

Democratization from Above

*The Logic of Local Democracy in the
Developing World*

ANJALI THOMAS BOHLKEN

University of British Columbia



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page x
<i>List of Tables</i>	xii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
1 The Puzzle of “Democratization from Above”	1
1.1 <i>Definition of Local Democratization</i>	4
1.2 <i>Common View 1: Local Democratization as an Extension of National Democratization</i>	5
1.3 <i>Common View 2: Local Democratization as a Form of Decentralization</i>	11
1.4 <i>The Logic of Local Democratization – A Sketch of the Argument</i>	16
1.5 <i>The Puzzle of Local Democratization in India</i>	19
1.6 <i>Overview of the Book</i>	22
2 The Strategic Logic of Local Democratization	25
2.1 <i>Local Democratization as a Solution to an Information Problem</i>	26
2.2 <i>Other Decision-Makers beyond the Chief Executive</i>	45
2.3 <i>Factors Shaping the Competition within the Party</i>	47
2.4 <i>Additional Implications of the Theory</i>	49
2.5 <i>Conclusion and Scope Conditions</i>	53
2.6 <i>Appendix</i>	54
3 Local Intermediaries, Local Democratization, and Political Party Organizations in India	58
3.1 <i>A Primer on the Indian Political Context</i>	59
3.2 <i>The Importance of Local Intermediaries in India</i>	60
	vii

3.3	<i>Governmental and Organizational Power within Indian Parties</i>	68
3.4	<i>Governmental Discretion over State Resources</i>	75
3.5	<i>State's Discretion in the Implementation of Local Democratization</i>	78
3.6	<i>Conclusion</i>	81
4	"Constitutionalizing" Local Democracy: Explaining the 1993 National Constitutional Amendments	83
4.1	<i>Background to the 1993 Constitutional Amendments</i>	85
4.2	<i>Explaining the 1993 Constitutional Amendments: A Comparative Approach</i>	87
4.3	<i>Explaining the 1993 Constitutional Amendments: The Logic of Process Tracing</i>	104
4.4	<i>Alternative Explanations</i>	115
4.5	<i>Conclusion</i>	120
5	Intra-party Competition and Local Democracy in the Indian States: A Statistical Analysis	121
5.1	<i>Definition and Operationalization</i>	123
5.2	<i>Evidence</i>	131
5.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	156
6	Intra-party Competition and Local Governance Reform in Kerala and Tamil Nadu	163
6.1	<i>Explaining Variation across Cases</i>	165
6.2	<i>Within-Case Analyses</i>	168
6.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	187
7	Local Politicians as Intermediaries: The Effect of Village-Level Politicians on State-Level Elections	188
7.1	<i>Local Politicians as Vote Mobilizers for Higher-Level Politicians</i>	190
7.2	<i>Grassroots Institutions in Kerala</i>	192
7.3	<i>Data</i>	196
7.4	<i>Methodology</i>	199
7.5	<i>Results</i>	200
7.6	<i>Alternative Explanations</i>	207
7.7	<i>Conclusion</i>	209
7.8	<i>Appendix</i>	209
8	The Logic of Local Democratization across the Developing World	213
8.1	<i>Intra-party Competition and Local Democratization Reforms</i>	214
8.2	<i>Local Democratization Reforms in Authoritarian Regimes</i>	232
8.3	<i>Conclusion</i>	243

9	Implications of “Democratization from Above”	244
9.1	<i>Democracy, Decentralization, and Path-Dependence – The Conventional Wisdom</i>	245
9.2	<i>Policy Implications</i>	247
10	Data Appendix: Dataset on Local Democratization Reforms in the Developing World	249
	<i>Bibliography</i>	257
	<i>Index</i>	279