

**THE INFLUENCE OF THE MMDA SIDEWALK CLEARING OPERATIONS ON
THE CANDIDATE PREFERENCES OF VENDORS IN PADRE FAURA
ERMITA, MANILA**

In partial fulfillment of the requirements in
Political Science 200 (Research in Political Science)

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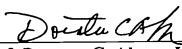
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APPROVAL SHEET

This undergraduate thesis entitled **The Influence of the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations on the Candidate Preferences of Vendors in Padre Faura, Ermita, Manila** is prepared and submitted by **Charisse Michelle R. Elises** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Major in Political Science is hereby presented for the approval of:



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And the vendors in Padre Faura, Ermita, Manila who never give up fighting in their everyday lives. This is for them!

I. Introduction

Election is an essential element of democracy though not a satisfactory condition for its existence (Wikipedia Encyclopedia, 2005). Thus in the Philippines where democracy is the system of government, leaders are chosen by the citizens through elections provided that they are registered voters.

Election in the country has increasingly become a venue for political struggles. Electoral outcomes are also influenced by deeper problems and issues such as poverty, inequality and insecurity as these affect the manners in which the public perceive and participate in the elections (Co et al, undated).

According to Co et al (undated), the electoral system with its code and laws do very little to structure change after elections as implied by the lack of accountability within and among parties and in effect does not encourage continuity in government. Furthermore, this along with problems of mistrust, lack of legitimacy, and deeper socio-economic issues, constrain the development of a more free and fair elections. All these contribute to paralyzing the country's sustainable development.

It is necessary to look at elections as a long term process rather than a seasonal event in addressing these electoral issues. This would mean working towards electoral reform not only during election periods but also in between periods. Co et al (undated) emphasized the importance of voter and citizen education, enhancement of the role of the youth, and improvement of the position of marginalized and underrepresented sectors in improving the quality of elections.

According to Prysby and Scavo (1993), several basic factors can be identified as reasons for preferring one candidate to the others in an election. A voter can decide on the basis of one or more of the following factors: (a) evaluation of the personal qualities of the candidates; (b) general assessments of the performance of government; (c) orientations on specific issues of public policy; and (d) basic loyalty to or preference for a particular political party.

Voters form images of the personal qualities and abilities of the candidates which influence their vote. Miller and Shanks (1996) identified four dimensions of personal qualities and abilities that voters perceive from the candidates. The first is the integrity dimension. This is the perceived honesty and trustworthiness of the candidates. The second is competence or the experience and knowledge of the candidates in handling the job and the position they are running for in office. The third dimension is the leadership ability of the candidates. Voters favor candidates who are seen as inspiring and strong leaders. The last dimension involves compassion. Those who are perceived as concerned and caring leaders are usually preferred by voters. These four dimensions vary in their importance (Miller and Shanks, 1996). Evaluation of personal traits is considered short-term forces which are capable of substantial shifts from one election to the next (Flanigan and Zingale, 1998).

The second basic factor, which is general assessments of the performance of government, is influenced by several factors. First is the voter's evaluation of national conditions, for instance, the state of the economy. Next is the voter's assessment of the candidates' performance in dealing with the national conditions (Flanigan and Zingale, 1998).

Another factor is economic conditions. This factor can affect government performance, and thereby the vote, in two ways. The effect can be personal, with voters reacting primarily to their own economic circumstances. The other effect may not necessarily be personal, with voters assessing the economic performance of the administration or the candidate apart from their personal economic conditions (Kiewiet, 1983).

Policy issues involve conflict over what the government should do or should not do. For a policy issue to affect vote decision, voters must have opinions on the issue and must see the differences between the candidates on their stands on the issue (Campbell et al, 1960).

Finally, voters may be influenced by the candidates' party affiliations as voters may express some identification with a particular party (Prysby and Scavo, 1993).

These four basic reasons for preferring one candidate to the others in an election affect each other before a voter finally makes up his mind (Prysby and Scavo, 1993).

II. Abstract

The paper is a case study on the influence of the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority's Sidewalk Clearing Drive on the candidate preferences of the 100 street and sidewalk vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila. It examines the reasons of the vendors for preferring a candidate for Manila mayor in the 2004 local elections. Also, in this viewpoint, the study takes a look at whether or not the vendors have voted for their preferred candidates. It also explores their reasons for voting as it as well wishes to understand the vendors' perception on voting or suffrage whether or not they view it as a means to influence government decisions on the basis of their policy stands, hence a potential tool that can somehow help alleviate their livelihood conditions as vendors.

III. Significance of the Study

By analyzing how and why the voters made up their minds on whom to cast their votes for, an attempt to understand an election outcome can be made. By doing so, the nature and sources of changes in voting behavior patterns can be observed over time. Thus, analyzing how and why the vendors made up their minds can help reach an understanding of the election outcome which can be supplied by additional studies on voting behavior of the vendors in the future and therefore coming up with an observation and analysis of the nature and sources of changes in voting behavior patterns of the vendors.

IV. Statement of the Problem, Hypothesis, Specific Research Questions and

Objectives

Problem

Did the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA) Sidewalk Clearing Operations influence the street and sidewalk vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila in their preferences of candidate for Manila mayor in the last May 2004 elections?

Hypothesis

The Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA) Sidewalk Clearing Operations influenced the sidewalk and street vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila in their preferences of a candidate for Manila mayor in the last May 2004 elections.

The MMDA Sidewalk Clearing affected the livelihood and personal lives of the vendors. Its implementation in the area created a conflict over the direction of the local government action thus raising a public policy issue. Because the vendors are deeply affected by this policy, they must have realized how they as an electorate can help shape government policy by their candidate selection and actual votes on the basis of this very issue.

Specific Research Questions

1. What were the reasons of the sidewalk and street vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila for their preference of candidate for Manila mayor in the last 2004 elections?
2. How did the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive or Operations influence the vendors in their candidate preferences for Manila mayor?
3. Have the vendors associated the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive or Operations to the mayor? How?
4. Did the vendors vote for their preferred candidate for Manila mayor?
5. What were the reasons of the vendors for voting or not voting last May 2004 local elections?
6. Do the vendors view voting or suffrage as a potential tool to help alleviate their livelihood and/or economic conditions?

Objectives

1. To find out the reasons of the sidewalk and street vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila for their candidate preferences for Manila mayor in the last 2004 elections.
2. To learn how the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive or Operations influenced them in their candidate preferences for Manila mayor.
3. To determine whether or not they have associated the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive or Operations to the mayor and how they have associated the program to the mayor.
4. To see whether or not they voted for their preferred candidate for Manila mayor.
5. To examine their reasons for voting or not voting.
6. To know if the vendors view voting as a potential tool to help alleviate their livelihood and/or economic conditions.

V. Related Literature Review

A. The Metropolitan Manila Development Authority

The Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA) was created in 1995 by Republic Act 7924 in replacement of the Metropolitan Manila Authority (MMA) organized under Executive Order No. 392 series of 1990.

Section 2 of the Act states, the MMDA shall perform planning, monitoring and coordinative functions, and in the process, exercise regulatory and supervisory authority over the delivery of metro-wide services within Metropolitan Manila without diminution of the autonomy of the local government units concerning purely local matters.

The scope of the services under the jurisdiction of the MMDA is defined in Section 3 as those services which have metro-wide impact and transcend local political boundaries or entail huge expenditures such that it would not be viable for the said services to be provided the individual local government units (LGUs) comprising Metropolitan Manila. Furthermore, the Section describes the services to be delivered by the agency as follows:

(a) Development planning which includes the preparation of medium and long-term development plans; the development, evaluation and packaging of projects; investments programming; and coordination and monitoring of plan, program and project implementation

- (b) Transport and traffic management which include the formulation, coordination, and monitoring of policies, standards, programs and projects to rationalize the existing transport operations, infrastructure requirements, the use of thoroughfares, and promotion of safe and convenient movement of persons and goods; provision for the mass transport system and the institution of a system to regulate road users; administration and implementation of all traffic enforcement operations, traffic engineering services and traffic education programs, including the institution of a single ticketing system in Metropolitan Manila*
- (c) Solid waste disposal and management which include formulation and implementation of policies, standards, programs and projects for proper and sanitary waste disposal. It shall likewise include the establishment and operation of sanitary land fill and related facilities and the implementation of other alternative programs intended to reduce, reuse, and recycle solid waste*
- (d) Flood control and sewerage management which include the formulation and implementation of policies, standards, programs and projects for an integrated flood control, drainage and sewerage system*
- (e) Urban renewal, zoning, and land use planning, and other shelter services which include formulation, adoption, and implementation of policies, standards, rules and regulations, programs and projects to*

rationalize and optimize urban land use and provide direction to urban growth and expansion, the rehabilitation and development of slum and blighted areas, the development of shelter and housing facilities and the provision of necessary social services thereof

(f) *Health and sanitation, urban protection and pollution control which include the formulation and implementation of policies, rules and regulations, standards, programs and projects for the promotion and safeguarding of the health and sanitation of the region and for the enhancement of ecological balance and the prevention, control and abatement of environmental pollution*

(g) *Public safety which includes the formulation and implementation of programs and policies and procedures to achieve public safety, especially preparedness for preventive or rescue operations during times of calamities and disasters such as conflagrations, earthquakes, flood and tidal waves, and coordination and mobilization of resources and the implementation of contingency plans for the rehabilitation and relief operations in coordination with national agencies concerned*
(Chan Robles Virtual Library, 2002)

In June 13, 2002, Bayani Fernando, Marikina Mayor for nine years and Vice-Chairman of the MMA from 1994 to 1995, was appointed Chairman of the MMDA by President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (Fernando, undated, and Office of the President, 2003). The president's words to the Chairman were "*Kung ano ang ginawa mo sa Marikina, gusto kong gawin mo sa buong Metro Manila*" (Fernando, undated).

B. The MMDA's Sidewalk Clearing Program

Chairman Bayani Fernando indeed replicated his project in Marikina in a much larger scale; in the sidewalks and streets of Metro Manila (Santos, R., 2003); and is known as the Sidewalk Clearing Program of the MMDA.

The Sidewalk Clearing Program is authorized by an ordinance of the Metro Manila Council (MMC) (Ortiz, 2004), which Section 4 of the RA 7924 defines as the governing board and policy-making body of the MMDA composed of the mayors of the eight cities and nine municipalities of Metro Manila, the president of the Metro Manila Vice Mayors League and the president of the Metro Manila Councilors League, and headed by the Chair assigned by the President (Chan Robles Virtual Library, 2002). MMDA Resolution No. 02-28 declares the authorization of the MMDA and LGUs by the MMC “to clear the sidewalks, streets, avenues, alleys, bridges, parks, and other public places in the Metro Manila of illegal structures and obstructions” (Fernando, undated).

Furthermore, the Resolution indicates the acts that are considered illegal, among which “vending or selling of foods, magazines, newspapers, cigarettes, brooms, watches or jewelries, shoes and other footwear, and/or any other items” and “conduct of shoe-shine occupation” are included (Fernando, undated).

The Resolution also allows the MMDA to confiscate the wares of the vendors even without returning them. It states that “all items, goods, and structures found on or along roads, streets, avenues, alleys, sidewalks, bridges, paths, and other public places

shall be confiscated by the government without prior notice. The same shall be treated as common or ordinary garbage and shall be disposed of as such. The government shall thus not be held liable for any damage arising from the removal, confiscation, or disposal of the said items" (Fernando, undated).

1. Alternatives Offered

The MMDA has collaborated with some local governments in offering alternative places to the vendors wherein they can sell their goods to earn a living. They have suggested that the vendors register their businesses and rent stalls inside public markets.

Manila Mayor Joselito Atienza, Jr., for instance, in coordination with the MMDA, organized its own vending program which allows sidewalk vendors to sell only in designated areas such as public parks and some roads in the city (Ortiz, 2004). Vendors who fail to comply are arrested (Ortiz, 2004).

Despite these alternatives offered to the vendors, however, a lot of them still return to their previous posts in the sidewalks and streets to sell their wares (Macairan, 2004, and Santos, R., 2003).

2. Intensified Measures

Nevertheless, the MMDA persisted with the clearing of illegal vendors despite the stubbornness of the vendors (Salaverria, 2003). They even intensified the operations with Fernando's theory of *ubusan ng capital*, wherein he believes that the peddlers will refrain from such activities once they ran out of capital (Bautista, 2003). The MMDA no longer

just confiscates the vendors' goods. They have also threatened to pour kerosene on the wares of the vendors and to put these on fire (Esguerra, 2003).

To even more discourage the vendors, the MMC even approved a resolution urging the local governments to penalize those who buy from the vendors (Salaverria, 2003).

3. Intensified Resistance

The games of cat-and-mouse and hide-and-seek can be witnessed daily on the sidewalks and streets of Metro Manila (Tandoc, 2003) – the players, the vendors and the MMDA men.

Emma Perez, 38, a vendor who sells bottled water and buko juice in Baclaran told the Inquirer that everyday, they (vendors) are bothered by the thought of capture but they carry on. She explained that they have to sell their wares for the day or they simply would not be able to eat (Tandoc, 2003).

The vendors have already learned strategies on how to escape or hide from fast while carrying their commercial goods whenever the MMDA men or police arrive (Tandoc, 2003).

Hariboy Amirol who sells pirated video compact discs (VCDs) said he jumped in the dirty water canal during an operation and hid from the MMDA men in the murky water. He added that when they (vendors) display their products, they put them on top of a cloth so that they can wrap them easily with the cloth and carry them when they run and hide from the MMDA (Tandoc, 2003).

4. Growing Violence

The MMDA's Sidewalk Clearing Operations have been so intensive that they have resulted in violent clashes between the MMDA men and the vendors, and have also affected passersby. Numerous cases of members of the sidewalk clearing teams, vendors, and civilians, as well, have been reported to have been injured and killed during the MMDA clearing operations.

Poon Baceron, a bystander was shot and killed during a clearing operation in the Baclaran area in Paranaque City in July 2003 (Salaverria, 2003).

Eugenio Bachechino, 43, a sidewalk vendor was wounded in the hip while an MMDA vehicle was damaged when shots were fired during a clearing operation held in Baclaran, Paranaque City in August 2003 (Ortiz, 2003).

In another MMDA operation in December 2003, a 10-year-old boy, two MMDA men and some vendors were injured (Dizon, 2003).

C. Sidewalk and Street Vendors: Part of the Informal Economy

In spite of the alternatives offered to the vendors by the MMDA and local governments, the vendors persist with their livelihood on the sidewalks and streets of the Metropolis. They complain that they can ill afford the rentals in the markets (Panao, 2002).

They cannot refrain from their kind of livelihood either. The vendors express that they have no other legitimate livelihood to turn to but to sell on the sidewalks and streets where their customers are (Santos, R., 2003).

Sidewalk and street vendors belong to the informal sector or what is commonly known as the “underground economy” (Manalansan, 2002).

The urban “underground economy” is defined by Gatchalian et al (1986) to “consist of a range of employment/livelihood activities in the cities which are unrecorded, unregistered and untaxed but are not necessarily illegal and therefore considered to be beyond the scope/reach of existing laws” (Virola and de Perio, undated).

Many authors, Hernando de Soto (1989) for one, have said that in many poor countries, “a heavy burden of taxes, bribes, and bureaucratic hassles” drives many workers into the informal sector (Azuma and Grossman, 2002). The growth of the underground economy is also rooted in the weak capability of the formal sector to provide employment (Balisacan, 1991).

Thus in the Philippines, where joblessness is a major problem, many resort to informal businesses in able to survive economically (Manalansan, 2002).

D. A Hasty Policy

While the Sidewalk Clearing Drive of the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority, under Chairman Bayani Fernando, has earned much acclamation from the

urban middle class, the drive has, nevertheless, still received a great deal of criticism from the urban poor and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

NGOs have regarded the drive as not just anti-vendors but as anti-poor as well. The militant group Sanlakas criticized the MMDA's resolution which urges LGUs to penalize those who buy goods from the vendors, saying that the poor would be the most affected by it, because the goods of the vendors are relatively cheaper and are therefore, what they can afford.

Metro Manila Vendors' Alliance, Damayang Mahihirap (KADAMAY), the Urban Poor Associates and the Urban Poor Colloquium agreed to stage regular but separate rallies until Fernando gives in to their demands (Panao, 2002).

Bayan Muna Secretary General Nathaniel Santiago called the MMDA's policy as "illegal, unjust and inhuman" and accused Fernando of grave abuse of authority (Panao, 2002).

Urban Poor Associate Executive Director Denis Murphy calls it unfair to implement such laws that penalize the poor when the laws, such as the Urban Development and Housing Act that clearly instructs the local government to set aside land for the poor, are not being properly implemented. According to him, the problem cannot be solved through selective application of the law (Panao, 2002).

Iloilo Representative Augusto Syjuco labeled Fernando's policy as oppressive and called for the chair to resign. He vowed to gather nine million signatures to oust Fernando from his position should he continue to ignore the demands for a "lenient" enforcement of the policy (Panao, 2002).

Manila Mayor Jose “Lito” Atienza believes that there is no way that they can eradicate vending because people will just persist for their survival (Ortiz, 2004).

Former Paranaque Mayor Joey Marquez expresses disapproval of the Sidewalk Clearing Operations when he told a newspaper report that they can clear Baclaran by talking to the vendors peacefully and humanely, unlike the MMDA personnel who carry steel pipes and guns with them (Ortiz, 2004).

Danilo Arao, a UP Journalism professor said that “There is nothing wrong with telling them (sidewalk vendors) to look for alternative means of livelihood, but concrete options must be provided to them. The phenomenon of street vending, after all, is a sign of the growing underground economy and the lack of viable job opportunities for the people (Panao, 2002).”

E. The MMDA’s Logic

The MMDA’s Sidewalk Clearing Operation is authorized by an MMC ordinance (Ortiz, 2004) with the simple logic that the sidewalks and streets belong to the public (Panao, 2002).

Furthermore, Fernando said that “Vending on public property is a crime punishable with imprisonment” (Panao, 2002).

In addition, he said that the elimination of illegal vendors would help accomplish the MMDA’s goal to achieve more passable roads and sidewalks for vehicles and pedestrians, and to lessen the traffic in the metropolis (Punay, 2004 and Ortiz, 2003). It

would also reduce the garbage that aggravates the flooding of the streets for the bulk of this garbage, according to Fernando, comes from the goods sold by the vendors (Paita and Quismundo, 2003).

Fernando also reasoned that the illegal vendors “steal from legitimate market vendors who have licenses and are paying taxes.” He accused the illegal vendors as also “guilty of economic sabotage.” “Just imagine the man-hours lost, and the billions of pesos in business opportunities foregone because of traffic delayed congested streets and sidewalks,” the Chairman said (Panao, 2002).

With regard to the complaint of the vendors that they can barely afford the market rentals, Fernando said that it is actually cheaper to do business inside the markets with rental fees that range from 29 to 50 pesos a day as compared to what illegal vendors are paying corrupt officials when they are peddling their goods in the sidewalks and streets (Panao, 2002).

According to the Chairman, the vendors return to the streets not because of “extreme poverty” but “by the very dynamics of the market for the most accessible stalls are those near the streets and the illegal vendors are taking advantage of them for free” (Panao, 2002).

Concerning the MMC Resolution which urges local governments to penalize those who buy goods from the vendors, the general manager of the MMDA, Robert Nacianceno, defends that the MMDA and MMC are actually protecting the health of the people. Nacianceno said that the wares of the vendors are not being regulated hence the public do not have the assurance that the goods they are buying from them are always

clean. “We’ve seen during clearing operations that there are sometimes, cockroaches and rats under the stalls of the vendors,” said the manager (Salaverria, 2003).

F. The MMDA’s Sidewalk Clearing Drive and the May 2004 Elections

On the advent of the May 2004 elections however, Fernando ordered to hold the sidewalk clearing operations to ensure the safety and welfare of his men (Ortiz, 2004). According to Fernando, the vendors were becoming more and more violent that two MMDA operatives were killed and a lot others were hurt (Punay, 2004).

Fernando blamed the violence to the lack of cooperation of local governments in the Sidewalk Clearing Drive. Some Metro Manila mayors even threatened to arrest the MMDA personnel should they continue the operations in their area of jurisdiction (Trapik Online Staff, 2004).

The Chairman added that the agency could no longer cope with the cost of conducting the clearing operations (Ortiz, 2004).

Some doubted Fernando’s reasons. Fernando is one of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo’s cabinet members. President Arroyo was running for a second term as president against main rival Fernando Poe, Jr., who was very popular among the masses which majority of the vendors affected by the clearing operations belongs to. Although when asked if there was pressure from the palace, the Chairman said that there was none (Ortiz, 2004).

Chairman Bayani Fernando might have gained popularity and support from the urban middle-class through his intensive Sidewalk Clearing Drive but the poor masses, who were greatly affected by the clearing drive, remain as the bulk of Filipino voters (Santos, T., 2003). Perhaps this is one of the major factors that PGMA's party considered in choosing PGMA's running mate. They have chosen former Senator Noli de Castro, who is very popular among the masses, over Fernando who has announced his interest in candidacy for Vice President.

While Fernando lost his popularity among the masses because of his anti-vending drive, other politicians have gained political mileage through this vendor issue by voicing out their stand in favor of the vendors (Panao, 2002).

G. Issues of the Poor

Majority of street and sidewalk vendors are poor. Most of them are driven to sell in the streets and sidewalks due to poverty. With the continuous rise of daily living, more and more people are forced to make an employment of their own (Banzuela, 2004).

Unemployment and/or underemployment is just one of the many issues of the poor. The poor merely can find stable, permanent, salaried employment. As a result, many engage in informal, casual, and daily wage labor with low earnings and no security (Narayan et al., 2000)

Hunger and food insecurity are the core concerns of poverty. Meeting the most basic needs for food, water and shelter can be a daily struggle for the poor. This becomes

acute when there is unemployment or underemployment, or lack of income-earning assets (Narayan et al., 2000)

1. Power and Voice of the Poor

In explaining poverty, Narayan et al. (2000) observed that the poor often express a sense of helplessness, powerlessness, humiliation, and marginalization.

Much of the helplessness and sense of powerlessness of the poor emerge from their experience with corrupt, uncaring, and inefficient officials of the state. Local politicians are often seen as being closely connected with local criminal groups and with the rich. Trading on the streets can be an experience of powerlessness where the police are silent observers of the criminal gangs that control the markets (Narayan et al., 2000).

The poor also report that wage laborers are the most exploited because they are forced into poor working conditions where in they work long hours, and accept substandard salaries. Worse, because they lack resources and choices, the poor are often forced to ask help from these very people who exploit them: landowners, moneylenders, employers (Narayan et al, 2000).

These people would often lend them money as form of help but this, actually, only results in a cycle of indebtedness that only contributes to the sense of helplessness and powerlessness of the poor. The debt, more often than not, accumulate substantially because of the high interest rates (Narayan et al., 2000).

2. Vulnerability of the Poor

The poor have fears pertaining to lack of assets which causes anxiety about their ability to survive in increasingly unpredictable, insecure, and uncertain conditions such as economic, social, and environmental ones (Narayan et al., 2000).

Vulnerability can be best understood as the lack of key assets. An increased number and range of assets means less vulnerability, while fewer assets increase the risk of impoverishment (Moser, 1998).

Robert Chambers observed that most poverty alleviation policies have tended to neglect the vulnerability of the poor (Narayan et. al., 2000). Instead of examining the particular factors that lead to worsened poverty of individuals, households, and communities, policies have focused on levels of income and consumption. Examining poverty will bring to light issues of “defenselessness, insecurity, and exposure to risk, shocks, and stress” (Chambers, 1989).

H. Elections’ Campaign and Issues of the Poor

Strange as it may seem, elections bring the rich and the poor together in a temporary reversal of roles where the rich ask the poor for help. Politicians consist mostly of rich Filipinos, and voters consist mostly of the poor (Montelibano, 2004).

In electoral campaigns, it is common for candidates to take advantage of the mostly uneducated poor’s ignorance and vulnerability to win their vote.

We have all heard the famous “*Erap para sa mahirap*” of former president Joseph Estrada which was proven a hit among the poor masses during the elections’ campaign back in 2001.

President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, likewise, had policies to address non-ownership of land of the poor which is already an age old problem (Murphy, 2004).

However, they are not really interested in the issues of the poor and in improving their condition, as one columnist in The Philippine Daily Inquirer wrote. They want to keep them ignorant so that they will continue to elect the "popular" candidates imposed upon them. They want to keep the poor, poor so that they can easily bribe them during elections (The Philippine Daily Inquirer, 2004).

VI. Analytic Framework

Vending: A Deeply Structural Problem

Although the objectives of the Sidewalk Clearing Program of the MMDA are decent, these cannot be achieved through the measures that the agency is taking.

Vending is a deeply structural problem. It cannot be solved by selective application of the law (Panao, 2002). The fact that vendors keep coming back to the streets to make a living despite the MMDA's intensive, life-threatening Sidewalk Clearing Operations is a manifestation of the increasing informal sector in the country and the severity of unemployment or lack of opportunity for people to have a stable job in the country, which is also an indication of growing poverty (Balisacan, 1991).

This is precisely the reason why the poor and NGOs like Bayan Muna and Sanlakas, refer to the MMDA's Sidewalk Clearing Operations as not only anti-vendors but also, anti-poor. The Sidewalk Clearing issue is also seen as a battle between the rich and the poor, since the act of vending is driven by extreme poverty and those who hold positions in society, who have the power and control over such programs, are often those belonging to the upper classes. In this case, it is the MMDA that is in power and that is associated with the rich.

If the authorities want to eradicate illegal vending completely, they must address the increasing poverty in the country, first and foremost.

Fernando has made his personal assessment on the Sidewalk Clearing Program and concluded that it has only achieved a 50 per cent effectiveness rate (Macairan, 2004).

He, himself, nevertheless admitted that his agency's Sidewalk Clearing Program indeed resulted in violence and clamor and has not achieved an above passing rate.

The MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive as an Election Issue

The MMDA Chair ordered to hold the Sidewalk Clearing Operations on the advent of the May 2004 elections because according to him, the vendors were becoming more and more violent that two MMDA operatives were killed and a lot others were hurt (Punay, 2004) and for this, he had to ensure the safety of his men (Ortiz, 2004).

He blamed the violence to the lack of cooperation of the local governments in the Sidewalk Clearing Program. Some Metro Manila Mayors even threatened to arrest the MMDA personnel should they continue the operations in their area of jurisdiction (Trapik Online Staff, 2004).

The Chairman added that the agency could no longer cope with the cost of conducting the clearing operations (Ortiz, 2004).

The operations resumed soon after the newly-elected officials were seated (Ortiz, 2004). And of course, many are skeptical that the Chair halted the operations not really because of the reasons he claimed but for election purposes.

Fernando is one of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's cabinet members. President Arroyo was running for a second term as president against main rival Fernando Poe, Jr., who was very popular among the masses which majority of the vendors affected by the clearing operations belongs to. Although when asked if there was pressure from the palace, the Chairman said that there was none (Ortiz, 2004).

The discontinuation of the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations during the peak of electoral campaign and resuming the operations soon after the newly elected politicians took office in June 2004, is an illustration of how those in the positions, who are mostly rich, use their power to manipulate such events in able to deceive the public, who are mostly poor, much to their advantage.

Chairman Bayani Fernando might have gained popularity and support from the urban middle-class through his intensive Sidewalk Clearing Drive but the poor masses, who were greatly affected by the clearing drive, remain as the bulk of Filipino voters (Santos, T., 2003).

Perhaps this is one of the major factors that PGMA's party considered in choosing PGMA's running mate. They have chosen former Senator Noli de Castro, who is very popular among the masses, over Fernando who has announced his interest in candidacy for Vice President.

Class Struggle in the Philippine Society

What is perceptible here is the distinguished division of classes and the existing class struggle and/or class conflict between the few ruling elites and the majority poor masses in the country.

Class conflict refers to the conflicts of interest that arise within a society when a wealthy economic elite arises and exploits its economic advantages to obtain still greater wealth and/or political power for itself (Progressive Living).

The conditions which brought about the increasing urban issues and the growing number of the urban poor are argued to not only have to do with the historical aspects of our country but are also deeply structural, that is “rooted in the systemic relationship between urban conflicts and the process of economic development” (Karaos, 1996).

The issue of the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive depicts the existing class conflict in Philippine society. As Chairman Bayani Fernando has said, illegal vendors are also “guilty of economic sabotage.” “Just imagine the man-hours lost, and the billions of pesos in business opportunities foregone because of traffic delayed congested streets and sidewalks” (Panao, 2002). This shows how the MMDA’s program is clearly in favor of the few rich who are continuously in control of the big businesses, of the money and the economy of the country – the rich who continuously become richer at the expense of the poor who continuously become poorer. It also lays bare the extensive influence of the rich and the little influence of the poor over politics which is an immense tool for acquiring the wants of the rich and the needs of the poor.

Suffrage as Potential Tool for the Poor Masses

The World Bank report found that the poor do not trust governments, “not even all NGOs,” Wolfensohn adds. They want freedom to speak freely, gain access, and elect their own people (Mercado, 2004).

In the Institute on Philippine Culture study, the poor are wary about those with advanced education. They have few illusions and know elections involve fraud (Mercado, 2004).

However, they see elections as the only legitimate means to choose leaders. So, they vote in their numbers (Mercado, 2004).

Suffrage or voting could be one useful tool of the individual in influencing reality. However, it is common for the individual to think that his/her vote is only one vote which cannot possibly make a big difference (Seasholes, 1966).

It also goes to say, that voting is a potential tool for the poor masses, who are oppressed by the society, to influence this reality.

It is interesting to examine the reaction or behavior of the voters last May 2004 elections, especially those of the poor masses and more specifically, those of the sidewalk and street vendors, in relation to this election propaganda of the MMDA and of the officials behind the agency. Examining their reaction and how this affected them in their voting will suggest areas where in the masses can improve in able for them to utilize this power that they possess and actually affect change through it.

VII. Conceptual Framework

The paper focused on the second and third basic factors identified as reasons for preferring a candidate over the others in an election which were briefly discussed in the introduction. These are, namely, general assessments of the performance of government, and orientations on specific issues of public policy.

The term issue can be loosely used to refer to anything that is a source of conflict or debate. In this study, public policy issue was given emphasis. According to Prysby and Scavo (1993), policy issues involve conflict over the direction of government action. For a policy issue to affect the vote decision, voters must not only have opinions on the issue. They must also perceive differences between the candidates on the issue. The study revolved around the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program which was seen as a public policy issue that could influence candidate preference and voting behavior of the vendors in Padre Faura, Ermita, Manila.

Since two of the Manila mayoral candidates last May 2004 elections were former mayors of the city, general assessments of the performance of government also emerged as a significant factor. According to Fiorina (1981), while policy issues involve differences over what the government should do, general assessments involve differences over how well the government has done.

Further on, the study classified the reasons of the vendors for their candidate preferences into two major groups – economic and non-economic reasons.

The classifications were based on the context of the term economic as defined by the World Book Dictionary (1994) as “having to do with the management of income,

supplies, and expenses of a household, community, government or other group or organization” and/or “having to do with the material welfare of a community or nation.”

The study also attempted to understand the vendors’ perception on the suffrage as to whether or not they view the act of voting as a way to influence government policy, hence a potential tool that can somehow help alleviate their livelihood conditions as vendors.

Suffrage is summarized by the National Statistical Coordination Board of the Philippines as the right and obligation to vote of qualified citizens in the election of national and local officers of the government and in the decision of public questions submitted to the people. Article 1 of the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines states that:

“Suffrage may be exercised by all citizens of the Philippines not otherwise disqualified by law, who are at least eighteen years of age, and who shall have resided in the Philippines for at least one year and in the place wherein they propose to vote for at least six months immediately preceding the election. No literacy, property or other substantive requirements shall be imposed on the exercise of suffrage.”

The study refers to candidate preference as the candidate whom the vendors wanted to win in the elections. The vendor did not necessarily need to have voted for their candidate preference as the study recognizes other factors that could have caused them not to vote.

VIII. Methodology

Data Gathering

The research was a case study which aimed to find out the possible influence of the Sidewalk Clearing Operations of the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority to the mayoral candidate preferences for the May 2004 elections' of unregistered sidewalk vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila. The study, as well, wished to explore the vendors' perception on suffrage or the act of voting, whether or not they view it as a potential tool that could help influence a change in their livelihood conditions as vendors.

The candidate preferences were not necessarily the candidates whom the vendors voted for because other reasons for voting or not voting for a candidate were also present.

The unregistered vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila were chosen for the purpose of limiting the scope of the study. Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila was an area where a considerable number of sidewalk vendors can be found. Also, the area was feasible for the research to cover within the given time period. An added factor was that the researcher's school of UP Manila was just along the street.

Two paradigms were used in approaching the study – the Critical Approach and the Hermeneutics Approach.

The subjects of the study were unregistered vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila, who were at least 18 years of age prior to the May 2004 elections and were already vending in the area even before the elections. Since the subjects of the

study were unregistered vendors, it was impossible to acquire an accurate number of their population in the area and do random sampling. The research therefore used non-probability sampling, particularly, sequential sampling and located as many vendors possible to be interviewed in the given time period.

Since the vendors were approached while they were at work on the sidewalks and streets, it was more convenient to survey them through an interview instead of by giving them a survey sheet to answer. Another advantage of the interview survey was that the researcher could use probes and can further elaborate the questions to get the relevant answers from the interviewees.

The study was able to survey a number of 100 street and sidewalk vendors in Padre Faura Street who fall in the given criteria. The interview survey was done by approaching the vendors and asking the same questions verbally to each of the vendor, face to face. In some cases, where the interviewee replied an extraneous answer, the researcher used probes to lead the interviewee back on the right track of the interview. The researcher was equipped with a recorder to make sure that the answers provided by the vendors were recorded accurately with the exact words to avoid the alteration of what the vendors really meant by what they have said. The survey questions were asked in the *Tagalog* language which was commonly used on the sidewalks and streets. The following were the questions asked in the survey interview:

1. May nagustuhan po ba kayong kandidato para sa mayor ng Maynila nung eleksyon nung nakaraang taon? (Did you like any of the candidates for Manila mayor for the May 2004 elections?)

1.1.(Kung mayroon) Sino po? ((If yes) who was it?)

1.1.1. Bakit po ninyo siya nagustuhan? (Why did you like the candidate?)

1.2. Wala, bakit po wala? ((If no) Why?)

2. Nakarehistro po ba kayo? (Were you a registered voter?)

2.1. (Kung nakarehistro) Saan po? Bumoto po kayo? ((If registered)

Where? Did you vote?)

2.1.1. (Kung bumoto sa Maynila) May binoto po ba kayo para sa mayor? ((If in Manila) Did you vote for a candidate for the position of mayor?)

2.1.1.1. (Kung may binoto para sa mayor ng Maynila)

Sino po? ((If yes) Who did you vote for?)

2.1.1.1.1. Bakit po siya ang binoto ninyo? (Why did you vote for him?)

2.1.1.2. (Kung walang binoto para sa mayor ng

Maynila) Bakit po wala? ((If abstained) Why?)

2.1.2. (Kung hindi nakarehistro) Bakit po hindi? ((If not registered) Why?)

3. Alam niyo po ba yung MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive sa ilalim ni Chairman Bayani Fernando? (Do you know the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive under Chairman Bayani Fernando?)

3.1. (*Kung oo*) *Naaapektuhan po kayo nito?* ((If yes) Are you affected by this program?)

3.1.1. (*Kung oo*) *Paano po kayo naaapektuhan? Kailan pa po kayo naaapektuhan nito?* ((If yes) How are you affected by this? Since when were you affected by this?)

3.2. (*Kung hindi*) *Bakit po hindi? Kailan pa po hindi?* ((If not) Why not? Since when were you not affected by the program?)

3.2.1. (*Kung dahi hindi himuhuli sa Maynila*) *Bakit po, sa tingin ninyo, hindi sila nanghuhuli sa Maynila?* ((If because the MMDA do not perform the operations in Manila) Why do you think they do not perform the operations in Manila?)

4. *May masasabi po ba kayo tungkol sa patakaran na ito ng MMDA?* (Do you have something to say about this program of the MMDA?)

4.1. (*Kung mayroon*) *Ano po masasabi ninyo?* ((If yes) What?)

4.1.1. *Sang-ayon po ba kayo dito o hindi? Bakit po?* (Do you approve of it or not? Why?)

4.1.2. *Gusto niyo po bang buwagin na lang ang patakaran na ito o pagpatuloy o kaya may mamumungkahi ba kayo para sa patakaran na ito?* (Do you want it to be scrapped or be maintained or do you have any suggestion regarding the

program?)

The third part of the survey questionnaire was necessary for the research to find out whether or not the vendors were affected by the MMDA's Sidewalk Clearing Drive or by any kind of sidewalk clearing drive, to what degree were they affected by the drive and also if the vendors could distinguish the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations from the local clearing operations. This was because the study wanted to see whether or not the vendors who were affected by the drive could associate their livelihood conditions to the mayor by examining the vendors' reasons for preferring a candidate over others and their reasons for actually voting for a candidate.

Analyzing Data

After the survey interviews have been made and recorded in cassette tapes, the survey interview dialogues were transcribed by the researcher.

From the transcribed interviews, the answers of the vendors were tallied accordingly: vendors who were registered voters or unregistered for the May 2004 elections, those who voted or did not vote last May 2004, those who were registered in Manila or those who were registered some place else, those who preferred Jose "Lito" L. Atienza, Jr., Gemiliano "Mel" C. Lopez, Jr., or who did not prefer any candidate at all, those who voted for their preferred candidate and those who did not vote for their preferred candidate, those whose reasons for their candidate preference were economic in nature and those that were non-economic, those whose reasons were economic in nature

that were related to their livelihood as vendors and those whose reasons were not related to their livelihood as vendors, those whose reasons related to their livelihood as vendors that were related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing and those that were not related to the program, those who had experienced and been affected by the program prior the elections or those who had no experience and had not been affected by the program, those who had experienced and had been affected by the program who could identify the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations from the local operations and those who could not, those who had not experienced and had not been affected by the program who could identify the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing operations from the local operations and those who could not, those who had not experienced and had not been affected by any kind of sidewalk clearing.

The study used a coding scheme to identify the reasons of the vendors for their preferred candidate for mayor of Manila. The study came up with nine schemes. These were (1) because the vendor liked what the candidate did to beautify the surroundings of the city, (2) because the vendor liked that the candidate gave financial aid and material needs to elementary students in Manila, (3) because the vendor liked that the candidate did not allow the MMDA to operate in the City, (4) because the vendor did not like that during the candidate term for mayor of the city, many corrupt policemen began to charge the vendors with different amounts of money so they could sell on the sidewalks (*pangongotong*) therefore preferring the other candidate whose term was better compared to that candidate, (5) because the vendor liked that during the candidate's term the vendors were not being driven away or caught by officers when they sell on the sidewalks unlike during candidate's term, (6) because the vendor was familiar with the

candidate, (7) because the vendor liked that the candidate helped the vendors get out of jail when they were held captive as punishment for selling on the sidewalks, (8) because the candidate designated some places or posts for some vendors where in they can sell, unlike in other cities where the MMDA operated to eliminate vendors in places where they were not allowed by the local officials to sell in, and (9) because the candidate was endorsed by the head of their barangay or *Kapitan*.

For the vendors' reasons for voting or not voting for their preferred candidate, the study also made use of a coding scheme. The study came up with 4 schemes for the "did not vote for their preferred candidate category:" (1) because the vendor was physically ill on the day of the elections, (2) because the vendor was not a registered voter, (3) because the vendor was not registered in the city of Manila and (4) because the vendor was confused about the voter confirmation process.

The same technique was used in identifying the reasons of the vendors for voting for a candidate they did not prefer. The schemes were (1) because the vendor was paid to vote for the candidate, and (2) because the vendor did not know who to vote for so he/she just voted for the one who was more popular than the other candidates.

The study also examined the reasons of the vendors for not preferring any candidate at all and identified just one: because all the candidates were the same and could not be trusted that they genuinely wanted to help alleviate the living conditions in the city.

Reasons for not having able to register as voters were also identified. The study determined two reasons: (1) because the vendor was not physically fit to register and vote

(i.e. poor eyesight) and (2) because the vendor did not want to vote because they did not prefer any candidate.

In addition, the study also identified the number of vendors who perceive voting or suffrage as a potential instrument to help alleviate their livelihood and/or economic conditions.

From the vendors who had economic reasons in preferring a candidate for Manila mayor, the study identified their reasons for voting or not voting for their preferred candidate.

There was one reason for voting for their preferred candidates identified - the vendor wanted the candidate to win so the vendor could help ease their livelihood and/or economic conditions in the city.

There were three reasons for not voting their preferred candidates, which were identified - (1) because the vendor was physically sick on the election day itself, (2) because the vendor was confused about the confirmation process and thought that he was not allowed to vote for he had not been able to confirm as a registered voter, and (3) because the vendor was not at all registered.

There was only one reason why the vendor did not register as a voter, which was because he believed that his vote could not anyway influence the election results because the winning of a candidate would not depend on the number of people who actually voted for the candidate.

All interviews were kept confidential for the sake of the interviewees.

IX. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study had wished to cover the sidewalk and street vendors of the whole Ermita District of Manila. Due to the time constraint and the very large number of sidewalk and street vendors in the whole area, the initial scope did not become feasible for the research to cover. The study therefore limited it to the sidewalk and street vendors in the whole stretch of Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila, where a significant number of sidewalk and street vendors could also be located.

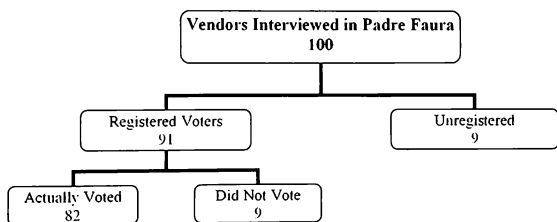
X. Data Gathered

One hundred vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila were interviewed.

Of the 100 vendors, 91 were registered voters and nine were not.

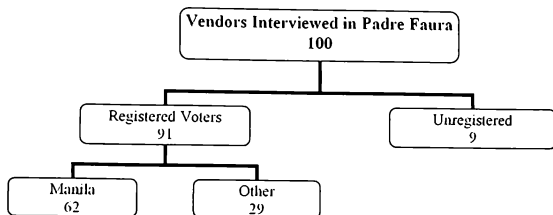
Eighty-two of the 91 registered voters actually voted last May 2004 elections leaving 9 who did not.

Flow Chart A



Sixty-two of the 91 registered voters were registered in Manila. A number of 29 vendors were registered in the province or in other cities.

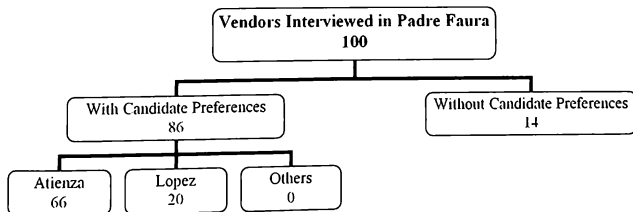
Flow Chart B



Eighty-six of the total number of vendors had candidate preferences for Manila mayor for the May 2004 elections.

Sixty-six preferred Atienza, 20 preferred Lopez, and 14 did not prefer any candidate. None among the interviewed vendors preferred the other four candidates.

Flow Chart C



Of the 14 who did not prefer any candidate, nine voted and five did not.

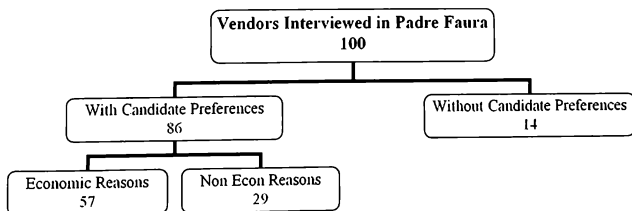
The five were not registered. These five chose not to register because according to them, voting had become senseless since every election, all the candidates were no different from each other.

Of the nine who voted, three abstained for the position of mayor (two voted in Manila and 1 in another city), four admitted to have voted for the candidate because they were paid to do it, and two said they just voted for the candidate whom their relatives and peers voted for.

These six who voted for a candidate were not considered by the study to have candidate preferences because they did not mind whether or not the candidate they voted for won in the elections.

The reasons of the 86 vendors with candidate preferences were divided into two – those reasons that were economic in nature and those that were not. Fifty-seven had economic reasons while 29 had non-economic reasons.

Flow Chart D



The economic reasons were subdivided into two classifications – those that were related to their livelihood, which was street or sidewalk vending, and those that were not

related to sidewalk vending. Forty-four of those with economic reasons had reasons for their preferences of a candidate related to their livelihood as vendors. The other thirteen based their preferences on the candidate's financial and/or in kind donations to elementary students for academic purposes during his term as mayor. All in all, 42 had non-vending related reasons.

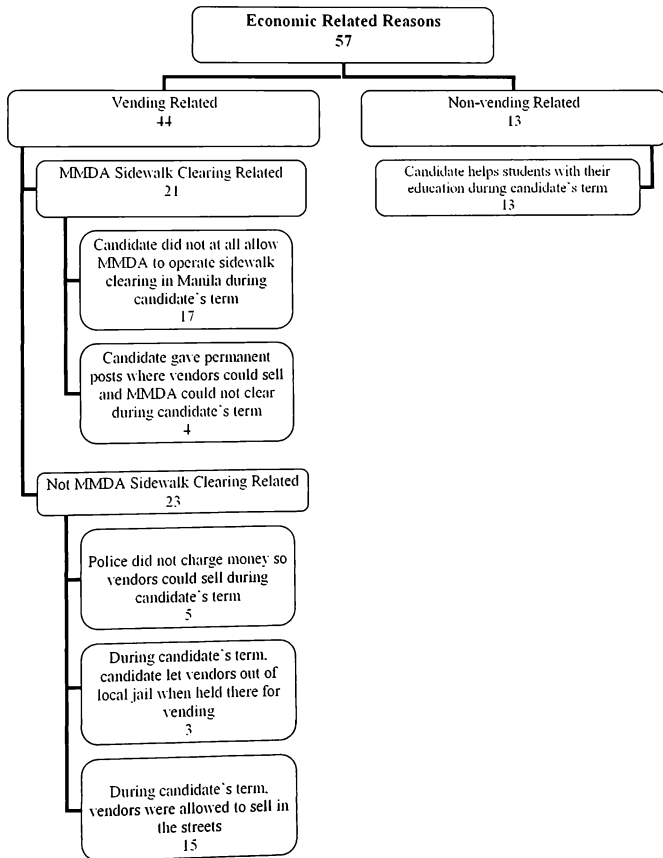
The vending-related reasons identified were further classified into two categories, the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program-related and the non-MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program-related. Twenty-one had reasons related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program, while 23 did not.

Two different reasons that were MMDA Sidewalk Clearing related were identified. Seventeen answered they preferred the candidate because (1) he did not allow the MMDA to operate its Sidewalk Clearing Drive in the whole city, and four answered because (2) the candidate allowed some vendors to occupy certain areas in the city preventing the MMDA to remove them from those areas, hence they believed it was possible that they could be given their own posts that they could use for vending in Padre Faura.

There were three identified reasons, which were non-MMDA Sidewalk Clearing related. It was revealed that 15 preferred the candidate because (1) during his term as mayor, they were allowed to vend on the sidewalks, unlike during the other candidate's term; five explained that (2) during the candidate's term as Manila mayor the local policemen did not charge them with varying amounts of money so that they would not be arrested and be allowed to sell on the sidewalks and streets (*pangongoiang*), something that is commonly done during the other candidate's term as mayor; three said they

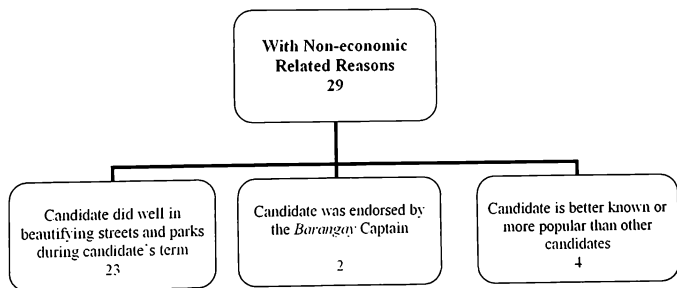
preferred the candidate because (3) he had helped them get out of the local jail when they were arrested for vending on the streets and sidewalks by the local police.

Flow Chart E



The 29 non-economic reasons were classified into three different reasons. Twenty-three said they preferred the candidate because (1) they liked what he did to beautify the streets and public parks in Manila. Two preferred the candidate because (2) he was endorsed by their *Barangay* Captain. And another two vendors preferred the candidate because (3) many people liked him and he was more popular than the other candidates.

Flow Chart F



Of the 86 who had candidate preferences, 13 did not vote because seven of them thought they were not allowed to vote because they were unable to confirm their registration, two of them were physically ill on the election day, and four were not at all registered. These four, though they had candidate preferences, chose not to register because they felt that their votes would not do any difference to make their candidate preference win and registering would only waste their time. Of the 73 who voted among

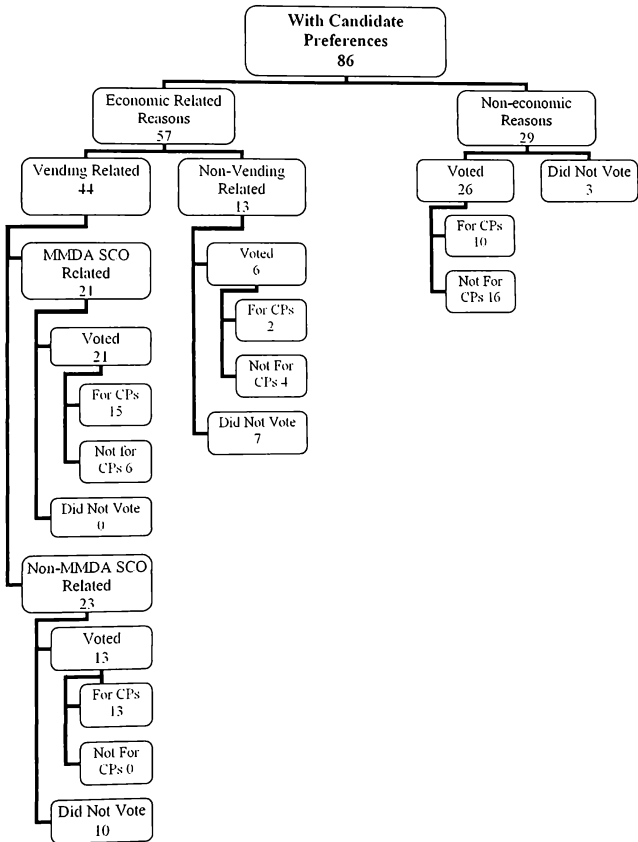
the 86, 45 voted for their preferred candidates for Manila mayor. Twenty-eight did not because they were registered in another city or province.

Of the 45 who voted for their preferred candidates, 24 had vending-related reasons for preferring and voting for their candidate preferences. Twenty-one did not.

Of the 24, 15 had reasons related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing and nine had other vending-related reasons.

Forty-one did not vote for their preferred candidates. Twenty-one of them did not have reasons related to their livelihood, and 20 had reasons related to their livelihood. Of the 20, six had MMDA Sidewalk Clearing related reasons and 14 had reasons not related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations.

Flow Chart G



*CPs - candidate preferences

Ninety-nine of the total number of interviewed vendors said that they had experienced and had been affected by the anti-sidewalk vending program in the area. Only one revealed that he had not experienced it and had not been affected by any sidewalk clearing because the vending stand was actually owned by a fiscal in the Department of Justice along Padre Faura Street. The fiscal, according to the vendor, were known by the men who operated the clearings.

Of the 99 who said they had experienced a sidewalk clearing operation and had been affected by it, 53 claimed they had experienced and had been affected at least once by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program in particular, while 46 said they had not been affected by this specific program.

Of the 53 who said that they had experienced and had been affected by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive, 33 could distinguish the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations from the local sidewalk clearing operations in the city. They said that aside from the local clearings they had also experienced the clearing operations of the MMDA in the area once or a few times. They could differentiate the MMDA personnel who were performing a sidewalk clearing from the local police officials by the uniforms they were wearing. Twenty could not differentiate the two separate sidewalk-clearing programs. According to them, they had been constantly experiencing the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing in the same area and had as well been constantly affected by the program. When asked, *“Hindi po ba ang local police ang nagpapaalis sa inyo dito? (Doesn’t the local police operate the sidewalk clearings in the area?),”* they answered, *“Mga MMDA rin ang mga*

iyon, MMDA Sidewalk Clearing din iyon! (They were also MMDA men, it was also the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive!)”

Of the 33 who could differentiate the two sidewalk clearing programs from each other, 27 had candidate preferences, while six did not.

Of the 27 who had candidate preferences, 16 had economic reasons and 11 had non-economic reasons.

Of the 16 who had economic reasons, 15 had vending-related reasons while one did not.

Nine of the 15 with vending-related reasons were specifically related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing. All nine voted – six for their preferred Manila mayoral candidates and three voted not for their preferred Manila mayoral candidate.

There were six of the 15 who had reasons related to vending that were not specifically related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing. All six voted for their preferred candidates.

Of the 16 who had economic reasons, the one vendor whose reason was not vending-related voted for her preferred candidate.

Eight of the 11 with non-economic reasons voted but not for their preferred candidates. Three vendors did not vote.

Of the 27, there was a total of 12 who did not have vending-related reasons, 1 had a non-vending economic reason and the other 11 had non-vending non-economic reasons.

The six of the 33 who did not have candidate preferences all voted.

Of the 20 who could not differentiate the two sidewalk clearing programs, 14 had candidate preferences while six did not.

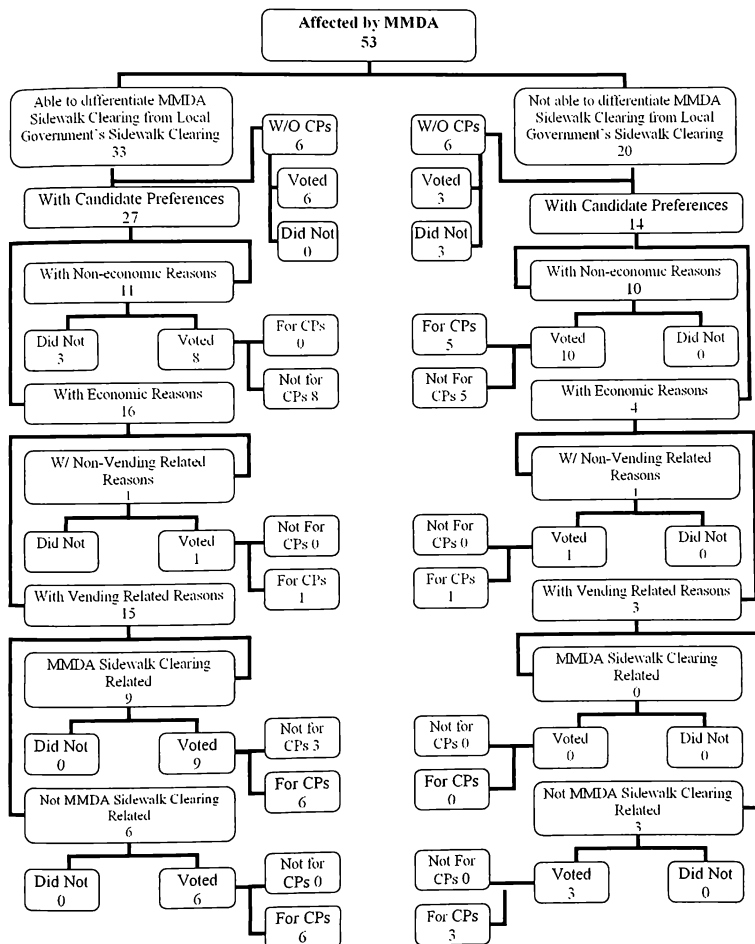
Four of the 14 with candidate preferences had economic reasons and 10 did not.

Three of the four who had economic reasons had reasons related to vending. All of the three vendors with vending-related reasons were not MMDA Sidewalk Clearing related. All of three voted for their preferred candidates.

Of the four with economic reasons, the remaining one who had reasons not related to vending voted for her candidate preference.

There was a total of 11 vendors out of the 14 with candidate preferences who had reasons not related to vending. All 11 voted - six for their preferred candidates and five not for their preferred candidates.

Flow Chart H



*CPs - candidate preferences

Of the 53 who claimed that they had experienced and had been affected by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program, there was a total of 41 who had candidate preferences, and a total of 12 who did not have candidate preferences.

Of the 41 with candidate preferences, 18 had vending related reasons while 23 had reasons that were not related to their livelihood as vendors.

Half of the 18 vending related reasons were MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Related.

All of the 18 with vending related reasons voted. Six of the nine with MMDA Sidewalk Clearing related reasons voted for their preferred candidates leaving three who did not. All of the nine who had vending-related reasons that were not MMDA Sidewalk Clearing related voted for their preferred candidates.

Of the 23 who had reasons not related to vending, a number of 20 voted of which six voted for their preferred candidates while 14 did not. Three did not vote.

Of the 41 with candidate preferences, 38 voted. Twenty-one voted for their preferred candidates. Seventeen did not. Three of the 41 did not vote.

Of the 12 vendors with no candidate preferences, nine voted while three did not.

Of the 53, there was a total of 47 who voted and six who did not.

The 46 who had not experienced and had not been affected by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program, said that this was so because the MMDA never or seldom carried out their campaign in the city. However, they had experienced and had been affected by the local government's sidewalk clearing operations.

All 46 could distinguish the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing from the local sidewalk clearing in the area. They said that it was the local policemen who operated the sidewalk clearings in the area, and like the other 33 who could differentiate the two sidewalk

clearings, they could identify the local police and the MMDA personnel by their uniforms. Some of them even added that they had seen MMDA men who operate sidewalk clearings in other cities and/or on television and they were not the same men who operate the clearings in their area.

Of the 46 who had not experienced and had not been affected by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program, 44 had candidate preferences while two did not.

Thirty-seven out of the 44, who had candidate preferences, had economic reasons. Seven had non-economic reasons. All seven voted.

Twenty-six of the 37 had vending-related reasons, while 11 did not.

Of the 26 reasons related to vending, 12 were specifically related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program and 14 were not.

All of the 12 who had reasons related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing voted – nine voted for their preferred candidates while three did not.

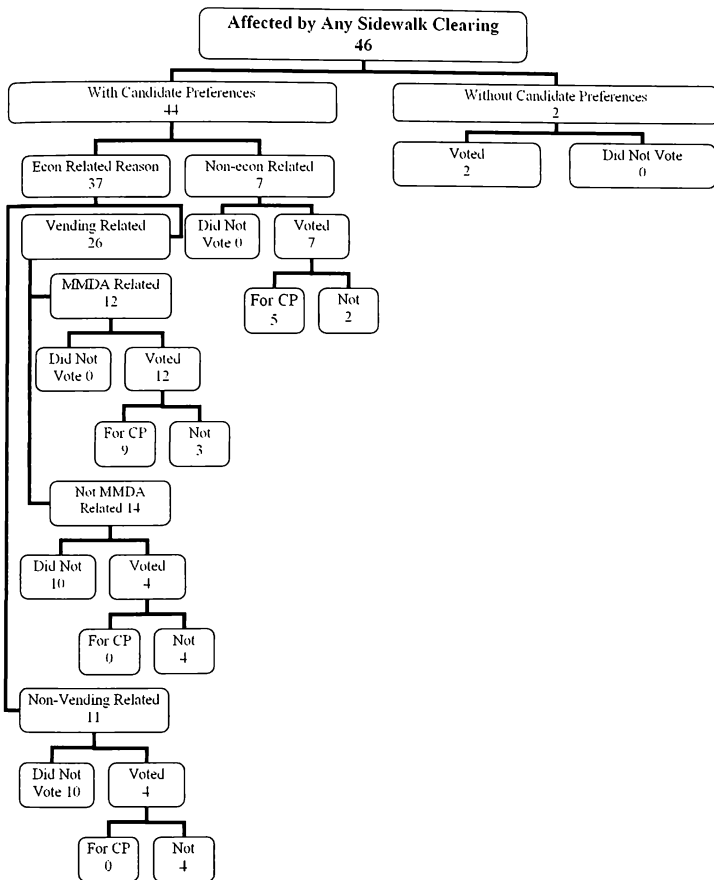
Of the 14 who had reasons related to vending but not specifically related to MMDA Sidewalk Clearing, only four voted and all 4 did not vote for their preferred candidates.

All of the 18 who did not have reasons related to vending for voted. Fifteen of them voted for their preferred candidates while three did not.

A total of 34 of the 44 voted. A total of 10 did not. Of the 34, 24 voted for their preferred candidate; 10 did not.

The vendor who said he had not been affected by any kind of sidewalk clearing or prohibition of sidewalk vending could not also distinguish the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations from the local ones. When asked whether he knew if the sidewalk clearing operations in the area were carried out by the MMDA or not, he said he did not know whether they were MMDA operations or just local operations. The vendor had a candidate preference. He voted but not for his preferred candidate because he was registered in the province. His reason for his preference was not related to his livelihood as a vendor.

Flow Chart I



*CPs - candidate preferences

There was a total 79 vendors who could distinguish the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations from the local sidewalk clearings and a total number of 21 vendors who could not differentiate the two sidewalk clearing programs from each other.

Among the 57 who had economic reasons for preferring a candidate, there were 37 who voted for their candidate preferences and 20 who did not.

Of the 20, four did not choose to vote although they had preferred candidates because they believed that their votes could not anyway influence the election results because the winning of a candidate would not depend on the number of people who actually voted for the candidate.

Sixteen did not vote for their candidate preferences but said they would have voted for their candidates if they could.

One was physically ill on the election day hence could not go the precinct.

Two did not vote because they thought they were not allowed to do so because they failed to confirm their registration as voters.

Thirteen voted but not for their candidate preferences for Manila mayor because they were not registered in Manila.

Thus, of the 20 vendors who did not vote for their candidate preferences, 16 still recognized voting as a means to influence government policy and help alleviate their livelihood and economic conditions.

Of the 57 vendors who had economic reasons for their candidate preferences, 53, including the 16 who did not vote, recognized voting as a means to influence government policy and help alleviate their livelihood and economic conditions.

Thus, more than half of the respondents recognized voting as a means to influence government policy and help alleviate their livelihood and economic conditions.

XI. Data Analysis

A. The Reasons of the Sidewalk and Street Vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila for their Preferences of Candidate for Manila Mayor in the Last 2004 Elections

The study identified nine reasons of the sidewalk and street vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila for their preferences of candidate for Manila mayor in the last 2004 elections. These reasons were divided into two main categories – those which were economic in nature and those which were non-economic.

The non-economic reasons were (1) because they liked what the candidate did to beautify the streets and public parks in Manila; (2) because the candidate was endorsed by their Barangay Captain. And (3) because they were familiar with him and many people liked him.

Those which were economic in nature were also, then subdivided into two – those related to their livelihood, which was sidewalk or street vending, and those which were not related to vending, which was (4) because during the candidate's term as mayor, he had helped elementary students with their schooling.

The vending-related reasons were further classified into two categories – those related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing and those that were not.

The MMDA-related reasons were (5) because the candidate did not allow the MMDA to operate its Sidewalk Clearing Drive in the whole city during his term, and (6) because the candidate allowed some vendors to occupy certain areas in the city preventing the MMDA to remove them from those areas, hence they believed it was

possible that they could be given their own posts they could use for vending in Padre Faura.

Those reasons which were vending-related but not MMDA-related were (7) because during the candidate's term as mayor, vendors were allowed to sell on the sidewalks, unlike during the other candidate's term; (8) because during the candidate's term as Manila mayor, many corrupt policemen charged them with varying amounts of money so that they could be allowed to sell on the sidewalks and streets (*pangongolong*), unlike during the other candidate's term as mayor; and (9) because he had helped them get out of the precincts' jail when they were held there as punishment for vending on the streets and sidewalks,

B. The MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive's Influence on the Vendors on their Candidate Preferences for Manila Mayor

There was a number of 44 vendors who had vending-related reasons for preferring a candidate for Manila mayor last May 2004.

There were 21 vendors who had vending-related reasons particularly related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program. Seventeen answered they preferred the candidate because (1) he did not allow the MMDA to operate its Sidewalk Clearing Drive in the whole city, and four answered because (2) the candidate allowed some vendors to occupy certain areas in the city preventing the MMDA to remove them from those areas, hence they believed it was possible that they could be given their own posts they could use for vending in Padre Faura.

Although, 23 of them had reasons which were not specifically related to the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations, the 23 would not have came up with vending-related reasons first of all if it weren't for the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations taking place in or outside the vicinity.

There were three identified reasons, which were non-MMDA related. It was revealed that 15 reasoned that they preferred the candidate because (1) during his term as mayor, they were allowed to vend on the sidewalks, unlike during the other candidate's term; five explained that (2) during the candidate's term as Manila mayor, many corrupt policemen charged them with varying amounts of money so that they could be allowed to sell on the sidewalks and streets (*pangongotong*), unlike during the other candidate's term as mayor; three said they preferred the candidate because (3) he had helped them get out of the precincts' jail when they were held there as punishment for vending on the streets and sidewalks.

The candidate who was the incumbent mayor had only started the city's own sidewalk clearing operations when the MMDA's Sidewalk Clearing Program began operating. The same also went with the policemen who started taking advantage of the vendors by charging them money so they would not be brought to the precincts when the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program became popular. Vendors would not be imprisoned in precincts if the city's own sidewalk operations were not triggered by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program.

The MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Operations clearly had an influence on the vendors in Padre Faura Street, Ermita, Manila on their choice of 2004 candidate for Manila mayor.

C. The MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive and the Role of the Mayor

The vendors have associated the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Drive to the city mayor. The 21 who had MMDA-related reasons discussed their reasons with regard to the role of the mayor in the program.

Seventeen answered they preferred the candidate because (1) he did not allow the MMDA to operate its Sidewalk Clearing Drive in the whole city. According to them, although the city had its own sidewalk clearing program which they did not like, they would rather want the clearings to be in the hands of the local officials than in the hands of the MMDA whom, they had heard and seen and some had experienced, to be more strict and ruthless in conducting the operations. Should their preferred candidate won, the candidate would probably still continue not allowing the MMDA to operate in the city, keeping them safe from the strict and ruthless MMDA.

Four answered because (2) the candidate allowed some vendors to occupy certain areas in the city preventing the MMDA to remove them from those areas, hence they believed it was possible that they could be given their own posts they could use for vending in Padre Faura sooner or later. These vendors did not necessary thought whether or not it was the local officials or the MMDA who conduct the sidewalk clearings. They believed that the MMDA could not operate only in certain areas in the city, where the candidate, who was mayor at that time allowed, allowed the vendors to sell. Thus, should their preferred candidate had won, there was hope that they could also be given posts in

Padre Faura where in they would not be bothered by any sidewalk clearing, be it performed by the MMDA or by the local police.

D. The Voters Turnout of the Vendors

Eighty-six of the vendors had candidate preferences. Seventy-three among them voted. Forty-five voted for their preferred candidates for Manila mayor. Twenty-eight did not because they were not registered in the city.

Thirteen did not vote at all because seven of them thought they were not allowed to vote because they were unable to confirm. Two of them were physically ill on the election day, and four were not at all registered. These four, though they had preferred candidates, chose not to register because they felt that their votes could not possibly make any difference and registering would only waste their time.

E. The Reasons of the Vendors for Voting or Not Voting

Eighty-two of the vendors voted.

Forty-five voted for their preferred candidates. Their reasons for voting their preferred candidates were the same as their reasons for preferring the candidates.

Twenty-eight did not vote for their preferred Manila mayoral candidates because they were not registered in Manila.

Three abstained for the position of mayor (two voted in Manila and 1 in another city). They abstained because they did not prefer any candidate for the position but voted still for the other positions.

Four admitted to have voted for the candidate because they were paid to do it. Two said they just voted for the candidate whom their relatives and peers voted for.

There were 18 who did not vote. Half were registered voters and the other half were not. Five chose not to register because according to them, voting had become senseless since every elections, all the candidates were no different from each other and could not be trusted that they genuinely wanted to help alleviate the living conditions in the city.

The remaining four who did not register had candidate preferences. However, they still chose not to register because they felt that their votes could not possibly make any difference and registering would only waste their time.

Seven of the registered voters did not vote because they were unable to confirm and thought that they were not allowed to vote. On the other hand, two were physically ill on the day of the elections.

F. The Vendors View on Voting or Suffrage as a Potential Tool to Help Alleviate their Livelihood and/or Economic Conditions

More than half of the vendors recognized voting as a means to influence government policy and help alleviate their livelihood and economic conditions.

Among the 57 who had economic reasons for preferring a candidate, there were 37 who voted for their candidate preferences and 20 who did not.

Of the 20, four did not choose to vote although they had preferred candidates because they believed that their votes could not anyway influence the election results because the winning of a candidate would not depend on the number of people who actually voted for the candidate.

Sixteen did not vote for their candidate preferences but said they would have voted for their candidates if they could.

One was physically ill on the election day hence could not go the precinct.

Two did not vote because they thought they were not allowed to do so because they failed to confirm their registration as voters.

Thirteen voted but not for their candidate preferences for Manila mayor because they were not registered in Manila.

Thus, of the 20 vendors who did not vote for their candidate preferences, 16 still recognized voting as a means to influence government policy and help alleviate their livelihood and economic conditions.

Of the 57 vendors who had economic reasons for their candidate preferences, 53, including the 16 who did not vote, recognized voting as a means to influence government policy and help alleviate their livelihood and economic conditions.

XII. Conclusion

The Metropolitan Manila Development Authority (MMDA) Sidewalk Clearing Operations influenced the sidewalk and street vendors in Padre Faura Street in Ermita, Manila on their preferences of a candidate for Manila mayor in the last May 2004 elections.

Forty-four per cent of the 100 sidewalk and street vendors was influenced, which was bigger than the 42 per cent who was influenced by other factors. There was 18 per cent who had no candidate preferences, however.

Thus, of the 86 per cent of the vendors who had candidate preferences, a majority of 51 per cent was influenced on their preferences by the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program leaving 49 per cent who was influenced by other factors.

A majority of 53 per cent of the vendors recognized their power as an electorate to influence government policy and the potential of suffrage as a means to help alleviate their livelihood situation and other economic welfare such as the education of their children.

The vendors were more likely to prefer a candidate based on policy issues which affect them personally and economically. Two 2004 Manila mayoral candidates emerged as the two major players in the local elections for the vendors. These two were both former mayors of the city and thus were commonly compared to each other by the vendors. The basis of comparison of the vendors was the candidates' government

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performance during each one's term primarily according to their individual stands and actions on the policy issue that was affecting the vendors.

The study recognizes other factors that affect the election outcome, thus the actual votes are not always guaranteed to secure election results. There were vendors who were paid to vote for a particular candidate, a tactic considered illegal in the country, and it is very likely that many other candidates and voters, who are not vendors, have done the same thing. It is most likely, as well, that many other election frauds aside from vote buying are being done all over the country.

However, the actual vote is still an important factor in influencing election outcome and how voters make up their minds in preferring a candidate over the others is also important.

More so, how vendors see their role in election as a means of affecting government policy and their economic situation is significant. Vendors make up a big portion of the population and many of them being poor have an influence on many other poor people who make up majority of the population, and therefore majority of the electorate.

Realizing this can help vendors help themselves in improving their economic situation. Despite this realization, however, some vendors can see the problem not as the act of voting itself, but as the situation wherein they have no choice but to choose from candidates who they do not want to be their leaders.

The important thing is that from this knowledge that people can influence government direction through election, even vendors and the poor who are majority of the population can make a difference. From this knowledge, the electorate can go one

step further at a time towards election reform, towards attaining a free and fair elections in the country which can guarantee a more effective election wherein the Filipinos as an electorate can really affect the direction of the Philippine government.

XIII. Recommendations

Other researchers who will make a similar study can try conducting it in a longer period of time so that more vendors can be surveyed through interviews. Also, the research can be expanded to a bigger area scope or in an entirely different area.

Since the study was about the candidate preferences for the 2004 elections, as time passes, the vendors may not be able to exactly recall their preferences or reasons for their preferences prior the elections as their present preferences and reasons can be mixed up with the former. It becomes more difficult to conduct the study for it will require more time to skill to help the vendors remember exactly.

However, the researcher can try doing a similar study on the vendors, not necessarily concerning the MMDA Sidewalk Clearing Program for it may no longer be existing by then, but on an issue similar in the sense that it is related to their livelihood as vendors, and its relation or influence on their candidate preferences in another election. Similar studies along with this one can all together come up with a voting pattern of the vendors over time.

The researcher can also try doing it in a national elections scale.

The researcher can also try conducting the study prior the election day and also right after.

Gender may also come out as a significant factor if it will be considered in conducting a similar study.

Interviewing heads of vendor alliances or unions may be helpful and can provide supplementary information for the study. More so, these collectives could have an influence in the individual candidate preferences of the vendors.

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