

## CHAPTER - VII

### TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP

Leadership is the ability to influence a group toward the achievement of predefined goals. It is the activity of influencing people to strike willingly for group objectives.

In a trade union organisation leadership is the most vital aspect. Besides, the broad objectives of a trade union, the day to day union activities, programmes, policies, styles of actions are generally determined by the leadership of a trade union. It is the bridge between the management and the rank and file of the workers.

### TYPES OF TRADE UNION LEADERS

The structures of different trade unions are more or less identical, though sometimes some variations are found. The ideal structure of a trade union is the Secretariat at the top, then there is an executive council or council of members in the middle and ends at the local committee and its general members at the bottom. The prescribed norms are the general workers will elect the local committee, the office bearers of the local committee will elect the executive council or council of members and this council of members will ultimately elect the secretariat body. Thus the top leadership would be elected through a democratic process from below.

The secretariat body consists of President, Vice-president, general secretary, Assistant Secretary, Cashier etc. The executive council or council of members is a larger body, the number of members may be more than fifty. Actually this council is made to represent the local committees. The local committee also consists of the posts like President, Vice-president, General Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer etc.

The Secretariat body frames the rules and regulations of the union, looks after the major functions, represents the union in the conciliations etc. It also helps the general workers in forming the local committee.

Most of the secretariat members of this body are outsiders, generally middle class Bengalees. In almost all the central trade unions, operating in the tea gardens of Terai and Dooars and also in the studied three gardens, it has been found that nearly more than two-third of the secretariat posts have been occupied by the outsiders. Not only in number, the outsiders have also occupied the key posts like President, General Secretary, Treasurers etc. leaving aside the less important posts like Vice-president, Assistant Secretary etc. for the insiders i.e. for the workers. The post of the president is generally ornamental. In the larger unions the presidents generally are outsiders, even may reside outside the districts. The person may be a member of the legislative assembly or a

member of parliament. However, in the smaller unions the president may not be an outsider of the district. The post of general secretary is the most important one. In most cases the person is a full time union organiser and is paid a remuneration. Actually the general secretary is all in all in a union, though constitutionally the president is the highest post. The general secretary keeps information about the day to day activities of the unions, advises the local committees, represents the conciliations, tribunals etc. In the larger unions there are some other paid wholetimers, generally holding key post like secretary, treasurer etc.

Below the secretariat, there is a larger body called executive council, council of members or central committee. Whereas the secretariat body varies between 7 to 16 office bearers, the executive council consists of a larger number of members. Normally the size of the executive council is related to the strength of the union membership. The larger the membership of a union, the larger its executive. The members of this council are taken from the local committies of different gardens. In this body the workers have a higher representation. Officially this body is important as it consists of representatives of generally all local committees of a union. But the importance of this body is not much in the day to day functioning of a union. However, it is the highest body between the two conferences. So, any policy making or emergency decisions may take place in

the council meetings. The council meets 3 to 4 times in a year to discuss the union activities. But most of the meetings are customary and even sometimes, some members are not aware of their membership in this body or council.

Lastly there is the branch or local committee or the garden level committee. This committee also has post like President, Vice-president, Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Treasurer etc. This is the basic unit of a trade union. Its function is very vital. This committee enjoys some sort of autonomy though it has to work according to the rules and regulations framed by the Secretariat body. It looks after the day to day activities of the union at garden level and can take decisions of some minor matters. The strength of a union depends on the proper functioning of this committee. It enrolls the members, collects membership fees, sends a part of it to the secretariat body, also sends reports of the functioning of the union at local/garden level regularly to the Secretariat body, informs its members about the communications it receives from the secretariates.

This committee also keeps in constant touch with its members, looks into their problems, grievances, sees whether the agreements entered into with the union are implemented or that the conditions of work do not deteriorate.

In the tea gardens, almost all the local leaders are

workers, except in very rare occasions where one or two outsiders are found in the local committee.

According to official norms the local committees would select the central committee or executive council and the executive committee would select the secretariates. But, in practice this does not happen. The secretariat body or sometimes just the general secretary selects the office bearers of local committee. The election or selection of the office bearers may be held in every year or after two to three years. During the time, some members of secretariat body or in most cases only the general secretary comes to the respective garden and puts the list of their/his choices in front of their members, assuming their acceptance. The choice generally depends on some qualities i.e. the power of speech, education, activity, loyalty to the union and so on. The general members may agree with the selection or not. In case of disagree, the general members put their choices. But this happens rarely. Only in some abnormal situations, like if anyone of the choice of secretariat body is extremely disliked by the general members for any of the reasons like indese<sup>n</sup>t, <sup>behaviour</sup> dishonest, inactive, not vocal, unsocial, immoral personal life etc., the general members disobey the selections of the secretariat body or the general secretary. The secretariat body or only the general secretary also selects the members of executive council without any proper democratic way. Thus we find that where choice should come from

the rank and file of the workers, in practice it comes from the upper strata of a union. This practice hinders the development of organic leadership as well as the trade union movements. However, sometimes, it is also seen that the election of local committee is being held even without the presence of secretaries or if they are present, they act just as observers.

#### ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP PATTERN

To understand the pattern of leadership in the tea plantation of Terai and Dooars a survey of leadership was made among the 50 union leaders of different unions in the studied three gardens. This survey included the age-group of the leaders, their sex, educational level, occupation, ethnic groups, whether they were traditional leaders, whether the union leaders also acted as social leaders or not<sup>and so on</sup>. In addition to that the data was also collected from another 30 gardens in Terai, Eastern Dooars and Western Dooars.

##### i) Sex of union leaders :

The distribution of male and female workers among the union leaders is given in the following table.

Table - 7.1SEXWISE DISTRIBUTION OF UNION LEADERS

(Percentage in brackets)

Name of the garden	Male	Female	Total
Lalfa T.E.	15(100)	0	15(100)
Angrabhasa T.E.	15(93.75)	1(6.25)	16(100)
Kurty T.E.	<u>19(100)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>19(100)</u>
	<u>49(98)</u>	<u>1(2)</u>	<u>50(100)</u>
Other Thirty gardens	213(99.51)	1(.5)	214(100)

The above table shows that almost all the union leaders are male though nearly half of the workers of Terai and Dooars are female. There is only one female among the 50 union leaders of the studied 3 gardens and another one among the 214 leaders of the 30 tea gardens of Terai, Eastern Dooars and Western Dooars. A study conducted by the labour bureau, Simla (Labour Bureau 1980 : XIII) registered the similar experience. It showed that 72% of women workers in plantation were members of unions and no sampled women workers in the selected plantations was found holding any responsible position at the decision and policy making levels of the trade unions.

The reasons of extremely low participation of women in union leadership in the tea plantation of Terai and Dooars are housework, low education, less awareness, shyness to come forward, fellow workers' pessimistic perception about their (women's) capacity to take union leadership etc. (This will be discussed in the following chapter).

ii) Age group of union leaders:

In the recent years there has been some changes in the pattern of leadership. One of the changes is that the old leaders have been replaced by young leaders. The dominance of the young and middle aged workers in the union leadership would be seen from the table below.

TABLE - 7.2

AGE GROUP OF THE UNION LEADERS

(Percentage in brackets)

Name of the garden	Upto 30 yrs.	31 to 40 yrs.	41 yrs. +	Total
Lalfa T.E.	6	4	5	15
Angrabhasa T.E.	4	5	7	16
Kurty T.E.	11	3	5	19
	<u>21(42)</u>	<u>12(24)</u>	<u>17(34)</u>	<u>50(100)</u>
Other Thirty gardens	70(33)	94(44)	50(23)	214(100)

From the above table it is found that among the 50 union leaders 42% (21 in number) were within 30 years old, 24% (12 in number) were between 31 to 40 yrs. old and the age of the remaining 34% (17 in number) leaders were more than 40 yrs. So, 66% (42 + 24) leaders were of young age group in the studied 3 gardens. The percentage of young leaders were more (33 + 44 = 76%) among the 214 union leaders of the another 30 gardens of Terai, Eastern Dooars and Western Dooars.

In the earlier days most of the leaders were old. The situation has changed in the recent years. Young workers have come to take leadership from the old generation. It is because of their better education, ability to lead due to better articulation of demands of workers, they are more vocal with the management about their demands, more active in the day to day problems of the workers and also it (union leadership) carries a social prestige.

### iii) Literacy :

Union leaders were generally more educated than the general workers. Whereas the average literacy among the sampled workers in the three gardens were nearly 50%, the same among the union leaders was 96%. Actually education was one of the factors

The following table shows that among the 50 leaders of the studied 3 gardens only 4% (2 in number) were illiterate. Among the literates, 6% (3 in number) could sign their names,

52% (26 in number) read between class I to Class V, 36% (18 in number) read between class VI to class IX and only 2% (1 in number) leader passed Madhyamik (class X).

TABLE - 7.3

LITERACY OF UNION LEADERS : (Percentage in brackets)

	Lalfa T.E.	Angra- bhasa T.E.	Kurty T.E.	Total	Other thirty gardens
Illiterate	1	0	1	2(4)	5(2.3)
Could sign	1	0	2	3(6)	15(7)
Class I to IV	6	10	10	26(52)	64(29.9)
Class V to IX	7	5	6	18(36)	104(48.5)
Madhyamik (class X)	0	1	0	1(2)	22(10.2)
Class XI to XII	0	0	0	0	3(1.4)
Graduate	0	0	0	0	1(.46)
	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>50(100)</u>	<u>214(100)</u>

Though illiteracy among the union leaders was less, but their level of literacy was extremely poor in the studied 3 gardens. In other 30 gardens the level literacy of the union leaders was comparatively little high. Whereas in the 3 gardens 36% leaders crossed the primary level, it was 48.5% among the leaders of the other 30 gardens.

Only 2% leaders passed Madhyamik in the 3 gardens, but there were more than 10% leaders who passed Madhyamik in the 30

gardens. There were none who passed H.S. (class XI) or H.S. (class XII) and also no one was graduate among the union leaders of the 3 gardens, but in the 30 gardens nearly 1.5% union leaders passed Higher Secondary (H.S.) and one was a graduate.

The reasons of fairly low level of higher education among the union leaders could be attributed to some causes. In almost all the tea gardens of Terai and Dooars, now-a-days scope for primary education is available, but there are little scope for higher education. The Madhyamik (Secondary), Higher Secondary schools and colleges are mostly situated at a distant place from most of the tea gardens. There were little scope for the workers of getting jobs in the staff category in tea plantation. The educated tribal youth could get better job in government services like Railways, Post & Telegraph Department etc., but, generally they do not want to go outside of their society. It was seen that the educated tribal youth working in Railway services, have left the job and came back to the tea gardens. The low level of economic standard of a worker's family also is a barrier to send their children for higher education. So, naturally they are not much interested to take higher education due to all these disadvantages.

iv) Occupational status of the union leaders :

In the initial stage of the trade union leaders were mostly from the Sardars. The Sardars who were also recruiters had enough control over the workers. The Sardars were mainly sub-staff. This system persisted for a long time and the union

leadership continued to be dominated by the sub-staff. It was rarely found a daily rated worker in the union leadership. Gradually, with the spread of the trade union movement, daily rated workers have come forward to take union leadership. The following table will show us the number of sub-staff and daily rated workers in the union leadership.

Table - 7.4

OCCUPATIONAL STATES OF THE UNION LEADERS

Name of the garden	Sub-Staff	Daily rated worker	Ex-worker	Others*	Total
Lalfa T.E.	11	4	0	0	15
Angrabhasa T.E.	11	5	0	0	16
Kurty T.E.	4	13	2	0	19
	<u>26(52)</u>	<u>22(44)</u>	<u>2(4)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>50(100)</u>
Other thirty garden	98(46)	111(52)	0	4(2)	214(100)

\* Others means clerical staff & teacher.

So, in the three tea estate, among the 50 union leaders 52% (26 in number) were sub-staff, 44% (22 in number) were daily rated workers and 4% (2 in number) were ex-workers. The two ex-workers were also ex-sub-staff. In the other 30 gardens the percentage of sub-staff among the union leaders was rather low compare to the 3 gardens; it was 46%. The percentage of daily

rated workers was 52 and 4% leaders were clerical staff and teachers. There were no ex-worker leader in these gardens. So, though there were some differences between the two cases, but, one thing was common that the daily rated workers were coming up to take union leadership. But, inspite of this trend, still sub-staff were more important in union leadership. Though sub-staff constitute around 5% of the labour face (Bhowmik 1992:31) yet they dominate the unions. The most important posts like President, Secretary were generally occupied by the sub-staff. In the garden level generally there was one or two person of every union who was/were the all important man/men of a union. In most of the cases the person was/were sub-sraff. Actually they were the effective leaders of the unions. These persons represent the unions before the management and they were the link between the general workers and the regional or central leaders. The other office bearers of the unions were rather customary. Thus, whether the sub-staff numerically dominated the secretariat body of a union, was not a factor; in real sense they are still dominating the unions due to the above reasons.

v) Years of union membership :

Earlier we have told that any worker may be a member of a union from his/her temporary period of service. From the following table we will get the union leaders' years of

membership of the union he/she presently belongs.

TABLE - 7.5

YEARS OF MEMBERSHIP : (Percentage in brackets).

Name of the garden.	Upto 5 yrs.	6 to 10 yrs.	11 to 15 yrs.	16 to 20 yrs.	21 yrs. & above.	Total
Lalfa T.E.	2	8	3	2	0	15
Angra-bhasa T. E.	0	5	4	4	3	16
Kurty T. E.	5	11	1	1	1	19
	<u>7(14)</u>	<u>24(48)</u>	<u>8(16)</u>	<u>7(14)</u>	<u>4(8)</u>	<u>50(100)</u>
Other thirty gardens	88(41)	67(31)	32(15)	23(11)	4(2)	214(100)

From the above table it is found that most (14% + 48% = 62%) of the union leaders of the studied 3 gardens had been members of any of the unions for not more than 10 years. In the other 30 gardens the percentage for the same was 72% (41% + 31%). In the tea plantation of Terai, Dooars generally every worker takes his/her union membership as soon as he/she gets a service. Even, they take membership of a union when they are casual (temporary) workers. As most of the union members were young, that is why their period of membership was not too much.

vi) Ethnic groups.

In the tea plantation of North Bengal among the union leaders Oraons were dominating. We have seen from the following table that in the studied 3 gardens 38% leaders were Oraons; Nepalis were 10% and 'Others' (including Kheria, Munda, Baraik, Lohar etc.) were 52%. Among the 'Others' no single tribe was more than 15%. The percentage of Oraons among the union leaders was more among the other 30 gardens. It was nearly 46% there. The Nepalis were 27% among the leaders of these tea estates. This was more compared to the studied 3 gardens. The tribes other than Oraons (such as Munda, Kheria, Lohar, Baraik etc.) constituted nearly 29% of the union leaders of the other 30 gardens. Among the leaders Bengalees were around 3%. They were clerical staff & teachers of primary schools. The following table will give us the ethnic groups of the union leaders.

TABLE -7.6ETHNIC GROUP OF UNION LEADERS :(Percentage in brackets)

<u>Name of the garden.</u>	<u>Nepali</u>	<u>Bengali</u>	<u>Oraon</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Lalfa T.E.	0	0	7	8	15
Angrabhasa T.E.	3	0	7	6	16
Kurty T.E.	2	0	5	12	19
	<u>5(10)</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>19(38)</u>	<u>26(52)</u>	<u>50(100)</u>
Other thirty garden	58(27)	7(3)	98(46)	51(24)	214(100)

The dominance of Oraons among the union leaders may be due to that the Oraons were majority among the tea plantation workers. It is difficult to give the exact break up of ethnic groups of tea garden workers as a separate census of tea garden workers does not exist. The 1961 district census hand book was the last census where break up of the tribes and economic activities were given. The district census handbook for Jalpaiguri (1961) shows that the Oraons formed the 51.23% of the tribes in the district. Among them, those employed in plantations, mines, forests etc. were about 65%. There were very few orchards and mines in the Jalpaiguri district, so we could easily say that most workers in this category were infact employed in plantations. In Terai a survey was undertaken by the S.D.O. in 1975 to understand the composition of work force in the Terai region. This survey shows that Oraons are numerically more prominent in the gardens (about 51%) of Terai (Dasgupta 1988 : 17). So both in Dooars (Jalpaiguri district) and Terai Oraons were numerically dominating among the tea plantation workers. So, they had the maximum number of leaders in the tea gardens of North Bengal. But that does not mean that ethnic affinity have played a vital role here. Then the workers of minority tribes would not get berth in union leadership. It was often found that members of a union have selected their leaders from minority tribes. Besides the above reasons one of the reasons of the Oraons' dominance in the union leadership may be that they were more educated among the tribal population

of tea plantation in North Bengal.

vii) Place of birth

The following table will show us the places of births of the union leaders.

TABLE - 7.7

PLACES OF BIRTHS OF UNION LEADERS : (Percentage in Brackets).

Place of birth.	Lalfa T. E.	Angra- bhasa T. E.	Kurty T. E.	Total
Place of origin	4	1	2	7(14)
Same garden	9	13	14	36(72)
Other garden	2	2	2	6(12)
Busty	0	1	1	2(4)
	<u>15</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>50(100)</u>

The above table shows that 14% union leaders' places of births were the places of their origins, 72% union leaders were born in the same garden they were working, 12% union leaders' places of births were the gardens other than they were working and only 4% took birth in the busties. This data were taken only from the studied 3 gardens. It shows that those who were born in the same garden they have been working, were majority, i.e. the workers prefer those workers as their leaders who are acquainted with them for a long time. On the otherhand it is also helpful for an worker to be a union leader if the person

is born and grown up in the same garden he/she is working.

viii) Traditional leadership

Traditional leadership means whether the leader's parent or near relatives (uncle, brother etc.) is/was a leader. Data of the 3 gardens shows that only 8% (4 in number) union leaders in these gardens were traditional; their fathers were union leaders.

ix) Social leader.

In the traditional tribal society, every tribe had a Panchayet (to be discussed in the following chapter). This Panchayet was the part & parcel of tribal society. It had a chief or Mukhiya who was generally an older person. This panchayet mitigates all the intra-tribal and inter-tribal social, religious disputes. Now-a-days this traditional tribal panchayet system has been gradually abolishing. In lieu of that a type of socio-political leadership is emerging. They are the union leaders. Any disputes arising of any social, religious, political events, now being mitigated by these union leaders. Thus, we have found that most of the union leaders (effective leaders) also acted as the social leaders also.

ATTITUDES OF WORKERS TOWARDS THEIR LEADERS :

The relationship between the rank and file of the workers and their leaders (both local and central), their

attitudes towards the leaders are the most important factors for running the day to day union activities. The proper functioning of a trade union depends a lot on the above relationship. As earlier discussed, there were two types of leaders (inside and outside) in the tea gardens of Terai and Dooars; the attitudes, the relations of the workers are also different in the two cases. Besides, now-a-days youth leadership is one of the emerging patterns in the trade unions of tea plantations of these regions. The youth have numerically replaced the old leadership; but how much the youth leaders have been successful in replacing the old in the functions of the union? What is the workers' perception about it?

To find out the answers of the above queries, a number of questions were administered among the sampled workers in the three gardens. Some of questions were: whether the young leaders could successfully replace the old leadership? Whether they were happy with the existing leadership? Would the inside leaders capable of replacing the outside leaders? What factors or qualities were required to be a union leader? Besides these selected questions, informal interviews of the workers were also taken. And above all, observation from the close quarter was also made to perceive the workers' attitude.

We have earlier seen that nearly 64% union leaders were within 40 years of age; hence they were young. More than 90% respondents told us that this young leaders were successful

in replacing the old leadership in the functioning of their unions. The young leaders were more vocal, enthusiastic, active than the old leaders. Not only that they were also more educated and well aware about the world outside the tea gardens. This information was rather comparative - workers' general views about the youth leadership compared to the old leadership. Whether the workers were happy with the existing leadership was a different type of enquiry. It was rather a particular type of enquiry about the leadership of a particular garden. The workers generally felt shaky to reply to these types of queries. So, it was really difficult to judge the workers' views about the existing leadership of their gardens. Being myself an outsider, they may have a disbelief about my intention and again they may not have such faith on me to what extent I would keep secrecy of their replies. So, it was at first a question of creating faith among the workers and secondly the keen observation to understand their likeness for their leaders.

Now-a-days the trade union movement in the tea gardens of Terai and Dooars are going through a stagnant phase (to be discussed in the concluding chapter).

The expectation of the workers from the unions as well as from their leaders became low what was rather high during the days of sixties and seventies. The Bonus movement of 1955, demands for increase of minimum wages of 1966 and for filling up of vacancies and increase of employment in the tea gardens

of 1969 etc. have increased the expectation of the workers from their unions as well as from their leaders. After 1969, there were no large scale movement in the tea gardens of this areas. Though the condition of workers has improved now in respect to the pre-independence period, but still a lot have to be improved. Trade unions are aware of these facts, but surprisingly enough they are not interested to launch large scale movements. The trade union movements are now restricted mainly to annual bonus negotiations, tri-annual wage negotiations with the management. Some sporadic movements may take place in the individual garden concerning the amount of bonus or minimum wages, but they are generally short lived or without any long/term impact on the workers. This state of lack of movements in recent years in the tea plantation of these areas have made the workers less ambitious. Now, they expect from their unions a yearly bonus, an annual increase in their wages, a sub-standard quarter and mitigation of occasional disputes with the management. The unions mechanically fulfilled these demands. These were the main functions of the unions now-a-days and these have become routine works of the unions. There was little enthusiasims found among the workers centred around a settlement or payment of bonus or an increase in their wages. Besides these, there were some day to day problems also-like the settlement of thika, supply of firewood, repairing of quarters etc. The workers now have become used to the irregular supply of firewood, unrepaired quarter, supply of low quality

of medicines or even non-supply of medicines. They have become habituated, but of course are not happy with the existing conditions. They were aggrieved but really helpless. They knew the limitations of their leaders (garden level). The local leaders could not take a major or radical decision without consulting their seniors i.e. with the central leaders even if they (local leaders) wish to do something. The central leaders in most cases preferred to maintain status quo instead of organising large scale movements. Even, they tried to convince the workers and the local leaders in such a way, so that the workers remain happy with the existing situation. The central leaders also sometimes expressed their inability to press the management or government or government's limitations or unwillingness to press the management. So, in such a situation workers were more or less happy with their leadership and also to some extent indifferent and bewildered; yet sometimes the general workers expressed their unhappiness, but those are sporadic and short lived.

Workers' attitudes and relations with the two different types of leaders (local & central) were also different. Whereas the local leaders were their neighbours, co-workers and belonged to same ethnic groups, the central leaders were mostly outsiders (sometimes from a distant place), non-workers and mainly belonged to Bengalee middle class. The relationship grew up in two ways - one was a very free and close knit relationship and another was

not so close, rather a formal relationship. Moreover, the outside leaders were more educated, socially upgraded people than the inside leaders. So, they were more respected and honoured by the the general workers than the inside leaders.

There were some exceptions also. It was also found that the workers were not happy with some of their leaders. Leaders with dishonesty, unnecessary militant, inactive and and with immoral personal life were not liked by the general workers. Very recently we have also noticed that the general workers, though in rare occasions, have come to the A.L.C. office to watch the bipartite or tripartite negotiations. These indicated their disbelief and faithlessness on their leaders.

Another important factor of this relationship was that the workers' perception about their local leaders ability to run the unions without the central leaders. Most of the workers' opinions were that the inside leaders could manage the minor union activities successfully without their central leaders but in case of any major problem (i.e. negotiations with the management regarding Bonus, Wages etc.) assistance of the central leaders was must. The general workers thought that inside leaders with their low education, knowledge and and experience were not capable to take any major decision. They were also not fully aware of the rules and regulations of Plantation. They also felt shaky to talk with the management

and with the representatives of the government.

A few of the workers were of a different opinion. They thought that the local leaders could manage everything successfully without the central leaders if the general workers stand by them.

#### REASONS FOR CHOICE OF LEADERSHIP :

Workers' choice of leadership depends on some factors. There are some qualities which the workers like to see among their leaders. It may be that due to a single reason a worker was preferred as a union leader by his/her co-workers or the reasons may be more than one.

The most important factor for choice of a leader was the capacity of speaking with the management. During any formal and informal negotiation if a worker was found putting the right argument, he/she would be the definite choice of the workers as their leader.

The next important reason was the involvement in the workers' day to day problems. A person who helps his/her co-workers in any problem like work, social, political, religious, etc. may be selected by the workers as their leader.

Formal or informal education, intelligence, experience, awareness about the rules and regulations of tea plantations were also the qualities the workers like to find among their leaders.

The choice of leadership also depended on the honesty of an worker and also on his/her behavioural pattern.

Sometimes, it was also found that the workers have selected a leader by the influence of their co-workers or the central committee has selected him/her.

There were some other reasons also which were comparatively less significant. Those are - traditional leadership, commitment to party, occupational status (sub-staff), ethnic affinity, ones personal sacrifice etc.

With this analysis of the trade union leadership in this chapter we would like to discuss the trade union and social change in the next chapter.