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Philippines Unionism — Worker Voice, Representation and Pluralism in Industrial Relations —

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Abstract

After 117 years, Philippine unionism remain as a vehicle for worker voice and representation in industrial relations, guaranteed by the Constitution and labor laws. The first Philippine union was established in 1902. Interviews and analysis of available documents and statements of Philippine trade union leaders, labor political party groups and worker associations indicate various degrees of engagement in social and political unionism beyond economic unionism through collective bargaining.

Yet, the number and membership of Philippine trade unions remained small and, therefore, weak in terms of collective bargaining. The fragmentation of unions is extreme, and competition among unions continues to make the labor movement weak. The fact that bargaining representation is subject to elections every five years leads to a lot of union raiding across and within industries, and thus unions spend their energies vying for existing membership rather than organizing new members. Without the ability to expand collective bargaining beyond these small numbers, unions would have no significant strength as a voice on the concerns of labor in the economic development process. The inability of unions to resolve jurisdictional problems and come together to cooperate also implies limited ability to focus on the development of solid solidarity work or collaboration.

The diversity and history of Philippine trade unions also shows the need for policy reforms to move forward beyond narrow tripartism, towards greater pluralism

to balance competing interests. The promotion decent work and industrial democracy shall build on the historical experience and adjust to the emerging platforms enabled by technology, with changing job designs, employment relations for effective voice and representation of workers' interest.

Keywords:

Philippine trade unionism, worker voice, employment relations, pluralism.

I. Introduction

Increasing concerns about digitalization and Industry 4.0 in relation to jobs and increasing inequality and the labor economy invites a deeper reflection on the nature of voice, representation of labor in relation to capital, expressed by the Labor Ministers of the G20 countries (L20 G20 2018; ILO 2018; 2019). Unions were created in the late 1800s, to ameliorate working conditions (Sidney & Beatrice Webb, 1897; Leo XIII 1891) due to the intensity of labor exploitation when capitalism developed and as antidotes to violent, revolutionary socialism prescribed by the humanism of Marx (1859).

Unions arrived in the Philippines when Spanish colonialism ended in 1898, brought as part of the national liberation struggle by Isabelo Delos Reyes, an anti-colonial leader who was a big landlord, but was jailed and exiled to Spain for his anti-Spanish writings. He also wrote folklore and poetry. His conversations with the jailed anarchists in prison in Spain gave him enough knowledge and motivation to organize the first labor union, the *Union Obrera Democrata (UOD)* after his release from Montjuich prison and return to the Philippines (Scott 1992). Filipino revolutionaries continued their resistance against colonial rule after Spain ceded authority to the US in the Treaty of Paris in 1898. The struggles of the first Philippine labor union for just wages and working conditions in the tobacco and cigar factories in Manila inevitably converged with the resistance against US colonial rule. The revolutionary struggle for national liberation was therefore intertwined with the union struggles — parallel to the ideas of Sidney and Beatrice Webb (1891) on collective bargaining, negotiations and concerted action. As a mutual aid society, the UOD closely resembles the development of trade unions in Europe, as described by the Webbs and Lujo Brentano (1870).

Given its historical roots in national revolutionary struggles, Philippine unions have a social and political tradition which go beyond representation and organization of labor. Philippine labor leaders are most prominent in the struggles for democracy, justice and human rights. Philippine social movement unionism (SMU) has its dynamism in both pre-war and post-war anti-colonial struggles (Villegas 1988; Scipes 1992). Thus, Philippine SMU is in sharp contrast to the “old” unionism of labor relations which emphasized collective bargaining on wages and terms and conditions of employment, based on the Industrial Peace Act (RA875) enacted in 1953. It must be noted that the Philippines was among the first countries that ratified ILO Convention 29 on freedom of association and ILO Convention 87 on collective bargaining.

There were various attempts to “unify” the diverse groups of Philippine unions subject to the individual charisma and personalities of the worker leaders. In 2018, the most prominent issue which unified Philippine unions is the ongoing campaign to strengthen security of tenure of employment by amending the relevant sections in the Philippine Labor Code which regulate contracting out work “necessary and desirable” to the business.

Industrial relations (IR) concern the processes and results of the employment relationship at the level of the workplace, the industry and society as a whole (Dunlop 1958). *Figure 1* provides a simple guide to the idea of industrial relations as part of the social system. It is important to consider the context of the work rules and processes, which comprise the core of the employment relationship -- socio-cultural, economic, political and environmental.

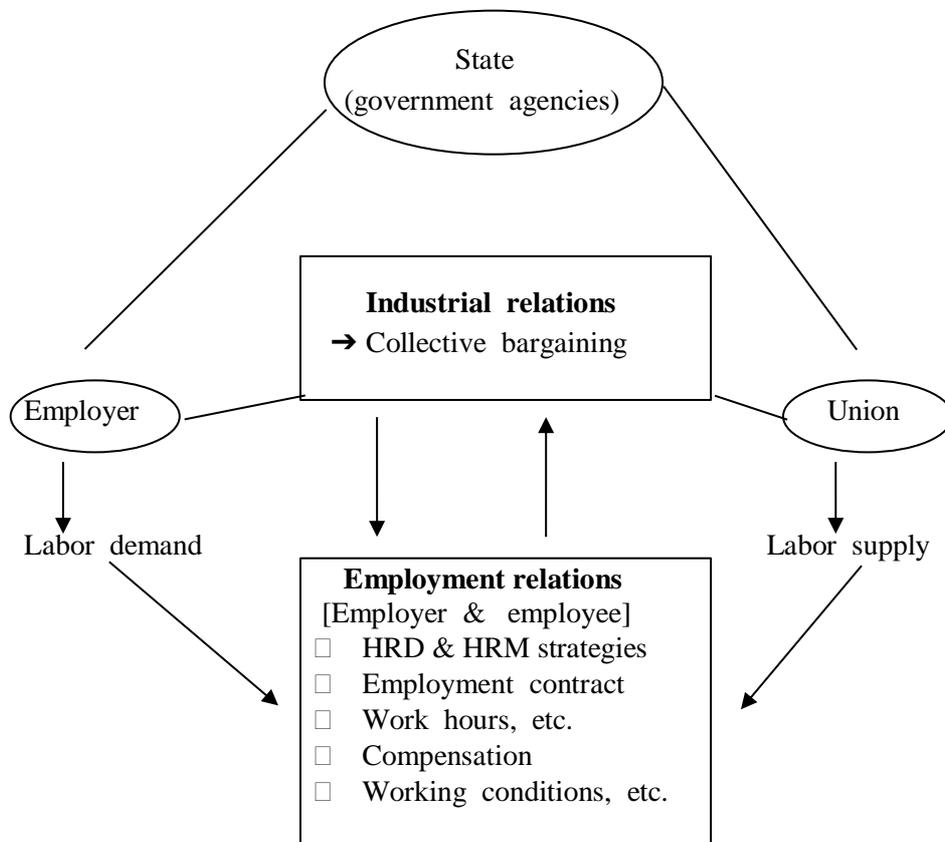
Definitions of IR vary on the approach, emphasis, perspective or motives, and academic background of a person (social science, management, law, etc.); and most likely, also on one’s position and perspective in the social and power structure. There are unitarist, pluralist, and Marxist perspectives, which emphasize specific approaches such as tripartism, corporatism, job

regulation, or workers control in industrial relations. *Human resource management* interfaces heavily with the core ideas of industrial relations in a strategic, integrated and managerial approach to people at the workplace, to influence workers' attitudes and achieve profits.

Employee relations in contrast, is perceived to reflect the development of more diverse employment patterns -- those found in the non-manufacturing service sector, which involve non-manual, office employees, females, part time, contractual workers, etc.. When there is no union, employment relations prevail. The employment relationship between employer and employees has two parts: market relations, and managerial relations (Edwards 2003. Managerial relations involve the process(es) of determining work rules: who will do which tasks, which decides changes in these tasks, and the penalties for failure to do obligations.

The links between industrial relations, employment relations and the labour market are emphasized in *Figure 2*. The employment relationship is a function of the market, mainly determined by labour demand (on the side of the employers), and the response of the employees through their labour supply decisions. The results of collective bargaining between employers and workers (through the union) may or may not cover all aspects of the employment relationship. Without unions, there is no collective bargaining, and employment relations prevail. Job and pay practices in unionised establishments may however influence employment relations. The role of the state is constrained by the strength of the bargaining relationship between employers and unions. With weak unions, which is often the case in developing countries, the state has scope for a stronger role, and is expected to intervene by providing protection to workers. If both the unions and the employers are strong, the government has no cause for strong intervention.

Figure 1. Industrial relations and the employment relationship



Source: Original diagram by the author.

II. The Philippine Labor Market Context

Basic facts about the Philippine labor force and employment are shown in *Table 1*. Philippine population growth has declined to an average annual rate of 1.72 percent between 2010 to 2015, down from 1.90 percent between 2000 to 2010 and 2.34 percent between 1990 to 2000. Meanwhile, unemployment is at 5.6 percent, more apparent among the youth who accounted for almost half of those out of work — 48.8 percent among those age 15 to 24; and 30.8 percent for those age 25 to 34 years. Youth accounted for almost half (49.7 percent) of the total unemployed. From 24.5 million workers in 1990, the labor force which is the total of employed and unemployed workers is now estimated at 40.7 million.

Underemployment — those who are employed but still looking for additional work — is still very high at 17.2 percent of the workforce. Underemployment averaged 12.7% from 1975 to 1980. It ballooned to 20% in the next two decades, tapering to 22.7% in 2006. The underemployed are those who either wanted to work full-time, get second jobs or move to other jobs that would pay better. This means that as a result of jobless growth, the jobs generated in the past were short not only in quantity but also in quality.

Table 1. **Basic facts about Philippine labor and profile of the unemployed**

	July 2018	July 2017
Population 15 years and over (000s)	71,560	70,164
Labor force participation rate (%)	60.1	60.6
Employed persons	40,659	40,171
Unemployment rate (%)	5.4	5.6
Unemployed persons	2,323	2,373
Number (in thousands)		
AGE GROUP (%)		
Total	100.0	100.0
15 - 24	44.8	49.3
25 - 34	30.8	29.7
35 - 44	11.8	10.4
45 - 54	7.5	6.3
55 - 64	4.2	3.7
65 and over	0.8	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0
SEX		
Male	61.1	64.0
Female	38.9	36.0
CLASS OF WORKER (%)	January 2018	January 2017
Wage and salary workers	61.7	62.8
Self employed without any paid employee	27.7	27.2
Employer in own family operated farm or business	3.6	3.7
Worked without pay, family farm or business	6.9	6.3

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) Labor Force Survey results for July 2017 and 2018
www.psa.gov.ph

III. Narrow Tripartism Philippine Industrial Relations

As a mechanism of repression to ensure defeat of communism and militancy in Philippine trade unionism, tripartism was provided as a narrow platform in the Philippine Labor Code, as a martial law decree in 1974. The martial law management of Philippine society and economy from 1972 to 1986 enabled the Philippines to survive and compete as globalization required Philippine employers to resort to functional flexibility and more cooperative employment relations, with the rise of managerialism without unions, through human resource management (HRM) tools.

The logic of competition induced firms to adopt practices that promote numerical flexibility such that a core-periphery workforce is created (Erickson, et. al. 2003). With strong diversity in ideology, competing Philippine unions however are unable to effectively counter employer strategies, due to low numbers in membership, fragmentation and an unfavorable public-policy environment. Philippine organized workers had also made significant gains in organizing and inter-union coordination, and in parliamentary and extra parliamentary struggles to highlight policy issues. While the basic framework of industrial relations remain firm, government policies, strategies and resources were inadequate to counteract the negative effects of global market integration on workers, and to launch the Philippines economy into a sustainable high road of industrialization.

Philippine industrial relations is an amalgam of Spanish and America colonial patterns of asset ownership and commercial business practices, laws and institutions. Philippine labor laws were derived from American colonial legislation on wages, work hours, with sanctions and repression against workers protest movements. Most labor laws on working conditions particularly the US Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 (also known as the Taft Hartley Act of 1947) influenced the postwar laws on unions, collective bargaining and disputes settlement. Philippine industrial relations

was an almost exclusive world for lawyers, arguing and negotiating labor cases, from the 1950s onwards. Most of the top union leaders were lawyers.

Union militancy could be traced to revolutionary movements against Spanish and American colonial rule (Villegas, 1988). Labor laws, social legislation and bureaucracies were created by the colonial state both to suppress and appease widespread and spontaneous workers protests and peasant unrests, while maintaining the status quo on land ownership, access to national resources, and asset distribution .

The Philippines ratified the fundamental conventions of the International Labor Organization (ILO) on industrial relations as early as 1953, particularly ILO Convention 27 on Freedom of Association (1948), and ILO Convention 98, on the Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining (1949). Commitment to the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights (1948) is also an important part of the country's fundamental framework. These commitments to international norms are reflected in part or in whole through the Philippine Constitution, and various labor laws and social legislation enacted through the years. The fundamental framework of global standards and the Constitution guided policy and practice in the field of industrial relations, including collective bargaining and disputes settlement.

The Philippine Constitution provides the fundamental framework for industrial relations, when it declares:

“The State shall afford full protection to labor It shall guarantee the rights of all workers to self organization, collective bargaining and negotiations, and peaceful concerted activities including the right to strike in accordance with law.

They shall be entitled to security of tenure, humane conditions of work, and a living wage. They shall participate in policy and decision-making processes affecting their rights and benefits as maybe provided by law.”¹

¹ Article XIII, Section 3 on “Social Justice and Human Rights” of the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

In addition, the Philippine Bill of Rights guarantees “the right of the people, including those employed in the public and private sectors, to form unions, associations or societies for purposes not contrary to law ...”.² These guarantees are likewise extended to the public sector: “The right to self-organization shall not be denied to government employees”.³

Box 1. Basic features of unions and collective bargaining in the Philippines

- Collective bargaining is enterprise-based. There is no tradition of industry bargaining in the Philippines.
- Collective bargaining may cover one enterprise unit, or separate bargaining units within the same enterprise.
- There may be two more unions in an employer or bargaining unit, but one union may represent the entire unit for collective bargaining. The union representative is called the “exclusive bargaining agent”.

What conditions must be satisfied before collective bargaining starts?

- Union must be legitimate, and registered with the DOLE.
- Union must be the exclusive bargaining agent, either through certification election or voluntary recognition.
- Union must make a demand to bargain.
- There must be no registered collective bargaining covering the same bargaining unit; if there is, bargaining must be done during the freedom period.

How many years is a CBA contract?

- An exclusive collective bargaining agent has five years to represent the members of the bargaining unit
- A collective bargaining agreement has a term of five years, but may be renegotiated prior to the end of third year.

Reference: Philippine Labor Code (PD442) and key Supreme Court labor cases.

² Section 8, Article III on the Bill of Rights of the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

³ Section 2(5), Article IX-B of the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

Government

The fundamental framework therefore guarantees the right to organize unions for purposes of collective bargaining for workers both in the private and public sector. National laws enacted by the Philippine Congress, and policy directives by the executive branch of government repeat the basic guarantees, and provide for their implementation. Another source of regulation and guidance are the decisions issued by the Philippine courts, on various labor cases and disputes. These judicial and quasi-judicial bodies include the Secretary of Labor, the labor arbiters, voluntary arbitrators, the National Labor Relations Commission, the Court of Appeals, and the Supreme Court.

The Philippine Labor Code of 1974 is the key legislation on industrial relations, as well as collective bargaining, disputes settlement and social dialogue. Among others, the law provides for recognition of labor organizations, as well as procedures for collective bargaining, disputes settlement, and strikes.

A key provision in the Labor Code is the mandate of the Philippine State to: “... promote and emphasize the primacy of free collective bargaining and negotiations ...” (*Article 211(a), Philippine Labor Code*).

The Labor Code also declares as state policy the promotion of “... free trade unionism as an instrument for the enhancement of democracy and the promotion of social justice and development”; (*Article 211(b)*); “...to ensure a stable by dynamic and just industrial peace”; and “... to ensure the participation of workers in decision and policy making processes affecting their rights, duties and welfare (*Article 211(g)*).

Furthermore, “... to encourage a truly democratic method of regulating the relations between the employers and employees by means of agreements freely entered into through collective bargaining, no court or administrative agency or official shall have the power to set or fix wages, rates of pay, hours of work or terms and conditions of employment”, except as otherwise provided in the Labor Code (*Article 211(g)*).

It is also the state policy “to ensure the participation of workers in decision and policy-making processes affecting their rights, duties and welfare... (and) to encourage a truly democratic method of regulating the relations between the employers and employees by means of agreements freely entered into through collective bargaining...” (*Article 212 (B)*).

In keeping its commitments arising from the ratification of various ILO conventions to promote decent work, the Philippines legislated and put in place social and labor standards in the following areas:

- Employment standards and non-discrimination
- Workers rights: freedom of association, unions
- Collective bargaining
- Hours and conditions of work
- Wages and benefits
- Social security
- Occupational safety and health

Worker organizations

There is a diversity of union organizations -- plant level unions could affiliate and be represented by federations, or could be independent. Labor laws provide that at least 20 percent of the workforce belonging to a bargaining unit could organize themselves into a union, and apply for registration. In addition, at least 25 percent of the workforce should petition, and stand for “certification election”, if there are other unions within the enterprise, to represent the workforce in collective bargaining negotiations. How to extend the benefits of unionism to the non-organized, informal sector is a major challenge. Labor management cooperation (LMC) mechanisms recognize as pro-active mechanisms towards non-adversarial industrial relations.

The Bureau of Labor Relations reports that in June 2018, there were 80,377 Philippine trade unions with 1,548,654 members and 61,186 worker associations with 3,138,005 workers who members. There are 12 registered labor centers, and 136 federations. There are 1,021 Collective Bargaining Agreements (CBAs) which cover 210,871 workers which is 13.6 percent of the claimed union members in the private sector (*see Table 2*). In contrast, there were 462,799 government employees who were union members, about 13.6 percent of the 3.4 million employees in both government line agencies and public corporations.

Table 2. Existing labor organizations and collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) June 2018

	Number	Reported members / workers covered
Labor organizations	80,377	5,149,458
Public sector	1,551	462,799
Private sector enterprise unions	17,488	1,548,664
Affiliates	630	160,366
Chartered local unions	9,302	599,177
Independent unions	7,556	789,111
Workers associations	61,186	3,138,005
Collective bargaining agreements	1,021	210,871

Source: Condensed from the Bureau of Labor Relations (BLR) Statistics, Department of Labor and Employment (DoLE) www.blr.dole.gov.ph

IV. Case Studies of Unions: Worker Voice and Representation

The Philippine constitution provides for workers rights to organize unions (*Article XIII Section 3, Philippine Constitution*). The Constitutional mandate is repeated in the Philippine Labor Code, which declares the state policy are as follows:

- “. . . To promote free trade unionism as an instrument for the enhancement of democracy and the promotion of social justice and development;
- To foster the free and voluntary organization of a strong and united labor movement;
- To promote the enlightenment of workers concerning their rights and obligations as union members and as employees . . . “
- To ensure the participation of workers in decision and policy-making processes affecting their rights, duties and welfare.
- To encourage a truly democratic method of regulating the relations between the employers and employees by means of agreements freely entered into through collective bargaining, . . .

(Article 211, Book V of the Philippine Labor Code)

The Philippine Labor Code (PLC, 1974) was legislated by President Ferdinand E. Marcos as Presidential Decree 442 under martial rule with the following complete original title: “A de-cree instituting a Labor Code hereby revising and consolidating labor and social laws to afford protection to labor, promote employment and human resources development and ensure industrial peace based on social justice”. The PLC provides for the right of workers, including most public employees, with the exception of the military and the police, to form and join trade unions. Trade unions are independent of the government. Unions have the right to form or join federations or other labor groups. In May 2007 a new labor law lowered the requirements for union registration.

Subsequent changes in the regulations provided for improvements and clarity on the right to establish and join unions, as well as workers associations. (*DOLE Department Order No. 40-03, Implementing Rules of Book of the Philippine Labor Code as amended*).

In 2018, there were 61,186 worker associations with 3.1 million members — greater than the number of unions and their members. Unions could represent workers in collective bargaining negotiations. In contrast, worker associations could promote the interest of their members in the enterprise, conglomerate, area or region, but not engage in enterprise-level collective bargaining.

Some of the significant workers associations representing workers on a national industry or sectoral basis are as follows:

- Automotive Industry Workers Alliance (AIWA)
- Metal Workers Alliance of the Philippines (MWAP)
- National Union of Building and Construction Workers (NUBCW)
- Philippine Land Transport Industry Union (PLTU)
- Alliance of Coca-Cola Unions Philippines (ACCUP)
- Alternative Nationalist Organization of Workers (A-NOW)
- Alyansa ng Lapiang Security Guards sa Pilipinas (ALAS)

(Note: This is an association of security guards / workers.)

- Association of Construction and Informal Workers (ACIW)
- BPO Workers Association of the Philippines (BWAP)
- BPO Industry Employees Network (BIEN)
- Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino (BMP) (Unity of Filipino Workers)
- Confederation of Democratic Workers of the Philippines (CDWP)
- Council of Filipino Nestle Unions (CFNU)

In the distribution of union funds, the common practice is to specify an amount for check off in the collective bargaining agreement, or in the minutes of the discussions. Unions usually pay a certain fixed amount to the national federations and the

lawyers, agreed in advance; but some provide payment in terms of the percentage of the wage or salary gains (from 3 to 5 percent; but 10 percent is usual for difficult cases). Proceeds from membership fees are usually shared equally between the union and the federation. The federations in turn pay a certain fixed amount, or percentage to the national labor center. There are no specific laws regarding the distribution or sharing of union funds. Unions which have registered with the Bureau of Labor Relations may collect membership fees, although they don't have the status of a collective bargaining agent.

Many Philippine trade unions started to appreciate non-traditional (sometimes non-collective bargaining) activities such as investments in labor enterprises, renewed political unionism and organizing workers in the informal sector of the economy. This widened the scope of operations of the labor movement. These responses are apparent in the statements and activities of the major trade unions groups, including the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), the Federation of Free Workers (FFW), and the Sentro (formerly Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL)).⁴

Militant trade union leaders organized party-list groups to participate in parliamentary elections and represent workers in legislation. These include the Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement) which organized the *Anakpawis* (literally means 'Toiling Masses') and the *Bayan Muna* (Nation First); and the *Partido ng Manggagawa* (Workers Party), the women's party *Gabriela*, and the *Akbayan*. Militant party list representatives were elected as lawmakers in the Philippine Congress, but as a minority, they influence debates but not significantly alter the balance of parliamentary votes with respect to the majority interests of traditional economic and political elites. The ECOP has vigorously opposed many of the populist labor law proposals from the militant party

Statements and activities of the major trade union organizations could be accessed in the following websites: TUCP, www.tucp.org.ph; Federation of Free Workers (FFW), www.ffw.org.ph; Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL), www.apl.org.ph, and the Kilusang Mayo Uno, www.kilusangmayouno.org.

list lawmakers, such as a legislated P125 (US\$ 2.5 daily) across the board wage increase.

There are also independent labor groups with no direct stake in union organizing in the auto industry, such as; the National Confederation of Labor (NCL), the Trade Unions of the Philippines and Allied Services (TUPAS), the National Labor Union (NLU), the Philippine Transport and General Workers Organization (PTGWO), the National Alliance of Trade Unions (NATU), and the Associated Marine Officers and Seafarers Union of the Philippines (AMOSUP). Public sector unions are either independent, or belong to five competing national labor centers with different ideologies.

National labor centers registered with the Bureau of Labor Relations are often invited to send representatives in national and foreign meetings, dialogues and consultations. The most representative labor centers are given the privilege to represent the workers in the tripartite ILO meetings, and provided travel, accommodation & living allowances. At least two national labor centers, the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU, May First Movement) and the Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino (BMP, Union of Filipino Workers) are not recognized. An officer in an interview said that the KMU has refused to register, on grounds that registration requirements are a violation of freedom of association. The major national labor centers also include worker associations who do not undertake collective bargaining.

A. Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP)⁵

The Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) or Katipunan ng Manggagawang Pilipino (KMP) was established on 14 December 1975 by the renowned trade unionist and labor leader Atty. Decmocrito “Kito” T. Mendoza along with other leaders of its member-organizations. TUCP up to now is the most representative labor center in the Philippines with 27 labor federations and organizations under its umbrella. Its members are from all sectors and industries (agriculture, manufacturing, and services)

⁵ Interview with Ms. Lois Oliva, Policy Advocacy Officer, Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP), November 9, 2018.

including government employees, Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) and informal sector workers. Its headquarters are located in TUCP-PGEA Compound, Diliman, Quezon City, Metro Manila, Philippines.

TUCP currently has 750,000 dues-paying members from among the 27 member-federations.

TUCP was founded in 1974 during the Marcos dictatorship in order to provide a platform for labor unity, to support the martial law regime. TUCP's Vision is to be the "prime mover in protecting the rights and advancing the interests of workers in a just and humane society." Its Mission is "to unify the labor movement and protect the interest of the working class." Its Core Principles include Democratize wealth, incomes and power; Build democratic organizations and instill nationalism, solidarity, equity and social responsibility; Improve conditions of work and life of workers and their families, including non-members; Protect workers' wages and job security and preserve vigilance over the deterioration of working conditions; Strengthen bargaining position of unions, work towards industrial peace and development; Enhance internal and international solidarity and cohesiveness among unions of the world; and Adhere to principled collaboration with government, other workers' organizations and institutions.

TUCP's statement of objectives are as follows: "A democratic society where fundamental human and trade union rights are deeply respected. A sustainable economy that ensures decent jobs, living wages and the equitable distribution of wealth; A dynamic and responsive labor sector that is well educated, responsible, vigilant and cohesive that takes the lead in advancing the welfare of the masses; Empowered communities that are self-reliant and energized to harness participation of all; Families that are provided adequate opportunities for stability, growth and development; and Citizens who fully participate in the process and gains from the benefits of a democratic life".

During the 1970s, the trade union movement was dramatically ideology-based when Left-leaning labor groups were out to oppose the Marcos dictatorship. TUCP – backed by Pres. Ferdinand Marcos – was seen as a collaborationist. This branding has been for decades a challenge for TUCP. But with a new leadership, TUCP has recently

became more of a “hardliner” other than other groups especially during its initial position on the absolute or total prohibition of contractualization.

TUCP’s Current Advocacies are to prohibit and criminalize labor contractualization and to strengthen workers security of tenure in line with the policy statements of President Duterte; involvement of trade unions in labor compliance inspection systems and mechanisms; tax reforms to provide economic relief to workers; increasing the pension of retired workers; legislated national wage increase; Philippine Senate ratification of ILO Convention 151 (on public sector workers right to self-organization); ensuring a reliable supply of electricity and reduction of expensive power rates towards job creation and poverty alleviation; creation of efficient, fast and affordable public transportation system like rail system; establishment of universal, efficient and totally free health care system; and building quality and affordable homes for workers and their families.

TUCP current programs include capacity-building for the protection and promotion of human and labor rights; revitalizing workers organizing activities to help TUCP affiliates and unions to expand membership; reviving technical education program for workers, their families and communities including youth and unemployed workers; participating with government agencies on the following: Enhancing productivity; ending child labor; workers’ training; women empowerment; protection of migrant workers and informal sector workers; promoting occupational safety and health in mines and in other industries; banning harmful chemicals like asbestos; and HIV/AIDS control and prevention.

TUCP also takes it pride in its efforts to unify the Philippine labor sector through the NAGKAISA Labor Coalition. As a lead-convenor of the Nagkaisa, TUCP is at the forefront in the fight against contractualization and strengthening security of tenure and in other policy reforms to better the lives of the ordinary workers and their family. The NAGKAISA Labor Coalition is currently the largest labor coalition in the country today composed of 42 labor federations and organizations.

TUCP's primary concern is to ensure the protection and promotion of fundamental labor rights at the workplace. The challenge is to make sure that companies and establishments are compliant to existing labor laws and regulations. The most troubling of which is the policy regime of contractualization which for the past decades have made workers the whipping boys and girls for excessive profiteering. Contractualization has become pandemic that we see it as one of the causes of the widening gap in income inequality where contractuales are the new poor. For trade unions, this also means a decline in union membership which government data supports. As to labor relations with the management, we have just initiated a project with the Employers Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP) and other trade unions such as the Federation of Free Workers (FFW) and Sentro ng mga Nagkakaisa at Progresibong Manggagawa (SENTRO) to replicate a "bipartism" model to strengthen relations between management and labor and to lessen government intervention. The idea is that issues are resolved at the enterprise level through sound relations between business and labor and through a mechanism that would resolve issues at the workplace.

Resource person: Ms. Louisivi Oliva is a Political Affairs Officer from the Office of Rep. Raymond C. Mendoza of Trade Union Congress Party (TUCP Partylist). She also serves as the Policy and Advocacies Officer of Associated Labor Unions – Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (ALU-TUCP). She coordinates the ALU and the TUCP's annual regional wage increase petitions and coordinated the NAGKAISA's submission of the draft Executive Order on strengthening security of tenure. She also authored labor's proposed government cash subsidy for minimum wage earners nationwide, or the Labor Assistance and Empowerment Program (LEAP). She is currently taking up Masters in Public Administration at the National College of Public Administration and Governance (NCPAG).

B. Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU, May First Movement) ⁶

Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) is an independent and democratic labor center promoting genuine, militant and anti-imperialist trade unionism. It is genuine because it recognizes the struggle between labor and capital and is faithful to upholding the interests of the working class; militant because it relies on the workers' collective struggle in defending trade-union and democratic rights; and anti-imperialist because it seeks to end imperialist domination and control over the Philippines.

Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) officers assert that the labor organization has been in the forefront of struggles when Filipino workers experience distress due to economic or business crisis. Since it was organized KMU has consistently issued statements to protect the rights of workers mainly political and economic. Started even before the Marcos' regime, economic crisis still persist that workers, not limited to the farmers, industrial laborers and the marginalized poor, was left with no choice but to organize and protect their labor rights. Despite the threats of the fascist leadership of the then administration, Filipino workers formed and within the Araneta Center at Cubao, Quezon City on May 1, 1980, the KMU was founded. And up to this date, it continues to support local labor unions despite unending challenges. From then on, KMU mainly served as a central labor union for all types of workers to have a collective and unified spirit, one in pursuit on their fight to constitutional and labor rights particularly in organizing unions, their right to collective bargaining agreement, and the right to strike.

Aside from these unrelenting concerns, the organization also engage in political reforms in bureaucracy and other national issues to which live up to their slogan, "Tagapamandila ng Tunay, Palaban, Makabayang Unyonismo." (Genuine, Militant and Nationalist Unionism)". Recurring crisis that affect workers led the KMU to live up to its brand of incorrupt unionism to remain in the service of protecting the workers from anti-labor practices of both the government and the capitalist similar to the initiatives of Karl Marx on anti-exploitation. Moreover, concerns specifically on the initiatives on

⁶This section is a summary of the interviews with Jerome Adonis, Secretary General and Nitz Gonzaga, the education officer of the KMU, undertaken on November 14, 2018.

wage increases, job security, workers' rights, health and safety conditions, women empowerment, fight against neoliberal policies, genuine agrarian reform, national industrialization are at the core of KMU concerns.

Part of their mandate is to encourage every union member to be dauntless in affirming their rights and in helping the Filipino public discern the country's current situation despite various claims and malicious allegations, which constantly damage or at the least, affect their reputation and advocacies through extensive educational program. Being part of the indigent society at a young age, labor leaders of the KMU has been awakened by the necessity to fight for their rights and the need for nationalism. Their experiences in the era of Martial Law have led them to join the movement for labor's freedom to voice and representation. In the face of numerous struggles, these leaders have shared their knowledge from members to members to spread consciousness and the importance of cognizance, most especially in times of falsity of information from various sources.

In relation to the social movement unionism, KMU has promoted an image as "genuine, militant and nationalist" to foster social empowerment. KMU is focused on pursuing a "deeper, more profound, justice-centered social movement unionism that involves workers" to address exploitative and hazardous work conditions.

KMU has spearheaded a long-standing campaign for the elimination of contractualization, and the regularization of all types of workers to enjoy equity in benefits and security to tenure.

In addition to the issue of employment contractualization, KMU also advocates for wage increases. A recurring challenge for labor groups is to call for the adjustment of minimum wages in relation to inflation and the consumer's purchasing power.

In KMU's view, wage hikes are justified given that worker productivity between 2009 and 2017 grew by 35 percent. Given the small adjustments in wages, a large part of productivity went to the share of capital as profits. KMU has also vigorously opposed the Tax Reform of Acceleration and Inclusion (TRAIN) Law, which provided for a decrease in income taxes for low wage earners, but increased taxes on

some key commodities such as power, gasoline, sugar and other consumer items. Even if the TRAIN law was enacted, the KMU continues to call for its suspension.

C. Sentro (Center for Progressive and United Workers) ⁷

SENTRO or Sentro ng mga Nagkakaisa at Progresibong Manggagawa was formally established in a founding congress on August of 2013. Representing at least 80,000 members in the private, public and informal sectors, including migrant workers, women and the youth, SENTRO is committed to take social movement unionism (SMU) to new heights by intensifying the organizing of industry and sectoral unions in the country. The founding members of SENTRO include unions in the automotive, metal and metal-related industries, hotels, hospitals, beverages, broadcasting, banks, electric power, and some others in the manufacturing sector. Its member unions in the public sector include those in the local government units (LGUs), postal service and some national government agencies. SENTRO also includes one of the country's biggest federations of transport workers, a national confederation of informal settlers, a migrant workers' group in Hong Kong, and a youth organization.

SENTRO envisions a just and peaceful society, where the working people is empowered, democratic practices are upheld in the economic, political and cultural spheres of life, gender equality is recognized and equitable distribution of sustainable development is guaranteed.

As a labor center, SENTRO aims to organize the working class in various forms of strong and militant unions and merge these along industry, sectoral and geographic lines. It presupposes that there is no poverty, no powerlessness and no culture of oppression. This is only possible if workers themselves can dismantle the oppressive structures of capitalism, patriarchy and oligarchy in the country and by managing their own business through generating their own surplus, they end up managing their own communities (Self-management).

⁷ Interview with Mr. Daniel Edralin, Vice Chairman, Sentro (Center of United and Progressive Workers) November 6, 2018.

SENTRO's main task is to organize workers at all levels and to bring them together in one industry. Officers coordinate with international organizations to reach out and ensure all Filipino working class will be included. An important principle that Sentro espouses: in the labor dispute *Callanta vs. Carnation Philippines, Inc.* the Philippine Supreme Court decided that: "It is a principle well-recognized in this jurisdiction that one's employment, profession, trade or calling is a 'property right' and the wrongful interference therewith is an actionable wrong. The right is considered to be property within the protection of a constitutional guaranty of due process of law."

It is SENTRO's position that the regional wage boards had not, and will never, issue adequate adjustments in the minimum wages. The Government is the decision maker on the amounts of minimum wage raises with its three (3) representatives (from DTI, NEDA and DOLE), which most of the time come from the two (2) employers, who in turn will agree only to the lowest amount possible," he related from experience.

SENTRO collaborates with AKBAYAN, a political party. AKBAYAN stands for program-based politics. AKBAYAN encourages involvement of the citizen of the Philippines in policy decision making and develop programs that will basic needs and security of workers in the country. To support this goal, AKBAYAN aims to participate in the following: governance, elections, political advocacy, policy reforms.

Continuing workers education through seminars is an important activity, through LEARN, the training center of SENTRO in coordination with the "education for all" program of AKBAYAN political party list. Seminars enable workers to gain social consciousness and awareness of the current issues and possible strategies to cope up with this globally changing environment. AKBAYAN also support the vision of SENTRO by encouraging its members to contribute to the policy of the government by bringing up concerns and giving voice to the workers of the industry. Participation in the policy making strengthens decent work in the workplace and sustainable livelihood which is the main platform of AKBAYAN. Through this common goal of SENTRO and AKBAYAN, both parties collaborate to ensure strategies will be made to address

current issues and impending threats that may arise. Edralin said that although cooperation exists between SENTRO and AKBAYAN, the two entities are separate organizations, and could challenge each other on contradictory positions and actions.

D. Federation of Free Workers (FFW) ⁸

FFW was founded by Juan C. Tan and Fr. Walter Hogan, S.J. with the support of young activists from the Ateneo de Manila University in the 1950s. It is inspired by Catholic Social Teachings and Christian democratic principles since its foundation.

Fr. Walter Hogan and other American Jesuits were active with the propagation of the Social Encyclicals through the Institute of Social Order (ISO) in the 1950s. They had close collaboration with the famous activist Dorothy Day of the Catholic Worker Movement in America.

A number of FFW leaders are active in the Social democratic movement; while others are with the Christian and Muslim democratic movement. Some FFW activists founded the Philippine Democratic Socialist Party (PDSP) in the 1970s and older officers led the Christian Social Movement in the 1960s. FFW officer Alex Boncayao was a martyr of the National democratic movement in the 1970s. Recently some officers are also active in the newly founded Centrist Democratic Labor Association (CDLA) and the Centrist Democratic Party (CDP).

FFW is also considered as a national trade union center in the country considering its size and membership of eight (8) trade federations (TFs) and two (2) special sector federations. Among civil society movements, FFW is known as "the oldest trade union-social movement" in the Philippines "that is still in existence". It was founded 19 June 1950, and has 200,000 mass members in the formal and informal sectors. 80,000 members are dues-paying and covered with collective bargaining agreements.

⁸ Interviews with Mr. Jose "Sonny" Matula, President of FFW and Mr. Julius Cainglet, FFW Official on November 19, 2018.

Among the prominent affiliates of FFW with collective bargaining agreements (CBAs) are in education institutions, banks, pharmaceutical and electronics companies—Ateneo de Davao, Central Philippine University, University of the East - Ramon Magsaysay, Philippine School of Business Administration, National College of Business Administration, University of San Agustin of Iloilo, Branches of the Bank of the Philippine Islands, BPI Family Bank, Philippine Clearing, Country Bankers, Malayan Insurance, the Temic Semiconductor, Temic Continental, Vishay Philippines, United Pulp and Paper, Oro Port of Cagayan de Oro, Thomas National Transport, Avis, Europe cars, Mitsubishi, San Roque Metals Mining, Philippine Mining, Lepanto Mining, Delfi, Coca-Cola, Pfizer, Boie Takeda, Smithkline Beecham, Astra Seneca, Hi-Eisai Pharmaceutical, Bayer Philippines, Johnson & Johnson, Interphil Laboratories, Globe Telecom, among others.

Atty. Jose Sonny Matula is the President of Federation of Free Workers. Atty. Matula was an organizer and education officer for FFW and the Institute of Social Order (ISO) before he became a lawyer. He is also a law lecturer at the Manuel L. Quezon University - School of Law, University of Manila - College of Law and University of Perpetual Help - College of Law. He once served as an executive director of the Presidential Anti-Graft Commission and commissioner, representing the workers' group of the Social Security System (SSS) of the Philippines. He is on his second term as he was re-elected for another five (5)-year term on June 21, 2016. He was the workers' delegate of the Philippine Delegation to the 101st, 104th and 107th International Labor Conference in Geneva, in 2012, 2015 and 2018, respectively. He had been also an adviser for a number of times of the Philippine tripartite delegation to said conferences.

FFW is an affiliate of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC). Other than the ITUC, the FFW is also affiliated to Building and Wood Workers International (BWI), Education International (EI), IndustriALL Global Union, ITUC-Asia Pacific and the ASEAN Trade Union Council. FFW has actively participated in the activities of the International Labor Organization (ILO). Its President, Atty. Jose Sonny Matula, was the workers' delegate of the Philippine Delegation to the 101st, 104th and

107th International Labor Conference in Geneva, in 2012, 2015 and 2018, respectively. He had been also an adviser for a number of times of the Philippine tripartite delegation to said Conferences.

Since the 1950s, from the election of President Ramon Magsaysay, FFW has always been represented, either as workers delegate or adviser, in the Philippine delegation to the International Labor Conference.

Atty. Matula is the 4th National President of the Federation. He is on his second term as he was re-elected for another five (5)-year term on June 21, 2016. Juan C. Tan was the founding President from 1950 to 2001. Tan was succeeded by Ramon J. Jabar who headed FFW from 2001 to 2006. Jabar was succeeded by Atty. Allan S. Montano who was president from 2006 to 2011.

E. Partido Manggagawa (Workers Party).⁹

Partido ng Manggagawa is a political party representing workers in the Philippines. In the 2004 elections for the House of Representatives got 448,072 votes and one seat.

Partido Manggagawa (PM)'s current leader and spokesperson is Renato "Ka Rene" Magtubo. He is a veteran labor leader who became the president of Fortune Tobacco Labor Union (FTLU) for twenty-three (23) years. Magtubo also became a member of the National Federation of Labor Unions (NAFLU), National Confederation of Labor (NCL), Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU), and Bukluran ng Manggagawang Pilipino (BMP). He was elected as a party list representative for Sanlakas and Partido Manggagawa during the 11th and 12th Congress of the Republic of the Philippines. He finished Political Science Major in Local Government Administration at the University of Makati on 2013. To further enhance his knowledge, he finished a Diploma and Masters in Industrial Relations at the UP School of Labor and Industrial Relations on 2015 and 2017, respectively.

⁹ Interview with Partido Manggagawa (Workers' Party) Leader. Rene Magtubo, October 18, 2018.

PM through Rene Magtubo acknowledges the importance of unions to workers. He considers unions as the voice of workers in the workplace. Unions have come together to protect the rights of the workers and improve their working conditions including improving the safety standards and achieving higher pay and benefits. Union leaders can bargain with employers on behalf of union members and negotiate contracts by collective bargaining with employers. Furthermore, as the leader of Partido Manggagawa, Magtubo believes through engaging in the policy making process in the Congress via a party list, unions can influence policies, programs and services, which are designed, created, and implemented by the government.

Magtubo aims to be the workers voice who can be heard not only in the workplace but also in the Congress to ensure that the rights of the workers are being protected. So far, the PM is being able to fulfill their objective as they participated in the ratification of International Labour Organization 151 and have pushed for the passage of Occupational Safety and Health Law. This is evident that they are serious in promoting the welfare of the workers in the Congress.

Magtubo recommends the introduction and legislaiton of multi-employer bargaining. Multi-employer bargaining can be a mechanism to protect the interests of both workers and employers in the evolving world of work. Bargaining along industry lines will expand the horizon of trade unions by setting standards for wages and benefits. Unions ensure that workers receive their fair share from the wealth they help generate in response to the future of work. In addition, problems at work can be discussed and solved in the industry-level. multi-employer bargaining in the Philippines is not established. The government should promote sectoral collective bargaining to encourage competition based on quality and productivity, rather than cost. To develop the multi-employer bargaining mechanism, ssistance of the government, through DOLE, is needed. In response, the DOLE recently conducted a Stakeholders' Consultation on Multi-Employer Bargaining Policies and Practices to determine the extent to which multi-employer bargaining is practiced by soliciting inputs from unions and employers.

V. Union Strikes from Collective Bargaining Negotiations Deadlocks

Concerted action through strikes are a consequence of deadlocks between unions and employers in collective bargaining negotiations.

The Philippines has instituted a “Single Entry Approach (SENA) as a proactive approach in the management of labor disputes settlement policies and programs, the Philippines continued to enjoy a more peaceful industrial front with the decline in strike incidences, with four work stoppages monitored in the first half 2018 in the following companies: Goodyear Steel Pipe, Ateneo de Manila University, Middleby Philippines, and Nutri Asia. The Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) reported that there were 15 strikes in 2016, a far cry from the peak of union activity in 1986, with 581 strikes. The number of union strikes was at the highest in the period of the post EDSA turmoil when workers exercised their rights vigorously and expected a better deal from employers.

The government acknowledged that the relative industrial peace is due to vigorous efforts to promote the resolution of labor disputes at the plant level and the effectiveness of alternative labor dispute resolution system. The DOLE also instituted a mandatory conciliation-mediation prior to compulsory arbitration, based on a Single-entry Approach (SEnA) in processing labor disputes.

Reports from the National Labor Relations Commission (NLRC) indicate that both collective and interest labor disputes increased significantly in number with 129 cases in the first half of 2018; compared to 106 cases in the same period in 2017. There were 3,354 requests for assistance to process and settle labor disputes in the first half of 2018, with a settlement rate of 59 percent. While collective action through strikes declined, a significant number of individual labor disputes continue to be filed with the NLRC.

In the first half of 2018 most of the work disputes involved unfair labor practices with the unions (80 percent). Deadlock over wage bargaining involved 14 percent of the disputes.

Table 3. Philippine worker strikes, 1980 to 2017

Year	Notices of strikes	Actual strikes with or without notice, workers involved and mandays lost				
		Total strikes	With notice	Without notice	Workers involved	Mandays lost
1980	362	62	31	31	20,902	105
1985	1,175	371	309	62	111,265	2,458
1990	1,562	183	164	19	68,412	1,345
1995	904	94	78	16	54,412	584
2000	734	60	50	10	21,442	319
2005	465	26	26	3	8,496	123
2010	276	8	8	nd	3,034	34
2015	194	5			730	4,882
2016	175	15			3,106	116,637
2017	150	12			1,045	201,558

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA) *Yearbook of Labor Statistics 2015*; National Labor Relations Commission (NLRC) Reports for 2015 & 2016.

In summary, the Philippine labor movement is small and, therefore, weak in terms of collective bargaining. The fragmentation of unions is extreme, and competition among unions continues to make the labor movement weak. The fact that bargaining representation is subject to elections every five years leads to a lot of union raiding across and within industries, and thus unions spend their energies vying for existing membership rather than organizing new members. Without the ability to expand collective bargaining beyond these small numbers, unions would have no significant strength as a voice on the concerns of labor in the economic development process. The inability of unions to resolve jurisdictional problems and come together to cooperate also implies limited ability to focus on the development of solid solidarity work or collaboration.

VI. Conclusions and Steps Forward in Philippine Unionism

Workers need to be fully provided the fundamental framework for them to exercise their rights to freedom of association and collective bargaining, to improve terms and conditions of employment, particularly wages, health and safety, job security and other working conditions. Recent incidents with significant deaths and casualties of workers (Kentex, Cavite City; NCC Mall, Davao City) require that health and safety in the workplace should be relentlessly pursued with clear commitments and action plans of employers, workers, and government to actively promote access to adequate social protection for workers in all forms of employment and work arrangements, and to foster non-discrimination and fair treatment regardless of the individual employment status.

Union leaders and advocates need to sustain efforts to achieve a collective political will to harmonize policy with legislation, and consistency as well as simplicity and transparency in rules and regulations to provide for equal opportunities for employment, fair procedures for settlement of work-related grievances and labor disputes.

Pluralism in labor and employment relations imply the existence of functioning institutions – workers and employers organizations as well as public interest representatives. Government officials are not only regulators and policy makers, but also mediators, conciliators and arbitrators of disputes and conflicts. As representatives of the public interest, government officials who could provide the latest updated economic and financial information, auspices and venues for further consultation, dialogue and consensus. To flourish, pluralism requires the following conditions:

- Positive environment and supportive mechanisms to enable freedom of association, for worker representatives to fully represent their members with full autonomy, transparency and accountability;
- Freedom to nominate, elect representatives; and be accountable and transparent to constituencies on the nature of agreements and regular reporting of results;
- Freedom to negotiate as authorized representatives of the workers union;
- Ability to agree, and sign agreements on behalf of their worker union;
- Clarity of roles for government to balance interests of workers and employers, and not to dominate decisions;
- Capacity to implement the agreements, complemented by supportive mechanisms for collective bargaining at the level of the enterprise or industry;
- Efficient procedures for resolution of disputes through conciliation, mediation and arbitration.
- Consultation mechanisms on social policies, workers welfare and working conditions, including health & safety.
- Available expertise and institutions to assist workers and employers in decisions requiring technical and legal issues;
- Reliable administrative agencies with accessible, updated records and statistics on worker and employer organizations, collective agreements, scope and coverage, expiry dates, disputes settlement, with publications and websites.

Pluralism in industrial relations at the same recognizes the need for social contracts built on shared values and expectations of both workers and employers that hard work is rewarded with better jobs, higher incomes, security and improved lives.

The Philippine Constitution and labor laws guarantee workers rights, freedom of association and collective bargaining. The following policy reforms to foster freedom of association are encouraged to be considered:

- Reforms in policy, rules and regulations to respect diversity in trade union ideology, with a inclusive, pluralist perspective.
- Policy environment to encourage competing labor groups to achieve unity, through industry or sectoral associations.
- The Philippine party-list system in elections to the House of Representatives provide a significant opportunity for worker voice and representation. Competing worker party list groups are encouraged to dialogue and unite on common concerns, to promote decent work including social protection, freedom and equity.

With emerging use of artificial intelligence, greater intensity in automation and smart technology in work processes, to remain relevant Philippine unions may consider an agenda for action and policy reforms as follows:

Future of Work

- There is a need to address endless concerns about non-regular, non-standard, casual, temporary employment developing skills for an inclusive future of work; developing comprehensive social protection; increasing labor market integration for people with disabilities; eradicating child labour, forced labour, human trafficking and modern slavery in the world of work, to clean up the global value chain.

Decent Work in the Digital Economy / Industry 4.0

- Commitment to the promotion of promoting high quality jobs and decent work in the digital labor market.
- Some forms of work may pose a number of challenges for job and life quality, skills training, social protection and income distribution, freedom of association and collective bargaining.

Fundamental Rights at Work in the Digital Economy / Industry 4.0

- Worker unions must negotiate to ensure that new forms of employment are in the formal economy included in social protection and decent work frameworks. There is a need to be clear on the policy and classification of worker's employment status and associated employment rights.
- Raise public awareness among stakeholders of the rights, obligations and responsibilities regarding different forms of work.
- Greater emphasis on the promotion of fair treatment in working conditions, access to social protection and training opportunities for all workers, regardless of the type of employment relationship. The scope of social dialogue need to expand, to reach all workers through innovative means, and to enable collective bargaining at the level of industry or sector.

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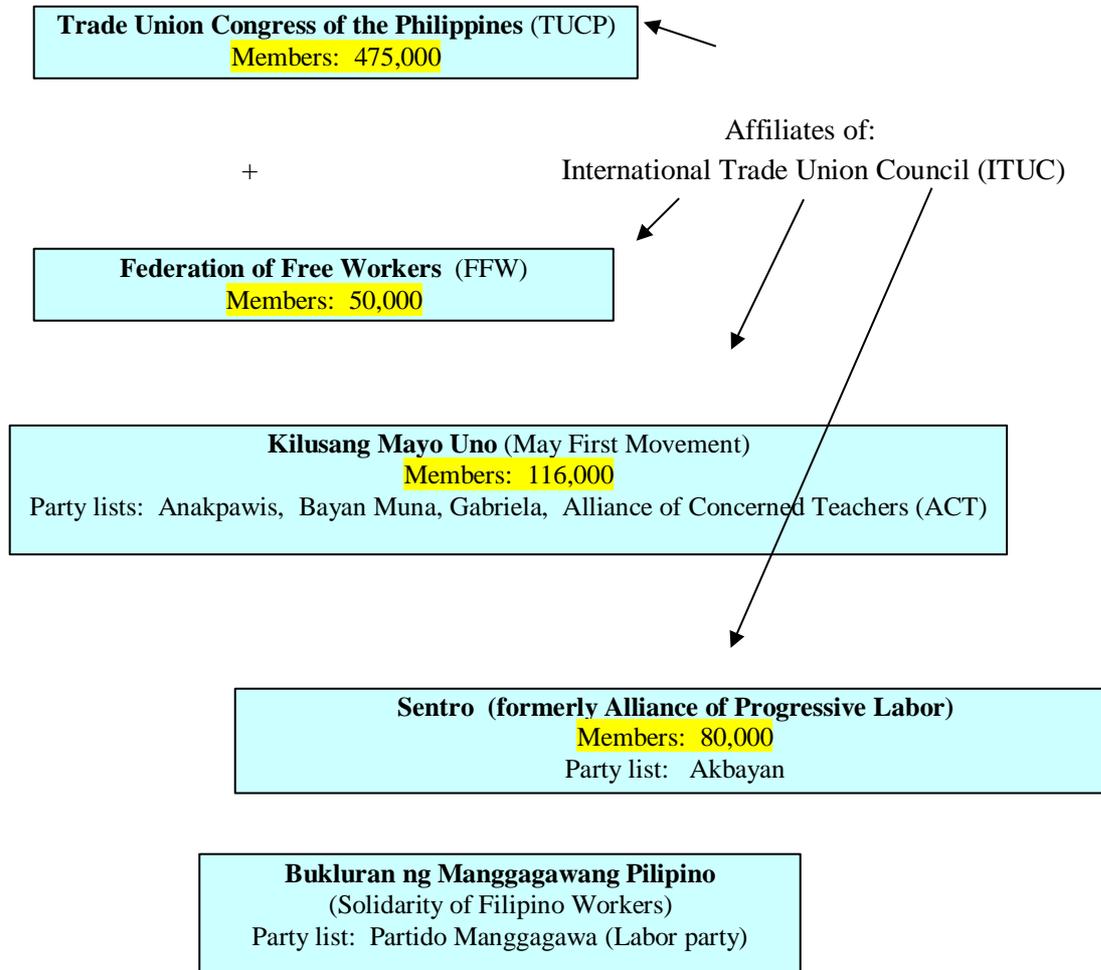
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Figure 2. **Philippine national labor centers and political alliances**

The International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)’s website lists four affiliates from the Philippines with the following claimed membership: FFW — 50,000+ members; KMU - 116,000+ members; TUCP — 475,000 members; and Sentro — 80,000 members.

Source: https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/list_of_affiliates_16th_gc_2_.pdf



Sample of independent labor groups:

- Trade Unions of the Philippines & Allied Services (TUPAS)
- National Union of Bank Employees (NUBE) – UNI APRO
- National Federation of Labor (NFL)

Source: Original diagram by the author.

Appendix. Profiles of key Philippine labor centers

Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP)

“A truly representative democratic organization composed primarily of trade unions, workers' organizations and other groups of workers. With members in all sectors and industries (from agriculture to manufacturing to service) including government employees, associations/ organizations of groups, from the OFWs, informal sector, drivers, urban poor, youth groups, cooperatives, alliances, coalitions and other civil society groups”.

TUCP is dedicated to:

- Building democratic organizations run/led by members
- Strengthening the workers movement, building skills/capacities
- Instilling nationalism, solidarity, equity and social responsibility
- Promoting equal rights and opportunities for all
- Improving conditions of work and life of workers and their families, including those of non--members

TUCP areas of Concern

“More responsive affiliated unions and associations, responsive to and working on sectoral [labor, wages] and national concerns [good governance, economic development]

Restructuring unions along industry lines (for more effective organizing, education and operations) and union Councils in provincial levels

Harmonizing industry issues for stronger advocacy and operations

Expanded presence in strategic industries (for better union participation in policies and programs)

Increased networking and alliance work (catalyzing improvements in structures, systems, and mechanisms, for more responsive government programs)”

Source: www.tucp.org.ph

Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU, May First Movement)

KMU is an independent labor center promoting genuine, militant and patriotic trade unionism. It is genuine because it recognizes the struggle between labor and capital and upholds the legitimate interest of the working class; militant because it relies on the workers collective struggle in defending trade union and democratic rights; and patriotic because it seeks to end imperialist domination and control over the Philippines. In particular, the KMU aims to:

- Protect and promote the workers right to employment, a decent wage, humane working conditions and their right to form unions, bargain collectively and to strike;
- Defend the workers movement from yellow unionism and its reformist economist and collaborationist tendencies;
- Heighten the political consciousness of the workers through massive education, step-by-step solid organizing and mobilizations in and out of the workplace;
- Ensure the workers' participation in the national democratic struggle against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism;
- Intensify and strengthen international solidarity with workers and the peoples of the world.

Source: <http://kilusangmayouno.org>

Trade Unions Congress of the Philippines (TUCP):

<http://tucp.org.ph>

Associated Labor Unions (ALU) - TUCP

<http://www.alu.org.ph>

Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU)

<http://kilusangmayouno.org>

Federation of Free Workers (FFW)

<http://www.ffw.ph>

Alliance of Progressive Labor (APL)

<https://www.facebook.com/sentrolabor/>

<https://aplnews.wordpress.com>

Partido Manggagawa / Philippine Labor Party

<http://partidongmanggagawa2001.blogspot.com>

<http://www.laborpartyphilippines.org>

Global trade unionism: International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)

<https://www.ituc-csi.org/about-us>

There are four affiliates from the Philippines with claimed membership: FFW — 50,000+ mem- bers; KMU -116,000+ members; TUCP — 475,000 members; Sentro — 80,000 members. Click here: https://www.ituc-csi.org/IMG/pdf/list_of_affiliates_16th_gc_2_.pdf