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**Afrasian Centre for Peace and Development Studies  
Ryukoku University**

**Leader-Follower Relations in the Foot Marches  
in Gandhian Environmental Movement in India**

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# **Leader-Follower Relations in the Foot Marches in Gandhian Environmental Movement in India**

**Shinya Ishizaka \***

## **INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this paper is to describe and analyse the dynamism of the leader-follower relations in the Gandhian environmental movements with special emphasis on the foot marches.

There are various methods or techniques which are used in social movements including petitioning, litigation, meetings, demonstrations, sit-ins, boycotts, hunger strikes and so on.<sup>1</sup> M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948) and other Gandhian leaders of social movements in India have conducted foot marches when they feel they have to appeal to or mobilise more local people to movements and to have closer relations with the common people. The method, foot march, as a tool of social movements was initiated and promoted by Gandhi, the leader of the Indian Freedom Movement. In post-independence India following the death of Gandhi in 1948, the method was often used by Gandhi's disciple, Vinoba Bhave, in his Bhoodan movement in 1960s which was a movement to bring about land reform non-violently. In India after the 1970s, foot marches have often been used as a tactic in environmental movements (Gadgil and Guha 1995: 101).

In this paper, I would like to clarify the actual mechanism of the unusual method, foot march, based on my own field data. In other words, I will critically examine how foot march actually worked as a connecting device between leaders and people in movement.

The issue of leader-follower relations in social movements has been one of the main topics in the historical study of Indian freedom movements.

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<sup>1</sup> According to sociologist, G. Sharp (1973), non-violent tactics can be classified in three categories. (1) Protest and persuasion, such as demonstration rallies, pickets, demonstration marches and foot marches. (2) Non-cooperation, such as boycotts, strikes, and conscientious objection to conscription. (3) Non-violent intervention, such as fasting, occupations and sit-ins. However, the foot march, often employed in Indian social movements, is, in the author's opinion, more than a method to be included in the protest and persuasion category.

The so-called Cambridge school historians and others including Indian orthodox Marxists such as Namboodiripad (1981), political scientists such as Morris-Jones (1964) and psychoanalysts such as Erickson (1969) having stressed the aspect of mobilisation of people by the nationalist elites in the Indian Freedom movement.

Especially, the Cambridge school, who tended to view the movement from the perspective of the ambitions and self-interest of the elites (Seal 1968; Washbrook 1976),<sup>2</sup> could not grasp correctly the significance of how, for example, Gandhi organized the masses through distinct thoughts (not motivated by self-interest) and practices, such as foot marches and fasting. However, we still have much to learn from the school's works, especially such as Judith Brown's 'subcontractor' theory. In her study of Gandhi, she explained that Gandhi's strength was to have gained the support of local leaders who were 'subcontracted' to mobilize the masses into the movement (Brown 1972, 1977). She highlighted that Gandhi's strength lay not in his saint-like image that appealed directly to the emotions of the masses, but in the concrete existence of local activists who linked the leaders to the masses. Although she concluded that these 'subcontractors' were generally motivated by their own ambitions and self-interest in supporting Gandhi, there were those young people who worked for Gandhi, not for their own self-interest, but out of their personal respect and love, as shown in Naito (1987). Therefore it is important to establish a wider perspective, where the tangle of various ideologies, philosophies and emotions are to be taken into consideration, rather than using the preset analysis of reducing every action of the middle level leaders as motivated by self-interest.

In contrast, historians of the Subaltern Study group in India emphasised that the movement was largely autonomous. They criticizing the elitism of the Cambridge school, insisted that the masses, not the elites, were the main subjects of the movement and had developed the movement independently from the elites with their own rationale, different from that of the elites (Guha 1983). Their views tend to highlight the difference between the ideology of the leaders and the logic of the masses on participating in the movement.<sup>3</sup> For example, Gyanendra Pandey, Partha Chatterjee and others argued that though Gandhi released the energy of the masses he eventually controlled and suppressed them (Pandey 1998 (1983); Chatterjee 1998 (1983)). The

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<sup>2</sup> For the introduction of the works of the Cambridge school, see (Nagasaki 1986; Takenaka 1993; Nakazato 1999).

<sup>3</sup> For the introduction of the works of the Subaltern studies, see (Chatterjee and Nagasaki 1988; Awaya 1988, 1996, 1999a, 1999b; Takenaka 1993; Nagasaki 1997; Usuda 1997b; Usuda 1999; Isaka 2002).

most important thing here, however, is that the voice of the masses reached center stage for the first time through Gandhi. As Chatterjee himself stated later in his study on post-independent Indian society, those Gandhians at the village level often played the 'intermediary agency' role of bringing the sociopolitical demands of the masses into the arena of civil society (Chatterjee 2004: 64-65). Shahid Amin, David Hardiman and others attributed the circulation among the masses of rumours deifying Gandhi as the main reason why they followed him (Amin 1984, 1995; Hardiman 1987). However it might be a mistake to assume that there is an entity such as a closed world peculiar to the masses. The elements of the intermediate agency of the activists can be seen, for example, in the area of oral communication such as popular songs and even rumours.

Against both of these camps (Cambridge school and Subaltern Study group), historians from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), including Bipan Chandra and Muridra Mukherjee claimed that there was more consensus between leaders and people. They emphasized the central role of the Indian National Congress, arguing that only its nationalistic anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist vision could inspire the masses (Chandra 1989; Mukherjee 2004).<sup>4</sup> The trend, firstly, is valuable in its approach to finding the correlation between the ideology of the leaders and the mass participation in the movement. However, they tend to emphasize the role of one-way agency of the leadership. In other words, it generally concludes that it was the leaders who spread effective strategies and techniques among the masses and it was again the leaders who initiated the negotiations to achieve consensus with the masses (Mukherjee 2004: 354-357). In this kind of narrative, however, there seems to be an assumption of a pre-established harmony between the leaders and the masses. It seems better to carefully analyze the concrete processes of 'forming agreement'; elucidating how the direction was taken by scrutinizing the dynamism and the diversity within it, the differences and the conflicts it had to overcome. The second contribution of the JNU historians were its

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<sup>4</sup> Orthodox Marxists in India such as R. Palm Dutt thought that the primary contradiction in colonial India lay between the interest of the Indian masses and the interest of British colonialism, comparing the situation in Europe where the contradiction between the modes of production, bourgeoisie and feudal, led to the rise of nationalism. He pointed out the compromising nature of the Indian National Congress, arguing that the nationalism led by the Congress with its bourgeois background was at odds with the class struggle (cf. Chandra 1989: 26-27). On the other hand, the orthodox nationalist historians such as P. Sitaramaya and B. R. Nanda, meanwhile, narrated the story based on the view that the Indian National Congress drove the nationwide nationalist movement, but this perspective do not shed any light on domestic social contradictions such as class and caste issues, making it difficult to assess correctly the roles of religion, caste and culture in the nationalism movement (cf. Chandra 1989: 25-26). Against these two lines of thought, JNU historians, while keeping to the orthodox Marxist view regarding the primary contradiction, insisted that nationalism in India was open to various groups of people, with various mass movements in colonial India under the umbrella of anti-colonialism struggle led by the Congress (Chandra 1989; Mukherjee 2004).

perspective of linking the pre- and post-independence eras of political, economical and social conditions of India (Chandra et al 1999). Unfortunately, however, they only deal with Gandhism within the context of nationalism, and since they gave too much importance to the continuity of the independence struggle along Nehru's lines, they overlooked the fact that many Gandhian activists were generally against Nehru's developmental policies of independent India. It can be said that Gandhism, the mainstream of the Indian independence struggle, was succeeded by various social movements, which were often against the government in post-independence India.

In the following analysis, I would like to describe the dynamism of the leader-follower relations in such movements. The argument in this paper is based on my fieldwork since 2003 to the present. The main areas were Uttarakhand in north India and Goa in south India (see Map 1). I have used not only interview data but also written materials such as newspapers, pamphlets and articles or essays by activists.



Map 1: Locations of Uttarakhand and Goa

(Source: Prepared by the author)

## **1. FOOT MARCHES IN GANDHIAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT**

In this paper, I will analyse leader-follower relations in foot marches in Gandhian

environmental movement.

The definition of “Gandhian” in this paper is as follows. Gandhian is a social activist who lives simple and ascetic community life, and works for the realisation of Gandhi's notions such as *swaraj* (self-rule) and *sarvodaya* (welfare of all). In a directory of Gandhian activists in India in 1996, published by a Gandhian institute, Gandhi Peace Foundation at Delhi, there were 680 Gandhians in India (Balasbramanian 1996).

I will pick up two Gandhians in contemporary India who have been constantly undertaking foot marches in environmental movements: Sunderlal Bahuguna (1927-) in north India and Pandurang Hegde (1954-) in south India. Bahuguna can be classified a second generation Gandhian in India. In other words, he is a second generation Gandhian to the first Gandhians, including Vinoba Bhave and J. P. Narayan who can be called the direct disciples of Gandhi, although Bahuguna was himself a Freedom Fighter of the Indian Freedom movement and he once met Gandhi in 1948. Hegde can be called a third generation Gandhian because he admitted himself to be a disciple of Bahuguna.

Before going into the analysis, it would be better to clarify what is a “foot march”. A foot march in this paper is a walking tour, which continues for several days or weeks. It is different from a demonstration march, which ends within some hours. During a foot march, accommodation and food for the marchers are provided by the residents of villages or small towns on the marchers’ way. The marchers should march without money in principle so that they have to interact with the local people. This can be called a kind of attempt to revive a culture of pilgrimage. Foot marches are frequently used in environmental movements in India today maybe because it is also an optimal tool for the marchers to check an environmental situation first hand.

## 2. THREE FOOT MARCHES: CASE STUDIES

Major foot marches in Indian environmental movements include the Uttarakhand Foot March (Askot-Arakot Foot March) in 1974, the Himalaya Foot March (Kashmir-Kohima Foot March) from 1981 to 1983, the Western Ghats March from 1987 to 1988 and the Ganga Cycle March in 1991 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Major Foot Marches in Environmental Movement in India

Name of Foot March	Name of	Year	Distance	Term	Number of
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	Movement				Marchers
Uttarakhand Foot March (Askot-Arakot Foot March)	Chipko Movement	1974	700km	30 days	3-
Himalaya Foot March (Kashmir-Kohima Foot March)	Save Himalaya Movement	1981-83	4,879km	300 days	2-15
Western Ghats March	Save Western Ghats Movement	1987-88	4,000km	100 days	50-400

Source: Prepared by the author.

In the following sections, based principally on the interviews conducted by the author, the marches are described by the participants.

### **2.1. Uttarakhand Foot March (Ascot-Arakot Foot March)**

The Uttarakhand Foot March in 1974 was organized as a part of the Chipko movement.<sup>5</sup> The march started at Ascot at the eastern edge of the Uttarakhand region in October 1974, and walked approximately 700km, reaching Arakot at the western edge of Uttarakhand in November. After arriving at Arakot, Sunderlal Bahuguna,<sup>6</sup> the organizer of the march, and two participants decided to continue the march, non-officially, reaching Simla in Himachal Pradesh in the same month.

The major outcomes of this march were; (1) the movement spread to the whole Uttarakhand area, and (2) many local youths were recruited into the movement and some of them became social activists after joining the march.

#### ***Leader-Follower Relations in the Uttarakhand Foot March***

A person in charge of this march was Sunderlal Bahuguna.

A male participant (born 1953) of the Ascot-Arakot march remembered the march as follows;

I think it was in 1974. I was teaching in an elementary school where a son of Mr. Bahuguna attended. One day leaflets were distributed in the school. A poem by a famous Urdu poet was quoted at the beginning of the leaflet, saying something like 'life is short, life passes. Travel and accumulate your experience'. The leaflet explained about the foot march (*pad yatra*),

<sup>5</sup> About the Chipko Movement, see Ishizaka (forthcoming).

<sup>6</sup> About Sunderlal Bahuguna, see Ishizaka (2007).

saying that you didn't need any money to participate; you should just bring a water bottle, some clothing and *chana* (chickpeas). Food and accommodation were to be provided by the villagers. The aim of the foot march was to bring three things to the attention of the villagers. Firstly the greening: to stop cutting trees in the forests. Secondly, to improve the situation for women. Women in the region were forced to work very hard. And thirdly, abstinence from alcohol.

It was during the autumn festival (*dashara* and *diwali*) season and I had about 15 days of holiday, so I decided to participate. My colleagues from the school and children took part as well. There were people coming from all over Uttarakhand. Though the March had started from a village called Ascot in the Kumaon area, we participated from Tehri in the Garhwal area. Since everybody was supposed not to have brought money, if somebody had to leave the march, for example with an injured leg or something, Mr. Bahuguna wrote a letter to a bus company so that he or she could go home free of charge.

When we arrived at a village, at the entrance of the village, we used a loud-hailer to tell the villagers that we wanted to have a meeting, asking them all to assemble. At meetings, there was not only a speech by Mr. Bahuguna, but we played music, too. Chipko Songs, for example, written and composed by Mr. Sailani (a disciple of Bahuguna and a famous folk musician in Uttarakhand) accompanied by *harmonium* (a musical instrument like the accordion) played by Mr. Bahuguna's son. Mr. Bahuguna carried a tape recorder, using it to play Mr. Sailani's music played by himself, or the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speeches. So the villagers enjoyed music as well. When the meeting finished, we stayed in the villagers' houses for the night and start walking again for the next village early in the morning.

As for food, Mr. Bahuguna asked the villagers to donate two *rotis* (a kind of bread) and some vegetable (curry) from each household, so that our presence does not become a burden for them. But villagers usually said 'We can't treat you as we would treat a beggar. You deserve respect. We'll give you feast'. But Mr. Bahuguna always refused such an offer; he didn't even accept a cup of tea. We thought a cup of tea should be OK in silence, but since Mr. Bahuguna did not accept it, we also could not. We ate the *chana* we had brought to fill our stomachs during the day-time when the villagers were working in the fields. Those villagers usually provided everything we needed. Even the batteries for the loud-hailer were provided by the villagers.

We also did something like the Bhoodan Movement of Vinoba Bhave. We asked the landlord to donate a piece of land to dalits (untouchables) in a village in Uttarkashi district.

The march officially finished at Arakot in Uttarkashi district in Uttarakhand but I and my friend still had holidays left so we decided to walk with Mr. Bahuguna to Shimla in Himachal

Pradesh, the next state to Uttarakhand where we separated. Mr. Bahuguna said he would continue to walk back to Tehri so he wrote two letters, one for Shri Swami Chidananda in Rishikesh and another for the bus company. Because we were not supposed to have money, the letters were for our safe journey home.

As soon as we left Mr. Bahuguna we had a cup of tea, in truth we had brought some money, so we used the bus from Shimla to Dehradun in Uttarakhand, and from there used the train to go home. But with hindsight, because we had money we wasted the opportunity to see Shri Swami Chidananda. I suppose my trust for Mr. Bahuguna was not complete. Even if you didn't have money at all, if you could go among the people, subsistence would be provided.

By spending time near Mr. Bahuguna during the march I developed a deeper respect for him.<sup>7</sup>

In preparation of marches, leaflets inviting participation are created and distributed, while at the same time, information regarding the march, its purpose, destination and the route are actively advertised in the media. When deciding the route Bahuguna is often playful with words, choosing places with the same first letter (as "Askot-Arakot March in case of Uttarakhand Foot March and Kashmir-Kohima March in case of Himalayan Foot March). It seems to be his playful personal choice but he insisted that it has a function of 'making the march more recognizable and appealing to the people'<sup>8</sup>. Participants are to bring water bottles, a change of clothes and some emergency food (beans) and in principle no money is allowed.

Once started, the march stops at the entrance of a village and calls out, using a loud-hailer, the message that they would like to hold a meeting in the evening and invite everybody. At this stage Bahuguna and the marchers are surrounded by the village children and dogs. Sometimes these children played a part in disseminating message around the village.

In these meetings, several people, including Bahuguna himself, make speeches. The theme of the speeches vary according to the aims of the march; protection of the forest, improving the situation of women, abstinence from alcohol or the dangers of a

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<sup>7</sup> This is an edited version by the narrative of Ghildiyal (not his real name). The author had an interview with him while walking together around New Tehri on August 20, 2004. The author wrote down as much as he remembered when he returned to his accommodation. The content of the edited version was confirmed by Ghildiyal on December 17, 2004, additions and amendments.

<sup>8</sup> From an interview with Sunderlal Bahuguna (May 30, 2007, Tokyo). During his stay in Japan in 2007, Bahuguna proposed a 'Tokyo – Toronto foot march' for young people in Japan in order to send the message of world peace. Here, again, he is using the tactic of choosing cities whose names begin with the same letter. (Bahuguna 2008: 106).

hydro-dam and so on. They also sing songs such as Chipko Songs, written and sung by Sailani, a social activist and a folk singer songwriter and others. There is an anecdote about Sailani, that he started singing on the roof of a regular service bus which happened to be stopping. The village audience was so intent on listening to his songs, that the bus had to delay its departure. Some members of a march may bring a harmonium (note by the author: a musical instrument similar to the accordion) to accompany these songs. Sometimes they may show slides regarding the environmental destruction of the areas. On these occasions, they carry slides and a projector, using an ad-hoc surface such as a house wall to show the slides in a village.

Bahuguna and the marchers, not only met the general public such as villagers, but also actively sought to hold meetings with politicians, government officials, scientists and students.

As shown in the memoir, the accommodation and food were, in principle, provided by villagers.

As the narrator of the above reminiscence, many youths were attracted by Bahuguna during the march, and youths who became social activists include Sailani, Dhoom Singh Negi, Kunwar Prasun, Jhaldhari and Bharat Dogra. Negi became one of the persons in charge in the Himalaya Foot March.

## **2.2. Himalaya Foot March (Kashmir-Kohima Foot March)**

The Himalaya Foot March (also called the Kashmir-Kohima Foot March) took place from 1981 to 1983, after the Chipko movement concluded with certain results in 1981,<sup>9</sup> with the intention of surveying the environmental and social situation of the whole Himalayan region by walking as well as propagating the Chipko message (to protect trees from cutting by hugging) to the people in that region. The idea was born during the eleven days of fasting by Bahuguna from April 2, 1981 in Uttarkashi of Uttarakhand.

Bahuguna and others completed the 4,870km walk across the Himalayan region from the western edge to the eastern edge with three breaks. To be more precise, they started at Srinagar, the capital of Jammu and Kashmir of India, on May 30, 1981 and stopped the walk at Chamba in Himachal Pradesh on June 25 owing to the rainy season. They

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<sup>9</sup> The Chipko movement has finally come to a conclusion by fulfilling the movement's request to entirely prohibit commercial deforestation of living trees at an altitude of 1,000m or higher in Uttarakhand State in 1981.

started again on September 12 and again stopped at Ranibagh of Uttar Pradesh on December 15. They started again on February 25, went through Nepal and reached Siliguri in West Bengal on May 18 but had to stop again for the rainy season. They started from there on October 19, went into Bhutan from Sikkim, then back into India, went through Arunachal Pradesh and Assam, and finally reached Kohima, the capital of Nagaland state in India. Everywhere they went, Bahuguna and others actively sought meetings with politicians, government officials, scientists and students, compiling reports regarding the environmental situation of the areas and submitting them to the local governments. The number of participants ranged from two to fifteen but Bahuguna was the only one who walked all the way. The days the participants covered ranged from fifteen days to two months.

Major outcomes of the march were as follows. (1) Reports of the situation of environment and societies of each area in the Himalayas were submitted to the governments concerned. (2) The march was widely covered by media. (3) Participants were gathered from various parts of India. (4) Bahuguna's fame and authority (to be a specialist in the Himalayan environment) rose.

### ***Leader-Follower Relations in the Himalayan Foot March***

Persons in charge were Bahuguna and Negi, who was a marcher of the previous Uttarakhand Foot March.

A male participant (born 1938) of the Himalayan foot march remembered the march as follows;

There was no language problem, Hindi was understood everywhere. In Arunachal Pradesh, people, at least men, understood Hindi. In Nagaland, we used English, because there were some locals who could understand English.

There were no problems regarding food and accommodation up until Nepal but it was quite hard for vegetarians afterwards. Because it was a tribal area, they were hunters, and they are not vegetarians. For example, in Arunachal Pradesh the person who acted as guide was not that familiar with the local area and one day we arrived in a village quite late at night. It wasn't even a village, just one house there. Though it was late, the men hadn't come back from the hunt and women received us. Eventually the men came home with a big animal they hunted and they started to cut up the animal just right there near us. What could we do? We end up cooking our vegetarian food using the same hearth.

I think it was in Nagaland. We stayed in a hut made of bamboo. There was no electricity and only a small light at night. The hut was decorated with animal horns, legs, teeth and skulls on the wall. I hated that.

In Bhutan, persons from the forestry office came with us all the way and once we stayed in a camp for construction workers for the road near the border.

The march started at six in the morning every day after a lustral bath. We walked all day except lunch and the rest afterward. Since our march was advertised beforehand by media, such as newspapers, and word of mouth, we were welcomed everywhere. If our arrival was not known in an area, we used a loud-hailer to call out our slogan.

We carried sleeping bags, some clothes, camera, tape recorder, slides, slide projector, books and leaflets. All together it was about 20 to 30 kg. The biggest weight of all was books and leaflets. We sold them and used the money to buy necessities, such as clothes and batteries for the loud-hailer. When we ran out of books and leaflets we found a local publisher and had them printed there. In Nepal, we translated them into Nepalese, printed and sold them.

We had tapes with recorded songs and we played them. We also recorded the talks with the village elders and played them in the next village.

We collected one *roti* per household for village meetings as a participation fee. It was our strategy. Well, people would think 'One roti for a meeting? What kind of meeting is that? What kind of people are they?' We thought it would stir interest in the villages. It was a strategy to appeal to the people's curiosity.<sup>10</sup>

As described in the reminiscence, there were some differences from the previous Uttarakhand Foot March. Most importantly, many unpredictable happenings occurred because they marched in unfamiliar areas. Also, they sold books, utilised technology such as slide shows and submitted reports. At the same time, this march also fostered young social activists. Pandurang Hegde from southern India became one of the organisers of the Western Ghats Foot March.

### **2.3. Western Ghats Foot March**

The Western Ghats Foot March took place from November 1, 1987 to February 4, 1988. It covered 4,000km across the Western Ghats mountains area over 100 days by two groups of marchers: one marched from the north to Goa, which is situated in the middle of the Western Ghats, and the other marched from the south to Goa. The marchers numbered 50 to 400. It was conducted as a part of Save Western Ghats movement,

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<sup>10</sup> From interviews with Singh (not his real name) (Kali in Tehri on September 20, 2006 and Piplet in Tehri on September 21, 2006).

which aimed at saving the threatened mountain ecosystems, especially from deforestation.

Major effects of the foot march were; (1) many people including city-dwellers participated in the march, (2) local organisations in various places in the Western Ghats were connected each others, and (3) the march was covered by media.

### ***Leader-Follower Relations in the Western Ghats Foot March***

Before the march started, the Central Organising Committee was set up. There were three coordinators and twenty committee members. Hegde, who participated in the Himalayan Foot March was among the twenty members.

There were some big differences from the previous two marches. Firstly, it took seven months for preparation. The committee carefully chose the route and arranged places to stay. Secondly, more than 150 organisations were involved in the march. Thirdly, a large number of people, mainly from urban areas, marched.

The following is an excerpt from a marcher's reminiscence (*Save Western Ghats* 2008).

During the historic *padyatra*, the marchers had highlighted the ecological imperative of these mountains as source of water, biodiversity and hydel power. During the one hundred days march, the participants had sharply focused on these environmental imperatives in their public interaction and campaign. This, I consider, as one of the constructive outcome of the March.

At the subjective level, the two group of marchers – one marching in the north-south direction and the other marching on the south-north direction on the Ghats, it was an ecological pilgrimage. Marching through the pristine woods, settlements of indigenous people, clear streams and degraded forests, it was both a lesson and experience on the complex web of life in the context of mountain ecosystem.

At the closing stages of the event, an activist from Karnataka had confessed: 'My life will not be the same again'. That summed up the mood, individual transformation being imperative for social change and action.

### **3. LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATIONS IN THE FOOT MARCHES: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

I would like to analyse leader-follower relations in these three marches comparatively here by focusing on (1) the character of leadership, (2) the character of marchers and (3) the character of marchers' interactions with local people.

Firstly, the number of the leaders increased: it was one in the Uttarakhand Foot March (UFM), two in the Himalaya Foot March (HFM) and 23 committee members of committee in the Western Ghats Foot March (WGFM). The leadership became more democratic in the latter. In the WGFM, several key-persons in each part of the Western Ghats collaborated to form a committee for the march. The forming of the committee was itself the network formation of the already existing several organisations in the area.

Therefore, one can say that there was a basic difference between the first two marches and the last march regarding the character of leadership. If the number of leaders is small such as one or two, the foot march tends to have a flexible and ad hoc character, and it depends heavily on the leader's skill to determine whether the foot march succeeds or fails. On the other hand, when several persons jointly organize a march, a committee rather than a few leaders has responsibility for success (or failure) of the march. At the same time, the forming of the committee was itself an important part of the process of the collaboration of key-persons in different areas and of the network forming among several organizations such as NGOs.

Secondly, the co-marchers were mainly local youths in the case of the UFM, mainly youths but from various parts of India in the case of the HFM, and mainly city dwellers in the case of the WGFM. In the first two marches, many youths who marched became social activists. In other words, the walkers in the UFM and HFM were educated and trained to become professional social activists. On the other hand, in the WGFM, in which many urban people joined as marchers, the experience of walking in the natural environment would have been rare and extraordinary. Those marchers may feel refresh when they marched. However, in the WGFM, the most significant thing was that large number of people marched compared to the UFM or HFM. Furthermore since many organizations were involved in the march, it was an important process of network forming.

Thirdly, the character of marchers' interactions with local people were ad hoc one during the UFM and HFM, and relatively formal during the WGFM. Accommodation

and food were not pre-arranged in the first two marches, but were well-planned in the latter. Local people may welcome marchers hospitably in all marches, but this was particularly the case during the first two marches. Gatherings at each village or town had an entertaining mood during the UFM because of the existence of music. For the marchers, the interactions with the local people must have been a kind of learning experience to become social activists during the UFM and HFM and to experience village society life and natural environment during the WGFm.

As a concluding remark, it can be concluded that there are several leader-follower relations during the foot march in Gandhian environmental movements in India. However, the leader's intention largely determines what kind of leader-follower relations arise in foot marches. If (s)he decides to conduct the march by himself/herself, most probably (s)he has to educate and train the co-marchers during the march and ad hoc exchange with the local people occurs. If several persons decided to collaboratively undertake a foot march, the first challenge will be how to form a committee and then, before starting the march, how to arrange the route and lodging etc. In the latter, the important thing is to mobilize as many marchers as possible.

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