
Section III: **Engaging the Field**

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Positive Discourse Analysis: A Method for the History of Knowledge?

Abstract: If historians of knowledge want to seriously succeed in exposing marginalised figures, they must identify approaches to systematically do that. Researching marginalised figures requires an understanding of how knowledge is produced by actors considered and treated as inferior and a systematic contextualisation of their socio-economic, political and intellectual environment, which includes the dominant, or non-marginalised, narratives. I propose, in this article, one theory and method: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism operationalised through Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA). Dialogism enables a study of marginalised figures to theorise how discourses simultaneously constrain and facilitate meaning-making. PDA operationalises the dialogic approach into a more concrete step by step process of defining one's protagonists' multidiscursive and multispatial contexts, and how these contexts affected the particular discursive practices and knowledge created in specific utterances. To show how the theory and method can be effective, I use my previous research on the first generation of modern Indian economists in the late 19th century as a case study. These Indian economists, relative to imperial officials and both British and European thinkers, were marginalised, and rarely seen, as economists.

Keywords: method, history, discourse, dialogism

Introduction

In the relatively new subfield of history of knowledge, there is an ever-present goal to look where few have looked before and to make different assumptions about how knowledge is produced and who can produce it. One of the main stated objectives for history of knowledge is to give agency to overlooked actors by "broadening the range and types of knowledge actors."¹ If, however, historians of knowledge want to seriously succeed in exposing what I call marginalized figures, they must identify approaches to systematically do that. Researching marginalized figures requires, in my view, an understanding of how knowledge

¹ Johan Östling, David Larsson Heidenblad, and Anna Nilsson Hammar, eds., *Forms of Knowledge* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2020), 16.

is produced by actors considered and treated as inferior and a systematic contextualization of their socio-economic, political, and intellectual environment, which includes the dominant, or non-marginalized, narratives.

I will propose, in this article, one theory and method: Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism operationalised through Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA). Dialogism enables a study of marginalized figures to theorize how discourses simultaneously constrain and facilitate meaning-making.² PDA operationalises the dialogic approach into a more concrete step by step process of defining one's protagonists' multidiscursive and multispatial contexts, and how these contexts affected the particular discursive practices and knowledge created in specific utterances. PDA is a strand of the better-known method, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA, as well as PDA, is a critical reading of the place and force of language, discourse, and text and how it changes social, economic, and cultural conditions.³ PDA, unlike CDA, is specifically designed to focus on discourses from the margins, taking a bottom up approach, as opposed to CDA's top down approach.⁴ To show how the theory and method can be effective, I use my previous research on the first generation of modern Indian economists in the late nineteenth century as a case study.⁵ These Indian economists, relative

2 Mikhail Mikhaïlovich Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Ceryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, trans. Vern W. McGee (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986); Mikhail Mikhaïlovich Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Ceryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

3 Allan Luke, "Beyond Science and Ideology Critique: Developments in Critical Discourse Analysis," *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 22 (2002): 97; Allan Luke, "The Material Effects of the Word: Apologies, 'Stolen Children' and Public Discourse," *Discourse Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 18, no. 3 (1997): 343–368; Teun A. Van Dijk, "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse and Society* 4, no. 2 (1993): 249–283; Ruth Breeze, "Critical Discourse Analysis and Its Critics," *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPRA)* 21, no. 4 (2011): 493–525; Rebecca Rogers et al., "Critical Discourse Analysis in Education: A Review of the Literature," *Review of Educational Research* 75, no. 3 (2005): 365–416.

4 Tom Bartlett, *Hybrid Voices and Collaborative Change: Contextualising Positive Discourse Analysis*, *Hybrid Voices and Collaborative Change: Contextualising Positive Discourse Analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

5 Maria Bach, "What Laws Determine Progress? An Indian Contribution to the Idea of Progress Based on Mahadev Govind Ranade's Works, 1870–1901," *The European Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 25, no. 2 (March 4, 2018): 327–356; Maria Bach, "Phd Thesis Summary: Redefining Universal Development from and at the Margins: Indian Economies' Contribution to Development Discourse, 1870–1905," *Erasmus Journal for Philosophy and Economics* 13, no. 1 (March 1, 2020): 139–147; Maria Bach, "A Win-Win Model of Development: How Indian Economics Redefined Universal Development from and at the Margins," *Journal of the History of Economic Thought* 43, no. 4 (2021): 483–505.

to imperial officials and both British and European thinkers, were marginalized, and rarely seen, as economists.

Case Study: Late Nineteenth Century Indian Economics

“Indian Economics” needed to be understood for India to prosper, declared Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842–1901), an Indian High Court judge, during a lecture at the Deccan College, Poona, in 1892.⁶ The lecture hall was filled with Indian students and probably some officials, as the College’s location was the summer capital of the imperial administration. Deccan College was part of the imperial university system where Indian elites had been able to get a higher education as of the mid-1800s. The College was a prominent place for Indian intellectuals and is one of the oldest modern educational institutions in India. It is significant then that the first generation of graduates from the imperial universities, including Ranade, started to criticize the imperial system within a space where they learnt the skills to understand the system. Ranade’s lecture inaugurated Indian Economics, as he uttered the term “Indian Economics” for the first time. The other founding text of Indian Economics was authored by Ganapathy Dikshitar Subramania Iyer (1855–1916), a leading Indian journalist at the time.⁷

Ranade’s and Iyer’s initial idea of an Indian Economics proved popular with other contemporary Indian intellectuals, enabling Indian Economics to emerge. There were about seven other economists in the first generation of modern Indian economists – Romesh Chunder Dutt (1848–1909), Dadabhai Naoroji (1825–1917), Ganesh Vyankatesh Joshi (1851–1911), Prithwis Chandra Ray (1870–1928), Surendranath Banerjea (1848–1925), Kashinath Trimbak Telang (1850–1893), and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866–1915) – mainly scattered across the three locations of the imperial universities in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Some of the economists, like Ranade, Iyer, and Telang, openly self-identified as Indian economists. Others, like Naoroji and Dutt, have been labelled Indian economists by later thinkers and secondary literature because their research ac-

⁶ Mahadev Govind Ranade, *Essays on Indian Economics: A Collection of Essays and Speeches* (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Company, 1906), 1.

⁷ Swaminath Aduthurai Govindarajan, *G. Subramania Iyer* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1969), 1, see also: G Subrahmaniya Iyer, *Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India* (Madras: Swadesamitran Press, 1903), pt. Appendix, 1.

tively sought to find theories, concepts, ideas, and solutions for India's, often distinct, problems. Ranade's inauguration of an Indian Economics placed the increasing number of studies by this group of Indians under its intellectual umbrella.⁸

Indian Economics emerged as a backlash against the existing school of political economy taught at the imperial universities and cited by the imperial officials as reasons for various policies. The Indian economists were all later labeled as early Nationalists because they were the first generation of Indian elites fighting for independence. For the most part, they agreed that "orthodox economic science, as expounded in English text-books, has to be modified when applied to the conditions of this country."⁹ The troubling socio-economic conditions in India and elsewhere seemed to disprove the relevance of universal economic principles such as free trade and comparative advantage.¹⁰

Indian Economics' ideas of progress and development were not however unified, despite the consensus over its goal to better understand and identify more appropriate solutions to bring about progress. Ranade, for instance, was a member in the Bombay strand, along with Joshi and Naoroji, which concentrated on imperial finance, banking, and in general exchange. The Bengal strand, including scholars such as Dutt, rose to prominence at the turn of the century focusing on land-revenue, rural relations, and peasant indebtedness and particularly emphasized indigenous institutions and practices.¹¹ Indian Economics was united without always sharing the same research focus, approaches, ideology or discursive practices.

By the early twentieth century, the early Nationalists' political agitation against existing political economy education and orthodox imperial policies impelled the imperial administration to better understand the Indian social and economic conditions. Consequently, courses on Indian Economics were offered at the imperial universities in India as of the beginning of the century, along

⁸ Bach, "What Laws Determine Progress?"; Bach, "A Win-Win Model"; Bach, "Phd Thesis Summary."

⁹ Govindarajan, *G. Subramania Iyer*, 1. Similarly, the orthodox economics tradition, according to Ranade, does not take into consideration the "relative differences in Civilization, or the possession of natural advantages, or disadvantages, in matters of situation, climate, soil, National aptitudes" (Ranade, *Essays*, 2).

¹⁰ Ranade, *Essays*, paras. 5, 11, 21, 24; Iyer, *Some Economic Aspects*, pt. Appendix, 3.

¹¹ Manu Goswami, *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 236.

with the first textbook on Indian Economics.¹² The first complete history of Indian Economics came in 1966 by Bipan Chandra, which provides an overall picture of this first generation of modern Indian economists and their attempt at producing a body of works that theorized and modelled “economic nationalism.”¹³

Some scholars, including Chandra, maintain that although Indian Economics identified British rule as a barrier to economic development, the economic thinking did not find solutions to generating economic growth nor did Indian Economics create alternative economic tools to analyze economic development.¹⁴ The historical studies seem to focus on the discursive and material constraints imposed upon imperial subjects. For instance, the research often concludes that there was little space for Indians to think outside of Western knowledge norms, as they were taught a Western curriculum.¹⁵ They were subsequently critiqued for only regurgitating existing thought. Moreover, India’s extreme poverty is said to have made Indian intellectuals preoccupied with urgent political and economic needs, rather than knowledge creation.

Research in the last 30 years has started to analyze the Indian economists and their texts in a new light. However, they have predominantly been studied as activists and thinkers in the nationalist movement, not as economists.¹⁶ My

12 Sharmin Khodaiji, “A Nationalistic Framework for Political Economy: Textbooks on Indian Economics during the Early-Twentieth Century,” *Oeconomia: History, Methodology, Philosophy* 9, no. 3 (September 1, 2019): 459–480.

13 Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India* (New Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1966), 1.

14 E.g. Panikkanparambil Kesavan Gopalakrishnan, *Development of Economic Ideas in India, 1880–1914* (New Delhi: People’s Publishing House, 1954); Chandra, *The Rise and Growth*; Bipan Chandra, “Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History,” *Indian Economic & Social History Review* 5, no. 1 (1968): 35–75.

15 Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Imperial India* (Durham, N. C: Duke University Press, 2007).

16 Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, vol. 11 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986); Goswami, *Producing India*; Birendranath Ganguli, *Indian Economic Thought: Nineteenth Century Perspectives* (New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publications Company, 1977); Benjamin Zachariah, *Developing India: An Intellectual and Social History c. 1930–50* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Christopher Alan Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

analysis follows this research by assigning agency to these figures as economists.¹⁷

Theorising Meaning Making in an Imperial Context

Imperialism, essentially by its own definition, caused global historical narratives on Western superiority to omit the fact that India also created discourses to understand political and socio-economic changes throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁸ Bakhtin's theory of dialogism helps my study give voice to all interlocutors to better understand how language both makes and changes reality. Interlocutor means a person who takes part in a dialogue or conversation. I use interlocutor, rather than protagonist or thinker here, because dialogism theorizes that all meaning is produced through dialogue. While intellectual historical studies may all contextualize, few include a social theory that lays out how meaning is produced in society. And those who have a social theory rarely make explicit or explain their theory in any detail. I argue that this is missing in historical research and my article offers a suggestion.

Dominant shared meanings like development may appear more frequently in everyday utterances reinforcing its dominance, however, marginalized interlocutors also have agency to interact with and change dominant discursive practices.¹⁹ Dialogism involves a functional approach to language, seeing language as a tool rather than a structure, which enables me to analyze discursive practices within Indian Economics without imposing constraints *ex ante*. The interaction between different discursive and spatial contexts offers insight into what and how understandings of development were produced in late nineteenth century Indian Economics.²⁰

17 Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought*; Goswami, *Producing India*; Zachariah, *Developing India*; Christopher Alan Bayly, *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Ganguli, *Indian Economic Thought*.

18 Christopher Alan Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World: 1780–1914* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 79.

19 Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*; Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*; Valentin Nikolaevich Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik (New York: Seminar Press, 1973); Valentin Nikolaevich Voloshinov, *Freudianism: A Marxist Critique*, ed. and trans. I. R. Titunik (London: Verso, 1976).

20 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevskys Poetics*, ed. and trans. Caryl Emerson (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984); Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*; Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*.

Indian Economics was marginalized, leading to two main consequences. First, the space to disseminate was relatively limited. Its texts – lectures, published books, letters, and articles – existed almost exclusively in India, and when not in India were predominantly consumed by Indian and anti-imperialist audiences in Britain. For instance, a large amount of the articles was published in the journal that Ranade founded in 1870, *Quarterly Journal of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*,²¹ to create a space for Indian intellectuals to publish their research. The Indian economists were not getting published in British economic journals or even treated as economists.

Second, their texts were considered only as a regurgitation of existing thought. For example, *The Times* and *The Times of India* reviews of Dutt's volume on Indian history wrote: "the work before us is not a history, it is merely a collection of historical arguments for the use of a political sect."²² Dutt's two volumes of Indian history were an attempt to rewrite Indian history from an Indian perspective. Dutt questioned the dominant imperial narrative of a poor and weak Indian sub-continent in need of a strong imperial ruler – e.g. the Mughals from the Middle East had reigned before the British took over. Dutt's analysis, especially in understanding the large rural areas of India, was based on rural data collection and testimonies from rural peasants, areas rarely visited by Europeans who had previously published histories of India, such as James Mill's well-read *The History of British India*.²³ Dutt, among others, attempted to rewrite Indian history to include, for example, the previous thriving textile industry. Undoubtedly, Dutt and his peers had a political agenda, hence the use of "political sect" in the quote above, to rally support for Indian independence. If India had been capable of ruling itself, such as the Maratha regime²⁴ in power in Western India before the British came, it would be capable and should be ruling itself again soon. The European readers of the Indian economists read their texts as only propaganda, rather than economic ideas or theories, when in fact they were both!

Dialogism offers several useful concepts that help characterize more precisely how context determines utterances and how different utterances produce

²¹ Sarvajanik Sabha is Marathi for public society.

²² Reprinted in Jnanendra Nath Gupta, *Life And Work Of Romesh Chunder Dutt* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1911), 294.

²³ Maria Bach, "Poverty Theory in Action: How Romesh Chunder Dutt's European Travels Affected His Poverty Theory, 1868–1893," *History of Political Economy*, forthcoming, n.d.; James Mill, *The History of British India* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1817).

²⁴ Ranade wrote a book on the rise and success of the Maratha regime: Mahadev Govind Ranade, *Rise of the Maratha Power* (Girgaum, Bombay: Punalekar and Company, 1900).

shared meaning in society. Context can determine utterances through assimilation, orientation, heteroglossia, addressability, answerability, and both authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. Interlocutors utter words formed through the assimilation of other utterances.²⁵ As a result, new perspectives are incorporated into language when interlocutors selectively assimilate others' perspectives. Interlocutors situate themselves in relations to other utterances, which occurs as a process of self-actualization.²⁶ Utterances and discourses are, in other words, multidiscursive.

While there are varying degrees of others' perspectives, there are also "varying degrees of our-own-ness" in each utterance.²⁷ Each interlocutor has her own orientation, viewpoints. Heteroglossia builds on the concept of assimilation and orientation to explain how each utterance is a combination of several discourses (others' speech, others' words, appropriated expressions) that are necessarily polyphonic (many views, styles, references, and assumptions not the speaker's own).²⁸ Heteroglossia suggests that context determines the meaning of utterances. Bakhtin proposes that language is not a closed system, and that there is no infinitely stable unified language – as opposed to Ferdinand de Saussure's theory.²⁹ Context determines meanings, not the words themselves.³⁰ Nevertheless, Bakhtin observes that language can become monologic when a particular discourse, meaning or world-view becomes momentarily stable, but this state cannot continue forever. Eventually a dominant discourse is defeated by another discourse.³¹

The next two concepts necessary to understand dialogism are answerability and addressivity. An utterance is addressed to someone and can generate a response.³² Addressivity dictates that utterances will take into account who is being addressed.³³ In my case, the Indian economists were conscious of their audiences and they will have chosen similar words to those used by British officials so as to be understood by them. Additionally, interlocutors will try to anticipate

25 Bakhtin, *Problems*, 433.

26 Bakhtin, 340.

27 Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*, 89.

28 Bakhtin, 170; Bakhtin, *Problems*, 7, 291, 294, 301, 354, 428.

29 Ferdinand de Saussure et al., *Course in General Linguistics* (London: Duckworth, 1916).

30 Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and His World* (London: Routledge, 2002); de Saussure et al., *Course in General Linguistics*.

31 Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 61, 68, 270–272, 346, 370.

32 Bakhtin, *Speech Genres*, 68, 95.

33 Voloshinov, *Marxism*, 85.

the following utterance – what Bakhtin labels answerability. The Indian economists will have anticipated the responses of the British.

Dialogism is more appropriate for the imperial context than other theories that also emphasize the contextual determinants of meaning-making – such as Jürgen Habermas, Jacques Derrida, Pierre Bourdieu, Quentin Skinner, and the post-colonial theorists.³⁴ Habermas is inapplicable because his theory seems to assume the possibility of a rational, scientific understanding of the natural world. Assuming rationality means that my study would claim to be finding a “true” or “right” meaning of Indian Economics. On the contrary, it is impossible, in my view, for there to be one “true” interpretation of a text, let alone that it can be found. Rather, the dialogic approach helps explain that specific past and present contexts are what give meaning in certain moments and spaces. Derrida’s theory of deconstruction concentrates too much on deconstructing dominant discourses and exposing contradictions within texts. I aim to expose discursive innovation within marginal discourse, resembling more construction than deconstruction.

Bourdieu’s social field theory examines how individuals construct social fields and how they are affected by those fields.³⁵ In many ways, Bourdieu offers similar tools to Bakhtin. They both have a relational approach where the middle of the dialogue rather than the extremes (the individuals) must be analyzed. Interaction is what produces knowledge and action. They both also theorize how different interlocutors hold different amounts of power and have varying motivations. However, Bourdieu seems to focus on the materialistic actions, influenced by Marxist theory that assumes that all actions are motivated by gaining economic command over resources,³⁶ whereas Bakhtin focuses on meaning-making. I study the latter, making Bakhtin more appropriate.

Skinner’s theory in intellectual history focuses almost entirely on intentions and motives present within texts and lacks some of the more rigorous understanding which dialogism offers in explaining meaning-making through dia-

³⁴ Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas,” *History and Theory* 8, no. 1 (1969): 3–53; Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1 (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1981); Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena: And Other Essays on Husserl’s Theory of Signs*, trans. Newton Garver (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).

³⁵ Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Columbia University Press, 1993).

³⁶ Didier Bigo, “Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power,” *International Political Sociology* 5, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 227; Bourdieu and Johnson, *The Field*.

logue and context.³⁷ For instance, how can we identify the true intentions of an interlocutor? We only have the text or dialogue to go by. Dialogism places less emphasis on the intentions and more on the interlocutors' past exchanges, training, and habitual discursive practices. Furthermore, Skinner and his peers in the Cambridge School of history of political thought have been critiqued for adopting orientalist perspectives by ignoring non-Western contributions to intellectual history.³⁸

A question that follows then is why I do not adopt post-colonial theory. Post-colonial theorists emerged in the 1950s, making colonialism "a social object in its own right and a force or structure that impacted social relations in definite ways."³⁹ I use their studies extensively to understand my protagonists' context, such as Ranajit Guha's theory that the colonial state was based on dominance without hegemony and Homi Bhabha's idea of colonialism as a "negating experience."⁴⁰ Nonetheless, post-colonial theory does not, like dialogism, offer a more holistic social theory of how meaning is produced in society, such as the useful concepts explained above. Moreover, post-colonial theorists often use dialogism to theorize the colonial situation, such as Bhabha.⁴¹ The difference in my approach is that I use a concrete method alongside dialogism. In fact, Bhabha's theory of hybridity that implies certain social conditions of existence is criticized for not theorizing those conditions explicitly.⁴²

Positive Discourse Analysis (PDA)

While all historical studies contextualize, my argument is that it requires a more transparent and concrete method than describing and analyzing the context. PDA is a method used to study the impact of texts in the world by bringing to-

³⁷ Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding."

³⁸ See e.g. Christopher S. Goto-Jones, ed., *Re-Politicising the Kyoto School as Philosophy* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

³⁹ Julian Go, "Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu's Early Work," *Sociological Theory* 31, no. 1 (March 29, 2013): 52, "The Rise, Fall, and Rise of Colonial Studies, 1951–2001," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 20, no. 2 (2002): 47–76.

⁴⁰ Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998); Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 2013), xi.

⁴¹ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 142–144, 188–192.

⁴² Gregor McLennan, "Sociology, Eurocentrism and Postcolonial Theory," *European Journal of Social Theory* 6, no. 1 (July 24, 2003): 69–86.

gether social theory and textual analysis.⁴³ Understanding what texts do in the world cannot be explained solely through text analysis.⁴⁴

The method is not a formalized corpus of analytical and methodological techniques. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), of which PDA is a strand, grew out of critical linguistics in the 1970s.⁴⁵ Norman Fairclough first coined CDA in 1989, however, the central concepts of CDA such as power, ideology, and discourse came before from thinkers such as Bakhtin, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Michel Foucault, and Julia Kristeva.⁴⁶ The method has now acquired its own acronym and a “degree of stability, canonicity, and, indeed, conventionality.”⁴⁷ If there is a generalisable approach in CDA, then it is the analytic movement between text and context. CDA, including PDA, explores the dynamic relationship between discourse and society, exploring how language and discourse interacts with and imposes itself on social, economic, and cultural conditions due to ideological forces and power relations.⁴⁸

The aim of CDA has generally been to transform and empower the oppressed by deconstructing often hidden oppressive dominant discourse.⁴⁹ While I, in contrast, want to expose the dominant discourse to uncover my protagonists’ discursive innovation, PDA is more appropriate. PDA documents and analytically explains “affirmative, emancipating and redressive texts and discourse practices” which can successfully lead to a redistribution of wealth and power.⁵⁰ PDA can identify marginal discourse, despite the tendency for marginal discourses to be dwarfed by dominant discourses, because it explores the instances in

⁴³ Vijay Bhatia, John Flowerdew, and Rodney Jones, *Advances in Discourse Studies* (London: Routledge, 2008), 195; Rogers et al., “Critical Discourse Analysis,” 1193.

⁴⁴ Luke, “Beyond Science,” 102; Alastair Pennycook, *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001).

⁴⁵ Two books were particularly influential in the development of the method: Roger Fowler et al., *Language and Social Control* (London: Routledge, 1979); Gunther Kress and Robert Hodge, *Language and Ideology* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

⁴⁶ Rogers et al., “Critical Discourse Analysis,” 1193.

⁴⁷ Luke, “Beyond Science,” 99. See also Breeze, “Critical Discourse Analysis,” 493; Rogers et al., “Critical Discourse Analysis.”

⁴⁸ Luke, “Beyond Science,” 100.

⁴⁹ See Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard and Malcolm Coulthard, eds., *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), ix.

⁵⁰ Allan Luke, “Notes on the Future of Critical Discourse Studies,” *Critical Discourse Studies* 1, no. 1 (April 2004): xi; Luke, “Beyond Science and Ideology Critique: Developments in Critical Discourse Analysis,” 98. See also Rogers et al., “Critical Discourse Analysis,” 383.

which discourses are “blurred and mixed to create hybrid texts.”⁵¹ New discursive practices often appear as re/dis-articulations of dominant discourse and occur at the margins of dominant discourse.⁵² In short, CDA generally deconstructs dominant discourse, while PDA aims to reconstruct marginal discourse.

What then does PDA entail? Firstly, as PDA brings together social theory with textual analysis, I explain how dialogism, my chosen social theory, is compatible with PDA. Secondly, as PDA requires a contextual analysis because it sees meaning-making as constructed within its context, I outline which contexts to analyze. Finally, I discuss the textual analysis, including the selection and handling of texts, the narrative structure, rhetorical devices, and how I identify and analyze what is left out of the text.

PDA, theoretically founded on Bakhtin’s work, is compatible with the theory of dialogism because it treats discursive practices and what they do in society in the same way. To both dialogism and PDA, texts are language in use reflecting the production of meaning and social relations; discourses are a recurring chain of utterances, statements, and wordings across texts that are inherently ideological; all texts are made up of various worldviews; interlocutors have their own discursive resources due to their context; the meaning of a text is ultimately produced in its particular context; and each utterance is based on whom it is addressing and the anticipated response.

Furthermore, texts do not have equal effects on the world. The hierarchical structure of discourse includes authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. Authoritative and dominant discourses will intentionally, and often successfully, exert power in society by fixing its worldview as truth and universal⁵³ – e.g. India was seen as backward, regressive and therefore needed a foreign ruler in the late nineteenth century. These discourses uttered by powerful interlocutors like rulers are treated as common sensical, almost always accepted without much critique and widely disseminated. For instance, the idea of development

51 Allan Luke, “Text and Discourse in Education: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis,” *Review of Research in Education* 21, no. 1 (1995): 16. See also Luke, 39; Luke, “The Material Effects of the Word: Apologies, ‘Stolen Children’ and Public Discourse,” 343–344, 348.

52 See e.g. Valbona Muzaka, “A Dialogic Approach to Understanding Regime Conflicts: The Case of the Development Agenda,” *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (2017): 61–83; Charles Tilly, *Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984). Bhabha describes this process as a mutation of dominant discourses and genres (Homi Bhabha, “Unpacking My Library Again,” *Midwest Modern Language Association* 28, no. 1 (1995): 5–18).

53 Luke, “Beyond Science,” 101; Ruth Wodak, *Disorders of Discourse* (London: Longman, 1996), 17; James Martin, “Positive Discourse Analysis: Solidarity and Change,” *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 49, no. 1 (2004): 179–202.

or modernity in the late nineteenth century was widely accepted to have first appeared and been first conceptualized in Europe. Modernity was then said to have spread to other European countries, then to European settlements in America, eventually reaching Russia and Japan by the end of the nineteenth century.

Internally persuasive discourses are the opposite: they are uttered by marginalized figures such as by Indian protagonists and continually questioned and rarely disseminated. Bakhtin theorizes power also through the centrifugal tendencies of language, the same as PDA's concept of dominant discourse. Bakhtin found two opposing tendencies of language: a centralising tendency to construct one unitary language and a centrifugal tendency that diversifies language.⁵⁴ The former means that a dominant discourse can appear standard and fixed, but the latter supports that dominant discourse can still be overthrown by other discourses.

Moreover, PDA systematically helps the researcher to define the relevant contexts. I employ a categorization of contexts found in a recent survey of studies that use CDA.⁵⁵ First, the survey categorized context as space, time, practice, change, and process. The following paragraphs and Table 1 explain the most relevant contexts to my interlocutors.

These contexts (see Table 1) are relevant for several reasons. Firstly, they include the immediate spatial contexts in which the texts (intertextual) and my protagonists found themselves (situational, institutional, and national). The context is thus multi-spatial. The spatial contexts will affect meaning and discursive practices in diverse ways. For example, Dutt talked more openly about self-rule in India than in Britain. During a speech at the Madras Mahajana Sabha, an Indian national association based in the Madras Presidency, Dutt asserted that "the path which they thus point out to us is not the path of progress, but the path of death! The remedy of these physicians is that the patient, in order to be cured, should commit suicide!"⁵⁶ Dutt is referring to the British imperial administration who were bringing regress, rather than progress, to India.⁵⁷ "Self-government" was the only remedy for India's poverty.⁵⁸ In contrast, in a short

54 Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, 67, 82, 270–274, 368, 376, 382, 425. See also Muzaka, "A Dialogic Approach," 65.

55 Shirley Leitch and Ian Palmer, "Analysing Texts in Context: Current Practices and New Protocols for Critical Discourse Analysis in Organization Studies," *Journal of Management Studies* 47, no. 6 (2010): 1194–1212.

56 Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Speeches and Papers on Indian Questions, 1897 to 1900* (Calcutta: Elm Press, 1902), 161–162.

57 Dutt, *Speeches and Papers*, 160.

58 Dutt, *Speeches and Papers*, 160.

Table 1: Contexts to be analysed.

Context as:	Subcategory	Explanation and Examples
Space	Intra-textual	Discursive practices need to be placed within their textual context – e.g. Dutt and Naoroji's quotation of a poem's verse were under different chapter headings in reference to different time periods, which changed the intention and, to some extent, the meaning of the quotation.
	Situational	The meaning of discourse will vary in different genres – e.g. the meaning of the text might vary depending on whether the primary source is a letter, lecture, speech, journal article, newspaper article or book.
	Institutional	The meaning of discourse will differ depending on where a study's protagonists are – e.g. this study's protagonists will address the British officials at Indian National Congress (INC), while they address primarily Indian audiences at the Social Conferences and learned societies.
	National	Meaning and discursive practices will differ in the two different national contexts relevant to my case study, India and Britain.
	Multi-spatial	The international, multi-institutional, and contextually diverse nature of the case study ultimately means that several contexts are important – e.g. the academic and policy contexts.
Time	Intertextual	Reference to past texts such as Smith's <i>Wealth of Nations</i> or List's <i>National Political Economy</i> and potential future discourses will impact the meaning of the text.
	Past events	Discursive practices will be determined by reference to past events – e.g. the late nineteenth century famines in India.
Practice	Socio-cultural-economic-political	The broader socio-cultural-economic-political contexts need to be laid out, e.g. India had competing political structures such as the Princely states versus the imperial British administration because it produced different discursive practices to explain the Indian experience.
	Ideological	The broader ideological context of how development ideology is defined and dealt with will affect the meaning of Indian Economics' texts – e.g. intellectual debates on development outside of India.
Change	Contest	The discursive context within which this study's protagonists found themselves was inherently competitive and resistant – Indian Economics argued for a different idea of development than the British imperialists.

publication published in London and sold to mostly British audiences, Dutt's used a more subtle approach, explaining how

Englishmen have not done worse, but have done better, than any other national could have done in India under any form of absolute rule. The British administrators of India are not incompetent men, they are competent and able administrators, but they have failed because a system of absolute rule *must fail* to secure the interests of the people.⁵⁹

"We do not," he continued, "propose any new departure; we do not approve of bold experiments; we suggest only improvements."⁶⁰ He proposed, in other words, "modest reforms," quite different from the speech in Madras, in which he called for Indians to rally together to take their country's fate into their own hands.⁶¹ This is also an example of how power and inferiority can change the diffused knowledge.

Secondly, Indian Economics' texts need to be placed in their intertextual context. The intertextual context is citations and similar wordings and statements found in other existing texts both before and after the texts' dates of creation. The latter – after the text's date of creation – is relevant because utterances are determined by past and potential future utterances. The Indian economists would have deliberately chosen discursive practices familiar to the British (e.g. Ricardo's theory of trade). Yet, Indian Economics was able to preempt twentieth century dependency theory and the balanced growth policy framework. Both are examples of intertextual contexts.

The Indian economists were taught discursive practices (i.e. concepts, frameworks, and tools of analysis) from their imperial university education and existing literature that were primarily based on another regional context – as articulated by the Indian economists themselves.⁶² The British educational reforms particularly helped Western liberalism to take root in India by establishing schools, universities, newspapers, and imperial law courts to disseminate its theories, concepts, and discursive practices.⁶³ For instance, Horace William Clift's *Elements of Political Economy* and J.S. Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* were the prescribed textbooks for history, law, politics, and economics degrees

59 Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Indian Famines, Their Causes and Prevention* (London: PS King, 1901), 15.

60 Dutt, *Indian Famines*, 15.

61 Dutt, *Indian Famines*, 16.

62 E.g. Govindarajan, G. *Subramania Iyer*; Ranade, *Essays*, 2.

63 See e.g. Bayly, *Recovering Liberties*; Seth, *Subject Lessons*; Andrew Sartori, *Bengal in Global Concept History: Culturalism in the Age of Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

at least until the end of the nineteenth century.⁶⁴ India's first three universities of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras were established between 1856 and 1857, soon followed by additional universities in other parts of India.⁶⁵ The first matriculation examinations passed 219 graduates in 1857–1859, rising to 2,778 in 1881–1882.⁶⁶ For instance, Ranade, amongst the first batch of graduates from Bombay University in 1859, studied at the Elphinstone Institution.⁶⁷ The Indian economists employed discursive practices from existing Western schools of thought and contemporary debates in order to be understood and listened to by the imperial rulers.⁶⁸ The context is thus necessarily multidiscursive.

Thirdly, Indian Economics' texts refer to past events, which determine the meaning of the text. The relevant events are those referred to in the primary material. For instance, in Dutt's history of British India, he mentions several events to analyze, for example, the extent of poverty in India. He documented in particular the several famines that, according to him, proved the increasing poverty, because they were claiming ever more lives – e.g. Dutt listed and described famines beginning with the famine in Madras in 1783 and ending with the famine of Punjab, Rajputana Central Province, and Bombay in 1900.⁶⁹ Naoroji quoted the Queen's proclamation of 1858, making India an official territory of the British

⁶⁴ Cited in Sharmin Khodaiji, "Formalising a Discipline: History of Economics and Economic Thought in Early-Twentieth Century India," in *21st Annual European Society for the History of Economic Thought Conference* (Antwerp, 2017).

⁶⁵ See Syed Nurullah and Pangal Jayendra Naik, *History of Education in India during the British Period* (Bombay: Macmillan and Company, 1943), 218–236.

⁶⁶ In 1857, the universities of Calcutta and Madras passed 162 and 36 graduates in the final year examinations respectively, while Bombay University passed 21 in 1859. The number of applicants who sat the exams rose to 7,429 in 1881–1882 (Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education*, 227).

⁶⁷ Rustom Pestonji Masani, *Dadabhai Naoroji: The Grand Old Man of India* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1939), chap. 2; "London School of Economics Library Archives on Britain and South Asia (16-Non-ILP Print: Miscellaneous). Independent Labour Party Papers: ILP/16/1901. 'Mahadev Govind Ranade: His Life and Career' (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Company, Esplanade) (Pamphlet)," 1901; "London School of Economics Library Archives on Britain and South Asia. Independent Labour Party Papers: ILP/8/1908/7–19. 'Dadabhai Naoroji: A Sketch of His Life and Life-Work' (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Company) (Pamphlet)," 1908.

⁶⁸ Daniel Argov, *Moderates and Extremists in the Indian National Movement, 1883–1920: With Special Reference to Surendranath Banerjee and Lajpat Rai* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967); Goswami, *Producing India*, 210; Jon Wilson, *India Conquered: Britain's Raj and the Chaos of Empire* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2016), 294–298.

⁶⁹ Romesh Chunder Dutt, *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company Ltd., 1900), 2–15.

Crown.⁷⁰ Fourthly, the socio-cultural-economic-political and ideological contexts are important to interpret the texts. These contexts include, for example, the culturally, linguistically, religiously, socially, and politically diverse Indian national context and the development ideology first conceptualised in the early nineteenth century.

Finally, global developments produced a competitive and resistant nature of Indian Economics' discursive context. Britain's dominance was increasingly challenged, and inequalities were increasing in India due to, for instance, Britain's industrialization and India's subsequent marginal industrial growth and the Long Depression in Europe from 1873 to 1896.⁷¹ Indian Economics were actively resisting and contesting British (and to a lesser extent European and North American) worldviews of development. The discursive practices reflect this struggle – sometimes through declared resistances in the texts and sometimes through rhetorical devices.

The final component of my method is the textual analysis. The textual analysis needs to compare the discursive practices or ideas in the primary texts.⁷² I also need to identify the narrative structure and rhetorical devices, as well as identifying and analyzing what is omitted in the texts. The narrative structure of any given text has two components: plot and story.⁷³ The plot refers to how the story is told and when key conflicts are set up and resolved, attempting to identify the phases of the story.⁷⁴ The story includes several components – i.e. the key conflicts, main characters or protagonists, and events.⁷⁵ The stages of the story (plot) and its components (story) construct the elements, actors, and structure of the texts to gain a better understanding of the meaning being produced. For example, in Ranade's lecture on Indian Economics, the protagonist is creating more applicable economic thinking for India. However, when and how did he declare the need to create new economic theory in the lecture? Using plot and story, my analysis can systematically identify that while Ranade declared this need a few times (mainly at the beginning and end), most of the

70 Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Company, 1901), 1.

71 Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (New York: Verso, 2002); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014); Goswami, *Producing India*, 11.

72 Also argued by Michael Stubbs, "Whorf's Children: Critical Comments on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)," *British Studies in Applied Linguistics* 12 (1997): 100–116.

73 For an example, see Luke, "The Material Effects," 359–362.

74 Luke, "The Material Effects," 362.

75 Luke, "The Material Effects," 362; Luke, "Text and Discourse," 22.

lecture is filled with a history of different (European and North American) schools of political economy. There is no mention of an Indian tradition of political economy. In sum, the texts are analyzed in their entirety by exploring what is included in the narrative and how the narrative is told.

Moreover, my text analysis identifies rhetorical devices to explore what meanings and social relations these might reflect. Rhetorical devices are used by the interlocutor to convey a particular meaning to the audience with the aim to persuade them to consider a different perspective. The Indian economists in this period contested the imperial system which was, according to them, impoverishing India. They were therefore particularly prone to using the rhetorical device *antagonism*, which places a criticism and complement together to lessen the impact. For instance, Naoroji submitted a text to the Welby Commission on January 31, 1897 – a group set up by the British government to investigate the wasteful spending in India. At the beginning of the text, he wrote the following: “Nobody can more appreciate the benefits of the British connexion than I do— Education in particular, appreciation of, and desire for, British political institutions, law and order, freedom of speech and public meeting, and several important social reforms. All these are the glory of England and gratitude of India.”⁷⁶

At the end of the speech, his tone had changed: “They call us fellow-citizens, and they must make their word a reality, instead of what it is at present, an untruth and a romance—simply a relationship of slave-holder and slave.”⁷⁷ The presence of gratitude for the imperial administration and a critique of the same administration in the primary material shows how the context affects the knowledge diffused and produced.

Other rhetorical devices such as metaphors, analogies, and similes are important to analyze as they shift the meaning of words. In particular, natural science metaphors were used to explain societal change – e. g. social progress was likened to human growth. The use of such metaphors was not unique to these scholars, but rather shows that they were taking part in a global conversation on how to understand and explain societal phenomena through natural science processes.

Finally, the unsaid and unwritten also has a meaning and can have powerful concrete effects.⁷⁸ The Indian economists would certainly have left out certain opinions and theories from their writings and speeches to persuade the British

76 Dadabhai Naoroji, *Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings (on Indian Politics) of Hon-Ble Dababhai Naoroji*, ed. Chunilal Lallubhai Parekh (Bombay: Caxton Printing Works, 1887), 375.

77 Naoroji, *Essays*, 395.

78 For further explanation and examples, see Luke, “Text and Discourse,” 31; Luke, “Beyond Science,” 104.

to listen, and hopefully act. For instance, in some texts the wish for self-rule was never expressed. For example, Naoroji submitted a document to the Welby Commission on March 21, 1896, in which he concluded: "I must not be misunderstood. When I use the words "Native States," I do not for a moment mean that these new States are to revert to the old system of government of Native rule. Not at all."⁷⁹ Yet, we know from letters between Naoroji and Dutt that Naoroji urged Dutt to stop arguing for a decrease in the land tax, because it distracted from the real issue.⁸⁰ "Till the bleeding ceases and India is moving towards self government and self enjoying her own resources, there is no hope of better days," wrote Naoroji to Dutt in 1903.⁸¹ More forcefully, two days later, Naoroji wrote: "The Fundamental *cause*, the cause of the whole mischief is the "Foreign domination" and as long as that continues, there is no hope."⁸² During this earlier period of the nationalist movement in the late nineteenth century, the Indian economists were under the impression that moderate change through the imperial administration was their best strategy for harnessing progress in India.⁸³ Yet, self-rule was still the plan in the long-run. This, however, was not mentioned extensively at the early meetings of the Indian National Congress.

There are naturally limitations of the PDA method. Firstly, the method may avoid structural constraints when the focus is identifying and analyzing marginalized voices.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, based on my method of contextualization above, my study does not risk ignoring the structural constraints. The constraints are rather made explicit to understand why certain utterances are made in certain ways and what they may mean considering those constraints. Secondly, analyses using PDA can suffer from being solely confined to the analyst's criteria of agency⁸⁵ – something Bakhtin in fact theorises in dialogism, insisting that we must acknowledge that the researcher will influence the findings of any study.⁸⁶ Historical studies without method, however, suffer from this researcher bias, too. In fact, I would argue that the bias is often amplified when the researcher lacks a

⁷⁹ Naoroji, *Essays*, 371.

⁸⁰ Dadabhai Naoroji, *Dadabhai Naoroji: Selected Private Papers*, ed. S. R. Mehrotra and Dinyar Patel (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016), 155–174.

⁸¹ Naoroji, *Selected Private Papers*, 165.

⁸² Naoroji, *Selected Private Papers*, 167.

⁸³ For instance, Banerjee uttered at the Indian National Congress in 1885 that "our motto is reform not revolution," quoted in Argov, *Moderates and Extremists*, 47.

⁸⁴ Bartlett, *Hybrid Voices*.

⁸⁵ Rebecca Rogers and Melissa Mosley Wetzel, "Studying Agency in Literacy Teacher Education: A Layered Approach to Positive Discourse Analysis," *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies* 10, no. 1 (2013): 62–92; Bartlett, *Hybrid Voices*.

⁸⁶ Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*.

road map of which contexts to analyze and how to analyze them. The historian without method is more likely to lose him- or herself in their own predispositions.

Nevertheless, does PDA risk making studies too inflexible or does outlining a method like this wrongfully undermine the richer historical studies that contextualize brilliantly without an explicit method? Moreover, does the historical method (if there exists one overarching approach) have its own advantages for the study of history, while linguistics and sociology, where discourse analysis emerged, have their proper research objects that require a method like PDA? Doing history started for me in graduate school, having done my first degrees in economics, so perhaps my arguments for outlining a more concrete process of contextualizing my primary texts come from that earlier training in a discipline, in my opinion, excessively grounded in positivist epistemology and empirical methods. My arguments for this approach are, to some extent, rooted in these two facts: my economics background and my distrust of dogmatic positivism and empiricism. I have found in this approach an in-between that suits my research object well. I shall let the reader decide whether they find dialogism and PDA a valuable approach for their future research.

Conclusion

I have shown that dialogism helps my analysis to understand meaning production as a fundamentally dialogic process whereby meanings are produced in interaction with other meanings. Through dialogism's various concepts, I can explain how discourse provides interlocutors with words to assert a particular viewpoint but those same discourses constrain interlocutors with a limited set of words. Utterances are thus made up of divergent meanings, views of the world, and ideologies.

I then showed how PDA enables me to systematically analyze those different types of discourse characterized in dialogism. PDA is particularly appropriate for my research question because it aims to identify marginal discourses, like Indian Economics, which are often dwarfed by and situated at the margins of dominant discourses. The steps of PDA are to first identify the dominant discourse in the marginal discourse (Indian Economics' texts) and then to identify the discursive innovation and hybridization caused by the joining of these different discourses. I argued that the combination of dialogism and PDA enabled me to contribute new insights on the idea of development in Indian Economics.

Finally, the approach is applicable to other actors beyond colonial natives. For example, uncovering female economists, long underappreciated, is a benefit

of this research design. Dialogism lays out a foundation of understanding how meaning making happens in society, applicable to all actors. PDA's framework of identifying and analyzing the various contexts can be applied to other marginalized actors' contexts. It requires the researcher to identify and understand the specific relevant contexts applicable to their marginalized actor(s).

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