

CHAPTER-VIII: LEADERS OF DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES: QUEST FOR DISCRIMINATION.

In the preceding chapter, the important parameters in distinguishing leaders from non-leaders have been identified and their individual contributions have also been estimated through discriminant analysis. Now, the question arises as to which parameters can distinguish the leaders of one party from the leaders of another party. Various types of information, both quantitative and qualitative, have been collected from the leaders of Congress(I), CPI(M) and Forward Bloc through mailed questionnaire. An attempt has been made in chapter-V to compare the leaders and their families of one party with that of the other on various counts in order to isolate differentiating factors between two groups of leaders. Analysis in chapter-V is, however, made with the help of bivariate tables keeping other variables aside. In this chapter an attempt has been made to find out the factors that can discriminate the leaders of one party from that of other, considering all possible variables at a time. For this purpose, out of two hundred eighty three Gram Panchayat leaders one hundred thirty-five leaders have been chosen. Forty nine out of one hundred forty seven CPI(M) leaders (every third), forty-six out of ninety-two Forward Bloc leaders (every second), and total forty leaders of Congress(I) have been selected to constitute one hundred thirty-five sample leaders for the present analysis.

8.1: Selection of variables:

The variables to be taken into account are given in the following. Most of the variables are same as in Chapter-VII. But there are some variables which are selected for their particular relevance to this chapter. As for example, the 'Caste' as a variable

has been introduced in this chapter by judging the role it played in chapter-VI (table 6.1). To compare the actual role of different party leaders in the cultivation process by which the actual class position of the leaders may be ascertained, a variable 'percentage engagement of hired labourers in agriculture' is introduced in this chapter. The details of the variables are being given hereunder.

X1: Age:	Actual
X2: Caste:	Rajbanshi-1, Non-Rajbanshi-0.
X3: No. of adult members of the family:	Actual.
X4: Education of the leader:	Illiterate-0, passed class-V:1, passed Class-X:2, H.S./Madhyamik: 3, B.A./B.Sc.:4, M.A./ M.Sc: 5.
X5: Education of family:	Total score.
X6: Occupation of leader:	Labourer-1, Sharecropper-2, Industrial Worker-3, Agriculture (Small)-4, Business-5, Agriculture (Big)-6, Service-7.
X7: Occupation of the family:	Total Score.
X8: Main source of income:	Household Industry-1, Agriculture-2, Business-3, Service-4.
X9: Per capita landholding:	Actual.
X10: Per capita income:	Actual.
X11: Percentage engagement of hired labourer in agricultural work of the family:	Actual.
X12: Possession of agricultural implements by the family (total score):	Sprayer/Duster-1, Bullock-2, Shallow Tubewell-3, Pump set-4, Tractor/ Power tiller-5.

Table 8.2: Linear discriminant function classifying the leaders of Forward Block and CPI(M).

Sl. No.	Discriminating factor	Coefficients of discriminating factor (Discriminating weight)	t-value of discriminating coefficients	R ²	\bar{R}^2	F value with (16,78) df
1.	Age of leader (X1)	-0.0254	0.812 (0.031)	0.2545	0.102	1.6646 (NS)
2.	Caste (Rajbanshi / Non-Rajbanshi) (X2)	0.6557	1.373 (0.447)			
3.	No. of adult members of the family (X3)	0.0953	0.694 (0.137)			
4.	Education of the leader (X4)	-0.3369	1.166 (0.289)			
5.	Education of the family (X5)	-0.0972	1.189 (0.082)			
6.	Occupation of the leader (X6)	0.1957	1.383 (0.141)			
7.	Occupation of the family (X7)	0.0202	0.315 (0.064)			
8.	Main sources of income (X8)	-0.1127	0.287 (0.393)			
9.	Per capita landholding (X9)	0.4325	0.567 (0.763)			
10.	Per capita income (X10)	-0.0002	0.981 (0.000)			
11.	Percentage engagement of hired labourers in agriculture (X11)	0.0158	2.060 (0.008)*			
12.	Possession of agricultural implements (X12)	-0.1811	1.963 (0.092)			
13.	House pattern (X13)	-0.0181	0.113 (0.160)			
14.	No. of times member of panchayat set-up (X14)	0.1306	0.468 (0.279)			
15.	Material possession (X15)	0.2962	1.243 (0.238)			
16.	Original resident of Cooch Behar / Outside Cooch Behar (X16)	0.0928	0.175 (0.529)			

N.B.: 1) 'NS' denotes statistically not significant at 1 or 5 per cent level.

2) Figures in the parenthesis indicate the standard error of the estimate.

3) '*' denotes statistically significant at 5 per cent level of probability.

X13: House pattern (total score): Kucha-1, Mixed-2, Pucca-3, Electricity-4.

X14: No. of times member of Panchayat: Actual.

X15: Material possession: Radio/cycle-1, T.V.-2, Motor cycle/ scooter-3, Nil-0.

X16: Original resident of: Cooch Behar-1, Outside Cooch Behar-0.

8.2: Analytical Tool:

As in the preceding chapter, in the present chapter the linear multiple discriminant function approach appears to be purposeful. Three sets of discriminant function as cited in table 8.1 have been worked out for the purpose of present analysis.

Table 8.1: Discriminant functions to be worked out.

Discriminating Set Group 'A' Vs. Group 'B'	No. of variables considered	Size of two groups in each discriminating Set
1. Forward Bloc VS CPI(M)	16	Na=46 Nb=49
2. CPI(M) VS Congress(I)	16	Na=49 Nb=40
3. Forward Bloc VS Congress(I)	16	Na=46 Nb=40

N.B.: 1) Na = Number of observations in leader group A.

2) Nb = Number of observations in leader group B.

8.2.1: Discrimination between Forward Bloc and CPI(M) leaders:

The results of first set of discriminant function are shown in table 8.2. The said function is found statistically non-significant which implies that the variables (factors) considered have not been able to discriminate the leaders belonging to Forward Bloc

Table 8.3: Percentage contribution of the individual discriminating factor to the total distance measured between Forward Bloc and CPI(M) leaders

Sl. No.	Discriminating factors	Coefficients of Discriminating factor (li)	t- value of coefficients	Mean difference (di)	t-value of Mean difference	Coefficients multiplied by Mean difference (li X di)	Per cent contribution
1.	Caste (Rajbanshi / non-Rajbanshi) (X1)	0.6519	1.542 (0.423)	0.18	1.790	0.11734	12.03
2.	Education of the leader (X4)	-0.4473	2.010 (0.222)*	-0.34	1.535	0.15208	15.59
3.	Occupation of the leader (X6)	0.1969	1.634 (0.120)	0.61	1.518	0.12011	12.31
4.	Per capita landholding (X9)	0.8380	1.411 (0.594)	0.14	1.342	0.11732	12.03
5.	Per capita income (X10)	-0.0002	1.664 (0.000)	-89.83	0.200	0.01796	01.84
6.	Percentage engagement of hired labourer in agriculture (X11)	0.0155	2.187 (0.007)*	17.35	2.656**	0.26892	27.56
7.	Possession of agricultural land (X12)	-0.2010	2.442 (0.082)*	-0.44	0.745	0.08844	9.06
8.	Material possession (X15)	0.2670	1.220 (0.219)	0.33	1.611	0.09345	9.58
						0.97562	100.00

N.B.: 1) ** Stands for statistically significant at 1 per cent level.

2) * Stands for statistically significant at 5 per cent level.

3) $R^2 = 0.2337$, $\bar{R}^2 = 0.1425$, $F(10,84) df = 2.5617$ (significant at 1 per cent level of probability)

4) Figures in parenthesis indicate the standard error of the estimate.

Table 8.4: Linear discriminant function classifying the leaders of CPI(M) and Congress(I).

Sl. No.	Discriminating factor	Coefficients of discriminating factor (Discriminating weight)	t-value of discriminating coefficients	R ²	\bar{R}^2	F value with (16,72) df
1.	Age of leader (X1)	-0.331	0.918 (0.036)	0.2402	0.0714	1.4229 (NS)
2.	Caste (Rajbanshi / Non-Rajbanshi) (X2)	-0.7790	1.418 (0.550)			
3.	No. of adult members of the family (X3)	0.0173	0.097 (0.178)			
4.	Education of the leader (X4)	-0.0891	0.291 (0.306)			
5.	Education of the family (X5)	-0.1000	0.994 (0.101)			
6.	Occupation of the leader (X6)	0.0765	0.450 (0.170)			
7.	Occupation of the family (X7)	-0.0207	0.257 (0.080)			
8.	Main sources of income (X8)	0.5292	1.352 (0.391)			
9.	Per capita landholding (X9)	0.0303	1.163 (0.026)			
10.	Per capita income (X10)	-0.0001	0.768 (0.000)			
11.	Percentage engagement of hired labourers in agriculture (X11)	-0.0164	1.969 (0.008)			
12.	Possession of agricultural implements (X12)	0.2858	2.734 (0.105)			
13.	House pattern (X13)	0.0610	0.331 (0.184)*			
14.	No. of times member of panchayat set-up (X14)	0.0778	0.213 (0.364)			
15.	Material possession (X15)	-0.4902	1.750 (0.280)			
16.	Original resident of Cooch Behar / Outside Cooch Behar (X16)	0.0528	0.091 (0.577)			

N.B.: 1) 'NS' denotes statistically not significant at 1 or 5 per cent level.

2) Figures in the parenthesis indicate the standard error of the estimate.

3) '*' denotes statistically significant at 5 per cent level of probability.

Table 8.5: Percentage contribution of the individual discriminating factor to the total distance measured between CPI(M) and Congress(I) leaders.

Sl. No.	Discriminating factors	Coefficients of Discriminating factor (li)	t- value of coefficients	Mean difference (di)	t-value of Mean difference	Coefficients multiplied by Mean difference (li X di)	Per cent contribution
1.	Caste (Rajbanshi / non-Rajbanshi) (X2)	-0.7110	1.470 (0.494)	-0.15	1.4134	0.10665	11.59
2.	Education of the family (X5)	0.0772	1.162 (0.066)	1.11	1.4968	0.08569	9.31
3.	Main sources of income (X8)	0.3876	1.336 (0.290)	0.02	0.1120	0.00775	0.84
4.	Per capita landholding (X9)	0.0265	1.123 (0.024)	0.15	0.9746	-0.00403	-0.44
5.	Percentage engagement of hired labourer in agriculture (X11)	-0.0151	2.098 (0.007)*	-14.48	2.0030*	0.21865	23.75
7.	Possession of agricultural land (X12)	0.2636	3.039 (0.087)**	1.18	1.9918	0.31105	33.80
8.	Material possession (X15)	-0.5124	2.345 (0.219)	0.38	1.6700	0.19471	21.15
						0.92047	100.00

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N.B.: 1) ** Stands for statistically significant at 1 per cent level.
 2) * Stands for statistically significant at 5 per cent level.
 3) $R^2 = 0.2174$, $\bar{R}^2 = 0.1498$, $F(7,81) df = 3.2146$ (significant at 1 per cent level of probability)
 4) Figures in parenthesis indicate the standard error of the estimate.

and CPI(M). Following step down procedure of eliminating redundant variables and selecting the step showing highest value of \bar{R}^2 (R^2 adjusted), the results are summarised by table 8.3. The new discriminant function with eight variables thus obtained (table 8.3) is found statistically significant at 1 per cent probability level. The percentage contributions of individual discriminating factors to total between group variability have also been calculated and shown in table 8.3.

It is observed that the extent of engagement of hired labourer in agricultural operations is the most powerful discriminatory factor in distinguishing leaders of Forward Bloc from those of CPI(M). This factor singularly accounts for 27.5 per cent of total variability between two groups of leaders. This finding corroborates with the finding elicited in chapter-V that the CPI(M) leaders families have relatively more access to non-agricultural occupation particularly to service which has lead them to engage comparatively large proportion of wage labourers to perform agricultural operations. Other factors like educational status and occupation of the leader, caste and per capita landholding are shown to have more or less equal importance in discriminating Forward Bloc leaders from those of CPI(M) as evinced by table 8.3.

8.2.2: Discrimination between CPI(M) and Congress(I) leaders:

The results of discriminating function in classifying the leaders of CPI(M) and Congress(I) are summarised in table 8.4. Here also the discriminant function is found statistically non-significant. Eliminating the redundant variables following the same procedure, the results of newly formulated discriminant function with seven variables are given in table 8.5. Individual contribution of each of the seven discriminant variables (factors) is also shown in table 8.5.

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Table 8.6: Linear discriminant function classifying the leaders of Forward Bloc and Congress(I).

Sl. No.	Discriminating factor	Coefficients of discriminating factor (Discriminating weight)	t-value of discriminating coefficients	R ²	\bar{R}^2	F value with (16,69) df
1.	Age of leader (X1)	-0.0724	1.845 (0.036)	0.1814	-0.0084	0.9557 (NS)
2.	Caste (Rajbanshi / Non-Rajbanshi) (X2)	-0.1744	0.285 (0.550)			
3.	No. of adult members of the family (X3)	0.0626	0.363 (0.178)			
4.	Education of the leader (X4)	-0.1564	0.376 (0.306)			
5.	Education of the family (X5)	-0.1495	0.964 (0.101)			
6.	Occupation of the leader (X6)	0.1625	0.846 (0.170)			
7.	Occupation of the family (X7)	0.0950	1.139 (0.080)			
8.	Main sources of income (X8)	0.4676	0.794 (0.391)			
9.	Per capita landholding (X9)	0.2251	0.357 (0.026)			
10.	Per capita income (X10)	-0.0003	1.475 (0.000)			
11.	Percentage engagement of hired labourers in agriculture (X11)	-0.0026	0.264 (0.008)			
12.	Possession of agricultural implements (X12)	0.1227	0.842 (0.105)			
13.	House pattern (X13)	0.0948	0.346 (0.184)			
14.	No. of times member of panchayat set-up (X14)	0.8216	2.075 (0.364)*			
15.	Material possession (X15)	-0.1984	0.599 (0.280)			
16.	Original resident of Cooch Behar / Outside Cooch Behar (X16)	0.0534	0.076 (0.557)			

N.B.: 1) 'NS' denotes statistically not significant at 1 or 5 per cent level.

2) Figures in the parenthesis indicate the standard error of the estimate.

3) '*' denotes statistically significant at 5 per cent level of probability.

Table 8.7: Percentage contribution of the individual discriminating factor to the total distance measured between Forward Bloc and Congress (I) leaders.

Sl. No.	Discriminating factors	Coefficients of Discriminating factor (li)	t- value of coefficients	Mean difference (di)	t-value of Mean difference	Coefficients multiplied by Mean difference (li X di)	Per cent contribution
1.	Age of the leader (X1)	-0.0589	1.867 (0.032)	-1.49	0.8288	0.0878	12.38
2.	Education of the family (X5)	-0.1575	1.716 (0.092)	-0.49	0.7335	0.0772	10.89
3.	Occupation of the leader (X6)	0.1856	1.180 (0.157)	0.57	1.3134	0.1058	14.92
4.	Occupation of the family (X7)	0.1137	1.766 (0.064)	1.26	1.1600	0.1432	20.20
5.	Per capita income (X10)	-0.0002	2.057 (0.000)*	-463.30	0.8200	0.0926	13.06
6.	No. of time member of Panchayat (X14)	0.8098	2.292 (0.353)*	0.25	1.6130	0.2024	28.55
						0.7090	100.00

N.B.: 1) ** Stands for statistically significant at 1 per cent level.

2) * Stands for statistically significant at 5 per cent level.

3) $R^2 = 0.1547$, $\bar{R}^2 = 0.0905$, $F(6,79) df = 2.4097$ (significant at 5 per cent level of probability)

4) Figures in parenthesis indicate the standard error of the estimate.

engagement of hired labourers in agriculture are found to be the important factors in discriminating CPI(M) leaders from Congress(I) leaders. These three factors jointly accounts for about 79 per cent of total variability between the two groups.

8.2.3: Discrimination between Forward Bloc and Congress(I) leaders:

The results of the discriminant function in discriminating the leaders of Forward Bloc and Congress(I) are cited in table 8.6. Here also the function is shown non-significant. Following the earlier procedure of variable elimination and estimation of individual factor contribution table 8.7 is prepared. Factors like number of times elected as member of Panchayat, occupational status of the family and of the leader, per capita income are found to be the principal discriminating factors contributing about seventy-seven per cent of total variability as revealed from table 8.7.

8.3: Conclusion:

A comparison of the above tables (specially, table 8.3, 8.5 and 8.7) shows clearly that:

1. The factors 'Percentage engagement of hired labourers in agriculture' and 'Possession of agricultural implements' have successfully discriminated the CPI(M) leaders from that of the Forward Bloc and the Congress(I) leaders. These may ultimately lead one to the conclusion that the Congress(I) and the Forward Bloc leaders have more or less same 'non-cultivating owner' background compared to the CPI(M) leaders, who are on their way to becoming 'cultivating owners'. This corroborates with the earlier findings in Chapter-V (table-5). The adaptation of the modern agricultural techniques by the CPI(M) leaders (as shown in table 6.20) and a significant discrimination between CPI(M) and the other party leaders on the point of 'Possession of

agricultural implements' in this Chapter, all may lead one to the conclusion that one of the major contribution of adopting modern methods of cultivation is that it brings about a transition from non-cultivating owner to cultivating owner class.

2. Though 'per capita income' is one of the significant discriminant factors between Forward Bloc and Congress, It has very limited role so far the analysis of the total chapter is concerned. 'Occupation' also has a very limited contribution. But it would be wrong to do away with these socio-economic variables as they generally played very significant role in making of the leaders as revealed in the chapters-V, VI and VII. These factors are shown to have played important roles in differentiating leaders and the non-leaders in rural Cooch Behar in the earlier chapters. Though there is no denying the fact that as the mailed questionnaires used in this chapter were filled up by the leaders themselves, and there is a possibility that they have shown their income in the lower side (which is very natural and very common human psychology), it can be said with much certainty that the leaders of the three parties are not much different so far the economic variables are concerned. That is, they all have same economic base in the rural society of Cooch Behar.