

# Index

Adivasis, 110 in KHAM strategy in Gujarat state, 117-18, 132-33 Advani, L. K., 123 Agarwals caste, 140-41 AIADMK. See All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Akali Dal-Bharatiya Janata Party (SAD-BJP), 35, 149-50 All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), 243 Amnesty International, 84 Andhra Pradesh Electricity Reform Bill, 76 Andhra Pradesh Industrial Investment Corporation (APIIC), 92-93 Andhra Pradesh (AP) state agrarian transformation of, 166 authority vacuum in, 171 bifurcation of, 69 branding of, as investment-friendly state, 94 Congress hegemony in, 169 Congress social base of, 180-81 CPI in, 169 dominant caste patterns in, 167 economic liberalization in, 72-73 economic performance in, 162 economic policy in, 161-64 pro-business policies in, 10-11 economic regulations in, 78-79 electoral coalitions in, 161-64 origins of, 182-85 for TDP, 173-85 entrepreneurship in, 165-67 factional politics in, 168-69 geographic division of, 159 Green Revolution in, 166-67, 170-71 industrialization in, 90-91 investment climate in, 72-73 investors in, 34-35 Kamma caste in, 39, 44, 164-67, 182-85 labor laws in, 88-89

land acquisition for industrial use in, 86-87 Lok Sabha elections in, 176 Madras Presidency part of, 165-66 narrow-capitalist coalitions in, 179-82, 184 Obulapuram Mining Company in, 181-82 political history of, 167-79 political mobilization in, 169 Reddy caste in, 39, 164-67, 182-85 sales tax concessions in, 81-82 SEZs in, 89-90 social demography of, 164-65 TDP in, 35, 160, 162-63, 171-73 economic framework of, 177 electoral coalitions for, 173-85 Kamma-Reddy conflict and, 182-85 shift from populism, 174-75 social base of support for, 176 Telangana movement in, 163, 178-79 vote choice in by social group, 176 social identity and, 185 wide capitalist coalitions in, 179-82, 183 AP state. See Andhra Pradesh state APIIC. See Andhra Pradesh Industrial Investment Corporation Aroras caste, 38-39, 140-41 authoritarian developmentalism, 124-25

Babri Masjid, 192–93
Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), 150
Banias caste, 35, 38–39
in Bihar state, 189
in Gujarat state, 110, 111, 112, 129
Barnala, Surjit Singh, 149
Bharatiya Janata party (BJP), 1–2
Ayodhya campaign, 123
FDI and, 58
in Gujarat state, 118, 119–25
emergence of, 118, 120–21
Hindu nationalism in mobilization
strategy of, 125, 126

288



Index 289

identity politics and, 120, 134	Bommai, S. R., 234
social composition of, 120–21,	Brahmins, 35
128–29, 132–33	in Bihar state, 189
vote choice for, by social group, 127,	in Gujarat state, 110, 112, 129
128, 131	branding, investment promotion through,
identity politics and, 251-53	93–94
in Gujarat state, 120, 134	Brazil, social democratic policy in, 11
JD(U)-BJP coalition, 198–99, 204	BSP. See Bahujan Samaj Party
poor voters and, 46–47	2011 ott 2 unujun 3 unu j 1 unij
SAD-BJP, 35, 149–50	capital investment
welfare strategy of, 46–47	flow of, 66
Bhindranwale, Jarnail Singh, 147–48	in India, 7
Bhumihar caste, 189	in poor democracies, 30–31
"bhurabal hatao," 194	castes. See also specific castes
	dominant 20 100 167
Bihar Industrial Area Development	dominant, 39, 109, 167
Authority (BIADA), 93	electoral coalitions and, 39–40
Bihar state	four-varna structure for, 39–40
Banias caste in, 189	identity politics and, 47
Bhumihar caste, 189	narrow-capitalist coalitions and, 35, 41
BJP in	religion and, 40
JD(U)-BJP coalition, 198–99	in wide coalitions, 41–42
economic performance of, 160	Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS), 195
colonial period as influence on, 186	Chaudhary, Amarsinh, 118
as long-term failure, 186–89	Chautala, Om Prakash, 239
electoral coalitions in, 196–99	Chettiars caste, 38–39
formation of, 199–201	CII. See Confederation of Indian Industry
electricity sector development in, 76–77	coalitions. See electoral coalitions; specific
industrialization in, 91	coalitions
infrastructure development in, 75	colonial inheritance, in political studies,
JD(U) Party, 198–201	64–65
JD(U)-BJP coalition in, 198–201, 204	Communist Party of India (CPI), 143-44
Kayastha caste in, 189	in AP state, 169
land acquisition for industrial use in, 87	Communist Party of India-Marxist
Mandal report, 192–93	(CPI-M), 59–60
narrow-poor coalitions in, 196–99	in Punjab state, 143–44
OBCs in, 189, 191, 193–95, 200–1	competitive populism, in Punjab state,
Permanent Settlement of 1793, 186	151–53
political history of, 190–96	Confederation of Indian Industry
poverty in, 186	(CII), 179
Rajput caste, 189	Congress hegemony
RJD government in, 35–36	in AP state, 169
sales tax concessions in, 82	in Gujarat state, 113–14
Silent Revolution in, 187–88, 201	Contract Labor Act, 88-89
Single Window Act in, 78	core voters
social demography of, 189–90	in electoral coalitions, 28-30
vote choice in	social democratic policies influence by,
by social group, 202	52–54
social identity in, 203	data sources for, 52-54
vote share for parties in, 197	Cotton, Arthur, 165–66
voter attachments in, 201–3	CPI. See Communist Party of India
social identity, 202	CPI-M. See Communist Party of India-
wide-poor coalitions in, 196–99	Marxist
Bihar State Infrastructure Development	crony capitalism, pro-business policies and,
Act, 75	10–11, 249–51
BJP. See Bharatiya Janata party	CSS. See Centrally Sponsored Schemes



### 290 Index

Dalits caste, 110, 164-65 in KHAM strategy in Gujarat state, 117-18, 132-33 Delhi territory, 137 democracies pro-business policies in, 265-66 redistributive policies in, 55-57 democratization, in poor democracies, 5-6 Devi, Rabri, 194, 196 direct rule, in colonial India, 64-65 displaced persons, 85 dominant castes, 39 in AP state, 167 in Gujarat, 109 Dongria Kondh tribe, 83-84 East Asia. See also South Korea; Taiwan developmental states in, 124-25 economic growth in, 50-51 sequential implementation of, 51 industrialization in, 99 nationalist economic framework in, 11 - 12Economic Freedom Index, 209 economic growth. See also India, economic growth in in East Asia, 50-51 sequential implementation of, 51 investment incentives and, 79-82 investment policy and, 10-12 market model of, shift to, 70-71 policy-making and, 254-56 in poor democracies, 3 pro-business policies and, 10-12 in Punjab state, 137-39 statist model of, 70-71 in United States, 60 economic policy, 72-94 capital mobility and, 263-64 colonial inheritance as factor in, 64-65 electoral competition as factor in, 60-62 ethnic fractionalization as factor in, 62 in Gujarat state development of, 106-7 Punjab economic policy compared to, 101 - 2ideology as factor in, 57-60 interstate differences in, 94-98 investment location and, 66-68 partisan preferences as factor in, 57-60 party system fragmentation as factor in, 60-62

political leadership as factor in, 62-63

poor electorates as factor in, 55-57

in Punjab state Gujarat economic policy compared to, 101 - 2historical development of, 137-39 redistributive policies as factor in, 55-57 economic regulations in AP state, 78-79 in Gujarat state, 78-79 in India, 77-79 in Punjab state, 79 single window system, 77-78 The Economist, 13, 69 electoral coalitions in AP state, 161-64 origins of, 182-85 in support of TDP, 173-85 in Bihar state, 196-99 formation of, 199-201 core voters in, 28-30 defined, 4 in Gujarat state, 126-30 identity politics and, 33 in India, 33-45 construction of, 40-44 emergence of, 36-37 entrepreneurship and, 38-39 group size for, 38 political agency and, 44-45 resource access as factor in composition of, 38 social demography as factor in composition of, 37-44 social identity as factor in composition of, 36-37, 44-45 narrow-capitalist, 4, 28-30 in AP state, 179-82, 184 castes in, 35 in Gujarat state, 104-8, 129, 130-35 narrow-poor, 28-30, 32 in Bihar state, 196-99 policy mechanisms and, 30-32 pro-business policies and, 32 in Punjab state, 143-44 social origins of, 33 typology of, 28-30 wide capitalist, 28-30, 104-5 in AP state, 179-82, 183 in Punjab state, 104-5, 151-57 wide-poor, 28-30, 32 in Bihar state, 196-99 electoral competition in political studies, 60-62 electricity sector in Bihar state, 76-77



Index

291

economic growth and, 75-77 in Punjab state, 76-77, 102-3 entrepreneurship in AP state, 165-67 electoral coalitions and, 38-39 ethnicity and, 22 in Gujarat state, 108-13 in Punjab state, 139-43 social structure and, 141-42 ethnic fractionalization, in political studies, 62 ethnic political parties in patronage democracies, 46 ethnicity entrepreneurship and, 22, 256-62 FDI. See foreign direct investment first-past-the-post (FPTP) system, 52 fiscal federalism, 81, 208 foreign direct investment (FDI), 58 BIP and, 58 FPTP system. See first-past-the-post system Gandhi, Indira, 114-16, 132-33, 147-48, 170-71, 192 assassination of, 117 autocratic governance style of, 171 Emergency proclamation under, 116, 147 Maharashtra state and, 236 Sikh secessionist movement and, 147 Gandhi, Rahul, 251-52 Gandhi, Rajiv, 148-49 GDP. See gross domestic product GIDB. See Gujarat Infrastructure Development Board GIDC. See Gujarat Industrial Development Corporation Global Bihar summits, 94 GMB. See Gujarat Maritime Board Gounders caste, 38-39 Gowda, Deve, 234 Green Revolution in AP state, 166-67, 170-71 in Punjab state, 137, 138, 140, 151 gross domestic product (GDP), electoral coalitions and, 33-34 gross state domestic product (GSDP), in Gujarat state, 106 Gujarat Electricity Industry (Reorganization and Regulation) Act, 76 RJP in, 121-22 Gujarat Industrial Development

Gujarat Infrastructure Development Board (GIDB), 1-3 Gujarat Maritime Board (GMB), 74 Gujarat pogrom, 120, 122-23 Gujarat state, 1-3. See also Gandhi, Indira Banias in, 110, 111, 112, 129 BJP in, 119-25, 126-30 emergence of, 118, 120-21 Hindu nationalism in mobilization strategy, 125, 126 identity politics and, 120, 134 social composition of vote base, 120-21, 128-29, 132-33 Brahmins in, 110, 112, 129 branding of, as investment-friendly state, 93-94 business-friendly policies in, 105-8 Congress hegemony in, 113-14 dominant castes in, 109 during economic liberalization era, 90 economic policy in development of, 106-7 Punjab economic policy compared to, 101 - 2economic regulations in, 78-79 electoral coalitions in, 126-30 entrepreneurship in, 108–13 GSDP in, 106 Gujarat pogrom, 120, 122-23 Hindu nationalist movement in, 118-19 Gujarat pogrom and, 120, 122-23 mobilization of support within, 123 Navnirman movement and, 119 Sangh Parivar, 118, 122-23 human and social development in, 107-8 industrial policy in, 72 industrialization in, 90-91 infrastructure development in, 73-74, 102 - 3intra-elite harmony in, 113-14 investment climate in, 72 investors in, 34-35 KHAM strategy in, 117–18, 132–33 Kshatriyas in, 110, 115-16, 117-18, 132 - 33labor laws in, 88-89 land acquisition for industrial use in, 86, 103 Lok Sabha elections in, 114 majoritarian politics in, 119-25 middle class in, 118 mobilization of marginalized groups in, 113-14 narrow-capitalist electoral coalitions in, 104-8, 129, 130-35

Corporation (GIDC), 92



# 292 Index

Gujarat state (cont.) direct rule in colonial India, 64-65 Navnirman movement in, 116 ease of doing business ranking, 69 economic growth in, 5-6, 244-45 Hindu nationalist movement and, 119 Patidars in, 107, 109-10, 111-12, 129, capital-intensive, 7 "Hindu rate of growth," 14 132 - 33political history in, 113 inclusivity of, 7-8 before 1967, 113-14 in service sector, 7 from 1967-1980, 114-16 electoral coalitions in, 33-45 during 1980s, 117-19 construction of, 40-44 emergence of, 36-37 politics and development during post-liberalization era, 119-25 entrepreneurship and, 38-39 poverty ratio in, 106 group size and, 38 pro-business policies in, 119-25 political agency and, 44-45 public demonstrations in, 117-18 resource access as factor for, 38 realignment of political party bases, role of castes in, 39-40 115-16 social demography as factor for, 37-44 sales tax subsidies in, 80 social identity as factor in, 36-37, 44-45 ethnic political parties in, 46 SEZs in, 89-90 social conflict in, 117-19 federalism in, 3 social demography of, 105, 108-10, fiscal federalism in, 81, 208 130-31 FPTP system in, 52 trade history, 111-12 identity politics in, 5, 11 vote choice in, by social group, 127, caste as factor in, 47 128, 131 electoral competition and, 5 patronage democracies and, 46 Gujarati asmita, 125 welfare strategies and, 46-47 Haryana state, 238-40 indirect rule in colonial India, 64-65 infrastructure development in, under Hindu nationalist movement, 118-19. See also Bharatiya Janata party constitution, 73 Gujarat pogrom and, 120, 122-23 land tenure systems in, 64 market reforms in, 12-17 mobilization of support within, 123 Navnirman movement and, 119 by subnational governments, 13-15 Sangh Parivar, 118 political economy of, 264 "Hindu rate of growth," 14 political fragmentation in, 5-6 private industrial investment in, open ICICI. See Industrial Credit and competition for, 3-4 Investment Corporation of India sales tax in, 79 IDA. See Industrial Disputes Act social identity in IDBI. See Industrial Development Bank of electoral coalitions influenced by, India 36-37, 44-45 identity politics. See also social demography; in politics, 45-48 social identity through social cleavages, 54 BJP and, 134, 251-53 stock market in, 99 in Gujarat state, 120, 134 "two Indias" in, 9 decline of, 251-53 Indian National Lok Dal (INLD), 239-40 electoral coalitions and, 33 indirect rule, in colonial India, 64-65 in India, 5, 11 Industrial Credit and Investment caste as factor in, 47 Corporation of India (ICICI), 92 electoral competition and, 5 Industrial Development Bank of India patronage democracies and, 46 (IDBI), 92 welfare strategies and, 46-47 Industrial Disputes Act (IDA), 88, 89 ideology, in political studies, 57-60 industrial policy, in Gujarat state, 72 IFIs. See international financial institutions industrialization, 98-100 Indextb, 94 in AP state, 90-91 India. See also specific states in Bihar state, 91



Index 293

in Gujarat state, 90–91	organizational framework for, 90–93
investment promotion and, 90-93	in Punjab state, 72–73
in Punjab state, 91	road development and, 75–77
infrastructure development	sales tax concessions and, 79–82
in Bihar state, 75	in AP state, 81–82
economic growth influenced by, 73-75	in Bihar state, 82
institutional framework for, 73–75	in Gujarat state, 80
legal framework for, 73-75	in Punjab state, 82
in Gujarat state, 73–74, 102–3	VAT and, 79, 80
under Indian constitution, 73	through SEZs, 87, 89-90
in Punjab state, 74–75, 102–3	in AP state, 89–90
INLD. See Indian National Lok Dal	function and purpose of, 89
international financial institutions	in Gujarat state, 89–90
(IFIs), 70	subsidies and, 79-82
international political economy (IPE),	IPE. See international political economy
67–68	
investment incentives	Janata Dal Party, 188
state's role in, 262-63	Jat Sikhs, 40, 140-41, 143, 154-55
investment policy. See also private	JD(U) party, 198–201
investment	JD(U)-BJP coalition, 198–201, 204
academic study of, 8-10	
economic growth and, 10-12	Kairon, Pratap Singh, 145, 154
identification of relevant dimensions for,	Kamma caste, 39, 44, 164-67, 182-85
70–71	Karnataka state, 233–35
pro-business policies and, 10–12	Kayastha caste, 189
state activism as influence on, 17	Kerala state, 243
investment promotion. See also land	social democratic policies in, 49
acquisition, for industrial use	Khalistan movement, 147, 148, 149
in AP state, 72–73	KHAM strategy, 117-18, 132-33
through branding, 93–94	Khatris caste, 38–39, 140–41
defined, 71	Khojas, 38–39
through dissemination of information,	Krishna, S. M., 63
93–94	Kshatriyas caste, 110, 115-16, 132-33
economic regulations and	in KHAM strategy, 117-18, 132-33
in AP state, 78–79	Kumar, Nitish, 63, 77, 91, 94, 188, 195,
in Gujarat state, 78–79	198–99
in India, 77–79	development agenda, 205
in Punjab state, 79	
single window systems, 77–78	labor laws, 87–89
in electricity sector, 75–77	in AP state, 88–89
in Bihar state, 76–77	under Contract Labor Act, 88–89
economic growth and, 75–77	in Gujarat state, 88–89
in Punjab state, 76–77, 102–3	under IDA, 88
in Gujarat state, 72	liberalization of, 88
industrialization apparatuses and, 90–93	Lal, Devi, 239
infrastructure development as influence	Lalu Yadav, Prasad, 35, 63, 77, 187–88,
on, 73–75	193–95, 196–99
institutional framework for, 73–75	RJD and, 205
legal framework for, 73–75	"Silent Revolution" and, 187–88, 201
labor laws and, 87–89	land acquisition, for industrial use, 82-87
in AP state, 88–89	in AP state, 86–87
under Contract Labor Act, 88–89	in Bihar state, 87
in Gujarat state, 88–89	through conversion of agricultural land, 85
under IDA, 88	displaced persons and, 85
liberalization of, 88	Dongria Kondh tribe and, 83–84



### 294 Index

land acquisition, for industrial use (cont.) TSCS, 216-18 in Gujarat state, 86, 103 in Punjab state, 87, 103 for Tata group, 83 of tribal lands, 85-86 for Vedanta, 83-84 in West Bengal state, 83 Land Acquisition Act of 1894, 84-85 land tenure systems, 64 Latin America Muslims neoliberal economic policies in, 11-12 populism as influence on, 11 political autonomy in, 5-6 leadership, political studies on, 62-63 Left Front, in West Bengal, 1 Lingayat caste, 233-35 Lohia, Rammanohar, 191, 200 Lok Sabha elections in AP state, 176 FPTP system and, 52 in Gujarat state, 114 in Punjab state, 147-48, 155-56 Madhya Pradesh (MP) state, 242 Madras Presidency, 165-66 mahalwari land tenure system, 64 Maharashtra state, 235-38 Malaysia, NEP in, 258-60 Malini, Hema, 77 Mandal report, 192-93 Maratha-Kunbi caste, 235-38 Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (MDMK), 243 Marwaris caste, 38-39 Mavawati, 63 MDMK. See Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Mehta, Suresh, 121 methodology correlation matrix in, 229 datasets, of economic and political variables, 207-16 coalition types in, 209-14, 230-32 controls, 214-16 dependent variables, 208-9 expenditures in, 208-9 sources, 228 empirical strategy in, 216-18 results, 218-23 with fixed vector decomposition, 224, 227 with random effects, 222, 226 for state-election cycles, 219-20

variables in, 228 middle class, in Gujarat state, 118 Minimum Wages Act, 88-89 Mishra, Jagannath, 192 Modi, Narendra, 47, 63, 121, 122-24, 251-53 Moore, Barrington, 264 MP state. See Madhya Pradesh state Gujarat pogrom and, 123 in KHAM strategy, 117-18, 132-33 Naidu, Chandrababu, 58, 63, 78, 88-89, 91, 94, 173-77. See also Telugu Desam Party economic reform under, 162 neoliberal policy agenda, 179 Nandy, Ashis, 122 Nano, production of, 1-2 Narayan, Jayprakash, 191-92, 200 narrow coalitions, as multi-caste, 41 narrow-capitalist coalitions, 4, 28-30 in AP state, 179-82, 184 in Gujarat state, 35, 104-8, 129, 130-35 narrow-poor electoral coalitions, 28-30, 32 in Bihar state, 196-99 National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA), 177-78 Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), 237-38 Navnirman movement, 116 Hindu nationalist movement and, 119 NCP. See Nationalist Congress Party neoliberal economic policies, in Latin America, 11–12 New Economic Policy (NEP), in Malaysia, 258-60 NREGA. See National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme NTR. See Rama Rao, N. T. OBCs. See Other Backward Classes

OBCs. See Other Backward Classes
Obulapuram Mining Company, 181–82
OECD. See Organisation for Economic
Co-operation and Development
Operation Bluestar, 148
Organisation for Economic Co-operation
and Development (OECD), 57–58
Orissa state, 240–41
Other Backward Classes (OBCs), 164–65,
169–70, 173, 180, 189
in Bihar state, 189, 191, 193–95, 200–1

Parikh, Dilip, 121 Parsis, 38–39, 111

for state-year, 225

summary statistics, 228



Index 295

Development Corporation Punjab Industrial Facilitation Act, 78 Punjab state branding of, as investment-friendly, 94 competitive populism in, 151–53 CPI in, 143–44
Punjab state branding of, as investment-friendly, 94 competitive populism in, 151–53
branding of, as investment-friendly, 94 competitive populism in, 151–53
competitive populism in, 151–53
CPI-M in, 143-44
economic growth in, 137-39
economic policy in
Gujarat economic policy compared to,
101–2
historical development of, 137–39
economic regulations in, 79
electoral coalitions in, 143–44
collapse of, 147–49
electricity sector development in, 76–77,
102–3
entrepreneurship in, 139–43
social structure and, 141–42
Green Revolution in, 137, 138, 140, 151
industrialization in, 91
infrastructure development in, 74–75,
102–3
investment climate in, 72–73
land acquisition for industrial use in,
87, 103
Lok Sabha elections in, 147–48, 155–56
political history of, 143–50
Indian independence and, 144–46
from 1947–1966, 144–46
from 1966–1980, 146–47
during 1980s, 147–49
after 1991, 149–50
religious conflict in, 139–40
SAD in, 143–50, 153–57
Anandpur Sahib resolution, 147
BJP alliance, 35, 149–50
Jan Sangh alliance, 146–47
in political coalitions, 145
sales tax concessions in, 82
Sikhs in, 139–43
Jat Sikhs, 40, 140–41, 143, 154–55
Khalistan movement, 147, 148, 149
from 1947–1966, 144–46
from 1966–1980, 146–47
political violence against, 148
social demography of, 105, 139–43, 154
social demography of, 105, 139–43, 154 vote choice in
vote choice in
vote choice in by social group, 156
vote choice in by social group, 156 social identity and, 157
vote choice in by social group, 156 social identity and, 157 wide-capitalist electoral coalitions in,
vote choice in by social group, 156 social identity and, 157 wide-capitalist electoral coalitions in, 104–5, 151–57
vote choice in by social group, 156 social identity and, 157 wide-capitalist electoral coalitions in,



# 296 Index

Rajasthan state, 241 Rajput caste, 189 Rama Rao, N. T. (NTR), 58, 171-73. See also Telugu Desam Party Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) party, 35-36, 205 Rashtriya Janata Party (RJP), 121-22 Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangk (RSS), 118, 123 Reddy, Jagan, 178 Reddy, Janardhana, 181-82 Reddy, Karunakara, 181-82 Reddy, Y. S. Rajasekhar (YSR), 76, 163, 177 - 79Reddy caste, 39, 164-67, 182-85 redistribution political studies on, 55-57 in poor democracies, 5-6 religion castes and, 40 as source of conflict in Punjab, 139-40 Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement Act, 84-85 RJD party. See Rashtriya Janata Dal party RJP. See Rashtriya Janata Party roads, development of, economic growth and, 75-77 RSS. See Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangk ryotwari land tenure system, 64 SAD. See Shiromani Akali Dal SAD-BJP. See Akali Dal-Bharatiya Janata Party sales tax concessions in AP state, 81-82 in Bihar state, 82 economic growth and, 79-82 in Gujarat state, 80 in Punjab state, 82 VAT and, 79, 80 Sangh Parivar, 118, 122-23 Sen, Amartya, 48 service sector, in India, 7 SEZs. See special economic zones SGPC. See Shiromani Gurudwara Parbhandhak Committee Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 114 Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD), 141, 143-50, 153 - 57Anandpur Sahib resolution, 147 BJP alliance, 35, 149-50 Jan Sangh alliance, 146-47

Shiromani Gurudwara Parbhandhak Committee (SGPC), 144-45 Shops and Labor Act, 88-89 Sikhs, in Punjab state, 139-43. See also Shiromani Akali Dal Jat Sikhs, 40, 140-41, 143, 154-55 Khalistan movement, 147, 148, 149 political violence against, 148 Silent Revolution, 187-88, 201 Sindhis, 38-39 Singh, Digvijay, 242 Singh, Master Tara, 145 Singh, Sant Fateh, 145-46 Single Window Act, 78 single window systems, 77-78 social democratic policies in Brazil, 11 core voters' influence on, 52-54 equity and, 50-51 growth strategies and, 48-50 pro-business policies and, 50-51 institutional prerequisites for, 48-49 in Kerala, 49 political contestation and, 50-51 Sen on, 48 social demography of AP state, 164-65 of Bihar state, 189-90 of BJP, 120-21, 128-29, 132-33 caste patterns and, 108-10 electoral coalitions and, 37-44 of Gujarat state, 105, 108-10, 130-31 of Punjab state, 105, 139-43, 154 social identity, 21-22. See also identity politics; social demography in Bihar state, 202, 203 electoral coalitions and, 36-37, 44-45 ethnic political parties and, 46 in India electoral coalitions influenced by, 36-37, 44-45 in politics, 45-48 in poor democracies, 6 poor voters and, 46-47 vote choice and, 157 in AP state, 185 voter attachments and, 202 voter motivations influenced by, 21-22 Solanki, Madhavsinh, 117-18 South Korea, economic growth in, 50-51 Special Economic Zones (SEZs), 87, 89–90 in AP state, 89-90 function and purpose of, 89 in Gujarat state, 89-90 Srinivas, M. N., 109

in political coalitions, 145



Index 297

state activism, investment policy influenced by, 17 subsidies, economic growth and, 79–82 Survival International, 84

Taiwan, economic growth in, 50-51 Tamil Nadu state, 243 Tata, Ratan, 93-94 Tata group, 1, 2 land acquisition for, 83 Nano production and, 1-2 TDP. See Telugu Desam Party Telangana movement, 163, 178-79 Telugu Desam Party (TDP), 35, 160, 162-63, 171-73 in AP state, 35, 160, 162-63, 171-79 economic framework of, 177 electoral coalitions for, 173-85 Kamma-Reddy conflict and, 182-85 shift from populism, 174-75 social base of support for, 176 electoral downfall, 204 Thakur, Karpoori, 191-92 time-series cross-section analysis (TSCS), 216-18 Trade Union Act, 88-89 tribal lands, land acquisition of, 85-86 TSCS. See time-series cross-section analysis "two Indias," 9

United States, anti-growth policies in, 60 Uttar Pradesh (UP), 241–42

Vahgela, Shankarsinh, 121 value-added tax (VAT), 79, 80 Vedanta, 83–84 Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP), 118 Vokkaliga caste, 233–35 vote choice in AP state by social group, 176 social identity and, 185 in Bihar state by social group, 202 social identity in, 203 in Gujarat state, for BJP, 127, 128, 131 in Punjab state by social group, 156 social identity and, 157 vote share, in Bihar state, 197 voter attachments, 201-3 social identity and, 202

welfare strategy, of BJP, 46–47
West Bengal state, 242–43
CPI-M in, 59–60
land acquisition for industrial use in, 83
Left Front in, 1
Nano production in, 1–2
wide coalitions, as multi-caste, 41–42
wide-capitalist electoral coalitions, 28–30
in AP state, 179–82, 183
in Punjab state, 104–5, 151–57
emergence of, 153–57
wide-poor electoral coalitions, 28–30, 32
in Bihar state, 196–99
World Bank, 8–9, 70–71

Washington Consensus, 11-12

Yadav caste, 40 YSR. See Reddy, Y. S. Rajasekhar

zamindari land system, 64, 169, 190