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Development as Swaraj (self-rule) and the quest for
non-violent social order: A case study of the Khadi
sector in Karnataka, India

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates a way of constructing non-violent social order through development as swaraj (self-rule), based on the writings of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and his associate, the economist Joseph Cornelius Kumarappa. It elucidates the violence immanent in existing development paradigms, and formulates swaraj development as a way forward. Further, it explores the pragmatic ways in which this form of development can be established through the khadi sector, the handspun and handwoven textile in Karnataka, India. The khadi case study is selected because the sector was originally conceived as a vehicle for swaraj development during the Indian freedom movement. The development paradigm of swaraj is built upon a threefold moral political economy (MPE) framework, which has the potential to unveil exploitative relations and transform social order. The framework re-establishes political economy within the fold of moral philosophy. The development vision of swaraj advocates a morality of non-violence, political decentralisation accompanied by active non-violent resistance to exploitation in the form of *Satyagraha* (insistence of Truth), and economic self-sufficiency to establish a non-violent social order. The case study thesis demonstrates that the existing social conditions in the khadi sector are far-removed from the development vision of swaraj. The case study analysis, though, offers insights into possible ways of transforming existing social conditions within the khadi sector to advance towards a non-violent social order. This research provides a distinct approach to understand social development based on the MPE framework. It advances the social development theory and praxis of Gandhi and Kumarappa by formulating the development paradigm of swaraj. By challenging prevailing development structures, discourses, and practices linked to the colonial project, it strengthens the ongoing process of decolonising development. More broadly, this research contributes concepts, methods, and empirical evidence that can help to overcome violence that is ingrained in the existing social order through development as swaraj.

‘There is no neutrality. Either we are creative or destructive.’ J C Kumarappa

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Abbreviations

AIKB	All India Khadi Board
AIKVIB	All India Khadi and Village Industries Board
AISA	All India Spinners Association
AIVIA	All India Village Industries Association
APL	Above Poverty Line
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSP	Central Sliver Plant
CSPs	Central Sliver Plants
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEN	General
GNH	Gross National Happiness
KSKVIB	Karnataka State Khadi and Village Industries Board
KVIBs	Khadi and Village Industries Boards
KVIC	Khadi and Village Industries Commission

MMDA	Modified Marketing Development Assistance
MPE	Moral Political Economy
MSME	Ministry of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises
OBC	Other Backward Classes
OFM	Organic Farmers' Market
PARI	People's Archive of Rural India
SEWA	Self-employment Women's Association
SC	Scheduled Castes
ST	Scheduled Tribes

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Prevailing models of social development based on material accumulation have failed to tackle the violence manifested in the form of increasing social inequality and worsening environmental crisis that threaten global civilisational collapse (Fromm, 1955; Harvey, 2014; Motesharrei et al., 2014). The growing social inequality, particularly of wealth, has reached the point where the top 1% own more than one-fourth of total wealth shares (Alvaredo et al., 2017: 9). According to the latest World Inequality Report, if inequality is not adequately addressed, it will result in 'various sorts of political, economic, and social catastrophes' (Alvaredo et al., 2017: 8). At the same time, human civilisation is breaking through thresholds of delicately interconnected planetary boundaries, which delineate the 'safe operating space for humanity' (Rockström et al., 2009: 32). The growth of civilisation beyond these ecological limits will result in 'non-linear, abrupt environmental change', and will have a fatal impact if not checked (Rockström et al., 2009: 32). Out of nine planetary boundaries, four have already been transgressed (Steffen et al., 2015). Thus, reducing social inequality while keeping civilisation within planetary boundaries is one of the most critical challenges facing humanity today.

In this context, this study outlines a potential alternative development pathway called *Swaraj* (self-rule) based on the essence of the writings of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and his associate, the economist, Joseph Cornelius Kumarappa. Development as *swaraj* aims to construct civilisation based on the axioms of Truth and non-violence, where the former is a fundamental understanding of cosmic unity, and the latter entails love or the notion of greatest good of all. It envisions a non-violent social order in which individuals self-rule, or rule over themselves, without exploiting others. By doing so, it inherently encourages a sustainable and equitable future. This notion of development occupies a spiritual/moral plane once humans fulfil their basic material needs. It provides material as well as spiritual/moral dimensions to development, with the highest outcome being one where individuals experience both inner and outer peace. The exercise of formulating *swaraj* as a development paradigm based on the vast writings of Gandhi and Kumarappa goes beyond an interpretative analysis by adapting their ideas to the present context.

As part of the study, the khadi sector, which is the handspun and handwoven cotton textile in the state of Karnataka, South India, is investigated to understand the pragmatic ways in which Swaraj could be established. The sector is chosen particularly because khadi was conceived by Gandhi and Kumarappa as a vehicle for development as swaraj. It was envisaged in such a manner because, on one hand, it had the capacity to support livelihoods of a vast section of impoverished society, and, on the other hand, it had the ability to act as a 'commodity of resistance against the colonial exploitation' (Ramagundam, 2008: 10). In doing so, it became central to India's freedom movement.

The current challenges of environmental catastrophe and exacerbating inequality have given rise to various efforts to devise alternative conceptions of social development. Such alternatives can be broadly categorised into either material growth-oriented development strategies or heterodox approaches to development. The first set of approaches largely rest under the umbrella of sustainable development, which generally focus on technological interventions, and managerial and institutional reforms to attain ecological sustainability, while simultaneously maintaining economic growth (Kothari et al., 2014: 362). This is the approach currently predominant in global institutions, and it has been nominally adopted by all member states of the United Nations. The heterodox approaches, though quite varied, generally look towards non-material conceptions of wellbeing and are critical of commitments to economic growth. Amongst heterodox approaches we can count Buen Vivir from Latin America, Ubuntu from South Africa, Radical Ecological Democracy in India, the postdevelopment tradition primarily from the United States, the degrowth movement in the global north and the Gross National Happiness Project in Bhutan.

The Buen Vivir movement arose from indigenous communities of Latin America during the end of last century in reaction to development schemes based on material accumulation. It is premised on a conception of a good life that encompasses living harmoniously with nature while respecting biological and social diversity (Gudynas, 2011). It envisions a collective wellbeing of both human and non-human worlds.

Likewise, the conception of Ubuntu emerged in Zimbabwe and South Africa during their decolonial movements in the later part of the last century. It is based on the notion of mutual care rooted in certain African cultures. The conception is embedded in their popular proverb 'a person is a person through other persons' (Ramose, 1999: 52). It is an understanding that the existence of an individual is inextricably linked with the lives of others (Eze, 2010: 94). It aspires for a cooperative society.

The Radical Ecological Democracy movement unfolded in India in 2012 out of grassroots initiatives. It envisions development as a bottom-up project based on participatory democracy with a recognition of the rights of non-human beings, as opposed to human-centred representative democracy (Kothari, 2014). It advocates for individuals' participation in the key decisions that affect their lives in pursuit of a socially equitable and ecologically sensitive world.

The postdevelopment approach arose in the 1980s in the United States as a response to theories of development based on material accumulation rooted in colonial development discourses. It questions the dominant discourse of development based on certain sensibilities of the West, and calls for a world of pluralistic sensibilities or 'pluriverse of socio-natural worlds' (Escobar, 2012). It fundamentally challenges the prevailing notion of development that envisions the Global North as advanced and progressive, and the Global South as backward, degenerate, and primitive.

The conception of degrowth has roots in the nineteenth century anti-industrial movement in the Global North. More contemporarily, it was popularised by André Gorz, a French philosopher in 1970s. The conception questions economic growth while calling for downsizing of production and consumption to achieve sustainability and social justice (Demaria et al., 2013). It visualises a society based on cooperation, care and solidarity, and advocates democratic decision making and sufficiency in order to reduce consumption and waste.

The Gross National Happiness (GNH) is a philosophy that informs the government of Bhutan. It was promoted by Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the fourth king of Bhutan, in the

early 1970s. It considers collective wellbeing as the marker of progress, and the philosophy forms the central tenant of the constitution of Bhutan that was enacted in 2008 (Royal Government of Bhutan, 2008). By recognising material and spiritual aspects of life as part of Gross National Happiness, it fundamentally challenges the notion of gross domestic product (GDP), the prevailing benchmark of development based on material accumulation.

However, both mainstream sustainable development and heterodox development approaches have their limitations. The idea of sustainable development is an 'oxymoron' because it embraces a contradictory notion of unlimited material growth on a finite planet (Spaiser et al., 2016). It presents an overly optimistic perspective on unchecked economic growth in the world of finite resources. By doing so it becomes fundamentally flawed and unlikely to address the prevailing environmental crisis and social inequality. Heterodox development approaches, particularly those based on novel conceptions of wellbeing, are limited in their scope. It is particularly so because the notion of wellbeing that is central to many of these approaches is inherently a 'subjective phenomenon' (White, 2018: 2). This in turn poses a serious challenge in accommodating people with diverse outlooks, attitudes, and cultures into the fold of their development models. A further limitation of heterodox approaches comes from their limited emphasis on the ways to overcome the exploitation immanent within their paradigms. This issue is appositely articulated by Vyas (2016: 118), who suggests that 'close scrutiny shows that there are many dogmatisms and unsavoury features of class, gender, ethnicity, etc., hidden within these alternative models', and that little attention has been given to the ways of overcoming those problems.

Within debates about alternative approaches to development, Sen's (1999) idea of development as freedom occupies a middle ground by emphasising non-material wellbeing in addition to an emphasis on material accumulation and economic growth. By doing so, it has made a significant impact on contemporary development discourses. The approach conceives freedom as the 'principle means' and 'primary ends' of development (Sen, 1999: 10). Its objective is to increase 'substantive freedoms' like economic facilities, political freedom, social opportunities, protective security and

transparent guarantees for 'people to lead the kind of lives they have reason to value and to enhance the real choices they have' (Sen, 1999: 38, 293). The approach has been engaged and adopted by both exponents and opponents of material growth because it accounts for material and non-material values in its vision of development. This is illustrated by Sen in the following paragraph:

If education makes a person more efficient in commodity production, then this is clearly an enhancement of human capital. This can add to the value of production in the economy and also to the income of the person who has been educated [material value]. But even with the same level of income, a person may benefit from education – in reading, communication, arguing, in being able to choose in a more informed way, in being taken more seriously by others and so on [non-material value]. (Sen, 1999: 293–294)

The consideration of both material and non-material values is precisely the reason why the approach has appealed more broadly to the exponents of prevailing models of development, sustainable development and also, to some extent, heterodox development approaches. For example, Sundararajan (2000) praises the development vision of Sen in the International Monetary Fund's journal *Finance & Development*, which is a central outlet for prevailing ideas of development. Further, the work of the World Bank (another major driver of the dominant development paradigm) has been significantly shaped by the development vision of Sen. The effect is pointed out by Stewart (2001: 971), who writes that the "World Bank now takes a 'comprehensive' view of development, in which extra-market features such as the legal system, social capital and so on, are regarded as essential for development, poverty reduction is taken to be the prime objective, and popular participation is argued to be critical."

Similarly, Sen's idea of development as freedom has significantly influenced the United Nations (UN), as one of the main exponents of the sustainable development approach. The Human Development Index (HDI), which was formulated based in part on the development vision of Sen, is considered as an instrument to 'design the route' for achieving the Sustainable Development Goals of the United Nations (Conceição, 2019). The index measures life expectancy, education, and per capita income to assess the development of a country. Further, the index is considered as a key tool to inform policy

decisions and resource allocation at different levels, from the local to global, by numerous nation-states (Dervis and Klugman, 2011).

Likewise, Sen's 'development as freedom' is also taken up by advocates of heterodox development approaches. Coderre (2003) discusses development as freedom in length in the online magazine *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, which serves as a platform for the voices of Indigenous peoples. The author states that "Sen seeks not to alienate proponents of the traditional 'hard-knocks' approach, or at the same time radical grassroots approaches, but to construct an interpretation that advocates a mutually beneficial or middle-way approach when confronting development" (Coderre, 2003, para. 5). Further, he points out that Sen has developed a more empathetic approach to development by appropriating peripheral ideas of the radical grassroots into the mainstream.

However, Sen's notion of development is not free from criticism. For example, Navarro (2000: 665) argues that the approach fails to establish a clear relationship between the five forms of substantive freedoms, such as political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency, and security, and their connection with power relations. O'Hearn (2009: 10, 12) identifies its failure to recognise the 'social origin of ethics' and the role of 'global powers' like international financial institutions that influence the substantive freedom of individuals. Makuwira (2006: 199) asserts that 'the freedom-based view of development is highly romantic' because '[f]reedom is an ambiguous term that varies according to culture and environment.' Further, Crabtree (2012: 24) identifies the lack of environmental considerations in Sen's development vision and he recommends the need for 'limits to freedoms.'

Although these critical views are important, a more fundamental problem lies with Sen's conception of the individual, which is key to any development paradigm. In the abstract, every notion of the individual is defined by its perceived relationship with other beings in the cosmos. It encompasses conceptions of right and obligation, where the former is about carrying out actions that one has reason to value, and the latter entails one's responsibility towards other beings. According to Sen (1999: 284), obligation 'requires'

right in the form of freedom. In other words, right is the source of obligation, where one's interest is placed over the interest of others. Such an understanding of the individual is grounded in conceptions of humanism that crystallised during the European Renaissance period, particularly from a strand of thought that emphasised the importance of the individual's expression (Connell, 2002). This was notably embodied in the emergence of the artist as a creator during this period. This humanistic tradition was the basis for the later emergence of the liberal democratic tradition in seventeenth century, which had a similar notion of the individual, based on the conception of right. Macpherson (1964: 3) states that such a notion of individual in liberal democratic theory assumed the 'possessive quality', where the individual became 'essentially the proprietor of his own person or capacities, owing nothing to society.' Macpherson (1964: 271), though, adds that this concept of the individual makes it 'impossible' to 'derive a valid theory of obligation.' As the conception of right has become the primary concern of development, individuals' care for others is disavowed, which in turn contributes to the contemporary issues of environmental crisis and social inequality.

In this context, development as *swaraj* becomes pertinent. The term *swaraj* is derived from the Sanskrit word *swarajya* (Brown, 1984: 429). According to ancient Hindu tradition, the term originally means 'self-mastery' or 'self-control', which are aspired to in order to attain 'freedom from desires' (Brown, 1984: 434). Out of different interpretations put forward by various nationalists and social reformers during the Indian freedom movement, the conceptualisation of *swaraj* as self-rule by Gandhi and Kumarappa stands prominent. It was envisioned in the first half of the last century, and it mounted a challenge to both materialist and positivist theories of development that had shaped the political economy debates of the time. Gandhi and Kumarappa also laid bare and critiqued the standard assumptions about the need for the centralisation of power that undergirded the dominant development models of material accumulation.

In an India that was seeking to achieve industrial modernity rapidly, their positions were unattractive to many. This resulted in a long period of neglect of their ideas. However, growing social inequality and environmental crisis are generating renewed interest among scholars in exploring their thoughts. For instance, Gandhi has been recognised

as 'patron saint of the Indian environmental movement' (Guha, 1995: 47), and Kumarappa as 'founding father of green thought in India' (Govindu and Malghan, 2015: 5477). Their contributions towards creating an equitable society through social justice have equally been acknowledged (Redkar, 2019). However, their notion of development as swaraj has received limited scholarly attention. For example, Vyas (2016: 110), in a comprehensive evaluation of the development discourse in India, barely touches upon the conception of swaraj, and classifies it as a 'lesser-known alternative' that lost to 'the overarching and dominating capitalist and socialist paradigms.' The available literature on swaraj has primarily tried to understand the concept from a political perspective rather than to construct a development theory around it. Although the political content for swaraj was filled by Gandhi, and the economic content by Kumarappa, it is still lacking as a comprehensive development theory and praxis.

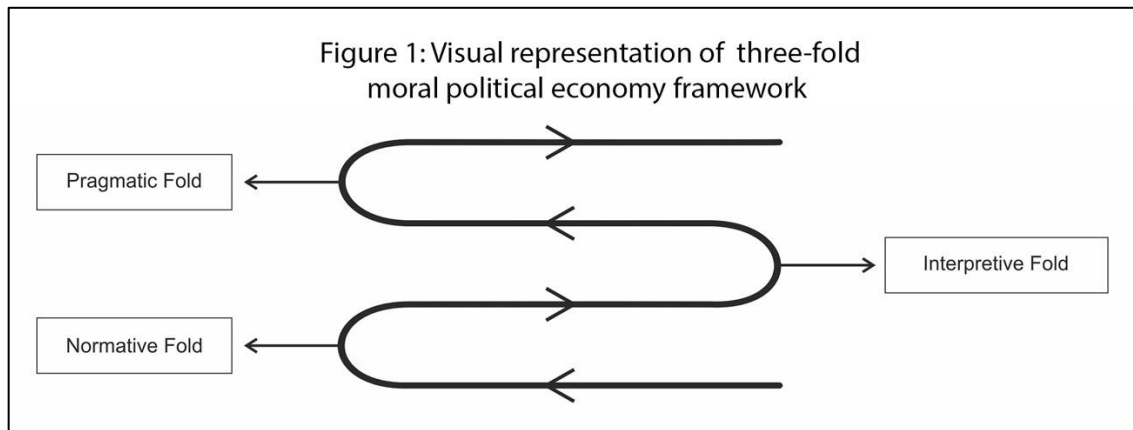
Before embarking on any such effort of developing a more comprehensive development theory and praxis around the conception of swaraj, it is essential to understand that Gandhi and Kumarappa were not just theorists, but men of action. There was a dialogue between theory and practice in their work. Their understanding of the human condition had come from their deep engagement with their impoverished compatriots over the course of several decades. Their thoughts were representing the lived reality of people. The outstanding feature of their work is a consistency that connects theory and praxis. Specifically, their work is the direct result of the interaction between their moral and material pursuits. Since their lives were intertwined with India's freedom struggle, their audience was ordinary people outside the pale of mainstream scholarship. This means that their writings are scattered, but there remains an immense coherence throughout their various writings. The present study uses their work as a springboard for outlining a theory and praxis of swaraj development in the contemporary era.

Even though development as swaraj challenges material accumulation in a way not dissimilar to the abovementioned heterodox development approaches, it attempts to address the potential exploitation that could creep into their envisioned social order over time. More importantly it provides a comprehensive political-economic praxis in relation to moral philosophy that could, arguably, be operationalised at global scale.

However, by taking material and non-material values into account, it comes closer to Sen's development as freedom, but still differs significantly. It constructs the notion of the individual based on the conception of obligation by recognising the fundamental role of other human and non-human beings in one's existence in the cosmos. By considering obligation as the source of right, it contrasts with Sen's development model. Further, by recognising obligations of an individual towards non-human beings, it becomes a more inclusive development paradigm. Although, the conception of the individual based on obligation is similar to Marxian¹ understanding of the self that arises from the collective social condition, it departs from Marxist theory by emphasising non-violence as the means of achieving the ultimate goal of self-rule.

The design of this study is directed by what is referred to as a moral political economy (MPE) framework of development as swaraj, which understands political economy as encompassed within moral philosophy. The framework is developed in chapter three as a new approach to comprehend social development. This approach recognises the intricate relationship between social consciousness and materiality in shaping the human condition. Further it conceptualises morality, politics, and economy as inseparable from one another, like different branches of the same tree. This framework is explained in detail in chapter three. The research questions guiding this study follow a three-fold approach of MPE that entails normative, interpretive, and pragmatic folds as shown in the below Figure 1.

¹ A Marxian perspective sees violence as inevitable and necessary in moving through and beyond capitalism to achieve human liberation and communist social order (Federici, 2004: 12). In distinction, development as swaraj makes non-violence, understood in the positive sense of love, as the means of achieving the ultimate goal of non-violent social order.



The metaphor of a fold as described above serves as the means of explaining the framework, expressing the distinct articulations or inflections that arise from a common fabric. The metaphor is also used by others, notably Gilles Deleuze, a radical philosopher of 20th century, for whom it was ‘not merely as a philosophical concept, but as a practical means by which all manner of intersections between ideas and cultural and existential practices can be developed, maintained, and appreciated’ (Stivale, 2005: 9). In this moral political economy approach, the normative fold acts as the basis for the interpretive fold, which in turn gives rise to the pragmatic fold. The normative fold provides a vision of ideal, non-violent social order. It offers ‘a proper picture of what we want before we can have something approaching it’, even ‘though never realisable in its completeness’ (Gandhi, 1946a: 136). The interpretive fold involves an analysis of the existing social conditions by using the normative fold as a lens. The pragmatic fold deals with a future set of actions that can be carried out based on the understanding of our practical situatedness, which is obtained from the interpretive fold, to transform existing social conditions in line with the aspirations of the normative fold.

The word 'moral' prefixes political economy to make explicit the approach’s recognition of the normative dimension that underpins every material praxis that humans perform. In doing so, it recovers the place of political economy within the tradition of moral philosophy. This moral political economy framework, having a three-pronged approach, helps development as swaraj to avoid becoming a utopian concept. It considers the pragmatic ways of working through existing social conditions as more important than the end goal of attaining the envisioned social order. It fundamentally questions the

divorce between the end goal and the means available to achieve it precisely because humans have ‘control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end’ (Gandhi, 1924a: 237). Such a stress on the means encourages individuals to continue their work towards establishing a non-violent social order without becoming discouraged by the outcome of their efforts. In doing so, it escapes from becoming a utopian project that imagines a perfect social order that cannot be realised in reality.

This study is guided by two key research questions. First, what entails development as *swaraj*? This question mainly deals with the normative fold of the MPE framework. Second, what are the pragmatic ways in which development as *swaraj* can be attained? This second question is followed by two sub-questions, which are: To what extent is the khadi sector in Karnataka operating according to the tenets of development as *swaraj*? And what can be done to transform the existing khadi sector to align it more closely with the vision of development as *swaraj*? The first sub-question deals with the interpretive fold, while the second deals with the pragmatic fold of the MPE framework.

Development as *swaraj* advocates non-violence as a moral compass for people to organise their everyday living. Here the conception of non-violence not only involves a negative sense of restraint from exploiting others, but encompasses a positive sense of love, where action is performed for the good of all without any form of expectation. It defines human progress in terms of expanding social consciousness, once individuals have met their basic material needs. It conceptualises human prosperity in terms of peace, which involves not only a harmonious relationship with other beings in the cosmos, but also in terms of creating conditions for a mental state of tranquillity. It recommends decentralisation in politics to facilitate individuals taking charge of their own lives, simultaneously minimising the harm to others. It also encourages individuals to practice *satyagraha* (insistence on Truth), a non-violent way of resistance to the exploitation that results from the inability of humans to follow the moral code of non-violence in all possible circumstances. It considers voluntary public suffering as the basis for such resistance. Further, it emphasises economic self-sufficiency to reduce the distance between producer and consumer, and to establish the basis for a non-violent social order.

The khadi sector is chosen as a case study to illuminate the pragmatic ways in which swaraj development could be established, as the sector was conceived by Gandhi as a practical means of attaining self-rule (Ramagundam, 2008). As independent India embarked on its modernising project from Nehru onwards, the khadi sector, though, became marginalised. Today the overall production of khadi is 0.1 % of the total cotton textile output in India, where the mill sector accounts for 4% of production, the handloom sector 12-13%, and the power loom sector 76% respectively (Uzramma, 2013). The independent khadi institutions (cooperatives/societies) produce khadi across the country. These khadi institutions are regulated by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC), Government of India. The independent khadi institutions are the production centres that are responsible for procuring raw materials, organising artisans, and selling their finished products through respective sales outlets. These independent khadi institutions in the state of Karnataka are primarily the subject for this study.

The case study finds that the existing social conditions within the sector are far from the normative vision of swaraj. Even though khadi workers consider non-violence as a moral imperative, they currently show limited concern about the lives of others beyond their immediate circle. The politics within the contemporary sector is highly centralised, and there is little voice for primary producers in decision-making processes. Further there is little resistance to the exploitative practices found within the sector. Production in the sector is driven by a narrow conception of efficiency, with the focus on the quantity of khadi material that is produced, rather than on its producers. The result is a stark separation between production and consumption in the khadi supply chain. The study further identifies challenges in moving the existing social conditions within the khadi sector towards the normative vision of swaraj. More importantly, in line with the pragmatic fold, it suggests a possible courses of action to overcome obstacles through enhancing the commitment to a morality of non-violence among khadi workers, and through fostering political decentralisation and economic self-sufficiency.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter two reviews the secondary literature on the conception of swaraj. It discusses different interpretations of swaraj, which has

been variously understood as freedom, autonomy, sovereignty, democratic governance, a development vision, and it identifies the limitations of the existing scholarship. Chapter three addresses the existing gap in the scholarship on swaraj as a strategy for social development by recovering its focus on the relationship between social consciousness and materiality. It constructs the MPE framework in an effort to understand social order and its possibility for transformation based on the writings of Gandhi and Kumarappa. Further, the chapter delineates the normative vision of development as swaraj by re-establishing connections between cosmology, the conception of the individual, morality, human progress and prosperity, and political economy.

Chapter four provides an introduction to the khadi sector, which is the focus of the case study. It offers a brief history of khadi and details the present status of the sector. Chapter five explains the methodology employed to carry out the fieldwork for the thesis. It discusses the sampling strategy, selection of participants, and research methods. Chapter six analyses the existing social conditions of the khadi sector in relation to the normative vision of swaraj. Chapter seven, the final substantive chapter, explores the possible ways of transforming existing social conditions within the khadi sector to bring them closer to the normative vision of swaraj. It uses chapter five as a springboard to identify challenges, and to draw ideas from living examples from within and outside of the khadi sector to suggest possible ways of overcoming those challenges.

This thesis is situated in the discipline of development studies, particularly at the intersection of moral philosophy and political economy. It makes several original contributions to the field as follows. First, it provides a distinct approach to comprehend social development based on its moral political economy framework (MPE). By recognising the role of social consciousness and material conditions in shaping social order, the MPE approach deviates from other existing transdisciplinary approaches and critical approaches rooted largely in the schism between idealism and materialism.

Second, it advances the social development theory and praxis of Gandhi and Kumarappa by moving beyond existing literatures to formulate the development paradigm of swaraj. By taking the moral-material dialectical approach, swaraj development approach departs from other existing development paradigms. Further, it contributes to the movement to 'decolonising development' by bringing the conception of swaraj evolved in the Indian context into the fold of development studies (Apffel-Marglin and Marglin, 1996; Langdon, 2013).

Third, this thesis suggests specific interventions based on development as swaraj to establish a more non-violent social order within the khadi sector in Karnataka. By doing so, it becomes the first exercise of reconnecting the khadi sector back to its original spirit of swaraj. Further, the normative aim of transforming social reality in the khadi sector distinguishes this thesis from other scholarship on the sector, which remains largely descriptive of khadi's current state. More broadly, it provides concepts, methods, and empirical evidence that can help to overcome violence ingrained within the current global social order through development as swaraj.

Chapter 2: The Multiple Conceptions of Swaraj

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines existing literature on swaraj (self-rule) to understand the work that has been undertaken so far on the concept, which has mainly been conceived as a paradigm of development. The scope of the review is limited to secondary scholarship on swaraj, with the primary literature of Mahatma Gandhi and J C Kumarappa examined in greater detail in the next chapter. Although existing scholarship explores various dimensions of swaraj, and there is some recognition of its developmental potential, the literature neglects engagement with the moral political economy (MPE) inherent in their conception of swaraj as a vision of development. In particular, scholarship on swaraj overlooks the unique relationship between social consciousness and materiality in Gandhi's and Kumarappa's MPE that underpins swaraj as a strategy for social development.

Their MPE, as explored in greater detail in the following chapter, is premised on a notion of moral agency that arises from social consciousness, which in turn springs from engagement with the material world. Social consciousness, entailing the recognition of others and our relationship with nature, can only be substantially attained through embodied material practices, and only incompletely through detached observation and study. It is through the actual, physical 'walking in another's shoes' that brings others into our conscious fold. It is only with this increasing scope of social consciousness that our moral universe is expanded. The link between materiality, social consciousness, and morality was vital for Gandhi and Kumarappa. A particular MPE underpinned the development vision of swaraj in their work. Their quest was to create a non-violent social order in which all individuals could rule over themselves, but doing so required increasing mutual recognition with others and consciousness of one's relationship with nature.

The existing secondary literature on swaraj has tended to emphasise either social consciousness or materiality when considering the development vision of swaraj, losing

sight of the interconnection between them. The sectarian nature of academic disciplines could be the potential reason for the one-dimensional emphasis. The principle literature on swaraj mainly comes from political philosophy, political science, and development studies. Although they attribute a 'penumbra of meanings [for swaraj], ranging from most literal and formal to the most transcendental and elusive,' as Iyer, (2000: 357) states, they most commonly focus on themes such as freedom, autonomy, sovereignty, democratic governance, and social development.

The political philosophy narrative of swaraj as freedom is constructed around the concept of the self-attaining liberation from external domination as well as from internal desires. The interpretation of swaraj as sovereignty argues for shared sovereignty in which territorial notions of the nation-state and the individual egoistic self are dissolved by recognising one's obligation towards others. Further, the narrative of swaraj as autonomy involves a conception of self and social order that expands individual autonomy. In political science, the emphasis tends to be on swaraj as a form of democratic governance attained through the decentralisation in politics. In development studies, the narrative of swaraj as a vision of development focuses on decentralisation in politics and the attainment of self-sufficiency in economics, without giving many references to the morality element of the conception. Overall, the existing literature fails to apprehend the relationship between moral agency, social consciousness, and materiality, which forms the basis for Gandhi's and Kumarappa's swaraj vision of development.

2.2 Swaraj as freedom

In political philosophy, there has been scholarship exploring swaraj as a concept of freedom. It is built around a conception of liberation from both external control and internal desires. Conventional narratives commonly make a case for expanding one's social consciousness in attaining freedom, but give little attention to the necessary material practices that one has to perform to awaken consciousness.

The interpretation revolves around reconciling different forms of freedom. For Mukherjee (2010: 462), swaraj is a 'middle ground' between the two different notions

of freedom that have shaped the world without abandoning either entirely. One is the conception of freedom based on the 'assertion of identity' that encourages individuals to have an active social life. It is the external freedom for individuals to act according to their will without giving much attention to their obligation towards others. The second form is internal freedom based on renouncing 'identity', which involves withdrawal from active social life to acquire a state of tranquillity (Mukherjee, 2010: 473). In the West, the former notion of freedom has 'over time come to be recognised as its highest political and intellectual achievement', whereas in the East, particularly in 'Indic intellectual traditions', the latter has been 'historically regarded as the supreme goal' (Mukherjee, 2010: 472). However, there is a long tradition of intellectual pursuit in India that has tried to navigate a middle ground between the two by redefining freedom in terms of 'ethical engagement with the world' (Mukherjee, 2010: 462). Nevertheless, Mukherjee (2010: 462) finds that *swaraj* as self-rule is unique because it effectively redefines freedom through a 'combination of an ethics of service to society and an ethics of resistance to the state.'

Unlike Mukherjee's interpretation of *swaraj* framed in terms of self-identity, Dalton (2012: 5,7) defines *swaraj* as involving 'negative' and 'positive' forms of freedom. The former is freedom from 'external control', and the latter is freedom from 'fear and insecurities that fuel both a desire to dominate or to be dominated.' Further, he states that '*satyagraha*' (insistence on Truth), the non-violent method of conflict resolution, is the way forward for achieving negative freedom, and that 'self-knowledge' is the way to achieve positive freedom (Dalton, 2012: 6,7). *Satyagraha*, on the one hand, is defined as a journey of 'striving not for retribution but to transform a conflict situation so that the warring parties can come out of a confrontation convinced that it was in their mutual interest to resolve it' (Dalton, 2012: 9). On the other hand, self-knowledge is an 'internal journey' which 'could lead to a discovery of human unity and thus reconcile the antagonism between individual and society' (Dalton, 2012: 7,5).

For Kaviraj (2002: 132), Gandhi's construction of an argument for *swaraj* is 'ingenious' in two ways. First, it fuses a classical Indian philosophical notion of freedom with a modern idea of freedom. The former is about "enlarging an internal 'freedom' of the

mind, taking social restrictions as given” (Kaviraj, 2002: 104). It is more concerned about controlling one’s passions and accepting the reality as given rather than trying to change it. The latter is about turning ‘the principle of freedom of action itself into a force which determines forms of social life’ (Kaviraj, 2002: 104). Here, the emphasis is more on challenging reality and trying to mend it according to one's will. Second, swaraj establishes a strong link between political freedom and social freedom that have ‘remained in a state of potential conflict in Indian thinking’ (Kaviraj, 2002: 120–121).

There are varied meanings of freedom involved in the conception of swaraj. For example, Kaviraj identifies three different meanings that are embedded in the conception. First, swaraj for individuals involves rule over oneself by ‘bringing the senses under control’ (Kaviraj, 2002: 133). Second, swaraj for the community encompasses ‘collective freedom from want and indignity’ (Kaviraj, 2002: 133). Third, swaraj for the nation entails freedom for India from ‘European modernity as the ineluctable future of mankind’ (Kaviraj, 2002: 133). Similarly, Parel (2016: 74) identifies two complementary meanings in the concept of swaraj. First is ‘political swaraj’, which involves a ‘sovereign state formed through the process of self-determination’ (Parel, 2016: 74). Second is ‘self-discipline’, which is about ‘internal ordering of the passions of the senses by the mind’ (Parel, 2016: 74).

Further Parel (2000: 1) recognises three dimensions of freedom encompassed in the conception of swaraj. First, ‘political freedom’ which is ‘freedom from oppression by other individuals, groups, or the state’; second, ‘economic freedom’ which is ‘freedom from poverty’; and third, ‘spiritual freedom’, which is freedom from egoism that must be aspired to by ‘those who are politically and economically free’ (Parel, 2000: 1). He describes the first two as negative forms of freedom and the third as positive freedom.

According to Parel (2000: 16), the novelty of the conception of swaraj lies in its capacity to reconcile negative freedom, rooted in Western intellectual traditions, and positive freedom, as rooted in classical Indian philosophy. He asserts that swaraj ‘bridges the internal world of spiritual freedom and the external world of political and economic freedom’ (Parel, 2000: 16). In his words, ‘spiritual capital accumulated’ is ‘invested in

action in the fields of politics, economics and social reform' (Parel, 2009: xx). By doing so, swaraj reconciles spiritual freedom, which was primarily seen as asocial in classical Indian philosophical traditions, with the negative freedom of a Western intellectual tradition that involves gaining freedom from external constraints while being within a society. According to him, this gives 'originality' to swaraj in 'political philosophy' (Parel, 2016: 74).

From a synthesis of three dimensions and three different levels within the conception, one can imagine nine facets for swaraj which encompasses freedom that has political, economic, and spiritual dimensions at individual, community, and national levels. However, these narratives give little emphasis to the political-economic dimensions of swaraj. In other words, they give little attention to how to organise the material world to evoke such freedom within social consciousness. Without touching on the material sphere of development, the engagements with swaraj as freedom fall short of showing a possible path to realising swaraj.

2.3 Swaraj as sovereignty

The understanding of swaraj as sovereignty is another line of scholarship within political philosophy. It is constructed in opposition to the narrow conception of territoriality. Swaraj understood in sovereignty is underpinned by the idea of expanding social consciousness by breaking away from territorial notions of nation-state and the egoistic self by recognising an obligation towards others. However, this conception of sovereignty does not engage with the conditions of materiality.

The conception of sovereignty within swaraj is in contrast with a conventional definition of sovereignty based on the notion of territory. According to Veeravalli (2011: 67), swaraj offers a theory of sovereignty that starkly differs from modern sovereignty theory, that presupposes overlap between the jurisdiction of a state and nation similar to its assumption of coextensive relationship among the person and citizen and civil society and the state. She identifies three assumptions within the swaraj conception of sovereignty that are profoundly different from the nation-state and individual self-based conceptions of sovereignty. First, it differentiates civil society and the state in

their origins and constitution, which is in contrast from certain Western conceptions of the modern nation-state that assumes civil society as its extension (Veeravalli, 2011: 67). Second, self-reform is considered a necessary condition of sovereignty, rather than control or freedom from others (Veeravalli, 2011: 72). Third, it emphasises the relationship between the self and other as well as the relationship between different nations, rather than a territorially-bounded notion of sovereignty (Veeravalli, 2011: 67). In other words, the focus is on the interrelations between the two entities rather than their territories.

The crux of the argument in this line of thought is that the conception of swaraj dismisses the notion of territoriality, and instead embraces a state of shared sovereignty where one exercises one's sovereignty while protecting the sovereignty of others. As Birla and Devji (2011: 265) suggest, it challenges the 'distinction between individual and collective.' This point is articulated by Giri (2013: 29) as 'a process and field of blossoming of self, other and the world' through 'compassion, confrontation and transformation of self and sovereignty.' He further states that,

Compassion which helps us realise that we need to realise our responsibility to others in terms of their claims to our sovereignty and with this we need to confront our own sovereignty self-critically as well as with creative kindness so that our sovereignty becomes part of shared sovereignty. (Giri, 2013: 26)

In other words, compassion helps to realise the interconnectedness of life with others and align one's sovereignty with that of the collective. Further, as Erikson (1993: 398) states, swaraj stands for 'mutual maximisation of greater and higher unity among men.' In an ideal society, Srivastava and Srivastava (2016: 34) asserts, 'every person rules himself or herself and that there is no state which enforces laws upon the people.'

Similar to the scholarship on swaraj as freedom, the interpretation of swaraj as sovereignty gives inadequate emphasis to its political-economic dimensions. It reveals little about how to organise the material world to bring about such a notion of shared sovereignty in social consciousness. Since materiality and social consciousness

continually shape one another, lack of reference to material engagement in the literature on swaraj as sovereignty fails to offer a practical vision for its realisation.

2.4 Swaraj as autonomy

There has been a comprehensive scholarship in political philosophy that explores swaraj as autonomy, and which arises from the assumption that the individual is endowed with free will. Although there is overlap between the conception of swaraj as autonomy and its conception as freedom, the critical difference lies in their roots of origin. The former notion originates in reference to a subjugating power whereas the latter notion is a self-constituting power that exists in-itself and for-itself. Although the argument of swaraj as autonomy recognises the relationship between social consciousness and materiality to some extent, it places little emphasis on the role of material production and consumption in creating a social consciousness that enhances individual autonomy.

Scholarship on swaraj constructs an opposing conception of autonomy to the narrowly defined conventional conception based on the rights of individuals and which is devoid of obligations towards others. According to Govindu and Malghan (2016: 102), swaraj 'encompasses a positive conception of freedom that hives closer to the idea of autonomy, which means that the individual is endowed with the ability to act on his or her own free volition.' In other words, as Mehta (1996: 222) claims, it is 'a condition in which the individual would be the complete master of himself.' This line of interpretation recognises the embedded nature of individuals within society, and which binds them with multiple obligations. Therefore, autonomy in the conception of swaraj is understood not as complete independence, but, as Tajbakhsh (2018: 7,13) states, as a 'socially embedded autonomy.' In other words, as Nigam (2009: 46) asserts, this autonomy is 'embedded in a world of moral commitments.'

One of the critical works in this line of thought is that of Terchek (1998: 1), who asserts that swaraj is about autonomy for individuals to pursue moral projects that involve 'struggle and resistance' to the internal ego as well as external domination. He carves out an explicit theory of autonomy which challenges the prevailing notion of autonomy based on rights and of cutting oneself off from the rest of the world. According to him,

the individual in the conception of swaraj is an interdependent person with multiple needs and obligations (Terchek, 1998: 42). Further, he states that protecting individual freedom is the central concern of Gandhi's political economy. Therefore, it embraces 'local, simple, and participatory' politics in which everyone can be involved in decision-making processes that affect their lives directly and indirectly (Terchek, 1998: 167). According to him, it encourages an economy that 'provides work for everyone; the work enables everyone to subdue necessity; and the work is controlled by the workers, not by others' (Terchek, 1998: 121).

However, Terchek gives little attention to the consumption aspect of the social economy, which is one of the critical factors that determine the nature of production and the overall political-economic structure. Since the consumption of material goods is a fundamental way in which one connects and draws on the external world, it becomes the critical medium for recognising one's responsibility towards others. Thus, failure to engage more fully with consumption impedes fuller comprehension of the relationship between materiality and social consciousness.

Parekh (1989: 59) conceives swaraj as cultural autonomy by highlighting the 'cultural' dimensions that are missing from Terchek's interpretation. He describes society based on the conception of swaraj as one that conducts 'its affairs in the light of its traditions and values while remaining fully alert to their limitations and ready to learn from others' (Parekh, 1989: 59). Further, he states that in such a society people conduct 'their local affairs themselves, delegate only the minimum necessary authority to the successively higher levels of government and keep a constant eye on their representatives' (Parekh, 1989: 116).

The vital aspect of swaraj as autonomy is its recognition of others. According to Mukherjee (2009: 35), swaraj is a concept that involves 'the freedom of each individual to regulate their own lives without harming one another.' There is a recognition of the relationship between one's self and others. Puri (2013: 340) articulates that swaraj 'involves the other as an essential correlate.' In other words, 'individual freedom / negative liberty is contingent upon individual self-governance' which is 'not a solitary

affair and itself involv[es] negotiations with hostile others who pose[s] a threat to individual freedom' (Puri, 2013: 339). By doing so, it stands in contrast with liberal notions of 'moral autonomy' based on reason devoid of elements of 'emotions' and 'other' that essentially provide a 'structural resource for the self in his or her individual moral life' (Puri, 2013: 340). In other words, emotion, along with reason and recognition of one's relationship with others form the basis for one's autonomy in the conception of swaraj. By doing so, it forms an 'alternative' to 'the paradox of the conceptual distance between self and other' of liberal philosophy (Puri, 2011: 685,697).

The other important aspect of autonomy in swaraj is effective control over one's desires and passions through self-knowledge. According to Vajpeyi (2009: 20), such regulation of one's life requires control over one's self that comes from self-knowledge. According to Mehta (2011: 485), patience and self-mastery over the mind are necessary conditions for gaining self-knowledge. In other words, as Rothermund (1983: 3) describes, swaraj is about 'self-restraint' that involves 'freedom from all passions such as anger, selfishness, and greed which are the root cause of violence.' Anjaneyulu (2003: 42,33) reinforces the notion by defining swaraj as a process of creating a 'desirable situation' through 'self-restraint and non-violent persuasion of others.' It involves control over one's emotions and is recognised as a 'spiritual or yogic discipline' by Bhushan and Garfield (2015: 269). Put differently, as Mattausch (2014: 155) asserts, swaraj as autonomy is understood as individuals 'taking responsibilities for their own lives.'

The narrative of swaraj as autonomy recognises the relationship between social consciousness and materiality, particularly the connection between autonomy and the production of material goods. However, it does not address the considerations of consumption that are integral to swaraj MPE. Conceptions of swaraj as autonomy do not fully engage with the interrelationship of consumption and production, and how they influence socio-political consciousness and moral agency. Without this more meaningful engagement, it offers an ambiguous path for attaining swaraj.

2.5 Swaraj as democratic governance

In political science, swaraj has been explored as a form of democratic governance. Distinct from scholarship in political philosophy, this work has drawn on empirical studies of efforts to implement swaraj in practice. However, not dissimilar to other interpretations of swaraj, the conception of swaraj as a path toward democratic governance lacks recognition of the relationship between social consciousness and materiality that is the basis for Gandhi's MPE.

The conception of swaraj as democratic governance emphasises the decentralisation of political power and the active participation of people in political decision-making. According to Mohanty (2010: 104), swaraj is a process of a 'people's democratisation revolution' in India. It is because it encourages every individual to actively participate in political processes through the decentralisation of political power. For Pantham (1983: 173), swaraj represents 'participatory democracy' because it operates at a community scale in which everyone can easily participate in decision-making. According to him, it offers an effective alternative to liberal representative democracy that inherently holds a fundamental contradiction in 'theory and practice' (Pantham, 1983: 166). By this, he means a 'contradiction between the affirmation of the freedom of the individual in the so-called private sphere of morality and its curtailment in the allegedly amoral or purely technical public / political sphere' (Pantham, 1983: 166). The concept of swaraj resolves this contradiction by integrating 'politics with morality' (Pantham, 1983: 175). It is done in two ways. First, by recognising human beings as 'essentially social beings, that not all their interests or wants are of equal moral worth, and that they can be educated to discover and pursue their morally justifiable interests' (Pantham, 1983: 178). It fundamentally questions liberal tradition's definition of human nature in terms of narrow self-interest. Second, by admitting relative truths that people hold, it inherently encourages individuals to be tolerant towards opposing views, and thus to resolve conflict through consensus (Pantham, 1983: 179). By doing so, it protects individual freedom as well as social harmony. Rao (2017: 109,111) suggests that individual freedom is protected through swaraj in which citizens are governed 'the least' and power does not 'rest with few', and such governance functions on the principle of 'decentralisation' and 'cooperation.'

The spirit of decentralisation is vital for political governance in the conception of swaraj. This sort of decentralised governance is identified by different names. For example, it is labelled as 'direct democracy' by Sharma and Singh (2008: 727,728), 'true democracy' by Upadhyay (2016: 102) and 'moral democracy' by Pandey (2016: 191).

However, the central aspect of any vision of political governance is its practicability. For Rigby (1997: 389), swaraj is a 'utopian vision of egalitarian society.' In other words, its conception is a fantasy which cannot be realised. He finds it utopian because it advocates individuals' virtue as the supreme power or authority in organising a society.

In contrast to this pessimistic view, Rothermund (1983: xx) defines swaraj as a practical way of developing a 'wholesome society.' She substantiates this claim by citing a grassroots democracy experiment that involved the framing and implementation of a 'swaraj constitution' in the princely state of Aundh from 1938 to 1948. The whole experiment involved a population of just over 76,000 scattered over seventy-two villages (Pant, 1989: x). According to some of the villagers who were part of the experiment, the overall governance of the state during the period was of 'the utmost satisfaction' to 'everyone' (Rothermund, 1983: 6–7). As India got freedom from the British, the princely state got merged into the Indian nation-state. This according to Pant (1989: xii), is 'a new torrent of history which swept away the germinating seedling that the Mahatma had prompted, the Raja had planted and which had been devotedly tended to by his dedicated people.' Yet, the experiment stands as the most significant effort to implement the conception of swaraj.

Similarly, Chakrabarty (2015: 204) states that swaraj governance is 'not at all utopian, but a practical' way of implementing inclusive governance. He substantiates this claim by citing two forms of local governance – *Bhagidari* in Delhi and *panchayat raj* in West Bengal that were inspired by the conception of swaraj (Chakrabarty, 2015: 192,195). The *Bhagidari* initiative was launched in 2003 by the Delhi government as an 'extra constitutional mechanism' to bring greater transparency and accountability in administration through a 'public-private-partnership' (Chakrabarty, 2015: 200). The

panchayat raj scheme was initiated by the West Bengal government in 1977 and gave 'substantial power' to *panchayats* (rural political authority) for 'local development' (Chakrabarty, 2015: 199).

Similarly, Beher (2001) supports the positive view on the practicality of *swaraj* governance, viewing it as a more inclusive, people-centred governing system, citing the *gram swaraj* (village self-rule) efforts of the Madhya Pradesh government. The *gram swaraj* is a governing mechanism partly inspired by 'Gandhian idealism' that was enacted by the government in 2001 to make villages more autonomous through *gram sabha* (village assembly) to resolve the problems of representative governance (Manor, 2002: 68).

The idea of *swaraj* as a form of democratic governance touches on the political dimension of social consciousness, but it does not lend much attention to the moral basis of decentralised governance. It gives an ambiguous answer to the question of why there should be a decentralisation of governance in the first place. Further, little consideration is given to material aspects of social development, particularly the inseparable relationship between economics and politics. Although it partially addresses the social consciousness aspect of development, it gives little attention to questions of how to organise the material world to establish the foundations for decentralised governance. Thus, the narrative gives little insight into how decentralised governance should engage with modern economics, which is premised on the centralisation of politics and operates on a global scale. Therefore, the interpretation of *swaraj* as democratic governance fails to offer a clear path for attaining *swaraj*.

2.6 Swaraj as a development vision

There has been ample scholarship that explores *swaraj* as a path to social development. Political decentralisation and economic self-sufficiency are considered as the basis for a *swaraj* development paradigm. It stands in contrast to development paradigms envisioned through capitalism and socialism, which tend to advocate centralisation in politics and a stark division of labour and price efficiency in economics. However,

existing thought on swaraj development gives little attention to the moral agency that arises from the interaction of social consciousness and materiality.

The argument of swaraj as a development vision operates at the community scale. According to Bakker (1990: 52, 60), swaraj is a concept of 'development' that is 'based on a notion of community and ethic of justice for all.' Further, he states that the objective of such development is to provide 'basic needs for all' through '*swadeshi*', that is, 'working to utilise local resources in the best way possible.' Similarly, for Pandey (2016: 191), swaraj represents 'small face-to-face communities' which are 'self-sufficient in meeting their basic needs and yet [are] interdependent for many others in which dependence is necessary.' Further, he suggests that in such communities 'moral' power or virtue is the basis for the 'sovereignty of people', rather than the power of law (Pandey, 1988: 45,40).

The realisation/implementation of swaraj is considered as an egalitarian path of development. According to Ananthamurthy (2016: 77), it is an 'inclusive' vision of development. Similarly, for Thomson (1986: 46), swaraj envisions a society in which 'the weakest people' enjoy 'the necessities of life.' In other words, as Bondurant (1965: 180) states, it is a system of 'an all-embracing self-sufficiency down to the village level.' Here the emphasis is given to the economic sphere of development. In contrast to this perspective, Nadkarni (2017: 283) focuses on political aspects and calls swaraj an 'alternative holistic paradigm of development.' He argues that swaraj operates on two levels. One is at the 'individual level', which involves self-control and moral responsibility to contribute to community welfare; and the other is at an 'aggregative level', which involves the community's commitment to the welfare of all its individuals (Nadkarni, 2017: 287).

It is important to note that all these interpretations of swaraj in terms of development fall under the perspective of what Gavaskar (2009) calls 'normative systems' that challenge the blueprint of modernity. He asserts that swaraj 'questions the very foundation of happiness' that defines modernity, and which embraces the 'external trappings of self, power and glory' (Gavaskar, 2009: 18). According to him, the

conception of swaraj rests upon 'spiritual advancement', where its 'empirical proofs, the corresponding markers', have to be found in 'the material world' (Gavaskar, 2009: 16). It is a crucial insight that differentiates swaraj development from other development visions. On the one hand, spiritual development theories, mainly from the East, have given emphasis to expanding social consciousness while reluctantly recognising the necessary material engagement. On the other hand, development theories based on material satisfaction, especially from the West, have given attention to the material engagement without any reference to the necessary expansion of social consciousness. Therefore, development as swaraj reconciles both the forms of development visions by recognising the intricate relationship between social consciousness and material satisfaction.

In addition to such normative perspectives, Paranjape (1993: 40) adopts the perspective of swaraj as a strategy for decolonising development. He argues that it challenges the traditional, limited definition of decolonisation, which involves 'overthrowing of foreign domination, but also the conservation of what is indigenous.' However, for him, swaraj gives a new way of understanding decolonisation as a process of developing one's potential, 'rather than displacing, overthrowing or defeating the Other' (Paranjape, 1993: 39).

Even though the narrative of swaraj as development attends to both the political and economic aspects of development, it fails to recognise the moral grounding found in Gandhian political economy. Further, it offers an incomplete conception of the relationship between decentralisation in politics and self-sufficiency in economics. Thus, it lacks a genuine political economy understanding, treating the two spheres as distinct realms of social life. The emphasis on economics, in particular, lacks engagement with crucial questions about the division of labour and the systemic connection between production and consumption. Further, the interpretation does not give sufficient emphasis to how we understand human prosperity and its linkage to morality. Thus, the objective of the swaraj development paradigm remains ambiguous, and it fails to answer the question of why one should aspire for such a vision.

2.7 Conclusion

This review shows that scholarship on swaraj has given little attention to the mutual implication of social consciousness and the materiality in Gandhi's moral political economy (MPE), which is central to his view of swaraj as a strategy of social development.

The argument of swaraj as freedom from external domination and the desires of ego is constructed in terms of expanding one's social consciousness without much reference to the necessary material engagement. The interpretation of swaraj as sovereignty makes a clear case for enlarging one's social consciousness for attaining a shared notion of sovereignty that eschews territorial notions of the egoistic self and the nation-state. However, it fails to address the material practices that are required for gaining such social consciousness. Although the exposition of swaraj as autonomy identifies a relationship between social consciousness and materiality, it does not cover questions about material consumption, which shapes the relationship between the two.

The narrative of swaraj as democratic governance gives limited attention to the morality and economic dimensions of politics. In other words, it fails to recognise the relationship between social consciousness and materiality. However, the strength of this scholarship is that it showcases the potential of swaraj to create more inclusive governance, as seen in the empirical case studies it presents.

The argument of swaraj as a development vision identifies essential elements that are required for visualising a strategy of development. However, it gives little attention to the morality that underlies political economy praxis. Political decentralisation is seen as a way of inclusive development. Even though the existing scholarship touches on the economic aspects of swaraj development, it makes scant effort to delineate a systematic connection between production and consumption. Importantly, it lacks a comprehensive relation between morality, politics, and economics.

The next chapter outlines swaraj as a development vision by recovering the focus on the relationship between social consciousness and materiality, thereby addressing a gap in

the existing scholarship of swaraj. Specifically, it outlines a theoretical framework based on the MPE of Gandhi and Kumarappa. It elucidates MPE as an approach that rehabilitates a connection between political economy and moral philosophy that has long since faded. So too, it delineates a normative vision of swaraj development by [re]establishing connections between cosmology, conceptions of the individual, morality, human progress, human prosperity, and political economy.

CHAPTER 3: DEVELOPMENT AS SWARAJ

3.1 Introduction

This chapter conceptualises the moral political economy (MPE) approach of Gandhi and Kumarappa for envisioning the development paradigm of swaraj. Gandhi led a Indian freedom movement of continental proportions, and Kumarappa was a trained economist from Columbia University who became one his most important associates (Damodaran, 2010; Govindu and Malghan, 2016). Gandhi wrote extensively on a wide range of issues, keeping a philosophy of non-violence at the centre of his intellectual pursuit. Kumarappa wrote significantly on political economy and championed the cause of rural livelihoods. It is essential to consider both in reconstituting the development vision of swaraj, as its political content was originally filled by Gandhi, and the economic content by Kumarappa. Their MPE approach re-establishes a lost connection between moral philosophy and political economy by recovering the latter's original focus on the relationship between materiality and social consciousness. The strands of their approach draw inspiration from the writings of nineteenth-century polymath, John Ruskin, in the case of Gandhi, and twentieth-century political economist, Thorstein Veblen, in the case of Kumarappa.

The first section of the chapter traces the intellectual history of the tradition and outlines a framework for conceptualising MPE. It establishes MPE as a transdisciplinary approach that aspires to comprehend and transform the global social order. In conceptualising the MPE, it employs the concept of the fold, which captures differences among constituting elements as well as their interconnectedness. The approach encompasses three key questions in the form of folds that inform social order and its transformation: the normative, i.e., 'what should be', the interpretive, i.e., 'what is'; and the pragmatic, i.e., 'what can be.' The first fold acts as a compass for individuals and the collective; the second fold deals with working through the existing social conditions; and the third fold involves a future course of action that can be undertaken to transform existing social condition towards fulfilling the normative aspirations.

The second section delineates the normative vision of development as swaraj based on the MPE framework. It addresses the normative fold of the framework, whereas chapters six and seven, which focus on the case study of Khadi sector in the state of Karnataka, address the interpretive and the pragmatic folds. The normative vision presented here derives from the essence of Gandhi's (1910) key text *Hind swaraj* or *Indian Home Rule* and Kumarappa's (1936, 1949) two key texts *Why the village movement?* and *Economy of Permanence*. It includes an exposition of their moral philosophy followed by an outline of their political-economic praxis. However, it goes beyond an interpretative analysis by adapting their ideas to the current context.

The normative vision of swaraj re-establishes connections between cosmology, conceptions of the individual, morality, human progress, human prosperity, and political economy. It is extrapolated from a cosmology of 'Natural Order' constructed based on observations of how nature functions (Kumarappa, 1936: 46). In this cosmology, all beings, including humans, are bound in cosmic unity through the chain of right and obligation. This order of unity is recognised as the Truth. By doing so, it challenges the foundation of prevailing neo-classical understanding that assumes 'nature as adversary' of social development (Gammon, 2010: 219). Every participant in the Natural Order works in relation to one another and is not independent. Any breach in the chain of right and obligation creates violence. In other words, any form of domination over others results in self-harm, because every being is bound in a cosmic unity. However, humans have a special place in the cosmology because they are the only beings who can comprehend this order, and who have the capacity either to make or mar the orderly functioning of the Natural Order. Further, human beings are considered as creatures who have both self-interested as well as altruistic natures. By acknowledging the dual nature of humans, it challenges the notion of 'possessive individualism' that forms the basis for modern capitalism (Macpherson, 1964).

The conception of the individual in the normative vision outlined here is constructed based on the cosmology of Natural Order. It is stipulated on a notion of self-rule that involves right and obligation, where the former derives from the act of exercising one's will, and the latter from the act of protecting the self-rule of others. Since human beings

are the outcome of the Natural Order, this obligation becomes the source of right (Kumarappa, 1948a: 1). It recognises the contribution of other human and non-human beings in the existence of an individual. By doing so, it stands in contrast to right-based conceptions of utilitarian and liberal traditions (Terchek, 1998: 26).

The moral code of non-violence is formulated based on this conception of the individual. Narrowly conceived self-interest is recognised as the key force that disrupts the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order. Therefore, the moral code of non-violence is defined in the sense of love that encourages individuals to act according to their moral self by resisting their self-interest. Since violence results in self-harm, self-preservation in the Natural Order demands non-violence. In other words, the Truth is the teleological² objective and non-violence is the means to lead a life in accordance with the former.

Further, the pre-requisite material conditions that are necessary for individuals to act according to their moral self is identified in the normative vision. In other words, it is recognised that a materially destitute individual cannot act according to one's moral self. Therefore, the conception of human progress in the normative vision shifts from the material plane to the spiritual/moral plane of expanding social consciousness once the necessary material needs are met. It envisions non-violent social order as an ultimate goal of human progress (Kumarappa, 1949a: 29–30).

Human prosperity, which is the outcome of progress, is conceived in terms of peace, which is both external as well as internal. External peace entails a harmonious relationship with others, and internal peace is the tranquil state of mind. Both dimensions of peace are not independent but interconnected. In other words, achieving internal as well as external peace is nothing but the process of achieving a good life.

In addition, this chapter derives a political-economic praxis from this moral philosophy. It emphasises a decentralisation in politics, as any form of centralisation is inimical to

² The normative vision of swaraj recognises that all human action is undertaken with a purpose in mind, in other words, it is teleological. By doing so, it deviates from theological understanding of teleology that nullifies human agency.

self-rule because it encourages domination, and in turn, causes breaches in the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order. Therefore, it embraces non-violent democracy based on decentralisation (Kumarappa, 1951). Further by recognising the limitation of any forms of institutional frameworks, including the state, in acting according to the moral code of non-violence, it advocates *satyagraha* (insistence on Truth), a non-violent method of conflict resolution to resist domination or exploitation (Gandhi, 1930: 69). It recognises that any exploitative system is a result of cooperation between the oppressor and the oppressed (Gandhi, 1910: 30–31). Therefore, it demands the oppressed to challenge the oppressor non-violently. The method involves reaching out to the moral self of the opponent through voluntary public suffering, even unto death, to reach a mutual agreement. Such an act is undertaken to challenge indifferences and provide readiness to hear the concern of the opponent in a fresh way. As Gandhi (1931b: 341) articulated, 'things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering.' It acknowledges the defining role of emotions 'in consciousness and omnipresence in social behaviour' (Gammon, 2020: 1). By doing so, it recognises the role of reason and emotion in conflict resolution. Thus, *satyagraha* acts as the method of sustaining the non-violent social order.

Similarly, the normative vision embraces self-sufficiency in economics, which involves reducing the distance between production and consumption (Kumarappa, 1954: 137). It is because one can act in accordance with their moral self only if they effectively comprehend the impact of production and consumption on the environment and society, that is, on the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order. As distance increases, it becomes difficult for individuals to comprehend the repercussions of their material transactions. Therefore, the normative vision encourages us to reduce the distance between production and consumption to a minimum.

By recognising individuals as part of the cosmic unity, it challenges various inequalities based on gender, sexuality, caste, and class. Similarly, by emphasising obligation as the source of right, it demands concern for others, which includes not only other human beings, but also non-human beings. Therefore, it inherently envisions a sustainable and

equitable civilisation. The following section outlines the MPE approach to development, and it presents a framework for understanding and transforming the global social order.

3.2 Conceptualising moral political economy (MPE) approach to development

This section delineates a framework for MPE based on the essence of existing moral philosophy and classical political economy literature. First, it gives an overview of the contemporary usage of the term in academia. Second, it traces the intellectual history of the approach to elucidate the different strands that are embedded in the conception of MPE. It mainly shows that MPE is transdisciplinary in its approach, questioning the dichotomy of materiality and social consciousness or dichotomy of fact and value. Lastly, the section constructs a three-fold framework of MPE based on the notion of moral autonomy that arises from the interaction of social consciousness and materiality to comprehend and transform the global social order. It establishes MPE as an approach to development. The framework establishes the basis for the subsequent section, which then outlines the normative vision of development as *swaraj*.

The term 'Moral Political Economy' has been used by various contemporary scholars to identify and describe normative dimensions of political economy in different contexts. For example, Govindu and Malghan (2016: 118), in their biography of J C Kumarappa, state MPE is an approach which was applied by the economist to describe his vision of social order. Bassiry and Jones (1993: 621) use the term while critiquing contemporary capitalism from Adam Smith's normative standpoint. Further, Heilke (1997: 202) uses MPE while exploring the Anabaptist tradition of sixteenth-century to assert that economic activity is always informed by moral values. Similarly, Olsen (2009: 875) employs the term while analysing 'moral reasonings' of 'four major schools of thought on the rental of land in India.'

One finds some overlap in the conception of MPE with that of contemporary moral economy scholarship, which is based on the 'embeddedness of economy' in 'society's institutions and values' (Booth, 1994: 653). The moral economy approach argues that

the economy is guided by regular habits that form in particular societies rather than by general, abstract principles. By doing so, it recognises that there is always a relationship between a society's morality and its economy. However, MPE goes beyond the moral economy scholarship by emphasising not just the moral and economic aspects of social order, but also the political aspect that emerges out of individual agency, which drives the former two.

The word 'moral' prefixes 'political economy' to make both the value and the fact dimensions of the approach explicit. It emphasises these dual dimensions as the recognition of political economy's place within moral philosophy, a connection that has been forgotten by many contemporary political economists. One can argue that the word 'moral' was redundant in early political economy, as it was readily understood as an extension of moral philosophy. This is particularly evident in the work of Adam Smith (Bassiry and Jones, 1993). Similarly, the word 'political' was redundant in early Victorian conceptions of moral economy, which contested 'the theoretical and practical separation of politics and morality from economics' (Gurney, 2014: 30).

MPE is a transdisciplinary approach. It is pre-disciplinary in its 'historical inspiration' and post-disciplinary in its 'current intellectual implications' (Jessop and Sum, 2001: 89). The approach is pre-disciplinary in nature because 'moral philosophy consistently offered the most comprehensive discussion of human relations and institutions' before the emergence of social science disciplines in the later nineteenth century (Bryson, 1932). The approach is also post-disciplinary in nature because of its capacity to work with emerging new themes and problems that require transcending disciplinary 'boundaries to understand better the complex interconnections within and across the natural and social worlds' (Jessop and Sum, 2001: 89). For example, it recognises the world through the dialectical relationship of social consciousness and materiality. By doing so, it goes beyond the binaries of the natural world and social world, which is very much necessary for any approach to address today's emerging complex themes such as environmental crisis and social inequality.

The key feature of the moral philosophy tradition was the integral connection between value and fact notions. The conception of morality in the form of social justice provided the value dimension to the tradition, whereas political economy debates provided the fact dimension. In other words, it had a moral political economy approach to comprehend social order. A good example would be Adam Smith's critique of mercantile policies and institutions from the stand point of 'empirical facts' derived from observable material conditions, as well as from a 'moral' stand point derived from natural justice (Winch, 1992: 95). The tradition was superseded by the social sciences because of the influence of natural science's development throughout the 19th century (Almeida, 2016; Boulding, 1969). The repercussion was a value-fact dichotomy, with philosophy emerging predominantly as the discipline of value and social science as a discipline of fact, adopting a neutral relationship to value judgements akin to natural science.

The notion of science as a value-neutral discipline goes back to the Enlightenment tradition of British empiricism. A clear distinction between fact and value was made by Hume (1888: 469) in his well-known book, *A Treatise of Human Nature*. He argued that no 'ought' can be derived from 'is.' In other words, descriptive statements can only involve other descriptive statements and never norms. Further, the separation of fact and value was strengthened by 'logical positivists' in first half of the twentieth century (Putnam, 2002: 28). For example, Carnap (1934: 22) stated that 'all statements belonging to Metaphysics, regulative Ethics, and (metaphysical) Epistemology have this defect, are in fact unverifiable and, therefore, unscientific.' By doing so, value was disregarded as a possible subject for fact-related discussion. The distinction was successfully re-enforced by Milton Friedman in the mid-twentieth century. He argued that scientists do not have to be concerned with value judgments when they have objective access to the empirical world through their sensorial experience (Friedman, 2008). Such ideas have significantly shaped the contemporary conception of science as value-free.

However, an increased contestation of the separation can be clearly noticed from the later part of the 20th century. For example, Boulding (1969: 2) argued that science is the

outcome of scientific culture rooted in 'common value system' rested 'on veracity, on curiosity, on measurement, on quantification, careful observation and experiment and objectivity', and it is nothing but a normative project. Later Myrdal extended the argument by stating:

Facts do not organize themselves into concepts and theories just by being looked at; indeed, except within the framework of concepts and theories, there are no scientific facts but only chaos. There is an inescapable a priori element in all scientific work. Questions must be asked before answers can be given. The questions are all expressions of our interest in the world; they are at bottom valuations. Valuations are thus necessarily involved already at the stage we observe facts and carry on theoretical analysis and not only at the stage when we draw political inferences from facts and valuations. (Myrdal, 1969: 9)

Another challenge to the notion of value-free science was posed by Heisenberg's uncertainty principle in early 20th century. Although initially conceived in the field of quantum mechanics, it had relevance for the whole of scientific inquiry. The uncertainty principle and its broader impact are well explained by Almeida in the following passage:

It is impossible to determine the position and momentum of a subatomic particle (for example, an electron) accurately because human intervention will necessarily alter its velocity when trying to measure it. In short, observer and observed are not independent – when trying to obtain knowledge from a system by altering information inputs and outputs, the system is radically altered by those inputs and outputs. Therefore, ultimately, the laws of physics and other sciences (e.g. economics) are relative formulations, and to some extent, the result of subjective perceptions, rather than objective certainties. (Almeida, 2016: 16)

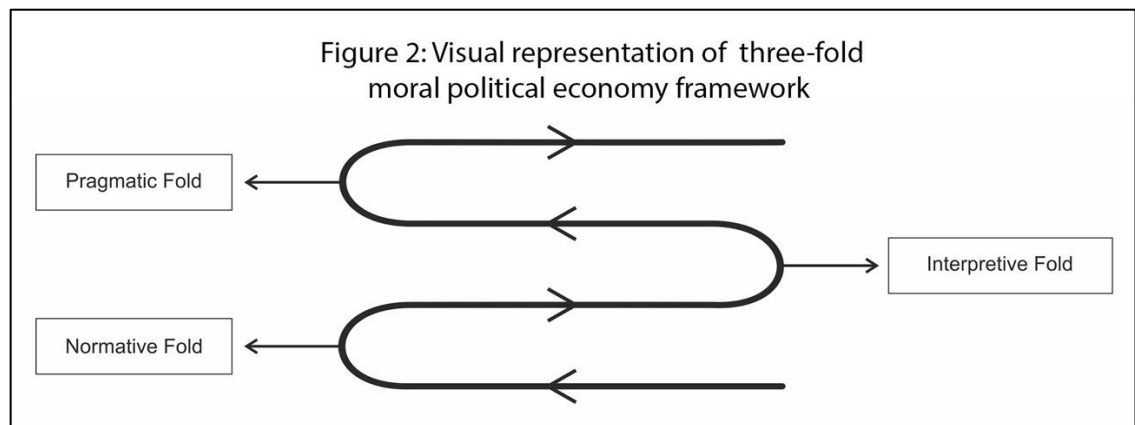
The inseparable connection between fact and value can be summarised by what Gandhi (1988: 1313) said, 'science is affected by the scientist's subjective values.' Such an argument was also extended in social science particularly in critical sociology. For example Berger and Luckmann (1966: 25) state that, 'knowledge is somewhat like trying to push a bus in which one is riding.' In other words, sciences are not only about observing the world, but essentially creating it. Therefore, 'science moves from pure knowledge towards control, that is, toward creating what it knows, what it creates becomes a problem of ethical choice' (Boulding, 1969: 2).

Since science is a product of certain normative values, it primarily comes under the realm of ethics. As Putnam (2002) argues, fact and value are fundamentally intertwined. In other words, 'economy is necessarily moral and political' (Almeida, 2016: 18). Thus, it is essential to refurbish the MPE approach, understood as part of moral philosophy, to properly understand social order.

MPE as a transdisciplinary approach is premised on a notion of moral agency that arises from social consciousness, which in turn springs from engagement with the material world. Social consciousness, entailing the recognition of others and of our relationship with nature, can only be substantially attained through embodied material practices, and only incompletely through detached observation and study. Social consciousness and materiality always influence one another to shape reality, and in turn, cosmology. The recognition of the inextricable relationship between social consciousness and materiality is the central pillar of MPE and provides a dialectical nature to the framework.

The cosmological view that arises from the interaction of social consciousness and materiality provides substances to comprehend the place of human beings in the cosmos. By doing so, it acts as the basis for formulating a conception of the individual that encompasses notions of both 'right' and 'obligation'. 'Right' is the power of an individual to act according to one's own interests, and 'obligation' is one's responsibility towards other beings that arises from one's relation with the cosmos. These two notions form the basis for constructing a moral code on which an individual governs oneself. Further, morality gives rise to political-economic structures in society, and thus to social order. The politics in MPE entails the power relationships that exist within the social order, relationships formed by the capacity of individuals to self-rule. The economy in MPE is the material relation of fulfilling human needs. MPE encompasses the interplay of power and material relations guided by morality. The three components of the framework, namely morality, politics, and economy, are like the different parts of the same tree, thus inseparably tied to each other.

The approach of the MPE framework can be constructed based on the three different categories of questions that are necessary to comprehend social order and its transformation: the normative question of ‘what should be’; the interpretive question of ‘what is’; and the pragmatic question ‘what can be’. The historical element of ‘what was’ is implicit in all three categories. These categories are formulated in the form of folds to represent distinct articulations that arise from a common fabric as shown in the following Figure 2.

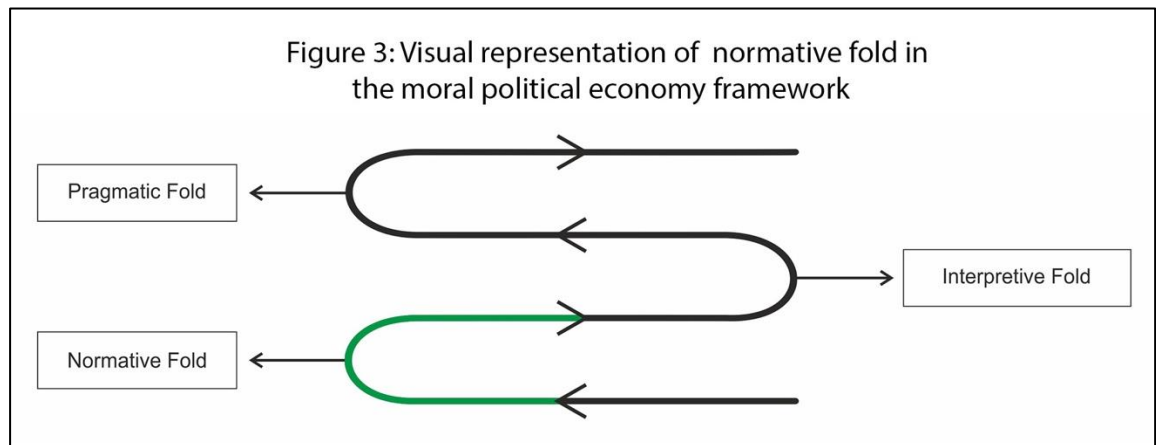


The normative fold acts as a guidepost for society. To reiterate Gandhi (1946: 136), it is like ‘a proper picture of what we want before we can have something approaching it’ even ‘though never realisable in its completeness.’ The interpretive fold entails analysis of existing social conditions by using the normative fold as a lens. The pragmatic fold concerns the future course of actions that can be taken based on the understanding of practical situatedness gathered from the interpretive fold to transform existing social conditions more towards the normative goal. The element of history persists across three folds because they are the result of past knowledge. The comparison of the interpretive fold or existing social reality with the normative vision acts as the foundation for conceiving human progress. The assessment of reality against the normative vision gives a conception of social development that accounts for the degree of transformation in the social order over time. This three-pronged approach to analysing social development allows an escape from the ‘end of history’ trap because it recognises the multiple ways of organising the social order (Fukuyama, 1992). The approach primarily challenges the disconnect between means and ends of human

actions. It recognises the inseparable relationship between the two, like the indivisible connection between the seed and the tree. Further, by recognising the limited control of humans over their actions, and their negligible control over outcomes, the approach considers pragmatic ways of working through existing social conditions as more important than attaining an idealised social order. In doing so, it avoids becoming a utopian project.

3.3 Normative Vision of Development as swaraj

This section elucidates the normative fold as shown in the following diagram of the moral political economy framework. It deals with the first fold of the framework, the green colour segment as shown in the following Figure 3. It forms the basis for interpretive fold that is employed to analyse khadi sector in Karnataka in chapter six.



This section of the chapter gives a detailed account of moral philosophy and political economy that forms the normative vision of development as swaraj based on the writings of Gandhi and Kumarappa. It moves beyond an interpretive analysis of their writings by formulating a clear development theory and praxis, while employing their ideas in a contemporary context.

The normative vision identifies the place of human beings in the cosmos to extrapolate a moral philosophy. The moral philosophy of development as swaraj entails the conception of the individual based on obligation, a moral code of non-violence, human progress defined in terms of establishing a non-violent social order, and human

prosperity defined in terms of peace. Further, it derives a political-economic praxis from this moral philosophy. It involves decentralisation of power as well as non-violent resistance to exploitation in the political realm, and self-sufficiency in the economic realm.

3.3.1 The moral philosophy underpinning swaraj development

The normative vision of swaraj is built upon a moral-material dialectical cosmology of 'Natural Order' (Kumarappa, 1936: 46). The cosmology is derived from the empirical understanding of nature in which humans are embedded. By developing moral relations from the material relations that are enclosed in nature, the cosmology obtains a moral-material dialectical structure and transcends the schism between idealism and materialism to provide an account of human civilisation.

The normative vision recognises the impossibility of comprehending the Natural Order 'fully what is everlasting in the absolute sense' because the 'human intellect being limited' (Kumarappa, 1949a: XI). Within Time and Space in the Natural Order, there is nothing as 'absolute' but rather 'relative' because 'everything begins somewhere and ceases to exist sometime' (Kumarappa, 1949a: Introduction). Nonetheless, human beings, as a part of the Natural Order, can comprehend a cosmic unity, where every being is interconnected through the chain of right and obligation. No participant is superior or inferior, and diversity is respected. No being is independent on its own, but everything works in relation to others as a part of the whole. Just as the *Scala Naturae*, or the Great Chain of Being³, has been used in Western discourses of cosmology and

³ The concept of the Great Chain of Being contains the fundamental 'unit ideas' of plenitude, continuity and gradation bound by the teleological notion of perfection. The idea could be traced from Plato to Kant. 'Plenitude' is defined by Plato as the universe contains every possible form of existence corresponding to the different level of perfection represented on the great chain of being. Aristotle formulated 'continuity' that asserted that the universe is made of infinite series of forms where at least one attribute is shared between the next being in the form of 'gradation' from simple to complex. Being a strict teleological concept of the natural world, the degree of perfection achieved was defined by divine Providence. The God was the epitome in the chain following angels. In this concept, God was the creator of all beings. The particular position for a being was assigned by God himself, and there was no space for evolution. The immutability was the dominating feature of western political economy discourses

ontology to justify God as Truth, the normative vision uses 'Truth is God' for the basis of Natural Order (Gandhi, 1942: 264). An individual participant in the Natural Order cannot become complete or achieve good outside of an association with others. Therefore, any efforts by a participant to dictate the Natural Order damages itself.

Human beings have a special place in the Natural Order because they are the only beings that are capable of comprehending the cosmic unity, and also have the capacity for free will – 'the ability to either make or mar the orderly functioning of the Natural Order' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 9). By doing so, the normative vision rejects the teleological notion of destiny. It fundamentally departs from *Scala Naturae* by recognising the evolutionary and material basis for human free will. However, it perceives a limitation of human free will by recognising their 'control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end' (Gandhi, 1924a: 237). In doing so, it deviates from the prevailing understanding of human beings possessing ultimate free will.

Further, the normative vision also undermines the key assumption of the Enlightenment, which is narrowly defined by an individualistic understanding of human nature. It considers human beings as creatures with both self-interest and selfless natures (Kumarappa, 1949a: 31). Such a binary nature of humans encompassing self-interest as well as selfless motivations is endorsed by recent studies, especially in the fields of neuroscience and psychology (Boehm, 2012; Common Cause Foundation, 2016; Grove and Coward, 2008; Tomasello et al., 2012; Warneken and Tomasello, 2006, 2007).

The conception of the individual in the normative vision is stipulated by self-rule that involves right and obligation. Right of an individual is about exercising one's will to express one's personality through 'creative faculties', and obligation is about the act of protecting self-rule of other beings in the Natural Order (Kumarappa, 1949a: 52). Self-rule is not just concerned with rule over one's self, but also protecting the self-rule of others. Therefore, self-rule is a state of being where one effectively exercises one's right and obligation in the Natural Order.

until Charles Darwin published his work on evolution in the middle of the 19th century (Kutschera, 2011).

The conception of self-rule is marked by a struggle that is external as well as internal. The external struggle is resistance to external oppression which is essential to exercise one's right. The inner struggle is the resistance to one's self-interest, which is essential to lead a moral life, thus, to exercise one's obligation. Right is predicated on freedom from external constraints, while the discharge of obligation is contingent on freedom from internal constraints. In this sense, self-rule is not only an act against the oppressive forces embedded in social and state practices, but entails an internal struggle. Since the individual is the product of the Natural Order, one's survival involves not only obligation to demand right, but also right to exercise one's obligation. Put differently, obligation is the source of right. The inability to enforce one's right is nothing but the loss of freedom which is the result of a collective failure of the political and economic structure of a society. However, the failure to discharge one's obligation is always an individual failure. Indeed, a failure to fulfil one's obligation results in the negation of right. This obligation-based conception of the individual stands in contrast with right-based conceptions of liberal and utilitarian traditions. This conception, which gives precedence to obligation over right, forms the basis for constructing a moral code of non-violence on which individuals and the collective can operate.

A moral code is a value on which a society functions. The political economy of a society is defined by the standard of value that is operating. Such a standard of value is nothing but the nature of societal norms. 'The most predominant value that prevails amongst people will colour a whole civilisation for centuries' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 40). All moral codes can be categorised into 'self-centric' and 'altruistic' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 31). The self-centric value is subjective in nature, where 'things' are judged in 'relation' to oneself (Kumarappa, 1949a: 32). It is rooted in relative truth, and a society based on self-centric value degenerates because of the clash of subjective interests. Such a clash results in violence and, in turn, self-destruction. Altruistic value is 'objective' in nature and rooted in the absolute Truth of cosmic unity (Kumarappa, 1949a: 37). Consequently, society thrives in the absence of a clash between subjective interests.

Since human beings are part and parcel of the cosmic unity, they are bound in an obligation to cooperate with other units of Natural Order, both sentient and insentient. Therefore, any failure in obligation results in violence, which results in self-destruction. Hence, the ultimate reality of existence is Truth, while non-violence is the means to live in such a reality. Put differently, Truth is the teleological objective, and one conforms to this cardinal moral principle to the extent that one practices non-violence in all aspects of their life. Although both are connected like 'seed and the tree', means becomes more important than the end (Gandhi, 1910: 67). This is because human beings have 'control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end' (Gandhi, 1924a: 237). The normative vision encourages individuals to perform actions without any kind of expectation in return since the outcome is essentially dependent on so many other factors that cannot be comprehended by human beings. Therefore, the practice of non-violence not only leads to moral and material ends but carries innate non-instrumental value. Further, non-violence acts as an altruistic value because it is extrapolated from the understanding of cosmic unity.

The normative vision defines non-violence in an active sense of love, which involves protecting the self-rule of others while defending one's self-rule from external domination. This is because human beings are connected in the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order. Non-violence encompasses selflessness and fearlessness, where the former entails the renunciation of self-interest, and the latter is understood as the courage to defend oneself from external impositions. The ethics of non-violence is the 'greatest good of all', where 'all' includes non-human beings as well (Gandhi, 1926c: 432; Kumarappa, 1955a). According to this moral code, if one dominates others, then it is nothing but self-hindrance because of the underlying cosmic unity in the Natural Order. The individual good is inseparable from the good of all, where the individual is prepared to die for its realisation. However, this normative vision recognises non-violence as a process of reducing violence, because it is part and parcel of existence itself as described here:

Strictly speaking, no activity and no industry is possible without a certain amount of violence, no matter how little. Even the very process of living is impossible without a certain amount of violence. What we have to do is to minimise it to

the greatest extent possible. Indeed, the very word non-violence, a negative word, means that it is an effort to abandon the violence that is inevitable in life. (Gandhi, 1940: 271)

By considering obligation towards others as the essential basis of morality, the normative vision departs from utilitarian and liberal traditions which are based on abstract sovereign (autonomous) rational individuals having no connection with others. The result is inconsistency, accentuating a self-centred individualism that is indifferent to the costs projected onto others. The outcome is a breach in the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order, resulting in violence, as is currently seen in environmental crisis and social inequality. By considering human beings as a part of cosmic unity, the normative vision rejects all sorts of hierarchies and discriminations that occur because of differences in religion, gender, caste, class, and sexuality. The moral code of non-violence acts as a compass for individuals as well as collectives to follow. By doing so, it acts as the basis for assessing human progress as will be described in the following section.

The conception of human progress in the normative vision is inherently tied to the concept of self-rule in the Natural Order. The degree to which individuals respect their obligation, as well as exercise their right, reflects the degree of social progress. The key to recognising social progress is not just the right enjoyed by individuals, but also the extent to which individuals are able to fulfil their obligation in the Natural Order (Kumarappa, 1936: 28). The normative vision constructs a taxonomy of social evolution by taking examples metaphorically from the nature. Human societies can be 'classified' into five different categories (Kumarappa, 1949a: 5–8).

The first category is the 'parasitic' society, which rests fully on right and the complete disregard of obligation. The key feature of this society is 'self-love and pleasure seeking by the easiest route' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 55). Individuals in such a society live on exploitation of others to the extent of extermination and they do not exercise their creative faculties, but live off of the 'creation of others'. In other words, the personality of the individual is just an imitation of others because their exercise of creative faculties is insignificant. This group is noted as 'house of imitation' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 57).

The second category is the 'predatory' society. In predatory societies, individuals do not recognise obligation, and they sustain themselves by exploiting others, but not to the extent of extermination. Individuals exercise their creative faculties to 'adopt' the 'creation of others', but still not 'enough to lay claim on originality' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 57). In other words, people have the 'will-power to pick and choose but lack the sense of perspective to create anything complete and whole' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 59). The individual personality is marked by appropriation of others' creation. This society is called the 'house of adoption' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 59).

The third category is the society of 'enterprise' where there is a recognition of obligation only of those who support one's self-interest. The tolerance among individuals for different opinions is negligible, and there is a constant urge for forcing dissidents not to exercise their rights. Here, even though individuals exercise their creative faculties, they use it for their own self-benefit. This group is identified as the 'house of material creation' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 61).

The fourth category is the society of 'gregation', in which '[individuals] do not work for their own respective individual gains but for the common benefit of the whole colony like honeybees'. It represents 'an extension from self-interest to group-interest and from acting on immediate urge of present needs to planning for future requirements' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 6–7). At this stage, the '[individual] becomes more and more conscious that no one lives unto himself but that there are certain ties that bind [humans]' (Kumarappa, 1936: 26).

This society can be sub-categorised into 'pack type' and 'herd type' based on their motives (Kumarappa, 1936: 4). Individuals 'unite for aggression', and their nature is 'predatory' in the pack type, whereas individuals 'gather together for safety' in 'herd type' (Kumarappa, 1936: 3,4). These motives define the nature of a group. This conception can be extended to human society. In the pack type, in spite of the shift in interest from individual to the group, society is still vulnerable to violence because the self-interest that is morphed into the form of group interest is hostile to outsiders. The

society based on herd type motive is more peaceful within the group as well as towards outsiders. In such a society, individuals exercise their creative faculties towards the good of society in which they are embedded. This sect is referred to as 'house of social innovation' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 57).

The fifth category is the society of 'service', which is organised based on the full recognition of obligation that leads 'to an evaluation of each life in terms of others' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 7). Individuals exercise their creative faculties for the benefit of others without expecting rewards. This results in a non-violent social order devoid of exploitation and becomes a society of 'permanence' that ensures peace. Here the term permanence is 'relative', since the cosmology of Natural Order recognises that humans comprehend the world within Time and Space, where 'everything begins somewhere and ceases to exist somewhere' (Kumarappa, 1949a: x). Any society which fails to recognise the pre-eminent role of obligation leads to a society that is 'transient' or short-lived (Kumarappa, 1949a: 27). Hence obligation takes axiological precedence over the right in the society of service. In such a society, individuals exercise their creative faculties and employ them selflessly for the good of the world. Since the act makes society permanent, it is recognised as 'house of sublimation' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 73). However, the normative vision recognises the psychological and sociological foundations to construct such a society strictly on obligation as described below:

While it may be granted that group activity has a contribution to make within a limited community, it is open to serious doubt whether such activity is possible on a national scale for any length of time. A few idealists may get together and run an Ashram or other philanthropic institutions on the basis of service but whether such principles can be applied in the present stage of varied and varying civilizations on a world basis may be questioned... Experiments may be carried on under controlled circumstances in order to find out the laws that govern economic movements but it is too much to expect humanity, as a whole, to function in like manner under normal conditions without such a controlled environment. (Kumarappa, 1936: 14)

However, the normative vision aspires to the ideal of a society of permanence even if it is seldom attained in practice. It acts as a normative vision for humanity to follow. The ultimate aim of life is to align one's self with the Truth (Kumarappa, 1936: 31). The conception of human progress in the normative vision is as follows:

Progress signifies both the search after knowledge and truth as found in nature and its application to satisfy human needs. In the measure in which we are able to pull alongside nature's dictates, we shall be progressing in the right direction. But in so far as we are pulling against the course of nature, we shall be creating violence and destruction which may take the form of social conflicts, personal ill-health and the spread of anti-social feelings, such as, hatred, suspicion and fear. From these symptoms we shall know whether we are progressing scientifically or not. If our course of action leads to goodwill, peace and contentment, we shall be on the side of progress, however little the material attainments may be; and if it ends in dissatisfaction and conflict, we shall be retrogressing, however much in abundance we may possess material things. (Kumarappa, 1948a: 2)

Human progress shifts from the material plane to spiritual/moral plane once they fulfil their basic material needs because human beings cannot operate on their moral self as long as they are materially destitute. In other words '[a] starving man thinks first of satisfying his hunger before anything else' (Gandhi, 1926b: 105). Human progress in this normative vision entails a process of moving beyond the idea that we are separate selves by recognising the inter-connectedness of life. By doing so, one lets go the fear of death, and thus experiences long lasting peace. Such a process involves constant resistance to internal self-interest as well as external domination, where the former involves the act of renouncing one's identity created by the egoistic self, and the latter involves the act of renouncing the impression of one's identity that resides in others. In short, as Bilgrami (2016a: 238, 2016b: 58) states, it aspires for an 'unalienated life' or unalienated relationship of an individual with the cosmos. By doing so, it makes death irrelevant, and the individual secures lasting peace. Human progress in terms of non-violent social order serves as the ultimate goal of humankind. The outcome of such progress becomes the basis for conceptualising human prosperity.

The normative vision contests predominant conceptions of prosperity in terms of 'high' and 'low' standards of living. In reality, the notion of high is nothing but 'complex material standard of living', and low is 'simple' material standard of living (Kumarappa, 1949a: 78). The aspiration for a complex standard of living is the result of a 'multiplicity of wants' caused by the domination of self-interest over the moral self. Thus, it leads to a breach in the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order, which in turn produces violence. The other emerging heterodox approaches to prosperity based on wellbeing also follow a similar path of violence, because within them happiness is subjective, and

they encourage individuals to govern themselves with their self-interest rather than their moral self.

In contrast, the normative vision of swaraj considers 'peace' as the outcome of human progress, and as an indicator of human prosperity (Kumarappa, 1954: 150). The conception of peace has inner and outer dimensions, where the former is the tranquil state of mind, and the latter is the harmonious relationship of the individual with other beings in the Natural Order. As Yamunacharya (2018: 2) claims, these two dimensions of peace are inseparable, for 'the quest for peace within one's own inner being and quest for peace or harmony in the external world are supposed to be the inner and outer sides of one and the same process of good living.' By doing so, it encourages individuals to rule over themselves without harming other participants in the Natural Order. The result is a social order without the exploitation of human as well as non-human beings, leading to an equitable and sustainable future. The next section describes the political economy aspects of the normative vision based on the moral philosophy outlined above.

3.4 The political economy of swaraj development

The section gives a detailed account of the political economy of swaraj development, which is informed by the moral philosophy described in the previous section. It acknowledges the imperfect nature of human beings, as they may not be able to act according to the imperative of their moral selves in each and every situation. Hence the political economy of swaraj is directed towards creating a society of service and defined by herd-type gregation. Its political economy entails political decentralisation and economic self-sufficiency.

The politics in the normative vision operates on the moral code of non-violence that aspires for the 'greatest good of all' (Gandhi, 1926c: 432; Kumarappa, 1955a). Since any form of centralisation is inimical to the self-rule of individuals, it embraces decentralisation, which provides more control for individuals over their lives. However, by recognising the inability of humans to follow the moral code of non-violence in every possible circumstance, it advocates governance in the form of 'non-violent democracy' based on decentralisation to construct a non-violent social order (Kumarappa, 1951).

The central concern of the non-violent democracy is to create a political system in which individuals can govern themselves without dominating others. Therefore, it is essential to ensure an individual's control over their social relations in which they are embedded. It is evident that the regulation of such a social relation demands individuals to 'know one another at least by sight', and beyond which it engenders the domination over one another (Sale, 2017: 140). This is because, the likelihood of feeling powerlessness by individuals increases beyond the size of a participatory community. This in turn discourages people from actively exercising their power and creates a space for domination. Thus, a participatory community that enables individuals to understand one another forms the basic unit of the non-violent democracy.

Further, the non-violent democracy advocates decision-making based on consensus because it facilitates individuals to exercise their right and obligation. In such a political structure 'the decisions are not majority decisions but are made unanimous by winning over the dissenting minority' (Kumarappa, 1936: 199). However, the normative vision recognises the inability of humans to reach consensus effectively beyond an optimum group size. This is because any group size beyond the optimum number does not allow individuals to empathise with others, which is essential for reaching consensus (Sale, 2017: 359). In the normative vision, such a participatory community possesses legislative, executive, and judiciary powers where it 'self-sustain[s] and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent defending itself against the whole world' (Gandhi, 1946a: 236).

In the non-violent democracy, the representatives are elected based on consensus from an optimum group size to form ideal scale governing bodies that facilitate consensual decision making. The elected representatives at the lower level governing bodies elect their representatives for necessary higher level governing bodies. The individuals, participatory community, and any higher-level of governing bodies are connected in the form of 'oceanic circles', in which 'life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom', but rather 'ever-widening, never-ascending circles' (Gandhi, 1946a: 236). In such a society, 'the outermost circumference will not wield power to crush the inner

circle but will give strength to all those within, and derive its own strength from it (Gandhi, 1946a: 236).

Importantly, a non-violent democracy is constructed based on obligation, with love acting as the central operating force, encouraging tolerance among individuals who hold differences of opinion. In such a democracy, individuals refrain from interference into the lives of others, not because of hatred nor indifference to them, but out of love. Individuals are bound in a 'relationship of lasting affection' and tolerate by recognising others as the 'translation of our own selves' through distinct practices and beliefs (Bhargava, 2013: 36).

By giving preference to obligation over right, non-violent democracy departs from other forms of democracies that discourage individuals from showing concern towards others by giving precedence to individual right over obligation. Further, the normative vision of swaraj recognises not just elected individuals, but everyone as a political agent because every action of an individual continually affects the social relations of society. Therefore, non-violent democracy is 'a living union between the government and the people' (Kumarappa, 1950). Since individuals are political agents, the state is not an end in itself 'but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life' (Gandhi, 1931a: 162). The state is expected to ensure the self-rule of everyone and not to interfere in the faith of individuals as long as it does not harm the faith of others (Gandhi, 1947: 63).

The normative vision of swaraj recommends the control of supply and demand by the state to ensure equilibrium in production and consumption of goods. Production should be regulated by 'licensing', and consumption by 'rationing' (Kumarappa, 1948b: 58). Where feasible, the collection of tax by the state should be in the form of labour instead of capital. It is precisely because the larger section of the society has more or less equal access to the former than the latter. This in turn provides a fairer opportunity for individuals to fulfil their dues. However, by recognising the impossibility of excluding money in the contemporary world, it advises tax collection 'in kind' as far as possible (Kumarappa, 1936: 149). Further it demands the collected tax to be spent 'as near the

place of collection as possible', or 'within the catchment area of taxation' to 'increase the taxable capacity of the citizens' (Kumarappa, 1936: 149–150). The people employed in the state machinery are expected to be paid the same as the 'average earnings of the citizens', and allowances should be paid 'partly in kind', whenever possible, to prevent the exploitation of their positions (Kumarappa, 1936: 145,149).

Since all forms of institutions, including the state, are composed of individuals who are incapable of following the moral code of non-violence in every possible circumstance, institutions often fail to protect the self-rule of individuals. Therefore, the normative vision advocates *satyagraha* (insistence on Truth) as a necessary part of the political decentralisation process. The following section elaborates the conception of *satyagraha* and its role in the construction of a non-violent social order.

Satyagraha is a non-violent method of conflict resolution. It is based on the understanding of the individual as an active political agent because the social order itself is the result of the cooperation of individuals in society. Any kind of domination present in a society is not only the result of the oppressor, but also of the oppressed. The cooperation between the two is the cause of any oppressive condition. In other words, the degree of toleration and acceptance of exploitation by individuals determines the level of violence present in a society (Gandhi, 1910: 30–33). Hence it becomes an obligation for the oppressed to not to cooperate with a social order when it breaches their self-rule, and to change the situation through *satyagraha*.

The concept of *satyagraha* involves internal and external dimensions. The internal dimension encompasses an individual's resistance to one's self-interest. It is recognised that such an internal resistance requires self-knowledge and an understanding of the interconnectedness of one's life with others. Such an awareness encourages individuals to continually hold on to the Truth of cosmic unity and attain a state of selflessness, where one can perform actions without expectations in return. Such a state of mind helps one to operate according to the moral law of non-violence. The external dimension of *satyagraha* involves resistance to oppression. Conflict arises in society when individuals fail to act according to their moral selves, and when two parties hold

contradicting opinions. Since relative truths are subjective and change over time, the first dimension of *satyagraha* is essential for a non-violent way of conflict resolution in society. It diminishes anger and hatred while encouraging the individual to see oneself in their opponent. In doing so, the love, the reflection of the Truth, becomes the medium of conflict resolution. It enables one to find mutuality with the opponent and transforms hate into voluntary 'suffering' (Gandhi, 1910: 75). This, in turn, becomes an appeal to the moral self of the opponent, and it creates a way for reaching consensus as described below:

Our motto must ever be conversion by gentle persuasion and a constant appeal to the head and heart. We must, therefore, be ever courteous and patient with those who do not see eye to eye with us. (Gandhi, 1921: 306)

However, the normative vision recognises that the means is more important than the end because one has control over the means but not on the ends. One becomes impatient and tramples on others' self-rule when the focus is on ends. Emphasis, though, on means encourages one to explore every opportunity that arises to pursue dialogue with an opponent to reach an agreement. The openness to dialogue is central for *satyagraha*, since it lays the foundation for trust in the future:

They say 'means are after all means.' I would say 'means are after all everything'...There is no wall of separation between means and end...Realisation of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception. (Gandhi, 1924a: 236–237)

The act of *satyagraha* involves different phases. First is the negotiation phase, where all the available channels are explored to reach an agreement with the opponent. If that does not work, then the second phase involves rousing public 'consciousness or conscience' through various media and offering a constructive solution (Gandhi, 1945: 22). The third phase is 'self-immolation' through voluntary suffering and constant appeal to the opponent for agreement (Gandhi, 1945: 22). Throughout the process, the disagreement is always with the opponent's action, and not with the opponent, because individuals can change their disposition at any point in time. The process of resistance discourages individuals from criticising their opponent in any circumstance, because it breeds hostility, and it departs from the path of non-violence. Instead, non-violence

demands suffering, 'even unto death', in the process of appealing to the moral self of the opponent (Gandhi, 1930: 69).

However, the violent act becomes the reflection of non-violent resistance in exceptional circumstances. First, the violent act is sanctioned when the opponent seems to be not responding and the damage by inaction is immediate and irreversible (Gandhi, 1926a: 385). The underlying intention of the act is of one's defence and not of rage, revenge, and possession. Second, the violent action is endorsed when a being is 'suffering' without consciousness and 'recovery is out of the question' (Gandhi, 1928: 330). The intention behind the act is not of self-interest, but of relieving agony. These exceptions do not make the method of non-violent resistance sceptical, but reflect an 'ordinary' person's inability to conceptualise non-violent possibilities in every possible real-world situation (Gandhi, 1926a: 385). By doing so, *satyagraha* becomes the non-violent way of challenging domination in society while establishing harmonious social order.

The objective of the economy in the normative vision is to meet the 'needs of people' within the 'restrictions under which nature has placed' them (Kumarappa, 1954: 150). It considers every material transaction also as a 'moral' transaction because former has an irreversible sociological and environmental impact (Kumarappa, 1936: 72). The key concern of the economy is to create an atmosphere where everyone can fulfil their basic material needs, which is the prerequisite condition for self-rule. Hence, it embraces 'self-sufficiency' in the economy where individuals fulfil their essential material needs such as 'balanced food' that 'supplies the body with all its requirement in their correct proportions as to keep it fit and healthy', in addition to 'adequate clothing and sufficient shelter' (Kumarappa, 1954: 103,137).

However, the normative vision recognises the inability of individuals to obtain all material necessities by themselves. Therefore, it defines self-sufficiency as a 'relative term', whereby the tendency is towards reducing the distance between production and consumption to a 'minimum' (Kumarappa, 1954: 103). Further, it identifies the need for a disproportionate share of material accumulation among individuals in society, as everyone is endowed with different capacities and capabilities to participate in the

economy. Therefore, individuals are expected to operate on the basis of 'trusteeship', where any material abundance more than one's need is used for the welfare of others (Kumarappa, 1959: 21). By doing so, it ensures the moral code of the greatest good for all.

The key feature of self-sufficiency is its emphasis on 'human personality' that enables individuals to 'make the higher life' possible (Kumarappa, 1954: 103). The human personality is defined by the degree to which one follows the moral code of non-violence and exercise one's intellect and talent. The normative vision considers self-sufficiency as an organising economic principle for an entire society, and which encompasses the production, exchange, consumption, and disposal of goods. By regarding it as an organising principle, the normative vision goes beyond the narrow notion of self-sufficiency in terms of individual self-help as conceived by Seymour (1978), the chief proponent of self-sufficiency in the last century. Further, by giving intrinsic value to self-sufficiency, the normative vision departs from the definition of Princen (2005), a prominent contemporary advocate of sufficiency based on the notion of 'enough' as an inevitable reaction to the environmental crisis.

By focusing on human personality, the normative vision of swaraj deviates from the modern forms of the economic system, which are centred around 'material' creation and utility maximisation (Kumarappa, 1954: 103). Further, it challenges the fundamental notion of efficiency, which is the vital driving force behind prevailing economic systems. It is essential to understand the origin of the concept of efficiency and its impact on society to appreciate self-sufficiency in its fullest sense. The conception of efficiency first emerged in the field of mechanics, particularly in the context of efforts made to enhance the productivity of waterwheels in mid-eighteenth century (Alexander, 2008: 1–75). The concept was later applied to human societies through social Darwinism coupled with Taylorism⁴ in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, making economic efficiency

⁴ Taylorism is the management of workflow, particularly with an objective of improving labour productivity. It was advocated by Frederick Winslow Taylor in the late 19th century in manufacturing industries in the United States. Although the term is not popularly in use, the idea is widely adopted across different sectors in the world.

central to the project of modernity. The implication of this is the increasing control over production and associated social relations in the contemporary global social order by a small section of people, resulting in centralisation of politics (Alexander, 2008: 148–161). In short, the tendency of an economy based on efficiency is one of ‘control’ and exploitation (Alexander, 2008: xiv). Thus, the economy focused on efficiency leads to competition, domination, and violence, whereas self-sufficiency encourages cooperation, self-rule, and peace.

Economy in human societies can be categorised based on its use of two fundamental kinds of material flows that are available in the Natural Order. One type is the ‘reservoir economy’, which is built upon resources that are limited or exhaustible. The other is ‘current economy’, which is constructed on the resources that ‘can be increased by man’s effort or are inexhaustible’ (Kumarappa, 1936: 25). A society based on a reservoir economy is predatory in nature because it draws on resources which it has not contributed to in any manner. By doing so, it breaks the chain of right and obligation in the Natural Order, resulting in violence. In contrast, a current economy fulfils the right and obligation chain of Natural Order and leads to a non-violent society. As a consequence, the economy of self-sufficiency embraces renewable resources over non-renewable resources as the basis of its material flow.

The nature of production is the key factor that defines the structure of social order. The normative vision recognises production as a primary component of the economy that shapes human personality. The conception of work is central to the production component of any economy. The normative vision constructs the idea of work based on the ‘cycle of life’ present within the Natural Order (Kumarappa, 1949a: 2). The work that is carried out by all sentient beings to fulfil their material needs has two elements. One is the ‘creative element’ that helps to improve their skills for fulfilling material needs in a constantly evolving ecological setting in which they are embedded. Other is ‘toil’ or ‘drudgery’ in the form of repetitive action which is necessary for perfection and satisfying material needs (Kumarappa, 1947: 2). Both the elements make ‘wholesome’ work to maintain the continuous cycle of life in the Natural Order (Kumarappa, 1947: 2).

A balance between the creative and drudgery elements of work is essential for self-rule. Without this balance, the former becomes 'indulgence', where the individual cannot discharge obligation, and the latter becomes a 'drag' or devoid of 'interest', where individuals cannot discharge right due to the lack of space for exercising their creative faculties (Kumarappa, 1936: 62, 1947: 8, 17). Since both conditions are inimical to self-rule, any separation between the two elements of work becomes a fundamental source of violence, which diffuses throughout society. Therefore, any tendency in individuals to retain the creative component of work, that which is 'playful', while displacing the toil component onto others, leads to the degeneration of society. The manifestation of this separation of work is evident in the contemporary global society in the form of a stark division of labour. For example, the extreme division of labour present in the garment industry has resulted in exploitation where '[t]he workers are disposable, rags of humanity, as it were, used up like any other raw material in the cause of production for export' (Seabrook, 2015: 3).

The conception of wholesome work is about the 'function of work', rather than the 'product' of work (Kumarappa, 1949a: 107). Wholesome work is the 'means of developing one's personality in all three aspects of intelligence, character and artistic sense', along with fulfilling material needs that enable individuals to act from their moral self (Kumarappa, 1947: 9). The division of labour in wholesome work provides 'diversion and variety insufficient measure in every sub-divided unit of it to prevent it becoming a stain on the nerves' (Kumarappa, 1947: 12–13). Further, it ensures 'full scope' for all the physical and mental 'faculties' of the workers, permitting them to 'comprehend the full implications of their activity' while producing articles that are in the form of 'complete marketable units' (Kumarappa, 1947: 17). By doing so, the normative vision of swaraj departs from the modern form of the division of labour, which is based on efficiency in material production.

Similar to the division of labour, leisure is another crucial component of wholesome work. Again, the relationship between work and leisure is derived from the Natural Order. Work and leisure are tied to each other in the cycle of life. Imbalance in these two components breaks the cycle, and results in violence. The work part becomes

drudgery and the leisure part becomes indulgence, both of which are inimical to self-rule. Thus, wholesome work does not disaggregate work and leisure into separate spheres, as described here:

Leisure is an integral part of work just as rest is an essential component of a musical note. The two cannot be taken apart. Leisure is not a complete cessation of all activities. That will be death. Neither is leisure idle time. Idleness leads to deterioration. Beneficial leisure provides rest to one faculty, while other parts of our personality are being exercised. A mental worker at his desk needs an active hobby like gardening to form a complement to the nervous strain caused by desk work. Any work to fulfil its proper function as ordained by nature, and not mutilated by man, must contain these complementary parts in itself. (Kumarappa, 1947: 14–15)

By making an inseparable bond between work and leisure, the normative vision departs from modern forms of economic life that are based on a work-leisure dichotomy, which is visible in almost all sectors. The growing perception of ‘work-life balance’ is a clear example of such a dichotomy. Work and life are increasingly seen as two different spheres, where former is largely considered as an act that provides monetary benefits, whereas the latter is broadly recognised as a family responsibility (Lewis and Beauregard, 2018).

Access to energy is the crucial factor that decides the degree of self-sufficiency at the individual level, as well as for society at large. As Illich (1974: 5) says, the kind of energy that is adopted determines the ‘range and character of social relationships’ in a society. Put differently, energy is central to political economy (Newell, 2019: 26). Inaccessibility of energy for work curbs the ability of individuals to be self-sufficient, thus to self-rule. Hence ‘human energy’, which is expended by the human body and enables individuals to do manual work, becomes the primary energy source in the economy of self-sufficiency (Kumarappa, 1947: 24). It is because it is the only energy source that can be accessed by everyone. Thus, human energy-based livelihoods enable individuals to achieve the highest degree of self-sufficiency, and, in turn, the highest degree of self-rule. Further, human energy becomes an essential way for the equitable distribution of material wealth, because it enables more people to own the means of production. Similarly, it also becomes a way for attaining a sustainable future, as human energy is

the most environmentally friendly, renewable energy source. In espousing human power as an energy source that can deliver the highest degree of self-rule, the normative vision takes a distinct position from prevailing conceptions of human labour as a commodity.

It is essential to recognise that the energy that goes into the production process defines the means of production. From this standpoint, the means of production can either be categorised as tool-based production, driven by human energy, animal power, and the burning of wood, or machine-based production, which works on electricity and fossil fuels. The former means of production falls into the classification of a 'current economy', whereas the latter means of production falls into a 'reservoir economy'. Hence, self-sufficiency in the normative vision embraces tool-based production as the primary means of production. However, machine-based production has a specific place in the economy of self-sufficiency, particularly where there is a need for articles that require 'standardization' and 'precision' in large numbers (Kumarappa, 1936: 168).

The ownership over the means of production is crucial for self-sufficiency to function. The land which is the primary source of raw materials for production should be held in 'trust' by the state (participatory community) and 'leased out for a term of years, the extent vary[ing] according to the capacity of the tenant to handle the property to the best advantage as a trust' on behalf of the state (Kumarappa, 1959: 49–50). The means of production are expected to be owned by people, particularly, producers to ensure distribution of purchase power across the society. However, state ownership is recommended over means of production that involves 'public utilities' as well as supplies 'raw materials' and 'manufacturing instruments' necessary for enterprises owned by people (Kumarappa, 1936: 151). It is because, as Schumacher (1973: 267) points out, 'in large-scale enterprise, private ownership is a fiction for the purpose of enabling functionless owners to live parasitically on labour of others.' State ownership is considered as appropriate because it is the only possible way for masses to afford the considerable amount of accumulated capital required for such means of production. Further, the production in self-sufficiency has a tendency towards producing goods using resources within one's locality, where one can assess the impact of production on

society and the environment. This, in turn, helps to fulfil the right and obligation in the Natural Order.

The exchange of articles among people is the next crucial component of self-sufficiency. Since one cannot produce all material necessities, the exchange becomes a means of fulfilling one's material needs. Since human beings are bound in cosmic unity, any exchange must be mutually beneficial. Such an exchange is possible only when 'the buyer and seller are on equal footing' (Kumarappa, 1936: 130). Exchange based on money does not create such conditions, mainly when it involves the transaction of perishable, consumable goods. The imperishable nature of currency gives more bargaining power to the consumer because one can 'wait for any length of time', whereas the value of perishable goods that 'depreciate with time' forces the seller to 'come to terms quickly' (Kumarappa, 1936: 125). This naturally places the producer of perishable goods in a position of disadvantage, while a consumer with imperishable money is in an advantageous position. Thus, exchange based on currency leads to inequality in society, and in turn, perpetuates violence. Hence, self-sufficiency embraces 'barter' as a primary means of exchange that operates 'only on surplus' to 'reduce the chain of exchange and to bring the producer and consumer together', in turn placing them on more level ground (Kumarappa, 1936: 130,131).

By considering labour as the centre of exchange, it departs from modern economics, which holds capital as the medium of exchange. However, the normative vision recognises the role of capital in the 'temporary storage of purchasing power', which brings convenience to exchange (Kumarappa, 1936: 121). Since money has become impossible to exclude from the modern world, the normative vision encourages individuals to follow the principle of barter by transacting their surpluses within their locality, while using currency as the medium of exchange whenever barter is not feasible (Kumarappa, 1936: 131). The consumption of locally produced goods through capital transaction 'virtually' makes it a barter exchange, where both the parties can comprehend the impact of their transaction on each of their lives more accurately (Kumarappa, 1936: 131). Therefore, it ensures the right and obligation chain in the Natural Order. Further, the normative vision advocates a living income for producers,

particularly during the exchange based on capital because, otherwise, one would end up in destitution and unable to self-rule.

Consumption, which is the next component of the economy, has a major role to play in self-sufficiency. Since every material transaction is a moral transaction, the normative vision demands consumers be responsible for the indirect causes of their purchase. When someone buys an article, that person becomes a part of the impact that particular consumable has caused on society and the environment during its production. As Kumarappa writes:

If a tin of cocoa is produced from nuts cultivated in West Africa, roasted and tinned in England, brought to India and sold here; if the cultivation takes place in Africa under the terms and norms of the slavery or indentured labour, and the roasting and tinning take place in England under sweated labour, and favourable customs and tariffs are afforded for the sale of this tin of cocoa by the government of India, because of the political power they hold here, then we buy a simple, harmless-looking tin of cocoa, we become parties directly for supporting the slave labour conditions in Africa, the exploited labour conditions of England and the political subjection of India. In the same manner as if one were to buy an ornament that has been taken from a child which had been murdered for it, one would become guilty or a party to that murder. (Kumarappa, 1949b: 10)

Therefore, it is the individual's responsibility to become '*Swadeshi*' or consumer who consumes articles that are produced within one's sphere of cognisance (Kumarappa, 1936: 79–80). By doing so, individuals fulfil both right and obligation in the Natural Order. As the distance between production and consumption increases, it becomes impossible for consumers to comprehend all the social and environmental impacts of production. Hence it becomes necessary to 'limit our transaction to a circle well within our control', where the 'smaller the circumference, the more accurately we can gauge the result of our action and more consciously shall we be able to fulfil the obligation as trustees' (Kumarappa, 1936: 79). For such local consumption, self-control is necessary for individuals. The control over self could be gained by realising the embeddedness of individuals in the cosmic unity, where 'every act of ours affects our fellow beings one way or the other' (Kumarappa, 1949b: 11). Such self-control restrains overconsumption and encourages self-sufficiency.

Local consumption enables consumers to directly interact with producers to make articles according to their needs. These direct interactions between producer and consumer facilitate cooperation not just in economic terms, but also in other aspects of their lives. It becomes a platform to understand the social conditions of each other and recognise their mutual obligations. Further, it leads to an active consumer by giving space to exercise one's creative faculties, promoting the originality of self-expression in both producers as well as the consumer. By considering consumption as a way of self-expression beyond just an ethical transaction, the normative vision goes beyond the modern concepts of ethical trade and ethical consumption.

Disposal, which is the last component of the economy, is an important aspect of self-sufficiency. Every sentient being in nature is bound by the 'cycle of life', which maintains the continuity of life through 'cooperation' of 'various factors [like] insentient and sentient [beings]' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 2). It is nothing less than Earth's biogeochemical cycle. Any break in this cycle results in violence, 'ending finally in destruction' (Kumarappa, 1949a: 2). Therefore, 'self-preservation' demands cooperation with the cycle of life (Kumarappa, 1949a: 2). Hence, individuals are expected to consciously ensure the disposal of goods without short-circuiting this cycle. By doing so, the right and obligation in Natural Order are fulfilled. Even though there is a significant overlap between economic self-sufficiency of the normative vision and the contemporary concept of eco-localism, particularly in their emphasis on reducing the distance between production and disposal, they diverge in their precepts. The former prescribes a reduction in the distance between production and disposal from the standpoint of non-violence, whereas the latter advocates the same from a more material standpoint.

3.5 Conclusion

The vision of development as swaraj is constructed based on the theoretical framework of moral political economy. It is an approach that reconciles a lost connection between moral philosophy and political economy. The key aspect of the approach is its recognition of the relationship between social consciousness and materiality. Further, by rejecting the dichotomy of fact and value, it provides a holistic lens to understand and transform the global social order. The approach of the moral political economy

framework is built upon normative, interpretive, and pragmatic folds, with the first fold providing a signpost for society to follow.

The normative vision of development as swaraj rests on the axioms of Truth and non-violence. Truth is the teleological objective of cosmic unity, and non-violence is the means to lead a life in accordance with the former. This moral philosophy is built upon the cosmology of Natural Order, in which all sentient and insentient beings are connected in a web. However, humans have a special place in the cosmos because they are the only beings who can comprehend its telos, and also because they have the capacity to cooperate or destroy the Natural Order by changing the ecological landscape.

Further, the normative vision considers human beings as creatures that possess self-interest as well as altruistic natures. It conceptualises the individual in terms of self-rule, which involves right and obligation, where the former is about exercising one's will, and the latter is about protecting the self-rule of others. By making obligation the source of all rights, its conception of self-rule departs from other conceptions of the individual that are based on rights, as seen in utilitarian and liberal traditions. Because obligation takes precedence over right, individuals become more responsive to the plight of others.

This normative vision considers non-violence as a moral code for individuals, as well as an organising principle for civilisation. The moral code is extrapolated from the Natural Order and is recognised in an active sense of love, which involves selflessness in the form of renunciation of the fruit of one's action, and fearlessness in the form of courage to resist external oppression. The ethic of non-violence abets the greatest good of all, in which individual good is seen as inseparable from the collective. Therefore, it demands individuals to act from their moral selves. Further, it acts as the basis for the evolution of societies towards a non-violent social order.

The normative vision of swaraj aspires for human progress with a shift away from a material to spiritual/moral plane, once humans fulfil their essential material needs. It is because individuals, without the fulfilment of such material needs, end up in destitution,

which impedes their capacity to carry out selfless action. The ultimate goal of human progress is to establish non-violent social order by aligning society with the Natural Order. However, it recognises that such a process involves resistance to the demands of the internal ego as well as the external oppression. The result is the attainment of an unalienated life by renouncing the individual identity fostered by the egoistic self, and by resisting disempowering impressions of one's identity that reside in others.

The normative vision defines human prosperity in terms of peace, which is the outcome of human progress. This peace possesses external as well as internal dimensions, such as the harmonious relationship with other beings in the cosmos and a tranquil state of mind. Both the dimensions are inextricable because individuals are embedded in a cosmic unity. The political economy of Gandhi's and Kumarappa's normative vision is guided by the moral code of non-violence, which aspires for the greatest good of all. It involves political decentralisation and self-sufficiency in economics to create a non-violent social order.

Political decentralisation embraces non-violent democracy, which is based on obligation where decisions are made based on consensus. By doing so, it departs from democratic forms that give precedence to right over obligation. Further, it advocates *satyagraha* (insistence on Truth), a non-violent way of conflict resolution to sustain the non-violent social order. It insists individuals to hold on to the Truth of cosmic unity, which encourages them to see themselves in their opponents and to reach agreement with them. Such a non-violent method of conflict resolution demands individuals to resist their ego and find mutuality with their opponent. By doing so, it resolves the conflict between the parties, and creates a more harmonious relationship between them. By advocating the method of non-violent conflict resolution, the normative vision departs from other development models that implicitly endorse violence.

Self-sufficiency in economic life is centred around the human personality. It encourages to minimise the distance between production and consumption by recognising the moral imperative present in all material transactions. By doing so, it stands in contrast

with the prevailing economic system based on material production and accumulation driven by a limited conception of efficiency.

In conclusion, the vision of development as swaraj stands as a possible way of attaining a sustainable and equitable future, and thus a non-violent social order. Chapters six and seven on the khadi sector in the state of Karnataka address the interpretive and pragmatic folds of the MPE framework. The social condition of the sector and the possible ways of transforming it towards development as swaraj are explored by using the normative vision outlined in this chapter as its lens.

CHAPTER 4: INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDY: KHADI DRCTOR IN KARNATAKA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the case study of khadi, the handspun and handwoven textile sector in Karnataka. The first section sets out a historical account of the khadi sector in India from the seventeenth to twentieth century. It describes the exalted past of Indian cotton textile sector up until the middle of nineteenth century, followed by its decline with the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain. Further, it outlines the emergence of the khadi movement in India driven by the conception of swaraj as a response to the coercive expansion of British textiles. The chapter explains efforts that were undertaken to restore the sector in the twentieth century. This entailed rebuilding the broken domestic supply chains, brand building exercises to create demand, technological interventions and addressing criticisms made against the khadi movement.

The second section discusses the current status of the khadi sector, particularly in Karnataka. It explains the structure of the khadi sector, especially the role of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) of the Government of India, in managing khadi activity across the country. It outlines the condition of the KVIC certified independent khadi institutions that are primarily involved in khadi production and marketing. Further, it describes the deteriorating state of the khadi sector, despite the enormous support from the government in the post-independence era.

Khadi has a unique history that is entwined with Indian nationalism. The fabric was popularised by Gandhi as a symbol of the Indian freedom movement. Appeals were made to the Indian people to produce and consume their own handspun and handwoven fabrics while rejecting British made textiles in the early part of the twentieth century. Khadi became an article of resistance against colonial exploitation and significantly contributed to India's freedom movement. However, khadi was envisioned by Gandhi not just as a political tool, but as a practical way of establishing the

development vision of swaraj. Ramagundam (2008: 3) states that “Gandhi's khadi campaign made Indians see in the ‘slender thread of cotton’ the essence and practical structure of swaraj.” The khadi was pursued as a vehicle for an alternative development paradigm based on political decentralisation and economic self-sufficiency.

However, in the post-independence era, Khadi was reduced to a mere symbolic fabric, as the national leaders who came to power after Independence were more convinced by the ideas of capitalism and socialism. Thus, the country followed a path of political centralisation and the pursuit of economic efficiency, which were in contrast with the tenets of Khadi. Subsequently, Khadi became a marginalised sector in a larger scheme of nation-building in post-independence India, although it retained a nostalgic place in modern India’s public consciousness.

Contemporary khadi activity is currently managed by the KVIC under the administrative control of MSME (Ministry of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises), Government of India. Also, the activity is supported and overseen by KVIBs (Khadi and Village Industries Boards) of state governments. The khadi fabric is produced and marketed across the country by independent khadi institutions that are accredited by the KVIC. The raw material, particularly rovings (long bundle of cotton fibres), for khadi institutions are provided by Central Spinning Plants (CSPs), the centralised cotton processing units established by the KVIC in six different places in the country. Although Khadi was originally made only from cotton in the pre-independence period, other materials such as silk, wool, and polyester were added to the category in post-independence. Currently, there are about 2230 khadi institutions across the country having 7050 outlets (KVIC, 2016: 2). There are about 142 khadi institutions in the state of Karnataka, out of which 58 institutions are engaged in cotton khadi (KVIC, 2016: 21–30).

4.2 The golden era of khadi in pre-colonial India

Archaeological evidence shows that cotton textile production in India dates back to 3200 BC (Riello and Parthasarathi, 2009: 2). India was the largest cotton textile producer and supplier in the world until the advent of mechanised textile industries in Britain in the latter part of the eighteenth century (Menon and Uzramma, 2017: 14). The Indian cotton

textile manufacturing 'industry was a jigsaw of hundreds of thousands of small cotton farms, millions of households spinning yarn and weaving cloth, and exchanging their wares through small, periodic, local markets that also fed into larger world systems' (Menon and Uzramma, 2017: 2). The large quantity of Indian textiles 'were not luxuries but was used as everyday attire and as decorative items by consumers of all social levels and economic standing' (Riello, 2013: 19).

Indian cotton textiles were in high demand in foreign countries until the nineteenth century and had 'posed a threat to local textile manufacturers, who feared being displaced by competition', particularly in countries like France, Spain, Prussia, and England (Parthasarathi and Wendt, 2009: 405; Riello, 2009: 273). As Parthasarathi (2011: 32) states, Indian cotton textile 'clothed the world.' The success of Indian cotton textiles in the global market came from their capacity to 'customize products to suit the tastes and preferences of differentiated markets' (Riello and Parthasarathi, 2009: 6). According to Riello (2013: 7), the production and consumption of Indian textile was a 'centrifugal system based on the diffusion of resources, technologies, knowledge and sharing of profits.' The global trade of Indian cotton textiles was operated based on cooperation and symbiosis, and was loosely connected by nodes of exchange.

4.3 The decline of Khadi in colonial India

The age of Indian domination in global production and trade of cotton textiles turned upside down with the emergence of Europe, particularly Britain, as the powerhouse of mechanised production in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Britain, cotton became the basis for the broader Industrial Revolution, and it was also the first commodity to enter a global production complex, with raw materials and labour drawn from around the world. The newly born 'empire of cotton' thrived on '[s]lavery, the expropriation of indigenous peoples, imperial expansion, armed trade, and the assertion of sovereignty over the people and land' (Beckert, 2015: xv). According to Riello (2013: 7), it was "a centripetal system, one based on the capacity of the centre to 'exploit' resources and profit towards its productive and commercial core." The result was "[t]he 'great divergence' – the beginning of the vast divides that still structure today's world, the divide between those countries that industrialised and those that did not, between

colonisers and colonised, between the global North and the global South” (Beckert, 2015: xiv).

The repercussion of the Industrial Revolution on the Indian cotton textile sector was disastrous. The leading global exporter of cotton textiles became the importer of cheap cotton yarn and, finally, cloth itself. The British empire exercised its political power often, violently to suppress the Indian cotton textile sector, forcing people to buy cotton clothes produced in Britain. The result was a decline in the earnings of those employed in the sector and the deterioration in their standard of living (Parthasarathi and Wendt, 2009: 399). According to R.M. Martin, a British administrator in Bengal in 1832, ‘by increase of export of cotton goods to India from Britain many millions of Indo-British subjects have been totally ruined’ (Parthasarathi and Wendt, 2009: 400). Around the same time, the governor-general William Bentick declared ‘the misery hardly finds a parallel in the history of commerce. The bones of cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains of India’ (Parthasarathi and Wendt, 2009: 401).

The concept of human progress in terms of material accumulation was the driving force behind the empire of cotton that was built upon political centralisation and economic efficiency. The new system emerged was based on competition, exclusiveness, global exploitation of natural resources, slavery, and markets coordinated by rising European financial centres. The focus became more on the material that was produced rather than the lives of people involved in the global cotton supply chain.

4.4 Refurbishing khadi during the Indian freedom movement

This section is mainly based on Ramagundam's (2008) seminal book *‘Gandhi’s Khadi: A History of Contention and Conciliation’* and Prasad's (2001) pioneering work *‘Exploring Gandhian Science: A case study of the Khadi movement’*, which are the only two available works that trace the material practices of khadi movement, unlike most of the other scholarly productions, which are largely derived from powerful imaginary interpretations (Cohn, 1996; Tarlo, 1996; Trivedi, 2003).

The emergence of the khadi movement in India in the early twentieth century was a reaction to the empire of cotton in Britain. However, it was not just a movement to bring back the lost glory of Indian cotton textiles. It had a broader vision of overthrowing the empire of cotton as well as constructing an alternative development path for the country that would prevent other such empires from arising in the future. The movement was ignited by Gandhi and his conception of development as *swaraj* as the driving force. The khadi sector was considered as a platform for demonstrating the *swaraj* development vision. It was conceived as a material quest as well as a spiritual/moral quest to establish a non-violent social order.

As a part of the exercise, Khadi was not simply revived, but refurbished to suit the normative vision of development as *swaraj*. The definition of human progress in the khadi movement sought a shift from material to the spiritual/moral plane once basic material needs were fulfilled. It was built upon political decentralisation and economic self-sufficiency. By doing so, the khadi movement stood in contrast to the organising principles of the empire of cotton, and it became a visual symbol of the Indian freedom struggle. It became the first social movement in modern India to bring poverty to the centre stage of national consciousness, and it made livelihood an issue of mass mobilisation. By the early twentieth century, when Gandhi returned to India from South Africa, the Indian textile sector was shattered mainly due to the Industrial Revolution that emerged in the late eighteenth century. The task of rejuvenating the sector required a serious effort of re-establishing long-severed supply chains, carrying out brand-building exercises and technological interventions. Further, addressing the criticisms of khadi was crucial for establishing positive social consciousness about the movement, and, in turn, to bring more people into the fold. It involved advancing the convincing arguments against views that khadi was inefficient, old fashioned, subjugating, and an economically unviable occupation.

Initially, the khadi movement started with the intention of providing a supplementary livelihood for a rural workforce that had been deprived by colonial rule. It was initiated by Gandhi through the *Satyagraha ashram*, which was founded in 1915 in Ahmedabad, a popular place for hand weaving. The principal objective of the ashram was to help

residents learn the hand-weaving process, and to explore ways of making it an aspirational profession. By 1917 the *ashram* had seven looms providing livelihoods for seventeen people (Ramagundam, 2008: 44). The following two years proved that weaving, a caste-based occupation, required special skills. In contrast, the activity of hand spinning on the *charkha* (spinning wheel) was seen relatively simple, offering a vocation that could be performed irrespective of gender, caste, or religious group. Therefore, the focus of the *ashram* shifted more towards hand spinning, and by 1919 it became the most visible feature of the community (Ramagundam, 2008: 47).

A breakthrough for the spread of khadi came from the Rowlatt *satyagraha* launched by Gandhi in early 1919. The movement was against the Rowlatt act passed by the imperial authority, which effectively authorised the government to imprison any suspects involved in revolutionary activities without a trial. The central element of the movement was the adoption of the *swadeshi* pledge that required shunning cloth manufactured from anything foreign, be it machinery, raw cotton or yarn. This, in turn, increased the sales of khadi (Ramagundam, 2008: 49). Therefore, the *ashram* started to coordinate with many spinning and weaving clusters to supply the growing demand. It acted as a launching pad for khadi and brought it out from the confines of the *ashram* into a wider public realm.

The next breakthrough for khadi came from the non-cooperation movement launched by Gandhi against the British empire in 1920. It was a reaction to a chain of events caused by the empire. First was the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, which took place in 1919. In the massacre, the British Indian army, under the command of brigadier general Reginald Dyer, fired rifles into a crowd of peaceful civilians who were condemning the arrest of national leaders under the Rowlatt Act. The massacre took a toll of at least 370 lives. Second was the administrative brutality in Punjab in 1919 as a response to Khilafat Movement. This movement was led by Indian Muslims to pressure the British government to preserve the authority of the Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of Islam following the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire after the first world war.

As a part of the non-cooperation movement, similar to the Rowlatt *satyagraha*, an appeal was made to the public to boycott foreign articles and adopt the use of locally made goods. It successfully mobilised people from different sections of society, and khadi became a symbol of Indian independence. The collective spinning brought women from their confined domestic roles into the political realm. According to Patel (1988), it was a movement that liberated Indian women. It also brought youth into the fold of the khadi movement by asking them to withdraw from government-owned and affiliated educational institutions.

Later the Indian National Congress led by Gandhi instituted the All India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund in 1920, which had the target of raising ten million rupees to bring more people into the fold of the freedom struggle. It embarked on a task of enrolling ten million primary members in the political front, and it took up the task of distributing 20,00,000 *charkha* (Ramagundam, 2008: 84–85). Further, the schools and colleges that were run by the nationalist leaders introduced spinning as a part of their curriculum (Ramagundam, 2008: 79). As a part of the exercise, a six-month course on weaving was designed and offered at the Satyagraha Ashram in 1923 (Prasad, 2001: 101).

The colonial government's reaction to the non-cooperation movement was to imprison Gandhi and other nationalist leaders. A few months after his release in 1924, Gandhi demanded that the Congress Party make wearing khadi mandatory for all its members, and to pass the spinning resolution, which required a minimum of 2000 yards of self-spun yarn per month from each one of them to retain their primary party membership (Ramagundam, 2008: 140). The resolution was passed despite opposition raised by many. The party instituted the All India Khadi Board (AIKB) to carry out the mammoth task of collection, transmission, and keeping track of subscription yarn. However, the spinning franchise did not last long due to the lack of conviction and commitment among the members.

The failure of the Congress party to carry out the spinning resolution prompted Gandhi to establish the All India Spinners Association (AISA) in late 1925 to undertake the work of khadi. It aimed at creating a web of khadi production and sales centres across the

country. Hundreds of independent khadi production and sales centres emerged in different parts of the country due to the constant effort of AISA. Further, AISA established its production and sales units to become the largest khadi institution in the country. By 1926, AISA provided work for 110 carders, 42,959 spinners and 3,407 weavers through 150 production centres catering to the needs of some 1500 villages. It peaked in 1941 when it had directly affected the lives of 2,75,146 villagers, including 19,654 Harijans⁵ and 57,378 Muslims, scattered across at least 13,451 villages. It distributed a sum of Rs 34,85,609 (approximately £145,000 in current exchange value) among its employees in 1940 (Ramagundam, 2008: 240). Although AISA ran like any other commercial firm, it succeeded to some extent in fusing commerce and sentiments of philanthropy. The average wage for workers was Rs 0.83 per day, when the country's average wage was Rs 0.67 per day in 1927 (Leeuwen, 2007: 240; Ramagundam, 2008: 206). It increased to Rs 1.5 per day towards the end of 1946, when the country's average wage was Rs 1.21 per day (Leeuwen, 2007: 241; Ramagundam, 2008: 206).

However, AISA had to face many serious challenges. It was challenging to work with a mass of illiterate, unskilled, secluded, and destitute producers (Ramagundam, 2008: 233). It was struggling to find workers because of the insufficient remuneration caused by the increasing challenge of marketing khadi products for higher prices. Therefore, retaining workers, in the long run, was not easy. The increased reluctance of weavers to use handspun yarn, due to its low strength compare to mill spun yarn, mounted a significant challenge. It became difficult to convince the younger generation to take up khadi activity since they increasingly perceived it as backwards-looking technology (Ramagundam, 2008: 234).

An intensive branding exercise was essential to create demand to sustain increasing khadi production. The exercise was rigorously carried out by Gandhi using traditional metaphors imbued with moral overtones and facts from the past that were amply supported by historical research. For example, he stated that:

⁵ Harijans are the member of an outcaste group in India formerly known as untouchables.

In my eyes, Khadi is artistic enough. Khadi has the property of absorbing moisture. Khadi's roughness was particularly suited for being used as a towel, as cleansing the body with it after a bath stimulates the skin. Khadi is more useful and superior cloth. It is more beautiful than calico because it has a soul in it. There is some craftsmanship at any rate in the making of Khadi. Just as no two leaves of a tree are exactly alike, no two lengths of handspun, handwoven Khadi can be so. (Gandhi, 1920b)

Further, he set the narrative of wearing khadi as a 'national duty occasioned sacrifice of art and aesthetics, tastes and fashion, choices and colours' to evoke the patriotic vigour among the consumers (Ramagundam, 2008: 52). He encouraged them to buy khadi for home furnishing if it was not convenient for someone to wear. He also sought out prominent men and women to be brand ambassadors of khadi. It resulted in demand for khadi from as far as Baluchistan, the Nilgiris, and even Aden. The narrative set the *charkha* as a symbol in the Congress flag, and khadi caps became a site of conflict between loyalty to the empire and patriotism to the country. Public bonfires of foreign cloths were organised in different parts of the country to bring the khadi movement into the fold of social consciousness. The imperial government confronted the looming movement by turning khadi wearing into a penal crime and imprisoned khadi wearers, particularly during the early days of the non-cooperation movement. Further, it took disruptive measures such as sealing of khadi outlets, the forceful shutdown of production centres, the detention of khadi workers, freezing bank accounts and many others.

As a part of brand building, khadi exhibitions were organised during the annual sessions of the Congress party. It was a space to exhibit improved khadi technologies and showcase various khadi products. It became a distinctive feature of the sessions. From 1934 onwards, the Congress exhibitions were jointly organised by AISA along with the newly formed All India Village Industries Association (AIVIA) by Gandhi and led by Kumarappa to expand the constructive work programme. The first-ever full-fledged exhibition of khadi and rural industries became a reality at the Lucknow Congress session in 1936 (Ramagundam, 2008: 178). On the one hand, the exhibitions aided khadi

sales, and, on the other hand, they became a means for the Congress Party to reach out to the masses.

With the increased demand for khadi, AISA started facing a shortage of supply. As a result, spurious khadi invaded the market (Ramagundam, 2008: 131). The Indian textile mills took advantage and sold their manufacture as khadi to credulous customers. Many hand weaving clusters started using mill spun yarn for the warp and handspun yarn for the weft. The penetration of such mix khadi into the market mounted a significant threat.

As a counterstrategy, Gandhi issued leaflets informing people on the real intent and texture of khadi. He insisted that volunteers should very politely put this leaflet into the hands of all persons who are not clad in Khadi. Descriptions of Khadi should be written out on large wooden boards and big leaders, and non-hired men should parade the streets wearing these. In fact, 'Gandhi himself offered to roam one hour every day in the Ahmedabad market with a board suspended on his neck' (Ramagundam, 2008: 84). He also advised khadi shops to appoint experts who could differentiate handmade and machine-made fabrics to check authenticity.

Further, AISA secured the authority by the Congress party to issue certification authenticating the quality of khadi. By doing so, the fabric with the AISA stamp was considered as the only authentic khadi, and the rest as spurious. The AISA also appealed to consumers to buy only certified khadi from authorised *khadi bhandars* (sales outlets). Further AISA claimed a patent for 'khadi' and 'khaddar' (Gandhi, 1929b). All these efforts shaped a brand for khadi. By 1929, there were about 328 *khadi bhandars* across the country (Ramagundam, 2008: 223). However, over the years, AISA faced a severe challenge from consumers increasingly complaining about lack of quality, durability and convenience.

Technological intervention was an essential aspect of the khadi movement. There was a recognition that high capital-intensive technologies would eventually lead to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few. Therefore, the key concern was to come

up with technologies that were more efficient but simple, comprehensible, run on a local resource base, and affordable by the masses. Gandhi announced an award of Rs 5000 in 1919 to invent efficient *charkha* that would enable spinners to earn more. Although the task was taken up by many individuals and organisations, nothing much came out of it. However, it encouraged many people to continue the task of improving the spinning wheels, and it resulted in a display of fifteen types of spinning wheels in the spinning wheel exhibition in 1921 (Ramagundam, 2008: 122).

The efforts to encourage technological innovation were expanded. Gandhi instituted a price of Rs 100,000 in 1930 to encourage the invention of improved *charkha*, and the competition was open to foreign nationals as well. The conditions were 'easy portability, capable of being worked by hand or by foot in an ordinary Indian village home, availability at a price not exceeding Rs 150, and working life of about twenty years. The replacement charges of worn-out parts per year were not to exceed five per cent of the cost of the machine' (Ramagundam, 2008: 121–122). However, the inventions made as part of the competition could not meet the criteria. Eventually, Gandhi insisted on devoting more energy towards making the ancient pattern of *charkha* more durable, cheaper and portable, rather than waiting for a 'revolutionary *charkha*' (Gandhi, 1922). As a part of the drive for the technological innovation, *Saranjam sammelans* (technical conferences), and *Prayog charcha sabhas* (meetings for discussion on experiments) were organised (Prasad, 2001: 10). Gandhi inaugurated a *Khadi Vidyalyaya* (Khadi research and training centre) to undertake a scientific study and improve khadi technologies in 1941 (Ramagundam, 2008: 214).

The movement brought about numerous technical literatures. For example, '*Khadi Samachar Patrika*' was the first journal published by *Sabarmati ashram* (Ramagundam, 2008: 129). Then, there was a *Khadi News centre* that issued leaflets with relevant information about production and sales (Ramagundam, 2008: 130). Further, Maganlal Gandhi wrote a weekly column in Gandhi's *Young India* under the title of 'Khadi notes' to report the results of the experiments carried out at the *ashram* (Prasad, 2001: 102). Gandhi himself wrote a set of articles in his *Harijan* magazine explaining khadi science (Gandhi, 1937b, 1937c, 1937d). Later, AISA published a periodical called '*Khadir Katha*'

to publish interrogative reports that explored the causes of the decline of khadi (Ramagundam, 2008: 217). Several technical books were also published as a part of the drive for technological intervention. The first book with the title '*Charakha Sastra*', a detailed description of khadi techniques, was published by Maganlal Gandhi in 1924 (Prasad, 2001: 52). Richard Gregg, an American lawyer, along with Maganlal Gandhi, came up with a book named '*Takli Teacher*' with illustrations and texts to popularise the idea of spinning in 1926. Further, Gregg (1928) published a book called '*Economics of Khaddar*' which made the argument for khadi. A book called '*Charkha Sangh ka Navasamskaran*' in Hindi was published by AISA in 1948 just before the death of Gandhi, highlighting the ideology of khadi activity (Ramagundam, 2008: 261).

The khadi movement was not free from criticism. Opposition came from the outer circle of the khadi movement, close comrades and even from the inner circle. Addressing their criticisms was a constant process. Outsiders, particularly individuals from the educated classes, were sceptical about khadi and its role in the Indian freedom movement. For example, Aurobindo Ghosh, who got into spirituality after initial involvement in military activities against the British Empire, asked Gandhi whether he would face an army in the ongoing Second World War with his *charkha*. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, who became the founder of Pakistan, had a similar opinion (Ramagundam, 2008: 180).

Further, Gandhi's insistence on hand-making processes created a sense of anti-industrialisation among the educated Indian class. The *Leader*, an Ahmedabad-based journal, stated that the khadi movement was an effort for 'putting back the hands of the clock of progress by attempting to replace mill-made cloth and mill-spun yarn by handwoven and handspun yarn' (Gandhi, 1920a). Educated Indians saw 'constructive programme, including khadi, as a painful distraction from the main task of political liberation' (Ramagundam, 2008: 184).

The opposition also came from close comrades such as Jawaharlal Nehru, who became the first prime minister of Independent India. He asserted that khadi workers were apolitical, and not a key part of the broader national freedom movement (Ramagundam, 2008: 180). Further, he accused khadi of being anti-industry and anti-modern. Tagore, a

polymath from Bengal, criticised the act of bonfires, and accused Gandhi of playing with people's emotions (Prasad, 2001: 88). Further, he stated that undue prominence is given for *charkha* in the freedom movement, causing harm to the nation by stunting its intellectual growth. A similar argument was placed by M. N. Roy, a socialist comrade by asserting spinning is nothing but a waste of energy (Prasad, 2001: 89).

Equally hard questions were raised by individuals from within the khadi movement when the outcomes were not meeting their expectations. It was mainly from those who had worked with Gandhi and had accompanied him in khadi activities. For example, George Joseph, a khadi worker, argued that khadi activity was unjust to consumers as well as producers because it was too expensive for consumers to buy. Further he asserted that khadi workers, particularly spinners, were underpaid to the extent that it was not even sufficient for their physical maintenance (Gandhi, 1929a: 412–413). Similarly, S Ramanathan, secretary of the Tamil Nadu branch of AISA, 'disapproved khadi and advocated khaki, representing militarisation, as a political weapon' (Ramagundam, 2008: 186). He further argued that the spinning wheel is survived on artificial respiration provided by Gandhi, and that khadi harks back to primitive times by rejecting mechanisation. Further, E V Ramaswamy Naicker, who was the president of the All India Khadi Board formed by the Congress party, and the father of self-respect movement in Tamil Nadu, asserted that that khadi is a 'superstition of the recent origin', and it is more dangerous because it is charged with patriotism (Ramagundam, 2008: 187).

Gandhi patiently refuted the criticisms thrown at the khadi movement. He repeatedly responded by stating that swaraj is not just about a power shift from British hands to Indian hands. Instead, it is about establishing a social order which is devoid of all forms of exploitation. He described such a social order through the mythical phrase of *Ramarajya*. He made it a potent force to silence his critics, particularly those who questioned his leadership in the Indian freedom movement for placing khadi at its centre. As regards to the objections raised on bonfires, Gandhi responded that it was a plea for recognising the dignity of human labour. He stated that he did not make a distinction between ethics and economics. In doing so, he was pointing out the role of the intricate relationship between social consciousness and materiality in shaping the

human condition, as previously discussed in chapter three. He further asserted that 'in burning my cloth, I am burning my shame'. According to Bhattacharya (1997: 99–121), the bonfire was an action of 'retirement within ourselves, a refusal to cooperate with English administration on their terms.'

For the critics who termed spinning as a waste of energy, Gandhi (1924b) replied by providing favourable reasons for spinning, such as it was the readiest occupation, known to thousands of people, easy to learn, did not require much capital, implementation was easy, was cheaply made, and provided immediate relief. Gandhi (1925: 377) responded to the criticisms of khadi being anti-industrialisation and anti-modernity by emphasising the need for machines that do not displace human labour. He argued that *charkha* is the most appropriate technology for liberating people. Further, he addressed the concerns raised against the economic viability of khadi by stating such criticism as a sign of impatience.

4.5 Khadi in Post-independence India

With the arrival of freedom, followed by the assassination of Gandhi, the institutions founded by him, such as AISA and AVIA, were merged within a larger Gandhian umbrella organisation called *Serva Seva Sangha*. Further, the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board (AIKVIB) was set up by the newly formed Indian government to promote and support khadi and village industries across the country. By doing so, the intention of Khadi movement to promote 'philanthropic commerce' came to an end, and became a small department within the vast hierarchy of the government's machinery (Ramagundam, 2004). The AIKVIV was renamed into the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) in 1957, and was conferred a legal position under the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises (MSME). Similarly, the Khadi and Village Industries Boards (KVIBs) were established by all state governments. The norms of formal economic planning based on estimates and targets were applied to the khadi sector. By doing so, khadi became a mere commodity, and lost its broader goal of establishing a non-violent social order.

Ever since the crystallisation of the bureaucracies, the KVIC and the KVIBs have regulated khadi production, distribution, and marketing across the country through independent nodal institutions (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 2). They are also responsible for improving technologies that are necessary for the sector to thrive. The nodal institutions, comprised of artisans, are certified by the KVIC, and act as production centres along with their marketing outlets. The MSME allocates funds to the KVIC every year. The allocated funds are distributed to KVIBs, followed by nodal institutions. Similarly, state governments allocate budgets for their respective KVIBs, and then funds percolate down to the nodal institutions.

The supply chain of cotton khadi is significantly centralised. The KVIC sources cotton from the Cotton Corporation of India (CCI) and converts that into slivers in its six Central Sliver Plants (CSP) situated in different parts of the country. The nodal institutions buy rovings (long bundle of cotton fibres) from the CSPs. They convert sliver into yarn using hand-operated new model *charkhas* and convert that into fabrics on handlooms. The finished products are sold through their respective outlets. The KVIC also provides a certificate called the 'khadi mark' for private marketing players, which allows them to source khadi materials from certified khadi institutions. Currently, there are about 2230 khadi institutions across the country having 7050 outlets (KVIC, 2016: 2).

However, despite the massive effort over the decades, the condition of the khadi sector has not improved. The overall production of cotton khadi has been reduced to 0.1 % of the total cotton textile output in the country, while mill sector produces 4%, the power loom sector 76% and the handloom sector 12-13% respectively (Niranjana and Vinayan, 2001: 7; Uzramma, 2013). Employment in the khadi sector has reported a steady decline from 1.4 million in 1995-96 to 0.41 million in 2016-17 (Busenna and Reddy, 2011: 277; KVIC, 2018: 20).

There is a serious doubt about the claims made by the KVIC on the status of khadi in the country. A 2014 audit report by the CAG of the government of India showed the lack of credibility of claims made by the KVIC on the sector's employment generation (Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 2014). For example, on one side, the KVIC

claims that khadi sales have grown by 31.6% and 33% during 2015-16 and 2016-17, respectively. On the other side, data recently provided by MSME shows that the number of people employed in the khadi sector fell from 1.16 million to 0.46 million between 2015-16 and 2016-17 (Mohammad, 2018). It shows a questionable credibility of the claims made by the KVIC.

According to an evaluation study of the khadi programme conducted by the Government of India in 2001, the whole programme has failed to improve the lives of the workers and to create employment (Planning Commission, 2001). The study asserts that the majority of the workforce is paid low wages, and little emphasis is given to research and development to improve production technologies and product design. Nair and Dhanuraj (2016) make similar arguments in their evaluation of the government's intervention in the Khadi sector. According to their study, the bureaucratic practices of the KVIC have created 'entry barriers' for the growth of the khadi sector. Such barriers have resulted in 'low wages', and have made the khadi occupation less attractive for a younger generation.

Further, it is found that the method that khadi institutions follow to decide wage rates for workers and prices for the finished products are improper. For example, the KVIC started advocating market-linked pricing based on the market demand for its products from 2011. Earlier khadi institutions were recommended to follow a cost chart, where the price of production was pre-determined by the KVIC. The cost chart method was inapt because it did not account the changing market conditions, particularly the costs of establishment, publicity and wages. It is found that a large number of khadi institutions are still using this inappropriate cost chart to fix their production costs (Nair and Dhanuraj, 2016: 9).

Also, it is observed that the 'outdated marketing techniques' that are practised by khadi institutions rely heavily on 'print advertising alone', contributing to the decline of production and sales. More importantly, it is found that a significant portion of the allocated budget that is supposed to reach producers is appropriated by 'middlemen' who are part of the KVIC's bureaucratic system (Nair and Dhanuraj, 2016: 2). There is a

significant time lag between the formulation and implementation of various policies in the sector (Goel and Jain, 2015: 102). On the one hand, most of the khadi institutions are in a financial crisis (Busenna and Reddy, 2011: 288). On the other hand, the inefficiency of the KVIC in utilising the allocated funds shows the wastage of public money (Comptroller and Auditor General of India, 2014). Put differently, the 'growth' of the khadi sector is hindered by the government through 'restricting the choices for production, sales, distribution and marketing as well as imposing the rules and regulations in the sector' (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 13).

4.6 Conclusion

Khadi, handspun, and handwoven fabric was a significant part of the Indian textile industry and, historically, it dominated the world cotton textile market until the nineteenth century. However, the scenario was turned upside down with the advent of mechanised textile production in Britain in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The subsequent colonisation of the country by the British Empire and the imposition of its self-interested policies pushed khadi to the verge of extinction. The result was large scale destitution and deprivation across the country.

In reaction, Gandhi, along with his patrons, rehabilitated the dying khadi sector and turned it into a symbol of the Indian freedom movement. The exercise involved restoring broken supply chains, rigorous brand building, technological interventions, and defending khadi when criticism were made against it. It was envisioned as a practical way of swaraj development, and it aimed at establishing a non-violent social order based on political decentralisation and economic self-sufficiency. Khadi became a commodity of resistance against the colonial rule, and a constructive alternative development paradigm for the future. The campaign turned khadi into a commodity of conscious choice and gave rise to moral consumers. However, the movement became only partially successful in achieving its objective due to the swiftly changing political-economic climate.

Soon after Indian independence, the khadi movement evolved into a bureaucratic department called the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) within the vast

hierarchy of the newly formed government. The sector was organised according to formal economic planning based on estimates and targets. By doing so, the focus shifted from the original intention of creating a non-violent social order to a race of increasing productivity. Currently, the KVIC and the KVIBs regulate khadi production and marketing through independent khadi institutions comprised of artisans across the country. Despite decades-long efforts by the government, the khadi sector is in severe crisis. The centralised bureaucratic hierarchy created by the government to regulate the sector itself has become a barrier. Inappropriate policy decisions have resulted in low wages for khadi workers, making it an unattractive occupation. Further, rampant corruption and inadequate technological and marketing interventions have pushed the sector to the verge of collapse.

CHAPTER 5: FIELDWORK AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodology that was used to carry out the case study of the khadi sector in Karnataka, India, in relation to the development paradigm of swaraj. It outlines the methods that were used in undertaking this analysis, including purposive sampling, snowballing, observations and semi-structured interviews. Further, it describes the ethical considerations that were taken into account while conducting the study.

Since khadi has a close historical connection with the conception of swaraj, the sector in Karnataka is the focus of the case study, seeking to understand practical ways of establishing a development paradigm of swaraj. The Moral Political Economy (MPE) framework is used as the methodological approach to understand the khadi sector particularly because it provides space to comprehend not only material conditions of the people involved but also their social consciousness through empathy. The sector is analysed using the normative fold of the MPE framework as a lens in order to understand the interpretive and pragmatic folds of the development paradigm. The fieldwork was carried out between September 2017 and August 2018. Only cotton khadi producing institutions were considered for the study because of its historical relationship with the conception of swaraj. Numerous visits were made to different khadi institutions, including the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) and the Karnataka State Khadi and Village Industries Board (KSKVIB), to gather preliminary information on the sector. Afterwards, a purposive sampling method was applied to select khadi institutions and branches of the KVIC and the KSKVIC for in-depth study.

The participants for the study were chosen based on a purposive sampling method to best capture the composition of the sector. The snowballing method was used to select well-known individuals who have worked extensively with the khadi sector to gain greater insights. The semi-structured interviews and observation methods were used to collect primarily qualitative data. The data collection was guided by the normative vision

of swaraj. As a part of the exercise, 200 interviews were conducted across four selected khadi institutions, one available Central Spinning Plant (CSP), two branches of the KVIC and the four branches of the KSKVIB. Further, three eminent individuals associated with the khadi sector were interviewed for in-depth understanding.

The data collected from observations and interviews involves demographic details, as well as views on the role of the non-violent moral code in the everyday lives of people, power relations, acts of resistance to domination, material relations, perspectives on khadi, and personal aspirations. The data gathered was analysed by comparing it with respective components of the normative vision of swaraj.

Given its contemporary conditions, this study evaluates the potential for the khadi sector in Karnataka to act as vehicle for establishing the development paradigm of swaraj. The state of Karnataka was particularly chosen because it is one of the few states that has a CSP, and therefore provides a complete supply chain of the khadi sector for study. Further, the author's familiarity with Kannada, the local language, was apt for understanding the complexities of the khadi sector in Karnataka. The following section discusses the methods that were employed to carry out the case study.

5.2 Sampling methods

The selection of particular institutions out of 58 existing cotton khadi institutions in the state of Karnataka was conducted based on a purposive sampling method. It is a form of non-probability sampling, where participants are chosen based on the judgement of the researcher. This method was chosen because it enables participants to comment on matters of interest to the researcher, allows including people who represent a small section of the population, and captures perspectives of people from diverse social positions (Cohen et al., 2007: 114–115). The khadi institutions were categorised into aided khadi institutions and non-aided khadi institutions based on whether they accept financial assistance from the KVIC and the KSKVIB. When the selection method was applied, all institutions fell into the category of aided khadi institutions except one.

Further, three aided khadi institutions, including the largest in Karnataka, a medium-sized one, and the smallest in the state, were selected based on the size or number of people involved in production to capture the dynamics of scale. The medium-sized aided institution was selected randomly. By doing so, three aided khadi institutions and one non-aided khadi institution were chosen for in-depth study. The same method of purposive sampling was applied to select branches of the KSKVIB and the KVIC to comprehend the role of the state in managing khadi activity. One available CSP, four district branches that oversee chosen khadi institutions, the head office of the KSKVIB, and a zonal office of the KVIC were selected for the study.

In the case of khadi institutions with multiple production centres, the smallest and the largest centres were considered based on the number of workers employed. Similarly, in the case of multiple marketing outlets, the smallest and the largest outlet were selected based on the level of sales per year. Even though no specific statistical sampling method was employed for the study, the participants were not randomly chosen, because non-random selection allows the researcher to accommodate new participants even during the data collection phase if their views are important.

The selection of participants was also carried out employing a purposive sampling method. The participants from the production side of the khadi activity were categorised based on their occupation. If participants were engaged in multiple points of the supply chain, then they were placed in the category of the process in which they spent most of their time. The participants were selected out of each categorised occupation after having extensively visited workplaces and having spoken to numerous workers. Further, the participants in each occupation were selected based on variables such as age and gender to better capture the composition of the workers.

Similarly, a purposive sampling method based on age and gender was applied to choose consumers who visited the marketing outlets of respective khadi institutions to understand the consumption side of the khadi sector. A similar method was used to choose participants in selected KSKVIB and KVIC branches to investigate the role of the state in organising khadi activity.

The snowballing sampling method was used to reach out to individuals who worked extensively with the khadi sector for more insights. It is a method that ‘yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who possesses some characteristics that are of research interest’ (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981: 141). The method was opted because there was little information available about such individuals in the public domain.

5.3 Research methods

The semi-structured interviews and observations were carried out to elucidate the interpretive and pragmatic folds of the swaraj development paradigm. The semi-structured interview method was adopted because it allows new ideas to be brought up during the interview as a result of what an interviewee says while providing space to explore intended themes (Cohen et al., 2007: 182). The questions for the interviews were based on the components of the normative vision of swaraj such as the morality of non-violence, the politics of decentralisation, and the economy of self-sufficiency. For convenience, the components were considered as different themes even though they are not exclusive from one another in moral political economy framework and a set of parameters as described in the table 1 below were used to assess each one of them. A total of 150 cotton khadi workers, 50 consumers and three eminent persons were interviewed between June 2017 and June 2018.

Table 1: Themes explored during the fieldwork

Components of normative vision	Parameters
Morality of Non-violence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cosmology 2. Conception of individual 3. Conception of non-violence 4. Conception of human progress 5. Conception of human prosperity

Politics of Decentralisation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Non-violent democracy: power distribution in relation to social positions; power dynamics or operation of power; group size that elects representatives, if any; electing process of representatives, if any; size of the governing body, if any; decision making process based on consensus or majoritarianism 2. <i>Satyagraha</i> (Insistence on Truth): resistance to different forms of domination such as corruption; red-tapism; coercive decisions taken by the governing body; any other forms of physical and mental domination
Economy of Self-sufficiency	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Resource: awareness about raw material impact on society and environment 2. Production: wholesome work in each occupation that involves creativity and drudgery (repetition); division of labour; leisure; use of human energy; ownership of means of production; awareness about consumers; awareness about the impact of production 3. Exchange: barter or money exchange; exchange on surplus and living income 4. Consumption: consumption of self-produced cloth by producers; awareness about production; direct interaction with producers to get things done according to their taste 5. Disposal: awareness about waste's impact on society and environment

The observation method was also used in the study because it helps to document issues that may not be possible to gain from simply speaking with the participants. It provides an “opportunity to gather ‘live’ data from naturally occurring social situations” (Cohen et al., 2007: 396). The observations were recorded in the form of quick notes. Even though it allows a researcher to take a new look at participants’ behaviour every day, it raises concern about reliability due to its subjective and idiosyncratic nature. However, as Denzin suggests, the issue can be addressed through triangulation of data, where the

findings from multiple research methods on the same phenomenon are cross checked with each other to increase the credibility and validity of the results (Denzin, 1970). Therefore, the data collected from observation method was triangulated with the data collected from semi-structured interviews and vice versa.

5.4 Ethical considerations

The study has taken rigorous research ethics into account. In addition to the formal research clearance from the University of Sussex, the study has treated ethical consent as an on-going process, which not only seeks to 'do no harm', but brings about reciprocal benefits for participants, while also maintaining high levels of scholarship. Since informed consent based on usual written and signed forms was not practical in a context of low literacy, this ethical issue was addressed by taking informed oral consent before administering the interviews. The project was explained in detail for all the respondents. Throughout the process, the data collection was open to being guided in a different direction by the informants. It was made clear that if at any point, people no longer felt comfortable nor wished to participate in the project, they were free to end participation. That said, all efforts were made to work through any complications before it could get to such a sore point.

The study was conducted with an awareness of the author's position, identity, power, research agenda, and expectations from the very outset. The data was collected with a consciousness that identity and positionality influence the production of knowledge and construction of social life. It is important to note that I have a long-standing connection with the khadi sector within the study area. My family has been working in the khadi sector for the last six decades particularly as mentors for a khadi institution. Hence there was a familiarity with the kind of participants with whom I would be interacting. Since the study requires capturing the knowledge and perception of participants, I was open to different views that would come across from the participants while collecting and interpreting the data.

Although the aided khadi sector was investigated primarily from an outsider's view, the only available non-aided khadi institution was explored from insider's view, due to its

close association with my family. Even though being an insider in research work is an excellent opportunity to gather insights that are otherwise not possible to uncover, pre-existing relationships with participants can bring conflicts and blur the perception and interpretation of the data provided by them (Quinney et al., 2016). As Taylor (2011: 18) points out, '[a]s researchers, we have no handbook or manual to follow, no precise way of orchestrating such engagements to ensure a mutually beneficial outcome. To guide us in our research, we must equally value and rely upon our strength of character, goodwill, our gut instincts and emotional intelligence as we do our formal training.' Therefore, to address the issue, I attempted to engage my respondents in frank discussions about their experiences and share their perceptions without hesitation.

It is essential to understand the power relation between researcher and the participants while carrying out the fieldwork. Being a researcher at a foreign university is a privilege for a person who hails from the same country as of the research participants, who largely struggle to make an everyday living. Because of the extreme difference in the social positions of researcher and participants, some level of tension between the two was expected while conducting the fieldwork. For example, when a weaver named Gangavva was approached for an interview, she protested that:

You might be getting enthusiasm by looking at our work. Do you think we make one lakh rupees every month? People like you, politicians and bureaucrats come and go all the time, but what is the result? Nothing has changed. Only you people make the name out of it, and our situation will not change. I cannot roam around like you with a backpack. We can only survive if we work.

Similarly, when a spinner named Radha was approached for a conversation, she lamented that:

Is there any use for us from your PhD? If your work can help us to earn five more rupees, then you can ask questions. Otherwise, what is the point? People from newspapers and television channels visit us, but nothing has changed. We will see what you are going to do.

Efforts were made to reduce such tensions with participants by explaining the intention behind the research work and the potential benefit of the project for them in detail and

with patience. It was made clear that, the research work may not directly improve their social condition, but would provide potential insights into the ways in which they could organise themselves to ameliorate their situation. They were assured that the key findings of the study will be shared with them in their local language. Further, individuals who were reluctant to be interviewed were not forced. Instead, interviews were carried out with others who were willing to speak. By doing so, the tensions caused by the power relation were minimised.

In working with people, it is paramount that the information provided not be used in a way that could risk or harm individuals or their communities. Throughout this research, measures were taken to anonymise the real names of participants and places so that they cannot be traced back, and so it does not pose a threat to the well-being of the respondents or communities.

5.5 Data analysis

The gathered data were analysed by comparing the different components of normative vision, including the morality of non-violence, the politics of decentralisation, and the economy of self-sufficiency. The data collected was segregated, and general patterns, as well as exceptions, were observed in relation to each component using Nvivo software. The quantitative data presented in the following analysis chapters are compiled from these interviews and should be taken as indicative rather than conclusive. The main thrust of the arguments in those chapters is based on what was heard, observed and experienced in production centres, marketing outlets, the KVIC offices, and the KSKVIB offices.

Even though this analysis adopts multiple methods to make generalised arguments about the khadi sector, it also has limitations. Since purposive sampling, snowballing, semi-structured interviews, and observation methods are profoundly shaped by the perspective of the researcher, a degree of bias in the collected data is unavoidable. Further, the data collected cannot be considered as statistically significant.

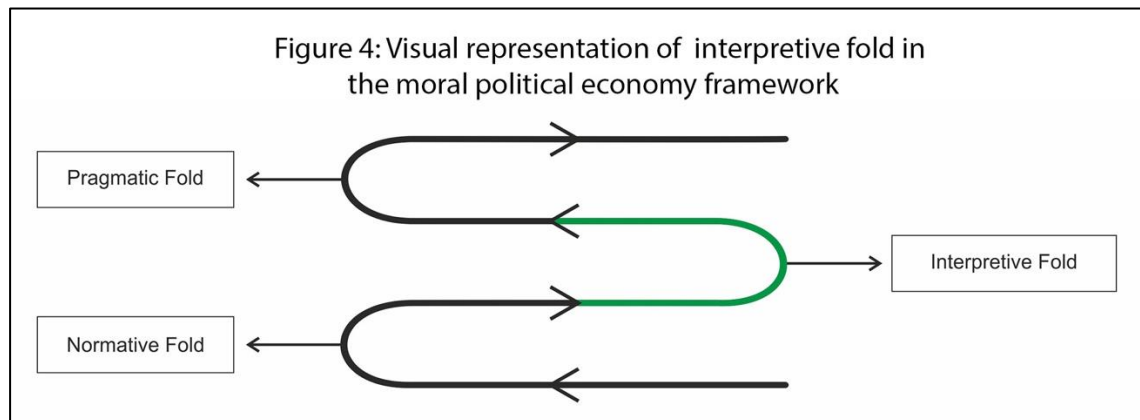
5.6 Conclusion

In this context, the khadi sector in the state of Karnataka is considered as a case study that allows us to understand the interpretive and pragmatic folds of the development paradigm of swaraj. Only cotton khadi was assessed, using purposive sampling and snowballing. Further semi-structured interviews were carried out with selected participants. Throughout the data collection period, observations were made, and experiences were documented. The collected data were analysed using the normative vision of swaraj as a lens. The subsequent two analysis chapters discuss the interpretive and pragmatic folds of the swaraj development paradigm.

CHAPTER 6: THE KHADI SECTOR IN KARNATAKA: AN INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an interpretive account of the khadi sector in Karnataka using the normative vision of swaraj development explained in chapter three. By doing so, it delineates the interpretive fold of the moral political economy (MPE) framework, as the green colour segment depicted in the following Figure 4. This chapter forms the basis for the pragmatic fold, which is employed in chapter seven, to propose a range of actions that can be taken to transform the existing social conditions in the khadi sector in accordance with the swaraj normative vision.



The chapter is structured according to the different constituents of the normative vision, which entails the morality of non-violence, political decentralisation, and economic self-sufficiency. Even though these constituents have been explored in separate sections, it is essential to keep in mind that they are not exclusive from one another in the moral political economy framework. The evidence that is presented in this chapter is from the analysis of fieldwork data that were gathered through observation and semi-structured interview methods. Nvivo software has been used to select quotations and to help understand the relationship between different dimensions of the research. The quotations presented in this chapter, particularly of khadi workers, are translations by the author, as the participants were Kannada speakers, having little or no knowledge of

English. The quantitative data presented in this chapter should be taken as indicative, and they represent only the section of the khadi sector that was assessed for this study.

The first section explores the morality of those working in the khadi sector in relation to the morality of non-violence in terms of the 'greatest good of all' as envisioned by the normative vision (Gandhi, 1926c: 432). The analysis shows that non-violence in terms of not injuring others is central to the morality of khadi workers. However, with patriarchy and caste conceptions being a part of the workers' cosmology, their conception of non-violence is limited in scope. Nevertheless, the section points out that non-violence is perceived by khadi workers as an aspirational moral code for leading a good life. Further, it elucidates their conception of the individual, which encompasses the obligation that we have towards others. It uncovers their notion of development that largely comprises of unlimited material accumulation for the attainment of peace in life. Even though khadi workers' notion of human prosperity in terms of peace overlaps with that of the normative vision, their notion deviates in the understanding of how this prosperity is best achieved. The normative vision embraces development in terms of expanding social consciousness, once the basic material needs are fulfilled, as the way of achieving human prosperity, whereas khadi workers tend to perceive development in terms of unlimited material accumulation.

The second section investigates power relations in the khadi sector in terms of the political 'decentralisation' aspired to by the normative vision (Kumarappa, 1936: 167). The examination reveals that the existing power relations within the khadi sector are highly centralised, with a large section of khadi workers not participating in the decisions that affect their lives. It further exposes the negligible resistance within the khadi community to exploitation and domination. In short, it demonstrates that the power relations in the existing khadi sector are in complete contrast to the swaraj normative vision that emphasises the decentralisation of power and active non-violent resistance to exploitation.

The third section assesses the material relations in the khadi sector in connection with the economic 'self-sufficiency' aspect of the swaraj normative vision (Kumarappa, 1951:

6). The investigation unveils a disconnection between producers and consumers, with a lack of awareness about the moral implications of material exchange between the two. Further, it uncovers that the material relations in the sector are driven by a limited notion of efficiency, and that the exchange of khadi products between producer and consumer is distended. In brief, it shows that the economics of the existing khadi sector deviates from the self-sufficiency aspect of the normative vision, which emphasises a reduction in the distance between producer and consumer, and also recognises the moral implications of material transactions. While it is not surprising that the existing khadi sector deviates from the swaraj normative vision, understanding the points of deflection throws light on the pragmatic steps that can be taken to transform the sector more in line with the swaraj development.

6.2 Morality in the khadi sector

This section analyses the morality of khadi workers in relation to the morality of non-violence conceived by the swaraj normative vision in chapter three. It is evident from the fieldwork that social conditions within the khadi sector are significantly shaped by the morality of its community. The morality or the sense of right and wrong among people involved in the khadi sector is deeply rooted in their cosmological visions. The cosmology of khadi workers is considerably shaped by the normative values ‘impose[d]’ by their cultural memory⁶ rooted in their religion and religious practices (Assmann and Livingstone, 2006: 6). The following word cloud (Figure 5) represents the top 100 words that were emphasised by khadi workers while discussing morality.

⁶ Cultural memory represents ‘historical consciousness’ that provides ‘diachronic identity’ for people in the present. It is referred as memory because it forgets what lies outside of the horizon of the relevant. It entails ‘mythical history’ where ‘distinction between myth and history vanishes.’ Further it involves ‘events from absolute past’ from the ‘mythical primordial time’ that spans over last three thousand years. The cultural memory mediates from generation to generation through ‘symbols’ in the form of structures, texts, rituals, icons, performance of various kinds, classical or other formalised languages (Assmann, 2008: 109–118).

Although there is a slight difference among the worldviews of khadi workers from different social positions, the majority of them believe that the world that we live in is driven by the power of God or *devaru* in Kannada, as is prominent in the word cloud above. There is a deep-seated belief in the conception of God, and the statement that ‘*devaru* is there’ is often repeated while discussing their worldviews. God is perceived as the pantheon of many Gods and local deities. For example, Mariyappa who has been working as a warper for the last thirteen years, says, humbly, ‘God has created humans and all other beings. So, everything has equal right to live.’ The khadi workers’ cosmology gives the ultimate agency to God while recognising limited agency of human beings. Shanthamma, a weaver at a small khadi production unit in a remote village finishes her tirade with ‘God is there to take care of justice.’ The burden of providing justice, after human efforts to do so ends, is left to God. Further, there is an understanding that, as human beings, we have to perform actions without expectations,

as is unto God to determine final outcomes. As Chaluva, a differently abled bobbin winder, states, 'Our job is to constantly work, and he [God] decides its rewards.' There is an underlying notion of divine providence that is widely present among the khadi community and seen to connect individuals despite other differences in belief.

The cosmology of khadi workers entails hierarchy. God is perceived as supreme at the top of the cosmological chain. The hierarchy within human society is enforced by the conception of caste, especially in the cosmology of people from the dominant Hindu religion. The conceptions of God, patriarchy, and caste are directly derived from their cultural memory. Further, no clear relationship is perceived between humans and non-human beings in their cosmology. For instance, 'Non-human beings have equal rights. However, they lead their own lives, and we lead our own lives' says Sarojamma, a woman spinner in her forties. Based on the interviews, similar opinions appear to be held by a large section of the khadi community.

There is a recognition of others in the conception of the individual in the cosmology of khadi workers. This is visible particularly from their notion of good. There is a general sense that one's good is connected with the good of others. For example, Rachappa, a worker in the Central Sliver Plant (CSP), whose outfit is covered by cotton dust, and who must speak loudly to make his point audible over the harsh sounds of blow room machine, expresses that 'Good means not hurting others.' This particular understanding of good is widely present among people irrespective of their social positions. It shows the embeddedness of the 'other' in their cosmology.

As shown in the word cloud, the most emphasis is given to 'others' by khadi workers while describing their notion of good. It indicates that although the bodily identity of the self is central to their conception of individual, the notion of obligation to others is implicitly present. Even though there is an element of self-interest, the notion of obligation or other is perceived as more important than the notion of right or self in their conception of the individual. For example, Shardamma, a widow working at a khadi production unit, stops her weaving and expresses with conviction that 'Hurting others is sin. If someone comes with hunger, then first we should satisfy him by giving what we

have saved for ourselves.’ Similarly, Mahadevamma, an older illiterate woman, who winds the bobbins, says, ‘When we do something it should not hurt others, instead it should help them.’ Such a belief is not only restricted to people from the dominant Hindu religion, but is also expressed by khadi workers who follow Islam. For instance, Suhana, a recently married woman focusing on her stitching work, utters that ‘Good means loving and helping others even if we do not have it for ourselves.’ By doing so, the cosmology of khadi workers advocates a conception of the individual that prioritises obligation over right, while acknowledging the presence of both self-interest and altruistic natures in human beings.

The tapestry of various tales of God in local lore are a key source of moral codes. Khadi workers find resonances of their own lives in such stories, as with Jayamma, an old aged bobbin winder, who states ‘Even the Gods have gone through all situations, what about us humans?’ The conception of karma (action) gives a basic framework for their morality. According to them, what a person chooses to do is only of her/his concern. For example, if a person misuses what was given to them, then it is reflected her/his *karma*, and God keeps account of such wrongs committed. However, responsibility for wrongs can be accepted by the wrongdoer, and can be atoned for. There is a strong understanding of *dharma* (right action) that encompasses the act of not-hurting others, and of helping the needy. In other words, as Kumarappa (1955: 26) suggests, *dharma* is an action that does not produce ‘conflict’. In their cosmology, following *dharma* results in *punya* (merit or peace), whereas disobeying *dharma* results in *papa* (demerit or discontent). However, the indirect consequences of their actions on others are not paid much attention in their every day life.

The non-violent relationship between self and other in the cosmology of the khadi community springs more from fear as opposed to love, as envisaged in the Natural Order of the normative vision. For example, Basappa, a senior weaving supervisor sitting on a broken wooden chair, says, ‘We should not even think about harming others because it will return to us in the future.’ Such a notion of fear is often associated with the conception of God. Deepa, a young tailor from the lowest strata of the caste hierarchy, utters, without a second thought, ‘If we hurt others, God will punish us in some or the

other way. We do not get to know how.’ There is a strong underlying notion that whatever action we pursue in the world, the impact of it will eventually affect our own lives. Therefore, the morality of non-violence in the cosmology of khadi workers is rooted in a fear of self-harm.

Further, the conception of morality based on non-violence is limited in scope in the cosmology of khadi workers due to the cosmological hierarchy provided by the conceptions of patriarchy and caste. For example, Shanthavva, a spinner in her fifties working on a broken cement floor, says ‘Once my daughter gets married, she will work as her husband says.’ Such an acceptance of male superiority among khadi workers is widespread. However, women, particularly from the early adulthood age group, appear more aware of male domination in society. Bhavya, a 27-year-old woman weaver, states, while having her lunch, ‘Even though my husband and I listen to each other while taking any decisions, I feel that male domination is prevalent in the society.’ Such a feeling is present not only in rural settings, but also in urban settings as well. Manjula, a 34-year-old saleswoman expresses in Kannada with a mix of English words that ‘Domination of men is equally prevalent in cities. Even though I have done my diploma, my husband does not allow me to work outside. I work here only because he also works here.’ Even though there is an awareness about the domination of men in the society among a small section of women in the khadi sector, they are afraid to resist because they perceive such an act as a challenge to their accepted cultural norms.

Similarly, the limited scope of the morality of non-violence is visible in the case of caste. According to Ratnamma, a middle-aged spinner chewing her betel leaves:

We talk to *Dalits*⁷. But, since they eat non-veg, we do not go to their homes. If their wedding is in marriage halls, then we go. Otherwise, we do not. They also do not touch us and do not enter our houses. They do not even touch our utensils. We can walk in their streets wearing slippers, but they cannot in our streets because they are from a lower caste. God has created caste and we have to follow. If an educated *Dalit* enters our house, we look after him, but once he

⁷ *Dalits* are the members of an outcaste group in India formerly known as untouchables. Currently they form 19.5% of the total population, and are the largest caste entity in Karnataka (Satish, 2018).

leaves, we do what we have to do. We clean the house and do not use the utensils that were used by him. If we see from his standpoint, what we do is wrong. However, it is our tradition. We cannot do anything about it. If we touch them, others in our community do not touch us.

The above-mentioned perspective on caste is quite common within the khadi community. There is a strong sense that they are obligated to follow their cultural traditions. They believe that questioning any practices which are part of their long-standing cultural tradition is not appropriate. Further, they fear being ostracised from their social groups if they do not follow such practices. However, a contrary opinion on caste is held by small section of the khadi community. For example, Nirmala, a young woman block printer who has managed to study up to a high-school level, imparts that:

There are only two castes. One is male, and another is female. Everything else is created by us for our self-interest. There was discrimination based on caste before but not now. The caste is more in villages, not in cities. We go to the house of Muslims, and they come over to our places. Here everybody is working-class people and you cannot discriminate. In villages, there are separate places for different castes of people, but that is not the case here. Even if one has a discriminating attitude, one cannot show it in a city because you will not know who the other person is. For us, speaking and friendship is more important, not the caste. Do we take our caste with us when we die? If a Dalit becomes a minister, do not we allow him into the temple? Now he is even directly allowed to go near to God.

Although the modern education has contributed to changing views on caste, during the same conversation, Nirmala adds that 'Our daughter will be married to a person from our caste.' Such a contradiction shows the deeply rooted conception of caste within the cosmology of khadi workers.

The conception of caste has created exclusion, domination, and inequality (as discussed), it has also provided stability, social identity, and a support network for individuals. As Madamma, a middle-aged weaver from *Dalit* community, states, 'If anything happens, our community [caste] is there for our support.' Similarly, Rama, a

spinning supervisor from *Kuruba*⁸ community asserts that ‘I participate and assist in all the events of our [caste] people. Similarly, they reciprocate when my family holds a function or when there is a need.’ The community or caste bonds are reinforced through gatherings at marriages, deaths and other functions. The caste has become a social net for individuals to overcome hard times. Further, caste also has given freedom for different communities to practice their customs and beliefs. For example, Shwetha, a weaver from *Vokkaliga*⁹ community, states that ‘We [vokkalige caste] have our own Gods and festivals.’ Similarly, Sannakka, a spinner from *Dalit* community, says that ‘Although there are many common festivals, we [different castes] all have our own Gods, rituals and festivals.’

The conceptions of patriarchy and caste shows the ‘inherent tendency’ of their cultural memory to provide a ‘hierarchical’ and ‘elitist’ structure to the society rather than an ‘egalitarian’ one (Assmann, 2008: 116–117). The key reason for such a tendency can be discerned in the ‘intra-cultural diglossia’, in which practices, opinions, and conventions that people perform are moulded by the interaction between elite and folk traditions over generations (Assmann, 2008: 116). However, as demonstrated above, the cultural memory ‘does not just mutilate people and knock them into shape’, but also ‘develops forms of life, opens up possibilities in which the individuals can invest and fulfil [themselves]’ (Assmann and Livingstone, 2006: 6).

A vast section of the khadi community perceives social development in terms of material accumulation. Mahadev, the secretary of a khadi institution who sits on his desk in front of an old picture of Gandhi inside a broken frame, says that ‘Development is enhancing one’s comforts in life. For example, having a nice house to live, a car to travel, a good cell phone and so on.’ Similarly, according to Mohan, an officer at the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC) who wears a machine-made outfit, ‘Our country is getting

⁸ *Kuruba* is one of the major caste groups in Karnataka, and forms 7% of the total population (Satish, 2018). Shepherding is their traditional occupation.

⁹ *Vokkaliga* is another major caste group in Karnataka, forming 14% of the total population (Satish, 2018). They are largely associated with farming activity and they tend to own land.

developed. Now we have highways, metros, hospitals, airports like any other Western country.’ Such a materially-centred understanding of development among khadi workers has been shaped by the ‘globalisation’ and ‘urbanisation’ policies of the Indian state, coupled with the agendas of international actors such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation and the International Monetary Fund (Chacko et al., 2018: 143; Manchanda et al., 2015: 181).

Further, media advertisements and the entertainment industry have created material discontent and escalated desire for more material possessions (Berman, 1981; Neve and Trivedi, 2020; Sandhu, 2017; Sinha, 2011). It reflects, as Kumarappa (1949: 63) states, ‘advertisements and high pressure salesmanship’ that create artificial wants among individuals, and leads them to dissatisfaction in life.’ Even though people involved in the khadi sector have materially-centred understanding of human progress, it is largely considered as a means to attain peace in life, a non-material end. Expressed differently, they perceive human progress in terms of material accumulation as the primary means to accomplish human prosperity defined in terms of peace.

There is a widespread belief among the khadi community that the purpose of life is to experience peace. For example, Boramma, a senior woman weaver working for last three decades at a khadi institution, states, ‘If we harm others, then we will not have peace. Then what is the point of life?’ Likewise, Gururaj, a young salesman in a dilapidated khadi outlet, utters ‘How can we hurt others? Do we not need peace in our lives?’

As this analysis shows, there are clear deviations between the morality of the normative vision and the morality of the khadi community. The notion of non-violence in the former is derived from the empirical understanding of material relations in the world, whereas in the latter it is acquired from cultural memory. Further, the cosmology of Natural Order considers all beings in the cosmos as equal entities, whereas the cosmology of khadi workers is defined by hierarchy.

However, there is a convergence between the two, particularly in conceptualising non-violence as morality. There is a recognition of the other in the conception of the self in both cases, but they are based on different foundations. The non-violent relationship arises from love towards the other in the normative vision's cosmology of Natural Order, whereas the fear of self-harm acts as the basis for non-violent relationships in the cosmology of khadi workers. Accordingly, the result in the case of the former is peace of mind and external harmony with others, whereas in the case of the latter it is an unrest of mind and a disharmony with others.

By conceiving human progress in terms of material accumulation, the existing khadi community stands in contrast with the normative vision of swaraj. However, the khadi worker's notion of human prosperity in the form of peace overlaps with that of the normative vision, but deviates by considering social development in terms of material accumulation as the principal means for achieving it. By committing to the never-ending process of material accumulation, there is a visible failure among the khadi community in experiencing uninterrupted peace as intended.

6.3 Politics in the Khadi sector

This section investigates power relations within the khadi sector with respect to the political decentralisation aspect of the swaraj normative vision outlined in chapter three. It explores the distribution of power in reference to the social positions of khadi workers. It analyses power dynamics, or the way power operates, within the khadi sector in reference to the idea non-violent democracy imparted by the normative vision. Further, it examines resistance to domination and exploitation within the khadi community in reference to the normative vision's promotion of *satyagraha*.

6.3.1 Distribution of Power

The analysis of power distribution in relation to the social positions of khadi workers helps to understand the intricacies of the power structure within the larger social fabric in which the khadi sector is embedded. The power distribution within the khadi sector is profoundly shaped by social positions defined by intersectional factors such as gender, age, education, financial status and social group. The majority of the khadi workforce is

made up of women, but the key positions, such as managerial ones, are occupied mainly by men. Such gender representation follows the larger gender composition within the khadi sector that encompasses 62.64 per cent women in Karnataka, and 80.39 per cent across the country (KVIC, 2019a: 44). At the time of the fieldwork, only one out of a total of three dozen managerial positions from across the four assessed khadi institutions was held by a woman. Further men have exclusively occupied chief roles such as the secretary position in all those institutions. As pointed out by Gopinath (2010: 328), it shows the 'in-built gender inequalities and the biases in these hierarchies' and the prevailing patriarchal view within the khadi community. In contrast to the over-representation of women in primary production occupations such as spinning, weaving and stitching, the workforce at CSP is filled by men.

The gender roles imposed by their culture is one of the critical factors for such gender representation in the khadi sector. Their culture has obligated women to deal primarily with household management and compelled men to act as breadwinners. Therefore, there is considerable pressure on both genders to fulfil their roles in the existing social order. However, the role of breadwinner has enabled men to have more social mobility compared to their female counterparts. Therefore, it is easier for men to take up occupations that demand flexibility in work time and workplace. For example, the key power positions in the khadi institutions demand frequent business travel to different places. Given the customary roles expected of women, it is easier for men to undertake such work, since the latter's roles that do not require them to remain at one place.

In contrast, most of the women, particularly in a rural area, find it unmanageable since they are rooted in everyday household work, and cannot free themselves from performing cooking, fetching water, washing clothes, sending children to school and so on. Similarly, the CSP that operates throughout the day requires people to work in all three shifts in a month. The situatedness of women in the social order does not easily allow them to work, particularly during night shifts, which could disrupt their household responsibilities.

Further, the existing gendered social order is exploitative towards women. There is growing violence against women in the country. A report on crimes against women in India by the National Crime Records Bureau (2019: xii) shows that, a total of 89097 cases were registered in the year 2018 alone, with 31.9 per cent of cases related to 'cruelty by husband or his relatives', followed by 27.6 per cent connected to 'assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty.' The cases of the 'kidnapping and abduction of women' stood at 22.5 per cent, and the rape cases comprised 10.3 per cent of the overall crime figures. The sexual harassment of women by male strangers in public spaces is a widespread and serious problem in the country (Dhillon and Bakaya, 2014). Therefore, there is a sense among women that going out at night would increase the risk of getting attacked by men in addition to a prevalent culture of victim-blaming. The result is the overrepresentation of men in key power positions and in the CSP.

The intersection between gender roles imposed by their culture and the degree of income generation from various occupations is another essential factor that shapes gender representation in the khadi sector. The primary occupations within the sector like spinning, weaving and stitching are seen as sources of additional income. It is precisely because these occupations have largely failed to provide 'subsistence wages' that men find it impossible to undertake such activities, since they cannot fulfil their responsibility as breadwinners (Gopinath, 2010: 334). Whereas the primary occupations that demand a fixed workplace and provide flexible work time are taken up by women, as they can be undertaken in conjunction with the double burden of household duties that are expected of them in the cultural context of rural Karnataka. The result is the disproportionate representation of women compared to men within the khadi community.

Age is another crucial factor that has moulded the khadi sector. A wide range of age groups are involved in khadi activity, from early adulthood (20 to 30 years old) to old age (65 years old and above). The majority of people fall in the classification of mature adulthood (middle age), which ranges between 30 to 65 years old, and from which all of the key power positions in the sector are populated. The second most prominent age group is the old age people, who are chiefly occupied in non-power positions such as

bobbin winders. The early adulthood age group generally occupied non-power positions such as spinning and weaving, and are a minority in khadi community. This particular representation of these age groups is down to several reasons.

The responsibilities of sustaining family and raising children have compelled people, especially from the mature adulthood category, to undertake khadi occupations, unlike the other age groups. There are not many work opportunities available in rural Karnataka to fulfil their expected familial responsibilities. For example, agriculture, being the predominant occupation in the state, is in severe crisis. It has become an economically unviable occupation because of misguided government policies, increase in production costs due to labour crisis, water scarcity, the over use of fertilisers and pesticides, soil infertility, and frequent failures to get remunerative prices for produce in the market that often depends on inequitable international trade agreements (Deshpande, 2010; Vasavi, 2009). Similarly, cattle rearing, the other prominent activity in rural Karnataka that has traditionally provided much-needed cash flow, is also facing challenges. It has increasingly become a capital-intensive occupation due to the intensive management of hybrid cattle breeds that require a shed to maintain ambient temperature, frequent medication, and specially formulated industrial feed (Deshetti and Teggi, 2017; Radder and Bhanj, 2011; The Dairy Working Group of the Food Sovereignty Alliance, 2017). Therefore, it has become cost prohibitive for the majority of financially-weaker khadi workers. Apart from agriculture and livestock rearing, people in rural Karnataka do not have other livelihood options, since most of the rural industries have been eroded due to the growth of mechanised production units in urban areas. Therefore, khadi has become the only option for many people in rural Karnataka.

In addition to the scarcity of livelihood opportunities, khadi workers, who have mostly had some years of schooling, prefer working indoors, rather than toiling in the hot sun. For example, a thirty-seven-year-old spinner named Bhagya, who has completed high school, says, 'I think I am not strong enough to work outside. I prefer to work under the shade. So, I simply work here.' Such notion of lack of stamina to work in the fields is persistent among the large section of women who are involved in khadi activity. Further,

given the physical labour required in agriculture and livestock rearing, they are perceived as lowly occupations within the society.

Khadi activity, though, has supported old age people who are struggling to keep up with the increased speed and complexity of life that has emerged with the advent of commercial agricultural practices (Vasavi, 1998). According to Ravi, who owns a boutique store, and is a close associate of one of the khadi institutions:

The old age people in rural Karnataka are shunned both by society and the family. Most of these older women usually sit in a corner. The youngsters in the family are always hooked on to mobile phones and others on television. They neither have a voice to say which serial they want to watch, nor anybody to talk to them. If you see the architecture of those spaces, they will be sitting on the veranda, and even food on plates will be brought to the same place. Unfortunately, their situation is same as the dogs that we have outside of our houses.

The same feeling is also expressed by Lakshmamma, an eighty-year-old bobbin winder, who states, 'I work here because I can talk to people. Otherwise, I have to sit alone in my home.' Such a feeling shows that there is a lack of social engagement for old-age people within their home as well as within the villages. As a consequence, khadi activity, mainly spinning and bobbin winding, has become the most dignified job they can attain in the village, as few other occupations are available for them in rural Karnataka. Therefore, khadi has become a source of engagement for elderly people, a place for social interaction, and also a small source of income to meet their domestic expenses.

Education, or lack thereof, is another crucial factor that has shaped the khadi community. According to the 2011 census, the literacy rate in Karnataka is 75.6 percent, with nearly 82.85 percent males and 68.13 percent females living in the state being literates (Government of Karnataka, 2012: 8). However, the majority of khadi workers are illiterate and have had few years of schooling. Individuals who have graduated from universities make up a small minority in the khadi sector. Most of the primary occupations that involve physical work are carried out by individuals who have had only a few years of schooling, or who have not studied at all. In contrast, the majority of key

power positions in the sector that are seen to entail intellectual labour are occupied by individuals who have studied up to a secondary school level or above.

People who have a low level of formal education constitute the majority of the khadi workforce. It reflects the level of formal educational attainment in Karnataka, which has an average gross enrolment ratio of 82.2 percent across primary, upper primary, and secondary school levels, and 28.8 percent in higher education (Government of India, 2019: 47; Government of Karnataka, 2019: 6). However, it is evident that even with a few years of schooling, some of them have acquired reading or writing skills. There is a clear inverse relationship between education and the willingness to perform physical work. Therefore, the representation of illiterates and people with few years of schooling is predominant in the sector, which involves a significant amount of physical work. As stated by Savitha, a middle-aged spinner, 'Our children should pursue education and become officers. Otherwise, they have to work like us.' Similarly, Girish, a 26-year-old weaver states, 'I am looking for an office job in the government because there will be no risk, and life will be settled.' It corroborates Kumarappa's (1936: 174,175) claim that the prevailing education system has produced people with a 'clerical mind' that carries out the 'orders of others', instead of self-governing people who possess 'initiative and original thinking.' Such an understanding of education as a way for obtaining better occupations that are devoid of physical work is widely persistent among khadi community.

The perception of seeing physical work as an undignified job has created a much larger social crisis. It has made it difficult for individuals who perform physical work as a part of their livelihood to find life partners. Vinay, a warper at a khadi institution states, 'Everyone in my family and relatives is insisting I move over to Bangalore, at least until I get married. It is difficult these days to find a bride who wants to stay back in a village. They prefer grooms who are settled in cities and even happy to marry someone doing menial work like a watchman job. However, they do not want to get married to a farmer or weaver settled in a village. On top of all these, for someone like me, who has a dark complexion, it is even more difficult to find a bride.' This social crisis of finding life partners is one of the major forces pushing the younger generation to leave rural spaces.

A large section of the khadi community falls into the category of Below Poverty Line (BPL)¹⁰. They are the people who are not in a position to have independent livelihoods. However, for most of them, a khadi occupation is a source of additional income. As Kaveri, a spinner from BPL, says, 'I am a widow and live alone. Since I have got a BPL card, I get free rice from the government ration store, and here I earn some money for *sambar* [stew] to eat with it. That is how I am surviving.' Khadi has become a lifeline for many such destitute individuals. Those occupying positions in the Central Sliver Plant (CSP), the Karnataka State Khadi and Village Industries Board (KSKVIB), the Khadi and Village Industries Commission (KVIC), and the managerial positions at khadi institutions largely come from the Above Poverty Line (APL) category.

Religion is another important factor that has shaped the situatedness of individuals within the khadi sector. The predominant section of people within the assessed khadi community are from the Hindu religion. Few people are from Islamic and Christian faiths. Such representation is the result of the dominance of the Hindu religion in the broader social fabric, as well the greater freedom for women of this faith to work outside of their homes compared to the latter, particularly Islam. Further, khadi workers come from different reservation categories¹¹. However, the majority of them are from 'Other Backward Classes' (OBC), which chiefly includes several different intermediary castes in the caste hierarchy. The second-largest section of people is from 'Scheduled Caste' (SC)

¹⁰ The Below Poverty Line (BPL) category is a benchmark used by the Government of India to indicate economic disadvantage and to identify people in need of state aid. In the state of Karnataka, it is identified based on four parameters, including: a person who owns not more than 3 acres of land; a person who does not own a four-wheeler apart from having vehicle for livelihood; a person who does not own more than 10 square and 12 squares of property in urban or town spaces; a person who does not pay income tax, service tax, professional tax and working in any government organization, corporations, aided institutions or deemed institutions; and a person from a family having annual income not more than Rs 120000 (Moudgal, 2016).

¹¹ The reservation is a system formulated by the Government of India to provide opportunities for disadvantaged groups in legislature, government jobs and higher education. Such groups are divided into the historically disadvantaged groups Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST); educationally and socially disadvantaged groups such as Other Backward Classes (OBC); and the economically weaker section of society as General (GEN).

and 'Scheduled Tribe' (ST), which mainly comprises castes that are at the bottom of the caste hierarchy. A small number of khadi workers are from the 'General' (GEN) category, which primarily consists of castes that are at the top of the caste hierarchy.

As the largest element of the workforce in the sector is from the Hindu religion, the cultural memory formed by the nexus between caste and hereditary occupation has significantly shaped their degree of participation. The cultural memory encompasses a sense of belonging to their caste, familiarity with certain occupational skills, and experience with their caste-based occupation. The cultural memory of people from caste groups that were traditionally involved in the textile manufacturing sector has enabled as well as discouraged them to undertake khadi activity. Their familiarity with the fine-skilled physical labour involved in textile manufacturing has caused many of them to readily consider khadi occupations.

However, their painful past experience with the collapse of the traditional cloth manufacturing sector with the advent of mechanised textile sector has discouraged many of them from taking up khadi activity as a livelihood. For example, Rangaswamy, a weaver who was associated with one of the khadi institutions, says, 'I do not let my son Ravi take up our traditional weaving occupation. I have ruined all my life sitting on this handloom.' It shows that 'remembering our past can also give rise to current emotional experience' (Lambert et al., 2009: 201). In other words, the present social behaviours of individuals are significantly shaped by their past experiences. Whereas cultural memories without such past experiences have provided more open minds for people from other caste groups to explore the khadi sector. According to Shruthi, a young weaver at a non-aided khadi institution, 'I am from the community of carpenters. I had never done weaving before. So, I thought of giving it a try. Although it was difficult for first few months, now I find it easy to do.' There is a necessity for them to move beyond the sense of belonging that they have towards their caste-based occupations, and to acquire the unfamiliar fine physical skills required in khadi activity.

This power distribution demonstrates the role of the dialectical relationship between social consciousness and materiality in shaping the social positions of khadi workers. For

example, elements of their social consciousness can be observed in the obligations that bind them, such as their commitments to uphold gender roles, familial responsibilities as individuals grow older, and the duties that arise from being part of a particular social group, especially religious affiliation. Material conditions such as water scarcity and soil infertility have significantly lowered livelihood opportunities available for people in rural Karnataka. It indicates the influence of social consciousness and materiality on the participation of individuals in the khadi sector. Further, this influence has enabled individuals from various social backgrounds to acquire different positions within existing social power relations. This interaction between social consciousness and materiality reflects the basis of the moral political economy framework of swaraj development.

6.3.2 Power dynamics

The power dynamics, the way power operates in terms of decision making within the khadi sector, helps to understand its degree of decentralisation and the level of control that khadi workers have over their lives. This provides insights into the level of non-violent democracy that exists within the sector as aspired by the normative vision. The production and marketing of khadi without obtaining the recognition from the KVIC is deemed illegal in the country. The process of authenticating khadi involves affixing the khadi mark tag and labels issued by the KVIC on all khadi products that are produced and sold. No textile can be traded under the name of khadi in any form without this khadi mark (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 12). By requiring this, the state has centralised the power and, in turn, exerts a considerable amount of control over the participation of individuals in the sector.

The state has taken control of khadi production to retain its authenticity due to its historical value. Individuals who are interested in setting up a khadi production unit have to make an application to the KVIC with extensive documentation. Vinod, a boutique store owner who wants to set up his own khadi production unit, states that 'The registration rules are so stringent that it is not possible for individuals like me to start the activity in a small way. For example, it is mandatory to have 25 spinners, five weavers and two supervisors to start the activity. Where can I find so many skilled people at once?' It is evident that such requirement to start the khadi activity is impractical.

Technology upgradation in khadi production is another important area of state intervention. Setting up Central Spinning Plants (CSPs), introducing improved spinning wheels and peddle looms, initiating solar spinning wheels and solar looms to increase productivity are some of the significant efforts that are being made in this regard. Madan, the secretary of a khadi institution, says, 'Introducing the new model spinning wheel is a great intervention. It has helped spinners to produce more good quality of yarn.' However, according to Charan, the secretary of another khadi institution, 'Although the CSP has helped khadi institutions to procure raw materials, khadi institutions have lost the freedom to decide what kind of cotton has to be used, and what kind of yarn has to be produced.'

Even though the technological interventions have helped khadi production to some extent, in many cases they have not yielded the expected results. For example, Maheshwari, a weaver, makes the point, 'A few months back all the traditional frame looms were replaced by improved peddle looms provided by the government. You just have to peddle and do not need to use your hands in the weaving. But these new looms are not at all user-friendly. That is why we are asking the supervisor to reinstall the traditional looms.' Similarly, Gangamma, a spinner in a remote village states, 'Recently we got a few solar spinning wheels and looms. Initially they were working fine but broke down after a few months. Since nobody knows how to fix it, we have dumped all of them in that corner.' It shows that there is insufficient technical support and services for the new machinery. More importantly, as Prasad (2001: 222) points out, the efficiency driven technological interventions for enhancing productivity by the KVIC have 'increased the dependence on expertise from outside the khadi sector' and have led to 'a loss of autonomy in technical matters' among the khadi community.

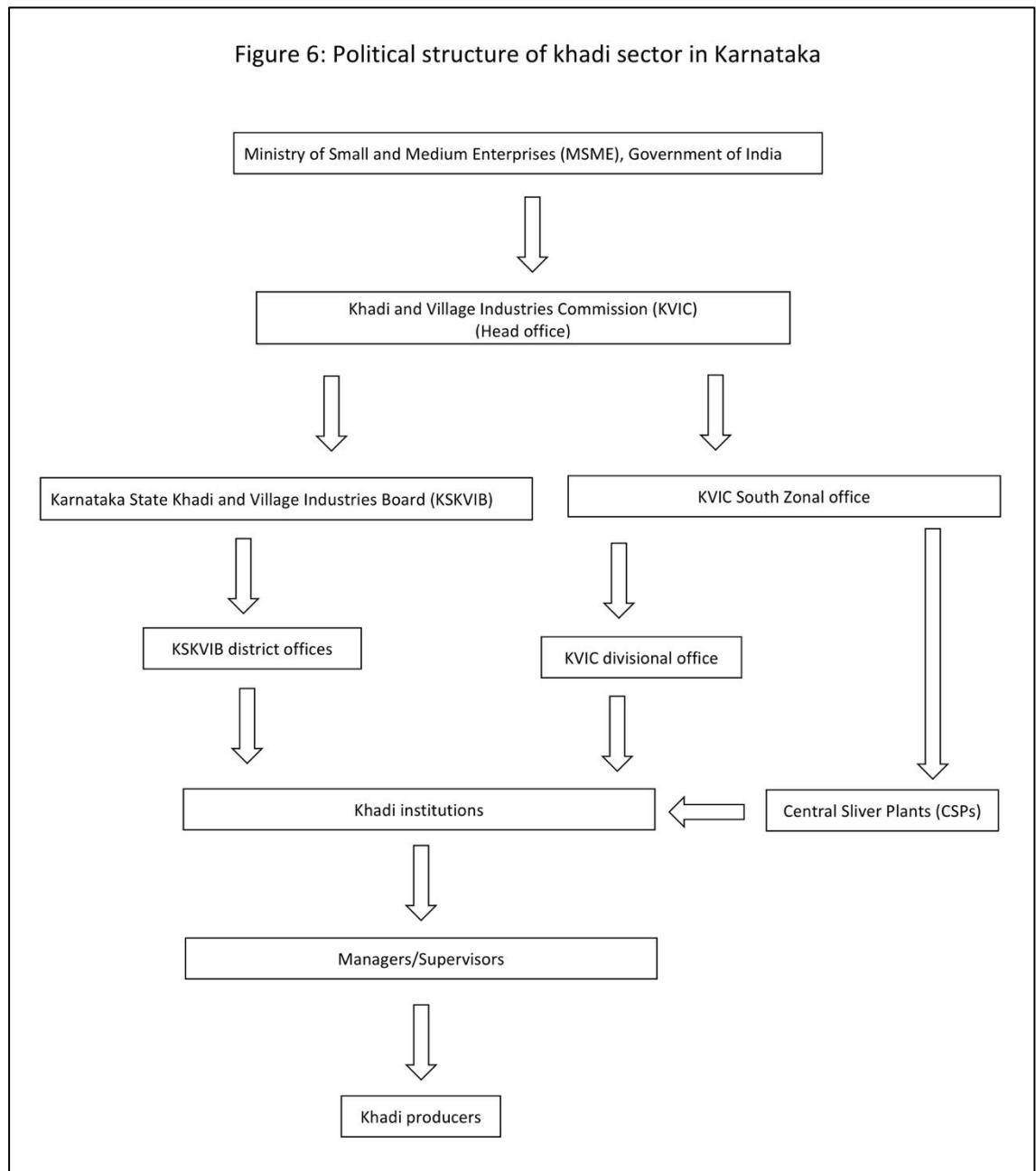
The state not only controls the production of khadi, but also its sale. It is necessary to obtain a certificate from the KVIC for sales, and the certification process is especially stringent. According to Guru, a boutique store owner, 'I would like to sell khadi in my store. However, the process is so strict that it is difficult to work it out. You need to change your store name and use the 'Khadi India' brand of the KVIC. Further, you are

not allowed to make any value additions to the products sourced from khadi institutions, and it is not possible to change the price of the products sourced from them. With all these rules, how can we run a successful khadi store?’ Like the certification process of khadi production, the certification for khadi sales is based on misguided regulations.

Further, the state gives financial assistance through the KVIC and the KSKVIB to khadi institutions in the form of incentives, loans, and grants. Hemanth, the secretary of a khadi institution, remarks, ‘It is impossible to run khadi activity without the financial aid of the state. Still, we have survived because of government support.’ The financial assistance provided by the state is largely based on a prior set of production targets and it has forced the khadi institutions to abide regulations prescribed by the former. In reality, the state does not only provide financial assistance to khadi institutions, but also demands that they follow the strict guidelines on how funding is spent. This has created an enormous pressure on khadi institutions to meet their production targets and curbed their freedom to take independent decisions. By doing so, it has breached the self-rule of the institutions and people involved.

The power relation between independent khadi institutions and the state is a double-edged sword. For khadi, being a labour-intensive activity, the price of its products is substantially more expensive compared to those produced by the handloom sector, which uses machine spun yarn, and the power loom sector, which involves automation. Therefore, selling khadi in the competitive market is a significant challenge for khadi institutions. Hence, they look for financial assistance from the state to subsidise their production costs and to maintain lower market prices. Although this arrangement has helped khadi institutions to market their products better, they have ended up losing their financial freedom. Therefore, a large portion of decision-making power in the sector lies with the state, rather than with khadi institutions. As Ray (1998: 791) points out, it has “lent credibility to the ‘parasitic relationship’ of the khadi institutions with the government”, where the former look to the latter for ‘everything from production to sales.’ As shown in the flow chart (Figure 6) below, the khadi sector is exceptionally hierarchical. In addition, it is a sector ‘over-regulated’ by the state because of its perceived historical significance (Nair and Dhanuraj, 2016: 3).

Figure 6: Political structure of khadi sector in Karnataka



The khadi sector has a top-down decision-making mechanism, with a significant amount of power concentrated at the top. As such, the sector deviates from the normative vision of swaraj, which stresses consensus-based decision making. The KVIC and the KSKVIB operate like any other state apparatus, with executive and legislature divisions. The former positions are filled by the regular recruitment process of the state, whereas the latter positions are filled by the political party that forms the government. The lack of space within the state machineries for individuals who possess first-hand experience in

khadi production and marketing has created a disconnect between the decision making and the complexities on the ground (Deshpande, 2012). As a result, management decisions do not represent the 'grassroots realities' (Planning Commission, 2001: 4). The recruitment process is shaped by bribery and favouritism, based on caste and religion, rather than passion for the work. For example, Anand, an officer at the KVIC, says:

I have a degree in commerce. I studied at a residential school run by a Hindu religious group. After I passed an entrance exam, I had to go through an interview for the post. I told the head of the religious group about the first-round selection. He directly called Delhi, and I got selected in the interview. They asked me simple questions like who the chief minister is, the finance minister is, the president is, where the Indian flag is produced and so on. Otherwise, they would have asked me more difficult questions.

The independent khadi institutions do not have any stake in the decision-making process within the government wing. This centralisation of power has resulted in several problems. It has bred rampant red-tapism across the system. For example, the enormous paperwork involved in the whole process has increased the burden on khadi institutions. Sujith, a clerk in a khadi institution holds an opinion that 'We should get rid of the government's financial aid. They are asking for more and more data every year. They demand paperwork more than what they support us.' This results in significant delays in the release of funds to institutions. As Manjunath, a first division clerk at one of the KSKVIB district offices, explains, 'Khadi institutions do not have people to carry out clerical work. So, they do not submit records on time. They are expected to provide all documents of funds utilisation at the end of every quarter. Since the paperwork takes a lot of time and effort, instead of submitting every quarter, they submit records once a year. That is why the process gets delayed at our end.'

Centralisation has increased exploitation in the form of corruption at various levels. A significant share of allocated funds are 'being eaten by the government machinery rather than reaching the artisans' (Nair and Dhanuraj, 2016: 13). As an evaluation report of the Planning Commission (2001: 7) points out, 'only 58% of what the government spends on a khadi unit reaches the khadi workers', and the rest is appropriated by higher authorities and utilised by the managerial charges of the khadi institution. According to

Madan, a secretary of one of the khadi institutions, 'Nothing works particularly at the KSKVIB if you do not give a bribe to the officials. Even if you submit all the paperwork necessary for getting a grant, they remove a few papers from what you have given them and ask you to resubmit proper records. Once it happened to us. We reworked the whole one-year bills sitting day and night. This is how they make you tired if you do not look after them well.' Similarly, according to Guru, owner of one of the boutiques which successfully gained the trust of the khadi patrons over the last ten years:

I have been sourcing khadi materials from the KVIC certified khadi institutions for the last ten years. When the KVIC made the Khadi mark compulsory for the sales of Khadi three years back, I tried to get it. I made several visits to the local KVIC office. Not even once did they adequately direct me in this regard. This is not just the case with me. It has happened to many of my friends who own boutiques. Some of them have been asked for bribes for granting the khadi mark. The whole process was very tiring. Every time I was asked to bring new documents. My friends were asked to send material samples to check their authenticity, and they were rejected, even though they were sourced from the KVIC certified khadi institutions. Now I have received a letter from the KVIC questioning the use of the word khadi in my brand without their permission. It is very discouraging. Now I am thinking to shift from the khadi sector to the handloom sector.

Many people who are in managerial positions at khadi institutions believe that the corruption in the khadi sector is found not only in the bureaucracy of the KVIC and the KSKVIB, but also within khadi institutions. For example, Hemanth, a secretary of one of the khadi institutions explains:

Earlier, khadi institutions used to get financial aid based on their annual sales. Then many khadi institutions used to submit bogus sales bills. They started to give commissions in the released grant to the bureaucrats for accepting fake bills. With the intention of preventing corruption, the grants were connected to production targets instead of sales in 2010. Since then, khadi institutions must get the production target fixed every year from the KVIC. Based on the target, they allot funds. If khadi institutions do not meet the prefixed production target, then they lose a portion of money in the grant they are supposed to get. Now many khadi institutions show bogus production figures on paper and get the grants released. So, the commission and bribes for bureaucrats have become a rule to get things done. Since khadi institutions and bureaucrats are both corrupt, it works fine.

Further, the over-regulation by the state has 'resulted in creating inefficiencies in the sector' (Nair and Dhanuraj, 2016: 2). Aravind, a clerk in a khadi institution states, 'The financial aid does not come on time. There are cases where it has taken a couple of years to receive the sanctioned grants.' It shows, 'there is a significant time lag between the formulation and implementation of various policies in the Khadi sector' (Goel and Jain, 2015: 102). Further, the hierarchy within the sector has become a barrier for effective implementation of government schemes such as insurance for khadi employees, scholarships for children of artisans and so on. Often schemes have not reached intended beneficiaries, and there is a lack of awareness among khadi workers about various benefits offered to them by the state.

Even though many bureaucrats agree that there is corruption in their system, a large section of them deny the allegations that are made by the khadi institutions. For example, Giridhar, one of the clerks at the KVIC divisional office, says, 'We fall under the central government. So, nobody can entertain corruption.' Such an argument of the corruption-free system due to their association with the government of India is widely present among bureaucrats at the KVIC. People at the KSKVIB also claim that their system is corruption free. As Shashank, one of the officers at the KSKVIB says, 'There is no corruption in our board because we do not make any kind of direct cash transactions. Everything happens online.' Such an argument to justify the KSKVIB as a corruption free system is widely made among its bureaucrats.

However, corruption is a widespread phenomenon in the country and has become a 'way of life' (Quah, 2008: 242). India has been ranked 80th out of 198 countries in the Corruption Perceptions Index produced by Transparency International (2019). As Gupta (2017: 1883) points out, the state machinery in India has a 'unique culture of corruption that mixes forms of horizontal and vertical corruption rarely seen together in other national contexts, affecting poor and rich alike, but in very different ways.' The horizontal corruption is the extraction of large sums from a small number of transactions by government elites from corporate and commercial firms, whereas vertical corruption is the extraction of small amounts from large number of transactions from citizens in everyday life. The khadi sector is a classic example of this unique culture of corruption,

because it significantly involves 'welfare spending' where both the forms of corruption often meet (Gupta, 2017: 1879).

Apart from the red-tapism, corruption, and payment delays, the existing system has failed to meet the needs of producers who are at the bottom of the hierarchy. There is no precise and robust mechanism in place to share their opinions and suggestions with those at the top, despite the producers being the end beneficiaries. For example, Shanthamma, a spinner, says, 'To whom can we tell our problems? Higher authorities, politicians, bureaucrats, journalists just visit and go. They do not hear our plight.' Similarly, Sharada, a weaver states, 'Every year many people come from cities like Bangalore and take pictures sitting on looms and posing with bobbin winding machines. However, nobody does anything to help us.' All these comments indicate that the centralised power relation has made khadi producers mere spectators. As Rohini (2009: 13) states, 'the most glaring oversight in the current activities of the KVIC is that the empowerment of the spinners, weavers and artisans has not been in the forefront.'

There is a similar power relation in the CSP, which is run directly by the KVIC. The manager, who is a part of the KVIC's bureaucratic system, holds the power of managing day-to-day activities of the unit. The power of decision making within the unit is highly centralised. Even though it is a small unit of a few dozen people, there is no participatory space for workers in the decision-making process. Despite being a public enterprise, there is a similar relationship between primary producers and the managers as in the case of private enterprises that rest upon an owner and labourer dichotomy. There is a widespread hesitation to speak to outsiders while higher authorities are around. For example, Gupta, one of the workers, says, 'You come early morning before the office hours. Then you can talk to anyone. The managers will not be here.' The entire workforce at the CSP has been filled by the KVIC through the normal recruitment process of the government. The same problems of centralisation, such as red-tapism, corruption, and failure to fulfil the needs of primary workers, are evident. Nagaraj, one of the workers at the CSP, says:

As far as I know, the rule is to buy cotton from the Cotton Corporation of India (CCI). Instead, the manager procures cotton from private players with whom he has a connection. A tender will be called, and whoever gives the highest commission to the manager gets the contract to supply cotton to the CSP. These private players do not follow required cotton standards. I have seen cases where the same party participates in the tender process with three different names and gets the contract. Similarly, there is corruption in identifying contractors from sourcing water for cotton processing to the disposal of waste cotton. There is a guideline that good quality cotton should not produce more than five percent of wastage. Since low-grade cotton is being bought from private players, the waste is greater. So, adjustment will be made in the accounts. The corruption stories will never end if I keep telling you. If there is a hole in a shirt, then we can cover it, but if the whole shirt is full of holes, how can we cover them? We have already gone too far. Ninety per cent is already rotten. Nothing can be done.

To the question of cotton sourcing, Aravind, the manager of the unit, states, 'The cotton rate at CCI is expensive and we do not have funds to afford it. That is why cotton is being bought from private players. Although the cotton quality is not good, it is manageable.' However, a large section of workers holds the opinion that there is corruption at the management level. For example, Vivek, a worker at the CSP, states, 'The corruption starts from the allocation of funds in the budget itself. For example, half a million rupees will be kept aside for machine repair. However, they spend only a portion of it, and appropriate the rest by showing fake bills. Several times, I have observed Khadi institutions complaining about the low quality of rovings¹². Since the unit manager is on good terms with the KSKVIB and the KVIC officials, the khadi institutions are forced to shut up.' There is widespread discontent among workers at the CSP about their work conditions, and they express feelings of helplessness and a lack of power to bring positive change at the workplace. According to Sanjeev, a worker, 'Khadi means *kaav kaav*.' The word '*kaav*' means 'eat' in Hindi. It is used by many workers to describe the corruption that they see as synonymous with khadi. The centralised system has failed to meet the necessities of the workers. For example, the impact of cotton dust on their health is a significant concern. Most of them believe that they have developed respiratory and other related problems due to the fine cotton dust that is emitted during the production process. It is a well-known fact that the long-term exposure to cotton dust results in substantial adverse chronic respiratory effects (Dangi and Bhise, 2017;

¹² Roving is the long bundle of cotton fibres. It is the raw material for hand spinning.

Wang et al., 2005). However, they have not been able to resolve this issue with management. According to one worker, Gopinath:

It is challenging to work in cotton dust. It has impacted all our lives. While working, you cannot breathe if you wear a mask to prevent the dust. So, the dust absorption system which is in the place must run continuously. However, we are not allowed to do it. If we switch it on, then the manager will scold us. He says that the cotton dust absorption system cannot be run continuously because there is a budget deficient in paying the electric bills, and that running it for a few hours a day is enough to remove the cotton dust.

When the issue was raised with the manager, his response was that 'Running the cotton absorption system for a few hours a day is enough to remove the cotton dust. The problem is they do not wear masks while working, even if we constantly insist them to do so.' It shows that there is no suitable platform for workers to voice their concerns to the management.

The khadi institutions, being the primary production and marketing units of the sector, have followed a similar pattern of centralisation of power as in the case of the CSP. The khadi institutions are legal entities similar to cooperatives and registered societies. The hierarchy within the institutions is comprised of three tiers: lower-level primary producers, mid-level managers, and the top-level working committee. The primary producers are spinners, weavers, dyers, block printers, and tailors, depending on the institutions. The managers are the individuals who look after the day-to-day activities of their respective production centres and sales outlets. The working committee is the elected body that manages the entire institution. The size and composition of the working committee are expected to be as per the regulations of the act under which the institution is registered. Further, it is also expected to incorporate the model bylaw prescribed by the KVIC, according to which the size of the working committee should be anywhere between 9 to 15 people, and require two-fifths of the total members to form a quorum (KVIC, 2019b). All the institutions that were studied fulfilled these criteria.

The workers and other khadi supporters identified by the working committee act as the primary members of khadi institutions. They elect directors to the working committee

among themselves and choose the secretary, the most powerful position within the institutional framework. The selection process is based on a majority voting system. By doing so, though, it departs from the swaraj normative vision that emphasises decision making based on consensus. In most of the cases, people who are sympathetic to some influential individuals are elected for the working committee and the position of secretary. Caste, religion, and gender play significant roles in electing directors. Manjunath, a salesman in a khadi institution, states, 'Power always gives preference to his/her/their caste people. For example, the last three secretaries are from the same *Lingayat*¹³ caste.' Similar factors are at work at the level of the production centres. For example, Pavithra, a bobbin wider, claimed, 'The supervisor has given bobbin winding tool to whom he wants, including newcomers from his caste. I have been working here for decades, but not given to me.'

Further, corruption within the institution works at different levels. According to a retired secretary from one of the khadi institutions:

People run bogus khadi institutions. It is more in silk and wool khadi compared to cotton khadi because they are not obligated to buy raw material from central sliver plants. They show production cost and details of the artisans only on paper. In reality, they purchase ready materials from the market and sell it as their brand. Often, they do not even sell it but show the same stock and take subsidies from the government. For a few years they will show one side of the towel until dust piles up, and then they turn it around and show the other side as if it is new stock.

The notion of bogus khadi institutions is widely present among people who are in managerial positions. They think that most of the khadi institutions are producing and selling fake khadi. Sharath, secretary of a khadi institution, claims, 'I have seen many khadi institutions using mill yarn for the warp and khadi yarn for the weft. There are

¹³ *Lingayat* is a sect that emphasises theistic devotion to the God Shiva. They are the followers of Basavaveshwara, a twelfth century South Indian social reformer-philosopher-poet who rejected discrimination based on caste and gender and defied pre-eminence of Vedic rituals (Lankesh, 2017). However, the sect is considered as a part of Hinduism by the state, but there is a long pending demand from its followers to recognise it as a separate religion. At present they form 17% of Karnataka's total population (Majumdar, 2018).

cases where khadi is produced using mill yarn on power looms. Corruption is everywhere. People in power make money out of everything. Not even one percent of people are honest in the khadi sector.’ Similarly, Chaluvaraj, president of a khadi institution, recounts, ‘Once, the CEO of the KSKVIB had come to our institution. I told him that I could show him three khadi stores on the same road that only open at night. Then he asked why? I told him that to write bogus bills! You cannot get rid of corruption in the khadi sector. The bureaucrats at the KSKVIB and the KVIC themselves will guide you on how to make money from different government schemes.’ This resonates with a claim made by Dhanuraj et al. (2018: 6) that there are many khadi institutions that have ‘emerged only for getting KVIC rebates and other benefits but have not produced any Khadi product.’ Further, they state that ‘while there is a demand for khadi, it is unwittingly being met by spurious products, and the sale of spurious products is taking place because of the Government’s restrictive practices’ (Nair and Dhanuraj, 2016: 9). The discussion shows the role of the centralisation of power in perpetuating malpractice.

There is a widespread perception of corruption in the working committee among primary producers. Since workers are not appropriately informed about different government schemes, and because of delays in dispensing the credit of various incentives, they feel that they are only getting a portion of the financial support, and that the rest is being appropriated by the working committee. For example, Gowramma, a spinner, states, ‘Sometimes we get more wages and sometimes fewer wages. Supervisors are grabbing our money.’ There are, though, opportunities for corruption by managers in misappropriating workers’ wages. A retired manager of a khadi institution makes a point that ‘Workers are mostly illiterates. The management get their signatures by telling them a nice fake story, and appropriate their wages.’

The decisions within the working committee are taken by majority voting. This again contravenes the normative vision of swaraj that stresses that decision-making should be founded on consensus. There is a lack of active participation by working committee directors in carrying out the activities of the institution. Many of them visit the

institution only occasionally and make little effort to improve the conditions of the workers. Hari, the secretary of a khadi institution, says:

Directors are not actively involved. Instead of giving suggestions and working to improve the condition of the institution, they always ask me how to do it. For example, we do not have working capital and are in a state of bankruptcy. In the last meeting, instead of helping to raise working capital, they were asking me to do it. What of all things can I do? I am already working as a secretary, accountant, and salesman.

Such a lack of engagement and attentiveness by directors is evident in all the aided khadi institutions that were studied. Often, the representatives of spinners and weavers in the working committee know little about their role as directors. They mostly believe that their role is to present the grievances of workers in the meetings, instead of figuring out ways to improve the overall condition of the institution. For example, Jayamma, a spinner representative in a khadi institution, states, 'I am one of the board directors. I attend meetings and raise issues about wages and the quality of raw materials. However, whenever I bring up the question of increasing wages, instead of exploring options, they show audit reports to convince me that it is simply not possible.' The usage of connotation such as 'they' to represent the working committee is widely present among worker representatives. It gives expression to the fact that their concerns are not taken seriously within the working committee.

The promotion of individuals to higher power positions within the institution is primarily based on their work experience and their managerial skills. However, there is a strong sense of the abuse of power, especially by the secretary in most of the institutions. The misuse of power involves silencing adversaries, giving promotions to their loyalists, nepotism, and corruption. In large institutions with multiple production and marketing centres, the transfer of individuals has become a way of castigating individuals, particularly at the managerial layer. Madhusudhan, a spinning manager, says, 'If the secretary or any higher authority does not like you, then you will be transferred. I have been transferred seven times in the last 30 years. So, you have to be on good terms with them if you want a peaceful life.' Since the working committee is assigned the task of managing the institution, primary producers, who form the bulk of the khadi

community, are often not consulted in vital decision making. Ramanna, a senior salesman in one of the khadi institutions, enunciates, 'Often we do not even get to know about working committee meetings. So, it is difficult to give any suggestions.'

Further, the existing institutional framework is also rigid. It is not easy for outsiders to collaborate with khadi institutions. For example, Kiran, who runs a boutique store and has a long-standing collaboration with a khadi institution, sums up his experience:

It almost took one and half years to convince and have collaboration with a khadi institution that was about to go defunct. There are so many instances when I had gone from Bangalore to Hubli with prior appointments. Often when I reached the location and called the secretary, he would claim that he is not in town. He was reluctant to meet, reluctant to talk, and reluctant to allow me inside. I was always asked to come to a hotel in front of the bus stand, where we would sit and talk. It took so much of time just to figure out where the institution is and where are its production centres. Many such challenges. You have to keep on talking to them. I think many urban designers like me would have exploited them. So, I understand their apprehensions also. I needed to communicate somehow that I am not one of them, and please take me seriously.

Many times, when I order something at khadi institutions, they agree but do not give the material even after three months. I would go there and sit there and ask them what has happened. They give all sort of excuses such as festivals, health issues, childbirth, and so on. I work with them without losing patience. My wife says that my patience level has gone up in the last eight years. So that is one plus point working with khadi institutions! I stopped wearing a watch. Nothing happens on time. Why do you need a watch? Everything happens at its own pace. So very patiently, you sit, and you empathise with them. So, this is how you start. There is no other choice.

My collaboration with the khadi institution started with one weaver, and later I added a couple of more. Then spinners started to come asking why is work given only for weavers and not to them? So, spinners were also taken on board. The rovings from the CSP were purchased for spinning, we repaired the spinning wheels and looms, got the lighting to work in the shed, and all kinds of things were done. Now the collaboration is supporting six weavers and 20 spinners.

After such a long and persistent effort for more than five years, recently I heard from the secretary that somebody from the KVIC had visited the khadi institution and asked him how could he give the produced khadi materials to a private party like me and allow a monopoly over production. Now the secretary is afraid to continue the collaboration with me. How could khadi survive with this kind of institutional structure?

Apart from the institutional framework, the scale of the enterprise has become a significant factor in the centralisation of power. The focus of institutions on increasing productivity has encouraged them to expand and operate multiple production sites and sales units. This, in turn, has a centripetal effect on decision making in order to coordinate increasing operations. However, this has resulted in many problems. The centralisation gives little power to primary producers to participate in the decision-making process, leaving them to feel marginalised and powerless. Due to the increased distance of primary producers from power owing to growing scale, there is less chance for workers to challenge the abuses of power. Often primary producers, being at the bottom of the institutional hierarchy, do not even get to know about the misuse of power. According to Ramesh, a weaving supervisor, 'I agree. The bigness of our institution is a problem. It is like an ocean. If someone catches a fish, then no one will get to know.' Similarly, Gopi, a sales manager, finds that 'A small institution will have more control. Small is beautiful.' This resonates with findings by Sale (2017: 237), who points out, 'A small workplace will have no particular difficulty in achieving worker control.' It is evident that centralisation has created inefficiencies in the functioning of the institutions. Madhusudhan, a clerk in a khadi institution states, 'Since ours' is a big organisation, it takes at least one week's time just to prepare bills related to wages.' This, in turn, results in the delay of dispersing wages for workers. Further, the following conversation between Guruprasad, a weaving supervisor, and Maadamma, an elderly weaver at a production centre of a khadi institution, shows the impact of scale on the agency of people and the efficiency of the institution:

Maadamma: There is no proper light in the room. I have been asking the master to change the burnt light bulb for last two months. Since I am old, I cannot see threads if it gets a little dark. So, I cannot weave. Whenever I ask him to replace it, he says he would do it, but still has not done so.

Madhusudan: I cannot replace it by myself. It is not like our home. There are higher authorities than me. Once I get permission from them, then I will do it. It is the end of march, and the auditing of the accounts is taking place. That is why it is taking time. When I told the higher authority, he said that he would send a new bulb. I would have replaced it if I were promised I would be reimbursed the money. So, I cannot do anything right now. Like this, a few months back, there was no firewood for sizing the yarn. Despite asking many times, nothing

happened. Finally, I spent Rs 500 (£5) and got firewood to give work to these women. However, still, I have not been reimbursed the money.

Maadamma: Why would higher authorities bother? They get a salary even if they sit or stand.

The increase in the scale has put enormous pressure on the institution to provide work for a large number of people. The smaller production centres have got greater chance of offering continuous work. According to Mallamma, 'In this centre, we are only 15 spinners. However, that is not the case with Hosahalli centre. There are more than 80 spinners. The organisation requires more money for raw material to keep the work going over there. You cannot give work only for a selected few. Hence if there is a shortage of money, the whole centre will be shut. However, that is not the case here because it is a small centre.'

As Gopinath (2010: 335) points out, there has been a 'lack of skill formation over the years' within the khadi institutions. This can be attributed to the scale of purchase orders, particularly of a single kind of material from wholesale buyers. Such orders have significantly narrowed the skills of khadi producers and has encouraged khadi institutions to engage in corrupt practices. For example, the government is one of the significant khadi purchasers, with many departments, particularly railways, procuring a large volume of khadi materials to support the khadi sector. Even though it has helped khadi institutions to some extent, it has resulted in deskilling of khadi producers because of the demand for a single kind of khadi material in large scale. Kiran, a designer who is associated with the khadi sector, states the following as a response to the recent move from the government to support the khadi sector by advocating khadi uniforms and combat outfits for the country's paramilitary:

When will this stop? Producing millions of meters. This is such a scam. The government has already deskilled some of the khadi institutions in Karnataka by giving them the orders of railways. As a result, many of those institutions have power-looms within their premises to weave vast quantities. They weave lakhs of meters of Khadi on power looms, send them to Erode for chemical dyeing, and then to Mumbai. In between, there are numerous inspections and audits. Khadi institutions that have taken the orders have gone bankrupt by just paying bribes to the officials.

In short, the power relations at the aided khadi institution are highly centralised, with power concentrated in the hands of the secretary, and the decision making largely based on majoritarian resolution. This has led to the pervasive exploitation, corruption, the silencing of dissenting voices, nepotism, and favouring loyalists. The condition shows that '[c]entralization is the grave of democracy' (Kumarappa, 1936: 171). There is a widespread feeling of powerlessness and a lack of control over their lives among primary producers due to the limited space to participate in decision making processes. The centralised nature of power relations and the failure to enhance the self-rule of individuals has led aided khadi institutions to significantly depart from the swaraj normative vision.

The power relations at the non-aided khadi institution that was investigated for this study, though, is driven by a different ideology than its aided counterparts. The decision to run the khadi activity without the financial assistance from the state appears to have provided more freedom in terms of its decision making, and to offer its workers a sense of control over their lives. Being a non-aided institution was a conscious decision taken by the founders and its working committee. Chandan, the secretary of the non-aided khadi institution, outlines the founding vision of their khadi activity below:

Our khadi activity is founded on the true spirit of khadi, which is all about enhancing individual freedom while making sure that it does not hamper the freedom of others. If we take financial support from the state or corporations, it eventually leads to the reduction of organisational freedom and, in turn, the reduction of freedom of individuals who are involved. Therefore, consciously, we have decided to run the activity entirely based on the support of the masses.

The founding vision has given a different outlook to the organisation compared to other, aided khadi institutions. Even though most of the existing managing committees are patrons of the organisation, attempts are being made to bring more workers on board. Govind, the president of the organisation, says, 'We would like to have more workers in the managing committee. Since most of them do not have the required skills and vision to take the organisation forward, first we are encouraging them to gain the necessary capacities through discussions, film screenings, reading groups, cultural activities, field

visits, and so on.’ The size of the activity is consciously kept small to encourage everyone to participate in the decision-making process. However, the degree of participation in the process varies from person to person because of their distinct personalities, upbringing, and social conditioning. There is no middle-level hierarchy between the primary producers and the working committee. Even though a large portion of the working capital is raised by the organisation from donors, the workers themselves are continually encouraged to invest in the working capital. This helps to minimise an owner and labourer type of relationship developing between the managing committee and the workers. Frequent meetings are held to discuss day to day issues and future courses of action, and workers are taken into confidence through elaborate discussions before major decisions are taken.

Even though enormous efforts are made to create unity among the workers, their different social positions, shaped by gender, caste, education, and age, are still a barrier. For example, Savitha, a weaver explains that:

Even though we speak about the fallacy of the caste system in our regular prayer meetings, many of the upper-caste people still practice discrimination based on caste at the workplace. Discrimination occurs not only with respect to work, but also in other occasions such as during potlucks. They do not eat what I bring from my home, since I am a *Dalit*. I feel terrible that this is happening even here.

Although differences are present among people, the small organisational scale without a rigid hierarchy provides space to resolve differences. The workers believe that there is scope to exercise their agency and challenge the managing committee if they find the misuse of power. Such belief is precisely because they are involved in the decision-making processes. According to Geetha, a weaver, ‘I worked for a year in a garment factory before. I know how things work in other places. Here it is different. We have more freedom than in the factory. If there is anything wrong in the workplace, we can ask in front of everyone at the prayer meeting that is held every day.’ The scale of the organisation also promotes a more efficient functioning of production activities because it enables better coordination among the workers.

There are significant differences between aided and non-aided khadi institutions with respect to their power relations. Power is more centralised in the former than the latter. The space for individuals to exercise self-rule is notably higher in the non-aided khadi institution compared to aided khadi institutions, as it provides space for everyone in decision making processes. Therefore, there are lower levels of exploitation and violence, with a larger section of workers participating in the decision making processes, which are chiefly based on consensus. The resolution made by the non-aided khadi institution to abstain from financial assistance from the state has provided greater freedom for the organisation compared to its aided counterparts. Further, the continual institutional innovation within the non-aided khadi institution has helped it to survive in changing circumstances.

6.3.3 Resistance to exploitation

Even though there is exploitation in the form of red-tapism, corruption, and disproportionate favours within the khadi sector in Karnataka, the resistance is negligible. A large section of the workers fear that any form of resistance would eventually create more problems. It is found that the material conditions of individuals often do not allow them to take up resistance. There is a sense of fear that the expulsion from work due to protest would eventually put them and their families in distress, and they prefer to remain silent in the face of exploitation. Chinnamma, a spinner, says, 'If we question supervisors then he will say just work or go home. What can we do? How can we feed ourselves? That is why we do not ask anything.' Similarly, Lakshmana, a supervisor, states, 'If you question the management, you will be transferred and made to suffer in different ways. That is why we do not raise questions.' Such fear of losing a job is strongly prevalent across the sector, even in the KVIC and the KSKVIB. For example, Vineet, a clerk at one of the district offices of the KSKVIB states, 'Working honestly in a government department is not that easy. You know how it works. I do not have to explain.' Similarly, Nayak, a member of the south zone KVIC, states, 'It is difficult to be truthful in our work. There will be a lot of pressure on you from higher authorities and politicians.'

The fear of reprisal is found not just among individuals, but also between institutions. Madan, a secretary of a khadi institution, remarks, 'We cannot stop corruption in the KSKVIB or the KVIC. If you question them, then they will find one or other mistake in your documents and will not release grants. Then the whole institution suffers.' Apart from the fear of suffering, people are also afraid of what other people think about them if they resist, when all others have accepted the oppressive working conditions. For example, Amith, a sales supervisor, says, 'When we participate in the KVIC or the KSKVIB organised exhibitions, there will be fake khadi stalls. They sell power loom textiles as khadi for a lower price, and it affects genuine sales. However, we do not protest because it brings a bad name to the organisation.'

However, there are some efforts, albeit not always successful, at resistance by workers. Anitha, a weaver in a khadi institution, states, 'Once we all came together to protest against the management. We told them that we would not work if our problems remain unresolved and asked them to close down the unit. Then they assured us that they would do something, but nothing happened. Now people have lost hope. I am not sure how many people will turn up if we protest again.' Similarly, Aravind, a sales supervisor, states, 'In a recent exhibition I quarrelled with organisers for giving stall to a power loom textile manufacturer. I said if they are going to sell their materials, we will not sell ours. By then press reporters and a district officer came to the spot. The power loom textile manufacturer was asked to back off. When this happened, other khadi sellers did not stand by me. I only ended up having a bad relationship with the organisers.' Mohan, a worker at the CSP, narrates an unsuccessful effort at resistance to management:

Once through the workers union, we complained about the manager to the south zone member. Nothing happened, since both were on good terms. On the National Geographic channel, see how the lions separate the herd to hunt, in a similar way that the management does with us. Management is continuing the British policy of divide and rule. They make us suffer until our retirement. It is tough to put up any kind of protest.

Resistance is equally difficult within the government machinery. Hari, a first division clerk at a district office of the KSKVIB, says, 'It is difficult to work honestly in government jobs. There will be much pressure from politicians. It is like following the direction of the

river's flow. Once I tried to swim against the flow, but finally, I was made in to swim with the flow. This is the case in all government departments.'

Most importantly, lack of unity and solidarity among the workers due to the placing of individual self-interest over group interest, indifferent attitudes towards people from other social positions, and differences in opinions have reduced their strength, and ability to stand up against the more powerful in the sector. Naganada, a worker at the CSP, states, 'There is no unity among workers. They only think about themselves. They are only concerned about their daily wages. That is why we are not in a position to demand or protest as a union.' The same notion is present across different sections of the khadi sector.

It is evident from the analysis that the power in the existing khadi sector is highly centralised, contrary to the aspirations of the normative vision. The social position of khadi workers has significantly shaped their place in power relations within the khadi community. The KVIC, KSKVIB, CSP and aided khadi institutions deviate from the normative vision of swaraj by following majoritarian decision-making processes rather than consensus driven ones. The studied non-aided khadi institution stands, though, in line with the normative vision by encouraging workers to be part of the decision-making process. Even though there is apparent exploitation in the form of corruption and red-tapism within the khadi sector, there is minimal active resistance to it by the oppressed. The passive nature of the khadi workers to exploitation leaves the sector far out of alignment with the swaraj normative vision.

6.4 Economy in the Khadi sector

This section analyses the material relations of khadi, from its production and exchange to its consumption and disposal, with respect to the economic self-sufficiency aspect of the swaraj normative vision delineated in chapter three. This section discusses the process of manufacturing khadi and the income earned by people employed at each stage of the supply chain. It analyses the working conditions, the perspective of khadi workers on their respective occupations, and their aspirations. Further it examines khadi consumers and their perspectives on the industry.

6.4.1 Khadi production

As shown in the previous section, the khadi sector is over-regulated by the state through the KVIC and the KSKVIB. Within the evaluated sections of the state machineries, permanent employees are earning anywhere between Rs 25,000 (£270) and 200,000 (£2165) per month, whereas temporary staff earn between Rs 15000 (£162) and 20,000 (£216) per month. There is a visible increase in salaries towards the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy. The wages are fixed according to pay scales set by the state, with the salaries for the KVIC staff being greater than those of the employees at the KSKVIB. The people associated with the state machinery are the highest earners within the sector. This is not dissimilar to conditions Kumarappa (1936: 146) observed in his day, where 'princely salaries of Government servants' created a 'glamorous attraction to the desk', and were 'responsible for driving all the educated into clerical jobs.' For example, Deveraj, a first division clerk at a district khadi office, states that 'I am a degree holder...My work is not exciting. But still, I am in this job because I get good salary and have financial security.' This opinion is widely present among the people employed at the KVIC and the KSKVIB.

The work atmosphere at the KVIC and the KSKVIB varies according to the workers' positions in the hierarchy, with district offices being small, secluded, and non-air conditioned, in contrast to more commodious and comfortable state and national headquarters. The working hours are from 10 am to 5 pm, and the working week is six days. The nature of the work is more intellectual, and entails little or no physical work, but the space for exercising creativity in this line of work is mostly absent.

Most of those who are employed in the KVIC and the KSKVIB work at these institutions because of the financial security they provide rather than any passion for khadi. Aravind, an employee at the KVIC, says, 'I did not know anything about khadi before joining the post. I just applied because it is a government job, and there is financial security.' Despite the lack of passion, many of them are still content with their jobs. As Mahalakshmi, one of the district officers at the KSKVIB, states that 'Working in the khadi sector is a great thing. One has to be fortunate to work in the sector because it is a

service to the poor.’ There is a strong sense that they are helping destitute people. However, many of them have a sense of superiority because they are associated with the government. For example, Rohith, a khadi officer at the KVIC regional office, says, ‘Please do not compare us with weavers or spinners. We fall under the central government.’ Further, most of them are satisfied with their income, and are fine with their children following in their footsteps.

However, the majority of the workers at the KVIC and the KSKVIB know little about the khadi ideology and its history, except for a vague understanding of its connection with Gandhi and the freedom struggle. Many of them believe that khadi is ‘handmade’ or ‘handspun’ cloth, and have divergent views on the future of khadi. According to Manjunath, a second division clerk at one of the district offices of the KSKVIB, the ‘Khadi sector will thrive in the future because of the increasing support from the government.’ Some individuals, though, hold a contrary opinion, like Gopi, a district KSKVIB officer, who states, ‘Since the younger generation is not going into the sector, it will die out in the future.’ Even though these two opinions are widely present, a small section of workers believe that khadi will survive in the future, albeit in a different form. Girish, an officer at the KVIC, believes that ‘Khadi will spread in the future. Modern technologies will be used in production instead of a hand-operated process. It is already happening. The government is encouraging solar spinning and weaving.’ Many of the employees at the KVIC and KSKVIC believe that the khadi sector can be strengthened by increasing the financial support by the state, making sure that incentives are paid in a timely manner to ensure a secure cash flow among khadi workers, introducing new designs in khadi fabrics accompanied by more rigorous sales publicity, and educating youngsters and the public about khadi. However, there is a lack of awareness among people employed in the KVIC and the KSKVIB about the impact of the production and the consumption of khadi on society and the environment.

Even though cotton farming and ginning (the process of separating cotton lint from the seed) constitute the initial phases of khadi supply chain, they are deemed as independent of the khadi sector by the state. This is because these processes not only provide raw material for the khadi sector, but also handloom and power loom sectors.

As a result, the khadi supply chain officially starts from the processing of cotton lint. The procurement of raw material is a difficult task for khadi institutions because there are few cotton processing units that can furnish them with rovings in a suitable form for hand-spinning machines. Most of the cotton processing plants provide cotton in the form of yarn for power loom and handloom sectors. Since the available cotton processing machinery operates on a large scale that requires enormous investment, independent khadi institutions are not in a position to run their own cotton processing units. As a result, the state has intervened to resolve the bottleneck by setting up central sliver plants that provide raw material for khadi institutions. According to Madan, a secretary of a khadi institution, 'If the CSP was not there, then it would have been challenging for us to procure raw material.'

The CSP converts cotton lint into rovings, which involves sub-processes such as procuring cotton bales, blowing, carding, drawing and slivering. Cotton lint, in the form of bales, is procured through tendering to private firms or from Cotton Corporation of India. Once the compressed bales are purchased, they are processed in a blow room, where bales are opened, cleaned and mixed to form uniform laps in the form of flat sheets. The laps, then, are fed into carding machines, in which cotton fibres are disentangled, cleaned, intermixed, and aligned to produce continuous sliver in the form of tape. It is then processed in a draw frame, where slivers are blended and dusted out to form finer slivers. Next they are fed into roving machines, where finer slivers are twisted to form long and narrow cotton bundles. These cotton bundles (rovings) are sold to khadi institutions for further processing. Wages for the workforce at the CSP are fixed based on a pay scale set by the state. At the time of the interviews, more than half of the workforce at the CSP were permanent employees, who earned an average salary of Rs 30000 (£324) to 40000 (£433) per month. The rest of the employees worked on daily wages, and earned an average salary of Rs 8000 (£86) to 12000 (£130) per month. The unit manager earned the highest salary of Rs 200,000 (£2150) per month. The extreme wage difference between primary workers and the manager shows perceived superiority of intellectual work over physical work in the sector.

Work conditions at the CSP are very different from those of the KVIC and the KSKVIB. The CSP is a sizeable operation, having massive capital investment, which makes it impossible for its workers to feasibly own the means of production. The production capacity of the unit that was assessed is about one million kilogram of rovings per year, but the production targets are fixed every year based on projections of demand. The unit runs throughout the year in three shifts and about a dozen people work in a shift that changes once a week. There is a strict work time where each worker engages with a single process throughout the shift, and they are expected to carry out non-stop production without a break. A stark division of labour is present like any other factory set up, but most of the workers have become familiar with the various production processes involved in the unit, and their work gets reallocated if someone is absent or takes leave. The workers bring food from their homes, and a short food break is the only leisure time they have in a shift. They work for six days a week and are allowed to take about 70 days of leave per year.

Since the means of production involves automated machines, the use of human energy in the production process at the CSP is limited. Further, there is no space for workers to exert their creative potential at work, which is largely monotonous. This resonates with Kumarappa's (1936: 170) claim that 'where need for standardisation brings about centralisation of production, there can be no variegation in the product.' According to Vignesh, one of the workers, 'The job is boring because there is no change in work. I am working here only because there is a good salary.' Similar sentiments are present among many in the workforce. The time of the employees is profoundly shaped by the pressure of running the machines to meet the production targets. Further, the massive investment in the means of production demands individuals adjust their lives around the operations of the machinery, which are run without interruption to make production economically viable. This has resulted in a situation where workers have become cogs in a wheel, and the pace of their lives is primarily controlled by the machines. Such work conditions evoke Kumarappa's (1936: 15) warning that 'the right place of a machine is an instrument in the hands of man', and that 'when man is turned into a machine-feeder, the whole organisation is up-side-down.'

The workers at CSP have little time for their social lives. According to one worker named Basappa, 'I would like to know more about khadi, but I do not have time. As you see, I come here to work and go back home for sleep.' The workers work amid cotton dust which is ejected during the processing of cotton. Though a dust absorption mechanism is in place, it is run sporadically. This has contributed to negative health implications for several workers, with many facing respiratory ailments. For example, Suresh who works in a blow room, states, 'Salary is not a problem, but health is the major concern. In this cotton dust, you cannot work more than fifteen years. You will ruin your life.' Further, the heat inside the work shed and the enormous noise produced by the machines make the work experience unpleasant. The workers are afraid of higher authorities, and are anxious about the injuries that might occur at the workplace, particularly after an accident where a worker lost his finger while working with a carding machine. Channesh, one of the workers who operates a sliver making machine, whispers, 'Supervisors will scold me if they see me talking to you in the middle of the working hours. Better you come for the night shift. We can talk more freely when the supervisors are not around.'

Most of the workers at the CSP are not cognisant of the implications of their work, and have little idea about where the raw material is produced. They possess a vague idea about who buys the manufactured rovings, and how they are used further up the supply chain. It is evident that most of the workers at the CSP have chosen and continued the occupation mainly because of a decent salary and the financial security it brings. However, despite having relatively high earnings compared to other primary producers in the sector, the majority of them are not happy with their work. Madhu, a worker, states, 'It would be better to have our own business instead of working here. It would be tension free. There would be more freedom, and no orders from higher authorities to follow. However, there would be a risk of losing money. I am still working here because it is a government job, and there is financial security.' However, many of them feel that they should get more money for their work. For example, Hanumantha, a worker, utters, 'The salary should be more if children's education and health expenses are taken into account.' Many workers grumble that they do not have enough benefits like in other government departments. According another worker, Hariprasad, 'We do

not have a pension and other benefits like in the railways, despite being a part of the central government.'

The monotony in work, lack of control over their time, and unhealthy working conditions at the CSP are the key reasons for their discontent. Nobody desires to see their children working in the positions they have occupied. Ravi, one of the workers, says, 'I will not allow my children to work here, not even let them enter the premises. I am fine even if they work as wage labourers, but never in this job. As you see, it is so difficult to work in shifts, particularly in the night and in cotton dust.' These workers aspire for their children to find occupations that have a healthier work atmosphere, and do not require physical labour as they do. In contrast, managers and office staff are generally happy with their work-life, and hope to see their children continue in the sector, particularly in the high-paid bureaucratic positions. Further, these managers can count on old age pensions, like in other government jobs.

The majority of the workers employed at the CSP have a vague understanding of khadi in relation to Gandhi and the freedom movement. Harsha, a clerk at the CSP, feels that 'People respect khadi because it was started by Gandhi. It is an inspiration because khadi freed India from the control of the British.' In contrast, Manjunath, a worker, believes, 'People would have forgotten Gandhi by now. Still, it has not happened because he is on our currency.' According to Rama, 'When Gandhi started khadi, it was highly respected by people. I had heard that many people in our village were not wearing slippers or would not eat non-vegetarian when they wore khadi. However, today, khadi has become *kaav kaav*. It means bribery and corruption.'

Even though there is discontent about the state of contemporary khadi, some of them are pleased to be part of the sector. For example, Chaluvaraj, a worker, states, 'I do not know much about khadi. However, I am happy that I am in the sector that was started by a great person like Gandhi.' Similarly, another worker, Keshava, feels, 'I am proud to be in the khadi sector because it manufactures the national flag'. Ashok, a supervisor at the CSP, believes that 'Khadi is a service to people. That means service to God.' There is

a general sense that khadi production can be improved by replacing existing equipment with the latest machines and by purchasing better quality of cotton.

The work at aided khadi institutions involves spinning, dyeing, weaving, block-printing, tailoring, and marketing. However, the production activities vary from institution to institution according to their capacity, convenience, and local circumstances. The wages for the workforce at aided khadi institutions are set according to the previously recommended production cost chart, and not according to the revised pricing structure advised by the KVIC based on the ability of khadi institutions to sell products in the competitive market. These institutions are found to be following the prescribed production cost chart for determining the wages for their workers, because doing so is stipulated as part of the financial assistance provided by the state, particularly Modified Marketing Development Assistance (MMDA) scheme. However, the fixing of wages based on the production cost chart is inadequate, because it employs uniform costing across the country, and it does not capture the real production costs, as well as other market variables, that vary by location and time of the year (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 6,7).

Even though most of the khadi institutions buy roving from the CSP, there are still a few institutions that make their own rovings on small scale. Out of the four institutions assessed for this study, only one had its own roving making unit. However, the unit supplies only a small portion of the operation's total consumption, and the rest of the rovings are procured from the CSP. The roving making process in the unit is similar to the CSP, and the production capacity of the unit is around 200000 kg of rovings per year. A dozen people are employed in the unit, and earn salaries between Rs 5000 (£54) and 8000 (£86) per month.

Spinning is the next process in the production chain within khadi institutions. The hand spinning on new model spinning machines is the key activity that differentiates the khadi sector from the handloom sector, which uses machine-spun yarn. It is a process that converts rovings into yarn in the form of hanks, which are 1000 meters in length. Although the count (thickness) of the produced yarn varies from coarse to fine, the medium 33 count yarn is the most commonly produced one. Even though the wages are

based on a production, there are no fixed targets for workers. The average production capacity of each worker on the most common eight spindle spinning machines is three hanks per hour. In a day, workers produce an average of 15 to 25 hanks, depending upon their hours of work. They are paid Rs 5 (£0.05) per hank as wages, and also, Rs 3 (£0.03) per hank is paid as an incentive by the KSKVIB, up to a maximum of 1500 hanks per person, per year. On average, a spinner earns about Rs 2000 (£22) to 3000 (£32) per month.

The next process in khadi production after spinning is sizing of yarn. The quality of handspun yarn varies due to the pace of spinning by individual spinners. It becomes necessary to pre-treat or size the handspun yarn with starch to give it strength and reduce yarn breakage during the weaving process. The sizing process is carried out by a few people, mostly as part-time work. Typically, about 1000 hanks are sized in a day, which also involves treating and sun drying the hanks. People who do sizing are paid based on a piece-rate or salary depending on the local circumstances, and they usually earn about Rs 1000 (£11) to 2000 (£21) a month.

The sized yarns are wound into bobbins using bobbin winders. This process is mostly carried out by older women, since it does not involve hard physical labour. A person on average winds about 50 to 80 hanks per day, and their wages are based on a piece rate, which are typically around Rs 1.5 (£0.01) to 2 (£0.02) per hank. A bobbin winder earns an average of Rs 1500 (£16) to 2500 (£27) per month.

Winded bobbins are converted into a warp on a warping machine to produce 100 to 150 meters of warp. It usually takes about a day and a half or two to prepare a warp by a single person. The warpers are paid in the form of a piece rate or salary based on local circumstances, and earn about Rs 4000 (£43) to 6000 (£65) per month.

The prepared warps are then set on the looms, and it takes about a day for a weaver to connect each thread of the new warp with the end of the old warp. Then the hanks are wound into pirns (a rod onto which weft thread is wound for use in weaving) on pirn winding machines and used in the shuttles during the weaving process. The weaving

takes place mainly on frame looms, which are the improved version of traditional pit looms. The average production capacity of a weaver is about one meter per hour, and about six to eight meters a day. The weavers are paid based on a piece rate that is typically about Rs 20 (£0.2) per meter. An additional Rs 7 (£0.07) per meter is also paid as an incentive by the KSKVIB for a maximum of 700 meters per person per year. A weaver in an average earns about Rs 2500 (£27) to 4000 (£43) per month.

The dyeing, block printing, and tailoring works are mostly outsourced by aided khadi institutions. However, one institution in the study had a defunct chemical dying unit, and an active small chemical block printing unit as well as a tailoring unit. The dyeing unit had been closed for the last three years due to a malfunctioning boiler. The workers who used to work in the dyeing unit are now involved in other production-related activities. They earn about Rs 5000 (£54) to 8000 (£86) per month in the form of a salary. The workers at the block printing unit mainly print '*Ashoka chakra*' on the national flag and are paid about Rs 6500 (£70) salary per month. The tailoring unit mainly stitches the national flags of various sizes, and the tailors are paid based on piece rates from Rs 9 (£0.09) to 300 (£3) depending upon the size of the flag, and earn an average of Rs 3000 (£32) to 5000 (£54) per month.

The final process of marketing of finished khadi products are carried out by khadi producing institutions as well as certified private entities. The aided khadi institutions use physical stores and state-organised khadi exhibitions as key marketing channels. The workers involved in marketing are paid monthly salaries of about Rs 5000 (£54) to 15000 (£162) per month depending on their experience, whereas the secretaries of aided khadi institutions earn about Rs 7000 (£75) to Rs 15000 (£160) per month.

The workforce at the aided khadi institutions that were evaluated consists mainly of spinners, followed by weavers. The other salaried employees, particularly supervisors and managers, are the smallest segment in the khadi workforce, but they earn significantly more than all other workers employed. A similar observation is also made by Mahalanabish et al (2018: 203), who states that, on average, the workforce at a khadi institution contains 78 per cent spinners, 13 per cent weavers and 9 per cent salaried

employees, whereas their earning shares are 28 per cent, 32 per cent and 40 percent respectively. This evidences the highly unequal income distribution present within aided khadi institutions.

The employees at aided khadi institutions carry out their work largely at dedicated places. However, there are cases of carrying out activities by workers in their homes, especially spinning and weaving, depending upon the local circumstances. The dedicated places are normally old work sheds/buildings having quite standard features such as broken windows, cracked doors, improper roofing (mostly comprised of asbestos), poor ventilation, no electricity, and no toilets. There is a strong discontent among workers about these workspaces. Sujathamma, a bobbin winder in a khadi institution, says, 'In summer we do not need to take a shower because every day we take a sweat bath while working here.' A young weaver, Ragini, states, 'Forget toilets, here we do not even have water facilities.' Similarly, Jayamma, a middle-aged spinner, says, 'We have been asking the supervisor to repair the roof for last eight years. Still it is not fixed.'

Women are the primary workforce at aided khadi institutions, and they typically start their work after finishing their household responsibilities. Worktime flexibility is the key feature of the production process. However, workers are highly dependent on unit managers, who provide them with raw materials. This power relation pressures workers to avoid questioning their managers. Any grievance can lead to delays in providing raw materials, or, in the worst case scenario, the dismissal of the worker.

The work being mainly group activity, the production units of aided khadi institutions are important places of social interaction. The workers usually talk to each other on topics ranging from family issues to state politics. They often leave their work whenever they want, except those occupied in roving making and other salary-based occupations. The reasons for such breaks are diverse, such as unexpected visitors, fetching water on days it is available from the public water system, feeding their children and other members of the family, overseeing their livestock, collecting rations, and so on. Workers, especially within the old age group, bring lunch to the workplace, whereas

others go back to their homes. The lunch break varies from half an hour to a few hours depending upon their other engagements. They leave the workplace in the evening around 5 pm.

The stores of the aided khadi institutions generally open six days a week from 10 am to 5 pm. Since the outlets normally do not open in late evenings and on Sundays, they fail to cater to most consumers. The poor display of products and lack of enthusiasm among salespeople to show the available products to customers are common features. Further, a lack of language skills among many khadi salespeople is a deterrent for effective marketing. Most importantly, a lack of confidence in convincing customers is a key drawback among a significant section of the salespeople at the stores of aided khadi institutions. When they were asked about how they attempt to persuade consumers to buy khadi, their responses were limited. For most of them, the task of convincing customers rests upon the argument that khadi is good for one's health, and that it is comfortable to wear. For example, Mukunda, a salesman states, 'Khadi is comfortable because it will keep you warm when it is cold outside and keep you cool when it is hot outside.' According to Kalpana, a saleswoman, 'People should buy khadi because it is good for health, since it absorbs sweat and keeps the skin clean.' Their knowledge is often limited, and many of the salespeople do not know the difference between khadi and handloom fabrics. Similar observations have also been made by Goel and Jain (2015: 101), who claim there is a lack of 'professional training' and 'low motivation towards selling the khadi' among salesmen.

The people involved in marketing often grumble about the price of khadi products. For example, Ravi, a salesman states, 'As I prefer less expensive products, customers also look for cheaper products. That is why the government should make sure that khadi can be sold at the same price as power loom products.' There is a little emphasis on the promotion of their khadi products by the khadi institutions. As identified by Nair and Dhanuraj (2016: 2), the khadi stores are largely dependent on 'outdated marketing techniques such as heavily relying on print advertising.' The sales are significantly higher during the 35 per cent discount period that extends over 154 days of the year. During other times, a 15 per cent discount is given to the customers. However, according to the

evaluation report of the Planning Commission (2001: 7), the 'average unintended stock build-up is around 35% of the annual production, and for small units, it is as high as 80%.' The pile up of stock due to such poor sales is one of the main factors for many khadi institutions becoming defunct.

Often, workers being the members of the aided khadi institution, the ownership of the means of production lays indirectly with them. However, in reality, the institutional framework has not created a sense of ownership among the work force. The means of production primarily relies largely on human energy, except in the cotton processing stages of blowing to roving. The cotton processing and spinning work are monotonous, and lack the potential for creativity, whereas weaving gives greater scope for workers to exercise some artistic potential. The defunct chemical dyeing unit that was observed mainly involved automated processes, and it could be presumed that the space for exercising creativity at the unit was considerably low. The block printing unit that was evaluated relied on human energy as well as electricity in the production process. Even though there is abundant space for exercising creativity in block printing, the work at the unit appeared to be monotonous, largely because the units tend to manufacture single products, like national flags, throughout the year. The tailoring unit that was investigated mostly ran on electricity. Although there is some scope for exercising creativity in tailoring, the work at the unit was, similar to the printing process, monotonous due producing a single product throughout the year. The marketing process relies almost entire on human energy, and it offers a creative space through engaging with customers and, potentially, to educate them about khadi.

The overall work conditions at aided khadi institutions are not always pleasant, and they can be demoralising for some of its workers. As a report from the Planning Commission itself summarises: 'the quantity and quality of employment are not satisfactory at present, because of low and shrinking production base. Factors, such as unintended stock build-up, constraints to input availability, capital of institutions/units getting locked up for years, non-availability of improved technologies and repair facilities, outmoded product mix etc. have all contributed in different degrees to the present sorry state of affairs' (Planning Commission, 2001: 9).

There is greater understanding among workers at the aided khadi institutions about the sourcing of the raw material, and what happens further up the supply chain. However, there is no clear understanding of the social conditions in which the raw materials are produced. Similarly, there is little awareness of the environmental impact of their work. Many workers prefer working in the khadi sector because of the flexible hours, and because it provides space for social interaction. Whereas a large section of khadi producers is discontent with their work due to the low wages, as Bhagirathi, a spinner, states, 'We earn a few thousand rupees a month, which is not at all enough to sustain our family'.

From the semi-structured interviews with the khadi workers, it was clear that, many primary producers at aided khadi institutions aspire for an income of about Rs 5000 (£54) to 10000 (£108) per month. There is a general feeling among managers and salespeople that they should earn at least Rs 10000 (£108) to 15000 (£162) per month, whereas most secretaries believe that they should get at least around Rs 15000 (£162) to 30000 (£324) per month. What is evident is that most of the workers have not taken up their positions out of choice, and they do not wish their children to follow the same occupational path. Pallavi, a weaver, laments: 'Working, working, working. No energy left in our bodies. I am not able to sustain myself in this work. How could I ask my children or others to come and join? The work will die along with us. Nobody will do this job once we leave.' Likewise, Guru Prasanna, a supervisor at a khadi institution, feels, 'I would like my son to be an officer. This work is enough for me.' The same perspective is widely present among khadi workers. But there are some cases where workers seem content in their work roles. For example, Shwetha, a tailor says, 'I am happy in the work because I am serving the country by making the national flag. I am fortunate that I am doing this work. Not everybody gets the opportunity to do the work that I am doing.' Such a notion is especially present among those who involved in the manufacture of the national flag.

Further, many of the workers at the aided khadi institutions wish for health benefits, scholarships for their children's education, pensions and support to build their houses.

According to Rekha, a weaver, 'We need a pension. See that 80-year-old lady over there who is winding the bobbins. Nobody is there to look after her. She has worked so many decades in this khadi institution. So, somebody has to support her in her old age.'

Many of the workers at aided khadi institutions do not know what khadi is. For many of them, it represents 'cotton', 'cotton cloth', 'handspun cloth' and 'handwoven cloth'. However, they have little notion about khadi's emphasis on the importance of human energy. As Ratnamma, a weaver says, 'There is nobody to tell us about khadi. I do not know why khadi has to be produced through a hand-operated process.' Such a perspective is widely present among khadi workers. Further, they are not aware of the khadi ideology. They make loose connections with Gandhi and the freedom struggle to some extent. They all have high regard for Gandhi, even if they do not know much about him. For example, Laxmi, a seventy-year-old spinner, states that 'There is nobody to help us. We remember grandfather Gandhi every day and get on with our lives. Gandhi is the one who worked honestly. What else is there about him?'

There is widespread belief among people at aided khadi institutions that the sector can be strengthened by increasing the financial support from the state, making sure that khadi workers earn living wages and get continuous work throughout the year, bringing new technologies like solar-powered spinning machines and looms, diversifying khadi production, improving designs and publicising khadi products.

The production process at the non-aided khadi institution involves weaving, natural dyeing, and tailoring. The sizing and warping process is managed by the same bunch of people and are paid partly in the form of salary, and partly at piece rates. Their average earning varies between Rs 7000 (£75) to 9000 (£97) per month. The bobbin winding is carried out in the homes of the workers as a part-time occupation, mainly by older workers. They are paid Rs 2 (£0.02) per hank, and on average they earn about Rs 2000 (£21) to 3000 (£32) per month. The pirn winding and weaving are carried out by the weavers, and they are paid about Rs 50 (£0.5) to 60 (£0.6) per meter, and earn about Rs 6000 (£65) to 9000 (£97) per month. The natural dyeing and tailoring processes are hand operated and carried out based on the requirements of the buyers. The rest of the time

the dyers and tailors participate in other production and sales related activities. Both are paid partly in the form of salary, and partly based on their production volumes, and they earn about Rs 6000 (£64) to 9000 (£97) per month. The income of the secretary is linked to the total production and sales of the khadi institution and earn about Rs 8000 (£86) to 12000 (£130) per month. The khadi materials that are produced are sold mainly in the form of fabrics. The marketing involves both business-to-business and business-to-consumer strategies through a physical store, exhibitions and e-commerce platform.

There is a stark earning inequality in the existing khadi supply chain. The primary producers being the largest group of people are the lowest income earners. The income of employees at the KVIC and the KSKVIB, on average, is seven times more than the primary producers. It demonstrates that those people who are meant to support the primary producers have themselves become the major beneficiaries in the khadi sector. As Gopinath (2010: 322) suggests, 'it appears that KVIC and its programme-implementing institutions have taken up khadi work largely to avail of the other financial benefits provided by the Government.' Further, the workers, particularly the weavers, at the non-aided khadi institution are earning twice the income of their counterparts at aided khadi institutions.

Work atmosphere at non-aided khadi institutions, though, is quite a contrast to that of aided khadi institutions, the KVIC, the KSKVIB and the CSP. The key difference between non-aided khadi institution and aided khadi institutions is the former's emphasis on work that is centred around producers, whereas for the latter the focus is on material output. For the non-aided institution, the producer is viewed as more important than the material that is produced, whereas aided institutions prioritise production volume over individual producers. The workers at the non-aided khadi institution have greater flexibility in their worktimes, and more sociable hours. Full-time workers, such as warpers and weavers, start the work around 9 am, after finishing their household responsibilities. They all assemble every day at 11 am for a prayer meeting, where prayers are sung, work concerns are raised, if any, and the meeting acts as a space for interaction with the frequent visitors at the institution. The non-aided institution's

workers bring food from their homes and lunch together during their break, and then they leave the workplace around 5 pm.

Since the unit is small, there are no floor managers at the non-aided khadi institution, where individuals are guided by clearer understanding of their roles and responsibilities. There is less of the top-down pressure experienced at the aided institutions, with a sense of ownership among workers, as they are partial investors in the non-aided institution's activity. Some extent, there is a recognition among the worker that the importance of balance of both physical and intellectual work in improving their wellbeing. As a result, a maximum limit of 150 meters per month per weaver has been fixed in production. Since individuals are not allowed to produce more than the set limit, the workers have more control over their working lives; they are able to plan the work time and escape the trap of unceasing and unthinking production. This has enabled them to participate in other activities like group reading, watching films, theatre productions, potluck meals, field visits, games, and so on.

Further, a voluntary group target is also fixed in the weaving process at the non-aided khadi institution, which is calculated on the number of people working in a month, multiplied by a weaving constant of 100 meters. If the group successfully meets the target, then everyone is paid Rs 60 (£0.60) per meter of production. If the group fails to meet the set target, then everyone is paid Rs 50 (£0.50) per meter of production. This has inherently created an obligation for workers to cooperate with each other. This, in turn, has ensured the minimum breakeven production at the non-aided khadi institution is consistently met. In a small way, such practice follows the advice that Gandhi (1925: 285) offered that the workers in an enterprises should live in unity and harmony, like 'brothers and sisters, never regarding another as inferior, or oneself as inferior' resulting in 'a miniature swaraj.'

The perceptions of people at the non-aided khadi institution are slightly different from that of other people employed in the sector. Most of the workers at the institution have a favourable opinion of their work. For example, Shruthi, a weaver, states, 'I enjoy working here because there is no work pressure, and I earn fairly good remuneration for

my work.’ Even though the same opinion is held by many of Shruthi’s co-workers, the perspective is different among bobbin winders. For instance, Sharadamma, a sixty-year-old bobbin winder, states, ‘On the one hand, I am happy that I can work from home. But, on the other hand, I am unhappy because of the inconsistent quality of yarn, low wages and irregular work.’

Even though most of the workers at the non-aided khadi institution are pleased with their income, there is a desire to earn more. Many of them, particularly weavers and dyers, are content with their children continuing in the same occupation, though the majority of them aspire to see their children in occupations that entail less physical labour. For example, Savitha, a weaver, thinks, ‘My children should do easier work. They should get a job according to their education.’ Similarly, Pushpa, a co-worker of Savitha, expresses, ‘I would like my daughter to be a teacher.’

At the non-aided khadi institution, there is a basic understanding of the broader implications of their work on the environment and society. For example, Prakash, a natural dyer, states, ‘We use only natural dyes because they do not pollute water. As you see here, the used water in the process directly goes to the banana plantation and is not at all harmful.’ They know where the raw material comes from and where the finished khadi products are sold. According to Kavitha, a weaver, ‘We get yarn from another khadi institution near Mysore. Last year we had gone there to meet and interact with the spinners. Their life is more difficult than ours.’ They also have a loose understanding of khadi ideology and history. For instance, ‘The objective of khadi is to provide employment for people’ says Sujatha, who works as a saleswoman. Similarly, Harshitha, a weaver, states, ‘Khadi is connected to the freedom movement. We have seen that in a film that was screened to us few years ago. I do not remember the name, but an English actor had beautifully played Gandhi’s character.’

6.4.2 Exchange, consumption and disposal of Khadi

The exchange between producer and consumer in the khadi sector is impersonal. Like for most goods, money is the medium of exchange. This contributes to the apparent disconnect between primary producers and consumers, since the production takes

place mostly in rural areas, removed from their consumption in urban spaces. Therefore, the social consciousness of consumers remains limited, since they do not see the production processes. According to Ramesh, one of the consumers who was interviewed, 'I do not know who produces the materials. I buy khadi because it is comfortable, and it is a product of our country. However, it is a little expensive.' This kind of impersonal exchange without knowing about the producers or their working conditions seems widespread among khadi consumers.

Khadi is overwhelmingly produced for the market rather than for self-consumption by its producers. There is no conception or aspiration for greater self-sufficiency among its producers, as was the normative vision. The share of khadi consumption by the producers is little compared to non-producers. Despite having the capacity to afford khadi, the employees at the KVIC and the KSKVIB who wear cotton khadi on an everyday basis are in the minority. Even amongst khadi workers, there is a general perception that it is expensive compared to other materials. Additionally, they are commonly of the opinion that it requires extra care. As Kiran, a clerk at the KSKVIB, says, 'Khadi requires maintenance like starching and ironing. That is why I do not wear khadi regularly.' Many people at the KVIC and the KSKVIB, though, wear khadi because it is mandatory for employees.

The people at the CSP are in the second highest paid positions in the sector. The consumption habits among them are similar to the people at the KVIC and the KSKVIB. Most of them have a view that khadi materials do not have suitable elasticity and strength for their working conditions. However, some of them have bought khadi for special occasions mainly because of the reason as Ramanuja, one of the workers, says, 'Khadi absorbs sweat. Therefore, it is more comfortable.'

Although most workers at aided khadi institutions would like to wear what they have produced, they find it unaffordable. According to Nalini, a spinner, 'We cannot buy khadi from the money that we earn from this work.' Similarly, Suchitra, a weaver, states, 'I would like to wear what I make, but it is costly. I buy two sarees for Rs 500 (£5) in the market. Whereas, the cost of one khadi saree that I weave is a few thousand rupees.'

On average, the finished khadi goods are three times more expensive than the power loom materials that they usually wear. For similar reasons, the workers at the non-aided khadi institution also find it more expensive to purchase what they produce because the khadi materials are not subsidised by the government. However, many of them have bought a few materials, which tend to be worn on special occasions. Apart from affordability, they value other materials more than their own produce. Vimala, a spinner says, 'I prefer non-khadi cloth because they have better designs, colours and finishing.' However, some of them own a few pairs of khadi clothes in their collections. Those khadi clothes are mainly due to the payment of bonuses received in the form of khadi materials. They wear khadi mostly for functions that are hosted by their respective institutions, as well as for the visits of higher authorities and politicians to their workplaces.

In many shops, however, the salespeople are generally found wearing khadi. As Manjunath, one of the salesmen says, 'I wear khadi regularly. If I do not wear it, then who else will?' Even though such a notion is present among the salesmen, most of them prefer polyester khadi rather than cotton khadi. Vishwanath, another salesman, believes, 'Cotton khadi requires ironing, but polyester khadi does not. More importantly, the finishing and texture of the latter are smooth compared to the former. That is why I prefer polyester khadi.'

Bigger cities like Bangalore are the largest consumption centres of khadi products. It is because the average income of people settled in urban areas is four times higher than that in rural areas (Das and Pathak, 2012: 4). Therefore, khadi, which is generally more expensive than other textiles, is largely dependent on an urban consumer base. These consumers, though, are not very aware of the ideology underpinning khadi production, and think little about the implications of their purchase on society and the environment at large. As Kumarappa (1936: 77) says, '[o]ften buyers are only concerned with satisfying their own requirements as near as possible and as cheaply as they can.' In spite of the low awareness among consumers, they purchase khadi because of various other reasons.

The regular khadi wearers tend to buy khadi because of its perceived comfort. Rani, a consumer who works in a government department, feels that 'Khadi is more comfortable because it has good aeration and absorbs sweat. Hence I buy khadi.' As opposed to this, some consumers prefer unstitched khadi materials because of the discomfort of khadi garments. Akash, a consumer who works as a police officer says, 'I wear branded cotton shirts. They are so comfortable, and there will not be a change even in one stitch. However, often khadi materials shrink, and I cannot wear them without ironing. That is why I prefer only unstitched khadi materials, like towels.'

A small section of elderly people who lived through the era of the Indian freedom movement regularly buy khadi for its historical value. Alok, a consumer and retired bank manager, says, 'It is the fabric that got us freedom. Hence I buy khadi.' Another important consumer segment is politicians. According to Malini, a saleswoman, 'Politicians buy khadi mostly of white colour.' It appears like they do so to represent themselves as a part of the nationalist tradition, and to associate themselves with India's freedom fighters.

Another consumer segment is made up of those with a strong sense of nationalism. They buy khadi with the assumption that it will contribute to transforming India into a powerful nation, since it is produced within the country. Varsha, a consumer who works as a lecturer, states, 'I buy khadi because it strengthens the national economy.' This line of reasoning could be attributed to the parochial nationalism promoted by the state in recent years through the glitzy campaigns run under the banner of 'Made in India'. As Govindu (2015) points out, nationalist consumption has limited benefits for the poor, as it tends to support mainly big businesses and foreign investments.

A new and growing segment of khadi consumers is found among younger generations who are more concerned about the disadvantaged sections of the society, and about the environment. As asserted by Jain and Kaur (2006: 134), there is a greater tendency among the relatively young, particularly those belonging to the 18-35 year old age demographic, to shop for socio-ecologically responsible products. Some in this age group see khadi as the future, since it is considered eco-friendly, and because it provides

employment opportunities for many socio-economically deprived people. For example, Niveditha, a 32-year-old customer who buys regularly at the non-aided khadi institution, says, 'I had never liked wearing khadi before because I had presumed that it is not modern enough. But over the years of exposure to the reality, I have realised that khadi is the way for attaining sustainable and equitable world. Since then khadi, has been my preference.'

However, there is a certain level of dissatisfaction present among khadi consumers. Many of them feel that there is a lack of new collections, and they are unhappy with the experience of shopping at the khadi outlets, particularly the outlets of the khadi institutions. Vimala, a consumer who works as a schoolteacher, observes, 'First of all there will be lack of collections at khadi stores. Further there is a difference coming here and going to other stores. Here they do not persuade us to buy. Salespeople are normally reluctant, and we ourselves have to push them to show us different materials.' A similar point is also raised by Goel and Jain (2015: 101–102), who suggest that the 'uneven quality and limited design patterns' at the existing khadi stores discourage customers from purchasing khadi products.

Further, there is a general perception that the fitting of khadi garments is not up to mark. Shekhar, a consumer who works in a bank, states, 'The stitching and designs of khadi materials are not good. Normally, khadi garments do not fit you. However, instead, you need to fit to the garments that are made.' Most importantly, many consumers think that khadi clothes are plain and unattractive. Paramesh, a consumer who works in a software company, states, 'I used to wear khadi in my college days. When I started going for a job, I stopped because I felt odd among colleagues. Also, my wife says that the designs of khadi outfits do not look good on me. Hence I just buy khadi bedsheets.' A similar observation is also made by Mahalanabish et al (2018: 204) that 'customers become dissatisfied with poor quality of garments, lack of having design value, variety in products etc.'

The life span of khadi materials, though, is relatively longer, as it is only occasionally used by a most of the consumers. Sushma, a consumer who works as a bank manager,

states, 'I wear khadi once in a while. So, I do not buy khadi regularly.' Khadi materials being made out of uneven yarn quality, and its irregular knitting demands smooth hand wash and drying under shade in order to maintain a good condition. Since many of the urban khadi consumers use washing machines and electric dryers, the khadi materials deteriorate more quickly. There is scant awareness among consumers of the social and ecological impact of the disposal of khadi. For instance, Akshatha, a consumer who works in a college, says, 'I do not have any idea what happens to the used khadi garments once I throw them away.' There is a little effort from consumers to upcycle the used khadi materials.

The above analysis indicates that, production within the khadi sector is largely driven by a narrow conception of efficiency rather than the idea of self-sufficiency as conceived in the swaraj normative vision. So too is the emphasis on material production rather than on improving the lives of the workers involved. It is evident that the work at state machineries like the KVIC, the KSKVIB and the CSP fulfils only with the living-wage criterion of normative vision's conception of wholesome work. The work at the aided khadi institutions, though, fails to offer even a living wage, offering only some flexibility in working hours. There is a stark division of labour, a lack of balance between physical and intellectual endeavour, an absence of any ownership over the means of production, and a limited awareness among khadi producers about the impact of their work on the larger society and the environment.

The work at the non-aided khadi institution, though, does meet some of the criteria of wholesome work. Individuals in the non-aided sector engaged in both physical and intellectual work. They have greater freedom over working hours, have a share in the ownership of the means of production, and more frequently earn a living income. Though far from ideal, the non-aided khadi does provide insights into potential reforms to be made in the aided sector, and the path towards the attainment of the normative vision of swaraj.

The material conditions and value system of producers make the khadi trade impossible to carry out on the basis of surplus production, as envisioned by the normative vision.

There is a clear disconnection between khadi producer and consumer, where they know very little about each other. The lack of consumers' attention to the implications of their purchases on the lives of producers, and to the impact of disposal on society and the environment, make the consumption and disposal stages of the existing khadi sector inconsistent with the swaraj normative vision.

6.5 Conclusion

The existing khadi sector in the state of Karnataka is notably distant from the swaraj normative vision as conceived by Gandhi and Kumarappa. Although, most of the khadi workers perceive non-violence as a moral compass as envisaged by the normative vision, its application in material practices is limited. The majority of the khadi community does not have a clear understanding about the intricate relationship that individuals have with other human and non-human beings. It reflects the vague indirect connection that they perceive with other beings in their cosmology.

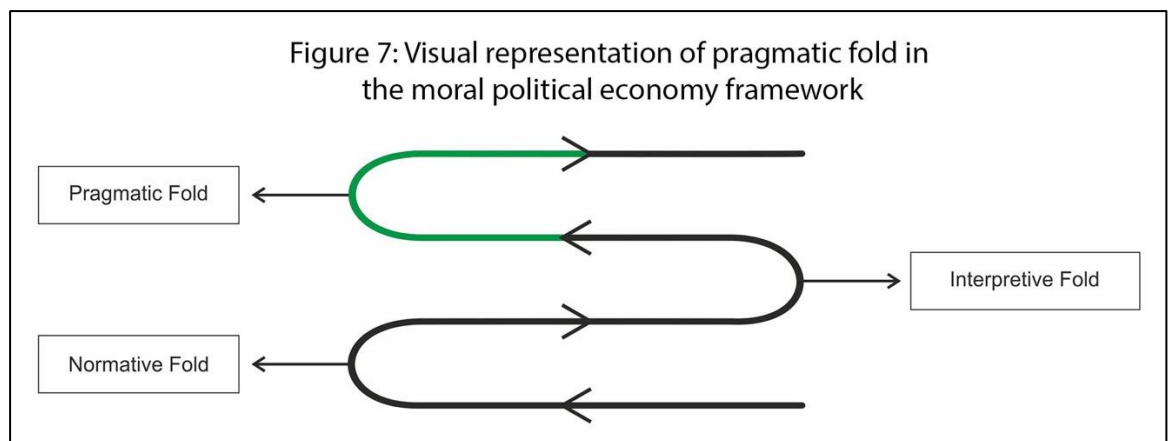
The politics in khadi sector involves the centralisation of power, contrary to the decentralisation of power as aspired to by the normative vision. Power resides largely with men with formal education, particularly from the mature adulthood age group, and who come from the Above Poverty Line (APL) group and Other Backward Classes (OBC) of Hindu religion. The power dynamic is exceptionally centralised, mainly because of the regulation of the sector by the state. The financial assistance provided by the state has reduced the freedom of khadi institutions and the people employed. Further, the direct involvement of the state in production and marketing of khadi has resulted in red-tapism, inefficiency, and corruption across the sector. The primary producers at the CSP, as well as in aided khadi institutions, have little scope for participating in the important decision-making processes, which is in contrast with the situation at the non-aided khadi institution. Even though there is exploitation within the power structure of the sector at different levels, there is no visible resistance due to fear of reprisals, a lack of alternative livelihoods, and absence of solidarity among workers.

The economy of the khadi sector is driven by the notion of efficiency instead of self-sufficiency, as envisioned by the normative vision. The work at the KVIC, KSKVIB and CSP meets only the living-wage criterion of wholesome work. Similarly, the work at aided khadi institution satisfies only the condition of worktime flexibility. The work at non-aided khadi institution fulfils some of the benchmarks of wholesome work, such as ownership over means of production, living wages, and freedom over worktime. Most of the khadi workers are unhappy with their remuneration, and they wish they could see their children pursue alternative occupations outside of the khadi sector. The large portion of those employed in the sector are not aware of the ideology and history of khadi, only recognising a loose connection with Gandhi and the Indian freedom movement. Similarly, most of the khadi workers do not comprehend the supply chain in its entirety. Such a limited social consciousness can be attributed to the severe division of labour that only allows khadi workers to comprehend the social relations pertaining to their immediate work, and which disconnects them from the wider khadi supply chain. The consumption of khadi by the producers themselves is negligible, and khadi is largely unaffordable for most of the primary producers employed at khadi institutions. Therefore, the trade of khadi has become impossible to carry out only in surplus as envisioned by the normative vision. Money has become the medium of exchange, and there is a clear disconnection between producers and consumers. The reasons for khadi purchase include its comfort, beliefs that it strengthens national economy, its association with the freedom movement, and views that it is eco-friendly and supports the poor and destitute. However, there are negative perceptions among consumers that khadi products are expensive, unattractive, and require more care than other textiles. Further, the consumers have little awareness about the impact of disposal of khadi on larger society and the environment.

CHAPTER 7: THE KHADI SECTOR IN KARNATAKA: A WAY FORWARD

7.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an account of the possible course of actions that can be taken to bring the existing social conditions of the Khadi sector in Karnataka in line with the swaraj normative vision, which entails a morality of non-violence, politics of decentralisation, and economic self-sufficiency. Although these components have been explored in distinct sections, it is important to note that they are not exclusive from one another in the moral political economy (MPE) framework, but rather overlap. This chapter uses the interpretive analysis of the khadi sector from chapter six as a springboard to explore possible measures to affect a transformation of the khadi sector. It utilises insights from the non-aided khadi institution that was studied as the basis for making pragmatic suggestions. Even though the non-aided khadi institution is far from perfect, it points the direction for khadi sector to shift towards in attaining the goals of the normative vision. Furthermore, the chapter draws ideas from fieldwork observations and living examples outside of the khadi sector that align with the normative vision in proposing such potential steps. By doing so, it delineates the pragmatic fold of moral political economy framework, as represented with the green colour segment in the following Figure 7.



This chapter makes an effort to delineate the ways of transforming the khadi sector to align it closer with the normative vision espoused by Gandhi (1937: 260) as he argued, 'we may not perhaps be able to realise the goal [of swaraj], but we must bear in mind and work unceasingly to near it. To the same extent as we progress towards the goal, we shall find contentment and happiness, and to that extent too shall we have contributed towards the bringing into being of a non-violent society.'

The first section of this chapter explores the possibilities for enhancing the commitment of the khadi community to the morality of non-violence, understood in terms of the 'greatest good of all' as envisioned by the swaraj normative vision (Gandhi, 1926c: 432). The section suggests enhancement of khadi workers' self-knowledge through an empirical understanding of the material relations in which they are embedded, helping them to recognise the role of others in their self existence, while creatively engaging with their cultural memory. It argues that such an exercise would help them to recognise the obligations that they have towards each other, and to bring about a more caring attitude among khadi community.

The second section investigates the potential ways of increasing political 'decentralisation' within the khadi sector as aspired by the normative vision (Kumarappa, 1936: 167). It advises cultural intervention to improve the distribution of power within the khadi community. It also suggests a complete revamping of the sector's political structure by advocating for the state's withdrawal from direct involvement in khadi production and marketing. It instead recommends that the state undertake a more limited role as an agency that monitors the khadi sector to preserve the authenticity of the fabric. The section also advises khadi institutions take steps towards becoming financially self-reliant, and that they form a network among themselves to act as a collective force. It suggests restructuring khadi institutions to ensure participatory spaces for primary producers and the development of consensus-based decision-making processes. Further the section proposes training for khadi workers to help them understand and take up non-violent resistance to exploitation in the form of *satyagraha* (insistence on Truth), thus helping to establish non-violent social order within the sector.

The third section identifies means for strengthening economic 'self-sufficiency' within the khadi sector as envisaged by the normative vision (Kumarappa, 1951: 6). It suggests a fundamental re-orientation of the economy away from the prevailing notion of efficiency towards one of self-sufficiency. It proposes setting a maximum limit on production at khadi institutions to shift the focus from unlimited material growth to improving the lives of producers. The section advises that khadi institutions establish collaborations with other, non-khadi marketing brands to sell their products for higher prices, and, in turn, ensure a living income for producers. Further, it discusses the need for creating awareness among khadi producers and consumers about the moral implications of their material exchange.

7.2 Enhancing the commitment to the morality of non-violence among khadi community

This section investigates the ways of transforming the morality present within the khadi community to bring it in accordance with the morality of nonviolence as per the swaraj normative vision. Such efforts require a transformation in the cosmological vision of khadi workers in line with the normative vision's cosmology of Natural Order. Since the worldview of the khadi community is shaped by its cultural memory, rooted in religious texts and symbols, it is essential to engage with it to bring about a transformation in the workers' cosmological views. The khadi community derives practical moral lessons from the narrative tales of the actions of divine providence. Therefore, an 'exegetical exercise' would entail an 'impassionate [re]imagination' of mythology to 'make texts and symbols signify the desired meaning' (Nagaraj, 2010: 41). Such an act of imagination is feasible within the cultural memory because it does not hold a clear distinction between mythology and history. Such an engagement with the cultural memory requires a combination of questioning its defective elements, retaining its sensible aspects, and innovating existing materials by employing creative interpretations. It helps to bring transformation in the community by delving into what Dharampal (2007: 149) refers to as the attitude and attributes of peoples' *chitta* (mind) and sense of *kala* (time).

Further such engagement protects people from the humiliation of seeing their ways being disdained during the process of transformation.

For example, Gandhi's radically different interpretation of *Bhagavat Gita*, one of the celestial texts of Hinduism, as an apostle of non-violence, is contrary to the traditional perceptions of Gita as 'transcendence from the world' and a 'call to duty through violence' (Terchek, 1998: 58). In doing so, he elevated the conception of non-violence, which was not a defining element of Hinduism, to a position of central importance within the fold of public consciousness of the time of the independence movement.

Similarly, another example is the adaptation of cultural memory during the Chipko movement, the well-known non-violent forest conservations struggle in 1970s at the foothills of Himalayas. The movement utilised locally popular mythological stories, particularly the *Bhagavata Purana*, known also as *Shrimad Bhagavatam*, that contains the tales of the adventurous life of the lord Krishna in the forest of Vrindavan, as well as his love for nature and of its resplendent beauty. These stories were recited during the demonstrations to save the forests of the Himalayas, and acted as cultural resources for reflecting upon the moral significance of the forests. This creative interpretation of religious stories became one of the most important means of gaining support of the Chipko movement, and a way for arousing common humanity to bring the intended social transformation (James, 2013: 104–108).

Even though such engagements are rare in contemporary times, a recent effort on this front is the interpretation of *Ramayana*, one of the epics of Hinduism, by Prasanna, a well known theatre director, and an advocate of handmades in Karnataka. In his book *Moola Ramayana* (original Ramayana), Prasana argues that the epic is not a mere story of the God Rama and his wife Sita, as widely believed. Instead, he suggest that, in its original meaning, it advocates a civilisational vision for humanity based on the harmonious relationship between nature and humans, while placing physical work at its core (Gowda, 2019; Prasanna, 2019). This interpretation, in a subtle way, has brought the discussion about civilisational crisis into contemporary public consciousness in Karnataka.

The impact of a constructive engagement with cultural memory was more visible at the non-aided khadi institution that was evaluated for this study. For example, Annapoorna, a young weaver, comments on the prayer meeting that takes place every day at the workplace, 'It is like a daily reminder for us that we are all one.' The prayers include the strands of all faiths, and used to be sung at *ashrams* set up by Gandhi. By taking the names of Gods that are worshiped as a part of different religions, and by creatively weaving them as various manifestations of the same God, the prayers provide a basis for reinterpreting the cultural memory. The subtle acceptance of oneness, as expressed above in the statement by Annapoorna, shows the capacity of cultural memories to be recast, and for worldviews to be widened. Such an exegetical engagement can help to reshape the cultural memories of khadi workers and align them with the normative vision.

Another important way of enhancing commitment to the morality of non-violence among the khadi community is through cultivating self-knowledge by enquiring about the place of the self in the cosmos. This can be more effectively done by an empirical understanding of the material world, particularly through an ecological perspective. For example, Chandan, the secretary of the non-aided khadi institution, says that:

Often, we organise environmental education programmes facilitated by the *Hasiru Hejje*¹⁴ [green footprint] initiative of the Mysore Amateur Naturalists. The ecological perspective that those programmes provide has significantly helped our khadi workers to understand the intricate relationship with the natural world. However, the impact is more evident among youngsters in the group.

Such exposure to an understanding of the natural world helps individuals to realise the intricate connections between the self and other beings in the cosmos (Feral, 1998; Metz, 2014; Piff et al., 2015; Richardson et al., 2016; Williams, 2017). The recognition of the contribution of other beings towards the existence of the self through these exercises encourages an individual to lead a life that operates in accordance with the

¹⁴ More about Hasiru Hejje initiative of Mysore Amateur Naturalists can be found at <http://hasiruhejje.blogspot.com>.

Natural Order. By doing so, one could expand their social consciousness and empathy, while lessening the demands of the egoistic self. This enhances commitment to the morality of non-violence by encouraging detachment from desires, and, consequently, promotes an experience of longer-lasting peace.

7.3 Strengthening political decentralisation in the khadi sector

This section examines the potential steps that can be taken to transform existing politics within the khadi sector to realise the goal of political decentralisation espoused by the swaraj normative vision. The efforts to improve power distribution among khadi workers from different social positions require multiple mediations, not only within the khadi sector, but also within the larger social fabric. It demands a constant long-term engagement with the khadi workforce, mainly through cultural interventions, as in the case of the non-aided khadi institution, and like Charaka¹⁵, a women's multipurpose industrial cooperative society situated in Karnataka. The Charaka initiative is known not only for producing natural dyed cotton handloom fabrics and garments, but also for *Charaka Utsava*, an annual cultural festival that provides a space for artisans to participate in cultural performances, seminars, and discussions on social issues.

The cultural engagements help to cultivate a sense of belonging in khadi workers, and encourage them to be part of their collective existence. For instance, Geetha, a warper at the non-aided khadi institution, states, 'I enjoy working here because along with the work, we are encouraged to participate in dramas, singing, group games and so on. We are all like a family here.' The visual and performing arts can become a medium for people to understand their nexus with larger society and the environment. Art, being a creative medium, has the capacity to 'develop greater empathy for the circumstances of those with very different life experiences' (MacNeill et al., 2018: 37). For example, Lokesh, a middle-aged dyer at the non-aided khadi institution, states, 'Last year we performed a skit focused on gender discrimination. I acted as a woman. That exercise helped me to realise, how we [men] dominate women every day. Since then I have been trying at least to listen patiently to the points that my wife makes.'

¹⁵ More about Charaka can be found at <http://charaka.in>.

Similarly, there is a need to promote intellectual pursuits like reading, writing, and watching documentaries, particularly paying ‘attention to the historical and social factors that shape societies and countries and to the diverse ways in which people organise their worlds’ for enhancing ‘empathy’ among the khadi workforce (Schwittay and Boocock, 2015: 302). Meditation classes and programmes that encourage one to take the perspective of others could be carried out for encouraging their compassion for each other (Condon et al., 2013; Weisz and Zaki, 2017). More importantly, Transactional Analysis programmes that take a psychotherapeutic approach to understanding the interactions between individuals could be organised by khadi institutions for promoting more effective communication and better management of interpersonal relationships within the community (Berne, 1961; Davidson and Mountain, 2011).

To further bring positive changes within the larger social fabric in which the khadi community is embedded, there is a need for a new education system, or *Nai talim*, as envisaged by Gandhi (1937: 197), which involves the ‘all-round drawing out of the best in child and man – body, mind and spirit.’ In essence, this new education enables individuals to govern themselves, inspires them to be their best and encourages them to lead others by example. The key features of such an education, as Kumarappa (1936: 188) outlines, should employ vocation or craft as the medium of instruction, around which all other intellectual subject matters should be taught. Education should be experiential and aided by art. It should kindle interest in phenomena, encouraging students to investigate why things are and what they are. It should advance from ‘play to investigation and then to creation’ (Kumarappa 1936: 189). The *Nai talim* education centres should operate as much as possible using funds generated through the sales of the products produced from vocational training, relying on a minimum level of external support. For example, Anand Niketan¹⁶ school at *Sevagram ashram* in central India is inspired by the *Nai talim* system of education. In this school, children pursue intellectual work in close integration with physical work, particularly undertaking activities such as

¹⁶ More about the Anand Niketan school can be found at <http://www.anandaniketan.info>.

gardening, cooking, spinning and so on (Anand Niketan School and Nai Talim Samiti, 2016: 6). Such an exposure and space to help children see the dignity of physical labour could encourage them to take up occupations based on human energy, such as khadi activity, as prospective livelihoods.

Similarly, alternative media that could bring the life stories of those engaged in livelihoods based on physical labour into the public consciousness, helping to restore the lost self-respect among people involved in sectors like khadi. For instance, the project PARI (People's Archive of Rural India)¹⁷ documents the lives of rural India has provided an opportunity for village people to amplify their voices. An equivalent platform could be created exclusively for people from the khadi sector to share their stories with the larger public. This could help to bring back the khadi sector into public consciousness, and to establish a living connection with urban consumers.

The failure of khadi occupations to be seen as aspirational livelihoods for people from across different social positions poses a threat to the survival of the sector in the long run, as discussed in chapter six. A possible way to overcome the challenge is to make sure that people earn a minimum living income. This issue is discussed in detail in the subsequent section on strengthening the economic self-sufficiency of the sector. Further, it is essential to dispense with the widespread perspective that physical work is drudgery that is held among younger generations in order to keep the khadi sector alive. As Gandhi (1925: 355–356) states, one should 'not discount the value of intellectual labour, but no amount of it is any compensation for bodily labour which every one of us is born to give for the common good of all.' He continues, 'it may be, often is, infinitely superior to bodily labour, but it never is or can be substitute for it, even as intellectual food though far superior to the grains we eat never can be a substitute for them. Indeed, without the products of the earth those of the intellect would be an impossibility.' There is a need to create interest in undertaking physical work by encouraging individuals to understand its moral and material implications. As Kumarappa (1949: 19) says, '[a]

¹⁷ More about the People's Archive or Rural India (PARI) can be found at <https://ruralindiaonline.org>.

farmer, who has been educated to realise the social [and environmental] aspect[s] of his contribution and is enabled to see in every furrow he makes, the formation of life giving channels which will carry food and hope to starving fellowmen, will take pleasure and pride in the role he plays in society and, obtaining satisfaction to his soul, will put his heart into his work. No tractor can do that. That is the only way to counteract drudgery.'

The decentralisation of power dynamics requires a significant restructuring in the khadi sector. There is a need for the state to accept the path of swaraj development, and any of its plans should 'take a comprehensive view of the circumstances under which we are working - the needs of the people, the natural resources, facilities available to the meanest and, the quantity and quality of the human factor at our disposal' (Kumarappa, 1954: 26). According to Rohini (2009: 12), '[f]or preserving the ethos of khadi, rather than just tinker with the existing system, a restructuring of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission is necessary. The potential of khadi needs to be exploited for its inherent worth rather than be supported for charity.' The highly centralised KVIC has to be dismantled, and radical changes have to be brought about in the Karnataka State Khadi and Village Industries Board (KSKVIB). The existing KSKVIB needs to be revamped to form separate boards for khadi and village industries.

The state should look to impose lower tax on the khadi sector while levying more tax on machine made textiles and its implements. As Kumarappa (1948: 60) states, '[w]here certain articles are produced both by centralised methods and by decentralised, as in the case of cloth or oil, price controls should be applied to mill products but not to hand-made goods, if we are to follow the fundamental principles of public finance and abstain from hampering the much desired distribution of wealth.' Such price control encourages the consumption of more environmental friendly and socially just textiles. As was observed in the non-aided khadi institution, the newly formed khadi board has to take decisions based on consensus to protect the self-rule of its workers. It has to provide basic living wages and incentives based on performance to sustain the motivation of the people employed. Importantly, the employees of the state being public servants, should be paid in line with the average earnings of ordinary citizens. As Kumarappa (1936: 117)

says, '[a]nything much above that will be diverging too far from the condition of the people we [state] profess to serve.' This would encourage such employees to understand the problems confronted by the ordinary workers. It is essential that recruitment of the individuals for state-level operations are made based on necessary qualifications, including first-hand experience in khadi production and marketing. Such a policy would reduce the disconnection between the bureaucrats and khadi producers.

Further, the state should gradually withdraw from direct khadi production and sales activities over a period of five years. A similar recommendation is also made by a recent evaluation study, which states that, '[I]ike in any other sector, the government agency should not get into the business of doing business...The product development and marketing of Khadi products should be left to the private sector' (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 14). Instead, the state should restrict its activities and operate as an oversight agency to protect the authenticity of khadi. Removing itself from directly running khadi activities and its associated financial management would help to reduce the corruption and red-tapism that are rife within the state machinery by minimising the financial transactions that it intermediates. Further as Kumarappa (1954: 22) points out, 'arrangements must be made [by the state] that no one, however highly placed, is immune from enquiry if allegations against him are made by responsible parties and a prima facie case exists.' This would help restore the public's confidence in bureaucracy. More importantly, to tackle corruption within the state machinery, people should be encouraged to select representatives of high moral standards, 'capable of [a] disinterested approach to problems and of deciding matters on merit even against themselves' (Kumarappa, 1954: 22).

The monitoring could entail frequent inspections of production and sales entities to ensure the authenticity of khadi. The definition of authenticity should be guided by a holistic definition of khadi textiles based on the conception of swaraj that encompasses fabrics produced from of hand spinning, hand weaving, and other hand-crafted value additions using native varieties of cotton. As suggested by Dhanuraj et al. (2018: 16), 'any deviation from the defined processes, to improve productivity is welcome, but should be marked out as a different product with a different brand.' The district level

offices of a newly formed khadi board could act as audit agencies to prevent spurious khadi production and marketing within their territories by imposing legal sanctions.

Further, the monitoring agency would need to ensure that maximum limits over the scale of production are set for each khadi institution, replacing the current minimum thresholds. Such caps on production would encourage more people to take up the activity by reducing monopolies within the sector. The monitoring process should require khadi institutions to follow a coding system that indicates the specificity of products, like yarn spun on '*takli*', or '*ambar Charkha*', woven on 'frame loom' or 'pit loom', dyed using 'natural dyes' or 'azo free dyes' or 'chemical dyes', printed using 'hand blocks' or 'screen print', and so on. It would help khadi institutions to fix different prices for products produced via different processes, and help inform and educate consumers about the products' history, and to pay accordingly (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 15).

This shift in the role of the state would create a ground for khadi institutions to self-rule. Reforms could also be made to the existing operations of aided khadi institutions to introduce practices similar to those already in place in the non-aided khadi institution. The lack of participatory space within the existing institutional framework of aided khadi institutions can be rectified by ensuring that decision-making processes are made based on consensus rather than majority rule. For such a process to be effective, the size of the institution needs to be maintained at an optimum scale. It is crucial to make sure that the scale of khadi institution is within the optimum size of 50 people, which Sale (2017: 247) suggests as the highest possible number for effectively reaching an agreement at the workplace. As Hemanth, a social entrepreneur who has a long-standing association with the khadi sector, says, 'We should have more institutions with fewer people instead of the other way round.' The scale of the khadi activity has to be reoriented towards more horizontal expansion rather than vertical growth. There is a need to make sure that when any necessary aid is accepted, it does not wrest power from the khadi institutions over its decision making. By doing so, it would help to protect and preserve the self-rule of the khadi workers.

There is a need for a network of khadi institutions in Karnataka to act as a collective force to resist the coercive forces of the state and non-state actors. A similar recommendation is also been made by Gopinath (2010: 332), who suggests that it helps to 'improve the low standard of living of the working poor through collective, purposeful manipulation of the public environment—public action—whether by means of legislation, lobbying or self-organisation.' The network should strengthen solidarity among khadi institutions by offering voluntary membership and ensuring that they are autonomous and legally independent entities, as in the case of the Mondragón corporation in Spain (Barandiaran and Lezaun, 2017: 279, 283).

The Mondragón corporation, started in the 1940s, was established by a young social Catholic priest, José María Arizmendiarieta, with the intention of providing better education and employment for youths just after the Spanish Civil War. He combined the entrepreneurial spirit of Spain's industrial tradition and the communitarian values of rural hinterland to create series of cooperatives (Molina and Miguez, 2008). He initially established *Escuela Profesional*, a technical training school, in 1943 that led to the Talleres Ulgor, the first cooperative that fabricated heater and gas stoves. Over the years, new cooperatives were added to form Mondragón corporation, which currently comprises over 260 firms employing more than 80,000 workers.

Collective action through the network of khadi institution is essential to protect the interest of the sector, and could emulate an organisation like SEWA (Self-employment Women's Association), the largest trade union in India. The SEWA was established in 1972 as a response to the unfair and corrupt practices of cloth merchants that had kept the earnings of women labourers low, and maintained these women in a precarious position. The idea of organising these women labourers under the umbrella of SEWA was conceived by Ela Bhatt, a trained lawyer deeply influenced by Gandhian thought. With its success as a union, various cooperatives were formed over the years to help its members to produce and market the fruit of their labours and build their assets. Since then it has managed to improve the lives of poor women from across different informal sectors, 'through both the collective pressure that organising allows them to exert and the creation of alternative employment opportunities' (Blaxall, 2004: 1). At present, it

comprises over 100 cooperatives having more than 13,000,000 members across the country.

As observed in the non-aided khadi institution, the proposed khadi network should make decisions based on consensus, provide basic living wages and incentives based on performance to ensure efficiency at work, and set a fixed ratio between the highest paid and lowest paid to curb income inequality within the institutional structure of the network. The network has to develop systems for ensuring the financial and social security of khadi workers.

The network of khadi institutions should have district khadi promotion centres. These centres would facilitate networking between khadi institutions and wholesale buyers. Regular consumer awareness drives could be carried out to bring khadi into the fold of public consciousness. Further, they could facilitate training programmes for khadi workers and aspirants who want to join the sector. The entrepreneur programmes could enable participants with skills required for better managing production and marketing khadi products, similar to the Handloom School¹⁸ initiative of the WomenWeave charitable trust in Madhya Pradesh. The school provides training for young handloom weavers from across India in skills that help them to optimise marketing opportunities, and to earn more sustainable livelihoods.

Similarly, the network should provide training programmes for khadi workers to undertake non-violent resistance in the form of *satyagraha*. Such an effort is essential to establish and maintain non-violent social order within the khadi sector. This kind of training should aim at helping individuals to realise how their passiveness towards oppression contributes to the propagation of existing oppressive conditions. Individuals should be trained to practice *satyagraha* in their everyday life. As Gregg (1966: 149–175) outlines, such training could include reading and discussions about non-violent struggles within the optimum group size of five to twelve. Non-violent tactics need to

¹⁸ More about the Handloom School can be found at <https://www.womenweave.org/The%20Handloom%20School>

be explored in various scenarios, with clear reasons provided for opting for specific strategies. Further, Gregg advises practice in speaking in a low, calm, gentle, and evenly pitched tone of voice. Importantly, patience, self-control, and courtesy in everyday functions of life have to be exercised. Self-less actions can be carried out and results can be acknowledged. Self-respect must be developed with humility and tempered by humour to check notions of superiority. Storytelling and watching films of heroic achievements can be done to enhance courage. Belief in unity with fellow humans can be strengthened through group activities such as meditation, singing, dancing, walks, cooking, undertaking manual work, and serving people in need. However, as Gandhi (1946: 64) points out, it is important to make the trainees understand the necessary conditions for the success of *satyagraha*: '(1) The *Satyagrahi* [the person who undertakes *satyagraha*] should not have any hatred in his heart against the opponent; (2) the issue must be true and substantial; (3) The *Satyagrahi* must be prepared to suffer till the end for his cause.'

There is a need to establish a centre for khadi research and technology under the network of khadi institutions. The centre should function according to 'non-violent science' rooted in the normative vision of swaraj (Prasad, 2001: 3721). According to Kumarappa:

Science is not the creation of man. Nature works in well-defined grooves according to immutable laws. When man understands these laws and reduces them to a system of knowledge, we call in science. It follows, therefore, that any course of action to be termed scientific should conform to nature in all its bearings and where we deviate from nature, to that extent we are unscientific. (Kumarappa, 1948a: 1)

The key features of such science can be drawn from Prasad's (1999, 2007) pioneering work on experiments made during the khadi movement in the early twentieth century. According to Prasad, the central objective of non-violent science is to attain swaraj through experimentation, both in institutional and technical spheres. Non-violent science acknowledges the incapacity of humans to understand absolute Truth in its entirety. The universality of non-violent science lays in a sense that every individual can be a scientist without the requirement of costly research equipment. By encouraging

people's participation in making technology, it provides space for end users to be involved at the design stage itself. This in turn avoids the necessity for end users to adopt readymade technologies.

Further, by keeping the diffusion of knowledge and the production of knowledge intact, it eliminates hierarchies of knowledge developing between the scientists as experts, and others as simply end users. An example was the call for the participation of 'farmers and enthusiasts to build a knowledge base of the varieties of Indian cotton through large scale experimentation across the country at various farms and regions' by the All India Spinners Association (AISA) in 1949, during the early khadi movement (Prasad, 1999: 19). As a part of the exercise, AISA set the research parameters, and interested farmers were provided with information on the techniques of pure line selection of cotton varieties, and on the durability and maturity of fibres over staple length. The farmers carried out experimentation on their farms, and shared their findings with AISA. By farmers becoming scientists as well as beneficiaries, the project reduced the hierarchies of knowledge.

The non-violent science aims at producing a new plural knowledge system using vernacular knowledge and proven practices of prevailing science (Prasad, 2007). In doing so, it bypasses the binary opposition of tradition and modernity. It requires scientist to not only conduct experimentation based on reasons and facts, but also with the intention of abetting a morality of non-violence that fosters the greatest good of all. It calls for a new regulation of intellectual property right that treats scientists as trustees of their knowledge, and considers innovations as open source. By recognising the limited control that individuals have over the ultimate outcomes of their actions, non-violent science considers failure as an opportunity for exploring uncharted territories that others can learn from, and as offering a significant contribution to the existing knowledge base. It comprehends research as a vital social process, and it promotes methodological diversity and sees the possibility of continual improvement through experimentation.

The non-violent science emphasises a close connection between research labs and the field. It encourages labs to be self-supporting as Kumarappa (1936: 192), for example, says, '[a]n agricultural college, which cannot maintain itself on the land allotted to it, belies the object for which it exists. Similarly, all other professional and technical colleges should be made to pay for themselves.' This helps scientists to gain sensitivity for every crisis that people experience on ground when their innovations and recommendations were adopted. It urges labs to seek validation for their inventions from people from the field. The non-violent science advocates a field-to-lab-to-field approach, contrary to the prevailing unidirectional lab-to-field approach of mainstream scientific research. Further, it prioritises the quality of the output, understood in terms of social and environmental impact, over the productivity of a technology.

By emphasising science by the people, a khadi science and technology centre has to depart from the prevalent model of current scientific establishments rooted in the assumption of science — created by scientists — for the people. Useful pointers can be found in the contemporary 'humanitarian design' approach that involves a collaborative process between designers and beneficiaries that 'account for power and knowledge dynamics, and that at their best embrace indigenous and collective ways of knowing and living' (Schwittay, 2014: 43). Insights about the non-violent scientific approach of field-to-lab-to-field can be obtained from the Honeybee Network¹⁹ initiative in India, which 'pools and links both formal and informal science and scientists' (Gupta, 1996). Apart from conducting research on khadi technologies, the centre for khadi research and technology has to initiate programmes to inculcate an attitude of research and experimentation among the khadi community, and to employ vernacular languages in scientific journals, books and conferences.

A much-needed technological intervention at the moment is the development of small-scale, low-cost cotton processing machines from ginning to rovings. This would help khadi institutions to run and operate their own cotton processing units. As Kalleshi, a pioneer in khadi revival in Karnataka, states, 'There has to be decentralisation in

¹⁹ More information about Honeybee Network can be found at <http://honeybee.org>.

producing rovings. Khadi institutions should be able to buy their cotton directly from farmers.’ Such an intervention, in turn, would considerably enhance the freedom of khadi institutions.

Decentralised cotton processing units enable cotton farmers and khadi institutions to directly interact with one another. This would benefit them, as in the case of the Malkha²⁰ initiative in Telangana, which aims to develop an alternative to the industrial model of cotton processing. The Malkha model of producing handloom cotton fabrics has allowed the group to source locally grown cotton from marginal farmers, and to ensure the diversity of cotton varieties. This has enabled them to manufacture cotton fabrics with unique cotton textures, and to diversify the cotton fabrics in the market. Further, the decentralised cotton processing machines could ‘spur a shift in cotton cultivation towards more sustainable patterns, renewing interest in traditional and perennial varieties of cotton that suffer from lack of local markets that can convert cotton to yarn. The recent organic cotton movement is also likely to benefit from such technological innovation’ (Prasad, 2001: 246–247).

It is important for the network of khadi institutions to become resilient and adaptive to the ever-evolving circumstances that affect the khadi sector. They can take insights from Gram Seva Sangh²¹ (GSS), an organisation that works to protect and nurture the handmade sector in the state of Karnataka. The work of GSS involves organising long marches, cultural events, symposiums and, more recently, pressuring for tax exemptions for the handmade sector through *satyagraha*, specifically with hunger strikes. Carrying out such struggles would help to bring back khadi into the fold of public consciousness, and ensure its survival in the long run.

The disorganisation within khadi institutions due to the neglectful attitude of managers can be resolved by taking insights from the non-aided khadi institution. The income of salaried individuals should be connected to production or sales of khadi products,

²⁰ More information about Malkha can be found at <https://malkha.in>.

²¹ More about Gram Seva Sangh can be found at <https://gramsevasangh.org>.

inducing them to be more efficient in their work. Similarly, the cooperation among workers can be enhanced by setting up group targets to create mutual obligations among them. The khadi institutions should consider only workers as primary members, and encourage them to become investors. As Chandan, the secretary of the non-aided khadi institution, says:

By encouraging workers to invest in the working capital, we are trying to abolish the owner and labourer relationship. Since everyone is a worker-investor of the enterprise, it demands everyone to act responsibly. Otherwise everybody has to bear the loss.

This kind of financial stake and liability for everyone who is part of the institution can foster a sense of ownership and voluntary responsibility. There is a need to have a fair income and profit distribution mechanism within the khadi institutions, as in the case of the non-aided khadi institution as outlined below.

The living wages for workers are decided collectively and a fixed income differential of 3:1 is in place between the highest paid and the lowest paid worker to limit the income inequality within the organisation. Profits are distributed amongst members once in every four months, with 25 percent of the profits retained by the institution as a reserve fund. Five percent of workers' monthly salary along with an equal contribution from the reserve fund is kept aside for a pension fund. Two percent of the profits is kept aside for a health fund, which can be utilised by the members for health emergencies. Another two percent is allocated towards providing bonus for members who are ineligible to make investment such as persons above 60 years of age and individuals who work less than 20 hours a week.

Another fund created out of profits, referred to as the 'God's aid', exemplifies the trust and solidarity which members share. One percent of the profit is kept towards the aid, which can be accessed by all the members of the institution for any emergency needs. Members do not require permission from others, nor do they have to disclose to other members their intention or purpose of accessing money from this fund. Any money taken from this fund is expected to be returned within a month, with a nominal

additional amount if possible. For the members, the responsibility of using the fund and its accountability are owed to God and to each other. The existence of this fund and its working perhaps serves as a testimony for the mutual trust, respect and support workers provide each other during moments of personal difficulties. A further 10 percent of the profit is utilised for community development and the remaining 60 percent is shared among members according to their investment share.

These kinds of mechanisms require khadi workers to discharge their duties effectively, and the internal obligations help to maintain a healthy work atmosphere. For example, Sudeepa, a weaver at the non-aided khadi institution, claims that 'I like the work for many reasons. There is no need for any educational qualification to work here. We work together as a collective, and we are encouraged to take up ownership in the activity. I get to know new things and meet new people. The campus is nice, and, if we want, we can bring our children along with us. In every sense, the place is cooperative like a home.'

7.4 Improving economic self-sufficiency in the khadi sector

This section explores the possibilities of transforming the existing economy within the khadi sector to align it with the economic self-sufficiency aspect of the swaraj normative vision. There is a need to set limits on production, as is carried out at the non-aided khadi institution in this study, to reduce work pressures in the khadi sector. This would encourage khadi workers to take part in cultural activities, as discussed in the previous section. For example, Gayatri, a weaver at the non-aided khadi institution states, 'since there is a cap on production, we know how much time we need to work and how much time we can provide for cultural activities that are being carried out by the organisation.' Further, such a cap on production could significantly reduce the negative health impact caused by an excess of work among the khadi community.

The regimented working conditions at the CSP could be ended if khadi institutions set up their own small cotton processing units. It is important to note that the cotton processing, up until the stage of rovings, can only be done by machines because hand processing makes it economically unviable. However, such power operated small-scale

cotton processing does not provide the wholesome work as envisioned by the normative vision because, as it involves monotonous work without much scope for creativity. Therefore, it is essential to set up rotations in the occupation, or to make it part-time for workers in order to break the monotony in work. Similarly, the spinning process using new model spinning machines lacks creative space. Hence, it should be considered as a part time occupation, rather than full time, to better meet the criteria of wholesome work. The efforts of mechanising spinning and weaving should not be carried out because it effectively removes the uniqueness of khadi, which is the handspun and handwoven production.

There is a need for khadi institutions to encourage their workers to establish self-help groups (SHGs)²², similar to the non-aided khadi institution, for improving their financial situations. According to Harini, a young weaver at the non-aided khadi institution, 'As you know it is not that easy to get loans at a low interest rate. However, the bank gives money for self-help groups, often without interest. Recently, I borrowed money from our self-help group to make some investment in our khadi activity.' Similarly, Sushma, a colleague of Harini recounts, 'Last year my daughter got married. Without the support of our self-help group, it would have been difficult for me to mobilise funds for her marriage.' These statements show that, creating self-help groups among khadi workers would assist them to save money regularly, and provide an easier access to much needed credit.

The increasing negative perception of work at khadi sector can be reversed by assuring a minimum living wage²³ of Rs 300 (£3.2) per day, as is aspired to by the large section of khadi workers. Even though challenging to implement, such an effort demands the effective marketing of khadi products for higher prices. Therefore, it becomes essential

²² Self-help groups are financially intermediary committees usually composed of 10-20 members voluntarily coming together from similar socio-economic backgrounds to save small sums of money on a regular basis.

²³ The living wage aspired by khadi community is closer to Rs 375 (£4) per day, the living wage recommended by an internal committee of the Labour Ministry, Government of India. The recommended figure is calculated for a person having a partner and two children below the age of 14 (Nanda, 2019).

to tap emerging markets, high-end exhibitions, and e-commerce platforms similar to the non-aided khadi institution. Another example for such an initiative is Metaphor Racha²⁴, a boutique based in Bangalore. The boutique sources khadi materials for a fair price from various khadi institutions in Karnataka, and converts them into attractive garments. It has successfully managed to market them for the last ten years, mainly through exhibitions and e-commerce platforms. Similar ventures of adopting 'new marketing techniques' have to be made by khadi institutions to survive in the contemporary marketplace (Ahmad, 2013: 390).

The khadi institutions should involve individuals who have the necessary skills or train their salespeople to use such marketing avenues. Importantly they should produce diverse khadi products and explore collaborations with other boutiques or alternative sales entities. This would eliminate 'the benefits availed of by the intermediaries' (Dhanuraj et al., 2018: 15). According to Ravi, a designer who is working closely with a khadi institution, states, 'the revival of the handmade sector at the moment is difficult through cooperatives. I think individuals who are interested in crafts should go to villages and work with one or two artisans. I strongly believe that If we give continuous work and fair wages, many people prefer to stay back in their villages and continue their crafts.'

Small efforts, such as sustaining one or two artisans, can act as a starting point for refurbishing a deteriorating hand-made sector like khadi. However, it requires a more flexible institutional framework that permits khadi institutions to enter into smaller collaborations. For example, the non-aided khadi institution has a collaboration with Tula²⁵, a non-profit social enterprise that aims to restore an equilibrium in the cotton value chain. There is a long-standing collaboration that exists between both the parties because of the prompt fulfilment of orders and payments. Similarly, collaborations should be explored with different institutions, like schools and other companies, to encourage regular purchases, similar to arrangements already in place with the non-

²⁴ More about Metaphor Racha can be found at <https://www.metaphorracha.com>.

²⁵ More about Tula initiative can be found at <http://tula.org.in>.

aided khadi institution. Such collaborations would help to better market products and to reduce sales pressure. Further, khadi institutions have to 'step-up the publicity of the Khadi products in order for them to enter the mainstream market' (Goel and Jain, 2015: 101).

The state has a potential to stimulate demand for khadi products and sustain khadi institutions. It needs to prioritise khadi textile consumption and encourage khadi outfits among its employees. Instead of placing a single large order as in the case of the army, it should recommend the regional state wings to purchase as much as possible from their own regional khadi institutions, while ensuring a diversity of khadi textiles. As Kumarappa (1954: 136) advises, such purchases of products produced by the masses acts as a way for the state to return the 'power and finance' derived from public.

There is a place for different organisations and entities to act as an interface between khadi institutions and the market. For example, Dastakar Andhra²⁶, a public charitable trust in Andhra Pradesh, has established a long-term association with four handloom weaving cooperatives, and it supports them in production, warehousing, and marketing. Similarly, Khamir²⁷, a handicraft promotional trust in Gujarat has made commitments to support artisans through offering six months of assured purchases of its products, along with providing advances, raw materials, and design inputs. Similar arrangements would help khadi institutions to sell their products and assure a gainful employment for khadi workers.

Another potential way of marketing khadi products would be through a network of retail stores, similar to what is seen with Organic Farmers' Market (OFM)²⁸ in Chennai. The case of OFM is examined in detail, as it provides a number of potential insights for the khadi sector. The OFM was started by few friends who had the intention of supporting farmers with fair prices to bring back the lost self-respect among the farming community. Initially they established a volunteer-driven organic store called Restore in

²⁶ More about Dastakar Andhra can be found at <http://www.dastkarandhra.org>.

²⁷ More about Khamir can be found at <https://www.khamir.org>.

²⁸ More about Organic Farmers' Market (OFM) can be found at <http://www.ofmtn.in>.

2008. With the success of its unique marketing strategy of placing farmers at the centre of the business, new stores were added over the years to form OFM, a network of 15 independent organic retail stores, having one common collection point that procures produce from organic farmers.

The OFM is not a registered body, but decisions are taken collectively by the entrepreneurs of all its retail outlets. The different outlets under the umbrella of OFM are connected through a collectively agreed list of norms (Kuruganti, 2017). The list compels the outlets to not make large investments in setting up and running the outlet, so that it can be affordably replicated by others. It demands a notice board in every outlet with the details of the sourcing of each product to enable consumers to cross check the authenticity of organic products and the cost of production. More importantly it recommends flat slab rates to provide the same price for vegetables for consumers throughout the year, and to ensure predictable prices for farmers. The list of norms advises entrepreneurs at every outlet to make monthly farm visits to ensure the authenticity of organic produce, and prevent the sale of products produced by organisations other than women's groups and farmers' collectives. It obligates outlet entrepreneurs to source all products only from the main collection points, and to direct customers to their nearest outlet. It allows the addition of a maximum of 20 percent margin over the procurement price, and it compels outlet entrepreneurs to make payments to farmers within a week of the delivery of products. Lastly, it compels OFM to offer no credits to its entrepreneurs, and it advises outlets to organise awareness programmes and events on organic food and organic farming.

This unique marketing strategy, based on the norms outlined above, has helped created a regular customer base driven by trust. The consumers provide financial and other necessary forms of assistance to the OFM when there is a need. About 200 farmers are supported by the OFM, and they are encouraged to come and sell their products directly to consumers in frequently organised events under the banner 'meet your farmers.' The successful model of OFM could be incorporated by existing khadi institutions to strengthen the conscious exchange between producers and consumers.

The increasing distance between the production and consumption of khadi has become the barrier for the expansion of social consciousness. Efforts to create consumer awareness among local communities is essential to break this barrier. The moral and material implications of buying locally produced goods have to be explained to the consumers through various communication channels. Long-term engagement with local communities helps to encourage the local consumption of khadi products, and it provides fair opportunities for producers and consumers in their exchange.

Similarly, the self-consumption of khadi products among the producers has to be encouraged to realise the spirit of self-sufficiency. As Kumarappa (1936: 83) says, producers 'should take the first step necessary to revive [their] industry by placing a higher value on [their] own handicraft, and not patronise foreign articles in preference.' For example, khadi workers at the non-aided khadi institution are often motivated to participate in khadi promotions. This has encouraged the self-consumption of khadi among its producers. According to Kavitha, a weaver at the non-aided khadi institution, 'I have bought a saree that was woven by me after seeing pictures of myself wearing it as a part of a photoshoot. Until then, I had not imagined that it would look so nice on me. I had thought that it was only for urban people. Now I wear it once in a while during the festivals, or at events organised at the institution.' However, it is essential to make sure that khadi workers earn a minimum living income so that they can afford to use their own products. Further, respect for their products has to be increased by explaining the moral and material implications of economic self-sufficiency. This could encourage them to consume their own khadi products.

Further, consumer awareness about the implication of buying khadi products on society and the environment at large has to be created in urban centres. As Ravi, a khadi advocate, points out, 'Khadi should become aspirational. We need to communicate. That is where we have failed.' Consumers can take the responsibility of arresting the spread of fake khadi by only purchasing authentic khadi. As Kumarappa writes on this subject:

If the goods come from a source which may be tainted with exploitation, either of sweat labour or of the political, financial or economic hold over other nations, or classes, or races, then the buyer of such goods, will be a party to such exploitation, just as a person who buys stolen articles from a *chore bazar* creates a market for stolen goods and thus will be encouraging the art of stealing. Therefore, anyone who buys goods indiscriminately is not discharging her full responsibility when the sole criterion of her buying is merely the low price or the good quality of the goods. Hence, we should buy goods only from sources from which full information is readily available and which source can be brought under our influence; otherwise we shall have to shoulder a share of the blame for sweated labour, political slavery, or economic stranglehold. We cannot absolve ourselves of all blame by merely pleading ignorance in regard to the source. (Kumarappa, 1936: 78)

As elucidated above, the consumers need to be better informed about product history, including the production processes utilised and the working conditions of the producers. Further, such consumer activism requires them to buy products produced closer to their places of residence, so that they have the opportunity to make visits to the production centres, and to see first-hand how the textiles are manufactured. There is a need to create a space for direct interaction between producer and consumers so that they can better understand each other. For example, Ragi Kana²⁹, a weekly market in Bangalore, provides an opportunity for urban consumers to interact and to purchase handmade products directly from rural producers. It facilitates talks, discussions, film screenings, and cultural events to bridge the ever-increasing disconnect between producer and consumer. Further, khadi institutions can organise regular field visits for urban consumers to help them to understand the manufacture of khadi products. This can help to establish a stronger bond between both the parties and, in turn, help to strengthen the Khadi supply chain. For example, Emily, an English consumer, claimed the following after a visit to the production centre of the non-aided khadi institution:

I knew a very minimum about khadi before coming here. I do yoga and heard that khadi is sustainable. I feel oddly energised, but it is true. I feel it is very exciting to see what they are doing. Creating community and empowering people, I think it is quite beautiful. Not allowing overproduction, keeping it small and keeping it sustainable. I am very much fabric person. The colours are nice, and block printing would be a good idea. Since I have seen the production,

²⁹ More about Ragi Kana can be found at <https://ragikana.wordpress.com> and <https://www.facebook.com/ragikana/>

definitely I feel the connection with material that I am purchasing. Certainly, knowing the history would make me want to buy more.

This example shows the potential impact of seeing and experiencing the production process on the consumer perspective and their social consciousness. Such interactions with producers and familiarity with the production processes enhance the empathy among consumers, and helps them to understand the cost of production. It motivates purchasers to pay more for khadi products, and to distinguish khadi from other less expensive handloom and power loom textiles. The direct interactions with consumers can also boost the self-respect of khadi producers, as is in the case of Harish, a dyer at the non-aided khadi institution, who states, 'I like working here because I get a chance to meet visitors from across the world and tell them about my work.' Such enhancement of the self-respect of the worker helps to make khadi a more aspirational occupation.

Further, it is essential to create consumer awareness about the care and disposal of khadi garments. To ensure a longer lifespan of the products, khadi institutions need to instruct them about the need to handwash them, and to dry them in the shade to avoid damaging the fabrics. The khadi institutions can create an avenue for returning used khadi materials for upcycling. The implications of disposal on the environment and society have to be explained to consumers through different communication channels. This would help to create more responsible consumers.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has identified the challenges confronting contemporary khadi and ways forward for transforming the sector to align it with the swaraj normative vision. The task of enhancing the commitment of the khadi community to the morality of non-violence requires a creative engagement with their cultural memory, in accordance with the normative vision. There is a need to expose khadi workers regularly to more ecologically sustainable thinking to help them to recognise the obligation they have towards other beings in their everyday lives. This could help to realise the underlying 'oneness' among all beings in the cosmos, and encourage them to follow the morality of non-violence.

Any efforts to improve the distribution of power among khadi workers require various interventions, such as developing an alternative education system and alternative media that give equal emphasis to the importance of physical and intellectual labour. The long term engagement with people through different communication channels could help expand their social consciousness. To bring about political decentralisation within the khadi sector, the role of the state needs to be reformed by dismantling the KVIC and restructuring the KSKVIB as a monitoring agency, ending their direct involvement in the production and marketing of khadi. This could help to lower corruption, inefficiency, and red-tapism within the sector by reducing the financial transaction that they currently intermediate. There is a need to establish a network of khadi institutions to carry out khadi promotion and act as a collective force. The khadi institutions should be encouraged to function with minimal or no financial assistance from the state. There is a necessity to develop small-scale cotton processing machines that would enable khadi institutions to produce their own rovings. By doing so, it would reduce the dependency of khadi institutions on the CSP for raw materials. It is essential to restructure the khadi institutional framework based on consensus, rather than majority-based decision making, to reduce domination within khadi institutions. The capacity of individuals involved in khadi production should be enhanced to actively resist domination and exploitation through regular training about practising *satyagraha* in everyday living to create a more non-violent social order within the sector.

It is essential to set a maximum limit on production, instead of relying on minimum targets, to bring greater self-sufficiency. It is necessary to make sure that individuals within the khadi sector are provided wholesome work by allowing them to exercise their creative faculties. Further, khadi workers should be encouraged to become investors in production facilities, helping to dissolve the owner and labourer dichotomy between managers and workers. Those on salaried positions should also see their income linked to production or the sales of khadi. Further, group production or sales targets for workers need to be set. These interventions would create internal obligations among workers, and foster cooperation and order in the production process. The khadi institutions need to have collaboration with other sales entities and should use emerging marketing techniques for selling their products. This would help khadi

institutions to assure living income for their workers. There is a necessity for cultural activities within khadi institutions to aid in creating unity among the workers, and to make khadi production a more aspirational occupation. There is a need for a platform that allows producers and consumers to interact, and to expand the social consciousness of both the parties. Increased consumer awareness about the moral-material implications of the consumption and disposal of authentic khadi is essential to create more responsible consumers, as conceived by the swaraj normative vision.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This study has explored development as swaraj as a possible way of establishing a non-violent global social order. M K Gandhi and J C Kumarappa developed the conception of swaraj in the historical context of the Indian freedom movement in the early 20th century. Subsequently, the concept has been explored and interpreted in various ways by numerous scholars, as illustrated in the review of secondary literature on swaraj in chapter two. However, there is a clear gap in the existing scholarship, as little attention has been given to the relationship between social consciousness and materiality, which forms the central aspect of swaraj as a strategy for social development.

The study has formulated a threefold moral political economy (MPE) framework that underlies the writings of Gandhi and Kumarappa on the conception of swaraj. As demonstrated in chapter three, their MPE offers a pragmatic and practicable framework for the attainment of swaraj; a feasible step for constructing a non-violent social order. Further, the development as swaraj restores political economy's place within moral philosophy by recognising the role of the dialectical relationship between social consciousness and materiality in shaping the human moral condition.

The normative fold of the framework has fundamentally challenged not only the underpinnings of the dominant material growth-oriented development paradigm, but also of the well-received alternative conception development as freedom proposed by Amartya Sen. By emphasising a duty-based ethics that views the individual as embedded within and inextricable from a larger socio-ecological fabric, it departs from those development models built upon right-based ethics.

By conceptualising human progress in terms of expanding social consciousness, once the basic material needs of individuals have been fulfilled, and also by defining human prosperity in terms of peace, swaraj development diverges from other developmental models that emphasise material accumulation. As detailed in chapter three, the main thrust of the normative vision is to construct a society where individuals can govern

themselves while minimising the exploitation of others. Drawing on Gandhi and Kumarappa, it has been argued that such a human condition can be established through political decentralisation along with active non-violent resistance to exploitation in the form of *satyagraha* (Truth force) and economic self-sufficiency based on the morality of non-violence rooted in the notion of greatest good for all. By doing so, the swaraj development deviates from the dominant material growth-oriented development vision that sanctions political centralisation, economic efficiency, and violence against others and nature.

It has also been demonstrated that the swaraj development paradigm departs from alternative development models like sustainable development and other heterodox development approaches by establishing a coherent relationship between moral philosophy and the political economy in its normative vision. The re-joining of political economy with moral philosophy within swaraj contributes to its emphasis on the role of materiality and social consciousness in shaping the social world.

Further, the study has explored the pragmatic ways in which development as swaraj could be established, particularly within the khadi sector in Karnataka. As illustrated in chapter four, the khadi sector has a close relationship with the conception of swaraj, as it was conceived as a practical way of development as swaraj by Gandhi himself during the Indian freedom movement in the early 20th century. By taking khadi as a case study, it has tried to answer the second research question on the tangible ways of transforming existing social condition towards the normative vision of swaraj.

The investigation of the khadi sector in Karnataka has been carried out using observation and semi-structured interview methods as detailed in chapter five. The investigation has shown that the social conditions within the sector diverge significantly from the normative vision of swaraj. As demonstrated in chapter six, even though non-violence is commonly considered by workers in the sector as a guiding moral principle, its impact on their lives is limited in scope due to prevalent conceptions of patriarchy and caste within their cosmologies. Further, the study revealed that the functioning of the contemporary khadi sector runs counter to its founding principles, distorted by political

centralisation, limited resistance to exploitation by the workers, and a drive for economic efficiency.

As noted in chapter seven, several interventions can be made to transform the existing social conditions within the khadi sector towards the normative vision of swaraj. It is recommended to have a creative engagement with the cultural memory of khadi community and expose khadi workers to ecologically-centred education to assist them in recognising the role of others in their existence. This, it is anticipated, would encourage non-violence in their day-to-day material practices, and enhance their care for others. The study has identified political decentralisation as a key reform that can be implemented within the khadi sector, particularly by reforming the role of the state, making it into a monitoring agency that abstains from direct involvement in khadi production and marketing. Advice has been made for khadi institutions to form a network to collectively safeguard the interest of the sector, to carry out khadi promotional activities, and to conduct training programmes for their workers on practising *satyagraha* in their everyday lives. Further it has been recommended that khadi institutions be reformed to limit their size to an optimal scale — particularly restricting entities' membership to 50 — to encourage consensus decision making.

It has been recommended that self-sufficiency in the khadi economy can be enhanced by reorienting the focus on the workers rather than the material produced. Doing so would entail setting a cap on production by khadi institutions, exploring emerging marketing platforms to raise the profile of khadi, and by creating awareness about local production and local consumption among producers and consumers. It has been proposed that cultural interventions by khadi institutions can bring unity among the khadi workforce, and make its members realise their tacit contribution to the existing oppressive social conditions.

Although the khadi sector offered a pertinent case study for exploring social development in terms of swaraj, there are certain limitations with the study. First, the study was only able to investigate a small section of the sector in Karnataka at an in-depth level. The sector in the state is constituted by 178 institutions and 23,820 workers.

Although this study provides a useful litmus test, the findings are indicative and not definitive. Further, by excluding cotton farming and ginning, the study misses out in exploring the khadi sector's connection to the larger cotton commodity supply network within India.

However, the limitations of this study point the way towards future research. A similar study could be conducted on cotton farming and ginning to bring a more wholistic understanding of the khadi sector, from cradle to grave. Further, the study could be expanded to khadi textiles produced out of silk, wool, and polyester for a more comprehensive understanding of the sector. In addition, studies could be made to assess khadi production in different states and even at a national scale.

Nevertheless, this thesis has offered a distinct approach to conceptual social development based on the moral political economy framework that it articulates. By recognising the role of social consciousness and material conditions in shaping social order, the MPE approach distinguishes itself from other disciplinary and critical approaches, which tend to lay on one side or the other of a schism between idealism and materialism. This thesis has advanced the social development theory and praxis of Gandhi and Kumarappa by making explicit their formulation of the development paradigm of swaraj. By adopting a moral-material dialectical approach to development, it moves beyond prevailing development models based on the narrow parameters of economic growth, and other alternative development paradigms like sustainable development and heterodox development approaches. Also, it contributes to the ongoing efforts to decolonise development by bringing to the fore the conception of swaraj, which is informed by both Indian and Western thought. Further, it has outlined specific interventions based on swaraj development that have the potential to germinate a more non-violent social order within the khadi sector in Karnataka. The thesis has provided a blueprint of swaraj development that can be applied to different sectors, can be adopted by nation-states in setting their development goals, and can provide the steps for beginning to transform a violent global social order into a non-violent one.

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