CHAPTER-V

TEACHERS’ UNIONS : A HISTORICAL PERCEPTIVE
5.1 Teachers' Unions in India:

Teachers' Unions which were unknown during Pre-British period are now found almost in every state across the Indian nation. Besides, separate associations of subject teachers like Hindi, Science, Mathematics etc as well as associations of primary and secondary teachers are formed. These unions like many other organizations, are the result of the influence of the West.

The imposition of British system of government and the implementation of British system of education had created among Indian people an awareness on collective endeavour and its importance for organizational strength to achieve goals. In addition, the cultural movements like Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj contributed to the formation of certain organizations to support individual effort. Moreover, the freedom movement did have its impact in the field of education. Further, the participation of teachers in the programmes of expansion and development of education had gradually awakened their fervour and thus inspired the teachers to unite and express their views on common interests and collective issues of various aspects in Indian education system. The expansion and development of education during post-independence period and the fundamental rights provided to the citizens by the constitution, had afforded to form various organizations providing a further stimulus to the growth of Teachers' Unions.

N.M. Lokhande, the founder of the organized labour movement, was himself a factory worker. He staged and organized an agitation to make representation to the factory commission which had just then appointed. As a part of that evolutionary process, the Teachers’ Union came into existence in 1890.

However, there were secured factors that contributed to the growth of Teachers’ Unions. They are discussed in the forthcoming pages.
5.2 Education Policies:

The growth and development of Teachers’ Unions in India has been influenced by the educational policies and reforms introduced from time to time. The reports of several commissions on education, appointed both in the pre and post independence periods, also left significant impact on the functioning of Teachers’ Unions.

In 1882 the Indian Education Commission was appointed (1882). This commission led by Hunter, recommended for complete withdrawal of government from direct enterprise and transfer of primary education to the control of local self-government bodies such as Municipalities and Local Boards, leaving the expansion of secondary and collegiate education to private agencies. As per the Government of India Act, 1919, the Department of Education was transferred to the control of Indian Ministers. Further the Act of 1835 provided the provinces greater autonomy and subsequently, the administration of education became the responsibility of provincial governments.

The changes in the administrative structure of the country brought about by the transfer of authority resulted in decentralization and localization of educational authority. The encouragement given to the indigenous initiative gave a fillip to the expansion of education. The entry of several agencies like municipalities, local boards and private managements into the field of education opened new avenues for the expansion of education, which further had increased the number of teachers. As the number of teachers increased, several problems in matters of security of service, release of grants-in-aid, standardisation of pay scales and regular payment of salaries were aroused. Consequently the teachers were prompted to organize themselves into associations. With the decentralisation of authority, local governments became responsible for sorting out these problems and the activities of these Teachers’ Unions were therefore localised. These factors led to the emergence of local organisations of teachers.
Several committees were appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education to examine the problems confronting education. These committees had also examined the problems of the teachers. Consequently a scheme was designed for “Post War Educational Development in India”, which was popularly known as the “Sargent Plan”. This scheme suggested certain proposals on revision of pay scales for teachers, which had not been implemented. Further the inflationary pressure of post-war period created an awareness among the teachers to fight for the protection of their economic interests.

During post-independence period efforts were made to bring radical changes in Indian education system. In some of the areas, particularly those under princely states, educational facilities were moderated and inadequate to meet the growing need of people’s thirst for education. Expansion of educational facilities became an urgent need. Extending educational facilities to rural areas to improve literacy and providing concessions to the weaker and downtrodden sections became part of the state policy. These major factors contributed to the expansion and the improvement of education in state sector besides encouraging the private sector organizations to take part in this expansion. The emergence of private sector as a major partner in the field of education and its administration was not an altogether unmixed blessing. Further the efforts of some individuals who started educational institutions with service motive and philanthrophic zeal contributed to the process of educational expansion at a rapid pace.

The Mudaliar Commission (1952-53) which was appointed on secondary education had gone a step forward and interviewed the representatives of Teachers’ Unions. The commission gathered the views and perceptions of teachers on various aspects of Indian Education, particularly dealing with the problems of teachers relating to their service conditions, period of probation, pay scales, provident fund and pension. It recommended that the teachers should be provided with quarters, and free education for their children. With regard to the
treatment meted out to the teachers, commission commented that “many managements have abused their position and treated teachers shabbily”\textsuperscript{12}. Emphasizing the need to better the conditions of teachers, the commission felt that, it is absolutely essential to improve the status and conditions of service of the teacher so that they could be get rid of their frustration, and education can be made a genuine nation-building activity.

The University Education Commission (1948-1949) chaired by Dr.S. Radhakrishnan made a survey of service conditions of teachers\textsuperscript{13} and their pay scales and made specific recommendations on matters relating to recruitment, age of retirement, provident fund and hours of work.

Basing on the recommendations of the Mudaliar’s Commission on secondary education, the Government of India constituted an International team known as the Secondary Education Project Team to take up in greater extent the necessary steps to put into effect the major recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission. The team recommended to form salary committees to evolve pay scales of teachers by conducting negotiations.

During the Second Five Year Plan period the Government of India came forward to afford the State Governments with financial assistance to the extent of fifty per cent of the additional financial commitment, if the states revised the salary scales of the teachers. Further the Government of India advised the state governments to consider the teachers rendering service under all types of managements on equal priority.\textsuperscript{14} But, several state governments failed to obtain the offer and utilize it for revising and enhancing the emoluments of the teachers. In those circumstances the Teachers’ Unions compelled to turn against and to agitate for the improvement of their economic status.
The educational policies did have their influence in the growth of Teachers' Unions in India. As a result of teachers' urge to participate in the process of decision making in resoluting the structure of educational system as well as strong desire for their involvement in the formation of educational policies strengthened the functioning of their organizations in India.

5.2.1 Socio-economic Status:

Another prominent factor that strongly motivated the teachers to form their own unions is their desire to better their socio-economic conditions and improve their living standards. As the awareness among teachers to protect and better their economic standards got developed to a greater extent, the Teachers' Unions emerged in India during the Second Great War. Further, the developmental planning formulated during the post-independence period, had created certain economic compulsions. These conditions had greatly influenced the growth of Teachers' Unions.

5.2.2 Sectional Interests:

Society is an admixture of many sections or categories of people, so much so the teachers community. Different sections will have different interests. These varied sectional interests within the profession resulted in the formation of certain organisations. Consequently feelings of insecurity was developed among teachers within a larger organisation and the conflicting interests of different sections within an organisation caused either a split in the existing organisation or the formation of new ones.\textsuperscript{15} Tamil Pandit Teachers' Association (Tamil Nadu), Blind, Deaf and Dumb School Teachers' Association (Orissa), Warangal District Science Graduate Teachers' Association (Andhra Pradesh) are some such organisations.
5.2.3 Discrimination:

The teachers rendering service under various managements were experiencing critical conditions, and these coupled with discriminatory treatment by those different managements and state governments in terms of pay scales, retirement benefits and allowances etc., led to the growth of some Teachers' Unions. Further, the discrimination shown by the administration between gazetted and non-gazetted teachers, subject teachers and language teachers created difference among them, divided the teachers community into groups or factions and their organisations had further contributed to the phenomenon of multiplicity of Teachers' Unions.

5.2.4 Class Consciousness:

Class Consciousness within the teaching profession is yet another factor which influenced the teachers in different stages of education-primary, secondary, collegiate and university to form different organisations of their own. Even the All India Federation of Educational Association (1925), which represented the teachers working at all stages could not retain in its fold the teachers of all cadres and virtually lost its all-pervasive character. As a result the All India Primary Teachers' Federation was established followed by the All India Secondary Teachers' Federation. Thus class consciousness among the teachers led to the growth of separate Teachers' Unions in almost all the states.

5.2.5 Political Forces:

The undue involvement of different political forces in the affairs of teachers and their organisations coupled with the involvement of teachers in the politics, have further enhanced the growth of certain teachers organisations. Obviously political parties which are in opposition, support the Teachers' Unions in claiming their demands. If the functionaries of the organisations subscribe to any political ideology, they become more susceptible to political influence.
5.2.6 Factionalism:

Factional conflicts and group rivalries as well as disputes prevailing among the teachers have led to the formation of new organizations. The establishment of teachers' constituencies enabled the teachers to elect their selected representatives for the legislative councils in some states has also caused friction among the teachers.

5.3 Growth of Teachers' Unions in India:

Historically Teachers' Unions in India had unique beginnings. The first organization was started in 1890, under the nomenclature of Women Teachers' Association, Madras. Miss Keely, Principal of the Doveton Girls School; Miss Arnold, Superintendent of the Presidency Training School for Mistresses and Miss Ive, Head Mistress of Bishop Gorries Girls School were associated with its activities.

In 1895, one hundred and fifty teachers of all categories ranging from principals and professors of first grade colleges to the teachers of primary schools, assembled in Madras, and formed the organisation, popularly known as Madras Teachers' Guild. Women teachers of Madras also joined the Guild. It was a local organization confining its activities to Madras city only. The membership of the Guild was open to all the teachers working in schools and colleges situated across Madras city.

Later in 1908, another union known as The South Indian Teachers' Union was formed. The Union extended its activities to the entire Madras Presidency and the Madras Teachers' Guild was affiliated to it. J.H. Stone and W.U. Theobald were the founder President and Secretary respectively of the South Indian Teachers' Union. In course of time these two organisations extended their activities in many directions. These two Unions regularly conducted annual conferences to discuss various problems of teachers. They made efforts to better
the socio-economic status and upliftment of teachers through constant negotiations with the government. Besides, they helped the teachers to improve their academic qualifications and skills. Protection fund was raised from the contributions of members, philanthropists and other elites by the South India Teachers' Union. The collected fund was utilized to help the teachers in distress. Further, a Cooperative Credit Society was also formed to promote the spirit of mutual help. Such were the welfare activities taken up by the union. Various problems confronting the teachers related to grants-in-aid, security of service, standardization of pay scales, house rent allowances, provident fund-cum-insurance-cum-pension also received serious attention of the South India Teachers' Union. The Union played an important role which was a strongly knit and more important one in India. It was a strongly knit and well-organised association with branches throughout the South.

In 1920, another organisation of Non-government Educational Officers came into existence in the United Provinces. In 1921, Upper Primary Secondary Education Association and Upper Primary Adyapak Mandal were established. The same year saw the formation of the All Bengal Teachers' Association.19

By 1924, six more teachers' associations, namely, Bihar and Orissa Subordinate Service Association, Bihar Vernacular Teachers' Association, Bihar and Orissa Secondary Teachers' Association, Central Province and Berar Teachers' Association, Bombay Presidency High School Headmasters' Conference and Baroda Secondary Teachers' Associations were formed.20

The number of Teachers' Unions at present in the country has grown rapidly in recent years. Of the existing 140 organisations most of these were formed after 1980's. Thus the Madras Teachers' Guild and the South India Teachers' Union have become the pioneers in the growth of Teachers' Unions in India.
In 1920, the Teachers' Unions were formed in all the states and provinces of the country, but their activities were confined only to their respective areas, representing only certain sections of teachers. Moreover, their formation was guided by considerations like the cadres of teachers and the managements they served. But there was no any coordinating agency at the national level. Consequently the functioning of Teachers' Unions in various parts of the country was devoid of cooperation. Hence, it had not been possible to bring about professional coordination, and spirit and inculcate a sense of professional identity among the teachers working in various states of the country. Then the teachers' movement occurred in Uttar Pradesh generated the idea of forming a national organisation of teachers community in the minds of the leaders. D.P. Khattrry, Prof. Seshadri and a few others founded the All India Federation of Teachers Associations in 1925 at Kanpur, aimed at bringing all categories of teachers under one banner. In 1933, the Federation was renamed as the All India Federation of Educational Associations as it was felt that the teachers' associations smacked of trade union spirit and a number of associations of a purely academic nature were awaiting affiliation. Until 1954 this was the only national organisation which embraced into its fold teachers of all cadres working under all kinds of managements. Thereafter, the All India Primary Teachers' Federation and the All India Secondary Teachers' Federation were formed to serve the interests of the teachers working at respective cadres.

The teachers' organizations of all categories and associations of subject specialties such as All India Science Teachers' Association and Indian Association of Teacher Educators are the affiliates to the federation. Renaming and Restructuring of the federation enhanced its responsibility. At present the Federation has five regional offices in the country. It also publishes a monthly journal.
The chief concern of the All India Federation of Educational Associations has always been the cause of education. It is manifested in the educational conferences of the Federation organised every year.

The All India Federation of Educational Association has also been pleading for a national pay structure, improved service conditions for the teachers and their participation in the formulation of educational policies. The Federation strongly feels that the desired objectives of the education can be achieved only when the state and Indian society as a whole concede to the members of the teaching profession certain fundamental rights coupled with certain fundamental responsibilities.

A general feeling exists that the primary education had been neglected even after the independence. This feeling further became more intense when Commissions were appointed on higher education and secondary education, skipping primary education. Further more, the primary school teachers all over the country were in a miserable plight in fighting desperately for their existence, against poverty.\textsuperscript{23} Even on the organisational front they were not recognised with individual identity. The composite nature of the Teachers' Unions in the country, including the All India Federation of Educational Associations, did not ensure any significant participation for the teachers of primary schools. Under such miserable conditions, the primary school teachers could not but went in search of a national forum that could devote itself exclusively to find remedies and solve the problems of primary school teachers. Consequently the All India Primary Teachers' Federation was formed in 1954 at Nagpur. The primary teachers' associations functioning in any part of the country could have affiliation with this All India Primary Teachers' Federation.
The formation of this Federation materialised mainly as a result of the initiative and efforts taken by the primary teachers of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. The activities of this Federation are to convene annual conferences, discussions and seminars on problems of primary school teachers.

Similarly, having been motivated by the strong desire to gain a separate identity at national level, coupled with the efforts made by the teacher leaders from Bihar, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh led to the formation of All India Secondary Teachers' Federation in 1961. They met at Saugar (Madhya Pradesh) in 1961 and drafted a constitution for the Federation. The affiliates of the Federation are the secondary school teachers' associations, functioning in various states of the country.

The formation of the National Federation of Primary and Secondary Teachers further created a sense of urgency among the university and college teachers to establish a separate forum for themselves. In 1961, a conference was held in Trivandrum to measure the need and desirability of establishing a national organisation for college and university teachers. Soon after, the All India Federation of University and College Teachers' Organisation was formed, in 1962 at a conference held in Varanasi.

The pre-1966 period was a period of nation-wide unrest prevailed among the employees in general and the teachers in particular. The subdued and sporadic struggles occurred during this period took a nation wide, decisive and articulate turn from the year 1966. So, this year was considered a major landmark in the growth of Teachers' Unions in India. Since late sixties the Teachers' Unions in the country had become active and even militant in several cases. Further the struggles launched by the service associations demanding for enhancement of pay scales and better conditions of work had their due impact on the teachers who constituted the major chunk among white coloored employees in the country.
This newly inculcated dynamism in the teachers’ organizations was infused mainly by the recommendations of the Education Commission (1966), the University Grants Commission (1966) and the Gajendragadkar Commission (1966). The report submitted by the Education Commission heralded a new era in the history of Indian Education. This commission was different from the previous commissions. It examined thoroughly the socio-economic status of the teachers in all aspects and included a separate chapter on ‘Teachers Status’ in its report suggesting recommendations specifically on emoluments, service conditions and retirement benefits etc. The first national pay structure for all categories of teachers in the country was formed basing on the salary structure recommended by the commission. In the year 1966, the University Grants Commission recommended another pay revision for the university and college teachers in the country. Another important event of this period was the appointment of Gajendragadkar Commission. The recommendations of this commission on the mechanics of increasing rates of dearness allowance became almost an obligation for the government.

The strong spell of influence of the recommendations of these three commissions gave a new direction to the growth of Teachers’ Unions in India.

5.4 Important Teachers’ Unions in India:

- All Bengal Government School Teachers’ Association (1920).
- Madhya Pradesh Pradhamik Shikshak Sangh (1922).
- Baroda Secondary Teachers’ Association (1924).
- Hyderabad Teachers’ Association (1925).
- Travancore Teachers’ Association (1927).
- Delhi School Teachers’ Association (1942).
- Orissa Secondary School Teachers’ Association (1942).
- Provincial Federation of Secondary School Teachers’ Association, Madhya Pradesh (1946).
> Indian Association of Teacher Educators (1950).
> All India Science Teachers' Association (1956).
> South India Teachers' Union Council of Educational Research (1953).
> Uttar Pradesh Madhyamik Shikshak Sangh (1957).
> All India Secondary Teachers' Federation, Delhi (1961).

There are ten All India Teachers' Unions. They are:

> All India Federation of Elementary Teachers' Unions, Patna.
> All India Primary Teachers' Federation, Patna.
> All India Secondary Teachers' Federation, Cuttak.
> National Coordination Committee of Indian Teachers' Organisation, Bhubaneshwar.
> All India Science Teachers' Association, Delhi.
> Indian National Teachers' Congress, New Delhi.
> All India Federation of Educational Associations, Kanpur.
> All India Teachers' and Educational Workers Congress, Calcutta.
> All India Urdu Teachers' Association, Hyderabad.
> Bharatiya Shikshak Mandal, Pune.

5.5 **Goals of Teachers' Unions:**

The goals of teachers' organizations encompass:

- Teacher welfare issues such as salaries, pensions and seniority rights.
- Formulation of policy and its implementation pertaining to the profession.
- Social and Ideological issues.
5.6 Functions of the Teachers' Unions:

- To secure membership, individually and collectively to achieve rights to attain better socio-economic status.
- To safeguard their professional interests and to secure satisfactory conditions of work and service.
- To improve the professional growth of teachers through refresher courses, seminars, publications, library service and research and achieve academic skills.
- To strive for the improvement of education in tune with the challenge of rapidly-changing socio-economic situation.
- To improve the teaching faculties of subjects through the establishment of subject-teachers’ associations.
- To establish a professional code of conduct for teachers and to ensure that it is the members should abide by it.

Since recent time, the Teachers' Unions have extended their activities, like organizing periodical conferences, meetings, seminars, workshops etc. besides publishing periodicals and magazines. As a consequent result of economic stress, teachers' organizations have begun to pay greater attention to the upliftment of economic and social status of teachers. They have been organizing strikes and hunger strikes to get their demands fulfilled. To achieve enhancement of salaries and improvement in the service conditions has become the main preoccupation of the teachers organisations since independence. Surely they have without question, achieved considerable success. The Teachers’ Unions have also been effective to a considerable extent in working against the unsatisfactory service conditions in some of the private management schools.
5.7 Teachers’ Unions in Andhra Pradesh:

The state of Andhra Pradesh was formed in 1956. It consists of three regions namely Coastal, Rayalaseema and Telangana regions. The Coastal and Rayalaseema regions which formed part of the erstwhile Madras State and the Telangana region which constituted a part of the erstwhile Hyderabad State were formed as the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The origin of the Teachers’ Unions in Andhra Pradesh had been from composite Madras State and their counterparts in Telangana region were the offshoots of the Hyderabad Teachers’ Association of the Nizam’s Dominion. Though the two regions were merged to form a single state, the teachers’ organizations in both the regions did not merge into one. The Teachers’ Unions in Andhra Pradesh are characterised by two unique characteristics namely their mushroom growth and the impact of regional sentiment on their functioning. Although some of the associations in Andhra or Telangana regions are ennamed giving an image of their being state-wide organisations, their functioning, in fact, is confined to their respective regions.

In the state of Andhra Pradesh educational institutions in large number are predominantly functioning under private managements and local bodies. So, obviously they are of the teachers working in non-governmental institutions. Whereas, the situation in Telangana region is contrary, since most of the educational institutions are managed by the government. There are two prominent Teachers’ Unions functioning in Andhra region, namely, the Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Federation and the Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Union. While the Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Union, was an offshoot of the South India Teachers’ Union, formed in 1928, the origin of the Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Federation could be traced back to 1947. Besides some other organisations known as the Andhra Pradesh Municipal Teachers’ Association, Andhra Pradesh National Teachers’
Association, Andhra Pradesh Ikya Upadhyaya Parishad and the Andhra Pradesh Head Masters Association are functioning in this region.

In the Telangana region, restrictions were strictly imposed by the rulers of the Hyderabad dominion in order to arrest the growth of unionism in any government service. They were almost under ban.

The Nizam’s reign, in the beginning appeared as an ideal rule. Later, it got degenerated into a virtual dictatorship. None could go against the Firman of the Nizam and in other words it was an unadulterated autocratic monarchy. Civil Liberties were utterly unthinkable for the people of Hyderabad. Freedom of press was totally absent. About a dozen Urdu dailies functioned under the patronage of Nizam. Cabinet’s approval was necessary not only for publishing any Telugu Newspaper but also for their contents. For instance, the Nizam’s government refused permission to name the Telugu News Paper as ‘Andhra Patrika’. So, it was named as Golkonda Patrika.

In the absence of freedom of the press the right to convene public meetings and organize associations was completely denied. In the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, “Political meetings are unknown in Hyderabad and even social and religious gatherings are looked upon with suspicion and special permission has to be taken for them”. Discriminations were there in providing provisions of the educational facilities, public services, civil liberties etc. to all the sections of the population. Some times there was ill-treatment towards certain sections of people.

The Nizam’s Government imposed many restrictions on the formation of associations. Even cultural and religious associations were needed prior permission for establishment. Even if they were permitted, the government used to look upon them with suspicion and have a constant vigil on their activities.
Thus there was hardly any possibility for the civil servants to form professional associations.

The Teachers' Unions in Telangana region had their origin from a puppet teachers' association, Anjuman-e-Asathija which was without the democratic character. It functioned under dictatorial directions of the rulers and was organised exclusively under the leadership of the top officers of the Education Department. Syed Ali Akbar, an Inspector of Schools, who subsequently became the Director of Public Instructions, was the first President of the association. The teachers could neither participate in its elections nor take part in its organisation and working. It was a bureaucrat-oriented organization and the teachers had to be at the beck and call of the top officials. Teachers were asked to attend the meetings only as silent spectators and were not allowed to participate in its debates. They got vexed with this association and they understood that this could not serve the purpose of solving their professional problems in any way. In one of its meetings, a courageous effort was made by "Shahariyar Kaos" a teacher, boldly proposed an amendment to an officially sponsored resolution. Consequently he was treated as a rebel by the officials but when the issue was put to vote the amendment of Kaos was resolved. Kao's courageous revolt saw the seeds of a new movement of teachers. Simultaneously, the Nizam's Government was determined to disrupt the solidarity and integrity of the teachers.

Meanwhile, the trials and troubles of teachers were extremely focused in an editorial of 'Payam', a famous daily from Hyderabad. The editorial greatly inspired many teachers and roused their spirit and motivated them to get mobilized themselves into a professional union. The editorial was successful in creating an intense awareness of teachers' problems among the teachers of Telangana, in the erstwhile Hyderabad State. The teachers had realized the urgent need for a voluntary professional organisation to better their conditions of work. As a result some of the teachers, inspite of the oppressive policies of the
government firmly resolved to form a voluntary organization for teachers and project the teacher power towards the direction of amelioration of the teaching community. Some well known teachers like Moulvi Noor Mahammed, Moulvi Ahmadullah, Moulvi Sayyad Ibrahim, Sri Sitaram and a few others were the pioneers of teachers' movement in the erstwhile Hyderabad State.

5.8 Anjuman-e-Madarseen:

Painstaking and tireless efforts made by several pioneers of the teachers' movements in Hyderabad State, resulted in a premier organisation of teachers, known as All Hyderabad Teachers' Association which came into existence in 1938.37 This association was renamed as Anjuman-e-Mudarseen in May 1946. This was the leading teachers' organisation which championed the cause of teachers interest and with its origin the earlier organisation Anjuman-e-Asathija disappeared. But the government did not bear the growth of unionism among teachers to initiate collective activism for their collective improvement in socio-economic aspects and so the government tried its best to suppress the organisation. Yet, the teachers with courage strained and struggled hard to secure recognition to their association pleading that it aimed at the educational advancement in the state and promotion of teachers interest. Ultimately, the teachers were successful in achieving recognition to their association in 1947, as Hyderabad State Teachers' Union. They could, thus, mobilise all the teachers and became a model for other government employees in the trade union consciousness.38 In the struggle for the recognition of their association, the teachers were extended helping hand by one of the top leaders of the state, Gopal Rao Ekbote and prominent teachers like Moulvi Abul Hasan, Sayyad Ali and journalists such as the editors of the well known newspaper 'Payam'.

The State Teachers' Union, teachers represented the government that their union should be given due representation in all educational committees constituted by the government and its opinion should be sought while formulating
the public policy on education. The Union could partially be successful in this attempt. The State Teachers' Union could also achieve some prominent rights to the teachers, such as half-day school in summer from March onwards, permission to appear for the higher examinations on duty, free education for teachers' children etc.

5.9 Dormancy in the Teachers' Movement:

At the time of Razakar Vandalism which was severely precarious in the Hyderabad state, the activities of the teachers' union suffered setbacks. Although the country achieved freedom, the Hyderabad State was still reeling under the worst type of autocracy. People started a movement demanding the liberation of Hyderabad and its merger in Indian Union. Demonstrations and Satyagrahas were taken up in a large scale under the efficient leadership of the Hyderabad State Congress, and as a result the educational institutions were closed down. The Razakars started killing people and looting their properties and thus created a fear psychosis in the minds of the people. Meanwhile central government intervened and took Police Action against the Nizam's regime on September 13, 1948, and military rule was established in the state. Then the activities of the teachers' union were kept dormant.

Soon after a civil government in Hyderabad State was formed under the leadership of M.L. Vellodi. This resulted a new turn in the educational policy of the government. As a result of the painstaking efforts of the stalwart leaders of the state like "Madapati Hanumantha Rao, K.V. Ranga Reddy, Burugula Ramakrishna Rao" and others, regional languages were introduced as media of instruction in high schools. Subsequently, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao joined Vellodi's Cabinet as Minister for Education. There was a new wave of enthusiasm among many teachers as they could fulfill their long-cherished dream of teaching through mother-tongue. However, the introduction of regional languages created
new problems for the union, as some teachers who knew Urdu only felt that
injustice had been done to them and started an agitation. This critical but delicate
issue put the State Teachers’ Union in an irksome position.42

At that crucial juncture, to rejuvenate the spirit of unionism effectively
among the teachers and revive their faith, an attempt was made to restructure the
State Teachers’ Union. A sub-committee was appointed on July 19, 1949 with the
union leaders, Sheshaiah and Srikrishna Prasad as its Secretary and Joint
Secretary respectively. The sub-committee was entrusted with the task of
expanding the Union activities in all parts of the state by organising branches at
the district level. The sub-committee toured several districts and enrolled as many
as 2500 teachers as members of the Union and organized 22 branches at the
district and taluq levels.

5.10 Growth of Rival Unions:

Several factors had been responsible for the division in the union and gave
way for the formation of various rival unions. Until 1950s a well-knit organisation
known as State Teachers’ Union was there in the State of Andhra Pradesh. In the
course of time a feeling, that their interests were not being properly pursued, had
been created among the teachers working in primary schools. Consequently
differences arised among the union leaders leading to the emergence of a new
organisation of teachers for conserving the interests of the primary school
teachers known as the Andhra Pradesh Primary Teachers’ Association in 1957.
Controversy that arised over successive elections to the legislative council from
the teachers’ constituencies further resulted in the formation of a rival teachers’
organisation known as the Telangana Teachers’ Union in 1972.43 Another section
of teachers working in Panchayat Raj Schools did feel that their interests were not
perfectly protected by the State Teachers’ Union and thus formed the Telangana
Panchayat Raj Teachers’ Association in 1971.
These differentiating developments prompted the teachers at different cadres and of categories to establish their self-identity and the result was the formation of the Telangana Grade I Government Teachers’ Association, Telangana Grade II School Assistants Association and the Warangal District Science Graduate Teachers’ Association. On account of several organisational and political disputes and controversies. The State Teachers’ Union might have witnessed certain splits in the rank and file of the union, but as a teachers’ union, it had played greatly significant role in strengthening the teachers’ movement in India in general and Andhra Pradesh in particular.

In due course various regional associations were formed. Teachers of East Godavari formed an association called Andhra Rashtra Pradhamikopadhyaya Federation under the leadership of Marellapudi Putra Sharma in 1944. At that time the Madras Government had imposed certain restrictions on the activities of this Federation. Consequently the activities of the federation were stopped. At that critical moment teachers of this Federation desired to establish harmonious relationship among themselves so as to solve their problems. In view of this aim Andhra Rashtriya Pradhamikopadhyaya Federation was revived in 1947 by the leaders like Chenupati Laxmaiah and P. Rama Subbaiah. Teachers in large number extended their support to the Federation. Ultimately in 1972 this Federation came into existence as Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Federation.

The Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Federation has its branches in all Mandal, District and State Headquarters. The Federation has affiliation with All India Federation of Educational Associations. The Andhra Pradesh Teachers’ Federation’s main offices are situated at Vijayawada and Hyderabad. ‘Upadyaya’ is its official journal.
The important objectives of Andhra Pradesh Teachers' Federation (APTF) are:

- Establishing egalitarian society and scientific education.
- Achieving socio-economic security to its teachers.
- The Federation intends to focus its objectives through books, journals, souvenirs and pamphlets.
- The Federation desires to develop organised form in order to achieve its goals.
- The Federation wants to impart knowledge to the people.

The Andhra Pradesh Teachers' Federation had experienced a split in 1987. As a result of this, one of the prominent members of this Federation, Sri Balakrishnamma was expelled from the Federation. In consequence, Balakrishnamma established a rival organisation known as APTF (Bala Krishnamma). This did not produce any impact on the parent organisation.

The Andhra Pradesh Teachers' Federation had developed solidarity with other teachers' organisation so as to solve the problems of teaching community. Apart from its normal activity, the Federation is striving for national integration and agricultural development. The Federation is also playing an important role in eradicating poverty and illiteracy.

In 1974, United Teachers' Federation was established by D.Rami Reddy, A.V.Swamy and Subba Raju in Amalapuram. The Federation's activities spread to Telangana area in 1975. In 1978 the federation attained the recognition by the state government. It’s head office is situated at Vijayawada. It has also branches at Mandal, District and State Headquarters. 'Ikya Upadhyaya' is its official journal.
The main objectives of the United Teachers' Federation are:

- It wants to ensure socio-economic and cultural development of the teachers.
- The Federation wants to achieve an egalitarian society.
- The Federation desires to play a key role in education planning and administration.
- The Federation aims at removing illiteracy, particularly in rural areas.
- The Federation gives importance to mother tongue for imparting education.

The United Teachers' Federation (UTF) makes strenuous efforts to fulfil the legitimate desires and needs of the teaching community. It wants to create an attitude of secular spirit in the minds of the teaching community. The Federation supports reservations to Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Backward Castes (BCs). The Federation desires to maintain ecological balance by encouraging environmental protection.

In 1986, another Teachers' Association, Andhra Pradesh Upadhyaya Sangam, was established. Its activities are confined to urban areas and it is not playing any important role in articulating the interest of the teachers.

In 1990, another association known as Andhra Pradesh Qualified Teachers' Association emerged. This association was formed by the qualified teachers who were qualified in 1989 teachers recruitment test but was not absorbed into government service.

Apart from the above enlisted Teachers' Unions' teachers belonging to physical education and those to arts and craft have also formed their own organisations to represent their interests. However, these organisations are not
very effective in influencing the public policy. To conclude, during the Nizam's
regime, the chances for formation of Teachers' Unions were very remote due to
the autocratic type of political system. After 1956, some Teachers' Unions came
into existence. But a significant growth in Teachers' Unions can be found only
after 1970's.

At present three major Teachers' Unions, namely, Progressive Recognised
Teachers' Union (PRTU), United Teachers' Federation (UTF) and State
Teachers' Union are functioning in A.P. These three Teachers' Unions together
comprise 2,61,561 members. Of this total membership, the UTF has membership
potential of 1,09,141 members. The PRTU follows UTF in second position with a
membership of 93,345 members, while STU comes third comprising membership
of 64,078 members. This membership potential consists of both men and women
teachers of different cadres.

After studying the status of Teachers' Unions at state level, it is prominent
and most essential to study about the Teachers' Unions in Krishna District, which
is presented in the forth coming pages.

5.11 Teachers' Unions in Krishna District : A Historical Overview :

Before 1944, management-wise teachers' organizations were there in
Krishna District functioning as per the rules and regulations laid down by the
British rulers. As there was no unity among the organizations, the teachers had to
face many trials and problems with the oppressive methods and ways of the
managements and the Andhra teachers working in continued Madras State were
no exception. Having observed and experienced those problems and difficulties
due to oppressive methods, the primary teachers conference was held on
16.04.1944 under the leadership of Satyaputa Sarma, Ramajoga Rao and
Manikyamba and Primary Teachers’ Association (Organisation) at state level was established (formed). But Stratum, the then Director of Education in the combined Madras State considered the establishment of State level teachers’ organisation against the rules of the government which was established without permission and issued a show cause notice. Consequently the activities of the organisation were stopped within six months period only. However, with the inspiration gained from the continuing labour movements and national movement Second Educational Conference was held on 19, 20 April 1947 under the leadership of Chennupati Laxmaiah and P. Rama Subbaiah. This led to the revival of Elementary Teachers’ Federation which established in 1944 but kept dormant.

5.12 Formation of District Organisation :

After the reviving reestablishment of Elementary Teachers’ Organisation in 1947, the district organisation was also established. From that day onwards, it has been striving hard with dignity, dedication, social response and for welfare of the society, contributing to the spread and improvement of education and abide by and champion the cause of teachers’ welfare. Following precept and motto ‘Feel Responsible- Fight for Rights’ of the APTF and for the ideals of the organisation has continued and has been continuing many movements on its own as well as on collective dias and performing its moral duty. The Krishna District organisation had fought for job security of the teachers and other various problems that the teachers were facing at town or mandal levels. Today there are branches, spread over in 44 mandalss out of 49 mandals, in one city and town and functioning sincerely throughout the district of Krishna.

5.13 Movements- The Role of District Organisation :

The district organisation participates in the movements at town or mandal or district or state level and makes efforts and works for the rights and welfare of the teachers and trys continuously for the spread of education. Besides, it
responds immediately at the problems arise at mandal and district levels, trys to find out remedies through talks and movements, solves them and makes the teachers get rid of insecurity feeling.

In 1957, a writ petition was filed by Nadendla Sitaramachari, who played prominent role in the movements of Krishna District, against the undue authority of the education officers on Teaching Association (T.A) centres on 5th August. Consequently the High Court proclaimed the judgement that the authority of educational offices on T.A. centres was against the 3, 4 sections of the constitution G.O. MS No. 418. The movement in protest of educational officers' undue authority on T.A. centres conducted by the district organisation was remarkable.

Sri Kancherla Subba Rao of Mandal Praja Parishad (M.P.P) School, Cherrakommapalem (Nandigama) was dismissed from service on the changes of attending Andhra Providential Elementary Teachers Conference as representative and participating in the activities of communist party. The district organisation backed up Mr. Subba Rao to file a writ in the High Court. Justice Chinnapu Reddy proclaimed the judgement stating that until the communist party was banned none should be dismissed from the service for mere having contacts with the communist party. As a result not only he was reinstated into his post but also secured salaries for the period of his dismissal.

5.14 Activities of State Organisation- Role of District Organisation:

The Third Conference of State Elementary Teachers' Federation of Andhra was held in Vijayawada in 1948. The district (branch) organisation hosted this conference. From that day onwards the Krishna District organisation has been performing its role successfully and admirably. Many workers and members of Krishna District have been contributing their share to the teachers' magazine, by writing essays, stories, poems and play lets since then.
“Mr. Vijayarama Raju” and others violating the code of conduct resolved at A.P. Elementary Teachers' Federation held in Kakinada in 1953, came out of the Federation and established another organisation under the same name of the Federation.

Again another Federation known as United Teachers' Federation (U.T.F) was established in 1974. As, the organisation failed to acquire awareness on the code of conduct, and due to failure in following the resolution and discipline of the council, this split had occurred.

The Krishna District Organisation stood at forefront in the movement conducted for the cause of achieving three benefits, namely, pension, provident fund and gratuity benefit scheme. Until then the teachers were denied of these benefits. But as a result of the struggle the teachers were able to achieve these three benefits.

The father of the Teachers' Movement Sri Chennupati Laxmaiah was the native of Krishna District. He demised in 1968. After his demise, on 9th June, 1969, the 9th Federation Conference was held in Gudivada of Krishna District. It was a grand success. In the historical strike called for by teachers and other employees for 56 days in 1971, the role of the branch of Krishna District is undefinable. This Krishna District branch extended its helping hand to the fourth class employees and poor teachers who were facing financial difficulties by providing them money and articles.

In this way as a part of prolonged movements, the district branch participated in the movements at district level jointly with Federation of Andhra Pradesh Teachers' Organisation (FAPTO), Joint Action Committee (JAC). Nothing will be lost if fought, but the problems would be solved – with this
inspiring motto, the Krishna District Organisation is making efforts to solve their problems. Thus the teachers' movement has been progressing day by day in Krishna District and has become main centre for all the popular and important associations.

There are three major Teachers' Unions namely, PRTU, UTF and STU functioning in Krishna District, which are selected for the study, have been strenuously working for the welfare and prosperity of the noble professionals to afford them with moral strength so that they could render their valuable service in improving the literacy rate and to achieve higher goals with a broad view of bringing about national integrity and for nation's glory.51

5.15 Teachers' Representation in Legislative Council:

The teachers' representation started from 1958, after the formation of Andhra Pradesh with a membership of eight teacher Member of Legislative Councils (M.L.Cs) in the ratio of four seats for Coastal Andhra, two seats for Rayalaseema and two seats for Telangana. V.P. Raghavachary and S.Rama Krishnaiah were the first teacher M.L.Cs from Telangana region and Vemparthi. Purushotham from Rayalaseema; P. Srirama Murthy from coastal Andhra region, (Krishna District), D.S. Subramanyam (East and West Godavari Districts), and S.T.P.V. Kumaracharyulu are from Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam.

Before the integration of Telangana and Andhra regions in 1956, the teachers were given representation for the first time in Telangana in 1952. The Andhra region which was a part of the Madras state was given two to four seats in the Madras council. Singaraja Ramaiah was the first M.L.C. from the Andhra region in the Madras council. Two years after the integration of Telangana and Andhra regions he became the General Secretary of A.P. Teachers' Federation.
and held that post upto 1976, the year in which he failed to get reelected as M.L.C. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh (in 1956), for two years, there was no representation for teachers as an upper chamber did not exist. It was in 1958 that a second chamber was constituted for the legislature of Andhra Pradesh, enabling the teachers to have representation in it from that time onwards.

But after 5 consecutive elections the legislature was dissolved by the then Chief Minister Late Sri. N.T.Rama Rao in 1984. Uptil 2005 no legislative elections were conducted. In 2005 when the Congress party headed by Late Sri. Y.S.Rajasekhara Reddy ushered into power resolved to conduct legislature elections which were held in March 17, 2007.

Prior to 1984 Krishna District had a separate constituency for Teachers’ representation, which was later merged with the Guntur District Constituency and there is one representative for both the districts. The first member of legislative council elected from Krishna District Teachers’ Constituency was Sri. P. Srirama Murthy. He was elected for two times. His successor was Sri Kolluru Koteswara Rao, who represented for three terms. The present member of Legislative council for Guntur and Krishna Districts Teachers’ Constituency is Sri. K.S. Laxmana Rao who has been elected for the second consecutive term in.

These three major Teachers’ Union functioning in Krishna District together have a total membership of 15,874 teachers. Of the three unions, the UTF occupies first place in membership potential, with 8,174 members, and the PRTU follows it in second place with 4,500 members while STU comes at third place with 3,200 members. All these three groups make strenuous efforts to achieve their demands and work to extract needed benefits from the government. In view of assessing the functioning of these three unions, their profiles are examined in the Chapter VI.
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