An Analysis of Gandhi's Constructive Program

Based on Galtung's Theories

Amy Dillon

Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Human Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an MA in Conflict Studies

Conflict Studies
Faculty of Human Sciences
Saint Paul University

Ottawa, Canada
2016

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Abstract

Mohandas Gandhi emphasized the importance of his constructive program as nonviolent action. This thesis examines the constructive program through the lens of Johan Galtung's theories. The analysis illustrates the cultural and structural violence to which the program was responsive. Two examples include exploitation through industrialization, and repression through the custom of untouchability. Both examples were supported by cultural violence in the idea of superiority and inferiority between groups of peoples. The analysis demonstrates that the constructive program established cultures and structures that support cycles of nonviolence in response to existing cycles of violence. Two forms of cultural nonviolence expressed were personal social responsibility, and unity of humanity. Two forms of structural nonviolence established were nonviolent self-sufficiency with dignity, and nonviolent education. This thesis shows that Gandhi's constructive program demonstrated eight qualities: intentionally nonviolent, voluntary, inclusive, autonomous, responsive to cultural and structural violence, self-reinforcing, context-specific, and comprehensive.

Introduction

Mohandas Gandhi maintained that nonviolence was the way to achieve India's independence.[1] There were two aspects to his nonviolent action: the constructive program as the foundation, supported by civil disobedience.[2] The latter—in the form of noncooperation and nonviolent resistance—is the more widely recognized approach.[3] The constructive program—the positive branch of his nonviolent action—is less known.[4] Gandhi referred to the program as "the construction of complete Independence by truthful and non-violent means."[5] Independence, at least for him, meant eradicating poverty and attaining freedom for all peoples of India.[6]

Johan Galtung's theories are useful in understanding Gandhi's constructive program. Galtung argues that poverty and violations of freedom are two outcomes of cultural and structural violence.[7] As one of the founders of peace and conflict studies, he contributes extensive theories. [8] He defines structural violence as deficits in basic needs that are caused indirectly by human

---

[1] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, 98 vols. (New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, [1884-1948] 1999), 18:155-161, PDF e-book.

[2] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1945), 2.

[3] Martin Luther King Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: the Montgomery Story* (New York, NY: Harper, 1958), 84-85; Michael N. Nagler, "Nonviolence Writ Large," *TIKKUN* 30, no. 3 (Summer 2015), 28, doi: 10. 1215/08879982-3140332.

[4] Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conquest* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 36; Michael Nagler, *The Nonviolence Handbook. A Guide for Practical Action (*San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2014), ch. 4; Michael Nagler*, The Search for a Nonviolent Future* (San Francisco, CA: Inner Ocean Publishing, 2004), ch. 6, PDF e-book.

[5] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 4.

[6] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 27:344.

[7] Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27.3 (1990), 291-305; Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means. Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996); Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* (York, NY: Springer, 2013). PDF e-book.

[8] Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 3rd ed. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2011), 10; Thomas Weber, "The impact of Gandhi on the development of Johan Galtung's peace research," in *Global Change, Peace & Security: formerly Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change,* 16:1 (2004), 31, doi: 10.1080/1478115042000176166.

systems.[9] Cultural violence consists of aspects of the symbolic sphere of human life that legitimize violence of any kind.[10] Galtung's theories emphasize the complexity and challenges of transforming these two forms of violence.[11]

As an advocate of nonviolence and a graduate student in conflict studies, I am perplexed by the absence of reference to Gandhi's constructive program in this multidisciplinary field. It is difficult to believe that such a comprehensive, nonviolent attempt to tackle cultural and structural violence has no bearing on the challenges we face in promoting peace. I want to understand Gandhi's constructive program in terms of concepts and theories in active use by scholars in conflict studies today. I begin with a review of the literature that contributes to an understanding of the constructive program as nonviolent action in response to cultural and structural violence.

<center>Relevant Literature</center>

A number of authors contribute significantly to the understanding of nonviolence, but present the constructive program in such a way as to undermine its significance as nonviolent action.[12] For example, Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall portray the program as having a support role when they state, "For Gandhi, social regeneration [the constructive program] was not an end in itself; it was the groundwork for nonviolent action."[13] While Gandhi expressed the second part of this statement himself, the first part does not represent his views. He emphasized the importance of the program for decades, as illustrated in 1945 when he wrote: "the constructive programme is

---

[9] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 35.
[10] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 2, 200.
[11] Ibid, 101.
[12] I do not mean to imply intent. However, the observable fact highlights the influence scholars can have on the interpretation and presentation of another's work. Each of the authors approaches their research with a specific lens, which influences how they interpret and present the constructive program.
[13] Peter Ackerman, and Jack Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000), 72.

the truthful and non-violent way of winning…complete Independence."[14] Gene Sharp's work

undermines the significance of the constructive program as nonviolent action through omission.

In his 1979 book *Gandhi as a Political Strategist: With Essays on Ethics and Politics*, Sharp

provides a limited description of the constructive program from Gandhi's perspective.[15] He then

identifies research opportunities that include exploratory work with constructive programs

outside of India based on the broad theory.[16] However, he did not pursue those opportunities: his

extensive body of research has developed an awareness of the importance of nonviolent

resistance rather than the constructive program.[17] Sharp's work continues to influence nonviolent

social movements globally. Anthony Parel elucidates the basic unity of the philosophy

underlying all of Gandhi's work—including his nonviolence—but characterizes the constructive

program in ways that undermine understanding it as nonviolent action.[18] For example, he refers

to it as areas of work "particularly suitable for the action of NGOs."[19] While his statement is

true, it does not contribute to an understanding of the program as the foundation of Gandhi's

nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence. Parel creates further confusion by stating,

but not explaining: "Freedom is maximized and violence minimized when the state and NGOs

work in harmony."[20] Parel's brief statements about the relationships between the state, NGOs,

---

[14] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 2.

[15] Gene Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist: With Essays on Ethics and Politics* (Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1979).

[16] Sharp, *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, 77-86.

[17] Gene Sharp publishes his work on the website for the Albert Einstein Institution, which "works to advance the worldwide study and strategic use of nonviolent action." See http://www.aeinstein.org/, accessed April 7, 2016.

[18] Anthony Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[19] Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 206; Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*, 62.

[20] Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*, 61.

satyagraha, and civil society do not explain the nonviolent mechanisms through which the constructive program maximizes freedom and minimizes violence.[21]

Allwyn Tellis' research focuses directly on the constructive program. He interprets it as integral to Gandhi's nationalist movement, but not as nonviolent action. Tellis examines the constructive program as a body of discourse.[22] His work reveals that Gandhi was aware of the influence of what Galtung refers to as cultural violence. Tellis demonstrates that Gandhi recognized the power of symbols: he not only invented and used them, but was himself symbolic of the culture he was striving for.[23] Tellis' thesis is a valuable contribution to scholars studying cultural violence. However, by presenting the constructive program as more important than—and distinct from—nonviolent action, he undermines an understanding of its significance as a comprehensive nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence.

Joan Bondurant and Robert Burrowes situate the constructive program within the context of their explanations of nonviolence as interpreted by Gandhi.[24] Bondurant states "The constructive program was an essential component of the Gandhian revolutionary struggle for Indian independence."[25] She describes it as a positive form of nonviolent action, as opposed to the resistance forms of non-cooperation and civil disobedience.[26] Burrowes represents the program "as central to an overall strategy of nonviolent defense."[27] He characterizes the program as

---

[21] Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*, 61-63.
[22] Allwyn Tellis, "Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programme: Building a New India" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, ProQuest, 2006).
[23] Tellis, "Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programme," 8.
[24] Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*; Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*.
[25] Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 180.
[26] Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 206.
[27] Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 180; Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 206.

reconstruction of personal, social, economic, and political life.[28] Both Bondurant and Burrowes

contribute to understanding the constructive program as nonviolent action.

Michael Nagler's work provides the most recent contributions to understanding nonviolent

constructive programs in the Gandhian tradition.[29] His focus is the practice of nonviolence. He

contends that constructive programs used in conjunction with nonviolent struggle offer the best

prospect of liberating people from injustice.[30]

Nagler articulates what he refers to as five principles of constructive programs.[31] They

encompass building continuity and community into society, using the creative force for good,

providing the means by which people can meet their basic needs themselves, returning control to

the people, and training in nonviolent living.[32] My interpretation is the five principles are a

mixture of justification and characteristics. The following points in the principles constitute

justification for a constructive program: "scaffolding for a new society…balances

noncooperation with cooperation… [proves] the lie of dependency wrong…unifies diversity…

builds community … trains people to live a nonviolent life."[33] The following points constitute

characteristics of a constructive program: "it's a positive force of nonviolence, it provid[es]

people with basic needs through their own work, it provides ongoing, proactive, work that

everyone can participate in."[34]

---

[28] Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 204.
[29] Nagler, *The Nonviolence Handbook*; Michael Nagler, *The Principles of Constructive Program* (The Metta Center for Nonviolence, 2014). http://www.mettacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/CP%20transcription%20%282%29.pdf (accessed August 08, 2014); Nagler, *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*.
[30] Nagler, *The Nonviolence Handbook*, ch. 4.
[31] Ibid, 1-6.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid, 1-5.

Nagler also itemizes strategies for successful constructive programs.[35] My interpretation of the five strategies are they are points to consider in the development of a constructive program, specifically how to choose issues to focus on, and the need to balance the cooperation of the constructive program with the non-cooperation of resistance. These strategies may be useful to Nagler's intended audience: nonviolence practitioners. As a scholar interested in the concept of a constructive program as a comprehensive way of addressing cultural and structural violence, they raise questions for further research.

Research Question

This research is grounded in a theoretical framework based on Johan Galtung's theories and has a premise and one guiding research question. The premise of my thesis is that the constructive program was Gandhi's nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence in India. My thesis question is: What qualities did Gandhi consider necessary in the nonviolent constructive program for India's Independence?[36] I use the term qualities to refer to the defining characteristics and guiding principles across time and context.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into four chapters and a conclusion. In chapter one, I contextualize the constructive program. Since it originated with Gandhi, I begin with information from his background that helps to explain why he instigated it. I then examine his main reasons for

---

[35] Nagler, *The Principles of Constructive Program, 9*.
[36] Gandhi used the term Independence (capitalized) to refer to the eradication of poverty and freedom for all peoples of India. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 27:344.

initiating India's independence movement, and wrap up the chapter by describing the constructive program.

The purpose of chapter two is to explain how I will use Galtung's theories as a framework for analysis. The scope of his work is extensive. His definitions of violence and peace are the components of interest for this thesis. I explain Galtung's typologies of both violence and peace, and discuss the dynamics between the three forms of each: direct, structural, and cultural. Since Gandhi based his work on nonviolence rather than peace, I explain my approach to the relationship between the two. Building on the foundation of Galtung's concepts, I describe how I will use them as a framework to analyze the constructive program. In the description of my approach, I distinguish between Galtung's theory, Gandhi's views, and my own analysis.

The purpose of chapter three is to examine the premise of my thesis: the constructive program was Gandhi's nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence in India. I use Johan Galtung's theories as a framework to analyze the elements of the program. The analysis proceeds in two parts. First I examine the specific patterns of violence to which each element was responsive. In the second part I examine the specific nonviolent practices that Gandhi prescribed for each element. The results of the analysis demonstrate the forms and expressions of cultural and structural nonviolence each element established.

The fourth chapter consists of my reflections on the findings, the limitations of my work, and opportunities for future research. To begin the discussion I demonstrate why Gandhi's constructive program is relevant to scholars in conflict studies. I then respond to my thesis question, by proposing the purpose and qualities of the program. I complete the chapter by discussing limitations of my work and opportunities for future research.

This thesis will use Galtung's theories to examine and illustrate Gandhi's nonviolent constructive program through concepts familiar to scholars of conflict studies. My objective is to explain the practical application of the constructive aspect of nonviolent action in terms that are relevant to contemporary concerns. The lens for my research is the premise of this thesis: the constructive program was Gandhi's nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence in India.

The review of the literature summarized in the previous section emphasizes the influence scholars have on the interpretation and presentation of Gandhi's work.[37] Each of the authors has a specific focus for their research. However, each lens shapes the understanding and characterization of the constructive program. For this reason, I will base my understanding of Galtung's theories and the analysis of Gandhi's constructive nonviolence on their own publications rather than secondary sources.

---

[37] Bondurant makes the point that theories did not come from Gandhi: he was focused on a program of action. *Conquest of Violence*, 7.

Chapter One: Gandhi's Constructive Program in Context

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the constructive program and the context from which it arose. Since Mohandas K. Gandhi instigated the program as part of India's independence movement, I begin with pertinent information about him. The first section focuses largely on his cultural and religious background as a Hindu in India, followed by relevant particulars from the time he spent abroad. A brief discussion of Gandhi's interpretation of nonviolence sets the scene for his work upon his return to India. I then examine Gandhi's main reasons for initiating India's independence movement, describe the constructive program, and end the chapter with a brief conclusion.

About Gandhi

Gandhi's Cultural and Religious Background

Early Years

Mohandas K. Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar Gujarat on the west coast of India, and raised as a Hindu. [38] Gandhi and his three brothers attended local schools through to college.[39] He respected his parents, describing his father as loyal and fair, and his mother as very religious. Gandhi married at the age of thirteen through an arranged marriage, as was the custom among some Hindus.[40]

---

[38] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad: Jitendra T. Desai, 1927), 5.
[39] Gandhi, *An Autobiography*, 3, 12.
[40] Ibid, 7.

Gandhi's culture and religion had a profound influence on him.[41] Much can be said about Hinduism.[42] With thousands of years of history, comprised of many different viewpoints and countless religious and scholarly interpretations, it is a topic too extensive for me to cover in this thesis.[43] I will focus what I say about Hinduism in this section to the background information I consider necessary to understand the constructive program.[44]

Hindu society distinguished between the following four classes of people, each of which aligned with specific social roles: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. The role of Brahmins was to provide knowledge as intellectuals and priests. Kshatriyas were protectors. Vaishyas provided commercial abilities through crafts and trades. Shudras provided physical labour as servants of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaishyas.[45] The caste system built on the division of society into communities and imposed strict restrictions on Hindus.[46] Gandhi explained that these reflect the importance of self-control in Hinduism.[47] He also stressed that caste distinguished between different positions and ways of life, but his interpretation was that these in no way implied superiority or inferiority.[48]

Gandhi was born into the Vaisya caste and raised in the Vaishnava tradition. Vaishnavas are devotees of Vishnu, however Gandhi believed in many names for God within Hinduism and in

---

[41] Gandhi, *An Autobiography,* Part I.
[42] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 70:75.
[43] In Gandhi's words, "Hinduism is so great and so wide in sweep that no one has so far succeeded in defining it." Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 16:138.
[44] Refer to the following three compilations of Gandhi' writings for a more complete understanding of what Gandhi himself said about Hinduism: *The Essence of Hinduism*, ed. V. B. Kher (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1987), PDF e-book; *My Religion*, ed. Bharatan Kumarappa (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1955), PDF e-book; and *What is Hinduism*, ed. Ravinder Kumar (New Delhi: Navajivan Trust, 1994), PDF e-book.
[45] Christophe Jaffrelot, "Caste and Politics," *India International Centre Quarterly* 37.2 (India International Centre, Autumn 2010) 95-96; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 24:372.
[46] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:226-228, 258-260.
[47] Ibid, 15:258.
[48] Ibid, 22:155.

other religions: he did not distinguish between different gods. [49] For Gandhi, a true Vaishnava is

a Hindu who perfects the following qualities:[50]

> [I]s ever active in bringing relief to the distressed and takes no pride in doing so;
> is respectful to all; speaks ill of none; is self-controlled in speech, in action and in
> thought; holds all in equal regard; has renounced desires;…is ever truthful; keeps
> the rule of non-stealing; is beyond the reach of maya, is, in consequence, free
> from all desire;…covets nothing; is free from guile, from the urge of desire and
> from anger. [51]

The importance of Gandhi's Hindu roots in the development of his approach to life cannot be

overstated. However, a thorough discussion on that topic is beyond the scope of this thesis.[52] For

my purposes, what is important is Gandhi's interpretations of these and other influences and how

he acted on them through the constructive program.

Life Abroad

Britain

Gandhi studied law in London for three years. During that time he was immersed in British

culture, and learned how to dress and act like a British gentleman.[53] However, he did not blindly

adopt British values and practices. A number of aspects of Gandhi's way of life set him apart

from other students during his studies in England. Being outside of the dominant culture enabled

---

[49] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 4-5; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22: 314; 21:511. The Holy Trinity in Hinduism consists of Brahma, who created the universe, Vishnu, who protects all creation and Shiva, "the God of austerity and selfmastery. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 55:38; 60: 292; 12:105; 57:250.
[50] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:312. Described in Narasinh Mehta's devotional song "Vaishnavajana."
[51] *Maya* means cosmic illusion. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:56; 22:55-57.
[52] The best source for understanding Gandhi's interpretation of Hinduism is his *Collected Works*. For two additional sources that discuss how Hinduism shaped Gandhi's philosophy, see Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conquest (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965) and Anthony Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
[53] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 43.

him to assess British beliefs, customs, and religions relative to his own, and more importantly, to recognize personal choices he could make to stay true to his values.

One example was Gandhi's adherence to strict restrictions with respect to what he ate. A promise to his mother to follow Vaishnava traditions and abstain from eating meat and drinking alcohol while at university set him outside the dominant culture right from the start. His experiences in England solidified his choice to be a vegetarian, and marked the beginning of his lifelong study of the nutritional properties and cost of various foods.

A second aspect of Gandhi's life that differed from British culture was the fact that he was married and had a son when he started his law degree, despite being less than twenty years old himself. His child marriage was not readily apparent because his wife and son remained in India for the entire duration of his studies in England. It was the norm for youths from India to pass themselves off as bachelors while at university, and at first Gandhi was no exception. However, this dishonesty caused misunderstandings with English friends, and Gandhi realized that it was better to reveal that he was married than maintain a deception.[54] Gandhi's courage and commitment to speak the truth was strengthened by this experience.

A third aspect of his life that set Gandhi apart while at university was his belief in the importance of morality and religion. This viewpoint enabled him to observe the dominant culture in England and deduce that it instilled hostility or indifference to both. In later years he concluded that the retreat from morality and religion was destroying the peoples of Britain.[55]

Gandhi's three years in Britain marked the beginning of his lifelong commitment to vegetarianism, truth, and the study of culture and religion. These observances resulted from his reflection on the relationship between his actions and his values in all areas of his life, including

---

[54] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 54-57.
[55] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule* (1910).

mundane practices such as diet and finances.[56] Gandhi began to take full responsibility for the

choices required to stay true to his values during this pivotal time in his life, while still meeting

the demands of his formal studies in law.

   In 1891 at the age of twenty-one, Gandhi was called to the bar and enrolled in the British

High Court. He subsequently returned to India, arriving in Bombay in July of that same year.[57]

Despite his formal qualifications, Gandhi thought he lacked knowledge of the world and did not

consider himself qualified to practice law.[58] His concerns were justified, as his unfamiliarity with

Indian laws and the presence of petty politics frustrated him in his first endeavours as a barrister.

Gandhi was eager to leave India after a series of small disappointments and minor mistakes in a

work environment that was a poor fit for him. [59]

South Africa

   A job offer in a law firm in South Africa provided Gandhi with an opportunity to work

abroad. In 1893, he moved to the Natal region of South Africa. At the time, the region was a

former Dutch colony under the influence of British imperialism.[60]

   Racial discrimination against Indian peoples was built into the social order, government

policies and laws in South Africa. Gandhi's empathy for Indian peoples living there increased

with his own experiences of having his rights deprived.[61] He began to work with Indian

---

[56] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 47,44.
[57] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 1:54.
[58] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 68.
[59] Ibid, 81-85.
[60] Ibid, 84-86.
[61] For example, on his first train journey to Pretoria, Gandhi was told by officials to move from a first class compartment to the van compartment. Gandhi had a first class ticket and refused to move voluntarily. He was forcibly removed from the train by a police officer in Maritzburg (Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 93; Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, trans. Valji Govindji Desai

communities of different religions within South Africa to oppose, nonviolently, the laws and policies that discriminated against them.

The Indian nonviolent opposition to discriminatory rulings—including a marriage law whereby only Christian marriages were recognized, and a poll tax levied against indentured Indian labourers upon becoming free—took place between 1894 and 1914.[62] One outcome of the nonviolent campaigns was the Indians Relief Act of 1914, which recognized Indian marriages and repealed the poll tax.[63] Although racism persisted in South Africa, specific laws that discriminated against Indian peoples were changed in response to the nonviolent resistance campaigns organized by Gandhi.

These campaigns consisted of external agitation, gaining support, and internal improvements. The external agitation started with a petition to the South African Legislature.[64] Support for this initiative was enlisted from India and England. In India, Gandhi wrote a pamphlet on the condition of Indian peoples in South Africa, delivered speeches on the topic, sought cooperation from political parties, and met with advocates, Indian leaders, and the editors of various publications.[65] In England, support was enlisted from the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, the Editor of the Indian section of the Times, retired officers of the Indian

---

(Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, [1928] 2003), 34). Gandhi provides other examples in his *Autobiography*. On pages 94 and 95 he describes how a man in charge of a stagecoach would not let him ride inside the coach and beat him until the other passengers intervened. On pages 96 through 98 he describes how, despite having a first class ticket for the train from Johannesburg to Pretoria, a guard wanted him to move to third class, and only relented when the sole English passenger in first class intervened. On page 108, Gandhi explained that Indians were not allowed to walk on public footpaths by law, and he was once pushed off a footpath and kicked into the street by a police patrol. He also had to acquire a letter authorizing him to be out of doors at all hours without police interference, because of a regulation that Indians could not walk out of doors after nine o'clock in the evening without a permit.

[62] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 13:312; Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 34, 206.
[63] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 14:172.
[64] Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 34.
[65] Ibid, 38-39.

Civil Service, the India Office and the Colonial Office.[66] Gandhi confirmed that the overall goal

of gaining support for their cause was achieved, when he said: "The condition of Indians

overseas became a question of first-rate importance in the eyes of the Imperial Government."[67]

   The internal improvements started with the founding of the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 to

look out for Indian interests. Members funded this organization. The process of engaging with

their congress and organizing the internal and external agitation provided Indian peoples with an

unintended improvement: a significant practical and political education.[68] In addition, members

endeavoured to strengthen support for their cause by disproving European complaints about

Indian ways of life. For example, they changed their practices with respect to personal hygiene,

domestic sanitation, and the use of homes as shops to better meet European hygiene and

sanitation standards.[69] Gandhi's emphasis on the need to cooperate when possible to do so as

equals and with self-respect, improved public perceptions of Indian peoples in the Natal region.

To reinforce these efforts, members shared and publicized information and challenged unfair

attacks on Indians in the press.[70]

   The nonviolent movement intensified in response to the 1906 Asiatic Law Amendment

Ordinance.[71] If made into law, this ordinance would require every Indian in the Transvaal over

eight years of age to register their name and fingerprints with the Register of Asiatics. Failure to

produce a certificate on the demand of any police officer or Government office at any time could

lead to a fine or imprisonment.[72] Delegates from various Indian communities in the Transvaal

---

[66] Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 47-48.
[67] Ibid, 48.
[68] Ibid, 35-36.
[69] Ibid, 36.
[70] Ibid, 36-37.
[71] Ibid, 64-66.
[72] Ibid, 66.

responded by pledging to not obey the ordinance if it was made into law.[73] Gandhi was careful to

explain the possible worst-case consequences of not obeying such a law. His list included

ridicule, jail, insults, hunger, hard labour, flogging, heavy fines, loss of property, deportation,

illness or death. He stated his own perspective, which was that even in the face of the direst

consequences for disobeying the law he would die rather than submit to it.[74]

Delegates of the nonviolent movement appealed to the local Transvaal government and

advisors to the King of England to prevent the ordinance from becoming law. The Transvaal was

a Crown Colony of England: royal assent was required to pass the law.[75] Formal approval

signified that the Imperial Government could be held directly responsible legally, and racial

discrimination went against fundamental principles of the British Empire (at least in theory).

Britain avoided this situation by conferring responsible government on the Transvaal in January

1907, thereby enabling the law to be passed without implicating the Imperial Government.[76] The

nonviolent movement responded with campaigns to disobey the law. The campaigns ended with

the Indians Relief Act of 1914.

Thus, it was in South Africa that Gandhi first appealed to British values by demanding that,

as subjects of the Crown, Indians be accorded full rights. As discussed, Gandhi used the press

and circulars to inform people in India and England on the condition of Indians in South Africa.

Press coverage was used to ensure that people around the world knew of events that happened

through the course of the struggle, including the imprisonment of law-abiding Indians for not

holding certificates of registration.[77] Through these means, Gandhi's nonviolent resistance

---

[73] Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 68-69.
[74] Ibid, 70.
[75] Ibid, 76.
[76] Ibid, 81-82.
[77] Ibid, 95.

campaigns demonstrated that Indians did not experience liberty in South Africa. As Gandhi

stated:

> It is necessary then for British Indians to show in quiet, in dignity, in perfect
> calmness, in a perfectly law-abiding spirit, to show that they are not here to suffer
> such indignities, that they are not here to have their liberties trampled underfoot,
> and that if all these things are done in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor,
> we are here also humbly to protest, and we are here also as British citizens to
> suffer for it, and to show the whole world what things are possible and done even
> in the British Empire, even under the British flag. We have been nurtured in
> British traditions.[78]

Nonviolence

Gandhi is recognized as the leader of the Indian nonviolent movement in South Africa. He

arrived at his interpretation of the Hindu concept of ahimsa by studying how nonviolence is

expressed in many religions.[79] Traditionally, Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism regard

nonviolence as a passive virtue, attained by inaction.[80] Gandhi did not agree with the passive

interpretation of the concept, because it meant accepting or even implicitly supporting violence.

He argued that nonviolence requires a deliberate withdrawal of acceptance and support for

violence, motivated by love and compassion. His view was that nonviolence is active, and

requires courage and discipline.[81]

---

[78] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 9:5.
[79] *Ahimsa* means non-violence, love. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:251-252; 30:376.
[80] Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*, 121. This was not always the case. See Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (New York, NY: The Penguin Press, 2009), particularly chapters 10 and 11; and Laurie L. Patton, "Telling stories about harm: An overview of early Indian narratives," in John R. Hinnells and Richard King (eds.), *Religion and Violence in South Asia: Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 11-40. The history of violence in Hinduism and Indian traditions is tangential to the direction of my thesis.
[81] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22: 261, 24:414, 24:440, 25:197, 25:360; Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*, 122.

Satyagraha is Gandhi's term for the type of active nonviolence he first used in South Africa.[82] *Satya* means truth, which for Gandhi implied love, and *graha* is another word for force. "I [Gandhi] thus began to call the Indian movement Satyagraha, that is to say, the force which is born of Truth and Love or nonviolence."[83] Gandhi argued that truth is inseparable from nonviolence because it is impossible for any one person to know the truth reliably in any absolute sense.[84] He referred to "truth as each one of us knows it,"[85] as *relative truth*, because it can vary from one person to the next.

> What is truth to me is not necessarily truth to the rest of my companions. We are all like the blind men who, on examining an elephant, gave different descriptions of the same animal according to the touch they were able to have of him. And they were all, according to their own lights, in the right. But we know also that they were all in the wrong. Every one of them fell far short of the truth.[86]

Gandhi argued that actions must be nonviolent because no one can know for certain that an action is based on an understanding of truth that holds for others. "Truth resides in every human heart, and one has to search for it there, and be guided by truth as one sees it. *But no one has a right to coerce others to act according to his own view of truth*."[87]

These conceptions of truth informed Gandhi's understanding that satyagraha functions through self-suffering, rather than by inflicting suffering on others. Voluntary self-suffering is a principle that is deeply rooted in Indian culture, through precepts such as self-restraint, self-

---

[82] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:452.
[83] Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 72.
[84] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 38:296.
[85] Ibid, 60:339.
[86] Ibid, 32:409.
[87] Ibid, 62:156-157 (emphasis added).

discipline, and penance or austerity.[88] Gandhi repeatedly referred to Hindu texts that state that

moral discipline by way of self-suffering is required to achieve self-respect and happiness.[89]

Gandhi recognized that the experience of suffering provides a level of understanding that

cannot be achieved through intellectual means. He stated:

> … things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason
> alone, but have to be purchased with their suffering… if you want something
> really important to be done, you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must
> move the heart also. The appeal of reason is more to the head, but the penetration
> of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man.[90]

Self-suffering persuades others to recognize and sympathize with relative truths that differ from

their own. In this understanding self-suffering has the potential to transform *both* the person who

is voluntarily undergoing it, and also observers. Thus, the function of satyagraha is social reform

through the personal growth that comes from such experiences.[91] The only limits on the extent of

social change that can be achieved through satyagraha are those imposed by a person's capacity

for voluntary suffering.[92]

Civil disobedience and non-cooperation are examples of satyagraha action. Gandhi describes

civil disobedience as: "civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments."[93] It is the open violation of

unjust laws by law-abiding citizens.[94] Acts of civil disobedience are done out of respect for laws,

but make the point that laws must be just in order to be respected. To emphasize this point,

accepting consequences is crucial to civil disobedience; those who break unjust laws take full

---

[88] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 19:206. Also discussed in Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conquest (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 26.
[89] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 16:445; 18:65.
[90] Ibid, 54:48.
[91] Ibid, 11:39.
[92] Ibid, 16:7.
[93] Ibid, 22:452.
[94] Ibid, 19:207. People who normally obey laws that they consider just or at least not harmful to "self respect or the moral being." Ibid, 18:184.

accountability for their actions. The idea is that it is better, morally, to suffer the consequences of violating an unjust law than to support a law that one considers to be wrong.

Non-cooperation is another example of satyagraha in action. Gandhi described it as: "the inherent right of a subject to refuse to assist a government that will not listen to him."[95] Non-cooperation is actively withdrawing cooperation from that which one perceives to be corrupt.[96] Examples of non-cooperation with a government include renouncing government-issued titles and medals, withdrawing children from public schools, and resigning from positions in public office and public service.[97] In the following section, the conditions that lead Gandhi to carry out satyagraha in the context of India's independence movement are discussed.

<div align="center">India's Independence Movement</div>

Gandhi's return to India via London in 1914 was interrupted by Britain's involvement in World War I.[98] At the time, Gandhi believed that it was his duty—as a British subject temporarily living in England—to support the war.[99] He spent some months recruiting volunteers to provide first aid to wounded Indian soldiers at the Netley military hospital in England.[100] However, poor health drove him to return to India at the end of 1914.[101]

In the years following his return home, Gandhi promoted the independence movement as a response to the economic, political and social hardships in British India.[102] By the end of the first

---

[95] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 20:287.
[96] Ibid, 22:452.
[97] Ibid, 21:108-109.
[98] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 287-289.
[99] It was by no means an easy decision for Gandhi to support the war in this way. He details his rationale in his *Autobiography*, pages 290-293.
[100] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 14:308.
[101] Ibid, 14:323.
[102] British India is the term I will use to refer to the regions on the Indian subcontinent under British rule between 1858–1947.

decade of the twentieth century, he knew that India did not prosper as a British colony.[103] One of

his sources for understanding the economic impact of colonial rule on India was Dadabhai

Naoroji's critique of British economic policy.[104] For example, Naoroji knew that Indian peoples

were taxed beyond their means on the necessities of life, and received no benefits because their

taxes were not spent in India.[105] The short-term benefits Britain gained from taxes and exports

came at a cost of increasing Indian deficits.[106] These deficits were more than monetary. Gandhi

argued that one of the human consequences was widespread starvation, because "the condition of

the people had already gone down very low by the effects of the previous deficits."[107] In British

India, forty million people went through life on insufficient food. Recurring famines every four

years resulted in a high death rate from starvation.[108]

Unemployment and low wages also increased poverty in British India. A number of factors

contributed to the unemployment and low wages. For example, the introduction of cloth mills

took jobs away from seven hundred thousand villages for the benefit of cities in India and

Britain.[109] A second factor was that wages for unskilled labourers[110] did not increase in decades,

apart from during local and temporary public works projects.[111] A third factor was obligations to

grow indigo and other crops for export. These obligations left peasants with insufficient land for

cultivating food crops; their only options were unemployment or to pay landlords exorbitant rent

---

[103] Gandhi argued his reasons for independence from British rule in Hind Swaraj, first published in 1909. He translated Hind Swaraj into English a year later.

[104] Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*, 72.

[105] Dadabhai Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India (*London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901), 650.

[106] Naoroji, *Poverty,* 34-35.

[107] Naoroji, *Poverty*, 34-35; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:288.

[108] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 2:17.

[109] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place* (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1945), 9.

[110] Wages for unskilled labourers were inadequate to begin with.

[111] Naoroji, *Poverty*, 82.

to work the land.[112] As a consequence of these factors, many employed Indians were starving

due to the low wages they were paid and their increased cost of living. Naoroji's conclusion was

that "the notion of a general rise of wages, and of the vastly improved condition of the labourer

is a delusion."[113]

In addition to the hardships caused by British rule, Gandhi recognized that there were

internal weaknesses that allowed India to be colonized in the first place. For example,

discrimination built into Hinduism facilitated segregation, intolerance, and hostility between

religions, which worked to Britain's advantage; Indian peoples were not firmly united as a

nation. [114] Furthermore, other social conditions prevented India from thriving as a nation. These

included the suppression of women, widespread lack of education, and disease due to unsanitary

conditions and poor personal hygiene.

Gandhi was convinced that the solution to all of these hardships was swaraj, through a

nonviolent social movement for India's independence. Swaraj means self-rule or self-

government.[115] Although the generally agreed goal of the independence movement was freedom

from British rule, it should be noted that within India there were different understandings of what

swaraj entailed. Gandhi was clear about what it meant to him: "It may be that all of us do not

mean the same thing by swaraj. To me it has but one meaning: the eradication of the poverty of

India and freedom for every man and woman."[116] He elaborates further:

---

[112] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:367.
[113] Naoroji, *Poverty*, 85.
[114] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 54:44, 124.
[115] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, Glossary.
[116] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 27:344.

> Swaraj is freedom for everyone, the smallest among us, to do as he likes without any physical interference with his liberty. Non-violent non-co-operation is the method whereby we cultivate the freest public opinion and get it enforced.[117]

By focusing on the eradication of poverty and freedom for everyone, Gandhi emphasized the human aspects of India's desire for political independence. That is, he saw economic freedom as directly connected to freedom from foreign control, both of which required a commitment to nonviolence.[118] As Gandhi stated, "real home-rule is self-rule or self-control. The way to it is passive resistance [satyagraha]: that is soul-force or loveforce."[119]

In addition, Gandhi understood rights—for example the right to economic freedom and the right to self-rule—to be intimately linked to duty.[120] Robert J. Burrowes studied Gandhi's approach to nonviolence and determined that individual rights and individual responsibility were of equal importance to Gandhi. Burrowes' explains: "This responsibility was threefold, entailing responsibility in the quest for self-realization, as a member of society, and as an agent of nonviolent social change."[121] It follows, then, that Gandhi established a program to focus the peoples of India on the specific responsibilities that he believed would eradicate their poverty and achieve their freedom.

<div align="center">The Constructive Program</div>

Gandhi used the phrase constructive program to refer to the set of nonviolent, pragmatic actions that together he believed would enable India to achieve economic and political

---

[117] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 25: 148.
[118] Ibid, 70:232.
[119] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, ch.XX.
[120] Ibid, ch. XVI.
[121] Robert J. Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach (*Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), 106.

independence.[122] The program aimed to solve the serious problems that plagued India, such as extreme poverty and discrimination. It represented an evolution of satyagraha in action: from resistance and non-cooperation to performing specific duties through constructive work.

Constructive work was the term Gandhi used for the nonviolent activities undertaken to achieve India's independence. It consists of ordinary people taking accountability for matters that are important to them, yet lacking in their community. For example, polluted water sources such as rivers were a source of disease in many communities. Constructive work to solve this problem consists of villagers working together to make sure everyone in the community understands the dangers of polluting water, takes precautions to ensure their actions do not contribute to the problem, and works to eliminate existing pollution.

For Gandhi, independence meant freedom for everyone and the eradication of poverty in India.[123] His belief in nonviolence and experience with satyagraha enabled him to develop a program that would free Indian peoples not only from British rule and poverty, but also from exploitation, discrimination, ignorance, pollution, disease, addiction and neglect. In his words:

> Can anybody dispute the proposition that it [the constructive program] must mean complete Independence in every sense of the expression, including the ousting of foreign domination?…Given an indomitable will on the part of a band of earnest workers, the programme is as workable as any other and more so than most. Anyway, I have no substitute for it, if it is to be based on non-violence.[124]

---

[122] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7, 9, 32. In creating the constructive program, Gandhi was influenced by ideas from Tolstoy, Thoreau, and Ruskin about the structure of society. When he first launched the program, his instructions included widely distributing literature from all three authors. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 18: 157. Gandhi credited Ruskin's *Unto This Last* for introducing him to the idea that a life worth living is one of labour. Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 249-250; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 8:316-319.

[123] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 27:344.

[124] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 2.

The satyagraha approach to the independence movement meant that the effort of construction undertaken in the program was "the work of internal growth"[125] for India. This work consists of cultivating self-discipline and the capacity of suffering. As described in the next section, Gandhi argued that specific forms of self-discipline would achieve the economic and political reform that was essential for independence from Britain, as well as the social reform required for India to thrive as a united nation. Consequently, his constructive program is an example of a national nonviolent movement focused on comprehensive economic, political and social change. The specific forms of self-discipline that Gandhi advocated through the constructive program are outlined in the eighteen elements listed in the next section.

Elements of the Constructive Program

The constructive program evolved over time. Initially comprising four elements in 1919, it grew to eighteen elements by 1945. Even then, Gandhi did not consider it to be exhaustive.[126] The eighteen elements listed in the version that Gandhi published in 1945 were as follows:[127]

- Communal Unity: Foster solidarity through friendships with followers of other religions.
- Removal of Untouchability: Eliminate idea and customs of untouchability from Hinduism.
- Khadi: Economic self-sufficiency through the production and buying of home-spun cloth.
- Other Village Industries: National support for local products and services.[128]
- Women: Change mindsets, behaviours and laws to reflect the equal status of women.
- Kisans: Support peasants in their nonviolent struggles.
- Labour: Use nonviolent methods for solving all labour disputes.

---

[125] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:501.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] See the discussion on swadeshi in the next section.

- Adivasis: Support for the large indigenous population within India.

- Basic or new education: Connect the children of India to all that is best and lasting in India.

- Adult education: Instill self-sufficiency and nonviolence through the constructive program.

- Students: Redefine higher education as service to others through the constructive program.

- Education in Health and Hygiene: Teach people how to achieve health and well being.

- Village Sanitation: Teach people how their communal spaces impact their health.

- Provincial Languages: Use and evolve the many different local languages of India.

- National Language: Use widespread Indian language Hindi for national communication.

- Prohibition: Replace opium and alcohol addiction with healthy and inspiring alternatives.

- Economic Equality: Decrease wealth disparity in India by donating personal wealth to serve the common good.

- Lepers: Provide care for people suffering from leprosy as a national duty.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go into detail on each of the elements. However, I will describe khadi, the removal of untouchability, and communal unity in more depth so that they can be understood in their historical and cultural context. Although the comprehensive program comprises all eighteen elements, these were the three elements that Gandhi most clearly connected to India's ability to achieve nonviolent independence from British rule. Self-rule in India required the economic freedom offered by khadi. In addition, India as one nation required communal unity to overcome increasingly violent religious intolerance and political divisions, which in turn required the divisive thinking inherent in untouchability to be abolished.

Khadi

Khadi means homespun cloth. This element of the constructive program was a response to the increasing poverty amongst the rural population in India, as discussed earlier. The purpose of khadi was to provide the nonviolent means for villages to become self-sufficient, while reinforcing the dignity and necessity of labour by serving the needs of cities in India.[129] Gandhi stated, "A plea for the spinning-wheel is a plea for recognizing the dignity of labour."[130]

The constructive program urged the production and buying of homespun and hand-woven cloth from India. The idea was for Indian peoples to spend their money in India, to benefit the large proportion of the population who needed the money merely to survive. "It connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country."[131] There was enough need for fabric in India to create a large market for the khadi that was produced. Gandhi noted that in 1917-18, India spent sixty million rupees on foreign cloth.[132] That money, he concluded, was needed within India. He connected the economic impact of importing foreign cloth to the dire human consequences when he said:

> If we continue to purchase foreign cloth at that rate, we deprive the Indian weaver and spinner of that amount from year to year *without practically giving him or her any other work in exchange.* No wonder a tenth at least of the population is cruelly half-starved and the majority of the rest underfed. He who has eyes may see for himself that *the middle-class people are already being underfed and our babies are not getting enough milk for themselves.*[133]

Khadi was the primary, but by no means only example of what Gandhi referred to as swadeshi, which is much broader than simply economic freedom. Swadeshi means supporting

---

[129] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 21:167.
[130] Ibid, 24:414-415.
[131] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 9.
[132] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 17:29.
[133] Ibid, 19:168-169 (Gandhi's emphasis).

the efforts of villagers to sustain themselves and to continuously improve Indian products and

services for the good of all.[134] According to Gandhi, "Any article is swadeshi if it subserves the

interest of the millions, even though the capital and talent are foreign but under effective Indian

control."[135] Thus, he used the term to represent a commitment to the long-term viability of local

products and services. He described what it meant to him:

> Swadeshi is that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our
> immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote. …In the domain of
> politics, I should make use of the indigenous institutions and serve them by curing
> them of their proved defects. In that of economics, I should use only things that
> are produced by my immediate neighbours and serve those industries by making
> them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting.[136]

Swadeshi included other village industries in addition to khadi, such as "hand-grinding,

hand-pounding, soap-making, paper-making, match-making, tanning, oil- pressing."[137] Gandhi

considered these industries to be secondary to khadi, because the potential market for each was

smaller. As previously mentioned, other village industries were necessary to the swadeshi

movement, but would not gainfully occupy the large numbers of villagers needing work.

Gandhi advocated that everyone in India develop self-discipline through a regular practice of

spinning, even if only for thirty minutes every day.[138] The practice required each person to have

some sort of spinning device and raw material, such as cotton, to spin. It also created a need for

infrastructure: somewhere for the spun thread to go to be woven into cloth, and customers to buy

the cloth. The production and buying of local necessities of life created the possibility for a

healthy interdependence. Healthy interdependence means that people in the overall process can

---

[134] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:159.
[135] Ibid, 75:92.
[136] Ibid, 15:159.
[137] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 12.
[138] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:128.

survive without the others, but by working together for mutual benefit they can each do better. "Swadeshi then means the creation of a most perfect organization in which every part works in perfect harmony with every other."[139]

Khadi also offered an opportunity for a mutually beneficial relationship to be developed between two different sets of people in India: artisans and consumers of local products, including khadi. One could afford to buy local hand-made textiles, and the other needed work to survive. Gandhi described this relationship as follows:

> There must be co-operation from the very commencement. If spinning makes one self-reliant it also enables one to understand the necessity of interdependence almost at every step. An ordinary spinner must find a ready market for her surplus yarn. She cannot weave it. There can be no market for her yarn without the cooperation of a large number of people.[140]

The production of khadi motivated villagers to develop skills and work together to combine the fruits of their labour into products for consumers. To achieve self-sufficiency through khadi, they needed to develop local leadership, communicate within and between communities, educate each other, organize themselves, and solve problems. In these ways, the khadi element of the constructive program had the ability to transform the lives of villagers in India. It was a way for villagers to achieve independence through economic self-sufficiency, and at the same time to nurture mutually beneficial dependencies with others. Self-respect and respect for others are elements of reciprocal working relationships. Gandhi described the importance of healthy dependencies in society:

> Interdependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being…Dependence on society teaches him the lesson of humility. That a man ought to be able to satisfy most of his essential needs himself is

---

[139] Ibid, 20:229.
[140] Ibid, 35:344.

obvious; but it is no less obvious to me that when self-sufficiency is carried to the length of isolating one-self from society it almost amounts to sin."[141]

For numerous reasons, Gandhi advocated swadeshi in the form of khadi—even if it initially was not profitable—because of all it exemplified.[142] For example, Gandhi believed that progress could not be achieved through processes built on the exploitation of groups of people. Khadi represented the decentralization of production and the ability for villages to make what they required themselves, and to provide for the needs of cities. Wholehearted support of khadi had the potential to make exploitation from industrialized cloth production obsolete in India. A second example was that the buying of local clothing required a change in values, whereby personal desires for better textiles or foreign clothes were undermined by the commitment to advance the wellbeing of others. Gandhi emphasized the importance of khadi:

> The country had to appreciate the futility of the boycott of British goods merely, and equally of all foreign goods. It had to see that it lost its liberty by giving up swadeshi in cloth and that it could regain it by reverting to hand-spun and hand-woven cloth… it lost its artistic taste and talent, when it innocently ceased to spin and weave by the hand… it was not even so much the military drain as the loss of this supplementary industry that sapped India's vitality and made famines an ever-recurring event in Indian life.[143]

To summarize, khadi was the central element in the constructive program. Indeed, it was the only element that Gandhi put forward as a priority for everyone in India. This was because it had the potential to achieve the economic, political and social reforms India needed to govern without Britain and to eradicate poverty. Gandhi's next priority was the removal of untouchability.

---

[141] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 45:104.
[142] Ibid, 18:157; 74:279.
[143] Ibid, 23:63-64.

Removal of Untouchability

Untouchability is a form of discrimination built into the hierarchical caste system that shapes

Hindu society. Hindus outside of the four castes are known as out castes or untouchables,

reflecting the idea that they are not fit to be in contact with or share the same space with

Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, and Shudras. So-called untouchables are ostracized and

discriminated against, and either work in the most degrading jobs or are landless peasants.[144]

Gandhi argued that untouchability contradicts main principles of Hinduism, specifically

belief in the ceaseless search for truth and nonviolence; and belief in the oneness of all that

lives.[145] He recognized that untouchability was an aspect of Hinduism that prevented it from

being a perfect religion, but this imperfection did not alienate him. He knew from his study of

religions that none were perfect.[146] Gandhi's view was that any progressive and living religion

must be constantly assessed for consistency with its fundamental principles, so that

contradictions can be rejected.[147] For this reason, he was able to embrace what he considered to

be the good in Hinduism, but could not cooperate with what he considered to be the evil of

untouchability. He stated:

> To make any persons crawl on their stomach, to segregate them, to drive them to
> live on the outskirts of the village, not to be concerned whether they live or die, to
> give them food left over by others—all this certainly cannot be religion…That an
> untouchable cannot live in our neighbourhood and cannot own land, that an
> untouchable must, on seeing us, shout: "Please keep at a distance, do not touch
> me," and should not be permitted to sit with us in the train—this is not
> Hinduism.[148]

---

[144] Jaffrelot, "Caste and Politics," 95.
[145] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 40:291; 27:292; 31:19; 40:291.
[146] Ibid, 50:78,79.
[147] Ibid, 70:88.
[148] Ibid, 22:316.

Gandhi advocated defending Harijans against discrimination and acts of aggression, and

considered the poor treatment of low-caste Hindus to be a "blot and curse upon Hinduism."[149]

He argued that the removal of untouchability was necessary to the very survival of his religion:

> Hinduism cannot be conceived of without the abolition of untouchability. If this untouchability is not destroyed in this age of reason, when one religion comes into contact with and is compared to another, any religion which is greatly polluted or whose roots are rotten cannot survive. If Hinduism were rotten at the roots, I would have abandoned it.[150]

Additionally, he contended that the presence of the demeaning discrimination by some Hindus

against others in the name of religion was damaging to the advancement of India.[151] Freedom for

everyone in India was not possible as long as Hinduism included the concept of untouchability.

As early as 1917, Gandhi praised satyagraha against Hindu texts that supported untouchability

and called for "equality of treatment in all public institutions so as to remove the prejudice and

disabilities of untouchableness."[152]

The removal of untouchability from Hinduism was a priority for Gandhi because he

understood it to be a prerequisite for the elimination of all other forms of discrimination within

India, including religious intolerance. The majority of Indians were Hindus, which is why

abolishing untouchability was so important to the social advancement of India. Gandhi said:

> We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of untouchability. Untouchability is a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals of Hindu society...No man of God can consider another man as inferior to

---

[149] Gandhi used the term Harijan to refer to low-caste Hindus. Harijan means God's folk. From Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 14:354; 38:319. The quote is from Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7.
[150] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 46: 303-304.
[151] Ibid, 70:196-198.
[152] Ibid, 16:187.

himself. He must consider every man as his blood-brother. It is the cardinal principle of every religion.[153]

Communal Unity

The communal unity element of the constructive program began as Hindu-Muslim unity and was expanded to include all faiths. [154] India was a country of many religions. Some were of Indian origin, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism, whereas Islam, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Baha'ism, and Judaism originated outside of India. [155]

Religious intolerance in British India was most prevalent between Hindus and Muslims, with outbreaks of violence and fighting. Gandhi argued that there was no historical precedent for animosity between Hindus and Muslims in India. He observed that British rule intentionally "accentuated our differences and will continue to do so, till we recognize that we must unite in spite of the policy. This cannot and will not happen unless we refrain from a scramble for place and power. The beginning must be made by the Hindus."[156]

The communal unity element in the constructive program called for Hindus and Muslims to give up mutual mistrust and instead initiate personal friendships with people from other religions.[157] The idea was that personal friendships would lead to integrated schools, colleges and hospitals, and ultimately political unity. The goal was voluntary integration of people of different faiths arising out of a deep respect for all religions, rather than the dominance of one

---

[153] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:368.
[154] Ibid, 18:157.
[155] Indohistory - History of India, *Religions in India* (2008). Available at www.indohistory.com, accessed February 27, 2015.
[156] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 30:312.
[157] Ibid, 30:346.

over others.[158] Gandhi's view was that, "The right course for each community would be to

remain loyal to its own faith and, at the same time, respect the faith of the other."[159]

Gandhi believed that political unity required a genuine willingness to support each other's

causes. Therefore, as neighbours and fellow citizens of India it was the duty of Hindus to share

the grievances of Muslims.[160] An example of what Gandhi considered to be political unity was

Hindu support of Muslims in the Khilafat movement. The purpose of the nonviolent Khilafat

movement—initiated by Indian Hindus and Muslims—was to ensure that the Sultan of Turkey—

the Caliph—was restored to his pre-World War I status. The Caliph was responsible for the

integrity of the religion of Islam, which required control over the holy places of Islam in

Arabia.[161] One of Gandhi's instructions to those embracing satyagraha in India's independence

movement was:

> The advocating of the Hindu-Muslim unity not by means of public speeches but
> by concrete acts of help and kindness on the part of Hindus towards
> Mohammedans and on the part of the latter towards the former. Hindus would,
> therefore, naturally give enthusiastic support to the Mohammedans in their just
> claims regarding the retention of Turkey as a Mohammedan sovereign State with
> full regard for their feelings as to the holy places and the Khaliphate [the
> Caliphate].[162]

Communal unity was Gandhi's third priority in the constructive program because Hindu-

Muslim disunity went against nonviolence, and divided and weakened India. Although disunity

between Hindus and Muslims created political divisions that threatened the prospect of India's

independence, Gandhi emphasized the need for communal unity at the human level rather than

---

[158] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5.
[159] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:431.
[160] Ibid, 17:34.
[161] Ibid, 19: 359, 367.
[162] Ibid, 18:157.

the political. He referred to the goal of this element of the constructive program as "unbreakable

heart unity" and "living unity" rather than merely imposed political unity.[163]

Overall

   The purpose of this section is to outline a number of aspects of the constructive program that

provide overall context across all eighteen of the elements. One important point is that the

program was, in Gandhi's words, "designed to build up the nation from the very bottom

upward."[164] To that end, the focus was village self-sufficiency through individual effort and

village activities.[165] Gandhi envisaged and realized the national movement as the combined

efforts of individual villages across India.

   Gandhi knew that working the constructive program could bring about the desired changes

locally, because he could see it happening in the various ashrams he helped to establish. Ashrams

were small, intentional communities whose members pledged vows of nonviolence and

committed to undertake constructive work.[166] Gandhi and others used what was learned in the

ashrams to work through some of the challenges of implementing the program in villages across

India.

   The All-India Congress Committee—under Gandhi's leadership—launched and promoted

the constructive program as part of the peaceful non-cooperation movement that they envisioned

would win self-rule.[167] Gandhi and volunteers travelled from village to village throughout India

---

[163] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5, 6.
[164] Ibid, 2.
[165] Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 180.
[166] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 14:453, 18:303-304.
[167] The All-India Congress Committee will hereafter be referred to as the Congress. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 18:156-157.

explaining the program. The specific initiatives developed in each village in support of the different elements were created, owned and implemented by local volunteers.

The initial program consisted of khadi, communal unity, prohibition of intoxicants, and removal by Hindus of untouchability.[168] Gandhi promoted all four elements, with khadi as the central piece. He urged Congress members to spin and wear khadi to underscore the point that the constructive program required champions and involvement from the educated and wealthy citizens of India.[169]

The number of elements in the constructive program more than quadrupled over almost three decades. Some of the elements subsequently added to the initial four emerged as barriers to the success of India's independence movement. For example, every citizen in the most remote village needed to understand what Congress was proposing and why, and what they could do to support it. It became clear that lack of education was a barrier to participation in the program. For example, most rural villagers only spoke their own local language and the illiteracy rate in their communities was high. [170] Both made it difficult to communicate the program. Thus, Gandhi commented: "I became convinced that work of a permanent nature was impossible without proper village education."[171]

Schools were established at all levels: from basic and adult education to institutions of higher learning. This national education system was part of the nonviolent movement for the independence of India. The primary goal of each school was to enable the constructive program, irrespective of the level of instruction. Consequently, this national system was redefining what it meant to be educated and to progress to higher learning, rather than adopting British models for

---

[168] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 70:234.
[169] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:306; Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 20, 27-29.
[170] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 18; Gandhi, *Collected Works,* 28:362.
[171] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 44:403.

education. For this reason, Gandhi was adamant that everyone who worked in the schools

embrace the conditions of the nonviolent movement. Teaching within the national education

system was about much more than simply making a living. He stated: "[N]ow we have to take up

constructive work, which will produce lasting results. … If we have unshakable faith in our

work, we would continue it whether it takes us one year or twenty to complete it. Our main task

is to establish schools."[172]

Gandhi advocated a hands-on approach to education, which reflected the belief that

knowledge and work are not separate and that knowledge and skills can and should be learned by

doing.[173] The constructive program focused on the actions that each person needed to do to be

model villagers. This meant that education went far beyond literacy to include topics specific to

each village, such as local customs, traditions, nonviolence, khadi, how to maintain a healthy

mind, body and soul, how to take care of communal space, and how to work together and support

each other in respectful and cooperative ways.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the constructive program and the context from

which it emerged. Because Gandhi was the originator and chief architect of the program, part of

this chapter focused on the factors that most influenced him to undertake such a comprehensive

endeavour. The intention behind this approach was twofold. The first intention was to enable the

constructive program to be broadly understood in context. The second intention was to

emphasize what Gandhi was trying to achieve with the program. Both are foundations for the

---

[172] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 28:398.
[173] Ibid, 92:69; 94:258.

analysis of Gandhi's constructive program using Johan Galtung's typologies of violence and

peace as a theoretical framework. I will explain these typologies in chapter two.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of chapter two is to introduce the theoretical framework I use to analyze

Mohandas K. Gandhi's constructive program. The framework is based on the theories of peace

and violence that Johan Galtung developed over six decades. He became interested in these

topics early in his life. He was ten years old when Germany invaded Norway in 1940, and during

the occupation his father was taken to a concentration camp.[174] These experiences had a

profound impact on Galtung: his interest in nonviolence as a way to avoid war and resist

occupation is not theoretical.[175] Gandhi's work with nonviolence also had a significant influence

on Galtung's research. While at university, he worked as assistant to philosopher Arne Naess on

a book on the political ethics of Gandhi.[176] This marked the beginning of Galtung's study of

Gandhi's work, which spanned decades.

Galtung works to promote peace, and is one of the founders of the field of peace studies.[177]

Since the 1960s, he has taught on the topic at many universities globally, and written much on

the subject. He has developed coherent frameworks for peace studies from a social science

perspective.[178] Now in his eighties, he continues to refer to Gandhi's work when explaining

concepts and theories.[179]

---

[174] Johan Galtung, *The Way is the Goal: Gandhi Today* (Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyapath, 1992), vii.
[175] Ibid, vii.
[176] Ibid, vii-ix.
[177] Thomas Weber, "The impact of Gandhi on the development of Johan Galtung's peace research," in *Global Change, Peace & Security: formerly Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change,* 16:1 (2004), 31, DOI: 10.1080/1478115042000176166; Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall, *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*, 3rd ed. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2011), 10.
[178] Johan Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means. Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 21-22. Conflictology is the science of conflicts. Johan Galtung, *Theories of Conflict: Definitions, Dimensions, Negations, Formations* (New York: Columbia University,

This chapter introduces Galtung's theories and explains how I will use them as a framework for the analysis. The first main section starts with his definition of violence. I go on to describe his typology of violence and the dynamics between the three forms: direct, structural, and cultural. In the next main section, I discuss Galtung's definition and typology of peace. I then explain my approach to the relationship between nonviolence and peace. In the final section, I explain how I will use these theories as a framework to analyze the constructive program. In the outline of the six steps of my analysis, I distinguish between the following three components: Galtung's theory, Gandhi's writings, and my own contributions. The chapter concludes with a summary.

<center>Theoretical Framework</center>

Violence

Galtung's Definition of Violence

Galtung's definition of violence is essential to understanding the typology that will be used to analyze Gandhi's constructive program. Galtung defines violence as: "avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to *life*, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible."[180] His definition centers on whether humans have influence in the case

---

1958), 35. Retrieved January 19, 2016 from
https://www.transcend.org/files/Galtung_Book_Theories_Of_Conflict_single.pdf; Galtung, *The Way is the Goal*, 35; Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means, vii.*
[179] For example, when discussing nonviolent conflict transformation in *Peace by Peaceful Means. Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 114-117. Galtung also referred to Gandhi to illustrate points in several places in his recent publication with Dietrich Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* (York, NY: Springer, 2013), 10, 37, 84, 87-88.
[180] Johan Galtung, "Cultural Violence," *Journal of Peace Research* 27.3 (1990), 292; emphasis in original text. In other work Galtung clarifies that he is referring to sentient life, which he defines as "that which is

where the fulfillment of basic needs is compromised, causing—in Galtung's words—"basic human needs deficits."[181] An avoidable cause of a needs deficit is one that is within the ability of humans to eliminate; it is possible to fulfill the needs in question. That is to say, an inability to satisfy needs is violence when people do not pursue available courses of action that would enable those needs to be met. Galtung describes the consequences as follows: "Violence to human beings hurt and harm body, mind and spirit."[182]

Direct and Structural Violence

Galtung distinguished between different forms of violence: direct and structural. The most visible form is direct violence; that is, intentional harm done by one or more people.[183] A second form is structural violence, which is indirectly inflicted through social systems.[184] Structural forms of violence affect specific groups of people through social constructions, such as institutions, organizations, processes and policies.[185] Structural violence is often not recognized as the cause of avoidable deficits in the realization of human needs.[186]

One major type of structural violence is exploitation: some people get more of their needs fulfilled from a social structure—such as an economic system—than others. In chapter three, I demonstrate that the export economy in British India is an example of exploitation that benefited Britain and harmed India. Galtung refers to this type of system as an unequal exchange, where

---

capable of suffering pain and enjoy well-being." See Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* (York, NY: Springer, 2013), 35.

[181] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 35.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 2.

[184] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (January 1969), 178.

[185] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 35.

[186] Paul Farmer, Margaret Connors, and Janie Simmons (eds.), *Women, Poverty, and AIDS: Sex, Drugs and Structural Violence*. 2nd ed. (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2011), chapters 1.

some people are advantaged and others are exploited. He identifies two levels, both of which

Indian peoples experienced under British rule. One is exploitation to the point of death, for

example from starvation or disease.[187] Under British rule, recurring famines amongst Indian

peoples resulted in a high death rate from starvation.[188]

A second level of exploitation results in debilitation or permanent misery, for example ill

health or malnutrition.[189] While individuals in such conditions may not die immediately, they are

weakened. Peace psychologist Daniel Christie is referring to this level of exploitation when he

says, "The systematic deprivation of material and nonmaterial resources [that] are necessary for

humans to reach their native potentials is a pervasive form of structural violence."[190] British

India provides an example: forty million people went through life on insufficient food and were

subsequently in poor health.[191]

A second major type of structural violence according to Galtung is repression. Repression

violates freedom in two senses: freedom *from* and freedom *to*.[192] Examples from the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights are freedom from fear and want; and freedom to speech and belief:

- "Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts
  which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which
  human beings shall enjoy *freedom of speech and belief* and *freedom from fear and
  want* has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,"[193]

---

[187] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 293; Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 37.

[188] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 2:17.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Christie, "Reducing Direct and Structural Violence," 323.

[191] See chapter one.

[192] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 293.

[193] UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948), Preamble; emphasis added.

- "Everyone has the right to *freedom of opinion and expression*; this right includes *freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.*"[194]

Repression prevents freedom through marginalization and fragmentation.[195] Marginalization is the relegation of people to the periphery of society. Marginalized people are prevented from influencing matters that affect them.[196] The repression of women in India is an example of marginalization. In Gandhi's words, "Woman has been suppressed under custom and law for which man was responsible and in the shaping of which she had no hand."[197] Fragmentation occurs through ongoing processes that either separate groups of people, or prevent those with common interests from recognizing shared concerns.[198] In chapter three, I demonstrate that the disunity between Hindus and Muslims in British India was an example of fragmentation. According to Galtung, repression prevents those negatively affected by structural violence, such as exploitation, from working together to overcome it.[199]

A third major type of structural violence is alienation. Galtung defines alienation as a deficit in the satisfaction of human identity and meaning needs, which in the extreme results in what he refers to as "spiritual death."[200] Segmentation and penetration are the structural ways in which people are alienated. Segmentation refers to divisions or compartmentalization between the social contexts—the places, people and cultural influences—that a person moves through as time

---

[194] UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Article 19; emphasis added.

[195] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 292.

[196] David Harvey, *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 336-337.

[197] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 16.

[198] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 294; Johan Galtung, "International Development in Human Perspective," in *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, ed. John Burton (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 323.

[199] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 38; Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 199.

[200] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 197.

passes, for example, in the course of a day. Lack of continuity in social contexts can result in the alienation of an individual.[201] Segmentation can be a positive influence, by providing new experiences. Gandhi is an example of an individual for whom meaning and his identity were strengthened by exposure to different social contexts in Britain and South Africa. However, segmentation is disruptive, and can create too much instability and a lack of coherence in the socialization of an individual, leading to alienation.[202]

Language is fundamental to communication, enabling culture to be shared and nurtured. According to Galtung, segmentation can happen through the prohibition of languages, whereby humans become desocialized from their own culture. The imposition of another language resocializes them to a new culture. [203]

Penetration is another form of structural violence that results in the alienation of people. Penetration is when victims of structural violence think and act like perpetrators, thus inadvertently reinforcing unjust structures.[204] Indian persons educated in British schools were victims of penetration when they embraced and perpetuated foreign beliefs.[205]

While the focus of the definitions and examples provided above is on the human impact, Galtung is clear that the scope of structural violence is much broader. Harm from structural violence can extend beyond humans to other life forms and the systems that support life. For example, structural violence includes human-induced ecological degradation, and the exploitation of animals.[206]

---

[201] Galtung, "International Development in Human Perspective," 324-325.
[202] Ibid, 324.
[203] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 293.
[204] Ibid, 293-294.
[205] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 48:215.
[206] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 60, 197.

Cultural Violence

Galtung proposes a third form of violence, based on his recognition that the symbolic sphere of human existence is relevant to understanding violence and peace.[207] Cultural violence is the set of socially constructed aspects of human life that legitimizes direct and structural violence, making them seem normal and even inevitable.[208] Cultural violence makes it possible for people to accept and justify direct violence, and to not be aware of systemic exploitation, repression, and alienation. As Galtung says, "The culture preaches, teaches, admonishes, eggs on, and dulls us into seeing exploitation and/or repression as normal and natural, or into not seeing them (particularly not exploitation) at all."[209] Cultural violence constrains people by narrowing the scope of their thinking and limiting the range of options that they deem acceptable or even desirable.

Cultural violence is expressed through all of the different yet mutually reinforcing symbolic aspects of human existence, such as language, art, religion, ideology, science and logic.[210] A culture is not necessarily violent in its entirety. A subset of specific aspects of the symbolic realm may legitimize and reinforce structural and direct violence. Examples illustrate how this can happen.

Language is one of the ways that cultural violence can be expressed. Galtung provides the example of certain languages that "make women invisible by using the same word for the male gender as for the entire human species. The important movement for non-sexist writing is a good

---

[207] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 208.
[208] Ibid, 2, 200.
[209] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 295.
[210] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 196.

example of deliberate cultural transformation away from cultural violence."[211] This example

makes two significant points. The first point is that harmful ways of thinking that affect social

interactions can be built into and conveyed through the structures of a language. The second

point is that the expression of cultural violence through language is not inevitable. Language is

constructed by humans and can therefore be changed: gendered language can be transformed into

inclusive language. Galtung contends that German and the Scandinavian languages do not make

women invisible.[212]

    Religion is a second way that cultural violence can be established. Galtung examines the

negative consequences that follow from the religious construct of a transcendental god to

illustrate this. A transcendental god represents the encapsulation of the sacred in a being that is

outside of us. Galtung argues that the depiction of the sacred as a supreme being of a specific

gender—adopted by multiple religions—has had harmful consequences for thousands of years.

The idea of a transcendental god enables dualistic thinking and clear dichotomies between good

and evil, and the notion that some people are closer to God and above others.[213] The

representation of evil outside of us in the form of Satan raises the possibility of categories of

people: those chosen by God and those explicitly not, and instead chosen by Satan. Galtung

contends that the result is "social class as the finger of God."[214] The negative influence of the

idea of a transcendental god on human thinking illustrates one of many ways in which religious

constructs can establish and perpetuate cultural violence. Gandhi focused on another example of

cultural violence through religion: the concept of untouchability in Hinduism. The negative

ramifications of untouchability will be discussed in chapter three.

---

[211] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 204-205.
[212] Ibid, 204.
[213] Ibid, 201.
[214] Ibid, 202.

Galtung refers to cultural violence as permanent or invariant because it is built into a culture

and can persist unchanged for a relatively long time.[215] The longevity of cultures beyond the

lifespan of individuals contributes to the perception that a way of thinking or doing something is

normal or inevitable. Persons can express cultural violence through their worldview without fully

understanding the consequences because it is not within their awareness; it may not be

intentional. However, the examples above of the ways in which language and religion can instill

cultural violence show that the violent aspects of the symbolic realm of human existence are not

inevitable. Culture is socially constructed and interpreted by humans.

Dynamics of Violence

The three forms of violence interact reciprocally, reinforcing each other in ongoing cycles.

Galtung suggests two different images for the dynamics between cultural, structural, and direct

violence: a triangle and strata.[216] A two dimensional triangle can be used to illustrate the three

forms of violence, with one on each point or side of the triangle. The resulting violence triangle

enables the relationships between the forms to be examined from many different angles. The

triangle emphasizes the point that no one form is more important than another. All three

reinforce each other. It also facilitates studying the dynamics between the three from different

perspectives, depending on the triangle orientation and position of each form of violence.

The other image Galtung uses is that of strata, with cultural violence as a lower layer

providing the foundation and "nourishment" for the middle and top layers, which are structural

and direct violence, respectively. The middle layer of structural violence consists of societies

---

[215] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 199.
[216] Ibid, 199.

organized in exploitive ways, protected by, in Galtung's words "penetration-segmentation preventing consciousness formation, and fragmentation-marginalization preventing organization against exploitation and repression."[217] Galtung describes the visible top layer as the "direct cruelty perpetrated by human beings against each other and against other forms of life and nature in general."[218] The strata imagery suggests that while direct violence will happen as an isolated event, it is not likely that direct violence will recur or continue in the absence of nourishment, cause, and support from layers of cultural and structural violence.

Both of Galtung's images are useful, in that they compel one to identify and distinguish between the three forms of violence and examine the dynamics from multiple perspectives. They illustrate how the different forms of violence create reinforcing cycles. Real-world situations can be represented through these images to demonstrate the specific ways in which violence breeds violence.

Peace

The second main element of the framework that will be used to analyze Gandhi's constructive program is based on Galtung's theories of peace. Galtung defines peace in relation to violence. The following section builds on the theories of violence discussed above.

Galtung's Definition of Peace

Galtung first defined peace in terms of violence in 1969, when he stated that peace requires two conditions to be fulfilled: a negative condition and a positive one. Negative peace is the

---

[217] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 199-200.
[218] Ibid.

absence of direct violence. Positive peace is the presence of social justice, which he equated to

the absence of structural violence.[219] Galtung's definition of peace gained clarity over the next

three decades.[220] By the mid-1990s, Galtung defined the two parts of peace as: the state achieved

through the absence of all three forms of violence; and the presence of "nonviolent and creative

conflict transformation" processes that recreate the state of peace.[221] With this definition, it

becomes clear that peace is a never-ending process.[222]

Direct, Structural, Cultural Peace

   Galtung's definitions of direct, structural, and cultural peace parallel his definitions of the

three forms of violence. Direct peace is intentional good, through "acts of cooperation,

friendliness and love."[223] Structural peace is systematic good imposed through social systems. It

is built into socially constructed systems such as institutions, organizations, processes and

policies. Galtung describes structural peace as the "symbiotic and equitable relations among

diverse partners."[224] He conceptualizes structures of peace as "symmetry, reciprocity, equity; the

'equiarchy' opposed to hierarchy."[225] Cultural peace justifies and supports direct and structural

peace, and delegitimizes and discourages all forms of violence. According to Galtung, it

---

[219] Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," 183.
[220] Galtung, "Cultural Violence."
[221] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 9.
[222] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 265; Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 129.
[223] Galtung, "Cultural Violence," 302.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 136.

"legitimizes creative, nonviolent handling of conflict, ruling out physical and verbal violence."[226] Cultures of peace promote peace.[227]

Galtung neither explains his definitions of direct, structural, and cultural peace as fully as he does for violence, nor does he illustrate them sufficiently through examples.[228] They are a relatively late introduction to his theories in 1996, and to my knowledge he has not elaborated on them since. To be clear, Galtung continues to publish on this topic, but does not elaborate further on these concepts.[229]

In his limited discussion on cultural peace, Galtung includes his thoughts on Gandhi's perspective. He proposes that the two principles that summarize Gandhi's responses to cultural violence were unity of life and unity of means and ends.[230] Galtung describes unity "in terms of closeness, against separation. In our mental universe all forms of life, particularly human life, should enjoy closeness and not be kept apart by steep Self-Other gradients that drive wedges in *social space*."[231] Social space presumably comprises all relations and interactions between humans. However, Galtung is clear on the breadth of the scope from Gandhi's perspective with this statement: "unity of life means enhancing *all* life, not just human life; and all human life, not just the categories chosen by some."[232] His view was that cultural peace for Gandhi was life-enhancing for all life forms.

---

[226] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 266.
[227] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 151.
[228] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 265-266.
[229] For example, the discussion of these concepts in *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* does not add anything substantive to what he wrote in 1996. See Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* (York, NY: Springer, 2013).
[230] See also Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 205.
[231] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 207, Galtung's emphasis.
[232] Ibid.

Galtung does not mention the doctrine of advaita, however I believe it is this that underlies what he refers to as unity of life. Advaita is non-duality, or oneness through the identity of the individual self with the universal self.[233] Gandhi embraced advaita wholeheartedly, as illustrated in the following statement in 1927:[234]

> I believe in the rock-bottom doctrine of Advaita and my interpretation of Advaita excludes totally any idea of superiority at any stage whatsoever. I believe implicitly that all men are born equal. All—whether born in India or in England or America or in any circumstances whatsoever—have the same soul as any other. And it is because I believe in this inherent equality of all men that I fight the doctrine of superiority which many of our rulers arrogate to themselves.[235]

The second principle that according to Galtung summarizes Gandhi's approach to cultural peace was unity of means and ends. He defines unity here in terms of the degree of closeness between action and results: "they should not be kept separate by long causal chains that drive wedges in *social time*."[236] The means by which an end is achieved must return the same good that is desired from the ends. As Galtung states, "If the end is livelihood, then the means has to be life-enhancing."[237] Methods must be good in themselves and at this moment, not in terms of distant goals, far in the future.

Dynamics of Peace

The unity of means and ends emphasizes the point that the state of peace—the absence of all forms of violence—requires ongoing, nonviolent action to strengthen the cycle of nonviolence. Just as cultural, structural, and direct violence reinforce each other in cycles of violence, so too

---

[233] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 63:212; 39:78; 29:408; 62:318.
[234] Ibid, 47:158.
[235] Ibid, 40:121; Advaita is the view that the atman, the self in man, is not distinct from the Brahman, the Absolute.
[236] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 207, Galtung's emphasis.
[237] Ibid, 207.

do the direct, structural, and cultural forms of peace reinforce each other. Changing a culture to promote harmony and peace can prevent and stop direct and structural violence.[238] However, Galtung argues that the process has to be intentional and comprehensive.[239] He states: "Transformations do not just happen. They are willed… This in turn means that the processes of articulation and conscientization are absolutely essential. …The problem is that this image may become too complex to be manageable."[240]

The path to peace requires transformation in all aspects of human existence, including (but not limited to) the deep cultures of civilizations, conflict, development, economics, and politics. The prospect is complex and overwhelming, but the message is clear: a comprehensive approach is required to transform cycles of violence to cycles of nonviolence and achieve peace.

Nonviolence and Peace

Galtung's definition of peace includes the presence of nonviolent and creative conflict transformation. However, it is not clear how Galtung distinguishes between peace and nonviolence. In his 1992 publication *The Way is the Goal: Gandhi Today*, Galtung describes a social structure form of nonviolence as a "gradually starting alternative way of life…building up alternative structures."[241] He highlights two points of interest in this form of nonviolence. One is that it focuses on changing the behavioural patterns of whole societies. The second is it is not positioned as something that starts and finishes; instead the structural process becomes a part of

---

[238] Ervin Staub, "Notes on Cultures of Violence, Cultures of Caring and Peace, and the Fulfillment of Basic Human Needs," *Political Psychology* 24.1 (2003), 1.
[239] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 99-101
[240] Ibid, 101.
[241] Galtung, *The Way is the Goal*, 132.

social life.[242] Evolving processes—as opposed to finite actions—are required when the desired

change is cultural and structural. The important point for this discussion is that Galtung is

discussing nonviolence (and in particular, Gandhi's understanding of it), not peace.

What is the difference between structural nonviolence and structural peace? Galtung's

perspective on this is unclear. In 1996, he wrote, "Peace is a revolutionary proposition. Needed is

not only a peace culture, but also a peace structure; the two peace system characteristics, shaping

the actors nonviolently and creatively, and vice versa."[243] Galtung did not discuss what he meant

by peace culture and peace structure in enough detail to enable them to be distinguished from

cultural nonviolence and structural nonviolence.

For the purposes of the analysis in chapter three, I apply Galtung's typology of cultural,

structural, and direct to nonviolence rather than peace. I do this for two reasons. The first reason,

as pointed out above, is that Galtung was clear that peace required ongoing nonviolence, but did

not clearly articulate the relationship between the different forms of peace—cultural, structural,

and direct—and nonviolence. This lack of a clear relationship makes it challenging to

consistently categorize what Gandhi referred to as nonviolence into Galtung's typology of peace.

The second reason is that Gandhi himself describes the constructive program as nonviolence.

I contend that it is reasonable to assume that Galtung's typology applies to nonviolence, at

least until an argument against doing so becomes apparent. By using the categories of cultural,

structural, and direct nonviolence, I benefit from Galtung's theories while also remaining

confident that my analysis accurately reflects nonviolence according to Gandhi.

---

[242] Galtung, *The Way is the Goal*, 132, 135.
[243] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 266.

Framework for Analyzing the Constructive Program

Galtung's typology provides a framework for analyzing specific forms of violence, and specific forms of nonviolence. The analysis in the next chapter will consist of the following six steps:

1. Determine the violence for which each element of the constructive program is a response, based on published texts of Gandhi's speeches and writings.
2. Categorize the violence using Galtung's typology of cultural, structural, and direct violence. The categorized violence provides the data for the next step.
3. Identify patterns that emerge from examining the categorized violence across all eighteen elements of the program.
4. Determine the specific nonviolent practices that constitute each element of the constructive program, based on what Gandhi himself said and wrote about the program.
5. Categorize each specific nonviolent practice using the typology of cultural, structural, and direct nonviolence. The categorized responses provide the data for the next step.
6. Identify patterns that emerge from examining the categorized nonviolence across all eighteen elements of the program.

Summary

The theoretical framework that will be used to analyze Gandhi's constructive program is based on Johan Galtung's theories of violence and peace. Galtung is one of the founders of peace studies, and he defines violence as avoidable deficits in basic human needs that hurt and harm body, mind and spirit.[244] He identifies three forms of violence: direct, structural, and cultural. Direct violence is visible, intended harm inflicted by one or more people. The structural forms are indirectly inflicted through social systems, and often not recognized as violence. Cultural

---

[244] Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research* (York, NY: Springer, 2013), 35.

violence is the socially constructed aspects of the symbolic sphere that convince people that direct and structural violence are normal, acceptable, and even necessary. Direct, structural, and cultural violence interact in reciprocal relationships that create ongoing cycles of violence.

Galtung defines peace as both processes and a state. Peace is the ongoing processes of nonviolent and creative conflict transformation, and it is the state marked by the absence of all forms of violence. Like violence, peace comes in direct, structural, and cultural forms that reinforce each other. Peace is complex because it requires transformation in all aspects of human existence. A comprehensive approach is required; ordinarily the prospect is overwhelming.

Galtung's theories can be used as a framework for detailed analyses of the dynamics between specific instances, structures and cultures of violence and specific instances, structures and cultures of nonviolence. I will use Galtung's typology to analyze the specific forms of violence and of nonviolence encompassed by Gandhi's constructive program.

Chapter Three: Analysis

Introduction

The premise of my thesis is that the constructive program was Mohandas K. Gandhi's

nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence in India. In this chapter I use Johan

Galtung's theories as a framework to analyze the eighteen elements presented in chapter one. In

the first section I use the typology to assess the violence to which each element was responsive.

In the second section I use the typology to assess the specific nonviolent practices that Gandhi

advocated for each element. My assessment demonstrates the forms and specific examples of

cultural and structural nonviolence each element encompassed.

The Forms of Violence to which Each Constructive Program Element was Responsive

The purpose of this section is to examine Gandhi's constructive program in terms of the

cultural, structural, and direct violence to which each element was responsive. Of the eighteen

elements of the program, I discuss in depth the following three: khadi, removal of untouchability,

and communal unity. [245] I then provide a cursory assessment of the full set of eighteen elements

in a table. I consider patterns that emerge from examining my cursory assessment of the different

forms of violence across the entire program.

---

[245] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the many critiques of the constructive program.
However, even some who worked in support of the program—such as Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar—
disagreed with Gandhi on particular points. For example, Dr. Ambedkar —who worked tirelessly on
behalf of untouchables to eradicate caste—argued strongly for separate electorates for the untouchables,
which Gandhi contended would "ensure them bondage in perpetuity." Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 54:83-
84; Aakash Singh, "Gandhi and Ambedkar: Irreconcilable Differences?" in *International Journal of
Hindu Studies* 18, no. 3 (2014), doi 10.1007/s11407-014-9167-5. A second example is Rabindranath
Tagore's criticism of the importance attributed to spinning in the program. Gandhi, *Collected Works*,
33:468-470.

As discussed in the previous chapter, I draw from published texts of Gandhi's speeches and writings to determine the violence for which each element of the constructive program was responsive. Since Gandhi did not use Galtung's terminology, my second step requires me to interpret the violence presented in terms of its cultural, structural, and direct forms. The khadi element is a good place to start, since it was central to Gandhi's constructive program.

Violence to which the Khadi Element was Responsive

In this section I demonstrate that in India, industrialization and the export economy constituted structural violence. As discussed in chapter one, the large scale centralized production of textiles and clothing benefited Britain but penalized a large proportion of the population of India. Industrialization and the export economy structured the lives of Indian peoples in three specific ways that resulted in harm.[246]

One type of structural harm occurred because industrial clothing mills replaced local, hand-made production of textiles. The impact was an increase in unemployment and widespread, extreme poverty.[247] Gandhi concluded industrialization was at the root of the problem: "Millions of workmen must not live on the margin of starvation so that the few engaged in production by power-driven machinery may have more than they need."[248]

A second type of structural harm occurred because mills provided poor working conditions and low pay, relative to the cost of living.[249] As discussed in chapter one, low wages meant that Indian peoples employed in clothing mills had trouble earning enough for themselves and their families. Though employed, many were starving due to the low salaries they were paid and their

---

[246] See chapter one.
[247] See chapter one.
[248] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 67: 379.
[249] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, XIX; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 14:455.

increased cost of living.[250] Galtung used the term exploitation to describe this form of structural violence.

A third type of structural harm was the result of obligations to grow large-scale crops for export, such as indigo and cotton. Peasants were left with insufficient land for cultivating food crops. Their only options were unemployment or to pay property owners exorbitant rent to work the land. The impact was an increase in unemployment and widespread, extreme poverty.[251] Peasants did not have the means to meet their basic needs. Gandhi noted that too many in India were homeless, starving, and naked.[252] The nakedness of the very poor made their plight all too visible. As Gandhi said, "The skeletons in this country have no other covering except the skin. I have wept to see them. If you saw them, you also would weep and ask: 'Is that the people's condition?'"[253]

The combination of the industrialization of the clothing and textiles industry and the export economy in British India constituted structural violence. One specific form was exploitation. Gandhi said as much a few times, such as when he said in 1931: "Industrialism is, I am afraid, going to be a curse for mankind. Exploitation of one nation by another cannot go on for all time."[254]

The exploitation was legitimized and reinforced by beliefs that were introduced under British rule. One was the belief that India needed Britain and benefited from British rule.[255] A second was that modern civilization and progress required industrialization and an export economy.[256] A

---

[250] Naoroji, *Poverty*, 85.
[251] See chapter one.
[252] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 19:14; 41, 78.
[253] Ibid, 28: 398.
[254] Ibid, 54:84-85; see also 71:119.
[255] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*.
[256] Ibid.

third was that wearing British clothing was a symbol of modern progress and social status,

whereas wearing local clothing was uncivilized.[257] A fourth was that clothing mills provided

employment and thereby reduced poverty.[258] Together, these viewpoints constituted cultural

violence because their acceptance obscured the structural violence inherent in industrialization

and the export economy.

Violence to which the Removal of Untouchability Element was Responsive

In this section I demonstrate that the custom of untouchability in the Hindu religion

constituted multiple forms of structural violence. I also discuss the cultural violence expressed

through untouchability. Throughout, I use the term Harijans to refer to Hindus who were not

born to one of the four castes. [259]

The custom of untouchability constituted the type of structural violence that Galtung refers to

as repression, which prevents freedom. Gandhi illustrated some of the ways that Harijans were

denied freedom with this statement in 1917: "The tea-seller will not hand him tea nor the

shopkeeper sell him goods.[260] He listed other examples in 1921:"[T]o segregate them, to drive

them to live on the outskirts of the village …That an untouchable cannot live in our

neighbourhood and cannot own land, that an untouchable…should not be permitted to sit with us

in the train—this is not Hinduism."[261] Galtung refers to the type of structural violence that

Gandhi described as fragmentation. The segregation of Harijans—which Gandhi referred to as

---

[257] Ibid, chapter VI.
[258] Naoroji, *Poverty*, 82.
[259] Gandhi referred to low-caste Hindus (so-called untouchables) as Harijans, which means God's folk. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 14:354.
[260] Ibid, 16:139-140.
[261] Ibid, 22:316.

"their awful isolation"[262]—was the means by which Harijans and other Hindus were kept apart.

Gandhi illustrated how fragmentation marginalized Harijans: "No Hindu is willing to teach him.

He cannot dwell in a proper house." [263] The resulting lack of education and "proper" home

further pushed Harijans to the periphery of Hindu society. Fragmentation marginalized Harijans

by preventing them influence over their own lives. As discussed in chapter two, marginalization

and fragmentation are the means by which freedom is denied to groups of people. Galtung

referred to this form of structural violence as repression.[264] Untouchability repressed Harijans by

denying them the freedom to participate in society as equal human beings.

As discussed in chapter two, Galtung defines repression as violating freedom in two senses:

freedom to—illustrated above as freedom to participate in society as equal human beings—and

freedom from fear and want. Harijans were denied freedom from fear and want when, for

example, they were made to crawl, they were beaten, given left-over food, and given dirty and

torn clothing to wear.[265] These examples of abuse and ill treatment illustrate how the structural

violence of repression is intertwined with direct violence. Each instance of abuse and ill

treatment can be identified as direct violence: there were actors to whom the actions of abuse and

poor treatment could be attributed. However, the structural influence of repression is at work

because the direct violence was focused on Harijans as a group. Harijans did not have freedom

from fear and want.

Untouchability resulted from distinctions of superiority and inferiority being attached to

groups of Hindus by birth.[266] Gandhi argued that untouchability as a system of superiority and

---

[262] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7.
[263] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 16:139-140.
[264] See chapter two.
[265] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 16:139-140; 22:316.
[266] Ibid, 22:368; 22:405; 53:169; 59:275.

inferiority was not supported by Hindu texts.[267] In his words, "I venture to say that there is absolutely no warrant in our scriptures for such inhuman treatment of our fellow-beings."[268] The idea of superiority and inferiority between groups of Hindus constituted cultural violence by legitimizing and reinforcing the repression, abuse and ill treatment discussed above.

Gandhi argued that untouchability had deep ramifications that went far beyond the cruel treatment of Harijans. Galtung's theories on the dynamics between different forms of violence illustrate Gandhi's arguments, as follows.[269] The acceptance of the categorization of Hindus into superior and inferior people made it possible to accept the idea that British peoples were superior to Indian peoples. In other words, a specific belief that constituted cultural violence fostered additional cultural violence. As discussed in chapter two, structural violence and direct violence can also reinforce cultural violence. The custom of treating Harijans poorly reinforced the idea that some people deserve better treatment than others.

Gandhi argued that the idea of superiority and the practice of treating Harijans poorly undermined the moral basis of the nonviolent independence movement: Hindus who accepted untouchability had no moral basis for rejecting British rule. In his words, "You cannot promote a cause when you are undermining it by surrendering its vital parts."[270] Gandhi repeatedly argued

---

[267] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 30:460; 32:286; 33:206-207; 40:230; 40:385-387; 59:425; 60:164. Note that Gandhi's contention that there was no scriptural sanction for inhuman treatment of human beings is not correct. However, he states:

> It is no good quoting verses from *Manusmriti* and other scriptures in defence of this orthodoxy [untouchability]. A number of verses in these scriptures are apocryphal, a number of them are quite meaningless. Then again, I have not so far come across any Hindu who obeys or wants to obey every injunction contained in *Manusmriti*. And it is easy to prove that one who does this will, in the end, be himself polluted. The *Sanatana Dharma* will not be saved by defending every verse printed in the scriptures. It will be saved only by putting into action the principles enunciated in them—principles that are eternal. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 16:139.

[268] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 30:460.
[269] See chapter two.
[270] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:6.

that the acceptance of the idea of superiority inherent in untouchability was a barrier to India's

independence. For example, with this statement:

> So long as we regard one of our own limbs as untouchable, we ourselves, Hindus, and our neighbours, the Muslims and others, will remain the untouchables that we have become. I am convinced that the Hindu society has fallen because of the evil of untouchability. Thanks to our sin, we ourselves have become untouchables. We looked upon the Antyajas as untouchables in the name of religion; the Government, too, has reduced us to the position of untouchables in the sincere belief that it was doing its duty in this. Like the Antyajas, *we too have accepted as natural and carry the stigma, branded by foreigners, of being untouchables*. Besides, just as we argue that the Antyajas themselves do not consider it an insult to be treated as untouchables, the Government too argues that we accept our inferior status as natural and that it is a few revolutionaries like Gandhi who, misleading the people, describe their natural state as degradation.[271]

Violence to which the Communal Unity Element was Responsive

In this section I demonstrate that the community unity element of the constructive program

was responsive to both cultural and structural violence. Galtung's theories on the dynamics

between different forms of violence are illustrated in two ways. The first is through an

examination of the influence of untouchability on disunity between Hindus and Muslims. The

second is through an examination of the ways in which the cultural, structural, and direct forms

of violence were legitimized by Hindu-Muslim disunity, and reinforced each other.

Gandhi argued that the removal of untouchability from Hinduism was necessary to achieve

communal unity. In his words, "When Hinduism is perfectly reformed and purged of the last

trace of untouchability, there will be no communal problem left."[272] Galtung's theories on the

dynamics between forms of violence explain Gandhi's point as follows. As discussed in the

---

[271] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 21:511, 512; Antyajas refers to the lowest caste among Hindus: so-called untouchables; italics added. Gandhi first expressed these views in writing in 1907, in describing the segregation of Indians in South Africa. See ibid, 7:17; 14:429; and 15:200-201.
[272] Ibid, 91:300-301.

previous section, the cultural violence that reinforced untouchability fostered the association of

differences with ideas of superiority and inferiority. This way of thinking made it possible for

Hindus to think of religions—and by extension, their followers—as superior or inferior. The

removal of the cultural and structural violence of untouchability from Hinduism was necessary to

undermine the cycles of violence that supported disunity between Hindus and peoples of other

faiths, such as Muslims. Gandhi's conclusion was:

> We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of
> untouchability. Untouchability is a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals
> of Hindu society...No man of God can consider another man as inferior to
> himself. He must consider every man as his blood-brother. It is the cardinal
> principle of every religion.[273]

In addition to the general idea of superiority or inferiority of religions, there were specific

forms of cultural violence reinforcing disunity between Hindus and Muslims. For example,

Gandhi argued that disunity between Hindus and Muslims was fostered with the false idea that

the introduction of Islam unmade the nation of India. This idea posited that differences and

enmity between the two prohibited them becoming one nation.[274] Gandhi argued that religious

differences did not destroy a nation. In his words, "In no part of the world are one nationality and

one religion synonymous terms; nor has it ever been so in India."[275] He also contended that

proverbs, created at a time in history when Hindus and Muslims fought, emphasized hostility that

no longer existed.[276] These proverbs perpetuated the false idea that there is inborn enmity

between Hindus and Muslims, and that they have an enduring history of fighting each other.[277]

---

[273] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:368.
[274] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, chapters IX.
[275] Ibid, chapters X.
[276] Ibid IX, X.
[277] Ibid, chapters X.

Antagonism between Hindus and Muslims was also implied in a number of other ways. An example was newspapers exaggerating simple differences of opinion and highlighting trivial cases of misunderstandings, while not mentioning cases of Hindus and Muslims peacefully co-existing and even supporting each other.[278] Media distortions contributed to feelings of hostility through superficial, inaccurate, one-sided, and dishonest reports.[279] These misrepresentations contributed to disunity between followers of the two religions, creating mutually reinforcing cycles of cultural violence.

The communal unity element of the constructive program illustrates how different forms of violence can strengthen each other. For example, the cultural violence described above fostered structural violence in the form of fragmentation, which prevented Hindus and Muslims from uniting against their shared concerns: repression under British rule.[280] The idea of disunity between Hindus and Muslims legitimized the structural violence of fragmentation through segregation: separate services, schools, and businesses.[281] The resulting lack of personal contact with each other allowed misconceptions to continue, which reinforced mutual distrust. Disunity legitimized the use of rude language, scorn for, and fighting amongst people of different faiths.[282] Instances of direct violence such as these in turn reinforced the expectation of enmity between Hindus and Muslims. Thus, each form of violence strengthened and was strengthened by, the other forms.

---

[278] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 27:206-209; 29:194; 39:454-455.
[279] Gandhi describes one example in *Freedom's Battle: Being a Comprehensive Collection of Writings and Speeches on the Present Situation, 2nd ed.* (Auckland: The Floating Press, [1922] 2014), 7, 8.
[280] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 199.
[281] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5.
[282] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 17:401.

Overall Assessment of the Violence

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the violence to which all eighteen elements of the constructive program was responsive. However, an examination of the overall set reveals patterns. I provide a cursory assessment of the cultural, structural, and direct violence to which each of the eighteen elements of the constructive program was responsive in Table 1. For the three elements that have been discussed in detail—khadi, the removal of untouchability, and communal unity—Table 1 provides a summary of the forms of violence demonstrated through my discussion. For the remaining fifteen elements of the constructive program, the cell contents reflect my cursory assessment of the categories of violence to which each element was responsive.

The purpose of the table is twofold. One, it illustrates the thesis premise, which is that the constructive program was Gandhi's nonviolent response to cultural and structural violence in India. Two, it enables the cursory assessment for all elements in the program to be presented on one page. One benefit of using a table to organize this information is the visibility of patterns. For example, I use colour-coding to indicate which groups of peoples—British or Indian—most influenced the culture, structures, or behaviours presented in the table. These and other generalizations throughout the cursory assessment are not absolutes: others may not organize the material this way. Thus, Table 1 is not an actual accounting of the constructive program. It represents my assessment of the connection between Gandhi's intentions for each element, and the typologies of Galtung's theoretical framework.[283] I indicate my use of Galtung's terminology within each cell of the table in **bold**. Table 1 is shown on the next page.

---

[283] Discussed in chapters one and two, respectively.

Table 1: Violence to which each Constructive Program Element was Responsive[284]

Legend: main influences, actors were British   main influences, actors were Indian

	Cultural Violence	Structural Violence	Direct Violence
Khadi	progress = industrialization, export economy; mills decrease poverty	industrialization, export economy = **structural violence**, **exploitation**	
Removal of untouchability	distinctions of Hindu superiority, inferiority by birth	**repression: fragmentation, marginalization**	abuse, ill-treatment
Communal unity	idea of superiority, inferiority of religions	**fragmentation** between peoples of different faiths	scorn, fight with persons of other faiths
Other village industries	progress = industrialization, export economy	industrialization, export economy = **structural violence**, **exploitation**	
[285]Women	women are subordinate to men	**repression**, **marginalization** of women through laws, customs	
[286]Kisans	peasants are subordinate	**exploitation**, **repression**, **marginalization** of peasants	
[287]Labour	workers are subordinate	**exploitation** of workers; ignore, denounce, or support worker grievances with violence	
[288]Adivasis	Adivasis are subordinate	**fragmentation** of Adivasis; **repression** of, unconcern for Adivasis	
Basic or new education		neglect education; teach foreign content and perspectives; British paradigm for education	
Adult education		neglect adult education or limit it to literacy; ignore "dread and hatred" of foreigners[289]	
[290]Students	higher education = college, university which provides a career, "entrance to the charmed circle"	British paradigms for higher education and politics; attend college or university; engage in politics using British model	
[291]Education in health, hygiene	ignorance of and disregard for laws of health and hygiene	lack of education, support for good health and hygiene	poor personal health and hygiene habits
[292]Village sanitation	indifference towards village sanitation	lack of education, support to prevent pollution of communal space	pollute common spaces, water sources
[293]Provincial languages	provincial languages are not modern	**alienation**; schools teach English; limit or stop local language use	
[294]National language	English means education and progress; strive to learn English	**alienation**; learn, use English; conduct All-India business in English	
[295]Prohibition	use of intoxicants is customary	import, encourage spread of alcohol, narcotics ignore alcoholism and addiction	take alcohol, narcotics
[296]Economic equality	capitalism; strive to amass wealth at the expense of others	support private institutions, individual profit; acquire, keep personal wealth	
[297]Lepers	fear of leprosy	**fragmentation**, neglect of people with leprosy; ignore their plight	avoid people with leprosy

---

[284] Table 1 does not include citations for previously discussed points. Footnotes apply to the entire row.
[285] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 16.
[286] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 22; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 77:146-147.
[287] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 22; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 77:146-147.
[288] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 77:146-147; 82:1; 89:157.
[289] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 15.
[290] Ibid, 27.
[291] Ibid, 17.
[292] Ibid, 13.
[293] Ibid, 18, 27.
[294] Ibid, 19.
[295] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 1:22; 28:387. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 8.
[296] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 20; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 51:296; 64:203-204; 72:258.
[297] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 8:253; 92:159. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 26.

Patterns in the Violence

In this section I consider patterns that emerge from an examination of Table 1. Two important observations can be made. The first is that there is a lack of emphasis on direct violence in Gandhi's descriptions of the constructive program. The second observation is that British rule did not account for all of the violence experienced by Indian peoples.

Predominance of Cultural and Structural Violence

There is a lack of reference to direct violence in Gandhi's explanation of each of the elements of the program. In *The Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, direct violence is discussed in the overview of less than half of the eighteen elements. While not completely ignored, it was not a focus. This stands out in stark contrast to the tendency for direct violence to dominate contemporary discourse.

One benefit of focusing on cultural and structural violence is that it prevents the tendency to focus on the actors responsible for direct violence, which diverts attention from underlying root causes. A second benefit of focusing on cultural and structural violence is that it provides an understanding of the specific conditions that contribute to a cycle of violence. This in turn enables the identification of practical steps that can be taken to change the cycle into one of nonviolence.

Main Influences and Actors in the Violence

For each element of the constructive program listed in Table 1, I have indicated whether each type of violence could most likely be attributed to British or Indian influences and peoples. My

purpose in making such broad generalizations is to show that Gandhi understood that some of the forms of violence originated primarily from British rule and influences, whereas others originated primarily from Indian influences. I will demonstrate that this distinction is apparent throughout the eighteen elements of the program.

The colour coding emphasizes the point that British rule did not account for all of the violence experienced by Indian peoples. Five of the constructive program elements were responsive to forms of violence established through aspects of Indian customs. These five elements were: the removal of untouchability, women, education in health and hygiene, village sanitation, and lepers. For the following three elements, Gandhi attributed most of the violence to Indian customs: communal unity, basic or new education, and adult education.[298] In addition, Indian peoples were responsible for all of the direct violence mentioned in the 1945 overview of the constructive program. Thus, when Gandhi mentioned direct violence in the context of the constructive program, he focused strictly on that which was under the control of Indian peoples.[299]

The extent of the cultural, structural, and direct violence under Indian influence reinforced Gandhi's point that the eradication of poverty and freedom for everyone in India could not be achieved simply by removing British rule. The colour-coding in Table 1 clearly shows the specific areas in which Indian influences, not British, were responsible for the violence that prevented others in their own country from achieving freedom. The constructive program demonstrates the specific areas in which Gandhi understood that Indian peoples were victims, while at the same time, the main actors in their suffering. Gandhi's nonviolence involved confronting the prevailing violence irrespective of who the main influences and actors were.

---

[298] Gandhi, *The Constructive Programme*.
[299] Ibid.

Nevertheless, Britain's influence over the culture and the structures that controlled crucial aspects of Indian life reinforced cycles of violence, in part by exploiting existing biases and defects. Gandhi responded to the violence he observed in India with two complementary approaches. One approach was to reject British rule and influences through nonviolent civil disobedience.[300] The second approach was to create a program of nonviolent practice in response to the specific areas in which Indian influences were responsible for the violence.[301] In the next section, I will use Galtung's typology to assess the specific nonviolent practices that Gandhi advocated for each element of the constructive program.

<div align="center">Nonviolent Practices of the Constructive Program</div>

In this section I demonstrate that the specific nonviolent practices encompassed in Gandhi's constructive program can be explained using Galtung's typology. I present all eighteen elements of the program. Of those, I discuss the following three elements in detail: khadi, the removal of untouchability, and communal unity. I then provide a cursory assessment of all eighteen elements in Table 2. To complete this section, I consider patterns that emerge from examining my cursory assessment of the different forms of nonviolence across the entire program.

---

[300] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 18:156. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss Gandhi's nonviolent civil disobedience. Numerous sources on this topic exist. For example, see Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conquest (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); and Robert J. Burrowes, *The strategy of nonviolent defense: A Gandhian approach (*Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1996).

[301] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 96:332. In fact, nonviolent direct action was also used in the struggle to reform Indian influences. A notorious example is the Vaikom (also spelt Vykom) campaign for untouchable temple entry. For a good understanding of the timeline of this campaign, as well as an examination of contradictions and subsequent attempts to understand and interpret what happened, see Mary E. King, *Gandhian nonviolent struggle and untouchability in South India : the 1924-25 Vykom Satyagraha and mechanisms of change* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015). E-book. See also Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 33:272, 32:393, for Gandhi's mention of constructive work done as part of the campaign.

As in the previous section, I determine the specific nonviolent practices of each element based on my interpretation of published texts of Gandhi's speeches and writings. I then use Galtung's typology to categorize the nonviolent practices into cultural, structural, and direct forms.

Nonviolence through Khadi

Gandhi placed swadeshi, with khadi as the central industry, at the heart of the constructive program.[302] Khadi was Gandhi's symbol for the ancient civilization of India, as opposed to the machinery that symbolized the industrialization of modern civilization.[303] Swadeshi represented many principles, all of which were responsive to the British cultural violence identified earlier in this chapter.[304] For example, swadeshi signified deep respect for the dignity and necessity of manual labour.[305] It also implied that India did not need Britain. The peoples of India were capable of supporting both the efforts of villagers to sustain themselves, and the continuous improvement of Indian products and services for the good of all.[306] Khadi was positioned both as the means by which villages could support themselves and as a symbol of India's independence.[307] Acceptance of the principles behind swadeshi made it possible to recognize spinning as a national duty in the quest for India's independence. The ideas inherent in swadeshi constituted cultural nonviolence, in that they reinforced and legitimized the khadi element of the

---

[302] See chapter one.
[303] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, preface; chapters XII, XIX.
[304] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 9.
[305] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 21:167; 24:414-415.
[306] Ibid, 15:159.
[307] See chapter one.

program. It follows that they would seem foreign to anyone who accepted the ideas introduced

under British rule that I deemed to be cultural violence.[308]

Wearing clothing made from khadi expressed more cultural nonviolence. For Gandhi, the act

of wearing khadi represented visible support for the constructive program.[309] Hand-spun, hand-

woven Indian cloth was conspicuously different in texture and style from clothing produced in

mills.[310] One of the measures Gandhi used to gauge commitment to the program was whether

people who called themselves supporters dressed in khadi exclusively, in private as well as in

public.[311] Further, the wearing of khadi was not something that could stop after India gained

independence. Khadi represented, in Gandhi's words, "a way of life based on non-violence."[312]

In 1920, Gandhi vowed: "to wear khadi so long as I live."[313]

The structural nonviolence that these ideas reinforced was the development and support of

village industries for the benefit of India's poor.[314] The khadi element of the constructive

program was a commitment to the eradication of poverty over the long-term. It represented the

prioritization of the well being of poor peoples in India over concerns arising from centralized,

industrial production for private gain.[315]

Gandhi further argued that the khadi element of the program contributed to cycles of

nonviolence outside of India. He stated:

> Organization of khaddar is thus infinitely better than co-operative societies or any
> other form of village organization. It is fraught with the highest political

---

[308] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 9.
[309] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 22:438; 23:399; 23:401; 26:276; 27:189-190; 27:232.
[310] Ibid, 28:75-76.
[311] Ibid, 25:402.
[312] Ibid, 25:232; 98:48-49.
[313] Ibid, 21:339.
[314] See chapter one; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:79.
[315] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 9.

consequence, because it removes the greatest immoral temptation from Britain's way. I call the Lancashire trade immoral, because it was raised and is sustained on the ruin of millions of India's peasants. And as one immorality leads to another, the many proved immoral acts of Britain are traceable to this one immoral traffic. If therefore this one great temptation is removed from Britain's path by India's voluntary effort, it would be good for India, good for Britain and, as Britain, is today the predominant world-power, good even for humanity.[316]

Galtung's theories can be used to explain Gandhi's statement. The khadi element of the constructive program replaced the patterns of exploitation in industrialization and the export economy with cultural and structural nonviolence. Khadi undermined the cycles of violence associated with Britain's exploitation of India's peoples, and reinforced cycles of nonviolence that fostered well being. Gandhi was proposing that since, in Galtung's words, "violence breeds violence within and among actors, in space and over time,"[317] so too does nonviolence breed nonviolence, in space and over time. In the context of the quote above from Gandhi, space is what Galtung refers to as the international "locus for production-distribution-consumption cycles, and as a market place."[318] The khadi element had the potential to undermine industrialization and export economies beyond the borders of India.

Nonviolence through the Removal of Untouchability

The removal of untouchability element was responsive to structural violence in the form of repression, which prevented Harijans from experiencing freedom through fragmentation and marginalization. The constructive work for the removal of untouchability element consisted of

---

[316] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:491.
[317] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 35.
[318] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 132.

treating Harijans as equals by observing no distinctions between Hindus.[319] This nonviolent

practice had cultural, structural, and direct components.

The idea of superiority and inferiority between groups of Hindus legitimized the structural

violence of untouchability. Accordingly, the cultural nonviolence that legitimized the removal of

untouchability was based on the principle of unity of life, and specifically the unity of humanity.

As discussed in chapter two, the unity of life reflects Gandhi's understanding of advaita. He

argued that Hinduism had to remove untouchability to be consistent with its own principle of

advaita.[320] In his words:

> I have said times without number that untouchability is a serious blot on
> Hinduism and, I think, in the long run, in the race for life in which all the religions
> of the world are today engaged, either Hinduism has got to perish or
> untouchability has to be rooted out completely, so that the fundamental principle
> of Advaita Hinduism may be realized in practical life.[321]

As discussed in chapter two, unity of life is one of the two principles that, according to Galtung,

summarize Gandhi's responses to cultural violence. Gandhi connected unity of humanity to this

principle when he said: "I believe in *advaita,* I believe in the essential unity of man and for that

matter of all that lives."[322]

While the removal of untouchability was based on the unity of humanity, the specific culture

for this element of the program was a spirit of equality, friendliness, and respect between

Hindus.[323] The test for whether the spirit was achieved—as opposed to insincere and patronizing

actions—was the reaction of Harijans, for as Gandhi said, "If we have really changed towards

---

[319] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:230.
[320] For the purposes of this thesis, I simplify Gandhi's interpretation of advaita to the phrase "unity of life" (see chapter two). However, it is important to recognize that this is a simplification of the full concept, which is Gandhi's interpretation of the doctrine of advaita as preached in the Gita.
[321] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 45:200.
[322] Ibid, 29: 408. See also 63:101.
[323] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 65:227-228; 98:334.

them, they will feel the change in a thousand ways."[324] Thus, the culture consisted of good

relations with Harijans.[325]

The structural nonviolence took two main directions. One was the development of facilities

for the education of Harijans on a mass scale.[326] The second was equal rights, opportunity, and

status for Harijans.[327] To that end, one of the resolutions at the 1917 All-India Social Service

Conference, was "to enforce equality of treatment in all public institutions so as to remove the

prejudice and disabilities of untouchableness."[328] One way employment opportunities were made

available to Harijans was through organizations for their service, by hiring and training them to

do the work.[329]

The direct component of the removal of untouchability consisted of actions that constituted

both structural and direct nonviolence. Gandhi prescribed personal actions, such as befriending

and working with Harijans to reform Hinduism.[330] I classify these actions as structural

nonviolence, because they were applied structurally: to and for Harijans as a group. However,

they were also direct nonviolence: actions acted on individual persons who were Harijans.

The cultural, structural, and direct components for the removal of untouchability would have

created nonviolent conditions to support the unity of Indian peoples more broadly, beyond

relations amongst Hindus. In 1934, the weekly journal *Harijan* reported "The Harijan movement

was really only the first step in his [Gandhi's] programme of breaking down all barriers whatever

---

[324] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 59:429-431, 430; 65:227-228.
[325] Ibid, 15:228.
[326] Ibid, 16:187; and 59:430.
[327] Ibid, 15:201; 98:307; 98:334.
[328] Ibid, 16:187.
[329] Ibid, 59:431.
[330] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7.

which divided man from man."[331] The reform of Hinduism was a prerequisite to eradicating the idea of inequality between people. Gandhi went so far as to say that "When Hinduism is perfectly reformed and purged of the last trace of untouchability, there will be no communal problem left."[332] Both untouchability and communal disunity foster inequality between people and work against the principle of the unity of humanity. Once Hinduism is reformed to support the unity of humanity through culturally and structurally nonviolent customs, then unity with followers of other religions follows.

Nonviolence through Communal Unity

The communal unity element was responsive to violence established through disunity between people of different faiths. Disunity between Hindus and Muslims created political divisions that threatened the prospect of India's independence at the time that Gandhi published his update to the Constructive Programme in 1945. For this reason, Gandhi stated that the first step in support of communal unity was for members of Congress to set the example by identifying with and representing, "every one of the millions of the inhabitants of Hindustan [India], regardless of faith."[333] The point was for members of Congress to show equal respect and regard for other faiths as for their own religion.[334] Gandhi was asking the members of Congress to lead the development of cultural nonviolence by example. Communal unity required the support of cultural nonviolence through the belief that people are not divided by their faiths:

---

[331] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 63:502. The Harijan movement was the removal of untouchability in the constructive program.
[332] Ibid, 91:300-301.
[333] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5.
[334] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:334.

each person has a duty to respect and support those of all faiths. Gandhi described the specific

mindset (cultural nonviolence) that would create and reinforce communal unity as follows:

> When both [Hindus and Muslims] are inspired by a spirit of sacrifice, when both
> try to do their duty towards one another instead of pressing their rights, then and
> then only would the long-standing differences between the two communities
> cease. Each must respect the other's religion, must refrain from even secretly
> thinking ill of the other. We must politely dissuade members of both the
> communities from indulging in bad language against one another.[335]

Communal unity was a call for structural nonviolence through the integration of followers of

all faiths, in the spirit of "unbreakable heart unity."[336] With this phrase, Gandhi makes it clear

that the purpose of integrating all aspects of life in India, from services to schools, colleges, and

hospitals, is to connect people from all faiths at a personal level.[337] Integration makes possible

the nonviolent direct action of befriending followers of other faiths. Gandhi emphasized the

personal relationship with the term befriend, which consists of extending concrete acts of help

and kindness to each other and supporting each others' struggles against injustice.[338] He believed

that genuine friendships would create unbreakable heart unity through personal experience and

mutual respect of each other, despite dissimilarities.[339]

Overall Assessment of the Nonviolent Practices

I provide a cursory assessment of the nonviolent practices for all eighteen elements of the

constructive program in Table 2.[340]

---

[335] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 17:402.
[336] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 5; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 18:157.
[339] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:171-172, 29:189-190.
[340] Table 2 was generated through the same process as described for Table 1. Table 2 does not include citations for previously discussed points. Footnotes apply to the entire row.

Table 2: Assessment of Nonviolence Practiced through each Constructive Program Element

Legend: main influences, actors were British ▮   main influences, actors were Indian ▮

	Cultural **Nonviolence**	Structural **Nonviolence**	Direct **Nonviolence**
[341]Khadi	dignity of labour; local hand-made cloth = well-being of poor peoples; spinning is a "national duty"	commit to long-term, viable village industries for well-being of poor peoples	spin daily; wear khadi
[342]Removal of untouchability	unity of humans; spirit of equality, friendliness, respect between Hindus	education, equal rights, opportunity, status for Harijans	befriend, respect, and defend all Hindus
[343]Communal unity	"unbreakable heart unity"; equality of peoples of all faiths	integration of people of all faiths; equal opportunity, status for all	respect, befriend, support people of all faiths
[344]Other village industries	swadeshi = India's independence, well-being of poor peoples	commit to local goods and services; long-term viable village industries	
[345]Women	unity of humans; equality of women	customs, laws, practices that uplift women; women as equal partners in India's self rule	treat as equals
[346]Kisans	unity of humans	support for peasant grievances;	
[347]Labour	unity of humans	support for worker grievances; worker - employee partnerships	
[348]Adivasis	unity of humans; equality of Adivasis	support for Adivasis' self-determination; equality of opportunity, status for all	
Basic or new education	children need an Indian education for India's independence	make education accessible to all children in India; include knowledge of India	learn about India
Adult education	education of adults is crucial to India's independence	teach adults literacy, skills, about India, the world beyond their village	openly discuss foreign versus self-rule
[349]Students	students = hope; higher education includes constructive work	college, university education in India restructured to include constructive work	commit to constructive work, nonviolence
[350]Education in health, hygiene	it is important to know, observe good health, hygiene	teach, promote laws of: good health, hygiene, "connection between mind, body"	practice good personal health, hygiene habits
[351]Village sanitation	social sanitation is a virtue	reject pollution, support cleanliness of villages, communal space	clean communal spaces, water sources
Provincial languages	provincial languages must be used, evolved to connect peoples of India	schools teach national, provincial languages	use, evolve local languages
National language	learning and using the national language strengthens India	teach national, provincial languages; use national language for all-India business	learn, use national language
[352]Prohibition	religious prohibition of intoxicants	prohibit alcohol; provide easy access to healthy alternatives; support addict reform	abstain from alcohol and drugs
[353]Economic equality	equality of humans; economic equality = nonviolent independence	voluntary trusteeship, focused on social control, public institutions for service of all	practice trusteeship
[354]Lepers	unity of humans	systematic treatment, care for people with leprosy	

---

[341] Quote is from Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:79; 28:319.

[342] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:201; 65:227-228; 98:307; 98:334.

[343] Quote is Gandhi's words, in *Constructive Programme*, 5; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:334.

[344] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:79.

[345] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 16; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:334.

[346] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 22.

[347] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 24; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 24:386.

[348] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 25; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:334.

[349] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 27.

[350] Quote is Gandhi's words, in ibid, 17.

[351] Ibid, 13.

[352] Ibid, 8.

[353] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 89:295; Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 20.

[354] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 92:159.

Patterns in the Nonviolence

Patterns emerge from the cursory assessment presented in Table 2. The first is the presence of four interconnected themes. I propose that each theme can be understood as a necessary condition in Gandhi's vision of an independent and nonviolent India. The theme names reflect my understanding of Gandhi's views.

Themes

The first theme is nonviolent self-sufficiency with dignity. Widespread poverty prevented many of India's citizens from satisfying their basic needs and the needs of their dependents. Thus, a primary concern of the constructive program was to ensure that all adults in India had the opportunity to achieve nonviolent self-sufficiency with dignity.[355] Gandhi's view was that "in honest work lies our freedom and the satisfaction of all our basic needs."[356]

The elements of the constructive program that contribute to nonviolent self-sufficiency with dignity are khadi, other village industries, and economic equality. Table 3 shows the cultural, structural, and direct forms of violence and nonviolence from Tables 1 and 2 for the three elements within this theme. The inclusion of economic equality as an element in the constructive program underlined Gandhi's emphasis on sufficiency for all as opposed to surplus for a few while others suffered.[357]

---

[355] For example, see Gandhi, *Collected Works*,18:243-247, 23:50, 23:210, 98:1-2, 98:12, 98:303; Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 180; Allwyn Tellis, *Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programme: Building a New India*, PhD diss. (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest Information and Learning Company, 2007), 104.
[356] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:333.
[357] Ibid, 89:295-296; 94:259; 97:481.

Table 3: Cursory Assessment of the Elements that Contributed to Nonviolent Self-Sufficiency with Dignity[358]

Legend: main influences, actors were British ▢   main influences, actors were Indian ▢

	Violence				Nonviolence		
	Cultural	Structural	Direct		Cultural	Structural	Direct
[359]Khadi	progress = industrialization, export economy; mills decrease poverty	industrialization, export economy = **structural violence, exploitation**			dignity of labour; local hand-made cloth = well-being of poor peoples; spinning is a "national duty"	commit to long-term, viable village industries for well-being of poor peoples	spin daily; wear khadi
[360]Other village industries	progress = industrialization, export economy	industrialization, export economy = **structural violence, exploitation**			swadeshi means India's independence, well-being of poor peoples	commit to local goods and services; long-term viable village industries	
[361]Economic equality	capitalism; strive to amass wealth at the expense of others	support private institutions, individual profit; acquire, keep personal wealth			equality of humans; economic equality = nonviolent independence	voluntary trusteeship, focused on social control, public institutions for service of all	practice trusteeship

The second theme is nonviolent education. Gandhi understood the role of an education system in shaping what people know, what they value, how they think, and their very identity.[362] He stated, "Culturally, the [British] system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us."[363] Nonviolent self-rule required educated citizens who understood their role in strengthening India, and had the requisite knowledge and skills.[364] As discussed in the first chapter, lack of education was a barrier to the success of khadi and India's independence movement. Gandhi's solution was a national education system.[365]

The elements of the constructive program that contributed to a national education system were: basic or new education, adult education, students, national language, and provincial

---

[358] Table 3 does not include citations for previously discussed points. Footnotes apply to the entire row.
[359] Quote is from Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:79; 28:319.
[360] Ibid, 15:79.
[361] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 20; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 51:296; 64:203-204; 72:258; 89:295.
[362] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:165-174; 15:202.
[363] Ibid, 48:215.
[364] See chapter one.
[365] See chapter one.

languages. These elements were all focused on connecting the peoples of India, and in particular

rural villagers, to their culture, history, heritage, and to each other through a national language

and up-to-date provincial languages.[366] The different levels of education focused not only on

literacy but also on what it means to be a model villager who enables and maintains India's

independence by working the constructive program.[367] Education included all of the practical

skills involved in the production of khadi.[368] The production of homespun cloth was not the norm

in India when the All India Congress, under Gandhi's leadership, started advocating khadi and

the constructive program as the way to win independence. Hand-spinning and hand-weaving

were lost arts that needed to be revived and relearned.[369] Villagers needed to learn how to

organize their efforts with others in their communities.[370]

The desired outcomes of a national education system were: a ubiquitous national language,

active use of provincial languages to ensure their evolution, and literate and skilled citizens who

are deeply rooted in nonviolence and knowledge of India.[371] Table 4 shows the cultural,

structural, and direct forms of violence and nonviolence from Tables 1 and 2 for elements within

the theme of nonviolent education.

---

[366] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 14, 18.
[367] Ibid, 14.
[368] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 18:152.
[369] Gandhi, *Autobiography*, 410.
[370] See chapter one.
[371] See chapter one.

Table 4: Cursory Assessment of the Elements that Contributed to Nonviolent Education[372]

Legend: main influences, actors were British ▭   main influences, actors were Indian ▭

	Violence				Nonviolence		
	Cultural	Structural	Direct		Cultural	Structural	Direct
[373]National language	English means education and progress; strive to learn English	**alienation**; learn, use English; conduct All-India business in English			learning and using the national language strengthens India	teach national, provincial languages; use national language for all-India business	learn, use national language
[374]Provincial languages	provincial languages are not modern	**alienation**; schools teach English; limit or stop local language use			provincial languages must be used, evolved to connect peoples of India	schools teach national, provincial languages	use, evolve local languages
[375]Students	higher education = college, university which provides a career, "entrance to the charmed circle"	British paradigms for higher education and politics; attend college or university; engage in politics using British model			students = hope; higher education includes constructive work	college, university education in India restructured to include constructive work	commit to constructive work, nonviolence
Basic or new education		neglect education; teach foreign content and perspectives; British paradigm for education			children need an Indian education for India's independence	make education accessible to all children in India; include knowledge of India	learn about India
[376]Adult education		neglect adult education or limit it to literacy; ignore "dread and hatred" of foreigners			education of adults is crucial to India's independence	teach adults literacy, skills, about India, the world beyond their village	openly discuss foreign versus self-rule

The third theme is unity of humanity. Nonviolent self-rule required unbreakable heart unity, mutual respect, and equality between humans. Seven elements specifically focused on uniting humanity: removal of untouchability, communal unity, women, kisans, labour, Adivasis, and lepers. Table 5 shows the forms of violence and nonviolence from Tables 1 and 2 for these elements.

---

[372] Table 4 does not include citations for previously discussed points. Footnotes apply to the entire row.
[373] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 19.
[374] Ibid, 18, 27.
[375] Ibid, 27.
[376] Quote is Gandhi's words, in Ibid, 15.

Table 5: Cursory Assessment of the Elements that Contributed to Unity of Humanity[377]

Legend: main influences, actors were British ▮   main influences, actors were Indian ▮

	Violence				Nonviolence		
	Cultural	Structural	Direct		Cultural	Structural	Direct
[378]Removal of untouchability	distinctions of Hindu superiority, inferiority by birth	**repression: fragmentation, marginalization**	abuse, ill-treatment		unity of humans; spirit of equality, friendliness, respect between Hindus	education, equal rights, opportunity, status for Harijans	befriend, respect, and defend all Hindus
[379]Communal unity	idea of superiority, inferiority of religions	**fragmentation** between peoples of different faiths	scorn, fight with persons of other faiths		"unbreakable heart unity"; equality of peoples of all faiths	integration of people of all faiths; equal opportunity, status for all	respect, befriend, support people of all faiths
[380]Women	women are subordinate to men	**repression, marginalization** of women through laws, customs			unity of humans; equality of women	customs, laws, practices that uplift women; women as equal partners in India's self rule	treat as equals
[381]Kisans	peasants are subordinate	**exploitation, repression, marginalization** of peasants			unity of humans	support for peasant grievances;	
[382]Labour	workers are subordinate	**exploitation** of workers; ignore, denounce, or support worker grievances with violence			unity of humans	support for worker grievances; worker - employee partnerships	
[383]Adivasis	Adivasis are subordinate	**fragmentation** of Adivasis; **repression** of, unconcern for Adivasis			unity of humans; equality of Adivasis	support for Adivasis' self-determination; equality of opportunity, status for all	
[384]Lepers	fear of leprosy	**fragmentation**, neglect of people with leprosy; ignore their plight	avoid people with leprosy		unity of humans	systematic treatment, care for people with leprosy	

The fourth theme is personal social responsibility. Nonviolent self-rule in India required

citizens who fulfilled their individual and shared duties. My phrase for the duties called for

---

[377] Table 5 does not include citations for previously discussed points. Footnotes apply to the entire row.
[378] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 7; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:201; 65:227-228; 98:307; 98:334.
[379] Quote is Gandhi's words, in *Constructive Programme*, 5; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:334.
[380] Quote is Gandhi's words, in *Constructive Programme*, 16; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 98:334.
[381] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 22.
[382] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 24; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 24:386.
[383] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 82:1; 89:157; 98:334; Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 25.
[384] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 8:253; 92:159; Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 26.

through Gandhi's constructive program is personal social responsibility. This theme combines Gandhi's insistence on the need to serve others with his belief that nonviolence is active and requires discipline.[385]

Personal social responsibility manifested in two ways. The first was personal responsibility to self: abstain from alcohol and drugs; practice good personal health and hygiene habits; and clean communal space, for example, wells, tanks and rivers. The second was personal responsibility to the social structures and aspects of culture that reinforced and supported nonviolent independence. This sense of duty was required for all elements, in that it motivated individuals to engage in the specific activities within the constructive program that created and maintained nonviolent cultures and structures. The work consisted of developing infrastructures to support the outcomes desired from the constructive program, for example: village industries for the well-being of poor peoples, a national nonviolent education system, and the removal of untouchability from Hinduism.

Personal social responsibility was *both* a requisite characteristic of persons who worked the constructive program, *and* a human capacity that was developed through constructive work. Gandhi reflected this idea that constructive work develops personal social responsibility when he asserted that the way to develop nonviolence as a discipline was to work the program.[386]

Personal social responsibility was a prerequisite to India's independence from British rule through the fulfillment of the other elements of the constructive program. However, the three elements of the constructive program for which personal social responsibility was the main

---

[385] See chapter one. See Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 163, 175; and Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 106.
[386] Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, chapter V; Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 106, 204-205, 277; Gandhi, Collected Works, 75:186-187, 202-203, 401-402, 77:364; Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 2. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, 107, 173; Nagler, *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*, 75.

characteristic were: prohibition, education in health and hygiene, and village sanitation. Table 6

shows the cultural, structural, and direct forms of violence and nonviolence from Tables 1 and 2

for these three elements. However, as stated above, personal social responsibility was a

prerequisite to the fulfillment of all of the elements of the constructive program.

Table 6: Cursory Assessment of the Elements for which Personal Social Responsibility was the Main Characteristic[387]

Legend: main influences, actors were British ▮   main influences, actors were Indian ▮

	Violence				Nonviolence		
	Cultural	Structural	Direct		Cultural	Structural	Direct
[388]Prohibition	use of intoxicants is customary	import, encourage alcohol, narcotics ignore alcoholism, addiction	take alcohol, narcotics		religious prohibition of intoxicants	prohibit alcohol; provide easy access to healthy alternatives; support addict reform	abstain from alcohol and drugs
[389]Village sanitation	indifference towards village sanitation	lack education, support to prevent pollution of communal space	pollute common spaces, water sources		social sanitation is a virtue	reject pollution, support cleanliness of villages, communal space	clean communal spaces, water sources
[390]Education in health, hygiene	ignorance of and disregard for laws of health and hygiene	lack of education, support for good health and hygiene	poor personal health and hygiene habits		it is important to know, observe good health, hygiene	teach, promote laws of: good health, hygiene, "connection between mind, body"	practice good personal health, hygiene habits

Main Influences and Actors in the Nonviolence

The colour-coding in Tables 2 through 6 shows that all of the nonviolent actions specified in

Gandhi's constructive program were exclusively under the control of Indian peoples, even

though India was under British rule. Britain's negative influence over culture and structures

made self-rule necessary: nonviolence could not be fostered in such violent conditions. Peoples

of India needed to decouple from the sources of violence outside of their own sphere of influence

---

[387] Table 6 does not include citations for previously discussed points. Footnotes apply to the entire row.
[388] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 1:22; 28:387. Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 8.
[389] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 13.
[390] Ibid, 17. Quote is Gandhi's words, in ibid.

that were harmful to them.[391] The constructive program was designed to remove India's perceived dependence on Britain. To that end, the choice and ability to carry out the nonviolent practices required for every element were exclusively under the control of Indian peoples.

Gandhi's two approaches for responding to violence were civil disobedience and the constructive program. Civil disobedience was the means by which forms of violence that were not attributable to Indian peoples were rejected. The constructive program was the means by which forms of violence attributable to Indian peoples were transformed to nonviolence. For example, the intent of the communal unity element was to transform disunity between Hindus and Muslims to "unbreakable heart unity."[392] The program was also the means by which violence attributable to British influences was replaced by nonviolent alternatives for which Indian peoples were responsible. For example, the khadi element replaced industrialization with swadeshi.

Predominance of Cultural and Structural Forms

Tables 3 through 6 show that the constructive program was focused predominately on cultural and structural forms of violence and nonviolence; direct forms were generally not emphasized. In addition, Gandhi—in his advocacy and description of the constructive program— tended not to dwell on the violence, but rather on the actions required to establish and maintain cycles of nonviolence. In *The Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place*, he stated the facts of violence to set the context for each element, but spent most of his words on the nonviolent alternatives. The two exceptions where Gandhi focused more on current violent

---

[391] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 115.
[392] *Constructive Programme*, 5.

conditions than on nonviolent alternatives were the village sanitation and provincial languages elements.

Overall, the elements of the constructive program form the different components of Gandhi's nonviolent vision for India. These components are: a unified, self-sufficient population who live with dignity, an esteemed national educational system, a national language, active use of provincial languages to communicate new ideas and enable the education and involvement of those who only know their native language, and literate and skilled citizens who are deeply rooted in nonviolence and knowledge of India. The vision Gandhi articulated through the constructive program was of a nonviolent, inclusive country of educated, self-sufficient, and interdependent citizens who fulfill their individual and social responsibilities to enable all to live with dignity and freedom.

Importance of Context

The nonviolent practices of Gandhi's constructive program were necessarily context-specific, because what constitutes nonviolence versus violence changes depending on the circumstances. The nonviolent practices included in the eighteen elements of the constructive program were responsive to the specific forms of violence that prevailed in India at the time. However, context is not static; it is active and changes over time due to many influences. These encompass the cultural, economic, historical, political, and social contexts for a defined location and period. Therefore, nonviolent practices change with context as warranted.

Summary

Gandhi's constructive program was responsive to cultural and structural violence, and illustrates the practical application of Galtung's theories. The program was responsive to forms of structural violence such as exploitation, and repression. These forms of violence were established through specific structures, each of which had reinforcing and legitimizing cultural components. For example, industrialization and the export economy were structural causes of violence in the form of exploitation. Untouchability, disunity, and the subordination of the peoples of India were structural causes of violence in the form of repression. The idea of superiority and inferiority distinctions between groups of people was one example of cultural violence that reinforced and legitimized these structures.

The constructive program expressed cultural nonviolence through the principles of personal social responsibility and unity of humanity. The program also established structural nonviolence through self-sufficiency with dignity and nonviolent education. These forms of nonviolence were established through the combination of context-specific cultural influences and structures that resulted from all eighteen elements. A context-specific example of cultural nonviolence was communal unity—a spirit of unbreakable heart unity and equality—between peoples of all faiths in India. Examples of context-specific nonviolent structures include: the nonviolent movement for independence from British rule, village industries to provide poor peoples of India with opportunities for self-sufficiency with dignity, a national education system to educate the peoples of India in all that was best and lasting in India (including the constructive program), and the removal of untouchability from Hinduism. Each of these structures had cultural aspects that reinforced and legitimized them, with all eighteen elements of the constructive program providing the cultural support for the nonviolent movement for independence.

Chapter Four: Discussion

Introduction

In this chapter I move beyond data analysis to reflect on the results. To begin, I demonstrate why the constructive program is relevant to scholars in conflict studies. In the next section, I answer my thesis question. First, I present the qualities of Gandhi's program. Second, I state the function—unconnected to context—of a constructive program as a nonviolent plan of action. I then discuss two limitations of my work and complete the chapter with a discussion of opportunities for future research.

Implications for Conflict Studies

The analysis in chapter three reveals that Galtung's theories and Gandhi's constructive program complement each other. While this relationship may not be surprising given the influence Gandhi's work has had on Galtung, it has relevance to scholars in conflict studies.[393] The constructive program supports Galtung's construal of violence by demonstrating the necessity for its extensiveness. It provides a response to critics who identify disadvantages with such a broad definition for the purposes of their research. For example, Kenneth Parsons argues that Galtung's understanding of structural violence is too all encompassing and inexact for studying contemporary violence and power relations.[394] Other authors share the concern that the

---

[393] Thomas Weber, "The Impact of Gandhi on the Development of Johan Galtung's Peace Research," *Global Change, Peace & Security* 16 (February 2004), doi: 10.1080/1478115042000176166.
[394] Kenneth A. Parsons, "Structural Violence and Power," in *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 19 (2007), 173-181. doi: 10.1080/10402650701353612.

concept is too broad.[395] However, as discussed in chapter two, the breadth is intentional. Mark

Vorobej states that with his definition, Galtung "calls for a fundamental shift in the way we

understand, evaluate, and tackle the problem of violence."[396] I concur. While the concerns raised

by Parsons are valid, the identification of different yet interdependent forms of the same

underlying concept is essential for understanding the relevance of the constructive program to

conflict studies. Galtung's broad definition reveals that Gandhi's program was responsive to

multiple forms of violence.

   To date, scholars have characterized constructive work as creative and positive.[397] While

these descriptions are accurate, they do not help researchers in conflict studies to understand why

Gandhi's nonviolence—and the constructive program in particular—might be of interest to them.

The revelation that the program was responsive to multiple forms of violence clarifies Gandhi's

interpretation of nonviolence. The description in chapter one—of nonviolence as active: a

deliberate withdrawal of acceptance and support for violence motivated by love and

compassion—is incomplete. The analysis in chapter three demonstrates that Gandhi's

interpretation encompassed responding to cultural and structural violence by establishing cycles

of nonviolence.[398] By using Galtung's concepts to better understand Gandhi's work, the

relevance to conflict studies becomes clear. The constructive program can be understood as an

instantiation of Galtung's theories.

---

[395] D. Mider, "The anatomy of violence: A study of the literature," in *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 18 (2013), 705.
[396] Mark Vorobej, "Structural Violence," in *Peace Research. The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008), 92.
[397] Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 36; Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*, 103-104; *Nagler, The Search for a Nonviolent Future*, 160. Tellis, *Mahatma Gandhi's "Constructive Programme,"* 103-104.
[398] See chapter three.

Gandhi's program illustrates the practical application of Galtung's typologies.[399] Elements were responsive to forms of structural violence such as exploitation and repression. Industrialization and the export economy were structural causes of exploitation. Two examples of structural causes of repression were the Hindu custom of untouchability, and disunity between Hindus and Muslims. Cultural violence expressed in the idea of superiority and inferiority between groups of peoples reinforced and legitimized these structural causes of exploitation and repression.

The constructive program also illustrated Galtung's theories with practical examples of nonviolence. All of the elements expressed a form of cultural nonviolence that I refer to as personal social responsibility: as sense of duty to self, and a sense of duty to others by creating the social structures and aspects of culture that reinforced and supported the eradication of poverty and freedom for the peoples of India. Constructive work is an example of duties to others. The analysis in chapter three demonstrates that constructive work consisted of establishing context-specific cultural and structural nonviolence.

I refer to a second form of cultural nonviolence as unity of humanity. This was a spirit of unity, mutual respect, and equality between all humans, with no distinctions of inferiority or superiority. The constructive program expressed unity of humanity through most of the elements. The most pressing example was the removal of untouchability element, because Gandhi contended that the idea of distinctions of superiority and inferiority between humans originated with untouchability.

There are two forms of structural nonviolence illustrated through the program. I refer to one as nonviolent self-sufficiency with dignity, established through village industries for the well-

---

[399] See chapter three.

being of poor peoples. Another form of structural nonviolence was nonviolent education, established through a national system to educate peoples in the constructive program and all that was best and lasting in India.

Gandhi's program also modeled a way to deal with a comprehensive approach so that it was not overwhelming. According to Galtung, the path to peace necessitates transformation in all aspects of human existence. A comprehensive approach is required to transform cycles of violence to cycles of nonviolence and achieve peace, but can be overwhelming. The constructive program dealt with this challenge by identifying a central focus: the one element that everyone could support daily. I discuss the central focus further at the end of the next section.

Qualities of a Gandhian Constructive Program

My thesis question is: What qualities did Gandhi consider necessary in the nonviolent constructive program for India's independence? As stated in the introduction, the qualities are the defining characteristics and guiding principles across time and context. I consider the minimum complete set to consist of those characteristics and principles that either Gandhi repeatedly stated were important to nonviolence and that applied to constructive work, or that my analysis identified as a pattern. I attempt to reflect Gandhi's perspective—although not his terminology—in the quality names, which are of my own creation. Thus, the answer to my thesis question is based on my interpretation of Gandhi's understanding of nonviolence, and the analysis in chapter three. I ascertain that there are eight qualities: intentionally nonviolent, voluntary, inclusive, autonomous, responsive to cultural and structural violence, self-reinforcing, context-specific, and comprehensive.

The first quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is intentionally nonviolent. Gandhi contended that humans have the ability and duty to choose nonviolence over violence.[400] This involves seeking to understand the actions that do the least harm to others, and choosing them over more harmful options.[401] As discussed in chapter one, the challenge is in determining what constitutes nonviolence in any given moment. Gandhi believed it is crucial to choose nonviolence in every situation because no one can know the full consequences of their actions over time. He argued the importance of the intention of nonviolence in day-to-day actions as follows:

> Ahimsa paramo dharmah[402] is one of the highest truths of life. Any fall from it must be regarded as a fall...But the impossibility of the task cannot be permitted to alter the definition. Judged by that test even the uprooting of a plant is an evil. And who does not feel a pang on plucking a beautiful rose? That we do not feel a pang on plucking a weed does not affect the doctrine. It shows that we do not know the place of weeds in nature. Therefore all injury is a violation of the doctrine of ahimsa. The fullest application of ahimsa does make life impossible. Then, let the truth remain though we may all perish…It may be difficult for us to grasp or appreciate the truth, it may be and is impossible fully to live up to it. Nevertheless, I have no doubt that it is the truth. And virtue lies in regulating our lives in accordance with it and to the best of our ability…Life becomes livable and lovable only to the extent that we apply the grand doctrine in actual practice. For then we hold the flesh in bondage rather than live in perpetual bondage to the flesh.[403]

Gandhi's constructive program applied the doctrine of nonviolence to the practical lives of Indian peoples.[404] The program helped with the challenge of applying nonviolence by providing motivation and training. The motivation was independence from British rule. The constructive

---

[400] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 35:357-359.
[401] Ibid, 30:446.
[402] Ahimsa, meaning love, non-violence is the highest virtue; the supreme dharma; the greatest religion. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 15:317; 16:10; 30:376. Dharma is duty, according to Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, glossary.
[403] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 30:446.
[404] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 2; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 96:332.

program showed peoples of India what they could do to achieve independence through

nonviolence. Training was achieved through constructive work. The daily practice of

constructive work developed the discipline of nonviolence.[405]

A second quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is voluntary. This quality

follows from Gandhi's interpretation of nonviolence. Voluntary participation in the program is a

defining characteristic due to the very nature of nonviolence, which is based on love.[406] Gandhi

wrote at length about the futility of superficial nonviolence; a moral force has no strength if it

does not live up to its own moral code.[407] It is impossible to force persons to be nonviolent,

because nonviolence must be genuine.[408] In addition, Gandhi stated, "Compulsion has absolutely

no place in the spirit of non-violence."[409] Compulsion is a form of repression: it removes

freedom of choice. Participation must be voluntary for a program to be nonviolent.[410]

A third quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is inclusive.[411] As Gandhi stated:

"Complete Independence through truth and non-violence means the independence of every unit,

be it the humblest of the nation, without distinction of race, colour or creed. This independence is

never exclusive."[412] The constructive program was designed to involve—and be applicable to—

all of the peoples of India. The necessity for this quality follows from the intention of

nonviolence and the principle of unity of life.[413]

---

[405] Nagler, *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*, 75.
[406] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 40:177; 24:95.
[407] See, for example, ibid, 26:260-264.
[408] Ibid, 43:15, 73:39.
[409] Ibid, 59:93; 73:316-317.
[410] Ibid, 63:439-440.
[411] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 2; Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 81:251-252.
[412] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 4.
[413] This quality is also consistent with Gandhi's interpretation of Hinduism and nationalism as inclusive.
For example, see Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 57:107.

A fourth quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is autonomous, in the sense that participation consists of specific nonviolent actions that can be accomplished by those engaged in the effort. The work is feasible and within the sphere of influence of those involved in the constructive effort. This quality emerged from the analysis in chapter three. In the event that violent cultures and structures impede the achievement of the program, then the action that is under the control of constructive workers is to remove all cooperation with obstructing influences. Gandhi emphasized this point in 1945 when he wrote "Civil Disobedience, mass or individual, is an aid to constructive effort…Action …takes place only when occasion demands…Therefore, workers will never be on the look-out for civil resistance. They will hold themselves in readiness, if the constructive effort is sought to be defeated."[414]

A fifth quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is responsive to cultural and structural violence. This quality emerged from the analysis in chapter three. There are two aspects to highlight. First, while a program may encompass direct forms of violence and nonviolence, the cultural and structural forms are emphasized. Second, descriptions of program elements focus on practical actions that establish and maintain cycles of nonviolence. Element explanations do not provide detailed descriptions of the forms of violence to which they are responsive. Thus, existing cultural and structural violence prompts the inclusion of elements in the program, but subsequent explanations focus predominantly on prescribing nonviolent practices.[415]

A sixth quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is self-reinforcing. This quality emerged from the analysis in chapter three. The purpose of a constructive program is to create cycles of nonviolence, in response to existing cycles of violence. The elements encompass the

---

[414] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 2.
[415] See chapter three.

specific actions, structures, and aspects of culture that reinforce and legitimize cycles of

nonviolence.

A seventh quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is location and context-

specific. All of the nonviolent actions, structures, and aspects of culture that Gandhi prescribed

were specific to the context in which they were recommended. They depended on the particular

place, time, and context—such as cultural, economic, historical, political, and social

conditions—for significance and applicability. For this reason, a Gandhian constructive program

is not a static endeavour; the elements derive their relevance from context, which changes over

time. This quality was apparent throughout the analysis in chapter three.

A final quality of a Gandhian constructive program is that it is comprehensive. Gandhi's

program endeavoured to eradicate the cultural, structural, and direct violence most negatively

influencing the practical aspects of existence for the peoples of India at the time.[416] The eighteen

elements of the program were each contributing to the Independence of India's peoples.[417]

Galtung argues that a comprehensive approach is necessary because violence changes forms

of expression and crosses into other facets of human life.[418] Comprehensive means confronting

all forms of violence at the same time, rather than one by one.[419] Gandhi came to the same

conclusion, although he expressed it differently. In his words:

> My life is one indivisible whole. It is not built after the compartmental system—
> satyagraha, civil resistance, untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity and several other

---

[416] See chapter one. See also Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 16:111-130.

[417] Gandhi used the term Independence (capitalized) to refer to the eradication of poverty and freedom for all peoples of India. Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 27:344.

[418] Galtung and Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, 61-66.

[419] Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means*, 4, 100-101, 208; Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," 185; Vorobej, *Structural Violence*, 89.

things I could name are not different things to be taken and handled. They are indivisible parts of a whole which is truth.[420]

While a comprehensive approach to peace is necessary, it can be overwhelming.[421] A Gandhian constructive program overcomes this tendency by identifying a central focus: the one element that program participants can support daily. In Gandhi's constructive program, the khadi element was identified as the central focus; as Gandhi said, "It connotes the beginning of economic freedom and equality of all in the country."[422] Khadi was the one element that all peoples of India were asked to support daily, by spinning and wearing clothing made from hand-spun, hand-made Indian cloth. Gandhi said that the symbol of self-rule in India was the spinning wheel: "a symbol of simplicity, self-reliance, self-control, voluntary cooperation."[423] The khadi element provided motivation for embracing the rest of the constructive program: full support of village industries depended on the nonviolent practices prescribed in other elements. Obstacles preventing active involvement in the khadi element such as lack of education, disunity, and addiction had to be overcome in order for village industries to succeed throughout India. Thus, the khadi element was the central focus of the comprehensive constructive program.

Thus, I propose that the eight qualities of Gandhi's constructive program were: intentionally nonviolent, voluntary, inclusive, autonomous, responsive to cultural and structural violence, self-reinforcing, context-specific, and comprehensive. However, to fully characterize the program

---

[420] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 61:165. For an in-depth understanding of this perspective, see Parel, *Gandhi's Philosophy*.
[421] See chapter two.
[422] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 9.
[423] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 29:21. Khadi was the central focus of Gandhi's constructive program for many reasons that are beyond the scope of this thesis. For example, see Mohit Chakrabarti, *The Gandhian Philosophy of the Spinning-Wheel*, in *Gandhian Studies and Peace Research Series* 13 (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000). Richard Gregg discussed the importance of khadi in terms of the benefit of doing daily labour, especially with the hands. See Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, 3rd ed. (Canton, Maine: Greenleaf Books, 1960), 166-170.

requires a statement of purpose, in addition to the qualities. I include this statement to explain the

function—unconnected to context—of a constructive program as a nonviolent plan of action. As

discussed earlier in this chapter, the analysis demonstrates that the purpose was to establish

cultures and structures that support cycles of nonviolence in response to existing cycles of

violence.

Limitations of this Research

There are two limitations of this research that merit attention. The first is the challenge of

interpreting Gandhi's views on the constructive program. There is no one definitive and

comprehensive source for Gandhi's views on the constructive program. His 1945 document

Constructive Programme (Its Meaning and Place) is an overview rather than a comprehensive

description of each element. For example, Gandhi wrote, "I do not propose to argue the case for

Khadi in this brief survey. I have argued it sufficiently elsewhere."[424] He published works

relevant to the constructive program over more than thirty years.

Gandhi's views on a given topic often changed over time. He stated in 1933 that he did not

strive to be consistent, but rather to reflect the truth as he understood it at any given moment.

This means that his later published works more reliably reflected his evolving thoughts on a

topic, based on the best understanding of truth that he had at that time. In his own words:

> I would like to say to this diligent reader of my writings and to others who are
> interested in them that I am not at all concerned with appearing to be consistent.
> In my search after Truth I have discarded many ideas and learnt many new things.
> Old as I am in age, I have no feeling that I have ceased to grow inwardly or that
> my growth will stop at the dissolution of the flesh. What I am concerned with is
> my readiness to obey the call of Truth, my God, from moment to moment, and
> therefore, when anybody finds any inconsistency between any two writings of

---

[424] Gandhi, *Constructive Programme*, 9.

mine, if he has still faith in my sanity, he would do well to choose the later of the two on the same subject.[425]

Gandhi wrote prolifically, with sixty-one books published in English.[426] One of these publications is his collected works, comprising ninety-eight volumes and 47006 pages. Despite the name, his collected works does not contain all of his writings. Thus, the challenge of correctly interpreting Gandhi's definitive views on any given topic is daunting, and any claim to have done so can and should be challenged.

My approach to overcoming these challenges was to use *Constructive Programme (Its Meaning and Place)* as a first resource for determining Gandhi's views as he expressed them in 1945. I then referred to his other published works where necessary to carry out the steps of the analysis. I have attempted to refer to his later views on a topic where possible, but to do so entirely would have severely limited my interpretations. Gandhi wrote about many ideas that shaped my understanding of the constructive program in his earlier publications, such as those he expressed in *Hind Swaraj* in 1910.

For all of these reasons, the lack of a definitive and comprehensive source for Gandhi's views on the constructive program is a limitation of my research. As a result, some of my interpretations may not fully reflect Gandhi's views. To overcome this weak point, I attempted to clearly state my interpretations and the sources I was drawing on for each. Following Gandhi's lead, I do not consider the writing of this thesis to be my final reading of his work, and will continue to evolve and update my interpretations with new learning.

---

[425] Gandhi, *Collected Works*, 61:23-24.
[426] These are the books either written by Gandhi or compiled from his writings, and listed under GandhiMedia on the website for the *GandhiServe Foundation: Mahatma Gandhi Research and Media Service* (Copyright 2011-2016 GandhiServe), available at http://www.gandhimedia.org/cgi bin/gm/gm.cgi?direct=Writings/Books/Books_by_Gandhi/English, and accessed March 7, 2016.

A second limitation of my research is the inadequate consideration of gender. Both Gandhi and Galtung touched on feminist issues in their work, however gender studies have moved significantly beyond their considerations. While their historical and social contexts explain the deficiency, it is a limitation. Scholarly work on structural violence is starting to reflect the importance of the role of gender.[427]

Ten years ago, Catia Confortini argued that feminist studies had much to offer Galtung's theories. She outlined the numerous ways that cultural and structural violence instantiate through gendered constructs.[428] I concur, and recommend that analyses of violence and nonviolence proceed with the understanding that gender is a social construct through which each can be established.[429]

For example, Confortini points to the role of gender as a world organizing principle resulting in mutually exclusive categories of super or subordination.[430] Sets of groups are perceived as dichotomies and associated with either femininity or masculinity, with the former being valued less than the latter.[431] This example of the role of gender is relevant to Gandhi's work in light of his recognition that the idea of superiority and inferiority was reinforcing violence in India.[432] A

---

[427] For example, see Emma-Louise Anderson, *Gender, HIV and Risk. Navigating Structural Violence* (*Gender and Politics*; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), doi: 10.1057/9781137316127; Paul Farmer, Margaret Connors, and Janie Simmons (eds.), *Women, Poverty, and AIDS: Sex, Drugs and Structural Violence*, 2nd ed. (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2011); and Cilja Harders, *Gender Relations, Violence and Conflict Transformation* (*Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation*; Berghof Foundation, 2011). Available from http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Handbook/Articles/harders_handbook.pdf, accessed March 25, 2016.

[428] Catia C. Confortini, "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance," in *Peace & Change* 31, no. 3 (July 2006), 333-367.

[429] Ibid, 335. To do so for the analysis in chapter three required an understanding of feminist theory that was beyond the scope of this thesis.

[430] Ibid, 345.

[431] Ibid.

[432] See chapter three.

feminist analysis of the violence to which the constructive program was responsive was beyond the scope of this thesis, but would have deepened the analysis.

Considerations for Future Research

Gandhi's constructive program exemplified Galtung's theories. It follows that there is a role for constructive approaches where cycles of cultural and structural violence exist. However, the importance of context creates a challenge: specific expressions of violence and nonviolence—and therefore the elements—will differ. The challenge is in determining the attributes that are necessary to achieve the essence of Gandhi's program, irrespective of the elements.

The eight qualities are defining characteristics and guiding principles of Gandhi's constructive program. However, operationalizing the qualities requires future research for two complementary but different uses. One is to establish Gandhian constructive programs. The research in this case consists of determining how to put the qualities into practice. A second use is to identify comparable programs to study. The research in this second case consists of determining the means of verifying their presence. For both purposes, a next step in terms of research is to refine the explanations of the qualities with concepts proposed by other scholars. Examples include Nagler's constructive program principles and strategies, and Bondurant's categories of Gandhian concepts: objectives, principles and means.[433] This endeavour could be extensive; the qualities provide a framework for focusing the effort. The understanding that Gandhi's nonviolence encompassed establishing cultural and structural nonviolence through the constructive program creates a new lens through which to interpret the understanding of

---

[433] Nagler, *The Principles of Constructive Program;* Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence*, 6.

Gandhi's nonviolence as it is expressed through the research of other scholars. Refining the eight

qualities with relevant explanations from the existing literature is an important next step.

There are also opportunities to analyze the context-specific dynamics of cultural and

structural violence for contemporary constructive programs. Following from the discussion of

limitations in the previous section, I recommend that this research incorporate feminist theories.

One of the areas to pay particular attention to is feminist work on agency. Gandhi's work appears

to be consistent with feminist arguments for the need to move beyond a victim and perpetrator

framework in understanding violence.[434] As discussed in chapter three, he did not make

distinctions in terms of victim and main actor; he considered the peoples of India to be both,

simultaneously. He approached the constructive program with the understanding that the peoples

of India were agents. My contention that Gandhi's work reflects the idea of agency is supported

by autonomous as a quality of the constructive program, and by the presence of personal social

responsibility as a form of cultural nonviolence.[435] I recommend that future research involving

Gandhian constructive programs be done in conversation with feminist work on agency.

There is also an opportunity for feminist studies to benefit from research on Gandhian

constructive programs. Confortini argues that violence needs to be understood as a process rather

than a system or structure, which affects the relationships between cultural, structural, and direct

violence.[436] Her concern is that violence not be seen as static. I concur, however my

understanding of Galtung's theories and of Gandhi's constructive program is that neither implies

that violence is static. There is an opportunity for research on Gandhian constructive programs—

---

[434] Confortini, "Galtung, Violence, and Gender," 349.
[435] See chapter three.
[436] Confortini, "Galtung, Violence, and Gender," 341.

which establish cultures and structures that support cycles of nonviolence in response to existing

forms of violence—to contribute to feminist theories on the transformation of cycles of violence.

Summary

Galtung's theories and Gandhi's constructive program complement each other, with

relevance for conflict studies.[437] Gandhi's work supports Galtung's construal of violence by

demonstrating the necessity for its extensiveness. The identification of different yet

interdependent forms of the same underlying concept—violence—is essential for understanding

the relevance of the constructive program to conflict studies. Galtung's broad definition reveals

that Gandhi's program was responsive to multiple forms of violence.

The revelation that the program was responsive to multiple forms of violence clarifies

Gandhi's interpretation of nonviolence. The analysis in chapter three demonstrates that Gandhi's

interpretation encompassed responding to cultural and structural violence by establishing cycles

of nonviolence.[438] By using Galtung's concepts to better understand Gandhi's work, the

relevance to conflict studies becomes clear. The constructive program can be understood as an

instantiation of Galtung's theories. It provides examples of cultural and structural forms of both

violence as well as nonviolence, and the dynamics between them. The program also modeled a

way to deal with a comprehensive approach so that it was not overwhelming.

Gandhi's constructive program exemplified Galtung's theories. It follows that there is a role

for Gandhian constructive programs where cycles of cultural and structural violence exist. I

propose that the purpose of a Gandhian constructive program is to establish cultures and

---

[437] Thomas Weber, "The Impact of Gandhi on the Development of Johan Galtung's Peace Research,"
Global Change, Peace & Security 16 (February 2004), doi: 10.1080/1478115042000176166.
[438] See chapter three.

structures that support cycles of nonviolence in response to existing cycles of violence. Programs that have this purpose and commit to the following eight qualities are Gandhian constructive programs: intentionally nonviolent, voluntary, inclusive, autonomous, responsive to cultural and structural violence, self-reinforcing, context-specific, and comprehensive.

One limitation of my research is the lack of a definitive and comprehensive source for Gandhi's views on the constructive program. As a result, some of my interpretations may not fully reflect his views. A second limitation of my research is the lack of consideration of the role of gender. A feminist examination of the violence to which the constructive program was responsive was beyond the scope of this thesis, but would have deepened the analysis.

A number of opportunities for future work arise from the discussion of implications and limitations. One is to operationalize the qualities for two purposes: to determine how to put the qualities into practice and establish a constructive program, and to determine the means of verifying the presence of the qualities in comparable programs. This starts with research to refine the explanations of the qualities based on the work of other scholars. A second opportunity for future work is for scholars in conflict studies to analyze the context-specific dynamics of cultural and structural violence for contemporary constructive programs. Following from the discussion of limitations in the previous section, I recommend that this research incorporate feminist theories. A third opportunity for future work is for research on Gandhian constructive programs to contribute to feminist theories on the transformation of cycles of violence.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I set out to examine Gandhi's nonviolent constructive program. I wanted to understand it in terms of concepts and theories that are relevant to scholars in conflict studies today. Galtung's theories provided a framework for the analysis. The main findings are summarized at the end of chapter four. However, I will reiterate that they demonstrate that Gandhi's constructive program was a comprehensive plan of nonviolent practice that was responsive to cultural and structural violence. This research demonstrates that it also exemplified Galtung's theories of violence and peace. Viewing the program through the lens of these theories clarifies the constructive praxis of nonviolence, and enables its significance to be understood.

I believe it is vital to substantiate the praxis and theories of Gandhi and Galtung. This thesis contributes to efforts to do so in two ways. First, by establishing that the constructive program exemplified Galtung's theories, it identifies a compelling reason to transport the approach to current and future realities. Second, it proposes the qualities—the guiding principles and defining characteristics—that replicate the essence of Gandhi's program. As discussed in chapter four, further work is necessary to refine the explanations of the qualities based on the work of other scholars, as a next step to operationalizing them.

This research demonstrates that the constructive program was establishing cultural and structural nonviolence. It is my hope that this elucidation will generate scholarly interest in the constructive practice of nonviolence, and in particular in Gandhi's complex and nuanced understanding of it. The potential to learn from his experiments has not been exhausted.

Bibliography

Ackerman, Peter, and Jack DuVall. *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict.* New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000.

Albert Einstein Institution. *Albert Einstein Institution.* April 7, 2016. http://www.aeinstein.org/.

Allen, Douglas. *Mahatma Gandhi.* London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2011.

Anderson, Emma-Louise. *Gender, HIV and Risk. Navigating Structural Violence (Gender and Politics).* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. doi: 10.1057/9781137316127.

Bondurant, Joan V. *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conquest.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Brown, J. "Gandhi and Nehru: frustrated visionaries?" *History Today*, September 1997.

Brown, Judith, and Anthony Parel (eds.). *The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Burrowes, R. J. *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Chakrabarti, M. *The Gandhian Philosophy of Spinning-Wheel.* New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000.

Chenoweth, E., and K. G. Cunningham. "Understanding Nonviolent Resistance: An Introduction." *Journal of Peace Research* (Sage) 50, no. 3 (2013): 271–276.

Chenoweth, Erica, and Maria J. Stephan. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2011.

Chisholm, J. "Constructive Program as an Instructive Model." *Fellowship of Reconciliation Working for Peace, Justice and Nonviolence Since 1915.* March 29, 2010. http://forusa.org/blogs/for/constructive-program-instructive-model/7404 (accessed July 25, 2014).

Christie, D. J. "Reducing Direct and Structural Violence: The Human Needs Theory." *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 3, no. 4 (1997): 315-332.

Confortini, Catia C. "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance,." *Peace & Change* 31, no. 3 (July 2006): 333-367.

Doniger, Wendy. *The Hindus: An Alternative History.* New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2009.

Farmer, P. "An Anthropology of Structural Violence." *Current Anthropology* 45, no. 3 (2004): 305-325.

Farmer, P. "On suffering and structural violence: a view from below." *Daedalus* 125, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 261-283.

—. "Pathologies of Power: Rethinking Health and Human Rights." *American Journal of Public Health* 89, no. 10 (October 1999): 1486-1496.

—. *The Uses of Haiti.* Second Edition. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2003.

Farmer, Paul, Margaret Connors, JanieFarmer, Paul Simmons, Margaret Connors, and Janie Simmons. *Women, Poverty, and AIDS: Sex, Drugs and Structural Violence.* Second Edition. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2011.

Galtung, Johan and Dietrich Fischer, ed. *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research.* New York, NY: Springer, 2013. PDF e-book.

Galtung, Johan. "Cultural Violence." *Journal of Peace Research* 27, no. 3 (1990): 291-305.

—. "International Development in Human Perspective." In *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*, edited by John Burton, 301-335. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.

—. "On the Meaning of Nonviolence." *Journal of Peace Research* (Sage Publications, Ltd.) 2, no. 3 (1965): 228-257 .

—. *Peace by Peaceful Means. Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996.

—. "Poverty, Violence and Health." *World Health.* 1994. http://go.galegroup.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA16679856&v=2.1 &u=otta77973&it=r&p=AONE&sw=w&asid=70e4e143bc7efa7154bc30cc77ea6d8a (accessed May 12, 2015).

—. *The Way is the Goal: Gandhi Today.* Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyapith, 1992.

—. *Theories of Conflict. Definitions, Dimensions, Negotiations, Formations.* New York, NY: Columbia University, 1958. PDF e-book.

—. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research* 6, no. 3 (January 1969): 167-191.

Gandhi, M. K. *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth.* Ahmedabad: Jitendra T. Desai, 1927.

—. *Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Place.* Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1945. PDF e-book.

—. *Freedom's Battle: Being a Comprehensive Collection of Writings and Speeches on the Present Situation.* Edited by Second Edition. Auckland: The Floating Press, (1922) 2014.

—. "Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule." *Soil And Health Library.* 1910. http://www.soilandhealth.org/03sov/0303critic/hind%20swaraj.pdf (accessed August 07, 2014).

—. *My Religion.* Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1955. PDF e-book.

—. *Non-Violent Resistance (Satyagraha).* Mineola, New York: Dover, 2001.

—. *Satyagraha in South Africa.* Translated by Valji Govindji Desai. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, [1928] 2003. PDF e-book.

—. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, 98 vols.* New Delhi: Publications Division Government of India, (1884-1948) 1999. PDF e-book.

—. *The Essence of Hinduism.* Edited by V. B. Kher. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1987. PDF e-book.

—. *What is Hinduism.* Edited by Ravinder Kumar. New Delhi: Navajivan Trust, 1994. PDF e-book.

GandhiServe Foundation. *About Gandhi.* 2008-2012. http://www.gandhiserve.org/e/about_gandhi.htm (accessed 07 16, 2014).

Gregg, Richard B. *The Power of NonViolence.* Third Edition. Canton, ME: Greenleaf Books, 1959. PDF e-book.

Harders, Cilja. "Gender Relations, Violence and Conflict Transformation (Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation)." *Berghof Foundation.* 2011. http://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Handbook/Articles/harders_handbook.pdf (accessed March 25, 2016).

Hardiman, David. *Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of His Ideas.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Harvey, D. *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996.

Indohistory - History of India. *Religions in India.* 2008. www.indohistory.com (accessed 02 27, 2015).

Jaffrelot, C. "Caste and Politics ." *India International Centre Quarterly* (India International Centre) 37, no. 2 (Autumn 2010): 94-116 .

King, Jr., Martin Luther. *Stride toward freedom : the Montgomery story.* New York, NY: Harper, 1958.

King, Mary E. *Gandhian nonviolent struggle and untouchability in South India : the 1924-25 Vykom Satyagraha and mechanisms of change.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015. E-book.

Kosek, Joseph Kip. " Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence." *The Journal of American History* (Organization of American Historians) 91, no. 4 (March 2005): 1318-1348 .

Mider, D. "The Anatomy of Violence: A Study of the Literature." *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 18 (2013): 702–708.

Nagler, Michael. "Constructive Program: Self Study." *Metta Center for Nonviolence.* 2014. http://www.mettacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/CP%20transcription%20%282%29.pdf (accessed August 08, 2014).

—. "Nonviolence Writ Large." *TIKKUN* 30, no. 3 (Summer 2015): 28, doi: 10. 1215/08879982-3140332.

—. "Peacemaking Through Nonviolence." *George Mason University Peace and Conflict Studies.* December 1997. http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/pcs/nagler.html (accessed June 03, 2015).

—. *The Nonviolence Handbook. A Guide for Practical Action.* San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2014.

—. "The Principles of Constructive Program." *The Metta Center for Nonviolence.* 2014. http://www.mettacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/CP%20transcription%20%282%29.pdf (accessed August 08, 2014).

—. *The Search for a Nonviolent Future.* San Francisco, CA: Inner Ocean Publishing, 2004. PDF e-book.

Naoroji, Dadabhai. *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901.

Narayanaswamy, S. "Constructive Programme Towards Twenty First Century." *Mahatma Gandhi's One Spot Information Website.* http://www.mkgandhi-sarvodaya.org/articles/constr.%20prog.htm (accessed July 25, 2014).

Parel, Anthony, ed. *Gandhi: 'Hind Swaraj' and Other Writings By Mohandas Gandhi.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

—. *Gandhi's Philosophy and the Quest for Harmony.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Parsons, K. A. "Structural Violence and Power." *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* (Taylor & Francis Group, LLC) 19 (2007): 173–181. doi: 10.1080/10402650701353612.

Patton, Laurie L. "Telling Stories About Harm: An Overview of Early Indian Narratives." In *Religion and Violence in South Asia: Theory and Practice*, edited by John R. Hinnells and Richard King, 11-40. New York, NY: Routledge, 2007.

Ramsbotham, Oliver, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall. *Contemporary Conflict Resoluton.* Third Edition. Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2011.

Sharp, Gene. *Gandhi as a Political Strategist: With Essays on Ethics and Politics.* Boston, MA: Porter Sargent, 1979.

Sheehan, Joanne. "Gandhi's Constructive Program and Ours." *Peacework.* September 2006. http://www.peaceworkmagazine.org/gandhi-s-constructive-program-and-ours (accessed July 29, 2014).

Shepard, Mark. *Gandhi Today.* Friday Harbor, WA: Simple Productions, 2012.

Sihra, K. "Gandhi's Praxis: Ideas for Non-Violent Social Transformation." *Thesis.* Ottawa, ON: Library and Archives Canada Heritage Branch, 2004.

Singh, Aakash. "Gandhi and Ambedkar: Irreconcilable Differences?" in *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 18, no. 3 (2014). doi 10.1007/s11407-014-9167-5.

Staub, E. "Notes on Cultures of Violence, Cultures of Caring and Peace, and the Fulfillment of Basic Human Needs." *Political Psychology* (Blackwell Publishing Inc.) 24, no. 1 (2003).

Tellis, Allwyn. "Mahatma Gandhi's Constructive Programme: Building a New India." *PhD diss.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, ProQuest, 2006.

Thomson, Mark. "Hind Swaraj and the Constructive Work Programme." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 9, no. 2 (1986): 37-54.

Vorobej, M. "Structural Violence." *Peace Research. The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 84-98.

Weber, T. "Gandhi, Deep Ecology, Peace Research and Buddhist Economics." *Journal of Peace Research* 36, no. 3 (1999): 349-361.

—. "Gandhian Philosophy, Conflict Resolution Theory, and Practical Approaches to Negotiation." *Journal of Peace Research* 38, no. 4 (2001): 493-513.

—. "Nonviolence Theory and Practice." Edited by L. Kurtz. *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict* (Elsevier) 2 (2008): 1362-1372.

—. "The Impact of Gandhi on the Development of Johan Galtung's Peace Research." *Global Change, Peace & Security* (Carfax Publishing, Taylor & Francis Group) 16 (February 2004).

—. "The Lesson from the Disciples: Is there a Contradiction in Gandhi's Philosophy of Action?" *Modern Asian Studies* 28 (1994): 195-214.