

#### **Democratic Dynasties**

Dynastic politics, usually presumed to be the antithesis of democracy, is a routine aspect of politics in many modern democracies. This book introduces a new theoretical perspective on dynasticism in democracies, using original data on twenty-first century Indian parliaments. It argues that the roots of dynastic politics lie at least in part in modern democratic institutions – the state and political parties – which give political families a leg up in the electoral process. It also proposes a rethinking of the view that dynastic politics is a violation of democracy, showing that it can reinforce some aspects of democracy while violating others. Finally, this book suggests that both reinforcement and violation are the products, not of some property intrinsic to political dynasties, but of the institutional environment from which those dynasties emerge.

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# **Democratic Dynasties**

State, Party, and Family in Contemporary Indian Politics

Edited by

Kanchan Chandra

New York University





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In memory of
Lloyd I. Rudolph (1927–2016)
and
Susanne H. Rudolph (1930–2015)





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### Acronyms

AAP Aam Aadmi Party

AD Apna Dal

AGP Asom Gana Parishad

AIADMK All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

AICC All India Congress Committee

AIFB All India Forward Bloc

AIMIM All India Majlis-E-Ittehadul Muslimeen

AINRC All India N.R. Congress
AITC All India Trinamool Congress
AUDF Assam United Democratic Front

BAMCEF Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation

BC **Backward Caste** BJD Biju Janata Dal BJP Bharatiya Janata Party **BJS** Bharatiya Jan Sangh **BNP** Bharatiya Navshakti Party **Bodoland People's Front BPF** Bahujan Samaj Party **BSP BVA** Bahujan Vikas Aaghadi Central Election Committee **CEC** Communist Party of India CPI

CPM Communist Party of India (Marxist)
DMK Dravida Munnetra Kazagham

DS-4 Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangarsh Samiti

FC Forward Caste

IFDP Indian Federal Democratic Party

INC Indian National Congress

IND Independents

INLD Indian National Lok Dal JD(S) Janata Dal (Secular)

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JD(U) Janata Dal (United)

JKN Jammu and Kashmir National Conference
JKPDP Jammu and Kashmir Peoples Democratic Party

JMM Jharkhand Mukti Morcha

JVM Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (Prajatantrik)

KEC Kerala Congress
KLP Krishikar Lok Party
KMPP Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
LJNSP Lok Janashakti Party
LJP Lok Janashakti Party

MDMK Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazagham

MLA Member of Legislative Assembly

MLALADS Member of Legislative Assembly Local Area Development

Scheme

MP Member of Parliament

MPLADS Member of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme

MNF Mizoram National Front

MUL Muslim League Kerala State Committee

NCP Nationalist Congress Party
NLP National Loktantrik Party
NPF Nagaland Peoples Front
NPP National People's Party

NREGA National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

OBC Other Backward Classes
PCC Pradesh Congress Committee

PMK Pattali Makkal Katchi RJD Rashtriya Janata Dal RLD Rashtriya Lok Dal

RPI(A) Republican Party of India (Ambedkar)

RRP Ram Rajya Parishad

RSP Revolutionary Socialist Party RSS Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh

SAD Shiromani Akali Dal SC Scheduled Caste

SDF Sikkim Democratic Front

SHS Shiv Sena

SJP(R) Samajwadi Janata Party (Rashtriya)

SP Samajwadi Party
ST Scheduled Tribe
SWP Swabhimani Paksha
TDP Telugu Desam Party



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TRS Telangana Rashtra Samithi VCK Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi

YSRCP Yuvajana Shramika Rythu Congress Party



## Acknowledgments

This book began in 2009, as a detour from a study of the relationship between ethnic politics and democracy in South Asia. While in India to study that subject, I was distracted by several aspects of democratic politics in post-liberalization India which could not be reduced to ethnicity but had important connections with it. Dynastic politics is one of them. It was impossible to ignore the large number of MPs with a dynastic background elected to the 2009 parliament. Dynasticism in parliament was accompanied by dynasticism in parties, cabinets, past prime ministerships, chief ministerships, state legislatures, and panchayats (village councils). Why were there so many dynastic politicians in India? How did dynastic politics relate to ethnic politics, if at all? And what did it mean for both democratic practice and democratic theory?

The first step in answering those questions was collecting the data. I began collecting data on the family backgrounds of Indian MPs with the assistance of a dedicated group of NYU students among whom Wamiq Umaira, Arthur Won Hai Chan, Sapana Gandhi, and Aeshna Badruzzaman deserve special mention. I was joined later by Anjali Bohlken from the University of British Columbia (UBC), and Simon Chauchard of Dartmouth College, assisted by Jeet Chatterjee, Alex Mierke-Zatwarnicki, Ariel Rouhi, Chinmay Thakkar at UBC and Soumya Gupta, Aparna Krishnan, and Teva Levens at Dartmouth. Working together, we created the substantially expanded dataset that now informs the book. This dataset covers three parliaments, elected in 2004, 2009, and 2014. It is the most extensive dataset that we are aware of on the attributes of individual MPs in India, and of the constituencies, dynasties, and parties to which they belong. I discussed early patterns in the data in articles published in *Seminar* (April 2011) (with Wamiq Umaira) and *Economic and Political Weekly* (Vol XLIX, No. 28, July 12, 2014).

As the data took shape, I invited several colleagues to use them to identify, interpret, and theorize about some of the patterns that they saw in dynastic politics in India and its relationship to democracy. Collaboration held the promise of producing work of greater depth, range, and quality than one person could do alone. I asked them to focus, not on testing hypotheses, but

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#### Acknowledgments

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on suggesting concepts, establishing and contextualizing basic facts about dynastic politics, building hypotheses to explain these facts, and exploring the implications of these facts and hypotheses for democratic theory. We know so little about the working of dynastic politics in modern democracies that this seemed the obvious first order task, after which we and others could move on to testing some of the hypotheses suggested here.

This book is the result. All chapters use the same data to address different aspects of dynastic politics in India and its relationship with democracy. Our reading of the data is contextual, informed by party statements and documents, political memoirs, interviews, and newspaper reports. And although we worked independently, to the extent that the work of social scientists who share a discipline and an area specialization can be said to be independent, our conclusions point in the same direction, with differences in nuance and emphasis: Dynastic politics in India is fundamentally shaped by modern democratic institutions and, in particular, the state and political parties. This institutionally shaped form of dynastic politics, paradoxically, reinforces some aspects of democracy while subverting others.

When we began work on this project, dynastic politics in modern democracies was remarkably understudied. But in the five years since, it has begun receiving sustained attention. In 2009, a standard-setting article on political dynasties in the United States was published by Ernesto Dal Bo, Pedro Dal Bo, and Jason Snyder (Dal Bo, Dal Bo and Snyder 2009). In India, Patrick French's book, India: A Portrait, stimulated a lively discussion of dynastic politics (French 2011). Several empirically driven research projects on dynastic politics are now underway, including by my colleague Pablo Querubin at NYU, who studies dynastic politics in twentieth-century Philippines, and by Daniel Smith at Harvard University, whose work creates the broadest comparative framework of which I am aware within which to situate dynastic politics in individual countries. This literature establishes that dynastic politics is in fact an entrenched feature of modern democracies – India is not unique – and while the questions it asks are varied, the answers also suggest that democratic institutions and dynastic politics can reinforce, as well as undermine, each other. We hope that this book creates a foundation for theorizing about, and testing for, these interactions between institutions, democracy, and dynasty.

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KANCHAN CHANDRA