

ONLINE SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

For Section 5 – Content analyses for frame analysis

Comparing which topics authors consider - Visions of India's development

Systematic topic-choice comparison is relatively easily feasible, generates interesting questions, and similarly often yields some unforeseen results. Consider a study of several prominent authors on contemporary development paths in India (Gasper, 2018). The authors all offered visions of India's present and future, within the dozen years leading up to the 2014 transition in which the Right-populist-Hindutva movement led by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) attained sole power in central government. The authors were: the best-selling former President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam (2002), a BJP nominee; the current BJP Prime Minister Narendra Modi; the famous corporate strategist C.K. Prahalad (2005; and Paramanand, 2014), who became an iconic figure in Indian business circles and parts of the BJP; the IT billionaire Nandan Nilekani (2009), a founder of Infosys and a Parliamentary candidate for another party; and the Nobel-Prize winning economist-philosopher Amartya Sen (writing in partnership with Jean Drèze, 2013), a leading critic of the BJP. In each case an influential book was taken as the main focus, except for Mr. Modi where the major source was an analysis (including of word choice) of all the 68 political speeches translated into English found on his website during the lead-in to his 2014 national election victory (Nair 2013). All the sources are in English.

As one reads different authors one starts to identify lead themes and features that could be checked across each of them. In this study of Indian writers, such checking suggested, first, areas of broad consensus across time and despite political differences, including a belief in the necessity of economic and technological transformation; second, areas of dispute and changing balances, including on the roles of the public sector versus private business; and third, continuous widely shared (but not invariable) blind-spots, such as lack of attention to informal-sector migrant workers and their families and to sanitation facilities for poor people. The exercise tests hypotheses arising from ordinary reading and in many cases adds unexpected insights (see Table 6).

The comparison located blindspots in each perspective. Nilekani's 500-page prospectus *Imagining India: Ideas for the New Century*, for example, ignored sanitation, disability, India's Muslim population, and the remarkable progress in India's closely comparable neighbour Bangladesh, topics covered by Drèze and Sen. Yet lack of sanitation has been a huge blindspot and blackspot in India compared to many developing countries, that is shaming in itself (cf. Modi, 2014) and a major contributory factor to ill-health and ongoing poverty; a high proportion of India's poorest people are disabled in one or another way or, often, multiple ways; a very high proportion of them are Muslims; and Bangladesh is perhaps the most comparable country to India overall and a striking example of social progress since the 1970s in respect of health, education, female emancipation, sanitation, nutrition and more (see e.g. Hossain, 2017). But Nilekani's scope of comparison, like Abdul Kalam's or Prahalad's or Modi's, did not include Bangladesh; they wrote instead in terms of the USA or Singapore and/or of a dreamed-of glorious classical past.

The humanist economists Drèze and Sen gave close attention to many topics neglected by Nilekani and others and were far more informed on several important human development sectors and relevant comparator countries in Asia and beyond; but the topics comparison revealed notable gaps in their coverage too. They delicately passed over core realities of social power in India, perhaps because hoping still to persuade the Congress Party, the traditional post-independence vehicle of rule,

to commit to serious prioritization of human development; and, most notably, they omitted the inspirational trump-cards seen in the competitor visions – the asserted magics of the market, of the business corporation, of high-tech and ICT, and of emphatic nationalism.

Table 6: Five perspectives on India: patterns of attention and inattention

	C.K. PRAHALAD, <i>FORTUNE AT THE B.O.P.</i> (2005)	NANDAN NILEKANI, <i>IMAGINING INDIA</i> (2009)	A.P.J. ABDUL KALAM, <i>IGNITING MINDS</i> (2002)	DRÈZE & SEN <i>AN UNCERTAIN GLORY</i> (2013)	NARENDRA MODI SPEECHES (as of 2014)
RATIONALE FOR INCLUSION	Management orientation; strong links to big business	Management plus high tech; link to Congress Party	High-tech plus lyrical nationalism; BJP nominee	Stresses on humanism, democracy, participation	New BJP: which elements does it reflect?
SANITATION	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
THE POOREST	Concern with 3 rd & 4 th quintiles but not 5 th	No	No	YES	Talked of the poor not of the rich
AGEING		Yes	No	No	
DISABILITY	(Yes)	No	No	(Yes)	
MIGRATION	No	As a solution	No	No	No
DISPLACEMENT	No	No, despite focus on roads	No	(Yes)	
CASTE	No	Yes; plus 'communities'	No	Yes	No
MUSLIMS	No	No	Yes	Yes	(No, nor Hindu)
POWER SYSTEM	No	YES: as statist Leftist incubus	No	(Little)	
THE STATE	Incompetent but reformable	Obstacle; but reformable	No	State as reformable	State as reformable
BUSINESS	YES	YES	No	NO	YES
INTERSECTIONALITY, REAL CASES	Some	Some; via anecdotes	Some	Yes: as multi-dimensional poverty	
CHILDREN		As pupils	As minds, creators, value-holders	As pupils, and with details on ill-/welfare	
PRE-BRITISH	No	No	Yes, as great	No	Yes, as great
BRITISH COLONIAL	No	Yes, as problem	No	Yes	(Yes)
AMERICAN-STYLE GLOBALIZN.	Yes	YES as answer. India's asset of using English	(Yes)	Yes	Yes
CHINA	(Yes)	(Little)	No	Yes	
BANGLADESH	No	No	No	YES	No
ICT	Yes	YES	Yes	NO	Yes
ETHICS	(implicit)	No	YES	Yes	Yes; service
THE NATION	(implicit)	Yes	YES	Yes	YES
GENDER	(A little)	(Little)	No	Yes	(?)

(Based on Gasper, 2018; Blank spaces mean the issue is not relevant or was not answerable in yes/no terms. Brackets indicate that the degree of attention is modest. Capital letters indicate a strong emphasis.)

This systematic identification and comparison of themes and topics helps one to see how the current ruling BJP under Mr. Modi had crafted a combination of appeals that were found across diverse earlier strands: the American business-school vision exemplified by Prahalad; the glamour of IT and other high-tech, underpinning a proposed process re-engineering for India Inc., exemplified by Nilekani; as well as the excitement and group passions of a quasi-religious nationalism and a cult of young India, exemplified by Abdul Kalam, rocket scientist and inspirer of youth; all combined with the creation of a defined gallery of the nation's heroes and villains, with the latter too often including—for some audiences and occasions—Muslim groups at home and abroad. The BJP's armoury has included, in addition, a shrewd incorporation of some elements from originally quite different intellectual and political traditions: not least a declared priority to the traditional blindspot, sanitation, as part of reaching out both to lower castes and to potentially disgusted Non-Resident Indian backers.ⁱ Large gaps remain, for example regarding migrant labourers, displacement of families by development projects and urban growth, caste discrimination, or the possibility of learning from Bangladesh.

This sort of topic choice comparison provides a helpful entry path to more ambitious forms of frame analysis (e.g., Bacchi, 2009; Bacchi and Goodwin, 2016; Schön and Rein, 1994).

- Abdul Kalam APJ (2002) *Ignited Minds: Unleashing the Power Within India*. New Delhi: Viking.
- Bacchi C (2009) *Analysing Policy: What's the problem represented to be?* Frenchs Forest: Pearson Education.
- Bacchi C and Goodwin S (2016) *Poststructural Policy Analysis*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Drèze J and Sen A (2013) *An Uncertain Glory – India and its Contradictions*. London: Penguin.
- Gasper D (2018) Human Development in India – Comparing Sen and his competitors. In: Comim F, Fennell S and Anand PB (eds) *New Frontiers of the Capability Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.273-313.
- Hossain N (2017) *The Aid Lab: Understanding Bangladesh's Unexpected Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Modi, N (2014) Speech at Fiji National University, November 19. <https://www.shethepeople.tv/news/come-visit-our-safe-clean-india/> (January 27, 2015).
- Nair RB (2013) Manwatching Mister Modi. *Outlook*, 24 June. <http://www.outlookindia.com/article/Manwatching-Mister-Modi/286143>
- Nilekani N (2009) *Imagining India – Ideas for the New Century*. New Delhi: Penguin India.
- Paramanand B (2014) *C.K. Prahalad – The Mind of the Futurist*. Chennai: Westland Ltd.
- Prahalad CK (2005) *The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing.
- Schön, DA and Rein M (1994) *Frame reflection: Toward the resolution of intractable policy controversies*. New York: Basic Books.

ⁱ 'Your children talk about going to India, but they turn their nose up at us because they think it's dirty,' Modi told an audience at Fiji National University. 'I'm going to make such a country your children will want to come and see. They will never again turn their nose up at India.' (Modi, 2014)