripts/AnnualPublications.aspx?head=State+Finances+%3a+A+Study+of+Budgets

different sectors. We compute social expenditures by aggregating revenue and capital expenditures for education, sports, art and culture, medical and public health, water supply and sanitation, housing, welfare of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward castes, social security and welfare, and labor and labor welfare.

One issue we have to deal with is which denominator to choose. One possibility is to measure social spending as a fraction of Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP). To the extent that states build fiscal capacities and allocate tax revenues to different sectors, this contains information about how states decide on whether or not to expand the social sector in the long-run. Another possibility is to divide social spending by total developmental expenditures, defined as the sum of expenditures dedicated to both the social and the economic sector.[10] This measure corresponds better to short-run motives: given a fixed budget allocated to development, governments choose which sector to prioritize. Since government terms tend to be relatively short, we choose to focus on the latter measure.

Our objective is to test whether there is a link between governments' decisions to increase social expenditure, the social basis of their political supporters and their ideological orientation. We use both state surveys and national election studies to compute a measure of the relative representation of different caste groups and social classes in state governments.[11] More specifically, we define government bias towards group c as:

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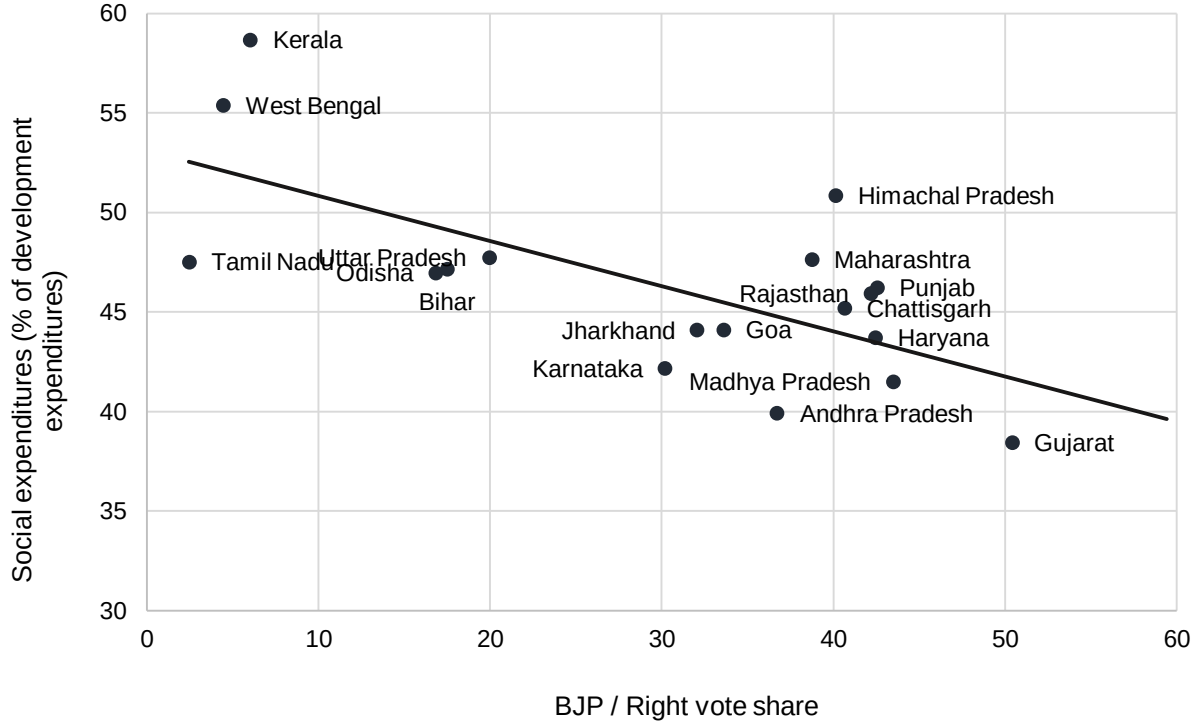
[10] Development expenditures directed to the economic sector include nutrition, relief on account of natural calamities, agriculture and allied activities, rural development, special area programs, irrigation and flood control, energy, industry and minerals, transport and communications, science, technology and environment, and general economic services.

[11] When state election surveys are available, the computation of the social basis of ruling parties is straightforward. For states and years where no dedicated survey is available, we use the closest national election studies available to match voters with their corresponding parties or coalitions at the state level. We then compute the social basis of ruling parties by taking the average of surrounding national election studies, weighed by their time proximity to the actual election. When both are available, national-based and state-based caste compositions of ruling parties are strongly correlated.

Figure 4.1 - Social expenditure vs BJP / Right vote share, 2003-2018



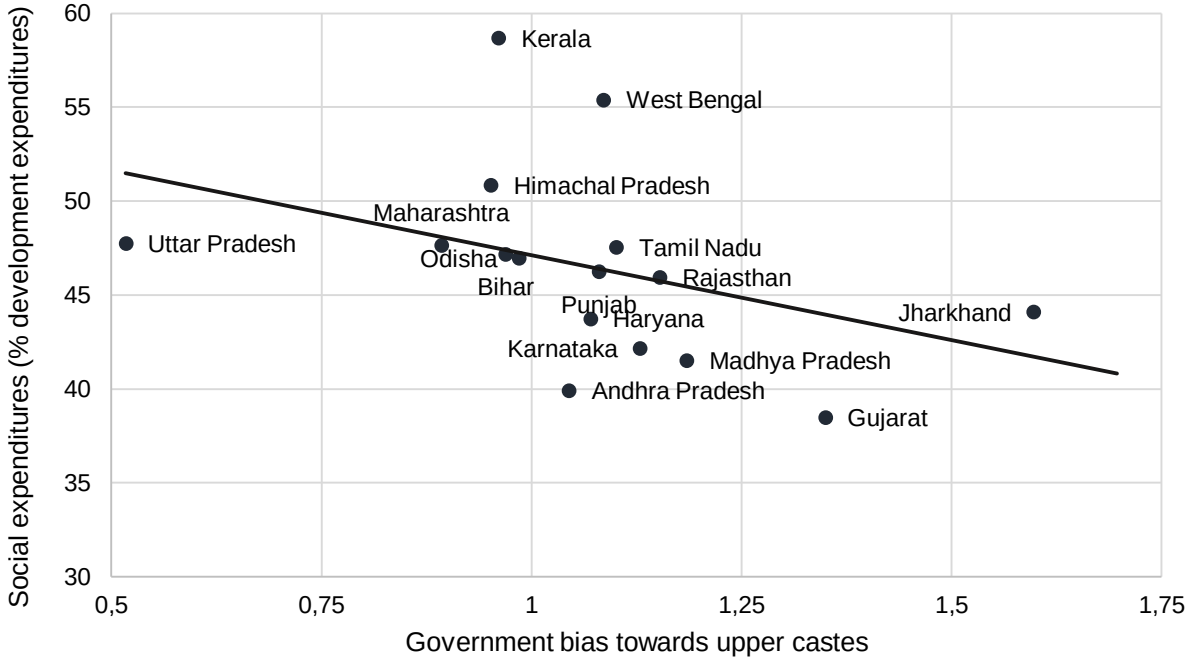
$$\text{Bias}^{c} = \frac{\%\text{ of government supporters belonging to group } c}{\%\text{ of state population belonging to group } c}$$

This indicator is a straightforward measure of the social bases of political parties. A value higher than 1 indicates that caste or class c was overrepresented in voters supporting the party in power. A value lower than 1, on the contrary, means that the ruling party was relatively more supported by other groups. For reasons of data availability and sample sizes, we restrict our analysis to eighteen major states: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

In order to test whether caste-based and class-based biases have effects of social policy, we run regression models of the form:

$$\text{Social}_{\text{it}} = \alpha + \beta\ \text{Ideology}_{\text{it}-1} + \gamma\ \text{Bias}^{c}_{it-1} + \text{X}_{\text{it}-1}\zeta + \mu_i + \lambda_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$

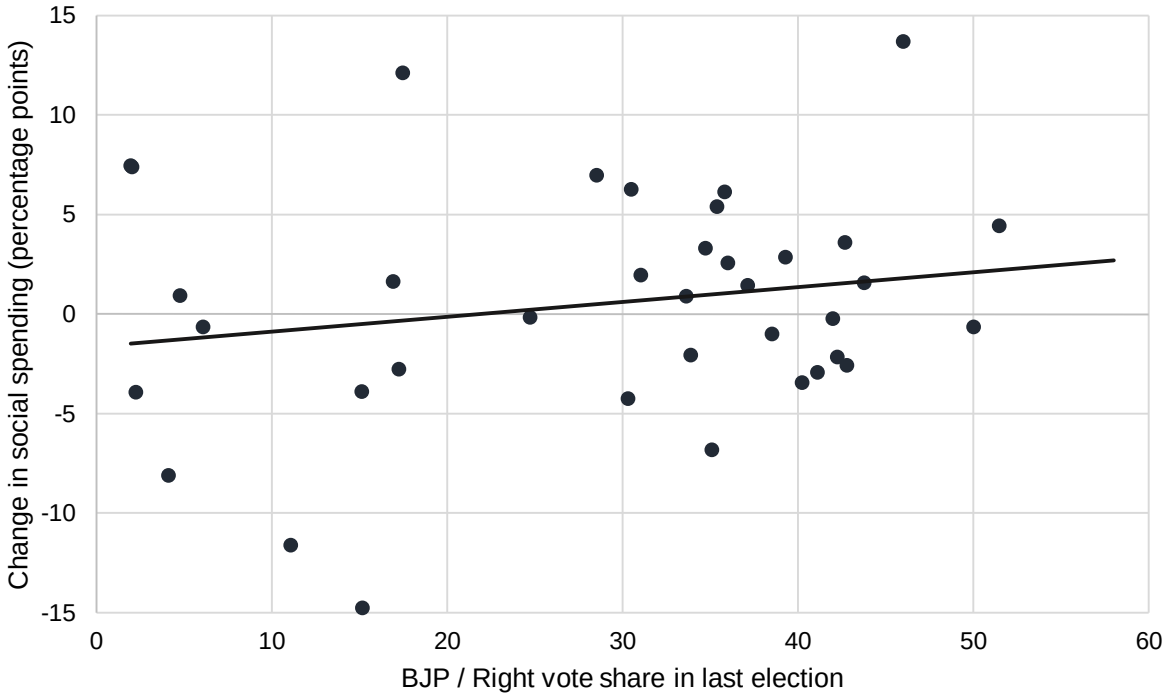
Figure 4.2 - Social expenditure vs government bias towards upper castes, 2003-2018



$\text{Social}_{\text{it}}$ is the share of developmental expenditures dedicated to the social sector in state i at time t. Ideology is a measure of the representation of different ideologies in state governments, such as the total vote share received by right-wing parties in the last election or the ruling party's ideological orientation. X is a vector of controls in which we include the logarithm of real state GSDP per capita as well as the overall electoral turnout in the last state election.[12] Finally, μ_i and λ_t are state and year fixed effects, and ε_{it} is the error term. Notice that our explanatory variables are all lagged to account for the fact that changes in social expenditures are decided by governments for the next year. If Ideology corresponds to the ruling party being right-wing, for instance, then $\beta < 0$ means that

[12] Our GSDP data come from the National Institution for Transforming India (http://niti.gov.in). We obtain GSDP per capita by dividing total GSDP by state populations obtained from Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (http://www.mospi.gov.in), and we deflate our series using India's national CPI obtained from the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis (https://fred.stlouisfed.org/).

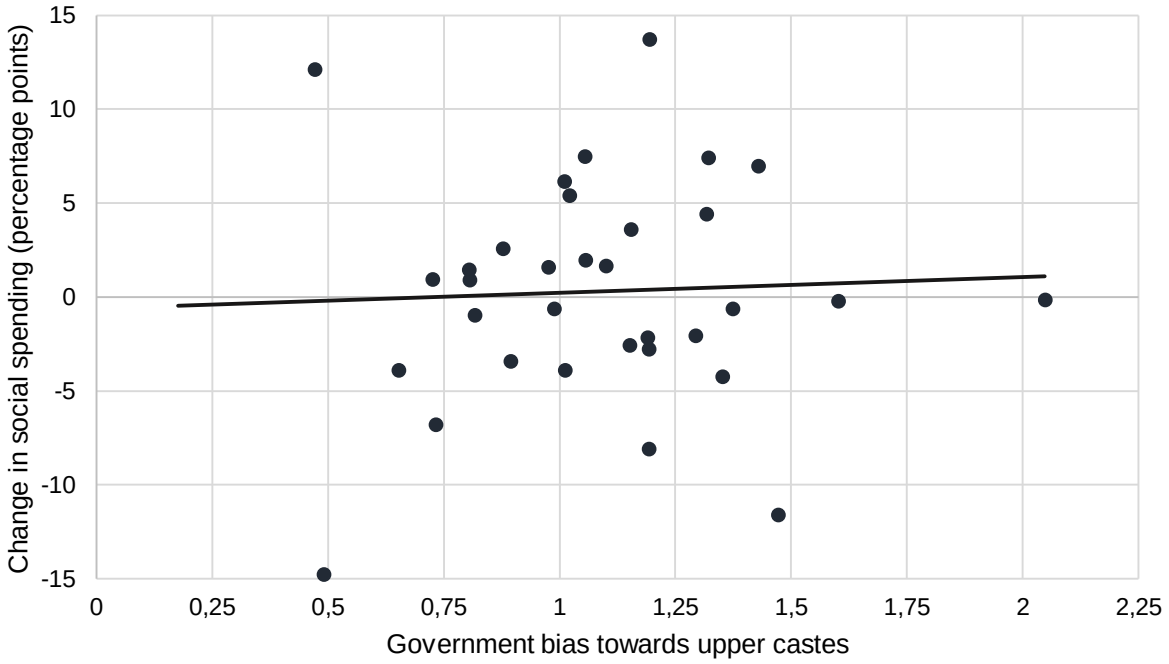
Figure 4.3 - Change in social spending vs BJP / Right vote share



social expenditures tend to be lower when the state government was led by a right-wing party the preceding year.

We start with the cross-sectional evidence. Figure 4.1 reveals a strong negative correlation between the average vote share received by right-wing parties in state elections and the average share of developmental expenditures dedicated to the social sector during the 2003-2017 period. In Gujarat, where the BJP has won every election since 1995 with large popular support, state budgets allocated less than 40% of developmental expenditures to the social sector on average. In Kerala and West Bengal, both states with strong left-wing parties and no significant right-wing contestant, the corresponding figure was higher than 55%. Figure 4.2 shows a similar negative link between social spending and the caste basis of the party in power. In Gujarat or Madhya Pradesh, where governments were strongly supported by upper castes over the 2003-2017 period, social expenditures were significantly lower than in states like Uttar Pradesh or Maharashtra, whose ruling parties enjoyed greater popularity among SCs and STs.

Figure 4.4 - Change in social spending vs. government bias towards upper castes



One problem with interpreting this evidence is that the difference could reflect any state characteristic — the political culture, the economy, the level of poverty, etc. We therefore include state effects now, and present changes in social spending as a function of right-wing vote shares and caste biases in previous years. Figure 4.3 shows that states with strong right-wing parties do not significantly decrease social expenditures more than other parties during their term. If anything, higher vote shares for the BJP and other right-wing parties are associated with slightly larger increases in social spending. The absence of correlation between political representation and changes in the share of developmental expenditures allocated to the social sector is also visible when looking at upper caste representation (figure 4.4). Governments supported by a larger relative proportion of upper castes are not more or less likely to expand the social sector.

Table 4.1 presents our main regression results. In order to exploit all data available, we use all states-years for which we have data and we cluster standard errors by election periods to account for correlated unobserved heterogeneity within election periods.

Columns (1) to (6) show the effect of popular support for different party groups on social spending before and after controls, without state fixed effects. The results clearly point to a strong and significant link between the ideology of states' main parties and social expenditures. A one percentage point increase in popular support for the BJP or other right-wing parties is associated with social expenditures lower by 0.2 percentage points on average, while social spending is highest in left-led states.

Columns (7) to (12) confirm that these effects are purely driven by between-state heterogeneity. After accounting for state fixed effects, the vote shares received by different party groups have no significant effect on the evolution of social spending within states. In other words, governments facing strong popular support for right-wing parties are not more or less likely to increase social expenditures than governments supported by centrist or left-wing parties. While the cross-sectional evidence is robust and significant, evolutions over time therefore suggest more complex and unclear patterns.

Similar relationships hold when looking at government biases towards specific caste groups or social classes, or at ruling parties (see appendix E). Right-led governments are characterized by a share of developmental spending dedicated to the social sector lower than other governments by more than 4 percentage points. Left-wing parties, by contrast, are associated with a significantly larger social sector on average. After accounting for state fixed effects, however, right-wing governments appear in fact slightly more likely to increase social expenditures than other parties. Centrist parties, by contrast, are inclined to reduce social expenditures by about 2 percentage points every year, and the effects are only weakly significant. Similarly, governments supported by upper castes are associated with lower average social expenditures, but the effect is reversed when looking at evolutions over time within states.

Our findings therefore point to the importance of long-run historical trajectories (rather than switching party labels) to understand variations in welfare regimes across Indian states. States in which the BJP became the main political competitor were already characterized by a smaller social sector but the rise of the right did not have any tangible effect on governments' propensity to redistribute. Our results are consistent with the idea that caste cleavages have an essential ideological component which cannot be compared

to the class cleavages which structured Western European politics during the twentieth century. The fact that neither caste-based cleavages, nor class-based divides have had measurable social policy consequences suggests that political conflict in India has not been primarily focused on the redistribution of economic resources or the redesign of service delivery or overall the economic model. Rather, divisions between social groups have essentially been based upon symbolic claims.

5. Conclusions

Our results show that political cleavages are strong in India. The view that the main parties now speak to the same electorates is not corroborated by evidence. However political cleavages in India's party system have developed mostly along the lines of caste identity and religious conflict. Inequality in education, income or occupation seems to have a limited impact on political preferences (after controlling for caste, religion and other attributes). The BJP and right parties are characterized by the fact that they disproportionally attract voters from upper castes. Congress and center parties are relatively more successful among lower castes Hindus and especially Muslims. Left parties make their stronger score among lower castes (SC-STs and OBCs).

Our results might also provide some insight into why the Indian state has not been under more pressure to improve the delivery of social services, to raise more revenue through greater and more progressive taxation, or to carry out the reforms necessary for improving the environment or the employment landscape. The big political fights seem to be about caste and religious identity in its many forms and the caste quotas in educational institutions and government jobs, the one place where the identity and economic dimensions intersect. Interestingly, the amount of redistribution that actually happens through the quota system is quite limited, just because there are not so many government jobs and not that many high quality educational institutions. But it is possible that in a world of multi-dimensional competition, the fact that quotas and fights over symbolic aspects of identity (cow slaughter, Ram Mandir, triple *Talaq,* etc.) are so salient means that all the other, potentially very important dimensions of political competition (better

schools and health facilities, cleaner air, land redistribution, etc.), tend to get lost. One of the key challenges might be to develop policy instruments that address issues such as effective access of lower and middle classes to high-quality public services (irrespective of caste or religious identity), the reduction of income and wealth inequality, or the effectiveness of progressive taxation, that are sufficiently salient and verifiable that they can help move India's political cleavages in a more productive direction.

Table 4.1 - Social expenditures and vote shares for party groups						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Vote share: BJP / Right	-0.224***			-0.214***		
	(0.044)			(0.049)		
Vote share: Congress / Centre		0.033*			0.017	
		(0.018)			(0.018)	
Vote share: Centre-left / Left parties			0.169***			0.241***
			(0.047)			(0.045)
Government bias towards upper castes				0.932	2.287	0.960
				(2.373)	(2.651)	(2.386)
Government bias towards upper classes				-5.684	-14.397***	-0.653
				(3.977)	(4.413)	(4.887)
Turnout				0.145*	0.256**	0.189**
				(0.076)	(0.098)	(0.075)
Log - GSDP per capita				1.884	-0.497	4.010**
				(1.610)	(1.855)	(1.813)
Constant	52.937***	46.518***	44.009***	36.634***	44.577***	6.392
	(1.695)	(1.719)	(1.746)	(7.000)	(7.875)	(10.658)
State fixed effects	No	No	No	No	No	No
R-squared	0.363	0.068	0.280	0.450	0.233	0.469
Obs	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01						

Table 4.1 (continued) - Social expenditures and vote shares for party groups (continued)						
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Vote share: BJP / Right	-0.070			-0.063		
	(0.080)			(0.080)		
Vote share: Congress / Centre		-0.007			0.019	
		(0.030)			(0.039)	
Vote share: Centre-left / Left parties			0.131			0.114
			(0.108)			(0.115)
Government bias towards upper castes				4.952**	5.201**	4.759**
				(2.171)	(2.247)	(2.311)
Government bias towards upper classes				-5.243	-6.140*	-5.431
				(3.583)	(3.632)	(3.729)
Turnout				0.172	0.178	0.188
				(0.143)	(0.144)	(0.145)
Log - GSDP per capita				3.044	2.415	2.282
				(3.772)	(3.792)	(3.651)
Constant	42.428***	39.901***	39.416***	13.553	14.977	14.372
	(3.651)	(2.131)	(2.114)	(22.814)	(23.301)	(22.759)
State fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.721	0.720	0.723	0.741	0.740	0.742
Obs	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01						

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Appendix

A. Experts' classification of Indian political parties

Out of the 19 experts we asked to classify eighteen parties on the left to right axis, 14 responded and there is very substantial agreement among them on the ideological orientations of most parties. Table A1a shows the distribution of experts' opinions. Based on these results we chose to classify parties into three broad groups. On the left side of the political spectrum, we include parties generally considered by experts to be centre-left or left-wing, such as the Communist Party of India (CPI), the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) or the Tamil Maanila Congress (TMC). In a similar fashion, we group parties such as the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Shiv Sena (SHS) or the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) into a group comprising of right and centre-right parties. Finally, we locate to the centre those parties for which expert opinions are distributed more or less equally into centre-right, centre and centre-left. These include the Indian National Congress (INC), some of its common allies like the National Congress Party (NCP), as well as major Dravidian parties (AIADMK, DMK).

We use these categories as a basis for the analysis of social cleavages in India from the 1960s until today, and extend these categories to other minor Indian parties who generally were splinters or mergers of the above-mentioned parties (see table A1b). Before the 1990s, right-wing parties mainly consist in the Bharatiya Janata Sangh (BJS), the Swatantra party (SWA) and the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD). When the ideological orientation of a party remains unclear, we include it in a fourth category composed of "other parties". This classification makes it easier to present the data in a compact way. However, we get similar results when we just focus on the BJP and Congress (see appendix C for detailed results for these two parties alone).

Table A1a – Experts' classifications of main Indian political parties

Party name	Abbreviation	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
All India Trinamool Congress	AITC	0	9	3	1	1	Left

Table A1b - Full classification of Indian political parties

Group	Name	Abbreviation
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 Hynniewtrep 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

B. Survey data sources

Table A2 - List of surveys

State	Year	Sample size
National Election Studies		
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
State election studies		
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

C. National elections results

Figure C1 – Support for BJP / Right among Brahmins

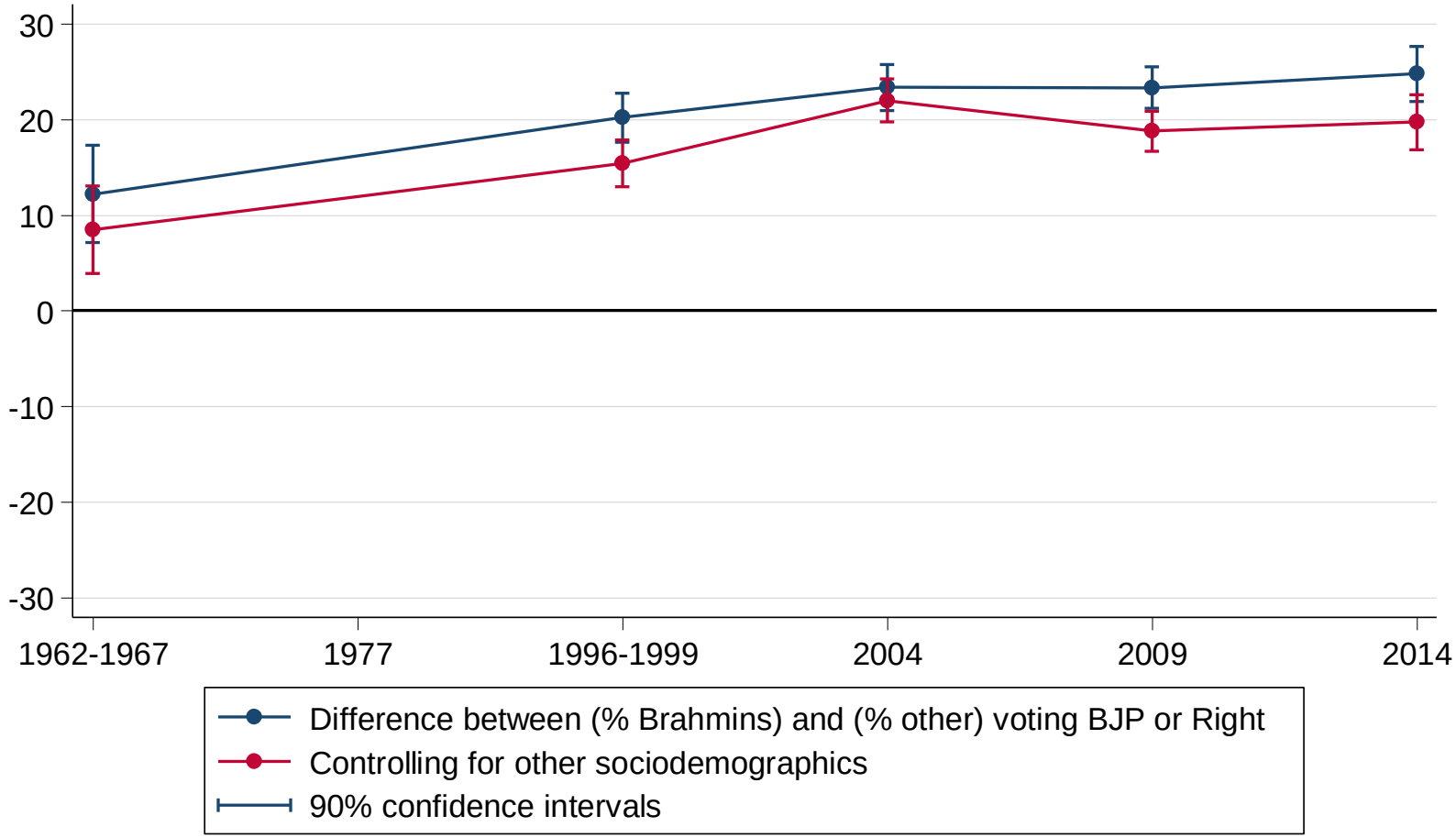

Figure C2 – Support for the BJP among Brahmins

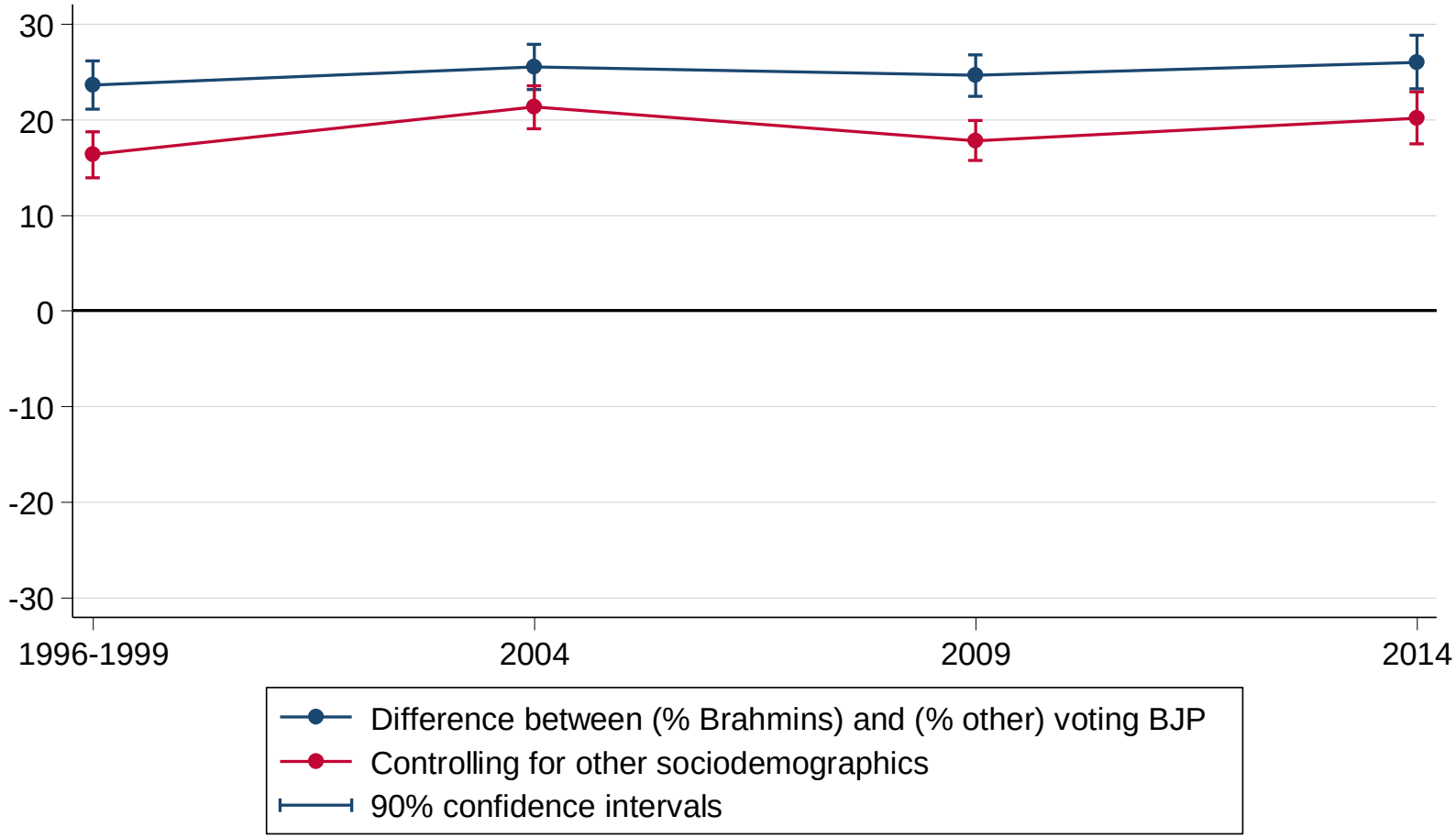

Figure C3 – Support for Congress / Centre among Brahmins

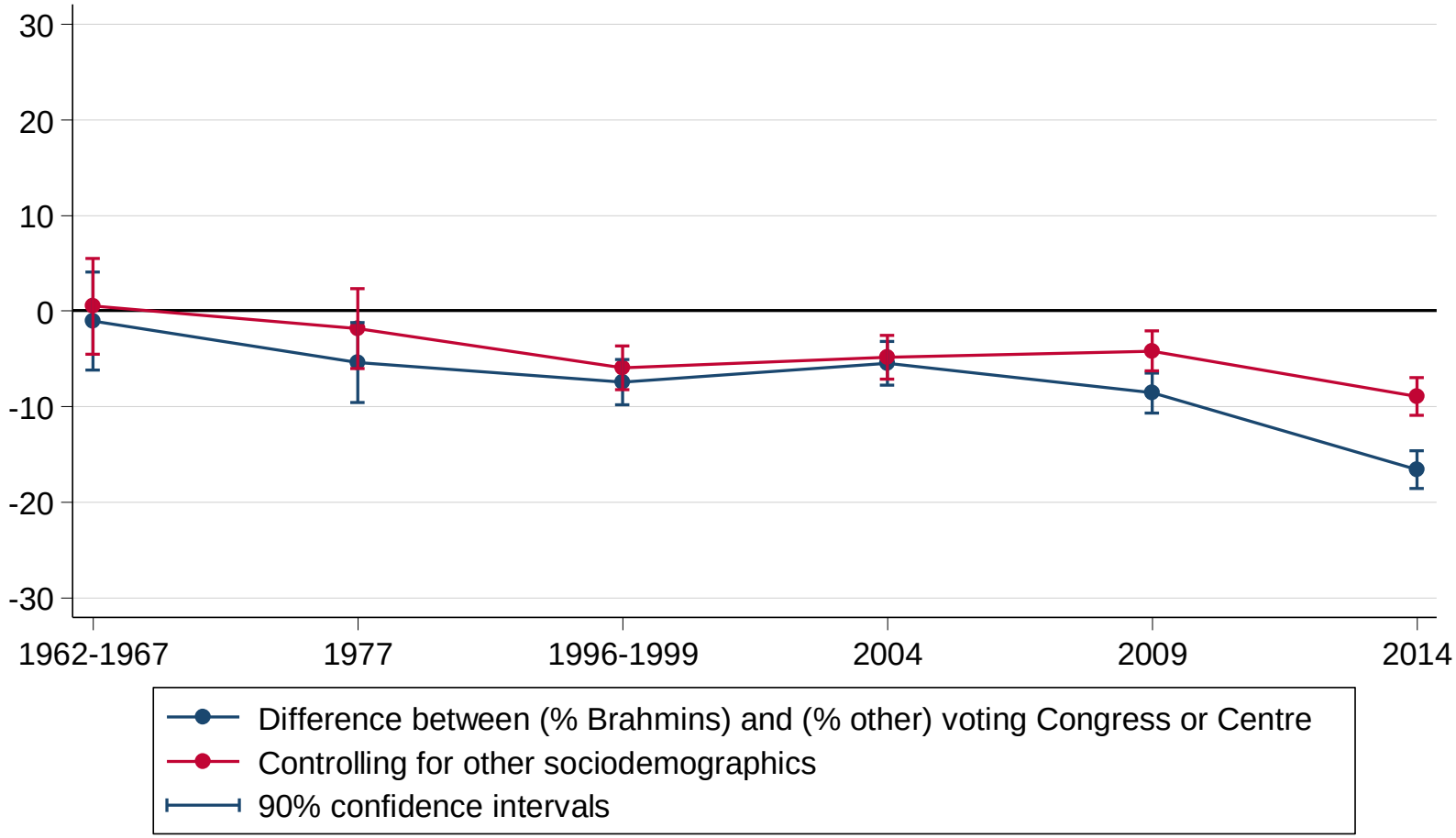

Figure C4 – Support for Congress among Brahmins

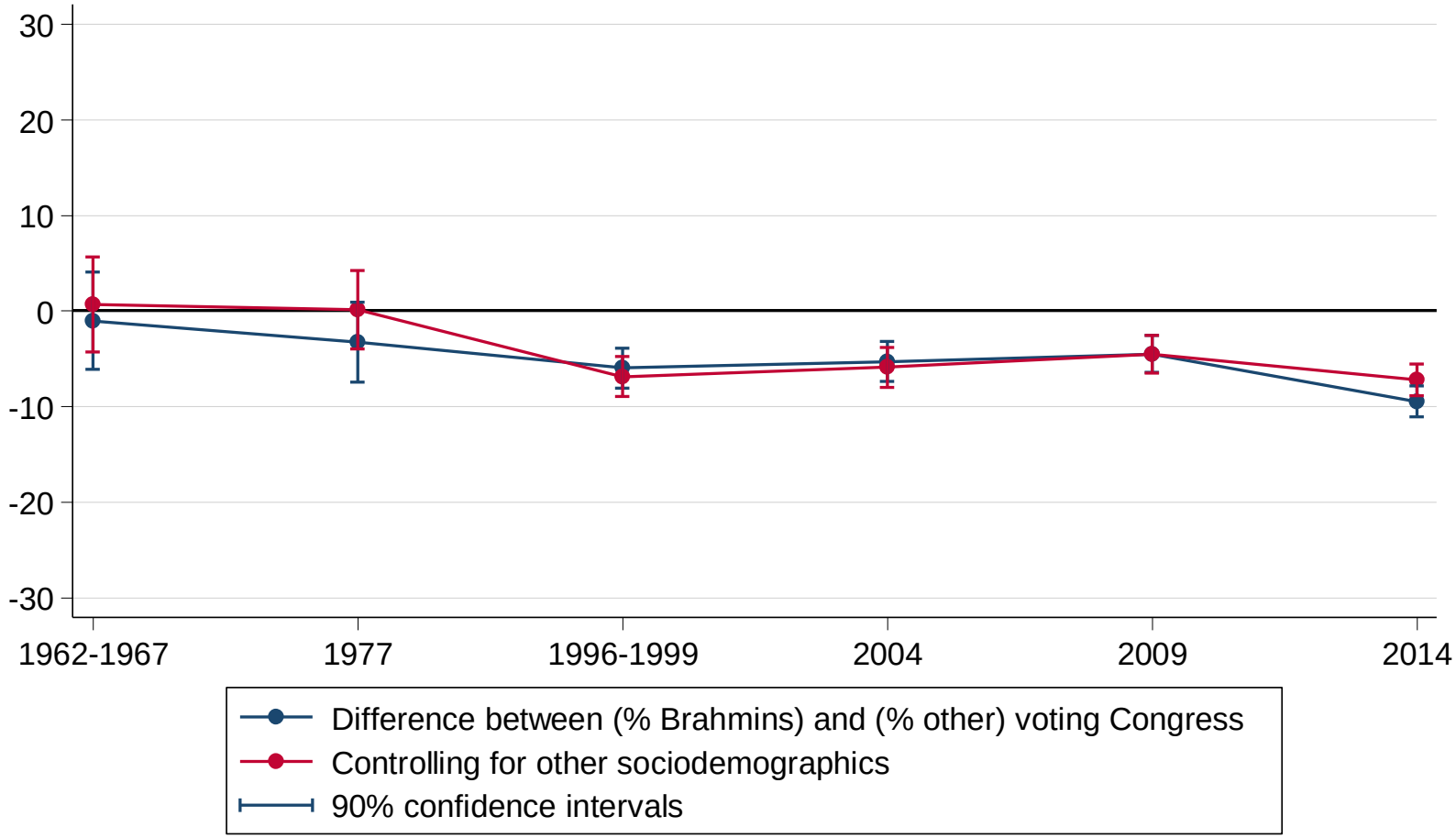

Figure C5 – Support for left parties among Brahmins

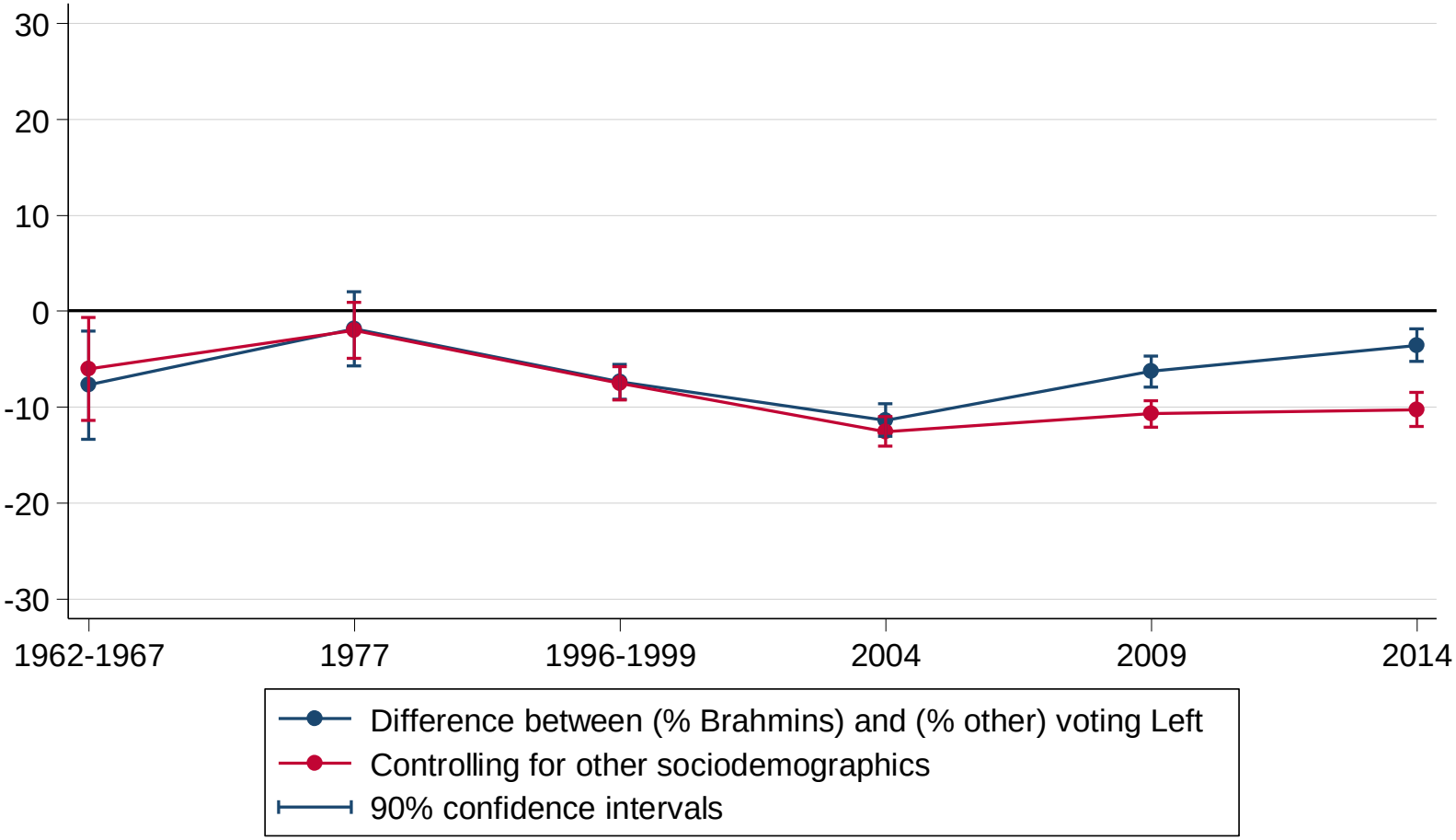

Figure C6 – Support for BJP / Right among upper castes

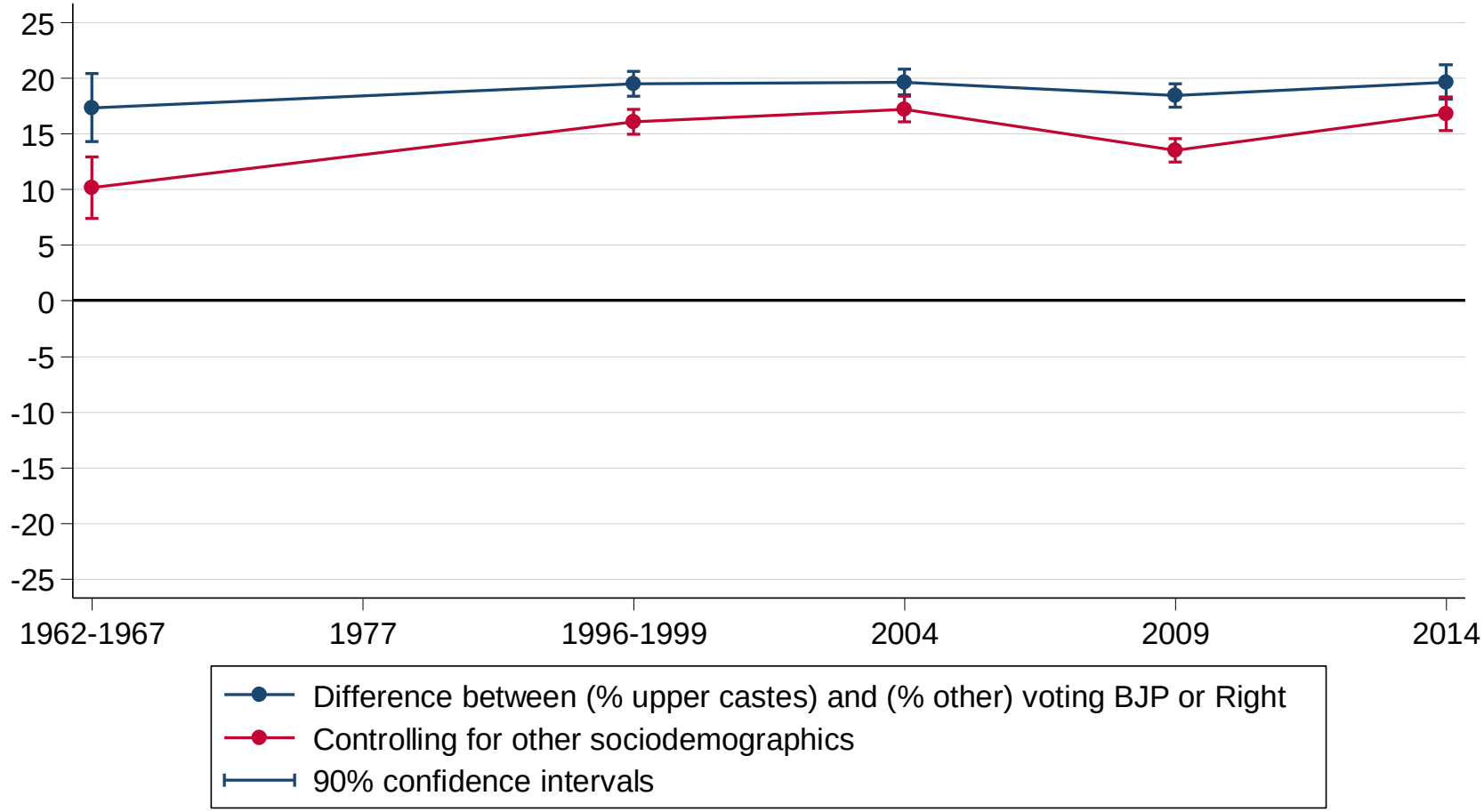

Figure C7 – Support for BJP among upper castes

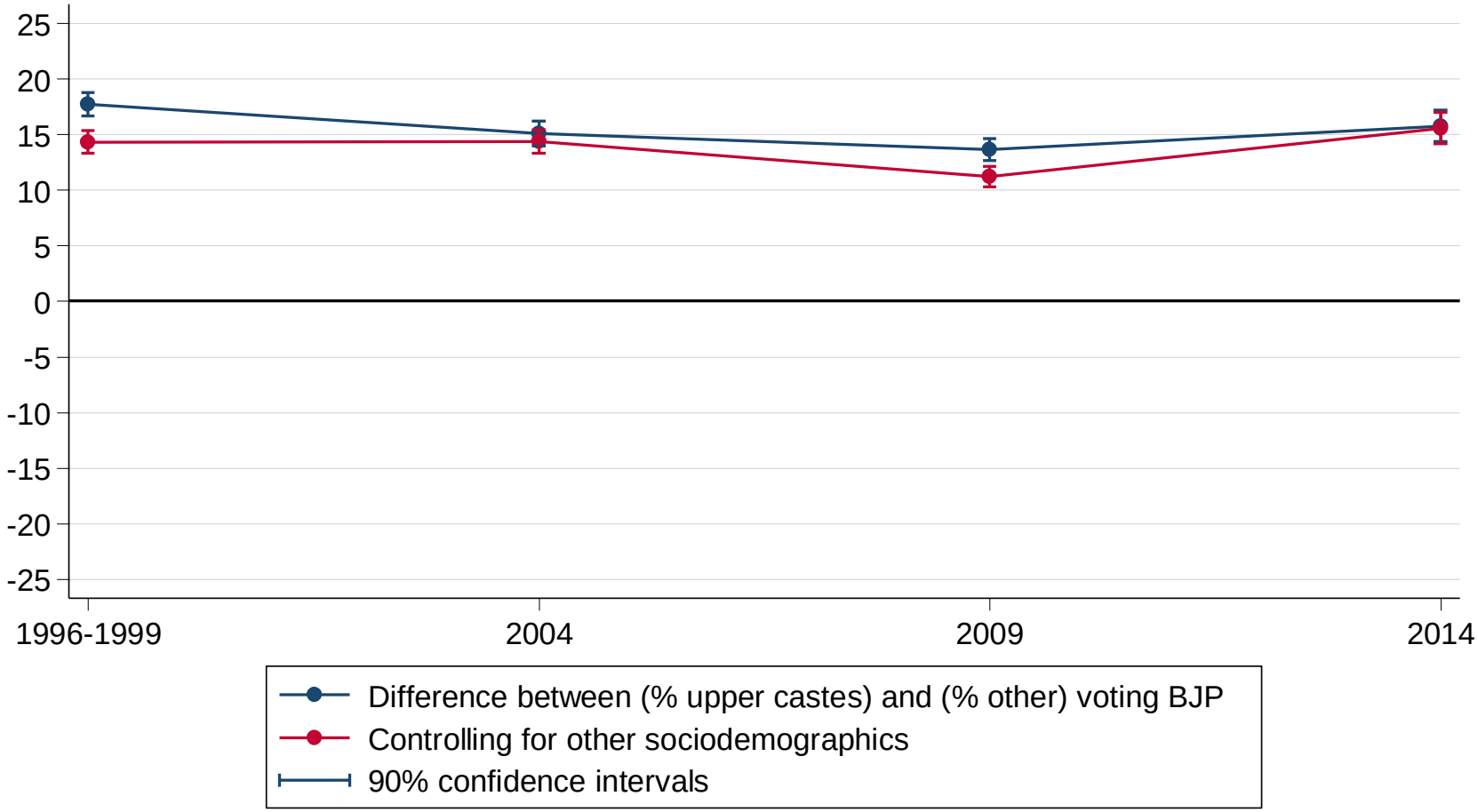

Figure C8 – Support for Congress / Centre among upper castes

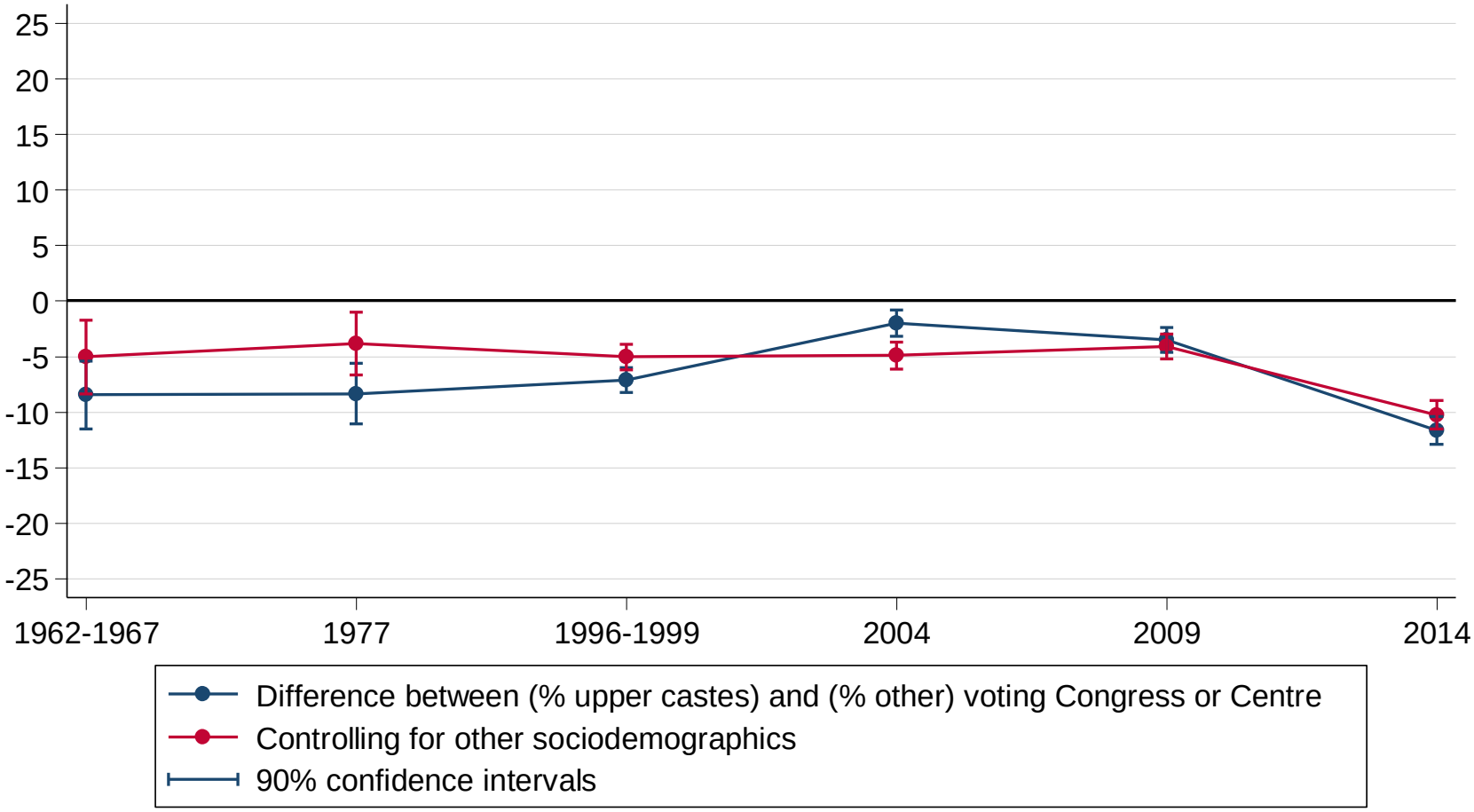

Figure C9 – Support for Congress among upper castes

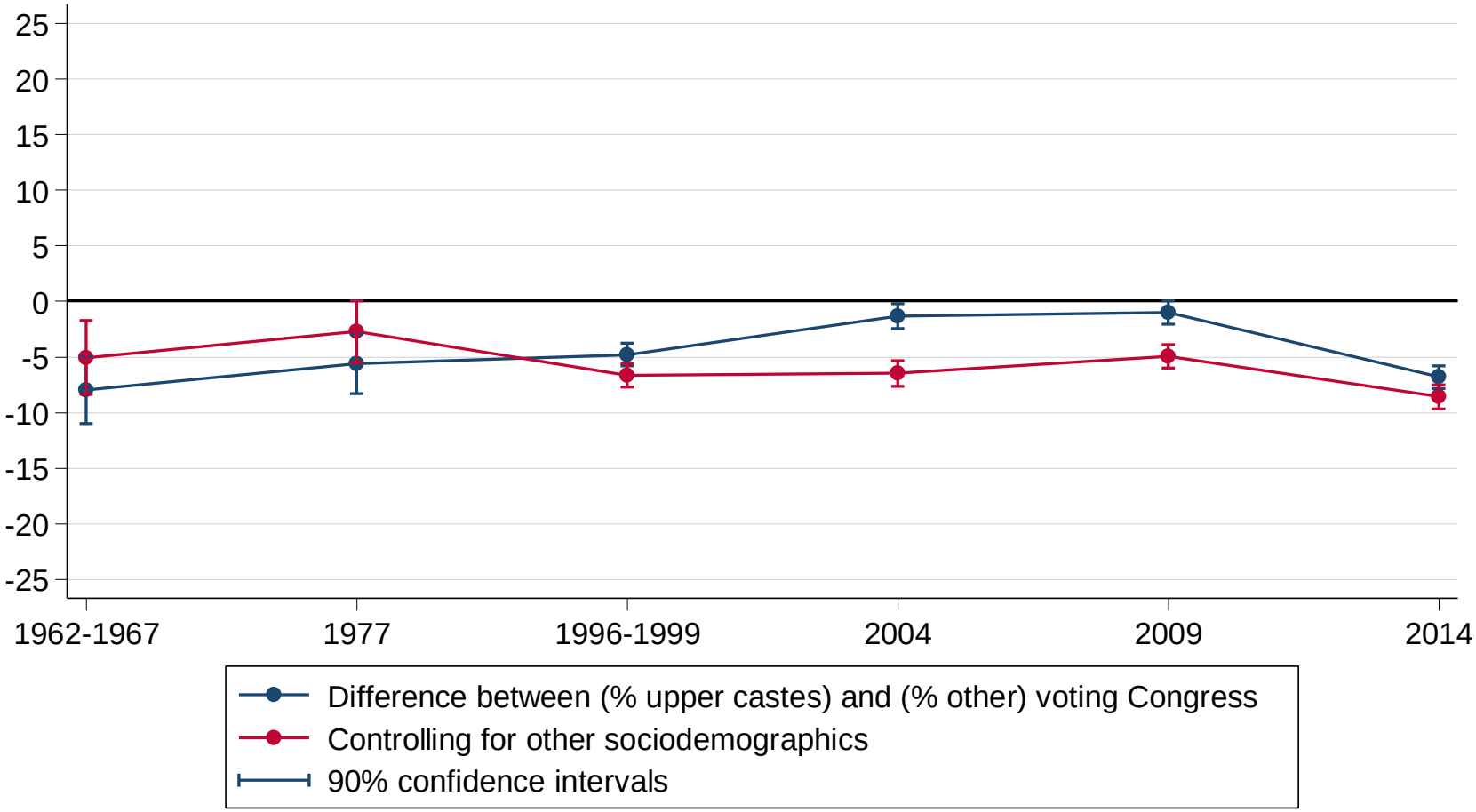

Figure C10 – Support for left parties among upper castes

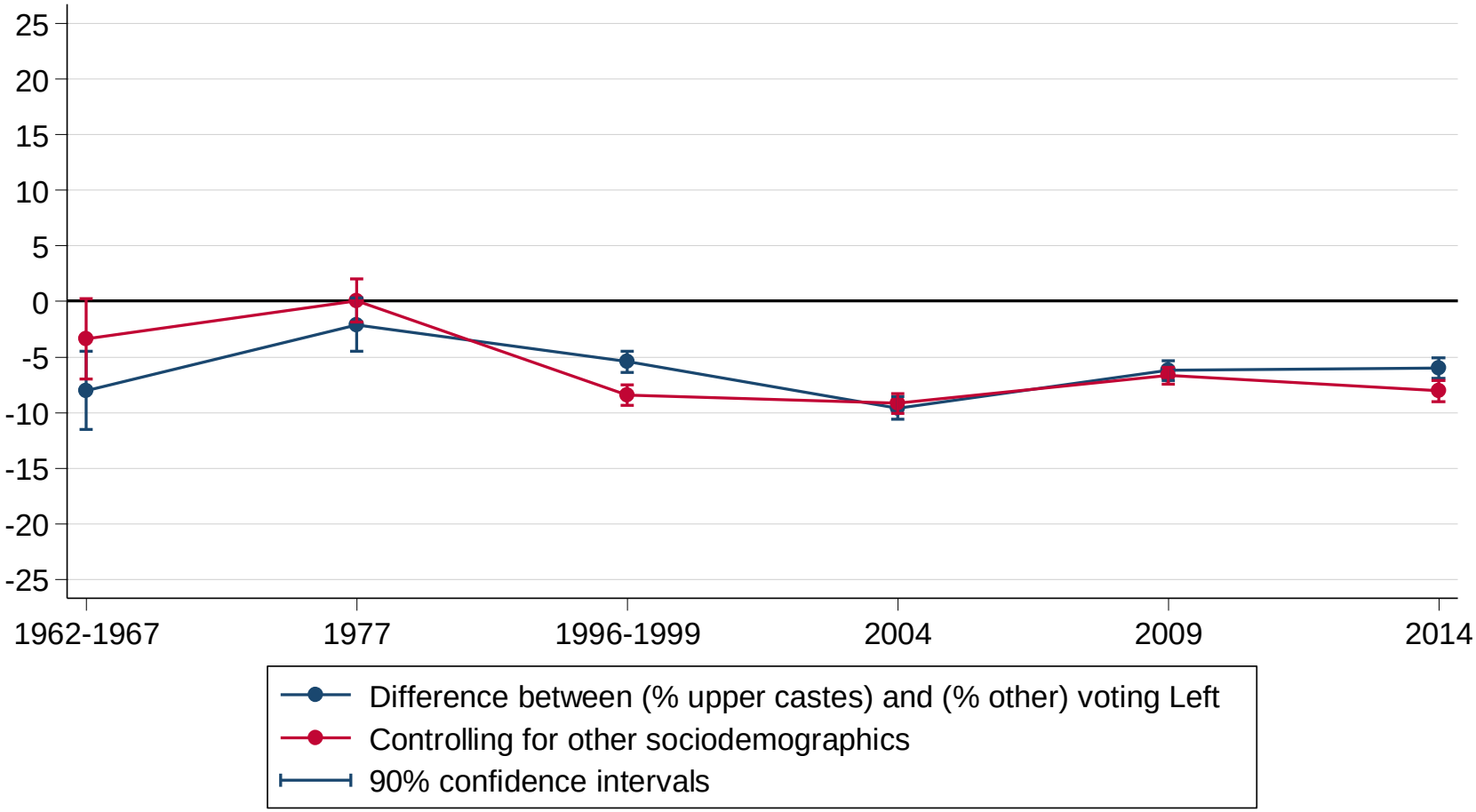

Figure C11 – Support for BJP / Right among SCs/STs

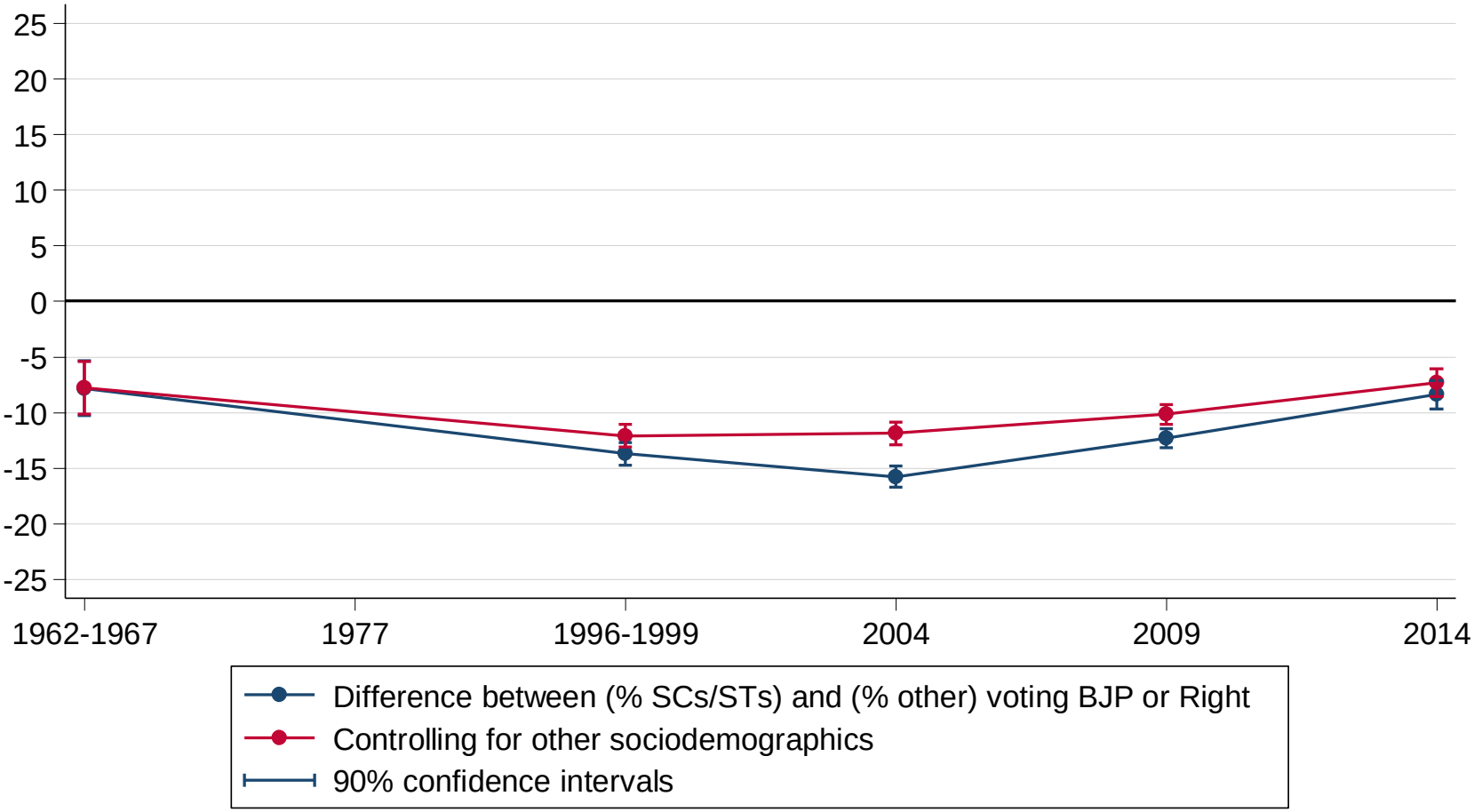

Figure C12 – Support for BJP among SCs/STs

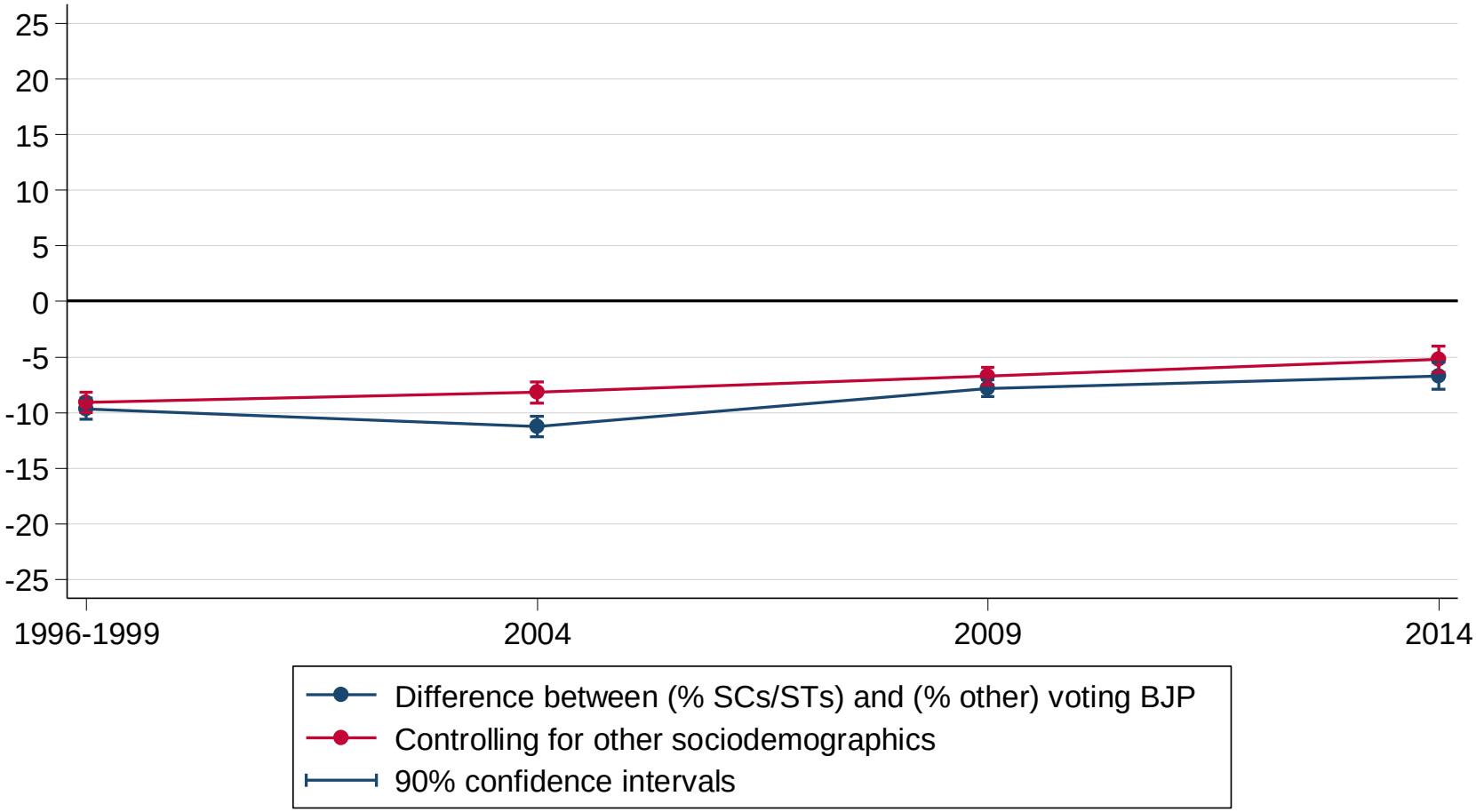

Figure C13 – Support for Congress / Centre among SCs/STs

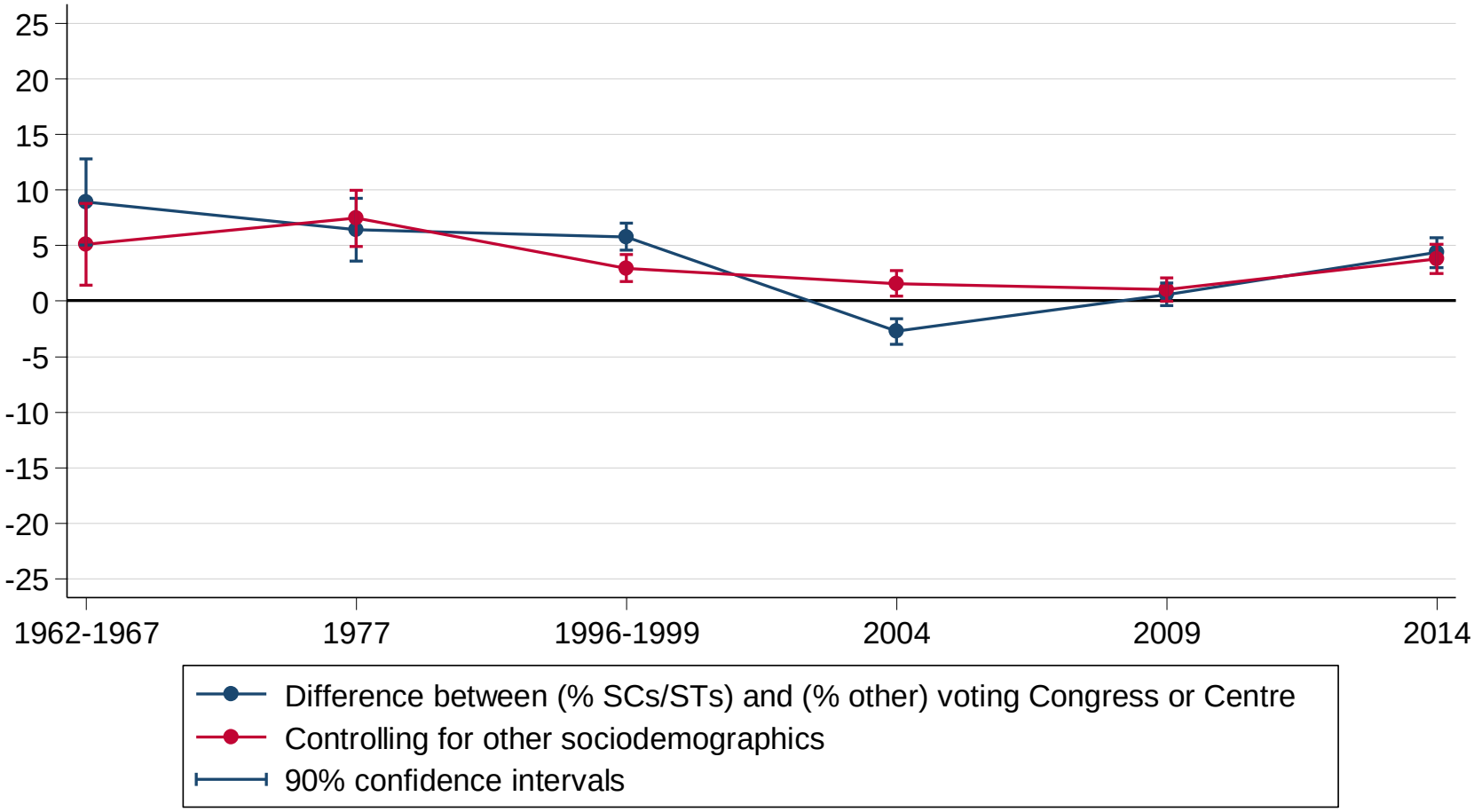

Figure C14 – Support for Congress among SCs/STs

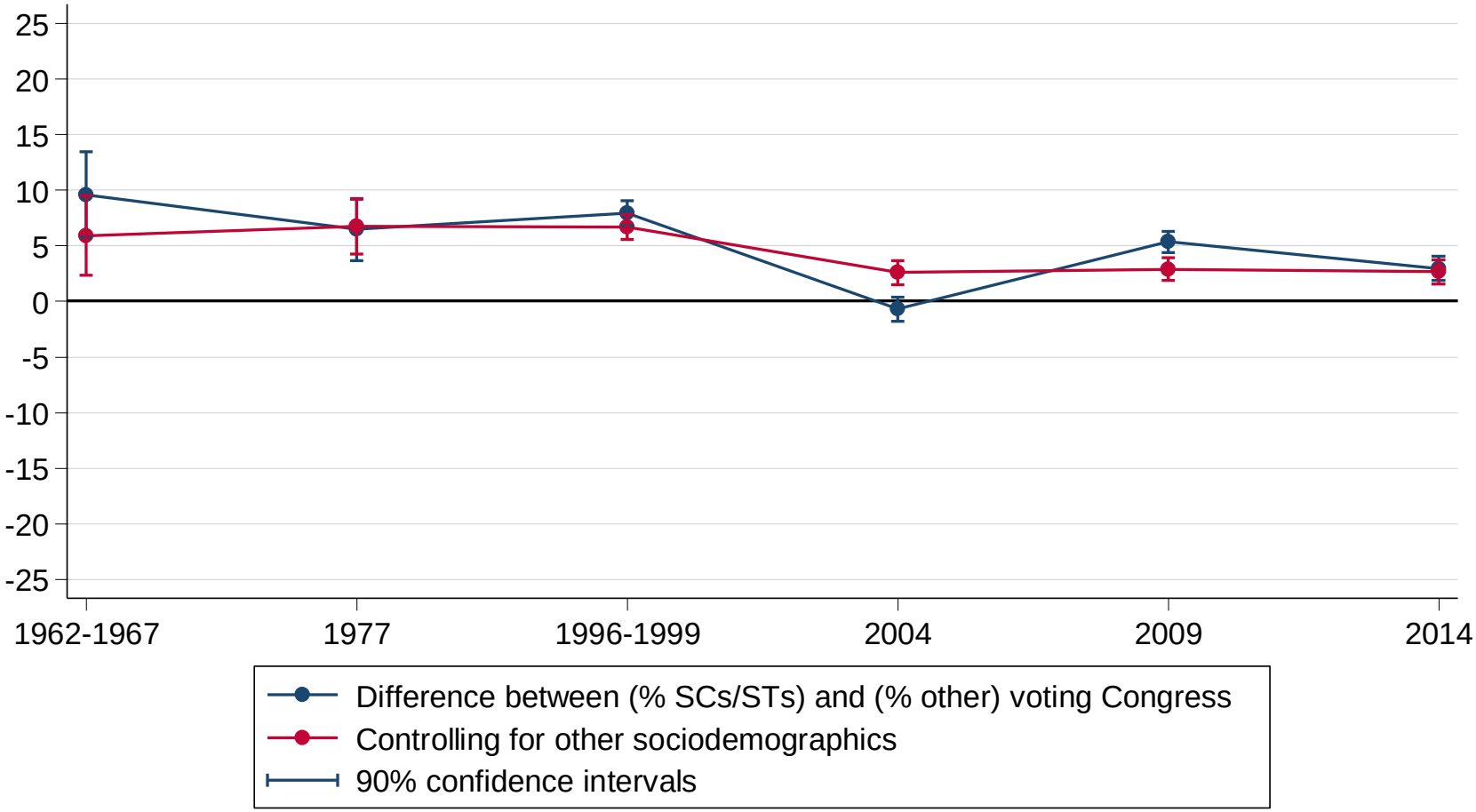

Figure C15 – Support for left parties among SCs/STs

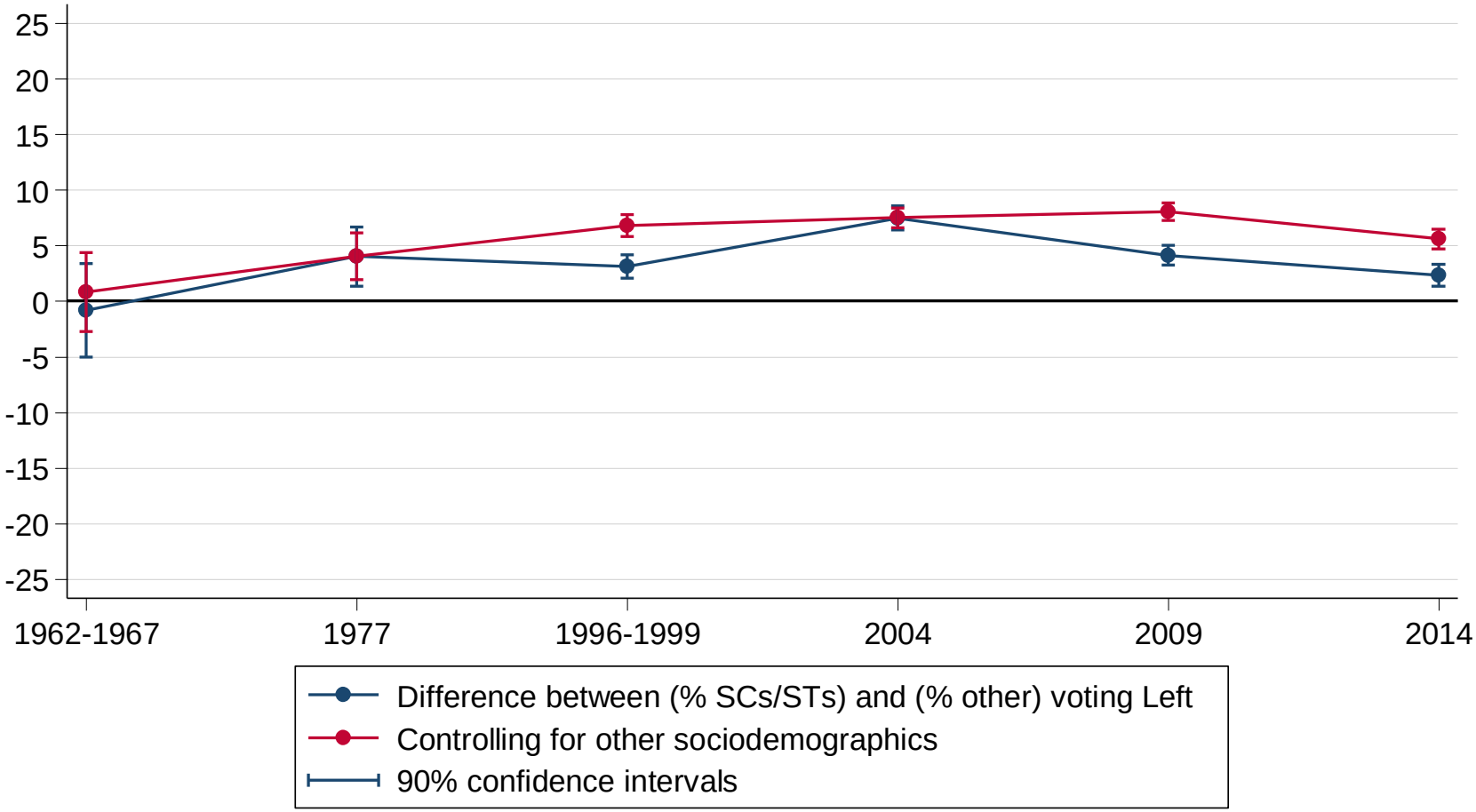

Figure C16 – Support for BJP / Right among Muslims

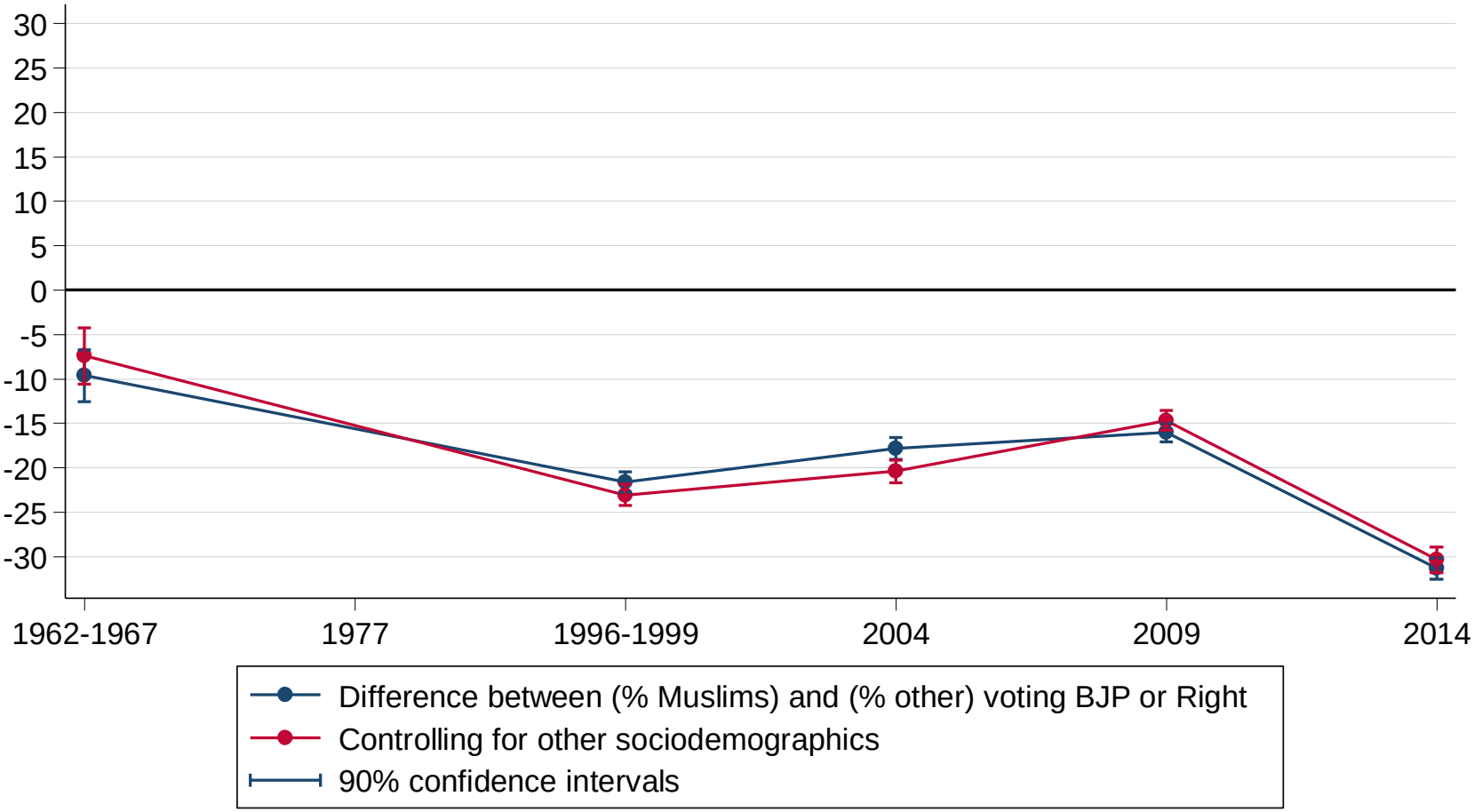

Figure C17 – Support for BJP among Muslims

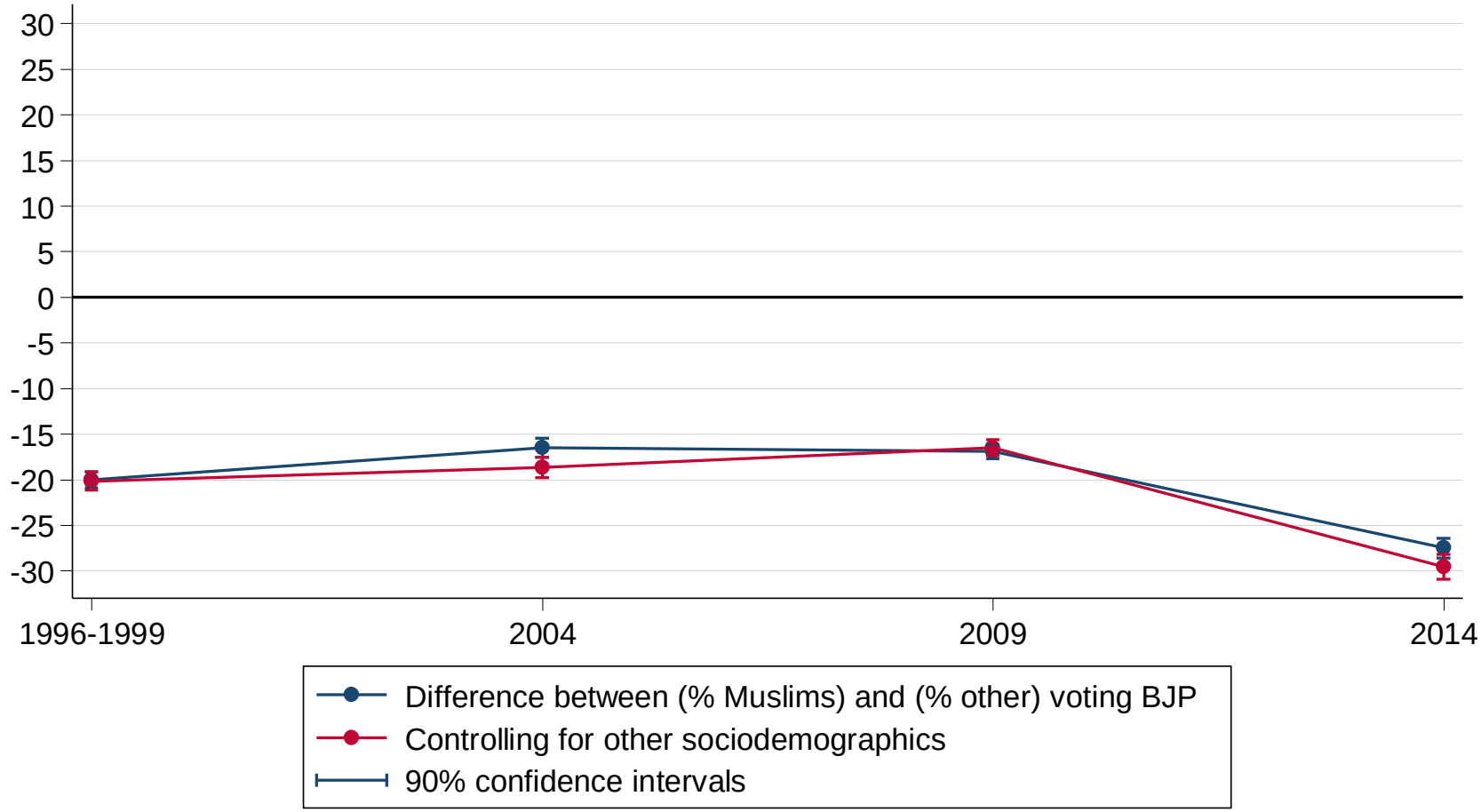

Figure C18 – Support for Congress / Centre among Muslims

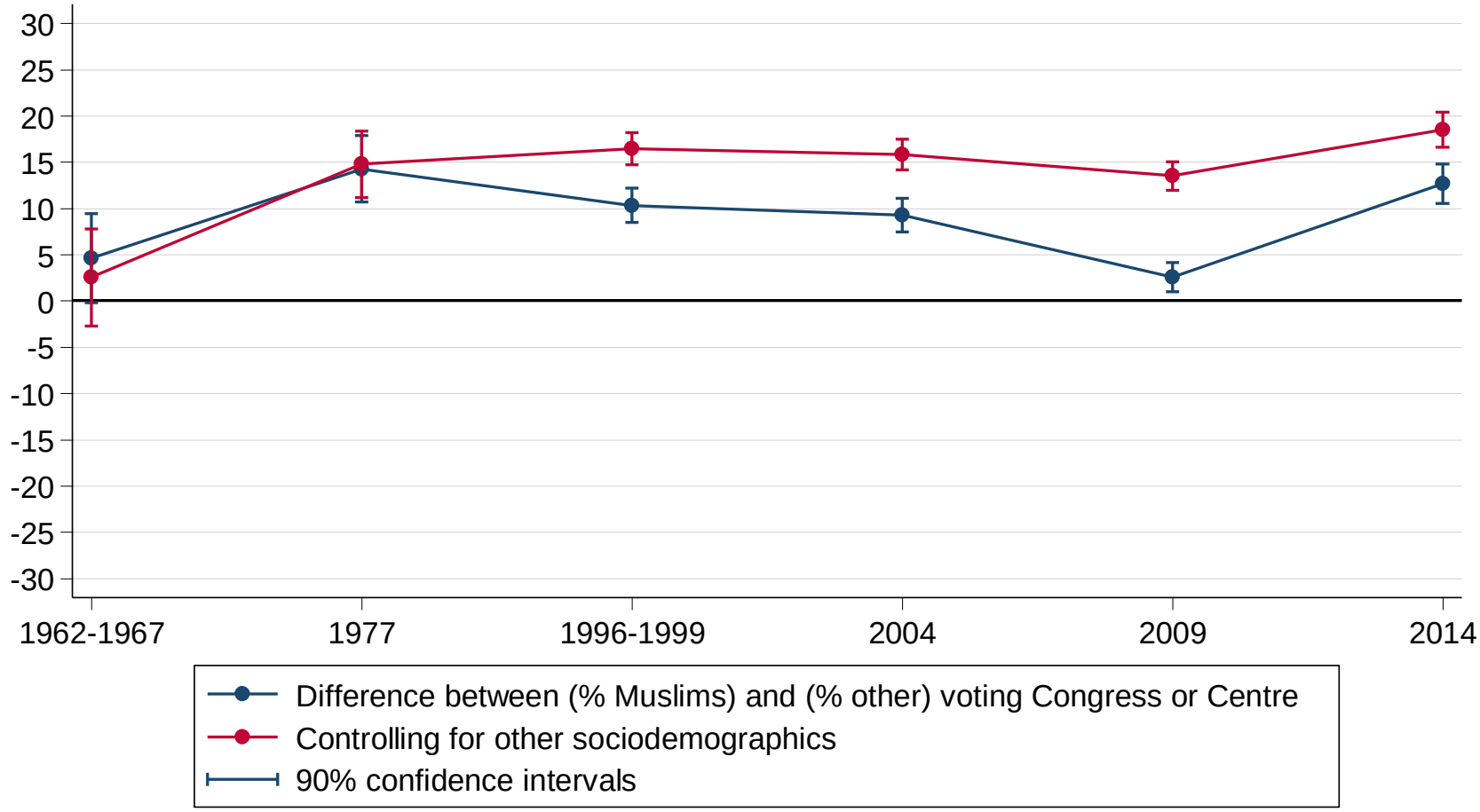

Figure C19 – Support for Congress among Muslims

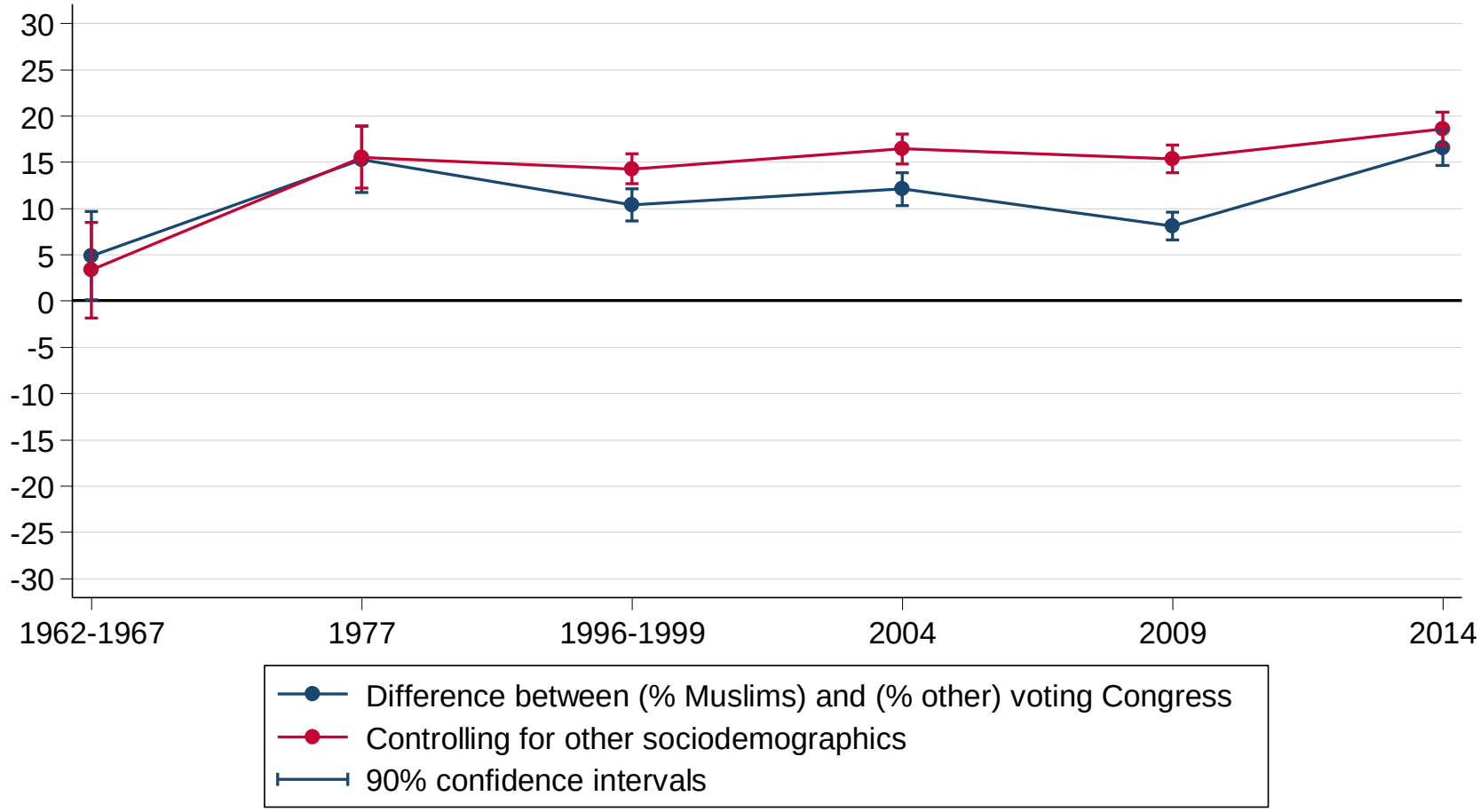

Figure C20 – Support for left parties among Muslims

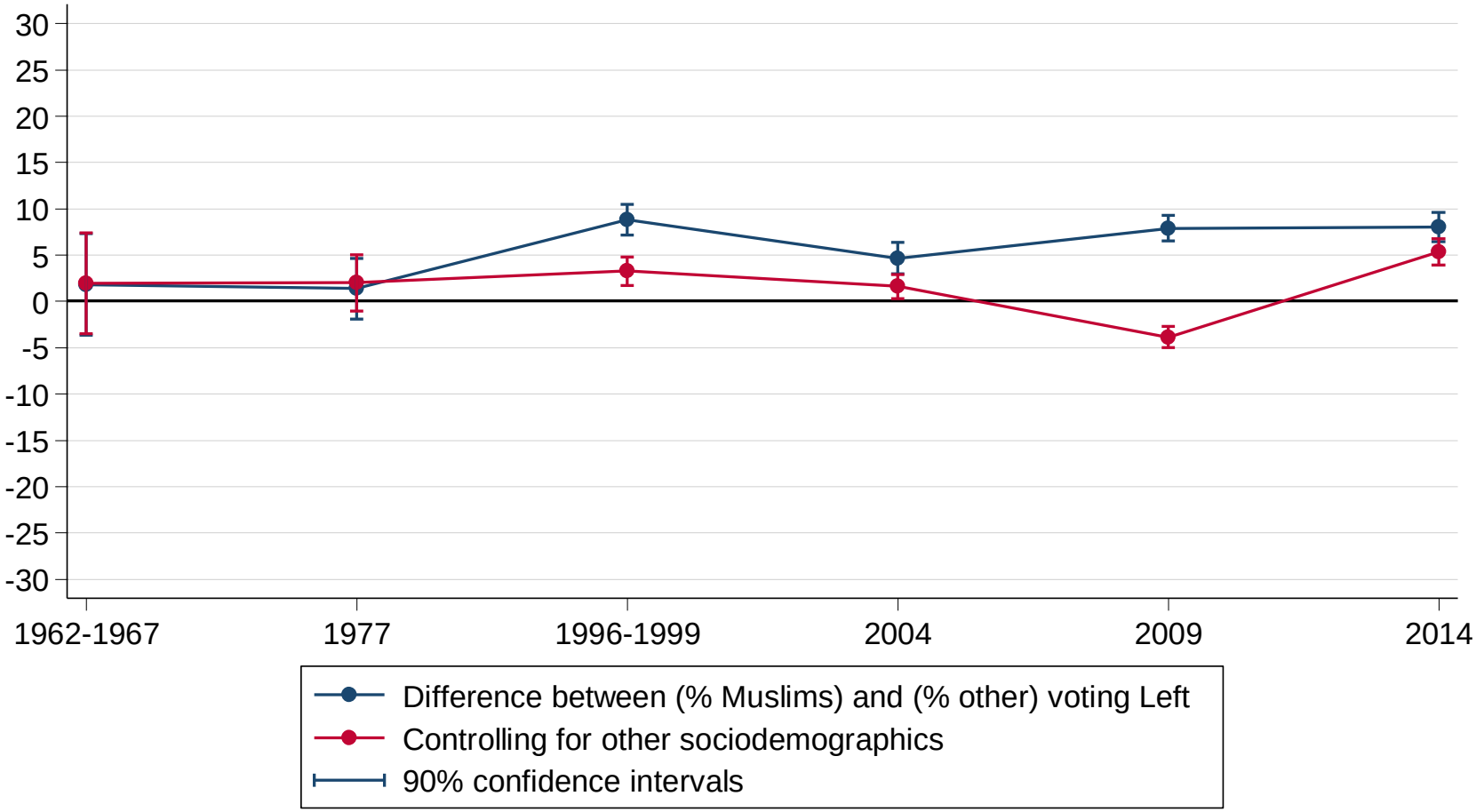

Figure C21 – Support for BJP / Right among university graduates

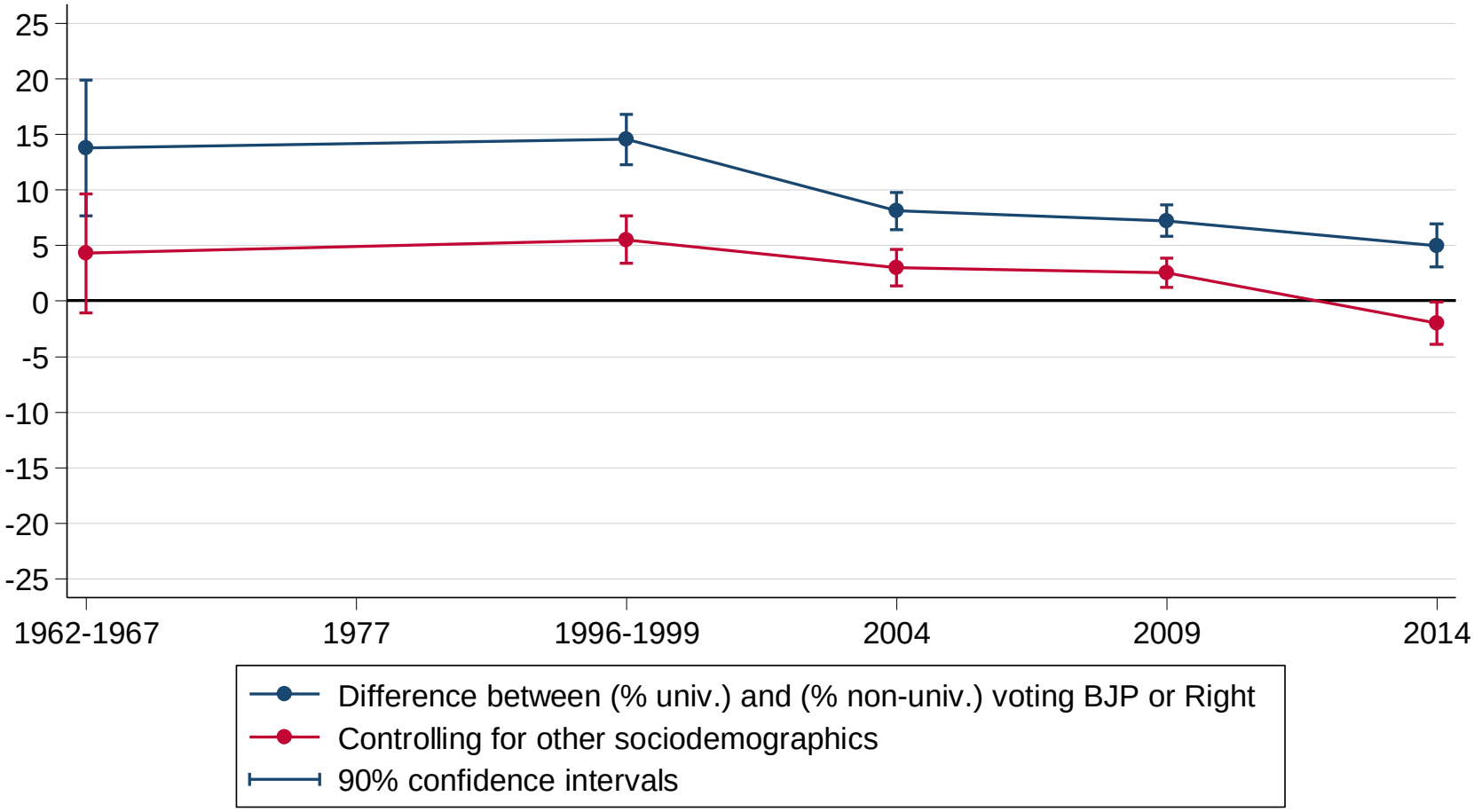

Figure C22 – Support for BJP among university graduates

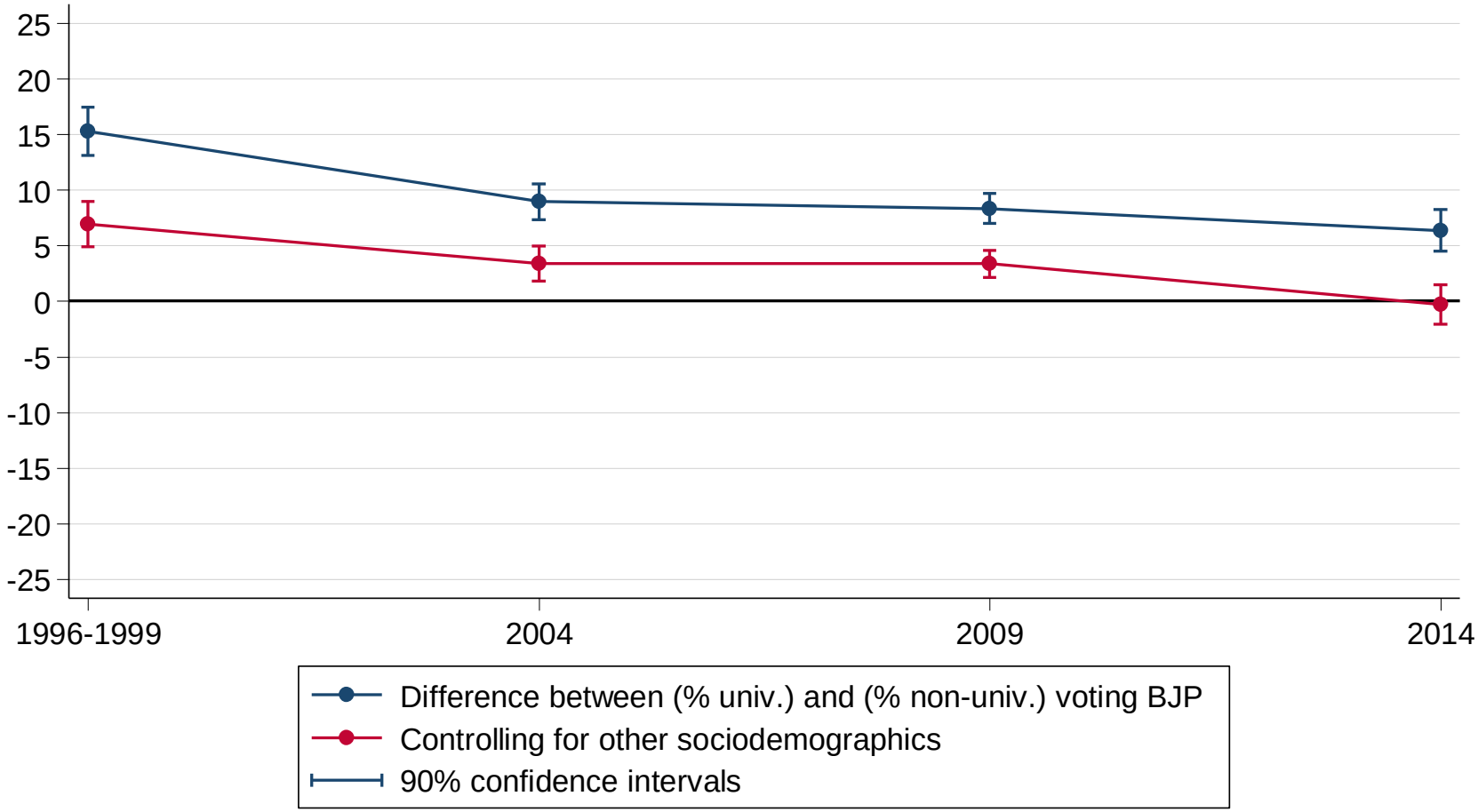

Figure C23 – Support for Congress / Centre among university graduates

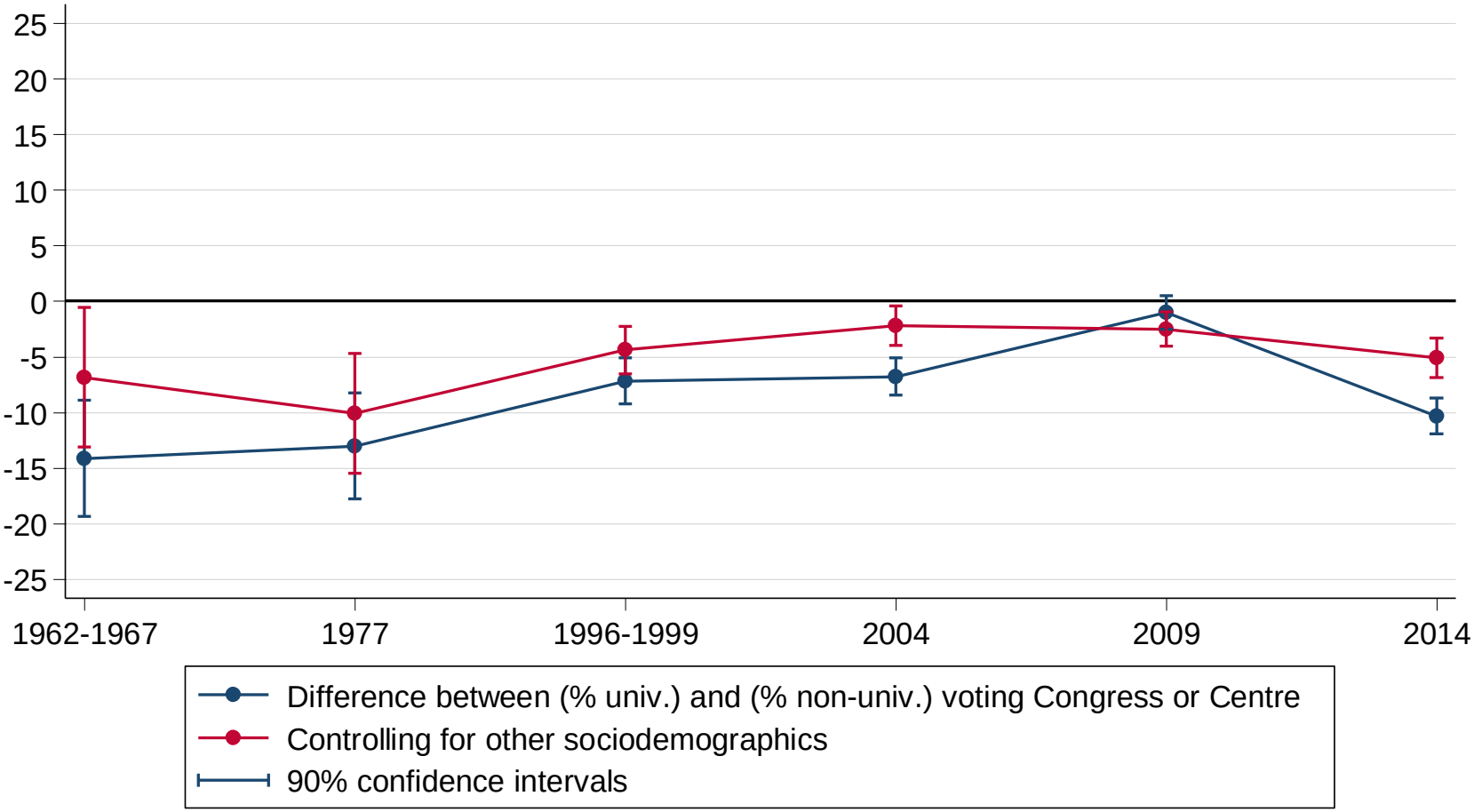

Figure C24 – Support for Congress among university graduates

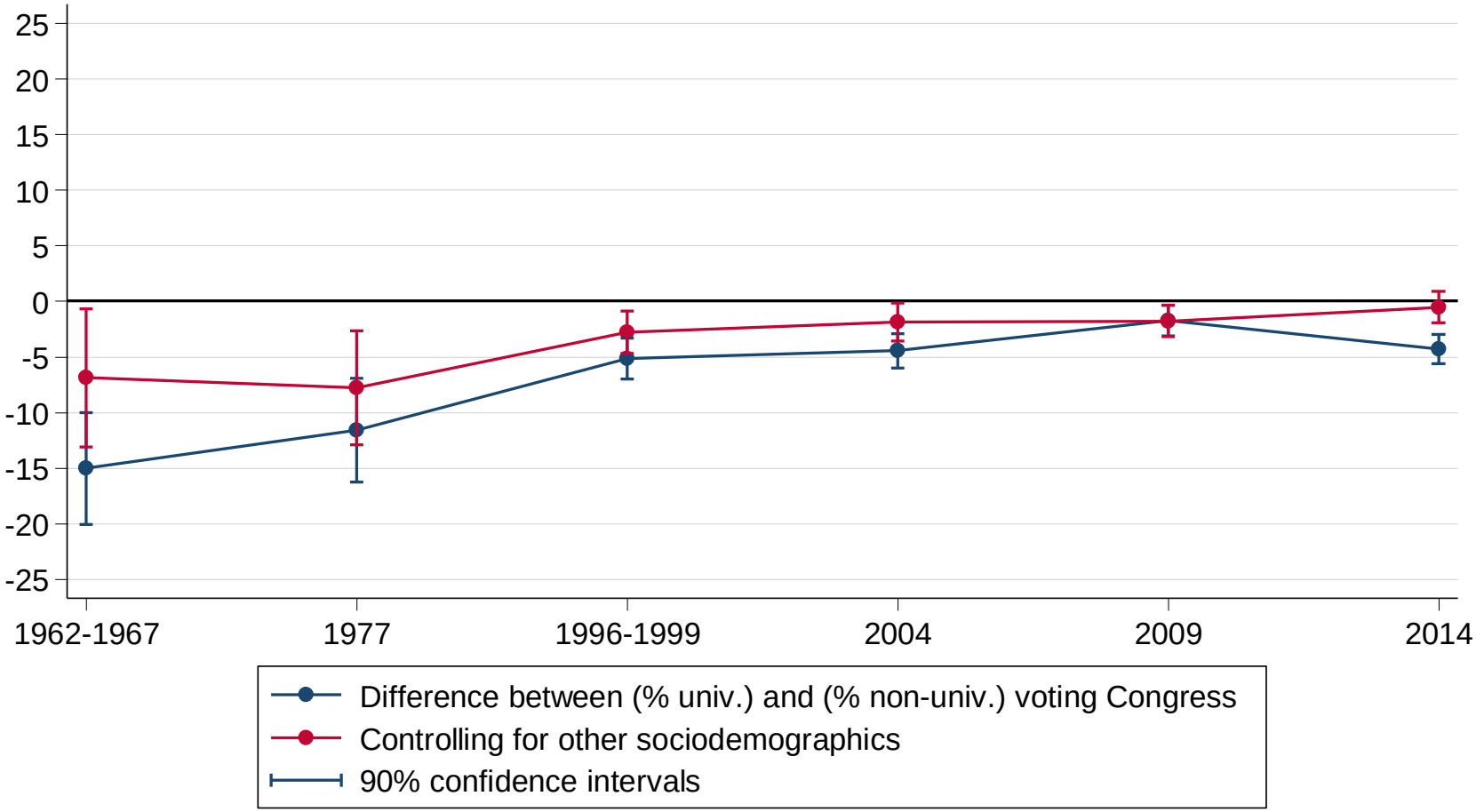

Figure C25 – Support for left parties among university graduates

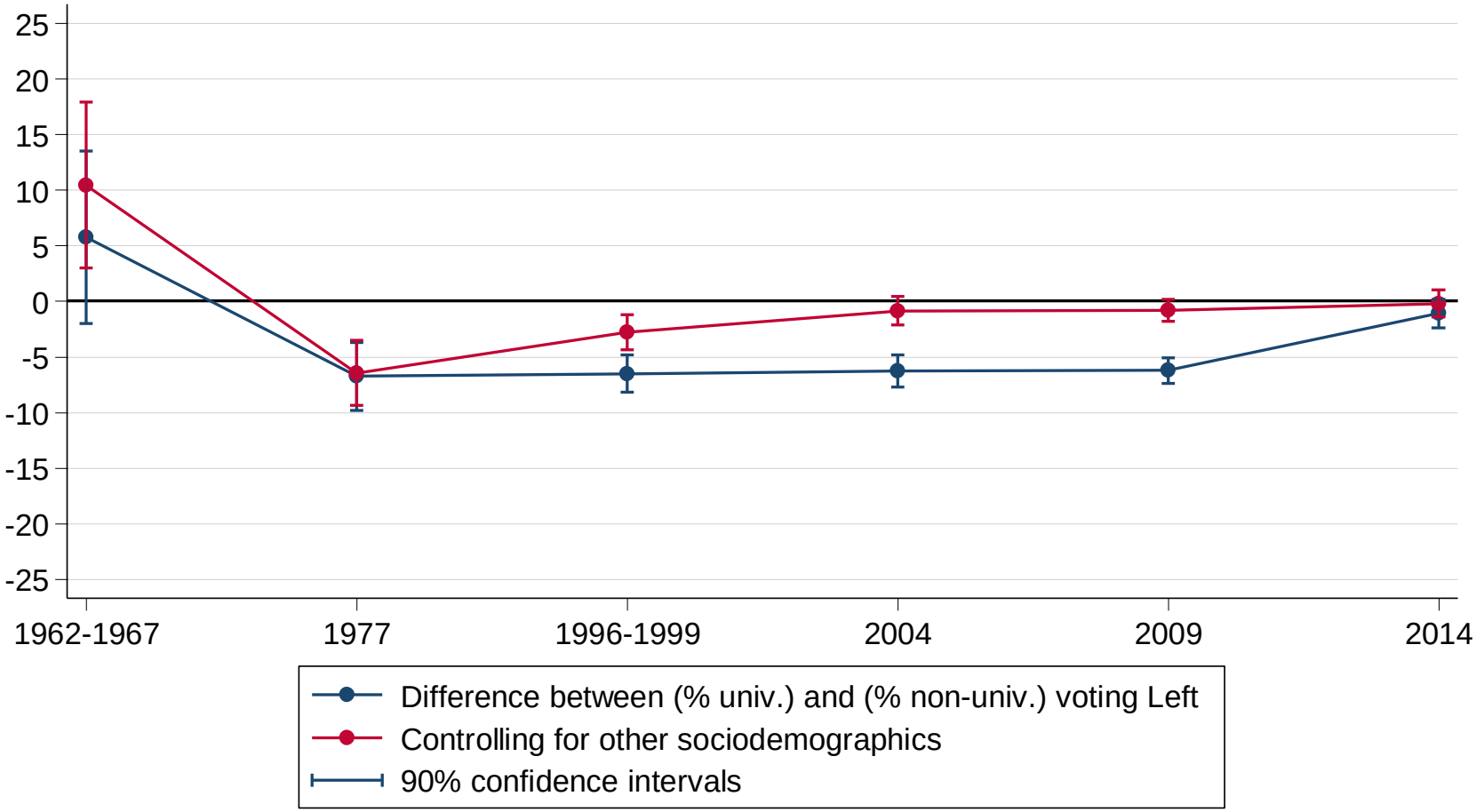

Figure C26 – Support for BJP / Right among the upper class

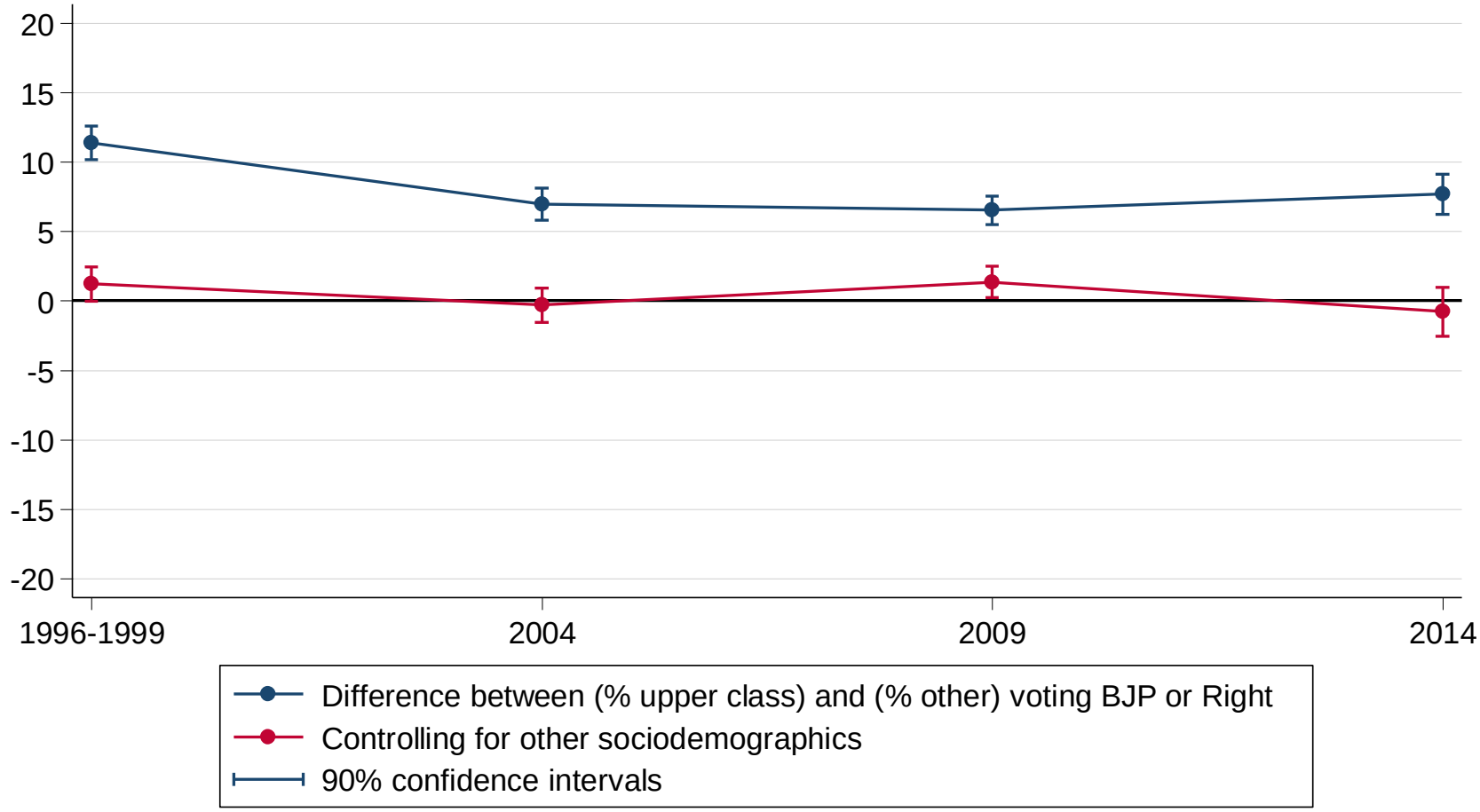

Figure C27 – Support for BJP among the upper class

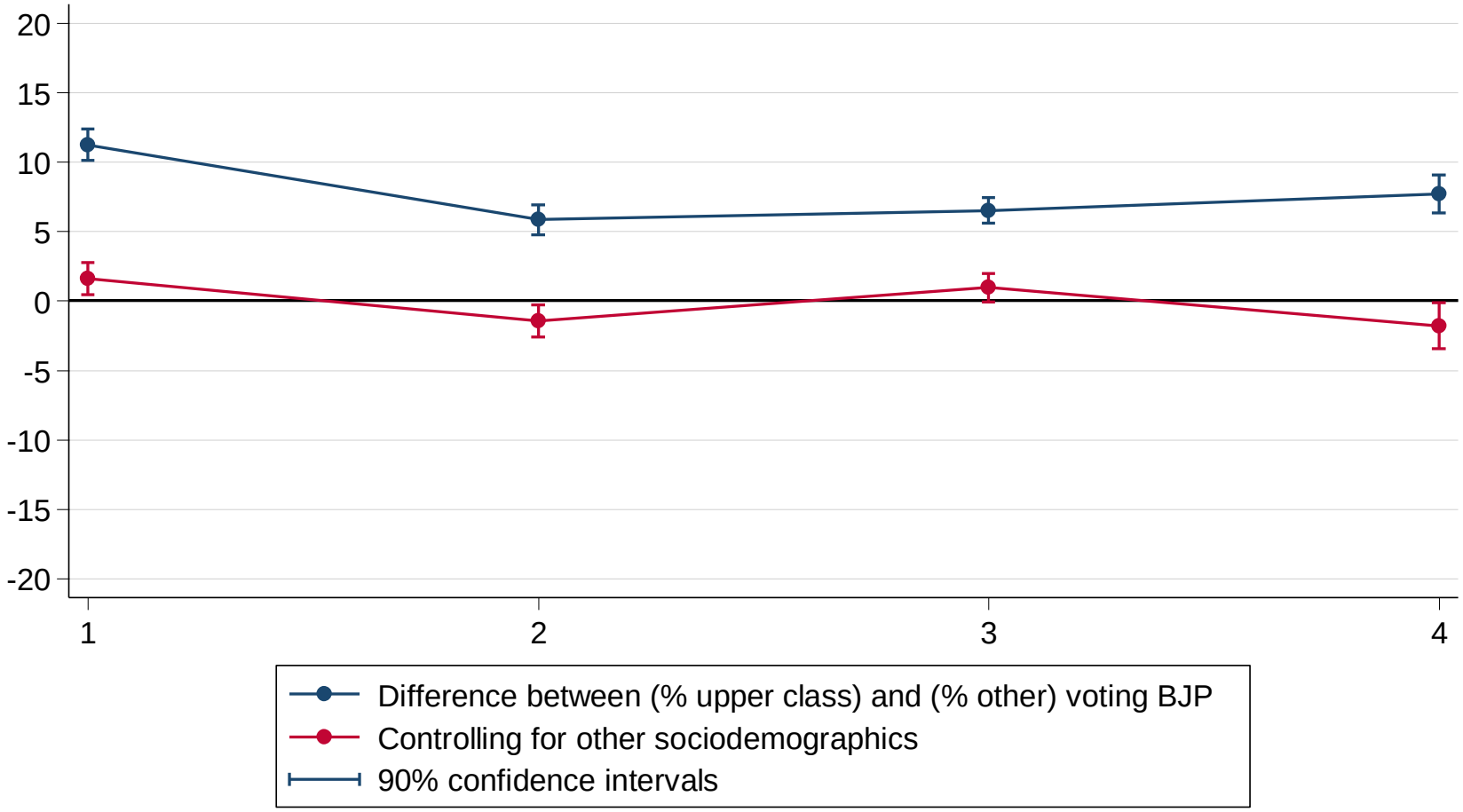

Figure C28 – Support for Congress / Centre among the upper class

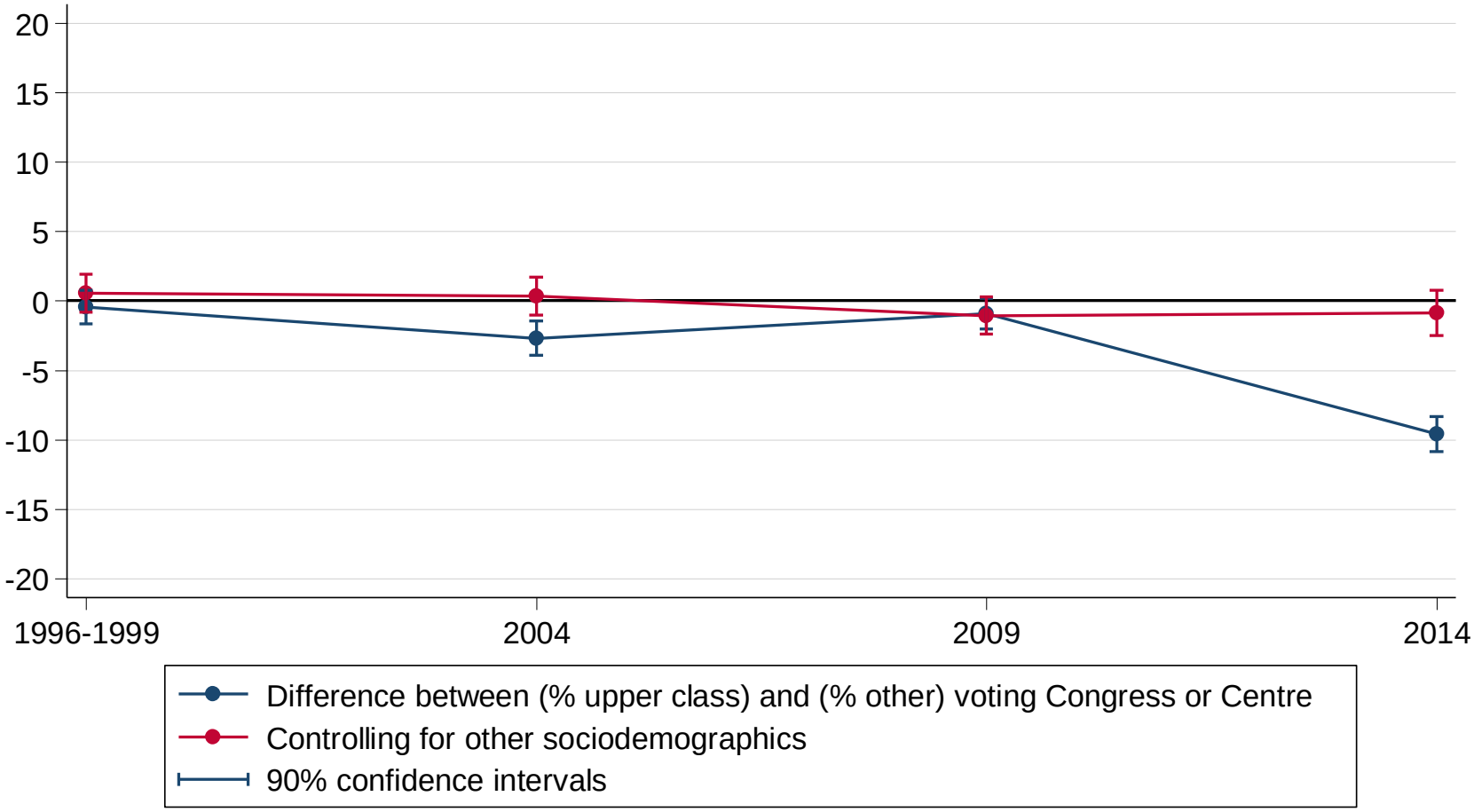

Figure C29 – Support for Congress among the upper class

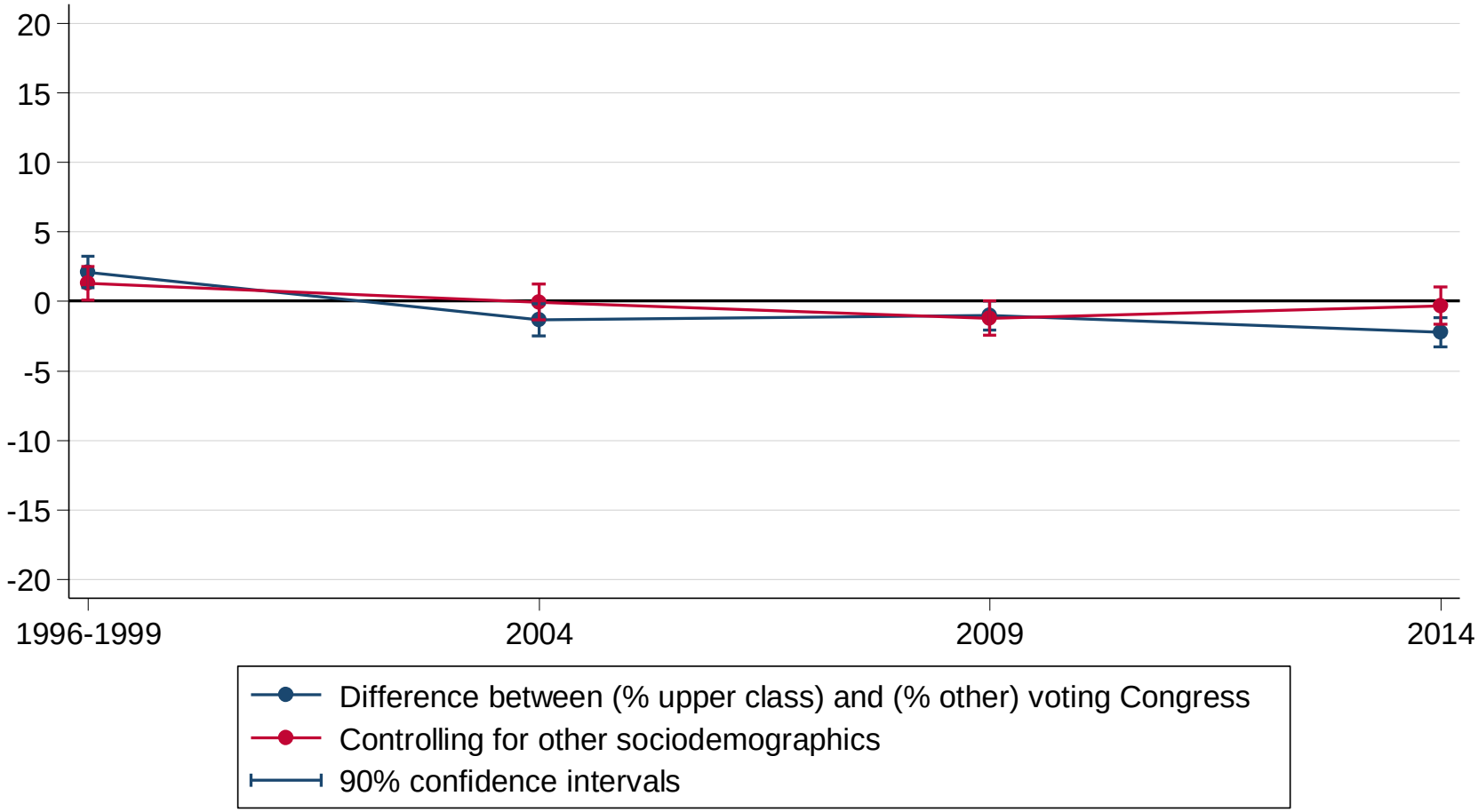

Figure C30 – Support for left parties among the upper class

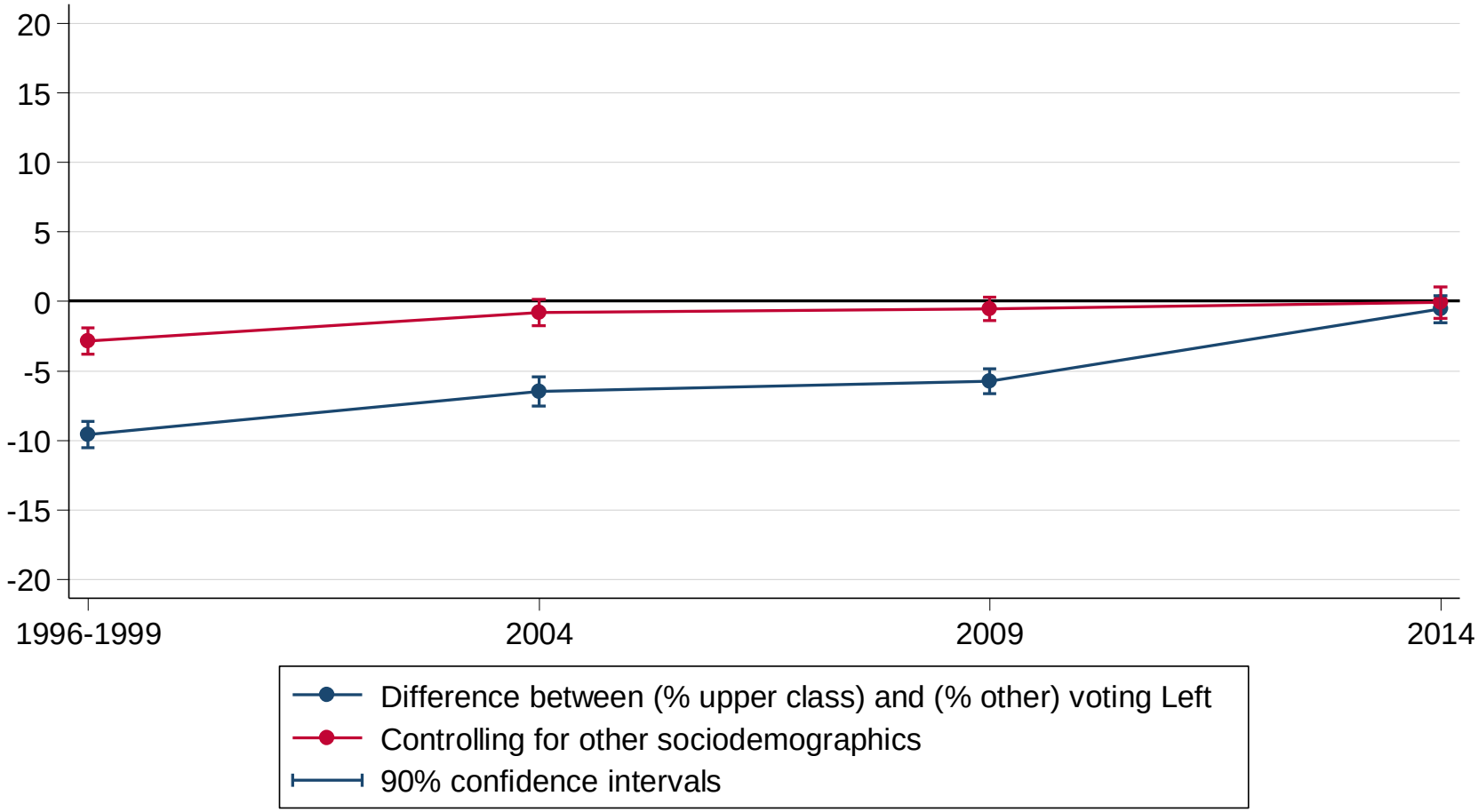

Table C1 - Determinants of vote for BJP in Indian national elections, 1962-2014						
	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009	2014
Caste group: Muslim	-0.171***	-0.246***	-0.166***	-0.181***	-0.168***	-0.296***
	(0.010)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Caste group: SC/ST	-0.068***	-0.104***	-0.058***	-0.076***	-0.072***	-0.076***
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)
Caste group: Other FC	0.037***	0.035***	0.116***	0.047***	0.025***	0.048***
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.011)
Caste group: Brahmin	0.009	0.191***	0.183***	0.171***	0.133***	0.141***
	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.024)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.017)
Education: Primary	0.034***	0.039***	0.052***	0.010	0.015***	0.028***
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.008)
Education: Secondary	0.095***	0.052***	0.069***	0.043***	0.024***	0.060***
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Education: Tertiary	0.124***	0.102***	0.100***	0.055***	0.050***	0.035***
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.011)	(0.008)	(0.012)
Age: 25-34	-0.012	0.018	0.020	-0.002	0.000	0.004
	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.011)
Age: 35-49	-0.015	0.011	-0.011	0.010	0.002	-0.011
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.011)
Age: 50-64	-0.006	0.022	0.014	-0.010	-0.006	-0.007
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.012)
Age: 65+	-0.019	-0.005	0.028	0.009	-0.007	-0.029**
	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.015)
Gender: Male	-0.006	0.018*	0.003	0.006	0.003	0.009
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.007)
Location: Rural area	-0.005	-0.031**	-0.060***	-0.027***	0.005	-0.044***
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.008)
Constant	0.039**	0.161***	0.071***	0.102***	0.018**	0.052***
	(0.017)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(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 C2 - Determinants of vote for centrist parties in Indian national elections, 1962-2014										
	1962	1967	1971	1977	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009	2014
Caste group: Muslim	0.043	0.027	0.156***	0.204***	0.168***	0.175***	0.162***	0.168***	0.141***	0.183***
	(0.076)	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.013)
Caste group: SC/ST	0.083	0.040*	0.080***	0.127***	0.015	0.067***	0.051***	0.039***	0.029***	0.051***
	(0.052)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Caste group: Other FC	-0.057	-0.059***	0.023	0.021	-0.025*	0.053***	-0.022	0.002	0.001	-0.041***
	(0.065)	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Caste group: Brahmin	0.039	-0.026	-0.020	0.034	-0.043*	-0.009	-0.036	-0.012	-0.008	-0.046***
	(0.081)	(0.032)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Education: Primary	0.109**	0.038*	0.047**	0.030	0.016	-0.024*	-0.048***	0.004	-0.008	-0.006
	(0.051)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.010)
Education: Secondary	0.112	0.028	0.031	-0.062	-0.001	-0.019	-0.042***	-0.016*	-0.007	-0.027***
	(0.090)	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)
Education: Tertiary	-0.084	-0.012	0.037	-0.143***	-0.055**	-0.059**	-0.058**	-0.027**	-0.031***	-0.066***
	(0.094)	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.055)	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Age: 25-34	0.123	0.047*	0.024	0.058	0.004	0.004	-0.022	0.007	0.014	-0.006
	(0.143)	(0.027)	(0.032)	(0.047)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Age: 35-49	0.139	0.111***	0.018	0.059	0.027*	0.003	-0.012	-0.007	0.016*	0.012
	(0.138)	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.047)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)
Age: 50-64	0.139	0.138***	0.027	0.080	0.023	-0.005	0.009	0.009	0.035***	0.036***
	(0.141)	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.049)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Age: 65+	0.185	0.132***	0.022	0.114**	0.091***	0.037	-0.003	0.003	0.054***	0.021
	(0.149)	(0.047)	(0.042)	(0.058)	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.016)
Gender: Male	0.001	-0.059***	-0.013	-0.031	0.000	-0.012	-0.023**	-0.008	-0.007	-0.013*
	(0.042)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Location: Rural area	0.043	0.089***	0.204***	-0.026	-0.043***	-0.024*	-0.040***	-0.015*	-0.020***	0.030***
	(0.060)	(0.022)	(0.028)	(0.023)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(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 C3 - Determinants of vote for Congress in Indian national elections, 1962-2014										
	1962	1967	1971	1977	1996	1998	1999	2004	2009	2014
Caste group: Muslim	0.056	0.038	0.172***	0.187***	0.103***	0.137***	0.203***	0.170***	0.169***	0.190***
	(0.074)	(0.030)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Caste group: SC/ST	0.097*	0.048**	0.082***	0.110***	0.051***	0.101***	0.089***	0.044***	0.054***	0.047***
	(0.050)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Caste group: Other FC	-0.051	-0.055**	0.028	0.014	-0.002	0.054***	-0.054***	-0.010	0.007	-0.035***
	(0.064)	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Caste group: Brahmin	0.054	-0.023	-0.004	0.045	-0.016	0.000	-0.069***	-0.023*	0.001	-0.036***
	(0.081)	(0.032)	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.011)
Education: Primary	0.098**	0.038*	0.052**	0.037*	0.013	-0.019	-0.025**	-0.004	-0.009	0.002
	(0.049)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Education: Secondary	0.101	0.027	0.029	-0.056	-0.010	-0.032**	-0.011	-0.034***	-0.014*	-0.007
	(0.089)	(0.036)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Education: Tertiary	-0.086	-0.017	0.056	-0.127**	-0.040*	-0.060***	-0.012	-0.034***	-0.027***	-0.008
	(0.094)	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.053)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age: 25-34	0.114	0.045*	0.018	0.058	-0.009	0.006	-0.024	0.003	0.019**	0.015
	(0.146)	(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.046)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Age: 35-49	0.136	0.107***	0.020	0.067	0.012	-0.003	-0.009	-0.011	0.020**	0.016*
	(0.142)	(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.046)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)
Age: 50-64	0.145	0.139***	0.034	0.077	0.010	-0.002	0.021	0.003	0.040***	0.041***
	(0.145)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.048)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.011)
Age: 65+	0.184	0.130***	0.024	0.129**	0.048**	0.032	-0.001	0.001	0.061***	0.024*
	(0.153)	(0.047)	(0.042)	(0.055)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Gender: Male	-0.003	-0.066***	-0.021	-0.030	-0.005	-0.011	-0.028***	-0.008	-0.001	-0.007
	(0.041)	(0.022)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Location: Rural area	0.056	0.100***	0.220***	-0.032	-0.009	-0.003	-0.008	-0.033***	-0.003	0.028***
	(0.059)	(0.022)	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.008)	(0.006)	(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 C4 - Determinants of vote for left parties in Indian national elections, 1962-2014

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

D. State elections results

Table D1 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Bihar												
	BJP / Right				*JD(U) / INC / Centre*				*RJD / Left*			
	2000	2005	2010	2015	2000	2005	2010	2015	2000	2005	2010	2015
Caste: Muslims	-0.096***	-0.031***	-0.068***	-0.267***	-0.013	0.103***	0.037	0.224***	0.259***	0.002	-0.011	0.010
	(0.016)	(0.006)	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.033)	(0.036)	(0.050)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.028)
Caste: OBC	0.006	0.036***	0.009	-0.099***	-0.026	0.108***	-0.031	0.038*	0.225***	-0.149***	-0.047*	0.072***
	(0.016)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.014)	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.032)	(0.027)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.120***	0.095***	0.052**	0.259***	0.087***	0.177***	-0.001	-0.026	0.025	-0.370***	-0.199***	-0.048*
	(0.026)	(0.011)	(0.020)	(0.034)	(0.032)	(0.019)	(0.035)	(0.028)	(0.036)	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.027)
Middle class	-0.039***	0.014**	0.021*	0.035**	0.067***	0.007	0.067***	-0.031	-0.086***	-0.031*	0.009	-0.012
	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.030)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.021)
Upper class	0.008	0.006	0.032*	0.038*	0.067*	-0.009	0.050	-0.014	-0.035	-0.064***	-0.018	-0.019
	(0.031)	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.039)	(0.020)	(0.032)	(0.029)	(0.055)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.026)
Age: 25-34	0.019	-0.011	0.016	0.027	0.031	-0.006	-0.037	0.022	-0.033	-0.057**	-0.030	0.047
	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.020)	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.045)	(0.025)	(0.027)	(0.030)
Age: 35-49	0.035*	-0.000	0.045**	0.055**	0.050**	-0.009	0.016	0.019	-0.066	-0.028	0.031	0.021
	(0.019)	(0.010)	(0.018)	(0.024)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.032)	(0.044)	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Age: 50-64	0.048**	-0.002	0.040**	0.011	0.035	-0.048**	0.031	0.011	-0.078	-0.024	0.000	0.065*
	(0.023)	(0.012)	(0.020)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.021)	(0.039)	(0.034)	(0.049)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.034)
Age: 65+	0.032	-0.004	0.027	0.023	0.039	-0.019	0.017	0.085**	-0.025	-0.034	-0.013	0.039
	(0.029)	(0.014)	(0.025)	(0.038)	(0.039)	(0.027)	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.065)	(0.035)	(0.039)	(0.040)
Gender: Male	-0.002	-0.005	-0.011	0.011	-0.029	-0.004	-0.000	-0.010	0.006	-0.004	-0.000	0.028
	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.028)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Location: Rural area	-0.140***	-0.025**	-0.081***	-0.243***	0.073***	0.076***	-0.007	-0.004	0.062	0.185***	0.020	0.088***
	(0.036)	(0.012)	(0.022)	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.030)	(0.026)	(0.047)	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.022)
Constant	0.240***	0.072***	0.158***	0.457***	0.026	0.067**	0.271***	0.209***	0.280***	0.428***	0.268***	0.113***
	(0.039)	(0.015)	(0.028)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.026)	(0.048)	(0.044)	(0.064)	(0.035)	(0.040)	(0.041)
R-squared	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.19	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.02
Observations	1809	6492	4509	3759	1809	6492	4509	3759	1809	6492	4509	3759

Table D2 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Gujarat				
	BJP / Right		*Congress / Centre*	
	2007	2012	2007	2012
Caste: Muslims	-0.115**	-0.020	0.187**	0.188***
	(0.048)	(0.038)	(0.078)	(0.069)
Caste: OBC	0.146***	0.222***	0.011	-0.086***
	(0.040)	(0.028)	(0.041)	(0.031)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.218***	0.327***	-0.080*	-0.135***
	(0.048)	(0.035)	(0.041)	(0.031)
Middle class	-0.057	0.037	-0.060*	-0.031
	(0.038)	(0.031)	(0.036)	(0.031)
Upper class	-0.014	-0.013	-0.065	-0.155***
	(0.051)	(0.037)	(0.043)	(0.032)
Age: 25-34	-0.039	-0.072	-0.058	0.075
	(0.052)	(0.056)	(0.047)	(0.048)
Age: 35-49	-0.080	-0.093*	-0.074	0.000
	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.046)	(0.049)
Age: 50-64	-0.051	-0.121**	-0.038	-0.014
	(0.064)	(0.057)	(0.052)	(0.051)
Age: 65+	-0.132*	-0.099	-0.136**	0.028
	(0.077)	(0.070)	(0.066)	(0.057)
Gender: Male	-0.024	0.039	-0.035	0.026
	(0.035)	(0.027)	(0.031)	(0.022)
Location: Rural area	-0.075	0.098***	0.069**	0.076***
	(0.046)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.024)
Constant	0.399***	0.195***	0.367***	0.323***
	(0.073)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)
R-squared	0.06	0.08	0.04	0.08
Observations	2366	3481	2366	3481

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

Table D3 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Jharkhand						
	BJP / Right		*Congress / Centre*		*Left parties*	
	2005	2014	2005	2014	2005	2014
Caste: Muslims	-0.103***	-0.150***	0.184***	0.197***	0.260***	0.090***
	(0.037)	(0.036)	(0.056)	(0.043)	(0.059)	(0.034)
Caste: OBC	0.010	0.149***	0.108***	-0.017	0.189***	0.050***
	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.035)	(0.016)	(0.035)	(0.015)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.304***	0.181***	0.091**	-0.020	-0.003	0.047**
	(0.053)	(0.039)	(0.045)	(0.022)	(0.031)	(0.020)
Middle class	0.036	0.036	0.028	0.027	0.051*	0.005
	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.033)	(0.018)	(0.031)	(0.015)
Upper class	0.055	0.019	-0.024	0.007	0.032	0.020
	(0.046)	(0.033)	(0.041)	(0.020)	(0.036)	(0.019)
Age: 25-34	-0.010	-0.090**	-0.049	0.013	0.058*	-0.003
	(0.045)	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.022)	(0.034)	(0.022)
Age: 35-49	0.003	-0.086**	-0.036	0.026	0.083**	-0.004
	(0.048)	(0.041)	(0.047)	(0.023)	(0.037)	(0.023)
Age: 50-64	0.019	-0.101**	-0.076	0.021	0.106**	0.038
	(0.053)	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.027)	(0.046)	(0.028)
Age: 65+	-0.008	-0.141**	-0.061	0.032	0.027	-0.030
	(0.072)	(0.061)	(0.073)	(0.039)	(0.063)	(0.029)
Gender: Male	-0.019	0.016	0.047	0.003	0.003	0.003
	(0.029)	(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.015)	(0.026)	(0.013)
Location: Rural area	-0.032	-0.057*	-0.088*	-0.106***	0.036	0.053***
	(0.048)	(0.032)	(0.052)	(0.022)	(0.044)	(0.015)
Constant	0.177***	0.404***	0.205***	0.150***	-0.044	-0.018
	(0.068)	(0.054)	(0.068)	(0.034)	(0.058)	(0.029)
R-squared	0.10	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.09	0.02
Observations	663	1554	663	1554	663	1554

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

Table D4 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Maharashtra						
	BJP / Right			*Congress / Centre*		
	2004	2009	2014	2004	2009	2014
Caste: Muslims	-0.131***	-0.053	0.029	0.092	0.234***	0.471***
	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.074)	(0.080)	(0.065)	(0.069)
Caste: OBC	0.218***	0.204***	0.191***	-0.143***	-0.021	0.047
	(0.034)	(0.030)	(0.056)	(0.043)	(0.035)	(0.044)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.138***	0.071**	0.201***	-0.080*	-0.080**	0.023
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.058)	(0.044)	(0.035)	(0.043)
Middle class	-0.027	-0.061**	0.103*	-0.051	0.004	0.029
	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.053)	(0.038)	(0.030)	(0.042)
Upper class	-0.034	-0.021	0.164**	-0.064	-0.005	-0.052
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.067)	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.045)
Age: 25-34	0.034	0.031	-0.100	0.061	0.027	-0.062
	(0.041)	(0.047)	(0.073)	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.060)
Age: 35-49	0.002	0.065	0.087	0.092*	0.043	-0.006
	(0.038)	(0.046)	(0.078)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.063)
Age: 50-64	0.030	-0.004	0.058	0.044	0.024	-0.086
	(0.041)	(0.047)	(0.086)	(0.060)	(0.055)	(0.067)
Age: 65+	0.024	-0.017	0.053	0.070	0.001	0.011
	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.096)	(0.060)	(0.058)	(0.077)
Gender: Male	0.029	0.041*	0.054	-0.088***	0.003	0.058*
	(0.025)	(0.021)	(0.046)	(0.033)	(0.026)	(0.033)
Location: Rural area	-0.150***	-0.096***	0.031	-0.079**	-0.113***	0.042
	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.050)	(0.037)	(0.030)	(0.036)
Constant	0.217***	0.200***	0.119	0.481***	0.400***	0.189**
	(0.050)	(0.052)	(0.097)	(0.065)	(0.062)	(0.076)
R-squared	0.07	0.06	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.07
Observations	1281	1607	1140	1281	1607	1140

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

Table D5 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Rajasthan						
	BJP / Right			*Congress / Centre*		
	2003	2008	2013	2003	2008	2013
Caste: Muslims	-0.113***	-0.157***	-0.214***	0.345***	0.452***	0.276***
	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.047)	(0.068)	(0.078)
Caste: OBC	0.099***	0.078***	-0.016	-0.055***	-0.099***	-0.211***
	(0.020)	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.021)	(0.032)	(0.028)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.244***	0.215***	0.113**	-0.096***	-0.088**	-0.235***
	(0.029)	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.024)	(0.039)	(0.032)
Middle class	-0.016	0.013	0.085***	-0.056***	-0.073**	-0.024
	(0.020)	(0.026)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.024)
Upper class	0.050	0.049	0.020	-0.047	-0.051	-0.039
	(0.031)	(0.039)	(0.038)	(0.029)	(0.041)	(0.028)
Age: 25-34	-0.009	0.015	0.032	-0.012	-0.018	0.014
	(0.031)	(0.041)	(0.050)	(0.029)	(0.046)	(0.038)
Age: 35-49	-0.007	0.001	-0.010	-0.005	0.028	0.035
	(0.030)	(0.039)	(0.048)	(0.028)	(0.045)	(0.039)
Age: 50-64	-0.025	0.017	-0.013	0.004	-0.050	-0.015
	(0.032)	(0.042)	(0.051)	(0.031)	(0.048)	(0.040)
Age: 65+	0.031	-0.066	-0.031	-0.005	-0.013	0.070
	(0.045)	(0.047)	(0.057)	(0.039)	(0.057)	(0.045)
Gender: Male	-0.041**	0.018	-0.059**	0.014	-0.014	-0.052**
	(0.019)	(0.024)	(0.028)	(0.019)	(0.027)	(0.021)
Location: Rural area	-0.077***	-0.221***	0.058	-0.081***	-0.015	-0.048
	(0.026)	(0.045)	(0.038)	(0.027)	(0.040)	(0.029)
Constant	0.312***	0.355***	0.319***	0.406***	0.399***	0.478***
	(0.040)	(0.060)	(0.063)	(0.040)	(0.066)	(0.051)
R-squared	0.06	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 D6 - Determinants of electoral behavior in Tamil Nadu								
	AIADMK				*Congress / DMK*			
	2001	2006	2011	2016	2001	2006	2011	2016
Caste: Muslims	0.009	-0.103***	-0.097***	-0.059	0.069	0.182***	0.113***	0.191***
	(0.051)	(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.067)	(0.060)	(0.043)	(0.040)	(0.070)
Caste: OBC	0.065**	0.016	0.006	-0.018	-0.128***	0.032*	-0.080***	-0.014
	(0.029)	(0.018)	(0.015)	(0.024)	(0.031)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.024)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.048	0.035	-0.018	0.082**	-0.015	0.023	-0.166***	-0.076**
	(0.038)	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.044)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.031)
Middle class	0.052*	-0.049***	-0.078***	-0.008	0.026	0.031*	0.022	0.033
	(0.028)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.026)
Upper class	-0.009	-0.068***	-0.032*	-0.160***	0.068	0.028	-0.016	0.049*
	(0.038)	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.029)	(0.042)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.028)
Age: 25-34	-0.024	0.040	0.007	-0.056*	0.029	0.036	0.037	0.046
	(0.040)	(0.026)	(0.025)	(0.032)	(0.044)	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.032)
Age: 35-49	0.011	0.102***	0.021	-0.087***	0.028	0.030	0.050**	0.077***
	(0.040)	(0.026)	(0.024)	(0.030)	(0.045)	(0.026)	(0.024)	(0.029)
Age: 50-64	-0.019	0.079***	-0.006	-0.048	0.051	0.044	0.047*	0.077**
	(0.045)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.035)	(0.050)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.034)
Age: 65+	-0.008	0.101***	0.037	-0.073*	-0.085	0.107***	0.089***	-0.009
	(0.055)	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.040)	(0.058)	(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.039)
Gender: Male	-0.030	-0.071***	-0.000	-0.075***	0.031	0.050***	-0.003	0.055***
	(0.025)	(0.016)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.027)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.020)
Location: Rural area	0.005	-0.058***	0.025*	-0.006	0.028	-0.032*	-0.077***	0.071***
	(0.031)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.024)	(0.032)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.022)
Constant	0.276***	0.417***	0.342***	0.596***	0.374***	0.257***	0.441***	0.213***
	(0.051)	(0.033)	(0.029)	(0.043)	(0.057)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.040)
R-squared	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03	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 D7 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Uttar Pradesh												
	BJP / Right				*Congress / Centre*				*Left parties*			
	1996	2002	2007	2012	1996	2002	2007	2012	1996	2002	2007	2012
Caste: Muslims	-0.074***	-0.076***	-0.055***	-0.027***	0.052***	0.036*	0.072***	0.024	-0.055**	-0.010	-0.123***	-0.208***
	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.006)	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.026)	(0.042)	(0.023)	(0.031)
Caste: OBC	0.195***	0.130***	0.069***	0.057***	-0.050***	-0.005	0.023***	-0.034***	-0.287***	-0.183***	-0.253***	-0.201***
	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.021)	(0.033)	(0.018)	(0.026)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.483***	0.380***	0.317***	0.192***	-0.094***	0.046**	0.076***	0.046***	-0.515***	-0.444***	-0.419***	-0.336***
	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.008)	(0.014)	(0.020)	(0.035)	(0.018)	(0.025)
Middle class	0.031**	0.025	-0.000	0.001	0.009	0.028**	0.026***	0.054***	-0.046**	-0.007	0.014	-0.046**
	(0.015)	(0.019)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.011)	(0.019)	(0.027)	(0.016)	(0.022)
Upper class	0.072***	0.030	0.029**	0.040***	0.007	0.026	0.019**	0.046***	-0.064***	-0.040	-0.026	-0.013
	(0.018)	(0.032)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.021)	(0.008)	(0.013)	(0.020)	(0.038)	(0.019)	(0.025)
Age: 25-34	0.010	0.013	0.010	0.049***	0.025*	0.011	0.001	-0.023	-0.036*	-0.104**	-0.021	0.094***
	(0.018)	(0.031)	(0.012)	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.018)	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.046)	(0.021)	(0.028)
Age: 35-49	-0.020	0.020	0.011	0.015	0.009	0.034*	-0.003	-0.016	-0.049***	-0.114**	-0.020	0.077***
	(0.018)	(0.031)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.019)	(0.009)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.045)	(0.021)	(0.027)
Age: 50-64	-0.017	0.041	0.012	0.046***	-0.011	0.029	-0.001	-0.003	-0.029	-0.094**	-0.012	0.134***
	(0.021)	(0.034)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.023)	(0.048)	(0.024)	(0.032)
Age: 65+	-0.016	0.089**	0.013	0.068***	-0.013	0.057*	0.026*	-0.012	-0.089***	-0.073	-0.067**	0.136***
	(0.027)	(0.044)	(0.016)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.031)	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.032)	(0.060)	(0.031)	(0.041)
Gender: Male	-0.030**	0.014	0.004	0.017*	0.020**	0.012	0.000	-0.004	-0.008	-0.015	-0.010	-0.004
	(0.014)	(0.018)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.024)	(0.014)	(0.019)
Location: Rural area	-0.053***	-0.066***	-0.028**	-0.050***	0.025**	-0.115***	-0.049***	-0.055***	-0.050***	0.033	0.163***	-0.004
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.021)	(0.010)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.020)	(0.022)
Constant	0.124***	0.117***	0.078***	0.064***	0.120***	0.113***	0.067***	0.168***	0.768***	0.742***	0.667***	0.645***
	(0.024)	(0.040)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.028)	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.053)	(0.031)	(0.035)
R-squared	0.24	0.15	0.13	0.06	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.19	0.11	0.11	0.06
Observations	5984	2057	9337	6264	5984	2057	9337	6264	5984	2057	9337	6264

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

Table D8 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in Uttarakhand			
	BJP / Right	*Congress / Centre*	*Left parties*
	2002	2002	2002
Caste: Muslims	-0.041	0.118	0.240***
	(0.040)	(0.074)	(0.079)
Caste: OBC	0.166***	0.149**	0.053
	(0.054)	(0.066)	(0.050)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.219***	0.020	0.054
	(0.037)	(0.042)	(0.034)
Middle class	-0.004	0.037	-0.019
	(0.031)	(0.040)	(0.033)
Upper class	0.042	0.027	-0.024
	(0.051)	(0.053)	(0.048)
Age: 25-34	0.053	0.103**	-0.028
	(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.048)
Age: 35-49	0.057	0.046	-0.017
	(0.043)	(0.049)	(0.048)
Age: 50-64	0.052	0.125**	-0.023
	(0.048)	(0.059)	(0.053)
Age: 65+	0.137*	0.331***	0.012
	(0.078)	(0.086)	(0.077)
Gender: Male	-0.032	-0.034	0.033
	(0.029)	(0.034)	(0.029)
Location: Rural area	-0.043	-0.017	-0.145***
	(0.044)	(0.048)	(0.049)
Constant	0.077	0.159**	0.264***
	(0.057)	(0.072)	(0.068)
R-squared	0.10	0.04	0.07
Observations	638	638	638

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

Table D9 - Determinants of electoral behaviour in West Bengal								
	Congress / Centre				*Left parties*			
	2001	2006	2011	2016	2001	2006	2011	2016
Caste: Muslims	-0.157***	0.115***	0.064**	0.115***	-0.236***	-0.020	0.009	-0.063***
	(0.030)	(0.041)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.042)	(0.051)	(0.026)	(0.023)
Caste: OBC	0.019	0.016	0.185***	0.024	-0.021	-0.040	0.143***	-0.004
	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.047)	(0.032)	(0.052)	(0.061)	(0.039)	(0.028)
Caste: Forward Castes	0.121***	0.094***	0.120***	0.023	-0.080*	0.031	0.063**	-0.017
	(0.041)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.043)	(0.045)	(0.027)	(0.023)
Middle class	0.080***	-0.016	0.085***	-0.020	-0.037	-0.141***	0.024	0.001
	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.037)	(0.042)	(0.023)	(0.021)
Upper class	0.097**	0.074	0.107***	-0.055*	-0.073	-0.026	0.009	-0.011
	(0.040)	(0.045)	(0.036)	(0.029)	(0.047)	(0.057)	(0.028)	(0.025)
Age: 25-34	-0.162***	0.090**	0.028	-0.003	-0.135***	-0.009	0.054*	0.021
	(0.046)	(0.042)	(0.039)	(0.035)	(0.048)	(0.066)	(0.031)	(0.029)
Age: 35-49	-0.193***	0.097**	-0.021	-0.015	-0.028	-0.060	0.055*	0.005
	(0.046)	(0.039)	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.050)	(0.061)	(0.029)	(0.028)
Age: 50-64	-0.146***	0.037	-0.006	-0.032	0.018	-0.044	0.078**	0.038
	(0.050)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.037)	(0.059)	(0.070)	(0.034)	(0.031)
Age: 65+	-0.119*	0.070	0.013	-0.062	-0.090	0.022	0.114**	0.059
	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.078)	(0.090)	(0.048)	(0.041)
Gender: Male	-0.009	0.022	-0.013	-0.040**	-0.018	-0.006	0.013	0.019
	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.036)	(0.020)	(0.017)
Location: Rural area	-0.108***	-0.124***	-0.156***	0.018	-0.015	-0.145***	-0.036	-0.001
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.044)	(0.027)	(0.024)
Constant	0.475***	0.225***	0.366***	0.613***	0.576***	0.605***	0.209***	0.246***
	(0.060)	(0.059)	(0.050)	(0.048)	(0.065)	(0.089)	(0.042)	(0.041)
R-squared	0.14	0.05	0.05	0.01	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.01
Observations	1579	3039	4519	2778	1579	3039	4519	2778

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

E. Social spending

Table E1 - Social expenditures and ideological orientation of state ruling parties						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Ruling party: BJP / Right	-4.574***			-3.769***		
	(1.365)			(1.384)		
Ruling party: Congress / Centre		0.821			-0.408	
		(1.331)			(1.229)	
Ruling party: Left party			7.159***			8.364***
			(1.895)			(2.228)
Government bias towards upper castes				3.876	2.266	4.720*
				(2.738)	(2.636)	(2.401)
Government bias towards upper classes				-9.850**	-14.695***	-8.245*
				(4.138)	(4.472)	(4.863)
Turnout				0.222**	0.260***	0.216**
				(0.092)	(0.095)	(0.095)
Log - GSDP per capita				0.028	-0.367	1.461
				(1.781)	(1.888)	(1.982)
Constant	48.184***	46.276***	45.228***	38.862***	44.118***	25.306**
	(1.557)	(1.780)	(1.615)	(7.865)	(7.710)	(10.829)
State fixed effects	No	No	No	No	No	No
R-squared	0.178	0.064	0.210	0.274	0.232	0.344
Obs	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01						

Table E1 (continued) - Social expenditures and ideological orientation of state ruling parties						
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Ruling party: BJP / Right	2.154*			2.853*		
	(1.236)			(1.431)		
Ruling party: Congress / Centre		-2.397**			-2.755***	
		(0.944)			(0.897)	
Ruling party: Left party			2.895**			5.057***
			(1.268)			(1.549)
Government bias towards upper castes				4.295*	5.432***	7.161***
				(2.235)	(1.949)	(1.958)
Government bias towards upper classes				-9.857**	-9.508**	-5.694
				(3.884)	(3.751)	(3.628)
Turnout				0.207*	0.194	0.154
				(0.122)	(0.119)	(0.131)
Log - GSDP per capita				3.333	3.321	2.539
				(4.240)	(4.163)	(3.628)
Constant	39.323***	41.540***	39.770***	11.664	13.774	13.162
	(1.939)	(2.125)	(2.056)	(24.923)	(24.686)	(22.095)
State fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.730	0.738	0.728	0.750	0.761	0.760
Obs	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01						

Table E2 - Social expenditures and government bias towards caste groups								
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Government bias towards Muslims	1.678*				-0.547			
	(0.909)				(0.875)			
Government bias towards SCs/STs		1.567*				-4.421**		
		(0.892)				(2.025)		
Government bias towards OBCs			-1.988				2.202	
			(2.856)				(3.464)	
Government bias towards upper castes				-3.338*				7.240***
				(1.898)				(2.464)
Government bias towards upper classes					4.892	0.487	4.391	-0.879
					(5.022)	(4.947)	(5.332)	(4.748)
Ruling party: BJP / Right					-12.486***	-14.936***	-12.523***	-14.873***
					(2.724)	(3.076)	(2.621)	(2.976)
Ruling party: Congress / Centre					-8.119***	-10.783***	-8.352***	-9.722***
					(2.207)	(2.638)	(2.029)	(2.226)
Turnout					0.176*	0.121	0.159	0.160*
					(0.097)	(0.102)	(0.096)	(0.088)
Log - GSDP per capita					2.199	2.327	2.175	2.366
					(1.951)	(1.854)	(1.897)	(1.799)
Constant	45.269***	45.122***	48.605***	50.195***	25.813***	38.828***	24.903***	24.877***
	(1.940)	(2.050)	(3.032)	(2.627)	(9.144)	(9.406)	(8.944)	(8.336)
State fixed effects	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
R-squared	0.086	0.073	0.064	0.086	0.377	0.414	0.379	0.420
Obs	220.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	220.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01								

Table E2 (continued) - Social expenditures and government bias towards caste groups								
	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
Government bias towards Muslims	-0.472				0.862			
	(0.659)				(0.955)			
Government bias towards SCs/STs		-3.771**				-6.119**		
		(1.549)				(2.546)		
Government bias towards OBCs			2.388				-1.960	
			(2.222)				(2.680)	
Government bias towards upper castes				2.846				6.350***
				(1.745)				(2.062)
Government bias towards upper classes					-2.958	-3.377	-3.608	-8.021**
					(3.615)	(3.402)	(3.354)	(3.869)
Ruling party: BJP / Right					1.738	-4.087	1.147	-2.567
					(2.116)	(2.938)	(2.027)	(2.261)
Ruling party: Congress / Centre					-2.157*	-4.417**	-2.366*	-4.287***
					(1.141)	(1.856)	(1.209)	(1.481)
Turnout					0.116	0.116	0.135	0.175
					(0.120)	(0.106)	(0.116)	(0.116)
Log - GSDP per capita					1.445	2.485	1.711	3.031
					(4.359)	(3.759)	(4.163)	(3.890)
Constant	40.269***	43.308***	37.496***	36.884***	27.217	31.299	28.113	15.931
	(2.211)	(2.734)	(2.697)	(2.697)	(25.394)	(22.419)	(24.746)	(23.050)
State fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.720	0.734	0.722	0.728	0.745	0.760	0.744	0.763
Obs	220.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	220.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01								

Table E3 - Social expenditures and government bias towards caste groups						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Government bias towards lower classes	11.318**			-3.154		
	(4.750)			(6.553)		
Government bias towards middle classes		7.707			7.843	
		(11.194)			(8.270)	
Government bias towards upper classes			-9.275***			-0.879
			(3.084)			(4.748)
Government bias towards upper castes				6.488***	6.636***	7.240***
				(2.207)	(2.301)	(2.464)
Ruling party: BJP / Right				-15.540***	-14.966***	-14.873***
				(2.966)	(2.462)	(2.976)
Ruling party: Congress / Centre				-10.112***	-9.827***	-9.722***
				(2.206)	(1.937)	(2.226)
Turnout				0.151*	0.160*	0.160*
				(0.089)	(0.080)	(0.088)
Log - GSDP per capita				2.479	2.272	2.366
				(1.793)	(1.661)	(1.799)
Constant	35.625***	38.735***	55.850***	28.203***	17.178	24.877***
	(5.111)	(11.628)	(3.377)	(9.048)	(12.027)	(8.336)
State fixed effects	No	No	No	No	No	No
R-squared	0.102	0.066	0.128	0.421	0.426	0.420
Obs	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01						

Table E3 (continued) Social expenditures and government bias towards caste groups						
	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Government bias towards lower classes	-5.794			-3.251		
	(3.805)			(5.478)		
Government bias towards middle classes		9.242			16.599***	
		(6.237)			(6.177)	
Government bias towards upper classes			1.169			-8.021**
			(2.328)			(3.869)
Government bias towards upper castes				4.599**	5.539***	6.350***
				(1.851)	(1.796)	(2.062)
Ruling party: BJP / Right				-5.058*	-5.283**	-2.567
				(2.598)	(2.104)	(2.261)
Ruling party: Congress / Centre				-5.231***	-5.598***	-4.287***
				(1.610)	(1.361)	(1.481)
Turnout				0.104	0.194	0.175
				(0.126)	(0.120)	(0.116)
Log - GSDP per capita				1.806	1.030	3.031
				(3.650)	(3.585)	(3.890)
Constant	45.702***	30.669***	38.790***	26.246	3.976	15.931
	(4.733)	(5.853)	(2.996)	(22.556)	(21.641)	(23.050)
State fixed effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
R-squared	0.724	0.725	0.720	0.756	0.771	0.763
Obs	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000	222.000
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01						