

ORGANISING INFORMAL TRANSPORT WORKERS



A Case Study of the National Transport Workers' Union Philippines

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Labor Education and Research Network
submitted to the International Transport Workers' Federation
April 2006

This country case study forms part of a global research project on organising informal transport workers. In 2005, this project was initiated by the ITF Education Department in cooperation with the ITF Road Transport Section. The overall objective of the project was to provide transport workers' unions organising, or wishing to organise, informal transport workers with a comprehensive guide and reference.

The research aims were to:

- document, analyse and synthesise the organising experiences, strategies and methods of unions organising informal transport workers through three detailed country case studies;
- identify the forms and extent of informal transport work; including identifying informal women transport workers;
- summarise issues concerning organising in the informal economy and their relevance to transport unions;
- formulate proposals for consideration by ITF policy-making structures;
- provide materials for use in planning education programmes on organising in the informal economy.

The research had two interlinked components:

- three detailed country case studies from Benin, Zambia and the Philippines of unions organising informal transport workers, including relevant contextual information;
- an overview of organising informal transport workers containing: information on informal transport work and men and women workers; organising challenges and strategies; synthesis of the case studies and recommendations for consideration by ITF policy-making structures.

For the case studies, the ITF identified three affiliated unions. The unions selected are from countries where informal jobs outnumber those in the formal economy, in Asia and Africa. We appointed research organisations from those countries to conduct the research. A research co-ordinator based in South Africa was appointed to produce the overview.

The ITF would like to thank the following affiliates and research organisations for participating in the project: National Transport Workers' Union (Philippines); National Union of Transport and Allied Workers' Union (Zambia); Syndicat National des Zemijan du Benin; LEARN (Philippines); WEA Zambia, LARES (Benin).

The ITF would also like to thank research coordinator Chris Bonner in South Africa, and the FNV Mondiaal for financing the project.

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ITF Global REsearch Project/LEARN as of 3 October 2005	

HISTORY, POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Philippines constitutes an archipelago of 7,107 islands with a total land area of approximately 300,000 square kilometres (116,000 sq. mi). It borders the Philippine Sea on the east, on the South China Sea the west, and the Celebes Sea on the south. The island of Borneo lies a few hundred kilometers southwest and Taiwan directly north. The Moluccas and Sulawesi are to the south, and Palau is to the east beyond the Philippine Sea. The islands are commonly divided into three island groups: Luzon (Regions I to V, NCR & CAR), Visayas (VI to VIII), and Mindanao (IX to XIII & ARMM). The busy port of Manila, on Luzon, is the country's capital and second largest city after its suburb Quezon City.

It is the world's twelfth most populous country, with a population of 86 million as of 2005. Roughly two-thirds reside on the island of Luzon. Metro Manila, the capital, is the eleventh most populous metropolitan area in the world. Population growth per year is about 1.92 per cent, with 26.3 births per 1,000 people. In the 100 years since the 1903 census, the population has grown by a factor of eleven.

The country was ruled by Spain from the 16th to the 19th centuries. Spanish rule on the Philippines was briefly interrupted in 1762, when British troops invaded and occupied the islands as a result of Spain's entry into the Seven Years' War. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 restored Spanish rule and the British left in 1764. The brief British occupation weakened Spain's grip on power.

Resistance to Spanish rule was fuelled by the injustices of the Spanish colonial government and the frailocracy. Filipinos originally clamoured for adequate representation to the Spanish Cortes and later for independence. The revolution against Spain was spearheaded by the Katipunan, ("Kataas-taasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga anak ng Inang Bayan") was founded by Andrés Bonifacio as its Supremo (leader). With a working class membership, it was a secret society for the sole purpose of overthrowing Spanish rule in the Philippines.

The country came under American rule in 1898 after the United States and Spain became involved in the Spanish-American war. With her defeat, Spain was

forced to hand over Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico to the US in exchange for US\$20 million. The country came under US control and in 1935, its status was upgraded to US Commonwealth. Independence for the Philippines was finally granted on July 4, 1946, after Japan invaded and occupied the islands during World War II.

Since 1946, the Philippines has faced some economic and political instability. The restive Hukbalahaps (column of the town fighting against Japan or in Filipino Hukbong ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon, guerrillas who fought against the Japanese during World War II), turned Communist in ideology. They won the support of many peasants with promises of land reform. In the 1950s, the movement suffered a major defeat with the surrender of its leader, Huk supremo Luis Taruc to the young reporter Benigno Aquino Jr. (later elected as Senator and whose assassination in 1983 led to the downfall of the Marcos dictatorship), and Secretary of Defense Ramón Magsaysay, who later became President.

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw the rise of student activism and anti-American demonstrations. This period was marred by civil unrest and exposés on corruption until martial law was declared on September 21, 1972. In the 1986 EDSA People Power Revolution, Marcos and his family were exiled to Hawaii, as Corazon Aquino, widow of assassinated Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., assumed the reins of government in the aftermath of a hotly contested snap election. Since then the country has gone through three administrations.

The government of the Philippines is organised as a presidential-unitary republic, where the President functions as head of state, the head of government, and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. The President is elected by popular vote to a six-year term, during which he or she appoints and presides over the cabinet of secretaries.

The bicameral Congress comprises the Senate and the House of Representatives; members of the former are elected at large and those of the latter by geographical district.

The 24 senators serve six-year terms, with half retiring every three years, while the House of Representatives comprises 250 members serving three-year terms.

The judicial branch of government is headed by the Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice as its head and 14 Associate Justices, all appointed by the President from nominations submitted by the Judicial and Bar Council. Other courts include the Court of Appeals, the Regional Trial Courts and the Metropolitan Trial Courts.

ECONOMY AND INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT

A developing economy, the Philippines ranks 118th of 178 countries by GDP per capita. Though once the richest country in Asia after Japan, the economy declined and contracted in the early 1980s as it embarked on a path of 'structural reforms' along neoliberal lines. Today, the economy is dominated by agriculture and services, while the share of industry continues to shrink. Agriculture is dominant in terms of employment, but services account for the biggest share of GDP. Meanwhile the share of industry, in particular manufacturing, in terms of employment and GDP has been on the decline. This feature of the Philippine economy—long-term gradual de-industrialization—sets the stage for the dominance of informal employment.

There is little doubt informal employment is a dominant feature of the Philippine labour market notwithstanding difficulty in defining what constitutes informal employment and different methods of estimating its magnitude. The common method is to deduct employment in large enterprises (defined as establishments with 10 or more employees) from estimates of total employment in the economy. The latter is obtained from the quarterly labour force survey (LFS) while the former is estimated from the annual survey of establishments (ASE).

Traditionally, informal employment is equated with work in the informal sector. Based on this approach, informal employment accounted for 79 per cent or 24 million out of total employment of 29 million in 1999¹, the last year for which employment by establishment is available. The comparable figure was over 80 per cent in the 1970s and 1980s². In other words, over the last three decades, despite the growth of the Philippine economy, despite 'structural reform' after 'structural reform', the overwhelming dominance of the informal sector has endured.

Recent studies have adopted the expanded definition of informal employment proposed by the International Labour Organization (ILO). The expanded defi-

nition makes the important point that informal employment is not restricted to the informal sector as implied in the method used above. It is also found in the formal sector, including the public sector. The new definition focuses on the employment relationship—employment without formal contracts, worker benefits or social protection—both inside and outside informal enterprises.

A study of informal employment in five developing countries identifies two major types of informal employment³:

- Self-employment in informal enterprises: workers in small unregistered or unincorporated enterprises, including employers, own-account operators, and unpaid family workers;
- Wage employment in informal jobs: workers without formal contracts, worker benefits or social protection for formal or informal firms, for households, or those employees with no fixed employer, such as employees of informal enterprises; other informal wage workers (for example, casual or day labourers); domestic workers; industrial outworkers, notably home workers; unregistered or undeclared workers; and temporary or part-time workers.

The expanded definition improves on the traditional way of estimating the magnitude of informal employment. It allows one to explore the nature of work and the terms and conditions of employment. It makes it possible to trace the impact of economic reforms on the growth of informal jobs. Because it is relatively new, however, the underlying concepts have not found their way in official employment statistics, severely limiting its application.

Our initial attempt to apply this expanded definition to available employment statistics reveals some interesting points. Using this definition, informal employment accounted for around 70 per cent of total employment during the period 1988-2002, compared with 80 per cent using the sector-based definition. Workers in small enterprises with less than 10 workers probably account for the difference since in the old estimate these workers are considered informal employees, but not in the new count.

As with the old, the new definition does not provide evidence that informal employment is in general decline. If anything, it persists and grows in absolute terms, even as it takes on new forms. Using the ILO definition, the number of informal workers grew to over 20 million in 2002, from 15 million in 1998. The

¹Basic data from the National Statistics Office (NSO)

²Balisacan, Arsenio M (1995) Poverty, Urbanization and Development Policy: a Philippine Perspective, University of the Philippine Press, p.63.

³Avigran, Tony et. al (2005) Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, No Jobs. GNP and EPI

share of informal to total employment fluctuated from a low of 67 per cent in 2002 to a high of 76 per cent in 1993.

Yet its contribution to job creation has increased over the years. It accounted for 54 per cent of job creation during 1988-1992, 60 per cent during 1993-1997, and 64 per cent during 1998-2002. If one accepts the view that this type of employment is inferior to formal employment, then its growing share of total employment indicates deteriorating quality of jobs being created by the economy.

Own-account workers and unpaid family workers accounted for the bulk, 76 per cent, of informal employment. But a significant proportion, 24 per cent, of informal employment is held by wage and salary workers. In 2002, wage employment in informal jobs totalled over five million, including 1.5 million domestic work, 2.8 million jobs on a short-term basis⁴ and 0.8 million jobs on a daily basis. Again, the data does not identify some types of informal employment in small enterprises such as those in micro enterprises not covered by contracts and without social security or health benefits.

INFORMAL WORKERS AND THE LAW

Informal employment in the Philippines is not without legal protection at least on paper, but enforcement of the law is weak and often non-existent. For example, minimum wage orders cover all wage workers in small and large establishments, whether employed on a short-term, daily or permanent basis. While wage orders grant exceptions to certain establishments, the exemption is not automatic and a firm must seek formal approval from the authorities. Enforcement of the minimum wage law, however, is weak: the proportion of wage workers paid below the respective minimum in their area of employment ranges from a low 20 per cent to a high 61 per cent in 1999. Even in Metro Manila, 40 per cent of wage workers were paid below the minimum wage in the same year.

In principle, social security and social health insurance is open to all, including informal workers. Membership in the social security system⁵ is mandatory for wage workers as well as the self-employed. Actual membership, however, is largely based in the formal sector.

The same is true for Philhealth, the country's social insurance programme. Membership among wage workers is mandatory and voluntary for others regardless of employment status. Some local government units offer free or subsidised membership to indigents, which may include informal workers. The data is not disaggregated between formal and informal employment, but only 42 per cent of families in 2004 had at least one member who had a Philhealth card. The proportion for the poorest 30 per cent of families is even lower at 28 per cent, although this is already a big improvement from the seven per cent in 2002.⁶

The Labor Code also provides some protection to informal employment in the formal sector. What is crucial under the law is the existence of a clear capital-labour or an employer-employee relation. For example, the Code provides some guidelines with regard to apprenticeship and the employment of special workers—learners and handicapped workers.

Contractual employment is also regulated. Under the law, a worker cannot be a contractual employee for a period of more than six months. Moreover, as a contractual employee, he or she enjoys some benefits (eg 13th month pay pro-rated to the number of months worked) just like permanent employees. A common practice in the retail business as well as in hotels and restaurants, however, is for employers to replace contractual employees after the six-month period with new hires. More often than not, contractual employees are not paid their benefits such as their pro-rated 13th month pay.

The Labor Code also contains provisions with regard to the employment of househelpers and homeworkers. The law sets a minimum wage for househelpers and the manner and form of payment, regulates their assignment to non-household work, provides indemnity for unjust termination of service, specifies the responsibilities of the employer in case of death, and so on.

With regard to homeworkers, the law sets guidelines on payment for work, deductions, conditions for payment of work, disagreement between homeworkers and employer, and the liability of the employer or contractor. Employment of minors as homeworkers is prohibited while homework is not allowed in certain industries: explosives, fireworks and articles of like character, drugs and poisons or other articles that require exposure to toxic substances. At the same time, government offices are mandated to provide technical assistance to registered homeworkers' organisations,

⁴Some short-term employment would be covered by contracts, but the widespread use of short-term contracts in industries such as retail trade (shopping malls), and hotels and restaurants indicate lower wages and benefits relative to long-term permanent employees.

⁵Government Social Insurance System (GSIS) and Social Security System (SSS) for public sector and private sector workers, respectively.

⁶The significant increase in coverage among poor families is attributed to the distribution of free membership cards by the President's party during the 2004 national elections. Data comes from the 2004 Annual Poverty Indicator Survey (APIS) conducted by the NSO

employers, contractors and subcontractors. Informal transport workers, however, are largely outside the pale of the Labor Code for several reasons.

There is no clear employer-employee relationship between the vehicle owner and the driver. The relationship is one of the driver renting the use of the vehicle for a fixed amount on a daily basis. On the one hand, the operator pays for the registration, franchise, and other fees required for the vehicle to be used for public transport as well as the repair and maintenance of the vehicle.

On the other hand, the driver pays the agreed daily rental or 'boundary' to the owner and shoulders the fuel cost as well as any fines or penalties incurred. By paying the boundary the driver has the right to use the vehicle for hire for an agreed number of hours during the day. Whatever is left of the gross earnings, after deducting the boundary, fuel cost and other incidental expenses, is the driver's take home pay. In many cases, operators themselves drive their own vehicles, in which case, the driver-operator earns the sum of the 'boundary' and the driver's share.

The entire arrangement is informal, established through repeated contracting and reference to common practice. The simplicity of the arrangement eliminates grey areas. The daily renewal of the informal contract prevents unfulfilled 'obligations' on either side from accumulating. The antagonistic relation between capital and labour manifests itself in the fact that vehicle rental takes precedence over labour's share. In other words, the driver absorbs all the risks, for example, fewer trips made due to heavy traffic. Otherwise, drivers and operators do not regard themselves as groups with opposing interests, but in fact are both victims of the larger economic system.

That drivers and operators see themselves as having common interests may be traced to several reasons. One, driver-operators are very common which obscures if not removes the capital-labour divide. Two, most operators own one or two units. Very few own multiple units. Three, the operators are mostly of working class or lower-middle class background. There is no wide gulf between their living conditions and those of drivers.

In general, while legal protection is available to both formal and informal workers, the latter enjoy far less benefits under the law. Moreover, while enforcement of the law leaves much to be desired for both sectors, the problem is much worse in the latter.

INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT IN TRANSPORT

The transport sector in general and land transport in particular has been a major source of new jobs in the last two decades. Transport workers grew from less than one million in 1988 to around two million in 2002. Between 1988 and 1992, the number of workers in the transport sector grew by 15 per cent or about four per cent per annum. The pace of growth doubled to 30 per cent or six per cent per annum for the period 1993-1997, marked by the relatively rapid growth of the Philippine economy. Expansion in transport employment slowed slightly to 19 per cent in the period 1998-2002, a still significant five per cent per annum considering total employment growth of only two to three per cent annually.

Land transport is predominantly informal in nature. Mass transit (mainly light rail trains in Metro Manila) and buses have been gaining ground in recent years, but the most common modes of land transport are the iconic Philippine jeepney, motorcycle-powered cabs (henceforth, tricycle), and bicycle-powered cabs (henceforth, pedicabs).

The jeepney is the main form of transport for medium-distance travel (5-20 kms). They were originally made from US military jeeps left over from World War II and are well known for their flamboyant decoration and crowded seating. In key cities like Metro Manila, Cebu and Davao, it has been increasingly complemented by air-conditioned Asian Utility Vehicles (AUV). The new AUVs are patronised by office workers and students looking for a more convenient and cleaner way to travel especially in highly polluted areas.

Tricycles and pedicabs provide transport for short-distance travel. They serve poor and middle class communities in Metro Manila. They serve as the main form of transport around most cities and towns of the Philippines, carrying passengers from home to the city or town centre. In the last decade, they have come to outnumber jeepneys and clog major road networks outside of Metro Manila.

The majority of jeepneys, tricycles and pedicabs are owner-driven. A significant minority of drivers rent units from operators mostly owning single units. The driver pays a fixed daily rental ('boundary' in local parlance) and spends for fuel cost and incidental expenses not including repairs. What remains is the driver's take home pay. Rental or 'boundary' varies depending on the state of the vehicle or, in the case of jeepneys, the

number of seats. It ranges from P600-800 for jeepneys, P100-200 for tricycles, and P50-100 for pedicabs.

In 2005, nearly 900,000 public utility vehicles plied the country's underdeveloped road network, with tricycles being the most popular form of transport⁷. According to data from the Land Transportation Office (LTO), the most ubiquitous mode of transport in the country is the tricycle with a total of 585,000 registered units or 65 per cent of public utility vehicles. This number represents a five per cent increase from the year-ago level. The tricycle is an attractive investment because of low start-up and operating costs. It also doubles as private service for the owner's household. Many registered tricycles are mainly intended for the household's own use in lieu of a car.

Meanwhile, the number of public jeepneys operating throughout the country reached 210,000 in 2005, a decrease of 4,000 units from its year-ago level. The number of registered jeepneys has declined in the last three years. The number of buses also declined to 22,000 units in 2005, which is 10 per cent below its level in the previous year. The number of taxis plying city streets also fell to 40,000 from 47,000 the year before.

Based on labour force surveys, employment in land transport is predominantly informal. Formal employment probably accounts for a tiny four per cent of total employment in this sector and is found mostly among bus and railway companies. Informal transport workers are concentrated in the sub-sector 'other land transport' (PSIC 609). Most of them are classified as own-account workers (driver-operators), but a significant number are classified as wage workers (drivers who do not own the units they operate). Thus using class of worker to identify informal transport workers would result in a gross underestimation.

In this study, we use the industry variable as well as class of worker to estimate the number of informal transport workers. Thus, all workers under PSIC 609 or 'other land transport' are considered informal given that the sector covers taxis, jeepneys, tricycles, pedicabs and tourist buses. Owing to data limitations, the latter cannot be segregated from the subsector. At the same time, self-employed and unpaid family workers under PSIC 601 or 'land transport' (mainly buses and railway) are included. This brings the total informal transport workers to 1.7 million in 2002 or 83 per cent of over two million transport workers and 96 per cent of all land transport workers.

Jeepney, tricycle and pedicab drivers numbered some 1.6 million in 2002, constituting the overwhelming majority of transport sector workers. Six out of 10 are found in urban areas; the rest are scattered in rural areas spread all over the country. By region, Metro Manila and the neighboring regions of Central Luzon and Southern Luzon account for more than half (53 per cent) of all informal transport workers. Other regions of significant concentration are Regions VI, VII, XI and I, each region accounting for six to seven per cent of informal transport workers.

Informal transport workers are relatively young owing partly to the physical demands of the job. More than half (53%) are between 25 and 45 years old. Another 20 per cent are young workers between 15 and 25 years of age.

Educational attainment among informal transport workers is low. Forty-two per cent did not finish high school. Another 36 per cent were high school graduates. High school education in the Philippines is equivalent to 10 years of formal education. Less than five per cent of transport workers had college degrees. Low educational background partly explains the low level of traffic signs literacy among public utility drivers.⁸

By occupation, 87 per cent of informal transport workers are, not surprisingly, classified as machine operators or labourers and unskilled workers. Curiously, 10 per cent are lumped together with 'officials of government and special interest organisations, corporate executives, managers, managing proprietors and supervisors.' Operators of public utility vehicles who rent out their units to drivers would fall under 'managing proprietors'.

Informal transport work is characterised by long work hours. Forty-one per cent of workers report work hours of 10-12 hours a day, with a six to seven day working week as the norm. The rapid growth in the number of jeepneys, tricycles and pedicabs has resulted in declining earnings, forcing drivers to extend the day's shift in the hope of earning enough to sustain their families.

Such effort is often in vain. Informal transport workers are among the poorest of the working poor. Outside of agriculture, where the bulk of families subsisting in poverty are found, the transport sector has among the highest poverty incidence, next only to mining and construction. In 2000, 17 per cent of families with household heads employed in the transport sector fell below the official poverty line. By comparison, the

⁷Phil Daily Inquirer, 24 March 2006

⁸A segment in a popular morning TV show, for example, has the host with a traffic sign on hand asking drivers what it signifies. More than a few give the wrong answer.

poverty incidence in mining and construction was 45 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively. Mining, however, accounted for only one per cent of household heads and construction less than seven per cent. By comparison, transport workers accounted for nine per cent of household heads.

The relative ranking of transport in terms of poverty has remained constant across indicators and over time. In 1988 transport ranked fourth behind agriculture, mining, and construction, in terms of three poverty measures⁹. In 2000, this ranking remained unchanged (ADB, 2005). The growing number of informal transport workers continues to swell the ranks of the working poor.

Poverty is only one facet of the deplorable working and living conditions of informal transport workers and their families. Daily exposure to pollution comes with the job, but the toll it exacts on workers' health has been largely ignored. They toil for long hours under the scorching heat of the equatorial sun and have little protection against the rain. Social security, health insurance, and pensions are luxuries they can only wish for. A few drivers' organisations have begun to organise such services for their members, but these efforts are in their infancy.

Already poor, or because they are poor and helpless, transport workers are a favourite milking cow of cash-strapped local governments, easy prey of police and criminal syndicates. Considered to be eyesores and air pollutants, they are often banished, relegated to side streets every time a place undergoes a makeover in the name of modernisation. Under such difficult conditions, it becomes imperative for informal transport workers to organise themselves to realise their bargaining power and defend their livelihoods.

ORGANISING INFORMAL TRANSPORT WORKERS

This study focuses on the experience of the National Transport Workers' Union (NTU) in organising informal transport workers in the Philippines. It aims to document a concrete example of an effort to organise informal transport workers, illuminate issues that confront workers and their organisations, and hopefully, offer lessons for the NTU and future efforts to build on.

Before proceeding, however, it is necessary to tackle two questions that immediately pose themselves. First,

why organise informal transport workers? In other words, what are the goals of this organised sector? Second, where lies the strength and bargaining power of informal transport workers? A discussion of these questions will serve as a backdrop to examining the NTU experience.

The rationale and the goals of organising informal transport workers are straightforward. As with any other segment of the working class, these flow from an examination of the working and living conditions of informal transport workers. The goal is to alleviate the difficult conditions under which they work and live, to liberate themselves, through their own struggles, from the forces that condemn their kind to inhuman existence. Their growing ranks, a result of failed development and which further depresses their conditions, makes it imperative to organise.

That their situation is so much unlike that of workers in capitalist firms is easy to see. For one, there is no antagonistic capital-labour relation. Most drivers own the units they are driving, while the rest rent from operators whose conditions are only slightly better than their own. The informal nature of the contract between the vehicle owner and the driver blurs the division between labour and capital. For example, operators are amenable to forgo the vehicle rental in emergency cases (eg vehicular accident or driver suddenly gets sick) or for reasons beyond the control of the driver (eg a major traffic snarl up that prevents the driver from plying his/her route). An informal agreement between the two groups may involve a 70-30 sharing of the incremental earnings owing to a fare increase.

The fact that operators and drivers work together and move within the same milieu makes it easy to arrive at an agreement or compromise. This is not to mention the fact that dispersed ownership of vehicles, with the majority of operators owning one vehicle, undermines the antagonism between labour and capital.

Informal transport workers operate as independent units, in competition with each other. The more the poorer. Their daily struggle to make ends meet in-grains in them competition more than cooperation. Their biggest concerns have to do with seemingly amorphous forces beyond their reach: the rising price of oil in the world market, the constant effort of the state and its agents to suck the blood out of their already anaemic systems. While they are widely used by the riding public, they seem to generate little sympathy for their plight from a public that sees them as an

anachronism tolerated only for the lack of an alternative.

Yet time and again, they have wielded their own power to great effect. Judging by the impact of their actions (successful strikes lead to schools and business closing for the day), the public reaction they generate (scorn for public officials and active support from poor communities), and the swift response they can exact from the state (government sending out military trucks to ferry stranded passengers, dialogues with or arrest of their leaders, and surprising readiness to concede to strikers' demands) an organised informal transport sector arguably possesses, in certain contexts, greater bargaining power than formal sector workers in many industries.

Here are a few examples of the power of an organised informal transport sector in the Philippines. In 1971, an eight-day transport strike joined by conservative and progressive groups protested against the government's rerouting policy and a price hike on gasoline in 1971. As a concession, the government created a jeepney drivers' foundation with a P6-million fund. This was a period of political turmoil, the so-called First Quarter Storm as mammoth student rallies rocked the capital early in the first three months of that year. The following year, martial law was declared. Later in the decade, the government set up the Oil Price Stabilization Fund (OPSF) to cushion oil consumers, including transport workers, from the impact of fluctuating prices in the world market.

In 1984, a transport strike led by FEJODAP and ACTO opposed implementation of PD 1934 and 1950 which provided for an increase in the registration fee of motor vehicles. The International Monetary Fund had demanded these policies in exchange for loans to a bankrupt state. Seventy per cent of an estimated 80,000 jeepneys went on strike and the President was forced to revoke the decrees. This was a period of deep political and economic crisis, following the assassination of the opposition leader Sen. Aquino in 1983.

In 1987, a nationwide strike in August was launched protesting against high oil prices. Key transport sector leaders were arrested: Medardo Roda of PISTON; FEJODAP's Maranan and Oscar Lazaro of PASANG-MASDA; KMU Chair Crispin Beltran and Vice Chair Leto Villar. Over a hundred people were arrested and scores injured. The transport strike created a perfect atmosphere and cover for a failed coup attempt led by Col. Gregorio 'Gringo' Honasan.

In 2004, a nationwide transport strike that saw the major transport workers' groups come together forced the government to raise transport fares so as to relieve drivers of the impact of high oil prices. Before the strike, the government had hemmed and hewed fearful that a fare hike before a national election would erode support for ruling party candidates including the incumbent President. By two o'clock on day one, the government virtually conceded to the strikers' demand, averting a potential crisis during the afternoon rush hour, and potentially damaging media coverage.

It is worthwhile to examine a little more closely the source of the bargaining strength of informal transport workers. Silver (2003)¹⁰ in her study of workers' movements since the 19th century cites two types of workers' bargaining power:

- Associational power: various forms of power that result from the formation of the collective organisation of workers (most importantly, trade unions and political parties).
- Structural power: 'the power that accrues to workers simply from their location ... in the economic system' There are two sources of structural power: marketplace bargaining power (results directly from tight labour markets; scarce skills; low unemployment; ability to pull out of the labour market entirely and survive on a non-wage source of income), and workplace bargaining power (results from the strategic location of a particular group of workers within a key industrial sector; stronger in integrated production processes and those dependent on just-in-time delivery of parts).

Associational power and structural power apply to workers in general. To see how these are wielded in concrete situations, one has to look at the specific sector in which workers attempt to flex these powers. In this case, we examine the transport industry, in general, and the informal land transport industry in the Philippines, in particular.

Transport industries 'sell change of location' as their product. All manufacturing depends upon transport systems at several 'moments' in their production processes—acquisition of inputs including getting workers to the workplace, moving intermediate products from one production site to the next, and bringing the final product to the market.

¹⁰Silver, Beverly J. (2003) *Forces of labor: workers' movements and globalization since 1870*. Cambridge studies in comparative politics, Cambridge University Press.

The informal transport industry (jeepneys, tricycle, and pedicabs) get workers from their place of residence to the workplace and back, customers to the point of sale, enable workers and household members to perform reproductive services (going to market, bringing children to school and back).

The industry is also involved in the moving of intermediate products and final products to markets and customers, hence the growth of delivery and messenger services. These services are increasingly performed using the firm's own vehicle and driver/messenger especially as motorcycles have become affordable, but a good number still rely on people delivering documents and goods to customers or related establishments using public transport.

In a sense, the entire distribution network is the workplace of transport workers. Transport workers possess relatively strong workplace bargaining power less because of the direct impact of their action on their immediate (often public) employers, but more because of the upstream/downstream impact of the failure to deliver goods, services, and people to their destination. Disruption may inconvenience the traveling public (workers, office employees, and public servants), but more importantly they hurt the employers as well as sellers of goods and services to affected people.

Yet it is not easy to counter transport workers' strong workplace bargaining power because industries are linked to each other. One way to undermine this bargaining power is to create a dense network of interlocking, overlapping, and redundant connections to make it difficult for disruption in a single segment or node to paralyse the entire distribution network. But this is costly to apply with modern mass transport systems. It is more feasible with informal transport systems where investment costs are smaller and widely distributed over multiple owners. Even this solution has its limits since routes are usually divided and assigned to specific groups to avoid cut-throat competition and make it a viable business for operators and drivers.

In the case of informal transport, jeepneys have come under increasing competitive pressure from new alternatives: mass transit and buses, while the old units are increasingly replaced by faster, airconditioned Asian Utility Vehicles (AUVs) and vans. Needless to say mass transit systems such as light rail, trains, and buses confer strong workplace bargaining power to labour and are highly vulnerable to industrial action.

Tricycles and pedicabs are subject to new competition from multicabs and shuttle buses serving specific areas or villages, but not as much as competition from their own kind. Thus, several lines of tricycles may simultaneously serve a relatively densely populated geographical area, say a large village. These may start from different entry points but can go anywhere within the service area. That is why it would require total paralysis of a specific area (organised as a federation) for a strike to make an impact.

Central to the dynamics of the industry is the role played by state regulation. Because a smoothly functioning transport system is crucial to the modern economy and because of the strong workplace bargaining power of transport workers, states find it necessary to intervene extensively and precociously in the transport industry. In turn, the state figures prominently in the struggles of transport workers. As will be shown below, a large part of the struggles of informal transport workers is securing rules and regulations that do not unduly impose burdens on already hard-up workers.

Location and mobility are two major advantages of the sector. Common terminals and waiting areas facilitate organising compared with small and dispersed work sites of other informal workers. Sheer number and 'public visibility' make informal transport workers a threat to political authorities. Public visibility arises from their huge numbers, the centrality of the public service they provide, the wide public they serve, as well as the physical location of work, namely, the streets, in themselves a central location of political action.

In contrast to strong workplace bargaining power, informal transport workers have weak marketplace bargaining power. There is a large supply of workers with the necessary skills, and barriers to entry for new units are relatively low. Thus, a universal concern of transport workers is to preserve their monopoly of a specific route by lobbying authorities to stop issuing new franchises or preventing drivers plying other routes from poaching into their areas.

HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM

Trade unionism in the Philippines started to develop during the decline of Spanish colonial rule and the advent of capitalism under the Americans. The period saw expansion in the plantations while internal commerce boomed. Distilleries, tobacco and textile factories, and many other business establishments flourished. With the use of telegraph, steamboats and railways, transport and communication between the islands, towns and provinces improved greatly.

Industrial workers, found mainly in the railways, ships, ports and factories started to organise themselves in the 19th century. In 1861, the workers put up secret mutual aid societies or brotherhoods aimed at providing financial assistance to members through a common fund. The secret organisations evolved into unions and the workers started clamouring for higher pay, shorter working hours, and more humane working conditions.

In 1872, the first strike was launched by workers in the shipyards of Cavite to protest violence by the colonial powers. Dockers, printers and warehousemen were at the forefront of the revolutionary movement against Spanish colonial rule, the *Kataastaasang Kagalang-galang ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (KKK), organised in 1892. The Spaniards were expelled after the 1896 revolution only to be replaced by the Americans.

In 1901, under American rule, the Bureau of Labor was created and trade unions were legalised. As the working class grew, workers' organisations expanded. Social unrest swept the country and the Communist movement grew in numbers and strength. The Communist Party of the Philippines would play a crucial role in the resistance against Japanese occupation.

After World War II, a Magna Carta of labour was passed. Unions were allowed to register on condition that their leaders took an oath not to join organisations deemed subversive by the state. Laws on wages, women, child labour, social security, and others were passed. The government put up federations and unions to divide the labour movement into factions. Unscrupulous labour dealers and racketeers appeared.

Worsening political and economic conditions marked the 1960s, and by the 1970s massive rallies and demonstrations led by students and workers shook Metro Manila, the nation's capital. In 1972, martial law was declared. Civil rights were curtailed. Trade unions were allowed but strikes were outlawed while labour leaders were hunted down and persecuted. By the

early 1980s, however, the labour movement regained momentum on the back of a popular protest movement against the Marcos regime.

The return of formal democracy in the aftermath of the February 1986 people power uprising restored many of the rights of workers and trade unions, but not all was well. A *Welgang Bayan* or national strike led by transport workers was launched in 1989, followed by a failed coup attempt. Hundreds were jailed and scores injured in clashes with the police. Relations between labour and the new government of Corazon Aquino remained uneasy.

The 1990s saw a general decline in trade union membership and activities, which has not recovered to date. Neoliberal reforms, which accelerated during the decade, undermined the labour movement.

HISTORY OF TRADE UNIONISM — TRANSPORT SECTOR¹¹

Labour organising in the transportation sector goes back to the 1960s. Drivers of big operators like Sarao, the Guzman brothers, sought recognition and demanded security of tenure, social security and other benefits. Among the first federations to be registered with the Bureau of Labor was the *Kamuning Drivers' Association of the Philippines* (KAMADAP), headed by Pedro Bolonas.

The first sector-wide federation to be established was the *Manila and Suburbs Drivers' Association* (MASDA) composed of small groups who saw the need to federate to act as a pressure group. Its creation was influenced by the new activist generation of workers and students in the 1970s.

Two other groups were formed during this time—the *Philippine Confederation of Drivers' Associations* (PCDO) and the *MAPAGSAT*, founded by a certain Mr. Herberio. Meanwhile, the PCDO affiliated with MASDA to create the *Pambansang Sanggunian ng Manila and Suburbs Drivers' Association* (PASANG-MASDA). The latter gained popularity under the Marcos administration.

A group within PASANG-MASDA split from the formation leading to the creation of the militant *Pagkakaisang Samahan ng Makabayang Tsuper* (PSMT) in the early 1970s. PSMT was declared illegal by the martial law government, while the PASANG-MASDA retained its conservative and reactionary image.

¹¹This section draws heavily from Teodosio, V.A., Bandyrel, PB and GL Labastilla (1989) *Labor and the Transport Industry in the Philippines*. University of the Philippines School of Labor and Industrial Relations: Quezon City

Despite splits and the proliferation of rival factions, the jeepney sector managed to stage concerted action. In 1971, well-coordinated strikes were launched to protest against the government's new rerouting policy and a price hike on gasoline. Conservative and progressive groups staged simultaneous strikes over a period of eight days.

The declaration of martial law in 1972 restricted labour organising and union activities. Even the pro-government PASANG-MASDA was not spared. The federation was revived in 1978 upon the initiative of the Metro Manila Commission, an attempt by the state to wrest control of the transport labour sector from progressive forces.

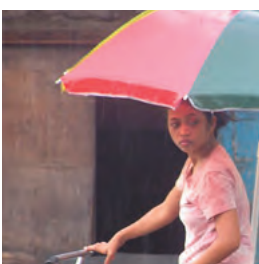
This period, which may be described as the height of labour organising in the jeepney sector, saw the formation of several big federations. Among the major organisations were the Integrated Jeepney Drivers' Association (IJDA), the Federation of Jeepney Operators and Drivers' Association (FEJODAP), and later on the Pagakakaisa ng Samahan ng mga Tsiper Nationwide (PISTON), the Association of Concerned Transport Organisation (ACTO).

The FEJODAP and the PISTON have remained active organisations up to the present. The former acquired a conservative image given its association with government. By contrast, PISTON was identified with the left-leaning Kilusang Mayo Uno (May One Movement).

Against these two polar organisations, the National Transport Workers' Union (NTU), which has its beginnings in the mid 1990s, is relatively young. It sees itself at the centre of the wide political spectrum bounded by the FEJODAP on the right and PISTON on the left. As discussed below, this has not prevented the NTU from working with both organisations on common issues.

Unfortunately, there are no studies documenting labour organising among tricycle and pedicab drivers and operators perhaps because their actions are confined at the local level and rarely attract coverage by the national media.

With this background, it is now possible to go into the experience of the National Transport Workers' Union of organising informal transport workers—jeepney, tricycle and pedicab drivers and operators—in the Philippines.



ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

The NTU is a national organisation of land transport workers in key areas of the Philippines: Metro Manila, Pampanga, and Cavite in Luzon; Cebu, Bacolod, and Iloilo in the Visayas; and Davao, Cagayan de Oro and Zamboanga in Mindanao. It unites informal workers in the three dominant types of land transport in the country, namely, jeepneys and AUVs, tricycles and pedicabs.

While important changes have been taking place in the last two decades especially with the introduction of mass transit in Metro Manila, jeepneys and their modern version, the Asian Utility Vehicle (AUV) continue to dominate medium-distance land transport (within cities and across neighbouring cities or towns). During the same period, tricycles and pedicabs covering short-distance routes mostly on secondary roads have exploded in number. Bringing together under one umbrella workers in these three modes of land transport greatly enhances the bargaining power of transport workers.

The idea of sectoral formation was contemplated as early as 1997 by six transport federations affiliated to the Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL). The NTU was formalised during a congress held in 2004.

According to its constitution, affiliation to the NTU is open to all forms of workers' organisation in the transport industry. In practice, most if not all affiliates are federations of local drivers'/operators' associations. Affiliates are classified into two: regular and auxiliary. Regular affiliates are organisations that have complied with all the requirements, thus they enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership. Auxiliary affiliates are those that have been accepted for membership by the Council of Leaders, but have yet to comply with the requirements laid down in the constitution.

To be admitted as a regular affiliate, an applicant organisation must fulfil the following conditions: a) have its executive officers undergo at least a basic orientation seminar; b) submit a resolution of its executive board or council or its equivalent authorising such affiliation; a copy of its constitutions and by-laws; where applicable a copy of its registration certificate; list of names and addresses of all elected officers and a list of members; c) subscribe to the principles and objectives of the NTU and abide by its constitution and by-laws; and, d) pay the affiliation fee.

From six founding members, the NTU has grown to a national centre for 26 federations. Expanding the current membership base is constrained by the inability of federations to pay affiliation fees and monthly dues, the lack of manpower on the part of the NTU to 'process' applications and conduct the required training and education programme for new members. The processing of applications involves a background check on the applicant federation and its officers as well as confidence building between the applicant and current members of NTU. Officers of the applicant federation and three representatives of member local associations must then undergo basic orientation and training.

Meeting every three years, the congress is the highest policy-making body. It brings together the Chair, Vice-Chair and Secretary-Generals of member federations. In between sessions of congress, the Council of Leaders (COL) composed of all the heads of member federations makes key decisions. The COL regularly meets once a year to plan the activities of the NTU. A national conference of the COL is called as necessary to discuss pressing issues affecting transport workers and to decide on the course of action to take.

An Executive Committee, composed of the Chair, the Secretary-General, a deputy, and four Vice-Chairs for the National Capital Region, Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, and whose members are elected by the congress, implements the decisions of the congress and the COL. The Vice-Chairs are responsible for coordinating activities in the respective areas and linking up with member federations.

To support day-to-day operations and campaigns, the NTU collects from member federations a monthly due of two pesos per declared dues-paying member. Collecting the token amount, however, poses great difficulty since individuals do not make a separate contribution specifically for this purpose. In practice, the amount is taken out of the general funds of member federations, who are themselves perennially short of funds. Financial support also comes from foreign and local workers' organisations and donor agencies.

SERVICES

To empower transport workers, strengthen their organisations, and advance their interests, the NTU has identified various forms of action including organising,

lobbying, bargaining, providing education to members as well as legal and paralegal assistance, setting up economic projects, and linking transport workers to other sectors or formations at local and international levels.

Organising includes the formation of a federation or alliance of transport workers' unions at city and provincial levels, and bringing these into the NTU. The NTU does not engage in organising individual drivers and operators as most, if not all, of them belong to associations. In the case of tricycles and pedicabs, drivers plying a certain route are required to organise themselves into an association. There is also a proliferation of federations and alliances. Organising services focus on expanding the membership base of NTU among federations and alliances and strengthening this unity of transport workers' unions.

The NTU represents the interest of transport workers in various fora, public hearings, conferences and similar activities. It convenes conferences on issues affecting transport workers. It engages in lobbying work in the legislative and executive branches of government. It coordinates mass actions and other forms of pressure politics such as transport strikes. It pursues negotiations with transport authorities at local and national levels. The NTU facilitates the sharing of information and strategies among affiliates as well as fraternal organisations to improve negotiation skills, and train new negotiators and leaders.

The NTU provides education services to members. Education aims at consciousness raising, value formation and skills development of the general membership and leadership. This includes basic orientation seminars, leadership training, gender concerns seminars that aim to encourage women's active participation at all levels of the NTU's organisational life, environmental concerns, and the like.

Legal and paralegal work complement existing legal capabilities of member organisations by providing them with legal services but also helping them develop paralegal support mechanisms. The NTU engages in sectoral, multi-sectoral and international solidarity work on behalf of members. It participates in strategic as well as issue-based coalitions, develops linkages with international labour organisations and networks, and labour-based NGOs in both developed and developing countries.

KEY DEVELOPMENTS

Since it was formally launched in 2004, the NTU has

made its mark as a major centre for transport workers. Firstly, as mentioned above, membership rapidly grew from six to 24 federations in less than two years. A number of federations have also signified their willingness to join the NTU. Only the lack of resources to process potential members prevents it from further widening its ranks. New members must go through a long process of familiarisation to build confidence between the NTU and potential members as well as a basic orientation seminar to inculcate the union's objectives and principles.

Secondly, the NTU conducted its first successful campaign in April 2004 to demand a fare increase for jeepneys in the face of a sustained increase in the price of oil products. Together with the major national transport federations including FEJODAP, PISTON, AL-TODA and NJODA, the NTU joined a nationwide jeepney strike to petition the government to raise the minimum fare by 50 per cent. By 2pm the Department of Transportation and Communication (DOTC) conceded to the strikers' demand. The one-day strike demonstrated the NTU's organisational strength in areas outside Metro Manila. Partner federations paralysed Metro Manila while the NTU provided the muscle in key cities like Cebu, Iloilo, Bacolod in the Visayas, and Davao, Zamboanga, and Cagayan de Oro in Mindanao.

Thirdly, a less successful campaign was launched in November 2005 to protest against the imposition of 10 per cent in value-added tax (VAT) on oil products. This time the NTU was on its own. The strike was felt in the NTU's bailiwicks in the provinces where it was able to mobilize 90 per cent of its base. In these areas, transport and business in general came to a halt. But it was hardly felt in Metro Manila, diminishing the strike's overall impact. Lack of resources, the short period of preparation, and more important, the lack of unity with other transport workers' centres undermined the campaign.

Fourthly, the campaigns launched at a national level as well as localised action by member federations have raised the public profile and credibility of the NTU as a union of transport workers. Today, transport authorities consider the NTU a force to be reckoned with. It is a regular participant in dialogues with national policymakers while member federations sit in policy dialogues at a regional level.

ISSUES

Most of the issues tackled by the NTU are related to protecting the incomes and livelihood of informal transport workers. Reduced fuel prices, higher fares,

state subsidy or exemption from duties and taxes for vehicle parts, lower fees and penalties for traffic violations, preventing re-routing that reduces passenger volume, keeping illegal units off the road, a moratorium on the granting of new franchises, an end to extortion by police and criminal groups are among the perennial demands of transport workers.

Oil price hikes and fare hikes

With oil price deregulation in the late 1990s, oil price hikes have had an immediate and direct impact on the earnings of jeepney and tricycle drivers. While pump prices have been deregulated, the government continues to set transport fares. Jeepney fares are determined at national level while tricycle fares are set by local government units. Without an automatic mechanism for fares to track changes in the price of oil, fare setting is a political balancing act. Wary of losing the support of the travelling public, authorities are reluctant to raise transport fares. This renders fare setting a contentious process between transport authorities and transport workers' groups.

Under the present system, the driver pays the owner or operator of a jeepney or tricycle a fixed amount for use of the vehicle over an agreed period of time. The owner is responsible for repair and maintenance expenses, while the driver shoulders operating expenses like fuel, parking fees if any, daily dues, penalties, and so on. It is common practice for owners of single vehicles to work as a driver at the same time to maximise returns from their investment. Given this system and because fuel cost is the biggest expense item next to the vehicle rental, there is little conflict of interest between vehicle owners and drivers. Indeed, the two groups have a common interest in petitioning for lower fuel prices or higher fares. For non-driving owners, a fare increase translates into higher vehicle rental. In recent years, the government has granted a tax subsidy on the fuel consumption of public utility jeepneys. PUJs can buy diesel fuel at reduced prices at participating gas stations, usually those located along major roads. In turn, the sale of diesel fuel to PUJs (at designated pumps in each station) is entitled to tax subsidy. Participation by gas stations is voluntary but appears to be gaining ground. The actual impact on drivers' earnings is insignificant.

In relation to this, the deregulation of the oil industry has been the object of protest and criticism from transport workers' groups. In the late 1990s, the government scrapped the Oil Price Stabilization Fund (OPSF), put an end to oil price regulation, and sold its controlling stake in one of the three major oil companies. New players were allowed to enter the industry.

Despite the entry of new players big and small, the industry remains virtually under the control of three companies, Shell, Caltex and Petron. Worse, deregulation has not lived up to its promise of lower oil prices.

With industry deregulation, the NTU has called for a fare hike mechanism that is more responsive to fluctuations in oil prices. In particular, it wants the rules of procedure for fare hike petitions to follow the rules of summary procedure for civil cases, that a decision be made not more than 30 days after the filing of a petition, and that clear economic parameters are identified in granting a fare hike.

Spare parts subsidy

Lower duties and taxes on vehicle spare parts is another way of increasing the earnings of public transport drivers and operators. In fact, the government has often offered this measure as a palliative to the need for a fare hike. This coincides with the government's overall tariff reduction programme. The entry of lower-priced parts from Asian manufacturers including China has eased the burden on the transport sector. But this is not without cost. It is possible that this has discouraged a dynamic vehicle parts manufacturing industry from flourishing despite the presence of major car manufacturers in the country. In Taiwan, South Korea, and Thailand, a network of subcontractors producing vehicle parts for the major car manufacturers has flourished. There is a long-term cost in terms of developing a vibrant local industrial sector.

Government fees and penalties

Public utility operators and drivers are subject to a long list of fees at all levels of government—vehicle registration, insurance, common carrier tax, franchise, smoke emission tests, medical and laboratory tests, licence renewals, business permits, new tariff schedules (drivers pay P500 for a verified true copy of the fare matrix each time there is a fare adjustment)—that eat up their earnings. At the same time, penalties for violation of traffic rules are increasingly a source of income for local government units, not to mention corrupt police and traffic officers. The imposition of new fees or an increase in existing ones easily invites opposition from transport workers and their organisations. Part of the resistance stems from a sense of persecution (ie drivers feel they are the milking cows of local governments) and the lack of public services to show for all the money collected by government.

A steep increase in vehicle registration fees in 1976 upon the prodding of the IMF triggered a nationwide jeepney strike, which forced the government to with-

draw the measure. Increased fees and penalties are common fare among the NTU's member federations, although the actions are directed at their respective local governments. This is true for jeepney, tricycle and pedicab drivers and operators.

Recently the NTU lobbied for a reduction in the computer fee charged by the Land Transportation Office (LTO) as part of the cost of transacting business (eg licence renewals, vehicle registrations, and so on). It also petitioned for lowering the cost of smoke emission testing charged by private testing centres, which is three times the amount previously charged by the government.

It has also asked that fines and penalties charged by the Metro Manila Development Authority, which manages traffic in the capital region, and the Land Transportation Franchising and Regulatory Board, be set at more reasonable levels. For example, the penalty for out of line offences exceed the rate prescribed under the law (Republic Act 4136). Related demands include the setting up of a one-stop-shop for vehicle registration, stricter regulation of private towing companies, and an end to the frequent reversal of decisions issued by the Adjudication Office of the MMDA by the agency's own Legal Office, a practice that the NTU says breeds corruption.

Transport policies and regulations

As a national workers' centre, NTU deals with government policies and regulations affecting the transport sector in general. It has proposed amendments to various laws, including the Local Government Code (which requires local governments to coordinate regulations with the Department of Transportation and Communication, and for the latter to conduct public hearings); the Clean Air Act to set penalties at more reasonable levels; the LTFRB Charter to change the decision process and the composition of the board; and the Public Services Act to put in place a mechanism to adjust transport fares together with changes in fuel prices.

DEALING WITH ISSUES

In dealing with the above issues, the NTU combines the tools at its disposal in order to advance the interests of transport workers. It carries out research and education activities on the issue at hand. It arranges dialogues with state officials to explore all avenues towards a resolution of issues. It coordinates with other transport groups to lobby for policy changes as well as launch coordinated transport strikes, the ultimate

weapon of transport workers.

In 2004, for example, the NTU together with major transport groups in Metro Manila petitioned for a fare increase to offset the impact of rising fuel costs. To determine what was a reasonable fare hike, it conducted research among member federations and associations to estimate the impact of rising oil prices on the earnings of drivers and operators. Once the necessary data was available, the NTU organised a national conference of its Council of Leaders to discuss the issue and to formulate the group's position and demands.

During the conference, the NTU secretariat scheduled a dialogue with LTFRB officials. A press conference was also held to inform the public and to begin to put pressure on concerned government agencies. In response to the group's announcement, the Transportation Secretary and the President's representative called for a meeting of all transport groups to thrash out the issues.

Members of the NTU Council of Leaders were given the task of communicating the Council's decision to local associations. Along with the demand for a fare hike, federations articulated issues affecting transport workers in their localities and put forward their own demands. Press conferences specifically targeting radio were organised to amplify the issues and the group's demands. Dialogues were held with local LTFRB officials. The NTU provided campaign material to its member federations.

Meanwhile, before and during the one-day strike the NTU secretariat continued to coordinate with other transport groups.

ORGANISING

Organising includes the formation of federations or alliances of transport workers' unions at city and provincial levels and bringing them into the NTU. In practice, there has been a proliferation of federations of transport associations owing to the rapid growth of the sector in the last two decades. Still, many federations do not belong to any national formation. Others are disgruntled with their current affiliations and are seeking new alliances that they believe will advance the interests of their members and transport workers in general. Through campaigns and activities, the NTU has gained credibility among transport workers, thus attracting potential members to its fold.

Potential members are identified by members and are referred to the NTU secretariat. Organisers then conduct formal and informal talks with key leaders of the

target federation. This may take some time as both parties establish a common level of understanding and basic confidence in each other. The application is then referred to the Council of Leaders for consideration.

The NTU's education programme is a key attraction to potential members. The NTU provides a Basic Orientation Seminar (BOS) to new member federations. The BOS module discusses the situation of the transport industry and workers in the industry and offers an introduction to unionism, and the principles, goals and workings of the NTU. This is offered to federation level officials and at least three persons or officers of each local association belonging to the federations.

Most federations and local associations elect new officers every year. The new officers become the target beneficiaries of the NTU's education programme. Beyond the BOS, the NTU offers leadership training seminars to officers of member federations. Field interviews confirm the importance of the NTU's education programme and there is deep appreciation by members, something that sets it apart from other national formations.

Organising transport workers is not without its problems. Payment of monthly dues discourages membership and active participation. The problem is not money per se but a clear appreciation of the value of being part of larger formations such as area federations and a national level organisation like the NTU. Local associations collect nominal daily dues from members. Given their number and accumulated over time, the amounts involved are nothing to be sneezed at. Not surprisingly, money is often the object of corruption and infighting.

Traditional views and attitudes towards unions and workers' organisations present formidable obstacles. Understandably, federations and local associations tend to focus on issues affecting their members and have little interest in larger national issues. A great deal of officers' time and energies are devoted to managing the collection of drivers' daily dues at association level.

A final obstacle to organising transport workers is opposition from local governments, wary of the power that organised workers can muster. While the formation of local operators and drivers' association is a legal requirement, many local governments actively prevent the formation of federations in their areas. Some actively monitor attempts to organise associations into larger formations.

NETWORKING

Networking with other formations is second nature to the NTU for two important reasons. First, the NTU is a project of the Alliance Progressive Labor (APL) whose credo is 'Social Movement Unionism.' Simply put, the latter refers to the view that the trade union movement can only realise its full liberating potential as part of the larger movement for social change. The APL is therefore the main arena for the NTU's networking efforts.

Through the APL and on its own, the NTU is also part of a number of progressive coalitions. It is part of the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC), an umbrella movement of progressive forces working for a resolution of the debt problem in a manner that considers first and foremost the short-term and long-term interests of the Filipino people. The FDC has been at the forefront of campaigns on economic issues in the Philippines such as opposition to the privatisation of water utilities, revocation of onerous contracts with independent power producers, opposition to new and higher tax rates intended to raise revenues to service the huge public debt, and so on.

The NTU via the APL is currently part of the Solidarity of Unions and Labor Organizations for New Governance (SULONG). SULONG evolved out of an alliance of unions that campaigned for an adjustment in the minimum wage, BAWI or Broad Alliance for a Wage Increase. SULONG has campaigned for the resignation or removal from office of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo on the grounds that she cheated to win the presidency.

Within the transport sector, the NTU is a member of the National Land Transport Council, an alliance of bus, truck and taxi operators. As mentioned above, the NTU works with other national federations during major campaigns such as the last national transport strike to demand a fare adjustment. Aware of its small membership base in Metro Manila, it linked arms with the PISTON and FEDJODAP, two nationally recognised federations of jeepney drivers and operators whose bailiwick are in the national capital region. The result was a joining of forces that effectively paralysed transport in key urban centres nationwide.

MAJOR CHALLENGES

The NTU sees three challenges in the near and medium term. The NTU sees as its most important task strengthening and consolidating the federation's membership base. In this respect, it is crucial to inculcate among drivers and operators the consciousness of a trade unionist, which is sorely lacking. As noted above, the nature of informal transport—individual units often in competition with one another—does not encourage collective action. But as their own experiences show, it is only through collective action, relying on their numerical strength, that transport workers can begin to defend their livelihood and improve their conditions.

There is also a need to reduce members' excessive reliance on their leaders to run their organisations and fight for the interests of drivers and operators. Ensuring regular payment of union dues is part of instilling discipline and making transport workers realise the value of having their own independent organisation.

The second challenge is to forge unity within the transport sector. Factionalism and rivalry among the major formations have weakened the sector. In addition, the concerns of many organisations are focused on internal, money-making efforts such as forging deals with insurance companies, facilitating the approval of franchises with the LTFRB, cornering election campaign money from politicians in exchange for votes, and keeping their membership base intact through patronage.

Finally, informal transport workers, in some areas, face the threat of extinction as a result of modernisation and the rise of mass transit. In Metro Manila, for example, the rise of urban mass transit, light trains in particular, has displaced jeepneys and buses. The Metro Manila Development Authority plans to reduce the number of buses in the city to 300 to ease traffic congestion. Displaced buses and jeepneys then move to the provinces, creating further competition for existing public utility vehicles there. Still in Metro Manila, the remodeling of the Cubao shopping area in Quezon City into a world class commercial centre has resulted in jeepneys being kept out of the main streets drastically reducing passenger volume and drivers' earnings.

In other areas, transport workers face the pressure of congestion brought about by inadequate infrastructure and the lack of urban planning in the face of rapid urbanisation and population growth. Frequent rerouting poses a constant challenge to transport workers while a low regard for their profession if not outright

discrimination renders them vulnerable to daily harassment and abuse.

The problem, however, goes beyond the transport sector to the ability of the economy to create adequate decent jobs for a rapidly growing labour force. The sheer number of workers and families that rely on informal transport work exerts tremendous pressure on earnings and family incomes there. Notwithstanding declining earnings, the sector provides fallback employment to unemployed and displaced workers. Given the lack of alternatives, informal transport workers have to struggle to defend a livelihood that increasingly cannot give them a life out of poverty.

For a summary profile of NTU and its organisational structure, see [Appendix I](#).



Transport federations (as the term is used in this study) are organisations composed of local operators and drivers' associations. The federation is the unit of membership in the NTU. The discussion in this section is based on interviews with leaders of six member federations of the NTU as well as the leadership of the latter. The interviews were conducted between October and December 2005.

PROFILE

For this section, the following federations, along with some of their local member associations, were interviewed:

- **FERCODA** (Federation of Eastern Rizal Cubao Operators and Drivers' Alliance, Inc) comprised of local associations of jeepneys that serve the Araneta Center, a business district in Quezon City, Metro Manila.
- **PASADA** (Pangalahatang Samahan ng Drivers at Operators sa Angeles City) composed of jeepney associations operating within Angeles City, Pampanga, a province located north of Metro Manila.
- **PEMADA** (Pederasyon ng mga Magtatrisikel sa Dasmarinas), a federation of tricycle operators and drivers' associations in Dasmarinas, Cavite, a province to the south of Metro Manila.
- **SEMDDOC** (Southeastern Mindanao Diversified Drivers' and Operators' Cooperative), a federation of 24 local associations in Davao City, Mindanao in southern Philippines.
- **TRAFECO** (Transport Federation of Cagayan de Oro City) comprised of 32 associations of jeepneys, multicabs and air conditioned vans in Cagayan de Oro City, Mindanao in southern Philippines.
- **VALPODA** (Valenzuela Pedicab Operators Drivers' Association), a federation of pedicab associations in the 1st and 2nd districts of the city of Valenzuela, Metro Manila, and established in 2000.

The federations interviewed for this study include three jeepney federations, two tricycle federations, and one pedicab federation. Membership in each of the federations ranges from 13 to 32 local associations, or some 3,000 to 7,000 transport workers per federation. Federations, however, do not keep records of individuals belonging to member associations so these are very rough estimates and probably on the high side.

All six federations were organised or re-organised between 1995 and 2000. The 1990s was a period of rapid growth in the informal transport sector. The Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL) was organised in 1995 and a transport caucus within the alliance, the precursor to the NTU, established.

The second half of the 1990s was also a period of fragmentation in left politics leading to a number of organisations leaving the fold of the dominant left group, the CPP-led (Communist Party of the Philippines) National Democratic Front (NDF). The successive splits in the left made an impact on the transport sector with a number of federations asserting their independence. Two such federations, SEMMDOC and TRAFECO, would later become mainstays of the APL-NTU.

The typical organisational structure at federation level is fairly straightforward. The General Assembly (GA) composed of any number of representatives of local associations is the highest policy-making body. The body elects a set of officers or executive committee and board members for a fixed term. The board formulates the federation's policies and programmes while the officers are responsible for their day-to-day implementation and execution. In some cases, a committee system is put in place to encourage members to take part actively in the implementation of programmes of their choice.

Most federations rely on a monthly contribution from member associations averaging a few hundred pesos a month per association. For example TRAFECO collects P200 monthly from each association. With at most 32 member associations, this amounts to P6,400, barely enough to sustain regular activities of the federation. This is not to mention the difficulty of collecting the nominal amount on a regular basis.

TRAFECO also used to operate a workers' cooperative (Transport Workers' Cooperative) intended to provide assistance to members and to be a source of funds for the federation. Misappropriation of funds by the officers led to the dissolution of the cooperative.

Given very limited financial resources, some federations maintain a physical centre but do not employ regular staff. They rely mainly on the voluntary efforts of officers, board members and the more active and dedicated members.

Two of the federations have a long history before them. The SEMDDOC traces its roots back to the Toril United Drivers' Association which started in the 1960s as a savings/loans cooperative that offered services to members. PASADA evolved from the Villa Pampang Jeep Operators' and Drivers' Association in the 1960s.

The rest as mentioned above were organised in the 1990s. In most cases, the formation of a federation was triggered by the need to address pressing issues facing the drivers. PEMADA was formed in 1997 because of the need to have a drivers' representative in the Municipal Traffic and Franchise Regulatory Board which decides on fares increases. FEDSTODA was formed to present a united opposition against additional requirements—a mayor's permit and income tax return—for the granting of a franchise. Police extortion, traffic congestion and the proliferation of illegal units prompted drivers to form FERCODA.

KEY DEVELOPMENTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

For some respondents their victories and struggles to improve the working conditions of their members are the key achievements of the organisations. The scrapping of new regulations imposing an additional burden on workers, putting a stop to rerouting schemes that take away passenger volume and depress drivers' earnings, protection of routes from poaching by illegal operators or the imposition of a moratorium on the granting of new franchises, and protection from corrupt police officers and transport officials—these victories are seen as the defining moments of transport organisations.

PASADA boasts of staying the implementation of Ordinance #2 in Angeles City in 1996. The ordinance allows public utility vehicles to pass through the routes of PASADA members, reducing earnings of drivers

and causing massive traffic congestion. The federation was able to convince the city government to abandon the odd-even scheme, which resulted in indiscriminate arrests.

FERCODA, a relatively new federation, sees as a key achievement the protection of members from corrupt police officers, resulting in the dismissal of some. A turning point in the federation's short history is the removal from office of the previous chair for alleged misappropriation of the federation's funds. A number of driver members have also won recognition as outstanding drivers by the oil giant, Caltex.

VALPODA successfully fought a local ordinance disallowing pedicabs to ply a major road, effectively eliminating them from the city's streets, thus killing their livelihood. It opposed City Hall's proposal to limit the number of units per route to 50. Federation officials consider it significant that the federation continues to function despite being entirely dependent on voluntary contribution by members.

FEDSTODA succeeded in scrapping additional requirements for the granting of franchises as already mentioned above, the struggle that gave birth to the federation.

PEMADA won fare increases in 1998, 2001 and 2004. It led opposition to a common carrier tax imposed by the city government and a driver's permit fee of P50. It convinced the city government to impose a moratorium on the formation of new associations and a quota on new franchises, while keeping competing units such as multicabs and shuttle bus services at bay.

TRAFECO caused the resignation of the Roads and Traffic Administration Director in 2002 for rerouting traffic without public consultation. SEMDDOC was able to convince the city government to lift the uniform requirement for drivers on weekends.

Government regulation is a key feature of the transport industry, formal or informal. It impinges on practically every aspect of the lives of transport workers, from the granting of drivers' licences and franchises to operate a unit, to fares rates, allowable routes, the designation of terminals, loading and unloading areas, and so on.

In the case of jeepneys, these rules are set at national level, although variations are allowed to take into account local conditions. In the case of tricycles and pedicabs, regulations are set at the town or city level. In all cases, the process requires varying degrees of

participation by affected parties. This creates ample room for transport workers and their organisations to try to shape these regulations to their advantage depending on the level of organisational strength.

That is why an important objective of transport organisations is to win representation in state agencies that have jurisdiction over their members. PASADA gained national accreditation in 2000, which gives it the privilege of being able to enter into a dialogue and negotiate with national and regional authorities. TRAFECO has been deputised by various local agencies and the city government to perform specific tasks such as the policing of drivers with authority to issue tickets for penalties, the implementation of RA 4136, and the monitoring of compliance to the new fare matrix. It has also won seats in the city council. FEDSTODA for its part has won a seat in the Silang Franchising and Regulatory Board.

Interestingly, federations take pride in their active involvement in the NTU. For example, SEMDDOC lists as a key achievement spearheading the formation of the NTU. PASADA, on the other hand, sees its education and training activities for its members in collaboration with the NTU as an important achievement of the federation.

WHY ORGANISE

Organising local associations into federations is the first step in realising the bargaining power of informal transport workers. While the local associations are the basic organisation of transport workers, these associations have no political or industrial objectives. In the case of tricycles and pedicabs, drivers and operators of a given route are required by law to form themselves into a local association. The functions of local associations, however, are confined to putting an orderly queuing system in place, collecting daily dues from members, and some other minor activities.

On their own, local associations have little bargaining power. Routes overlap so that one association acting on its own is not capable of paralysing transport services in its area of service. A transport strike has the potential to succeed only starting at the federation level, and even then it would take several federations covering a fairly large contiguous area to send a strong message to authorities.

The other reason for bringing local associations into federations is to enhance the bargaining power of transport workers vis a vis local authorities at the municipal or city level. The existence of a federation facili-

tates the appointment of a representative of transport workers who can speak on behalf of a decisive majority of drivers and operators.

Finally, the existence of transport federations can lead to the formation of national level federations or unions. It is here where the bargaining power of transport workers is most potent.

WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

Informal transport workers toil and live under tough conditions that vary slightly among the major groups. In general, the pecking order is jeepney drivers at the top, tricycle drivers in the middle, and pedicab drivers at the bottom of the heap. This is true in terms of working hours, working conditions, earnings, and the way they are regarded by traffic officers and the public at large.

Working hours stretch from dawn—as early as 4 or 5am—to evening—as late as 10 or 11pm. They work six or seven days a week, taking a day off when their unit is banned from going out, which is once a week, in the case of jeepneys, or when their units go for maintenance service or repair, in the case of tricycle and pedicab drivers.

On a regular working day, rest and meals are taken while drivers await their turn in the terminal queue. Waiting time can take hours during slow days as in summer months when schools are closed or on Tuesdays and Thursdays on ordinary weeks.

Drivers are continually exposed to pollution. Weak lungs, coughs and colds are common health problems. Tricycle drivers, in particular, are at high risk because most of them use motorcycles with two-stroke engines that do not burn fuel as efficiently as four-stroke ones. Worse, drivers mix kerosene with gasoline to save on fuel costs, but the result is very high smoke emissions. This problem is particularly acute in areas of a high concentration of tricycles, especially during morning and afternoon peak hours.

Tricycle and pedicab drivers do not have the gear to protect them from the scorching heat of the tropical sun or the drenching rain. The latter earn a little extra money on rainy days, as they can charge a premium on the regular fare, but it requires extra effort to pedal through wet and flooded streets.

Jeepney drivers in Metro Manila earn anywhere from P300 to P600 daily, while those outside the capital region earn less at P250 to P300 a day. The higher cost of living in the capital, however, offsets the nominal earnings differential. Tricycle drivers earn around P200 to P250 a day, while pedicab drivers bring home P100 to P150 for a hard day's pedalling work.

These amounts are barely enough to sustain a typical family above a life of poverty. The government estimates that a family of five needs P5,500¹² to keep out of poverty or P230 a day six days a week. That is why drivers are endlessly indebted to local lenders or the neighbourhood convenience store, amortising their loans on a daily basis. The women take on odd jobs like vending or washing and ironing clothes to add to the family income.

Most drivers can only send their children to secondary school. It used to be that jeepney drivers sent a child or two to college, but that has passed. "Driver good lover" used to be a common, if sexist, sticker found on the inside of a jeepney. It indicates, according to old drivers, the relatively good financial standing of jeepney drivers until the 1980s.

Without health insurance, a single episode of serious illness can mean bankruptcy to the driver's family from which recovery would be difficult if not impossible. Given this generally hopeless situation, it is hardly surprising that gambling has become a pervasive problem.

ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Many of the issues and problems facing transport operators and drivers have already been discussed above in relation to the key achievements of transport federations. In many cases, these issues were what prompted workers to organise their ranks and engage in concerted action, eventually leading to the formation of their own organisations. Despite some successes, transport workers continue to face the same sets of problems and issues.

A common problem faced by transport workers, for example, is a change in the rules and regulations without prior consultation. The lack of consultation creates animosity between authorities and transport workers. The latter feel that their interests have not been given due consideration in the formulation of the new rules.

Transport workers also complain of the unfair implementation of rules and regulations, the indiscriminate arrests of drivers and the imposition of penalties. The

unfair implementation of rules relates to drivers of private vehicles who, transport workers believe, are given preferential treatment by traffic authorities. They feel they are being closely watched by police and traffic authorities so that the most minor infraction can result in a traffic violation and imposition of a penalty. Increasingly, transport workers are being displaced as a consequence of modernisation and the rise of mass transit systems. This is especially true in Metro Manila. In the case of FERCODA, the development of the Araneta Center in Quezon City into a world class shopping centre threatens the livelihood of drivers. Already, jeepneys are no longer allowed to go through the main shopping area resulting in lower passenger volume. The construction of mass railway transits in Metro Manila has greatly affected jeepneys and buses plying these routes.

Transport workers must also contend with frequent rerouting schemes as local officials grapple with the consequences of population growth, rapid urbanisation, and the resulting traffic congestion. A common solution is to keep public utility vehicles out of the main roads especially in the town or city centre. This creates difficulties for drivers and often results in a loss of income.

Transport federations also face issues and problems internal to their organisations. A critical issue is the constant attempts by local politicians who seek to control the federations either to undermine resistance to new policies or to use them for electoral purposes. Intervention by local politicians can take many forms: ensuring that supporters occupy key positions in the organisation; preventing local associations from forming area wide federations; offering the organisation the use of government facilities to make them beholden to local officials. Uncooperative officers are the subject of smear campaigns and similar efforts to dislodge them from their posts.

Another internal problem faced by a number of federations is mismanagement of funds. Being informal, transport workers' organisations are vulnerable to malfeasance by key officers. This not only depletes the organisation's resources, but also, more importantly, erodes the confidence of members in their organisation and their leaders. Recovering the lost confidence takes a long time and could hinder the growth of the organisation even after erring leaders have been removed.

A final problem identified by leaders interviewed is the difficulty in encouraging members to participate actively. They trace this back to a lack of spare time while they are busy earning whatever money they can

earn, a lack of information and understanding of the problems facing transport workers, and a tendency to rely on officers and leaders to run their organisations.

DEALING WITH ISSUES AND PROBLEMS

Transport workers engage in dialogue with authorities to thrash out issues and problem areas. More often than not, transport workers have to launch public campaigns and protest actions to get the attention of authorities and force them to negotiate with their leaders. Concerted action includes pickets, or if the situation warrants, localised transport strikes.

Another route to influence the formulation of rules and regulations affecting transport workers is to gain representation in local transport bodies as already illustrated above. Not all federations have succeeded in doing this and a lot depends on the track record of the federation, its organisational strength, as well as the receptiveness of local authorities to outside pressure.

Federations conduct education and information activities among members to raise awareness of issues and problems facing transport workers. Education activities provided through the NTU are appreciated by member federations and are particularly crucial in developing responsible local leaders. Key leaders of local associations are required to undergo certain training and education modules. The annual turnover in some leadership positions ensures a steady stream of participants involved in these activities.

ORGANISING

Organising at federation level means convincing local associations to join the federation. Not all federations actively engage in organising activities. The older ones would already have covered all existing local associations in their area and it is therefore a matter of keeping everyone within the federation and avoiding defections to rival federations.

For the relatively newer federations, organising involves frequent visits and talks with officers and key members to gain their confidence. It is not enough to meet with potential members once or twice. Organisers have to find time to visit local associations just to say hello or engage in light talk. This is one way of showing the organiser's sincerity and impress upon them the importance of joining the federation. Patience is key to gaining the confidence of potential

members.

Other federations use information dissemination and education activities to recruit new members. These activities deal with simple issues such as traffic rules and regulations (since a good number of drivers only have secondary education) to rights and responsibilities of transport workers as citizens and members of the community.

Some associations are hesitant to join because of a previous bad experience. This usually involves corruption among a few federation officers. Continuous discussions with officers and key members, working with local associations on issues affecting them, and sustained education campaigns are necessary to regain their trust and confidence.

NETWORKING

Some of the federations interviewed networked with other organisations, including other transport federations operating in their area. They found they had issues in common when it came to problems affecting their members. PASADA has worked with PISTON, another federation that operates in the same area on transport sector issues. It has worked with community organisations in its locality on environmental issues (eg solid waste treatment), urban poor communities, and health concerns.

PEMADA coordinates with other local associations and federations within the province of Cavite, but is wary of alliances and coalitions instigated by local politicians for their own ends.

Being part of NTU and APL, the federations are also part of the coalitions to which the NTU and APL belong. In particular, they work together with the local chapters of national organisations like the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) and the political party, Akbayan. Many of them consider their membership of the NTU as part of their alliance work.

KEY CHANGES NEEDED

A constant threat to transport workers is the rising cost of oil and oil products in the world market. From the 1970s to the 1990s, the government operated an Oil Price Stabilization Fund (OPSF), an industry buffer fund to minimise price fluctuations. Fiscal problems prompted the government to abandon the scheme in 1998. At the same time, the industry was deregulated and new players allowed to enter the industry. Pricing

was left to market forces.

The government, however, continues to regulate transport fares. Given the widespread impact of higher transport fares, the government is always reluctant to raise fares. Thus drivers and operators end up absorbing the higher cost of fuel. Transport workers have called the government's attention to the need for a more flexible fare adjustment mechanism to avoid the need for workers to go on strike before a fare hike is granted. Complementary measures to mitigate the impact of high and rising oil prices are also needed.

Government recognition of the transport sector—including jeepneys, tricycles, and pedicabs—as a legitimate sector would go a long way to resolving many of the problems facing the sector. This might involve ensuring that workers' representatives sit on policy-making bodies that concerned with transport and at all levels of government, putting in place processes of public consultation, enumerating the rights and responsibilities of drivers and operators and so on. At the same time transport officials must be given proper training and education in managing traffic and enforcing traffic rules and regulations. Rules and regulations must be implemented fairly.

Federation leaders see the need to provide education programmes to raise the skills and build self-confidence among operators and drivers, the majority of whom did not go to college. Despite years of working in the transport sector, many of them have little knowledge of traffic rules and regulations. Lack of awareness of rules and their rights as drivers make them vulnerable to harassment by traffic authorities. Thus there is a need for education and information programmes to address these gaps.

There is no doubt that there is also an acute need for social insurance programmes to protect drivers and their families from unforeseen and costly events such as ill health or death in the family. While informal transport workers can join existing social insurance programmes such as Philhealth, the state-run health insurance programme, and the social security system, the premium payments are beyond the means of most transport workers.

An informal social insurance system exists among transport workers. For example, drivers contribute a fixed amount to cover the possibility of the death of a driver or family member. But these schemes are not enough. A number of organisations have attempted to set up credit cooperatives and similar schemes but

these are hampered by a lack of resources and management skills, making them vulnerable to corruption. Some of those interviewed expressed the need for a transport sector representative in congress through the party-list system. The party-list system reserves 50 seats in the Lower House of congress for representatives of marginalised sectors. The seats are then apportioned to political parties representing these sectors, who must win at least three per cent of the votes cast for the party-list. The NTU and the APL are supporters of the Akbayan party.

OBSTACLES TO ACHIEVING CHANGE

Lack of strong unity within the transport sector poses a major obstacle to achieving changes that will improve the position and working conditions of transport workers. Rivalry among federations and associations prevents the sector from presenting a common position on pressing issues. More than one federation may operate within a geographical area. These federations have different affiliations and loyalties and forging a united stand is not easy.

Intervention by local politicians further undermines unity among transport workers in a given area. In some areas, politicians intervene to prevent the formation of area-wide federations. In other areas, politicians attempt to control or influence the federations in their area of jurisdiction either for their own political purposes or simply to remove opposition to new policies and programmes that may be detrimental to the interests of transport workers.

In a few cases, proximity to incumbent politicians gives the transport workers organisations access to policy makers, enabling them to influence the policy-making process. Thus, some leaders feel a need to maintain good relations with politicians, but this must be tempered by the need to preserve the independence and integrity of the federation, and therefore its credibility to members and the larger public.

Adding to fragmentation and a lack of strong unity is member apathy; they are content to leave the running of the organisation to their leaders. The lack of resources to carry out programmes that could offer clear and tangible benefits to members and thus encourage them to take an active part in the day-to-day activities of the organisation contributes to the weakness of transport workers' organisations.

MAJOR CHALLENGES

Leaders at federation level agree that the biggest task ahead of them is to strengthen and consolidate transport workers' organisations and build strong unity within the transport sector. Weak organisations at the base and fragmented federations at the top render the transport sector vulnerable to divide-and-rule tactics and outright attack by state authorities at all levels.

Given constant attempts by national and local authorities to undermine the unity of transport workers and the vulnerability of transport workers' organisations to enticements and attacks by the state, a crucial task is to maintain the independence and integrity of transport workers' organisations.

Finally, a major challenge facing transport workers' organisations is the preservation of their livelihoods given the lack of alternative jobs and sources of income. Modernisation and the rise of mass transit systems threaten to phase out informal modes of transport. Already the number of buses and jeepneys has been on the decline in recent years.

For profiles of selected local associations and their members, [see Appendix 2](#).



From its beginnings 10 years ago as a caucus of transport sector unions within the Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL) to its recent transformation into a national union, the National Transport Workers' Union (NTU) has emerged as an important player in the transport sector representing transport workers' rights and interests. The rapid growth of the informal transport sector, no doubt, laid the ground for the equally rapid growth of the NTU so that it has become the largest formation within the APL. The experience it has gained in organising informal transport workers can be summed up by looking at the strengths and weaknesses of the NTU.

The NTU has attained a critical mass in cities like Davao, Cagayan de Oro, Zamboanga, and Cebu giving it the ability to paralyse public transport in these areas. Organisational muscle in key urban areas have gained for the NTU and member federations recognition and respect from authorities, local governments, and workers' organisations and unions in the transport sector. On the one hand, many of the NTU's member federations are recognised by local government and transport sector authorities in their areas of operation, and thus they have the opportunity to shape policies to take into account the interests of drivers and operators.

On the other hand, with a strong membership base in key cities outside of the capital, Metro Manila, the NTU gives a coordinated transport strike a truly national character. This was demonstrated in 2005 when the NTU, together with the major Metro Manila-based transport formations, launched a nationwide transport strike to demand a fare hike. Cooperation with other organisations extends beyond the transport sector as evident in the NTU's membership and active participation in larger labour formations, multi-sector coalitions, and the alternative political party.

Substantive participation of federations at national level ensures that NTU's programme of action reflects the concerns and aspirations of transport workers as well as the capacity of their own organisations to carry out agreed plans. The NTU national leadership (council of leaders and the executive committee) is drawn from leaders and representatives of member federations, themselves leaders in their local associations. Most of them continue to earn their living as drivers/operators of jeepneys, tricycles or pedicabs. Furthermore, the planning and execution of the an-

nual programme of activities as well as occasional co-ordinated action (eg transport strikes) involves the national council of leaders and/or the executive committee.

The NTU's education programme is borne out of a commitment to raise the awareness of transport workers of political and socio-economic issues that impact on working and living conditions, thereby empowering them to act collectively on their own behalf as transport workers. To members, education and training activities indicate that the NTU is serious about the problems and issues affecting transport sector workers. Moreover, it distinguishes the NTU from the more traditional formations whose interests are limited to the collection of daily dues from drivers and occasional activities come election season.

Democratic participation and sustained education programmes distinguish the NTU from other national formations operating in the transport sector, and have proved to be major factors encouraging membership growth. Growing dissatisfaction with patronage politics, personality-driven leadership, and top-down organisational management have driven many independent-minded federations and associations into the NTU fold.

Leadership formation is a major concern with immediate and long-term implications. A major constraint in this respect is the fact that the NTU has only a single organiser working full-time. Spotting and developing potential leadership becomes even more difficult considering the geographical dispersal of NTU's membership, the bulk of which are found far from the centre. Limited resources to carry out sustained education activities that serve as a training ground for future leaders also contribute to slow leadership formation.

A key challenge is to strengthen participation of local associations, where the NTU's mass membership is found, in their respective federations through sustained organising, education and welfare programmes. Membership of the NTU is at federation level, which brings together local drivers'/operators' associations. The NTU coordinates activities across federations, but activities within federations are largely left to the federation leadership. The degree of participation by local associations in their respective federations varies widely depending on history, personalities and resources available. A major problem identified in the

interviews is lack of participation at base.

Lack of financial resources is a major constraint for the NTU. This limits its ability to consolidate and at the same time expand its membership base despite favourable conditions as evident in the long list of potential members that it cannot process. It prevents the NTU from engaging more full-time organisers to establish links with potential members and provide education and training. The lack of finances makes it difficult to promote and support welfare programmes (livelihood, economic activities, social insurance, mutual savings, etc) in a systematic fashion. This has important repercussions as the absence of such programmes reduces the relevance of the union from the point of view of ordinary members. At the same time, experience has shown that a strong workers' organisation is necessary for the sustainability of welfare programmes and a purely 'economistic' approach is a surefire formula for failure.

Failure to generate adequate financial resources at federation and national levels remains a major challenge for the NTU. Despite low earnings, informal transport workers are not averse to paying daily dues to their local associations in the guise of terminal fees, dispatchers' fees, savings, assistance to members with special needs, and so on. But paying membership dues to their federations, let alone to a national organisation like the NTU, takes far more convincing. Lack of ownership of federation and national level programmes, lack of material and economic benefits (given absence of welfare programmes), free-riding (drivers who watch from the sidelines will still benefit from a change in policy), to name a few factors, probably account for inadequate finances.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the growth of the NTU over the last decades testifies to the deep commitment of individuals at all levels of the organisation, a commitment to the ideals and principles of the union and to working to uplift the lives of fellow transport workers.

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Profile of NTU

Full name of union:

NATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION
(NTU)

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Scope of membership

NATIONAL

Areas of operation (City, Province)

Metro Manila and suburbs

Davao City, Dava

Cagayan de Oro City, Bukidnon

Zamboanga City, Zamboanga

Cotabato City, Maguindanao

General Santos City, South Cotabato

Mati, Davao Oriental

Iloilo City, Iloilo

Bacolod City, Negros Occidental

Mandaue City, Cebu

Angeles City, Pampanga

San Fernando, Pampanga

Porac, Pampanga

Dasmariñas, Cavite

Silang, Cavite

Tagaytay, Cavite

Membership (number of federations):

Jeepney: 8 (4 in Mindanao, 2 in the Visayas, 5 in Luzon)

Tricycle: 5 (2 in Mindanao, 3 in Luzon)

Pedicab: 3 (1 in the Visayas, 2 in Luzon)

Membership (local associations without federations)

Jeepney: 9 (2 in the Visayas, 7 in Luzon)

Tricycle: 5 (5 in Luzon)

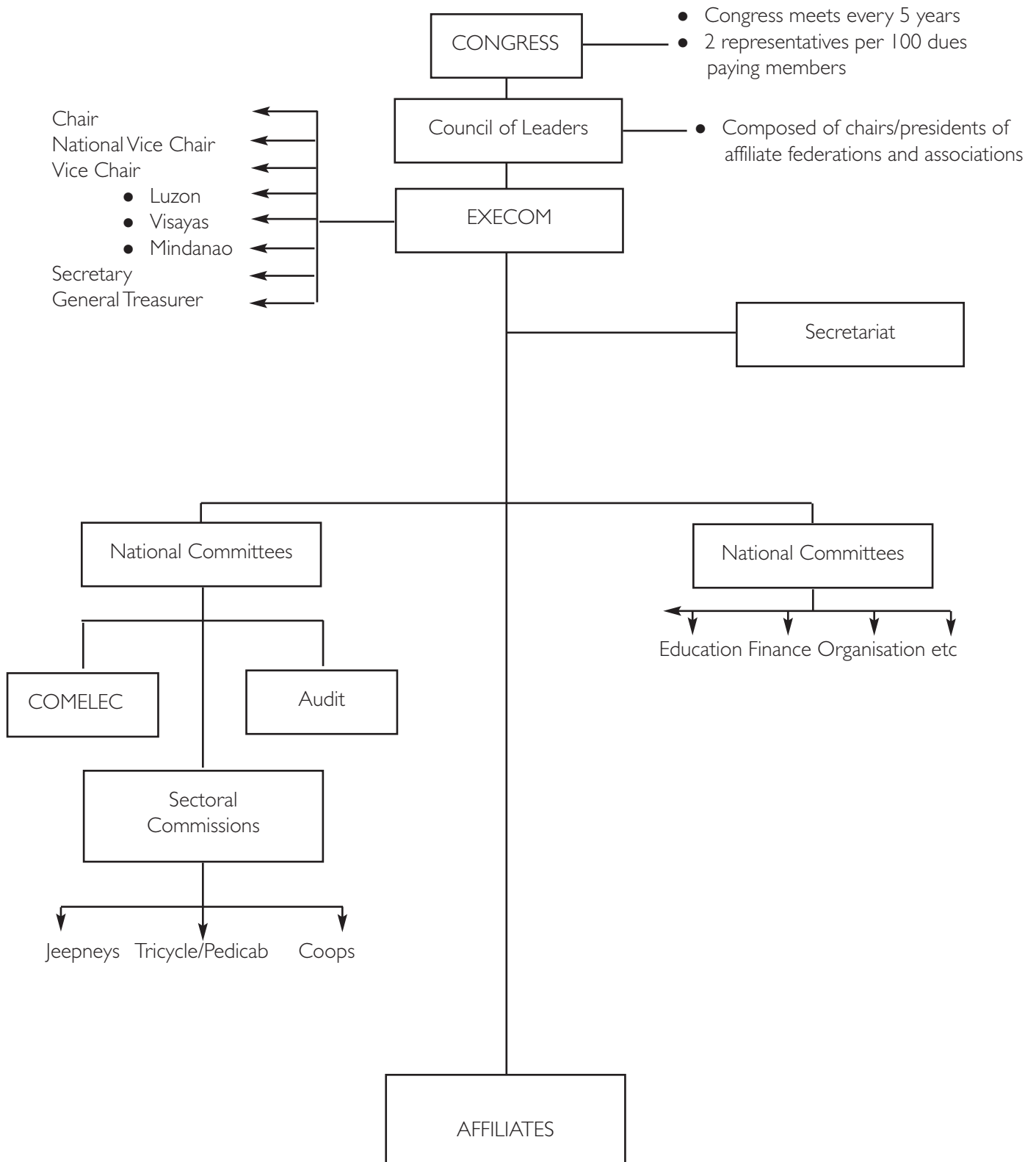
Pedicab: 1 (Luzon)

Date of formation: December 13-14, 2003

Registration status: Registered with the Bureau of Labor Relations, Department of Labor and Employment

Affiliations: Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL)

NATIONAL TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION (NTU)
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE 2006



PROFILES OF SELECTED LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS AND THEIR MEMBERS

Adriano-Malanday Pedicab Operators'/Drivers' Association

Jonathan Fuentebella, at 16 years old became the breadwinner of his family when his father passed away. The eldest of four children, he quit school and began to work as a pedicab driver plying the route along M.H. del Pilar in Valenzuela, Bulacan. His mother does laundry for their neighbours when work is available and, on the side, collects bets for the lotto game.

Now 18 years old, Fuentebella has since then pedalled a pedicab every day from 8 in the morning to 10 in the evening. A good day's work brings him P150 from where he deducts a boundary fee of P50 for the operator of his pedicab, leaving him a net earning of P100. On rare occasions, he grosses P200 while a bad day yields only P90.

He feeds his family and sends his three siblings to school: one who is in high school and two in elementary school. There are times when his day's take cannot provide for the daily peso needs of his siblings for meals at school and fees for school projects. On top of these basic expenses, young Fuentebella must scrimp to put up the monthly payment of P500 for city services (a kind of tax) for his grandmother's house where his family stays. To tide them over, he borrows from co-workers. It is an endless cycle of indebtedness.

There are of course occupational hazards one of which is avoiding getting caught by the Traffic Management Office for parking his pedicab illegally. His legs get numb at times because of excessive pedalling. Exposed to the elements, he suffers from upper respiratory ailments: colds, severe coughs and flu.

But Fuentebella dreams of a better life—to own his pedicab someday and enter vocational school once his siblings have finished schooling.

Isabelo Fernando Pedicab Operators'/Drivers' Association (ISPODA)

ISPODA is one of the local associations of VALPODA that was established in 2000. It has a membership close to a hundred. It gives dividends to its members based on their daily dues, the amount of which varies according to each member's contribution. At the end of the year, each member is entitled to a bag of groceries that are given out at the association's Christmas party. In case a member dies, the association solicits contributions from among its members to give to the bereaved family.

The association gets a daily due of P6 from each member: P2 goes to the operations of the association, P2 for the Christmas party and P2 goes to the savings of the member. ISPODA also collects a membership fee of P150 and a change of operator fee of P50.

Its officers are elected annually. The general assembly is the highest policy-making body of the association.

One accomplishment of the association was to secure their right of way to pass through M. H. del Pilar street.

It also operates a queuing system for its members where pedicab units form a line at an assigned post or station to pick up passengers. Though this system assures a steady pick up of passengers and reduces the mad rush of pedicab drivers in getting passengers, some member drivers can opt to leave the queue and look for passengers in nearby streets and areas. But there are "colorum" pedicab drivers (non members) who compete for passengers and can disregard the queuing system. The association's only recourse is to convince them to become members.

A major challenge for the association is for the local authorities to recognise pedicab work as a legitimate job. Recognition will give the drivers the right to ply their routes without fear of constant arrests.

Anna Francisco and Tess Ilagan push pedals of pedicabs along M. H. del Pilar in Valenzuela, Bulacan. Both are 38 years old and members of ISPODA.

Francisco and her husband own three pedicab units, two of which they ply and one they hire out to other pedicab drivers making them both operators and drivers. They have three children, all of who are still in elementary school. On the side, she takes on ironing and laundry jobs but finds that she gets fewer customers now. Her husband, too, has a sideline—cleaning air-conditioned units which pays more than what he earns from a day's pedalling. Their combined income sends three children to school, pays the rent and utility bills, and provides for their daily needs.

Francisco's day on the road starts at 5.30 in the morning and ends at 7 in the evening. She takes an unusual lunch break: she goes home to feed lunch to her three children and checks what they need for their afternoon class. Then off she plies the road again. At night, she tutors her children and attends to her family's needs. On weekends, she washes and irons other people's clothes on top of her household chores. Then she goes off to collect the daily dues (butaw) from her fellow members in the association.

Tess Ilagan on the other hand is the sole breadwinner of her family—her old mother and three children aged 10, 13 and 15. She has been providing for her family since she left an abusive husband nine years ago. She used to collect empty bottles which she sells to bottle collectors. She decided to drive a pedicab because it brings in more income than selling used bottles. Two years ago, luck smiled on her. By chance, she appeared on a local television show hosted by Raffy Tulfo. There she expressed her wish to own a pedicab and her wish was granted.

Ilagan starts pushing the pedals at 5 in the morning till 10 in the evening, earning around P150 to P180 a day; that feeds her family and sends her eldest child to school. She goes home during lunch time not for herself but to feed her children. She washes their clothes late at night. Dog tired, once she woke up wet finding herself half-submerged in a basin of water and dirty clothes.

To earn more, sometimes she'd rather leave the queue of pedicab drivers once she has been given their permission to leave, and goes to the marketplace where she has better chances of getting more passengers. She still sells bottles on weekends from early morning up to 2 in the afternoon and plies the road again until evening. Her old mother worries over her daughter's safety but Ilagan has learned to steel herself from drunks and seedy men.

Both Francisco and Ilagan use their pedicabs for special services, that is, bringing children to and from school. They, however, are still paid the regular P5.00 fee for each trip. Sometimes, the school children can only pay P3 but both women continue to provide the service. At least, they have regular customers and perform services as good neighbours should.

Lorenzo Avila is 64 years old and has been a pedicab driver since 1997. Before that, he was a labourer of PHILCAMCO, a mining company in Quezon province, for 18 years. When the company shut down in 1994, he moved his family to Valenzuela, Bulacan and earned his living doing carpentry jobs for three years before he became a pedicab driver.

He bought six pedicab units from his savings, five of which he would rent out to pedicab drivers and one he would ply himself. Back then, one unit costed P2,500 while today, a unit costs P7,000 with an additional cost of P150 for the umbrella. But, he sold five of his units in the succeeding years because it became too costly to maintain damaged units and replace missing tyres. To maintain a pedicab unit, an operator must save for the following items: "bulitas" that cost P12/set which usually come as a weekly expense, a chain, grease, a sprocket that costs P75, and vulcanising for a flat tyre at P20 for an occurrence that can happen three times a day. A new tyre on the other hand costs P380.

His family now survives from his income as a pedicab driver and from the proceeds of a small eatery managed by his wife.

Southwest Summerville Via Verde Tricycle Operators'/Drivers' Association (SSVRMTODA) – Dasmariñas, Cavite

The SSVRMTODA used to be the San Agustin Tricycle Operators'/Drivers' Association when its route was in San Agustin, founded sometime during the late 1980s. It came to be the SSVRMTODA when it was able to negotiate with the home owners' associations to service the Summerville and Southwest subdivisions.

It has 125 member operators and more or less a hundred drivers. Several of its members are retirees who bought tricycle units while a good number went into driving tricycles because there was no other work available. Most of its members borrow money at usurious rates because their income cannot support their family's needs.

SSVRMTODA dispatches around 125 tricycle units a day to service the two subdivisions.

It offers the following programmes and services to its members:

- accident insurance both for operators/drivers and drivers maintained by an operator from the yearly contribution of P200 from each member;
- a bag of groceries at the end of the year;
- in case of death, the family of the deceased receives P1,000 from the general fund, another thousand pesos from PEMADA on top of voluntary contributions it collects from each member;
- an improved terminal for drivers: a pot hole was filled along the terminal road; a paved the terminal road; and a hut that serves as a resting place for drivers while waiting in line;

Joey Encabo, 36 years old, used to be a date encoder for the San Miquel Corporation but resigned in 2002 and opted to buy a tricycle unit from his savings. (Today, a tricycle with a permit to operate costs from P100,000 to P110,000).

He now finds it difficult to earn because of the continuing oil price hikes and expensive tricycle maintenance costs, which can reach up to P5,000/month, sometimes even more. (A new tyre costs P400. The yearly licence renewal costs P2,000.)

What tides his family over the difficult times are his savings from his former job, which are fast depleting and support from his parents. His wife, unfortunately, cannot get a job, hard though she tries to look for one. With three children and a recent major surgery, Joey knows he has to find a better job, fast. But he is not too hopeful because there are few job opportunities.

- regular meetings for drivers on traffic rules and regulations, and how to conduct themselves properly.

The association collects a daily due of P8.00: P2.00 goes to the dispatcher who also collects the daily dues and P6.00 goes to the operational costs of the association. It also gets a membership fee of P25,000 and P4,000 for those who change vehicle or owner. A member also gets to participate in raffle draws sponsored by the association with prizes like an electric fan or a pump for tires. These raffle draws are also used as an incentive for its members to attend meetings.

It practices a participatory and consultative process among its members and consensus building in arriving at decisions. It has a set of officers and its highest policy-making body is a general assembly.

A major concern of the association is the proliferation of private vehicles that are used as school buses. Another concern is the yearly franchise of P2,000 which is not commensurate to a driver's income.

Internal issues also beset the association like the practice by some of its officers of treating law enforcers to snacks which can run up to P200 or more in a week; poor accounting of its books; petty graft and corruption (some officers dip into the association's funds or borrow money which never gets returned); and undisciplined drivers.

Ipunan Cagayan de Oro Multipurpose Cooperatives (Jeepney) (ICMC)

ICMC was established and registered with the Cooperative Development Authority as a transport cooperative in 1999. Its members are able to buy what they need, ie auto supplies, from the organisation itself and at the same time enjoy the benefits of being a member of a cooperative. The organisation, however, is not a fully functioning cooperative because of a lack of capital.

ICMC began with 15 members and has grown to 270 members—150 drivers and 120 operators. There are about 10 women operator members but they are not active in the association.

ICMC dispatches 100 units a day.

Its source of income comes from a percentage of revenues from the sales of a gasoline station (P05/litre). The gasoline station is in the name of the organisation but it does not own it because the capital investment was put up by a private investor.

It collects a membership fee of P10,000 and a dispatching fee at P20/day.

It offers no programmes and services, but it was able to formalise the route of its jeeps with the help of the federation, which it considers to be its achievement.

However it faces several issues and concerns:

- The transport sector is the milking cow of the government. For instance, the LTO procures computers but drivers pay for these with the computer fee that the LTO collects from them every year. Or when for instance a fare increase is approved, the government is the first to gain from the increase rather than the drivers because they have to pay for the fare matrix; it can take months before it is issued to the driver. And until the matrix is issued, drivers cannot charge the new increased rate.

- The transport sector is always blamed as the source of pollution but it is the government that allows the entry of junk vehicles/surplus engines into the country that contributes heavily to pollution. Drivers buy these junk units because they are cheap. They, however, suggest that the LTRFB can very well buy new engines and sell these to drivers on an easy instalment basis.
- At local level, the problem is how to operationalise the cooperative, which lacks the necessary capital to make it functional. There is also a need to instil among members the spirit and values of cooperativism.
- It also needs to set up programmes for members so that they value and appreciate their organisation.

Alexander Gutierrez, 46 years old, is an operator of two units of jeeps.

He became an operator in 1998 when his father gave him one unit. Aside from being an operator, Gutierrez teaches at the Lyceo University.

Crame-Papasok-Cubao Jeep Operators'/Drivers' Association (CCODAP)

The CCODAP became a member of FERCODA in January 2005. It maintains 289 units and has 134 members.

Among its programmes and services are taking on the responsibility of renewing the licence of its members, and providing medical assistance, death benefits and uniforms.

It collects a daily fee of P15 from each member, P5 of which goes to operational costs of the association.

It encourages a participatory process among its members and practises consensus building. All its officers including board members are elected. The highest policy-making body is the general assembly.

Police officers who demand bribes, the possibility they may be phased out of their route and the continuing oil price hikes are a few of its major concerns. In addition, the association wants to find ways of professionalising their trade and gaining respect as jeepney drivers.

Alfredo Franco L. Silva Jr. used to be an overseas Filipino worker before he became an operator/driver of a jeep in 2001. He worked as a farm manager in Malaysia, Australia, Thailand and Brunei for several years. He is the President and founding member of the association. Aside from driving, he engages in a buy and sell and "ukay-ukay" business.

Tricycle Operators' and Drivers' Association of Dasmariñas, Cavite, Inc. (TRODDAC)

TRODDAC which used to be DATODA (Dasmariñas Tricycle Operators' and Drivers' Association) was set up in 1988 and was formally registered in the SEC in 1991. The new name also signalled a change of ways. Its former President was involved in undue arrests of members by traffic enforcers for allegedly violating traffic rules. Members also found out that some former officials had embezzled the association's funds. Today, TRODDAC has a membership of 1,050 operators/drivers and 250 drivers, 25 per cent of whom are women. Ten per cent of these women are active in the association.

The association collects a membership fee of P10,000 and P4,000 for a change of operator/owner. It collects daily dues of P7.00: P3.00 goes to the association and P4.00 goes to the member. All members are entitled to participate in raffle draws sponsored by the association.

On the other hand, the association pays a terminal fee of P1,500 to P2,000 to the barangay. It gives an allowance of P50 to Marimon (see member profile below) who keeps the daily records and collects the daily dues of the association. It rents an office for P1,000 a month which is also used as a resting place for its member drivers.

The programmes and services of the association are:

- payment of 50 per cent of penalties imposed on drivers arrested who are not at fault
- assistance of P500 or more to defray expenses of an injured driver
- burial assistance of P1,000 for operators and P500 for drivers
- medical assistance of P500 or more.

The association has a set of officers and its highest policy-making body is the general assembly. It encourages a participatory and consultative process among its members and consensus building.

The association boasts of disciplined and responsible drivers. Members have a strong sense of unity and

cannot be easily swayed by politicians. Perhaps due to its previous negative experience, it now swiftly addresses issues of corruption.

Some of its immediate concerns are:

- the immediate implementation (as of October 2005) of a fare increase which it cannot implement because the MTRFB has not yet released the fare matrix even if the drivers have already paid for its release;
- the LGU's persistent interference in their affairs over which it has no jurisdiction because the association is a non-governmental organisation;
- a lack of awareness among its members of traffic rules and regulations;
- over-reliance of some members on the leadership.

To address their concerns, the association sees the need for basic education programmes on traffic rules and regulations and trainers' training sessions on leadership for its members.

Irma Marimon, 36 years old, is a retired government employee who used to be a teacher in high school and at elementary level. She and her husband ventured into the tricycle business because of her husband's preoccupation with motorised vehicles. They now own 11 tricycle units and operating them is their major source of income. They also run a sari-sari store and a lending business. Marimon has been with the association for the past seven years.

Villa Pampang Jeep Operators' / Drivers' Association (VIPJODA)

VIPJODA, as an association of operators and drivers, has existed since the 1960s but was formally established only in 1989. It has a membership of more than 200 drivers and operator/drivers. It also has female members who are all operators. A significant number of its members were once overseas Filipino workers and several were once employed at the US Clark airbase. Though most of them could have landed in white collar jobs, there were however, few job opportunities. Driving a jeep was the only available means of earning a decent income.

A member of the association is entitled to a maximum "allowance" of P800 at the end of the year but a member can get less if they have been remiss in paying their P8 daily dues. It takes care of renewing the licences of its members and shoulders half of the fee for a new licence (P500). It also facilitates the processing of cases of members arrested for various infractions.

Members are entitled to medical aid (P500). In cases of death, the bereaved family receives P2,000 in the form of aid.

Sources of income for the association are: daily dues of P8, membership fee of P5,000, and a change in operator fee of P3,000.

It observes and encourages a participatory process among its members and makes decisions by consensus. All officers are elected annually. The highest policy-making body is the general assembly.

Securing the Sto. Domingo terminal in 1997 is seen as one of the association's achievements. But it has had to confront several issues like the illegal terminal of Tela Bastagan jeeps and the proliferation of "colorum" jeeps (jeeps that do not have a franchise to ply a specific route) that encroach on the VIPJODA route, in effect reducing their members' share of passengers. Drivers complain that traffic rules and regulations are not fairly enforced by the authorities: private vehicles take up the parking spaces of jeeps, and drivers are often victims of indiscriminate arrests.



For better working conditions, drivers demand:

- lower diesel, crude oil, tyre and accessory costs;
- lower taxes
- strict and fair implementation of traffic rules and regulations
- seminars on traffic rules and regulations.



Alejandro Vergara, 58 years old, has known hard work since he was 14 years old when he was a labourer, carrying sacks of cement. The eldest in the family, he took on the responsibility of providing for his mother and siblings when his father died. He became a carpenter and a mason before learning to drive in 1986. Back then, he earned as much as P400/day which was sufficient for his own growing family. Now, it is increasingly becoming difficult to earn from driving with the steady increase in oil prices. His wife takes in laundry work and sells fruit to school children to augment their income.



To illustrate that life has become more difficult, he estimates a year's schooling for his daughter, a student in a local college, to reach P20,000, inclusive of tuition fees, school supplies and other expenses for school projects. He is always in debt because his income from driving can no longer support his family's needs. Before, he had savings from which he used to build houses for his three daughters who got married. Now, he cannot even buy one single hollow block.



Date	Respondent/s	Position of Respondent in Federation/Local	Name of Federation/Local
22 August 2005	Bren Sayasa	Secretary-General	National Transport Union (NTU)
24 August 2005, LEARN Office, 10.30 am – 12 NN	Rudy de Guzman	President	Pangkalahatang Samahan ng Drivers at Operators sa Angeles City (PASADA);
27 August 2005, 9 am – 12 NN, Pala-pala, Dasmariñas, Cavite	Delfin Encabo Gary de Jesus Jonathan Gregorio Felino Mantile Julieta Cipriano	President Vice President Auditor Secretary Board Member	Pederasyon ng mga Magtratraysikel sa Dasmariñas (PEMADA)
27 August 2005, 1.20 pm – 3.40 pm, Silang, Cavite	Jaime Aguilar	Adviser and Founding Member	Federation of Silang Tricycle Operators and Drivers Assn (FEDSTODA)
29 August 2005, 9.30 am-12NN, Sto. Domingo Terminal, Angeles City 12 NN – 2pm, Clark EPZA terminal, Angeles City	Alejandro Vergara Medardo Mallari	Member Vice President	Villa Pampanga Jeep Operators/Drivers Assn (VIPJODA) Angeles Jeep Operators/Drivers Assn
2 September 2005, 2.40 pm-3.15pm, Araneta Center, Cubao 4pm-6.10 pm	Patrick Vergara Rolando Iñigo Alfredo Franco L. Silva Jr.	Secretary General Founding Member President	Federation of Eastern Rizal Cubao Operator Drivers Alliance Inc. (FERCODA) Crame-Papasok-Cubao Operators/Drivers Assn (CCODAP)

Date	Respondent/s	Position of Respondent in Federation/Local	Name of Federation/Local
3 September 2005, 2pm – 6.15, Araneta Center, Cubao	Dolfo Ensilaes Carlos Gutierrez Antonio Ricayco	Founding Members Board Member	GRUDO (Group United Drivers/Operators) Binangonan Jeep Operators/Drivers Assn (BATCJODA)
8 September 2005, 8.30 am – 4pm, Dasmariñas, Cavite	Joey Encabo	Member	Southwest Summerville Via Verde Manuela Tricycle Operators/Drivers Assn (SSVRMTODA)
8 September 2005, 8.30 am – 4pm, Dasmariñas, Cavite	Irma Marimon	Treasurer	Tricycle Operators and Drivers Association of Dasmariñas, Cavite Inc (TRODDAC)
8 September 2005, 8.30 am – 4pm, Dasmariñas, Cavite	Tirso Sarabusab	President	First Cavite Industrial Estate Tricycle Operators/Drivers Assn
12 September 2005, 3.15-6pm, Valenzuela	Roberto G. Arbis Ricardo Eslopar	President Member	Valenzuela Pedicab Operators and Drivers Alliance Inc. (VALPODA)
27 September 2005, Valenzuela 2pm – 4pm, LEARN Office	Jojo Regala	NTU organizer	TODARVA (Tricycle Operators/Drivers Assn of Rizal Village, Ayala)

Date	Respondent/s	Position of Respondent in Federation/Local	Name of Federation/Local
30 September 2005, Valenzuela	Anna Francisco Tess Ilagan Lorenzo Avila	Members	ISPODA (Isabelo Fernando Pedicab Operators/Drivers Assn)
30 September 2005, Valenzuela	Jonathan Fuentebella	President	Adriano Pedicab Operators/Drivers Assn
1 October 2005, Valenzuela	Serafin Gonzalez	President	Malanday Pedicab Drivers Assn
1 October 2005, Muntinlupa	Edgar Baylon	President	TODARVA (Tricycle Operators/Drivers Assn of Rizal Village, Ayala)
November 05 (?), Davao	Manuel T Duran	President	SEMDDOC (South-eastern Mindanao Diversified Drivers and Operators Cooperative)
November 05, Davao	Alexander Manopa	Secretary	CRADO Route 11 (Circulatory Route Drivers/Operators Cooperative)

Date	Respondent/s	Position of Respondent in Federation/Local	Name of Federation/Local
November 05, Davao	Erleen Estrellante	President	SODAPODA (South Davao Drivers/Operators Association)
November 05, Davao	Edwin Tumanac	President	MACODA (Matina Crossing Drivers/Operators Association)
November 05, Davao	Chris Duldulao	President	SODCO (Sasa Operators/Drivers Cooperative)
November 06 (?), Cagayan de Oro	Virgilio Valmoria	President	TRAFECO (Transport Federation of Cagayan de Oro City)
November 06, Cagayan de Oro	Nic Flores	President	LJODA (Lapasan Jeepney Operators Drivers Association)
November 06, Cagayan de Oro	Alexander Gutierrez	President	ICMC (Ipanan Cagayan de Oro Multi-purpose Cooperative)