

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Why Ethnic Parties Succeed

Why do some ethnic parties succeed in attracting the support of their target ethnic groups while others fail? In a world in which ethnic parties flourish in established and emerging democracies alike, understanding the conditions under which such parties succeed or fail is of critical importance to both political scientists and policy makers. Drawing on a study of variation in the performance of ethnic parties in India, this book builds a theory of ethnic party performance in “patronage-democracies.” Chandra shows why voters in such democracies choose between parties by conducting ethnic head counts rather than by comparing policy platforms or ideological positions. Building on these individual microfoundations, she argues that an ethnic party is likely to succeed when it has competitive rules for intraparty advancement and when the size of the group it seeks to mobilize exceeds the threshold of winning or leverage imposed by the electoral system.

Kanchan Chandra is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at MIT.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics

General Editor

Margaret Levi *University of Washington, Seattle*

Assistant General Editor

Stephen Hanson *University of Washington, Seattle*

Associate Editors

Robert H. Bates *Harvard University*

Peter Hall *Harvard University*

Peter Lange *Duke University*

Helen Milner *Columbia University*

Frances Rosenbluth *Yale University*

Susan Stokes *University of Chicago*

Sidney Tarrow *Cornell University*

Other Books in the Series

Stefano Bartolini, *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860–1980: The Class Cleavage*

Nancy Bermeo, ed., *Unemployment in the New Europe*

Charles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution*

Charles Boix, *Political Parties, Growth and Equality: Conservative and Social Democratic Economic Strategies in the World Economy*

Catherine Boone, *Merchant Capital and the Roots of State Power in Senegal, 1930–1985*

Catherine Boone, *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Change*

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*

Valerie Bunce, *Leaving Socialism and Leaving the State: The End of Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia*

Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*

Daniele Caramani, *The Nationalization of Politics: The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Europe*

Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State*

Gerald Easter, *Reconstructing the State: Personal Networks and Elite Identity*

Robert Franzese, Jr., *Macroeconomic Policies of Developed Democracies*

Roberto Franzosi, *The Puzzle of Strikes: Class and State Strategies in Postwar Italy*

Continued on page following the Index

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Why Ethnic Parties Succeed

PATRONAGE AND ETHNIC
HEAD COUNTS IN INDIA

KANCHAN CHANDRA

Massachusetts Institute of Technology



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521814522

© Kanchan Chandra 2004

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2004

This digitally printed first paperback version 2007

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Chandra, Kanchan, 1971–

Why ethnic parties succeed : patronage and ethnic head counts in India / Kanchan Chandra.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in comparative politics)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-521-81452-9

1. Political parties – India. 2. Minorities – India – Political activity. 3. India – Ethnic relations – Political aspects. 4. Patronage, Political – India. I. Title. II. Series.

JQ298.A1C43 2004

306.2'6'0954–dc21 2003048458

ISBN-13 978-0-521-81452-2 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-81452-9 hardback

ISBN-13 978-0-521-89141-7 paperback

ISBN-10 0-521-89141-8 paperback

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

*To my mother,
whose imagination creates mine.*

For my father.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

| | |
|--|----------------|
| <i>List of Maps, Figures, and Tables</i> | <i>page</i> xi |
| <i>List of Abbreviations</i> | xiv |
| <i>A Note on Terminology</i> | xv |
| <i>Acknowledgments</i> | xvii |
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| <i>Part I. Theory</i> | |
| 2 LIMITED INFORMATION AND ETHNIC CATEGORIZATION | 33 |
| 3 PATRONAGE-DEMOCRACY, LIMITED INFORMATION, AND ETHNIC FAVOURITISM | 47 |
| 4 COUNTING HEADS: WHY ETHNIC PARTIES SUCCEED IN PATRONAGE-DEMOCRACIES | 82 |
| 5 WHY PARTIES HAVE DIFFERENT ETHNIC HEAD COUNTS: PARTY ORGANIZATION AND ELITE INCORPORATION | 99 |
| <i>Part II. Data</i> | |
| 6 INDIA AS A PATRONAGE-DEMOCRACY | 115 |
| 7 THE BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY (BSP) AND THE SCHEDULED CASTES (SCs) | 143 |
| 8 WHY SC ELITES JOIN THE BSP | 172 |
| 9 WHY SC VOTERS PREFER THE BSP | 196 |
| | ix |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

| | | |
|-----------|--|-----|
| 10 | WHY SC VOTER PREFERENCES TRANSLATE INTO BSP VOTES | 222 |
| 11 | EXPLAINING DIFFERENT HEAD COUNTS IN THE BSP AND CONGRESS | 246 |
| 12 | EXTENDING THE ARGUMENT TO OTHER ETHNIC PARTIES IN INDIA: THE BJP, THE DMK, AND THE JMM | 262 |
| 13 | ETHNIC HEAD COUNTS AND DEMOCRATIC STABILITY | 287 |
| | Appendix A. Elite Interviews | 293 |
| | Appendix B. Ethnographies of Election Campaigns | 297 |
| | Appendix C. Content Analysis | 299 |
| | Appendix D. Description of Survey Data | 302 |
| | Appendix E. Description of the Ecological Inference (EI) Method | 303 |
| | Appendix F. Method Used to Estimate Ethnic Voting Patterns | 310 |
| | <i>Bibliography</i> | 317 |
| | <i>Index</i> | 337 |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Maps, Figures, and Tables

Maps

| | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| 1.1 | Scheduled Caste population across Indian states, 1991 | <i>page</i> 19 |
| 1.2 | Variation in Scheduled Caste vote for the BSP across Indian states, 1984–98 parliamentary elections | 20 |
| 1.3 | Hindu population across Indian states, 1991 | 24 |
| 1.4 | Variation in Hindu vote for the BJP across Indian states, 1991 parliamentary elections | 25 |
| 1.5 | Tamil-speaking population across Tamil Nadu districts, 1961 | 26 |
| 1.6 | Variation in Tamil vote for the DMK across districts in Tamil Nadu, 1967 legislative assembly elections | 27 |
| 1.7 | Variation in vote for the JMM across districts in Jharkhand, 2000 legislative assembly elections | 28 |

Figures

| | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 1.1 | Equilibrium of ethnic favouritism | 12 |
| 4.1 | The voting decision in a patronage-democracy | 87 |
| 5.1 | Stage I: party dominated by elites from group A | 103 |
| 5.2 | Stage II: competitive incorporation of elites from group B | 104 |
| 5.3 | Stage III: displacement of As by Bs | 104 |
| 5.4 | Stage I: party dominated by elites from group A | 108 |
| 7.1 | The Bahujan Samaj | 156 |
| 8.1 | Percentage of important cabinet portfolios allotted to Scheduled Caste ministers, 1951–92 | 179 |
| 8.2 | Ratio of SC representation in Council of Ministers to SC percentage in population, 1951–92 | 179 |
| 9.1 | Preference distribution of Scheduled Caste respondents in UP and Punjab, 1996 parliamentary elections | 209 |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)**Maps, Figures, and Tables**

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 11.1 | The Congress party organization | 248 |
| 11.2 | Incorporation of new elites through the multiplication of monoethnic factions | 259 |
| 12.1 | The organization of the Bharatiya Janata Party | 273 |
| 12.2 | The organization of the DMK | 280 |

Tables

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 2.1 | Data sources about ethnic and nonethnic identities | 38 |
| 6.1 | Dominance of the public sector in the organized economy in India, 1961–99 | 117 |
| 6.2 | Relative growth rates of the public and private sectors in India, 1991–99 | 118 |
| 6.3 | Profile of central government employment in India, 1994 | 119 |
| 6.4 | Profile of state government employment in Punjab, 1995 | 120 |
| 7.1 | Efficacy of Scheduled Caste voters across Indian states, 1984 | 146 |
| 7.2 | Stratified sample of Indian states: Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Karnataka | 159 |
| 7.3 | Variables hypothesized to effect BSP performance among Scheduled Castes | 162 |
| 8.1 | Rise in literacy among Scheduled Castes in all three states, 1961–81 | 173 |
| 8.2 | Mean number of independent candidates in “reserved” constituencies, 1960–83 | 175 |
| 8.3 | Profile of early joiners of the BSP | 177 |
| 8.4 | Representation in the BSP in Uttar Pradesh, 1984 | 188 |
| 8.5 | Representation in the BSP in Uttar Pradesh, 1995–96 | 189 |
| 8.6 | BSP candidates in Karnataka legislative assembly and parliamentary elections, 1989–98 | 193 |
| 9.1 | Percentage of SC candidates fielded by all major parties/alliances, 1996 | 198 |
| 9.2 | Representational profile of major parties in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab at the state level, 1996 | 198 |
| 9.3 | Relative weight of party and candidate in voter decisions in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab | 200 |
| 9.4 | Party issue positions, 1996 | 204 |
| 9.5 | Scheduled Caste voter assessments of issue salience in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, 1996 | 207 |
| 9.6 | Party preferences of Scheduled Caste voters in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, 1996 | 208 |
| 9.7 | Party preferences of Chamar and non-Chamar voters in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, 1996 | 210 |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)**Maps, Figures, and Tables**

| | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 10.1 | Demographic profile of Scheduled Castes across samples | 232 |
| 10.2 | Leverage and Scheduled Caste voting behaviour | 233 |
| 10.3 | Timing of decision: Scheduled Castes in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab | 238 |
| 10.4 | Timing of decision: Chamars in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab | 240 |
| 10.5 | Vote switching between Uttar Pradesh parliamentary and assembly elections, 1996 | 242 |
| 12.1 | Profile of BJP vote, 1991–98 | 267 |
| 12.2 | Representational profile of the DMK and Congress, 1968 | 278 |
| 12.3 | Caste composition of Congress and DMK cabinets, 1957–67 | 279 |
| A.1 | Elite interviews by state and organization | 294 |
| B.1 | Constituency studies during parliamentary and assembly campaigns, 1996–98 | 298 |
| C.1 | Words or phrases included in main issue categories in content analysis | 300 |
| D.1 | Description of election surveys | 302 |
| F.1 | Performance of the Bahujan Samaj Party by state, 1984–98 parliamentary elections | 313 |
| F.2 | Performance of the Bharatiya Janata Party by state, 1991 parliamentary elections | 315 |
| F.3 | Performance of the DMK in Tamil Nadu by district, 1967 legislative assembly elections | 316 |
| F.4 | Performance of the JMM in Jharkhand by district, 2000 legislative assembly elections | 316 |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Abbreviations

| | |
|---------|--|
| BJP | Bharatiya Janata Party |
| BJS | Bharatiya Jana Sangh |
| BKPP | Bharatiya Kisan Kamgar Party |
| BPP | Bihar People's Party |
| BSP | Bahujan Samaj Party |
| CPI | Communist Party of India |
| CPI(ML) | Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) |
| CPM | Communist Party of India (Marxist) |
| DMK | Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam |
| FPTP | First Past the Post |
| INC | Indian National Congress |
| JD | Janata Dal |
| JD(G) | Janata Dal (Gujarat) |
| JD(U) | Janata Dal (United) |
| NDA | National Democratic Alliance |
| NF/LF | National Front /Left Front |
| OBC | Other backward classes/other backward castes |
| PR | Proportional representation |
| RJD | Rashtriya Janata Dal |
| RPI | Republican Party of India |
| RSS | Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh |
| SAD | Shiromani Akali Dal |
| SC | Scheduled Caste |
| SJP | Samajwadi Janata Party |
| SP | Samajwadi Party |
| ST | Scheduled Tribe |
| VHP | Vishwa Hindu Parishad |

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

A Note on Terminology

Throughout, I use the term “Scheduled Caste” to describe the Bahujan Samaj Party’s target category rather than alternatives such as “Untouchable,” “*Harijan*” or “*Dalit*.” I employ this term because it was the most widely employed term of self-identification among my respondents. None of my respondents used the derogatory term “Untouchable” to refer to themselves. The term *Harijan*, meaning “children of God,” a term coined by Gandhi to refer to those treated as untouchable, is now perceived as being patronizing. I do not use either of these terms, therefore, except when quoting verbatim from another source that does. Many of my respondents referred to themselves as “*Dalit*” (meaning “broken to pieces” or “oppressed”), a term popularized by the Dalit Panthers, a radical movement in the state of Maharashtra. But the more common term of self-identification was the term Scheduled Caste (SC), or the name of the caste category among the Scheduled Castes to which an individual subscribed.

I use the terms “other backward classes” (OBC) and “backward classes” interchangeably with the term “other backward *castes*” and “backward *castes*.” The term “other backward classes” comes from a provision in the Indian Constitution that empowers the government to provide preferential treatment for “other socially and educationally backward classes.” The Constitution does not lay down the criteria according to which the “backward classes” are to be identified, but the term “classes” in this phrase has come to be interpreted in everyday politics as a euphemism for castes. In 1990, the Indian government announced a decision to set aside 27 percent of jobs in central government institutions for the “Other Backward Classes,” defined explicitly as a collection of castes. Especially since this policy decision, the terms “other backward classes” and “other backward castes” have come to be used interchangeably.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

This book proposes a theory of ethnic party performance in “patronage-democracies,” based on an analysis of ethnic party performance in India. It is intended for two overlapping audiences, which reflect also two of the intellectual communities to which I belong: those who are interested in the abstract principles that drive the particularities of politics anywhere; and those who are interested in the particularities of politics in India. My search for a way to use abstraction and particularity to illuminate each other was influenced especially by two books: David Laitin’s *Hegemony and Culture* and Robert Putnam’s *Making Democracy Work*.¹

In its pages, the reader will encounter voters and politicians who are amateur mathematicians and statisticians. They count the heads of co-ethnics across parties and the electorate, use these head counts to attach probabilities to different outcomes, and choose their strategies according to the result of these calculations. This portrait of voters and politicians is based on ethnographic research on the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and other political parties in India conducted between 1996 and 1998. The politicians and voters whom I interviewed in the course of this research had different, often complex, motivations. Political power was for many the principal channel for material advancement. For others, it was the principal route to self-assertion. Often, the desires for material advancement and for self-assertion were combined. But no matter what their motivations, they were engaged alike in sophisticated calculations of the chances of victory or influence, using numbers generated from ethnic head counts. Terms such as a “wave effect,” a “plus factor,” a “winning margin,” “cutting votes” (i.e., votes

¹ David Laitin, *Hegemony and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

that cut into someone else's winning margin), and so on were a routine part of their vocabulary in almost every constituency that I visited.

I attempt in this book to theorize about the conditions that produce this systemic tendency toward calculated voting based on ethnic head counts, and to show how, in turn, these head counts determine the performance of ethnic parties. While I hope that the data on the behaviour of politicians and voters, drawn mainly from the 1996–98 period in India, provide sufficient evidence for its plausibility, this theory remains to be evaluated against new data from other time periods in India and from other patronage-democracies. Throughout, I use the term “ethnic identity” in a broad sense to describe identities based on ascriptive categories, including caste, language, tribe, and religion. In political discourse in India, the politics of caste, language, tribe, and religion are more often treated as separate phenomena. I use a common analytical category here, not because differences do not exist between these categories, but in order to highlight certain minimal similarities in politics based on any of them.

The book developed out of my doctoral dissertation in the Department of Government at Harvard University. Among my teachers, my debts start with Douglas Haynes, Nelson Kasfir, and Ian Lustick, then at Dartmouth College, who showed me how to think about ethnicity. At graduate school, I am grateful to the members of my dissertation committee: Samuel Huntington, for pushing me to think about the comparative implications of my argument; David Laitin, who has been an inspiration during this project and beyond it; Ashutosh Varshney, for sharing his enthusiasm for Indian politics; and Myron Weiner, who continued to influence many of the arguments I make here even after his death in 1999. In Delhi, Yogendra Yadav responded generously to my frequent requests for advice. I thank him also for involving me in the National Election Studies in 1996 and 1998, and for permission to use the data from the surveys conducted during those studies.

Financial support during writing and research was provided by fellowships from the SSRC-MacArthur Foundation on International Peace and Security; the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies; a Mellon Grant for research on the performance of democracies; a Mellon Dissertation Completion Grant; the Department of Government, Harvard University; the Department of Political Science, MIT; and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. I am grateful also to the Harvard Map Collection for purchasing digital data on India's census districts and electoral constituencies at my request. The Center for

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

International Studies at MIT, directed by Richard Samuels and Stephen Van Evera, provided a generous grant to collect a cross-national database on ethnic parties to test the argument of this book more broadly. That project quickly expanded beyond the scope of this one, and its findings will be reported elsewhere. However, this book has benefited from the parallel concerns of that project.

For institutional support, I thank the Department of Political Science at MIT, the Harvard Academy, the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) in Delhi, the Institute for Development and Communication in Chandigarh, Wilder House at the University of Chicago, and the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. Jean Anderson at Wilder House, Steve Baker at the Government Department at Harvard, Amy Frost at the SSRC-MacArthur Foundation, Beth Hastie at the Harvard Academy, and Pamela Clements and David Veritas at MIT made many difficult things easy. I am grateful to Rachel Gisselquist, Dan Metz, Dan Munro, Jessica Piombo, Bela Prasad, Chris Wendt, and Adam Ziegfeld for excellent research assistance.

I was humbled in the course of my research by the generosity of people to whom I offered little in return. Over several years, Yubaraj Ghimire and Saroj Nagi taught me the ethics and mechanics of field research in India and, with a light touch, gave me an invaluable education in Indian politics. Himanshu Bhattacharya, Sanjay Kumar, Kanchan Malhotra, and Chandrika Parmar at CSDS guided me in the design and interpretation of the NES surveys. My research on Uttar Pradesh is indebted to Ram Advani, Paul Brass, Zoya Hasan, Pappu Kumar, Noor Mohammad, Ashok Priyadarshi, M. V. S. Rami Reddy, Hemant Sharma, Nirmala Sharma, Anand Singh, Udai Sinha, T. Venkatesh, and Randeep and Priya Wahraich; on Punjab, to Vikram Balasubramaniam and Kavita Sivaramakrishnan, Gyan Chand, Dharpal and Urmil Gupta, K. B. Kapoor, Harpreet Kaur, Pramod Kumar, P. N. Pimpley, A. S. Prashar, T. K. Ramasamy, Ravinder Sood, G. Vajralingam, Ramesh Vinayak, and Bhagwant Singh Ahluwalia and his family; and on Karnataka, to Shashidhara Bhat, G. K. Karanth, D. R. Nagaraj, Saritha Rai, Y. P. Rajesh, Sandeep Shastri, and O. Sreedharan. Most of all, I thank Professor Arun Chowdhury and his family.

I presented chapters from the manuscript at the following seminars and colloquia: the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association in 1999 and 2002; "India and the Politics of Developing Countries," a festschrift in honour of Myron Weiner, University of Notre Dame, 1999; the 2000 meetings of the Laboratory in Comparative Ethnic Processes

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

(LICEP); the Conference on Clientelism at Duke University, 2001; the MIT Political Science Faculty Colloquium, 2001; the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, 2001; the Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Chicago, 2001; the Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), Stanford University, 2002; the Macarthur Preferences Network Meeting, University of Pennsylvania, 2002; the South Asia Seminar, Harvard University, 2002; the Southern Asian Institute Distinguished Lecture Series, Columbia University, 2002; the South Asia Conference at the University of Wisconsin, 2002; the Harvard-MIT Joint Seminar for Political Development, 2002; the Duke University Comparative Politics Workshop, 2002; and the UCLA Comparative Politics Seminar Series, 2002. I am grateful to the organizers of these events for their invitations to participate: Rob Boyd, Val Daniels, Jorge Dominguez, Lynn Eden, Samuel Huntington, Stathis Kalyvas, Devesh Kapur, Herbert Kitschelt, Mona Lyne, Philip Oldenburg, Carole Pateman, Daniel Posner, Scott Sagan, Susan Stokes, Narendra Subramanian, Ashutosh Varshney, and Steven Wilkinson. I thank also the participants at these meetings for their challenging and constructive comments, and especially the discussants: Robert Bates, Ellen Commisso, Gerry Digiusto, Valerie Funk, Akhil Gupta, Donald Horowitz, Michael Jones-Correa, Herbert Kitschelt, Lloyd Rudolph, and Richard Sisson. Materials from Chapters 5 and 11 were previously published in “Elite Incorporation in Multi-Ethnic Societies,” *Asian Survey*, Vol. 40, No. 5 (2000): 836–855, and are reprinted here with permission.

The manuscript benefited from critiques by and discussions with several scholars. I thank Darshan Ambalavanar, Suzanne Berger, Chappell Lawson, Margaret Levi, Pratap Mehta, and the two anonymous reviewers for Cambridge University Press for their thoughtful comments on the entire manuscript. Michael Hechter gave me sound advice on the title. I relied often on Paul Brass’s insight, both in his writing and in conversations with him. Linda Beck, Rogers Brubaker, Josh Cohen, Francisco Gil-White, J. P. Gownder, Anna Grzymala-Busse, Stathis Kalyvas, Devesh Kapur, Donna Lee Van Cott, and Steven Wilkinson provided detailed comments on individual chapters. Scott Desposato, Rachel Gisselquist, Rohini Pande, Jonathan Rodden, James Snyder, Chris Wendt, and David Woodruff offered useful feedback at an informal colloquium during the final stages of my work on the manuscript. I learned a great deal from conversations with Steve Ansolabehere, Robert Bates, Marc Busch, James Fearon, Mala Htun, Miriam Laugesen, Rory Macfarquhar, Barry Posen, Daniel Posner, Sanjay

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-89141-7 - Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India
Kanchan Chandra

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Reddy, Lloyd Rudolph, Susanne Rudolph, Andy Sabl, Kenneth Scheve, Naunihal Singh, and Smita Singh. Gary King responded patiently to several questions about his ecological inference (EI) method. Karen Ferree was a generous tutor in EI. Lew Bateman at Cambridge University Press was a wise and patient editor.

My greatest debt is to the party workers and leaders of the BSP and other political parties in India. As politicians, they are also political scientists, historians, sociologists, ethnographers, and as I try to show here, mathematicians and statisticians. Their knowledge is the foundation for this study. In order to protect their confidence, I do not name in these acknowledgments individuals who spoke with me in their capacity as members of a political party. I also withhold or change the names of respondents whom I quote directly in the text, except when they are prominent public figures and the name or position is relevant to the interpretation of the quotation. This is an unfortunate omission, since it renders invisible those who should have been named as collective coauthors.

Needless to say, none of those whom I thank here necessarily agree with any or all parts of the manuscript. I alone am responsible for the argument and its errors.