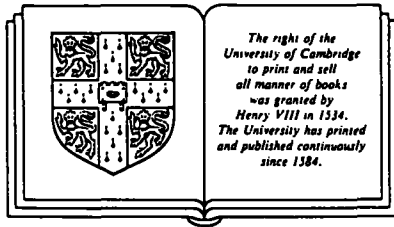


DEMOCRACY AND
DISCONTENT
INDIA'S GROWING CRISIS
OF GOVERNABILITY

ATUL KOHLI
Princeton University



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge
New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney

Contents

List of tables and figures	<i>page</i> vii
Preface and acknowledgments	ix

PART I. INTRODUCTION

1 An overview of the study	3
2 Some conceptual and theoretical considerations	22

PART II. THE GROWING PROBLEMS OF GOVERNING THE PERIPHERY: POLITICS IN THE DISTRICTS

Introduction: the districts	35
3 Kheda, Gujarat	37
4 Guntur, Andhra Pradesh	61
5 Belgaun, Karnataka	93
6 Calcutta, West Bengal	123
7 Madurai, Tamil Nadu	154
Conclusion: the districts	184

PART III. ORDER AND BREAKDOWN IN THE STATES

Introduction: the states	203
8 Breakdown in a "backward" state: Bihar	205
9 Growing turmoil in an "advanced" state: Gujarat	238
10 From breakdown to order: West Bengal	267
Conclusion: the states	297

PART IV. CENTRALIZATION AND POWERLESSNESS AT THE CENTER

Introduction: the Center	303
11 Managing the economy: halfhearted liberalization	305

12	Managing the troubled political institutions: the Congress party and relations with Punjab	339
	Conclusion: the Center	378

PART V. FINAL INFERENCES

13	Political change in a democratic developing country	383
	Bibliography	405
	Index	415

Tables and figures

TABLES

3.1	Election results for the Legislative Assembly in Kheda district, Gujarat, 1967–85	<i>page</i> 43
3.2	Caste distribution of the political elite in Kheda district, Gujarat, 1985	49
4.1	Caste backgrounds of the political elite of Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, 1986	76
4.2	Caste and party affiliations of the political elite of Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, 1986	77
4.3	Election results in Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh, 1967–85, Legislative Assembly	83
5.1	Caste and community backgrounds of MLAs, Belgaun district, Karnataka, 1978 and 1985	100
5.2	Community backgrounds and political affiliations of the elected members of the Municipal Corporation, city of Belgaun, 1984	102
5.3	Election results in Belgaun district, Karnataka, 1967–85, Legislative Assembly	109
6.1	Results of Legislative Assembly elections, Calcutta district, West Bengal, 1967–85	129
6.2	Results of elections to the Calcutta Municipal Corporation, 1985	129
6.3	Labor strife in West Bengal, 1969–86	148
7.1	Results of Legislative Assembly elections in Madurai, Tamil Nadu, 1967–84	167
7.2	Results of elections for the Madurai Municipal Corporation, 1978	180
8.1	Estimated distribution of castes in Bihar	208
8.2	Patterns of landownership in Bihar	209
8.3	Landownership by caste in Bihar	210
8.4	Results of Legislative Assembly elections in Bihar, 1952–85	213

8.5	Some agrarian indicators in Bihar according to divisions	233
9.1	Caste distribution in Gujarat	241
9.2	Occupations and landholding by caste in rural Gujarat	242
9.3	Electoral performances of major parties in Gujarat Legislative Assembly elections, 1962–85	247
10.1	Seats won by major political parties in West Bengal assembly elections, 1952–87	274
10.2	Percentages of vote won by major parties in West Bengal assembly elections, 1967–82	286

FIGURES

1.1	Political violence in India, 1955–85	7
8.1	Riots in Bihar, 1955–85	215
9.1	Political violence in Gujarat, 1955–85	245
10.1	Political violence in West Bengal, 1955–85	275
12.1	Terrorist killings in Punjab, 1983–7	369