Contents

Acknowledgements v
Glossary of political party names vi

1 Introduction 1

2 A theory of coalition behavior 3
   Conditions encouraging coalition formation 4
   The episodic condition 6
   The episodic coalition formation literature 11
   Strategic behavior in the iterative literature 18
   The redistributive condition 19
   The redistributive condition and coalition formation 22
   The redistributive condition and coalition maintenance 26
   Strategic behavior in coalitions 30
   Risk-taking and strategic preferences 36
   Need for achievement and risk-taking 41
   Organization and success 44
   Coalition termination 45
   Summary 47

3 The Indian context: 1967–1971 49
   Why India? 49
   The actors 50
      The Bharatiya Jana Sangh 50
      The Swatantra Party 53
      The Praja Socialist Party 54
      The Samyukta Socialist Party 55
      The Communist Party of India 57
      The Communist Party of India (Marxist) 58
      Summary 59
   The coalition environment 60
      Income 61
      Number of candidates 63
      Other factors 64
      Summary 66
   The states 66
      The Punjab 66
      Uttar Pradesh 68
      Bihar 72
Contents

West Bengal 76
Orissa 81
Madhya Pradesh 81
Kerala 85
Summary 87

4 Size and coalition politics 89
   The meaning of size 89
   Temporal framework 91
   The meaning of benefits 92
   Size and coalition formation 93
   Ideology and coalition formation 100
   Size and redistributive benefits 103
   Size and All-India parties 107
   Case history: Uttar Pradesh 108
   Summary 110

5 Strategic behavior and political influence 112
   Elite perceptions 112
   The meaning of strategic preferences 116
   Strategy and coalition benefits 119
   Strategy and electoral success 120
   Case history: the Jana Sangh 124
   Summary 128

6 Need for achievement, risk and success 129
   Measuring need for achievement 129
   Need for achievement and strategic preferences 133
   Need for achievement and redistributive benefits 137
   Organization, motivation, strategy, and political success 140
   Case history: Bihar 148
   Summary 150

7 Conclusions 151
   Coalition politics 151
   Implications for India 153
   Political coalitions and political development 155

Appendix I: Election results 157
Appendix II: Research design 161
   The interviews 162
Appendix III: The questionnaire 164
Notes 167
Bibliography 184
Index 193