



Inclusion as Strategy: A Study of Mahatma Gandhi's Contribution to Cross-Class Solidarity in the Indian Freedom Movement.

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Abstract:

The Indian freedom struggle witnessed the participation of diverse social groups—peasants, workers, women, industrialists, students, and intellectuals. Yet this broad participation was not spontaneous; it was the result of deliberate political strategies that fostered unity across class divisions. This paper examines inclusion as a conscious political method in Gandhi's leadership and explores how he mobilized multiple social strata into a shared anti-colonial struggle. By analysing campaigns such as Champaran, Kheda, Non-Cooperation, Civil Disobedience, and Constructive Programme initiatives, the study argues that Gandhi's emphasis on moral legitimacy, participatory politics, symbolic practices, and decentralized mobilization helped bridge class divides. The research concludes that cross-class solidarity under Gandhi was not merely ideological but was institutionally nurtured through inclusive political culture, enabling the nationalist movement to transform into a mass movement.

Key-words: - Indian freedom, social groups, political strategies, anti-colonial struggle

1. Introduction: -

The success of the Indian national movement lay not only in its political goals but in its capacity to unify socially fragmented populations under a common cause. Colonial India was marked by deep cleavages—economic inequality, caste hierarchy, linguistic diversity, religious difference, and regional fragmentation. Building solidarity across such divisions required a leadership that could transcend elite nationalism and engage the masses.

Gandhi's entry into Indian politics in 1915 marked a decisive shift in nationalist strategy. Earlier phases of the movement were dominated by educated elites and constitutional methods. Gandhi transformed this approach by introducing inclusive mass politics, emphasizing participation by peasants, workers, women, and marginalized communities. His politics drew legitimacy from moral authority and collective suffering rather than solely from constitutional claims.



This study investigates Gandhi's contribution to cross-class solidarity by analysing his political methods, campaigns, and ideological framework. It seeks to answer three central questions:

1. How did Gandhi conceptualize inclusion in political mobilization?
2. What mechanisms did he use to foster unity across classes?
3. To what extent did inclusive politics strengthen the freedom movement?

2. Conceptual Framework: Inclusion as Political Strategy: -

Inclusion, in the context of nationalist politics, refers to the deliberate incorporation of diverse social groups into collective political action. Rather than assuming natural unity, inclusion recognizes structural inequalities and attempts to bridge them through shared goals, symbols, and participatory mechanisms.

Gandhi's strategy of inclusion rested on four interconnected principles:

2.1 Moral Universalism: -

Gandhi framed the freedom struggle not merely as a political conflict but as a moral struggle between justice and injustice. By grounding politics in ethical values such as truth, non-violence, and self-sacrifice, he created a universal moral vocabulary accessible to different social groups.

2.2 Participatory Nationalism: -

Gandhi rejected elite-driven politics and emphasized grassroots participation. He believed that Swaraj (self-rule) could only be meaningful if it emerged from collective engagement.

2.3 Symbolic Integration: -

Symbols such as khadi, spinning, fasting, and marches functioned as tools of social integration. They provided shared practices that transcended class barriers.

2.4 Constructive Work as Social Bridge: -

Gandhi's constructive programme—village uplift, promotion of indigenous industries, removal of untouchability—sought to create social cohesion beyond political agitation.

Together, these principles transformed nationalism from an elite discourse into a participatory social movement.

3. Early Experiments in Inclusive Mobilization: -

3.1 Champaran Satyagraha (1917): -

Gandhi's first major intervention in India involved indigo peasants suffering under exploitative plantation arrangements. The Champaran campaign established several features of his inclusive politics:

- It foregrounded peasant grievances within the national movement.
- It mobilized local elites, lawyers, and peasants together.
- It emphasized investigation, dialogue, and non-violent protest.

Champaran demonstrated that nationalism could align with agrarian struggles, thereby expanding its social base.



3.2 Kheda Satyagraha (1918): -

The Kheda movement in Gujarat further illustrated Gandhi's capacity to connect local economic distress with national politics. By organizing tax resistance among peasants while involving urban leaders and volunteers, Gandhi fostered cooperation between rural and urban classes.

3.3 Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918): -

Gandhi's mediation in the Ahmedabad textile workers' strike revealed his attempt to balance labour rights with industrial interests. His intervention promoted negotiation and non-violent protest, demonstrating his effort to harmonize class relations rather than intensify conflict.

These early experiments shaped Gandhi's understanding that national unity required addressing local grievances and integrating economic struggles into nationalist politics.

4. Mass Movements and Cross-Class Mobilization: -

4.1 Non-Cooperation Movement (1920–22): -

The Non-Cooperation Movement marked the first nationwide attempt to mobilize diverse groups. Gandhi encouraged:

- Boycott of foreign goods (urban middle classes and traders)
- Withdrawal from government institutions (students and professionals)
- Promotion of khadi (peasants and artisans)

The movement's strength lay in its inclusiveness. Participation did not require ideological uniformity; it required willingness to resist colonial authority through non-violent means.

By linking economic practices (boycott, swadeshi) with political protest, Gandhi created a framework where different classes could contribute according to their capacity.

4.2 Civil Disobedience Movement and Salt March (1930): -

The Salt March represented one of Gandhi's most powerful inclusive strategies. Salt, a universal commodity, symbolized colonial exploitation affecting all classes. By choosing salt tax resistance, Gandhi:

- Highlighted economic injustice affecting both rich and poor
- Encouraged participation by women and rural communities
- Generated global sympathy

The movement's symbolism transcended class divisions, demonstrating Gandhi's skill in selecting issues that unified rather than fragmented society.

4.3 Quit India Movement (1942): -

Although launched under more radical circumstances, the Quit India Movement also reflected Gandhi's emphasis on collective participation. The call for immediate independence resonated widely because decades of inclusive mobilization had already fostered national consciousness.



5. Constructive Programme and Social Integration: -

Gandhi believed political agitation alone could not create unity; social reform was essential.

5.1 Khadi and Economic Self-Reliance: -

The promotion of spinning and khadi was not merely economic policy. It served multiple inclusive functions:

- Provided employment to rural poor
- Symbolized resistance to industrial colonial imports
- Created shared national identity through clothing

Khadi thus bridged rural-urban divides and fostered emotional unity.

5.2 Removal of Untouchability: -

Gandhi's campaign against untouchability sought to integrate marginalized communities into the nationalist movement. His use of the term "Harijan" and efforts to open temples and public spaces reflected his belief that political freedom required social inclusion.

5.3 Village Reconstruction: -

Gandhi envisioned villages as the foundation of national life. His emphasis on sanitation, education, cottage industries, and cooperative living aimed to reduce structural inequalities and foster collective identity.

These initiatives reveal that Gandhi's inclusive strategy extended beyond political mobilization to social transformation.

6. Gandhi's Leadership Style and Inclusive Politics: -

6.1 Dialogical Leadership: -

Gandhi's politics relied on dialogue rather than command. He encouraged debate, consultation, and local initiative, making participation accessible to diverse groups.

6.2 Ethical Authority: -

His personal austerity, simplicity, and willingness to suffer enhanced his credibility among both elites and masses. Ethical leadership allowed him to transcend class suspicion.

6.3 Decentralized Organization: -

Gandhi promoted local committees, volunteer corps, and village-level participation. This decentralized structure enabled the movement to penetrate rural society and include previously excluded populations.

7. Limitations of Cross-Class Solidarity: -

Despite its achievements, Gandhi's inclusive politics faced limitations.



7.1 Persistent Class Tensions: -

Industrial workers, peasants, and landlords often had conflicting interests. Gandhi's emphasis on harmony sometimes obscured structural inequalities.

7.2 Critiques from Radical Nationalists: -

Socialists and revolutionaries argued that Gandhi's approach restrained class struggle and protected elite interests.

7.3 Communal Divisions: -

While Gandhi advocated inter-religious harmony, communal tensions eventually undermined national unity, culminating in Partition.

These limitations indicate that inclusive politics can mitigate but not entirely eliminate structural divisions.

8. Impact on the Freedom Movement: -

Gandhi's strategy of inclusion produced several enduring outcomes:

1. It transformed nationalism into a mass movement.
2. It legitimized political participation by marginalized groups.
3. It created shared symbols of national identity.
4. It enhanced international sympathy for India's cause.

By integrating social reform with political resistance, Gandhi broadened the meaning of freedom from mere transfer of power to moral and social transformation.

9. Discussion: Inclusion as a Model of Political Mobilization: -

Gandhi's approach suggests that successful movements require:

- Moral legitimacy that transcends class interest
- Symbolic practices enabling shared participation
- Decentralized organization fostering local engagement
- Integration of social reform with political action

These elements remain relevant for contemporary democratic movements seeking broad-based participation.

10. Conclusion: -

The study of inclusion as a strategic principle in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi reveals that his contribution to the Indian freedom movement extended far beyond political mobilization; it fundamentally reshaped the social fabric of resistance. Gandhi's approach was rooted in the belief that true national liberation could only be achieved through the active participation and unity of all sections of society—irrespective of class, caste, religion, or gender. By consciously bridging the divide between elites and the masses, he transformed the freedom struggle into a genuinely collective movement.



Gandhi's emphasis on inclusive practices—such as promoting village industries, advocating for the upliftment of marginalized communities, and encouraging participation through non-violent methods—enabled peasants, workers, women, and the urban middle class to find a shared platform. His campaigns, including non-cooperation and civil disobedience, were designed not merely as political tools but as mechanisms of social integration. These movements fostered a sense of common purpose and collective identity, which proved crucial in sustaining long-term resistance against colonial rule.

Moreover, Gandhi's moral and ethical framework reinforced the idea that solidarity must be built on mutual respect, empathy, and shared responsibility. His efforts to eradicate untouchability and promote communal harmony illustrated his commitment to addressing internal social divisions alongside external political domination. In doing so, he redefined the concept of nationalism as inherently inclusive and socially transformative.

However, while Gandhi's inclusive strategy was remarkably effective in mobilizing diverse groups, it also faced limitations. Structural inequalities and deeply entrenched social hierarchies were not entirely dismantled, and tensions among different classes and communities persisted. Nevertheless, his approach laid a strong foundation for democratic participation and social cohesion in post-independence India.

In conclusion, Gandhi's strategy of inclusion played a pivotal role in forging cross-class solidarity during the Indian freedom movement. His vision demonstrated that political freedom and social unity are deeply interconnected, and that sustainable change requires the integration of diverse voices and experiences. The legacy of his inclusive approach continues to offer valuable insights for contemporary efforts aimed at building equitable and cohesive societies.

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