

POLITICAL ECONOMY OF CORPORATE PACKAGED FOOD: A STUDY
OF EXCHANGE AND CONSUMPTION IN METRO MANILA'S SLUMS

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
(Economics)

in Kyoto University
December 2018

ABSTRACT

We are living in a planet of slums (Davis, 2006). Approximately 820 million inhabitants live in insecure and precarious houses, surrounded by threats of different kinds. Rural misery, conflict, land dispossession, climate change, etc., are still driving people to migrate to main cities, and as a result, the access to food becomes one of the main concerns. In this sense, this study is motivated to answer if slum populations are destined to be dependent on 'others' particularly to corporations to sustain their lives, or if there is a space for their own emancipation through a conscious food exchange and consumption practice. To answer the question, the research relied on quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. Original data was gathered from 61 slum women of three different generations and 8 slum store grocers in Metro Manila, a place ranked in the top five of the most densely populated cities worldwide within which approximately four million inhabitants dwell in slums. The selected analytical framework consists of the market and meanings spheres. It combines insights from political economy, sociology, anthropology and business management that enrich the vision and understanding of corporate packaged food (CPF) exchange and consumption and serve as a platform for sustaining a critique to the ongoing corporate domination over society.

The main thesis is that there is an ongoing appropriation of slum dwellers' food. This appropriation is being done through the conquest of market spaces and people's mind. Food corporations have managed to manufacture and retail one piece or small size products in an affordable price, available in the next door, and adaptable to local tastes and culinary customs. In parallel, by using a mix of marketing tools, corporations position their brand names, logos, mascots, and slogans in the slums' meanings sphere. In the market sphere, it was found that CPF accounts for an average of 31.8 percent of the total household food consumption, and 53.5 percent of the store profits. The proportions are significantly higher in comparison to their estimated equivalents in the 1980s; CPF represented less than 10 percent of the store revenues (Silverio, 1982) and CPF consumption was occasional and limited to a few products (Ponce, 1986). Also, five categories of CPF meanings were identified in slum households: physiological, rational, socio-cultural, affective and occupational. For slum grocers, CPF mostly refers to a source of income via sales increase and facilitation of their business. These food retail and consumption practices facilitate the industrial capital realization, and at the same time, it reproduces new generations of dominated urban bottom people.

The capital intrinsic need to accumulate and reproduce and of the margin to expand in slums makes us conclude that the processes of penetration, conquest and appropriation of food consumption would continue, having important social and cultural effects on present and future generations of slum dwellers. Considering the structural backwardness and fetishized common sense, if there is not countermovement that involves people inside and outside the slum boundaries, it seems to be difficult that slum dwellers can gain consciousness and emancipate themselves.

Keywords: corporate packaged food, political economy of consumption, micro-retailing, sphere of market, sphere of meanings, appropriation, slums, Metro Manila

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3As	Affordability, Availability, Adaptability
ADB	Asian Development Bank
BM	Business Model
BOP	Bottom/Base of Pyramid
CPF	Corporate Packaged Food
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSV	Creating Shared Value
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FFA	Fair Play for All Foundation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
Manila	Metropolitan Area of Manila, mainly the National Capital Region
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NCR	National Capital Region of the Philippines
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
OFW	Overseas Filipino Workers
RO	Religious Organizations
UNHABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Program
WB	World Bank

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In memory of Roman Von Arx (R.I.P)

I am thankful to my supervisor, Prof. Shuji Hisano, whose patience and permanent support helped me to complete this work.

I also want to express my infinite gratitude to Malou Von Arx, Sun for All Children; Roy Moore, Fair Play for All; Sister Joy, Carmelites Sisters; and Evelyn Magnata, Asian Social Institute for the support that they provided me to perform my research in Metro Manila. Without their support this work would not have been achieved.

Also, this work benefited incommensurably from Professors Takafumi Kurosawa, Keith Jackson, Hideo Aoki, Raymond A. Jussaume Jr, Mina Ramirez, Jose Sionil, Philippe Sugai, Hart N. Feuer, Jesus Dacillo, Alice Acejas, Jun V. Redor, Villamor Vital, Dennis Batoy, and Jose Camacho's intellectual inputs. They provided a unique understanding, criticism, orientation, and foresight to this work. In the same tone, I also want to thank my colleagues in the Seminar of International Political Economy of Food and Agriculture, directed by Prof. Shuji Hisano. I am here particularly indebted to Midori Hiraga, Sung-Woong Jung, Anom Sigit Suryawan, Zulfa Adiputri and Yang Xing. From the Seminar of Business and Economic History, directed by Prof. Takafumi Kurosawa I also want to acknowledge to Setia Diarta Armis and Fary Akmal Osmal.

I am especially grateful to my wife-editor Ai Kotera, not only for her permanent encouragement but also for her time and energy to read the text and to suggest improvements. I am also indebted to Bianca Navejas, and Jesus Dacillo for their proofreading, corrections and teachings.

Finally, financial support throughout this research was generously provided by the MEXT Monbukagakusho Scholarship. Additional financial support for undertaking fieldwork in Manila and International Conferences was provided by the Graduate School of Economics, Kyoto University. Finally, I also want to acknowledge the support from the Economic Research Office, particularly from Prof. Miyabi Kitada, and from the International Student Office of the East Asia Economic Development Program.

1. INTRODUCTION

The capitalist system outputs millions of slum¹ populations in developing countries.² Although governments and international organizations have been implementing programs to eradicate or upgrade slums, UN-Habitat estimates that the global slum population will grow around six million people each year (UN-Habitat, 2013). Hallegatte et.al (2016) also calculates that by 2030, more than 100 million people will be pushed into urban areas due to poverty and to climate change impact.³ In slums, the lack of space and means of food⁴ production, precarious housing, insanitation, limited water, deficient transport infrastructure, and vulnerability to natural disasters make dwellers more dependent than any other social group to get their means of subsistence. In such respect, this dissertation aims to critically analyze the political economy of Corporate Packaged Food⁵ (CPF), particularly the form in which capital dominates and appropriates the exchange and consumption of slum populations.

1.1. Corporate Packaged Food as object of study

The concern about food provision for all, including the marginalized⁶ populations, had a normative landmark in the universal declaration of human rights⁷ in 1948 but hunger, malnutrition and bad nutrition abundantly persist in the world.

¹ Slums are contiguous settlements characterized by being overcrowded and insecure; with poor structural quality of housing, uncertain residential status, inadequate access to safe water, inadequate access to sanitation or other infrastructure (UN Habitat, 2003). Other related words are depressed areas, squatters and informal settlements. Any of those are synonym of slums but among those concepts are relevant differences. For this research the emphasis will be in the study of households living in squatter land in Manila. Squatters are settlements under informal arrangements (i.e., no formal or legal documentation of arrangement) and blighted areas. (see Chapter 2 Section 2)

² UN Habitat (2012) estimated around 828 million people living in slums in 85 countries, thus excluding other 108 countries adhered to the United Nations (UN) that might have slums or ghettos. After World War II, Ghettos is an urban marginalization commonly used for economic developed nations while slums has been using only for developing countries. In this study, contested denominations of developing and developed countries are used instead of alternatives such as “Third World”, “Emerging”, “Undeveloped”, etc. Third world concept was invented during the cold war period and nowadays has lost significance. Emerging countries refers only for a few nations among more than 240 countries in the world. Undeveloped is intrinsically flawed because world is dynamic not static, each nation is in a permanent state of change.

³ This report considers the impact in three main aspects: i) in the infrastructure of the houses of the poor; 2) in the risk of diseases such as malaria and 3) in the loss of crops that increase the prices of the food. However, it omits additional excluded populations derived from economic crises, social problems such as populations displaced by local violence and war, among other social problems creating agglomeration of people in main cities. Thus, the affected populations might pass the 100 million.

⁴ It refers to access to foodstuffs (raw ingredients) or processed food (foodstuffs transformed into dishes and beverages, generally packaged, canned or bottled)

⁵ This study focuses in the processed, packaged, canned, or bottled food retailed under a corporate brand. It includes candies, snacks, biscuits, noodles, powders -coffee, milk, chocolate, cereals, and juices- in sachets, seasonings, sauces, soft drinks, canned milk, canned fishes and meats and packaged meats. CPF category excludes cooking oils and fats because in squatter lands most of trade of oil in plastic bags or bottles without knowing what kind of oil is, who made it and where does it came from. CPF also excludes beer and tobacco. Albeit beer is brewed from cereal grains, this study following the Food and Drugs Authority (FDA) in the Philippines, is considered alcoholic beverage this study follows FDA rules of exclusion as food. Tobacco is defined as a stimulant (alkaloid nicotine).

⁶ I alternate use of the words marginalized or excluded instead of poor to refer to slum inhabitants. I avoid the generalization that the entire slum population is economic poor. Some of them might be not income poor but still living in slums. Marginalization and Exclusion depicts better the reality of slums beyond the monetary income. Marginalization is in the sense of the specific geographic urban area that is excluded of the adequate services, sanitation, transportation, street lighting, security, access to culture, education, opportunities, voice, etc.

⁷ Article 25 states, ‘Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food’ (Assembly, UN General, 1948).

In the context of the multiple crisis in early 1970s (economic, political, energetic, and food crisis), mainstream intellectuals and international institutions (FAO, WHO, UNICEF, World Bank, IMF, etc) promoted the concept food insecurity⁸ as a pillar idea to concentrate efforts for an international food order (Friedmann, 1987). Subsequent rounds of discussions⁹ ended on the removal of (in), leaving only ‘food security’¹⁰ but without clarifying what, where, how and by whom food is going to be produced and procured (c.f. Mechlem, 2004; Martínez-Torres and Rosset, 2010; Friedman and McMichael, 2012; McKeon, 2014).

The food security concept opened a space for the legitimate participation of corporations in the food systems. Gradually, corporations have been displacing the State direct intervention in the food provisioning, particularly for those disadvantaged families living at the bottom of urban society that were abandoned to the “invisible hand” of the market.¹¹ From a perspective of Political Economy, there are four inter-related reasons that can explain the removal of the State as direct actor in the food system provision, therefore, the increased role of corporations:

First, the neoliberalism (neoclassical-monetarist economic approach) ascended at the international and the national level since the 1970s. One of its main principles is the redefinition of the participation of the state in the economy. It means on the one hand, the privatization of state-led organizations that were directly intervening in the economic activity (including food provision). On the other hand, regulation changes in order to facilitate free movements of capital, international trade, concessions of natural resources to corporations, tax exceptions and labor flexibility (Wolf and Bonnano, 2013).

Second, food processing and retail corporations have been improving their technological and organizational capabilities. The result is an increasing sophistication of the supply chains in order to provide cheap, small in size, and differentiated food for high, middle, and low income consumers (c.f. Friedmann, 2005; Moore, 2010).

Third, corporations have been transforming their business models and business practices in order to satisfy needs of the low income populations—including those living in slums—¹² through affordable, available and adaptable products (Payaud, 2014).

Fourth, the power of mass media has been evolving its channels and forms of advertising based on consumer behavior sciences. Technologies that provide a basis for the extended formation

⁸ The UN World Food Conference took place in Rome (1974), one of its agreed objective was to ‘ensure’ that within a decade nobody would suffer from food insecurity.

⁹ Significantly, Amartya Sen (1981) signaled the problem of access to food rather than the lack of food. Sen proposed the concept of *entitlement*, meaning that the poor were not being allowed to adequate means of living by social, economic and legal systems. His critics were influential in the 1980s and the 1990s.

¹⁰ In 2002, FAO stated that ‘Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life’ (FAO, 2002a). Besides, it was named four dimensions to measure food security: Sufficient availability of food; secured access to food; adequate and need-based utilization; and long-term stability of food supply (FAO, 2002b). Food security debate and contestations continue in the 2000s and 2010s, intellectuals, social movements, and individual activists participated in the discussions proposing different frames including food sovereignty and right to food. Please refer to McKeon (2014) to see more details.

¹¹ For example, the misery belt of Mexico City, the marginalized areas used to receive subsidized milk and food from a Governmental program in the retail and distribution centers in charge of the Federal Government The program (Conasupo) and the governmental agency (Liconsa). Those programs ended after the Stabilization economic programs of Mid-1980s (Chávez, 2002).

¹² Two important assumptions are that not all low-income people live in Slums and not all Slums populations are low-income (for example, those having relatives living abroad, having multiple business or even those participating in illegal but profitable activities such as trafficking drugs, organs, women, children, etc.).

of brand or logo culture (Klein, 2001). Nowadays a larger number of corporate icons originated in United States, Europe or Japan can be identified by large populations in developing countries. The symbols embedded in brands can act as powerful vehicles not only of a new culture of consumption and cosmopolitanism but also a subsumption of folk or ethnic styles and preferences in marketing discourses (Smith, 1991; Applbaum, 2000). Indeed, now corporations have better technologies to adapt and to communicate their discourses to children, moms or any other social group (Nestle, 2013).

In such respect, CPF emerges as a significant object of study. The main premise of the study is that in the context of slums, CPF juxtaposes three valuable characteristics: it is a mean of exchange for income earning (Ko, 2006; Chen, 1997), it is a mean of subsistence and social reproduction (Bonnin, 2006; Floro and Swain, 2013), and a symbolic representation of a modern life (Bourdieu, 1984; Klein, 2001). Material and symbolic aspects of exchange and consumption can be analyzed in a critical manner while unveiling contradictions in slum's food-related practices. Therefore, the main purpose of this doctoral dissertation is to critically investigate the role of CPF in contemporary slums and what are the implications of its exchange and consumption for present and future generations.

1.2. Problem statement

Despite the previous research interest in food for the poor, low-income or marginalized, no social scientist has yet seriously analyzed the CPF influences in the transformation of slum populations' lifestyles¹³ and its political economy implications for present and future generations. Studies about slums' food mostly focus on malnutrition and health (Agarwal, et. al., 2009; Akter, 2009; Gallaher, et.al., 2013); food (in) security or food poverty, with particular attention on foodstuffs (Coxhead, 2000; Ali and Porciuncula, 2001); micro-retail (Silverio, 1982; Cohen, 1986; Bonnin, 2006; Funahashi, 2013). Although much of this knowledge has been significant either for economics, sociology or business studies, I contend that the CPF as object of study in slums has been ignored, particularly the topic regarding CPF meanings from the perspective of slum dwellers.¹⁴ Understanding the relevance of CPF for householders and micro-retailers contributes to the expected knowledge creation and brings elements for the discussion about the political economy implications of CPF in the slums of the 21st century.

¹³ According to Bourdieu (1984), lifestyles negotiate between the objective structures and features of a society and the subjective practices possible in it. They incorporate social structures by transforming them into symbolic capital, that is, into habits publicly visible that thus influence the cultural self-consciousness of a society.

¹⁴ One of the main detected problems from readings of an influential home economics scholar (Becker, 1965, 1981, 1996) and also slum economics scholars (e.g. Marx, Stoker and Suri, 2013; Harris-White, et.al, 2013) is the excessive focus on income in "poor" families' economic behavior. Income is assumed as the key factor for other aspects of the social reproduction of a family: education, health, food, transport, marriage, number of children (fertility), friendship, altruism, etc., Gary Becker goes even further in his technical analysis when simulating a family with a factory, the family decision making, the family division of labor, and even tastes. Their econometric models are shaped and restricted to neoclassical and monetarist theoretical parameters. The historical, socio-cultural, situational, political, environmental, hygienic, psychological, among other elements of analysis are leaving apart or restricted to premises that fit their mathematical models.

1.3. Research questions

Most would agree that a vast majority of slum populations have higher interest in consuming rather than producing, thus depending on 'someone else' to cultivate, harvest, process, package, storage, and prepare (healthy) food. Two facts support this claim: their historical structural backwardness and the lack of production means. Based on this observation, I consider the following three research questions:

- i) *Do these factors of backwardness and dependence 'on others' increase the role of food corporations to satisfy slum populations' basic needs and furthermore to appropriate their food consumption practices¹⁵?*
- ii) *Such lagged productive capacities mean that those populations are destined to live in backwardness, and to mostly eat processed food?*
- iii) *Can slum populations find spaces for their own emancipation through a conscientious food exchange and consumption practice, for instance, constructing links with local farmers or become themselves self-producers of a part of the food—natural and processed—they consume?*

I argue that through an insightful study of the conditions of exchange and consumption of CPF in slums, we can bring light to the abovementioned issues and contribute to the current state of knowledge on slums' food. Moreover, from a critical political economy perspective, the objective and subjective importance of CPF in the life of slum populations can be identified.

Political economy refers to the dialectical study of economic processes affecting social, cultural and political processes and outcomes or vice-versa: political processes affecting social, cultural and economic processes and outcomes. In the context of exchange and consuming of food, political economy should be understood in a broader perspective. It comprises historical, social and cultural facts embedded in the structural conditions of a society and in the specific situational food consumption practices (Bourdieu, 1984; Peet and Thrift, 1989; Atkins and Bowler, 2001; Warde, 2016).

Exchange refers to reciprocal movements taking place as between 'hands' under a market system¹⁶ (Polanyi, 1957). Barter and other acts of reciprocity such as gifts and counter-gifts are generally treated in different sphere of analysis (Mauss, 1925). However, in this research, CPF

¹⁵ In principle, I use the concept of practice based on Warde (2016): 'the practice approach is against the model of the sovereign consumer and it tends to emphasize routine over actions, flow and sequence over discrete acts, dispositions over decisions and practical consciousness over deliberation' (Ibid:4). In terms of eating, Warde also relates practice with other relevant concepts such as routine, habit, performances, events, occasions, customs, repetition, activities, transmission of competences, reflections, and food, menu and dishes. Although all of them are important terms to describe food consumption practice, in this dissertation there is an additional interest to study food consumption as 'praxis' terms of Gramsci. 'For Gramsci the philosophy of praxis is both the theory of the contradictions in society and at the same time people's practical awareness of those contradictions. The philosophy of praxis is the self-consciousness of historical necessity...it is not only as system of philosophical ideas but also as forming the basis of a mass conception of the world' (Forgacs, 2000:429). Gramsci's praxis deals with the problem of consciousness for emancipation and is more critical of political and economic power than Schatzki's philosophy of practice (Schatzki, 2001) and Reckwitz's theory of social practice (Reckwitz, 2002), which are the foundations of Warde's theory of practice applied to food studies.

¹⁶ For Polanyi (1957) exchange, reciprocity and redistribution are forms of social integration. In any of the three cases, integration require institutional supports, specifically, exchange requires a system of price-making markets, while reciprocity requires group symmetry and redistribution depends on centrality of the group.

subsumes the slums practices of barter and gifts into the market sphere. The argument is that CPF in its biography was born as commodity, thus any act of reciprocity mediated by branded food inevitably refers to the market arena (see more in Chapter 2 sections 1 and 2).¹⁷

Consumption is the individual appropriation of an object—a use value that is a product of human labor—that brings gratification after the satisfaction of a need (Marx, 1857:30). Thus, consumption of use values is a means of human survival and reproduction, individually and collectively as social beings. The reproduction of themselves is both in the physical and mental. These simultaneous effects of consumption in material and immaterial dimensions, give human beings a personality and identity (c.f. Bourdieu, 1989; Smith, 1991; Warde, 1994).

Consumption is not a synonym of purchasing. This narrow definition reduces a human being into a simply buyer—with money in the pocket. Differently, this study considers a consumer as human being with all the intellectual and emotional potentialities to recognize and appreciate the moments of use of a product that fulfills their physical and mental necessities such as pleasure, comfort, joy, convenience, among other meanings.

Concerning the term ‘slum society’ or ‘slum populations’ this study focuses on the food practices of two main political economy actors: 1) householders, where women have the primary role in the food preparation and consumption (Sia-Su, 2007). Householders may include not only direct kin members but also closer friends treated as part of the family (Ramirez, 1984), and 2) micro-retailers primarily small grocers called *Sari-Sari* stores (Chen, 1997; Nielsen and Samia, 2008).

Because the object of study is packaged food, the other relevant political economy actor is the food manufacturing corporation itself. Food corporations have material and symbolic presence in slums via their products and iconic brands, logos and mascots visible inside¹⁸ and outside¹⁹ the households (Funahashi, 2013; Payaud, 2014; Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015 and 2016).

The analysis of the relation between the state—particularly the executive power—and food corporations or the direct connection between government and slum society is marginally analyzed in this dissertation. This is a limitation to overcome in subsequent research projects. This is also the case of other important actors such as non-governmental organizations,²⁰ civil and religious organizations, schools, mass media, microfinance, Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), and gang syndicates that have a direct or indirect involvement in the exchange, and consumption of food in slums. Finally, from a political ecology perspective, the analysis of the relation between CPF, slum society and environment it is also a shortcoming in this study.

1.4. Literature Review

In the following section, it is presented the literature review in three blocks regarding the key words involved in the research questions: political economy, slums food, corporate packaged food. First, I

¹⁷ Among a large literature on the life of a commodity differently with a thing, please refer to Marx (1857 and 1867 initial chapters); Polanyi (1957); Douglass & Isherwood (1978); Appadurai (1986); Kopytoff (1986).

¹⁸ For example via TV, radio, t-shirts, caps, bags, calendars, etc.

¹⁹ For example, the street advertisements, products in the stores, suppliers, band promoters, etc.

²⁰ It includes those organizations supporting urban or semi-urban farming or the connection between rural-urban populations.

describe the background of political economy of food in slums. Second, I point out relevant studies about food in slums that relates to the exchange and consumption elements of political economy. Third, I present the research about processed/packaged food and corporate power that enriches critical thinking about slums even though they only refer to low-income countries or low-income populations.²¹

1.4.1. Political Economy of food in slums

The study about food for the marginalized populations is far to be new, we can track literature from centuries ago. Significantly, we have the Hammurabi code (1754 BC) that stipulated policies of food provision according to the social rank.²² Other examples are the Xenophon' *Oeconomicus*²³ (362 BC) and the Kautilya's *Arthashastra*²⁴ (326 BC- 180 BC), which are pioneer books of political economy.

The utopist socialists Sismondi (1803, 1819), Saint Simon (1816), and Robert Owen (1813) recovered thoughts from classic and medieval philosophical traditions and also criticisms to thinkers of the illustration period. The utopist socialist claimed in favor of the construction of a new society arguing amoral and unethical richness of a few members of the society. They proposed –in theory and practice- initiatives for a humanist society where there is not exclusion and exploitation of the pauper. Utopian socialism had impact in a vast number of intellectuals worldwide; one of them was Antoine Cherbuliez.²⁵ He criticized them while discussing about the causes and effects of uneven distribution of the social wealth, the reasons of misery and its potential solutions (Cherbuliez, 1840). He also paid a close attention in the importance of food for the lower classes, but conceptually he

²¹ Again I emphasize that generalizations of slum populations as low-income populations over simplify the analysis, albeit the unquestionable importance of income in capitalist societies it limits the understanding of other structural and situational elements in slum dwellers' life style. For instance, memories, space, sanitation, beliefs, traditions, and other cultural practices, are part of the social reproduction of the slum families and those are necessary elements that nourish the critical analysis of political economy of exchange and consumption.

²² The Hammurabi code considered food production, food provision and family-self consumption. There are articles preventing several types of social situations that might affect all classes' food production and consumption (war losses, inheritance, robbery, quarrels, revenge, marriages, lack of male-child, etc.,) favoring the higher classes over the lower classes. It gains the attention how it defines the privileges to the military class and the manner it ruled their economic activities, including trade with other regions and the management of their households activities in order keep their land in production, thus avoiding poverty and beggars. The peasants were at the bottom because slaves were not considered even a class; they were completely out of rights, in some cases horses had better rights than slaves.

²³ Xenophon presents during several philosophical and political conversations with Socrates, even though a few of them talked about food poverty, those are illustrative of an epoch. Xenophon asks Socrates about what to do with people without a land or money (e.g. Xenophon, 1977, section iii.4), and the answers of the master philosopher refer to their use as servants (In English and Spanish versions of the *Oeconomicus*, there is not a clear distinction between a servant and a slave). Xenophon expresses his own views about how to manage servants. For example, he states 'a men can be made more obedient by word of mouth merely, by being shown that it is good for him to obey. But in dealing with slaves the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience; for you will do much with them by filling their bellies with the food they hanker after.' (Xenophon, 1977: 473, section xiii.9)

²⁴ About the food for the excluded and marginalized Kautilya (Also known as Chanakya) recommended that 'persons fallen from caste, persons born of outcaste men, and eunuchs shall have no share; likewise idiots, lunatics, the blind and lepers....All these persons excepting those that are fallen from caste (*patitavarjah*) shall be entitled to only food and clothing'. (Kautilya 1915: 233). Besides, about the rural immigrants to the city that promised to work but they do not, *Kautilya's* teachings said that the immigrant 'shall refund not only double the amount of the wages he received promising to work, but also double the value of food and drink with which he has been provided' (Ibid:248).

²⁵ Cherbuliez did not consider himself a socialist but as liberal bourgeois intellectual. He opposed the private ownership of land and considered that its abolition would eliminate obstacles for the industrial boom. He argued that landlords are lazy people who live at the expense of others, thus with the elimination of private property the struggles of workers will end, and organized and steady production system will emerge.

identified food for workers as part of capital²⁶ (Cherbuliez, 1853). An argument that was refuted by Marx that considered food as a mean of subsistence of the working class, not a capital (Marx, 1863: Chapter 23).

A milestone work was Friedrich Engels (1845) *'The condition of the working class in England'* that describes the situation of the industrial, mining and agricultural *pauper* that become *proletariat* or *lumpen-proletariat* and were living in slums such as *'Ancoats'* or *'Little Ireland'* in Manchester or *'St.Giles'* or *'Bethnal'* in London. Engels studied their life conditions, the material deprivations, and the mental effects of the unhygienic and overcrowded slums' houses.²⁷ Engels work influenced Karl Marx and subsequent critical thinkers. For example, the historian E.P. Thompson complemented Engels' work by studying goods, homes, life and childhood in the England of the 18th century (Thompson, 1968: Chapter 10). Thompson (1971) highlighted an ethics of subsistence and the recognition of a pursuit of collective well-being over individual gain that he called *'moral economy'*. It was based on the study of the behavior of the crowd during the food riots. The mutineers opposed governmental projects of grain trade liberalization that ended food supplies and fixed prices; they sought to ensure sufficient supplies of basic foods (mainly bread) at an affordable price.²⁸

Food Regime scholar Hugh Campbell (2012) also examines the *'food scarcity'* problem of industrialized nations in the 19th century to historically reframe the problem of hunger in the world and its potential solutions. Campbell supports the thesis that the hunger in Britain of the 1840s, derived from the rapid urbanization and industrialization, was progressively banished through stripping of food crops in colonies in Ireland, India, Africa, Oceania, North-America and even in no colonies such as Argentina based on free trade agreements.²⁹ This historical turn had side effects in the slum formations, for instance, the *'Irish Potato Famine'* (1845-1852) drove Irish people to move out of the island, hundreds of them nourish the slums of the time in Britain and poor neighborhoods in the east coast of United States (Clark, 1982). In other parts of the world, famines and social sorrow were also registered (c.f. Wolf, 1982; Davis, 2002; Drèze and Sen, 1990). Drèze and Sen

²⁶ Cherbuliez defined capital as the part of the wealth that is used in a productive operation, whether machinery, tool, raw material or food fund. This fund, intended for the subsistence of workers tends to decrease relative to the rest of the capital (1853:64).

²⁷ Additionally, Engels published in 1872 *'The Housing Question'* in response of Proudhonist and Bourgeoisie intellectuals that supported private housing initiatives for the poorest workers. Engels recalled that the problem was in the capitalist system itself not in superficial analysis of rent as the Proudhonist followers argued. Engels' work echoes contemporary thinkers such as Harvey (2010 [1973]) *'social justice and the city'* that among several issues, highlights the dynamics of the capital system and its impact in the life conditions of the working class and a contemporary manner to understand a potential exit through democratic and organized practices in the city.

²⁸ The concerns about Food Riots, in the 21st century –particularly after the food crisis of 2007-2008–, have been analyzed by Patel and McMichael (2009) and Bush (2010), they agreed that drivers of food riots goes beyond the issues of price increase and access to staple food, it goes to the arena of political economy of food provisioning. They argue that Bretton Woods' economic institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), through their policies, had played a role in deepening food dependency, dismantling food reserves controlled by government and other State provisioning capacities. Specifically about slum food riots, the case of Buenos Aires' *villas* (slums in Spanish) in 2001-2002 is highly relevant because of the violence involved, the pillaging of supermarkets and local markets, and the socio-political implications resulted from a combined pressure of the slums' crowd and middle and low-income classes living in non-slum neighborhoods (Auyero and Moran, 2007).

²⁹ In fact, it was a bi-directional relationship, Britain with its colonies and with non-industrialized countries producing primary goods, where Britain send the textiles and other pioneer manufactured goods in exchange of transportable goods of the primary sector (mainly natural resources, agriculture products) or transportable handicrafts (e.g ceramics, handmade silk, silver crafts, or any other craft from different parts of the world). In terms of foodstuff, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1845 in Britain allows the importation of crops and commodities such as sugar that transform the relation Urban –Rural in Britain. Food Regime leading scholars Harriet Friedmann and Philippe Mc Michael (1989) explain the characteristics of the first stable period of world food relations that started in 1870s and last to the first war world (Friedmann, 2005) or the 1930s (Mc Michael, 2009). A Diasporic-Colonial Food Regime based on the British Empire and trade that collapsed in world depression and ecological catastrophes (Campbell, 2012, 2015).

(1990) collected a vast number of studies related to the political economy of hunger in India,³⁰ Africa, and Latin America, from colonial times to recent epochs, including the massive immigration of people to the urban slums, mostly escaping from hunger and distress.

The study of food in slums has been worked by a few contemporary political economists. Maxwell (1999) studied the situation of slums in Ghana and Uganda and concluded that the nature of urban food insecurity has tended to lose political importance because of the reductionism to a problem of access to food rather than a political economy problem. He found that the state' coordination and responsibility was transferred to households and the individuals themselves; the consequences were the atomization and the softening of the political responses. Similar results are reported by Kraus (1988). He demonstrates that frequent incidents of urban protest in Ghana, some of them escalated into food riots, ended in military coups. Afterwards, the military' hard hand calmed down the conflicts and later implemented the structural adjustment policies assuming that the market would solved the food provision problems.

During the 1980s and the 1990s, a vast number of governments in developing countries implemented structural adjustments with a negative impact for local producers. It resulted in the migration of millions of rural inhabitants to the cities that now live in slums worldwide (Davis, 2006). The structural change, also, facilitated the imports of cheap food (Friedmann, 2005) and encouraged private investment in retail industry that transformed the economic systems of the larger cities (Ravallion, Chen and Sangrula, 2007). Furthermore, the market-oriented forces have been impacting in slums dwellers values and culture. Pandey (2014) found that in India' slums lifestyle and traditions had been transformed and the radical changes had occurred in food habits and clothing.

Most of studies on political economy of food in slums generally have a solid historical background and usually succeed to identify the structural and situational conditions under which 'food' limits slum populations' material wealth, human development, and political self-determination. However, they were incapable of critically foreseeing the rapid changes in the food supply system, including its CPF provisioning chains and mechanisms until reaching slums. Consequently, they were unable to analyze the social and political economy implications of the CPF in slums and how those are also related with macro-political economy transformations in main cities of developing countries. In order to analyze the political economy of CPF in the 21st century slums—including all the inherent complexity that technology, culture, demographic and environmental changes brings to slums—, it is useful to adopt an eclectic approach that takes account of key findings reported by slum food researchers coming from different but related disciplines.

³⁰ In India, the hunger problems in the 1870s derived in the formulation of the 'famine codes' in the 1880s, these included in government intervention programs such as 'wages to be paid' through works in public works (Dreze, 1990). But the problems of hunger and famine continued in the 20th century, the last famine registered in India was in 1943, however, there were two specific cases of food crisis in the 1960s and the 1970s in Bihar and Maharastra -where Patna and Mumbai are the main cities, both with plenty of slums-, were marked as point of reference for understanding famine causes, consequences and potential remedies (Dreze, 1990; Sen, 1981). In that respect, reflecting on his experience as ambassador in India, John Kenneth Galbraith (JKG) wrote the *Nature of Mass Poverty* (1979), a master piece for political economist interested in the life of the marginalized populations of developing countries. In this work, JKG also launched a series of hypothesis that explain the causes and potential solutions to poverty.

1.4.2. Slum food literature

Rather than political economists, other scholars from a variety of disciplines (sociology, anthropology, nutrition, social geography, economics, business, etc.) are those who have been researching food in slums. Based on the review of regular referenced papers, I categorized in seven subtopics³¹ or clusters, relevant studies that contribute to answer the questions that this dissertation is proposing (see in Table 1.1). Those themes are: 1) Slum conditions and food related problems; 2) Food (In)security measurement; 3) Nutrition and Health; 4) Women and Children; 5) Slums residents' responses to food problems (surviving, resisting, entreprending, etc.); 6) Slums interventions (government, NGOs, micro-financers, etc.), and 7) Waste, Environment, and Climate change. However, for the purpose of this section, I will only refer to studies that better relates to the research questions or that points out the knowledge gaps that this dissertation is aiming to fulfill.

a) Slum conditions and food-related issues

Africa, Asia, and Latin-America figure as the continents of slums (Davis, 2006; Medina, 2007). Their characteristics may vary but the structural and situational problems made them find points of connection. Relevant studies on slums support the claim that either structural problems increased or improvements are minimum and insufficient, and it might vary according to specific situations in each country. For instance, Akter and Rahman (2016) conclude that in Bangladesh' slums the unequal access to money, food, health, education and empowerment provoke lower levels of household livelihood security. Similar results are reported by Tolossa (2010) and Harriss-White, et.al. (2013). Tolossa identified in Ethiopia' slums that impoverish households are exposed to chronic food shortages, furthermore, he found household vulnerability due to economic and environmental factors, including poor sanitation, unhygienic environments, overcrowding, unemployment and limited access to financial capital (Tolossa, 2010). Harriss-White, et.al. (2013) show that slums in Chennai, India were impacted by global economic shocks (speculation in financial, fuel, and food markets) and climate change (high temperature, extremes of rainfall). To improve research in slums, they proposed a method that includes a survey during the shocks and their aftermath (Harris-White, et.al. 2013).

Studies with a critical perspective show that macroeconomic statistics do not represent what is going on in slums and generally governments of developing countries underestimate poverty. Sabry (2010) shows that poverty lines are set lower than the cost of basic needs in informal settlements of Cairo. He suggests that poverty lines must be set at levels that make sufficient allowance for the real costs of living, including nutritious food, water, sanitation, minimal quality of housing, electricity, school expenses for children, health care, medicines and transportation. These elements of daily life are often displaced in analysis or international reports (O'Meara, 2002). Because we cannot rely on official statistics to understand slums, regular surveys and qualitative studies in-situ are needed to clarify real impacts of global and regional crisis in slums.

³¹ There are studies that are cover two or three subtopics, but in order to facilitate the categorization, the allocation in a group was decided by the main topic that the paper is discussing.

Table 1.1 Clusters of slum food literature

Subtopics	Key authors	Year	Slum location
1. Slum conditions and food related problems	Tolossa, D.	2010	Addis Abbaba, Ethiopia
	Kamndaya, M., Kazembe, L.N., Vearey, J., Kabiru, C.W., Thomas, L.	2015	Blantyre, Malawi
	Akter, S., Rahman, S.	2016	Dhakar, Bangladesh
	Pandey, S.	2014	Lucknow, India
	Harriss-White, B., Olsen, W., Vera-Sanso, P., Suresh, V.	2013	Chennai, India
	Sabry, S.	2010	Greater Cairo, Egypt
2. Food (In) security	Chatterjee, N., Fernandes, G., Hernandez, M.	2012	Mumbai, India
	Faye, O., Baschieri, A., Falkingham, J., Muindi, K.	2011	Nairobi, Kenya
	Maitra, C., Rao, D.S.P.	2015	Kolkata, India
3. Nutrition & Health	Gilmore, B., Pouw, N.	2016	Mumbai, India
	Berger, S.G., de Pee, S., Bloem, M.W., Halati, S., Semba, R.D.	2008	Yakarta, Indonesia
	Pryer, J.A., Rogers, S., Rahman, A.	2003	Dhakar, Bangladesh
	Diamond-Smith, N.G., Gupta, M., Kaur, M., Kumar, R.	2016	Chandigarh, India
	Unge, C., Johansson, A., Zachariah, R., (...), Van Engelman, I., Ekstrom, A.M.	2008	Urban Kibera, Kenya
4. Women and Children	Ferreira, H. da S.	2006	Alagoas, Brazil
	Snell-Rood, C.	2015	Delhi, India
	Semba, R.D., Moench-Pfanner, R., Sun, K., Bloem, M.W., Kraemer, K.	2008	Yakarta, Indonesia
	Sarma, H., Uddin, M.F., Harbour, C., Ahmed, T.	2016	Dhakar, Bangladesh
5. Slums residents responses to food problems (surviving, resisting, etc.)	Floro, M.S., Bali Swain, R.	2013	Bolivia, Ecuador,
	Rekow, L.	2015	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
	Gopal, D., Nagendra, H.	2014	Bangalore, India
	Honing, M.	2009	Nairobi, Kenya
6. Slums interventions (government, NGOs, microfinancers, etc.)	Singh, P.	2017	Chandigarh, India
	Ara, J., Hossain, N.Z., Das, N.C., Bayes, A.	2016	Dhakar, Bangladesh
	Kamath, R., Mukherji, A., Ramanathan, S.	2010	Karnataka, India
7. Waste, Environment & Climate change	Keck, M., Etzold, B.	2013	Dhakar, Bangladesh
	Kinuthia-Njenga, C.	2011	Nairobi, Kenya
	Ibidunni Awosusi, A., Oriye, O., Oluranti Owioye, J.	2012	Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria

Source:

Own elaboration, 2017

b) Slum food (in) security

During the last three decades, the research community about slums or low-income households turned to the study of the mainstream concept of food security or any of their variations such as food poverty (Farrow, et.al. 2005). There are scholars trying to measure quantitatively the food insecurity in slums (Chatterjee, Fernandez, and Hernandez, 2012; Faye, Baschieri, Falkingham, and Muindi, 2011), but most of the studies to date are trying to either identify the factors that causes food insecurity (Maitra and Rao, 2015; Kimani-Murage, et.al. 2011; Pryer, Rogers, and Rahman, 2003) or measure its effects in the slum dwellers' food practices (Mutisya, et.al. 2016; Floro and Bali

Swain, 2013). However, none of these studies recognized the importance of CPF in the slums' social dynamic and lacked the inquiry about where and by whom the food is produced, transported and retailed; under which social relations, and under which historical circumstances and particular interests.

c) Slum food retailing

The food vending activity is one of the most studied economic practices among slum business scholars. Bonnin (2006) describes the multiple experiences related to start a home-based business, particularly the retailing of daily products. She narrates the motivations behind the business to conclude that the family self-food consumption is one of the most significant drivers. Similar results are reported by Floro and Bali Swain (2013). They examined the strategies adopted by low-income women and men in Asia and Latin-America in order to ensure their access to food. They found that women are likely to engage in food enterprises than men and the selection of an economic activity seeks to satisfy the food consumption and at the same time an income generation.

Gender studies, by decades, have been highlighting the women concern about the family wellbeing. On the other hand, there is a research trend trying to identify key factors of entrepreneurship at the bottom/base of the social pyramid (BoP), regularly under the concept of social entrepreneurship (Nielsen and Samia, 2008) or slum enterprise development (Awosusi, Oriye, and Oluranti, 2012). The shortcoming of the adjective 'social' or the noun 'enterprise' is the issue of informality, which in fact is the vast majority of the slum businesses³² and furthermore, informal economy is in continuous growth (Banerjee, 2004). Benerjee describes the situation of slums in Kolkata that after the national government shift to a policy of structural reforms and fast liberalization of trade, the local industry collapsed. The unemployment rate grew and a larger number of slum' inhabitants were pulled to informal business. Banerjee narrates the slum business culture changed from a time (previous to the trade liberalization) where slum women were working as domestic helpers, but after the liberalization, they are also doing food-related business as street vendor or other home-based informal economic activities for surviving (Benerjee, 2004).

Based on the observations about these three blocks of slum food literature—slum conditions, food (in)security, and food retailing—, I would like to point out the following contributions of this dissertation: First, it inserts the CPF in the orbit of slums food analysis. The study of CPF in slums is not only relevant for a critical revision of the concept of food security, but also brings light to the understanding of CPF role in the families' lifestyles and living conditions in the 21st century slums. Second, until now, slums food studies have been objectifying slum dwellers as market participants, consumers, or low-income populations, while in reality, their role as human beings and their interaction with food includes other socio-cultural aspects such as identity, rituals, celebrations, feelings, emotions, tastes, lifestyle, passions, affections, sharing traditions, among other meaningful

³² In fact by the quantity of slum businesses, we can say 'informal entrepreneurship' instead of 'social entrepreneurship' or 'informality development' instead of 'enterprise development' because we cannot formally state that the small stalls and street vendors are enterprises. NGOs or Corporations founding social enterprises in slums exist but those are a minority and those were created with other purposes such as the use of Social Responsibility as marketing tool and other ethical concerns (Davidson, 2009).

recognitions (Geerts, 1975; Douglas and Isherwood, 1978; Appadurai, 1986; Illouz, 2009). Consequently, CPF research also opens the scope of analysis to identify subjective meanings about brands that include perceptions that go beyond income and market reasoning (Bourdieu, 1984; Scitovsky, 1986; Anselmsson, et.al. 2014).

1.4.3. Packaged food and corporate power

Increasingly, the food research community is turning to the study of the political power of corporate packaged food and beverages under the term of 'Big Food'³³ (Clapp and Scrinis, 2017; Nestle, 2015; Stuckler and Nestle, 2012). Big Food scholars, while researching the global food system criticize the increasing corporate power accumulated through: 1) the market concentration in food and beverage sectors (Alexander, Yach, and Mensah, 2011; Howard, 2016); 2) the use public-private partnerships (PPP) and lobbying political power in order to broad health and environment regulations (Kaan and Liese, 2011; Nestle, 2015) and 3) shaping public perceptions about the nutritional and health value of packaged products³⁴ (Stuckler and Nestle, 2012; Jacques, 2015; Clapp and Scrinis, 2017).

However, slums are absent in Big Food literature, the closest point of connection are the scholars relating their analysis to 'low-income' or 'developing' countries (cf. Popkin, 2014; Gomez and Ricketts, 2013). Gomez and Ricketts (2013) studied the influence of transformed food value chains in the triple malnutrition burden (undernourishment, micronutrient deficiencies, and over-nutrition). They found that modern food manufacturers are leveraging traditional food networks, increasing the supply of cheap processed/packaged foods in low-income urban neighbors but the impacts on the triple burden of malnutrition are mixed. The rural and urban poor populations relying on traditional value chains experienced little nutritional impacts; on the contrary, they observed that high income people acceding to modern value chains may be alleviating micronutritional deficiencies but their over-nutrition problems increased (Gomez and Ricketts, 2013). Similarly, Popkin (2014) identified changes in the food value chain of low and middle income countries. He claims the rapid growth of the retail sector is changing the diets of the food insecure and he concludes that there is a need for the researchers, governments, and agriculture and nutrition communities to pay attention in the health implications of these rapid transformations.

Other studies relate four elements: corporate packaged food, nutrition, social responsibility and business performance (profits, sales, purchase intention, etc.). For instance, Huang and Lu (2016) found that packaged color and the nutrition content label can influence the consumer's perception of food healthiness and purchase intention of packaged food, particularly those blue-colored packages instead of red-colored packages. In terms of the corporate image, Gürhan-Canli and Batra (2004) pointed out that the image association with innovation and trustworthiness influence product evaluations when consumers perceive high risk in the product purchase. They also found that the corporate image associations with social responsibility only influence consumers

³³ The denomination of "Big" Food derives from putting an adjective that considers 1) products' size, for example Big Soda (Nestle, 2015) and 2) size of the corporation, big or large corporations of the food and beverages industry (Scrinis, 2015).

³⁴ This group of scholars emphasizes on the term '*nutritionism*' the reduction of food's nutritional value (Nestle, 2013; Scrinis, 2015)

perceiving low risk. Divergent results are reported by Robinson (2016). He presented two examples of nutrition-focused products that failed to create a commercially-viable business model. The failure was a result of contradictions between the *medicalization*³⁵ and *marketization*³⁶ corporate strategies (Robinson, 2016). These studies do not explicitly refer to slums populations, however it is generally accepted that transnational corporations adapt their products (including the labeling, packaging, slogans, and so on) to the local circumstances in developing countries (Payaud, 2014; Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015).

Corporations constantly mutate their business strategies and tactics in order to engineer more profitable consumption patterns of their packaged food. For instance, deskilling and spatial colonization strategies are gaining interest of scholars reporting the extended power of corporations in habitual practices of exchange and consumption. Howard (2016) explains that deskilling increases control for capitalist and makes people more dependent upon their products by eroding people's knowledge and abilities. Deskilling is also expressed by the loss of knowledge to recognize the multiple dimensions of quality, the selection of a healthy diet, the recognition of environmental damage of certain products (Jaffe and Gertler, 2006); on the other hand, people are losing skills needed to make use of basic commodities in a manner that allows them to eat a high quality diets (Vileisis, 2008). Spatial colonization refers to the market expansion of food and beverage firms and the increasing scope of their power (Howard, 2016; Winson, 2013, Alexander, et.al. 2011). Other perspectives of the space colonization denote the shelf-space in the stores or supermarkets (Patel, 2007; Burch and Lawrence, 2007; Levenstein, 1993; De Kervenoael, et.al. 2006) and the mental space that signify the domination of consumers' mind through a diversity tools of marketing (Trout and Reis, 1981; Bhat and Reddy, 1998; Callebaut, et.al. 2002).

Based on these previous studies, the research of CPF in slums contributes to the knowledge about how corporate strategies and tactics adapt themselves to local circumstances at the bottom of urban societies in order to profit and realize their capital investments. The research about CPF also clarifies the role of the branded food (the food itself as object of physical and chemical consumption and the symbolic meaning involved) in slum daily practices, lifestyles, common senses³⁷ and motivations of slum retailers and slum consumers, which in fact also have social, cultural and political implications.

1.5. Research approach

The research approach of this dissertation is political economy analysis through *critical constructivist structuralism*. As it was mentioned before, political economy analysis is the dialectic study of economic processes affecting social, cultural and political processes and outcomes or *vice-versa*: political processes affecting social, cultural, and economic processes and outcomes. This research

³⁵ It is a pro-business argument advocating that public-private partnerships can deliver nutrition through food treatments and the subsequent scientific and medical evaluation.

³⁶ An assertion that corporations can provide sustainable solutions (profitable healthy products) and that poor people should purchase their nutritional products.

³⁷ I refer to common sense as Antonio Gramsci defined in prison notebook 1: 'as a conception of the world of a social or regional group' or common sense as 'the most widespread conception of life and morality' (Gramsci 1975, [1929] Q1: 16:14; 65:76). Here I use the plural (senses) because 'every social stratum has its own common sense' (Gramsci 1975, [1929] Q1: 65:76)

identifies both food processing corporations and slums' inhabitants as political-economy actors. It also recognizes the uneven power relation between actors, in terms of access to financial assets, natural resources, material inputs, means of production, information, and means for political and cultural influence (such as access to television, radio, and lobbying with national and city government). The power imbalance intrinsically has effects in the dynamics of slums in particular and in the dynamics of the metropolis and countries in general (Harvey, 1973; Sassen, 2001; Sciubba, 2011; Aoki, 2016).

It is a critical approach because it analyses the *modus operandi* of corporations inside the boundaries of slums, inquiring their success in a context of misery, insanitation, and violence. It is *constructivist* because it considers that meaning is created by slum dwellers while socializing with friends and family, communicating with other people outside the boundaries of the slum, and through the interaction with objects (the food itself, a television, a radio, a computer or a mobile phone) and symbols (brands, slogans, phrases, icons, colors, etc.). It is *structuralist* because in the social world exist objective structures (market and economic power, institutional rules, class relations, historical-rooted struggles, informal agreements that allows people to sell in the streets or to live in irregular squatter land, etc.) independent of the consciousness and will of slum populations, which are capable of directing and constraining their lifestyle and their food related practices (c.f. Bourdieu, 1984; Pandey, 2014)

1.6. Research setting, data and methods

A combination of semi-structured interviews and unstructured observations using a qualitative method of analysis was selected to emphasize inductive reasoning (Creswell, 2009). In comparison to quantitative methods relying on surveys or official statistics, qualitative analysis gains insights during the fieldwork research process (Creswell & Miller, 2000). For this study, qualitative analysis is appropriate for three reasons. First, it enables us to avoid stereotyping exclusively slum populations as 'poor'; in reality not all are income-poor. Second, it allows us to go further in the analysis of social relations; there can be human relations or relations with the packaged food itself, which fulfill the inquiry driver to comprehend householders and micro-retailers' meanings about CPF. Third, because investigations in slums are rooted in a complex environment, this method facilitates the management of the rich context of the phenomenon under research.

The tunnel method of semi-structured interview was selected considering the time limitation when talking with women at home or at the *Sari-Sari* store. Unstructured observation was selected to complement the analysis of the structural conditions influencing slum populations' lifestyles, their circumstances, and their problems to which individuals respond by means of action, interaction or emotion (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

1.6.1. Research setting

The Philippines is ranked 8th in a list of 85 countries with inhabitants living in slums and its capital Manila, as it was previously mentioned, hosts one of the world's largest populations living in slums (UN Habitat, 2012). Ballesteros (2011) identified four types of slums in Metro Manila: dumpsite, coastal, highway and floodway slums. Having this information in mind, the research support was requested to 23 different national and international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Foundations and Religious Organizations (ROs) that in their websites or *facebook* page reported their intervention activities in slums. In total, three international organizations (1 NGO, 1 Foundation, and 1 RO) agreed to support the fieldwork research in three slums that insofar agreed with characteristics signaled by Ballesteros (2011). The researched slums (see Map 1.1) are:

1. *Payatas*. This dumpsite and its surroundings were declared to be government land. The total population officially rounds 120,000. However, it is uncertain due to the temporary immigration and the unknown number of families living in the dumps (Sia Su, 2007). The research occurred in *Sari-Sari* stores and garbage collector houses established in *Bicol* and *Bulacan* Streets, corresponding to Payatas B, Quezon City, an area of approximately 560m² where around 50 to 70 families live³⁸ (See Maps 1.2a and 1.2b).
2. *Tatalon* (*Kubo* and *Meralco* squatters). *Kubo* is a squatter zone located in *Karilaya* Street, two blocks south from *Araneta* Avenue. *Meralco* is a squatter area located near the corner of *Araneta* Avenue and *Victoria* Street, just few meters from *San Juan* River in *Tatalon*.³⁹ *Tatalon* is one of the most densely populated districts in Quezon City and one of the most affected by floods. *Kubo* land ownership is in dispute among particulars with intermediation of the local and city government. *Meralco* squatter's land belongs to the *Meralco Electric Company*. In both cases, the land occupation dates from the 1970s. In *Kubo*, there are approximately 275 and in *Meralco*, 120 households. Correspondingly, the populations range between 1,400 - 1,600 and 700 - 1,000 inhabitants (See Maps 1.3a and 1.3b).
3. *Dakota*. Located around 400 meters from the coast, it is an area of approximately 19,000 square meters embedded in a core-zone of Manila's *Barangay* 704, *Malate* (see Maps 1.4a and 1.4b). *Dakota* is an overcrowded slum, with a population of 7,816 inhabitants in 578 houses (España and Von Arx, 2010). *Dakota* hosts the largest metropolitan group of Muslim *Badjaos*,⁴⁰ a community with sea-related skills for living. However due to sanitary and other regulations, National and Local Government forbids fishing in Manila Bay. España and Von Arx (2010) report negative perceptions and discrimination about *Badjaos* due to begging and robbery incidents. About land-property concerns, *Dakota* slum residents still remain uncertain about land ownership. The government declared control of the land in the 1950s and since then land titles have not yet been issued.

³⁸ The land has already a legal status, ownership rights, but the life conditions remain precarious.

³⁹ According to official statistics, in *Tatalon* live 58,987 inhabitants in 11,840 households. From which 20 percent are considered as economic depressed.

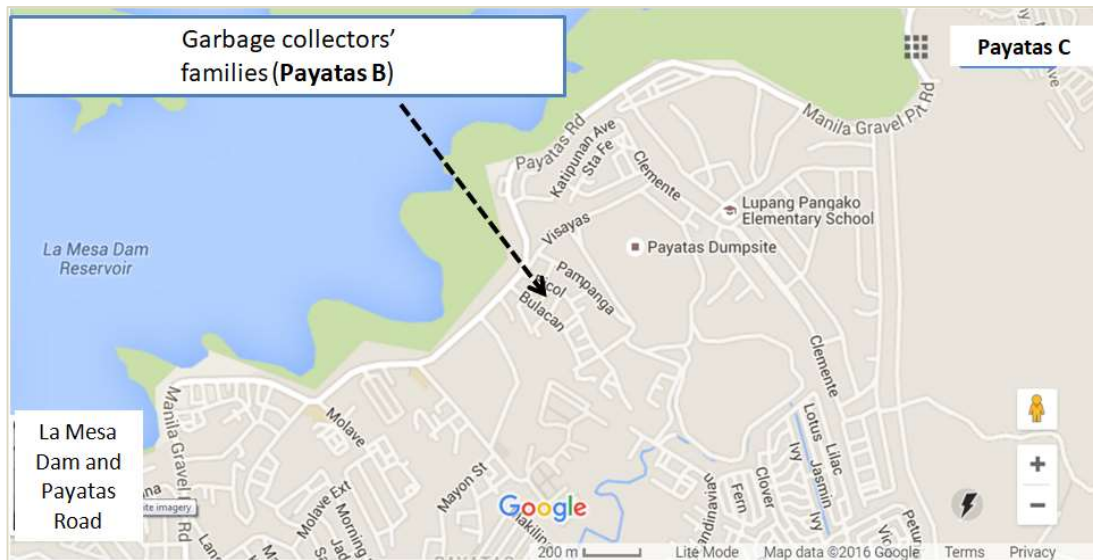
⁴⁰ *Badjao* means 'man of the sea'. Sea nomads by tradition, travelling from one island to another for fishing harvest.

Map 1.1. Researched slums in Metro Manila



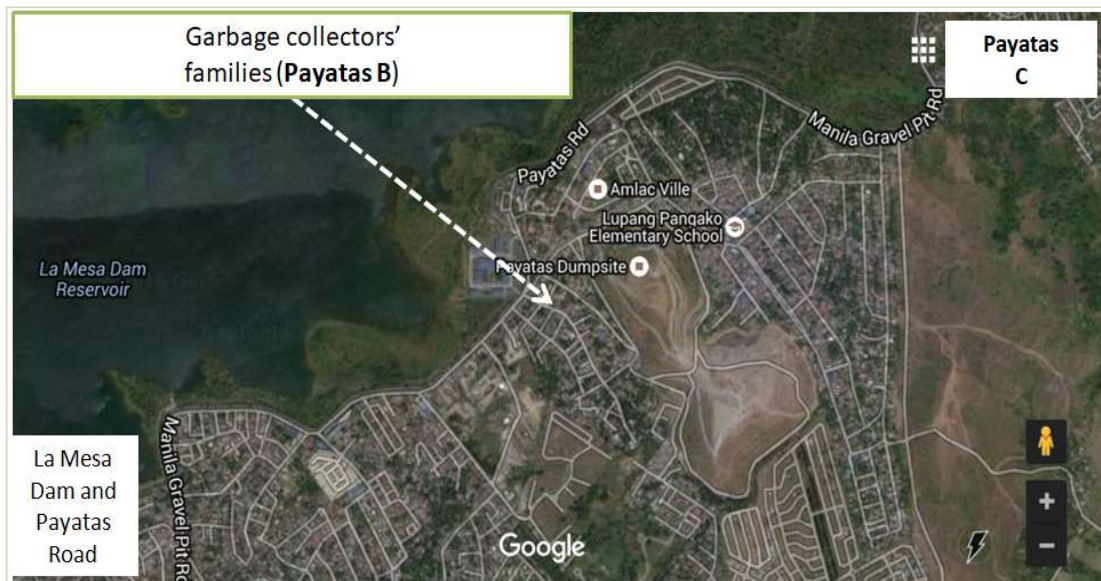
Source: Google Maps (2016)

Map 1.2a. Payatas dumpsite



Source: Google Maps (2016)

Map 1.2b. Payatas dumpsite



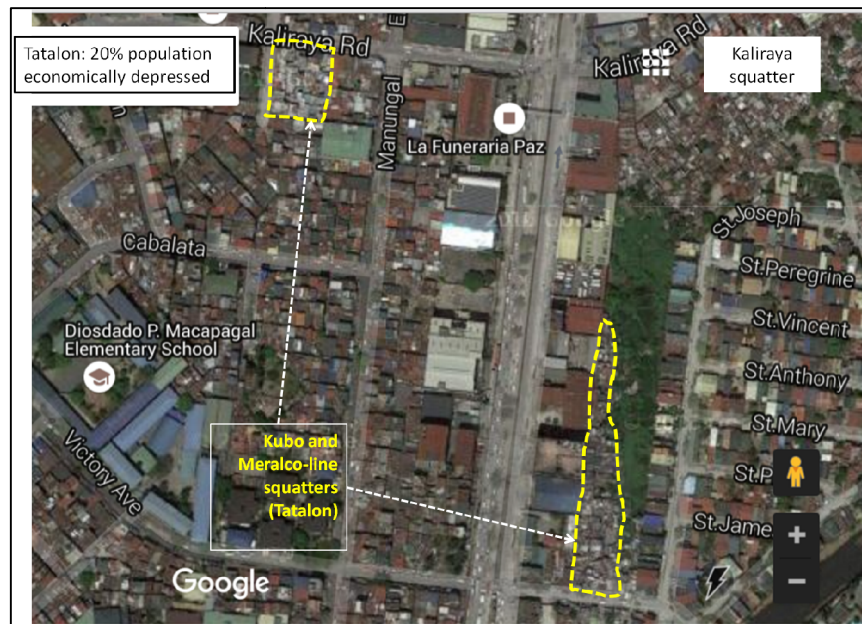
Source: Google Maps (2016)

Map 1.3a. Kubo and Meralco squatters in Tatalon



Source: Google Maps (2016)

Map 1.3b. Kubo and Meralco squatters in Tatalon



Source: Google Maps (2016)

Map 1.4a. Dakota slum in Malate Manila



Map 1.4b. Dakota slum in Malate Manila

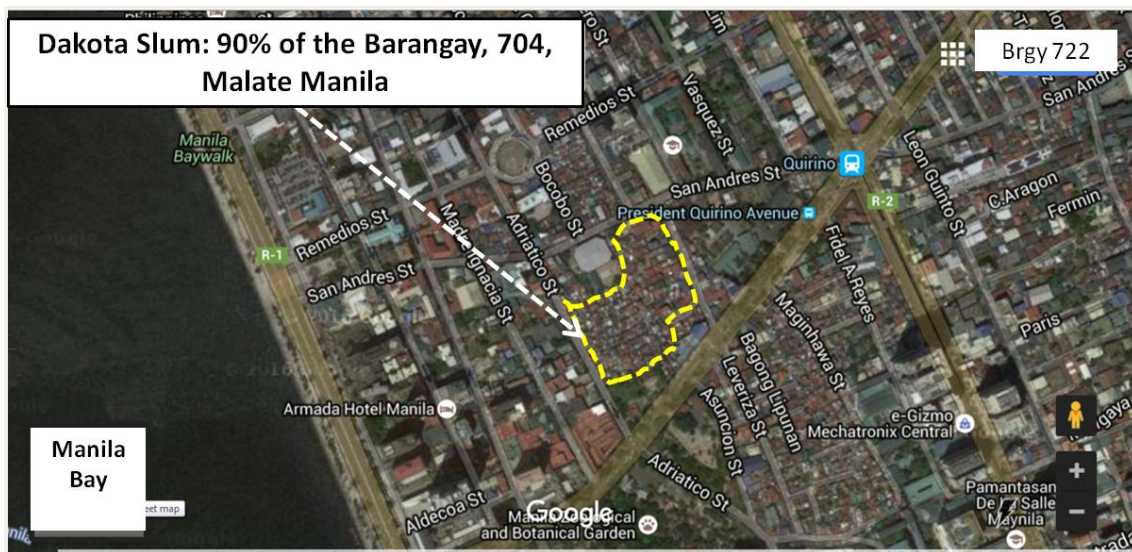


Table 1.2. Interviewed women: General information (Dec, 2015)

#	Slum area	Woman Code	Role in the study*	Birthyear	Historical Period in the Philippines	Age	Age when married	# of children	Years living in Manila	Years of education	Main occupation
1	Tatalon	WT15a	GrandMa	1933	U.S. Commonwealth Government	82	24	7	39	4	House
2	Dakota	WD2c	GrandMa	1937		78	17	8	na	4	Grandmother
3	Tatalon	WT2c	GrandMa	1939		76	20	9	35	6	House
4	Dakota	WD5c	GrandMa	1940		75	20	7	30	0	Street vendor
5	Payatas	WP1c	GrandMa	1945	Japanese occupation	70	17	3	30	9	Cooking helper
6	Payatas	WP7b	GrandMa	1945		70	18	4	36	1	Wife/Own Business
7	Tatalon	WT3a	Mother	1952	Post-War: Independence- ISI period	63	37	3	23	6	Sewer
8	Payatas	WP6a	GrandMa	1953		62	19	6	10	8	House
9	Tatalon	WT1a	GrandMa	1953		62	21	5	26	10	Housewife
10	Dakota	WD1c	GrandMa	1954		61	20	6	4	3	Housekeeper
11	Dakota	WD4a	GrandMa	1956		59	20	4	59	8	Housewife/sari-sari
12	Tatalon	WT8c	GrandMa	1956		59	18	10	36	4	Desserts vendor
13	Tatalon	WT10a	GrandMa	1956		59	18	6	35	6	House
14	Tatalon	WT9a	GrandMa	1957		58	27	3	37	10	Housewife
15	Payatas	WP7a	Mother	1961		54	18	7	36	8	Wife/Own Business
16	Payatas	WP4a	Mother	1962		53	18	5	40	5	House
17	Dakota	WD3a	GrandMa	1963		52	15	4	12	6	Housewife/sari-sari
18	Tatalon	WT2a	Mother	1963		52	21	4	35	6	Housewife
19	Payatas	WP1a	Mother	1965		50	24	9	20	8	Garbage separator
20	Tatalon	WT4a	Mother	1966		49	29	2	21	6	Street vendor
21	Payatas	WP2a	Mother	1970		45	19	3	26	4	Desserts vendor
22	Payatas	WP3a	Mother	1971		44	20	9	22	9	Housewife
23	Dakota	WD1a	Mother	1972	Ferdinand Marcos	43	20	4	25	9	Parent volunteer
24	Dakota	WD2a	Mother	1972		43	19	5	25	10	Parent volunteer
25	Payatas	WP5a	Mother	1973		42	22	6	42	12	Housewife
26	Payatas	WP10a	Mother	1973		42	39	2	7	12	Street vendor
27	Dakota	WD5a	Mother	1975		40	17	4	25	6	Housewife
28	Tatalon	WT6a	Mother	1975		40	19	2	21	6	Factory worker
29	Tatalon	WT12a	Mother	1975		40	19	4	22	10	housewife
30	Dakota	WD4b	Mother	1976		39	28	4	39	14	Social worker
31	Tatalon	WT1b	Daughter	1976		39	nm	0	17	15	Tech Chemistry
32	Tatalon	WT7a	Mother	1977		38	22	5	15	10	Sewer
33	Tatalon	WT14a	Mother	1977		38	18	3	21	5	Housewife
34	Tatalon	WT11a	Mother	1978		37	23	1	16	10	housewife
35	Tatalon	WT10b	Mother	1980		35	22	2	35	10	Textile worker
36	Payatas	WP9a	Mother	1981		34	19	2	18	10	Housewife
37	Tatalon	WT5a	Mother	1981		34	18	3	29	10	Housewife
38	Tatalon	WT13a	Mother	1981		34	24	1	34	10	Housewife
39	Payatas	WP6b	Mother	1982		33	16	1	20	10	Housewife
40	Tatalon	WT8a	Mother	1983		32	18	4	32	10	Housewife
41	Tatalon	WT9b	Mother	1983		32	25	3	32	13	Call center employee
42	Payatas	WP7c	Daughter	1986	Post-Marcos transition to democracy and Neoliberalism	29	15	3	26	6	Housewife
43	Payatas	WP4b	Daughter	1988		27	17	2	27	8	Housewife
44	Tatalon	WT3b	Daughter	1990		25	nm	0	25	12	Unemployed
45	Dakota	WD3b	Daughter	1991		24	nm	0	24	11	Unemployed
46	Payatas	WP8a	Mother	1991		24	15	3	24	12	Housewife
47	Payatas	WP1b	Daughter	1992		23	19	2	23	8	Housewife
48	Tatalon	WT2b	Daughter	1992		23	21	1	23	10	Housewife
49	Dakota	WD1b	Daughter	1993		22	nm	0	22	11	Facilitator
50	Tatalon	WT15b	Daughter	1993		22	19	1	11	12	Sales Promoter
51	Payatas	WP3b	Daughter	1994		21	nm	0	21		Student
52	Dakota	WD5b	Daughter	1996		19	nm	0	19	10	Student
53	Payatas	WP2b	Daughter	1996		19	nm	0	19	14	Student
54	Payatas	WP5b	Daughter	1996		19	nm	0	19	13	Student
55	Tatalon	WT6b	Daughter	1996		19	nm	0	19	10	Unemployed
56	Dakota	WD2b	Daughter	1997		18	nm	0	18	12	Student
57	Tatalon	WT12b	Daughter	1997		18	nm	0	18	12	Student
58	Tatalon	WT10c	Daughter	1999		16	nm	0	16	11	Student
59	Tatalon	WT5b	Daughter	2000		15	nm	0	15	9	Student
60	Tatalon	WT7b	Daughter	2000		15	nm	0	15	10	Student
61	Tatalon	WT8b	Daughter	2001		14	nm	0	14	7	Student

Note: *Each woman has up to three simultaneous roles: grandmother, mother, daughter or granddaughter

1.6.2. Data sources

The primary data sources are semi-structured interviews with 61 women of 31 households (see Table 1.2) and eight *Sari-Sari* stores owners.⁴¹ Three stores are located in *Payatas*; two in *Dakota* and three in *Tatalon*. Interviewees were selected and introduced by organizations supporting this study. A complementary data come from the researcher's semi-structured observations inside the houses and stores during different days and seasons. The researcher slept in the slum during 42 days and 46 days nearby in different seasons. It allowed the verification of slums' retail dynamics in different periods of social activity: Christmas holidays, summer-school holidays, and rainy season. Observation sheets were prepared, as suggested by Nichols (1991), to capture significant circumstances and moments that provide meaning to CPF. Secondary sources such as previous studies, corporate, governmental and media business reports were also used.

1.6.3. Data collection and research method

Data was collected during 2015 and 2016: December, 7th- 24th in 2015; March, 3rd- 8th April and August 17th to September 14th in 2016. As part of the fieldwork preparation stage, a dialogue with Filipino communities in Kyoto and Osaka occurred since August 2015. This step was necessary to gain trust and to receive recommendation before reaching organizations in Manila.

The interviews were conducted in English. The translation support came from NGOs and ROs personnel. In total, five different languages were identified, from which, *Tagalog* was the most common used. In the case of *Sari-Sari* stores, the interviews happened during selling time, thus, constant interruptions occurred and it was necessary to visit the stores more than twice and in different seasons. In the case of households, each interview was rich in information but long—from 1 to 2 hours including interruptions—thus, it was also necessary to visit the house more than four times in different seasons. In each visit, the researcher sought to verify certain information and to observe if emerging dynamics occurred during the three-four months gap between the visits. The purpose was to validate rather than to explore from zero again. This process was in agreement with Miles and Huberman's basic analytic cycle of moving from inductive to deductive, as data and information was confirmed (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The research plan covered the market and meanings spheres (see Chapter 2). On the one hand, the focus for the market sphere was put on retail and consumption of CPF brands, prices, estimated quantities, customer-grocer relations, channels, promotions, advertisements, etc. On the other hand, in order to find meanings, the emphasis was on noting the grocers and consumers' judgments about CPF. In the case of the *Sari-Sari* store research, the design and protocol focused on the person's opinions as grocer rather than consumer, however, we respected and took marginal notes of her opinion as mother, daughter, friend, etc., in fact, this was a necessary information to understand the micro-retailers' mentality and socio-economic culture.

⁴¹ Ownership in symbolic terms, legally, they do not have property rights of a store. It is informal economy but store proprietorship exists in language, attitudes, and in the acceptance of the community.

The data collection and analysis proceeded through the following phases

Phase 1, the interview and observation processes. The purpose was to gather data about products, price, sales, daily consumption, etc, (market sphere) and data from expressed thoughts in phrases, words about CPF (meanings sphere). The note-taking formats supporting the fieldwork interviews were, for the case of women at household, schemes of a time-line, also known as chronological life-history (Ojermark, 2007; Adriansen, 2012); for the case of *Sari-Sari* stores, the business model canvas⁴² was used. Data became digital notes after the transcript in *Microsoft excel* and word.

The timeline interview method for conducting life history research was selected considering the time, language, and logistic limitations when doing research in slums. It provides an opportunity for linking the story with the wider social, political and environmental context during the interview (Adriansen, 2012). Timeline as research tool facilitates the tracking of the CPF associated with each of their key life periods—childhood, school, the arrival to Manila, job experiences, marriage, having children, and so on. It also assists in gathering relevant products (brands) and experiences related to those products of the marginalized populations in their lifetime.

Phase 2 - construction of meaning codes. A code represents a theme or idea about the CPF summarized in one or two words. It relates to adapting Ogden and Richards' (1946) conceptual model when identifying meanings (see Chapter 2 Section 2). Codes arose while doing transcripts and analysis of the data in the text processor. The researcher assigned individual codes to significant transcript phrases or words. For example, the quotation about chocolate-powder 'it is easy to storage and moms buy for their children's breakfast' was given the codes 'easiness', 'mothers', and 'children's breakfast'. These codes are referred as CPF meanings.

Phase 3 - a new cycle of coding. It uses the researcher observational notes to confirm or complement (if necessary) the codes in Phase 2. Those notes came from the researcher's study of each household and each *Sari-Sari's* business model. The notes may include the household women and micro-retailers' ideas, habits, behaviors, anecdotes, and spontaneous situations or happenings during the observations. As suggested by Nichols (1991), this iterative process enriches comprehension of the interviewee's opinions.

Phase 4 - categorization of meanings. Redundant codes were grouped into 'categories' (or families) and assigned a descriptive constructed name. For example, the individual codes 'nutrition', 'energetic', 'stimulation', 'fast', 'rapid', 'saving time' were all grouped into a single category which was assigned the construct name 'CPF + attribute'. Lastly, the meaning codes were listed and counted in each category for visual presentation in a graph.

⁴² Osterwalder and Pigneur (2013) suggest a set of themes for business model analysis: Consumer segment, customer relationships, value proposition, channels, key activities, key resources, partnerships, costs and revenues.

1.6.4. Limitations in the scope of the study

The study presents two main limitations: First, the households and *Sari-Sari* stores were introduced (the selection is implicit) by the NGO or the RO.⁴³ Second, English was used as language for communication; the translations were made by the support of NGO and RO human resource network with high-school or university-level education, however, none of the participants in the study, including the researcher, has English as a mother language.

1.7. Research contribution

The contribution of this research is threefold. First, differently from most of critical political economy studies on food, it focuses on exchange and consumption rather than production. Considering the structural conditions of slums and their lack of means of food production, *exchange* and *consumption*, elements of critical political economy (Marx, 1857) gain relevance for a deeper study of the circulation process of capital until its realization (Marx, 1883).

Second, rather than just researching on market relations at the micro-level, it also inquires meanings of corporate packaged food for micro-store grocers and women householders. Slums are the main area of analysis but the relevance of this research can reach a larger geographical scope by reason of the existence of CPF consumers in most of the urban and rural households worldwide.

Third, the perspective of analysis is at the micro level from households instead of the macro-systemic level of political economy analysis. The analysis of CPF exchange and consumption at the micro-level enriches and complements or even challenges the macro explanations about social, political and economic aspects of contemporary urban realities. In the micro-level, this study is based on the premise that CPF juxtaposes three valuable characteristics for slum dwellers: it is a means of exchange for income earning (Ko, 2006), it is a means of subsistence (Bonnin, 2006; Floro and Bali Swain, 2013), and it is a symbolic representation of modern life (Weidner, et.al, 2010; Batra, et.al, 2014; Bhat and Reddy, 1998). Those material and symbolic aspects of CPF can be analyzed in a critical manner in the study of spheres of market and meanings while unveiling contradictions in slums' food-related practices.

1.8. Overview of the chapters

Chapter 2 introduces the analytical framework. Previous studies on social and economic activities in slums from the 1920s until the 1970s were rich in terms of their narratives and their analytical skills to add to historical, geographical, political economy, cultural, anthropological and other sociological

⁴³ In most of the cases they were related and well inform of the activities of the NGO or RO, that in fact, are not focusing on food issues. The NGOs main focus is education (access or sponsoring) and the RO is involved in a variety of practices related to its religious dogma and ritual.

aspects. After the 1980s, with increasing dominance of neoliberal thought and political practice, the analysis were mostly reduced to simple economic terms under the logic of markets.⁴⁴ Albeit the market sphere is of foremost importance, particularly in research on CPF, in order to understand the complexity related to exchange and consumption, it is also necessary to navigate in the sphere of meanings. Accordingly, I offer an analytical framework that considers the spheres of market and meanings simultaneously, thus, opening up a space to make use of the valuable accumulated knowledge in different disciplines of social sciences. This framework allows the political economy analysis of food exchange and consumption—practices and judgments—even in difficult research conditions, such as slums.

Chapter 2 also fulfills the purpose of defining ‘CPF’ as a political economy concept instead of using other general terms. Establishing CPF as a concept in political economy enables us to discern ‘commodity’ from a ‘product’ or ‘goods’ which fail to point out the specificity of capitalism. Likewise, ‘Slum’ is claimed to be the proper concept for political economist rather than depending on other related terms used frequently- such as ‘Informal Settlement’ (IFS), which has been preferred for the most part of UN Habitat writers and mainstream scholars. As critical political economy reveals, while slum is intrinsic to capitalism, IFS or similar terms avoid referring to or soften the historical and systemic causal elements in its formation.

Chapter 3 ‘Corporate Packaged Food and Slums: Historical Background’ describes the path of branded food in Manila, from the 1870s to the 21st century, making emphasis on the exchange and consumption from marginalized populations. It explains the historical process until contemporary CPF food provision in slums in four periods, which were defined based on significant political and economic events: 1) from the 1870s to the 1930s, the foundations of Manila’s CPF market; 2) from 1946 to 1965, the post-war period when political power privileged the formation of Filipino corporate groups while limiting ownership and participation to foreign capital; 3) from 1965 to the 1980s, the Marcos’s regime period that expanded rent seeking and crony capitalism in CPF businesses, inertia that continued after Marcos. A significant political economy phenomenon of this period is the emergence of the Filipino-Chinese bourgeoisie class; 4) from the end of 1980s when the Filipino political economy started to be fully dominated by neoliberalism. It is also the era of an intertwined discourse of inclusive economy and BoP businesses that contextualize current CPF exchange and consumption in slums.

The main messages of Chapter 3 are, first, that the current CPF exchange and consumption practice in slums is the result of a long term process dominated by the industrial capital, which gradually expanded until profusely penetrate the slum boundaries. The fundamental point is that ‘corporate’ branded commodities have been a part of slum populations by generations, thus, nourishing their mind perceptions—constructing meanings. Second, the political economy executed by the government elite substantially impacted in the development of the food and beverage industry while limiting or supporting specific corporate groups. The most representative case is the

⁴⁴ *Economist* is the term often used to criticize the reduction of social issues to exclusively economic terms.

emergence of the Filipino-Chinese corporations, which nowadays are important players in the CPF slum provisioning along with worldwide corporations such as Nestlé and Coca Cola.

Chapter 4, 'Corporate Packaged Food in Slums: Market and Meanings at the Filipino *Sari-Sari* store' has a twofold purpose. First, to argue that a combined research of the market and meaning spheres clarify the *modus operandi* of large processed food corporations in slums. In the market sphere occurs the trade of commodities expecting a physical or objective consumption; in the meaning sphere, the subjective experiences of retailers and consumers can be expressed in symbols, referents, codes, identities, emotions, etc. Second, to show the results of a qualitative research of Filipino *Sari-Sari* stores' meanings about corporate packaged food (CPF); four categories of meaning were found: sales-related, business facilitation, favorable attributes, and unfavorable attributes of CPF. The findings can be further compared by scholars studying CPF in other slums of developing countries.

Chapter 5 'Corporate Packaged Food Consumption in Slums' Households: Structural and Situational Conditions in the Market Sphere' shifts the focus to the analysis of household consumption. Here I argue that the current CPF consumption is conditioned by the socio-economic structure of the metropolitan area of Manila, visible in the slums' infrastructure and access to products and public services, and by situations of different types in slum households. Those structural and situation conditions are used by corporations to tune their business strategies and marketing initiatives. For instance, Nestlé adapts their business capacities to produce, advertise and supply packaged food to each member of a slum householder: from babies to elders. Also, complementing the analysis of availability presented in Chapter 4, this chapter discusses the CPF consumption drivers linked to affordability and adaptability pillars of BoP marketing (Payaud, 2014). The main argument is that low price and adaptation of local flavors and different customers' preferences is only the *appearance* in the market sphere, the *essence* is the structural and specific family situations conditioning CPF consumption.

Chapter 6 'Corporate Packaged Food in Slums' Households: Consumption and Meanings in Three Women Generations' continues the analysis started in Chapter five but now focuses on the perspectives of three generations of women managing slum households. The main findings are, on the one hand, the identification of five categories of meaning: physiological, rational, socio-cultural, affective and occupational. On the other hand, in general, there is no common meaning of CPF in the three generations of women. But, in particular, there are inter-generational meanings in regard to powdered milk, biscuits and to the dichotomous relationship between sardines and processed meat.

Among the relevant discussions in this chapter, there is the point that the 'convenience' differ from pre-conceptions signalled by food scholars living and studying outside slums. There are also different meanings between generations; for instance, the younger generation includes in their vocabulary words such as 'junk' or 'trendy' which older generations do not have in their cognition. In sum, the findings of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, market and meanings spheres, contribute to the understanding of CPF consumption in slums and point out critical information for both to critically analyze the corporate expansion until arriving at the bottom of urban societies, and to reflect on the

possibilities for alternative food systems to build a discourse that penetrates the masses's minds, increase their consciousness, liberate their food practices, and emancipate⁴⁵ themselves.

Chapter 7 describes how the capital is appropriating of the slum populations' food consumption, which is their main personal and collective asset considering their lack of means of food production—land, water, space, tools, and machinery. The chapter builds on the concepts of 'appropriationism'⁴⁶ and 'substitutionism'⁴⁷ developed by Goodman, Sorj and Wilkinson (1987) and Goodman and Redcliff (1991), extending its use to the CPF exchange and consumption arena. The arguments supporting the capital appropriation of slum CPF consumption are based on the findings of the analysis of the spheres of market and meanings (Chapters 4, 5 and 6) and on the additional information explaining the corporate penetration in both spheres. Corporations implement strategies and tactics of different types synthesized in a twofold conquest: the conquest of physical and mental spaces. Conquest and appropriation are not synonym but they are intrinsically related. The process of appropriation requires the actions for conquering the space (slum) and the mind of their populations, which are highly dynamic and evolve according to time and circumstances.

In the final chapter, I summarize the knowledge obtained about the CPF exchange for consumption in Manila slums: first, in the sphere of market where *Sari-Sari* stores play the fundamental role to channel CPF to slum households, and corporations have been diversified their tactics to permanently introduce their branded food in an affordable and adaptable tastes; second, in the sphere of meanings where commodity fetishism finds his home and continuously reproduce. In this process, corporations improve their organizational capabilities to channel CPF and conquer slums' market space. At the same time, advertising, consumer education, and other forms of persuasions penetrate the slum dwellers' minds where CPF navigates. The inter-subjective common sense of slum populations are affected over time and this phenomenon has important social and political implications.

The appropriation of CPF consumption has social and political economy effects. The chapter concludes that there is a link between CPF consumption and slum women's political common sense. The argument is based on the ongoing socio-cultural phenomena of food deskilling observed in three generations of slum women. Deskilling includes food production, preservation, preparation (cooking), and consumption. The larger food deskilling is, the larger the cultural losses is, and *vice versa*. This cycle also reduces the potentiality of slum dwellers to reflect and be aware of the commodity fetishism and alienation in which are they trapped. In the end, the common sense—the conception

⁴⁵ Emancipation in Latin means free of slavery, but in the context of this study it basically refers to social activities related to awareness of three different situations: 1) aware of being a human depending on 'others' for satisfaction of their primary needs, 2) aware of being a human living in conditions of marginalization, exclusion as result of an uneven social system, and 3) aware of being a human with the potentials to overcome dependency, marginalization and exclusion. In this process, food plays a fundamental role not only as a good indispensable for life and social reproduction, but also as object that can be share and connects with tradition, culture, emotions, desires and dreams (memories and imaginations of future events).

⁴⁶ In the context of rural and agro-industrial studies, '*Appropriationism*' is the discontinuous but persistent undermining of discrete elements of agriculture, their transformation into industrial activities, and their re-incorporation into agriculture as inputs. (Goodman, Sorj and Wilkinson, 1987:2).

⁴⁷ In the context of rural and agro-industrial studies, '*Substitutionism*' is the discontinuous but permanent process to achieve the industrial production of food. In this process, not only does industrial activity account for a steadily rising proportion of value added but the agricultural product, after first being reduced to an industrial input, increasingly suffers replacement by non-agricultural components (Ibid, 1987:3).

of the world as Gramsci explains—is completely distorted and contributes to spread the idea that processed food consumption is natural and unchangeable. Inherently, this phenomenon hinders the construction of a historical bloc with other classes for emancipation.

At the end, a list of further research topics are described; the fact that slum food and CPF exchange and consumption interrelates in multiple disciplines that enable us to extend discussions from different perspectives and approaches. Moreover, the room for comparative studies between large cities of developing countries is unlimited due to the slum population expected growth. Among the important topics is the implicit need of intellectual intervention, which will also require the interaction with multidisciplinary scientific research, and the permanent discussion with public, social and private actors intervening in slums.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities, its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity. (Karl Marx, 1867)

2.1. Introduction

Imagine Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, 150 years after the publication of *Das Capital*, walking through *San Andres* street in the center of Manila, stumbling across stalls, informal vendors and casual gamblers, and then deciding to get into one of the narrow streets that penetrate the labyrinthine quarter that people named as *Dakota*. Surely they will not be surprised of the precarious material conditions of the small crammed dwells, the naked children, the groups of men gathering for drinking, the bad smell, rats, cockroaches, cats, dogs, chickens, fighting cocks, etc., coexisting with hundreds of people.

They will be, perhaps, slightly surprised about the advances of capitalists' technology in the hands of slum dwellers, such as mobile phones and videogame devices that alienate children and youth, and of a multiple number of micro-stores displaying bunches of small packages, sachets, bottles and cans. They will probably discuss, among other things, about how the productive forces of capital have managed to engage slum dwellers into the consumption of those commodities and what can be the implications for the society as a whole. Precisely, this doctoral dissertation goes in this direction while analyzing the role of *Corporate Packaged Food (CPF)*⁴⁸ in the everyday life of slums populations.

The research emphasizes, however, on exchange and consumption rather than production of CPF. The rationale is based on the fact that slum populations are lacking the means of CPF production and the proper sanitary conditions for this task. They are traders and consumers rather than CPF producers. In slums, it is common to observe the presence of micro-retailers—slum grocers, street vendors, eateries—and, intrinsically, CPF consumers. Thus, the study of slum retailers and consumers, itself, provides the foundations for the understanding of the situation in slums and the implications of political economy.

The political economy of CPF in slums should be understood in a broad perspective. Political economy of food is comprised of historical, social and cultural elements of analysis (Atkins and Bowler, 2001).⁴⁹ Supporting this argument, the social geographers Peet and Thrift (1989) point out that political economy refers to a broad spectrum of ideas, a whole range of perspectives which sometimes differ from one another and yet share common concerns and similar viewpoints. For

⁴⁸ In this study, CPF is understood as a commodified food and beverage that was packaged, canned or bottled by one or several corporations and it has a visible intellectual property—brand or trademark—(see next sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.3).

⁴⁹ Atkins and Bowler (2001) consider Political Economy as one broad approach that includes historical, cultural and sociological elements involved in the study and understanding of food systems. In concrete they consider that Political Economy provides a theoretically informed and structuralist perspective on global and local tendencies. Methodologically, the study of Political Economy of Food covers, first, the research on Food Regimes, a macro-structural umbrella concept; next, the analysis of food networks and food sectors. At the end, the investigation of corporate marketing of food and consumption habits at household level. In sum, it is a broad perspective going from the macro-systemic to the micro-levels of analysis.

them, *economy* is understood as social economy or way of life that is founded in social production, which in turn is not a neutral act but as a *political* act carried out by members of classes and other social groupings. In the same way, Fine et al. (1996) argue that political economy studies on food, instead of fragmentation of the perspective due to individual disciplines, have the theoretical and methodological possibility for greater cross-conceptual fertilization between geography, sociology, anthropology, economics, psychology, and the other social sciences that have found some common interest in food.

The content of this doctoral thesis exemplifies the broader scope of political economy of CPF. When we study slums and food, necessarily, the political economy approach takes the analysis beyond the structural explanation of the existence of poverty, marginalization or exclusion that accelerates hunger and injustice. We need to add the rich diversity of cultural elements and social relations between individuals, families and micro-businesses that nourish individual subjectivities and collective inter-subjectivities embedded and surrounding food exchange and consumption.

During the last 150 years, numerous critical social scientists have been developing conceptual frameworks and theories that can explain political economy of food—as a whole or focusing on a certain level of analysis—but in order to avoid complexity while researching on slums, I propose the use of a conceptual framework for CPF research in a multidisciplinary way. The conceptual framework joins three blocks of knowledge in one: 1) CPF as political economy concept, a commodity; 2) spheres of market and meanings that allow us to study exchange and consumption; 3) slum as political economy concept, the understanding of its historical, structural and specific conditions at household level, influencing the spheres of market and meanings. The study of slums is based on their micro-stores—main actors of their economic and socio-cultural environment—and households through the voice of three generations of women, which thoughts and actions undoubtedly have an influence on their families' food habits, thus, on the slum society as a whole.

The outline of this chapter follows the three sections abovementioned. The first section focuses on positioning CPF as a commodity and discusses its characteristics and categorization. Next, the sphere of market and meanings is explained. Lastly, the conceptual discussion about slums is presented, zooming in the other levels of analysis: household and women.

2.2. Corporate Packaged Food as a Political Economy Concept

2.2.1. Commodity

Capitalist society highly considers the exchange value of a commodity,⁵⁰ its capacity to sell and transform to money and through money into another commodity, rather than its use value. It means that this type of society rests on the valorization of value as a system, presenting herself as an immense accumulation of commodities (Marx, 1967). However, commodity production requires general preconditions such as the accessibility to (commodity) labor and the social system(s) that

⁵⁰ Commodity is anything produced with the explicit purpose of exchange and getting a profit, rather than using it for share or self-consumption.

guarantee its maintenance and reproduction—in a way that class conflicts can be avoided, disincentived or repelled.

In this process, food commodity, including CPF, plays a fundamental role as a means of subsistence and social reproduction: the cheaper and easier it is to obtain food, the easier it is to reduce the salary rate and the easier to diminish struggles emerging from the bottom of the society⁵¹ (Auyero and Moran, 2007). Class struggles, and food riots that frequently accompanied them, have been occurred worldwide in different historical periods (Bush, 2010; Patel and McMichael, 2009). The risks of food chaos persist considering scenarios of one or multiple crises—environment, energy, economy and politics—then the relevance CPF would increase, either as object of desire during uncontrolled riots or as part of a planned and organized solution.

Recently, another key point of the commodity society—during both “stable” and tumultuous times—is the intensified *fetishism* through increasing distance between production and consumption, and via modern marketing, including its sophisticated mechanisms for positioning brands over commodities (Hudson et.al, 2013). These authors succinctly remark ‘in Marx’s time you had to peer beneath the commodity form to get the conditions of production, now you must search beneath the brand just to get the commodity’ (Ibid, 2013:15). Thus, the capitalists add another layer of misinformation to obscure the historical, social, and environmental relations behind the production system.

First, the idea that commodities are simply ‘goods’ or ‘products,’ eliminates the historical character of the commodities. Products have existed since the beginning of human societies, but since the fifteen century when capitalism emerged, commodities were not defined anymore by the concrete labor that produced them, but by a mere amount of indistinct (abstract) labor; that is, the amount of labor time that has been spent producing it. This marked a watershed: it is not the men themselves who regulate production according to their needs, but it is through the market, an anonymous instance that can be intervened and constructed in favor of individual or group interests.⁵²

Second, in capitalism, there is a camouflaged appearance of exchange relationships between things hiding the exploitative social relations behind. In fact, what is really exchanged through a purchase of a commodity is the used human energy, human lifetime, and his different types of skills and abilities⁵³ subsumed in the production system. Marx uses the term ‘social hieroglyphic,’⁵⁴ later

⁵¹ A good example is Argentina during 2001-2002 monetary crises. Thousands of families claimed for food “*cacerolazo*” and bottom class people, mostly from Buenos Aires’ slums (villas) rioted supermarkets grabbing among their priorities CPF and water.

⁵² Even, Non-Marxist intellectuals such as Polanyi (1957) and Coase (1988) agree that market system, one of the main institutions of capitalism, is constructed, and requires the involvement of the state and a reliable private property law system. A concrete example of market construction of foodstuffs is provided by Garcia-Parpet (2007) in France.

⁵³ Although the labor involved in growing coffee is radically different from that involved in serving it at a cafe, ‘the very real qualitative differences (specific labor) between the two are hidden in the sphere of exchange.’ (Hudson et.al, 2013:14)

⁵⁴ To explain that a commodity contains the social relations between the people that produce it, Marx said ‘when we bring the products of our labor into relation with each other as values, it is not because we see in these articles the material receptacles of homogeneous human labor. Quite the contrary: whenever, by an exchange, we equate as values our different products, by that very act, we also equate, as human labor, the different kinds of labor expended upon them. We are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it. Value, therefore, does not stalk about with a label describing what it is. It is value, rather, that converts every product into a social hieroglyphic. Later on, we try to decipher the hieroglyphic, to get behind the secret of our own social products; for to stamp an object of utility as a value, is just as much a social product as language. The recent scientific discovery, that the products of labor, so far as they are values, are but material expressions of the human labor spent in their production, marks, indeed, an epoch in the history of the development of the human race,

extended by Hudson, et.al (2013), to explain the covering of hidden relations between producers and between humans and nature that are inscribed in each contemporary market item.

Third, the exchange of commodities in the market also obscured its impact on nature. Hudson et.al, (2013:12) succinctly explain the issue with an example of grain: ‘grain grown by a small farmer using few chemical inputs and working in his or her own land is put into the same market as grain grown by an agro-industrial operation using wage labor and massive quantities of chemicals. In the process of exchange, the grain, produced through very different processes, will be evaluated only on the basis of its characteristics as a final product.’ Specifically about pre and post CPF consumption, the hidden impact on nature also exists in a substantial number of packages’ materials that are not recyclable and increasingly pollutes soil, air and water (Marsh and Bugusu, 2007).

In sum, CPF inherently forms part of the commodity society and plays a political economy role as a branded product extending commodity fetishism worldwide. Its characteristics and categorization are exposed in the following sections.

2.2.2. Characteristics and conceptual specifications

Corporate Packaged Food has an intrinsic material character—embedding nutrients, flavors and physical consistency as solid or liquid—that can satisfy hunger. CPF also has a symbolic character, which complements the material one to satisfy human wants, for instance, a satisfaction by consuming a well-known and constantly advertised brand (see section 2.2.3). The material character of CPF—a pack, can or bottle—facilitates corporations⁵⁵ to print colors, logos, icons, and messages; and to store, transport, and deliver CPF even in narrow streets such as those in slums.⁵⁶ Both, material and symbolic characters of CPF facilitate exchange and capital realization, which in turn involves profits and a new cycle of accumulation and reproduction (Marx, 1885).

In comparison to other terms relevant to CPF concept (see Table 2.1), CPF has the following eight conceptual characteristics that make this concept specific and pertinent for the study of the political economy of exchange and consumption in slums.

First, although CPF can be used as a gift or even for barter, in its biography, CPF was born as commodity—a product planned and designed to be sold in the market in search of profit. Thus, in any circumstance CPF does not lose its inner essence as commodity.

Second, CPF concept includes beverages of different types (see section 2.1.3) but excludes beer even though some populations might consider it as food.⁵⁷

but, by no means, dissipates the mist through which the social character of labor appears to us to be an objective character of the products themselves’ (Marx, 1867: 48)

⁵⁵ A corporation is a legal entity that is separate and distinct from its owners. It means that a corporation enjoys most of the rights and responsibilities that an individual possesses; for instance, the right to enter into contracts of different types including private property acquisitions, loan and borrow money, sue and be sued, hire employees, buy and sell assets and pay taxes. In this study there is an emphasis on ‘large’ corporations by reason of their capacity to penetrate slums in a massive scale. Corporate capabilities are sustained not only by their financial power, but also, by their organizational and technical conditions to fulfill quality and safety; to coordinate multinational business processes; to monitor technological advances; to create or buy market information, etc.

⁵⁶ Definition and characteristic of slums are discussed in section 2.3

⁵⁷ Engels, in his classic study of the conditions of the working class in England (1845) considered beer as food, but nowadays the distinction of alcoholic beverages and the rest of food have been clearly established by food safety and nutrition authorities.

Table. 2.1. Corporate Packaged Food: Relevant terminology

Term	Main characteristic	Connection with CPF
Processed food	Products that do not undergo major changes from their basic commodity forms through processing such as rice, wheat, flour, meats, fishes, milk, fruits, vegetables, etc. Processing generally takes place close to the location of primary production. (Regmi and Gehlhar, 2005:2)	Some meats, fishes, fruits and vegetables, milk, cacao, coffee, etc., are canned/package/bottled, branded, retailed, and consumed.
Manufactured food	Production of manufactured foods is less location specific due to technological capabilities and mobility of capital. Factories can be relocated without mattering the distance with the location of primary production. (Regmi and Gehlhar, 2005:2-3)	
Big Food	‘Big Food’ refers to the transnational food manufacturing corporations that dominate the production of highly processed foods and beverages, with the ten largest corporations comprised of Nestle, Pepsico, ABF, Coca-Cola, Danone, General Mills, Kellog, Mars, Mondelez International, and Unilever (Scrinis, 2016; Clapp & Scrinis, 2017).	CPF takes into consideration the global multinational food manufacturing corporations but it also opens important space for domestic corporations. For the case of the slums, the term ‘Big’ is highly inappropriate. In slums, retailing emphasizes on one-piece product—sachet—or ‘small’ quantities of canned, bottled or packaged products.
Packaged food and beverages	It includes packaged food sold by corporations, retailers as ‘private label,’ <u>artisanal</u> and <u>generic/unbranded</u> . Packaged food is defined in terms of retail sales and <u>foodservice sales</u> . The latter refers to sales to consumers in a non- or semi-captive environment and includes venues such as cafes, bars and street stalls. (Alexander et, al., 2011:3). Alexander et, al., (2011) do not include <u>soft drinks</u> as packaged food; those are categorized separately and include: carbonates, packaged fruit/vegetable juice, bottled water, functional drinks, fruit’ concentrates, ready to drink coffee and Asian specialty drinks. The term beverage and soft drink are used interchangeably (Alexander et, al., 2011:4). Differently, Howard (2016) includes not only soft drinks but also beer.	CPF concept refers only to <u>corporate branded</u> packaged food produced and sold by corporations for retail purposes. It excludes artisanal food and the packaged food sold as foodservice. CPF concept includes beverages (soft drinks and juices) but excludes beer. CPF concept does not directly attach a “positive” or “negative” attributes (see raw below).
Convenience Food	Convenience foods consist of packaged dishes or foods that can be prepared quickly and easily, food ready to eat, frozen food and affordable (Smith, 2011). It also includes a large number of manufactured packaged food and beverages, and packaged food sold as foodservice.	
Unhealthy food	It refers to food such as burgers, pizzas, red meats, crisps, biscuits, salty snacks, sugary drinks that contain high levels of sugar, salt, trans-fats and saturated fats are known to pose a greater risk for obesity and Non-Communicable Diseases (NCDs). Most of this food is ultraprocessed, ready to eat but energy-dense and containing empty calories devoid of nutritional value (Grover, 2014:4).	CPF does not directly attach a “positive” or “negative” attribute (healthy-unhealthy; convenient-inconvenient; eco-friendly-unsustainable; beautiful-ugly; etc.). Those meanings are signaled by populations not by the CPF concept itself. CPF is a political economy concept rooted in the understanding of CPF as commodity, then, for capital there is not distinction if the commodity is a ‘healthy’ or ‘nocuous’ use-value (Veraza, 2008), the important point is to be realized in the sphere of circulation (Marx, 1885) without mattering its properly use or waste. CPF does not include fast food and local street food.
Junk Food	It is food that is extremely high in sugars, fats and salts, or what are often called “empty calories” and it is relatively cheap. The ‘junkiness’ of foods is a matter of degree. Some soft drinks contain only calories from sugar and no other nutrients (the epitome of “empty calories”), whereas a double bacon cheeseburger deluxe, though containing lots of saturated fats, cholesterol, salt and calories, would typically also contain a considerable array of nutrients (Albitton, 2009:3-4). Junk food also includes fast food, soft drinks, manufactured food (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2012). Additionally, Grain (2015) includes local street food, for instance, the Mexican tacos.	

Source: Own Elaboration based on several sources 2005-2017

Third, CPF does not include fast food (McDonalds, Jollybee, KFC, etc.,) and local street food packaged in plastic bags or styrofoam boxes.

Fourth, CPF excludes the packaged food sold as foodservice and the artisanal food (e.g. neighborhood bakeries, pizzas, and rice noodles) that packaged their products in boxes and plastic bags.

Fifth, CPF relates to both multinational food brands—as most of the literature on processed food does—and domestic large corporations, which also contributes to the expansion of the CPF consumption habits to the bottom of urban society.

Sixth, for the case of the slums, it makes emphasis on one-piece product—sachet—or any other canned, bottled or packaged product retailed in 'small' quantities. For this reason, the term 'Big Food'⁵⁸ is highly inappropriate.

Seventh, albeit positive and negative attributes that can be identified through the analysis of meanings (see Chapters 4 and 6), CPF concept, does not implicitly attach adjectives such as healthy-unhealthy; nutritious-innutritious; convenient-inconvenient; eco-friendly-unsustainable, junk, etc. Most importantly, CPF should be understood beyond those simplifications. Capital, as a whole, does not distinguish—and is irrelevant—if the commodity is a 'healthy' or 'nocuous' use-value (Veraza, 2008). The fundamental nature of capital is to transcend production, and circulate until its realization—selling the commodity for subsequent process of accumulation and reproduction (Marx, 1885)—without caring whether commodities have a good or bad impact on people or environment.

Eighth, CPF as a political economy concept—commodity instead of goods or product—facilitates not only the widely studied effects on humans, society and environment theorized as exploitation, capital concentration, contamination, etc., but also new or extended categorizations derived from the analysis of exchange and consumption that complements traditional analysis of production. For instance, it reveals the impact on slum dwellers skills, enlarged fetishisms or alienation limiting human capacity to increase individual conscience and collective awareness, necessary elements for constructing social relations where justice, equity, and freedom prevail.

2.2.3. Categorization

The following categorization of Corporate Packaged Food is the result of a review of main academic literature and business data sources about processed food. Two types of categorization were found. Based on economic census⁵⁹ and trade databases,⁶⁰ there are food industry reports organized by major sectors: 1) fruits and vegetables; 2) fish and marine products; 3) meat and poultry products; 4) flour and bakery products; 5) beverages; 6) confectionery; 7) dairy foods; 8) food condiments and

⁵⁸ The literature of 'Big Food' is explicitly concerned on the one hand with the nutritional transition, diabetes, obesity and diet changes in society and on the other hand with the political interference of large corporations in nutritional, health, scientific, and environmental policies (Clapp and Scrinis, 2017; Nestle, 2013; Scrinis, 2016).

⁵⁹ following the *international standard industrial classification* (ISIC)

⁶⁰ following the *harmonized system codes* (HSC)

seasonings; 9) food supplements; 9) bottled water; 10) snack foods, and 11) fats and oils. (e.g. Regmi and Gehlhar, 2005; USDA, 2017).

On the other hand, business reports—written by specialized agencies such as *Nielsen*, *Euromonitor*, and *the Economist Intelligence Unit*—combine the official data abovementioned plus their self-created data, from their own surveys and investigations. They generally categorize corporate packaged food as: food, beverages, sauces and condiments. Sub-categories (diaries, soft drinks, confectionery, etc.) are also presented usually in reference to the business corporations' annual reports.

For the purpose of this study, the second type of categorization—the business type—was selected because of the following reasons: First, it better distinguishes food and beverage that are packaged, canned and bottled than categories observed in census, trade data or nutrition surveys. Censuses and official surveys combine processed and manufactured goods without necessarily refer to a final product in packages, cans or bottles. Second, it facilitates the comparative studies of packaged food businesses, both, between companies and between countries (Alexander, et.al, 2011). Third, it is closer to the cognition, language and common understanding of slum micro-retailers and slum consumers than the census and survey's technicisms. Thus, it is claimed that the categorization a) food, b) beverages and c) seasonings and condiments is the most appropriate for CPF slum micro-retail and consumption research.

The main categories and sub-categories of CPF are:

- A. Packaged and Canned Food. It includes noodles, salty snacks, sugar snacks also named as candies (confectionery), biscuits, canned sardines, tuna and seafood, canned meat, packaged meat, and dairy products and ice cream. Bottled cooking oil is classified in this sub-section of CPF according to the business type categorization, but for this research in Manila slums, oil is excluded after observing that the cooking oil was sold in soft drinks bottles and the producer, the origin, and type of oil were unknown.⁶¹
- B. Packaged, Canned and Bottled Beverages. It includes milk in powder or liquid, cocoa and cereal drinks in powder or liquid, coffee powder, soft drinks, juices in powder or liquid, yogurt and Yakult. Albeit its vital importance for life, bottled water is not included in this category of CPF. The study of water itself requires a certain level of specialization and details that goes beyond the scope of this research. As it was mentioned before, beer is not considered as food in this study.
- C. Seasonings and Condiments. It includes branded packaged seasonings, sauces, vinegars, mayonnaise and ketchup—packaged or bottled.

Finally, during the investigation of the proportion of the total food consumption that corresponds to CPF in slum households, the identification of the non-CPF food segments was necessary. The main

⁶¹ As it was mentioned before, one of the main characteristics of CPF is the visible corporate intellectual property, brand or trademark.

sub-categories of Non-CPF: rice, corn, vegetables, fruits, fish, poultry and meats, roots and tubers, seeds, eggs, oils, salt, sugar, and spices, have the same names as they are categorized in nutrition surveys. Finally, fast food from *Jollybee*, *McDonalds*, and *KFC* and food prepared in eateries (*carinderias*) were also inquired. These food sub-segments were added after preliminary observations in slums and through conversations with personnel of NGOs and ROs located in or intervening in slums.⁶²

Next, the conceptual framework for analyzing CPF exchange and consumption is explained. It aims to introduce the specific study of the market and meanings spheres without losing the perspective that the act of exchanging and consuming commodities is the circulation of value until reaching its realization as money-capital, its accumulation and reproduction on an expanded scale (Marx, 1885).

2.3. Capital realization and the spheres of market and meanings

The following conceptual framework has inspirational roots in Marx's theorizations of the circulation phase where the capital is realized (Marx, 1885). The main argument is that the realization of capital requires the penetration in the market and meanings spheres, where the exchange and consumption occur (Illouz, 2009). The realization of capital succeeds when an economic actor (e.g. suppliers, retailers, and consumers) simultaneously experiences the objective and the subjective aspects of a commodity, either for exchange or consumption, which satisfies his or her particular needs.

2.3.1 Capital realization

According to Marx (1867), the whole circuit of capital has three main phases until its realization: I) the conversion of money into capital –the capitalist investment in labor and means of production–, II) the production of commodities, and III) the exchange of commodity capital for money, including capitalists' profit.⁶³ Completing the circle requires a consistent and dynamic coordination from production to consumption or *vice versa*.

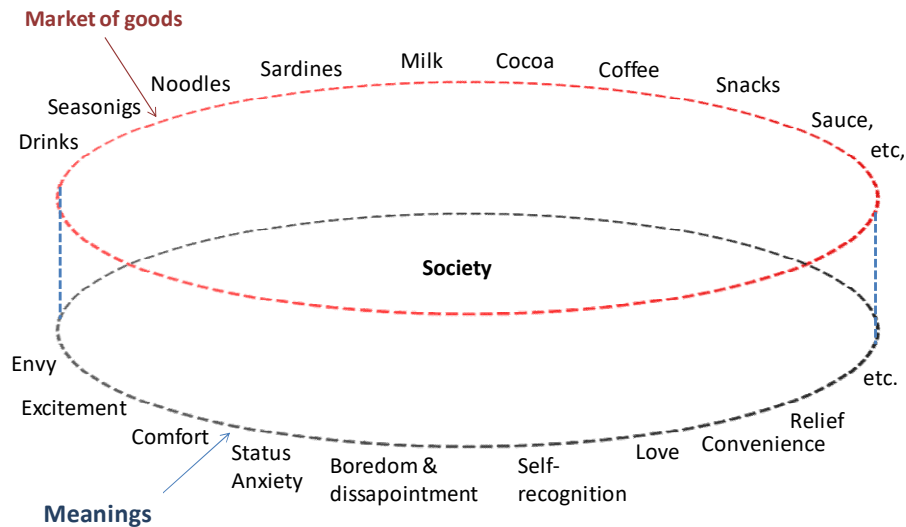
Considering that labor class requires food to live and reproduce, Pierre Bourdieu (1984) goes further and contributes by explaining how the tastes are socially constructed. For example, the popularization of consumer goods (formerly exclusive to the ruling class) such as sugar, coffee, chocolate, seasonings, sauces, mayonnaise, etc. is now reaching the labor class, include those living in marginalized neighbourhoods.

⁶² Alcoholic beverages, cigarettes and non-food sales such as shampoos, creams, detergents, pampers, etc. were only inquired during the investigation of Sari-Sari stores' profit streams, then, be able to identify the CPF sells as proportion of the total sales.

⁶³ Marx conceptualizes the circuit of capital as $M - C \dots P \dots C' - M'$. Where (M-C) is the conversion of money into productive capital; (C...P...C') is the production phase where labor and means of production are combined to obtain the commodity capital C' that contains surplus-value. C'-M' is the *realization* process, the exchange of commodity capital for money capital, including profit. Marx distinguished the production of commodities -from which surplus value originates- and the realization of capital –exchange and consumption in which commodities are bought-sold and consumed-. However, he extensively explains the interaction between these two stages of the circulation process for capital accumulation and reproduction (Marx, 1885).

In this line of reasoning, Eva Illouz adds elements of knowledge in order to understand exchange and consumption. She points out that ‘objects and experiences of consumption always bear the trace of social relationships, simultaneously, signal and constitute them, and these objects circulate in different spheres of exchange’ (Illouz, 2009:388). That is, the *sphere of the market* where objects are physically traded for consumption purposes and, meanwhile, *the sphere of meanings* where experiential moments of exchange and consumption occur (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1. Spheres of market and meanings



Source: Own elaboration (2016)

2.3.2. The market sphere

In the market, a key institution of the great transformation,⁶⁴ takes place the product transactions between social agents.⁶⁵ In slums, the idea of the market refers to a specific physical location such as a street or wet market, groceries, wholesale market, supermarkets, etc. The virtual market, still, is not a common thought. Even if television and internet are available in slums, online trade and purchases from TV-offering commercials are quite exceptional.

In the market sphere, sellers are motivated -among several reasons- by making profits. In slums, however, micro-retailers might also be driven by self-consumption (Bonnin, 2006). On the other hand, the buyer is interested in a product that satisfies a personal or social need. There are several words, situations or moments referring to this sphere: those related to a) *products*: best seller, worst seller, size, grams, quantity, brands, popular names, etc., b) *price*: retail price, wholesale

⁶⁴ Karl Polanyi (1944) based on his long term study of the construction of markets since Hammurabi era (Polanyi, 1957), explains that the market economy reached its full stature until in the 19th century. For Polanyi, the self-regulating market was a third institution—along with the State and private property—‘that produced an unheard-of material welfare... it was this innovation which gave rise to a specific civilization’ (Polanyi, 1944:3).

⁶⁵ Coase explains that markets exist in order in order to reduce the cost of carrying out exchange transactions. He criticizes economists (e.g. Alfred Marshall and its *principles of economics*, which is of the pillars of modern economic thought) for ignoring the market structure that facilitates exchange. Market structure, here, is referred to the number of firms, product differentiation, social institutions, etc., (Coase, 1988:7-9).

price, higher price, lower price, discounts, offer, expensive, cheap, etc., c) *place*: store, market, street, stall, tricycle, etc.; d) *revenues and profits*: sales, costs, income, earnings, margin, etc., e) *time*: schedule, opening, closing, commuting time, etc, and, f) *promotion*: advertisement, publicity, poster, flyer, marketing, commercial, decoration façade, layout, display, etc.

Finally, gifts and barter of CPF could be placed in both spheres of exchange; however, the profit-seeking goals embedded in their biography as commodities (Kopytoff, 1986) subsume the relations of reciprocity and affection between members of the family, and/or the community.⁶⁶ Although CPF used as gift or for bartering has different socio-cultural meanings (Mauss, 1925; Douglas and Isherwood, 1978; Appadurai, 1986), but the commodity-money relation in the market sphere should be considered as the initial point of analysis, followed by the analysis of the meanings sphere.

2.3.3. The meanings sphere

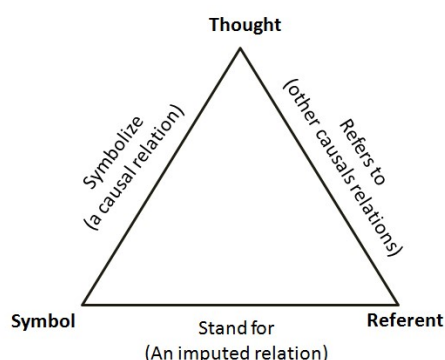
The study of meanings has a long and diverse tradition in social sciences. The basic agreement is that in the market both sellers and buyers exchange things by physiological or psychological ends (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986); it is a simultaneous combination of happenings, moments, and emotions in the market and meanings spheres (Illouz, 2009). Facing complexity, this research does not follow a particular category of meaning previously developed by prominent scholars.⁶⁷ Instead, it goes to the root of what meanings mean (Ogden and Richards, 1946). Ogden and Richards framed three types of relations in which meaning is identified; it may be a symbol or a referent, or the connection of both that stands for a strongest sense of meaning (see Figure 2.2).

The left side of Figure 2.2 represents the combination of symbols and thoughts (*symbolizing*), a causal relation between a specific CPF and retailer's expressed thoughts. The right side is regarded as the connection of thoughts and referents (*referring*) a causal relation between the expressed thoughts and the product in action. The bottom side is connecting a referent with a symbol (*standing*); even if thoughts are not verbally expressed—but observed—there is an ascribed relation between the product in action and its symbols. The identification of at least one of three types of relations gives the conceptual foundation of what CPF means for slum retailers but, as mentioned before, this study focuses on the identification of brands, interpreted as symbols. For instance, when asking for chocolate powder, one immediately can say the word 'Milo' or show the 'logo of Milo' as it exhibited in this figure.

⁶⁶ Gifts and barter of homemade dishes and desserts cannot be formally named as subsumed by capital in the sphere of market because the preparation (cooking) and the share (gift) or exchange by barter depends on the will, time and energy of women or men. However, in the sphere of the meanings, the capital can penetrate in the affections, in the culture, tradition, etc., thus, might have higher relevance in the study of the subordination of exchange to capital (Appadurai, 1986; Dixon, 2002).

⁶⁷ There are landmark works which developed categories of meaning, among the most important are: *false needs* (Marcuse, 1964); *taste* (Bourdieu, 1984); *life-chances and life-styles* (Weber, 1922; Bourdieu, 1984); *collective consciousness* (Durkheim, 1863); *social realities* (Berger and Luckmann, 1966); *social space* (Lefebvre, 1974); *symbols, codes, signs, identities* (Bataille, 1949; Baudrillard, 1972; Bourdieu, 1984); *thickness of symbolism* (Geertz, 1973); *common sense and culture* (Geertz, 1975); *culture and social relations with things* (Douglas and Isherwood, 1978; Appadurai, 1986); *trust* (Dixon and Banwell, 2004); *comfort and excitement* (Scitovsky, 1986); *emotions* (Nussbaum, 2001; Illouz, 2009).

Figure 2.2. The meaning of meanings framework and Corporate Packaged Food



Source: Ogden and Richards, 1946: 11.



Source: Adapted from Ogden and Richards, 1946: 11.

Strengthening the framework for identifying meanings, Ogden and Richards point out six rules or cannons of symbolism derived from the nature of mental processes, and stated in terms of symbols and referents: 1) *singularity*, one symbol stands for one and only one referent; 2) *definition*, symbols which can be substituted one for another indicate the same reference;⁶⁸ 3) *expansion*, the referent of a contracted symbol is the referent of that symbol expanded;⁶⁹ 4) *actuality*, a symbol refers to what it is actually used to refer to; not necessarily to what it ought in good usage, or is intended by an interpreter, or is intended by the user to refer to; 5) *compatibility*, no complex symbol may contain constituent symbols which claim the same 'place';⁷⁰ 6) *individuality*, all possible referents together form an order, such that every referent has one place only in that order.⁷¹

Therefore, Ogden and Richards facilitate the identification of meanings in both: the context of a micro-retailer habits and routines and the context of women's everyday practices that might also evoke meaningful references, symbols or standings. The first case includes not only while selling CPF inside the store, but also during the moments of buying, transporting, storing, promoting, exhibiting, etc. The second case might be not only when consuming CPF in a daily life routine but

⁶⁸ 'It involves the selection of known referents as starting points, and the identification of the *definiendum* by its connection with these. The defining routes, the relations most commonly used for this purpose, are few in number...familiarity with these defining routes offers a means of escape from the maze of verbal cross-classifications which the great variety of possible view-points has produced' (Ogden and Richards, 1946:246-247). In our case, our starting point, 'powder of chocolate' does not have a definition problem. Adults know what chocolate and powder is; furthermore, in their cognition they identify 'Milo' as chocolate powder. And if other symbol is selected, for example: 'Ovaltine,' it also refers to powdered chocolate.

⁶⁹ To explain expansion, Ogden and Richards wrote an example: 'when we refer to "that animal" and then later, after *further study of its footprints* perhaps, to "that lynx" our reference will be to the same referent but a different levels of interpretation in a definite sense involving the number of applications of interpretative processes and the complexity of these processes' (Ibid, 1946:93-94, *italics added*). In our case, for example, when we refer to 'Nescafé' and then extending the symbol when referring to 'Nescafé classic,' 'Nescafé 3-1' or 'Nescafé Vanilla' our reference will be to the same referent (coffee powder named Nescafé) but a different level of interpretation, in the sense of flavor or type of presentation.

⁷⁰ This rule avoids unnecessary repetitions and pleonasm.

⁷¹ Please notice that individuality (rule 6) differs to singularity (rule 1), the latter refers that it can be only one referent for one symbol, but 'individuality' refers that exist a sort or arrangement for each of all possible referents under study. In simple words for our study case of CPF, the chocolate powder referent and the coffee powder have singularity when we study each sub-segment of CPF and individuality when we study the CPF referents as a whole. In the whole they have a place in the list of sub-categories of CPF.

also in celebrations, festivities, events, tragedies, etc. Thus, the framework advantage is that it can be applied in any situation involving things (in this case CPF) and words related to it.⁷²

Limitations of the model and its solutions

Among the critics of the Ogden and Richards's theory of meanings, the critique of Mihailo Markovic—a prominent member of the Praxis School—is one of the most erudite and relevant to political economists researching food consumption. Markovic points out two issues about Ogden and Richards's work: On the one hand, the failure to draw a clear distinction between sign and symbol, as they defined symbols 'as a sign of an act of reference, or in other words a sign by means of which attention is brought to a certain object' (Markovic, 1984:94).

Certainly, Ogden and Richards's theory is primarily for tangible—visible or audible—symbols, which are a sign of a thought or an act of reference. In the case of Milo used in Figure 2.2, it is not only the visual letters M-I-L-O but how it sounds through the use of a language. The critique of Markovic is that without bringing the attention to the object, the meaning cannot be identified, then, cannot be analyzed. Then, imagination of symbols cannot be interpreted through this method.

On the other hand, there is a problem in the model when distinguishing scientific and literary symbols.⁷³ 'Ogden and Richards believe that in the scientific case there is an object that is signified by a symbol, while in the literary case there is no such object' (Markovic, 1984: 99). For Markovic, in both science and literature, the symbols are related to certain inter-subjective permanent dispositions to observe, imagine, conceive or feel something.

Markovic's critique is constructive for the purpose of this and future research. His arguments are taken into consideration. First, the distinction sign-symbol is a complex issue, but through the study of C.S. Peirce⁷⁴ we can elucidate the situation. For Peirce the main concept is *sign*⁷⁵ and it has three forms of expression: one is *index*, which is the closest to an unequivocal meaning, an objective observation; second is a *token* or a *symbol*, which tend to equivocality—a subjective appreciation;

⁷² A novice researcher of meanings, face a fundamental question: do we give meaning to things or to words? Ogden and Richards, using 'Horse' as an example, help us to clarify the situation: 'when we define words we take another set of words which may be used with the same referent as the first, i.e., we substitute a symbol which will be better understood in a given situation. With things, on the other hand, no such substitution is involved. A so-called definition of a horse as opposed to the definition of the word "horse" is a statement about it enumerating properties by means of which it may be compared with and distinguished from other things. There is thus no rivalry between 'verbal' (words) and 'real' (things) definitions' (Ogden and Richards, 1946:110, emphasis and parenthesis added).

⁷³ Literary symbols can be also invented icons or logos, for example in the Philippines with Bear Brand the white bear has a symbolic life itself. It also happens with the 'tiger' used by *Kelloggs* to promote corn flakes consumption, and in Mexico, a 'Little bear' of a packaged food brand *Bimbo*. Characters are surrounded by literary stories that bring imaginary life to those icons.

⁷⁴ Ogden and Richards, linguistics and empiricists, do not completely followed his pragmatist approach but recognized Peirce's contribution on semantics. They wrote the Appendix D about him, which summarizes several learning points such as: i) the definition of logic as the doctrine of the formal conditions of the truth of symbols; i.e., of the reference of symbols to their objects; ii) the clarification that those who discusses 'the general reference of symbols to their objects' would be obliged to research about their references, interpretations and other characters of symbols, not of symbols alone but of all sorts of signs—this is what is called Semeiotic.

⁷⁵ For Peirce a *sign* can be anything that mediated between an *object* and a *mental process*. 'A sign is in a conjoint relation to the thing denoted and to the mind... any character or proposition either concerns one subject, two subjects, or a plurality of subjects...If this triple relation is not of a degenerate species, the sign is related to its object only in consequence of a mental association, and depends upon a habit.' (Peirce, 1993:162).

and the third is *icon* that is a meaning between unequivocal and equivocal meanings, and represents a middle point.⁷⁶

Considering symbol only as one of the sign expressions situates Ogden and Richards's model in the subjective-equivocal side, this limitation is countervailed with the study of CPF in the sphere of market. The researcher carefully registers the names of products, brands, prices, quantities and any physical and symbolic relations between people and the object (CPF) or people to people using CPF as a medium for social relations (e.g. gift, donation or merchandise in the case of micro-retailers). In short, with the investigation of the market sphere, we add elements that allow us to combine the subjective interpretation of the thoughts and judgments about a CPF physically retailed in the store. It is an interpretation through the association of ideas about a 'symbol' (brand name or logo) and an 'index' (a product exhibited in the store or a product in the hand of a woman or women's family).

Second, the concern about literary symbols also is controversial. The reason why Ogden and Richards do not consider literary objects as symbols is because their model is based on sensorial experiences and not imaginary. In our case, researchers in a slum need to observe (*sight*) and listen (*hearing*) dwellers' food practices, and even *tasting* and *smelling* the food (particularly the CPF) that slum people are retailing and consuming. With this practice we can register and identify with more precision the people's meanings.

During the interviews, it is difficult to assure if narratives are imaginary or based on sensorial experiences. For this reason, we need to use the triangulation method to obtain information from the *Sari-Sari* stores and from women of different generations of the same family. It facilitates the scrutiny of coherence. Moreover, to detect invented narratives, a researcher has to develop a skill of contrasting the life-stories, the CPF consumption descriptions and the observed material conditions.

In addition, in front of an economist,⁷⁷ slum dwellers have no reason or incentive to lie and invent imaginative stories about their brand preferences, their dislikes, their experiences, their judgments, their habits and routines, etc. This is an advantage over nutrition and health researchers visiting slums. Slum women understand that economists do not seek to judge if they or their children are consuming *tsitseria* (snacks) or any other processed food that doctors, radio or TV programs alert as unhealthy or risky for their bodies.

To conclude, Markovic considers that the best method to investigate meanings is through the use of the dialectical approach,⁷⁸ but its application to this study exceed the scope, purposes and

⁷⁶ Peirce in several of his works explained in different ways the triple manifestation of a sign. The following is one that in my opinion better summarize his idea: 'It has been found that there are three kinds of signs which are all indispensable in all reasoning; the first is the *diagrammatic sign or icon*, which exhibits a similarity or analogy to the subject of discourse; the second is the *index*, which like a pronoun demonstrative or relative, forces the attention to the particular object intended without describing it; the third, a *token or symbol*, is the general name or description which signifies its object by means of an association of ideas or habitual connection between the name and the character signified' (Peirce, 1993:243 emphasis added). In his perspective the use of an icon (for example a diagram) has a higher advantages than index and symbols when explaining something meaningful.

⁷⁷ I mention economists instead of political economist because for slum women political economy does not make sense, but (household) economics is a familiar topic. Women with a minimum education of secondary, they have a class called 'home economics.'

⁷⁸ Following the 'Mature' Marx's rejection of the Hegel's approach departing from the existence a 'spirit' embracing the entire conceptual structure of the world, Marcovic argues that the task is to synthesize and reintegrate the abstract, fragmented and incomplete ideas—products of different researchers—in order to have the whole, but in a clear and concrete form. He emphasizes the researcher's important capacity to distinguish areas of knowledge but we should not separate economic, political, legal, cultural, psychological dimensions of reality, they need to be studied as a whole through a dialectic process. 'It brings all those one-sided, contrasting philosophical perspectives into an imaginary dialogue, establishing elements of unity in them, discovering their basic limitations that must overcome but also the

analytical skills of the author. Instead, Ogden and Richards' model, albeit with limitations, it has the advantage of simplicity and easiness to apply in difficult research environments such as slums.

2.4. Slums, Household and Women

2.4.1. *Slums and related concepts*

Post World War II (WWII) studies of slums and urban poor families were rich and lucid in terms of the anthropological, economical, political, cultural and psycho-sociological information contained in their narratives (e.g. Whyte, 1955; Lewis, 1959 and 1961; Minuchin, 1967). But since the mid 1970s-1980s, neoliberal thought in economics and politics (Pinochet, Thatcher, Reagan, etc.) impacted slum research, and the simplified use of income data to define who is poor and who is not—without mattering where they live—has become dominant in mainstream schools and international organizations.

The reductionism on income problems, signifying that a person is unable to participate in the market and acquire the necessary goods for life, was supported by the use of advanced statistical and econometric tools that reigned economics and related areas. Contrarily, this research on CPF in slums seeks to recover a multidisciplinary path signaled by political economists and social scientists publishing in pre-neoliberal years.⁷⁹ For doing so, the clarification of terms is necessary. Therefore, the following section discusses the concept of slums and related terms: *Economic Depressed Area*, *Squatter*, and *Informal Settlements*; and continuing moving from general to particular, the households and family conceptual interrelation is reviewed. At the end, the interrelation between *households* and family is discussed and the meaning of 'women generation' is also discussed.

2.4.1.1. *Slum*

Slum is an intrinsically capitalist word. In pre-modern eras slums did not exist. Marginalized people were living as homeless⁸⁰ or in ghettos.⁸¹ It is in the industrial revolution when the slums emerged in 'Great Towns' such as Manchester, London, Glasgow, and Birmingham (Engels, 1845). Engels refers

elements of truth in them, which have to be reintegrated within a comprehensive new theory' (Marcovic, 1984: xxvii). Marcovic points out five overlapped dimensions in the meaning of a sign: i) a relation of a sign with other signs; ii) the designated object—designed by individuals or groups of society with specific purposes and philosophical perspectives; iii) the practical operations that are necessary to identify or generate that object; iv) the mental dispositions of the speaker or those of the hearer; v) the social relations in which a consensus concerning the meaning of sign may be reached. These dimensions form the Marcovic's analytical method for dialectically study meanings.

⁷⁹ In this doctoral dissertation, there is a frequent use of authors and studies that were published from the 1960s to 1980s. I consider it is necessary to refer to previous generations of scholars that are often labeled as 'old-fashioned.'

⁸⁰ Perhaps, the most famous homeless of pre-modern era is Diogenes the cynic philosopher (412-323 BC).

⁸¹ A ghetto is an Italian word, derived from the history in Venice where the Jews were segregated in a specific district of the city. Shakespeare in his 'Merchant of Venice' popularized the character of Shylock, a Jewish moneylender who lived with his community in a ghetto. Thus, the word 'ghetto' is regularly used to name the locations where populations were marginalized and discriminated by reason of ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status (Wacquant, 2009).

to slums as working class districts,⁸² but nowadays the meaning of slum has larger conceptual characterizations (see Table 2.2).

Slums are defined as locations with a visible infrastructural fragility, insecure land, overcrowded, among other structural shortcomings (UN Habitat, 2003), but for the purpose of this study, in addition, slums are also conceptualized as places⁸³ of everyday practices permeated by meanings. In slums, social cohesion and inter-subjective meanings are constructed or disseminated during the daily interactions between members of a local marginalized community (Forrest, 2008). Slum populations develop a specific type of culture and a particular way of life, expressed by feelings, forms of behavior and established local ceremonies (Park and Burgess, 1925; Ramirez, 1984). Moreover, in these places, we can identify a large variety of social and cultural manifestations that have effect on the environment, the economy and the politics of the city itself (Harvey, 1973; Davis, 2006).

Following Hall, culture involves systems of shared meanings which people who belong to the same community use to interpret and make sense of the world. 'These meanings are not free-floating ideas. They are embodied in the material and social world. The term culture includes the social practices which produce meaning as well as the practices which are regulated and organized by those shared meanings' (1995:176).

Hall understands culture as systems of meaning based on the use of language. For him, 'things don't have a fixed meaning, a single truth, which exists for all to see and which we simply reflect in the language we use about them. Rather, it is through language that we give meaning to the world'⁸⁴...Individuals can't change language—the meanings of words—by an act of will; nevertheless, language is constantly changing, historically. This suggests that language is a shared, a collective social construction, though each of us can use it individually to say what we mean' (1995:177). Language is one of the elemental cultural systems that give identity to an individual, but there are more others such as religion, customs, traditions, and place. About the latter, social geographers have largely discussed how people feel and think about places, what in their jargon is called a *sense of place*, that is, 'the way of indicating that places are infused with meaning and feeling' (Rose, 1995:88).⁸⁵

⁸² In the German Edition (1845) Engels uses 'ärmern viertel' (that nowadays can be translated as 'Ghetto,' 'Slum,' or simply as the 'District of the Poor'). He also uses the word '*arbeiterviertel*' that means working class district (neighborhood or quarter can be also accepted). In the preface of the first English edition in 1887, making emphasis on the 42 years difference from the original publication, the word slum was selected by him. Engels stated: 'the drainage has been introduced or improved, wide avenues have been opened out athwart many of the worst slums I had to describe *Little Ireland* had disappeared, and the *Seven Dials* are next on the list for sweeping away.' Engels also refers to newspaper articles and health and police reports in England that were using the word slum since the early 1830s.

⁸³ Cresswell (2009:177) defined place as 'locations imbued with meaning that are sites of everyday practice'

⁸⁴ This logic is in the same tone of Ogden and Richards (1945). Hall clarifies with a snow example: 'Snow does not know that it is 'snow'. It is we who agree, within the conventions of our language code, to call that soft, cold, frozen white water from the sky 'snow' and by doing so we give it a meaning by distinguishing it from two other closely related phenomena, 'rain' and 'hail'. The Inuit people, who have rather a lot of the stuff, are said to have many more words in their language for distinguishing between different kinds of snow.' (1995:177)

⁸⁵ As the geographer Cresswell notes, 'place is a meaningful site that combines location, locale, and sense of place. *Location* refers to the 'where' of place. *Locale* refers to the material setting for social relations – the way a place looks. Locale includes the buildings, streets, parks, and other visible and tangible aspects of a place. *Sense of place* refers to the more nebulous meanings associated with a place: the feelings and emotions a place evokes. These meanings can be individual and based on personal biography or they can be shared.' (2009:169-170)

Table 2.2. Slum definitions

Report	Definition	Main Feature
UN-Habitat (2003:12)	An area that combines the following characteristics (restricted to the physical and legal characteristics of the settlement, and excluding the more difficult social dimensions): • inadequate access to safe water; • inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; • poor structural quality of housing; • overcrowding; • insecure residential status.	Operational definition
UN-Habitat (2003:vi)	Slums frequently include: • Insecurity of tenure; lack of basic services, especially water and sanitation; inadequate and sometimes unsafe building structures; overcrowding; and location on hazardous land; high concentrations of poverty and of social and economic deprivation, which may include broken families, unemployment and economic, physical and social exclusion; limited access to credit and formal job markets due to stigmatization, discrimination and geographic isolation. • Slums are often recipients of industrial effluent and noxious waste, and the land of slum dwellers is often fragile, dangerous or polluted. • People suffer inordinately from water-borne diseases and • Slum women – and the children are the greatest victims.	Negative side of slums
UN-Habitat (2003:vi)	Slums frequently are or include: • The first stopping point for immigrants –affordable housing. • Places of residence for low-income economic activities (mostly informal). • Places in which the vibrant mixing of different cultures frequently results in new forms of artistic expression. Out of unhealthy, crowded and often dangerous environments can emerge cultural movements and levels of solidarity unknown in the suburbs of the rich. • Slum dwellers have developed economically and “innovative” shelter solutions for themselves.	Positive side of slums
UN-Habitat (2006b:1)	A contiguous settlement where the inhabitants are characterized as having inadequate housing and basic services. It is an area which combines to various extents the following characteristics: insecure residential status; inadequate access to safe water; inadequate access to sanitation and other infrastructure; poor structural quality of housing; overcrowding. The terms ‘slum’ and ‘informal settlement’ will be used interchangeably	<i>The world ‘settlement’ (contiguous and informal) gains relevance</i>
UN-HABITAT (2006: v)	Slums are not only a manifestation of poor housing standards, lack of basic services and denial of human rights, they are also a symptom of dysfunctional urban societies where inequalities are not only tolerated, but allowed to fester.	Definition beyond material conditions
UN-HABITAT (2006: vii)	UN-HABITAT uses an operational definition of slums, measured at household level. Four of the five indicators measure <u>physical expressions</u> of slum conditions: lack of water; lack of sanitation; overcrowding; and non-durable housing structures. These indicators—known also as <u>shelter deprivations</u> —focus attention on the circumstances that surround slum life, depicting deficiencies and casting poverty as an attribute of the environments in which slum dwellers live. The fifth indicator, security of tenure, has to do with <u>legality</u> , which is not as easy to measure or monitor, as the status of slum dwellers often depends on de facto or de jure rights or lack of them.	Categorizing the operational definition
UN-HABITAT (2008:xiii)	A place for urban dwellers where many of their houses are unfit for habitation and they often lack adequate food, education, health and basic services that the better-off take for granted. Frequently, their neighborhoods are not recognized by local and central authorities.	Extended to key human rights such as food , education, health , etc., and the ontology problem.
UN-HABITAT (2012:119)	Slums are also known for their atmosphere of fear and the social and economic exclusion of their residents	The fear and exclusion problem.
UN-HABITAT (2012:119)	The physical negation of everything that shared urban prosperity stands for, what with lack of infrastructure, appalling quality of life and inequitable socioeconomic conditions, low-productivity, informal economies and a variety of environmental hazards.	Quality, Inequitable, low-productivity and hazards emphasis.
UN-HABITAT (2016:37)	One billion urban residents live in slums, condemned to a life of poverty and ill health, because they are exposed to air pollution and are denied clean water, basic sanitation, and adequate shelter. Environment and poverty are interdependent: The urban environment is a resource to reduce poverty and improve health conditions, while poverty reduction can have positive effects on the environment.	The environmental problem gains relevance
(FIES,2012)	Households in illegal settlements (i.e., without consent of owner) or living in makeshift housing.	The word ‘Illegal’ is included.
(HUDCC, 2014)	Slums are residential areas that are physically and socially deteriorated, making a decent quality of life impossible.	The concept “decent quality of life” and the ‘impossibility’ claim to achieve it.
World Risk Report, 2014	An inner-urban settlement with substandard living conditions which is, unlike <u>informal or marginal settlements</u> in peri-urban or newly urbanized areas, originally understood as an emergency accommodation in <u>dilapidated parts of the existing city</u> . The housing standards and the infrastructure conditions are correspondingly poor.	Informal or ‘Marginal’ ‘Dilapidated’ are used.

Source: Own elaboration based on several sources 2003-2016

Needless to say, slum populations develop a specific type of a culture and a particular way of life, expressed by feelings, forms of behavior and established local ceremonies (Park and Burgess, 1923; Ramirez, 1984). For example, Park studied the 135th Street in Bronx and Harlem in New York where the 'Negro population' was concentrated in early twentieth century. His findings were that those places were very intimate and highly organized in a way to referred to Harlem as 'the great Mecca for the sight-seer, the pleasure-seeker, the curious, the adventurous, and the talented of the Negro world' (Park and Burgess, 1923:8). Park points out an intensification of intimacies and solidarity, particularly against class and racial prejudice. He highlights the Negro populations' physical and sentimental strength.

By the same token, in contemporary Manila, Ramirez (1984) argues that the strength of intimacy, solidarity and feelings among family, relatives, and friends are fundamental for poor Filipinos.⁸⁶ In her theory of 'Filipino culture of insecurity,' Ramirez points out that after a long history of oppression and exploitation, the poor Filipinos had no source of security except from the members of their family or their kinship group (Ramirez, 1984:43). It resembles what Lynch (1962) identified as a family-dominated society, summarized by the expressions *tayo-tayo lamang* (just us) and the *kanya-kanya* (to each his own).⁸⁷

How can we conceptualize the rich, diverse, and meaningful daily practices and cultural manifestations in slums—obviously including CPF exchange and consumption? Among social geographers Doreen Massey's *activity-space* outstands while explaining the internal dynamism connected with 'the stretching out' of social relations which form social space (Massey, 1995:59). Activity space is 'something as the spatial network of activities, of spatial connections and of locations, within which a particular agent operates' (Massey, 1995:54).

All agents in society have activity spaces, and they come in highly varied shapes and sizes. For instance, the activity space of a small firm (agent) might be just its single plant (space of operation) and its set of links (connections) to suppliers or customers (network of activities); it might well be all limited within, so to say, a single region (location). In contrast, the activity space of a Multinational company (MNC agent) is different. The space of operation includes a larger size manufacturing plants, administration offices, research and development labs and design studies, and its links (connections) with suppliers or customers (network) are spread out worldwide (location).⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Accordingly, Kusaka points out that Manila slums populations have an extended discursive space sustained by the close ties established among intimate relationships, including family, relatives, friends and colleagues in which vernacular languages dominate instead of English, 'people are more prone to empathize with emotional stories rooted in personal experience than with objective, logical arguments. When seeking the sympathy of others, women will often touch one another's hands, and men will put their arms around each other's shoulders or share a glass of liquor; therefore, physical contact also plays an important role as an expression of intimacy' (2017:37).

⁸⁷ Ramirez argues that insecurity have multiple faces, from physical to psychological violence to other forms of social, economy, environmental and spiritual-metaphysical expressions of insecurity (1984:48). Since middle and high classes did not offer security 'it is through the family that shared values of society are spread into individuals and, in turn, projected back again into society' (Ramirez, 1984:19). For her, poor Filipinos, in their consciousness, have never experienced a considered treatment by the 'larger society'—oligarchs, upper and middle classes in any of their social position.

⁸⁸ Massey (1995) also adds that there would also be a 'geography of power' within it. The MNC's power of ownership and of strategic decision-making radiates outwards from head office. The effects of decision taken would be felt in the daily lives of people working worldwide.

Turning to the Manila slums, the activity space of a *Sari-Sari* store (agent) is a modest 9m² area with a window facing the street (space of operation) and its set of links (connections) to suppliers—e.g. soft drinks delivery—and neighborhood customers (network); the suppliers might come from different districts of Metro-Manila but the commodities on sale might be produced in other cities or even overseas (location).

The *Sari-Sari* store have another link with micro-financing managed by Indian people that in Manila are well known as Mumbai people (Kondo, 2003) or through the seed capital is that coming from a relative working in Qatar—where the stadiums for the World Cup of Football in 2022 are under construction. Finally, the environment surrounding the store also plays an important role in the active space and the generation of meanings. Kusaka clearly describes the situation in Manila squatters: ‘residents interact with one another throughout their daily lives, leaving their doors open except when they are sleeping. Benches are everywhere people hangout—in front of the stores known as *Sari-Sari* stores, at bus stops, and so on. Slum alleyways are not merely spaces for transit; women can be seen washing by the roadside or gambling and trading gossip. When men come into a bit of money, they start drinking, sometimes even from the morning. Young men spend all day playing and betting small change on basketball and stroll around until late at night’ (2017:36-37).

As the above remarks demonstrate, Massey’s explanation of the general expansion of activity spaces is a useful knowledge that allows us to think about slums as a place where the time and the space is compressed via the stretching-out social relations—interconnections of persons and things beyond physical limits. Thus, we can argue that slums’ sphere of meanings is far larger than the slum geographical boundary. The social interconnections and flows of commodities and information include Filipinos living worldwide and also foreigners having direct or indirect contact with slum populations.

In sum, slums are locations with a visible infrastructural fragility, insecure land, overcrowded, among other structural shortcomings, and at the same time, places of everyday practices permeated by meanings. However, the daily internal dynamics is connected with flows of commodities and information worldwide, stretching out active space (Massey, 1995) where interactions with different actors occur, including corporations through their advertising and their direct human interaction via vendors or suppliers. Finally, slum is a conceptual umbrella that subsumes other related terms such as *economic depressed area*, *squatter* and *informal settlement*, but without losing its origin in political economy and its critical power while mentioning it. In the following subsections these three terms are explained; they gives us the required context for understanding the intended uncritical account of recent times.

2.4.1.2. *Economic depressed area*

The term ‘depressed area’ is essentially *economisist*, characterized by low-income, unemployment, informality, illegal squatting, precarious infrastructure, and other indicators referring to poor standards of living. Three international references, based in Manila, help us to comprehend the use of this concept. First, in 1999, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) studied

depressed areas to estimate its financing and project implementation. A relevant conclusion is the identification of inequality as the main cause of illegal squatting and of the existence of precarious physical infrastructure: 'the residents of these depressed areas lived in structures constructed from makeshift materials lack in most basic facilities such as water supply, drainage and electrification' (JICA, 1999:546).⁸⁹

Second, in 2001, the Asian Development Bank (ADB), also evaluating conditions for financing and project implementation, reported that on average, three quarters of the households in the depressed areas⁹⁰ are long-term residents. ADB found that the average number of years of living in a depressed settlement habitation is 19.2 years but some of the householders have been there for more than 40 consecutive years. It showed the lack of social mobility and intergenerational stagnation in Manila's slums; a fact that persisted until the early 2010s (Garrido, 2013).

Third, the reason behind the preference of using the term 'depressed or distressed area' instead of 'slum' seems connected to "softening" the term or being "politically assertive." An explicit example of this reasoning was provided by Sean-Patrick Lovett, head of Vatican Radio for English speaking countries, while describing a place visited by the Pope Francis on January 15th, 2015. He stated: 'Malibay (Pasay City, Metro Manila) is a "depressed area", a euphemism used to avoid saying the ugly word "slum"...it is the agglomeration of shacks that you can see bordering the garbage river...More and more people move here every year from the countryside in search of survival. Those who succeed often do so thanks to the very concrete help they receive from Catholic Church groups and religious communities.'⁹¹

Finally, the *Barangay profile*, primary source of information at a micro-territorial level,⁹² also preferred the use of 'economic depressed area' instead of slum. From the consulted profiles, Payatas is the Barangay with the largest percentage of populations living in depressed conditions, around 76,000 inhabitants. Other studies suggest that the whole Payatas, close the garbage dump, can be declared as depressed area even though there are income benefits related to garbage collection and recycling businesses (Sia Su, 2007). For the other two places, Tatalon Barangay profile reports that 20 percent of its population lives in a depressed area, approximately, 22,500 inhabitants. And, the Barangay 104 in Malate Manila, reports that 95 percent of its population is in depressed area, approximately, 4,500 inhabitants.

In short, the economic depressed area is essentially *economisist* and its use softens the terminology referring to those marginalized populations, instead of using "less politically correct" words such as slums or squatters.

⁸⁹ It also reported about three million poor in Metro Manila, with an income of around Philippine Piso (PhP) 650 by month (1/7 of the average income of the whole Metro Manila).

⁹⁰ Referred as urban locations where housing, unemployment and a low standard of living prevail.

⁹¹ Retrieved from http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2015/01/15/metropolitan_manila_a_visit_to_malibay/1118395, on Sept 20th, 2017.

⁹² It provides the basic information at the micro-territorial level in the Philippines. Each profile includes the socio-demographic, economic and institutional directory. It is based on census data and complemented by the Barangay office' own collected data.

2.4.1.3. Squatter

Squatters⁹³ are regularly known as areas occupied by populations without tenured land. In urban context, squatters are residential areas which precarious houses were built in situations of tolerance or permission of authorities (Srinivas, 2015). In practice, no-land populations *squat* vacant land without caring ownership—whether public or private. In both cases, the risk of eviction exists. These facts motivate dwellers to group and organize themselves, then, negotiate with squatter syndicates and local politicians, and request permission or protection (Berner, 1996).

According to Renato Constantino, squatters in Manila are rooted in the outright land-grabbing history of the Philippines. In the Spanish colonial period, most of friar lands were obtained through usurpation. Religious groups were able to expand their landholdings with the help of local surveyors and other government officials. ‘The priests claimed pieces of land simply drawing maps of them, they had them titled, and set themselves up as owners. The original native settlers who had tilled the land for years were summarily declared to be squatters’ (Constantino, 1975:68).⁹⁴

Contemporarily, in the Philippines, the term squatter gained legal formality through the Presidential Decree 772 (PD 722) of 1975 that defines “Professional squatters” as individuals or groups who occupy lands without the express consent of the landowner and who has sufficient income for the legitimate housing.⁹⁵ But this definition applies to persons who have been previously awarded with housing units funded by the government but who have sold, leased or transferred the home lot and settled again in an illegal land. It means that the awarded house becomes a source of income and the families again prefer to live in a squatter. But the term does not apply to individuals or groups who simply rent squatter land or rent squatter dwellings from squatting syndicates. They are absent of the rule, and they can be named as simple dwellers or illegal settlers (see next section).

Internationally, proceedings of the first UN Habitat conference in 1976 shows that several concepts around human settlements were discussed.⁹⁶ Among them, the term ‘squatter’ was used based on influential works made by Abrams (1964), who explains squatting, not as an output of the system, but as a process—a process of “conquest” of city areas for the purpose of shelter—, and by Turner and Fichter (1972), who portray squatters as “successful solutions” to housing problems. In

⁹³ In Tagalog, squatters are named in different ways:

- *Iskwater* the immediate reference to the English word ‘squatter’ usually refers to a physically disorganized collection of shelters made of light and often visually unappealing materials;
- *Barong-Barong/ Barung-Barong* = Shanties or shanty neighborhood
- *Dampa/Kubo* = Slang for shanties or shanty neighborhood. It is the name of the researched squatter in *Karilaya* street in Tatalon.
- *Looban*, the inner areas where houses are built close to each other in a manner not visible to the general view of the city;
- *Dagat-dagatan* refers to areas that are frequently flooded;
- *Esteros* is the narrower rivers, usually used for sewerage and intrinsically associated with bad smell. A symbolic place of the marginalization, locations where very poor people inhabited because those are not kick out by police, squatter syndicates, or other neighbors.
- *Eskinita* is an alley or corner of a street that holds only one person at a time, used mostly for homeless, but is part of the slum world.

⁹⁴ By the end of the Spanish occupation in the Philippines, the approximate areas owned by religious organizations in Manila where 49, 293 hectares, which represented around 60 percent of the land at the time.

⁹⁵ Retrieved July 3rd, 2017 from http://www.creba.ph/images/listofpendingbills/SENATE%20bills_resolutions/SB_1947.pdf

⁹⁶ Summary of the proceedings were published by the Ontario Ministry of the Environment (1976).

both cases, they consider squatting as the inner social action, not as a part of the economic structure.⁹⁷

Since that time, the term 'squatter' has been used in different manners. Srinivas (2015) summed up three characteristics of squatter that clarify the scope of the term: a) *Physical*, the infrastructure and services are below the adequate or minimum levels for a dignified human life; b) *Social*, the squatters are result of rural-urban and urban-urban migration, which in fact, are also results of economic and political decisions in the macro level. Another consideration is the fact that the squatters were extended by urban populations of second and third generation and the income earning, still, majorly depends on part-time jobs and informality; c) *Legal*, the lack of land titles or the practice of renting an occupied land. The latter is an additional layer of informality, a quasi-legal arrangement that is not valid under the law. The 'quasi-legal' character of the use of the invaded land makes some scholars and slum experts prefer to use the term 'informal' rather than 'illegal' settlement.

2.4.1.4. Informal settlement

Recent literature about urban marginalization prefers the use of the term *informal settlement (IFS)* instead of slum.⁹⁸ The reason behind this conceptual preference is not explicit but tacit. It emphasizes on 'legality' and property rights—one of the pillars of capitalism—and implies the avoidance of the "negative" connotations of the word 'slum.' The reasoning is that human settlement in blighted areas can be distinguished in two types: Formal and Informal.

A formal human settlement includes the holding of legal documentation of arrangement in order to prove landownership, land use titling and the right to access basic infrastructure. Contrarily, an informal settlement is characterized by its inhabitants' complete or partial lack of basic property rights and institutional security, which put them in risk to be ejected in any moment, without previous negotiation or agreement.

As in the case of *squatter* term, IFS is also applied to refer to dangerous settlements such as riverbanks, railways, under the bridge; and is also used to name the occupied national protected areas or government unfinished infrastructure projects (UN Habitat, 2016).

Informal settlements in the process of the time might gain formality. For example, in Payatas, after the 2001 tragedy when hundreds of persons were buried by tons of garbage, the government hurried to regulate land titles and to improve basic infrastructure in order to diminish the national and international embarrassment. Nowadays, approximately 65 percent of Payatas is formal settlement but as a whole it remains as a slum.

The exact number of IFSs in Metro Manila is under debate. The most "optimistic" estimated number is *1.3 million* reported by the World Bank (2017)—based on the Family Income Expenditure

⁹⁷ Differently, Harvey (1972) claimed that the housing problem of the working class is systemic and any attempt to conceptualize and propose solutions should be rooted in the contradictions of the capitalism that Engels (1845 and 1872) had already identified. Harvey's and other radical geographers' ideas were marginalized in the Habitat I debate.

⁹⁸ The best examples are the UN Habitat reports that since 2011 intensively uses the IFS term instead of Slum, which dominates in previous reports.

Survey, 2012. Next the *Philippine Development Plan 2017-2022* (NEDA, 2017) reports that 584,425 families in Metro Manila are living in IFS, which represent approximately 2.65 million informal settlers. The most “pessimistic” estimations are made by scholars that estimate more than 4 million inhabitants living in squatters but without emphasizing on formal/informal situation (c.f. Ballesteros, 2011; Garrido, 2013). In fact, from a critical political economy perspective, the formal/informal discussion is secondary. The central point is to explain the systemic and structural causes of the deplorable living conditions, the consequences and the potential solutions beyond the market mechanisms and its related property rights issues (Engels, 1872; Harvey, 1972).

To conclude, until now we have reviewed the main concepts related to slums: *economic depressed area, squatter and informal settlement*. Depressed area is a limited concept, trapped in its ‘economisist’ character, leaving apart other important social, cultural and legal characteristics. Squatter is an occupied land where dwellings were built under the eyes of authorities. In spite of their inner informal origin, squatter can be formalized through multiple reasons that push government to regulate the situation, but evictions are more frequent. IFS is nowadays widely used, putting emphasis on ‘legality’ but without highlighting other critical social, economic and political issues that ‘slum’ concept involves.

Slum is the proper political economy concept referring to marginalized neighborhoods. Its broad scope allows the subsumption of other related terms, but without losing its historical and inner critical essences. Slums emerged with the capitalism itself (Engels, 1845, 1872), and through the geographic expansion of capital, squatters sprouted worldwide (Davis, 2006). The key point for this research on CPF exchange and consumption is that slums should be characterized not only by their material paucity but also by their permanent construction of meanings. In such respect, the analysis of households and women’s everyday lives are necessary; it is where meanings can be identified.

2.4.2. Household

Researchers studying slums inevitably face an important conceptual and methodological issue to find whether ‘household’ and ‘family’ are different concepts and whether they can be used as synonym. A revision of the key references of political economy—and related disciplines—helps us to solve the puzzle. The conceptual review starts with Xenophon and Aristotle, fathers of the economics science, followed by the review of Marx and Engels, and finally the contemporary use of the terms are discussed.

2.4.2.1. Household and family

The concept of household has existed since the beginning of economics as a science. Xenophon’s *oeconomicus* (382 BC) uses ‘house’ (*oikos*) as a concept that includes the physical dwelling and the

possessions outside the house, but he does not refer to family issues.⁹⁹ In contrast, Aristotle's *Politics* (350 BC) intertwines the terms 'household' and 'family' but not as a unified concept. He uses '*oikos*' to refer to everybody living in a given household, including the head of the *oikos*, his family and his slaves.¹⁰⁰

Marx building on classical political economists—Smith, Ricardo, Malthus—puts emphasis on the term 'family' rather than 'household' while discussing wages and reproduction of the working class.¹⁰¹ Engels, for its part, in the *Condition of the Working Class in England* (1845) and in the *Housing Question* (1872) uses 'house' meaning the dwelling place of the working class; but he does not seek to focus on the proletariat 'families' themselves but on their precarious living situation that evidences the uneven output of the capitalist mode of production. It was not until 1884, in *The Origin of the Family, the Private Property and the State*, when Engels was influenced by the anthropologist Morgan and taking into consideration Marx's notes to properly focus on the study of family. Engels interchanges 'family' and 'household' through the whole text. He uses 'family' and 'household' as synonym except when he explicitly refers to the physical dwellings—house not household—where the family live but adding adjectives such as 'primitive', 'old communistic', 'proletarian', 'patriarchal', 'modern', 'bourgeoisie', etc. that contextualize or specify his reasoning and argumentation.

Engels (1884) shows how the social category of 'family' has been constructed and shaped by a class system. He also explains how this social construction is related with private property and the state, pillars of capitalism. For Engels, family is necessary in capitalism as a means of domination, subordination and control of all classes—from the top to the bottom classes. The distinction is the role of each class in the system. The higher class uses family as a means of inheritance, asset protection and government control while the lower classes use family as a means of support for subsistence, protection and reproduction.

As Marx, Engels individual works has influenced several disciplines studying urban poor such as radical geography,¹⁰² British Marxist historiography,¹⁰³ cultural materialism,¹⁰⁴ and feminist

⁹⁹ Xenophon starts with a consecutive rally of 23 question-answer dialogue (*maieutics*) between Socrates and Critobulus about the importance of *oeconomicus* (the management of a household and estate) as a particular kind of knowledge or science. In the raw 5, Socrates says: 'Well! and this word "house," what are we to understand by it? the domicile merely? or are we to include all a man's possessions outside the actual dwelling-place?' Critobulus replies positively to include possessions. Then, the discussion with Socrates continues arguing and counter-arguing concepts such as wealth, market, management, profit, slaves, etc., until ending with freedom and despotism. The whole conversation between Socrates and Critobulus, still, is meaningful in contemporary metropolises. If instead of using the word 'slaves' we use the terms 'exploited,' 'fetishized' and 'alienated.'

¹⁰⁰ For instance, Aristotle said 'The village according to the most natural account seems to be a colony from a household, formed of those whom some people speak of as 'fellow-nurslings,' sons and sons' sons' (Aristotle, 1959:7). In other section he claimed 'the state is made up of households, before speaking of the state we must speak of the management of the household. The parts of household management correspond to the persons who compose the household, and a complete household consists of slaves and freemen' (Ibid, 1959:13).

¹⁰¹ For instance, Marx continues the discussion of classic political economist but from a critical perspective, in *Capital*, Chapter 6 'The Buying and Selling of Labor Power', he argues: 'The owner of labor-power is mortal. If then his appearance in the market is to be continuous, and the continuous conversion of money into capital assumes this, the seller of labor-power must perpetuate himself, —in the way that every living individual perpetuates himself, by procreation. The labor-power withdrawn from the market by wear and tear and death, must be continually replaced by, at the very least, an equal amount of fresh labor-power. Hence the sum of the means of subsistence necessary for the production of labor-power must include the means necessary for the laborer's substitutes, i.e., his children, in order that this race of peculiar commodity-owners may perpetuate its appearance in the market.' Then, Marx added a footnote of Torrens '—Its (labor's) natural price ... consists in such a quantity of necessities and comforts of life, as, from the nature of the climate, and the habits of the country, are necessary to support the laborer, and to enable him to rear such a family as may preserve, in the market, an undiminished supply of labor. (R. Torrens: —An Essay on the External Corn Trade.' London. 1815, p. 62.'

¹⁰² See for instance Harvey (1972 and 1973).

approaches. About the latter, radical feminists extended Engels (1884)'s work to criticize capitalism through the analysis of the role of women in working class families. They also point out patriarchy in society, households and marriages as the other spheres of domination (c.f. Himmelweit and Folbre, 2000; Jefferson and King, 2001).

Contemporarily, the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) outstands in the way he studied different social classes while combining qualitative and quantitative household data.¹⁰⁵ He analyzed, for instance, the symbolic domination of a family in the context of the transformation and construction of a class to study links between marriage, education level and material assets. He combines the terms 'household' and 'family' according to the context of his analysis, sometimes referring to activities inside the house and sometimes referring to a family beyond the physical household's boundary.¹⁰⁶

In a different direction and with a conservative political tone, we can also examine how the *utilitarian-marginalist-neoclassical* economists build their exclusivity through the use of household data captured by demographic and economic census. They abridged the category of family—including its rich qualitative social, political, cultural, economic features—into a restricted concept of 'household.'¹⁰⁷ Gary Becker (1965), founder of the 'New Home Economics,' built the household production function that follows the rationale of the macroeconomics' production functions but now applied in the house, the smallest economic unit.¹⁰⁸ His influence remains until today and covers several important family and social issues, such as the analysis of householders' decision making related to consumption, health, marriage, divorce, tastes, and also of labor and social policies (Sandmo, 1993).

In sum, household and family can be studied from different disciplines of social science in a separate, interrelated or unified manner. Among prominent critical thinkers, Engels (1884) and Bourdieu (1984) have shown how families and households can be combined without necessarily using them as a synonym. The key point for political economy studies is that both, physical conditions of a dwelling and socio-cultural-economic happenings inside the house can be recognized and creatively intertwined. In simple terms, household is a physical dwelling where persons

¹⁰³ See for instance E.P. Thompson (1968) and Hobsbawm's trilogy about the long 19th century (1789-1914) and 'How to Change the World, Reflections on Marx and Marxism' published in 1983.

¹⁰⁴ See for instance Raymond Williams's 'The Country and the City' in 1973 and Marvin Harris's 'Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture' in 1979.

¹⁰⁵ Critical sociologists and anthropologist previous to Bourdieu that should be considered in an extended account of key contributors are authors already mentioned in this study: Park and Burgess (1925); Whyte (1955); Lewis (1959 and 1961); Minuchin (1967); Wacquant (2009) and Aoki (2016).

¹⁰⁶ For example, we can notice Bourdieu uses of the terms in the following in the passage: 'As soon as the question is raised, it can be seen that a number of strategies are concretely defined only in the relationship between the members of a domestic group (a household or, sometimes, and extended family), which itself depends on the relationship between the two systems of properties associated with the two spouses' (Bourdieu, 1984:83); here, Bourdieu refers to 'extended family' as the second wife of a married man, the woman who does not live with a man in the main house but has certain material privileges. In other sections of the book Bourdieu uses extended family to include relatives that do not live in the house but has a direct relation with a key person of the family.

¹⁰⁷ The problem of while assuming that household means a family is that leaves apart cases such as individuals, groups of friends or workers that live together in a household but they are not a family.

¹⁰⁸ The main argument is that consumers often choose not directly from the commodities that they purchase but from commodities they transform into goods through a household production function. For instance, instead of buying a cake in a bakery, a housewife purchases flour, eggs, milk, sugar, etc., and then uses labor, and time producing a cake. But in reality, she did not want the flour, eggs., etc., she just bought them to produce the cake for personal or family consumption.

(householders) generally have family ties. Family is the substance of the households. Households are the basic economic unit of socio-economic analysis. But the study of family necessarily involves social and cultural elements that enrich the economic and demographic essentials. Furthermore, when the place of study is a slum, the material conditions of dwellings definitely play an important role for the happenings inside the house, for instance in the way in which family ties become essential to subsist, reproduce and resist against different types of threats.

2.4.2.2. Characteristics of a slum household

For a reader that has not experienced a life inside slums, the imagination about a household based on photographs, videos, movies, articles, etc. might be enough to satisfy their curiosity and reflection. Professionals, formed in mainstream social sciences, may use demographic and economic census to evaluate the conditions of low-income households without distinguishing inside/outside slums. Going beyond the simple understandings of slum households based on income-expenses type of analyses, five characteristics of a slum household are specified in the followings. Those include a set of cultural and social elements that through this chapter has been highlighted as necessity in the analysis.

First. A slum household is located in a place that is, or originally was, an informal settlement, and still surrounded by precarious conditions of living.

Second. A slum household consists of one or more inhabitants that share at least, living accommodation and meals.

Third. A single dwelling may have more than one nuclear,¹⁰⁹ extended or single-parent family. It is also possible that the dwelling can be temporary abandoned due to floods or fire disasters. In case of disaster, the slum dwellers temporary live in provisional camps, for instance, in the neighborhoods' basketball courts or directly on the street.

Fourth. In a slum household, the family boundary is not fixed to blood-relationship; the kin group can be extended to friends or neighbors.

Fifth. Even though a single dwelling may contain more than one household, the living space and the toilet, if available, are shared but meals might be or might not be shared.

These five points are the basis to specify a slum household; characteristics that, with exceptions differ from households outside slums (see more in Chapter 5 section 2).

2.4.3. Three generations of women

Women are the pillars of a household, particularly in the bottom of society. Their importance can be identified while understanding their role in: i) the social reproduction of the family while cooking, caring, cleaning, educating, directing, supporting their children (Himmelweit and Folbre, 2000; Arnfred, 2007); ii) the family income-earning (Bonnin, 2006; Chant, 2014); iii) the

¹⁰⁹ The nuclear family consists of two parents and their children.

community relations at church, school, local government office, local clinic, NGO, and so on (Ramirez, 1984).¹¹⁰ But these women facets are not natural; they emerged during a long historical period of social exclusion, a process that for the case of ex-colonial countries, has involved several generations.

In social sciences, the term 'generation' is applied in three different forms: First, to study of kinship groups, widely used in anthropology for research on *generations* in terms of customary or exceptional relations between parents and children;¹¹¹ Second, to designate the general stage or segment in the life course that a group occupies;¹¹² Third, to refer to those who experienced a common historical period and perhaps shares a common political or cultural identity.¹¹³ In this dissertation, the term 'generation' is limited to the first type, while focusing on grandmothers-mothers-daughters relations. Thus, it avoids the labels of 'post-war generation,' 'Marcos generation,' 'ESDA I or ESDA II generation' etc., even if mentions about relevant social, political, and economic events during woman's life histories are explained in the text.

The study of political economy of food naturally involves social and cultural elements of analysis (Fine, 1996; Atkins and Bowler, 2001). This dissertation is connecting political economy and socio-cultural elements of analysis implicit in the study of CPF consumption in three generations of women.

The interaction between women, observed as a process, transfers local culture embedded in material objects and in stories, traditions, customs, rituals etc., which are impregnated of subjectivities (Wilson, 1996; Hernandez, et.al, 1994). In this process, language plays a fundamental role for the objectification of social facts that are transmitted to a new generation. The language that we learned at home helps us to objectify our daily life experiences and to find rich possible meanings about the everyday reality (Ogden and Richards, 1945; Markovic, 1984; Berger and Luckman, 1966; Hall, 1995).

Albeit the importance of language is undisputable, practice is what makes experience to excel human comprehension of the world. Markovic explains: 'a human learn the meaning of the words of his mother tongue and the meaning of all the other symbols which are used in a society through the process of communication with other people. It is in practice that we acquire experience, together with all its components, such as sensation, perception, emotion, intuition, and volition, in all their intensity and variety.' (1984:39). Thus a combination of language learning and practical experience is the basis of the understanding of our world.

¹¹⁰ The study about the importance of CPF in slums intrinsically deals with the three abovementioned women facets. First, about the social reproduction of the family, in chapter 5, it is analyzed the consumption of CPF through the voice of women of three generations, paying attention on the influence of CPF in the life styles, food practices and social relations around those branded products. Second, about income earning, in chapter 4, it is presented the study of the importance of CPF slum Sari-Sari stores, source of income for families and majorly managed by women. Third, although there is not a chapter exclusively focusing on women community relations, this theme appears through the whole dissertation. Community and social relations were observed, identified and highlighted during all the stages of the research, from the research design, to the fieldwork and data analysis.

¹¹¹ Sociologists also make an important distinction between a 'generation' and 'cohort.' The latter denotes a circumscribed age group in the population, generally defined on the basis of birth year or that the integrants of a group live and move together through a historical time. Generation is broader term and it is used in other ways.

¹¹² For instance, Anderson (2011)'s research on Axel Honneth's place in three main generations of the Frankfurt School.

¹¹³ For instance, Banwell, et.al, (2012) studied the rise of obesity in Australia by comparing the lucky generation, baby boomers, and Gen, Y.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) conceptualize this combination of cognitive learning, emotions, and practical experiences, as a fundamental part of the *internalization* stage of the construction of social reality.¹¹⁴ Internalization starts with a 'primary socialization' where a child takes on the significant others' roles and attitudes. By the identification with significant others a child becomes capable of identifying herself in society, acquiring a subjectively identity, reflecting the attitudes first taken by significant others. Internalization is 'the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning...is the basis for the apprehension of the world as a meaningful social reality' (1966:149-150).

Previous research on women intergenerational interactions offers examples where the internalization process of the construction of social reality can be identified. Wilson pointed out the relevance of oral history, particularly the stories coming from the grandmother with North-America native roots. She highlighted the experience of listening grandmother's stories as 'more than a simple educational process,' 'rooted in a deep sense of kinship responsibility... responsibility that relays a culture, an identity, and sense of belonging essential to my life.' 'It is through the stories of my grandmother that I learned what it means to be a Dakota woman.' (1996:7). Also in North America, Hernandez et.al., (1994) found that the academic aspirations of younger women are highly influenced by grandmothers and mothers' encouragements.

In terms of the matrilineal¹¹⁵ influence on food consumption, McIntosh, et.al., (2010) found that mothers' preconceptions of the importance of family meals—objectified in the mothers' dinner plan—increased likelihood of the children eating dinner with family and, on the contrary, mothers' perception of time pressures on meal preparation—identified by mothers' reduction of meal planning—had a negative, indirect effect on the frequency of the children's participation in family dinners. In the same tone, Johnson et al. (2010) argued that not only mothers play a primary role in their children's food choices and family food habits but do also grandmother(s) and aunts. Similarly Notermans (2004) found that grandmothers are not passive actors. Her study of poor families in East Cameroon shows that grandmothers play an important role in family decision processes and they strongly influence matters of offsprings. Notermans also demonstrates that during the long-life transition—from adolescent to grandmother—women follow different trajectories to achieve motherhood and grand-motherhood. This *motherhoodness* can be identified through the observation and analysis of household responsibilities, including food care.

Another relevant inter-generational study is Arnfred (2007), who found that, in places where daily life is largely based on self-production of food for subsistence, mature women extended their 'domains of power,' not only at home but also in the community itself. Arnfred's conclusions are based on research in poor rural areas in Africa, but it can be also extrapolated to urban areas, such as slums, where women's power and control over basic elements of life also exist.

Through the lens of three generations of women, I found three points that facilitates the study of CPF exchange and consumption in slum households: First. It facilitates the observation of CPF exchange and consumption through an extended timeline, in specific place (slums) and under

¹¹⁴ Internalization continues previous stages of *institutionalization* and *legitimation* of common sense.

¹¹⁵ Grandmother→Mother→Daughter

particular socio-cultural circumstances that impact food habits and perceptions. For example, in Manila, the fact that most of the slum dwellers are immigrants from different islands and provinces brings a mosaic of languages, traditions and other cultural elements that are passed down from generation to generation. In this process the study of women's verbal communication and daily practices is fundamental for constructing a critique of dominant theories and of the society itself.

Second, it is irrefutable the influence of women on the family reproduction, family income and community building. This fact made us, slum researchers, to analyze from a 'gender' perspective, thus, limiting the scope and margins for interpretation. Evidently, it would result in other findings if we study political economy of food from the perspective of slum labor (women and men) working in food factories—arguing exploitation or other related Marxist concepts—but, according to our research purposes, I considered that a theoretical contribution would be richer and pertinent for contemporary discussion, if this investigation focuses on slum women at household, independently of the other social roles they have—which are complementary but not priority.

Third, the research focus on women's intergenerational judgments about CPF gives us a valid point of view—from the core of the slum, the household itself—to detect self-awareness or consciousness regarding the implications of CPF consumption in their families, and in the slum community in general.

The space for social interaction can be the street, the school, etc., but the house is the main women's territorial dominium. Inside of the house, children start to construct their own subjectivities, particularly influenced by their mothers. Individual subjectivity is further re-formed or re-shaped while interacting with other households, families and friends, but at the same time, it creates an inter-subjectivity that incommensurably expands in a larger social space. The importance of social relations inside the household explains the study emphasis on women as key person in a family dwelling in a house. Thus, homeless women—some of them also living in slums are omitted in this study.¹¹⁶

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the three main knowledge blocks of this dissertation were explained: the conceptualizations of Corporate Packaged Food (CPF), the framework of analysis of sphere of market and meanings, and the definition of slums. CPF can be regarded as the object of study in this dissertation. The spheres of market and meanings serve as framework to analyze the exchange and consumption of the object—CPF—, and finally the 'Slum' is the place where the investigation was conducted.¹¹⁷

First, CPF was proposed as a contemporary category of political economy of food. CPF was defined as a commodified food and beverage that was packaged, canned or bottled by one or

¹¹⁶ To understand the physical and psychological vulnerability of homeless women and their families, which naturally impacts their perceptions and meanings about CPF, require another level of specialization and research skills that overpasses the scope of this doctoral dissertation.

¹¹⁷ It is important to add here as conclusion that this kind of research could be situated in any territory of the globe where CPF is retailed.

several corporations and it has a visible intellectual property—brand or trademark. Also, it was argued that the use of term ‘CPF’ clarifies the scope of in which social science scholars might refer to branded manufactured food such as ‘Milo,’ ‘Nescafé,’ ‘Coke,’ and when they refer to the specific food and beverage segment: ‘snacks’ ‘noodles’ ‘soft drinks’ ‘coffee’ ‘diaries’, etc. Moreover, CPF displaced other commonly use terms such as convenience food, junk food, processed food, big food, etc., which have several ontological and methodological imprecisions and ambiguities.

In order to analyze exchange and consumption, CPF was characterized and classified. CPF was divided into three sub-categories: food, beverages, and condiments and seasonings. Beer was excluded of this categorization even though some political economists referred to it as food. Oil was also excluded because in the interviewed households the edible oil was packed in plastic bags or bottled in re-used soft-drink PET or plastic bottles. This fact broke the basic definition of CPF that stipulate it has to be corporate branded or labeled packaged, bottled, and canned as a guarantee that this product was born as a commodity in a corporate factory or in a subcontracted manufacturer under the corporate manufacturing control and responsibility.

Differently from studies on food production, this dissertation focuses on the exchange and consumption areas of political economy. It is based on the comprehension of how corporations penetrate, influence or control the sphere of market and meanings in order to successfully guarantee its realization and reproduction. Unless capital induces people to want and desire CPF more than the amount of their physical needs, the circuit of capital accumulation and reproduction can be stagnated or interrupted. The construction of the framework of the sphere of market is highly influenced by Karl Polanyi, Karl Marx and Ronald Coase, and complemented by other important social scientists that extend a hand to the sphere of meanings in their analysis of market such as Arjun Appadurai, Igor Kopytoff, Tibor Scitovsky, Marcel Mauss, Mary Douglas, Pierre Bourdieu and Eva Illouz. To analyze meanings, the framework developed by Ogden and Richards (1946) is used but, as a complementary step, the interpretation how people put meanings to objects and symbols was notably enriched by Marcovic (1984), Berger and Luckmann (1966), and Geertz (1973).

The chapter also defined slums not only by their material precarity but also as places of meanings. It argued that the term ‘slum’ is a key category of the critical political economy by ontological reasons; those places are inherent outputs of capitalism.¹¹⁸ This perspective is different from mainstream scholars and politicians who avoid using the word ‘slum’ and prefer to use more “considerate” terms such as ‘low-income’ ‘informal settlers’ ‘economically depressed’ ‘unprivileged’ that sound more politically correct but blurs the strength of the concept of slum as an evidence of the degenerative results of capitalism (Engels, 1843).

Finally, the other essential concepts in this study such as household and women generation were defined and discussed. The basic economic unit of analysis of this study is a ‘household’ but at the same time uses the term family when describing the situation in slums. The alternate use of household and family has been a common practice since the origin of economics as academic

¹¹⁸ Ghettos should be treated in a different way. Originally they were used to define the places where segregated people lived for ethnic and religious rather than economic reasons; but now the term is used again in the global-north as places where the poor and marginalized live (Harvey, 1972; Wacquant, 2009).

discipline but with different political and scientific purposes. I am, in particular, closer to the scholars using 'family' to substantially explain the qualitative situation of a household, than to those exclusively focusing on quantitative data obtained from economic and demographic censuses. And the use of the term 'generation' in this study is limited to refer to kinship groups with its focus on grandmother-mother-daughter relations.

In the next chapter, I start using these terms to describe the historical path of CPF until its arrival into the contemporary Manila slums (Chapter 3). Subsequently, Chapter 4 presents the results of the analysis of *Sari-Sari* stores, the main CPF micro-retailers inside slums, and Chapters 5 and 6 show the findings about CPF at the household level, emphasizing on the proportion of CPF consumption and analyzing the different meanings about CPF from each of the three generations of slum women. In the end, based on the knowledge of the CPF exchange and consumption situations, Chapter 7 reviews the role of corporations in this process while appropriating human food consumption.

3. HISTORICAL REVIEW OF CORPORATE PACKAGED FOOD IN MANILA: A CONTEXT FOR THE STUDY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN SLUMS

*'Our adversaries don't understand the man of character,
who weighs and judges facts not in and of themselves
as much as in their relationship with the past and the future'*
Antonio Gramsci (1917).

3.1. Introduction

Human history has shown multiple examples of metropolis expanding their culture to peripheral societies. We can track back to Ur, Persepolis, Seleucia, Antioch, Pataliputra, Athens, transmitting language, goods, artifacts, techniques, lifestyles, and culture in general. In the modern era, we have Amsterdam as an initial center of a world system, later substituted by London, and finally to the east coast of the United States of America (Wallerstein, 1974).¹¹⁹ The basic idea is that happenings in the global core subsequently expand to semi-peripheral and peripheral cities. The historical path of the Corporate Packaged Food (CPF) is a significant example of technological developments embedded in a product initially accepted in core nations¹²⁰ to subsequent expansion to cities in developing countries.

CPF started its expansion since the 1850s. Initially, CPF was consumed by high and middle classes in advanced nations, subsequently by the rich and middle classes of developing countries (Smith, 2011, 2012; Nestle, 2015). Nowadays, CPF circulates even in narrow, filthy, and insecure slums (Ko, 2006; Sugawara, 2010; Funahashi, 2013; Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015); and as most of material goods forming part of the daily life of people, it has a direct or indirect influence in slum householders' social, economic and political behavior—even if they are not conscious of it (Freire, 1974).

Considering the above, the general purpose of this chapter is to study how –rather than why- the CPF has reached the slums. The “why” question was answered by Marx (1885) while explaining the circulation of capital, particularly, the interrelated system between Department I (capital good) and Department II (means of subsistence) of the society as a whole. Marx's work was extended by social scientists in different levels of analysis. First, in the macro-systemic level, scholars have periodized the expansion of capitalism since the fifteenth century until present days (c.f. Hobsbawm, 1962, 1975, 1987, 1994; Wallerstein, 1974; Arrighi, 1994; Gunder Frank, 1996; Veraza, 2008; Amin, 2013). This dissertation is positioned in the side of Veraza's understanding of the continuous geographical expansion of capital since the 1820s.¹²¹ Following Marx, he argues that

¹¹⁹ Sassen (2001) includes Tokyo in the highest rank of global cities along with London and New York. Sassen explains that Manila, in a third level, also plays in the global network having relation with core cities and also secondary level cities. For instance, in the South East Asia there are also second level metropolis such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and Shanghai.

¹²⁰ The technology, product, method, service, etc., may be invented or launched in a small city, but the acceptance in a larger scale occurs in the large metropolis. For example, Nestle Milk Powder with powder of chocolate was developed in a small city of Switzerland, but gained larger popularity and customer recognition while arriving to larger cities of Europe and United States of America.

¹²¹ Veraza (2008) organized capital expansion in three phases: I) Pre-domination (end of 19th century-1929) that includes the periods of totalization of capital 1870s-1914, automation of capital, 1914-1918, and the European crisis and transfer to USA, 1919-1929. II) Domination (1929-1945) that includes the periods of formal subsumption of the population by capital, 1929-1939, and the constitution of USA as hegemonic power, 1939-1945. III) Perfection of domination (1946-to present days) that includes the periods of real subsumption of world society by capital, 1946-1969, and first authentic world capital crisis, 1970-2000. The book was elaborated in 2007 and published in

identifying the world's hegemonic nation is important for a geopolitical analysis, but for the industrial capital in its abstract form, it is indifferent whoever the hegemonic power is.

Second, rural sociologists have periodized the expansion of capital in agriculture and food consumption since the 1820s century until present days (c.f. Goodman et.al, 1987; Goodman, 1997; Friedmann and McMichael, 1989; Bonnano and Constance, 2001; Friedmann, 2005; Pollan, 2008; Campbell, 2012; Winson, 2013). This dissertation stands for Goodman's periodization and explanation of industrial capital substitution and appropriation of the rural labor and natural process of food production (see Chapter 7). This research also considers the periodization of the industrial diet discussed by Pollan (2008) and Winson (2013).

Despite the rich knowledge created by the abovementioned studies, until now, no social scientist has properly answered the specific question of how food corporations penetrate and conquer slum populations' consumption.¹²² For this reason, this chapter aims to identify the key periods of the CPF trade in Manila. The periodization is based on significant political and economic events¹²³ that insofar affected or shaped the CPF exchange and consumption. The research method is mixed and longitudinal; on the one hand, it analyses and interprets historical and current data registered in previous studies, corporate, governmental and media business reports. On the other hand, it considers the inquiry about CPF memories—from childhood to their adult life—in 61 women of three generations (see Chapter 1, Table 1.2), who now live in Manila slums. Drawing a chronological timeline, I registered the name or brand of consumed CPF at a primary school, at home with their parents, at secondary school (if attended), after arriving in Manila, or in the epoch of certain job, etc., relevant moments of lives and the remembrances of the CPF they were consuming (if the case).

The selected timeline interview method for conducting life history research provides an opportunity for a better connection of the story with a wider social, political and environmental context (Adriansen, 2012). Timeline as a research tool facilitates the tracking of CPF through key life periods—childhood at home, school years, the arrival to Manila, job experiences, before and after marriage, after having children, and so on. It also assists in the record of the brand names and memories surrounding their consumption.

The outline of the chapter goes by period of CPF provision in Manila: 1) From the 1870s to the 1930s; 2) Post-WWII period 1946 to 1965; 3) From Marcos era to the late 1980s; 4) From the 1990s to present day, with the expansion of neoliberalism and the BoP business discourse. In each period the situation of slum populations and information about their food consumption is

2008, there is no explanation of the financial crisis of 2008 but following Veraza's reasoning the crisis of 2008 is an extension of the previous world capital crisis.

¹²² On the one hand, there are social geographers that have studied the circuits of capital in the city level (c.f. Harvey 1972, 1973; Castells, 1973), and the cycles of dispossession of land and evictions (*gentrification*) in important cities (c.f. Sassen, 2001, 2006; Harvey, 2010, Aoki, 2016), but their research aims differ of this thesis' purpose to explain the penetration of food corporations in slums. On the other hand, there are relevant studies answering how food processing and manufacturing corporations had reached national markets or regions but they did not land in slums. For instance Goodman (1997) and Pritchard (2000) studied the process of transnationalization, internationalization and globalization of agro-business and cereal business. Pritchard and Fagan (1999) researched the circuits of capital of Nestlé in the East of Asia; Donce and Kurosawa (2013) studied Nestlé strategies to cope nationalism in Japan. Koese (2008) also studied Nestlé and its penetration in the Otoman Empire, and Marion Nestle (2015) did an extensive study of the politics around Soft Drinks in U.S. and in other regions.

¹²³ By significant event I mean international or national happenings that created or modified institutions, policies, regulations, forms of government, forms of food provision, etc.

highlighted. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the historical path of CPF in the Filipino market and meanings sphere.

3.2. Foundations of Manila's CPF market: 1870s - 1930s

3.2.1. European Influence

In 1887, the population of Manila was of 176,177 inhabitants. Vast majorities of the people were poor and discriminated; only a minority of Spaniards, Creole and local talented craftsmanship were benefiting from the political and economic system of the Spanish rule (1564-1897). The Spanish colonization had two main effects on the Philippines' Political Economy: one is Christianity, particularly the Roman Catholicism, as creator of identity and meaning of life. Second, the cacique elite derived of the *encomienda* system, landed elite on whom most of the peasants were dependent as landless tenants. These two effects can be extended to the contemporary Philippines (McCoy, 2009).

The Spanish and Creole class, after three centuries of interaction with New Spain (Mexico), got used to drinking and eating chocolate.¹²⁴ The coffee-drinking culture was introduced by European traders and gradually penetrated in the higher classes of Manila (Legarda, 1999). Another Spanish cultural influence was the way to prepare and consume pork,¹²⁵ sardines, and sauces. These culinary elements served as the cultural basis for the introduction of the CPF in Manila.

Manila in the late 19th century had a regular interaction with world traders showing innovations of all kinds (Legarda, 1999). At the time, the technological advances on processed food had spread through North America and Europe and their core cities were adopting life-styles of cosmopolitan consumption (Stearns, 2001). In Manila, two of the first processed food innovations were the German pork sausages¹²⁶ and the chocolate/cocoa drinks imported from Switzerland and Germany or processed by 'the Oriental factory' managed by the Spanish (Doeppers, 2016). Long before *Milo's* popularity, the Dutch' Van Houten's cocoa claimed to be the first powdered cocoa consumed in the Philippines in 1907. The Dutch developed the alkalization technology to make palatable powdered cocoa; their technology made them the lead exporter of powdered chocolate of the time (Clarence-Smith, 2003).

Milk and its derivatives were the other European influence. Wealthy Spanish and Creole had habits of drinking milk from cows and goats and eating French and Spanish pastries and desserts (e.g. *leche flan* is still a common dessert in the Philippines) but native Filipino and Chinese living in

¹²⁴ During the time of the Spanish colony, the Filipino' culture adapted the Mexican original chocolate and the drink *Champorado* in a hot rice porridge rather than as a drink with maize. Specialists of the Philippines agreed that during the Spanish dominium the tablets of *chocolate (tabliyas)* were a regular product of markets or stores of the time. This product, still a part of Spanish-related culture, can be solved in hot water or milk, and there is a variety of drinking forms. Nowadays, Manila' slum families regularly breakfast *champorado* using one-sachet of *Milo* instead of the original *tabliya* or simply consume solved *Milo* in hot water companied with bread (see chapter 5).

¹²⁵ hams, *lechon*, *chicharon*, *tosino* (bacon) or *chorizo* (Spanish sausages)

¹²⁶ Either imported through the Pacific Oriental Trading Co and the Swift and Co. or directly produced in Manila by the Max Druseid' sausage factory (Doeppers, 2016).

Manila¹²⁷ neither used to drink milk nor used to eat dairies. Milk consumption habits were promoted during the 20th century through nutrition and feeding programs (Austin, 1981).

In this context, Nestlé—the most significant European company of the processed food and beverage—promoted their powdered milk in Manila since 1889 through a local agent and formally established its Philippines’ subsidiary in 1911. By 1916, Nestlé introduced ‘*Bear Brand*’ and ‘*señorita*’ sterilized fresh canned milk, the latter as flagship product for an epoch where Spanish was the spoken language of the Filipino elite. A decade later Nestlé also launched ‘*Milkmaid*’ sterilized and condensed milk. Bear Brand and Milkmaid still exist; the former is the Nestlé’s milk flagship for the low-income market segment in the Philippines and the latter in its condensed form is one of the most used ingredients for making desserts (Nestlé Philippines, 2011; Roberto, 2016).

In short, the Europeans set the ground for the first production, exchange, and consumption of CPF in the Philippines. A relevant historical importance should be given to the Swiss and Germans entrepreneurs that managed to supply technology and end products to the Spanish, Spanish-Filipino (*Mestizos*) and other Filipinos running trade business in Manila.

Next, the influence of the American on the CPF production, exchange, and consumption in Manila is explained. The American geo-political and military expansion in the archipelago, inherently, had impact in the socio-economic life of Manila, and it represents the subsequent stage of the CPF path in the pre-independent era of the Philippines.

3.2.2. American manufactured food

The war between Spain and the United States of America (U.S.) military ended with the Treaty of Paris (1898) where the Philippines were marked as a U.S. territory. After a short period of Filipino resistance, the U.S. military occupied the islands and established policies that fostered a Filipino self-government, the foundations of an electoral system and a legislative congress but under their supervision and control (Anderson, 1998; Carson, 2003). On the economic side, the U.S. colonial administration facilitated agricultural and natural resources exports to North America and set up an educational program of universal public education that simultaneously was an indirect tool for political and cultural domination (Constantino, 1975; McCoy and De Jesus, 1982). New forms of thinking, new generations of Filipino were formed, and new political leaders emerged—suitable for the American mentality. The creation of a new common sense¹²⁸ was necessary for the American business and political purposes (Hutchcraft and Rocamora, 2003; Carson, 2003).

In 1903, the population of Manila was 330,345, which signifies an annual compound growth of 11 percent with respect of 1887 (see Table 3.1). The American presence and the expected economic boom of Manila attracted immigrants not only from other islands of the Philippines but also from other countries (Constantino, 1975; Iletto, 1999). About CPF business, we may think that

¹²⁷ Chinese influence existed but was marginalized until the 20th century; their habit of eating pork, using soy sauce, drinking tea as medicine rather than daily food was an important cultural contribution (Chirot and Reid, 1997).

¹²⁸ I refer to common sense as Antonio Gramsci defined in prison notebook 1: ‘as a conception of the world of a social or regional group’ or common sense as ‘the most widespread conception of life and morality’ (Gramsci 1975, [1929] Q1: 16:14; 65:76).

Coca Cola, and Pepsi Cola were the arrow-heads of the processed food and beverage corporations in the Philippines but they were not. Coca-Cola arrived in Manila until the Mid-1920s through a franchise managed by San Miguel Brewery while Pepsi and the rest of soft drinks such as Dr. Pepper, Ginger Ale, 7-Up arrived either in the 1930s or after the World War II. Other U.S. popular and flagship products also arrived after the 1930s and post WWII were Quaker Oats,¹²⁹ Hershey's chocolate bar, Heinz's ketchup in a glass bottle, Hellmans' mayonnaise in a glass bottle, Kraft's cheese in tin cans,¹³⁰ Campbell's soup in a can, Cracker Jack and Nabisco's crackers, Kellogg's corn flakes, Del Monte, and Dole. In the case of the latter two firms, the initial focus was on agricultural product exports to the U.S. market. Their processed food business in the Philippines started decades later.

Table 3.1. Population of Metro-Manila 1887 – 2015

Year	Pop.	±% p.a.
1887	176,777	
1903	330,345	11.0
1918	469,955	2.4
1939	623,492	1.4
1948	1,569,148	10.8
1960	2,462,288	3.8
1970	3,966,685	4.9
1975	4,880,006	4.2
1980	5,925,884	4.0
1990	7,948,392	3.0
1995	9,454,040	3.5
2000	9,932,560	1.0
2007	11,553,427	2.2
2010	11,855,975	0.9
2015	12,877,253	1.7

Source: Own elaboration based on data of the Philippines Statistic Agency

The first American branded packaged food in Manila was the Borden's Eagle milk. At the end of the 1880s, an American Consul reported that as a rule—except the very few who own cows—Borden's Eagle brand of condensed milk were consumed by wealthy families in Manila (Doeppers, 2016:269). In 1902, after the U.S. Congress passes the Organic Act governing The Philippines,¹³¹ a subsequent approval—in Manila—of a tariff reduction of imports from USA inherently fostered the CPF business in this country. Significantly, the U.S. canned salmon, sardines, and mackerel dominated the canned market in the Philippines from the 1900s to the 1920s (Doeppers, 2016: 187).

¹²⁹ In the history of packaging, in 1877 the first logo printed in a package was the Quaker's.

¹³⁰ Kraft' first canning business was in 1917 after a request of the government in order to supply the US Army in the World War I (WWI).

¹³¹ The Filipino-American civil revolt ended when Emilio Aguinaldo—considered by some historians as the president of the first Republic of the Philippines—took the oath of allegiance.

The boom of American agro-food corporations would happen decades later, after the World War II and under the context of a cold-war food regime (Campbell, 2012). A war that had effects in the south-east of Asia, where the “communist” advances in China, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia added stress to both the foreign capitalists doing business in the Philippines and the Filipino bourgeoisie trying to consolidate themselves and their own businesses.

In brief, the Americans added a layer in the foundations of the processed food industry in the Philippines. The noteworthy number of companies and products that boomed in the United States in the latter half of the 19th century served as platform for expansion in the new controlled territories. Manila was one of the main base points in the Pacific. Its strategic position, infrastructure and European business background set the conditions for an expansion of the production, exchange, and consumption of the CPF in the Philippines.

3.2.3. Initial Filipino manufactured food corporations

Filipino national ‘identity’ started to be intensively built in the 19th century as part of the process of revolt against the Spanish rule (Abueva, 1998; Anderson, 1998). In the context of this research, the adjective ‘Filipino’ to be relevant to food processing business refer to those packaged food businesses that started at the time, either founded by entrepreneurs born in the Philippines or by immigrants, and transcended until today. In this respect, four sectors were identified as the first relevant Filipino CPF business: soft drinks, milk and its derivatives, biscuits, and sauces. In the following, there is a description of the main facts that founded an industry with relevance in the slums of the 21st century.

a) Soft drinks

Soft drinks have their origin in 1783 with the carbonated water ‘Schweppes’ in Switzerland. Improvements of tonic water occurred one century later¹³² and the carbonated water arrived to Manila in the late 19th century through the German pharmacies and Swiss entrepreneurs (Doeppers, 2016: 263). Doeppers found that by 1881, the Spanish initiated the production of *Nectar Sodas* and A.S. Watson & Co. was importing lemon soda, tonic water and *Sarsaparilla*¹³³ soda from Hong Kong. Sarsaparilla remains today as ‘*Sarsi*’, a brand of *Femsa-Coca Cola* Inc. but by decades belonged to a soft drinks flagship company of the Philippines, the Cosmos Bottling Corporation.¹³⁴

San Miguel Brewery’s soft drink business is also a relevant case for three main reasons. First, as a Filipino pioneer of the beer industry, they ventured on selling a food-tonic called *Negra*, which

¹³² In North-America with the creation of Ginger Ale (1866), Hires Root soft drink (1876), Dr. Pepper (1885), and Coca Cola (1886). Please refer to Smith (2011) about chronology of CPF. And refer to Nestle (2015) if interested in the development of the soda industry and the politics involved.

¹³³ Sarsaparilla is a tuber similar to root beer that in Spanish culture has been used as home-made remedies of throat pain.

¹³⁴ Cosmos Bottling Corporation was owned by a Chinese-Filipino family Wong. A previous Chinese-Filipino soft drink business was “*Adelante*” an industry pioneer company during the 1890s that could not recover after the great fire of *Tondo* in 1941 (Doeppers, 2016: 264).

was marketed during the 1910s following the traditional strategy of *nutritionism* (Pollan, 2008; Nestle, 2015) as ‘health tonic for dyspepsia and other Mothers’ ills’ (Doeppers, 2016:272). In 1919, San Miguel Corporation (SMC) launched the brands ‘*Tru-Orange*’ and ‘*Royal Soda*’ that were references of the Filipino soft drink consumption culture, including slums,¹³⁵ until the mid-1980s (San Miguel, 2014). Second, San Miguel’s distribution centers and logistics to retail beer were used as main platform for soft drinks provision, even in the narrow streets of slums. The fact that San Miguel was the first company to retail Coca Cola in the Philippines in the 1930s supports this claim. Third, since 1889, the different owners of SMC have been political actors in the Philippines. SMC had survived international war and domestic political conflicts, including the quarrel against President Cory Aquino after Marcos’s regime collapse¹³⁶ (McCoy, 2009). San Miguel’s diversification strategy is a common referent in business literature in the Philippines (Gutierrez and Rodriguez, 2013) and since 2015, SMC participates in the competitive markets of soft drinks and coffee powder with ‘San Mig Cola’ and ‘San Mig Coffee’ respectively, both are retailed in slums and manifest the competitive DNA of this corporation that have been adapting and evolving during more than a century.

b) Milk and its derivatives

SMC also put a landmark in the history of CPF when entered in milk, dairy and ice cream business. SMC purchased Magnolia Ice Cream¹³⁷ in 1926 and in 1929; the company realized a series of investments, including the construction of a plant of milk, ice-cream, sherbets, creams, cheese, and buttermilk (Doeppers, 2016:277). It was the beginning of one of the pillar brands of the CPF in the Philippines, object of historical desire, partnership and dispute between Nestlé and SMC¹³⁸ (Dumlao-Abadilla, 2015).

c) Biscuits

Processed biscuits are popular goods in the Filipino culture; indeed, it connects the Spanish-Latin American tradition of eating bread with chocolate or coffee and the American lifestyle of eating fast food. Probably the first Filipino processed biscuit brand is ‘La Pacita’¹³⁹ a small company that took

¹³⁵ Some of the older and mature women interviewed in slums mentioned ‘Royal’ as one of the Soft Drinks they used drink after their arrival to Metro Manila. During informal conversations their family members also mentioned their memories of Basketball teams with the names of ‘Tru Orange’ and ‘Royal.’

¹³⁶ The quarrel with Cory Aquino should be contextualized in political terms due Cory’s cousin Eduardo Dading Cojuangco, CEO of San Miguel Corporation, was a closer friend and political ally of Ferdinand Marcos (see section 3.4.1.)

¹³⁷ In 1899, Magnolia ice-cream was one of the first ‘curiosities’ that the Americans introduced in Manila. At the time, an army volunteer Mr. Schober started a small business selling pies, ice creams and ice-drops under Magnolia brand. During two decades and a half the business grew until San Miguel Brewery bought it in 1926. (San Miguel, 2014).

¹³⁸ According to the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) San Miguel and Nestlé Philippines Inc. established a joint-venture called Nestlé-Magnolia. San Miguel decided to cede its milk and ice cream business to Nestlé, however from 1998 onwards a non-compete clause barred San Miguel from selling ice cream under any brand for five years. After the expiration of the non-compete clause, San Miguel decided to re-enter the ice cream business in 2004 with a new company Magnolia Ice Cream Inc., a branch of its Magnolia subsidiary. Retrieved from <http://www.wipo.int/ipadvantage/en/details.jsp?id=2598>, May 2, 2017

¹³⁹ The legal name of the company was Luis Martinez & Co. The brand derives from the nickname of the founder’s wife. It was founded in 1921 in San Juan, Manila.

off until the 1950s-1960s for subsequent expansion.¹⁴⁰ M.Y. San, established in 1935¹⁴¹, their flagship products 'Fita' and 'Skyflakes' made this company one of the most important packaged food corporations in the Philippines (see Table 3.2 and 3.3).

Table 3.2. Ranking of CPF corporations based on annual revenues: 1969-2014

	PhP		000 PhP
Company name	1969	Company name	1975
1 Pepsi-Cola Co.*	156269626	1 Filipro Inc. (Nestle)	528782
2 General Milk Company	74750163	2 Universal Robina Corporation	346205
3 Dole Philippines Inc.	60451861	3 Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co.	280167
4 Commonwealth Foods, Inc.	45355231	4 Carnation Philippines	213706
5 NutriProd Inc. (Nestle + SMC)	37357574	5 Union Chemicals Inc. (Ajinomoto)	167981
6 Cosmos Bottling Company	26838250	6 CFC Corp.	166578
7 The Coca Cola Export Corp	26719139	7 Dole Philippines Inc.	150104
8 Markina Dairy Industries	23031917	8 California Manf Company Inc.	130593
9 Purefoods corporation	18808577	9 Purefoods corporation	115650
10 M.Y. San Biscuits Inc.	16378376	10 Commonwealth Foods, Inc.	94350
Note*: Include Pepsi bottling and Pepsi-Cola Far East			
Company name	1985	Company name	1995
1 Nestle Philippines Inc.***	3901199	1 Nestle Philippines Inc.*	24355030
2 Coca Cola Bottlers Philippines	3268519	2 Coca Cola Philippines**	23914569
3 Dole Philippines Inc.	1808009	3 Purefoods corporation	7065343
4 Purefoods corporation	900543	4 Universal Robina Corporation	6202785
5 Union Chemicals Inc. (Ajinomoto)	867814	5 Dole Philippines Inc.	4897852
6 California Manf Company Inc.	779081	6 Pepsi-Cola Products Phils	3982626
7 M.Y. San Biscuits Inc.	300327	7 Del Monte Philippines	3967815
8 Century canning corp	284632	8 California Manf Company Inc.	3082919
9 Philippine dairy products	271675	9 Alaska Milk Corporation	2147482
10 Sancanco canning corp	203593	10 Kraft Foods, Inc.	2059349
		Note*: Includes Magnolia Nestle Corporation	
		Note**: Includes Coca Cola Bottlers and Export Corp.	
	million PhP		million PhP
Company name	2005	Company name	2014
1 Nestle Philippines Inc.	65379	1 Nestle Philippines Inc.	113506
2 Universal Robina Corporation	25049	2 Universal Robina Corporation	69630
3 Monde Nissin Corp	15969	3 Coca Cola FEMSA Philippines Inc.	52952
4 Dole Philippines Inc.	15766	4 Dole Philippines Inc.	36104
5 Del Monte Philippines	11695	5 Pepsi-Cola Products Co.	25442
6 Purefoods-Hormel corporation	9928	6 Del Monte Philippines	21945
7 Pepsi-Cola Products Co.	8961	7 Alaska Milk Corporation	20023
8 Kraft Foods, Inc.	7170	8 Purefoods-Hormel corporation	15103
9 The Coca Cola Export Corp	6133	9 Mondelez Philippines (Prev. Kraft).	13247
10 Alaska Milk Corporation	5482	10 Foodsphere, Inc.	10832

Source: Own elaboration based on the Top 1000 Philippines Corporation report

¹⁴⁰ In 2014 *La Pacita* was acquired by San Miguel Purefoods (San Miguel, 2015).

¹⁴¹ In 2001 the company was acquired by Monde Nissin Corporation and operates with the subsidiary name of Monde M.Y. San Corporation.

Table 3.3. CPF recognitions in slum women life history

1940s	%	1950s	%	1960s	%	1970s	%
Pepsi	33.3	Cosmos Bottling Co.	11.4	M.Y. San	7.8	M.Y. San	9.1
Coca Cola	33.3	Rebisco*	11.4	Rebisco	7.8	Nestle*	9.1
Nestle*	33.3	Nestle**	11.4	Nestle*	6.3	Rebisco	8.3
*Filpro Inc.		Pepsi	11.4	Hokkaido	5.5	Ajinomoto (Union Chem	6.3
		Coca Cola	8.6	Ajinomoto (Union Chemic	5.5	Silver swan	6.0
		Rose Bowl	8.6	Coca Cola	5.5	Coca Cola	5.6
		Hakata	8.6	Pepsi	5.5	Universal Robina Corp	5.6
		Hokkaido	5.7	Rose Bowl	5.5	Pepsi	4.4
		Liberty	5.7	Cosmos Bottling Co.	4.7	Cosmos Bottling Co.	4.0
		Alpine	2.9	Liberty	4.7	Young's town	4.0
		Silver Swan	2.9	Silver swan	4.7	Liberty	3.6
		San Miguel Corp.	2.9	Hakata	4.7	Asociated British Food	3.2
		White Rabbit	2.9	Hokone	3.9	Alpine	2.8
		Other	5.7	San Miguel Corp.	3.1	San Miguel Co.	2.8
				Whiterabitt	3.1	Hokkaido	2.8
		*English Confectionery Inc.		Candymaker Inc	3.1	Hakata	2.0
		**Filpro Inc.		Storck Products Inc.	2.3	Rose Bowl sardines	2.0
				Youngs' town	1.6	Strock Products Inc.	2.0
				Alpine	1.6	White Rabitt Co.	2.0
				Other	13.3	Other	14.7
				*Nutriprod Inc. (in Parthnership with San Migi		*Official records reported Nestle's busir	

1980s	%	1990s	%	2000s	%	2010s	%
Nestle*	13.3	Nestle	15.6	Nestle*	15.2	Nestle	14.1
Universal Robina	7.9	URC	11.6	URC	11.9	URC	11.2
M.Y. San	6.8	M.Y. San	6.8	Monde Nissin (M.Y. san)	9.2	Monde Nissin (M.Y. sar	8.2
Century Pacific Food	5.9	Rebisco	4.8	Century pacific food	5.8	Century Pacific Foods	6.2
Rebisco	5.2	Ajinomoto	4.7	Rebisco	4.7	Rebisco	4.9
Ajinomoto	4.7	Coca Cola	4.4	Coca Cola* (Cosmos)	4.7	CocaCola	4.1
Silver Swan	4.5	Silver swan	4.1	Ajinomoto	3.6	Nutriasia*	3.5
Ligo	4.5	Ligo	3.0	Silver swan	3.4	Ajinomoto	3.2
Coca Cola	4.3	Century pacific foods	2.7	Dr Pepper Snapple Group	3.3	Silver Swan*	3.2
Youngs' town	4.1	Kraft	2.6	Kraft	3.1	Dr. Pepper	2.9
Asociated British Food	3.2	Pepsi	2.3	NutriAsia***	2.4	Kraft/Mondelez	2.8
Zest-O	2.5	Monde Nissin	2.2	Pepsi	2.1	CDO-Foodsphere Inc.	2.5
Pepsi	2.5	Zesto	2.1	Zest-O	2.1	Unilever	2.1
Storkc Prod. Inc.	2.3	RFM (Cosmos Bottling)	2.0	Ligo	2.0	Pepsi	1.9
Cosmos Bottling Co.	2.2	Asociation British Food	1.7	Young-s town sardines	2.0	Zest-O	1.8
White Rabitt	2.0	Whiterabitt	1.7	purefoods	1.7	Ligo	1.6
Alaska	1.8	Young's town sardines	1.7	CDO-Foodsphere Inc.	1.6	Purefoods	1.6
Candymaker Inc	1.6	Alaska	1.5	Alaska	1.2	Youngs'town	1.6
Kraft	1.3	Dr Pepper Snapple Gro	1.5	Mega	1.1	Pt Torabika Eka Semes	1.5
Other	19.4	Other	23.0	Other	19.0	Other	21.0
				* Nestle bought ovaltine rights		* Nestle bought ovaltine righ	
				*** NutriaAsia bought several		*** NutriaAsia bought sever	

Source: Own elaboration based on slum women interviews N=61

d) Sauces

Slum dwellers, as most of the urban Filipino, habitually prepare their food with vinegar, soy sauce, fish sauce (*patis*)¹⁴² or adding tiny pickled fish called '*bagoon*'. In Manila, the main consumption is

¹⁴² Patis is the liquid of the small fish fermented and strained in salt. Experienced Filipinos said that the larger the fermentation time, the better quality according to the low smelliness. The industrial processing of patis dates the year 1900, when *Rufina* fermented the pickled fish (*bagoong*) in clay jars then resulting in a fish sauce. The business had a small scale until the mid 1950s when two factories were installed in Malabon to produce and bottle patis for local and export market (My Malabon, 2012).

‘Nipa’ vinegar, a palm original of the Philippines that has been industrially processed since the early 1900s. Soy sauce, originated in China, was manufactured on artisanal basis by Chinese community in Manila since the 1910s (Doeppers, 2016) and the brand ‘Silver Swan’, one of the most popular in the Philippines, was born in the Manila’s Chinatown¹⁴³ during the 1920s. Another epochal product that was born in the 1930s is the ‘Banana Catsup’ invented by Magdalo V. Francisco (Mafran Inc. later evolving to Universal Food Corporation—UFC—),¹⁴⁴ which is one of the indispensable sauces in the consumption habits of slum households.

In sum, in the pre-WWII period, there are two remarks regarding the foundations of Filipino processed food corporations: 1) San Miguel was the only corporation that had the financial and political muscle to build the organizational structures required to partner or compete with foreign business groups. Its back up from the beer industry put the company in better platform to transcend and strategically adapt according to the circumstances (Gutierrez and Rodriguez, 2013). 2) Most of the initial Filipino processed food corporations were micro businesses, few of them survived the war and took off after it, the cases of M.Y. San, Silver Swan and Mafran, later becoming UFC are the key examples. All of the products they created have a presence and relevance in the life of slum populations of the 21st century.

3.2.4. Tondo and the first slum consumers of CPF

Chinese and native populations were marginalized since the Spanish conquest of the kingdom of Tondo in 1571.¹⁴⁵ The Spaniards established a city council in a walled city (*Intramuros*), while the native and the Chinese were segregated across the Pasig River in Tondo (Constantino, 1975). It should be no surprise that the *Katipunan* Anti-Spanish and Anti-American revolutionary movement emerged in Tondo where the leader Andres Bonifacio was born and raised. The life conditions of the excluded can be exemplified with Bonifacio’s first wife and first son. His wife died of leprosy in 1890 and his son died of smallpox in 1897 (Kessler, 1989). Tondo remains as one of the largest slum of Asia and for decades was the place of the ‘Smoky Mountains’ of garbage before their transfer to *Payatas* dumpsite in the 1980s (Medina, 2007).

It is difficult to know about the living conditions of the slums at the time, however, Doeppers (2016) recovered the results of a dietary survey in 1936-37 of more than 100 labor families in Paco, Manila (a non-slum area inhabited by middle and lower labor class) that can give us an idea of the situation of the urban bottom. The survey reports that the poorest families: 1) bore the greatest nutritional deficit, which increased their vulnerability to mortal diseases of the time: cholera,

¹⁴³ The founder of the firm was a Chinese immigrant, Mr. Sy Bun Suan, which phonetically sounds similar to ‘Silver Swan’. Silver Swan Mfg. Co. This company was acquired in 2014 by the NutriAsia, a Filipino conglomerate.

¹⁴⁴ The formal register of UFC dates in 1960. In 1995 was bought by NutriAsia conglomerate.

¹⁴⁵ Since the Spanish conquest of Manila Bay, the land of original people of the kingdom of Tondo was grabbed. Constantino (1975) explains that with the process of the Spanish colonial period, friar lands were obtained through outright usurpation with the help of corrupt surveyors and other government officials, religious corporations were able to expand their landholdings. The original native settlers who had tilled the land for years were summarily declared to be squatters. When the natives protested, they were asked for legal proofs of ownership of the land in question. More often than not, they could not show any legal right. By the end of the Spanish occupation the approximate area of religious estates in Manila was 49,293 hectares, more than 70% of the jurisdiction (Constantino, 1975:68).

diarrhea, tuberculosis, parasites, etc. 2) spent less than 8 percent in fruits and vegetables. On average, the survey reported that bananas were the most common element in their diets after rice or maize and that only their protein derived 45 percent from fish and animals, 38 percent from rice, and the rest from other plants. We can assume, then, that the poorest labor families in Paco had a larger consumption of rice, maize and fruits than the average group and that the families in Tondo experienced similar or even worse conditions.

Considering the unaffordable prices and corporate disinterest for supplying processed food into slums, the reasoning that CPF were inaccessible for slums is correct. However, based on two arguments, I would like to set a hypothesis that some of the poor had contact and even consumed CPF at the time: 1) Doeppers (2016) found that poor Filipino worked as seasonal-labor in canning factories of the Pacific coast of North America, thus, it is probable that Filipino temporary immigrants tasted canned food during their working days or even bring back home some of the products. 2) Tondo is located close to the main port and the main market in Manila, *Divisoria*, the highest trade area of the Philippines (McIntyre, 1955). Therefore, it is possible slum populations did informal labor in the area, as chargers, cleaners, packers, vendors, etc., thus having contact with some of the imported or traded CPF.

3.3. Building a nation and the Filipino corporate groups: 1946 to 1965

July 4th of 1946 was the independence day of The Philippines and the anniversary of the analogue celebration in U.S.¹⁴⁶ It was a symbolic fingerprint of the American incursion in the Philippines under an international context of cold war. The Philippines, itself, was absorbed by the “communist” threat from a Central Luzon group: the *Hukbalahaps* (*Huks*) that made the government—with the support of the U.S.—to fight any form of communism (Kessler, 1989). In those circumstances, economic independence discourses re-emerged and the presidents Carlos P. Garcia and Diosdado Macapagal¹⁴⁷ impregnated of ‘nationalism’ implemented the Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) economic model (Anderson, 1998).

In these political circumstances, the CPF industry continued its trajectory in the history of the Philippines. The adaptation of foreign ‘fashions’ and the insertion of the processed food consumption habits in the urban bottom can be considered as the foundations of the contemporary *Pinoy* (Filipino) CPF business system.

¹⁴⁶ In 1962, the President Diosdado Macapagal proclaimed the day June 12, 1962 as the day of celebration of the Independence instead of July 4.

¹⁴⁷ Diosdado Macapagal was man of nationalist ideas, a qualified lawyer graduated from the University of the Philippines and a reputed poet in Chinese and Spanish. His cultural interest was, in simple words, not pro-American. He claimed lands previously reserved for the American military and partially given to the landless peasants but, three years later, in the context of the Vietnam War, the U.S. government put pressure and got an agreement to maintain military bases in 1965. The same year that Ferdinand Marcos came to power.

3.3.1. Partnering with foreign CPF producers

Under the ISI development strategy, the Filipino government set barriers to do business for foreign companies. For instance, the 1954 Retail Trade Nationalization Act and the regulations adopted by the National Economic Council in 1957-58 giving priority to Filipino firms over foreign companies to access to operate business. It restricted foreign business while establishing that Filipino corporations must possess more than 50 percent of any company operating in the country.

Regulatory restrictions derived of policies supporting incipient national business groups were a common practice worldwide and large corporations had accumulated experience from previous decades (c.f. Donce and Kurosawa, 2013; Koese, 2008). To overcome restrictions, MNC generally created a subsidiary in joint venture with a local group (Pritchard and Fagan, 1999). In the Philippines, Nestlé and Ajinomoto are significant examples of the time.

Nestlé, after WWII, established Filipro, Inc. but had limitations to expand.¹⁴⁸ The corporation changed the strategy and made a partnership with SMC in 1960 to create Nutritional Products Inc (Nutriprod).¹⁴⁹ The strategy worked well and in 1969, NutriProd was the 5th top ranked processed food corporation in the Philippines (see Table 3.2). A favorable position of Nestlé products was also registered from the life histories of slum women, in their memories Nescafé in glass and ‘bear brand’ powder milk were brands referred as occasionally consumed in the 1950s and the 1960s.

Ajinomoto started its business operations in the Philippines in 1953, 36 years after the company foundation in Japan, through a sales agreement with three local counterparts.¹⁵⁰ After a rapid consumer acceptance *Ajinomoto MSG (Vensim* in the Philippines), one of the partnerships evolved to a Union Chemicals Inc. in 1958.¹⁵¹ In 1969, Ajinomoto produced a total of 4,250 tons of vensim MSG that represented an impressive compound annual growth rate of 27.1 percent during the period 1958-1969. In the same year, the company reached the top 15 food companies of the Philippines and during the following decades they reached the top 10 (Table 3.2). Slum women’s memories of the time recall the small plastic bags of *vensim*, ‘a transparent bag with a red stamp of the company name’ that are still sold in slums. In their cooking and eating routines, *vensim* is coupled with soy sauce or fish sauce to flavor their dishes.

Canning corporations were other relevant cases of partnerships between Filipino and foreigners after WWII. As it was mentioned in previous section, since the early 20th century American canned fish industry had initial business and economic relations that served as platform for the

¹⁴⁸ Nestlé’s powdered milk (different brands) was in the market since the end of 19th century and its powdered coffee ready to drink (Nescafé) arrived to the Philippines via the U.S. military during WWII (Nestlé Philippines, 2011).

¹⁴⁹ The partnership of NutriProd was signed by Nestlé and San Miguel Corporation. The company Filipro Inc. still was active at the time but with minor activities. After 1972, with the military law and the Marcos’s extended regime, the business environment changed and Filipro Inc. had higher role using international Nestlé brands such as Nido, Maggi, Milo, etc., NutriProd was dissolved but Nestlé-San Miguel agreements with Filipino brands Magnolia, Milkmaid, Señorita, etc.. Either finish or continue in a different stage of legal terms.

¹⁵⁰ Ajinomoto had registered initial exports of MSG to the Philippines at the end of the 1920s, but a larger volume of exports (52 tons) were registered in 1954. In 1956, Ajinomoto designated a sole agent (Union Merchandising Co.,) managed by a Chinese-Filipino entrepreneur Zheng Xiong Di. In 1957, exports increased to 313 tons (Ajinomoto Philippines, 2016. Retrieved from: <http://www.ajinomoto.com.ph/about-us/history/1969-1953/> in 2 August, 2016)

¹⁵¹ In 1958, the company Union Chemicals Inc was registered and in 1960 was formalized a Joint Venture to produce MSG in the Philippines with Ajinomoto owning 51% of the shares, (Ajinomoto Philippines, 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.ajinomoto.com.ph/about-us/history/1969-1953/>, 2 August, 2016).

sardines, mackerel and later to canned tuna businesses.¹⁵² However, Japanese canning corporations—the American’ main competitors—also had businesses relations with their counterpart Filipinos several years before the war (Viana, 2015).

After WWII, Japanese and American business relationships with Filipino counterparts were not interrupted; on the contrary, their alliances were intensified.¹⁵³ This account matches with the life histories of older slum women that remembered the names of consumed canned sardines, mackerel or saba with clear Japanese reference such as Hokkaido, Hokone, Hakata, Asahi sardines and also the American brand Rose Bowl, which originated in California¹⁵⁴ (See Table 3.3).

In short, the political economy circumscribing the early stages of the Philippines as “independent” nation was led by nationalistic leaders trying to set a capital accumulation cycle injecting resources for inward economic growth. The Filipino economic and political groups decided to partner with foreign capital with restrictions and limits. Multinational corporations, having experience of facing barriers for their expansion, adapted their business strategies to the local circumstances. In this context, the CPF continued its historical path in the Philippines, penetrating in the Filipino market sphere and slowly becoming part of the common sense of Filipinos (the meanings sphere).

Coming up next, the situation of slum society at the time is explained. The school nutrition programs are used to exemplify how a governmental program channels CPF and contributes in the construction of meanings for marginalized Filipinos.

3.3.2. Slums formation and school nutrition programs

After WWII, albeit the levels of destruction of Manila, the city was considered to continue as the economic, political, and cultural center of the Philippines. Neither the American occupation nor the Philippines’ government as an independent nation ended the centralization of power in Manila that exists since the 16th century. Under a context of centralization for the recovery and re-construction, Manila’s attraction for rural immigrants expelled by the misery or violence can be considered as normal.

In 1948, the population of Metro-Manila was 1.5 million inhabitants three times higher than 1939. This fact can give us an idea of the misery in rural areas after the war and the necessity to go to Manila to survive. Immigration to the capital continued during the 1950s and in 1960 the population reached 2.46 million that represented a 3.8 percent annual growth and in 1957 the

¹⁵² By 1954 the U.S. was the world’s largest producer and consumer of canned sardines and tuna (Smith 2012).

¹⁵³ Partnerships with Japanese have been continued until today. During Marcos Era one key referent is the company managing the brand Young’s town, a Filipino brand launched in the late 1960s through a partnership with Japanese fisheries under the legal name of Earldon Enterprises Inc. (Youngs’ town 2016; retrieved from <http://www.youngstown.com.ph/about.html>, 3 November, 2016). Nowadays, Ligo and Mega Sardines and Century Pacific in their websites announce business relations with Japanese counterparts for both, export-import businesses and production activities in the Philippines.

¹⁵⁴ Old and mature women also remembered receiving canned food as gifts from Americans, however, for them, foreigners in general are called ‘Americans’ though it can be from other nationality. The gifts were received during their childhood at hometown in rural areas or after their arrival to Manila.

population living in squatter areas were around 170,000 (Garrido, 2013), approximately 7.0 percent of Manila's population.

At the time, the Philippines presented considerable levels of micronutrient deficiency that impacted on the rural and urban population's health (Austin, 1981; Scrimshaw and Wallerstein, 1982). There is a vast literature referring to programs of food fortification and enrichment of diets that were implemented since the end of the war (Solon, 1976; Solon, et.al. 1979). To give context in this situation, it is important to briefly recall three interrelated aspects of the world food politics in the post-WWII that are relevant about milk and fortification meals and the involvement of corporations in the introduction of processed and packaged products in the developing countries. First, since the 1920s Britain and U.S. were implementing nutrition campaigns, which included school milk and meals, communal feeding, fortification of flour and margarine, etc., but educational and other nutrition programs were undermined by corporate interests¹⁵⁵ (Nestle, 2013; Smith, 2013). Nutritional knowledge at the time in Britain and U.S. were codified in food plans in a national and global scale in order to abolish hunger and good nutrition.¹⁵⁶ However, those ideas, presented and discussed in the created Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) as a World Food Board (WFB) proposal, were put aside in 1947 (Smith, 2013; Friedmann, 2005).

According to Friedmann (2005), a food regime was in dispute and the defeat of the WFB proposal can be explained by understanding the interests of commercial family farmers in the U.S. that influenced the government policies. The consequence, in terms of nutritional policies for impoverished populations in developing countries, was that the international agencies in charge of the issue focused on low availability of protein (infant protein deficiency and the "protein gap") instead of rich nutritional products in a diversified and un-concentrated industry on a global scale. On the contrary, the food projects were concentrated on animal production, including milk and blended foods -e.g. corn-soybean meal- that had consensus among U.S. corporations, farmers, bureaucrats, and politicians about the nutritional value and facilitated commercial and local government efforts to popularize consumption (Nestle, 2013; Barret, 2002). In other words, the food politics in the U.S. led not only to the refusal of the WFB but also to a set of practices that formed a mercantile-industrial food regime (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989; Friedmann, 2005).

Second, under the U.S. emerging hegemony, two fundamental features of the new food regime were the subsidies to its farmers, and replacement of the gold standard with a dollar-based system that facilitated the "food aid" programs.¹⁵⁷ In this process, U.S. farmers became fewer in number, larger and monocultural, more dependent on subsidized exports, and more integrated into

¹⁵⁵ Nestle (2013) points out that by the end of World War II, food producers, together with U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and members of the House and Senate Agricultural Committees, (the agricultural establishment) took the main role in agriculture and nutrition policy decisions. In the 1950s, she identified 25 groups of food producers dominating the lobbying, most of them executing international business (Nestle, 2013:98).

¹⁵⁶ With the accumulated knowledge of the time, high-protein weaning goods were expected to be developed, according to the reports the plan was feasible technically, economically and organizationally (Nestle, 2002, 2013; Smith, 2013)

¹⁵⁷ It was aid in the form of sales of U.S. goods, such as food, for "soft" currencies held by the U.S. government as counterpart funds (Friedmann, 2005). Food aid started off in the 1950s and in the 1960s, it constituted over 20% of global aid flows with the US and together with Canada accounted for over 90% of global food aid until the 1970s when the United Nations WFP became a major player (Barret and Maxwell, 2005). Since its declaration in July 1954, the most important program was the 'PL 480' entitled *Food and Fiber as a Force for Freedom*.

larger complexes: the intensive meat¹⁵⁸ and durable foods¹⁵⁹ (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989). During the 1950s and 1960s, the durable foods, including CPF, 'changed food from farm produce to manufactured foods and reflected the larger trend to mass consumption and mass production of standardized products' (Ibid, 1989:108).

Third, food aid was used as marketing tactic of durable food producers. Barret and Maxwell (2005:78) recovered a speech of the U.S. Senator Edward Thye's in the congress of 1957 that makes this tactic explicit: 'If they ever develop the taste for powdered milk or for butter . . . or if they develop a strong habit for wheat, where they are rice consuming, then we will always have a market there . . . We put these foods at their disposal for a period of six months or a year, after which they are always going to be looking for that type of product.' The logic behind was that free samples were meant to try to convince new consumers of the quality and value of the product and also served as a device of public relations in favor of the agricultural establishment.¹⁶⁰

After WWII the main beneficiaries, in terms of volume of the food aid, were countries closer to the area of influence of the Soviet Union, particularly in Europe, South Korea, and Japan (in the context of the Korean War *ex ante* and *ex post*), however, roughly 90 percent of the world's economies have at one time or another received PL 480 food aid. Among them, the Philippines belong to a group of countries¹⁶¹ classified with the longest-standing records of US food aid in a 50 year period even though they are relative small markets for the U.S. scale (Barret and Maxwell, 2005:76).

In the context of this study about CPF, the relevance is not about quantity measured by exports but about quality and the impact on the people's lifestyles that inherently impact their social and political behavior. What we know is that in the Philippines one of the emphases of intervention programs in deprived populations were the food fortification programs in school or community health centers, and milk was a key product due to its protein contribution along with fortified margarine in bread (Solon, 1976). Life histories of elder and adult women living in slums confirm that they benefited from these programs during some time in their early lives. They remembered child nutrition programs in school where they received milk, bread or biscuits and fruit. Two women remembered the name of the food fortification program '*Nutripan*' (meaning nutrition and bread).

Slum women remembrances of *Nutripan* differed either if the boxed milk was corporate branded milk or if boxed milk labeled by the government's logo or seal. Corporate names that

¹⁵⁸ The breeding and rearing of livestock was transformed from handicraft and extensive techniques of husbandry to intensive, scientifically-managed continuous production systems (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989).

¹⁵⁹ Durable foods refer to perishable set of ingredients to a widely marketed and manufactured set of products with a long and hardy life (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989:105).

¹⁶⁰ Barret and Maxwell, (2005) gave another example with the reaction of the 'Agricultural establishment' in 1958, after the U.S. Senate presented a study of the PL 480. The study declared the use of the program only for surplus disposal objectives, with little attention paid to humanitarian or foreign policy aims. But the 'establishment' used the humanitarian labels and images of food aid as 'a convenient public relations device' to rationalize their farm surpluses into international assets (Barret and Maxwell, 2005:26). Furthermore, in recognizing the 50th anniversary of PL 480 food aid, the US Senate passed Senate Resolution 402, submitted by Senators Cochran and Harkin, noted that the 'Title I' program has facilitated sales of agricultural commodities from the United States, totaling an estimated \$30,000,000,000 to nearly 100 countries; . . . [and] a number of countries that were early beneficiaries of both [Title I and Title II] programs have emerged as "democracies" and strong commercial trading partners, including South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Mexico, and Turkey, in part as a result of development projects and food distribution programs conducted using agricultural commodities from the United States. (Ibid:28).

¹⁶¹ The group is formed by Peru, Haiti, India, Indonesia, Jordan, and the Philippines.

emerged in the conversations were Liberty, Alpine¹⁶² and Darigold. Darigold was a processed milk brand commercialized in the Philippines through a partnership between Darigold Company Seattle Inc. and consolidated Philippines, Inc (CFC); the latter remained in the top ten of the Philippines in mid-1970s to later disappear.¹⁶³

In the 1950s, Liberty milk, leader in the Filipino market, had stronger presence in Manila where its industrial plant was based. Liberty belonged to General Milk,¹⁶⁴ a corporation that in 1969 was the second largest food corporation in the Philippines, just below Pepsi Cola Corporation (see Table 3.2). General Milk was operating in the Philippines via a subsidiary but its protagonist role decreased during the Marcos's era.

In sum, after being declared an “independent” country, the Government of the Philippines initiated with policies for economic growth. The lag behind industrialized nations was recognized and a strategy of doing partnerships with foreign capitals—but limiting ownership—was implemented. Investment, technology, and products, including packaged food, arrived to the Philippines. However, the massive poverty in the country and the increasing slum populations growing in Manila were a main issue, thus, the health and nutrition programs become a priority. The implemented programs had support from the U.S. and from the international organizations that emerged after WWII. With the nutrition program, industrialized processed milk, biscuits, and bread penetrated the bottom of the society and contributed to the construction of market and meanings that remain until today (see chapters 5 and 6).

In the following section, the impact of the Marcos' regime on Manila's slum formation and on the evolution of CPF business is explained. It is a turning point in the history of the Philippines, and also, it shaped the political economy of CPF in the country, including the slums.

3.4. Marcos's effect in CPF business and society: 1965 to the 1980s

According to Coase (1988) there are three pillars that define the process of capitalism in a modern society: market, law and firms. Similarly, for Polanyi (1944) market, State, and private property are the main institutions of capitalism. But in a deeper critique of the capital system, Marx highlights the class struggle between *the bourgeoisie*—owners of the mean of production (capital and land), controllers of the means of coercion (armed forces, legal system and other forces of the state), and appropriators of the surplus value created in the production process—and *the proletariat*—those exploited, deskilled, and alienated workers that does not own their means of production and depending on selling their labor capacity to survive and reproduce.

¹⁶² Pe (2011) reports that Alaska Milk bought Liberty and Alpine corporations in 2007. At the time, Liberty and Alpine showed poor or stagnate results during the decades of the 1980s and the 1990s. Alaska is nowadays one of the key players of the industry and it has been implementing strategies to penetrate in the slums' market and meanings sphere (see chapter 4).

¹⁶³ Specialized processed milk reports state that Darigold disappeared not only by a lost the competition with Liberty in condensed milk segment but also by a legal dispute between Filipino and American business partners (Pe, 2011).

¹⁶⁴ In 1957, General Milk operated 18 processing plants and 10 can factories in 12 countries. The Manila plant was the first in the South East Asia (Kahimyang, 30-11-2012. Retrieved from <https://kahimyang.com/kauswagan/articles/1380/today-in-philippine-history-december-3-1957-the-first-milk-processing-plant-in-the-country-was-inaugurated>, 17 July, 2017).

Marx distinguished two types of bourgeois capitalist: (i) the owners and managers of the means of production; and (ii) *rentier* capitalists whose livelihoods derive either from the rent of property or from the interest-income produced by finance capital, or both. It is also possible a mix of bourgeois mixing both functions of the capitalist system as can be observed from the post-WWII Filipino case, defined either as ‘a society under a “*mongrel* economy” for his features as a mix of semi-colonial, semi-fuedal, semi-capitalist, afflicted by an abnormality in its initial stage of development’ (Langman, 1994:1) or as a society affected by an economy based on persistent ‘rent seeking’¹⁶⁵ and ‘crony capitalism’¹⁶⁶ dominated by a minority class (McCoy, 2009; Bonner, 1988; Anderson, 1998). This section exemplifies with significant references that a bourgeoisie class in the CPF businesses emerged during the period of Ferdinand Marcos as ruler in the Philippines, companies that nowadays play an important role in the exchange and consumption of CPF in Metro Manila.

Marx also distinguished the *proletariat* and the *lumpen-proletariat*. The latter class is conservative, reactionary and even more dependend in others for their survival and their social reproduction. In this study, the terms ‘slum dwellers or slum populations’ include both proletariat and lumpen-proletariat without distinction. Indeed, this section ends showing the findings about the relation between slum dwellers and the CPF of the time.

3.4.1. The emergence of the Filipino-Chinese bourgeoisie

Since his arrival to power in 1965, Ferdinand Marcos did not affect the structure of landowner elites. On the contrary, he strengthened some landlords and business groups and destroyed others that previously opposed his political project (McCoy, 2009). Marcos found support in his class-allies to fight a “communist” insurgency in Mindanao—the New People’s Army and the Moro National Liberation Front. A climate of revolts was present in the political atmosphere during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. The insurgencies in rural areas, movements of discontent in urban areas,¹⁶⁷ students’ demonstrations, and a revolutionary mood derived of the triumphs of the Vietnamese, the Cubans, and the Allende’s democratic movement in Chile, contextualized the Marcos’s declaration of martial law in August of 1972. Immediately, in September of 1972, Marcos abolished the Filipino Congress and ruled by a new constitution and subsequent presidential decrees. It was the beginning of an obscure era of power domination of a local class with support of foreign allies, principally from the U.S. (Celoza, 1997; Bonner, 1988).

A Chinese proverb says that every crisis is an opportunity, and in this tumultuous political era, one of the relevant effects was the emergence of a new bourgeoisie class, the Chinese-Filipino (were

¹⁶⁵ Rent seeking is the active pursuit of political influence to gain market advantage. The presidents were elected through the support of rent-seeking political brokers, successive presidents were force to cultivate these powerful politicians with local and national benefices, regulating the cash flow to reward and punish loyalty (McCoy, 2009).

¹⁶⁶ Is an economy in which businesses thrive not as a result of risk taken for them but rather as a return on money amassed through a nexus between a business class and the political class (Zingales, 2012)

¹⁶⁷ By the mid 1960s, the Philippine’s economic strategy of ISI could no longer provide enough employment for secondary and tertiary. One month before the martial law, in August of 1972, overall unemployment in Manila was 11 percent, but 800,000 recent graduates pushing youth unemployment to 20 percent (McCoy, 2009:xvi).

born in China and immigrated to the Philippines) and Filipino-Chinese (Filipino with Chinese ascendancy) that took a protagonist role in the political economy and business arenas, including the CPF (Table 3.4). The cases of Eduardo Dading Coaganco and Lucio Tan are commonly mentioned in the Filipino political economy literature but there are other cases were ties also existed (Cariño, 1998; Chirot and Reid, 1997; McCoy, 2009).

Table 3.4. CPF businesses of Chinese-Filipino and Filipino-Chinese in Marcos Era

Corporate Group	Family	Key person	CPF segment (s)	CPF Brand in slum	Main Business	Ethnicity	Foundation
Universal Robina Corporation*	Gokongwei	John Gokongwei Jr	Confectionery, Snacks, Biscuits, Coffee	Great Taste, Blend 45, Jack n'jill (chippy, Chiz, etc), Piatos, Maxx, etc	Food and Beverages	Chinese - Filipino	1966
Fortune Tobacco, Asia Brewery, Tanduay, others of LT Group	Tan	Lucio C. Tan, Sr.	Not Alcohol drinks	Cobra Energy drink; Nestea & Sunkist (Under License)	Tobacco, Beer, Alcoholic drinks, Airlines, Properties, etc.	Chinese - Filipino	1965
Liwayway Marketing Corporation (LMC)	Chan (Kiong Ki See)	Carlos Chan	Snacks, Confectionery, Beverages, Biscuits,	Oishii, Kirei, Mang Juan, etc.	Food and Beverages	Chinese - Filipino	1966 (as distributor); 1974 (as Manufacturer)
Century Pacific	Po	Ricardo Po	Canned fish and meat	555, Argentina, Carne norte, Century Tuna, etc.	Food processing	Chinese - Filipino	1978
Tung Chingco Trading, Inc	Tung	Gregory Tung, Sr (Trader); Gregory Tung, Jr. (Manufacturer)	Canned fish and meat	Ligo	Food processing	Chinese - Filipino	1954 (as distributor); 1980 (as Manufacturer)
San Miguel Corp.	Cojuangco	Eduardo Dading Cojuangco Jr.	Packaged meats, coffee, soft drinks	Purefoods, San Mig	Beer, Food, Packaging, Properties, other.,	Filipino -Chinese (Mestizo)	1890**
CDO-Foodsphere Inc	Ong	Corazon Dayro Ong (CDO)	Packaged meats, Canned meats; Canned Fish	CDO; San Marino	Food processing	Filipino -Chinese (Mestizo)	1975
Supermarkets chains							
SM Prime	Sy	Henry T. Sy Sr	Retailing	SM Quiapo	Retailing, Shopping malls, Properties	Chinese - Filipino	Nov 1972
Notes:							
* Subsidiary of the corporate group JG Summit Holdings Inc.							
** Dading Cojuangco Jr. took major control of San Miguel Corp in 1983, with previous 15% stock participation since 1976.							

Source: Own elaboration based on several corporate and media sources

The emergence of the Chinese-Filipino as an entrepreneurial bloc¹⁶⁸ has a significant role in the exchange and consumption of slum households since the 1960s until present days. From the identified entrepreneurs, there are three social and political economy relevant features: a) close relations to power, b) humility as source of discourse for moral and social recognition, c) business diversification.

a) Close relations to political power

Literature about the Marcos era coincide that the Philippines had a political system kidnapped by elite families willing to compete for power through legal and criminal means. A weak state incapable

¹⁶⁸ In Marcos Era, in the Processed Food and Beverage Industry, we can also identify some of the groups or companies (No Chinese-Filipino) that had a favorable performance during Marcos Regime such as California Manufacturing Corporation; Philippine dairy products; Purefoods (Ayala Corp) or that that were founded such as Alaska Corporation and Zest-o Corporation that developed their business in this epoch. But as a social class, the case of Chinese-Filipino outstands due to previous marginalization, exclusion and even denigration (Cariño, 1998)

of controlling the oligarchic families, which in turn used the political power to accumulate wealth as *rentiers* and as rent-seekers instead of become entrepreneurs. Two CPF-related business persons exemplify the abovementioned problems, Dading Cojuangco who was President of San Miguel Corporation and Lucio Tan, President of Tobacco, Alcohol and Beverages businesses.

Dading Cojuangco, was born in Central Luzon, where he was the regional vice president of the Marcos's ruling party the *Kilusang Bagong Lipunan*, KBL (New Society Movement with a right wing political position). Based on his relations with the political power, Cojuangco took control of the Philippines' coconut industry via subsidies, cheap loans, tax preferences, and export licenses. With an increase in revenue and power, he initially acquired 15 stocks of the San Miguel Corporation, and years later took the control of this historical and pillar corporation of the beverage industry in the Philippines (Hawes, 1987).

Lucio Tan was born in Fujian, China and immigrated to Manila in his childhood. He earned a degree in Chemical Engineering in the Far East University, from which other prominent contemporary Chinese-Filipino also graduated.¹⁶⁹ In 1965, Tan established *Fortune Inc.* a Tobacco company that served as platform for other businesses including Asia Brewery in 1982. This company was not confined to beer, it also profited from bottled water such as *Summit* and *Absolute*, and soft drinks, energy drinks and powder teas and juices such as *Nestea* and *Sunkist*—the latter two under license agreements. As result, Tan is the 2nd richest billionaire of the Philippines even though his business history is full of suits for tax avoidance, corruption, rent seeking since the Marcos Era¹⁷⁰ and allegations derived of subsequent political quarrels due to his public support to presidential candidates (McCoy, 2009:xxii).

b) Humble origin and social legitimization

One of the fundamental characteristics in the profile of a successful businessman is the legitimization by society that allows him to construct a legacy. In this respect, his origin, morality, family history, and efforts to excel are highly valued and recognized, for instance, the social and business prizes that media abundantly diffuses and convert entrepreneurs in celebrities (Newman, et.al, 2011).

While analyzing the biographies and literature referring to the Chinese Filipino class, humility is the most frequent value described in both, the media reviews about awards or career recognitions and in the history described in their corporate websites. For example: i) 'Lucio Tan worked as a janitor at a tobacco factory where he mopped floors to pay for school',¹⁷¹ ii) 'Carlos Chan being the

¹⁶⁹ Relevant contemporary Chinese-Filipino co-alumni are Henry Sy of SM supermarkets; Ramon S. Ang, who took control of San Miguel Corporation after Dading Cojuangco; Alonso Yuchengco, who among his multiple businesses, during an epoch he was Chairman of the Board of Directors of Dole Philippines.

¹⁷⁰ In early 1970s, Tan won "tax breaks and monopoly licenses" that allow him to lead the tobacco market, which was his business platform of expansion to other business under the Marcos' Regime. After Marcos' exile The Presidential Commission on Good Government sued Tan in July 1987, the state was seeking to recover 60% of Tan's holdings in companies that Tan held in trust Marcos alleging that they were illegally acquired by Marcos using government funds (GMA News, 23-08-2010. Retrieved from <http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/>, 11 February, 2017.

¹⁷¹ Forbes Magazine, July 1999. Retrieved from <https://www.forbes.com/forbes/1999/0705/6401160a.html>
<https://www.forbes.com/profile/lucio-tan/>, 3 February, 2017.

eldest of 11 siblings, when their father died in 1977, Mr. Chan assumed the role of patriarch for the seven Chan siblings, then he studied architecture but later on left studies to concentrate on business.¹⁷² Carlos Chan is the owner of Oishi Inc. a food and beverage manufacturer; iii) 'With Ms. Dayro-Ong's vision and leadership, the Consumers Union of the Philippines voted CDO as the most outstanding meat-processing company in the country from 1999-2003. She was also conferred with various awards and citations like Most Outstanding Nutritionist of the Year award and Outstanding Medium-Scale Entrepreneur by the Philippine Marketing Association Agora Awards (1996). She was one of the Most Outstanding Women of Valenzuela City (2006), Entrepreneur Mom-Working Mom (2007), and Woman Entrepreneur of 2009 by Ernst & Young. She has lived up to her dream of serving the Filipino consumers with affordable, quality food products.'¹⁷³ Corazon Dayro-Ong founded CDO-Foodsphere in 1975. She started it as a homemade business in her garage.

The above media messages highlighting humble origins of entrepreneurs can be accepted as real since a vast number of Chinese immigrants arrived in conditions of extreme misery, and after their arrival they were marginalized and demeaned (Cariño, 1998; Ong and Nonini, 2003). However, their "success stories" are promoted with an intention of provoking admiration in peoples' minds just by the fact that they come from the bottom of society, and now they are billionaire entrepreneurs. In the end it works, young populations see them as role models to follow and they believe that entrepreneurship is the way to wealth and glory. It is the alienation of proletarian classes that admires the business magnates without observing the process, mechanisms and social relations behind those corporate achievements.

c) Business diversification

Studies on Chinese-Filipino business (e.g. Cariño, 1998; Ong and Nonini, 2003) agreed on two points: 1) the rapid growth of their business are based on strategies profiting from the use of cheap labor, natural resources, soft environmental regulations and governmental support for the expansion in domestic and international markets; 2) the strategy to diversify businesses, expanding to other sectors. About the latter, Chinese-Filipino corporations in food or beverages industry have expanded to real estate, financial and other services or vice versa. They prefer to expand in businesses as rentiers or in sectors with middle value added rather than high-value sectors (Gutierrez and Rodriguez, 2013; Rivera, 2003)

The Gokongwei family business conglomerate is a significant example. John Robinson Lim Gokongwei—born Go Ek-hui—established an import-export business in 1954 with the support of the Chairman of Bank of China.¹⁷⁴ In 1966, the family established Universal Robina Corporation (URC)¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² Retrieved from the corporate website: <https://www.oishi.com.ph/about-us/#about>, 3 February, 2017.

¹⁷³ Retrieved from the Far Eastern University Website, <http://www.feu.edu.ph/manila/index.php/tag/ms-corazon-dayro-ong/>. 3 February, 2017. CDO in short time positioned her processed meat in the lowest and middle segments of the market. This coincide with the information obtained during the interviews with Slum householders, CDO was defined as cheaper but less tasty than her competitors such as Purefoods or Argentina.

¹⁷⁴ The company historical records report that the chairman of the China Bank was Albino Z. SyCip, a Chinese Filipino from Fujian, which is the place of the familial roots of the Gokongweis. The company would later upgrade to corn milling and food processing (confectionery, snacks, packaged foods and beverages). In 1961, a subsidiary, Consolidated Philippines Corporation (CFC), launched a powdered coffee

who owns Jack 'n Jill' brand that covers snacks such as: *Chiz Curls*, *Chippy*, *Potato Chips*, *Piattos*, and *Maxx* candies. The company had a rapid success, since the 1970s, URC along with Nestlé are the two leaders of the CPF industrial sector.¹⁷⁶ This coincides with the account of slum women, who majorly recall consumption experiences with URC products in Manila.

3.4.2. Internal immigration and CPF consumption

Anyone who has lived or researched in slums knows that hope for improvement in life exists, if not in the majority of people, at least in some of those who experienced survival to misery, violence or abandonment. Indeed, rural people come to the cities because there is no future for them in their provinces or islands. Slum women who migrated during the Marcos era coincide with not only the fact that the situation in their villages was difficult, but also that they received information (true or false) either from relatives or friends that Marcos and Imelda loved the poor and they were supporting families, regularly giving rice or maize and sending children to school for free.

The highest growth rate of Manila's population occurred in this era. In 1960 the population was of 2,462,228 inhabitants and in 1986 it reached almost 7 million inhabitants. It signified a 4.2 annual growth rate, almost three times superior to the 1.5 annual growth of the GDP of the Philippines. Further the distribution of income and wealth was obstinately unequal (Constantino and Valte, 1994; Celoza, 1997), the number of people living in squatters passed from around 220,000 in 1963 to 2 million in 1985 (Garrido, 2013). In the mid-1980s more than 40 percent of the urban land was made up of squatter areas (Murphy, 1990).

Survival and living a precarious life become normal rather than the exception. Informality spread everywhere and differences with other neighborhoods were bigger. In non-squatter areas, 20% of young people dropped out of school before high school, while in squatter areas was 35%. The infant mortality rate was 76 per 1000 outside squatter areas, and 210 per 1000 inside. The birth rate per 1000 persons was 33 outside and 177 inside, tuberculosis and other diseases showed also considerable differences (Murphy, 1990:19).

There are not reports about CPF consumption in slums during Marcos era, however, an in-depth study of Crisostomo *Sari-Sari* store¹⁷⁷ in non-slum but low-income district (Silverio, 1975) can give us an idea of the situation in the mid-1970s. In Crisostomo's store were retailed about 228 different kinds of goods: 36 different types of candies/peanuts/popcorn (15.8%); 34 different types of canned and packaged goods (14.9%); 20 different types of spices/flavoring agents/cooking aids (8.7%), but without distinguishing those who were made and packaged by corporations—e.g.

'Blend 45' with a nationalistic marketing campaign 'Pinoy Coffee' (Filipino coffee) that positioned the product as a real competitor of the leader Nescafe during two decades.

¹⁷⁵ In the early 1970s, the family entered the commodities business through the formation of Continental Milling Corporation, for flour milling and production. The late 1980s brought the acquisition of three sugar mills and refineries, under URC Sugar. These two businesses provided stable cash flows, and allowed for further vertical integration in the supply chain, to help URC weather any volatility in the cyclical commodities markets. (Retrieved from http://www2.urc.com.ph/company_history, Jan 21, 2017.)

¹⁷⁶ In 1975, URC and CFC appeared in the top 10 of food and beverages corporations; none of them were in the ranking of 1969 (See Table 3.2).

¹⁷⁷ *Sari-Sari* store is the micro-retail grocery store. *Sari-Sari* means various. Thus, it is a miscellaneous home-based store, generally operating in informality. In 2010 the estimations of a number of stores were above 1.5 million (AC. Nielsen, 2014)

vensim-ajinomoto, knorr, maggi, etc.—from those spices such as cumin, pepper, salt, oregano, etc, that are packaged in small plastic bags without a brand; 8 different soft drinks (3.5%); the rest of the products were toilet articles, cosmetics, detergents, soaps, vegetables, fruits, homemade bakeries, medicines, cigarettes, dairy, fish, seafood, poultry, meat, stationeries, school supplies, electrical supplies, rice, and tailoring materials (Silverio, 1975:23).

There are two specific points to note in Silverio's study, one is the zero importance to brand names, the only reference he made about brands is that Crisostomo was selling sardines, meat loaf, and milk with only one brand of each kind. It is an important point of comparison with current slum *Sari-Sari* store where there is more than three of each canned product and more than 120 corporate brands of food and beverages—without considering the varieties of flavors of the same brand and without counting non-food brands—(see Chapters 4 and 5). On the other hand, alcohol was not included in Silverio's report, he mentions somewhere in the study that the store stopped selling liquor because it was declared illegal, and Crisostomo wanted to avoid problems. Crisostomo said that gangs used to approach the store from 7 pm and the police was frequently patrolling the zone. This information gives us an idea of the city environment of in those days under the military government. In contrast, during the fieldwork in 2015 and 2016, selling alcohol in *Sari-Sari* stores was a general practice except in Muslim's grocers or from wives aware of their husbands' alcoholism but the police were not patrolling; they only entered in specific raids after the Philippines' President authoritatively imposed a new anti-drug policy in august, 2016.¹⁷⁸

In brief, Marcos era was a turning point in the history of the Philippines, and had a significant impact in the political economy of CPF in Manila's slums. First, under Marcos' regime, the emergence of the Chinese-Filipino is a primordial topic of political economy. Since the beginning of the ascendance to power, Marcos and the Chinese-Filipino community had a close political and business relationship. There are cases evidencing this phenomenon, and some of them are related to the processed food industry. Moreover Chinese-Filipino entrepreneurs used their CPF businesses as platform to diversify their investments, growth and capital accumulation. Second, during Marcos's administration, the slums populations grew as result of internal flows of migration and unplanned urbanization. Inherently, the demand of food and other means of subsistence increased. This fostered slum populations to start micro-retail business as source of income and self-consumption (Chen, 1997, Ko, 2006). CPF retailing became a common practice inside the slums, it extended the familiarization of slum dwellers with brand names, and set the ground for an extended construction of meanings in favor of CPF exchange and consumption.

¹⁷⁸ Authoritarianism has political economy implications (Celoza, 1997; Muego, 1988). It impacts on business, politics and social activities in general. The accumulated angry, poverty and exclusion may reach some limits in the mass that can react to the minimum provocation. The assassination of Benigno Aquino Jr at Manila International Airport plus the accumulated anti-marcos discontent (Thompson, 1995; Anderson, 1998) ended in a movement (ESDA I) in 1986 that provoke Marcos's resignation and exile. After that the presidential system was restored but the internal conflicts did not end, full of controversies about the agrarian reform, U.S. military basis, corruption, strict economic policies, etc., provoked a new wave of riots and demonstrations that ended the Aquino period with disapprovals. In 2016 with the election of Rodrigo Duterte as President of the Philippines, the alarms and red lights of repression to society were turned on again. In Tondo Manila, the location of the largest slum in the Philippines, he promised to kill thousands of criminals if necessary and he immediately start a hard policy against slum populations.

3.5. Neoliberalism and 'BoP' business strategy: the 1990s to present

The paradigm that dominates the economic and business fields since the 1970s is the Neoclassical-monetarist (Neoliberal) approach that lies on the belief that markets are efficient and self-regulated, allowing 'pricing *equilibrium*' between supply and demand for all kinds of goods. It also assumes that individuals make rational decisions to maximize their satisfaction and in the end, the results will be an optimal allocation of resources and social harmony (Mankiw, 2014). After an economic slump in the late 1960s, the advanced economies experienced a decline in their profit rates and gross domestic growth (Shaikh, 2016:66-67). The cycle of capital accumulation was affected and furthermore, in the early 1970s, the energy and international monetary crises aggravated the situation. In this context, the capital was avid of a new cycle of capital accumulation, and the economic ideas¹⁷⁹ in this model were influential to political power first in the U.S., and the United Kingdom (U.K.), then extending their area of influence to other countries via international organizations such as World Bank (WB), International Monetary of Fund (IMF), Multinational Corporations (MNCs), Pro-establishment Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs),¹⁸⁰ among others.

In the beginning of 1990s, the neoclassical economic model was already established in a large number of countries in the world. The role of the state was also modified in favor of the capital. Except in military and national security activities, the state diminished its direct involvement in production, distribution, exchange and consumption, thus, leaving to the market the responsibility of the economic system including the food production and food provision.

In the Philippines, the government of Cory Aquino (1986-1992) started the implementation of neoliberal policies, her government renegotiate international debt and got newer lines of credit accompanied with the neoliberal agenda: fiscal adjustment, market liberalization, facilitation of private investment, price control, privatizations and deregulation of financial and service sectors that were finally implemented during the government of the General Fidel V. Ramos (Bello, 2009).¹⁸¹

Already under the neoliberal hegemony, large capitalist were hungry for an extended period of accumulation, the book *"The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World"* (De Soto, 1989) pointed out the "richness" of the poor. Based on the case in Peru, De Soto explained how the poor people paid until twenty times more for basic products and services than rich people. He considers that the poor wretched houses and micro-businesses should be part of a unified, legal property system in order to be considered leveraged assets. These findings fit well into Neoliberal initiatives that encourage governments to find the mechanisms to amend informal economy in commerce, services, agriculture, and small manufacturing into the formal one—tax payers and

¹⁷⁹ Its core ideas: free trade and free flow of money, political stability and economic reforms to eliminate barriers for investors, control inflation, flexible labor regulations, reforms in the state participation in the economy.

¹⁸⁰ Regarding political economy interventions, the world of NGOs is vast and heterogeneous. In developing countries there are a vast number of cases of the use of NGOs, Foundations and Think Thanks destabilizing governments non-alienated to Neoliberal governments (Petras, 1999; Garcia-Linera, 2013). There are other cases evidencing NGOs fostering or directly implementing Neoliberal programs of entrepreneurship (Walker et.al, 2008).

¹⁸¹ Ramos military strength to face labor struggle and his class support network offered trustful conditions to foreign and domestic capital. Subsequent governments have been continue giving guarantees support to the capital above labor, particularly after the Asian 1997-1998 and the 2008-2009 global financial crisis where the impacts and policies of adjustment impact in the labor classes rather than in the capitalists (Bello, 2009)

subject to credit status. Hence, De Soto's work opened a window of possibilities for scholars and practitioners in economics and business areas in order to explore ways to subsume the consumption of the poor in the process of capital accumulation.

3.5.1. CPF and BoP business strategy

In 2002, Prahalad, C.K. published two influential articles, one with A.L. Hammond in *Harvard Business Review* called "*Serving the World's Poor, Profitably*", the other one with Stuart L. Hart called "*The Fortune at the Bottom of the Pyramid*" (Prahalad and Hart, 2002). Both pointed out business strategies to "serve" the poorest people of the world and make profits at the same time. These ideas were extended in the book with the same name (Prahalad, 2010).

Bottom of Pyramid (BoP) emerged as key concept for the process of capital accumulation of private companies, clearly targeting the poorest people, those who live with less than 3 USD a day which are around 4 billion people (Hammond, et al. 2007; World Bank, 2008; Asian Development Bank, 2008). In the Philippines, in 2010, 72.5 percent of the population was living with less than 3 USD (Asian Development Bank, 2013). In Metro Manila—National Capital Region—the population duplicated in 20 years, it passed from 5.9 million in 1980 to 11.9 million in 2010, the number of people passed the 4.0 million and the number of squatter areas was nearly 2,100 (Garrido, 2013).

The BoP business discourse aimed to persuade governments, managers of large firms and SMEs to see the BoP as important consumers, actors with economic power to be independent of the government subsidy or social benefit provided by public institutions (World Bank, 2008; International Financial Corporation, 2014). Meanwhile, governments must facilitate the capital movement, eliminate trade barriers, reduce regulations, and give fiscal incentives to investors. Thus, corporations, taking advantage of it, intensified their business activities in '*emerging markets*' and extended their global supply chains (Gereffi and Lee, 2012). But given the circumstances of the poverty and the low purchasing power, corporations have had to adapt their business models for the poorest segments (Prahalad, 2010).

The BoP business strategy has three main levels of implementation: First, the fulfillment of the basic requirements of affordability, availability and adaptability; Second, an intermediate stage of focusing on consumer education and product demonstration; Third, a final level of corporate social-responsibility activities of "fairness" and "well-being" to engage with stakeholders (Payaud, 2014).

3.5.2. Affordability, Availability, Adaptability

The 3As of BoP marketing, *affordability, availability, and adaptability* are the ticket of entrance into the competition for low income markets. Affordability relates to low pricing retail; availability refers to the easiness to find a product on time, location and quantity; and adaptability involves the matching between properties of the product and the customer need or expectation (Payaud, 2014).

In Manila slums, most of the products retailed in a *Sari-Sari* store match with the 3As requirements. The key step in corporate strategies was the transformations of production and supply chains to deliver one-piece sachets, cans, or bottles at an affordable price (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2016). For instance, one sachet of 30 grams of coffee (for two cups) costs -in average- 9.0 Philippine Peso (PhP) or \$USD 0.17 in a slum *Sari-Sari* store. The slum retail price for a CPF, depending on the segment, goes from 1 PhP for a candy or snack to 39 PhP for a can of meat or condensed milk, (see more in Chapters 4 and 5).

Slum dwellers can access to CPF through different channels, having in the *Sari-Sari* store the most important one (Ko, 2006; Funahashi, 2013). There are stores retailing 365 days a year and up to 18 hours a day. Clusters of *Sari-Sari* stores can be found in the main streets connecting the slums, around the slum basketball courts and inside the narrow streets, where in a window there is enough space to exhibit and exchange products. Further, the slum grocer can provide CPF by credit, payable in 7, 15, or 30 days (See more in Chapter 4). Nowadays, slum grocers have larger options to acquire the CPF without going to the main wholesale markets. Food processing corporations, in partnership with super markets, have been transforming their distribution channels and retail policies in order to facilitate *Sari-Sari* stores to acquire CPF, easier, faster, and closer or inside the slums' boundaries (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015).

Food manufacturing corporations have been adapting their products through a diversity of options: flavors, sizes, quantity and qualities of a product, colors, prices, and types of packages. A significant case is Mega Global Fishing and Canning Inc., founded in 1995 by a Filipino-Chinese, Mr. Tiu-Lim, who developed a business model using the strategy affordable, available, and easy to use. The latter part refers to Mega's introduction of the first easy-to-open pouch sardines.¹⁸² Mega has a minor participation of the preferences of slum populations, less than 1% (see Table 3.3) but the innovative activities were planned with a mid-term vision.¹⁸³

Picture 3.1. Ligo's too sexy campaign



Source: Ligo Philippines, 2013

¹⁸² The advantage of the technology is that the sardines in the pouches won't crumble despite its stand-up position. The easy to open and portability of the sardines in pouch creates an extra benefit in situations of natural disasters, when canned sardines are a fundamental good for surviving.

¹⁸³ Department of Science and Technology, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.pcaarrd.dost.gov.ph/home/portal/index.php/quick-information-dispatch/2302-mega-fishing-corporation-success-story-sardines-innovation-for-the-benefit-of-all>, July 4, 2017.

Ligo, a leader company in the canned industry, also developed a business model focusing on affordability, variety, and emblematic celebrity marketing (Newman et.al, 2011). In the 1990's, *Ligo* managers ventured into new canned fish and meat products marketing Filipino dishes¹⁸⁴ rather than selling only sardines or the meat itself. Another managerial tactic was the investment in a celebrity to be the face of a new product: *Ligo*'s tuna flakes in oil (see Picture 3.1). They hired Megan Young, a Filipino-American celebrity and Miss World in 2013, and the *Ligo*'s TV campaign '*the beauty queen's Too Sexy*' signified not only a marketing success but also—in the meanings sphere of Filipino consumers—it represented a connection between an iconic beauty with a canned tuna.

3.5.3. Consumer education and the shared value discourse

The second level of a BoP business strategy is the “education” of consumers, also referred by some scholars as part of the ‘inbound marketing’ (Halligan and Dharmesh, 2014). It is the implementation of actions that “help” the consumer to make a purchase decision. Offering a trial and giving public exhibitions are common practices that reinforce messages transmitted by media (TV, internet, or radio). In slums of the Philippines, Yakult is considered a pioneer in matching media messages with product demonstrations via slum women promoting and selling street by street (Sugawara, 2010).

But customer education goes beyond transferring information; the goal is to make the customer to compare with other products or experiences (Kotler, et.al. 2010). It is the corporate aim to establish long-term relationships with customers, offering information that persuade and guide their behavior until a final purchase or at least to the increased desire for future buy. Accordingly, Nestlé's chairman states ‘Today, we aim to enhance the quality of life of all our consumers by offering tastier and healthier food and beverages, as well as information and services to enable them to make the right choices at all stages of life,’ (Nestlé, 2013:1).

Educational marketing focused on children is vital for corporations (Cairns, et.al, 2013) and the case of Nestlé's sport clinics in schools can be considered as pioneer in educating children using popular sports such as basketball and at the same time giving product trials. The first Milo's summer sports clinic occurred in 1975 and its practice has been expanding even in marginalized areas as part of their ‘shared value’ program (Nestlé, 2011). Indeed, Nestlé strategically changed the traditional Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)—based on donations to foundations, NGOs, etc., and established the Creation of Shared Value (CSV) approach. The goal is to recover legitimacy of business “fairness” after waves of social destruction (physical, relational, and psychological), accumulation of power, and wealth in few hands, constant crisis that challenges the system itself.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Ligo Sardines variants are Sardines in dishes: *Gata*, *Spanish*, *Afritada*, *Kaldereta*, *Tausi*, *Tinapa*, *Curry*, to name a few.

¹⁸⁵ According to Porter and Kramer ‘the legitimacy of business has fallen to levels not seen in recent history. A big part of the problem lies with companies themselves...they continue to view value creation narrowly, optimizing short term financial performance in a bubble while missing the most important customer needs and ignoring the broader influences that determine their longer-term success. The solution lies in the principle of shared value which involves creating economic value that also creates value for society by addressing its needs and challenges. Porter and Kramer defined shared value as ‘policies and operating practices that enhance the competitiveness of a company while simultaneously advancing the economic and social conditions in the communities in which it operates’ (2011:6).

In 2008, Nestlé’s Chairman Brabeck-Letmathe announced ‘By Creating Shared Value, we mean that in order to create long-term business success, we have to create value for our shareholders and value for society at the same time,’ (Nestlé, 2008: 6).

Nestlé Philippines’s main CSV program of operating in slums is called ‘Business on Wheels’ (BOW), which allows this company to reach larger number of slum populations. Nestlé selects young people—average 18 years old—that could drive motor-vehicles (see Picture 3.2). Through this program, Nestlé provides: i) an equipped motor-bicycle, ii) discounts in the wholesale price of products, ii) and an exclusivity agreemeng for delivering the products in a specific zone where he lives or nearby. In exchange, the BoW “entrepreneur” (BoWer) agrees to repay vehicle in 36 months and takes responsibility of delivery to *Sari-Sari* stores and eateries. Additionally, Nestlé guarantees that a daily delivery outputs a BoWer’s income higher than minimum salary. The program also offers the possibility to acquire entrepreneurial and managerial capabilities such as inventory, financial, sales and resource management (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015). Generally the BoWer accepts Nestlé’s conditions because this economic activity ends around 3 PM (starting from 8 am), then he has the possibility to have a second job during afternoons or evenings.

Picture 3.2 Nestlé’s Business on Wheels program in the Philippines



Source: Nestle Philippines, 2012

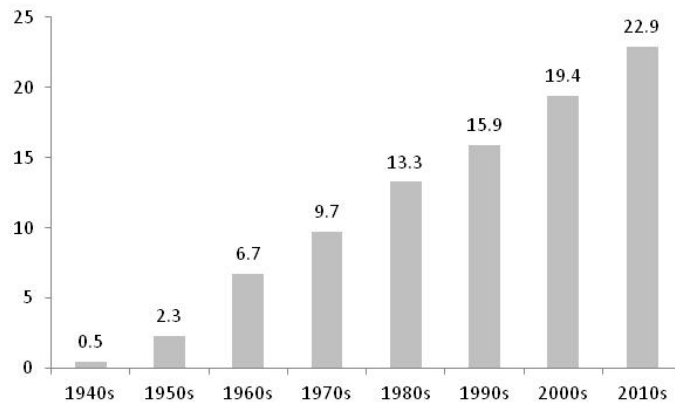
Nestlé Philippines promotes this program as part of its CSV philosophy of providing a “social benefit” while offering opportunities of self-employment. But, in fact, it is a new form of subsume labor covered by self-entrepreneurship that additionally displaces the risks of robbery or loss of merchandise to the slum’s self-employee. It is a corporate profiting activity that facilitates the circulation of capital until its realization.

BoW is a case that shows Nestlé’s capacity of adaptation and innovation to succeed in different market niches and in the different political-economy circumstances. Nestlé’s adaptation capacity has been observed in different countries and in different eras (c.f. Koese, 2008; Pritchard and Fagan, 1999; Donzé and Kurosawa, 2013; Payaud, 2014; Jacobs and Richtel, 2017). In the Philippines, since the 1970s Nestlé ranks 1st in measured by revenues of food and beverages.

Correspondingly, findings from slum women' life histories show that since the 1960s Nestlé products are the most recognized and regularly consumed.

San Miguel and Nestlé can be considered the oldest corporations doing CPF business in Manila. But Nestlé is one of the significant cases of companies successfully penetrating and profiting from the urban bottom. Nestlé has the advantage of covering all ages and customer segments with its products; from powdered milk for babies to powdered coffee for adults. Nestlé has also adapted to political economy changes, turbulences, wars, crises, local competitors, different political groups on power, and to different regional and international contexts. These situations evidence Nestlé's hierarchy in the Philippines.

Figure 3.1. CPF per slum women 1940s-2010s



Source: Own elaboration based on slum women life histories (2016)

Table 3.5. CPF per slum women: 1940s-2010s

Decade	CPF mentions	women	CPF per woman
1940s	3	6	0.5
1950s	35	15	2.3
1960s	128	19	6.7
1970s	252	26	9.7
1980s	557	42	13.3
1990s	812	51	15.9
2000s	1182	61	19.4
2010s	1399	61	22.9

Note1: It does not include the variety of flavors or dishes in each product. Including varieties, the number of products can go to hundreds. For example, in the Noodles segment, Lucky Me brand may have pancit canton in 6 to 8 varieties and at the same time the traditional noodles with other 6 to 10 varieties. In this study, it is only counting the name Lucky Me, not its varieties.

Source: Own elaboration based on slum women life histories (2016)

Nestlé, along with San Miguel, Universal Robina, Coca Cola, Foodsphere, Mondelez, Alaska, Monde Nissin (M.Y. San) among others have contributed to the advance of CPF provision in slums. Figure 3.1 based on Table 3.5 show the CPF mentions per capita from the 1940s to the 2010s. It confirms the market growth of CPF in the urban bottom. It passed from 0.5 to almost 23 brands in the life of a slum woman. And it could be double if the variety of flavors in each product is

considered.¹⁸⁶ *Marie* cookies, *Sky Flakes* and *Fita* are examples of CPF brands consistently consumed generation by generation since the 1960s. Other intra-generation consumed products are *Nescafé*, *Bear Brand* milk, *Silver Swan* soy sauce, Soft drinks such as *Coca Cola* and some brands of canned food.

In the end, it is visible that CPF has reached the marginal urban corners in Manila. With it, the neoliberal discourse that promotes “inclusion of the low-income populations, the so-called BoP” is penetrating market and meanings spheres. The idea of inclusion of poor people to the benefits of the market is matching the daily supply of affordable goods—one-serving sachets or one piece of product—to slum populations. These business tactics can be summarized through the acronym 3As: Availability, Affordability, and Adaptability. Nowadays 3As is the most powerful marketing tool that those corporations’ possess. This is complemented with new forms of customer education and social responsibility or “shared-value” activities that include self-entrepreneurship programs that are incessively tying market and meanings spheres (see more in the following four chapters).

3.6. Conclusion

The presence of CPF in contemporary slums is the result of a historical process. It started with the influence of Europe and North-American products in Manila and through the passage of time, Filipino corporations also emerged. Nestlé (foreign) and San Miguel (Filipino) are pioneer corporations operating in Manila during more than a century. Nestlé is the most important corporate protagonist in this story. The company managed to adapt itself to political economy and social circumstances and since the 1970s is the number one in the manufacturing food industry. Nestlé’s brands have presence in most food segments. Nestlé’s products cover all ages of slum households. Its influence in the Filipino society, including slums, can go decades ahead further. Precisely, the manner in which Nestlé strategically operates in the urban bottom is a continuous referent in all the chapters of this dissertation.

Another political economy protagonist is the Chinese-Filipino bourgeoisie class. Chinese and Chinese-Filipino managed to survive difficult periods of poverty, war, and discrimination, and today they own or control the best companies in the Philippines, including San Miguel Corporation. Before WWII, even in small scale, they produced and traded sauces, candies, biscuits and other manufactured food that contributed to the emergence of the CPF industry. Their social position changed during and after the Marcos’s government. They increased its protagonist role thanks to their political and economic support, or at least, to the no disturbance of the Marcos’s power structure. The result is that in present days, Chinese-Filipino groups are leaders in most of the sectors of CPF and their business influence has been spreading to other economic sectors.

Slum populations are the last but not least political economy protagonists in this CPF story. Their contact with CPF can be traced back to the end of the 19th century as labor and ship porters rather than consumers. A turning point was the post-war nutrition programs that promoted

¹⁸⁶ For example, in the Noodles segment, Lucky Me brand may have *pancit canton* in 6 to 8 varieties and at the same time the traditional noodles with other 6 to 10 varieties. In this study, it is only counting the name Lucky Me, not its varieties.

consumption, among other things, of processed milk, biscuits, and bread. Sporadic consumption of soft drinks, instant coffee, snacks, and canned fish were reported by the oldest interviewed slum women. Under Marcos's regime, the slum populations in Manila expanded, and inherently, the demand of food and other means of subsistence increased. Micro-retailing was a natural way to earn an income and self-consumed products, including CPF. The CPF slum consumption extended but still is a minor proportion of the consumption. Based on Silverio (1975) and slum women narratives, estimations of CPF correspond to less than 10 percent of the total household consumption and the number of brands per-capita were 9.7 while in the 2010s it is 22.5 brands per slum woman. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 give more details of the expansion of CPF in contemporary time.

Finally, albeit most of the attention was focused on the CPF market expansion, there are also cultural elements that have been constructing meaning in the Filipino society. 1) From the Spanish influence it was mentioned the culinary traditions embedded in Filipino culture until today and the cases of '*Negra*'; '*Señorita*' and '*Magnolia*' brands of San Miguel and Nestlé, respectively. 2) From the American way of thinking: their CPF—such as ice-cream, soft drinks, canned food, biscuits, milk and food fortification—'amused' populations. American involvement in the Philippines promoted political and economic ideas—e.g. anti-communism, thus capitalist, free trade, etc.,—that influenced elite Filipinos, the national government, and the business community. Further, since the mid 1980s, a renovated relationship with mainstream ideas promoting neoliberal and pro-BoP business agenda, most of them sponsored from mainstream institutions such as the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, etc. 3) From marketing and business practices *Milo's* sports campaigns, *Business on Wheels*, and the reference to *Ligo's* celebrity campaign are significant cases of corporate initiatives constructing meanings. 4) Last, it is important to say that the Chinese and Japanese influence in noodles, sauces, snacks, candies, and in the Filipino dishes in general were not mentioned, a proper study of their influence overpasses the scope of this dissertation.

4. CORPORATE PACKAGED FOOD IN SLUMS: MARKET AND MEANINGS IN THE FILIPINO *SARI-SARI* STORES

*"The human being, alienated, has an invisible umbilical cord
that links it to society as a whole: the law of value.
It acts in all aspects of life, shaping its path and its destiny."*
Ernesto Guevara De la Serna (1965)

4.1. Introduction

We are living in a world of slums (Davis, 2006) and Metro Manila (hereinafter Manila) is identified as one of the world largest slum populations (UN Habitat, 2012). In Manila, about 4.5 million people are living in approximately two thousand squatter areas (Garrido, 2013). The absolute number of slum residents has been increasing since the 1960s and this trend might continue due to structural socio-economic inequality, inner-slums' demographical dynamics, and environmental crisis (Ballesteros, 2013).

In slums, the means of food production are scarce and it provokes a situation of subordination and vulnerability, particularly after calamities derived from natural and human disasters, resulting in food prices fluctuations. By contrast, large food manufacturing corporations have the technology and operational capabilities to produce and retail cheap food (e.g. one-piece sachet). They are interested in expanding their business boundaries into slums, where the *Sari-Sari*¹⁸⁷ store plays a fundamental role as a micro-retailer (AC Nielsen, 2014).

Large corporations are using the BoP (Bottom/Base of Pyramid) business frame to sell and profit from the poor (Payaud, 2014). Furthermore, Governmental agencies and international organizations are supporting BoP corporate practices under the cover of 'inclusive' economy (e.g. Asian Development Bank, 2008). Using these frameworks, corporations are implementing actions to supply CPF across the slum boundaries. In short, the CPF provision is amalgamated with the corporate discourse of 'share of benefits' and 'inclusive' market-oriented practices, and with social entrepreneurship programs involving slum stores and eateries (Jackson & Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015).

Despite research on *Sari-Sari* stores, questions regarding CPF and its meaning remain unanswered. On the one hand, Silverio (1982), Chen (1997), Bonnin (2006), Nielsen and Namia (2008), and Funahashi (2013) have studied the importance of these stores in social and economic arenas. They coincide with the perspective that the *Sari-Sari* store is a fundamental economic institution in the Philippines. They argue that it functions, first, as a source of income for their families, second, as key examples of women-based entrepreneurship, and third, as an important socio-cultural actor. Meanwhile, they omit that these micro-stores, unconsciously, facilitate the realization of capital (Marx, 1885), which consequently extend the periods of subordination, marginalization, and poverty in their own neighborhoods.

On the other hand, slum food research (Awargal, et. al., 2009; Akter, 2009; Gallaher, et al., 2013) emphasizes the disadvantageous conditions for proper nutritional intake and other food (in) security related issues. Albeit the relevance and the validity of its findings, it fails to critically query

¹⁸⁷ *Sari-Sari* is a Filipino expression that means 'various', 'miscellaneous' and it is the traditional micro-retail store in the Philippines.

the political and economic consequences of the food produced by large corporations. It generally prioritizes food accessibility without questioning how the food is produced and retailed, by whom, and under what type of social relations.

In both groups of literature, the CPF itself, as object of study, is absent or has a marginal role. Furthermore, the research on CPF meanings from slums actors' perspective is inexistent. I claim that until we understand what a CPF means, the specific knowledge about how the large corporations are penetrating the slum boundaries will remain a puzzle. To do that, I use a conceptual framework explained in Chapter 2 Section 2 which refers to the exchange spheres: the market and the meanings. It is, respectively, the analysis of objective and subjective experiences of retail and consumption.

The study of the CPF in both spheres of exchange in slums is the main contribution of this chapter. It clarifies the *modus operandi* of corporations in slums. In the market sphere occurs the trade of commodities expecting a physical or objective consumption. In the meaning sphere, the subjective experiences of retailers and consumers can be expressed in symbols, referents, codes, identities, emotions, etc. The study of the spheres of exchange sheds light on the comprehension of how the capital is realized and what are roles of CPF inside the slum boundaries. Accordingly, it is possible to discuss critical aspects of political economy such as the fetishism of the CPF and the fetishism of retailing practice itself. This phenomenon is observed when micro-retailers unreflectively accept a system of food provision led by corporations and while believing in discourses of modernity, progress, affluence, and even happiness deriving from the extended exchange and the consumption of branded food and beverages.

The chapter outline is as follows. First, in order to contextualize the CPF circulation in contemporary slums, the general aspects of BoP business strategies are described. Next, using the conceptual framework of spheres of market and meanings, the findings in Manila's slums are analyzed. Next, it is the discussion about fetishism of slums' CPF retailing. Finally, there is a summary and the concluding remarks.

4.2. BoP business and the availability strategy

There are approximately 828 million people living in slums around the world. They form a part of the Urban BoP –*Bottom or Based of Pyramid*, which is estimated at about two billion people living in 1,300 big cities.¹⁸⁸ In order to satisfy the needs of those living in slums, BoP business promoters assume prosperity can come to the world's poorest regions through the direct and sustained involvement of multinational companies (Prahalad and Hammond, 2002:5). This idea is based on literature of firms profiting from developing countries, or literature proposing ideas to save capitalism through 'mutual or shared prosperity' between society and business corporations (Porter and Kramer, 2011; International Financial Corporation, 2014).

¹⁸⁸ Cities with more than 500,000 inhabitants (Hammond et.al, 2007)

The main arguments of BoP business promoters are: 1) that albeit their economic limitations, the aggregate buying power of poor people is outsized¹⁸⁹ (Prahalad, 2010; Hammond, et.al, 2007); 2) BoP populations pay double or triple the price for basic and luxury commodities in comparison to middle or upper class populations¹⁹⁰ (De Soto, 1989; Varadarajan, 2009); 3) they pay 40% to 100% higher interest rates charged by local moneylenders (Kondo, 2003; Kamath, et.al, 2008).¹⁹¹ Furthermore, urban BoP are relatively easier to reach than rural BoP because most of them live in cities that already have a “business ecosystem”—places with plenty of retail shops, and additional urban infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, commercial centers, moneylenders, money transfer services, etc. (Varadarajan, 2009).

The capacity to reach consumers is an essential part of the *Availability* condition to do BoP business—one of the 3As explained in Chapter 3 Section 5. The extended network of urban micro-retail shops, street vendors and wet markets are useful channels for corporate marketing and distributing of low-cost products. Indeed, in the sphere of market, the improvement of supply systems to reach micro-retailers is the key to assure availability of products for consumers. For instance, in Bangladesh, Nestlé has the operational capabilities to help small shopkeepers affected by floods. Company distribution partners use boats to deliver its products to about 200 small outlets and ensure that their shelves are regularly stocked (Payaud, 2014).

In Brazil, since 2007, Nestlé launched a program with hundreds, and now thousands—around 21,000—of door-to-door female vendors, which extended the company’s arms to reach a quarter-million poor households,¹⁹² around 700,000 low-income consumers each month (Jacobs and Richtel, 2017).¹⁹³ After a decade of its implementation, the program registered an annual growth rate of 10 percent; its success relies on Nestlé’s ability to give a full month to pay for the commodities and the use of women’s personal connections with their neighbors.

Additionally, in the sphere of meanings, the Brazilian micro-retailers adopted the pro-nutrition discourse to promote the consumption Nestlé’ products. A street vendor in Fortaleza’s *favelas* said ‘everyone here knows that Nestlé products are good for you’...‘she claims the labels boast of added vitamins and minerals or with calcium and niacin’(Ibid: 6).¹⁹⁴ This way of thinking is sustained by Nestlé’s Creating Shared Value (CSV) business approach which serves as a platform to

¹⁸⁹ Bottom or Base of Pyramid; in total the famous expression ‘the next 4 billion consumers’ refers to the urban and rural BoP, around 65% of the world populations that earns less than \$2000 per year (Hammond et.al, 2007).

¹⁹⁰ Urban slum dwellers pay, for instance, between four and 100 times as much for drinking water as middle and upper-class families. Food also costs 20% to 30% more in the poorest communities since there is no access to bulk discount stores.

¹⁹¹ Local moneylenders charge interest of 10% to 15% per day, with annual rates running as high as 2,000%. The lowest interest rates are offered by non-profit organizations, however, for a multiple factors they cannot provide a cheaper rate in comparison of the interest rates offered by commercial banking in mature financial markets.

¹⁹² In fact, several studies on micro-stores worldwide coincide that women are the main person in charge, usually above 90% of vendors in marginalized neighborhoods (c.f. Funahashi, 2013; Chen, 1997).

¹⁹³ It is 29 years after the Yakult’s door-to-door vendor program in Manila’s slums and 2 years after the Nestlé’s ‘Business on Wheels’ program in several provinces of the Philippines. In business history, there are references of door-to-door vendors in East Asia since ancient times. In contemporary capitalism, there are also documented cases of Tupperware and Avon vendors in North America that have the characteristic of enhancing communication, sales and social network skills of their female vendors. In the case of Brazil, some of the women in Nestlé’s door-to-door program were previously making a living by selling Tupperware and Avon products but they changed to Nestlé because they found easier to make a profit (Jacobs and Richtel, 2017:7).

¹⁹⁴ Jacobs and Richtel (2017:7) narrates the case of a 53-years-old vendor that fills its home with Nestlé-branded stuffed animals and embossed certificates she earned at nutrition classes sponsored by this company. ‘In her living room, pride of place is given to framed photographs of her children at age 2, each posed before a pyramid of empty Nestlé infant formula cans. As her son and daughter grew up, she switched to other Nestlé products made for children...’

communicate its nutrition-based marketing campaigns, integrated supply chain activities, and the encouragement of a self-entrepreneurship mentality as some of its pillars (Nestlé, 2011).

Connecting with people that name themselves as “self-entrepreneurs” reduces the corporate necessity to hire labor as sales force—saving the implicit wage and social benefits costs—, and transfers risk of product robbery, losses, or damages to them (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2016). To give an idea of the monetary dimensions of a self-entrepreneur’s activities, in Brazil for example, a door-to-door vendor can earn around \$185 (USD) per month in a 10-12 hour business day (Jacobs and Richtel, 2017). In the Philippines however, through the ‘Business on Wheels’ program a self-entrepreneur can earn around \$100.50 (USD) a month in a 6-8 hour business day (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015).

In the following sections, the BoP businesses in Manila slums are critically examined. A critique based on the analysis of the spheres of market and meanings framework will cover corporate food manufacturers, CPF wholesale intermediaries and slum micro-retailers themselves.

4.3. The *Sari-Sari* market sphere

Using the conceptual framework of the exchange sphere, findings obtained in the research fieldwork in Manila are explained in this section.

4.3.1. *Corporate packaged food provision in Manila’ slums*

In the Philippines, the retail sector represents more than 75 percent of the total trade in the country. It is one of the most dynamic Filipino economic sectors with annual growth rates close to 10 percent during the period 2010-2015 (AC Nielsen, 2016). According to Romo and Digal (2009), the retail sector has been rapidly modernizing through changes in demand and supply conditions. In the demand side, the following stand out: the increasing purchasing power, the dual pattern of increasing local income and increasing remittances from Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), changes in consumption patterns, growing *mall*¹⁹⁵ culture, and the constant expansion of supermarkets, hypermarkets, and convenience stores. In the supply side, the expansion of retail centers, and increasing investments in information and communication technology for retail business were observed.

In 2014, food retail represented 43 percent of total personal consumption expenditure, being the most important subsector (Oxford Business Group, 2014). Large food processors and importers rely on different channels to penetrate the slum boundaries. While Funahashi (2013) indentified seven different channels, this research found up to thirteen different channels of CPF. There are eight channels for CPF as commodities: 1) *Sari-Sari* stores, 2) *carinderias* (eateries), 3) food street vendors, 4) local markets, 5) supermarkets, 6) wholesale markets, 7) Convenience stores,

¹⁹⁵ It refers to the frequent habit of going for shopping to the mall either, for consuming or socializing.

8) Fast Food chains.¹⁹⁶ Additionally, CPF is provided as gifts from: 9) friends and relatives visiting a slum, 10) NGOs, Foundations, ROs, 11) Government agencies, 12) politicians in electoral campaigns, and 13) Family member working in a Corporation (see more on Appendix B, CPF food circuit).

Likewise, slum micro-retailers have five main options to obtain CPF: 1) request them directly to corporate distributors, 2) go to a wholesale distributor, 3) go to a local market, 4) go to a supermarket, usually the closest to the slum, and 5) go to a mid-size grocery store.

The sophistication of supply chains and retail distribution systems, including the increasing number of supermarkets, is displacing traditional wholesale and local markets as the main source of CPF for *Sari-Sari* stores in slums. In Manila, it is estimated that modern retail penetration is reaching 50 percent, while it is approximately 25 percent nationwide (Oxford Business Group, 2014).

Another factor that determines the place for their purchase of stock is distance. During the fieldwork in Manila, a supermarket called *Puregold* was found to be the main CPF supplier for the *Sari-Sari* stores in *Dakota* and *Tatalon* slums. *Puregold* is around 50-meter distance from one entrance/exit of *Dakota* slum and 400-meter distance from *Meralco* squatter's area. *Puregold Jr* is around 600-meter from *Kubo* squatter's area. The 'Jr' is a smaller supermarket that competes with groceries, convenience stores, and local markets near the slums. In *Payatas*, the closest supermarket is at around 4.5-km distance. The *Commonwealth* local market is located around 2.1-km distance (20-30 minutes by *jeepney*¹⁹⁷). For this reason, mid-size grocery stores located on the main road of *Payatas* are, still, important suppliers for *Sari-Sari* stores.

4.3.2. CPF retail inside slum boundaries

Inside the slum boundaries, there are three different micro-food retailers: *Sari-Sari* stores, eateries, and street vendors. *Sari-sari* stores are the main channels of CPF; these stores represent about 65 percent of Filipino retail outlets, sell 36 percent of the fast-moving consumer goods, and each store serves around twenty households (AC Nielsen, 2014). In the researched slums, up to 20 *Sari-Sari* stores were found within 300-meters distance; these stores are serving overcrowded squatters of more than 1,000 people in a perimeter of around 1,200 meters. Such concentration of people means that inside the slum boundaries CPF retail may be surpassing national or regional averages.¹⁹⁸

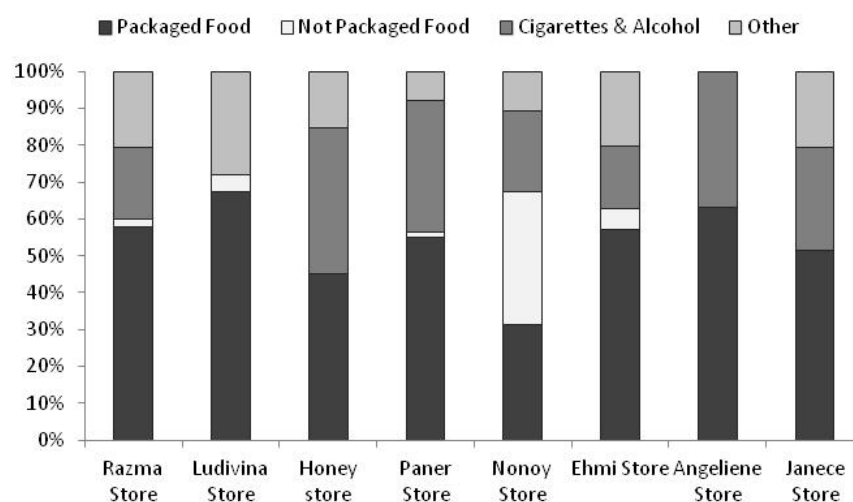
The *Sari-Sari* store activity boosts the squatter neighborhood 365-days a year; no other place could reflect better the liveliness of the slum than these micro-stores. There is a constant flow of slum residents and casual ramblers (not necessarily to buy, but just to meet people). About purchasing, the estimations extracted from interviews and observations in *Meralco*, *Kubo* and *Dakota* slums result in 2 to 3 visits by the same person in one day, depending on the day, with Sundays as the busiest days.

¹⁹⁶ Increasingly, convenience stores and franchised pharmacies are located nearby slums, but those were not included in the list because none of the 31 interviewed households named it as a place for their CPF acquisition. However, in further studies should be also considered as CPF channels.

¹⁹⁷ Vehicle for public transportation.

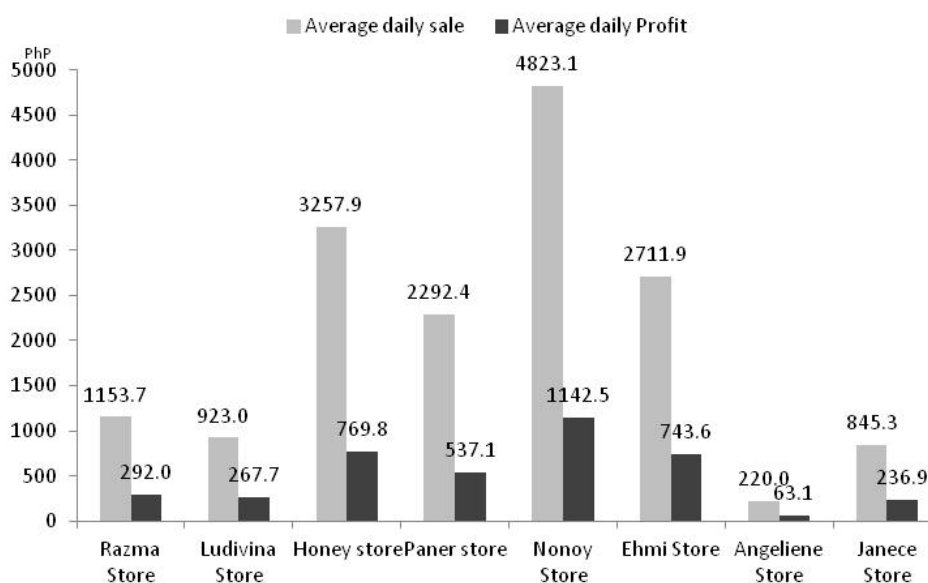
¹⁹⁸ Economic censuses discard *sari-sari* stores. Employment surveys include micro-retail indicators but without specifying *sari-sari* stores and without mentioning the inside/outside slums' boundaries. Nielsen (2014) estimates more than 1 million of *sari-sari* stores but without specifying methodology of calculations.

Figure 4.1 Profit segments in slums *Sari-Sari* stores



Source: Own elaboration (2017)

Figure 4.2. Average daily sales and profit in slums *Sari-Sari* stores



Source: Own elaboration (2017)

Several products are mediating *Sari-Sari*'s interaction with the slum community: 1) non-food products, such as cigarettes, alcohol, shampoos, detergents, etc., 2) food products, such as rice –if available in the store–, non-processed condiments, and bread, and 3) the CPF. In the present study of *Sari-Sari* stores, the profit share from CPF ranges from 31 to 67.5 percent (Figure 4.1). Depending on the store, the exchange value of the total merchandize—as weekly circulating capital—, goes from 2,500 to 30,000 Philippine Pesos—PhP—¹⁹⁹ equivalent to \$50 to 600 USD.²⁰⁰ Stores' average daily sales go from 220 to 4,823 PhP (Figure 4.2).

¹⁹⁹ The Philippine peso (PhP), *piso* in Tagalog.

The stores' profits²⁰¹ vary from 63.1 to 1,142.5 (\$1.3 to 22.9 USD) depending on the location, capitalization,²⁰² size, opening hours, history in the slum, etc. Self-consumption is generally unregistered; it reduces stores' profit but represents an extra "benefit" for having a business. In fact, self-consumption emerges as one important reason behind a *Sari-Sari* store startup (Bonnin, 2006).

CPF is the main source of profitability except for *Nonoy* stores that sell rice. Inside the boundaries of the squatter areas, it is not easy to sell rice due to three main reasons: lack of capital, lack of transportation means to move 50-kgs sacks, and lack of space to preserve and protect these sacks from rats, insects and so on.

Table 4.1. Spheres of exchange in slums CPF food retail

Spheres of Exchange (a)	Dakota Slum		Tatalon Slums			Payatas Slum		
	Razma Store	Ludivina Store	Honey store	Paner Store	Nonoy Store	Ehmi Store	Angeliene Store	Janece Store
I. Sphere of Market (trade of packaged food)								
Packaged food as % of total profits	57.79	67.50	45.18	54.89	31.35	57.09	63.30	51.45
Highest profit share of total sales	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Coffee Powder</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>
Lowest profit share of total sales	<i>Cereal Drink</i>	<i>Candies</i>	<i>Cereal Drink</i>	<i>Cereal Drink</i>	<i>Cereal Drink</i>	<i>Candies</i>	<i>Snacks</i>	<i>Snacks</i>
Most profitable (profit rate)	<i>Seasonings</i>	<i>Milk</i>	<i>Milk</i>	<i>Milk</i>	<i>Milk</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Soft drinks</i>	<i>Milk</i>
Least profitable (profit rate)	<i>Cereal Drink</i>	<i>Biscuits</i>	<i>Canned foods</i>	<i>Canned foods</i>	<i>Biscuits</i>	<i>Canned foods</i>	<i>Coffee Powder</i>	<i>Canned foods</i>
Highest sale price (PhP)	Century Tuna 155 gr (31)	Bear Brand Swak 33 gr (18)	Maling Meat Loaf 397gr (100)	Canned meat Purefoods 150gr (42)	Canned meat Purefoods 150gr (42)	Canned Milk Alaska 300ml (60)	CDO beef 150gr (42)	Century Tuna 155 gr (32)
Lowest sale price (PhP)	Candies (1)	Candies (1)	Candies & Snacks (1)	Candies (1)	Candies & Snacks (1)	Candies & Snacks (1)	Candies & Snacks (1)	Snacks (1)
Spheres of Exchange (b)	Dakota Slum		Tatalon Slums			Payatas Slum		
	Razma Store	Ludivina Store	Honey store	Paner Store	Nonoy Store	Ehmi Store	Angeliene Store	Janece Store
II. Sphere of Meanings								
Noodles	Comfort, Nostalgia	Requirement, Convenience	Requirement, Convenience	Customer's preference	Requirement, Convenience	Requirement, Convenience	Unhealthy, Avoidance	Business complement
Snacks	Attraction,	Convenience	Easy to sell	Do not sell (rats problem)	Attraction,	Complement	Requirement	Attraction, Unhealthy
Candies	Children attraction	Children attraction,	Children attraction,	Children attraction, Easy to storage	Children attraction,	Children attraction,	Children attraction,	Avoidance
Biscuits	Requirement, Pleasure	Requirement	Diversity, Requirement	Do not sell (rats problem)	Attraction,	Fast breakfast	Requirement	Requirement
Seasonings, Sauces & Vinegars	Mom's cooking; Secondary	Not interested	Complement,	Customer's need; easy to storage and to display	Women's request	Business complement	Only if Capital (wish, not priority)	Future plans (wish, not priority)
Coffee Powder	Requirement, Pleasure	Requirement, Convenience	Requirement, Stimulation	Daily sales; Important for business	Requirement, Pleasure	Requirement, brain stimulation	Requirement, convenience	Requirement, socialization
Milk Powder & Cans	Requirement, children's need	Complement	Requirement, nutrition	Children's breakfast	Students' nutrition	Morning's sale (requirement)	No Capital (wish to sell)	Important for children
Powdered Cacao & Cereal Drink	Energy	Complement	Requirement, nutrition	For breakfast; for students	Energy	Energy	No Capital (wish to sell)	Energy
Softdrinks	Every day sales (important for the business)	I can't sell (lack of space)	Flow of income	Important for the business	Important for business	Important for business	Important for business	Important for business
Juice (Powder & Liquid)	Complement, decorative	Not interested to sell	Complement, afternoons	Only sachet, quantity (up to 2lt); easiness	Complement, decorative	For the youth, basketball	Only if Capital (wish, not priority)	Future plans (wish, not priority)
Ice cream	Not selling	Not selling	Not selling	Not selling	Not selling	Not selling	Not selling	Strategical
Canned foods	Sardines	Not interested to sell	Convenience	Convenience; easy to storage	Convenience	Complement	Convenience	Necessary, Decoration

Source: Own elaboration (2017)

Soft drinks stand out markedly as carrying the highest profit share. Several studies explain why soft drinks are highly consumed. Marion Nestle (2015) points out a set of economic and political reasons linked with groups of power in the advanced nations, particularly, United States that created an extended market worldwide. Smith (2011) lists addiction, habits, convenience,

²⁰⁰ Exchange rate 1.00 PhP = 0.02 USD (7th June, 2016)

²⁰¹ Profit calculation does not include debt payments and other cost of energy, gas, water, etc. that are intertwined with household life.

²⁰² For instance, from OFW relatives, increasing their saving capacity or through microfinance.

ubiquity, advertising, affordability, and thirst as reasons; from the perspective of slums, it can be added that the public infrastructure for drinking water is deficient, therefore encouraging the purchase of processed safe drinks.

The lowest profit share corresponds to cereal drinks –e.g. *Energen*, *Busog Lusog*-- candies, and snacks (see Table 4.1). Cereal drinks are relatively new products in comparison to choco-powder –such as *Milo*– that is more positioned in tastes and preferences. Candies and snacks are top- sold products, but their prices are the lowest of all the CPF and their profit margins are the lowest ones.

Packaged milk is one of the most profitable CPF. The average profit rate²⁰³ varies according to the type of milk and the way it is sold. For example, *Ludivina*'s store, located in one of the main entrances of the *Dakota* slum, buys a big size of *swak* (*Bear brand* powder) and sells milk with hot water, served in a styrofoam cup. This strategy allows *Ludivina* to have a high-profit rate (127%). On the contrary, *Ehmi*'s store in *Payatas* has the lowest rate of milk profit (28.54%). It only sells sachets and cans of milk (which are one of the priciest slum CPF products).

Canned foods are in the least profitable CPF segment. The reasons why cans are sold in the store, may not only be related to profits (the market sphere). Their low profitability could be an excuse for stop selling them, but this is not the case. Cans—as the other CPFs—have a meaning beyond market-related elements, such as: convenience for emergencies, complement, attraction, etc. These reasons belong to the meanings sphere, the invisible dimension of exchange where the realization of capital is completed.

4.3.3. Credit as a key value proposition

A *Sari-Sari* store operates using the same logic and the essential elements of a business organization. Given the need for income, the logic is to use their savings, loans or remittances to invest in buying merchandise and resell it at a price that includes a profit margin. Considering that in the neighborhood there are several places where people can acquire their required commodities, rationally or intuitively, store grocers utilize business and marketing strategies that help them achieve profits. In the business jargon it is said, that there is a 'value proposition' from the business to the public, and then, if matching with the people needs (regular and urgent) the purchase would be realized.

The three key identified *Sari-Sari* stores' value propositions that allow them to be the main CPF retailers of slum populations are: i) convenient location;²⁰⁴ ii) piecemeal selling²⁰⁵ and iii) selling by credit without charging interest rate. Additionally, there are other sets of value propositions that have a secondary role in the *Sari-Sari*'s business model: iv) occasionally giving discounts or an extra

²⁰³ It is the proportion of the unit margin (cost-sales price) of the unitary cost.

²⁰⁴ According to Ko (2006), since around 93 percent of sari-sari stores is located in residential areas, most consumers in D-E classes—the poorest households—regard these stores an extension of their own homes. The proximity can be of only few meters distance. It translates to savings in terms of transportation costs.

²⁰⁵ As it has been constantly mentioned in this research, it is the retailing of single serves in mini-sized products from sachets to budget packs. In the supermarket, customers have no choice but to buy one pack. This is not necessarily more expensive but requires a bigger cash outlay (Ko, 2006:56). Additionally, small packets suit the budget of consumers, whose incomes outflow in a daily basis.

item for volume buys;²⁰⁶ v) selling special items²⁰⁷ and vi) good manners or good attitudes.²⁰⁸ In the following paragraphs the attention is paid to 'credit' as key value proposition. Location and piecemeal selling are constantly mentioned in all chapters and specific sections of this dissertation because they are a part of the availability and adaptability BoP business strategies.

Allowing customers to make purchases on credit (without asking a payback of interest) is a circumstance that makes *Sari-Sari* stores indispensable in the CPF retail system. Large supermarkets are unlikely to allow consumers to buy on credit sans the credit cards. Dominique Ko briefly summarizes the point, 'or those in the D-E class, the primary customers of *Sari-Sari* stores' credit can be negotiated through neighborly persuasion; if someone needs more diapers for baby and she/he has just enough money to buy one piece, he/she can go to the *Sari-Sari* store anytime and buy, or sometimes, borrow one piece' (2006:56). 'This human touch of the *Sari-Sari* stores, which is being sensitive to the daily needs and daily buying capacity of a person, makes it a friendly store, which they can count on anytime.' (AC Nielsen, 2003).

A store grocer in Tatalon expressed that 'I sell on credit because my customers are familiar to me...if a new customer asks me for a credit for the first time, I usually give her credit, and if I am not in the store—meaning that the store is closed—she can also receive a credit at other *Sari-Sari*. Here it is a common practice.'

Ko found out in her study of 12 *Sari-Sari* stores that 67 percent of the stores sell on credit. Those who do not sell on credit answered that they try to avoid trouble when collecting payments. One of her respondent said, 'We do not allow our customers to buy on credit because it can destroy our relationship. When the credit gets long and complicated, some buyers usually ignore their credit. The best way to meet our objective is to sell our commodities nicely and give buyers extra if they buy in bulk.' (2006:101). In our research, the nine interviewed grocers give credit to their customers. And they distinguish family members from ordinary customers in terms of the manners of giving credits. A family member can enjoy special conditions about the amount and time for recovery that are not granted to an ordinary customer. Likewise, verbal agreement and memory are used in the case of credit to a direct family member while the registration in a notebook or a piece of paper is common in the case of other customers.

Ko (2006) argues that *Sari-Sari* grocers adopt credit "policies," which I prefer to call 'practices,' depending largely on their attitudes, beliefs, aims and needs. She found that some grocers had decided to do not give credit to strangers and avoid to give credit to those who take a long time to pay back in order to avoid problems. Our research in Tatalon, Malate and Payatas, *Sari-*

²⁰⁶ The *Sari-Sari* stores are usually giving discounts or giving an extra item to relatives or long-time customers or buyers of large quantities. Ko (2006) found that 41 percent of the *Sari-Sari* stores in her study in East Fairview, Quezon City were giving discounts.

²⁰⁷ There are a vast number of examples. Some of the significant ones are Emmie store is selling 'sandals' as unique product for differentiating to the rest of the stores; Janece is selling 'snow' ice cream, she has the exclusivity to sell those corporate products in her street; Razma is selling her own packaged Ajinomoto MSG (vensim) in a cheaper price; Honey store has an instant coffee machine... and so on.

²⁰⁸ A *Sari-Sari* grocer is, probably, the person who has face to face contact with the majority of members of a neighborhood. It is a point of encounter and point of observation of daily activities. Grocers are familiar with their customers' attitudes, wishes and relations, and to some extent they use this knowledge to deep their personal relationship in a friendly and kindly manner. To a closer relationship between a grocer and frequent customers is called '*suki*.' It is a word that stresses regularity and insofar loyalty. In a '*suki*' relationship, trust plays a higher role than a casual customer; it is a deeper experience of personal bonding through the change of information, experiences, and sympathies (Stark, 1992; Ramirez, 1993).

Sari grocers coincide with Ko's arguments. Other frequent credit practices found are to set the time to pay back called '*quincenas*' (every 15th or 30th day of each month), and the relatives and closer regular customers are considered as priority after calamities such as floods or fires.

In sum, credit is a key value proposition of *Sari-Sari* business—not only facilitates the selling, then, profiting aim of slum grocers, but also a means of social bonding. Thanks to credit, a slum family in economic or health problem or in case of natural disaster can access to the basic commodities for its survival. This type of credit would not be possible to get in a supermarket or any other market place outside the boundaries of slums. Therefore, the *Sari-Sari* fulfills not only its market economy role, but also contributes to the survival and extended reproduction of the slum society itself. In the following section, other social contributions of *Sari-Sari* stores are explained; they also form a part of the retail business practices embedded in the slums' market sphere.

4.3.4. *Sari-Sari's Social Contributions*

Sari-Sari is an economic actor that contributes to the slum dynamics as a whole. Slum grocers interact with other social actors in different forms. Castellanos (2012) points out three social contributions apart from the abovementioned practices of selling by credit: First, grocers receive and transmit all types of messages between neighbors, either general interests or specific information. Second, they are also a surveillance center regarding the movement of strange people in the neighborhood. Third, stores are the residents' favorite place to meet, to talk about daily affairs, or to discuss common problems.

In addition to these points, Ko found that *Sari-Sari* stores also contribute to religious activities and directly to the wretched people. On the one hand, most of the *Sari-Sari* stores contribute to religious organizations in the form of donations or gifts. These funds of gifts—of values between 100 to 200 PhP—are used for charitable activities and 'as a show of gratitude to God (Ko, 2006:119-120). On the other hand, *Sari-Sari* stores occasionally contribute to poor people who ask for food or money. Ko found that '50 percent of the grocers give to the poor people from 50 to 100 PhP a week; while the other 50 percent contribute from 101 to 200 PhP per month. One of her respondents told her that 'from morning till evening, there are people who pass by the store and ask for some food as well as money. Their lives are worse than ours so we contribute to them; otherwise, we feel worse than them' (Ibid: 122).

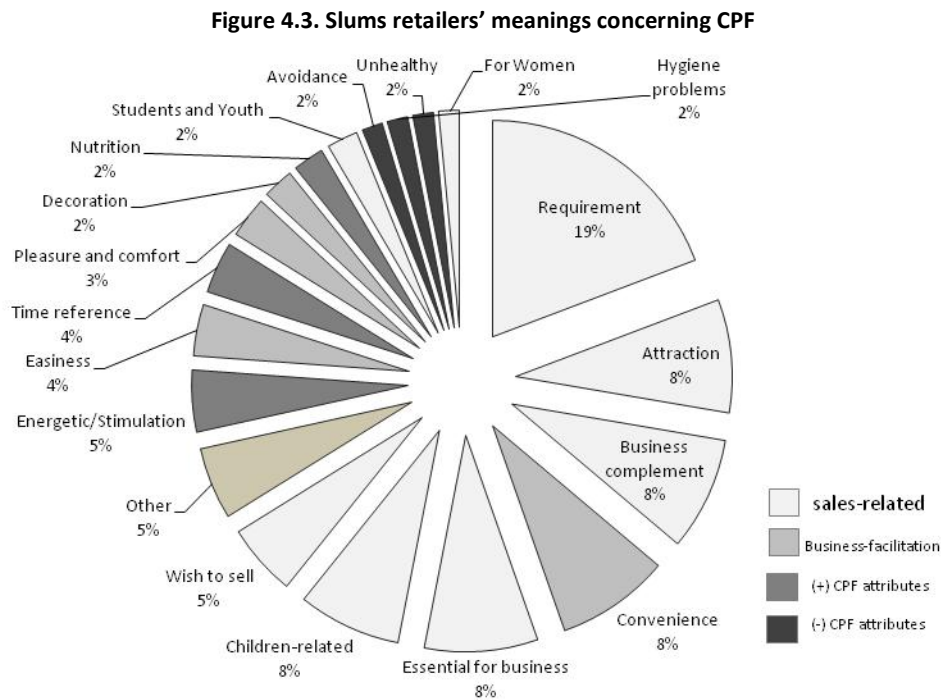
To conclude, *Sari-Sari* stores execute diverse activities concerning information, communication, affection, solidarity and charity that have a direct social impact. Using business model terminology (Osterwalder and Pigneur, 2013), it can be classified as 'customer relationships' but this conceptualization has limitations because *Sari-Sari* stores interact with people beyond the retail affairs. It includes the slum society as a whole, even "competitor", their neighbor *Sari-Sari* store. Grocers' social contributions and the regular value propositions offers to their slum neighbors are mechanisms of interaction between the spheres of market and the sphere of meanings. They essentially occur in the market transaction or inside the market point of sale (the store), but simultaneously these activities are impregnated by meanings (see next section and Chapter 6).

4.4. The *Sari-Sari* meanings sphere

Micro-retailers have ideas, perceptions of symbols, or references about CPF that navigate in the meanings sphere. The analysis of meanings completes the study of the exchange spheres where capital is realized. Accordingly, results of the analysis of micro-retailers' judgments about CPF and the analysis of corporate' main efforts to bond with *Sari-Sari* slum stores, is presented in this section.

4.4.1. *Sari-Sari* stores and CPF meanings

From the *Sari-Sari* store perspective, nineteen CPF meaning codes in four categories were identified. The four categories are: 1) sales-related; 2) business facilitation; 3) positive perceived attributes; and 4) negative perceived attributes (Figure 4.3).



Note:

n=130 coded CPF meanings
Source: Own elaboration (2017)

The first category refers to the perceptions about CPF as the object that fulfills the grocers' need for money derived from sales. The CPF code meaning of '*requirement*' is the most important in this category. *Sari-Sari* stores are pulled by customers' needs, wants and preferences that trigger such mentioned requirement. It may be similar to the general understandings of retailing outside the slum boundaries, however, what makes the difference are the higher uncertainty levels of irregular employment and income, and permanent risk of illness, floods, fires, etc., that increases the relevance of *Sari-Sari* slum stores as a channel of CPF. For instance, in a shortage of money and after

calamities, a can or packaged food, signify a mean for surviving. In slums, unpleasant situations are habitual, on the contrary -outside slums-, such situations are infrequent or inexistent.

In the *sales-related* category, there are CPF meaning codes such as: customer attraction, children-related, that are essential for business, business complements and other. CPF signifies an object for customers' attraction, for instance, micro-retailers deliberately allocate brands, colors, and shapes to gain the attention of potential customers. Children are a meaningful *Sari-Sari* customer segment, not only for candies and snacks but also for powder milk, chocolate powder, and cereal-based drinks that mothers buy for their children's breakfast.

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Grocers' managerial skills²⁰⁹ can be considered 'elemental' from the perspective of business administration textbooks (Handy, 1993); however, they have abilities emerged from common sense²¹⁰ and practical knowledge that compensate formal business education and allow them to identify CPF segments that are *essential* and *complementary* to their selling goal. For example, about *essential* products, a 58-year-old grocer in *Kubo* squatter said 'soft drinks, alcohol, and cigarettes are my best products. It is why the delivery person comes every day.' About *complements*, she added: 'in the case of noodles, biscuits, and snacks, I am buying them only once a week, sometimes every 10 days. Maybe is not so much, but my regular customers or the young boys playing basketball ask for them once in a while, if I don't have, they will ask in another store and they will not buy the soft drink or cigarette here.'

A 52-year-old grocer in Dakota slum also expressed her common sense and knowledge gained by experience: 'Yes I sell (powder) juices but a few in comparison to soft drinks. Juices are an extra for my business, for example, *Tang* having many flavors, and many colors decorates this store (laughs)... soft drinks are what I sell the most, that's why recently I bought this refrigerator in the second-hand market'.

Other CPF meanings of the '*sales-related*' first category include the following customers segments: complements to mothers recipes (e.g. seasonings, sauces, etc.), students and youth' consumption items (e.g. soft drinks, milk, chocolate or energy-related powders).

In the second category; '*facilitation of business*', 'convenience' is the most important CPF meaning code. It semantically connects with convenience stores, but from a *Sari-Sari* slum perspective, convenience refers to solutions –facilitations- of business-related issues. For instance, CPF is adequate for tiny spaces lacking store' furniture and home appliances. It is also convenient for protection against insects or rats. In this respect, a 56-year-old grocer in *Kubo* squatter commented,

²⁰⁹ I refer to the basic management skills, such as: inventory management, cash flow management, costing-pricing, customer and sales management, etc. (Handy, 1993)

²¹⁰ I refer to common sense as Antonio Gramsci defined in prison notebook 1: 'as a conception of the world of a social or regional group' or common sense as 'the most widespread conception of life and morality' (Gramsci 1975, [1929] Q1: 16:14; 65:76).

'seasonings and sauces, and all sachets, are easy to store and hang (display), thus, the rats can't catch them.' Talking about coffee, a 40-year-old grocer in *Payatas* says, 'coffee in sachets is more convenient than in the past when coffee was produced (and retailed) only in a glass, but now we can sell only sachets, one by one.' Other convenient attributes of CPF that were mentioned were the ease of acquiring, storing, preserving, selling and serving.

The third category of CPF meanings; '*perceived positive/favorable attributes*' refers to nutrition, time-saving, energetic stimulation, pleasure, and comfort. For instance, concerning powder drinks, usually for breakfast, a 58-year-old grocer in *Kubo* squatter says, 'I am selling *Milo*, *Energen*, *Bear brand*, *Busog*, etc. My customers buy them because these products give nutrition for children, particularly the students.' Similarly, a 39-year-old grocer in *Meralco* squatter expresses, 'Yes I sell milk, I have *bear brand* and *Alaska*' 'I think due to nutrition (*sustansya*) for students, not for us, we are already old (laughs).'

In *Payatas*, where the culture of garbage collectors is latent, the empty CPF packages as 'garbage' means also potential money. Empty plastic recipients, *pet-bottles*, cans and other packages have different exchange value in junk shops and can even be recycled or reused in several manners, an environmental related meaning.

Fourth category; '*perceived negative/unfavorable attributes*', relates to circumstances that make slum grocers ban or avoid selling certain CPF. For example, a 33-year-old grocer in *Payatas* bans candies and snacks for being unhealthy for children. She might be a special case due to her level of education -bachelor degree in law-. She had to live in a slum after having economic and personal problems. She started a *Sari-Sari* store to sustain her children's lives, but she does not sell candies and snacks in order to protect children's nutrition.

Other unfavorable CPF meanings refer to the packages that do not resist rats' bites and to products with stronger smell (for example, snacks made by fish powder) that attract ants, insects, and rats. Those products might not be banned but have an unfavorable perception.

4.4.2. Corporate efforts to penetrate the meanings sphere of Sari-Sari stores

Corporations, inherently profit-oriented organizations, execute business practices to bond with retailers that make easier their investments realization. In this section, two explicit corporate tactics seeking to penetrate the meanings sphere of *Sari-Sari* slum stores are described. One is façade sponsorship, including the customization of grocers' image, and the other is the *Sari-Sari* focused advertisement.

4.4.2.1. Sponsoring facades and customizing owners' image

In the Philippines, sponsoring facades is a classic tactic to bond with *Sari-Sari* stores. Large companies prepare a plaque with the name of the *Sari-Sari* store but using the corporate's brand colors and logo. The plaque is placed in the top of the façade (see Picture 4.1). According to the interviewees, soft drinks companies were pioneers of this advertisement activity. Other corporations

(food and not-food related) had extended this sponsoring practice that is, now, part of the cultural identity of the Filipino *Sari-Sari* stores.

Pictures 4.1. and 4.2. *Sari-sari* stores and Grocer's poster



Picture 4.1. *Sari-Sari* Stores



Picture 4.2. Grocer's poster

Source: Fieldwork Metro-Manila (2016)

Corporations, while labeling the grocers' name, participate in the construction of identity, self-belonging, distinctiveness, and affection. For instance, a 54-year-old grocer in *Payatas* expressed 'seeing my name in the store, in the way my family and friends call me, makes me feel good, that this is *my* store. Similarly, another grocer in *Payatas* said 'I feel good to see this name in my store. It is a combination of the name of my husband's name and mine, I thought in this name because I considered it original and shows the importance of my husband in my life.... I was working in Japan and I decided to return to marry him, then I started this store to earn money.'

Lining the self-identity of a grocer is a deep step made by corporations. It is the customization of posters, a new form of connecting with slum micro-retailers in the meanings sphere. The case of *Dionisio Paner* (Picture 4.2) facilitates the scrutiny of a *Nestlé's* marketing initiative. Among several subliminal messages, there are three worth highlighting:

1) *Emotions*. In the center, it is the promotion of *Nescafé* twin-pack. It includes the mirror *Dionisio's* image with the word 'Joy'. An emotion-related word, frequently used in daily communication in the Philippines, also, popular for naming children.

2) *Affordability*. Big and colored, it is the price '9 PhP lang'. An interpretation is that anyone can afford 'two products for only 9 Philippine pesos (USD \$ 0.18)'. Above the photography, on the right side, the price appears again. The cups and *lang* are shadowed with a yellow background, reinforcing their visibility. *Lang* plays an important role, not only by its literal meaning in *tagalog* as 'just' or 'only', but also, as part of the contextual meaning, in daily-life, of 'lang' as: 'oh really?'.

3) *Adaptability*. On the left side, there is a message that combines *Tagalog* and English (a common practice in the Philippine media). *Mas Masarap; Suki, Bili na! I-Share*. The *Tagalog* expressions highlight three important meanings of Filipino common lexis: more delicious (*Mas Masarap*), regular customer (*Suki*), buy! (*Bili na!*), and to share (*I-Share*). The 'sharing' expression is the recognition of the slum bonding culture, where corporations want to intervene.

Based on these forms of slum advertisement, corporations are grabbing -with the permission of *Sari-Sari* retailers- personal identities for businesses' purposes. Grocers' identity, embedded in their name and reputation, is part of what Bourdieu (1984) calls *social capital*. For *Dionisio*, far from being a concern with ethical, social, political or economic implications of *Nestlé's* practices, it indicates something funny and original. A few years ago, he was in Iraq fixing elevators and after his wife's death, he returned to Manila to take care of, and support his family. He mentions that after years of difficulties, danger and fear in Iraq, his *Sari-Sari* store is something 'to take easy and enjoy'. In the meantime, it signifies for the capital, a way to penetrate in the meanings sphere that facilitates its realization and reproduction.

4.4.2.2. *Sari-Sari focused TV advertisement*

Large food processing corporations have frequent exposure through multimedia. Knowing that slum households have television even though they have basic infrastructural limitations and their social problems, firms use advertisements as a central tactic to penetrate common sense and to influence peoples' daily practices, such as buying and selling CPF.

In the Philippines, albeit celebrity endorsements dominate corporate advertisement, *Sari-Sari* stores characters are habitual protagonists on TV commercials, soap operas, dramas, movies, and reality shows. Accordingly, *Alaska* Corporation is targeting low-income consumers and *Sari-Sari* stores-related characters are in the core of two interrelated commercials, the first started in March, 2016 with the name *Otso-Otso* (Eight – Eight).²¹¹ The second was launched in August, 2016 with the name, *Magkano Yan?* (How much is that?).²¹² A scrutiny of these commercials facilitates the study of coded messages penetrating in three meaning targeted zones:

1) *Women*. The commercials start with two women approaching *Susan's Sari-Sari* store. These women, identified as customers, are going to be consenting actors in the commercials. On the other hand, *Susan*, the grocer, and main actor, has no stereotyped beauty pretensions; she is overweight and dresses as a common housewife.

2) *Emotions of joy, enthusiasm, and happiness*. In the commercial, the *Sari-Sari* store, decorated with *Alaska* corporation colors, becomes the scenario where *Susan* and the two female companions –also dressing with the brand colors-, enthusiastically dance a sticky song '8-8-o 8 pisos

²¹¹ https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=Alaska+Milk+commercial+otcho+pisos+lang

²¹² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fo7PM22sQCA>

lang' (only for 8 PhP). *Alaska* uses a *pop*-style of dancing and singing, cultural expression of joy and fun, and socially distinctive in the Philippines.

3) *Affordability*. The three enthusiastic women, while dancing, make an eight shape with their hands. It transmits a consistent message of being affordable for anyone because one sachet cost only 8 PhP (USD \$0.16).

With respect to *Alaska's* commercials, the interviewed micro-retailers identified key aspects of the corporation' message: affordability and elements of joy and happiness. It is a significant example of the CPF symbolic power (physical and virtual) that navigates in the meanings sphere, influencing and shaping lifestyles (Callebaut, Hendricks and Janssens, 2002; Nestle, 2015).

4.5. The fetishized CPF retail practice in slums

In the previous section, it was explained that in the Philippines' market sphere: 1) the retailing sector has been expanding due to different transformations in the supply and demand sides (Romo and Digal, 2009). One evidence is the increased presence of CPF in slums via affordable, adaptable, attractive sachets, packages, cans, etc., (Payaud, 2014; Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015); 2) The CPF is channeled into slums through 13 identifiable ways, where the *Sari-Sari* slum store plays a significant role. Their role augments during calamities and other emergencies derived from a precarious and unstable household income.

In the meanings sphere, it was shown that: 1) slum grocers have different meanings codes for CPFs; 2) corporations have been penetrating slums through sponsoring facades and customizing posters with grocers' self-portrait.

In this section, considering the findings described in previous sections, the CPF retail practice is discussed. Fetishism, a key category in Marxian thought,²¹³ is used in order to develop a critical perspective of the slum micro-retailing economic activities. Following this tradition, in this chapter, I argue that the CPF retail practice in slum stores is inherently fetishized and instead of providing the 'apparent favorable benefits' of its practice, on the contrary, the levels of dependence, alienation, and subordination of slum populations will remain and even increase.

For slum retail fetishism I mean the slums' micro-retailers belief on the corporate-led process of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of CPF, and the acceptance of something as 'normal' as voting during presidential elections or going to church/mosque. Furthermore, frequently believing that is the 'unique' way to increase wealth, 'progress' and 'happiness' of the retailers' families and the community as a whole.

Interviewed slum grocers share the belief that food processing corporations and supermarkets are bringing favorable aspects to their lives. They coincide that selling branded food is

²¹³ Marx, in the beginning of *The Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867), unveiled the fetishism of: commodities in chapter 1; money in chapters 2 and 3; capital in chapter 13; and the salary-based labor in chapter 17. These became foundational pieces of critical thinking during the last 150 years.

a main way for affluence and prosperity (imagined as material progress and extended consumption). Their reasoning goes as follows: Selling CPF will bring additional family income that is required to cover daily needs, particularly children-related education expenses. If one of the children reaches college education, the possibilities of getting a regular paid job in a large corporation increase. The hope continues, the regularly employed son or daughter is expected to support her parents and other family members.

Micro-retailers' reasoning is understandable considering several factors, circumstances, and experiences of rural and urban poverty (sometimes extreme), marginalization, few years of formal education, among other structural problems. Nevertheless, I would like to emphasize on the repeated mainstream discourse of 'modernity and progress' based on wealth and consumption (including branded food and beverages) that is encoded in grocers' common sense. Why does the modernity discourse easily navigate in the market and meanings sphere of CPF retail? A working hypothesis is that CPF is becoming a modern commodity that extends fetishism and alienation until levels never seen before due to the quantity of slum dwellers worldwide. In the following, it is proposed five reasons that relate to this question that may signal the historical significance of CPF in the slums of the 21st century.

First, CPF is an object that facilitates of the commodity-money exchange and the fulfillment of physiological and psychological needs. The difference with other forms of food retailed in slums (for example, foodstuffs and homemade food) is the augmented encoded technology for preserving, flavoring, nutrients-addition, packaging, canning, bottling, etc., embedded technologies that save time, space, energy, resources, and knowledge to transport, store, preserve, prepare and consume food. Furthermore, the package design technology and the sciences of communication increases the effectiveness of transferring messages, emotions, symbols, thoughts, beliefs, etc. (e.g. Callebaut et.al., 2002).

Second, the CPF-related innovations amaze anyone, regardless of the social class, but at the same time fetishizes and veils the exploitative social relations of production encoded in the CPF production, distribution, and exchange. For instance, interviewed slum grocers do not know where CPF comes from or what are they made from. Key examples of their unawareness were expressed during the interviews in daily use products such as cooking oil, soy sauce, seasonings, powder of juices, soup noodles, and snacks.

Third, slum grocers and their families have the figurative 'privilege' of being frequent consumers of CPF and as premier tasters of CPF (previously observed on TV by slums residents), they become a reference for the rest of households. TV still plays an important role to communicate new novelty products. Novelty and excitement for new brands or new products (Scitovsky, 1986) strongly echo in slums considering the awaken curiosity to experience something different to the usual foodstuffs. Once CPF becomes an object of desire in the meanings sphere, it can easily trespass slum boundaries and become a regular retail product.

Fourth, the fundamental corporate mechanism to construct perceptions, judgments, and tastes is the placing of a vast quantity of brands inside and surrounding *Sari-Sari* stores and houses. It may remind us Klein's (2001) '*No logo*', a critique to excessive brands in main avenues and squares

in modern cities but now extrapolated to their dirty and narrow streets. Corporate' slogans support the symbolic messages of brands that: endorse meanings such as triumph in sports and life (ex. *Milo*); construct tastes such as coffee 3-1 (*Nescafe*, *Great Taste*, *Kopiko*) and cacao-sugar powder (*Milo*, *Busog Lusog*, etc.) that have been changing preferences and flavors of new generations of Filipinos. In the past Filipinos used to drink native coffee and chocolate *tableya*, whose flavors are remembered by the older grocers, but slums youth and children have infrequently tasted them.

Fifth, corporate' discourses have been praising slum entrepreneurs as 'successful' cases, some of them started as a *Sari-Sari* store (Nielsen & Samia, 2008). Constant messages of 'successful' slum entrepreneurs nourish the dreams of 'modernity and progress' based on capitalist relations of production. One successful case in a thousand may extend the mystification of entrepreneurial practices that divert the attention of slum residents, limits the awareness of their own historical circumstances of poverty and marginalization, and veils exploitation and alienation in the relations of production, distribution, and exchange.

In sum, it was argued that CPF retail itself is mystified by a set of meanings and daily micro-practices rooted in the common sense of slum grocers. The main fetishized idea is the path: selling CPF → increased income → school payment → better job and steady income → more consumption, including more CPF varieties → symbolic reference of prosperity, affluence, and even happiness. It is a CPF' retail fetishism, inherently encoded in the spheres of exchange, having effects in the dynamics of slum grocers' lifestyles such as changes in tastes and changes in meanings of food itself.

Finally, one additional point that complements the discussion on fetishism in slum CPF retailing is the contradiction observed in micro-retailers themselves. They believe in 'entrepreneurship' as the way of progress and foster high expectations on the success of their children, but at the same time, they revealed experiences of 'failed dreams' and sorrow. In reality, a series of misfortunes have befallen; their children or relatives quitting school at younger ages; unexpected pregnancy and consequently unwanted marriages; college-graduated children in situation of unemployment or hired for precarious and irregular jobs; unexpected illnesses; accidents; slums' calamities, etc.

Contradictions in slums' CPF practices are inherent to the system and those should be identified and analyzed in order to understand the social dynamics stemming from CPF exchange and consumption. The critical point is that high expectations in one's daughter/son inherently include risks of failure that could end in a cycle of frustration, depression, evasion of reality, vices, angeriness, and violence.

4.6. Conclusion

Sari-Sari stores are one of the main nodes of connection between corporations and slum consumers. In this respect, CPF plays a fundamental role in the construction of market relations and meanings. For micro-retailers, CPF is a source of profitability and important part of the family income. For food processing corporations, *Sari-Sari* stores are key channels and means for their capital realization.

Following Illouz's conceptual suggestions (2009), the market and meanings spheres where CPF circulates were investigated. In the market sphere, the CPF relevance of the *Sari-Sari* slum stores goes from 31 up to 67 percent of their profits. In the meanings sphere, the CPF-categories carry four meanings: sales-related, business facilitation, positive/favorable attributes of CPF, and negative/unfavorable attributes of CPF.

In this chapter, the main contribution is the simultaneous study of the market and meanings spheres in the micro-retail of CPFs through slum stores. I propose that the research of both spheres clarifies the *modus operandi* of food processing capital in slums. To realize industrial capital, the dominium of one sphere is not enough. It needs the penetration, influence, and if possible, the control of both spheres. In the sphere of market, supermarkets are increasing its role as suppliers of *Sari-Sari* stores; they are getting closer to the boundaries of slums and offering special loyalty programs to small grocers. Besides, the corporate direct distributors and distribution partners also facilitate the supply of goods to micro-stores, even in small quantities.

Two significant corporate tactics were identified in the stores' meanings sphere. On the one hand, the corporations are using the social capital embedded in grocers' self-portrait and name. At the same time, the corporations' marketing campaigns focus on *Sari-Sari* stores' identities, such as a stereotyped housewife owning a store, colors, music, dance, and bonding culture.

Additionally, the analysis of both spheres of exchange facilitates the observation of the fetishism of CPF and its retailing. In the sphere of meanings, slum micro-retailers shared the belief of progress, symbolized by affluence and increased consumption of goods—including branded foods. It is the mystification of retail practices that is far from being aware of the exploitation behind the social relations of CPF production, distribution, and exchange. Slum entrepreneurship is also mystified through CPF retail. The entrepreneurial path is considered as 'normal' and sometimes the only way to wealth and happiness leaving behind collective or communitarian practices.

As a final remark, the historical importance of CPF in the slums of the 21st century is still a research topic in an early stage. Multidisciplinary approaches and comparative studies are required to build consistent theories of CPF retailing, not only from political economy perspectives but also from sociology, geography, social anthropology, social psychology and related disciplines. In a context of rapid urban growth, the consistent critical study about CPF would facilitate the design of slum intervention strategies that are aware the trap of capitalist-based economic thought and neoliberal-based political practices.

5. CORPORATE PACKAGED FOOD CONSUMPTION IN SLUM'S HOUSEHOLDS: STRUCTURAL AND SITUATIONAL CONDITIONS IN THE MARKET SPHERE

*'Mabuti pa ang pera may tao. Pero ang tao ay walang pera.
Kaya, sa paghahanap ng pera, ang tao'y nagmumukhang'*²¹⁴
Filipino saying

5.1. Introduction

Historically, the inhabitants of poor neighborhoods have been classified as precarious consumers, uneducated, without manners, eating with dirty hands, and misuse their scarce money in unnecessary things—particularly by men habitually drinking alcohol. It is also generalized that slum populations consume food of dubious quality and even spoiled foodstuffs. Although these kinds of situations exist, the economic and cultural diversity of families living in slums exceed general perceptions, and explicitly, it can be found households with the willingness and capacity to consume a large variety of food—including corporate packaged food (CPF).

In previous chapters, we have seen a historical transit of CPF until intensively reaching the slum dwellers, particularly through the neighborhood *Sari-Sari* store. Also we have seen that scholars on business succeed in putting the poor on the world consumption scenes by signaling a "fortune at the base of the pyramid-BoP-" (Parahald and Hammond, 2002). The BoP populations were recognized as a potential market for big companies through the argument that despite its precarious income, given the mass of customers and their eagerness to consume in small amounts, this social sector can give significant gains for those corporations that are willing to adapt their business models and extend their tentacles to the poorest neighborhoods. The academia promoting BoP businesses was supported by case studies of companies of various industries obtaining benefits in developing countries (Prahalad, 2010). Some cases belonged to the processed foods and beverages industry such as soft drinks, confectionery, bakery and daily foods that have been circulating in slums since decades.

BoP literature intends to facilitate the corporate penetration into the consumption routines of low income populations and thereby reshape capitalism (Parahald and Hammond, 2002; Porter and Kramer, 2011). This literature suggests that, in addition to obtaining corporate benefits through the "inclusion" of BoP populations in the market sphere—e.g. food, shampoos and detergents, microfinance, home appliance and electronics, etc—corporations can also "include" them into shared value and co-creation models (Porter and Kramer, 2011; Nahi, 2016).

In essence, BoP literature narrows the scope of analysis while exclusively focusing on the market sphere, principally through the study of micro-businesses and entrepreneurs and by understanding the income-expenses factors that limit or enhance the participation of low-income populations in the market²¹⁵ (Prahalad, 2010; Prahalad and Hammond, 2002). Although marketing scholars consider other social and cultural elements fostering consumption that can be considered

²¹⁴ *'Although man's face is in money, man has no money. So in looking for money, man has now turned money-face'*

²¹⁵ By definition, BoP literature refers to 'low income' populations, which not necessarily refers to slums.

as part of the sphere of meanings, their studies lack the specificity of referring to slums (Funahashi, 2013; Payaud, 2014).

Critical literature about CPF consumption—particularly by political economists, sociologists, and nutritionists—is also lacking of a deeper understanding of slum market sphere. They build their critiques in the macro-system level of analysis. Their main purpose is to investigate how corporate power in any of its variants—instrumental, structural, and discursive (Clapp and Scrinis, 2017) act to expand their domination in food systems and food complexes or in a highest level of analysis: the study of past and current food regimes in a regional or global scale. While the importance of understanding political economy of corporate food at the macro-systemic level is indisputable, it is noteworthy that slum populations have been historically excluded from national and international decision making and the rules applied to their countries are too often remained irrelevant to them.²¹⁶ For this reason, in this dissertation, one of the main postulations is the necessity to land in the household, a decisive place in the daily battle for markets, minds and mouths²¹⁷ (Lang and Heasman, 2004).

In the context of slums, the consumption of CPF is majorly realized in the household.²¹⁸ The comprehension of households' CPF consumption gains relevance due to the gap between the macro-international food politics and the slum daily food practices. An example of the distance between the political economy at the macro-level and political economy at the slum household level is the slum populations' infrequent habit of reading labels on the packages. It can be simply because of the lack of interest or difficulties to understand the terminology. Thus, there is even manufactured food such as oils, seasonings, noodles, sauces, and vinegars, sold in plastic bags or reused bottles that evidently do not have any information.²¹⁹ This situation makes us to reflect that, on a daily basis, the epicenter of the processed food consumption in slums is at the micro-level, more precisely in the slum householders' market and meanings spheres.

²¹⁶ As much their participation in national politics are limited to electoral politics via voting or participating in movements in the electoral arena (Kusaka, 2017).

²¹⁷ It is important to note that our understanding of the sphere of meanings includes what Lang and Heasman (2004) defines as Mind and Mouth. But this study avoids the division of 'Mind' and 'Mouth' because can be problematic and ambiguous while studying human food consumption. It is preferred to be more explicit and refer to meanings coming from thoughts and judgments. The study of sphere of meanings opens space for emotions, imaginations, aversions, passions, culture, traditions, etc. (c.f. Bourdieu, 1984; Illouz, 2009; Appadurai, 1986). Also 'taste' and 'flavor' navigating in the sphere of meanings are also preferred instead of 'mouths.' The reason behind is that animals also have mouths and eat, but this study focuses on humans and their social relations.

²¹⁸ CPF consumption outside home (street, school, workplace, etc) naturally is also a relevant point to consider in the study of Political Economy of Corporate Packaged Food; however, in this research the focus on knowledge and practices of women who manage the household affairs. Management of household includes the decisions to acquire and consume CPF by family members, particularly children.

²¹⁹ In 2014, as part of the research for the master degree in business administration, I conducted interviews with authorities of the Food Nutrition Research Institute (FNRI) and the Food and Drugs Administration (FDA) of the Philippines. In addition, accompanied by the FDA personnel staff, we toured in street markets and supermarkets. Although the information obtained was not authorized for publication, among the key points of the visit that I can share here are: 1) the limited institutional resources to properly evaluate, supervise, and sanction sanitary and health regulations. Not only the infrastructure and laboratories are poor equipped, but also the food specialists are limited in FDA, only three senior specialists are responsible of the evaluation of food, and even sometimes they need to buy products by themselves because the FDA's limited budget or bureaucratization. 2) The lack of support for legal defense in court. Two cases were mentioned where large corporations sued FDA specialists for having declared that some of the corporate products as harmful to health. In the trials they had to hire lawyers by themselves and to cover other related expenses during the process. The lack of money for defense and the fear to lose—forced them to pay moral damages to corporations—make them to withdraw the conclusion of the product evaluations, as well as they preferred to quit their jobs in order to avoid more problems. 3) In the tour through marketplaces, we found several food products without label, even in the shelves of the supermarkets. FDA staff said that they would report to their bosses expecting that the procedures for sanctions could be made during the following six to eight months. Off the record, they sincerely accepted that the possibilities of the supermarket to be penalized are very low.

In this chapter, the focus is on the market sphere, and the main purpose is to analyze structural and situational factors that make each slum households to consume higher or lower proportions of CPF in the total food consumption. By structural, this study refers to the existence of objective economic, political, social, cultural or normative patterns independent of the consciousness and will of those populations living in slums, patterns which can be directed and constrained (Bourdieu, 1984; Mintz, 1986). By situational, this study points out the specific social contexts in time and space in which people live. It includes the immediate physical settings, social relations, particular circumstances, actions, habits and routines that occur in their home and surroundings (Garfinkel, 1967; Geertz, 1973; Bourdieu, 1984).

Based on this, the discussion with existing literature on branded food business at the bottom of the urban society and with critical political economists and sociologist researching on food can be enriched by new information and by possibilities to extend a debate based on the specific circumstances of slum households. Additionally, based on the purpose of this research, it clarifies the background elements necessary for the analysis of the sphere of meanings (Chapter 6), and for the analysis of the political economy implications of CPF consumption in slums (Chapter 7).

The data for the analysis of the CPF consumption in the sphere of market was obtained in the interviews with 61 women and direct observation in the house of 31 households of three slum areas during periods of 2015 and 2016. The market-related information collected is: CPF market places, brand names, prices, quantities, etc. The amount of CPF consumption in a household is estimated in proportion to the total food household expenditure. Thus, it excludes other important access to CPF, such as those CPF received as gifts—from government, NGOs, politicians, etc.,—or as barter in exchange of a service or another reciprocal action.

The outline of the chapter goes as follows. It starts with a contextualization of CPF consumption in the poorest households in Metro Manila²²⁰ by analyzing the structural conditions that are involved in the slum populations' food consumption practices. Next, two marketing pillars—*affordability* and *adaptability*—are presented as significant elements that help corporations to penetrate into the poor households' market sphere. This analysis complements the discussion in Chapter 4 about *availability* of CPF inside the slum boundaries. Subsequently, the chapter shows the structural and situational factors identified in slum households that determine proportionally high or low CPF consumption levels. The last section is a conclusion of the chapter, which also serves as link of the next two chapters: the analysis of slum CPF consumption in the sphere of meanings and the discussion on the social and political economy implications of the CPF penetration in the slums' market and meanings spheres.

²²⁰Metro Manila does not refer to the 'Great Manila'—a larger urban agglomeration reaches regions and districts in the north, east and south of NCR with an approximate population between 21 million to 23 million inhabitants. It refers to the National Capital Region (NCR) that comprises 15 cities and one municipality. Metro-Manila's land area of 619.5 Km² has a population density of 20,785 per Km² while in the whole country is of only 337 per Km². But Manila, with 71,263 persons per Km², is the densest city in the Philippines and one of the densest cities in the world.

5.2. The structural conditions of the Metro Manila Households

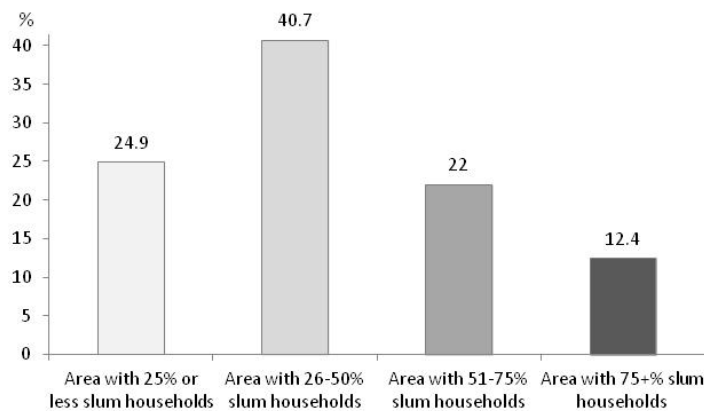
In this section, the conditions of poor households in Manila are described drawing on the concept of structure. It is discussed here is the fundamental demographic, social and economic factors that directly impacts on slums dwellers' living conditions, and particularly on what and how they eat.²²¹

5.2.1. Demography

a) *Rapid and disorganized urbanization*

The Philippines is the twelfth most populous country in the world. In 2015, 44 percent of its 102 million inhabitants lived in urban areas and is expected to reach 56 percent by 2050 (UN Habitat, 2016). Metro-Manila is the largest urban agglomeration of the country; its population in 2015 was 12.9 million inhabitants while it was 2.4 million in 1960 and 5.9 million in 1980. It represents a compound annual growth of 3.1 percent since 1960. The expansion of the metropolis is expecting to continue because of the high housing demand in Metro-Manila and the adjacent regions—Calabarzon and Central Luzon—making the highest in the Philippines. In the period of 2011-2016, Calabarzon registered 11.75 percent growth of the need of new housing, followed by Metro Manila with 11.61 percent and Central Luzon with 8.75 percent (UN Habitat, 2016:96).

Figure 5.1. Distribution of urban households by type of residence



Source: Own elaboration based on UN Habitat Data (2012)

The fast but unplanned urbanization is inherently accompanied by the formation of slums. Of estimated 2.8 million households in Metro Manila in 2012, 12.4 percent was located in areas where 75 percent or more of their residential type is slums, and another 22 percent resided in areas with 51 to 75 percent of which is slums (Figure 5.1). These areas can be considered as the

²²¹ The structural factors that explain the existence of slums are not explained in this dissertation. For a radical critique of the formation of slums, please refer to Engels, 1872; Harvey, 1972 and 1973; Castells, 1972; Maseey, 1984. Other critical scholars with different perspectives and frameworks are: Maseey, et.al., 1999; Friedmann, 1967 and 1986; Sassen, 2001; Aoki, 2016. For mainstream theoretical explanations please refer to Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro and Smith, 2011.

representations of the most depressed economic areas of the Philippines and are home to approximately 4 million inhabitants (Ballesteros, 2011, Garrido, 2013).²²²

b) Women, children and youth

In Metro Manila, 51 percent of the total population is female (6,015,387), among which 72 percent (4,353,962) is at the legal age to get married. From this universe of women in age to get married, 46 percent already did (2,002,823), and from this group of married women, 89 percent already has a child or more (1,782,513²²³). Those mothers account for one of three women in Metro Manila. The average number of children per woman in this region, including single mothers, is 2.5. In slums, however, the average soars up commonly to 3 children or more per woman and in the researched areas of Malate, Payatas and Tatalon, even families with 8-12 children were observed.

Thus, Metro Manila households are characterized by its average age as young as 19 years old, which corresponds to the fact that 70 percent of its female population is less than 34 years old and only 5 percent is older than 60. This lower percentage of 60+ women explains the difficulty to find elderly women in slums and implicitly connects to the inquiry about death in slums.

c) Death

Death is a permanent shadow covering slums. Slum people die sooner than non-slum populations due to the difficult life conditions. Implicitly, the life expectancy of slum dwellers is shorter than the average 74.35 for women and 67.61 years for men living in Metro Manila. But, without distinguishing slums and non-slums locations, the World Health Organization (2015) reports that the 'healthy' life expectancy in the Philippines is 62 years in women and 57 years in men. In informal conversations with slum dwellers and NGO and RO, they commented that people in general have strong immune system in younger ages, but in their adult lives, once their health problems start, the transient speed of the physical decline, illness and death is fast.

Moreover, during the research period, six funerals were observed: four men and two women died with less of 60 years old. Lacking the space, the casket for funerals occupied the basketball court or the squatters' lanes. Then, in slums, it was easy to observe, interact and even chat about funeral practices and causes of death: three were related to heart problems, one brain stroke, one kidney problem and one motor-bicycle accident. During 2017, I was sadly informed that two of the interviewed women passed away by heart and liver problems respectively, and one male, with whom I gained acquaintance, died after trying to recover money and goods from his house in flames.²²⁴

²²² Garrido (2013) also estimated the number of squatters that exceeded 2,100 at the end of 2000s.

²²³ To have an idea of the dimension of the number of mothers in Manila, please visualize that this number is similar to the population of Kyoto Prefecture and exceed the population of Manhattan.

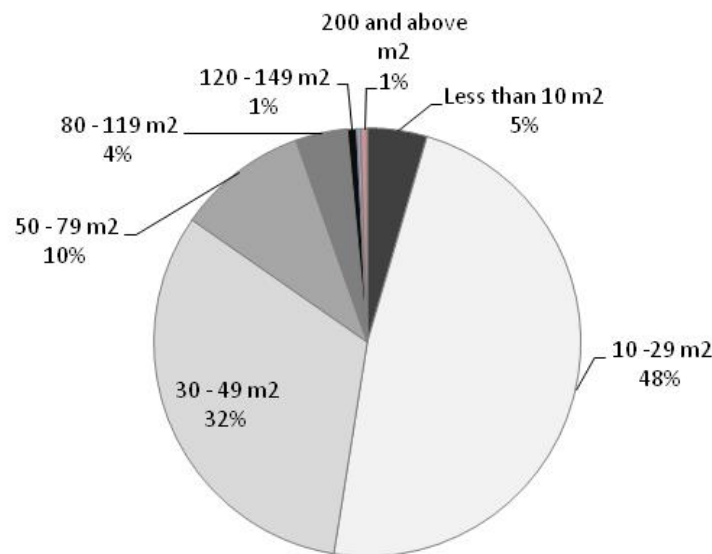
²²⁴ Metro-Manila's murder reports, typically state that murder rates in poor districts are higher than middle and high class neighborhoods. Additionally, there are reports that Duterte's hard-hand anti-drugs policy had reached Tatalon, Malate and Payatas but up to my knowledge, the families interviewed in this study have not been directly affected.

5.2.2. Space, basic services and home appliances

a) Space

In Metro Manila, 61.3 percent of the families with lowest income live in an accommodation below 30m² (Figure 5.2). In those tiny houses, families—of an average 4.2 persons in Metro Manila but in slums 5.5 persons or more—manage to make space to live and lay up their valuables—clothing, shoes, electronic devices, documents, photo-albums, CDs, food and water. It is difficult to store a large quantity of goods because of the lack of space. The living environment has an inevitable impact on the type of the food they choose and how they cook and eat. Additionally, we need to take into consideration that 70 percent of low-income dwellers utilize light materials to construct the roof and walls of the houses, which are vulnerable to fire and heavy rain. Calamities in the studied slums Payatas in 2001, Kubo in 2014, Meralco in 2015, and Dakota in 2017 are the clear examples of the permanent threat of fires, floods and other types of human-provoked and climate-related tragedies.

Figure 5.2. Families in Metro Manila in the lowest 30% by income strata by floor area of housing Unit (m²)



Source: Own elaboration based on National Statistics Office (2010)

b) Water

In Metro Manila the water service was privatized in the early 1990s under the promise to improve the efficiency of water supply, but according to available data, only 51 percent of Metro Manila households use their own faucet for drinking water.²²⁵ 79 percent of the households in Metro Manila use their own faucet for cooking, but yet 13 percent needs to share a faucet installed as community

²²⁵ Typically, the faucet is connected to a community water system.

water system and 2 percent relies on a shared piped water service.²²⁶ Similar percentages were registered for other water usages such as bathing and laundry (National Statistics Office, 2010).

Interviews with slum dwellers serve to observe their awareness about the danger of drinking water from rivers, lakes, dumps or estuaries, however, health and sanitary authorities in Tatalon, Malate and Payatas explained that diseases related to water consumption still persist and this issue is one the three main targets of preventive health campaigns alongside with dengue and floods-related sanitation. It coincides with World Health Organization reports mentioning that ‘water pollution, air pollution, poor sanitation, and unhygienic practice contribute to an estimated 22 percent of all reported disease cases and nearly 6 percent of all reported deaths’ (WHO, 2011: 6).

c) Sanitation

One of the main consequences of the unplanned and chaotic urbanization process in the Philippines is the meager sanitation services and solid waste management. Only 15 percent of Metro Manila’s population has access to piped sewage; the rest relies on septic tanks, pit latrines, and open defecation is still practiced by eight percent of the country’s population (WHO, 2011). In these conditions, slum householders prepare and consume their food. Furthermore, 81.3 percent of households in Metro Manila exclusively uses water-sealed sewer septic tank while 10.9 percent needs to share with other households (National Statistics Office, 2010). Residents of Dakota slum pay PHP 5.00 (USD 0.095) to use toilet inside the slum and up to PHP 20.00 to take a shower, but in order to save money, the shower is mostly taken in the narrow slum lanes.

d) Energy

Electricity is the main source of energy for lighting in Metro Manila, and representing 97.3 percent (National Statistics Office, 2010).²²⁷ But in slums, the lagged infrastructure to supply energy for cooking is a permanent threat for health and causes of accidents. Around 258,424 households of, more than 1 million inhabitants still use charcoal and wood (see Pictures 5a to 5d).

Worse yet, Kerosene and Liquefied Petroleum Gas, the main sources of energy in the slums, invite risks of fire accidents combined with the flammable construction materials for houses and the limited space in slum households. Informal conversations with dwellers in Tatalon, Payatas and Dakota coincided with those described risks and also with the inevitable situations of frequent material losses.²²⁸

²²⁶ Bottled water and peddler delivery are used only by 1 percent of the households.

²²⁷ However, the ecological deficit remains as an important issue. 42.62 percent of the electricity is generated from coal, and the rest is produced by natural gas, 24.97 percent, hydroelectric plants 21.03 percent, oil 5.97 percent, and only 5.4 percent from renewable sources (Department of Energy, 2017).

²²⁸ About the fire accidents that destroy their squatters in Kubo and Meralco, slum dwellers commented that forgetting to turn off candles, and in the case of Dakota fire, it seems that the accident came from high-voltage discharges in the overlapped electronic wires—usually in bad condition after rats’ bites.

Pictures 5a to 5d. Sources of energy and cooking infrastructure



5a. Charcoal



5b. Charcoal and Wood



5c. Gas



5d. Wood

Source: Author, Fieldwork in Payatas and Tatalon, Quezon City (2016)

e) Home appliances and electronic devices

Television is the most popular electronic product in Metro Manila, with its presence in 93.2 percent of households followed by mobile phones in 90.2 percent of households. TV, mobile phones and radio are highly used for communication, information and entertainment. They are the channels in which corporations advertise their products and endorse their food-related messages.

As for specific electronic appliances related to food, refrigerators and cooking ranges have not widespread throughout the metropolis; those are available only at 57.7 and 43.6 percent of households respectively (National Statistics Office, 2010). According to slum dwellers, there are opportunities to buy home appliances in second hand markets, but financial debts, precarious jobs, education expenses, and the abovementioned problem of space are the major factors to limit their will to purchase electronics. These reasons partially explain why only 31.3 percent of the poorest households in Metro Manila owns cooking range, the rest of households used the simple devices exhibited in Pictures 5a to 5d. The other main reason naturally relates to income flow and the exclusion of credit to buy appliances.

Additionally, washing machine is a good example to highlight the lack of space, energy and water—three indispensable but scarce and expensive resources in slums that were constantly appearing in this subsection. Washing machines are available in only 54.4 percent of slum households, even though it is a highly valued appliance for women because of its impact in saving time and energy. Indeed, we will see in this and the next chapter that consumption of CPF have intrinsic relation with time and energy saving.

5.2.3. Economic conditions for the CPF consumption

In the Philippines, as in most of the countries of the world, there is no regular published data about slums food consumption. The main sources of information are the income- expenditure and nutrition surveys. But, for the purpose of this study both have similar limitations: the lack of specification whether the food is packaged, canned or bottled, and the lack of information about the territorial location of consumers, especially whether they live in slums or in different neighborhoods. Thus, we can make use of the abovementioned surveys merely to know about the food consumption of the populations with the lowest income—the last three deciles. They give us an initial reference for understanding the economic background of food consumption in slums.

5.2.3.1. Sources of income

In the Philippines, 65 percent of the poorest population earns income by performing an economic activity, either from receiving a salary (46 percent) or by entrepreneurial activity (19 percent). The rest 35 percent lives depending on other sources, from which, family support is of the highest importance, particularly from those living abroad (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014).

First, salary-based slum populations are generally involved in low-paid activities. According to the National Statistics Office (2010), in Metro Manila, 22 percent of the jobs available are unskilled labor, followed by service and sale workers (14 percent), factory assemblers and operators (13 percent), clerks (12 percent), etc. The low-salary jobs are usually those in the wholesale and retail trade, the motor vehicle reparation, transportation and storage, construction, manufacturing (assembling) and basic administrative and support services. These business sectors amount to 50 percent of the employment in Metro Manila. It gives us a clear idea of the economic structure of the city and the sources of salary income for slum families.²²⁹

Second, in this context of slums, the entrepreneurship concept refers to income earning activities which essentially navigates in the informal side of the economy. Street vendors and *Sari-Sari* store grocers are two of the most representative economic activities in which slum dwellers take risks, show creativity, and even innovate not only to survive but also to accumulate money to re-invest as capital in small-scale businesses (Nielsen and Samia, 2008). Third, Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) are ranked third in remittances, behind Indians and Chinese and displacing Mexicans to the fourth place²³⁰ and with a median remittance going from USD 50 to USD 400 per month (World Bank, 2016).

In sum, according to the Family Income and Expenditure Survey in 2012, an average annual income per capita in Metro Manila was approximately of PhP 379,000 (USD 7,200). But the income disparity was more than seven times between the top and the bottom; the first and second income deciles received less than PhP 92,000²³¹ (USD 1,700) while the tenth income deciles gained PhP 715,000 (USD13,800). A visible way to see this disparity is the massive number of informal settlements thriving next to middle-class neighborhood, trade malls, financial centers, hotels and golf resorts of Metro Manila. Income disparity has not been solved albeit the economic growth of a 4.0 percent since 2004 to 2015. Investment has concentrated in specific urban spots leaving behind thousands of people living at the bottom of urban society (Aoki, 2016).

5.2.3.2. Expenditure and consumption patterns

Most of the low-income populations have zero or minimum margin of savings. The family income expenditure survey (2012) indicates that the poorest households spend 62.3 percent of their income on food; 15.3 percent on housing,²³² water, electricity, gas or other fuels; 4.3 percent on transportation; 2.3 percent on tobacco and alcoholic beverages; 2.1 percent on clothing and footwear; 2.0 percent on education; 1.8 percent on health; the rest on other types of goods and services; thus the end result in zero savings.

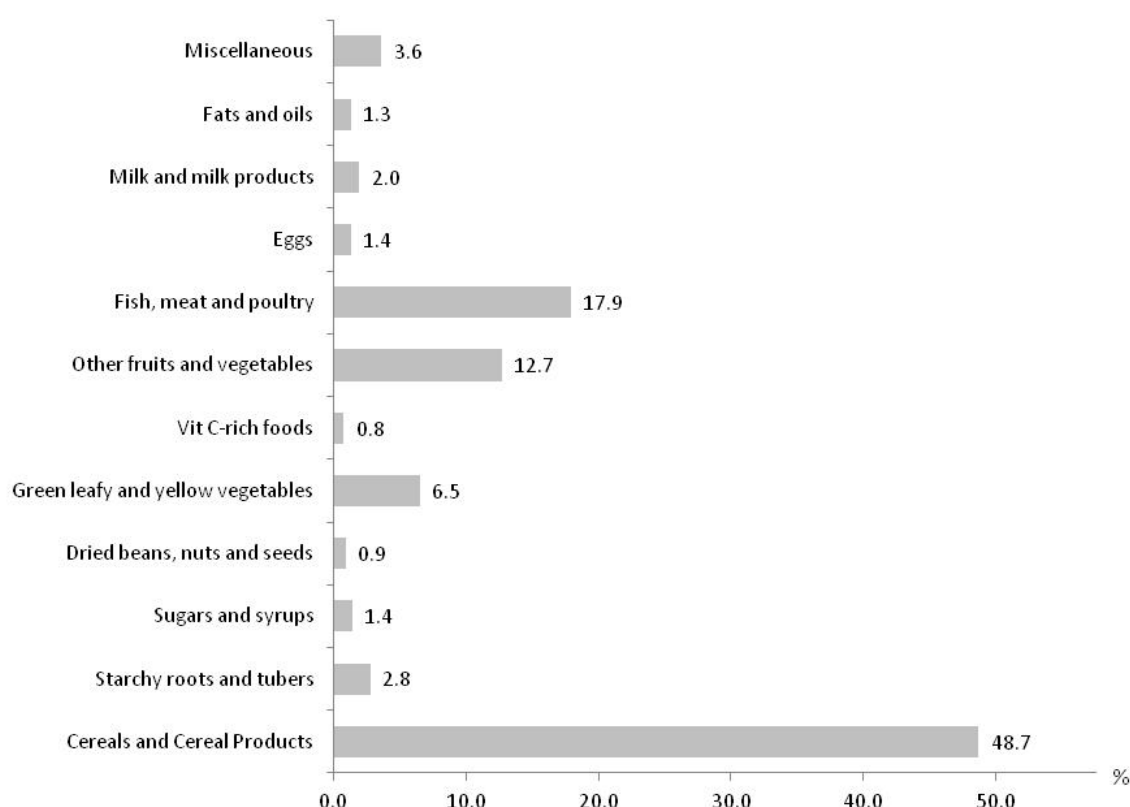
²²⁹ In the researched slums, the predominant (informal) jobs are housekeeping or other domestic services, tricycle driving, construction labor, electric and mechanic services, factory labor (daily salary or piece payment) and vending (street, stall, or sari-sari or in malls) .

²³⁰ In 2016 the top 5 remittance countries, in USD, were India (\$65 billion), China (\$61 billion), the Philippines (\$33 billion), Mexico (\$31 billion), and Nigeria (\$22 billion). According to the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), Middle East is where most OFW live (46.5%), followed by 23.6% working on the sea and the rest in a diverse of locations worldwide.

²³¹ A daily income of 252.05 PhP per capita (USD 4.0).

²³² In squatters, housing expenses refer to money spent building their houses, paying rents ranging from PhP 500 (USD 9.5~) or paying "land quotas" (ranging from 100 to 300 PhP (USD 2 to 6)) to: land owners, squatter syndicates, or government officials.

Figure 5.3. One-day per capita food consumption and percent of food to total intake, 2013



Source: Own elaboration based on Nutrition Survey 2013, Food and Nutrition Research Institute, 2015

With respect to the quantity and quality of food, the nutrition survey (FNRI, 2013)²³³ shows that almost 50 percent of the food intake—measured in calorie consumption a day—of the lowest income households in the Philippines consists of cereals and cereal products (see above Figure 5.3.), in which rice is by far the most consumed cereal. Rice itself represents 39.3 percent of the total food intake for the poorest Filipino, and the rest of cereals, are mostly corn and wheat. The total amount of yellow vegetables, green leaves, fruits and other vegetables equals 19.2 percent of the total food intake, among which banana—*saba*—, eggplant, squash, green papaya, cabbage, cucumber, pumpkins, horseradish and string beans outstand.

Fish, meat, and poultry comprise 17.9 percent of the total daily food intake, in which processed and canned fish (sardines, mackerel and tuna) represent 1.5 percent; in other words, most of the fish is consumed as fresh or dried with salt. Next come poultry (1.3 percent) and pork (1.5 percent). Starchy roots and tubers, such as cassava and sweet potatoes are also an essential part of the poorest Filipinos' diet. The rest of the products are consumed in less quantity in comparison to other income segments of the survey.

²³³ The FNRI collected the data 8th nutrition survey during 2013, but the general report was announced in August 2016. It is the first survey that presents information by income deciles. Previous seven surveys only reported at the national and regional averages and distinguishing urban and rural populations.

From these surveys, we are able to confirm an obvious premise that low-income populations living in urban areas face larger difficulties to acquire fresh fish, poultry, meat and vegetables than in rural areas. The access to staple foods is briefly explained in the following section, and it shed light on the essential information about CPF consumption in a slum household.

5.2.4. Access to food

After the Philippine rice crisis of 2008 (Bello, 2009), the Food Staples Sufficiency Program (FSSP) was designed and implemented under the conceptual framework of food security.²³⁴ The strategy covered key staple foods such as rice and tilapia, which since 2013 have maintained a self-sufficiency rate between 97 and 99 percent (Philippines Statistics Authority, 2015). Other fundamental products of the program, although not self-sufficient, include corn, cassava, sweet potato, and banana *saba* which are considered as substitutes of rice by the Department of Agriculture. It also includes pork, chicken, chicken eggs, and milkfish which are frequently consumed commodities in poor Filipino households.

Albeit the supposed improvements on food security, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)'s State of Food Insecurity Report (2015) estimates more than 11 million are undernourished, which account for around 11 percent of total population, and states that the food security vulnerability of the Philippines persists due to the volatility of prices and inequities of the global food system, population growth, increasing urbanization, natural disasters and climate changes. Yet, there are also other interrelated structural factors important to be considered to understand food risks in the Philippines: a) the trade liberation and the structural adjustment program applied since the 1980s that manufactured a food crisis (Bello, 2009); b) the contradictory and unsatisfactory results of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (Borras, 2007); c) precarious income and lack of access to capital and other productive resources (Coxhead, 2000; Carandang et.al, 2014).

In the specific context of Metro Manila, Ali and Porciuncula (2001) point out several issues concerning food provisioning such as the problem of seasonality of vegetables and fruits that affect prices and availability. They also found that 3.9 percent of Metro Manila land was allocated to agriculture but the urbanization programs were planned to reduce it to zero. In 1999, Metro Manila produced only 0.78 percent of the vegetable demand for its consumption, less than 0.9 percent of total poultry meat, 0.47 percent of rice and no land for fruits and cereals. Thus, most of the agricultural products consumed in Metro Manila came from other provinces, particularly from north and south Luzon, or were imports.

Considering the points above related to demography, infrastructural, and foodstuffs' accessibility, let's turn now to the analysis of the CPF consumption drivers in a Metro Manila slum household.

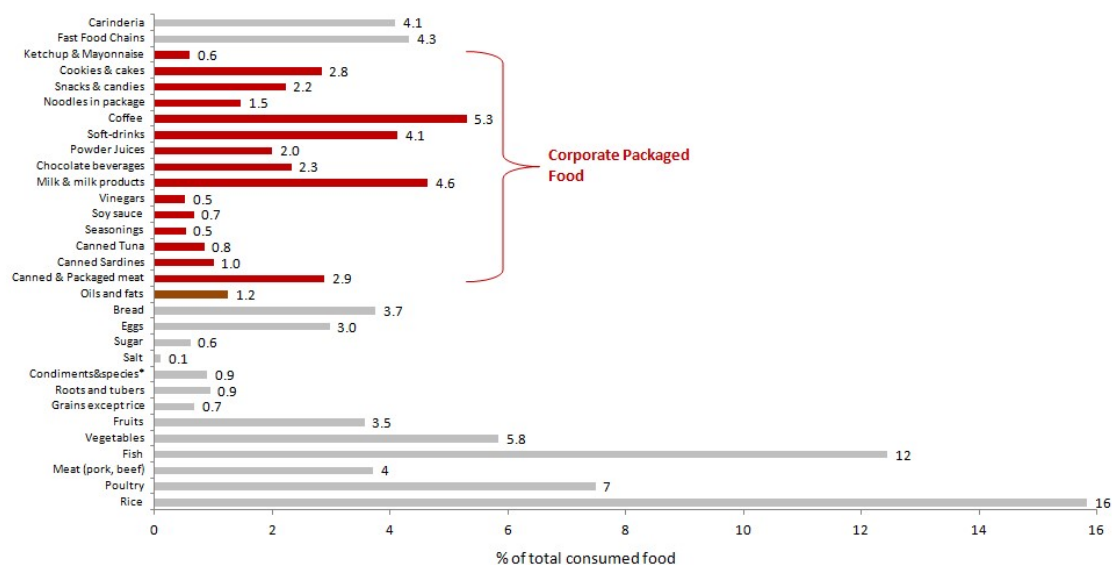
²³⁴ The Food Staples Sufficiency Program, 2011-2016 (Department of Agriculture, 2012) used the definition and dimensions of food security declared during the World Food Summit in 1996: 'when all people at all times have access to sufficient, safe, nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life.' And the four dimensions of food security are: Availability, Accessibility, Utilization and Stability.

5.3. CPF consumption and slum households' market drivers

5.3.1. Slums households' CPF Consumption

The previous chapter has shown that Manila's slums are economically driven by plenty of *Sari-Sari* stores, street vendors and other actors channeling CPF to slum households. The micro-retailers facilitate '*availability*' in business strategy to penetrate slum households. The elemental question that emerges accordingly is how much CPF a slum household consumes.²³⁵ Through the interviews in three different slums, CPF was found to amount to 31.8 percent of the total expenses per-capita of slum households (see Figure 5.4). From this percentage, beverages represent 57.67 percent of the total CPF consumption. The second largest expenditure is on the packaged and canned food that account for 35.22 percent; it includes meat, fish, snacks, candies, biscuits and noodles. The third was the CPF condiments and seasonings category, signifying 7.09 percent of the total CPF expenses.

Figure 5.4. Slum household's food consumption



Source: Own elaboration based on Field Research 2015-2016 (N=31 households)

The contemporary level of consumption makes a sharp contrast with the past, when the CPF consumption was minimal as proportion in total food expenses. Elder and adult slum women spoke in retrospect that their daily CPF consumption was limited to a few products of the highest priority such as milk for children, coffee for the adults, and soy sauces, tuba vinegars and Ajinomoto's Vensim. In another level of priority they recall the occasional consumption of soft drinks, biscuits, snacks, candies, and sardines or other canned fishes. These CPF were largely secondary in

²³⁵ Consumption assumes zero waste, meaning that all the acquired food was fully consumed by the family members. It is important to recall that neither beer nor oil nor fat are included as CPF. As for oil, the main reason is that is mostly sold in plastic bags or bottles (usually plastic bottles) without brand of labels.

comparison to the consumption of rice, vegetables, roots, tubers, fish, bread and some fruits, which remain as the basic foods in a poor family.

Those slum women's account corresponds to the findings of one research on food consumption in Tondo—the largest slum in Manila—in the mid-1980s (Perez, 1986). Perez found out that the basic table fares such as rice, fresh fish, meat and vegetables, sugar, bread, coffee and milk and their income were so unstable that Tondo dwellers had only a few opportunities to purchase other food products. Additionally, she reported: 'for the poor families, soy sauce, bagoong²³⁶ or any spices were also familiar table fares. As long as there was rice, the family eased hunger.' (Ibid: 30, italics and underline added). Another relevant finding of her study was that rice consumption proportionally decreases as income increases. This is so primarily because the well-off families spend money to buy other cereals and cereal products like corn, bread, oat meal and biscuits (Ibid, 1986:30). It is also congruent with Siliverio's *Sari-Sari* business study, where CPF represented less than 8 percent of the total revenues (Silverio, 1982) while nowadays the average is 53.5 percent (see Chapter 4).

The increasing consumption of CPF in slums is a phenomenon that requires a deeper examination due to its influence on lifestyles and social relations, which in turn have a political economy impact. Up to now, we had seen a historical path of CPF consumption in the Philippines until present days (Chapter 3), followed by the analysis of *Sari-Sari* stores, the main CPF channel for sustaining the *availability* marketing strategy (Chapter 4). Now in the following subsection, the exposition continues through the identification of specific situations driving CPF consumption in the context of *affordability* and *adaptability*, the other two marketing pillars for slum penetration.

The analysis of *affordability* and *adaptability* has a twofold purpose. First, to complete the study of the foundations of the market sphere in slums (the 3As), second, to argue that there is an intertwined set of specific situations, taking advantage of structural deficits (such as infrastructure, space, water, and energy limitations) that facilitates corporations to promote CPF consumption in slums. Based on this knowledge, section 5.4, explores the structural and situational conditions that explain high and low CPF consumption patterns in slums, and in Chapter 6, the explanatory factors of CPF slum consumption in the sphere of meanings will gain relevance and would be better understood.

5.3.2. Creating situations: Market drivers for CPF consumption

As previously mentioned, *affordability*—the accessible CPF pricing for slum populations—and *adaptability*—the adjustment of corporate production to the slum market circumstances—are two of the three basic marketing pillars to penetrate the urban bottom market sphere.²³⁷ The main claim in this study is that the 3As, as basic drivers of CPF consumption, they are accompanied by other CPF

²³⁶ Salty paste made from fermented salted fish or shrimp paste.

²³⁷ BoP marketers simultaneously bond the 3As in one strategic bloc, but in this dissertation, the discussions on 3As were separated in different chapters for didactic reasons. Also, there are other elements of marketing for conquering the space and minds of the poor such as customer education, CSR or CSV initiatives, improved supply chain management, emotional marketing and other advertisement tools, (see more in chapter 7).

attributes and value propositions summarized in Table 5.1. and explained in the following subsection. However, it is important to note that most of these attributes and propositions such as custom, rapidness, desire, taste, addiction, fulfillment, etc., are essentially linked to the sphere of meanings (Chapter 6). Thus it confirms that both spheres, market and meanings, simultaneously coexist in place (Manila slums) and time (2015-2016 but with historical roots since the late 19th century).

Table 5.1. CPF consumption drivers in the market sphere

CPF consumption drivers	Relevant CPF
Affordability	
a) Price, quantity and flavor	Coffee powder
b) Price, rapidness and ubiquity	Chocolate powder
c) Price, structural problems and needs	Soft drinks and powder juices
d) Price, custom and mother's devoirs	Packaged meat
e) Price, addiction and children	Candies and other snacks
f) Price and filling up stomachs	Packaged dry noodles
Adaptability	
a) Adapting foreign brands' to local flavors	Biscuits, seasonings and condiments
b) Adapting to different customers	Processed milk

Source: Own elaboration based on Field Research 2015-2016

5.3.2.1. Affordability

a) Price, quantity and flavor

A clear example of the affordability as a factor driving CPF consumption is the powder coffee case. In the Philippines, it is estimated that 90 percent of the households consume coffee and that Filipinos drink a total of 11.6 billion cups of coffee every year (Nestlé Philippines, 2013). This coffee relevance in daily consumption corresponds with the research findings in Manila slums, where coffee powder was found to be the most consumed CPF, 14.5 percent of the acquired CPF, and 5.3 percent of the daily food expenditure per-capita.²³⁸

A successful corporate tactic promoting consumption is the twin pack of coffee for only 9 or 10.0 PhP (USD 0.18 to 0.20). Its attraction relies on the following characteristics: 1) It can be separated into one-piece sachet, which can serve up to three cups; twin cup up to six cups; 2) It combines 3-1 "sugar," "milk," and coffee, and 3) It delivers more quantity of coffee in an affordable price. For instance, Nescafé stick 18 grams is sold in 6 PhP (USD 0.12) but the 3-1 twin pack—22.5 grams each pack, 45 grams in total—is offered for the abovementioned 9 or 10 PhP.

Slum women naturally perceived the twin as a good deal, implying more coffee per sachet in an affordable price. A 49-year-old mother in *Kubo* squatter gives a good example of this reasoning: 'I think drinking coffee is in our daily pleasures, and when we (she and her husband) don't have a good day of sales (they sell second or third hand clothes in the street), we need to carefully manage our

²³⁸ Powdered coffee is one of the sub-segments of CPF beverages along with powder and liquid milk, powder chocolate and cereals beverages, and soft drinks and juices. In total, beverages represent 57.67 percent of the total acquired CPF. The second group is the packaged and canned food that account for 35.22 percent of the total CPF expenses; it includes meat, fish, snacks, candies, biscuits and noodles. Third, it is the CPF condiments and seasonings category, signifying 7.09 percent of the total CPF expenses.

money for covering the family basic needs. But now that there is a twin-pack, one for my husband and one for me, we can save 10 PhP that I can spend buying *manteka* (oil) or a half-batch of vegetables for dinner.’ Similar logic was expressed by other families in different slums.

b) Price, rapidness, and ubiquity

Another type of reasoning commonly expressed by slum women is the one related to price, fast preparation and ubiquity, and here Nestle’s *Milo* is the best example. Milo, in comparison to the traditional and non-branded bar of chocolate ‘*tableya*,’ is perceived as having those three mentioned market advantages. The opinions of two slum women clarify the argument.

A teenager, third generation of women in *Meralco* squatter said: ‘I know what is a *Tableya* of chocolate, I tasted with my grandmother in Visaya... it takes time to be melted and you need to care the pot while boiling and diluting the bar with a spoon. But I don’t remember to have drunk *Tabliya* in Manila. Here what I drink is Milo (a sachet of 35 grams) before going to school. It is enough for me until the lunch time...Milo costs around 12 PhP (USD 0.21)... the lunch at the school canteen can cost 35-45 PhP and coming back home I usually eat a snack, in total including transportation I spend less than 80 PhP a day (USD 1.52), which is the budget I usually have for going to school.’²³⁹

Also, a 19-year-old woman in Payatas commented: ‘I usually have bread with Milo for breakfast, it takes few seconds to melt after putting in a cup of water...If for any reason I couldn’t have it, I can easily get it on the way to school or in the school canteen...vendors have hot water and the cup (styrofoam), and so wherever you are you can always find it and the price is almost the same, usually 12 PhP by a sachet.’ Similar comments are expressed in the rest of slum households, which also match with the corporate strategy targeting young people that positions Milo as a functional breakfast before going to school.

In short, in the sphere of market, *Milo* is perceived as an affordable product, functional for students’ life, and can be found everywhere. These Milo’s characteristics partially²⁴⁰ explain its dominance in the Philippines—70 percent of the chocolate beverages’ market (Euromonitor, 2017b)—although in the researched slums, its market share is nearly 100 percent.

c) Price, structural problems and needs

The structural problems resulting from commodification of water and the poor infrastructure providing safe water by public pumps are basic premises of explaining slum populations’ consumption of soft drinks. In the Philippines, the annual consumption of Coca Cola’ soft drinks is 30.5 liters per capita, while in 1991 it was 21.1 liters, showing 43.3 percent increase (Coca Cola, 2012). In slums, the precise quantity by liters per capita of soft drink consumption is difficult to be

²³⁹ She is the oldest of three siblings in the family, her father works as a Jeepney driver, he needs to pay a daily quota (boundary as they call) of PhP 1000 a day (USD 19), an average daily profit goes from 700 to 1500 PhP (USD 13.3 to 28.5) depending on the day. Irregular Jeepney income comes from frequent broken parts, heavy rain, illness or indisposition—e.g. hangover. Even those inconveniences, the social status of a jeepney driver is higher than other precarious and tougher jobs.

²⁴⁰ There also other consumption drivers navigating in the sphere of meanings discussed in chapter 6.

calculated²⁴¹ but we could estimate the amount of money spent in the proportion of household's budget, which are based on women's self-knowledge and daily experience being responsible for family affairs.

Information provided by the *Sari-Sari* stores confirmed the slum household soft drinks consumption.²⁴² In the market sphere, the reasons explaining their consumption are as follows: First, historically, soft drink corporations have been taking advantage of the structural condition of lack of drinkable water. Their presence in slums as providers of a "solution" (addictive solution) to relief thirst is as old as the existence of the contemporary slums themselves. Second, soft drinks have a minimal intervention from a non-slum resident in transit from the factory to slum households. Delivery boys are also slum dwellers—as the street vendors and *Sari-Sari* stores. It means that soft drinks have been mediating slum relations since the beginning of their formation. This commodity is already a part of the social relations in slums, and it is rooted in the deeper customs, needs, and desires (see more in Chapter 6). Finally, recently, the price-quantity balance is gaining relevance as it can be seen in the frequent consumption of RC,²⁴³ the cheapest cola brand retailed in slums. Its price, in comparison with Coca Cola²⁴⁴ for example, is cheaper by 20 percent.

The case of powdered juices and fruit-flavored soft drinks also exemplify the structural problems and Filipinos' affordability consumption driver. Certainly, there is a connection between difficulties to afford the desired fruits—a structural problem impeding articulation between rural fruit producers and urban consumers—and the consumption of fruit-flavored soft drinks and powdered juices. Far from the preconception that people in tropical countries constantly consume fruits,²⁴⁵ the population in Manila slums consume few of them, only the cheapest fruits in the market such as *Saba* (a type of banana), *calamancin* (a small lime), and the seasonal green mango.

To buy fruits, slum women need to make a larger economic effort, which is rarely the case. Thus, affordability plus the necessity (and desire) to taste fruits—in most cases, flavors and odors associated with their hometowns—play an important role in women's decisions to consume fruit-flavored sodas²⁴⁶ or powdered juices. A 48-year-old woman in Kubo slum clearly summarizes the point, as she said: 'Imagine, only one apple costs 10 PhP (USD 0.20). What can I do with an apple for my four children?...in contrast, one sachet of *Tang* costs 13 PhP, and with it I can make up to 2 liters of juice that all of us can enjoy.' Thus, the powdered juice combined with the characteristics: 1) of

²⁴¹ Although mothers are aware of children's soda consumption, generally without consent, they tend to underestimate the frequencies of consumption. Besides, the boundary family-household is broader than most of non-slum families, then, it is highly possible that someone outside the house can also enjoy a part of the soft drink purchased by family.

²⁴² In *Sari-Sari* stores business model, soft drinks are one of the top three revenue streams, and indispensable commodity for start and operate the business.

²⁴³ RC known before as Royal Crown, now it is owned by Dr. Pepper Snapple Group.

²⁴⁴ Coca Cola is also consumed but the drivers behind its purchase correspond to the sphere of meanings. For instance, Coca Cola is consumed in special occasions such as days of payment (*quincenal*), birthdays or any type of celebration. Coca Cola flavor matches with Men's consumption of Rum and Gin. In parties and celebrations families show off wealth by offering Coca Cola instead of RC, which symbolizes low price.

²⁴⁵ The Philippines has a rich diversity of tropical fruits, with more than 20 different species cultivated in the country. In its structure, banana, pineapple and mango are the major fruit export commodities of the country both in fresh and processed forms. Nowadays, in particular, the farms are generally small in size (1-5 ha) with minimal care resulting to low yield, and in general, the Filipino fruit production system ranges from backyard to highly integrated operations but integrated to export market chains (Espino and Espino, 2015).

²⁴⁶ The fruit-flavored sodas that are frequently consumed in slums are: *Mountain Dew* (Pepsi Co), *Fruit soda and Juicy Lemon* (Dr. Pepper Snapple Group). The case of *Sprite* (Coca Cola Inc) was considered by some slum populations as a kind of lemon-flavored soda.

being affordable; 2) it gives one the option to satisfy the desire to taste fruits flavors and above all, 3) one sachet can be shared with a larger number of family members.

In sum, the structural problems such as the commodification of water and deficiencies in its provision, and the limitations for buying a large variety of fruits set the ground for the expansion of corporate provisioning of affordable soft drinks and powdered juices, which satisfy a human need and desire (see more in Chapter 6, section 3.2).

d) Price, custom and mother's devoirs

In the total slum household daily expenditure per capita, 2.9 percent goes for the consumption of packaged and canned meat.²⁴⁷ Practically all of the interviewed families have the custom of eating red and pink sausages. Those are branded and packaged as 'hot dogs' and 'foot longs.' Muslim families, having the religious restriction of eating pork, consume chicken sausages (*Idol* and *Holiday* are cheapest brands). Most of slum dwellers generally fry the sausages, and add soy sauce and ketchup and this dish functions as viand in a family meal.

In the local market, a package of 500 gram of chicken hot dog (8-10 pieces) is around 40 percent of the price of 500 grams of "fresh" chicken, and the pig meat version represents around 60 percent of the price of 500 grams "fresh" pork ham (See Table 5.2). Slum women claim that the main restriction for frequent purchase of "fresh" meat is money. The minimum salary of Metro Manila is Php 523.5 a day (USD 8.5) but as we saw in section 5.2 a majority of slum populations earns less than Php 500 (USD 8.3).²⁴⁸ Furthermore, there are also costs of the energy, seasonings, salt, oil, water, etc., and other subjective reasons (meanings sphere) that spur slum women to acquire packaged meat in the market.

Table 5.2. The total cost for preparing a dish of "fresh" and "packaged" meat

Meat	"Fresh" meat	Corporate Packaged Meat
Chicken 1 kg	PhP 120 to 150 (USD 2.4 to 3.0) thigh and Leg	PhP 90-120 (USD 0.9-1.2) 20 pcs hot dog
Pork 1 Kg	PhP 180 to 210 (USD 3.5 to 4.1) pork ham PhP 220 to 240 (USD 4.3 to 4.7) pork tenderloin	PhP 110-145 (USD 2.09-2.755) 16-20 pcs hot dog
Beef 1 Kg	PhP 270 to 320 (USD 5.3 to 6.3) beef rump	PhP 145-180 (USD 2.75-3.42) 16-20 pcs beef hamburger

Source: Own elaboration based on Field Research 2015-2016

Packaged meat is an affordable option to substitute "fresh" meat. Through the opinion of a 45-year-old woman in Kubo squatter we can directly observe their reasoning, as she said: 'one can

²⁴⁷ This finding can be considered in a coherent range of certitude when comparing to the Annual Family Expenditure Survey (2014). In this survey Meat consumption represents the 3.6 percent of the consumption of the lowest income class, but as it was mentioned before, this survey does not distinguish what proportion of the meat was packaged and canned by corporations.

²⁴⁸ For instance, a garbage collector earns PhP 300 (USD 5.7) for an average of 14 hours of work and an extra PhP 150 (USD 2.85) in a good day of selling valuable garbage to a junk shop. In contrast, Badjau Muslims in slums of Manila have larger problems, they face discrimination of different types and the rate of unemployment is considerable higher than other social groups. Those Badjao having a living as sellers, cleaners, chargers, etc., have a daily income lower than PhP 250 (USD 5.0). In any case, in any slum, a "privileged" family is one having relatives working abroad and/or having a profitable business—in the informal or in the black economy.

buy hotdogs for PHP 6 each, the only thing that I need to prepare is rice and after coming back from the market it took me little time to prepare dinner...if I buy a package of 500 grams (10-12 pieces) I use half for dinner and half for the next morning breakfast...I fry the hotdogs, or I scramble the eggs with the sausages or I can mix onions, *ampalaya* (bitter gourd) with the sausages...I serve them with rice, then my children can have a full breakfast...'

As indicated in this quote, processed meat is retailed by piece or by the full package itself. This flexibility responds to the 'adaptability' driver of CPF consumption; however, the importance noted here is the functionality of packaged meat, especially hotdogs, as a solution for a mother committed to provide an acceptable breakfast for children (see more in chapter 6 sections 3 and 4). In the same tone, the CPF is perceived as time and energy saver, which are attributes located in the sphere of meanings, but essentially those are key points of connection between both spheres.

e) *Price, addiction and children*

As previously mentioned, children are permanently present in the orbit of slum mothers (as for corporations and micro-retailers) as key beneficiaries of the families' economic efforts, including the frequent purchase of industrially processed milk, chocolate and cereals drinks, meat, juices, etc. But, probably with more fascination than for other CPF, sweets and cheap salty snacks are the arrows—charged with addictive bio-chemical substances—that penetrate children's incipient common sense²⁴⁹ about market and meanings.²⁵⁰

In slums, as in probably most of the neighborhoods worldwide, the first personal market experience of a child involves a candy or snack.²⁵¹ In the case of Manila, children are frequent consumers of sweets and other one Philippine *Piso* snack (USD 0.019). The money spent comes from several sources. It is customary to ask for or receive money from elders, particularly on Sundays when most of the male adults are in the slum. According to *Sari-Sari* stores' grocers, during weekends children can visit the store between 3 to 5 times a day. They buy lollipops, comfits, caramels, hard candy, Tootsie Rolls, gums, jawbreakers, chocolates, chips, fish crackers, corn snacks, cheese curls, and chicharon,²⁵² etc.

There is abundant literature evidencing that sugar addiction affects people of any age, but particularly in children and marketing commercials on TV also impact more on children than adults (Harris et. al, 2009; Batada and Wootan, 2007).²⁵³ Without self-criticism, according to slums' mothers, their children's habit of eating sweets and salty snacks on children comes from their

²⁴⁹ I refer to common sense as Antonio Gramsci defined in prison notebook 1: 'as a conception of the world of a social or regional group' or common sense as 'the most widespread conception of life and morality' (Gramsci 1975, [1929] Q1: 16:14; 65:76).

²⁵⁰ Candies and snacks saturated of symbols and icons such as mascots, colorful illustrations and incisive messages connected to values and emotions (Ponce, 1993; Batada and Wootan, 2007).

²⁵¹ It can be purchasing, selling, bartering, exchanging gifts, etc.)

²⁵² Pork crackling in any of its forms: *Chichacorn*, *Chicharon Laman*, *Chicharon Balat* and Sweet and Spicy Dilis & Squid.

²⁵³ In both, adults and children, the uncontrolled desire for eating sweets is caused by the release of endorphins and serotonin in the brain that produce a relaxing sensation, making one to feel good. So that feeling of satisfaction that produces those substances coupled with the feeling of immediate satiation of hunger due to the carbohydrates in sugars. This sensation is only for a short time, the feeling of hunger re-emerged and the cycle starts again (Wansik, 2007). On the other hand, the psychological side of a human, strongly on children addicted to sweets is connected with past and present influences on their lives. Finally, if parents, relatives and friends eat sweets and snacks automatically sends a message of validation of the act, thus, the impact is larger on children because they are still in a process of formation of their physical, chemical, nutritional and psychological capacities (Harris, et.al, 2009).

irresponsible husbands, and children's friends. So far a majority of literature makes emphasis on health problems, in the fieldwork, the consequences of the addiction to these products can be easily observed: i) in the condition of teeth, particularly the appearance of caries, and ii) children's overweight and obesity, which in previous generations was not an issue. Additionally, what we can also unveil is that the children's early contact with the CPF market sphere via affordable candies and snacks is the root of social cancer where the commodity reigns and rapidly expands to other social spheres and other aspects of human life. Children start with addiction to sweet and salty snacks, and then the addiction expands to soft drinks, other types of sweets and salty snacks, biscuits, packaged noodles, canned food and to other innocuous commodities such as cigarettes, alcohol and even drugs (WHO, 2011). From a critical political economy perspective, the key point is that those innocuous use values realize industrial capital and generates new cycles of accumulation and reproduction of capital that extends the subjugation of people on a massive scale (Veraza, 2008)

f) Price and filling up the hungry stomachs

Until here, we have noticed that affordability character of CPF is connected its intrinsic use value (functionality, usability, eatability, adaptability, etc.). In this respect, the case of the industrially processed noodles brings additional insights to the understanding the CPF role in slum households. Packaged noodles, particularly in cups, are functional for busy people, workers or students moving around the city, including in slums. To have meal in the cup with no need of a plate but only hot water, many of slum consumers skip even spoon or fork. However, inside their households, the block of dried noodle in a package is preferred over cups by three interrelated reasons: Price, quantity and food complementarities that fill the hungry stomachs.²⁵⁴

First, the packaged block of noodles is 20 to 30 percent cheaper than the one packaged in cups and the quantity of product is around 40-60 grams more depending on the brand. Second, it can be used as a viand of the rice and the mix of noodles (for instance *pancit* canton is highly popular in slums) with tubers and vegetables such as carrots, *chayote*, eggplants, potatoes, onion, etc., which add volume to the dish so that one serving pack can be extended. Also, slum householders put an egg on the hot noodles, making it a full meal. As most of the women said, the key point is to add the vegetables and eggs so that a pack can fill up three stomachs instead of one. Thus, a family of 9 members can have a meal by using 3 packaged noodles of a total cost 36 PhP (USD 0.684), adding a batch of mixed vegetables of 10 to 15 PhP and three eggs of 15 PhP (USD 0.285).

In the end, we can conclude that material and cultural elements accompanied the affordable character of a CPF. The low price is the front desk of the commodity but the backstage and the scenario is embedded of culture, precarious infrastructure and limited access to public services. Simple solutions are appreciated by people with material and immaterial restrictions. Thus, the corporate capacity to adapt their products and services to economic, demographic, cultural circumstances to save time, energy, and other valuable aspects for urban bottom people is the other

²⁵⁴ I use this phrase as a result of having listened during interviews and informal conversations. Non-verbal expressions putting hands on the stomach and mouth were also observed.

pillar of the BoP marketing. It completes the 3A strategy to guarantee penetration of CPF in the slum households.

5.3.2.2. Adaptability

As previously defined, adaptability refers to the adjustment of corporate production to the slum market circumstances. In this section, adaptability of CPF is explained by discussing two different aspects of the market sphere: one is the adaptation of foreign brands to local flavors and tastes, and second is the adaptation to slum householders' needs.

a) Adapting foreign brands' to local flavors and tastes

Practically in all the CPF segments we can find examples of local adaptation of foreign corporate brands in the Philippines by adding local tastes and other cultural elements and adapting the products to budget boundaries. This adaptation is implemented either by the foreign subsidiary or by a local corporation mirroring foreign brands. For instance, National Biscuits Company (Nabisco), an American food manufacturer,²⁵⁵ marketed through a subsidiary its main brands, and unintentionally influenced local companies to copy or to adapt similar products. Its replica in the Philippines is a company called Republic Biscuits Company (Rebisco), which not only adapted its name but also produces mirrored biscuits such as Rebisco Crackers, Marie Rebisco, and Chunkee (similar to chips Ahoy!). Other popular mirrored cases of biscuits circulating in slums are M.Y San's Fita and Skyflakes, copies of Nabisco's Ritz and Saltine crackers respectively.

In general, to compete with foreign firms, local corporations set a lower price as a business strategy and use their knowledge about culture and traditions of its nation as competitive advantage. However, through the passage of time, foreign companies adapt local tastes, flavors and also use local expressions in their slogans to connect with their targeted customers. The result is an intense competition for market, mouths and minds (Lang and Heaseman, 2004). This process of continuous changes and adaptations is visible in slums' *Sari-Sari* stores, where the total number of retailed biscuits, including cakes and cookies overpasses 30 different brands.²⁵⁶ Considering the different flavors and sizes of each product, the quantity of alternatives available in slums is nearly a hundred.

Another interesting local adaptation is 'banana ketchup' inspired by the traditional tomato ketchup. Banana ketchup, in the 1930s, developed a distinctive Filipino taste that has expanded overseas via Filipino workers. In slums, banana ketchup is retailed in sachets of 22 grams for 5 PhP and is a preferred companion of hotdogs, hamburgers and eggs. Other condiments such as sauces, vinegars, and seasonings followed similar process of adaptation while trying to match the Filipino tastes and slum households' budgets. For example, Ajinomoto, after having consolidated popularity

²⁵⁵ Nabisco, with more than 100 years of history and now merged with Kraft Foods, since 2000 is owned by Philip Morris. Nabisco's famous brands circulating in Manila Slums are: Oreos and Ritz Crackers.

²⁵⁶ What I refer here as 30+ brands is the sum of alternatives in different Sari-Sari stores, it does not mean that one store have all. The smallest Sari-Sari stores may have only the best sellers, and the largest stores can have more than 25 different brands.

of its main MSG (*Vensim*) product, launched *Ginisa* brand in the 1980s to penetrate Filipino household by offering diverse flavors deriving from the Filipino cuisines.

Ajinomoto's *vensim* was the pioneer of seasonings retailed in a small scale in small plastic bags. Later, the one-sachet pack was also used by other corporations manufacturing seasonings such as Unilever's Knorr cubes, Nestle's Maggic-Sarap, a seasoning that had a business support from the well-established Maggi Sauce brand. Recently a Filipino corporation called Monde Nissin (another case of adaptation, rather a copy of the Japanese Nissin company) joined the battle for the seasonings market with *Nam Nam*, using the platform of *Lucky Me* noodles, a Monde Nissin's star product. These commodities have been targeting women as a main customer during more than five decades, and its impact on slum households is not only limited in the market but also shaping meanings about food, cooking and culture embedded in dishes (see more on Chapters 6 and 7).

b) Adapting to slum householders' needs

The capacity to adapt business processes according to the market circumstance is substantially exemplified by the production and retailing of powdered milk. As we saw in Chapter 3, in the Philippines, processed milk consumption of the marginalized populations had a turning point after WWII when food aid programs focused on nutrition and food fortification. Schools and local clinics were the institutional channels that extended the insertion of imported milk (liquid and powder) in poor Filipino households.²⁵⁷ Through the passage of the time, powder rather than liquid became one of the flagship commodities in slums.²⁵⁸

The key connection between the corporate product and the slum household is the fact that an affordable milk powder retailed in sachet solves a professed vital problem for slum mothers who are detached from rural diaries and without refrigerators and other necessary appliances: the provision of nutrition for their children. On the other hand, milk powder enables corporations to reduce the production and retail costs. Food manufacturing corporations have managed to adapt their products in a way that they cover all ages and segments of market, from babies to elderly people. In the Philippines, the best example is Nestlé's milk—accounting for fifty percent of the milk market share.²⁵⁹ Nestlé has a line of products retailed in slums that cover all members of a family (see Table 5.3).

The corporate adaptation of milk according to the profile of each consumer inside a household is supported by a firm's capability to identify market needs, connect scientific research

²⁵⁷ In the Philippines, milk is mostly imported due to its limited milk production capacity. Nowadays the country produces less than one percent of its milk yearly requirement of approximately 1.886 million metric tons (Ang and Verzani, 2015). The average Philippine milk production per animal (8 liters/day) remains low due mainly to poor feed and management practices as well as high production costs and a lack of an adequate dairy infrastructure while the average daily milk yield in the United States is around 30 liters/day and about 20 liters/day in the United Kingdom. Also, the average farm gate price of milk as of July 2014 was Php 25/liter (USD 0.56/liter). By contrast the corresponding farm gate price of milk in the U.S. is about \$0.37/liter (\$16.90 hundred weight) as of July 2013 (Ang and Verzani, 2015). Thus, there is no surprise that milk is imported majorly from three countries: New Zealand (39 percent), the U.S. (28 percent), and Australia (9 percent).

²⁵⁸ Liquid milk in cans is retailed in slums as condensed and evaporated milk but its consumption is limited to the preparation of desserts for special occasions, once or twice in a month.

²⁵⁹ In the Philippines, Bear Brand powdered milk alone is estimated to have contributed more than 65 percent of the company's total value sales in drinking milk products in 2016 (Euromonitor, 2017).

with market needs, and to implement changes in production and in the supply chain. Only big companies such as Nestlé with the capital, intellectual resources, scientific infrastructure and power (structural, instrumental and discursive—Clapp and Scrinis, 2017) accumulated for more than 120 years, have the possibility to successfully penetrate the slum boundaries and change or influence food consumption practices of householders. Thinking about their daily milk consumption routine, most slum women agree that milk is indispensable in their daily lives. While there is a debate whether the importance of milk for a family was constructed by capital or not, the relevant point in this research on slum consumption is that only one corporation largely holds commanding lead in its provision. It shows the dependency of slum populations on external actors, dependency that is being transmitted generation by generation, and political risk because the production power is concentrated on a few corporate actors.

Table 5.3. Nestlé milk and slums' households

Householder	Nestlé Milk in Slums	Nestlé's market statement
Babies	Formula (Nan and Nutrigen) Nido Fortigrow, Nido Kinder +1 Cerelac	Not allowed to be advertised Help your child be mind and body ready for school everyday! Cerelac is a nutrient dense food ideal for your child's small tummy. It also contains Protect Plus, a combination of BIFIDUS BL and DHA.
Children +3	Bear Brand's Swak (Fortified) Bear Brand Busog Lusog	Bear Brand Powdered Milk Drink continues to strengthen generations of Filipino families with affordable beverage solutions that highlight the resistance building nutrients of Iron, Zinc and Vitamin C.
Youth	Bear Brand's Swak Bear Brand Choco	
Adults	Bear Brand Adult Plus Cofee-Mate	High calcium, <i>Adult Tibay Resistensya Nutrients</i> (Nutrients for Adult's Endurance and Resistance), <i>Adult Lakas Nutrients</i> (Nutrition for Adult's Energy). Coffee-mate Original flavor coffee creamer is the classic way to create a deliciously creamy cup of inspiration.
Elders	Cofee-Mate Bear Brand's Swak	Stir in Coffee-mate for a consistently creamy sip that's lactose-free and cholesterol free. With Coffee-mate powdered non-dairy coffee creamer, you create your perfect cup of velvety goodness every time – morning, noon or night. <i>Tibay Resistensya Nutrients</i> (Nutrients for Endurance and Resistance)

Source: Own elaboration based on Field Research 2015-2016

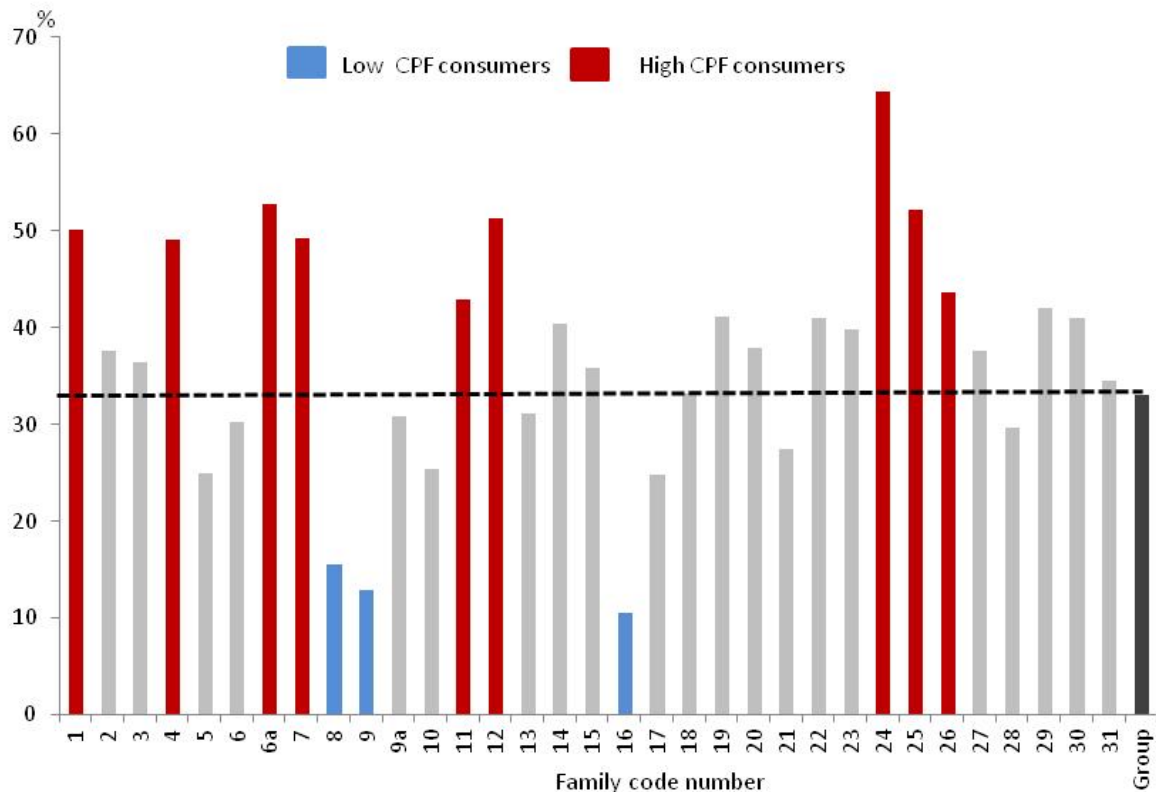
5.4. Structural and Situational factors in High and Low CPF consumption

A puzzle to solve in this research is to discern how much and why slum dwellers consume CPF. According to interviews to slum women, no standard CPF consumption pattern was found among the slum households. The amount of CPF consumption depends on several interrelated factors that we can classify as structural and situational depending on the identified essential drivers.

Among the notable structural factors involved directly or indirectly with CPF consumption, we can list up as follows: slum households limited space, unemployment, precarious jobs and irregular income flow, limited infrastructure and home appliances (stove, fridge, etc.), high cost of fruits and meat, access to seasonal vegetables, health problems since early adult life, climate change and its related increasing size and temporality of typhoons and floods, limited access of high-quality schools, etc. The situational factors are specific circumstances of householders: current and previous

occupations of the woman in charge of the household affairs, specific illnesses or injuries, number of family members,²⁶⁰ family income boundary, human-provoked calamities, household women with an education level above the average, access to information about CPF effects on health and nutrition, specific family problem such as alcoholism, drug addiction, husband abandonment, early pregnancy, etc.

Figure 5.5. Low and high household consumers of CPF



Source: Own elaboration based on Field Research 2015-2016

In the following subsections, the cases of high and low CPF consumption are explained in order to demonstrate how the structural and situational factors coexist in slum households.²⁶¹ Nine families exceed 40 percent of the daily CPF consumption per capita in proportion to their total food consumption; four of them (F6a, F12, F24, F25) exceed 50 percent of the total food consumption (see Figure 5.5). In contrast, three households (F8, F9 and F16) stand out as lower CPF consumers with less than 20 percent of the total consumption. Each of the cases presents different family contexts and specific situations that accompanied with the structural conditions of slums, helping to unveil the latent reasons of CPF consumption in slums.

²⁶⁰ The number of members in a household interviewed varies from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 15.

²⁶¹ The definition of high and low is measured by a setting a line above or below the average of 32.5 percent of CPF consumption per capita in proportion to the total food consumption. The estimation was made under the assumption that the acquired CPF is totally consumed and it does not include the sporadic gifts they receive during the year.

5.4.1. High CPF consumers

The analysis starts from the case of the highest CPF consumer. Family F24 is composed of 9 members²⁶² managed by a 32-year-old woman. She got married in her teens and since then she lived as housewife but without passion for cooking. She argues that in her childhood she disliked the heavy work of helping her mother to prepare homemade food and desserts to sell in the streets. She quit the school in tenth grade, and then, she temporarily worked as secretary in a local company until her first of the four babies was born.

She prefers to buy food that is easy to prepare, ready to eat such as packaged and canned or brought from eateries and fast food chains. She argues that she needs time to take care of her children and to do other household activities. She expressed, 'here at home, my children like to eat hot dog almost every day at any time: for breakfast, lunch or dinner.' She also mentioned that most of the CPF she uses are easy to prepare, as she said, 'I usually buy a pack of 10 pieces of foot long—a longer size of sausage—that I can rapidly fry and serve as viand with rice. We generally eat sausages with *banana ketchup* mixed with soy sauce.'

Her family can afford CPF consumption thanks to a regular income that exceeds the average earnings of slum families. Her husband is working as specialized welder in a factory alongside his freelance jobs on demand.²⁶³ This family has other income coming from housecleaning and house maintenance in the adjoining middle-class neighborhood (called sub-divisions). She said that their income is sufficient to feed all of them, and her budget covers weekly purchases of powdered milk, Milo, cereals, biscuits, chocolates, juices, canned meat and tuna, and even regular visits to fast chains. She added, 'My husband scarcely eats at home and sometimes he brings something from Jollibee or McDonalds...when he eats at home he prepares something fast for breakfast, a coffee with bread or biscuits, for example, and for dinner, if he is hungry, a cup of noodles can be enough for him.'

The case F25 is a household composed of 6 members. The husband²⁶⁴ of the elderly couple suffered a double heart attack few years ago; it affected his health condition, which is getting worse with the passage of time. He has paralysis of half of his face and of his right arm that hinders him from an economic activity. The 58-year-old wife, also with some health problems in her stomach and blood circulation, needs to take care of him and her three grandchildren. Her youngest daughter (32 years-old) is a single mother. She does not receive any economic support from the father of her children but she works in a call-center that allows her to modestly support her children and parents.

She has a busy and tiring life, as she stated, 'Commuting to my job takes me almost two hours one way without considering floods or heavy rains. If that happens I need to stay with a friend for a couple of nights . . . here in the squatter the water reaches usually higher than a meter. We are close to the river. In a low land, even the Subdivision *España* suffers the floods. It is horrible. My

²⁶² One elder woman, three adults, two teenagers and three children.

²⁶³ The type of welder activity that the husband executes requires a certain level of specialization. He welds automobiles, elevators, and other industrial platforms. His working schedule is on demand and frequently weekends and holidays are the busiest.

²⁶⁴ In the context of slums, a man (62) and woman (58), belong to the oldest population segment. As it was mentioned somewhere people normally does not reach the 70 years old.

children stay in the second floor of this house until the water goes down again and then we clean everything to avoid infections.’ During and after the flood, canned food, noodles, snacks, biscuits or other types of CPF are consumed. She also commented that on the way commuting back home she usually eats snacks. ‘Every Saturday coming back home, I do shopping in a supermarket. I receive coupons from my work that can be exchanged in fast food chains and some pharmacies and supermarkets. There I generally buy a dozen of noodles, packs of biscuits, *Milo*, *Swak* (powdered milk) for my children, canned food and snacks, safari or other fish crackers for example. I liked to have it at home for an evening snack.’

The case F6a provides different elements for analysis. It is a small family formed by a 23-year-old woman with her husband (24-year-old) and two small children. They rent a 9m² room, near the garbage dump for PhP 800 (USD 15.5) a month. When she cooks, she does outside the house, generally using charcoal as an energy source. Her husband is an ‘irregular’ garbage collector; he has neither a permanent position nor a regular salary. Every day at 3:30 am he needs to receive a confirmation if there is a truck needing a ‘*palero*’ (garbage collector). By day, he receives 300 PhP (USD 5.8) for two round trips from the dump to the city. It takes him 12 to 14 hours of a day depending on the traffic. The payment is not enough to sustain the family livelihood, taking a toll on proper baby’s food. He has an additional earning by selling recyclable garbage to junk shops. This income varies depending on the types of products collected during the working day. A ‘good day’ can bring PhP 2,000 divided among 8 *paleros* and the truck-driver, resulting in PhP 222 (USD 4.4) for each, but on average a *palero* earns between 120 to 150 PhP extra from garbage separation and selling.

Adverse weather conditions, illness, injuries or overdrinking of previous night can lead to no income in a day. The wife of the *palero* said that ‘when we don’t have money, I get rice, noodles, canned food, and milk by credit from the *Sari-Sari* store (See Chapter 4 section 3.3). If it’s not possible because I already have a debt, I go to my mother’s or siblings’ house nearby to eat with them.’ This is a common situation among garbage collector families. ‘We use noodles as viand, serving with our rice. We also eat it with a salty dried fish ‘*toyo*’ that is cheap’. Another habit of the family is drinking soft drinks, coffee powder and eating snacks in any chances they have. However, they are by no means an exception—the habit of drinking a cold soda in the hot and humid weather of Quezon City can be observed in anywhere around the city.

In sum, the cases described above provide some analytical points to understand the structural and situational explanatory factors behind the high CPF consumption in slum households. To discuss the structural factors, case F6a reveals the deficient material conditions that prevail in a larger portion of slum populations. Their behavior is shaped by, for instance, the limited space in the houses; the lack of the minimal facilities for preserving, preparing and consuming food; the irregular employment, thus irregular income that forces them to get rice and CPF by credit or to seek support within their family. The case F25 gives us additional structural factors such as the vulnerability to natural disasters, the vulnerability of elderly people without pension or social welfare, the difficulties of single mothers combined with educational deficits, and the inefficient transportation systems that prolong the commuting time to the business centers, where the companies offering “better” jobs

are clustered. These factors condition the ground for the insertion of CPF to the slums due to its advantages that slum dwellers find attractive such as: available everywhere, easy to store, prepare and consume, and affordable pricing.

About the situational factors for CPF consumption, the case F24 shows a special circumstance that combines the 'man of the house' has a level of specialization and attitude to work not often seen in squatter neighborhoods—that allows the family to have a higher income than the average—and the 'woman of the house' that openly disliked cooking and she is not fully aware of the implications (at least the nutritional and health-related effects) of the frequent CPF consumption mixed with unbalanced diets (Popkin, 2014).

Albeit scholars about developing countries generally accept that increase of income correlates increase in the consumption of goods (Gomez and Ricketts, 2013), the findings in Manila slums indicate that the woman's attitude to cooking and consuming also plays an important role as well as the income increases. This element of analysis is sometimes underestimated or relegated from analysis of household economics (Becker, 1996; Cohen, 1986) and, for the gender and anthropological studies that positively recognize the influence of woman in the family food consumption, the additional element to consider in future studies is that the cause of dislike may be rooted in a negative perception of the labor activity of making and selling homemade food.

5.4.2. Low CPF consumers

The following three cases bring to light the other side of the coin: living conditions, life-styles and human experiences that explain lower CPF consumption patterns in slum families. The first case is F8, a family formed by a 44-year-old woman with her husband (45-year-old) and seven of their nine children. They rent a house of 24m² with water pump, a space to allocate a gas stove which they use through a small gas tank of 4.5 gallons. Her husband works as a private driver of a wealthy family in Quezon City. He does not have a labor contract or social benefits, and what is worse; he is in a permanent threat to be fired if he cannot carry out the given tasks that require the exploitative working schedule. His precarious salary is the main source of income for the family. The older daughter and son work only on holiday seasons in low-paid jobs. The family live modestly; they manage to sleep all together in one room and they are disciplined with the portions of food they eat, usually in two meals a day, a brunch (breakfast-lunch) and an evening meal. Their diet mostly relies on rice, vegetables, fish and sometimes poultry. Their CPF use is mostly limited to powdered juice (e.g. Tang) that is diluted in 2 liters of water, powdered coffee and sometimes packed noodles and canned sardines. The main reason the women of the house raised for not buying or consuming more CPF at home is the scarcity of the budget they have.

Similar monetary restriction is experienced by family F9 composed of fifteen members, the majority of whom are children, managed by a 53-year-old woman. She is single mother of five female children, of whom three are also single mothers working in precarious jobs and having plenty of children. As in the previous case, this family mostly consumes rice, vegetables fish and poultry. Their CPF consumption is also limited to powdered milk for the children, sporadically powdered

cocoa/chocolate drinks, noodles, cans in case of emergencies of money or time, and powdered juices. On the days of higher money scarcity, a *Sari-Sari* store in the neighborhood gives householders cans or noodles by credit (See Chapter 4 section 3.3). Those days can happen when one of the children is sick and they need to spend their scarce resources in doctors and medicines.

Finally, the family F16 composed by 8 persons presents a case that explains the lowest CPF consumption by a combination of circumstances; first is the impossibility to consume most of the CPF by reason of serious illnesses;²⁶⁵ second is a limited budget because of the necessity of repayment (accumulated due to the cost of an eye surgery and related medical services); and third is that a member of the family is a well-informed and aware person of the consequences of excessive consumption of CPF versus a balanced diet. She majored in chemistry and is also the main financial supporter of the family. Their CPF consumption is reduced only to powdered milk, Milo for the children, powdered coffee and biscuits that serve as companion of coffee for breakfast. All the family has this style of breakfast except for the 62-year-old woman who has to take care of her diabetes and her eyes, but she cannot stop eating rice, which also increase blood sugar level.

In sum, we can observe that both structural and situational factors affect the slum women decisions about food consumption. Structurally, without a doubt, the precariousness of work and the low and irregular income are factors that affect a lower consumption of CPF. These elements of daily life in the market sphere have been widely reported by both pro-business authors and other social science researchers (e.g. Prahalad, 2010; Funahashi, 2013). The other structural aspect to highlight is the health problem in older adults. Adult women with a certain degree of maturity and conscience who have detected critical problems in them or in their spouses try to consume less CPF. The avoided products are mainly what the medical authorities indicate such as soda, coffee, sweets, cookies, and all those containing high levels of salt. While the presence of alert women managing slum household might not be the generality, it is important to draw attention to their existence because these women, in some cases, can become a reference and source of knowledge for younger generations.

In addition to these structural elements of unemployment, precarious income, and health issues of adults, there are specific situations such as the case of the man who was injured after an attempted assault that magnified the abovementioned problems; the increase of debts derived from medical attentions; the situation of households with single mothers and many children.²⁶⁶ In the specific case of the F9 home, the particular situation is that mother and three daughters are single mothers. That is, four single mothers in the same home. These particular situations directly impact the household budget and therefore limit the purchasing capabilities of CPF.

The families largely suffering the slum structural limitations, and with additional situational difficulties, they survive through the acquisition of the cheapest and most indispensable foods,

²⁶⁵ A 62-year-old woman has diabetes and an increasing lost of sight in an eye, she was already operated from a serious problem derived from an infection in the eye. Thanks to that medical intervention she didn't lost the sight. Nowadays she continues in a medical treatment but the diabetes problem still is a factor of risk for her health. A decade ago, her 60-year-old husband suffered a knife attack after a fight with a robber. One of his lungs was affected, his health condition did not fully recovery and now also he has heart problems and the immobility of one hand. He is unemployed.

²⁶⁶ This social problem is open to debate if it can be considered as a structural problem with a number of 3 million households without a spouse (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016) and that a good part is due to the economic migration of men.

Within the CPF, they prioritize the acquisition—frequently via borrowing at the neighborhood *Sari-Sari* store—of milk for their children, oil, seasonings, sauces for cooking. Other strategies for managing within a limited budget are the reduction on the quantity of food served; the elimination of some food items including CPF such as snacks, biscuits, coffee, juices, etc.; skipping meals some families mentioned to have “brunch” (breakfast-lunch) and dinner or as mothers eat only the leftovers of food and rice porridge. Non-food coping responses include reduction on household expenses for clothing, transportation, energy, and decrease school expenses for children. Similar findings were largely explained by Castaneda et.al (2006). The emphasis now is to argue that situational factors makes the difference among both high and low CPF consumers, and therefore an statistical analysis of the structural factors is not enough to understand the slum sphere of market. A micro-sociological and anthropological approach is necessary to enrich political economy analysis of food consumption.

5.5. Conclusion

In the market sphere, there are structural socio-economic aspects conditioning slums CPF consumption. First, the demographic profile of slums is of large but young populations, including young mothers and large families with plenty of children who were born in Manila, then being second or third generation of slum dwellers. Even though the supplied CPF covers all members of a family, it is clear that a priority is placed on children and youth consumption. Second, there are considerable limitations of space. Most of slum populations dwell in 9m² where there is no chance to store and prepare food and there is not enough room for home appliances such as kitchenware and refrigerators—as a natural consequence they cannot keep fresh vegetables, fruits and meats. The lack of space partially explains the *adaptation* to one-piece retailing in slums and the need of *Sari-Sari* store in the neighborhood and the daily purchases in marketplaces.

Third, the slum economic conditions historically characterized by poverty, unemployment, precarious and irregular income undoubtedly impact on households’ consumption pattern. In this context, *affordable* products gain relevance as well as their *availability* on 365 days a year. *Affordability* and *availability* can stand together in the case, for instance, when they can acquire some products by credit in the neighborhood *Sari-Sari* store, managed by a grocer with whom they have a strong personal tie. Fourth, the limitations of basic infrastructure and services, and its related costs also conditions CPF consumption. The best example is the limitation and cost for access to drinkable water, accompanied by limitations and cost of access to diverse fruits, results in the consumption of soft drinks and powder juices.

Food manufacturing and food provisioning corporations identify and exploit the slum structural limitations while implementing business strategies of different types but in common of the incorporation of the 3As: Availability, Affordability and Adaptability that BoP literature largely studies (Payaud, 2014; Funahashi, 2013). However, in this chapter, we have seen that the adaptability and accessibility strategies are always complemented by other consumption drivers that relate not only the structural aspects of slums but also some specific-situational aspects in

households according to the sub-segment of CPF. For example, competing with the low price value proposition and the adaptation of foreign brands in local markets, corporations need to deliver additional value propositions of quantity, flavors, ubiquity, rapidness for consuming, adaptation to mothers, children's and youth needs.

In essence, in the market sphere, the main claim of this chapter is that the level of CPF consumption in slum households is affected not only by income limitation (as most of BoP scholars and mainstream social scientists studying household consumption emphasize) but rather by additional structural and situational factors. The households with high CPF consumers are partially motivated by structural factors such as the limited space, limited facilities for preserving, preparing and consuming food, educational deficits, natural disasters, irregular and precarious income that force them to obtain rice and CPF by credit. Also, CPF consumption is motivated by specific situations such as the presence of a husband with technical skills higher than average slum men and a predisposition in favor of working for a company on weekdays and as a freelance in his free time that result in a higher income flow than average slum households. Besides, in his household, the capacity to store CPF is also larger than average and his interviewed wife openly expressed the dislike for cooking, then preferring a lifestyle which includes the weekly CPF purchases in supermarkets. These situational elements, particularly the dislike of cooking, are usually underestimated or relegated from analysis by household economists (Becker, 1996; Cohen, 1986) and by slum political economists (Maxwell, 1999; Davis, 2006; Auyero and Moran, 2007). Thus, the urban anthropological study of cooking and the urban labor sociological study are necessary and complementary for the studies of political economy of food in slums.

From low CPF consumers we learned that the limited income combined with large number of family members is the main limitation for CPF consumption. The other structural factor is health conditions, principally in adults. Slum women who are aware of CPF impact on health decide to reduce the CPF consumption, and might be a reference of younger generations, even though it does not necessary imply knowledge and experience transfer. Relevant situational factors in slum households with low CPF relate to debts, accidents, and single motherhood with large number of children in their families. These families need to implement strategies and actions to survive and continue their lives. Among the actions is the reduction of processed food consumption.

Structural and situational factors for CPF consumption in the sphere of market are not conclusive; there are other economic, cultural, psychological-emotional, and interpersonal factors that navigate in the sphere of meanings. By combining the analysis of the two spheres, the understanding of slum CPF consumption is extensively achieved, and at the same time, it sets the ground of the basic information for the construction of critical arguments against literature promoting BoP Businesses, and complementing social scientists criticizing corporate practices from a macro-perspective.

6. CORPORATE PACKAGED FOOD IN SLUM'S HOUSEHOLDS: CONSUMPTION AND MEANINGS IN THREE WOMEN GENERATIONS

*'For Gramsci it was important that Marxism
should not present itself as an abstract philosophy
but should enter people's common sense, giving them
a more critical understanding of their own situation'
David Forgacs (2000)*

6.1. Introduction

Karl Marx starts *Das Capital* (1867) saying that in contemporary society wealth presents itself as immense accumulation of commodities. If we reflect on Corporate Packaged Food (CPF) from the perspective of slum populations, we will notice the priority is placed in consumption rather than production.²⁶⁷ Market is fundamental mechanism for distributing CPF to slum dwellers. While gifts and barter of CPF also exist, in their biographies CPF were born as commodities, forming a part of the market sphere (Polanyi, 1957b; Kopytoff, 1986; Appadurai, 1986).

CPF consumption in slums is a social practice showing an increasing trend (see Chapters 3, 4 and 5). It represents an average of 31.8 percent of the total food consumption in a slum household and it is an important source of income for slum *Sari-Sari* stores. In order to know more about the importance of CPF in slums, this chapter goes deeper in the study of CPF consumption and reveals what the meaning of CFP in slums is.

The initial premise is that commodities are objects of consumption that satisfies human needs and wants, which can be material such as eliminating the hunger through food intake or immaterial or symbolic that satisfies a mind fanciness or curiosity. One is purely quantitative and the other is qualitative, which implies abundant possibilities of meaning. Meanings of food exist even before a product reaches the market. This situation occurs because commodities have gone through a prior process of institutionalization, legitimization and internalization in the common sense of individuals (Berger and Luckmann, 1966).

The meanings mostly navigate in the unconscious world of people. Meanings can be identified by a linguistic and pragmatic framework that involves the recognition of symbol, thought, and referent (Ogden and Richards, 1945). But meanings should not be confused by reasons, factors or drivers for consumption although they are closely related. For someone a can of condensed milk can mean a pleasure for its sweetness and unique taste when is used on bread but probably the factor or reason for consumption is the preparation of desserts for selling on the street—here of course there is an implicit assumption that the taste of a condensed milk would make a better dessert than that without it. Also, a sachet or Milo might signify nothing or be completely irrelevant for a grandmother but the driver for consumption is the grandchildren who request the product for

²⁶⁷ The topic of consumption is not absent in Marx's work. In his dialectic way of analyzing and writing when he discusses production implicitly is referring to consumption and vice versa. This way of analyzing and writing is more evident in the Vol. II of *Capital: the circulation processes of capital*, in particular the Part III when he explains the Reproduction and Circulation of the Total Social Capital (Marx, 1885).

breakfast before going to school—here the mother is the person who purchases and for her it signifies giving nutrients and calories that her children needs even though she drinks or not the product.

The data for the analysis of CPF meanings was obtained through interviews and direct observation in the house with 61 women in slums of Metro Manila. They cover a spectrum of different ages and different social roles in a slum family, either as grandmother, mother or daughter (see Chapter 1 Table 2). The analysis and interpretation is based on the opinions, judgments and referential actions of slum women related to CPF that were observed during the interviews. Among the fieldworks in slums in three periods, the query about CPF meanings was mostly conducted from August 17th to September 14th in 2016.

The outline of the chapter goes as follows. First I explain how meanings are constructed inside the slum boundaries. The focus of this chapter is on the construction in the slum itself as a place of meanings and in the mutual relation between women of three generations. It excludes other important influences on CPF meanings coming from actors situated outside the boundaries such as NGOs, foundations, religious organizations, government agencies, educators, doctors, relatives living abroad, retailers and of course corporations themselves. The priority in this section is to highlight the construction from the inner slum itself.²⁶⁸ The essence corporate discourse and main mechanisms of penetration to the slum householders' minds are presented in the next chapter. Second, the research findings about CPF meanings are described and analyzed; it shows the main categories of meaning identified in slum households. Next, there is a discussion section about the existence of an inter-generational mindset and its implications for political economy of food in slums. Finally, the conclusion section summarizes the main points of this chapter and connects the content of Chapter seven.

6.2. Construction of meanings in slums

6.2.1. Slum as a place of meanings

In this study, slums are defined as locations with a visible infrastructural fragility, insecure land, overcrowded, among other structural shortcomings (UN Habitat, 2003), and at the same time, places of everyday practices permeated by meanings (Cresswell, 2009). Our definition involves both the material precariousness and the inter-subjective meanings that are constructed and disseminated through daily interactions between members of the marginalized community (Forrest, 2008). In slums, we can identify a large variety of cultural manifestations that have effect on the economy and the politics of the city itself (Harvey, 1973; Davis, 2006). Following Hall, culture involves systems of shared meanings which people who belong to the same community, use to interpret and make

²⁶⁸ There is already abundant quantity of academic material explaining construction of meanings via advertising and multiple forms of marketing that impacts people without mattering territorial boundaries (e.g. Weidner, et.al, 2010; Batra, et.al, 2014) and the critique of this business practices (e.g. Nestle, 2013, 2015). My interest is to contribute with a reflection and analysis of what is going on inside the boundaries of slum and among women, a combination of common sense building that I found it is underestimated or ignored by previous scholars who tend to generalize and does not care about slum boundaries and intra-generational gender relationships.

sense of the world. 'These meanings are not free-floating ideas. They are embodied in the material and social world. The term culture includes the social practices which produce meaning as well as the practices which are regulated and organized by those shared meanings' (1995:176).

Most would agree that slums are places permeated by meanings and places where families are the primary agents of socialization (Ramirez, 1984). Moreover, inside the family boundary, there is certain consensus that women interaction with the other members of the family, particularly their children, has a fundamental role for the construction of social reality²⁶⁹ (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). A process that transfers local culture embedded in material objects and subjectivities impregnated in stories, traditions, customs, habits, aspirations, dreams, etc., (Wilson, 1996; Hernandez, et.al, 1994; Johnson, et.al. 2010).

In order to understand this rich, diverse, and meaningful daily practices and cultural manifestations—obviously including CPF exchange and consumption—, Massey's *activity-space* help us to comprehend the connections between the slums' internal dynamism with other sets of relations outside their boundaries that form part of its social space. Activity space is 'something as the spatial network of activities, of spatial connections and of locations, within which a particular agent operates' (Massey, 1995: 54).

Following Massey, we can argue that slums' sphere of meanings includes the flows of commodities and information worldwide. It could occur through slum interactions with: Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), NGOs, Religious Organizations, Microfinance agents, International organizations, and MNC's employees or MNC's distribution partners. In this process, media technologies and the content created by those actors, particularly large corporations with economic, technical and organizational capabilities, also play an important role in the construction of meanings.

6.2.2. Intergenerational social interaction

Slums are places permeated by meanings and most would agree that families are the primary agents of socialization (Ramirez, 1984). Inside the family boundary, women interaction with the other members has a relevant role for the construction of social reality²⁷⁰ (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). The interaction between women, observed as a process, transfers local culture embedded in material objects and in stories, traditions, customs, rituals etc., which are impregnated of subjectivities (Wilson, 1996; Hernandez, et.al, 1994). In this process, language plays a fundamental role for the objectification of social facts that are transmitted to a new generation. The language that we learned at home helps us to objectify our daily life experiences and to find rich possible

²⁶⁹For Berger and Luckmann (1966) the reality of everyday life appears already objectified; it means that reality is already constituted by an order of objects before our appearance on daily life. For example, a baby that is born and grew up in slum would be surrounded by a social structure, object arrangements and a set of subjective ideas, traditions, customs, behaviors, etc., inherently present in her mother, father, and any other individual co-habiting with her.

²⁷⁰For Berger and Luckmann, the reality of everyday life appears already objectified; it means that reality is already constituted by an order of objects before our appearance on daily life (1966:35). For example, a baby that is born and grew up in slum would be surrounded by a social structure, object arrangements and a set of subjective ideas, traditions, customs, behaviors, etc., inherently present in her mother, father, and any other individual co-habiting with her.

meanings of the everyday reality (Ogden and Richards, 1945; Marcovic, 1984; Berger and Luckman, 1966; Hall, 1995).

Albeit the importance of language is undisputable, practice is what makes experience to excel human comprehension of the world. Marcovic explains: 'a human learn the meaning of the words of his mother tongue and the meaning of all the other symbols which are used in a society through the process of communication with other people. It is in practice that we acquire experience, together with all its components, such as sensation, perception, emotion, intuition, and volition, in all their intensity and variety.' (1984:39). Thus a combination of language learning and practical experience is the basis of the understanding of our world.

Berger and Luckmann conceptualize this combination of cognitive learning, emotions, and so on, as a fundamental part of the *internalization* stage of the construction of social reality.²⁷¹ Internalization starts with a 'primary socialization' where a child takes on the significant others' roles and attitudes. By the identification with significant others a child becomes capable of identifying herself in society, acquiring a subjectively identity, reflecting the attitudes first taken by significant others. Internalization is 'the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning...is the basis for the apprehension of the world as a meaningful social reality' (1966:149-150).

Research on women intergenerational interactions present examples where the internalization process of the construction of social reality can be identified. Angela Wilson points out the relevance of oral history, particularly the stories coming from the grandmother with North-America native roots. She highlights the experience of listening grandmother's stories as 'more than a simple educational process,' 'rooted in a deep sense of kinship responsibility...responsibility that relays a culture, an identity, and sense of belonging essential to my life.' 'It is through the stories of my grandmother that I learned what it means to be a Dakota woman.' (Wilson, 1996:7). Also in North America, the study of Hernandez et. al. 1994 shows that the academic aspirations of younger women are highly influenced by grandmothers and mothers' encouragements.

In terms of food consumption related meanings, McIntosh, et.al., (2010) found that mother's preconceptions of the importance of family meals—objectified in the mothers' dinner plan—increased likelihood of children eating dinner with family and, on the contrary, Mothers' perception of time pressures on meal preparation—identified by mothers' reduction of meal planning—had a negative, indirect effect on the frequency of children's participation in family dinners. In the same tone, Johnson et.al (2010) found the omnipresent influence of mother on their children's food choice, phenomena that they called the 'Mom's effect.' Needless to say, not only North American but a vast the majority of mothers in the world—without mattering class, religion or ethnicity—are involved in the family food consumption this is a cultural sign of the permanent influence of household women in the construction of meanings surrounding our lives.²⁷²

²⁷¹ Internalization continues previous stages of *institutionalization* and *legitimation* of common sense.

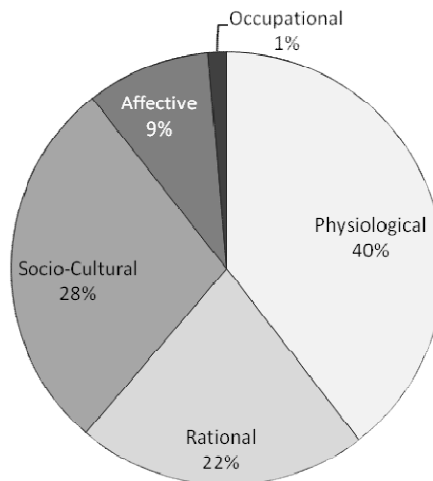
²⁷² Even if, it is simply going to the store, buy a can of sardines or a package of noodles, and prepare simple dishes for their families.

In sum, we could agree that intergenerational interaction plays a relevant part of the social construction of reality, that is, the construction of meanings themselves.²⁷³ The primary socialization mother-children and the other members of the family is the foundation of the construction process. Children learn the mother language that helps to interpret and understand their everyday life experiences. Then, an internalization process occurs during the passage of time when stories, memories, and actions of mothers, grandmothers play an important part. Abundant literature on education, identity, and even food, has probed that mothers and grandmothers influence daughters and the transmission of essence of a culture, traditions, customs, and so on repeats generation by generation.

6.3. CPF meanings

The results of the research on CPF meanings are presented in the following paragraphs. Five categories of CPF meanings were identified in slums women's thoughts, symbols and references: Physiological, Rational, Socio-cultural, Affective and Occupational. For slum women CPF have primarily physiological meanings—40 percent—, 28 percent is socio-cultural, 22 percent is rational, 9 percent is affective meanings and 1 percent is occupational meanings (Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1. Five categories of CPF meanings (percentage)



Source: Own elaboration 2018

First, physiological meanings include the expressed thoughts and references to CPF concerning human bodies—as in the case of references to health and nutrition—and in relation to the five bodily senses: tastes and flavors; colors, designs and logos; smells and aromas; textures and shapes; and the name of brands and slogans that are meaningful to them. In other words, women

²⁷³ According to Berger and Luckmann, the social reality of everyday life is apprehended in a continuum of *typifications*. The typifications are intrinsically *reciprocal* and allows a person to interact with others as 'a women' 'a friend' 'a daughter' 'a vendor' 'a funnier' type, etc. and they are not limited to contemporaries, one also relates to *predecessors and successors* that encompass one's life: 'my immigrant great-grandparents,' 'my children's children,' 'my life on behalf of future generations' and so on (1966: 48).

thoughts and references about the CPF consumption in relation to their physical conditions and their five senses give us an objective signal about what each of the CPF sub-segments means to them. To know how CPF satisfies bodily and senses' needs, wants, and desires is not a concern of this study—it is rather a concern of nutritiology and psychology. The main purpose here is just to identify them and categorize them into physiological meanings embedded in the relation between CPF and human senses detected in slum women's expressed thoughts, judgments and perceptions.

Second, rational meanings include the reasoned thoughts or references about the relation of CPF with the use of time, energy, space, monetary resources and comparisons with other forms of food (foodstuffs, dishes, traditional, local or culinary foods if the case). This category also includes the meanings derived from women's scrutiny of corporate marketing that promotes products that are not priority in a slum household. For example, mentions about corporate intentions to foster unnecessary consumption by using free samples as bait, TV commercials using celebrities or other propaganda fostering consumption. As one grandmother said: 'One thing is that we accept the free trials, and see TV commercials advertised by famous people, but if we really want to buy the product is another thing...sometimes even if we want there is no money (*walang pera in Tagalog*)...we will buy nothing because we use the money only for the necessary such as rice and vegetables of the day.' Finally in this category of rational meanings include thoughts arguing likes, dislikes and mental curiosity or interest to test the product. These basic arguments go beyond the simplicities of 'because it's tasty,' 'because I like,' 'because my brother', etc. A rational thought gives a little bit more context or information of the reasons of consumption based on prices, comparisons, places, social relations, needs, among others.

Third, the socio-cultural meanings include the thoughts and referents about CPF consumption in social events and celebrations; in the school events or in social relations with classmates or friends; or consumption in any other type of cultural, religious or social event. This category of meanings also covers the habits and frequent routines of CPF consumption that have a previous history or, in terms of Berger and Luckmann (1966), were previously institutionalized, legitimized and internalized within families or individuals themselves. For instance, the use of a certain CPF is associated with breakfast, lunch, dinner, breaks or can be found in the preparation of a local traditional dish. Finally, there are also the meanings referring to the relationship between CPF and religious beliefs or values such as Halal, and the consideration for charitable acts within or related to religious institutions.

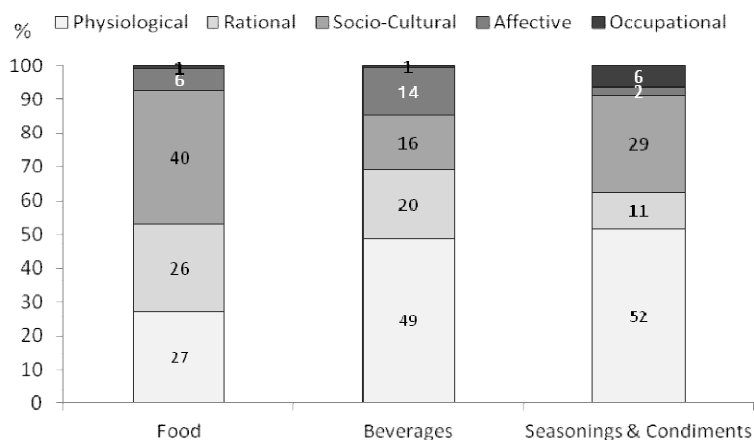
Fourth, the affective meanings refer to sentimental mentions of protection, provision and care of loved ones, particularly children and grandchildren. This category also refers to nostalgic memories of CPF consumption by the loved ones or with them. Fifth, the occupational meanings are thoughts highlighting the importance of CPF in their work activities as housekeeper, cooker, server or sales-lady. Occupational activities of each case occurred either in the Philippines or in a foreign country. The elements constituting each category of meanings are summed up in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. Categories of CPF meaning

I. Physiological	II. Rational	III. Socio-Cultural	IV. Affective	V. Occupational
Senses	Reasoning about	Social events and celebrations	Family & Friends sharing	Housekeeping
Taste/Flavor	Time use	Consumption habits and routines	Family & Friends Affections	Eateries
Sight=Design, Colours, Logos	Energy use	Meal times	Children & GrandChildren	Overseas working experience
Smell=smells, aroma,	Space use	Weekends and special days	Parents,	Selling
Touch=texture, shapes	Money use	CPF as viand or dish	Spouse	Other jobs
Hearing=Brands, CPF names	Mkt campaigns	Cooking and related traditions	Other relatives	
Feeling of fullness	Mental curiosity	CPF used in Relations	Friends and other	
Health and Nutrition	Argumented dislike	Schools, Gov agencies, NGOs, etc	Nostalgic memories	
Desire		Religious beliefs		

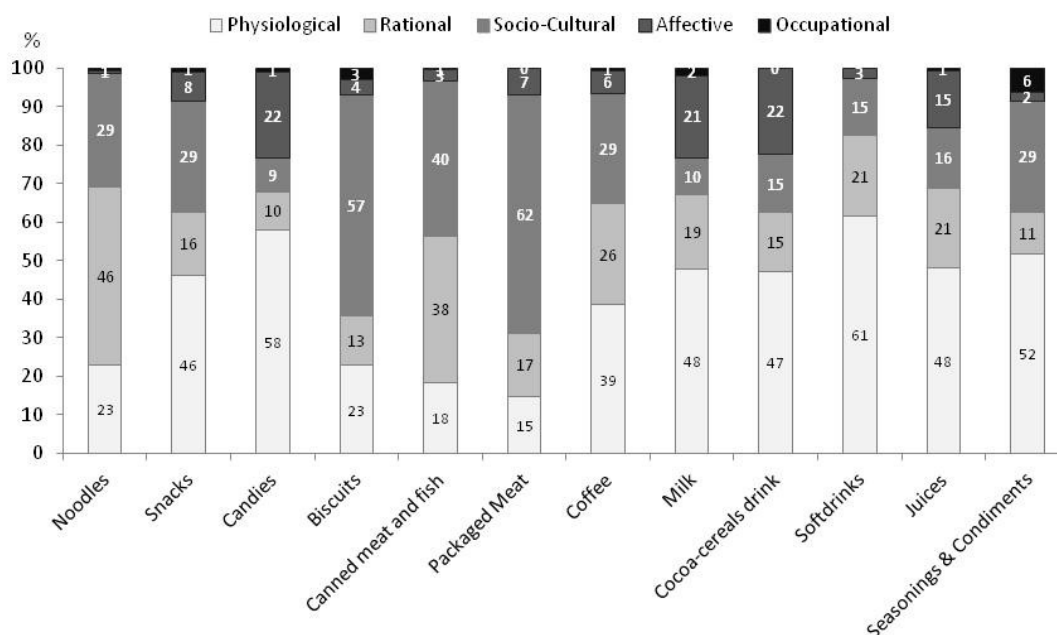
Source: Own elaboration 2018

Figure 6.2. Categories of CPF and their meanings (percentage)



Source: Own elaboration 2018

Figure 6.3. Sub-Categories of CPF and their meanings (percentage)



Source: Own elaboration 2018

Given the heterogeneity of the products classified as CPF, it is necessary to analyze the meanings by each category and subcategories of CPF (see the above Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3). Through this analysis, we were able to have a better understanding of CPF consumption in slums and their implications for the political economy of the large cities in the global south.

6.3.1 Foods

a) Noodles

The meanings of noodles are primarily rational and secondarily socio-cultural. To begin with, slum women's reasoning of the CPF consumption practices is based on the consideration of their time, which implies inherently the use of their own energy to get ingredients and prepare food. Usually, the reason of time is prompted by the caution not to waste their limited budget. In their verbal communication, the concept of time is associated with words such as *instant*, *fast*, and *easy*. In essence, noodles mean an instant food that is easy to eat in terms of preparation and affordability. This logic largely overlaps the concept of 'convenience' found in literature of sociology of food consumption (*c.f.* Warde, 1999; Reimers, 2014), but in this study on slum consumption I argue that more criteria of convenience can be found in the slum householders. Inside, the spatial factor is fundamental in how 'convenient' a food can be. Slum dwellers value food that they can eat without use of basic infrastructure and equipments in the home such as kitchen, dishes, cutleries, chairs, tables, etc. (see more on incised, canned meat).

In the second place come the socio-cultural meanings. Over the previous three decades corporations producing cup noodles and pre-cooked block packages have managed to penetrate slum households and shape their food practices (Warde, 2016) and particularly consumers' minds (Lang and Heasman, 2004) to the extent that slum women mean noodles as viand that complements rice in a dish. A 23-year old woman in Payatas said, '(Packaged noodles) are affordable food for the poor people as we are; we eat frequently, sometimes every day for a week. We used as viand (*ulam* in Tagalog) with rice.' This unbalanced diet, full of carbohydrates, is overlooked by most of them; health is not a meaningful issue for noodles consumers.

But, on the other hand, noodles is signifying a cultural change in the way "consuming" seafood, meat, chicken, lemon-chile tastes—that in fact are full of artificial flavorings—in their traditional and popular *pancit* type of noodles. The above mentioned 23-year old woman finished her comment, saying 'what I buy is Lucky-Me chicken or Pancit Canton; we don't cook *pancit*, and we just open and put it on the rice plate.' It is an appropriation of a traditional dish of the Filipino culture under capital (see Chapter 7) through processing, manufacturing, packaging and micro-retailing food in slums. Thus, the cultural change is getting visible when slum women do not spend time, energy, money and are distanced from human relationships with their children, sisters, mother, friends, etc., while cooking *pancit* on their own.

b) Snacks and confectionery

The primary meanings of the snacks and confectionery are physiological, majority of them referring to children as consumption drivers. The findings in slum households coincide with previous studies of consumption of snacks and candies no matter where the place of residence is (AC. Nielsen, 2014). The relevant physiological meanings to slum women are firstly related to their recognition of risks and impacts on children's health, particularly on their teeth and appetite for regular meals. To mothers and grandmothers, the power of "addiction" to sweet flavors that make children constantly go to the *Sari-Sari* stores seems to be such an unsolvable problem that they were unwilling to talk about the subject any further.²⁷⁴

Second, taste plays a more important role for continuing consumption habits. Women highlight the variety of salty, fishy, spicy, fruity, sweet, and bittersweet flavors that provide sensory satisfactions to people of all ages. Finally, most women agree that snacks and candies provoke a feeling of full stomach, although it is temporary, which invites them to eat more and more during the day.

Snacks and candies also have socio-cultural meanings. The relevant finding in Manila slums is exemplified in a word '*Tsitseria*' that includes snacks and candies. Since its origin from the adaptation of the word in Spanish language *chuchería*, this word has a negative connotation because it is cheap or it is for poor or careless people. The point is that *Tsitseria* does not necessarily have a negative connotation in terms of nutrition—as if it has the connotation "junk" food—or in terms of being industrially manufactured. *Tsitseria* covers also artisanal, home-made traditional desserts, and local street food—some of those have cultural roots coming from centuries and do not have judgments of bad or good nutrition value. Their consumption is simply part of their customs. In fact, the use of the adjective 'junk' appears largely in the voice of younger women, meaning that 'junk' is a relatively recent vocabulary in the slum meanings sphere.

c) Biscuits: bread and cookies

Biscuits primarily have socio-cultural meanings. The consumption of bread with coffee, milk or chocolate is a custom linked to the Spanish culture that spread out even in slums for several decades. In Chapter 3 we learned that bread, pancakes, cookies and other biscuits were the first industrialized CPF that has reached slum households over time. *Marie cookies*, *animal crackers*, saltines and Ritz and Nabisco type of crackers have been a part of slum food consumption habits since the 1960s. In addition, there are some biscuits that can also be considered as *Tsitseria* and they are a part of food routines for breakfast, lunch or *merienda*, the time for snacking.

²⁷⁴ It should be noted here that in the market sphere these products are the cheapest and children can easily obtain them by spending only 1 Philippine peso (the minimum currency).

d) *Canned and packaged meat and fish*

The meanings of canned and packaged meats are primarily socio-cultural. Contrasting the packaged with the canned we can learn that the packaged meat has a greater social and cultural connotation due to the importance of the hotdog (sausages in general) as a habitual ingredient for a slum breakfast. Today, it is almost unthinkable of a slum household that does not consume sausages of pork or chicken meat. As we saw in the analysis of the market sphere, availability of chicken sausages enables Muslims to consume packaged sausages in accordance with their religious practices.

In the sub-segment of canned food, there is a dichotomy between canned sardines and canned meat. Sardines have a meaning of poverty within the common sense²⁷⁵ of slum women, while canned meat has a connotation of celebration and desired abundance. They purchase canned meat to prepare spaghetti on someone's birthday, at a party, at a special celebration or on pay days (usually twice a month). In contrast, canned sardines are for the days of hardship, when one borrows cans from *Sari-Sari* or uses the last *pisos* of the budget. It is also for the days of calamity after facing floods or tragedies caused by fire.

At the same time, sardines are chosen rationally in the condition of precariousness and poverty. The reasoning is based on common sense of slum people. Sardines equal cheap food, affordable and easier to pay back the store. The canned meat, by contrast, has a higher status. It is not the fresh meat that totally symbolizes wealth, but it is closely associated with the symbolic power of eating meat that fulfills a subjectivity of being non-poor—at least during this special moment, day, celebration, and so on. In short, it is unimaginable for them to hold a party or celebration with canned sardines. Even in an occasion modestly celebrating a birthday, a canned corn-beef meat can often be observed as a part of a dish.

Alongside with the food stuffed inside, we cannot leave aside cans as a functional packaging form. Taking into account the insanitary conditions in which millions of slum dwellers have to live, canned food embodies *logic* of protection against rats, cockroaches, ants, and other animals that coexist with human beings and are permanently in search of food. A couple of cans in reserve at home can make differences in those days of hardship. A canned food can also be preserved safely in humid and hot temperatures, and its small size is desirable in their living conditions that cannot be free from spatial limitations.

In sum, the processed and canned food have primarily socio-cultural meanings and secondly have physiological and rational meanings (Figure 6.2), but the order of primacy changes depending on the types of product (Figure 6.3). Socio-cultural meanings of packaged and processed food can be explained by understanding that, even if manufactured, food has strong anthropological and historical roots. This is relevant because, despite the decades of intense advertising and the structural changes in favor of CPF consumption, there is still a social-cultural layer of values attributed to food in the common sense of urban bottom people. The physiological and rational

²⁷⁵ Here I refer to common sense as Antonio Gramsci defined in prison notebook 1: 'as a conception of the world of a social or regional group' or common sense as 'the most widespread conception of life and morality' (Gramsci 1975, [1929] Q1: 16:14; 65:76).

meanings have a counter-balance in culture and social relations. Next, in the following paragraphs, our analysis of CPF meanings deals with beverages and sauces and condiments. Here, we will see that it is the bodily and rational significations that have prevailed in slums.

6.3.2 Beverages

As we saw in Chapter 5, processed and packaged beverages are consumed in a great portion in slums—57.6 percent of the total consumption. Each of the sub-segments has a particular relevance in the market sphere. Unveiling the meaning of packaged beverages enriches the understanding of its importance in a household and gives us an important reference of the current influence of CPF in slums.

e) Coffee

The main meanings of packaged coffee are physiological. Powdered coffee refers essentially to human sensations: to taste caffeine alone or with sugars (sweeteners), which in perspective of slum women helped them to wake up in the morning or gives them a moment of relax, alleviating the feelings of trouble or worry. A 45-year old woman in Payatas said '(powdered) coffee gives me energy to start my day. I like to drink Great Taste white; it is softer than the black coffee and also sweeter...' In Tatalon, Meralco squatter, a 59-year old woman commented 'I wake up every day 4 am and then I want to drink a (powder) coffee, I prepare the desserts that I sell outside the school...I usually buy Great Taste Twin because I drink one early in the morning and the other before lunch.'

Physical effects due to an excess of caffeine consumption or artificial sugars and creamers were barely mentioned during the interviews. The exception was a family in Kubo squatter whose grandmother had a working experience of 17 years as housekeeper at houses of foreign teachers working in colleges and institutes in Metro Manila, and around 8 years at international schools' cafeteria. Her daughter—who was also interviewed in this study—also worked for foreign teachers for a decade. They received a large amount of information about health habits and damaging foods, which in fact refer to some of the CPF under this study.

An advice they got from their bosses and their families was that consumption of powdered drinks, particularly coffee in combination with milk and sweetener is bad for kidney and other organs of the body. In some of those bosses' houses, consumption of such products was banned and they drink only coffee or tea of good quality. Different from the majority of interviewees, this family buys in a city market an expensive but better decaffeinated coffee that is sold by box of 15 or 20 sachets.

Secondarily, socio-cultural meanings of coffee were also identified. They are embedded in habits and customs originated from throughout the archipelago and inherently have a historical signification behind. Women's childhood memories connect with the image of their parents drinking coffee, which could be locally grained coffee or Nescafé bottled in glass. Women who arrived in the city after being grown up agreed that their coffee consumption was drastically reduced to coffee in sachets, first to the Nescafé classic stick and later to the sachets that nowadays largely circulate in

slums. These sachets, from the classic version to the 3-1 (coffee, creamer and sweetener) and twin versions (two sachets by one price), now form a part of the habits of slum dwellers and they are increasingly becoming a part of the urban bottom culture, displacing local grained coffee (*local barako coffee*) from the cultural mindset of young slum populations.

f) Milk and cocoa beverages

The meanings of powdered milk and powdered chocolate are physiological in the first place and affective in the second. Physiological meanings connect to perceptions of positive impact on nutrition and health. Key words such as vitamins, proteins and minerals that corporations communicate are clearly present in women's judgments on products. Their thoughts are full of wishes for nutrition, health and good life for their children. To understand why this positive perception on CPF products happens, we have to recall the historical context in which these meanings emerge. These women came from a background of misery and malnutrition that could be traced back to several generations. But at the same time, they were in contact with the modern discourse of consumption of "beneficial" branded products by watching commercials, soap operas, movies, night shows on television. This information penetrated their sphere of meanings long before they had started to experience "modernity" in reality by consuming those consciously and unconsciously desired products.

Affective meanings also play an important role in women's CPF meanings and construction of reality. The nutritional offer proposed by Corporations matches with mothers' motivations to give food that strengthens the health of their children. Through the provision of milk and cocoa powder, mothers accomplish a psycho-emotional feeling of 'doing good' to their family. These products are a means of protection and affection toward themselves. They do not want them to suffer from nutritional deficiencies and health problems as they and their previous generations have suffered.

The common sense of slum women is, in general, contrary to the opinion of nutrition experts and social scientists evidencing the dangers of industrialized food consumption. However, based on the findings of this study in the sphere of market and meanings, I argue that it is unnecessary to criticize the lack of critical thinking of slum dwellers. Instead, it is worth understanding the elements and factors that limit their awareness and socio-political action.

g) Soft drinks and juices

Sodas and juices have mostly physiological meanings, resulting from their sensational preference of freshness and fruit flavors. In the previous chapter, where the importance of the fruit flavor for Filipino women was commented, the main finding is that women who grew up surrounded by fruit trees, flowers and vegetation in their home towns exhibits deeper nostalgia than urban-born women. The analysis of the sphere of meanings completes this argument by pointing out that sodas and juices signify their enjoyment of fruit flavors, even if it is an artificial flavor.

The symbolic power of cola drinks as a refreshing drink seems to be secondary for women in slums; rather they accept the frequent consumption driven by custom, by men and other family members' preferences, and above all by price. As we learned in the market sphere, the cola brand RC is the cheapest in the slum market, so it expands the consumption. Meanwhile, in the sphere of meanings, cola drinks are regarded as harmful to the body. Some of the interviewed women are suffering or have suffered from physical problems such as diabetes, hypertension, stones or kidney stones, ulcers or other stomach or liver problems, and they believe it causally connected with cola consumption. That is to say, soft drinks, particularly cola drinks, are attached meanings such as pain and disease.

Even though soft drinks in general mean illness to some women, the consumption of soft drinks persists in slums. Moreover, they are lack of basic critical questioning about the impact on kidneys and other organs by consuming artificial sugar, coloring and other substances contained in juices. The novelty of fruit flavors of powdered juices and the striking colors that decorate the sachets bury the negative meanings attached to soft drinks and juices.

Curiosity to taste "new" fruit flavors, though manufactured artificially, is awakened by marketers' strategy to show—in front of the sachets—fruits that a slum person cannot afford or even cannot see in the local market. In fact, affordability and the price-quantity relation of soft drinks and powdered juices play an important role in slum women's reasoning. For them, it is "smart" to buy a sachet of fruit flavor for only 12 PhP (USD 0.22) that is able to be shared by up to eight people or to buy a big-size soft drink of 2 liters by slightly higher price than those of 750ml or 1 liter. Thus, given the limitations of clean water supply discussed in Chapter 5, it is a rational meaning of beverages to make fruit juice at home instead of making an effort to make fruit beverages by themselves.

In sum, contrary to the primacy of socio-cultural meanings for most of the CPF sub-category food, meanings for the CPF sub-category of beverages are physiological (Figure 6.2). Physiological meanings stand out in powdered beverages based on perceived nutritional, health, energetic influences of milk, powder cacao—Milo—, or other cereal drinks. Coffee is a CPF that is full of physiological meanings of flavor-taste, energy or other perceived effects on slum dwellers' bodies.

In the following paragraphs the meanings of seasonings and condiments are described and by doing so we can sum up the meanings of CPF in general and in each of its three broad categories to finally link these findings with analogous research on food consumption.

6.3.3. Seasonings and condiments

Packaged seasonings and condiments primarily mean flavor for slum food. Because the meanings this CPF sub-segment are based on the senses of taste and smell, they are categorized as physiological. Indeed, physiological meanings of seasonings and condiments are linked to socio-cultural ones. In slums, there is already an established custom of preparing dishes combined with rice, cheap vegetables, meats, fishes and packaged foods, beverages, seasonings and condiments. The success of corporations is supported by the appropriation of local taste (*Ginisa* in Filipino). This

process of appropriation of seasonings started around a century ago (see Chapter 3). First, soy sauce and fish sauce (*patis*), second, coconut vinegars and oils and vinegars from other plants, third, through tomato sauces and sauces with spice, and finally, a full stew flavors such as *synagang* tamarind, fish, meat, adobo, marinade, etc., that are separated in each sachet are already packaged and circulating in the slums on a daily basis.

There is no doubt corporations are the major providers of flavors and tastes for the urban bottom. Only a few women are aware of MSG content in seasonings and its potential risks on health. Even those women who are aware of them are trapped in the hands of capital via bottled and packaged sauces and vinegars. Among the condiments, ketchup-banana sauce is a fascination for children and youth, for most of whom, ketchup is more important in their diets than soy sauce—the essential condiment of previous generations. Ketchup is a pillar of the cultural change in slum households. It is a regular companion of hotdogs, hamburgers, pasta, fishes, meat, chicken or fried pork, and it is a powerful product now deeply inserted in both spheres market and meanings.

In short, slum women are attached to seasonings and condiments for mostly physiological meanings. Senses of taste are primordial in this category of meanings. In minor cases seasonings are also meaningful as having negative effects on human bodies. In terms of socio-cultural meanings, so long as corporate manufactured seasonings and condiments are improving and adapting culinary knowledge, flavors and traditional tastes, the construction of meanings might continue to deepen into a household-family level. This entails a stronger positioning of corporations in a society, not only by the physical products adding flavor and tastes to daily food but also by symbolic power based on their permanent presence in the kitchen or cooking corner and tables at home. Indeed, many young generations do not know and even cannot imagine preparing something to eat without adding an artificial flavor.

6.3.4. CPF meanings, food and society

A classical view of food consumption based on Marx (1867), Engels (1845, 1884), Heller (1976) recalls the recognition of food as one of the basic needs of the human body to survive and reproduce in society. Indeed, physiological meanings of CPF have a larger representation in slum women's thoughts and references (40 percent, see Figure 6.1). Essentially slum women see CPF—in any sub-segment—as source of hunger satisfaction but most importantly the meanings behind their judgments connect to their concern about physical strength and health, and other thoughts that go beyond simply survival or reproduction. Largely, strength and health are supposed to be embodied in their children or loved ones, playing, going to school, smiling, working, getting married, and leading other aspects of a life without the penuries the previous generations experienced.

The relation between CPF and the five senses, particularly taste, also gives weight to physiological meanings in our study. Accordingly, Sutton's (2010) reflection on *synesthesia*—sensory experiential skills—and *gustemology*—distinctive notions of taste—concerning intersection of food and the senses allows us to locate our findings in slums in broader discussions of food in society; not only as a component of culture, tradition, ritual, but also to understand the relation of body, mind

(rational and emotional) and the socio-cultural context in food consumption. Sutton concludes, 'we should keep our multisensory apparatuses trained on what anthropology has in one way or another always been concerned with: everyday life and the multiple contexts in which the culturally shaped sensory properties and sensory experiences of food are invested with meaning, emotion, memory, and value... the focus on sensory aspects—experienced like few other things both inside and outside of bodies—means that these approaches have much to gain from an engagement with food' (Sutton, 2010:220).

The significance of socio-cultural meanings as they account for 28 percent of total CPF meanings and 40 percent of the food in CPF subcategory represented in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 confirms that customs, traditions, social relations, cultural and religious events are essential elements that influence CPF consumption. Evidently culture and tradition would not disappear, it might only change influenced by external players, including corporations, or by inner forces such as family routines and adapting to space, time, energy, situations. Warde (2016) gives particular attention to routines as one of the key categories governing repetition. He distinguishes individual routines from collective ones. Collective routines are, in origin, supra-individual, affected by organizations and authorities, but more or less binding individuals' (Warde, 2016:127). He uses organizations, authorities, institutions, and so on, to avoid the term 'culture'—trying to get away of the 'cultural turn' and focusing better on the 'theory of practice'—but in fact, when he refers to supra-individual and collective, he is inevitably referring to culture and society.

Furthermore, when Warde cites an example of routines from regular mealtimes, he admits that 'individual behavior is disciplined by customs and conventions by which most people abide, and through their obedience reinforce' (Ibid: 127). In fact, the analysis of consumption routines and the meanings of food itself cannot be separated from the socio-cultural elements surrounding or impregnated in it. This reasoning is consistent with the perspective on food meanings presented by Ahsley et al (2004) claiming that the foods we eat are not simply an expression of individual tastes but have a wider basis in (class) cultures, identities and lifestyles. Also, from a more technical stance, Cervellon and Dubé (2005) investigated the cultural influences on food. They compared cultural differences between Chinese and French people in terms of cognitive and affective food likes and dislikes. They found that French display a higher affective basis to like or dislike food while Chinese reflects a balanced attitude between affections and rational cognitions to decide if they like or dislike a food.

Slightly differently, in this research on CPF in slums, likes or dislikes go beyond the dualistic scheme of affections-cognition. As it was showed in previous sections, other three specific categories of meaning were identified: physiological, socio-cultural, and occupational. Those complement the rational and the affective categories of meaning, and all of them present elements that can play a role for judgment about like or dislike of CPF. Certainly, rational meanings of CPF were recognized and represent 22 percent of the total meanings of CPF (Figure 6.1). Most of them refer to women's consideration of price-quantity balance, and use of time and energy to prepare and consume food. These references of meaning might be strongly or weakly correlated to food likes or dislikes, but it is clear that there can be other elements belonging to different categories of

meaning: For example, family customs in breakfast or dinner, sweet flavors, local tastes, physical condition of a person—for instance an ulcer—, loyalty for a brand, memories of the deceased father, the *Halal* certificate or the lack of pork ingredients in the product, a children's need, a need for a housekeeping job or a important product for a micro-retail business, etc. In short, multiple sources of meanings are organized in five identified categories that integrate the interpretations of thoughts, referents, and symbols (Ogden and Richard, 1946).

In addition, to understand the social construction of meanings in a dynamic world, we cannot leave aside history, memory, and the social changes manifested by each generation (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Marcovic, 1984). Thereby, the next section discusses whether CPF meanings are passed down from generation to generation. An answer for this question is crucial to our search of political economy implications of CPF consumption in slums. For example, what if there was a campaign or movement to counteract the consumption of CPF in slums? Do they necessarily require involvement of three generations, or is it enough to persuade young people regardless of what grandmothers or mothers say about CPF consumption?

6.4. CPF and the inter-generational mindset

During the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21th, food manufacturing capital expanded from the core toward the periphery of the world. In large metropolis, it moved from affluent classes to the urban bottom. In Manila slums, CPF consumption has been a matter of at least three to four generations of women. Our study divides the women into 5 periods according to their age groups: 4 women born during the Commonwealth period, 2 during the Japanese occupation, 12 during the Post-War period, 23 during the Marcos regime and 20 in the neoliberal era. The average age of the group is 40 years old with the disparity of the oldest born in 1933 and the youngest in 2001. Because of their positions in the family structure, 14 of them were classified as grandmothers, 27 as mothers and 20 as daughters (see Chapter 1, Table 1.2).

During their life time, at least dozens of CPF have passed through their minds, hands and stomachs. For this reason, any query about CPF sub-segments and related product under investigation is familiar to them. The purpose is to investigate whether exists an inter-generational meaning, that is to say, a set of beliefs and customs that shape CPF consumption in slums. The findings suggest that an inter-generational common sense of CPF does not exist except for the significant CPF sub-segments or products that come up for discussion: a) Powder milk for children; b) Biscuits and coffee or chocolate powders; c) Canned sardines versus canned meat.

In these CPF sub-segments there are nodes of shared meanings—mostly physiological, socio-cultural and affective. Shared meanings refer that one CPF includes more than one meaning although one is usually the predominant. In other CPF sub-segments there might be agreements between two or three generations, but the variations are larger in comparison to the three abovementioned cases. The essential differences between generations are connected to the value of natural food, fresh fruits and vegetables, memories of rural environment and the sea, tastes, smells, and other customs regarding the relevance of a family meal in everyday life. The youngest

generations who were born in Manila or arrived in younger ages already get used to live around manufactured food and their contact with rural areas and the sea is reduced to sporadic visits to relatives' hometowns.

a) Powder milk for children

Unanimously by reason of ensuring children's nutrition and healthy growth, powder milk is in the mindset of the three generations of slum women.²⁷⁶ In the morning, opening a sachet and dissolving the powder in water is a well-established routine in the daily life of slum households. If a mother has sufficient budget for a day, she might use the second sachet at night. There are also cases of days of monetary penuries where mothers divide the content of the sachet through the day or just provide a simple porridge of rice (*lugaw* in Tagalog) to the baby or children.

In grandmothers' early years, milk was not a regularly consumed product by poor families (Doeppers, 2016). Grandmothers learned the importance of milk via nutrition programs executed by Filipino government after WWII. In terms of capital boundary expansion, health and nutrition programs had double success; on the one hand corporate manufactured milk were supplied in main urban areas of the archipelago, and on the other hand, they impregnated powder milks with positive healthy meanings (Solon, 1976; Scrimshaw and Wallerstein, 1982). Subsequent generations also experienced institutionalized nutrition programs. Additionally they received advice from doctors in popular clinics, nutrition campaigns in schools, health programs in the slum, plus, advertising on radio and television.

In case of powdered milk, physiological, socio-cultural, rational and affective meanings overlap or relate to one another. Mothers tend to emphasize on one or the other of them depending on the circumstance of the day, but all those meanings are present in a slum women. A slight distinction is that younger women, in general, utilize words such as proteins, vitamins, iron, zing, etc., to specify their knowledge about milk, nutrition and health that their mothers and grandmothers do not use.²⁷⁷ The latter women frequently use the noun *sustansya* (nutrients) and the adjective *malusog* (healthy) to express their opinions.

Two implications for the political economy of consumption in slums stand out from the foregoing. First, a small urban baby, unaware, will be CPF consumer since the beginning of his childhood life. Mothers, the most influential person at the beginning of a human life, have strong psychological power in the development of a child and along with husband and other relatives will impregnate children with meanings. In this sphere, corporations already established a privileged place via milk. It is not a coincidence that the main food and beverage manufacturing corporations in the Philippines and in the world are involved in milk business.

Second, milk production in urban areas is in hands of capital. To the best of my knowledge, in Manila, milk produced by government, cooperatives, autonomous communities or non-profit

²⁷⁶ In the case of new born babies up to one year old, breastfeeding is by far the most valued nourishing practice in slums.

²⁷⁷ In general, younger generations have more years of education and intrinsically having larger access to nutritional and health sources of information. Also, we should consider also the influence of corporate advertising, advice of doctors in public health centers, and the teaching of their mothers, aunts and older sister. All of these sources were mentioned in some of the interviews.

organizations is zero. And, small farms or semi-urban dairy cooperatives scarcely supply milk to slums. This background leaves space for capital to take control over milk production and provision, exhibiting its influence and power beyond the market. It has already penetrated the common sense of three generations of slum women, and under current circumstances, it will continue to take root even more in the next generations.

b) Habitual breakfast: biscuits and coffee or chocolate powders

Without doubt, breakfasts are clues of history and culture embedded in daily life, even in the most excluded neighborhoods of a city. In Manila slums, a frequent breakfast consists of bread or biscuits and coffee (with milk) or chocolate drink with water or with milk (and sometimes rice). This breakfast is similar to what is consumed in the urban neighborhoods of Mexico City, Madrid, and in Latin-America. The Spanish introduced this type of European breakfast as result of a long-term mix of European (culture of bread, pastry and wheat-based biscuits) and conquered-territories' original products (such as coffee and cacao). In colonial and post-colonial cities wealthy consumers were first practitioners of breakfasting bread and biscuits with coffee or chocolate drink and over time this practice has become a routine and a habit in all urban classes.

This is why, in slums, women of different generations unanimously mean biscuits as an essential part of breakfast. It is not coincidence that biscuits were introduced as key companions of milk at the first nutrition programs for the poor in the Philippines. These two products are fundamental sub-segments of CPF with an inter-generational link and political economy implications. The first implication in slums is related to the limitations to produce their own bread and biscuits given the limitations of space, cooking infrastructure, unsanitary conditions and risks of fire. Here biscuit corporations have a plowed and fertile field to seed their brands, which are accepted practically without any resistance.

Second, because the context of a child is fully impregnated by brands and mascot icons, we can say that his own reality and common sense become innately friendly to corporations. Other important symbols learned at home are religious symbols (e.g. a Croix of Jesus, angel or virgin in Christian countries), cartoons' characters and in some countries national symbols such as the flag at home. These corporate, religious, cartoons and national symbols have influence on children during his self-construction of personality. But, corporations have an additional advantage as their presence is constant—365 days a year—on massive media that is complemented by the purchase and consumption practices of family members. It becomes natural for a child to coexist with branded packaged goods. Contrarily, awareness campaigns for children and adolescents motivating critical thinking would take time, ability and extraordinary effort to successfully penetrate in the sphere of meanings.

c) *Canned sardines versus canned meat: poverty versus affluence*

Smith (2012) in his study of the origin the canned tuna industry in North America narrates how it took almost two decades to persuade society that canned tuna was tasty and safe. One of the slogans that facilitate the process was the one that said 'taste like chicken.' Another action was to construct differentiations of taste from canned sardines, salmon and mackerel—pioneers of canned industry—positioning tuna as a higher status product. Indeed, for a post-colonial country such as the Philippines, canned products were introduced since early 20th century, first by the North American companies, and later by Japanese companies (Viana, 2015). But in the case of canned sardines those were not endorsed with 'gourmet' meanings as companies of Mediterranean countries did.

After WWII, food aid provided by the American government and allied countries included canned sardines and mackerel. Simultaneously canned product corporations continue positioning sardines in the Philippines as an affordable and available option to the poor. Thus, sardines have navigated in the sphere of meanings with a label of cheap and poor. This symbolic meaning still persists in most of slum women of three generations. For most them a family that consumes sardines is equivalent to a family without money. A 18-year old woman in Kubo squatter summarizes the point with her comment, 'canned sardines eaten by the poor. They are the cheapest and we get used to the flavor. When we don't have money we borrow cans from the *Sari-Sari* store...this situation is common, in the store they know who is poor and constantly borrows sardines... From our closest neighbors, we can see who is having emergencies. All of us here sometimes lack of money or don't have job for a while.' Her comment about borrowing cans from the *Sari-Sari* store is also a recurrent thought in women of the three generations. That is to say, canned sardines signify a solution to emergencies, which implicitly contains a symbolic meaning of sardines as cheap food or food to the poor.

Compared to sardines, women of three generations agree that canned meat consumption implies affluence, or at least denies poverty. However, nuances of canned meat are not equal to those of packaged meat. Canned meat—preferably corn beef from one of the good brands, referring to the highest retail price—means 'special food' for celebrations such as a birthday party, Christmas, school graduation, or other type of informal festivity such as a day of reception of money from abroad or an extra income coming from their economic activities, such as vendors, *jeepney* drivers or construction workers. Some families also modestly rejoice the payment day (every fifteen days) by preparing a dish, usually spaghetti with a canned corned beef.

This dynamic representation of the food of the poor has another implication. The accumulated desire for exciting experiences that can be materialized in consumption as consequence of a long-term period of poverty set the grounds for the penetration of larger quantity of affordable and adaptable canned food, nowadays with more and more new flavors and recipes. Following Tibor Scitovsky 'the transition to a wealthy path encounters frequent unpleasant, discomfort, boring and unsatisfying moments' (1986:128). Nowadays, a majority of slum women

express excitement for consuming corned beef in any of their forms²⁷⁸ and to some extent they are bored of sardines. Some of them even expressed unpleasant feelings about sardines, associating difficult days.

The political economy implication is that under capitalism only large corporations have the organizational muscle, productive, commercial, financial, symbolic and discursive power to offer products various in flavors, sizes, colors, etc. by ever shorter product development cycles. They can manage to continue mixing flavors and canning dishes itself, for example adobo dish in a can, and when people get bored, they have power to invent, advertise, and distribute something new. On the contrary, initiatives promoting consumption of domestic meat and fish, though they can be packaged or canned, do not have such organizational muscle to provide adaptable, affordable, and dynamic—frequent changes of flavors, sizes, shapes—food for large populations.

In sum, although an inter-generational mindset of CPF consumption in slums cannot be clearly described, it was found that common sense exists in three CPF consumption cases: powdered milk for children, a breakfast of biscuits (usually with milk, coffee or chocolate), and a status distinction of canned sardines and canned meat consumption. The common sense in these consumption practices is embedded with physiological, socio-cultural, affective and rational meanings. This claim can be interpreted from two different standpoints: one is from the analysis of impacts on slum populations as result of initiatives, interventions, campaigns, etc., and the other is the punctualization of the difficulties to defeat (or to diminish) the capital power.

In the first case, any initiatives that reach the sphere of meanings by changing, reshaping, or renewing consumption meanings of women of three generations will have strong echo on current consumption behaviors of milk powder. The existence of a shared common sense, precisely, exhibits the key point to center to frame discourses, messages, practices, performances, events or whatever strategic initiative that shake slum women's mindset about those products. For instance, in Mexico, there was a case of powder milk supplied to poor populations via *Liconsa*, a governmental agency that in late 1980s distributed contaminated milk—supposedly coming from Ukraine, near Chernobyl. This event led to cancel the governmental supply program and opened the doors to corporations. Nowadays, the powder milk section of the so called 'hunger program' is given by Nestlé (Nestlé Mexico, 2013). On the contrary in Havana, the response to the adversity after the collapse of the Soviet Union which ended the supplies of food—including processed and powdered food—was to reorganize the city production, and modify rural-urban productive and supply chains (Altieri, 1999 et.al, 1999; Hernández, 2006).

In the second case, milk, biscuits and cheap canned food are the sectors where is more difficult to defeat or diminish the capital power by the urban bottom. Precisely, concerning with masses, these are the CPF subsegments where corporations leverage their business and political power, and where the meanings of CPF are stronger and deeper in three slum women generations' mind. For decades, the construction of meanings favorable to corporations is reproduced everyday

²⁷⁸ For example, Purefoods have among their varieties of corned meats and canned viands: Purefoods Corned Beef, Purefoods Chunkee Corned Beef, Purefoods Carne Norte, Gusto Corned Beef among other options of canned viands such as Purefoods Sizzling Delights Sisig, Gusto Pinoy Sisig, Ulam King – Meaty Asado, Ulam King – Meaty Caldereta, Ulam King – Meaty Gravy, Ulam King – Meaty Lechon Paksiw, Ulam King – Meaty Menudo, Ulam King – Meaty Mechado, Ulam King – Meaty Spaghetti, and Ulam King – Meaty Palabok.

via advertising, social relations at school, in working places and points of sale inside slums (see Chapter 7 sections 4 and 5) and by women and other members of the family inside the house. Counter-movements, initiatives and campaigns against food manufacturing corporations in the subsegments of powder milk, biscuits and canned meat would not emerge from the urban bottom and it would be difficult that the slum populations will join initiatives alternatives to capitalism that emerged from above social classes.

This claim might lead to a third standpoint for the case of the other sub-segments of CPF where slum women of different generations do not have a unified common sense: Noodles, soft drinks, juices, snacks, seasonings and condiments. Generally is conceived that focus on younger generations is a correct strategy to change, re-shape or renovate meanings in favor of food that substitutes CPF or diminish the influence of corporations in slum CPF practices. But based on the mothers and grandmothers current judgements, the favorable changes in youth consumption habits results might not come true in the mid and long term. The young women of today, mothers and grandmothers of the future might continue, even expand the same processed food consumption habits they are gaining in slums if do not learn from mistakes and also from good practices of previous generations. Any alternative initiative or campaign against capital should permanently consider three generations, whatever the place and time.

The proposition behind this thesis is that the presence of grandmothers and mothers—which include their material, symbolic and affective influence on younger generations—should not leave apart and must be considered. This argument is also supported by research done by inter-generational studies on food such as McIntosh et.al (2010), Johnson et.al (2010), Notermans (2003) and Arnfred (2007), as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.3.3. Thereby, we can conclude that the political economy of food in slums should always examine a perspective and meanings of food of at least three generations in order to properly map the scope of corporate power at the household level, and to reconsider political economy actions that either support resistance or counterattack to the corporate dominance.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the results of the inquiry about meanings of CPF to slum women of different ages were presented. The main findings were, on the one hand, the identification of five categories of meaning: physiological, rational, socio-cultural, affective and occupational. These categories are the result of a process of analysis and identification of meanings based on thoughts, references or symbols (Ogden and Richards, 1946) that women expressed during the interviews and observations inside and outside their dwellings.

Physiological meanings of CPF refer to the use of senses, in particular taste; for example, it includes the feeling of fullness as in the case of eating a pack or cup of noodles, judgments about health and nutrition at its two poles of negative and positive, and physical desires of food. Rational meanings gathers expressed thoughts about CPF consumption resulting from favorable judgments about saving time, money, energy, space, etc. or from logical reasoning of dislikes, and curiosity, or

from a promotion campaign rather than her own preference. Socio-cultural meanings cover a variety of consumption habits as routines at household or as part of their regular social relations, or related to beliefs, traditions and customs. The category of affective meanings involves those related to family sharing, and as the name says, to CPF that a woman is given with affection to her loved ones, particularly to children. Finally, the category of occupational groups the opinions of a woman explicitly referring to work activities. Particularly seasonings and condiments fall in this category that are used in houses they serve or served as maids—in Manila or abroad—, or used in eateries they cook or serve, or used during vending activities that allowed them to consume a certain brand for the first time.

These five categories are themselves a valuable contribution, but in conjunction with the categories of meaning identified from the perspective of the slum *Sari-Sari*²⁷⁹ (Chapter 4), both substantially facilitate the understanding of the subjective elements of CPF consumption, and complement the more objective findings explaining consumption in the market sphere (Chapters 3, 5, and 6). The correct understanding of both spheres, market and meanings, gives us the foundations for the elaboration of a political economy theory of CPF consumption, which can be completed after adding other elements (spheres of analysis) such as the role of the state—its relationship with corporations and the slum dwellers themselves—, the impact on the environment, and the relation with the sphere of food production.

On the other hand, the other relevant finding is that, in general, there is no common meaning of CPF in the three generations of women. The lack of unification of meanings for manufactured food can be considered as normal given the historical changes in each of the generations. For example, most of the youngest women were born in Manila without having so much contact with nature, and thereby did not learn how to do agriculture or fishing from their parents, siblings or relatives. However, in particular, there are inter-generational meanings in regard to powdered milk, biscuits and to the dichotomous relationship between sardines and processed meat.

Milk represents an essential element for the nutrition and health of children. In the slum women's common sense, the fact that milk comes as powder is already an institutionalized, legitimized and internalized reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). This fact should not be surprising because powdered milk was the central piece of the food fortification programs in the Philippines

²⁷⁹ 1) Sales related: CPF as a regular requirement of customers, which is also connected to CPF as essential for doing business; CPF as an attraction of customers; or as business complement to CPF which has a low profit margin but need to be in the store, because, if not for them, customers might go to other stores.

2) Business facilitation: CPF facilitates business in terms of convenience from the perspective of the grocer (not from the customer's perspective) such as easiness to transport from the wholesale market; adequate size to sell; adequate size to exhibit or to stockpile at home; easiness to sell such as cup noodles of sachets of coffee and Milo; or those CPF that provides comfort to the grocer's family or the grocer herself. This latter point is important to recall here because most of the Sari-Sari store grocers sell CPF a part of which is kept for their self-consumption.

3) Positive attributes of CPF are such as healthy and nutritious, saving time, energy stimulation, useful in case of emergencies when lacking money or after floods. It is important to recall that from the perspective of the Sari-Sari Store grocer, cheap price is not considered as positive or negative, and rather a pre-condition for doing business.

4) Negative attributes of CPF: Some CPF are perceived as products that can provoke or escalate health problems. This situation makes some of the grocers avoid selling them because their own children want to eat it excessively or the husband eats or drinks without payment—this does not refer to beer or tobacco but snacks, or certain types of biscuits or candies. Other negative perceived attribute for grocers is that some CPF can attract rats that strongly bite and break packages of chips, nuts, cookies or biscuits.

after the Second World War. The other manufactured products were biscuits (bread or cookies) that accompanied school children's breakfasts (Solon, 1976; Wallerstein, 1982).

The dichotomy between canned sardines associated with poverty and canned meat symbolizing affluence is shared in common for the three generations. This finding is in correlation with the reiterated fact that all the women interviewed come from families with miserable past; they recall experiences of levels of poverty in the countryside more severe than what they have in slums. Adult women are aware of their past and devoted to the present so that their children would not suffer from hunger and humiliations as they suffered. For this reason, the frequent consumption of renowned CPF brands that now circulate in slums represents an advance in their material and symbolic situations. It is symbolically fulfilling because they did not imagine of having access to these products by such frequency in their childhood or adolescence.

The sum of knowledge presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6—market and meanings spheres respectively—considerably contribute to the understanding of CPF consumption in slums and points out critical information to critically analyze the corporate expansion until arriving at the bottom of urban societies. In this sense, the concepts of *appropriationism* and *substitutionism* (Goodman et.al 1987, and Goodman and Redcliff, 1991) serve as platform for critically explaining the dominance of the industrial capital over slum populations' food exchange and consumption practices. And to reflect on the possibilities for alternative food systems to build a discourse that penetrates the masses's minds, increase their consciousness, liberate their food practices, and emancipate themselves.

7. CAPITAL APPROPRIATION OF SLUM DWELLERS' FOOD CONSUMPTION

'it is far easier to convince people to buy many more packets of crisps than it is to get them to eat more plain boiled potatoes'
Prof. Erick Millstone (1986)

7.1. Introduction

The persistence of thousands of millions of human beings living in slums, particularly in main cities of the so called “developing” countries, call attention to the nature of contemporary capitalisms within social scientists, social activists, politicians and practitioners working at international and governmental agencies dealing with the issues of poverty, marginalization, and so on.

The precarious conditions in which the poorest human beings live and reproduce as result of the capitalist mode of production have been pointed out since the early nineteen century.²⁸⁰ Following this tradition, as part of this study on exchange and consumption of CPF, this chapter aims to conceptualize and to name the process in which food manufacturing corporations are conquering slum dwellers' minds and market spaces. This task can be made based on four identified Marxian political economy concepts—ontologies of capitalism (Rossi, 2013; Roberts, 2011)—that not only facilitate the comprehension of the structure and dynamics of the capitalism at the bottom of society but also unveil its dominant, hegemonic, and even oppressive or predatory essence: *Dispossession, Enclosure, Subsumption and Appropriation*.²⁸¹

For the purpose of this study on CPF, *appropriation* is considered the finest category for explaining the industrial capital penetration and increasing domination of slum populations' spheres of market and meanings. The rationale goes as follows: First, *dispossession*²⁸² (Harvey, 2003) and *enclosure*²⁸³ (De Angelis, 2001; Holloway, 2010) are adequate to explain material expropriation of territories, land and nature rather than complex objective-subjective phenomena such as consumption.²⁸⁴ In the case of slums, the studies on ‘gentrification’ are good examples of how slum

²⁸⁰ c.f. Sismondi, 1819; Cherbouliez, 1840; Engels, 1845; Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1968; Thompson, 1968; Harvey, 1973; Davis, 2006; Wacquant, 2009.

²⁸¹ In the Marxian tradition there also other important categories such as Exploitation, Alienation, Fetishization, Commodification, Reification, Objectification, etc., that also can be considered as part of the dominant ontology of contemporary capitalism but for reasons of space and purpose are not discussed in this chapter.

²⁸² Harvey (2003) presents the concept of ‘accumulation by dispossession’ that consists of dispossessing someone of their property and their traditional common property rights in order to privatize them. In this process, the State continues to exert a monopoly on violence and relies on legal definitions that support the accumulation by dispossession. This concept is presented in the context of a new theory (or new modality) of imperialism in the 20th and 21st centuries, updating Marx, Lenin and Luxembourg respective theories of imperialism. Here, Harvey develops the idea of the spatial dynamics of the accumulation of capital, what he calls the ‘unequal geographical development.’ This is the result of geographic processes where capital creates and destroys new landscapes, which leads in many ways to the domination of capital over society.

²⁸³ De Angelis (2001) and the British group of the Commoners (www.thecommoner.org) recovered Marx's discussion of the process of land enclosure in England—a mere illustration of primitive accumulation—and conceptualized enclosures as the separation that results from *commodification*. According to John Holloway, ‘the most obvious example from early capitalism is the enclosure of the land, but any form of private property involves an enclosure, an appropriation, a separation of something from common enjoyment or use. The neo-liberal phase of capitalism has seen an acceleration of this process of enclosure and has engendered a huge number of struggles to defend or extend what is held in common.’ (2010:29). ‘Through the process of enclosure of land, people are separated from the means of survival (of producing and consuming)’ (Ibid: 102). In practice, enclosures imply the creation of the rule of things over human beings, the rule of force by the state and the implementation of strategies by the capitalist apologists.

²⁸⁴ There is a valuable collaborative report made by the *Seminari d' Economia Critica TAIFA* (2011) where they reflect on ‘dispossession of everyday life’ covering important public services that has been privatized or disappeared such as health, communication, sanitation,

communities are displaced or evicted from their houses and neighborhoods for subsequent increases of property values and rental costs that benefit political groups, corporate groups and speculators (c.f. Smith, 2005; Ishioka, 2016).

Second, for this study *subsumption*²⁸⁵ presents a hermeneutical problem since the different traditions of reading and interpreting Marx by Latin-Americans²⁸⁶—to whom I am more familiar since the mid 1990s—differ in terms of purpose, analytical perspective or tradition, and scope of use from interpretations made in other countries: Britain,²⁸⁷ Italy,²⁸⁸ France and Belgium,²⁸⁹ that I was able to review.²⁹⁰

The explanation of the differences (and similarities) goes beyond the aims of this study but what can be commonly reasoned from each of these readings and interpretations is Marx's reference to the totality: totality that in the contemporary capitalist system is observed in the capital domination²⁹¹ of the material-objective aspects of and society including food, and also of the immaterial-subjective elements of life such as cognitive, affective, emotional, discursive, communicational, informative, etc. Thus, it can be argued that whether slum populations consume CPF or not is secondary, even those who scarcely consume CPF are already subsumed to the capital when they exchange and eat rice, vegetables, fruits, drink water, or when they buy medicines, TVs, mobile phones, clothes, shoes, etc., all of those commodities were produced under capitalist social relations. Subsumption of slum dwellers is more evident by acknowledging that most of those families were economically, politically and even militarily pushed out of their rural lands and they now live in places full of rats and other bugs, and consuming the essentials to survive and reproduce.

That is to say, subsumption is already a political economy fact for slum populations and society in general even though there is no awareness of it. For this reason, this study seeks to have a distinction while highlighting the historical specificity of CPF exchange and consumption of CPF. As we have seen in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, CPF as proportion of total household consumption increased from less than 5 percent in the 1980s to 31.8 percent in this decade, there are already households in which their diet is greater than 50 percent (see Chapter 5). Thereby, the penetration of corporations has to be seen as an ongoing process that is still unfinished. It is a process of substitution of rural foodstuff consumption by packaged, canned and bottled foods. Food manufacturing capital still have

energy and other public services. But their analysis concentrates on the dispute of public and market sphere at government and private companies, leaving apart the sphere of meanings, which is fundamental to understand food consumption.

²⁸⁵ Marx uses the category of subsumption in several works since 1844 in the 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right' while discussing how the Executive power subsumes the individual and particular under the universal. But in the draft of Capital 1861-63 'Results of the Direct Production Process' Marx uses this category to explain how the particularities of the labor process is subsumed under the abstract universality of the valorization process of Capital. Marx associates the results of the production process: Absolute or Relative surplus-value. 'If the production of absolute surplus-value was the material expression of the formal subsumption of labor under capital, then the production of relative surplus-value may be viewed as its real subsumption' (Marx, 1976:429).

²⁸⁶ Echeverria, 1987; Bartra, 2006; Veraza, 2008

²⁸⁷ Arthur, 2004; Murray, 2004

²⁸⁸ Negri, 1987; Vercellone, 2007

²⁸⁹ Camatte, 1978; Mandel, 1985

²⁹⁰ I am also aware of the existence of discussion on subsumption in Japanese, Chinese and naturally in German that I did not study for knowledge limitations. And I am also aware of differences in the application of the term formal and real subsumption for rural studies (c.f. Bartra, 2006; Goodman and Redcliff, 1981; London, 1997; Lockie, 1997).

²⁹¹ Including the state as co-opted actor of capital, if we understood state in a class relation controlled by capitalist interests. And also co-opting or oppressing any alternative project trying to get out of the capitalism (e.g. Mapuche in Chile or Zapatistas Tsotzil and Topohabal in Chiapas, Mexico).

a margin of expansion until reaching 100 percent if necessary—a food desert—that might signify a total appropriation of all practices of food consumption by food manufacturers.²⁹²

Third, for this study, *appropriation*²⁹³ is a better concept to explain the ongoing process of big food manufacturers' influence in the transformation of slum householders' food consumption. Precisely, David Goodman and co-authors substantially advanced in a theoretical explanation of the appropriation of rural labor, natural production process of food, and human consumption in industrialized nations (Goodman, et.al, 1987). Goodman and Redcliff (1991) argue that 'the biological production-consumption cycle has resisted direct and unified transformation by industrial capital, leading to partial discontinuous appropriations of rural production activities, but the biological constraints have motivated corporations to innovate. The result is the capital addition of new sectors as industrial appropriation progresses. The biological production-consumption includes human consumption. 'The physiological requirements human consumption similarly have constrained the efforts of industrial capitals to substitute industrial products for agricultural food and raw materials...Historically, this tendency began by braking the direct links between field and table, producer and consumer' (Ibid:91).

Goodman's works provide the basic elements to advance the theoretical knowledge about the corporate appropriation of food consumption in slums, which in turn complements and in some points completes Goodman's theory of appropriation. Albeit low-income segments of society are regularly mentioned in Goodman's theoretical work, low income is not exact to refer to slum populations. Neither all slum populations are low-income, nor do all the low-income populations live in slums. As we saw in Chapter 2, slums households live under specific objective and subjective

²⁹² The subsumption already exist, the emphasis might be that food manufacturers gained higher relevance and power in the system. In any case the capital dominates, however, of this study I assume that people have more opportunities to be aware of who they are (a human being with all the potentialities to create, socialize, and be free) if they have contact with fruits, vegetables or other foodstuffs that they can prepare. Foodstuffs give more margins for self-creation and self-recognition than CPF. Awareness and Consciousness is fundamental for political action (Engels, 1845; Marx, 1867, Gramsci, 1976 [1929-1936]; Freire, 1968)

²⁹³ The appropriation concept is used by Marx (1867) in the titles of subsections of chapter 13 and chapter 22 (chapter 15 and chapter 24 in the French and English edition). Chapter 22: The Transformation of Surplus-Value into Capital, Section 1: ***Capitalist Production on a Progressively Increasing Scale. Transition of the Laws of Property that Characterize Production of Commodities into Laws of Capitalist Appropriation***. Here, Marx explains that the capitalist must continually transform part of his products into means of production. As a result, through the process of production, the capitalist produces and reproduces the labor force. Thus, the capitalist just wants to limit the individual consumption of the workers to the bare minimum, so that the worker can reproduce his labor power. Also, if the surplus value is entirely expended by the capitalist, we observe a simple phenomenon of reproduction where the capitalist continuously obtains a constant share of surplus value. But if the capitalist does not spend all of the surplus value he has appropriated, he reinvests it in the production process, which will subsequently allow the amount of surplus value to grow. Thereby, it is thanks to this capitalization of the surplus value that the accumulation takes place. For some, the capitalist must therefore practice abstinence; that is to say, he must strive to consume as little as possible of surplus value (he must therefore resist the desire for conspicuous consumption), in order to reinvest in capital. The greater the degree of exploitation of the labor force, the more the capital derived from the surplus value is capitalized (reinvested) for further expansion and accumulation.

Appropriation is also used to explain situations where subjective and objective are combined—as in the case of food consumption that has cultural, symbolic and physical mixed elements— Cultural anthropologists, for instance, Brunk and Young (2009), explain processes of cultural appropriation in nine areas forming a 'culture' in a local, national, regional or international level: i) archeological finds, ii) human remains, iii) genetic material, iv) traditional knowledge, v) artistic content, vi) tangible works of art, vii) artistic subject matter, viii) religious beliefs and practices, ix) museums. To this list, we should add the commercial appropriation of personality (Beverly-Smith, 2004) as we observed in chapter 4 with the case of Nestlé's uses of Sari-Sari store's names and personal faces for commercial purposes.

In food studies Jackson et.al. (2007) uses the term Appropriation to explain how the British retailer Marks and Spencer's Oakham White Brand took the language of alternative food discourses to charge premium prices for a staple food product through their emphasis on quality, provenance and taste.

circumstances that demand a particular conceptual and theoretical attention.²⁹⁴ For this reason, I claim that key theoretical works on food studies should include both theoretical and political actions of slums' householders. Slums represent more than a quarter of the global population and are far from disappear, as the current economic system outputs millions of migrants to the urban cities (Davis, 2006), and the already established slums still have a demographic growth (UN Habitat, 2012).

In the following sections, I will argue that appropriationism also includes the ongoing expansion of human consumption at the urban bottom. The chapter continues with a brief explanation of the theory of appropriation constructed by David Goodman and co-authors. Next, the specific conceptualization for the study of appropriation of food consumption in slums is presented. For didactic reasons, this conceptualization divides the analysis in two interrelated spheres: market and meanings. The chapter includes one section to explain corporate efforts to conquer each of them. In the end, the chapter joins the knowledge acquired in both spheres of analysis and argues that an appropriation of food consumption is taking place at the urban bottom. The chapter concludes by summing up the key points of the claim that food corporation is advancing the appropriation of slums' food consumption by substituting rural products for their packaged food, highlighting the political economy importance of this ongoing phenomenon.

7.2. Theory of appropriation of food production and consumption

Having multi-purposes to explain the development of the modern agri-food system including its distinctive patterns of innovation, and to uncover the drive of industrial capitals to control 'nature' in agricultural production and food manufacturing, David Goodman and colleagues (Goodman et.al., 1987; Goodman and Redcliff, 1991) developed the thesis of the capital appropriation of the rural production process—conceptualized as *appropriationism*—and the parallel thesis of industrial substitution of rural products—conceptualized as *substitutionism*.

The initial argument is that 'the biological production-consumption cycle presents constraints²⁹⁵ that impeded its direct and unified transformation by industrial capital, leading to partial and historically discontinuous appropriations of rural production activities. These separate appropriations defined the origins of agro-industrial capitals and the complex of equipment, processing, seeds, and agrichemical sectors' (Goodman and Redcliff, 1991:91). In practice, individual rural activities are appropriated by capital via substituting animal power and human labor for tractors and other machines; manure for fertilizers; broadcast sowing for seed drills; flora and fauna for insecticides and pesticides; organic seeds for hybrid seeds; other natural processes for

²⁹⁴ Marx (1867) explicitly showed his awareness of the labor classes' conditions of living, not only by referring Engels (1843) work but also by dedicating a section 3 incise A in Chapter 13 Machinery and Large-Scale Industry (Chapter 15 in the French and English edition) named: '*Appropriation of Supplementary Labor-Power by Capital. The Employment of Women and Children*' where he details how industrial capital appropriates the surplus-value generated by women and children. He argues that the value of labor-power is determined not only by the labor time necessary to maintain the individual adult laborer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family (sustain their lives including food consumption). Additionally, he details the exploitation of women and children and shows data evidence of their miserable life and deadly conditions.

²⁹⁵ Biological constraints refers to photosynthesis, gestation, species diversity, land as space, etc., that have led to the fragmentation of the innovation process, whose origins and dynamic lie outside direct agricultural production.

biotechnologies, etc. Thus, discontinuous appropriations of the rural labor and biological production processes are accompanied of a parallel discontinuous but permanent process to achieve the industrial production of food, which in turn substitutes rural products (Goodman, et.al, 1987:2-3).

Goodman and Redcliff (1991) also reflect on consumption. They argue that physiological requirements of human consumption also constrained capitalist to substitute industrial products for foodstuffs, even though capital has managed to achieve the industrial production of food and appropriate consumption. In essence, the capital appropriates rural labor, natural food production and human food consumption:

- i) by reducing the rural product to a simple industrial input. Natural food was broken into components which may be applied in other products. For instance, milk is split into casein, lactose and whey. Other generic food that intermediates food ingredients are glucose, syrups, proteins, carbohydrates, fats and flavors, which downstream companies reconstitute into food products for final consumption.
- ii) by entirely eliminating its use—for example, the creation of industrial substitutes for food and fibers, with the chemical industry as its paradigm (Ibid: 91).
- iii) by taking control of the biological process of agriculture and livestock, artificial insemination, genetic manipulation of the animal physiology, hybridization, etc. and concentrating commercial production of food;
- iv) because livestock sector became a core industry for the food system, food science contributed to the industrial substitution of meat for cheaper materials;²⁹⁶
- v) by having in the state an anchor and a facilitator of their capital accumulation in any form—extensive or intensive—that reduce the cost of reproduction of labor via the reduction of the real price of food (Goodman and Watts, 1997);
- vi) by increasing: the shelf-life of food, convenience in preparation, flavor, texture, color, temperature, odor, appearance, and dietary qualities outstanding for special attributes of processed foods which are created by industrial technology—chemical agents such as emulsifiers, stabilizers, binders, and artificial flavorings. Thereby food products could be differentiated not simply by natural qualities but also by their industrial attributes, brand names and other merchandising techniques;
- vii) by the increasing participation of women in the labor force since the 1970s²⁹⁷, new eating habits, and greater affluence are some of the reasons that stimulate demand for packaged, canned, and bottled food (CPF).
- viii) during the 20th century the food industry succeeded in making qualitative changes in the organic composition of food and also making changes in the perception of the meaning of food. ‘The industrial capital embarked on the path to transform consumption patterns, distribution systems and the domestic routines of daily life’ (Goodman, et.al, 1987:60).

²⁹⁶ These include the use of vegetable proteins to supplement meat or meat analogue; the production of single cell protein; agricultural feed grains that can be grown on substrates of fossil hydrocarbons, and industrial waste. Thereby, farming was progressively relegated to a secondary position, and the food system in general display an increasing concentration of production: an oligopolistic market structure.

²⁹⁷ after the decreasing of profits in advanced nations at the end of 1960s (Shaikh, 2016)

- ix) by breaking the direct link between producers and consumers.
- x) by transforming food retailing practices and food provisioning systems in general (Goodman, et.al., 2010; Fine, et.al., 1996; Burch and Lawrence, 2007), and changing food retailing codes of conduct in particular (Hughes, et.al, 2010) such as worldwide expansion through processes of internationalization, multinationalization and transnationalization (Goodman, 1997);

Yet, based on a dialectic view of history, human food production and consumption does not end in a complete appropriation by capital. Some segments of global society had ethical and practical responses to resist against the simultaneous corporate appropriation of rural production and human food consumption. Goodman, et.al., (2012) clearly points out that in the 1960s, political mobilizations inspired by revolutionary socialism, reformist social democracy, and identity politics were an important reference for a generation. In the 1980s, protests and activism became distant dreams but persisted, and since the 1990s, a myriad of social protest has been expressed again by environmentalist groups, fair trade, global justice movement, La Via Campesina, and other expressions of social protest. 'This "new wave" of social activism includes the burgeoning alternative food movement in many and diverse forms from local farmers' markets to fair trade producer cooperatives' (Ibid:3).

The emergence of alternative food networks and food movements such as Via Campesina and slow food, even though they do not form a single category and they have different methods, scopes and goals, fight for spaces of resistance or counteraction versus corporate models of dominance (Wilkinson, 2010; Goodman, DuPuis, and Goodman, 2012).²⁹⁸ However, the dialectic process of history continues and again the capital counteracts and maneuvers to appropriate new initiatives. For Wilkinson, 'in the context of neoliberalism, it is more to the market than the State that the demands of collective action are focused. Once a market perspective is adopted, even strategies based on radical critiques of dominant values suffer the threat of appropriation as mainstream marketing adopts the values of counter cultures and social movements' (2010:100).

The threat of an extended appropriation is called 'endogenisation of the aesthetic and ethic critique' via market segmentation and large corporations—of food industry and retail—adopting values associated with nature, tradition, customs, local and artisan production. As Goodman, DuPuis, and Goodman exemplify: 'we have seen that retailers in the UK and elsewhere in Europe have responded to the new esthetic and ethical values now constructing quality by introducing private own-label foods and new product ranges for such generic "alternative" categories as organic, Fair Trade, animal welfare, and "local" foods. These values, and the economic rents they can represent, are open to appropriation and endogenisation through imitation, the most sincere form of flattery' (2012:91-92).²⁹⁹ Naturally, the dialectic process of history continues and new forms of resistance and

²⁹⁸ For example, 'alternative networks which anchor values in the uniqueness of localities and cultures can be understood as incorporating either an aesthetic or an ethical critique of the dominant agrofood system' (Wilkinson, 2010:98).

²⁹⁹ A good example is a group of small- scale and locally orientated organic producers who manage a diverse range of marketing channels and developed a box scheme system to retail their products, but faced competitive pressures from 'the appropriation of the box scheme concept by supermarket chains and the market penetration of so- called "mega- box schemes," which are causing some to abandon this form of direct marketing' (Goodman, DuPuis, and Goodman, 2012: 95)

struggle are in process or will emerge in near future while the capital in any of its institutional representations will respond to protect their interest and power.

Finally, in the account above of the industrial capital that appropriates food production and consumption, there is not distinction of how capital appropriates human consumption of different social classes; particularly those excluded urban populations living in slums. Also, there is a minimal mention about how those populations participate in the resistance or counteractions against capital. If it is not the case, then it is necessary to explain why those populations do not participate or what limits their involvement or leadership.³⁰⁰ In that sense, I argue that in order to have an enhanced and proper theory of capital appropriation of human consumption, the specific conditions of slum households' consumption should be considered. In such a task, the above-discussed points of the work of David Goodman and his colleagues are the foundations for a theoretical elucidation of *Corporate Packaged Food CPF* consumption, but some precisions should be added.

7.3. Conceptualizing the appropriation of food consumption in slums

Previous chapters pointed out that: i) Slum populations lack the means of production of foodstuffs and depend on others that produce and supply food; ii) Consumption, as a practice, involves not only the intake of physical properties of food but also of meanings embedded in the thoughts and references on food. When we refer to CPF in concrete, we also include brands and their symbols or logos of specific products; iii) Market is the main mechanism in which food is acquired in slums. Women are the main responsible of food preparation and caring in the slum households. They are also important economic actors as micro-retailers—e.g. *Sari-Sari* store—and managers of slum eateries and food stalls. Micro-retailers sell food, mostly rice and CPF, to earn money and for self-consumption; iv) Gifts and barter of CPF exist, but CPF were born as commodities in their biography. They were produced by corporations in search of profits. This fact makes gifts and barter to be a part of the sphere of market; v) Structural and situational conditions have impact on consumption of CPF. These conditions can be visualized and analyzed in the market sphere; vi) From the perspective of slum women, CPF have different categories of meaning. Meanings cannot be necessarily considered as reasons for consumption, but they are closely interrelated; vii) Regarding CPF, there is no unified mindset between women of three generations living in slums, but in specific sub-segments of CPF exists a shared common sense that have political economy implications in the present and future life of slum populations (see Chapter 6 section 6.4).

The emphasis on the spheres of market and meanings as a framework for the study of exchange and consumption of CPF is well-suited in Goodman's theoretical work. The market sphere

³⁰⁰ As Erick Hobsbawm in his classic book 'bandits' (1977) clearly shows that without the participation of the leaders of those marginalized, excluded or exploited authentic revolutions cannot succeed. E.P. Thompson (1971) has similar views in its account of the 18th century and early 19th struggles in England. In the Philippines, Agoncillo (1996 [1956]) and Constantino (1975) give account of Andrés Bonifacio, the authentic leader of the Filipino independence revolution who was born and raised in the Slum of Tondo. His movement *Katipunan* was also forged in the Slum of Tondo and the excluded neighborhood of Minondo. Kusaka (2017) also gives important contribution of the participation in the ESDA movements in Manila. Furthermore, if we review the key historical movements from Spartacus in Rome to the current Zapatista Urban Movement in Mexico and 'Piqueteros' in Argentina—movements that include autonomous food provision, communitarian food spaces, and solidarity groups with rural areas—the participation of those at the bottom, particularly in the main metropolis, is indispensable to change history.

is permanently presented in the *appropriationism* and *substitutionism*. In concrete, when Goodman and Redcliff state 'once food processing has been introduced, food products could be differentiated not simply by natural qualities but rather by their industrial attributes, brand names and other merchandising techniques (1991: 91-92, underlined text by the author)'. Evidently when they refer to 'introduce' they mean introduction to the market sphere, and when they mention the possibility of 'product differentiation' by 'natural qualities,' 'industrial attributes'³⁰¹, 'brand names' and other 'marketing techniques' they are discussing the sphere of meanings, even though they do not make such specification.

Recognizing that in the market sphere and meanings capital has the 'ability to introduce a constantly changing range of differentiated products and branded goods, from snack foods to oven-ready meals provides the food industry with a dynamic source of value addition and profits' (Goodman et.al, 1987:92), still, it is necessary to specify that at the household level women are the primal users of manufactured food while taking care of the food consumption of the family as a whole. As we saw in Chapters 5 and 6, the theoretical explanation of why women consume CPF cannot be explained only by reason of a technological and market push made by capital. The internal dynamics of slums, the structural and situational conditions of the households and families themselves pull CPF in their daily lives. CPF represents for many families a simultaneous source of income and self-consumption and for many others an initial feeling of being 'modern' or simply a sign of status improvement. What we can confidently say is that for various generations of slum householders, CPF has been encoded in their meanings' sphere. Discussing the improvements in the market sphere to offer affordable, accessible, and adaptable products in slums largely explains increasing CPF consumption in slums but it is not enough. The analysis of the sphere of meanings is also indispensable for understanding a more complex political economy phenomenon, the appropriation of the human consumption worldwide, including those living at the urban bottom.

The study of both spheres, market and meanings, is supported by sociologists who have been researching on how food industrial capital implements strategies to conquer minds and space (c.f. Howard, 2016; Lang and Heasman, 2004; Winson, 2013). Howard (2016) points out that the business strategy of spatial colonization occurs in numerous areas, as packaged food and beverage firms extend beyond previous limits and increase the scope of their power. He argues that the obvious form of expansion is to enter new markets, such as less industrialized countries via affordable products and the conquest of shelf space and mind space (Ibid: 51). Similar logic is presented by Winson (2013) and Lang and Heasman (2004). Winson (2013) that refer to the spatial colonization as a means of understanding the strategies and practices food corporations have developed to secure visibility and availability of their products in society. He states, 'I am particularly concerned with the spatial colonization of nutrient-poor edible commodities that are typically high in sugar, fat, and salt and low in key nutrients such as proteins, minerals and vitamins...Supermarkets

³⁰¹ It refers to shelf-life, convenience in preparation, dietary qualities, flavor, texture and color. 'Highly processed foods compete with the natural product but owe their marketability more to special attributes, such as shelf-life or convenience in preparation, which are conferred by industrial technology...Agricultural foodstuffs are reduced to their basic ingredients and these inputs are combined with additives to give full rein to new product development involving infinite variations of such industrially endowed characteristics as convenience, dietary qualities, flavor, texture and color.' (Goodman, et.al., 1987:89-90)

chain stores have become the primary site for the spatial colonization of these products but it is not the only one. The phenomenon of the convenience chain store has become an even more intensive site for this process and ever more ubiquitous feature worldwide' (Ibid:134).

Lang and Heasman (2004) develop thesis on the global food war, a struggle over how to shape of minds, markets, and mouths in the context of a humanitarian crisis of disease, ill health and food-related environmental damage. Among the key argumentations, they show the permanent intentions of corporations to change meanings of food and capture consumers via heavy advertising, cause-related marketing and sponsorship, as well as an intense battle for commercial supremacy in the food system worldwide. In their opinion, in developed countries, health has become a marketing battleground. There is an increasing awareness of the links between industrial diet with disease and changing food traditions; but at the same time, diet-related disease exists in developing countries due both to under- and over-consumption, particularly diabetes, obesity and heart disease. In both types of countries, the consumer culture war, industries are now competing with public health education to shape food culture and food policies (e.g. Hannaford, 2007).

In the following sections, the conquest of the meanings and market spheres in slums is described. Each sphere corresponds to the mental and market spaces referred by Howard (2016) and co-authors. Because both spheres have a simultaneous presence in food consumption, it is inevitable to refer to market elements while exploring the sphere of meanings and vice versa. I intentionally start discussing the conquest of the sphere of meanings in order to situate in advance the corporate discourse and marketing tactics that usually antecede the conquest of slum market.

7.4. The conquest of slums' meanings sphere

In Chapter 2 and Chapter 6, we defined that slums are places permeated by meanings and places where slum women play an important role in the construction of social reality inside the household. Other actors vary in characters from the hardworking eatery women, micro-store grocer or street vendor to the unemployed and alcoholic dweller. Following Massey (1995) organizations or economic institutions such as Multinational Corporations (MNC), even though they are not physically located inside the boundaries of slum, they form a part of an 'active space.'

Also, from the MNC side, their own active space includes network activities, connections, and specific locations for their operations. Connections with slums include the partnerships with distributors, slum entrepreneurs, and in some cases an intangible tie such as customers' loyalty to the brand. To strengthen tangible and intangible ties, corporations make use of their capacities and power in their scope of action. Clapp and Scrinis, (2017) distinguish three types of power: instrumental,³⁰² structural,³⁰³ and discursive. The latter form, the discursive power, largely relates to

³⁰² Instrumental power refers to the direct influence of corporations to affect outcomes (e.g. governmental policies) via lobbyist activities, business associations' engagement in policy discussions and business firms' participation in Private Public Partnerships (PPPs).

³⁰³ Structural power refers to the use of corporate market position to influence prices, governmental agendas, policies and regulatory systems.

the framing of issues in the public sphere, that is to say, the corporate penetration in people's sphere of the meanings.

7.4.1. Corporate discursive power

Clapp and Scrinis (2017) points out corporate activities that elucidate what discursive power means, for instance, interpreting scientific evidence for broader audiences, advertising, engaging in public debate, presenting Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) reports, and framing problems pointed out by consumers and offering themselves as the source of solutions. In our study, Nestlé's key messages of its Creating Shared Value (CSV) business strategy and its micronutrient deficiency "Edutainment" advertising campaign in the Philippines exemplify how a corporate discourse reaches slum populations.

First, since the mid-2000s, Nestlé proposal to "serve the world" (Prahalad and Hammond, 2002) has been extended to the poorest. A statement by Nestlé's President Brabeck-Letmathe in 2008— under the context of economic and financial turbulence—summarized the point. He says: 'there are still significant portions of the world's population who live outside the cash economy and whom we don't reach with our products. Economic development is the key to improving the nutrition of these people at the very bottom of the pyramid³⁰⁴' (Nestlé, 2008:7, underlined text by the author). The strategy focusing on the BoP coincides with a Nestlé's organizational need for growing in a minimum rate of 5 percent by year, and the fact that Nestlé's market in the advanced economies shows signs of stagnation—2.5 to 3.2 percent by year since 2003. In contrast, "emerging markets" meaning developing countries including China is growing from 7 to 13 percent a year (Nestlé, 2013).

Nestlé's sustained organic growth requires fast positioning in countries such as the Philippines, characterized by having a large proportion of young population and by experiencing a process of people upgrading from the lowest and low income deciles to mid-low and mid-income deciles. The mainstream logic is, then, if there is an increase on a household yearly income, it also increases the possibilities for the urban bottom to be "included" as consumers in the market economy. But this "inclusion" is not automatic. Corporations require an integrated discourse to penetrate in the BoP sphere of meanings. In the case of Nestlé, this discourse is centered on the creation of "value" to society through "nutritional" products. In words of Nestlé-Global CEO Paul Bulcke: 'nutrition is the primary area where Nestlé creates value for society, and is the primary basis for shareholder value creation' (Nestlé, 2008:3 underlined text by the author).

The core of this discourse is the intention of Nestlé of making people believe that they are creating value and at the same time serving to society.³⁰⁵ They induce people to legitimize and internalize (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) that their products are nutritional, valuable and the fact

³⁰⁴ BoP who live with less than 2.3 USD by day (World Bank, 2007)

³⁰⁵ In the same report, Nestlé-Global President Brabeck-Letmathe clarifies what they mean by "shared value," stating: 'by Creating Shared Value, we mean that in order to create long-term business success, we have to create value for our shareholders and value for society at the same time' (Nestlé, 2008:6).

that people pay for it is good for the society. In this manner, their profits can be considered legitimate, not only legally but also ethically (Davidson, 2009).

The way by which Nestlé discourse reaches slum populations is through TV commercials. The Nestlé Bear Brand's micronutrient deficiency commercial, an *Eduteinment*,³⁰⁶ is a key example of how this corporation builds a discourse by interpreting scientific knowledge for the public, and at the same time it advertises its own brand. Nestlé's marketers make use of animation, accompanied by *ad hoc* music to call attention of both children and adults, to present significant nutrition facts published by the Food and Nutrition Research Institute of the Philippines (FNRI). The main message is that Filipino children lack iron, zinc, and vitamin C, chemical elements that causes the micronutrient deficiency manifested as symptoms such as sadness, loss of appetite, tiredness, weakness, and unfocused. The subliminal part of the message is that Bear Brand Powdered Milk Drink solves the problem. Nestlé reinforces the idea with the Filipino expressions *Labanan natin'to* (let's fight) and *Tibay Araw-Araw* (endurance every day).

Berger and Luckman (1966) have shown how a process of institutionalization, legitimization and internalization construct social reality. This Nestlé *edutainment* uses data of a public institution FNRI, main referent about nutrition in the Philippines, to legitimize the corporate discourse communicated by TV advertising. Through a two years campaign of daily messages, and by using animation techniques, it penetrates the senses of women and children, who finally internalize the content and institutionalize it as reality at home and with other loved friends or relatives. In Chapter 6, we learnt that powdered milk is one of the main CPF segments that have a shared common sense between three generations of women. They coincide in their physiological benefits, especially of nutrition and health for children and people in general. In the end the corporation such as Nestlé who provides this type of products gains legitimacy for profiting and continuing its business practices. For the company, the designed corporate discourse had a successful result.

7.4.2. BoP marketing: basic tools

Business management scholars use the terms BoP marketing (Weidner, et.al, 2010; Payaud, 2014) to refer to the activities for creating, communicating delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for low-income populations or marketing for social segments D and E. The essential of BoP marketing is that corporations need to skillfully communicate that they have the best capacities to serve society by offering *affordable*, *adaptable* and *available* products to poor populations who are largely excluded from the benefits of market economy (Hammond and Prahalad, 2002; Weidner, et.al, 2010; Payaud, 2014). To succeed in this task, corporations have at their disposal a range of marketing tools that are intensively applied to build, position or replicate a message (Weidner, et.al, 2010; Kotler, 2014) of which TV advertising—mentioned in previous section—, celebrity

³⁰⁶ The "Edutainment" commercial was launched in spring of 2015 and covered the main seasons of a Filipino student calendar: Rainy, Exam and Holiday. Main commercial https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_ua03zGppc; rainy season: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kQyAJv_Ordg; Exam season <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vblLzFTWRdM>; Holiday season <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=awl65owWldQ>

endorsement, sponsoring facades, sponsoring sports and educational events, flyers and free trials were the most commonly observed marketing practices in Manila slums during 2015 and 2016.

a) *TV advertising*

In 2012, in the Philippines, from 50 to 75 percent of food advertising spending was allocated for television. The main reason is its guarantee of 98 percent market penetration (Oxford Business Group, 2012). Demographic census has shown that 98.5 percent of households, including those located in slums, own a TV. While internet usage and Facebook access is increasing rapidly³⁰⁷ in Manila' slums, TV is still a major media channel. The key messages inserted in the TV commercials and the videos uploaded on social media are identical or very similar in content and they primarily target children and adolescents, who in the Philippines surpass 60 percent of the total population.

To launch products to children, corporations attach advertisements in entertaining formats. This is evident in food products, and as we saw in previous section, the use of digital resources and animations are valuable means of production of media content. Linn (2004) reported that favorite TV programs of pre-scholars are those that include animated characters, particularly animals, full of action and have the heavy component of laughter. Another study found that North American children and adults eating junk food while watching TV consumed 45 percent more when exposed to food advertising (Barr-Anderson, et.al, 2009).

In Manila, Ponce (1993) studied the comprehension of Nestlé's advertisement campaign *Sa Mata Ng Bata* in the eyes of children. She found that the message on the topic of 'garbage' generation was understandable to most of the 120 children interviewed in a kindergartner of an economically depressed area, and the main point learned was that respondents' sex and TV program preference significantly affected the understanding of the message. At that time, Nestlé Philippines made a series of advertisements about the concept of "development" which includes topics of environment, education, well-being, etc., and at the same time their logos (iconic brands) appeared during the commercials. It was not a Nestlé's coffee, milk or chocolate advertisement, but subtly impregnated the Nestlé brand in the important topics of a society in a level understandable to kindergarten children.

Mothers are the other important target of CPF advertising (Witter and Chen, 2008). Marketing specialists point out five rules for marketing to mothers, which are assumed to be universally applicable: i) focus on value relationships, ii) save her time; iii) motivate her by invoking her power, not her guilt; iv) don't overdo the "mom thing" and v) connect with her through her kids (Ibid: 128-129). There are several examples of CPF commercials supporting these basic points of marketing to mothers. Naturally, the advertising of seasonings, condiments and sauces are looking to influence female mindset, suggesting the value relationships and saving her time. But for slum women, the fact of connecting with her children is the key elements of commercials of milk, dairies, cereal and cacao drinks that are abundant in nutritional content. Words such as iron, vitamins,

³⁰⁷ The Philippines was the fastest growing advertising market in Asia-Pacific in 2016. Online advertising has exploded over the past five years, with a CAGR of 301% between 2011 and 2016. (WARC, 2017).

calcium, vitamin E, magnesium, potassium, and fiber repeatedly appear in the messages that promote healthy growth of their children. As we saw in Chapter 6, the physiological meaning related to health and nutrition has a primary significance in the slum women sphere of meanings. This is accompanied by successful campaigns by corporations supplying affordable one-piece products that penetrated the sphere of markets until reaching the *Sari-Sari* store a few meters away from her house.

b) *Celebrity endorsement*

Corporations rely on celebrities to communicate with society as a whole. Although there is a controversy about the impact of celebrity endorsement on sales, most of the business-related scholars would agree that TV has effect on thoughts and emotions of human beings (c.f. Hienrich, 2011; Newman, et.al, 2011). This was confirmed during the fieldwork in 2016. Using my Smartphone and headphones, I purposely asked about *Kopiko* coffee *Nescafé* and TV campaigns.³⁰⁸ The simple questions were; please describe me what did you see of the commercial and what is your opinion about it? The answers of two young women are good representations of what the youngest generation of women perceives. A 15-year-old woman living in Meralco squatter easily identified the celebrities endorsing the corporate products, as she said; 'Persons endorsing the coffee are famous artists, Xian Lim and Megan Young. Xian Lim is brown (skin) and Megan Young is white, so they match with the product they are endorsing...they are famous in the Philippines, as they were couple in a soap opera (*telenovela*) called *Rubi*.' 'In the Nescafé commercial, I understood that drinking coffee makes people to be one. That couple can maintain the relationship even when difficulties exist. The girl in the commercial is Katheryn Bernardo. When she tastes coffee she decides to come back and stay with Daniel Padilla, a popular actor right now in the Philippines...this commercial is beautiful, more beautiful than the Kopiko's...the background in the seaside is beautiful, also the story makes one feel good...the faces when they drink the coffee are also beautiful...they are beautiful people.'

A 16-year-old woman living in Dakota slum described what she saw in Kopiko's commercial: 'Xian Lim showed to Megan (Young) that coffee of his preference is tastier and it is what he likes...Megan just follows him and drinks with him...Yes of course I know them. They are famous in the Philippines. She won the Miss World and also she is on TV as Xian Lim. I like them.' About Nescafé's ad, she said; 'Daniel Padilla is the endorser. He is more popular than Xian Lim. Daniel looks cute and kind. In this commercial Katheryn Bernardo was going to leave but after she drank the coffee she decided to stay with Daniel...Daniel was drinking his coffee and just before he finished, Katheryn changed her decision and returned to stay with him...I think that the coffee looks more creamy than other products of Nescafé...looks delicious.' None of the girls accepted that they will buy a coffee after watching the commercial, but they recognized that the advertisements made a good job of promoting new versions of well-known coffees. Seeing in the screen people such as

³⁰⁸ Kopiko brown commercial coffee perfect one (2016) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VGzgB7TvGtY>
Nescafé coffee stay for a while (2016) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LgcTC-50Sa8>

Daniel Padilla or Megan Young, a model that was referred in Chapter 3 as endorser of tuna cans, are examples of how stereotyped beauty can be used to insert CPF in the sphere of meanings.

Actors are part of the constellations of stars endorsing products, they play a relevant role to penetrate children and youth sphere of meanings. In the sports arena, a significant case is Manny Pacquiao, of humble origin, an active boxer star and Senator of the Philippines. Pacquiao was a regular endorser of corporate drinks, and his relevance in this narrative is that women—and their relatives—proudly show their pictures playing basketball with him when he used to visit childhood friends now living in Dakota slum. Indeed, basketball, the most popular sport in the country, is a source of brand positioning in the minds of Filipinos. In the Philippines Basketball Association (PBA) and National Basketball tournaments, most of the teams are named the company who owns or sponsors them—perhaps following Asian sports norms. This makes it possible to have regular matches such as between *Magnolia* versus *Alaska* (the milk derby) or *San Miguel Beer* versus *Ginebra San Miguel* (the alcohol derby).³⁰⁹

c) Sponsoring events

A second line of action of food corporations for conquest slum people's minds is to be regular financial supporters of social events or activities in return for recognition and acknowledgment as the sponsor. The purpose is not the immediate impact on sales but rather the impact on product positioning and consumers' brand knowledge (Kotler et.al, 2014:548). Those are pure marketing and communication purposes rather than financial investment returns, which may occur in the mid and long term. Corporations regularly decide which event to sponsor based on potential exposure of the brand, which can be access by the approximate amount of time or space spared in a media coverage of an event, for example, the number of seconds the brand is clearly visible on a television screen or the column inches of press clippings that mention it (Ibid:548).

Sponsoring school basketball, volleyball, sing and dance competitions are highly favorable to corporations because of the extent of media coverage and the type and quantity of audiences they are reaching. Although the events do not frequently occur inside the slum boundaries, television coverage reaches the most humble homes. In the Philippines, the majority would agree that sports, dance and singing become strong communicational ties between groups of different classes. Those are frequently appropriated by food corporations, particularly when they penetrate in the emotional identities or emotional connections of people.

Milo's champions' campaign in the Philippines clearly points out the scope of Nestlé's penetration of the sphere of meanings of Filipino. Nestlé's Milo have four integrated lines of action, in each of which, strategically, they open space for including bottom classes: 1) the National Milo Marathon; 2) Milo's little Olympics; 3) Summer Sports clinics, targeting children and youth; and 4)

³⁰⁹ Additional example of CPF advertising introducing the sphere of meanings, informal conversations with adults in the basketball court in Kubo squatter they confirmed through their remembrances the Alaska Milk's commercial in 1974 where a Basketball star 'Cisco Oliver' is playing a one-to-one game with a blond boy dressing the Alaska Milk team colors. This commercial is considered a classic in CPF marketing in the Philippines: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=8&v=b3F-20ld720

permanently reporting 'inspiring stories.' Nestlé has also reported that in 'little Olympics' and 'summer sports clinics,' poor children and youth from economic depressed areas of Metro Manila participated. Indeed, the company has records of summer clinics in public schools located nearby or inside slums areas. Children received "nutrition" advice, sports coaching, and some of them have been taking part in extended training periods in order to participate in little Olympics or official school and sport competitions. "Champion" stories are frequently diffused by social media, TV programs, newspapers and annual reports.

Milo Marathon which has been celebrating for more than forty consecutive years, hosting more than 200,000 every year. The tactic of the event to connect with slum populations was called 'Help Give Shoes' program, which provides running shoes to poor children. 'Milo team, together with its communication partner *Publicis* Manila, came up with a campaign that featured the unique Filipino custom of sending cutouts of their feet, instead of shoe sizes, when requesting their relatives—usually the ones abroad—to buy them new pairs of shoes' (Nestlé Philippines, 2011). The company appropriated the Filipino iconic foot cutout and put it in the center of its campaign to attach the message of 'helping the poor by donating new shoes' while promoting the Marathon. It resulted in yearly distribution to public school children of more than 4,000 new pairs of shoes that can be used for sports or any and other activities. Of course, Nestlé and Milo symbols and slogans appear everywhere in boxes, covers, letters or any other place communicate the message to children, parents, shoes donators and general public via social media.

d) Outdoor advertising

The forth marketing set of tools penetrating the sphere of meanings in Manila slums is the outdoor advertising, also identified as 'place advertising' or 'out-of-home advertising.' It includes any creative and unexpected manners to grab consumers' attention (Kotler, et.al, 2014:359). The rationale is based on the argument that people's mind can be better influenced in places where they shop, live, work or entertain themselves; then marketers launch shorts but effective messages to engage people and to create new brand associations.

In the case of Manila, Kelly et.al (2015) found the density of outdoor food and beverage advertising around schools in Manila was twice as high in the area closest to schools as in the area further from schools—6.5 versus 3.3 advertisements per 100 m²—and 85 percent was related to corporate packaged food and beverages that the author classified as unhealthy foods and drinks. They also found that children were exposed to large numbers of advertisements of unhealthy foods/drinks on their way to and from school, and the food messages serve as cues for food purchases. However, assuming that all types of advertisements provoke the same effect on children, the study fails to specify the type of marketing instrument the corporations are using to persuade children. They also fail to signal the importance of the sponsorship of *Sari-Sari's* facades and the tricycles advertisements circulating around neighborhoods. Indeed, they do not clarify if those were counted as advertisements. If the sponsored facades and tricycles are counted, the number of advertisings per 100 m² would considerably increase.

In chapter 4, section 4.4.2.1., sponsoring *Sari-Sari* store facades and billboard-type posters using grocers' face and name for marketing purposes were discussed. The main argument is that, under permission of the grocers, personal identities are utilized by corporations for marketing purposes. Corporations take advantage of the grocers' feelings, their emotions for seeing their names and sometimes even their faces printed in the corporate' advertisings. Tricycles are common vehicle of transportation for slum populations. Corporate also frequently puts ads on tricycles, common vehicles of transportation for slum populations, or sponsors its rainproof shelter with the name and color of the company. The appeal of vehicle advertising lies in the fact that consumers make their final decisions on which brand to buy nearby store. For this reason, *jeepneys*,³¹⁰ bus shelter, kiosks and public and private places of every kind can be a suitable place to put ads on.

Finally, advertising focusing on BoP market also includes live sampling and brochures. This type of marketing has advantages for corporations in terms of selection of people to target and time for ad distribution. The content and design of brochures generally associate CPF with the promotion of new tastes. Brochures also exhibit symbols and icons referring to a lifestyles and social status, for instance, showing pictures of beautiful young and athletic people who dress well. While eating or consuming product, they are smiling, showing sexy poses, looking smart, happy, athletic, cool, sociable, and so on. Also, distribution of samples and brochures are part-time jobs for slum populations, and for some of them, this job of offering free trials is the first physical engagement with a brand they could not have access before.

In sum, facing the need to keep on growing organically and implicitly continuing the process of accumulation and reproduction of capital, corporations expand to developing countries where large number of potential consumers exist, but the majority lives at the bottom of society (BoP) in a context of low and instable income earning. This fact forced corporations to build up a discourse to penetrate and conquer BoP people's minds. The discourse is based on a promoted belief that corporations offer *affordable*, *available*, and *adaptable* products and in this manner they are contributing to the society, "Inclusive Business" for the targeted low-income populations. In Manila slums, food corporations utilize four interrelated marketing tools: TV advertising, celebrity endorsement, sponsoring events, and outdoor advertising. The main task is to position brands, names, slogans, and any type of message that gain attention and connect their emotions, identities, customs, etc., with corporate brands.

Among the several large corporations doing business in slums, Nestlé Philippines' business practices significantly illustrate our point of discussion. This centennial company makes use of diverse tactics and marketing tools to penetrate and influence minds; sophisticated and attractive TV advertisements called 'edutainment' that makes use of nutritional facts provided by the official nutrition research institute of the Philippines; celebrity endorsement; sponsoring sports events and clinics; customized posters using names and faces of *Sari-Sari's* store grocers so that appropriating the identity and attached socio-cultural capital of the person in the neighborhood to promote their products. Those are some examples of a vast diversity of business strategies going on in slums. It is a

³¹⁰ It is a vehicle of public transportation in the Philippines.

steady process of appropriation of the slum mental space under the rule of capital, significantly represented by food manufacturing corporations.

The following section explains the mechanisms of corporate penetration in the market sphere, realized through the conquest of explicit market spaces inside the slum boundaries. It is important to recall that the main purpose of this research is to show evidence that capital needs successful interventions in both spheres to realize capital and to extend appropriation of markets and territories—including those micro-territories where excluded populations live—to guarantee extension of periods of capital accumulation and reproduction as Marx (1885) systematically described in Vol. II of the capital.

7.5. The conquest of slums' market space

7.5.1. Bottles, cans, and sachets

Just as the archaeologists of today are interested in jars and glass vessels as a proof of qualitative aspects of a civilization, future archaeologists will perhaps find bottles, cans and sachets of our era as evidences of our technology and culture of preserving and trading food. Nowadays, millions of all kinds of packages are not only flooding in urban stores, rivers and the sea but also in our minds as a vehicle of marketing (persuasion, promotion and supply) of branded food. Glass bottles initially emerged in the Southeast Asia around 100 B.C. By 1892, the crown bottle cap was invented but bottled cola drinks began to be sold in vending machines after WWII. At that time, retail of industrial beverages in plastic bottles became a common practice, and P.E.T bottles were created in the mid-1970s. Canned fishes for commercial purposes exist since the beginning of twentieth century but cans for soft drinks started after the 1950s in the United States of America (USA) and quickly arrived to Manila.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no specific document or study exposing initial use of one-piece sachets for food commercial purposes. However, based on the information obtained from corporations, slum grocers and slum consumers, there are two corporate business initiatives that might be considered as the starting point of delivery of one-piece retailing: First, the Ajinomoto's small pack seasoning (MSG Vensim), which arrives in Manila in the 1950s.³¹¹ Elder grocers and consumers coincide on the reference of Ajinomoto as their first one-piece seasoning. They also memorized the posterior product introduced in slums was *Knorr* cubes, which in the case of *Sari-Sari* store, grocers bought boxes of 10 cubes and retailed one by one inside the slum.³¹² Second, Nescafé sticks and the creamer (*coffee mate*) have been marketed by Nestlé since the 1980s (Nestle Philippines, 2011). As it was said through this dissertation, Nestlé is a relevant case for this study by reason of its presence as a leading provider of CPF in slums and its historical capacity to adapt their

³¹¹ Unilever's *Knorr* cubes started business in Manila since the 1970s but they were retailed in boxes, not retailed in one-piece as the company does today.

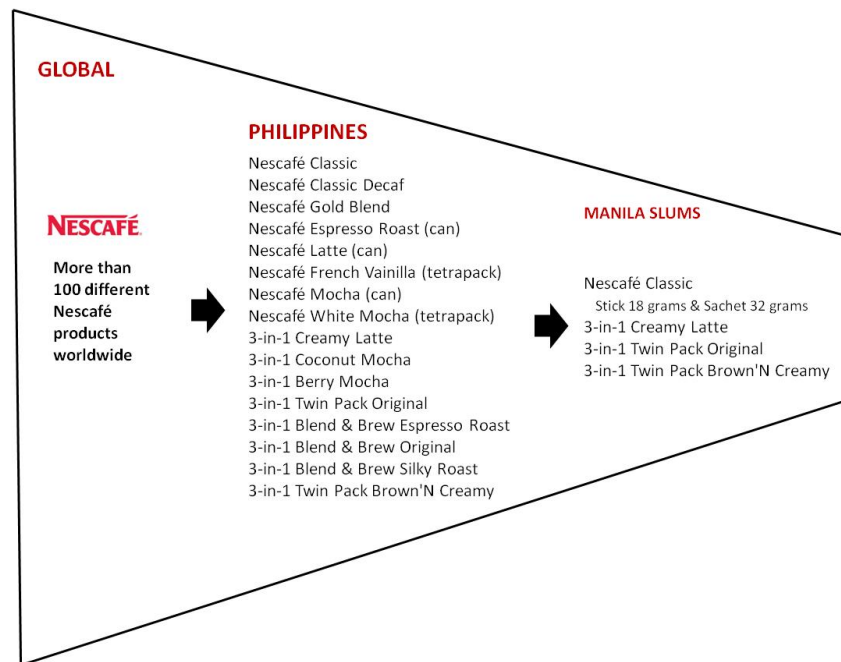
³¹² Candies and chewy gums were also retailed one-by-one inside the slums as previously purchased a box with dozens of pieces. This practice remains today as it is the case of cigarettes, which are the key product for capturing gum buyers.

business strategies in the Philippines despite the constant political and economic turbulences. Once more in this section, one of its star brands, Nescafé, is a suitable example to see the importance of sachet for the conquest of the slum space.

Nescafé was the first product that Nestlé manufactured in the Philippines back in 1962. Nescafé was initially retailed in a glass of 350 and 500 grams of powdered instant coffee. Nestlé's capacity to evolve and adapt their strategies to match with local markets resulted in producing one-piece sticks of 18 grams (since the early 1990s) and later sachets of 32 grams by an affordable price for urban bottom populations (since the mid-2000s). Recently, in 2016, Nescafé launched its twin pack for 9.0 PhP (\$USD, 0.18)³¹³ in order to compete with its slum-market rival brand, *Great Taste*, that has offered two packs for only 10.0 PhP (\$USD 0.20) since the end of 2014.

In comparison to Filipino corporations, Nestlé has larger capabilities for monitoring slum consumption dynamics worldwide. Direct information of distributors, retailers, supermarkets, focus groups and direct test surveys are some of the used methods. Collecting through different sources, global, regional and local managers have information enough to analyze and decide which flavors are more demanded by slum populations or might be or their preference. A major competitive advantage of Nestlé over local competitors is its ability to strategically select a few key products from its dozens of products already in the market and under their control worldwide (see Figure 7.1). In the slum space, Nestlé has partnered with local distributors that supply slums' *Sari-Sari* stores, and they have built an extended network of slum entrepreneurs that fulfill three basic skills: be able to read and write, to communicate, and to drive a motor-bicycle (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015).

Figure 7.1. Nescafé's selection for slum retailing



Source: Own elaboration based on Nescafé Global, Nescafé Philippines, and research fieldwork, 2016

³¹³ Please refer to chapter 3, section 3.3 and Picture 3b to see the campaign of Nescafé Twin with Sari-Sari store grocers.

7.5.2. Slum delivery vehicles

Business administration scholars, influenced by military strategy knowledge, utilize the concept of supply chain to examine how an industry operates from raw materials to final customers—the demand side. The target market is the starting point for the analysis before going back to the manufacturing process. This approach focuses on links of chain that highlights the key stages of buying, producing, distributing, and consuming processes (Rangan et.al. 2007). In practice, large transnational corporations first develop a global vision of the supply chains and second articulate a network of actors, processes and technologies to deliver products on time, meeting the required quality standards.

The network includes suppliers and distributors that nowadays reach slums that are vertically or horizontally integrated. In a vertical integration a distributor is part of the corporate organizational and is considered as an employee. But corporations rely on partnerships with local distributors to supply inside slums in a horizontal integration tactic. Local distributors are close to the slum boundaries and have their own employees, (see Pictures 7a-7d).

Pictures 7a and 7b: The conquest of the physical space



Picture 7a. Local distributor point in Tatalon



Picture 7b. Local distribution and *Sari-Sari* in Payatas

Source: Research fieldwork, 2015-2016

Picture 7a is a partner of distribution center called Femsa-Coca Cola Inc. It is located in a strategic position in Tatalon, Quezon City. From there, by tricycle, it takes around 7-10 minutes to supply *Sari-Sari* stores at Kubo and Meralco squatters. The storage is small, so the owner keeps soft drinks outside. Picture 7b shows a small local distribution center at a corner of a street that also functions as *Sari-Sari* store at the basement floor of a house. Also, in this photography can be found a delivery young man with a hand truck with soft-drinks; this vehicle is used to penetrate into the small alleys. Precisely, in Picture 7c, we can see a delivery boy supplying only one Coca-Cola bottle of 1.5 liters into a *Sari-Sari* store in Dakota slum. This *Sari-Sari* store has a small fridge that can store only 3 big bottles. The grocer has one Coca Cola, one RC cola, and one Mountain Dew in the fridge.

Inside the small house, also functioning as a store place, she has an extra bottle of each brand that replenishes inventory in the fridge once a big bottle is sold.

Pictures 7c and 7d: The conquest of the market space: Distributors



Picture 7c. Local distributor using a hand truck, Dakota slum



Picture 7d. Local distributor using a tricycle, Meralco Slum

Source: Research fieldwork, 2015-2016

Another case is exhibited in Picture 7d. It is a delivery man with a tricycle supplying San Miguel Beer and RC soft drinks. The vehicle cannot be introduced into the narrow alleys of Meralco squatter. The *Sari-Sari* grocers inside the slum, for example Nonoy store located around 70 meters away from the tricycle—send her nephew to pick up the bottles and bring it inside. The delivery man is waiting for people of two *Sari-Sari* stores inside the squatter to pick up four boxes that he already prepared. On the tricycle, he has the supplies for five different places. Those orders were confirmed in one of his three weekly business trips in this route.

A new type of slum delivery system is the integration of a network of “self-entrepreneurs,” that in the case of Nestle Philippines are named as BoWers (Business on Wheels entrepreneurs), and refer to young men selected by Nestle to be a part of their delivery supply network (Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015). They received a credit to acquire a motor-tricycle adapted to carry top 10 products sold in BoP neighborhoods (see Picture 7e). The credit is payable in 36 months in a “favorable” situation for the so-called entrepreneur by being in charge of an exclusive delivery route in his neighborhood, covering *Sari-Sari* stores and Carinderias (eateries), and receiving a discount in the wholesale price of Nestle products. The estimated daily sales in such assigned route guarantee the recovery of initial investment—circulation capital: merchandises and inventory for the first two weeks of operation—, the monthly payment of the vehicle, and a profit for the entrepreneur.

Moreover, the working hours of distributors ends around 15:00, which allows the young BoWer to have an extra economic activity in the afternoon and evening (Ibid, 2015).

Picture 7e: The conquest of the market space: Nestlé's BoWer



Picture 7e. Nestlé's Business on Wheels Source: Nestlé Philippines (2011)

Nestlé's Business of Wheels program empowers its retailing capacity and facilitates the realization of its capital investment. Furthermore, it extends its dominium in the sphere of market, via increasing sales, and at the same time transferring risks such as robbery, merchandise lost, etc., and costs of sale. Also the corporation increases influence in the sphere of meanings by spreading a discourse of "self-entrepreneurship" among urban bottom people. Corporations exploits their social network, their time, energy, effort, and skills to sell products—which also have a bunch of health and nutritional queries—but whether urban bottom populations accept themselves as 'entrepreneurs' or greet a corporation giving them jobs as slum delivery, in their minds, they are adding another layer of veil to the domination of capital over their lives.

7.5.3. Slums' vending space

The conquest of market spaces by capital can be clearly seen in the slum micro-businesses. This conquest covers three different types of vending spaces: fixed, semi-fixed and peddlers. In the first group *Sari-Sari* stores are the key representatives; informal food vendors in stalls and stands are good examples of semi-fixed points of sale, and there are peddlers using tricycles, and adapted hand trucks or any other two-wheel vehicle.

a) Fixed vending spaces

The permanent exhibition of CPF in front of slum *Sari-Sari* stores gives us an excellent panorama of the conquest of market space by industrial capital. Picture 7f, for example, shows us that, even when water rises due to flood, CPF provisions will be ready to be sold to people who use boats. Another case is the *Sari-Sari* store exhibited in Picture 7g. There, we can see the store wall decorated with CPF of all sizes and colors. For an outsider, it can be a striking panorama of misery combined with an

exhibition of brands. But for an insider, it is also a daily fact that sends a psychological message signaling that there is something to eat there.

Pictures 7f and 7g: The conquest of the market space: *Sari-Sari* stores



Picture 7f. *Sari-Sari* in a frequent flooded slum



Picture 7g. CPF wall at a slum *Sari-Sari* store

Source: Research fieldwork, 2015-2016

Further, thanks to the network of trust at the community level, even if one does not have money to pay it, she will be able to get a credit and pay it later. These are important elements of the *Sari-Sari* store for both slum populations and corporations. For the dwellers, the store is an extension of their own house and for some women it is a source of income and self consumption for their families. For the corporations it is the strategic place to penetrate and conquer as a business active space (Massey, 1995). In this sense, we now continue to see two other semi-fixed and mobile forms in which the CPF navigates in the slums' market sphere.

b) Semi-fixed vending spaces

Pictures 7h and 7i show examples of semi-fixed vendor places that the CPF has conquered. The first case refers to a 44 year-old Badjau man who used to work as a street currency exchange agent but now he is selling Maggi noodles to maintain his family's livelihood.³¹⁴ The Badjau living at Dakota are his main customers. Noodles Maggi are customary for them. The importance of Maggi in their lives can be seen just taking notes of their language; instead of saying the word 'noodles' they say 'Maggi.'

Coming from the islands bordering Indonesia, the Badjau has contact with Nestlé's Maggi (halal) products manufactured in this country or in Malaysia for several decades. Thus, since the beginning of their experience as consumers of branded noodles, the Badjau adopted the taste, habit and even word of Maggi Noodles. This vendor buys the merchandise in a wholesale place of imported goods near the international airport. The boxes of 24 cups are not heavy; they are easy to

³¹⁴ The family income depends on his wife and her eldest daughter. The latter works in a McDonalds and the former works in is a volunteer with rights to economic compensation at the social welfare agency of the Manila government.

carry. He or his wife brings the boxes by public transportation—a *Jeepney* and the driver only charge the fee of one person.

The second case is a stand to sell vegetables exhibited in Picture 7i. The vegetables are slightly visible in the inner part of the picture. This type of stands uses around 20 percent of the space for CPF, which appears at the front view of the photograph. At 4:30 am, this stall is armed with wooden boxes and it is disassembled around 7:00 p.m. A woman sells during daytime hours while her husband or one of her children goes to Terminal *Divisoria* for wholesale purchasing. They also use *jeepney* as the means of transportation. Jeepney drivers and its passengers are largely tolerant to vendors carrying big boxes or bags; indeed, this is a regular practice in Metro Manila. The family in charge of this stand is one of dozens of vendors located on San Andres street, a border of Dakota slum. Although they lived there for six years, now they rent a room in a nearby neighborhood that is outside the slum border. Their business brings them income enough to pay a monthly fee of the space in the street.

Pictures 7h and 7i: The conquest of the market space: Semi fixed vendors



Picture 7h. Badjau vendor at Dakota slum



Picture 7i. Stall at San Andres Avenue, Dakota slum

Source: Research fieldwork, 2015-2016

Vegetable vendors in San Andres street confirmed that only rural foodstuffs were sold around ten to fifteen years ago. The manufactured foods such as condiments, seasonings, sauces, vinegars, fish sauces, etc, were sold only in grocery stores. Gradually more of these CPF were conquering the space in vegetables stand, and nowadays, those commodities have become essential for vegetable vendors to attract customers who often prefer to make one-stop purchasing. The 51-year-old saleswoman commented, 'if we do not put these products, the clients are going to go somewhere else...although the (profit) margin is not much, I have to put packaged seasonings and sauces because if not, the customers will go for other vendors.'

Those are examples of how manufactured products are gaining market spaces, which inherently relates to changes in consumption patterns in the society, including in slums. Thereby, food manufacturing corporations are penetrating and expanding the limits of capital horizontally in large metropolis and vertically at the bottom of urban populations. Geographically, there is no more down to go below slums; Humans do not live underground, yet. What is left to the capital is to continue gaining space in vegetable stands and, instead of 20 percent, they might be close to one hundred percent in the future, as is already seen in street vendors using tricycles.

c) Peddlers

The current street CPF vendors using tricycles, hand tracks or any other type of vending vehicles should be seen as the modern representatives of pioneer peddlers in slums. In Manila, even in marginalized neighborhoods such as Binondo and Minondo, there is evidence of door-to-door vendors existing for more than hundred years (Doeppers, 2016, McIntyre, 1955). These vendors shared the main characteristics in selling what they produced in their own houses or neighborhood. For example, they sold sweets or homemade food including rice, soy, sweet potato, coconut, milk, fruits, nuts, etc., that were packaged on paper or in wooden boxes and baskets, and transported on pack animals, by hand or by simple vehicles. Today, these products at peddlers vending space have been gradually replaced by CPF. The clearest examples are the vending tricycles—Pictures 7j and 7k—and the most meager street vendors as in the case of the Badjau woman in Pictures 7l and 7m.

These precarious vendors no longer sell food that they would produce. They buy CPF in *Divisoria* Terminal or other wholesale markets,³¹⁵ and store the merchandises in their tiny slum houses. From there they move their vehicles bringing CPF—such as noodles, snacks, candies, biscuits, powders of coffee, milk, cocoa and cereal drinks, soft drinks, juices, cigarettes, water, etc—on unfixed but strategic routes to circulate. They have accumulated the knowledge of the space and time favorable for sale. About time, they usually start at 5 am and end at different hours depending on the amounts of morning sale, climate, or other personal or business circumstances. In general, they work every day sometimes up to 15 or 16 hours and the daily profits vary between PhP 300 (USD \$ 5.60) to PhP 900 (USD \$ 16.8) without counting the self-consumption.

Thanks to larger mobility, vending tricycles have access to the main tourist places or main points of reunion for Filipino. For instance, it can be found around 30 to 50 tricycles in Manila bay or in Rizal Park. In order to pay the location daily or monthly fee, most of them belong to a group or association that negotiates with authorities and syndicates. Tricycles can be considered as a family investment and more than one or two persons are engaged in daily operation of this type of micro-businesses. They need to adapt a tricycle in order to make it a mini *Sari-Sari* store. Similar situation occurs to individual vendor. The Badjau woman in Picture 7l received a hand track vehicle as a gift by a regular customer, an engineer living in a mansion of Manila that jogs every morning in Manila bay.

³¹⁵ Sometimes a member of the family helps them with purchases in the wholesale markets; in other cases they make purchases themselves.

It transformed her vending style, using a basket and a wooden box. With the car she can bring hot water to prepare powder drinks and noodles. She can also sell branded biscuits and bread with something close to Nutella. All the products are stored in a basket (see Picture 7m) and sometimes in plastic bags.

Pictures 7j, 7k, 7l, 7m: The conquest of the market space: Mobile vendors



Picture 7j. Tricycle at Manila Bay, nearby Dakota slum where the vendor lives



Picture 7k. Tricycle vendor and a friend at Manila Bay nearby Dakota slum where they live



Picture 7l. Badjau woman vendor at Dakota slum



Picture 7m. Badjau woman vendor's repository bag

Source: Research fieldwork, 2015-2016

There are also Yakult and branded ice creams vendors in slums (see Pictures 7n and 7o). Ice cream vendors (Doeppers, 2016) and Yakult is one the pioneers of a business model including slum women. They are the sales force. Nowadays, most of the food manufacturing corporations have retail programs relying on women vendors (Payaud, 2014; Jacobs and Richter, 2017). Corporate ice creams and Yakult are not a priority for household consumption, but vendors walk through slums every day. First, it is because it is the place they live in and second, because they already have a list of slum clients. Even if this customer base is smaller in comparison to what can be sold in a public park or in Manila bay, they have a type of loyalty and close relationship that Filipino labels as *Suki*.

Pictures 7n, 7o: The conquest of the market space: yakult and corporate Ice-cream



Picture 7n. Yakult vendor at Tatalon market, Quezon City



Picture 7o. Corporate ice-creams' vendor at Dakota

Source: Research fieldwork, 2015-2016

Evidently, these women vendors do not sell what they produce. Moreover, unlike previous cases, they do not own the business. They work for authorized distributors in a specific urban area. They do not receive wages but commissions of 12 or 15 percent for each product they sell. The working schedule reaches from 10 to 13 hours a day, and they obtain between 500 (USD \$ 9.5) to 1000 PhP (USD \$ 18.7) depending the day. Yakult vendors—2 in Malate near Dakota and 1 in Tatalon near Kubo—anonously showed their thermal box where they had other products³¹⁶ on sale in addition to Yakult. In these cases, there is not only exploitation of women's energy but also appropriation of their social relations in the slums and surrounding neighborhoods by industrial capital. And as in the cases of previous cases in fixed, semi-fixed vendors, there is a substitution of productive activities for purely commercial activities. Vendors, as human beings, neither use their abilities and creative capacities to produce, nor construct social relations of production independent to capitalists' interests. In the following section we will continue with these implications from a political economy perspective.

³¹⁶ Those are biscuits, juices and mineral water, practice that is not accepted by Yakult but they said that most vendors do.

7.6. Appropriation of slum food consumption: Tying market and meanings via CPF

Appropriation as a political economy concept includes the subordination of material or tangible things such as land, water, minerals and rural and industrial products. In such respects, David Goodman and co-authors theoretically advanced through the construction of the concepts of *appropriationism* and *substitutionism* discussed in section 7.2. Science and technology are the core instruments for the capital appropriation of rural labor and the natural process of food production. From a historical time-line there is a departing point from the 1820s until present days (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Industrial appropriation of rural labor, natural production process and food consumption

Period	Advanced Industrialized Nations	
	Appropriation of rural labor and natural production process	Appropriation process of food consumption
1690s-1820	Pre-Industrial phase	Canning was invented in France (1809)
1820s-1870s	Appropriation of agricultural implements	
	- Ploughs; machines small grains harvest	
	Appropriation of plant nutrient supply	
	- Oil cake, fertilizers, nitrogen economy (ammonia)	
1870s-1930s	- New energy bases - From whole foods to refined foods	The beginning of the industrial diet
		Substitutionism in food & fibre processing before 1914:
		- Large scale food processing & food preservation
		- flour milling; - dairy products; - margarine
		- canning & refrigeration; - meat processing
		- from patent flour to wheaties
		Early branding
1914 -	Appropriation of science and biological innovation	Substitutionism in food & fibre processing after 1914
	- Hybrid seeds & New Genetic chemicals	The Modern food system
1930s- 1980	- Livestock production	- Product fractionating & fabricated foods
	- Green revolution (1944~)	The intensification of the industrial diet
	- Use of aerial photos in agriculture	- Speeding up the making of food
	- synthetic nitrogen fertilizer.	- simplification of whole food
	- pesticides	- Adulteration of pseudo-food
	- modern irrigation projects	Marketing and branding improvements
1980s-	Nutrigenomics y Nutritionist science	Industrial diet goes global
	- low-fat, no-cholesterol, high-fiber, new additives	- Functional food (From Japan to the world)
	- Nutritionism for children	- Time-saving technologies
2000s-	- Genetic modified organisms (plants)	- Food adapted to market needs (e.g. small size sachets)
	- Oceanic fertilization	- Nutrition for adults
	- Digitalization of agriculture, Big Data & Block chain	- Personalized diet (DNA and AI)
	- Gene Drives Organisms and Synthetic Biology	Sophistication of marketing and branding techniques

Source: Own elaboration based on Goodman et.al, 1987; Goodman and Redcliff, 1991; Pollan, 2008; Winson, 2013; Truninger, 2013; ETC, 2018; Bloomberg, 2018.

Since the nineteenth century 'there is discontinuous but persistent effort to undermine discrete elements of agriculture that results in their transformation into industrial activities and their re-incorporation into agriculture as inputs' (Goodman, et.al, 1987:17) and simultaneously, there is a permanent process to efficiently achieve the industrial production of food, including CPF, which results in an increased **substitution** of agricultural products by non-agricultural components.³¹⁷

In technologically advanced nations, the state strongly supported the capital accumulation of agri-business. This class alliance was a platform for expansion of production in strategic commodities such as grain, which in turn lowered corn prices that facilitated the market expansion of pork, poultry and beef. The expansion of beef production also impacted on dairy industry. There are other similar stories in commodities such as maize, sugar, coffee, soy, cacao, etc., that are connected to the growth and expansion of other segments of manufactured food.

The remarkable increase of food processing and food manufacturing was witnessed from the mid-1950s to the 1980s. Consequently, those industrial food products invaded households in economically advanced nations where consumers could afford highly processed and differentiated foods (Goodman, 1997) and since the end-1990s they have further engulfed large populations of enhanced economic capacity in China and other emerging countries.

Until here, the concept of *appropriationism*, connected to *substitutionism*, serves as the basis for understanding the expansion of industrial capital worldwide. This theoretical explanation at the macro level, if not explicitly, assumed that the capital expansion would try to reach the whole planet but this effort would be resisted by multiple networks and political movements, essentially rural or connected to rural areas (Goodman and Dupuis, 2002; Goodman, 2007; Goodman, et.al, 2012). The failure was not to think enough about urban areas, particularly slums that are mostly disconnected from rural-based political movements or unlinked with middle-class food politics such as organic, fair-trade, slow food movements and other networks. But the political projects of organic food or gardening in slums are hardly seen or those are irrelevant nationally and internationally. Furthermore, in Brazil and Mexico where CPF has penetrated into slums since the 1990s and people experienced obesity and other health pandemics (GRAIN, 2015; Jacobs and Rihtel, 2017) but there is not a strong political reaction. Contrarily, slums' purchasing cooperatives or organizations linked to governmental food programs or NGO interventions are using CPF, even during political demonstrations.³¹⁸ The same situations were observed in Metro Manila's slums in Malate and Tatalon in 2015 and 2016.

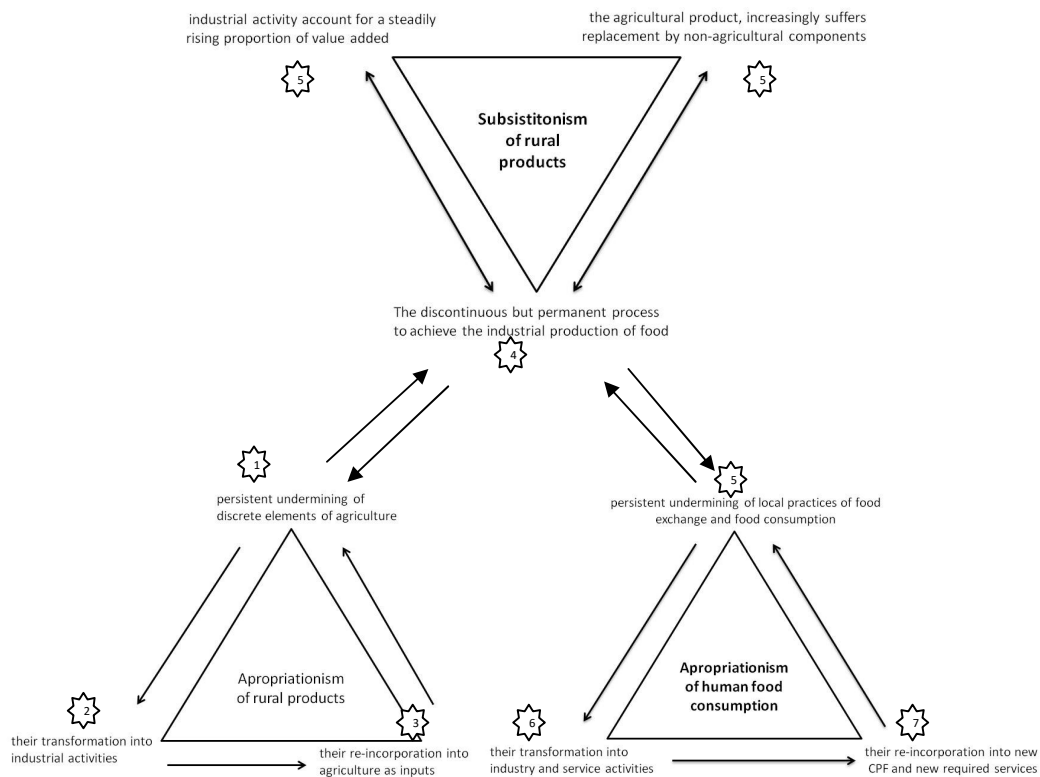
In general, slums populations: i) are not reacting, organizationally and politically, to criticize the noxious substances of the CPF that affect their bodies and to construct alternative ways to produce or obtain food; ii) are not interested or do not know of alternatives to industrial food that emerged in other social segments, and iii) are beneficiaries or at least, they are aware of the governmental programs, NGOs, foundations, intervening in slums and they want to receive money or goods. In such respect, CPF is an important organizational instrument for social communication and for

³¹⁷ This phenomenon can be observed by a rising proportion of value added derived from industrial activities.

³¹⁸ In Latin-America riots during economic or political crisis, in urban riots, it is common to observe people looting large quantities of CPF in supermarkets and convenience stores.

strengthening inter-personal relationships with slum dwellers. These facts reflect that there is a process of *appropriation* of food consumption of slum populations that needs an explanation. In the following paragraphs it is argued that the category of *appropriationism* (partnered to *substitutionism*) can be extended to better elucidate the appropriation of human food consumption, now also covering the urban bottom.

Figure 7.2. Appropriation of human food consumption



Source: Own elaboration based on Goodman, Sorj and Wilkinson (1987), Goodman and Redcliff (1991) and author research findings (2015-2017)

For this study appropriationism of human food consumption can be defined as *the persistent effort of capital to identify and understand local and traditional practices of food exchange, food preparation and food consumption, their transformation into industrial and service activities and their re-incorporation into new versions of corporate packaged food—affordable, available, adaptable—and new required services* (see Figure 7.2). This claim is based on the information presented in previous chapters and sections of this dissertation referring to the CPF penetration in the slum householders' sphere of market and meanings. I found out that most of current CPF products are appropriations of previous local food practices. Those products took essential parts of popular traditions, names, customary dishes, and flavors, and multiple stories and uniqueness of the Filipino common sense that now form a part of advertising campaigns. Thereby, appropriation of food consumption, in general and of the Filipino poor in particular is a result of a process managed by corporations that includes the identification and study of local culture, the convert significant

local practices into industrial and service activities and finally re-incorporation into society via new versions of branded food penetrating the market and meanings spheres (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2 Appropriation phases of slum food consumption

Food Practice	Study of local and traditional	Transformation into		Re-incorporation into	
		Industrial activity	Service activity	New versions of CPF	New required services
Food Exchange	Fixed points of sale -from rural foodstuffs, home-made and local products to CPF -a piece, few quantity OK -credit as a key customer relationship practice -supplies from wholesale markets and terminal	-Manufacturing small pieces (sachets, bottles, bags, cans) -Preparing individual serves	-Modifying supply chains to be short, just in time and without product waste. -Offering partnership with local distributors -Hiring or partnering with women as distributors	Same or new brand with: -less grams or milliliters -new flavors -an extra pack	Occupying market sphere via: -One-piece retailing -Few pieces retailing Penetrating meaning sphere via new forms of marketing: -Sponsoring facades, -Exploiting grocer faces, -Sponsoring sports events, etc. -Persuading people to become self-entrepreneurs -Targeting housewives
	Semi-fixed vendors (sv) -main streets & parks -from rural foodstuffs, home-made and local products to CPF -a piece, few quantity OK -only cash -supplies from wholesale markets and terminal Mobile vendors -same as semi-fixed (sv) -basic vehicles or baskets -specialization in one or few products on sale Mostly women in charge	-Packing of 12 pieces easy to cut and or easy to transport -Canning with a pull-top can ring top			
Food preparation and Food consumption	Preparing and consuming food in family or group	Manuf. individual serves ready to eat.			Occupying market sphere via: -New delivery services (supply on demand)
	-Barbecuing, sautéing, boiling, stewing, fish, chicken, pork, with vegetables and poaching. -Eating pork products such as chorizo, longanisa, lechon, etc. -Preparing rice, noodles and some soups or consommés in basic pots -Preparing traditional dishes -Breakfasting rice with salty fish -Eating home-made fish sauces -Eating home-made vinegars and coconut and other plants' oils -Eating home-made or local made desserts and candies -Eating fruits	Manufacturing, canning and packaging: -fish & meats as dishes -sausages, hams and hamburgers -noodles, soups and creams -seasonings and condiments with meat and fish flavors -biscuits, cookies, and candies -snacks with local flavor	-Supply chains to provide on daily basis -Modifying supply chains to be short, just in time and based on cheap ingredients and cheap labor -Supplying small quantities of product in a can or package	Same or new brand with: -new sizes -less grams or milliliters -new flavors -an extra pack	Penetrating meaning sphere via new forms of marketing: -New types of advertising (BoP Marketing). -Targeting mothers and children -Advertising the idea of "sharing" but contradictorily based on individual serves
	-Breastfeeding and giving rice with water for malnourished children -Drinking milk and dairy products from local farms or local produces -Drinking barako (local) coffee and cacao tablets -Drinking fruit juices	Manufacturing powdered milk, cereal drinks, coffee, juices in small sachets			

Source: Own elaboration based on field research and analysis, 2016-2018

Food manufacturing corporations continuously adapt their production capacities in order to offer improved versions of their own products. Those transformations are found in information and investigation of vendors' and householders' food practices. Vendors have their own habits and traditions that include their vehicles or stalls, location, vending routes, forms of approaching to

customers, forms of collecting money, time and place to acquire merchandise in wholesale markets, and what to sell from home-made or artisanal products to those manufactured by local SMEs or by large corporations, etc. Slum women dwellers have a large number of habits for preparing and consuming food³¹⁹ in which history and culture are embedded.

Manufacturing food and package food in small pieces (sachets, cans, bottles and synthetic bags) was fundamental corporate transformation of their production lines in the 1990s. Inherently corporations also transformed supply chains and marketing strategies³²⁰. The result is the frequent introduction of food brands or new versions of existing brands that incorporated history, culture, habits, traditions and any other meaningful practices of food preparation and consumption of a slum family.³²¹

At the slum household level, CPF facilitates the appropriation of human food consumption by reason of a simultaneous connection between market and meanings spheres. It implies a permanent presence of CPF in the slum market, offered in an affordable price, and adapted to tastes and other cultural-related preferences.

a) Availability: tying market and meanings in time and space

The set of pictures presented in section 7.3, particularly Picture 7f showing a mini *Sari-Sari* store being ready in cases of flooding, and Picture 7g showing the wall of CPF are ubiquitous images of the compression of time and space that strongly penetrates into the people's common sense. It shows the actual possibility of access to food anytime and in any circumstances. This is a powerful corporate message to the world itself. Symbolically speaking, capital is saying, 'I am able to be in the most abandoned places of the world, and the best is that people loves me.' In a critical perspective, we can be alert of the risk of being dependent on corporate supplies, but this claim is not raised by the slums dwellers.

In dwellers' common sense the physical presence of CPF in slum market means a factual opportunity for acquisition of affordable food. A few of them, mostly elder and mature adult women, might be aware of potential health risks of excessive consumption but the fact of increasing dependence on capital is practically invisible for all of them.

Furthermore, the *perishability* advantage—extended preservation time of packaged food in comparison to vegetables and fruits—, the protection against rats' bites or other insects' and animals' attacks on food, and credit provided by *Sari-Sari* stores make CPF a strong capitalist device to appropriate human food consumption.

³¹⁹ The most relevant are listed in table 7.2 and discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

³²⁰ Indubitably, corporations have understood that women are the key actors in both exchange and consumption. Most of slum micro-businesses are managed by women, and they are the persons in charge of the family budget, food preparation, children's education and cultural formation, etc. For this reason corporations target the discourse of self entrepreneurship on women and also the advertising campaigns.

³²¹ This logic must be similar to those households' consumers living outside slums, however the food habits have variations according to the class and the role of woman as income earner and in the household management seems to be critical for the success of a family in slum. Critical in the sense of risks of suffering an accident provoked by constant slum calamities or derived of a precarious or vicious life. Slum children in comparison to those in middle or high classes have less cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1984).

b) Affordability: tying market and meanings in price and quantity

Affordability is a meaningful characteristic of CPF available in the slum market sphere. Canned corned meat, canned tuna and canned condensed milk of renowned brands are the most expensive products circulating in the slum market. Their prices are around 38 PhP to 43 PhP (USD\$ 0.82) and the quantities are between 220 to 275 grams, and the cheapest products are candies and snacks of only 1 PhP (USD\$ 0.19). Dozens of other CPF are sold between those affordable prices for the majority of slum households, and evidently *Sari-Sari* stores' credit is a lifeline in the wreckage of poverty.

In this study, the key point is that although most of CPF is not recognized by governments as a part of the labor force diet, in practice, low-income classes do frequently eat it by reason of the cheap price (Nestle, 2013; GRAIN, 2015; Clapp and Scrinis, 2017). The reasons behind the cheap price of CPF vary depending on the perspective of analyses. From a critical political economy point of view, Marx (1867) argues that the value of labor power is the value of the commodities the workers must consume to replenish their capacity to work. In order to increase the mass of profits, capital improves their production capacities and reduces the value of commodities that are required for labor survival and reproduction. In short, the capital requires that the value of the commodities that workers consume must be less than the value of the commodities they produce. The appropriation of necessary labor time that makes this difference is the surplus value.³²² The relative surplus value includes technological and organizational improvements in the line of production that increases productivity in those sectors of the economy that produce a worker's substantial needs—including food—and thereby, reduces the necessary time for producing the value equivalent to the salary paid to labor.

In particular about low price of CPF, GRAIN (2015) listed several explanatory factors including: the corporate oligopoly that controls the distribution of food; free trade agreements as a gate through which more CPF products have entered developing countries; governmental support to make CPF reach the largest number of consumers, generally the poorest people; the corporate ability to maintain the price by increasing sales despite disincentive measures by policy makers such as junk food taxes. In addition, Clapp and Furch (2009) also mention that the oligopsony power of retail chains puts pressure on suppliers, and represents themselves as guardians of consumer interests, which they do with respect to both prices and quality. In sum, the capability of corporations to offer cheap packaged food gives them a privileged position to appropriate consumption of large populations.

c) Adaptability: tying market and meanings in taste and sight

The third pillar of the successful introduction of corporate products in slums is the capacity to adapt them to local infrastructural and environmental constraints and local cultural traditions, including

³²² Marx (1867) explains this phenomenon in sections 5 and 6: Absolute and Relative Surplus-Value.

tastes. Bourdieu (1984) considerably contributed to the understanding of tastes differences between classes. He argues that those segments of society with a high level of economic and cultural capital are most likely to influence and to determine taste standards within society. Those populations at the bottom, with lower volumes of cultural, social, and economic capital generally accept this taste and unconsciously legitimate the class distinction of taste. According to Bourdieu, working class misrecognition of ruling classes' defining 'taste' as necessity denies their culture and tradition of what is and what is not good taste. In short, they denied their own *aesthetics* while accepting the dominant meaning of taste. This reasoning largely explains the increased acceptance of CPF by slum populations, but additionally a new research on taste has shown that taste preferences of each person, regardless of their social classes, can be manipulated by food scientists using artificial sweet, sour, salty and bitter flavors (Roudot, 2004).

The key point for this study is that both socio-cultural and scientific mechanisms to create taste preferences exist and both are used by corporations to dominate the sphere of meanings that complements the circulation of products in the slum markets. In section 7.3, we learned how Nestlé has the organizational capabilities to select from dozens of options the products that can be better adapted to the slum circumstances in Manila. This is a remarkable corporate power that needs to be understood and discussed by aware civil society, social and political organizations resisting or building alternatives to capitalism. The better one understands the corporate hegemonic power the better one designs and implements strategies to resist or overpass capitalism.

d) CPF consumption and the unempancipation

The descriptions above are significant representations of our consumption era. A time of manufactured food consumption is a remarkable proof of historical change at the bottom of the urban societies. To be clear, please imagine Friedrich Engels researching in Manchester slums in 1843, Antonio Gramsci speaking in the working-class neighborhoods of Turin and Milan in 1918, and Paulo Freire teaching in Recife's *favelas* in the 1950s and 1960s. The three would discuss with the population in order to awake conscience and to stimulate desire for action. Their discourses surely pointed out the issues of hunger or malnutrition, family consumption or community reproduction in the context of food scarcity and marginalization. They surely discussed the problems derived from consumption of rotten food, so, the necessity of a constant flow of fresh rural products as well.

Discourses to awaken consciousness of personal liberation and collective emancipation in the slums of the 21st century have been altered by the presence of affordable CPF. This food can be preserved longer time than natural rural foodstuffs, it has flavors and textures that people like, it is promoted on mass media 24 hours a day, and their physical presence covers all the geographical points where a human being lives: from home to school, work, parks, hospitals, etc. and even in places with constant floods as we saw in Picture 7g. These points notably alter the discourse of the intellectual political actor that seeks to awaken awareness and motivate action. There is no longer much need to resort to a political struggle because hunger and the nutritional discourses do not penetrate in the majority of slum dwellers, except for women and men who are already suffering

from a disease that impedes them from consuming CPF or a minority of women who had opportunity to work for a long period as housekeepers in a middle or rich class family who has food consciousness and healthy habits.

In reality a large proportion of the marginalized population perceives that corporations provide products that solve their consumption problems. Furthermore, many women start to earn money by selling these products and at the same time keep a part of the products for self-consumption. This micro-entrepreneurial practice, originated from necessity as a means of survival in the context of urban misery, has fueled even more the individualist discourse of “self-entrepreneurship” promoted by the alliance of corporations-governments-business management scholars and mainstream economists promoting BoP businesses or saving capitalism by “including” the 4 billion with less than 2.5 USD a day (Prahalad, 2010; World Bank, 2007; Porter and Kramer, 2011).

In the end, corporate is winning the battle for market, minds and mouths (Lang and Heasman, 2004). CPF is colonizing market space and intensively penetrating people’s minds by mass media and other multiple forms of advertising. As we observed through the chapters, corporations already form a part of the market and meanings spheres (Chapters 5 and 6), and they are appropriating the food consumption of a household by substituting rural products by industrial food, including those that are packaged, bottled and canned. Additionally, manufacturing corporations are also implementing programs that appropriate women’s time, energy and skills to sell (see chapter four and additional documented cases in Africa, Asia and Latin America, e.g. Payaud, 2014; Funahashi, 2013; Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015; Jacobs and Richtel, 2017). This economic phenomenon implicitly has social and political consequences, among which deskilling and cultural loss are frequently discussed in food and society literature. In the following section, I will conclude by summing up the key points of the corporate appropriation of slum food consumption through the penetration and conquest of their spheres of market and meanings and the increasing proportion of CPF in the total food consumption of a slum household.

7.7. Conclusion

Food manufacturing corporations are appropriating the slum food consumption through the increasing penetration of packaged, bottled and canned foods and conquering the spheres of market and meanings. The conquest of the slum market is observed in the quantity of CPF occupying space in the micro *Sari-Sari* stores, in the street vendors’ vehicles and distributors’ storage places. In Metro Manila the supply system in function is able to provide CPF on a daily basis and even by one-piece basis. Global corporations retailing CPF in slums have capacities to select among dozens of different branded products worldwide among which a few are going to introduce in slums. At the same time, slum micro-retailers have capacity to adapt their vending places even in situations of floods. The Picture 7f exhibited in this chapter is a clear example of this situation.

The conquest of peoples’ minds is made via four main interrelated BoP marketing tools: TV advertising, celebrity endorsement, sponsoring events, and outdoor advertising. These mechanisms

of marketing spread a constructed discourse of “wellness” for consumers in particular and at the same time promote the idea that corporations are benefiting society as a whole. In this sense, the conquest of mind should be understood beyond the advertising of CPF quantitative and qualitative attributes of affordability, availability and adaptability, but as a socio-cultural conquest. Slogans and corporate messages invade and influence individual and collective common sense about what food means and how it is distributed and consumed. In the end, the general common sense perceives CPF as “natural” or ‘taking its existence for granted’ without questioning who produced it, where, how, by what purposes and so on.

These two conquests, running in parallel but linked to each other, fundamentally explain the extended domination of capital to the bottom of society. Nowadays, on average, 31.8 percent of total food consumption is CPF but some households surpass the 55 percent while in the early 1980s this proportion was less than ten percent (see Chapter 5). It is an appropriation of slum dwellers’ food consumption by food manufacturing corporations (industrial capital in its food manufacturing branch). Appropriation, as an ontology of contemporary industrial capitalism, is argued to be an extension of category of *appropriationism* (Goodman et.al, 1987) but at the same time it is directly influenced by a sensitive reading of Marx (1867)’s Chapter 22 (Chapter 24 in the French and English edition) and Chapter 13 (Chapter 15 in the French and English edition). In the former, Marx uses the term appropriation to explain a part of an argument on an important section of the transformation of surplus value in capital. In the latter, Marx uses the term appropriation to exhibit how capital is able to dominate without mercy, the production and the consumption, of the most vulnerable such as slum women and children.

In political economy of food, *Appropriationism* (and its twin concept *Substitutionism*) is a fundamental concept that explains the subsumption of rural labor and natural production of food by industrial capital but that also involves consumption: ‘the physiological requirements of human consumption have constrained the efforts of industrial capitals to substitute industrial products for agricultural food and raw materials. Nevertheless, the expansion of the food industry arises from a progressive tendency to achieve the industrial production of food, whether by reducing the rural product to a simple industrial input or eliminating its use entirely...this tendency began by breaking the direct links between field and table, producer and consumer (Goodman and Redliff, 1991:91).³²³

Based on the research findings in Manila, it is possible to argue that the discontinuous but permanent process to achieve industrial production of food analyzed by Goodman et.al (1987) not only relates to the appropriationism of rural production but also the appropriationism of food consumption. The industrial production, packaging, bottling and canning of food persistently undermines local practices of food exchange and food consumption. Since the 2000s the industrial capital have been rapidly adapting their production purposes, and instead of retailing as big bottles, packages or cans, they manufacture small pieces from 9 to 155 grams—depending the CPF sub-segment—and march into micro-stores, even those in the most difficult urban places to have access

³²³ Indeed, the understanding of the simultaneous relation production-consumption is innate to the critical political economy. Marx in its introduction to the outline of the critique of political economy (1857) precisely starts explaining the dialectical relation between production, distribution, exchange and consumption, and the relations of production and relations of circulation.

to. At the same time, corporations are learning from the market reaction and re-adapt their products either with new flavors or directly appropriating traditional food flavors and even complete dishes, for instance in Manila, *Tinola Manok* consome cubes, or sachets with *Isda Tamarind* seasoning that Unilever's Knorr retails, both traditional flavors of the Filipino culinary culture. Also, San Miguel Purefoods and CDO corporations are canning *Adobo*, *Tocino*, *longanisa* and *Karne gusado*, some traditional dishes in the Philippines. These are just few of dozens of examples of CPF appropriating culinary culture of the Philippines.

In sum, the 'appropriation' concept includes the industrial capacity to substitute not only labor and nature in production, but also the food preparation and consumption capacities of a person, a family or a community as a whole. Advances in food science embedded in CPF make human beings require less internal biochemical processes to digest food and fewer enzymes to enjoy taste (Roudot, 2004). Additionally, due to the increasing presence of CPF in slum households' diets, a large number of people is using less time, knowledge and skills to prepare and consume food. It is a phenomenon that would demand further research efforts, particularly to explore socio-cultural and political economy implications for slums, mega-cities and nations.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Approximately 12 percent of the world population lives in slums of the global south. In Metro Manila, the existence of more than 2,000 squatters and more than four million slum dwellers reflect its position as one of the most densely populated cities in the world (UN Habitat, 2012). Insecurity and precariousness at the bottom of the urban society is far from being a solved issue, and yet it is an ongoing phenomenon. Inner demographic growth, rural misery, conflict, land dispossession, climate change, and many other causes are still driving people to migrate to urban cities, and as a result, the access to food becomes one of the main present and future concerns.

Although abundant literature has discussed food security, nutrition and health, women and children vulnerabilities, etc., but they over emphasize on 'low-income' and other socio-economic pre-conceptions that are imprecise. First, not all low-income live in slums and not all slum dwellers are low-income earners. Second, most of the studies largely fail to differentiate between the exchange and consumption of rural foodstuffs and corporate packaged food (CPF). CPF in this study refers to manufactured food that is packaged, bottled or canned and is retailed by using a corporate brand. Third, those scholars studying branded food in slums, who are mostly promoters of an incoherent and spurious idea of "inclusive" business at the bottom of the social pyramid (BoP), evidently lack of critical perspective to uncover the corporate interests linked not only to profits but also to domination of the masses—with all the exploitative, fetishized and alienated effects that result in a subjugation of human beings.

Differently, the chapter 3 to 7 of this dissertation showed that food consumption can be studied with a perspective that combines insights from critical political economy, sociology, anthropology, and business management. This eclectic set of knowledge is a solid platform for the analysis of complexities and contradictions surrounding food practices in different levels and hierarchies of contemporary society. The research relied on quantitative and qualitative approaches and gathered data from fieldwork and from secondary sources. Semi-structured interviews were done with 61 women of three generations and 8 *Sari-Sari* store grocers living slums located in Malate, Tatalon and Payatas districts of Metro Manila. The total fieldwork was of 88 days distributed in three different seasons: December, 2015—Christmas season—, March-April, 2016—the hottest period of the year, school holiday and eastern celebrations, and August-September 2016—rainy, typhoon and floods seasons. This strategy was effective in order to observe retail and consumption of CPF in different climatic and socio-cultural circumstances. Those periods were also pre-electoral, electoral and post-electoral. Researching during times of candidates running for the Presidency and other regional and local political positions in the Philippines enriched the political understanding of Filipino society, particularly in slums.

In the following, a summary of the main findings and discussion points are presented by order and according to the chapters of the dissertation. Subsequently, some of the socio-cultural and political implications of CPF food consumption are delineated, and in the end, further research topics are discussed.

8.1. Summary

Chapter 1 positioned CPF as an object of study of political economy.³²⁴ There is a consensus that a vast majority of urban populations have higher interest in consuming rather than producing food. If most populations are consumers rather than producers, undoubtedly there is a dependence on 'others' to cultivate, harvest, process, package, storage, and prepare (healthy) food. The food dependency is even higher for slum populations by reason of their historical structural backwardness and the lack of production means. For this reason, this study was motivated to answer the questions: if these factors of backwardness and dependence increase the role of food corporations to satisfy slum populations' basic needs and furthermore to appropriate their food consumption practices? Such lagged productive capacities mean that those populations are destined to live in backwardness, and to mostly eat processed food? Can slum populations find spaces for their own emancipation through an aware and conscientious food exchange and consumption practice, for instance, constructing links with local farmers or becoming themselves self-producers of a part of the food—natural and processed—they consume?

In order to answer these questions, the first step was to search in literature the accumulation of knowledge and to prepare fieldwork research. Three groups of literature were identified: i) political economy of food in slums; ii) slums food literature, which covers other sub-disciplines of social sciences; iii) packaged food and corporate power. Albeit the recognition of their academic work, I found that for the case of slums no social scientist has yet seriously examined both the main factors and conditions for the incursion of CPF into the slum market sphere, and the meanings of CPF for slum dwellers.

In this regard, chapter 2 presented the analytical framework for the analysis of the market and meanings spheres and clarifies the key concepts: corporate packaged food, slums, household, and women generations. The main theoretical assumption was that food consumption takes place in two main spheres: the *spheres of market*, identified by the permanent exchange of commodities, and the *sphere of meanings*, recognized by symbols, icons, signs, references, thoughts that accompany the need and desire of wish of food (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). A relevant discussion point in this chapter was to define slums not only as places of precarious infrastructure, insecurity, insanitation, etc., but also as a dynamic place where permanent construction of meanings occurs.

³²⁴ In this study political economy refers to the dialectical study of economic processes affecting social, cultural and political processes and outcomes or vice-versa: political processes affecting social, cultural and economic processes and outcomes. But, in the context of exchange and consuming of food, political economy should be understood in a broader perspective. It comprises historical, social and cultural facts embedded in the structural conditions of a society and in the specific situational food consumption practices (Bourdieu, 1984; Atkins and Bowler, 2001; Warde, 2016). Second, exchange was defined as the reciprocal movements taking place between 'hands' under a market system (Polanyi, 1957). Barter, gifts and counter-gifts of CPF are also considered as a food practice of exchange subsumed in the market sphere. And by consumption, this study refers to the individual appropriation of an object—a use value—that brings gratification after the satisfaction of a need (Marx, 1857). Consumption is not a synonym of purchasing, if so, the narrow definition reduces human being into a simply buyer. Differently, this study considered a consumer as human being with all the intellectual and emotional potentialities to recognize and appreciate the moments of use of a product that fulfills their physical and mental necessities such as pleasure, comfort, joy, convenience, among other meanings.

Chapter 3, historical review of CPF exchange and consumption in Manila, showed that the current process of industrial capital to penetrate, influence and dominate the market and meanings spheres is the result of a historical process that draws back more than 150 years—around the 1870s—when the first European entrepreneurs, particularly Swiss and German, and the Spanish bourgeoisie who settled down in Manila started to manufacture and retail CPF, and the slums of the time were mostly inhabited by marginalized Chinese and Chinese-Filipino. Interestingly, nowadays the Chinese Filipino corporations along with Nestlé—that officially started operations in Manila in 1911—are the dominant actors of the CPF industry in the Philippines, including the Manila slums.

Chapter 4, analysis of market and meanings spheres in the Sari-Sari store, showed that CPF represents on average 54.5 percent of the store profits, which is significantly higher than that of the end of 1970s and early 1980s when CPF represented less than 10 percent of the store revenues (Silverio, 1982). The main categories of meaning of CPF for slum grocers relates to business. CPF becomes indispensable for running a business in slums, but at the same time, CPF extends the fetishization of retail practice. In the common sense of slum populations, running a Sari-Sari store signifies the first step to progress; it is an activity for financially supporting their children's education, which in turn is expected to pay back to the family. But, in reality, a minority of Sari-Sari store children would succeed in this task; a vast majority would remain at the slum, reproducing a new generation of dominated bottom class and at the same time facilitating the capital realization, accumulation, and expansion.

Chapter 5 and 6, respectively, presented the results of the analysis of the spheres of market and meanings at the slum household level. CPF represents on average 31.8 percent of the total food consumption of a slum household, but there are some families where CPF accounts for more than 60 percent of their total diet. The proportion of consumption is significantly higher in comparison to their estimated equivalent in the 1980s, when the consumption of CPF was limited to few products such as milk, soft drinks, cheap snacks, and occasionally to canned goods (Ponce, 1986). This information coincides with the abovementioned study of Sari-Sari Stores in early 1980s and also with the life history account given by 61 slum women. In their memories, CPF was playing a less important role in their consumption habits, but in their minds—the sphere of meanings—CPF was permanently present as wish or a symbolic representation of desired status. Nowadays, under a context of daily retail and consumption of CPF in slums, it was found five categories of meaning: physiological, rational, socio-cultural, affective and related to their occupation. One person can have different meanings for a product, but those meanings cannot be taken as the only factors to consume CPF. Consumption is driven by a reasoning simultaneously including elements of the market and meanings spheres. To some people, market reasons (price, quantity, availability, acquisition by credit in the *Sari-Sari* store, etc) can be more important than meanings, but it can be also the other way around. Whatever the case may be, most would agree that both, meanings and market reasons, are indispensable triggers for consumption—which, in political economy terms, signifies the capital realization and reproduction.

Chapter 7 is the discussion chapter. Here I proposed that appropriation is the proper category or ontology of capitalism (Rossi, 2013; Roberts, 2011) to explain the domination of slum

dwellers' food consumption by food manufacturing corporations. This claim is based on a sensitive reading of Marx's Chapters 13 and 22 of *Das Capital*—the former refers to the appropriation of the labor force and life time of women and children, and the latter deals with the laws of capitalists' appropriation of surplus value—and based on the remarkable work made by David Goodman and co-authors while explaining the process of appropriation of rural labor, the natural process of food production, and substitution of rural foodstuffs by industrial products. This appropriation of labor and nature is the historical and theoretical pre-condition for the appropriation of human food consumption by industrial capital. In this sense, this study elucidated that there is an ongoing appropriation of slum dwellers' food consumption in Metro Manila, a phenomenon that we can assume is occurring worldwide.

The appropriation of slum dwellers' food consumption is being done through the conquest of slum populations' mind—the meanings sphere—and slums' market spaces such as micro stores, stalls, street vendors and local distributor vehicles—the market sphere. On the one hand by using a mix of marketing tools, corporations intensively position their brand names, logos, mascots, and slogans in the slums' meanings sphere. Corporate messages praise themselves as “socially responsible” or as entities capable to “share value” to the unprivileged. On the other hand, food corporations have managed to manufacture and retail one piece or small size products in an affordable price, available 365 days of a year, and adaptable to local tastes or local culinary culture—e.g. packaged or canned *adobo*, *longanisa*, *chorizo*, *pancit*, etc. The systemic necessity of capital to accumulate and reproduce and at the same time the existence of a margin to growth—from 31.8 percent until reaching the total food consumption—make us conclude that the processes of penetration, conquest and appropriation of food consumption would continue, and might have important social, cultural and political effects on present and future generations of slum dwellers. The following two sections further elaborate this claim.

8.2. Answers and new questions

Building upon the accumulated information and knowledge in previous chapters, this section discusses some answers for the research questions that motivated this study. First, if backwardness and inner dependence on 'others' to produce food would increase further the role of food corporations to satisfy slum populations' basic needs? The answer is yes; a key finding of this study is that the demand of CPF is primarily a response to the structural backwardness stemming from:

- precarious infrastructure—limited potable water, rudimentary kitchen spaces, limited food storage, lack of kitchenware and home appliances, etc.—, poor sanitation, education, health, transport, information services, irregular jobs, overcrowded houses,
- lack of means of food production—space, energy, water, resources, equipment. Some families, where older people who were peasants and fishermen have died, are even lacking the knowledge to produce their own food.
- calamities such as floods, fires or typhoons.

There are other set of drivers that also are a reflection from historical backwardness and specific situations in a household such as: i) broken families, single mothers, vices, laziness; ii) slum householders' attraction to taste different flavors, sizes, and their needs according to age, e.g. children or social role, e.g. mothers; iii) comfort from, curiosity about and even addiction to certain products. Indeed, through women's life histories it was possible to identify that these three set of drivers are part of their sphere of meanings, their common sense, since childhood until present. The identified categories of meanings of CPF for slum women are: Physiological,³²⁵ Rational,³²⁶ Socio-cultural,³²⁷ Affective,³²⁸ and Occupational.³²⁹ The identification of those meanings in women's minds gives us an idea of the symbolic link that slum populations have with corporations to satisfy their needs.

These abovementioned drivers of consumption are the foundations of CPF expansion in the slum householders' diets. The increasing purchasing power through a dual pattern of increasing local income and increasing remittances from Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) evidently facilitates the acquisition of CPF, but income cannot be considered as the main reason for CPF consumption. Finally, in this complex phenomenon of human consumption of manufactured goods, we need to consider other pushing factors from the supply side that take advantage of the slum precarious conditions: i) Food manufacturing corporations have been adapting their business strategies and expanding their production and commercial capabilities in order to offer small and affordable, one-piece food; ii) in certain products offering twin versions of a larger quantities in powder or liquid while keeping an affordable price or adapting foreign products to local tastes; iii) the expansion of retail centers close to the slum boundaries, particularly supermarkets (see Appendix B Map B1); iv) increasing investments in information and communication technology for retail business that facilitates the understanding and relation with customers; v) improvements in the supply chain either by partnering with distributors nearby slums or implementing programs to provide CPF inside the slum boundaries (see in Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015); and vi) the strategies to bond with *Sari-Sari* stores, which in turn retail CPF inside the slum boundaries. Three out of the four categories of meanings of CPF for *Sari-Sari* store grocers—sales related,³³⁰ business facilitation,³³¹ and positive

³²⁵ Physiological meanings of CPF refer to the use of senses, in particular taste; for example, it includes the feeling of fullness as in the case of eating a pack or cup of noodles, the judgments about health and nutrition at its two poles of negative and positive, and the physical desires of food.

³²⁶ Rational meanings gather expressed thoughts about CPF consumption resulting from favorable judgments about saving time, money, energy, space, etc. or from logical reasoning of dislikes, and curiosity, or from a promotion campaign rather than her preference.

³²⁷ Socio-cultural meanings cover a variety of consumption habits as routines at household or as part of their regular social relations, or related to beliefs, traditions and customs.

³²⁸ Affective meanings involve those related to family sharing, and as the name says, to CPF that a woman gives with affection to her loved ones, particularly to children.

³²⁹ Occupational meanings group the opinions of a woman explicitly referring to work activities. Particularly seasonings and condiments fall in this category that are used in houses they serve or served as maids—in Manila or abroad—, or used in eateries they cook or serve, or used during vending activities that allowed them to consume a certain brand for the first time.

³³⁰ Sales related: CPF as a regular requirement of customers, which is also connected to CPF as essential for doing business; CPF as an attraction of customers; or as business complement to CPF which has a low profit margin but need to be in the store, because, if not for them, customers might go to other stores.

³³¹ Business facilitation: CPF facilitates business in terms of convenience from the perspective of the grocer (not from the customer's perspective) such as easiness to transport from the wholesale market; adequate size to sell; adequate size to exhibit or to stockpile at home; easiness to sell such as cup noodles of sachets of coffee and Milo; or those CPF that provides comfort to the grocer's family or the grocer herself. This latter point is important to recall here because most of the *Sari-Sari* store grocers sell CPF a part of which is kept for their self-consumption.

attributes³³²—give us a good idea of how much corporations are embedded in the common sense of slum populations (see more in chapter 4 section 5).

Second, I raised the question if lagged productive capacities could mean that those populations are destined to live in backwardness, and to mostly eat processed food? The answer has to be nuanced. Slum populations are not destined to live in backwardness. Theoretically they have the potential to change their destiny by themselves, be aware of who they are as human beings with plenty of capacities for self-sufficiency and for individual and collective flourishing. This includes a balance diet that is rich in culture and open to a diversity of tastes and flavors coming from natural foodstuffs rather than industrially manufactured food.

However, it is debated the time when the social and political conditions are ready for an emancipation movement to begin. Based on the findings of this research, we can argue that CPF is an object transforming the dynamics of slum society and their daily retail in slums, even in floods or other natural or human-provoked calamities. I claim that differently from the living time of Engels, Gramsci, and Freire—recognized intellectuals who interact with slums or bottom class neighborhoods—when hunger and consumption of rotten food was a frequent issue, nowadays slum populations have access to CPF, which can be preserved for months and even years. This daily visualization, exchange and consumption makes people be more unaware of their dependency and less critical of their living conditions and further expand their fetishized common sense and this reduces or blocks the necessary critical thinking that pre-conditions emancipation (see more in section 8.3).

Third, and related to previous question, can slum populations find spaces for their own emancipation through a conscientious food exchange and consumption practice? Based on the knowledge acquired in this dissertation, we can answer that those spaces are limited. One is the interaction with food-aware foreigners. A relevant finding was that women who worked as housekeepers for well-educated foreigners for more than a year—e.g. school teachers, expatriate managers living in Metro Manila or wealthy and educated people in Singapore, Hong Kong, Japan or Middle East where Filipino women migrated for working in younger age—have an extended knowledge about industrial processed and manufactured food. Their bosses explained, or even conditioned to use or not to use products. In a daily interaction with the product and bosses with cultural insights, the space for awareness and critical reasoning is considerably higher than those women working in textile factories, street vendors, cleaning in a shopping mall or working at a fast food restaurant.

The second space can be found in specialized NGOs non-align to capital such as Fair Play for All Foundation (FFA) in Payatas. Fairplay's main objective is 'to help develop the community to sustainably and holistically break the cycle of poverty. Its programs include a grassroots football team, Payatas Football Club, a registered Alternative Learning Center (the Fairplay School), and the Fairplay Café which serves healthy and delicious food in the community and to offices, businesses,

³³² Positive attributes of CPF: Some CPF are perceived by grocers as healthy and nutritious, saving time, energy stimulation, useful in case of emergencies when lacking money or after floods. It is important to recall that from the perspective of the *Sari-Sari* Store grocer, cheap price is not considered as positive or negative, and rather it is a pre-condition for doing business.

and sports clinics outside of Payatas.³³³ Fairplay Café is open during day time, usually from 9:00 to 18:00 and children participating in the foundation activities can enjoy healthy food for free. For instance, lentils, natural juices, rice porridge, dishes with seasonal vegetables are served. Additionally, they have a small garden on the rooftop where they produce a few local herbs that serve for health benefits.

Finally, it is also significant that Roy Moore, a British citizen, co-founder and managing director of FFA, has been rejecting mainstream corporate sponsorships of their Fair Play campaigns in football culture, and football tournaments. In short, we can say that this foundation is creating an environment where children and neighbors in Payatas are receiving a genuine possibility to break their own cycle of poverty, including the viability to be aware of who they are and what they eat. But unfortunately, this foundation is unique and exceptional in most of NGOs, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) or Religious Organizations (ROs) intervening in slums.

To what extent the non-slum actors have an impact on slum dwellers' food exchange and consumption is still an open question. The same is true for the influence of OFW in the local CPF consumption habits. Those lines of investigation are suitable for further research projects on this topic.

8.3. Political and socio-cultural implications of CPF consumption

A vast number of rural sociologists and political economists of food and agriculture share the assumption that the segments of society with awareness have ethical and political responses to resist corporate appropriation of food production, distribution, exchange and consumption. This is a theoretical consideration inspired by Marx's works and recovered after the 1990s when a considerable number of political movements, social organizations, networks and a variety of campaigns promoting alternatives to the dominant food system appeared worldwide.

Nonetheless, there is no evidence that this theoretical assumption would continue in future decades, particularly in urban cities where food political movements and alternatives have been gradually appropriated by capital (Jackson, et.al., 2007) and even more at the bottom of urban society,³³⁴ as we saw in previous sections, where CPF is conquering physical market space and influencing people's minds. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge, except for a few cases in *slums* of Rio de Janeiro or Sao Paulo, alternative food political movements were not born in slums. Most of the initiatives connecting rural or semi-urban areas with slums populations were designed and orchestrated by NGOs or other CSOs. Those projects generally have support from governments, international organizations or corporations themselves (c.f. Choguill, 1995; Gallagher, et.al, 2013; Singh, 2017) but the results in terms of slum population's empowerment and emancipation are null or ignored in annual reports.

³³³ Retrieved in Sept, 2015 from the Foundation website <https://fairplayforall.org/>

³³⁴ It represents more than a quarter of world population, around 850,000,000 live in slums (UN Habitat, 2012) and more than 2.9 billion live with less than 2 USD, populations that are expected to increase after the effect of climate change, unemployment and poverty, and local or regional wars (Hallegatte, et.al, 2015; Sciubba, 2011)

There are also studies in Latin-America and the Philippines evidencing that slum populations contradictorily behave in domestic political struggles and in electoral campaigns, sometimes supporting social movements but mostly supporting conservative and reactionary politicians (Berner, 1988; Parnett, 1992; Auyero, 2000; Kusaka, 2017). In 2016, Rodrigo Duterte won the presidential elections in the Philippine with considerable support by slum populations even though his aggressive and violent policy against slum populations in Davao, Mindanao, where he was a city mayor. A 56-year-old woman in Kubo squatter commented in April, 2016 during the electoral campaign. ‘We support Duterte because he is strong; here there are not good people (drug addicts and robbers she implied) and we agree his proposal to put order in the city...I trust very much in what he says’... knowing she is an outstanding catholic practitioner and acquaintance of mothers of troublemaker boys, I asked about the fact of killing without respecting the basic human rights and she replied, ‘yes, I think it is the best (referring to assassinations). Those people would never change and even go worse over time...’ Similar comments were shared by women and their relatives living in slums of Tatalon, Malate and Payatas.

In Payatas and Tatalon some of the interviewed women and their families stand for Ferdinand *Bongbong* Marcos Jr, the son of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. He ran for Vice-President of the Philippines in the 2016 election and received support from urban masses in Metro-Manila.³³⁵ According to slum supporters of the Marcoses, caring of the poor is one of their main political characteristics. Some of them and their relatives received food, health, and even housing support after their arrival to Manila in the 1970s. Also some slum dwellers from Leyte—a big group of families in Kubo squatter—and from Illocos expressed sympathy and support for Imelda and Marcos Jr. Those regions are the places where the Marcoses had their political return to the Philippines in 1992.

Although Duterte and Marcos Jr. represent different political parties and different conceptions of urban bottom politics, their slum supporters—without noticing—judge them from similar material conditions and comparable conceptions of the world. Common sense³³⁶ and folklore³³⁷ are previously nourished by family or personal experiences, and by pre-conceptions of social reality imposed by religious, educational, corporate, and governmental institutions.³³⁸ Naturally, pre-conceptions of politics in some segments of the masses match with politicians promising the use of governmental programs to favor the poor, legally acting to issue property rights of land, and promises to end robbery and drugs-addiction, but most of the slum dwellers avoid to mention the government’ oppressive policies, the growing inequalities and the suppression of alternative political proposals to reform the political power from its roots.

³³⁵ In the end, he was close to be the Vice-President of Duterte, only a 0.6 percent difference of Leonor ‘Leni’ Gerona Robledo.

³³⁶ Following Gramsci, I refer to common sense ‘as a conception of the world of a social or regional group’ or common sense as ‘the most widespread conception of life and morality’ (Gramsci, 1975[1929] Q1: 16:14; 65:76).

³³⁷ Folklore also relates to common sense, ‘Folklore should be studied as a conception of the world and life implicit to a large extent that determinates (in time and space) strata of society, and in opposition (also for the most part implicit, mechanical and objective) to “official” conceptions of the world (or in a broader sense, the conceptions of the cultured parts of historically determinate societies) that have succeeded one another in the historical process. (Hence there is a strict relationship between folklore and common sense, which is philosophical folklore.)’ (Gramsci, 1975 [1931], Q27: §1).

³³⁸ In both common sense and folklore, ‘the conception of the world and life’ is the space of encounter, and according to Gramsci, their study allows us to better understand people’s subordination by making situations of inequality and oppression appear to them as natural and unchangeable (Forgacs, 2000).

The way of participation in politics or its avoidance is a part of people's folklore; the culture shared by a particular group of people, 'the conditions of cultural life of people' (Gramsci, 1975 [1931], Q27:§1). In Filipino urban politics, candidates visiting in slums need to perform different kinds of traditional practices: bring gifts, usually CPF; visit the squatter's founders or leaders; economically contribute to religious, sports or cultural events; play basketball—if time allows—and dance; touch by hand and take photos with as many people as possible; bring social workers and lawyers, if possible, to discuss welfare or land related concerns. As Gramsci notes, 'it is clear that, in order to achieve the desired (political) end, the spirit of folklore studies should be changed, as well as deepened and extended. Folklore must not be considered an eccentricity, an oddity or a picturesque element, but as something which is very serious and is to be taken seriously' (Ibid, Q27:§1).

Drawing on the concepts of common sense and folklore raised by Gramsci, in the following paragraphs I would like to set a hypothesis that explains a connection between the increasing capital appropriation of slum food consumption that was analyzed in previous sections and the current (and future) political participation of slum women. The argument is based on the ongoing socio-cultural phenomena of food deskilling observed in three generations of slum women. Deskilling includes the phases of food production, preservation, preparation (cooking), and consumption. The larger food deskilling is, the larger the cultural losses is, and *vice versa*. This cycle also reduces the potentiality of slum dwellers to reflect and be aware of the commodity fetishism and alienation in which they are trapped. In the sphere of meanings, the common sense—the conception of the world as Gramsci explains—is completely distorted and contributes to spread the idea that processed food consumption is natural and unchangeable. Inherently, this phenomenon hinders the construction of a historical bloc with other classes for emancipation, in food terms and in personal terms as slum dwellers wishing to stop the precarious way of living.

Slum women deskilling: causes and effects

In this study, for food deskilling I refer to the slum household impoverished state of food acquisition, food preparation, cooking, food serving and food consumption. It is both a loss of skills and a transit toward ever more routinized and depersonalized food practices. In other words, food deskilled populations are those who are, in daily food practice, constantly separated from rural foodstuffs (production, exchange and consumption) and whose idea of food preparation and cooking is combining several pre-cooked components from packages in any of its forms: sachets, cartons, bottles, packets, tins and cans.³³⁹

³³⁹ To know more about deskilling, particularly cooking deskilling, please refer to: Ritzer (1983); Gofton (1986, 1991, 1992); Jaffe and Gertler (2006); and Vileisis (2008).

To know more about more food skills, not only about cooking, please refer to outstanding works such as: Goody (1982); Mintz (1986); Pollan (2008).

There are scholars denying food deskilling (c.f. Silva, 2000; Meah and Watson, 2001 and Short, 2006) but their arguments do not apply for the slum context. First, 'increasing sophistication of the kitchen as space that liberates time and facilitates the life of a woman' but slums houses are so precarious that they do not have kitchen and most cases they don't have space and they have problem with electric short circuits and high voltage. Second, 'young women would gain skills after marriage and they will learn from mothers, grandmothers, courses, books, videos, etc..' However in slums, except for those young generations that helped their eatery businesses of their mothers, there is

George Ritzer (1983) in *'Mcdonalization of society'* argues that using industrialized, packed and pre-cooked food seems to be a rational act for people who pursue contemporary ideas of convenience, efficiency and greater control of their time. But in the end, convenient food consumption is irrational because it only requires few skills³⁴⁰ to eat or to provide food to others. He argues they will obviously no longer acquire cooking skills over time, and their lack of skills will compel them to continue using processed foods and leave them without any know-how to pass on to the next generation. Ritzer concludes that 'rationality brings with it great dehumanization as people are reduced to act like robots. Among the dehumanizing aspects of a rational society... is dining at a fast-food restaurant. Rationalization also tends to bring with it disenchantment leaving much of our lives without any mystery or excitement' (Ibid: 106).

For the case of CPF in Manila slums, I would argue that enchantment and excitement for consuming CPF is continuously renovated by corporations particularly via advertisements and creative mechanisms to launch new brands or adapted versions of the same brands, but based on critical studies on deskilling caused by processed food and fast food and key lessons from Gramsci and humanist Marxism, I would agree and support that CPF consumption contributes to the dehumanization of slum communities. De-humanism is understood in the sense of reduction of creative capacities, cultural loss, and the man's estrangement from nature, from himself, from other men and from his relationship of his being as member of the human species (Marx, 1844; Mészáros, 1970).³⁴¹

Gofton (1986, 1991, 1992) drawn attention on how 'the era of convenience foods' offers less opportunities to show the abilities and (creative) skills in British society, and the practice of cooking has become limited in times of recreation and leisure, which in turn reduces the activity of cooking to something trivial and of little consequence for human personal and collective growth.³⁴² Also in Britain, the Lobstein (1997) shows that there is a general deficit of cooking skills in the poorest families caused by increasing promotions of ready-to-eat food and the lack of promotion of culinary skills—including shopping and budgeting skills. Some years later, Hitchman and Lang (2002) found that problems of time, mobility, familial constraints, and the emergence of modern food retailing are

no evidence that this situation is happening. On the contrary, the evidence shows that the majority of people have less access to foodstuffs, ingredients, time and interest for learning cooking up to the level of mothers and grandmothers. Grandmothers and mothers got sick and died younger than non-slums mothers and grandmothers, and poverty persists in younger generations (only few exceptions improved their lives to middle class level). The access to recipes in books and internet is limited and there is no incentive and resources to learn by themselves or in a course, before and during marriage. Third, 'the (supposedly) new skills gained by using microwaves, thermostat ovens and multiprocessors' do not apply in slums, and although those slum populations work in fast food restaurants, use those technologies and even routinize their use, there is no reflection or analysis of their habits.

³⁴⁰ Cooking or serving food to others using pre-prepared foods or packet mixes requires them to follow step-by-step instructions that consist of few and easy skills.

³⁴¹ Humanization should not be confused with the capacity of a sector of citizens in post-industrial societies—reflexive society—to be aware of health and diets (Gofton, 1991, 1992; Caraher and Lang, 1999). Caraher and Lang find out that if people lack the cooking skills advices about nutrition and health are sterile, and changes in the role of cooking within the British culture illustrates wider social changes in which health can be easily marginalized.

Consequently, awareness of health risks is only a part of a process of increasing consciousness but it does not necessary relate to humanism. A very well informed and aware person of food can be a person trapped in consumerism and individualism. If he has purchase power he might demand for high-quality products but he is not necessarily conscientious of the exploitation and oppression of people and communities supporting capitalism.

³⁴² Gofton (1991) mapped the transit in a household from pre-industrial, industrial to post-industrial society where deskilling in the workplace and home creates new habits. She found out that the changing lifestyle includes health awareness but she failed to consider differences between classes.

the main drivers of food poverty.³⁴³ They outlined five points to prevent food poverty. The fourth says: 'Renew and revitalize our national food culture' suggests that British government should establish a policy for ensuring that 'everyone has the confidence, knowledge and skills necessary to achieve a good diet' (Ibid: 6, highlights by the author).

In this regard, the food stories told by grandmothers living in slums illuminate what is really happening at the urban bottom. One grandmother of 64 years old living in Kubo squatter confidently said, 'as I grew up on the shores of the sea of Leyte and both my relatives and my first husband were fishermen, I learned to cut, clean, and cook many types of fish, including shark. I know how to cook a delicious soup of shark and I don't need to use vensim (Ajinomoto)' saying with laughter... 'Yes, shark, because my husband sometimes caught one that was entangled or that bit the hook that was not for him...That's right, my husband brought the shark, and as any other big fish, we put it on a table where we cut, clean, and separate the edible parts. Then I cooked, using herbs of the garden and we, our family and friends, had food for some days.' Her 45-year-old daughter who migrated to the city as teenager remembers the situations described by her mother, and although she ate shark several times, she didn't learn how to cut and prepare it. In the case of the 24-year-old granddaughter who was born in Manila and grew up in slums, she has never eaten shark and naturally she does not have skills of preparing it, and what's worse, she has never seen a real shark in her life, except for on television.

Similar cases, if not shark, are told in slum families, where the grandmother is still alive, about other fish or other faunas or floras that grandchildren living slums do not have access to. We can confidently state that with the death of the grandmothers, slum families are losing invaluable knowledge, and because their structural and situational limitations it would be very difficult to recover that knowledge in the future. It is a slum collective deskilling and food epistemicide. This phenomenon has historical consequences if slum grandchildren lose the knowledge and skills of their ancestors. As Goody (1982) has showed, resistance to the cultural domination in food deriving from the rise of industrial food consumption requires to be founded in the Third World society's nature of their pre-existing socio-economic structures.

In short, deskilling would be accompanied by cultural losses. Food corporations would further appropriate slum household consumption and determine the portion sizes instead of mothers and grandmothers, who would completely lose much of her authority over the family food intake, thereby losing tradition and diminishing the value of sharing food. Most of slum children would no longer eat what their mothers and grandmothers ate as children and their common senses would be inevitably affected. For them, in their sphere of meanings, industrialized food would be taken as usual and not an exception. CPF dependency would further limit potentialities of slum dwellers to reflect on and be aware of the commodity fetishism and alienation controlling their lives. Consequently, there are limited possibilities to construct a historical bloc with other classes to liberate food practices captured by industrial capital and to emancipate urban bottom society as a whole.

³⁴³ Food poverty is defined by these authors as difficulty of securing access to an adequate diet due to low income.

8.4. Further Research

The abovementioned political and socio-cultural elements of analysis are the core of what I call the 'packaged food question' that requires further research and further theoretical elaboration regarding CPF exchange and consumption, including other elements such as the role of state, the bottom-up versus the top-down politics, the role of slum dwellers as political actors, and the political and cultural role of non-slum actors intervening in slums.

Another three visualized lines of research derived from this dissertation are: 1) The role of CPF in the construction of new or evolved economic actors so called "slum entrepreneurs" (Nielsen and Samia, 2008; Chant, 2014; Jackson and Ruiz-Tafoya, 2015); 2) The study of CPF in novel theoretical frameworks under the cover of '*Political Ecology*' (Escobar, 1996) and 3) The inherent necessity to elaborate comparative studies between slums of different continents. The differences and similarities would challenge or confirm current theoretical knowledge, and also construct a network of critical researchers worldwide.

9. APPENDICES

A. History of the Corporate Packaged Food in the Philippines

Time	snacks & confectionery	Biscuits	Milk	Coffee	Cocoa/Choco	Drinks	Noodles	Seasonings	Sauces	Canned Food & Packaged Meat	Diaries & IC
1850s				Processed grain coffee	Swiss & German factories					Spanish' Longanisa &	
1870s					The oriental factory					Imported: Sardines &	
1880s						Imports: Tonic; Lemon and				Imported: European food	
1890s			Borden's Eagle milk			Adelante soda					Vaqueria Australiana
1899-1902									Rufina Patis in clay jar; Imported US sauces	Imports: Salmon from North America	Magnolia pie & ice top
1903					Magnolia' Milk and chocolate	Tansan mineral water					
1907					Van Houten's powder arrives						
1911 - 12	Ice top		Nestle Philippines is established								Australian Machine Dairy Co.Inc.
1916-17			Nestle' Bear Brand and "Señorita" Brand							California' sardines	La Loma, San Miguel, Hacienda Carmelita, Manila City
1919	Ice Gems	La Pacita	Nestle' Milkmaid sterilized								
1922-25						Tru-Orange (SMC); Royal Soda				US-Canada' Mackerel	Magnolia Ice Cream
1927-29						Coca Cola (SMC)					San Miguel-Magnolia

Time	snacks & confectionery	Biscuits	Milk	Coffee	Cocoa/Choco	Drinks	Noodles	Seasonings	Sauces	Canned Food & Packaged Meat	Diaries & IC
1934-38	Lollipop, Columbia								Manfran Banana Catsup		
1942						Royal Sparkling soda			Silver Swan Soy Sauce		
1944-45				Nescafé powdered for Army and Weatlhy							
1946-48			Nestle's name: Filipro, Inc.		Magnolia Choco-lait	Pop-Cola (Cosmos)			Piña soy sauce		Magnolia Choco-lait
1949	Nips								Tentay Patis		
1951-52					Nestlé stop selling Nido, Milkmaid, Nescafe & Milo				Mang Tomas All around		Magnolia' golden ice
1953-54	Moonbits (Sergs)		Dutch baby, Klim		Serg's chocolates			Ajinomoto (vensim)		Liberty Gold Fruit (LIGO) Sardines	
1956-58	Bazooka, Topps		Liberty, Darigold, Dutch baby, Klim		Choco Vim (Magnolia)	Yes Cola, Royal Lem-O-Lime		Ajinomoto through Union Chemicals	Lady's choice mayonnaise	Purefood corporation	
1960				Fress Gusto	Nestlé partnered with San Miguel Corp (Nutripro Inc)				Mafran changed to UFC		
1961-62	Regal Crown Sours, sugus			Blend 45 Pinoy Coffee (URC)	Nips (URC)						
1963-64	Chivarly Pusit, Pom-poms, caramel	Skyflakes, Fita (M.Y. San), Crema (Eng Con---			Milo Tonic Food Philippines						

Time	snacks & confectionery	Biscuits	Milk	Coffee	Cocoa/Choco	Drinks	Noodles	Seasonings	Sauces	Canned Food & Packaged Meat	Diaries & IC
1966-69	Chiz Curls, Chippy, Piattos & Pottato Chins				Milo' 1st. Marathon (1969)			Knorr cubes (CMC)		Youngs' town imports from Japan	
1970	Maxx candies										
1972-1973	Pretzels (traded by URC)	Rebisco	Nido Full Cream; Alaska evaporated,					Knorr chicken noodle soup	Datu Puti vinegar brand	SPAM meat business established	
1974-76	Oishi Prawn Crackers		Nestlé' Bear Brand Instant Powder;	Great Taste Coffee; (URC)	Milo' 1st summer sports clinic	Royal Tru & 7-Up' Basketball teams	Nissin Cup traded in Philippines			CDO meat; Purefoods' basketball team	Presto Ice' Basketball team
1978				Great Taste' Basketball team		Sunny Juice					Yakult Philippines
1980-81		Nissin butter coconut				Zest-O	Nissin Instant Mami		Mama Sita sauces		New Zealand diary-Magnolia
1983-85	Rinbee (Liwayway)		Alaska' powdered milk		Milo' little olympics		Instant-Mami Payless			555 sardines	
1986-87	XO candy, cheesy pompoms		Alaska' Basketball team		Alaska' choco		Maggi			Century Tuna	
1988-89			Alaska sachet 80g	Great Taste Coffee 3 in 1	Milo for adults		Lucky Me!			Youngs' town for C and D markets; San Miguel-	
1990-1991	Chocobot		Tivoli Milk Basketball team		Presto Funwich	Pop Cola-Diet Sarsi' Basketball team	Lucky Me!, Pancit Canton	Ajinomoto Ginisa Mix			

Time	snacks & confectionery	Biscuits	Milk	Coffee	Cocoa/Choco	Drinks	Noodles	Seasonings	Sauces	Canned Food & Packaged Meat	Diaries & IC
1992						Cobra energy drink				Ligo Mackerel, Squid, Corned	
1995-96	Starr (Previous Storck)					Eight O' clock powder; Sunkist'	Nissin-UCR Payless		NutriAsia buys UFC & JuFran.	Carne-Norte, Argentina corned beef; San Marino	Magnolia-Nestle corp
1997-99	Potato, Crispy, cracklings (Lway)	Oreo and Chips Ahoy! (Alaska)	Nestle Philippines Inc. (100% Nestlé, San Miguel Out)	Great Taste 2in1 and Ready to Drink (RTD)	Milo ActiveGo	Magnolia' Jr juic	Ho-Mi (from taiwan)			Purefoods-Hormel alliance	
2001			Bear Brand Jr., baby milk supplement								
2002-03			Bear Brand Sterilized in Tetra Pak.			Nestea; Coca Cola' Basketball Team				San Miguel Purefoods-Hormel	
2004-05	Voice Combo			Kopiko Coffee arrived	Hershey Ready to Drink (Alaska)					Mega Sardines in a pouch	Magnolia-SM Corporation
2006-07			Nestle' Laki sa gatas program	San Miguel Coffee							Dutch-Mill Yogurth
2008-09	Martys		Bear Brand Busog Lusog		Bear Brand Choco	Smart-C	Lucky Me!, Special Intl flavors			Ligo Meat loaf	Alaska Yogurth
2010	Kopiko & Fres candies		Alaska sachet 30g; Bear Brand sterilized milk with Ginseng and Gingko Biloba	Alaska' Krem-Top creamy coffee				Nam-Nam all 3 in 1			
2011		Monde Special Mamon	Bear Brand Adult Plus			Nesfruta in Philippines					
2012		Fudgee barr (Rebisco)	Friesland Campina (by Alaska)								
2014-15						Oishi Sundays				Ligo Tuna Flakes	

Source: Own elaboration based on Corporations' websites and specialized business magazines (several years)

B. The CPF circuit until the slum household

For the study of CPF exchange and consumption in slums, I emphasize on the concept of circuit rather than system,³⁴⁴ chain,³⁴⁵ web or network.³⁴⁶ CPF circuit brings the research in the specific circumstances of Metro-Manila and facilitates the understanding of flows, actors, interactions, boundaries, and other elements involved in CPF slum provision. Also, the draw of a 'circuit' facilitates the visualization and description of the CPF navigation in the market sphere, from the factories or the import centers to the slum households.³⁴⁷

The CPF circuit has a constant bi-directional flow of people, goods and information that goes back and forth from corporations to slums. The information gathered by corporate managers³⁴⁸ nourishes subsequent cycles of new product developments or adaptations of the brands for future ventures. Imagine a F1 racing competition. Cars of different corporations compete 21 times a year to show not only which car is the fastest in the world but also to exhibit technological advances and fashions of different types. During each race, tires, gasoline, wires, plastics, and metals are consumed. The records of each activity will nourish next stage of technology developments and the improvements of the car for future competitions³⁴⁹ and upcoming automobiles. Also, in the food processing industry characterized by an intense competition in each market segment, the 'winner' is the corporation that rapidly and intensively introduced and moved its brands through the circuit until reaching the targeted consumers.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁴ A food system, the largest in scope among food provision concepts, includes the set of activities involved in food production, (from farms to factories), packaging, delivery, retail, and consumption (McKeon, 2014: 32). In food scholarly, there is an important community of researchers working on food commodity systems (c.f. Friedland, Barton and Thomas, 1981; Mintz, 1986; Cook and Harrison, 2007) but their purposes and methods differ with those in this study of CPF in slums. They are navigating in the macro-system interconnection of the world, but in the case of the study of Manila slums, I am interested on particular situations of the lifestyles of slum dwellers at micro-level.

³⁴⁵ The concept of 'chain' conceives food provision as a kind of highway or pipeline between the first link on the chain and the ultimate consumer (McKeon, 2014:33). McKeon claims that profits from progressive "value addition" accrue disproportionately to actors situated along the chain –transporters, processors, retailers- as compared with the primary producers without whom there would be nothing to which value could be added (McKeon, 2014:34). Starosta (2010) points that each link in the chain does not necessarily adds value, a large proportion of the chain only moves or circulates value (Marx, 1885. Capital Vol. II sections II and III).

³⁴⁶ Food webs and networks have the conceptual advantage of not limiting to the analysis of multiple crossing links between actors and objects in the market sphere. Through these concepts, it is possible to recognize different levels of ties strengths and intensities, and within different territorial sets. However, an important disadvantage is the marginalization of history and the structural conditions of households. Network scholarly are not explicit about historical and structural conditions shapes networks and individual agency, as much, they consider historical facts and structural conditions as 'context' of the study but avoiding further discussions on the issue. In this study on slums food consumption, we cannot leave apart history and structural conditions, those have unquestionable impact on people's lives.

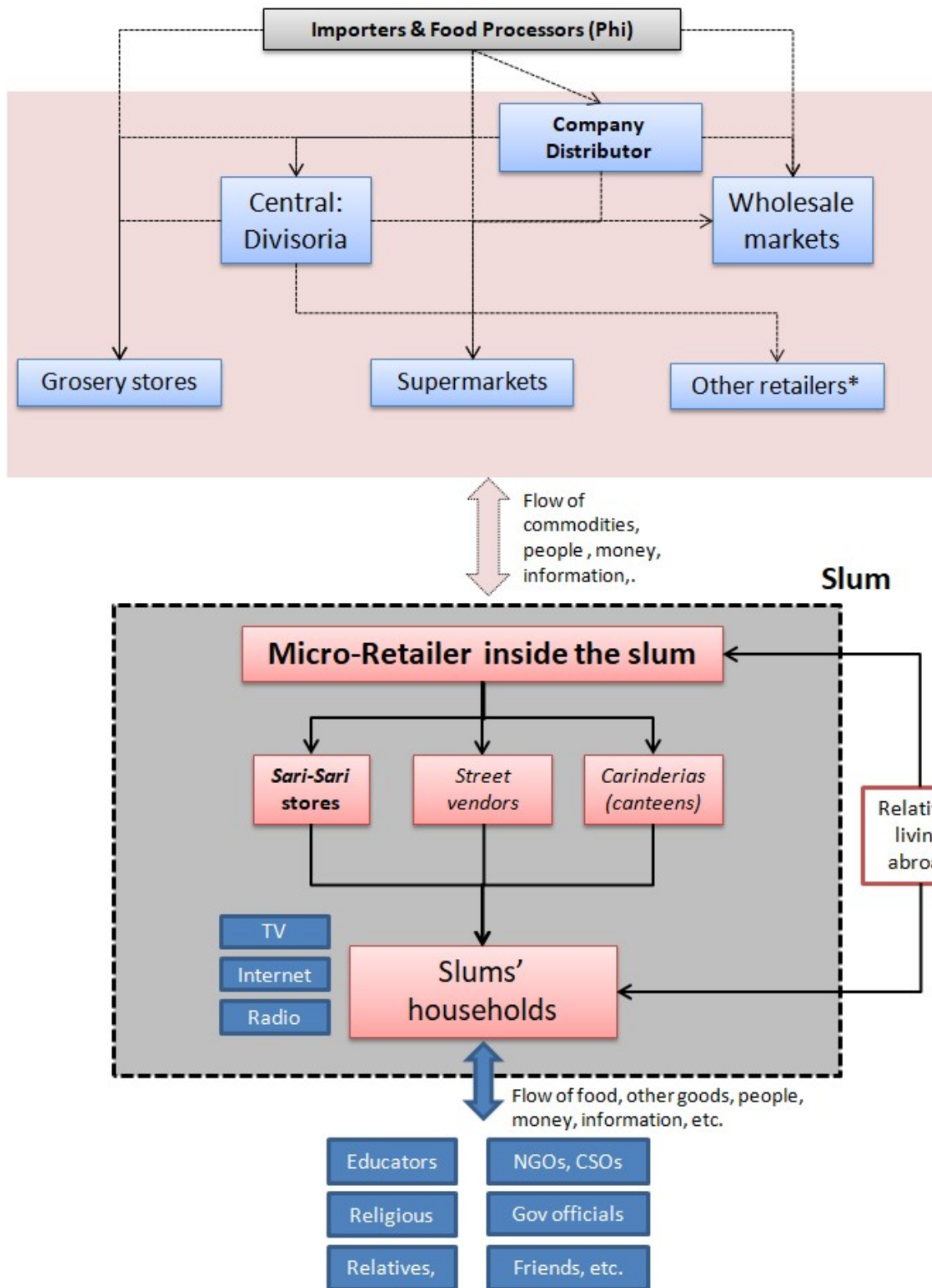
³⁴⁷ An important and well-detailed study of food circuits is Dixon (2002). She researched on the simultaneous circuits of culture and capital in the Australian chicken industry. Cleverly, she showed that the circuits of culture are interrelated with the circuits of capital. She demonstrated that in favor of the circuits of capital, the chicken consumption culture in Australia was constructed during the 20th century, particularly after WWII. However, the analysis did not distinguish consumption by class and neighborhoods. In the study of slums, the place matters, and above the location we have the spheres of market and meanings permanently interacting. In both spheres, capital plays a role and meanings should not be attached exclusively to culture, there are other elements (material and immaterial) that also influence on slum populations meanings.

³⁴⁸ Corporate managers frequently receive sales reports from their own distributors and partner agents; they monitor the most demanded products by different income segments and territorial locations. Moreover, large corporations regularly launch surveys and focus group studies for new products or adaptations of well-established brands.

³⁴⁹ F1 has a history of 69 years, and its popularity is in *crescendo*.

³⁵⁰ This phenomenon was extensively studied by Marx (1885), chapters 5 to 14.

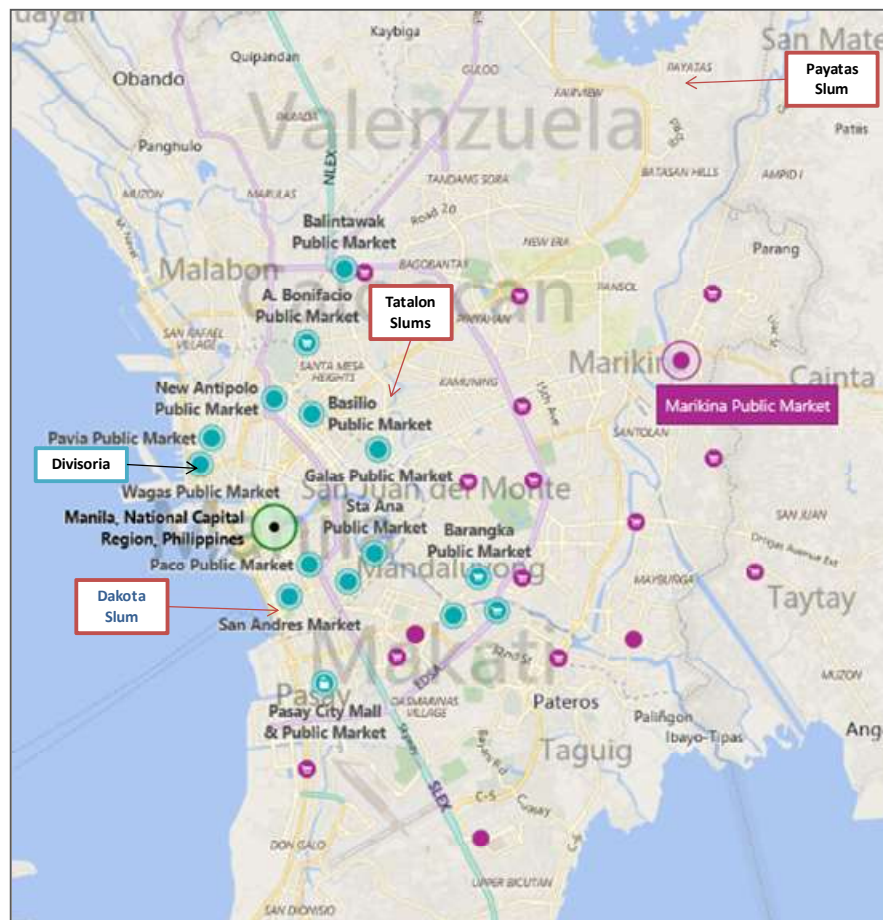
Figure B1. CPF circuit in Metro Manila



Note*: 'Other retailers' refers to local markets, wet markets, convenience stores, pharmacies, Sari-Sari stores outside slums, etc.

Source: Own elaboration based on fieldwork research 2015-2016

The identified circuit in which the CPF penetrates Manila slums is presented in the Figure B1. In order to facilitate its description, let's set the origin of the circuit in the food manufacturer and the CPF importer. Based on recent national statistics,³⁵¹ of the total processed food and beverages consumed in Philippines, 41.5 percent is produced domestically and 58.5 percent is imported.³⁵² CPF processors and importers³⁵³ supply the society through different channels, a) supplier → own distribution centers; b) supplier → retailer (e.g. supermarkets, grocery stores of different sizes, local markets, etc.); c) supplier → agent (distribution partner) → retailers (e.g. Nestlé's distribution partners for tricycles and motor-tricycle distribution of CPF); d) supplier → wholesalers (Funahashi, 2013).



³⁵¹ Foreign Trade Statistics Report, Vol. I. Imports and Vol. II Exports (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014) and Philippine Industry Yearbook of Labor Statistics (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2016).

³⁵³ CPF processors might be also importers and importers can also be CPF manufacturers, but in order to simplify the circuit we can use the word CPF 'suppliers' as it is also used in business management literature (Rangan, et.al., 2007).

Wholesale public markets and supermarkets are majorly clustered in the first perimeter of Metro Manila.³⁵⁴ Meanwhile, slums of the periphery, such as Payatas, are situated in a far distance from the main wholesale markets³⁵⁵ (see Map B.1.). These markets are the main supply centers of CPF channels living or penetrating slums.

In total, there are thirteen different channeling those commodities into the slum household. It is important to distinguish those CPF channels that permanently reside inside the slum boundaries, principally *Sari-Sari* stores, followed by (food) street vendors—including temporary stalls or walking vendors that transit inside and outside the slums—and eateries (*carinderias*). The other ten channels not necessarily are located or living in slums but introduce CPF having different purposes, frequencies and attaching information—verbal or written—or affections. Franchised *pharmacies* located close to the slums were not included in the list by reason that none of the 31 interviewed families that their CPF purchases in those places were extremely rare; however, in future comparative studies can be also included in the CPF channel list.

In the following, the thirteen channels are presented in three groups which refer to the role of CPF as object mediating social relations of exchange and consumption. First, CPF as commodity acquired directly by slum households; second, CPF used as gift,³⁵⁶ and third, CPF as part of the salary.³⁵⁷

CPF directly acquired by slum householders

a. CPF Acquired inside the slum boundaries

1. *Sari-Sari* is the name of micro-stores inside and outside the slum' boundaries. In the Philippines, AC. Nielsen (2014) estimated the existence of more than a million in the main cities but this account does not consider those located inside the informal settlements, then, the calculation is difficult to make, only in one squatter of 300 m² radio one can find up to 20 *Sari-Sari* stores.

From the slum women perspective, a *Sari-Sari* business signifies a source of income (Ko, 2006; Chen, 1997) and a source of goods for self-consumption (Floro and Swain, 2013; Chant, 2014). *Sari-Sari* business allows them to purchase a larger volume of products in the wholesale markets for both business and self-consumption. Their neighbor costumers are willing to pay a higher price inside the slum by reason of comfort, obtaining the product just few meters from their house and

³⁵⁴ Metro Manila should be understood by observing its expansion from Manila City, surrounding the Manila bay (left in the map B.1) to the east (right in the map B.1) where Quezon City, Marikina, Valenzuela are located.

³⁵⁵ Because the increasing income earning form urban bottom populations, the expansion of supermarkets to peripheral areas is expected (Oxford Business Group, 2014).

³⁵⁶ CPF a gift but remembering that in its biography (Kopytoff, 1986) CPF was born as commodity. It does not include sporadic Corporate promotion giving CPF as samples for promotion (See more in Chapter 5 and 7).

³⁵⁷ We can label CPF as a kind of barter of labor time for food registered as part of a worker salary. Again, remembering that this CPF was born as commodity.

having the possibility to buy one piece or small quantities, and in case of emergencies, they can receive the products by credit.

2. *Eateries*. Those are the homemade food businesses known as *carinderias*. In the same manner, they function as source of income and a source of food for self-consumption. Differently from *Sari-Sari* stores, the owners adapted their houses in order to make space for cooking. If the eatery is just a food stall, its location is situated in the main people's transit streets. A woman running a *carinderia* is required to have exceptional cooking skills or '*Ginisa*' (good seasoning) as the Filipinos call it.³⁵⁸ CPF can be either an ingredient for the dish or additional merchandise for sale, for instance, soft-drinks, snacks, coffee, and powder juices. There are also cases where *carinderia* and *Sari-Sari* store are spatially connected and belong to the same family.
3. *Food street vendor*. Food street vendors are highly diverse. They are selling in fixed or semi-fixed stalls made by wood or metal and some of the street vendors sell inside and outside the slums' boundaries using modest vehicles of 2, 3 or 4 wheels, or simply carrying baskets, boxes or bags. The most common images of vendors are those selling foodstuffs and homemade dishes; however they also sell CPF. Street vendors provide slum household with services which save time and energy to go to the market to buy the foodstuffs and the necessary seasonings, sauces or other CPF for the day. As in the case of *Sari-Sari* stores, the food business provides regular goods for their own family consumption. Unlike the micro-stores, however, the street vendors do not sell by credit since they need the daily cash flow to sustain their businesses.

b. *CPF acquired in Market places outside the slums*

4. *Local market*. It includes a net of public markets '*palengke*,'³⁵⁹ farmers markets, wet markets, bazaars, and '*talipapas*'³⁶⁰ where slum populations purchase their foodstuffs and the CPF they need or want. Although supermarkets are incrementally substituting local markets in urban retail (Romo and Digal, 2009; Digal, 2015), the cultural elements in Filipino social relations, still based on personal bonds with vendors in local markets, are not easy to replace. Until now, local markets and supermarkets coexist and form part of the urban culture in Manila.

³⁵⁸ The differentiation with other competitors is the offer of special dishes, sauces or desserts, based on original or knowable recipes. The "must have" dishes are those based on a Filipino culinary tradition that is generally materialized in cooked noodles, vegetables, fish, chicken, pork and meat, having the steamed white rice as a compulsory companion and soups as a complement depending the dish and the budget of the customer.

³⁵⁹ A *palengke* is composed of several stalls arranged in rows under a shared roof. Local government is in charge of the administration of the market but there is not intervention or control on daily commodity pricing.

³⁶⁰ Small-scale private markets called '*talipapas*', located in vacant lots or buildings. According to McIntyre (1955) since the end of the WWII the public-market system has been inadequate to come with congested areas for trade and living. It provoked the rise of *Talipapas* that 'spills over into the street, where stall keepers simply squat without permission' (McIntyre, 1955: 79).

5. *Supermarkets.* Supermarkets have the advantages of having an organizational, technological, financial and commercial platform to improve their supply chains (Burch and Lawrence, 2007), to negotiate and dominate (Patel, 2007) and to expand the diversity of products and services (Oxford Business Group, 2014). From the perspective of slum populations, a supermarket represents the opportunity to obtain a large variety of products and brands that they couldn't have before. It is also a novel form of shopping: a drastic change from a tiny and small shop to a larger, fresh, clean, conditioned market space, where people are allowed to see, touch and choose the products with less restriction.

Supermarkets are located in key spots of transit, main squares, and close to public markets. Until 2014, 33 different supermarket chains have been registered, from which *Puregold* is one of the most important supplier of low income populations and its expansion is expected for the following years (Oxford Business Corporation, 2014). Their main slum customers are *Sari-Sari*, *Carinderias*, and families with a certain purchase power and with a larger storage space. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the poorest slum families lived in rooms from 9 m² to 16 m² where there is not enough space for stock of products and for having fridge or other home appliances.³⁶¹ Space is a limitation for those families who even have periodical income flow either from a regular employed person in a family or a relative working overseas.

From the slum populations' perspective, among the weakest points of supermarkets are 1) the lack interpersonal relations to bond with customers, 2) not selling one by one piece, and most importantly 3) not giving credit by mouth of word as the neighborhood stores do. Another point, scarcely studied in supermarket literature, is that there is discrimination against them. Several slum dwellers mentioned they felt intimidated by the supermarket police because they use only sandals (with dirty feet) and the police do not stop following them or watching them if they do not stole anything from the store.

6. *Wholesale markets.* *Divisoria Terminal* is the largest, oldest and most traditional market place of Manila (McIntyre, 1955; Funahashi, 2013). Other wholesale markets are *Valenzuela* in the Northwest, *Pasig* and *Markina* in the Northeast, *Mantinglupa* in the South and *Pasay*, *Balintawak*, *Nepa Q*, *Blue Mentrit*, *Paco*, among others in the center of the metropolitan area. The slum populations that regularly go to those markets are the slum entrepreneurs.³⁶² Households' consumers shop in wholesale markets when days of celebration such as anniversaries, graduations, baptisms, and weddings.

³⁶¹ In Metro Manila, based on 2010 census data, 61.3 percent of the families with lowest livelihood live in below 30 square meters.

³⁶² By entrepreneurship, I mean those slum populations starting a business activity, generally using their common sense rather than management skills. Additionally, some of them may have support of relatives living in the city or overseas. In terms of CPF, particularly sachets of powder coffee, juices, milk, cocoa, etc., supermarkets are closing price differences with traditional wholesale markets. However, other products such as tobacco, noodles, alcohol, cans, foodstuffs, shampoos, soaps, and other utensils for their business such as plastic plates, spoons, forks, etc, the wholesale markets still offer a better price. Another point is their 'Suki' (frequent customer) relation with wholesalers who give preferential treatment but not giving credit.

In the Philippines, groceries are also wholesale markets and CPF channels not only of *Sari-Sari* stores but also of households situated far away from the large wholesale markets. For instance, in days of party and other celebrations, some families prefer to buy in Groceries instead of going to *Divisoria*, *Balintawak*, etc., which includes a considerable quantity of time, energy and transportation costs.

7. Convenience stores

In the main commercial and service districts of Manila, franchised *convenience stores* have boomed and they are closer to the slums embedded in the center of the city. This is the case of *Dakota* slum, located in Malate (one of the main districts of Manila), which have in its borders 4 convenience stores. The convenience stores are generally open 24 hours; they generally have a security guard who is in charge of vigilance of robbery and to stop the entrance of 'undesirable guests even if they have money' such as homeless, beggars or people with bad aspect in general—dirty, without shirts, without shoes or with filthy sandals as many of the slum people look.

c. Fast food chains

8. *Fast food chains*. Fast food such as Jollibee, McDonalds, and KFC, is wished by slum children and teenagers. The key point for our study is that fast food has various CPF companions: soft drinks, juices and sometimes ice-cream or snacks such as chips or packaged fried potatoes. Family' desires are fulfilled occasionally through the visitors (relatives or friends) introducing it into the slum or by the family itself in days of payment or after receiving an income transfer from overseas. Slum mothers prefer to take out the fast food product so that they can extent the meal with rice or other viands and they can avoid extra expenses at the site. Young women prefer to eat at a fast food restaurant having friends as companion rather than with the family.

2. CPF as gift

a. Visitors

9. *Friends and relatives visiting the slum*. In slums, there is a permanent flow of people, dwellers, vendors, and visitors of different types. Christmas, eastern, summer, school holidays, and weekends are the busiest seasons. Friends³⁶³ and family ties are probably the most important immaterial assets that one can have. Manifesting those feelings, visitors have the custom of bringing a gift—with no concern for how modest or simple it may be, including CPF—and host family also has the custom to offer or share something , including

³⁶³ In the Philippines, friends can be considered as an extension of the family boundary, particularly if those are coming from the same village.

CPF such as soft drinks, coffee, snacks or biscuits. These customs remind us Marcel Mauss (1925)'s account of ancient societies using 'Gifts' as common reciprocal practices. In modern terms, in slums, instead of preparing what they produced by themselves in community, they might prepare industrially processed *pancit* (rice noodles) or spaghetti with canned corn-beef, and if money is a concern, someone from the family may ask for credit in the *Sari-Sari* store; at the end, the customary ritual of sharing persist even if the products involved are not made by them.

10. *Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)—including Foundations, Religious Organizations (ROs), and other forms of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).* Their purposes rely on penetration in the slum dwellers' minds and hearts and convince them to join their institutional programs. For them CPF is a mean to affably interact with slum populations, not only after calamities such as floods or after fires—when CPF is largely appreciated—but also during celebrations or other special days during the year.

Organizations intervening in slums largely depend on donors or sponsors, who request frequent reports of the activities, including the list of the served populations. The logic of the system is: the larger the served population, the higher the possibilities of getting or extending funds. We can say that their business model is based on the existence of a mass of wretched people who are willing to accept their kindness. NGOs, CSOs and ROs, in their respective sectors, face competition and they need to use any available tactics to succeed in their missions. One tactic is the use of CPF as a gift without considering implications on addiction, malnutrition and environmental impact. For example, during informal conversations with members of ROs, some of them mentioned that if they do not give CPF to the children, some other churches or religions will do. Thus, in essence, ROs are competing for souls and not for making healthy bodies or helping human beings to flourish integrally.

Similar practices are executed by most of the NGOs, Foundations, and CSOs. They give CPF to gain or maintain slum dwellers consideration, which is vital for entering or continuing an intervention program. During casual conversations with NGO personnel, some of them argued that CPF is easy to transport, store and supply. In their reasoning, CPF allows slum families to keep the gifts for longer period of time in comparison to fruits and vegetables. Their arguments are valid considering that the technology of processing, packaging canning and bottling are highly needed in the context of slums, but most of NGO personnel do not visualize implications abovementioned and they do not notice that their CPF-gifts are lengthening slum populations dependence and submission to capital.

11. *Politicians.* Politicians running for a position in Congress or local, city, national levels of administration, visit the slums mainly during the electoral seasons or after calamities. They are competing for slum dwellers electoral preferences; in this process, CPF plays a certain role to mediate socio-political relations. The research fieldwork conducted from March 3rd to April 9th of 2016, period of intense electoral campaigns, allowed the author to observe and

talk with politicians searching for slum voters. Politicians use CPF as a sign of their “generosity” and “good” intentions, promising to give them more products of different kinds if they achieve the electoral triumph. It is a common practice rooted in Filipino politicians (McCoy, 2009; Kusaka, 2017) and is similar to what in Latin-America is called as political ‘*clientelism*’ (Auyero, 2000).

12. *Governmental agencies.*³⁶⁴ Governmental officers also navigate in the political sphere, but their intervention programs in slums, usually are regulated by law or by a larger political agenda that goes beyond elections. Larger in the sense that government officials, particularly at *Barangay* level, have stronger links with the community itself and regularly they live there, in the same neighborhood and even in the same slum. For this reason, their intervention seeks the people’s acceptance, approval and support in order to achieve or consolidate spaces of power. CPF is a regular gift for Christmas or any other celebration at local level, and of course in case of calamities.

3. CPF as part of the salary

13. *Household family member working in a corporation.* In Metro Manila, political and economic center of the Philippines, concentrates the large number of corporations and the highest average salary rate. Slum households are part of the bottom of the labor hierarchy in low-value added activities such as cleaning, housekeeping, factory works, construction, selling, etc. (Aoki, 2016). For instance, call centers and other outsourced business services booming in Metro Manila give food vouchers or stamps as a part of the salary of their employees. The vouchers and stamps used to bring home fast food, ready to eat meals or CPF such as noodles, biscuits, snacks, powder of coffee, juices, milk, chocolate, or soft drinks.

These thirteen channels of CPF into slums’ households are the key actors of the circuit in which capital penetrates to realize and reproduce itself. Further studies, particularly those comparing circuits of different countries, should consider these channels as the initial base for gathering and analyzing the information of the whole system.

³⁶⁴ governmental officials including educators, health center officers, sanitation services, etc.

C. Research fieldwork: Forms for collecting data in the Market Sphere

C1. Basic guide for semi-structured Interviews with *Sari-Sari* store grocers

Researcher: __Heriberto Ruiz Tafoya__

Sari-Sari store: _____

Location: _____

Translator (s): _____

Date (s) of interview _____

Introduction

Good morning my name is Heriberto, thank you very much for accepting this interview. I would like to learn from you about your business. I prepared questions ready to guide the conversation. To facilitate the capture of your valuable opinions, I will need to record the conversation assuring I will fully get your opinion and also to check my notes. Is it fine for you? You are free to answer or not to answer any question or stop the interview if you need to.

Thank you very much.

Probe: Due to the extension of the questionnaire, it is highly probable a second or third visit to continue this conversation, it is important to monitor time and body expressions of tiredness, then is better to stop and request for another day to visit her again.

I. Basic Information

1. Tell me about you

What's your name?

How old are you?

Where do you come from?

What do you do?

2. Tell me about your family

II. Corporate Packaged Food

3. What brands of packaged food do you sell? (use the following table and for the sections II to XIII request a second or third visit)

Sari-Sari Store business (on site inquiry)

[illegible]

	Product	Brand name	Qty/ Grams	Quantity (Pcs/sachets/bottles) per pack/box/case	Quantity products of sales (monthly)	Cost (PHP)	Unitary cost	Sales price
7a	<i>Powdered Chocolate Drink</i>							
7b	<i>Cereal Drink</i>							
8	<i>Softdrinks</i>							
9a	<i>Powder Juice</i>							
9b	<i>Liquid Juice</i>							
8	<i>Canned Goods</i>							
9	<i>Packaged meats</i>							
10	<i>Seasonings</i>							
11	<i>Sauces and Vinegars</i>							
12	<i>Oils</i>							
13	<i>Not branded condiments</i>							
14	<i>Sugar</i>							
15	<i>Salt</i>							
16	<i>Rice</i>							
17	<i>Other foodstuffs</i>							

	Product	Brand name	Qty/ Grams	Quantity (Pcs/sachets/bottles) per pack/box/case	Quantity products of sales (monthly)	Cost (PHP)	Unitary cost	Sales price
18	<i>Cigarettes</i>							
19	<i>Alcoholic Beverages</i>							
20	<i>Diaper</i>							
21	<i>Shampoo</i>							
22	<i>Conditioner</i>							
23	<i>Laundry Soap</i>							
24	<i>Toothpaste</i>							
25	<i>Pharmacy products</i>							
26	<i>Other</i>							
	Total							

Note: Corporate Packaged Food (CPF) includes from number 1 to 11 of the column 'Product.'

III. Customer Segments

4. Who are your main customers?

IV. Value Proposition

5. Why do they buy here, with you?

V. Channels

6. How do your customers know what you sell?

6.1. Does anybody help you to promote your business?

6.2. What about your husband or relatives?

VI. Customer Relationships

7. How do you keep a relationship with your regular customers?

7.1. *Do you give them credit?*

7.2. *What kind of things do you chat with them?*

VII. Key Resources

8.1. *Are you the “owner³⁶⁵” of this place?*

8.2. *Do you have (own) things (land, houses, material goods, appliances, etc.,)?*

8.3. *How did you get the capital to start the business?*

VIII. Key activities

9.1. *During all selling day, what do you do?*

9.2. *What time do you open and close?*

IX. Key partnerships

10. Who helps you?

10.1. *Do you have a close relation with a supplier (with a distributor) of your merchandises?*

10.2. *Do you have relation with money lenders?*

X. Costs

11. What costs do you have (anything else besides merchandise?)

11.1. *Do you pay salary or gifts to your daughter or relatives that help you?*

³⁶⁵ (Note: The topic of the word “ownership” in squatter land do not refer a proper legal land property, it is a complex land and house construction titles. The closes world could be “authorization” The land does not belong to the people, it is under legal sue, however they have a kind of permission by authorities to live, have electricity and water through contracts with a company. It also exist rent in those squatter houses).

11.2. *Do you need to pay the Barangay officials or someone else to do business?*

XI. Reason/Motivations to start

12. *Why are you doing this business, what motivates you?*

XII. Problems for doing business

13. *What problems do you have to do your business?*

XIII. What do you want for the future of your business?

C2. Basic guide for semi-structured interviews with women

Researcher: __Heriberto Ruiz Tafoya__

Family name: _____

Location: _____

Translator (s): _____

Date (s) of interview _____

Introduction

Good morning my name is Heriberto, thank you very much for accepting this interview. I would like to learn from you about your life and your family customs to eat branded food. I prepared questions ready to guide the conversation. To facilitate the capture of your valuable opinions, I will need to record the conversation assuring I will fully get your opinion and also to check my notes. Is it fine for you? You are free to answer or not to answer any question or stop the interview if you need to. Thank you very much.

Probe: Due to the extension of the questionnaire, it is highly probable a second or third visit to continue this conversation, it is important to monitor time and body expressions of tiredness, then is better to stop and request for another day to visit her again.

Section 0. Family Tree (title only for the researcher)

Only for researcher: The starting point is to **draw a family tree**; it will help to have a panorama of the whole family and the number of persons living in the household.

- i) Woman's name: _____; ii). Age _____ iii) Age when marriage _____ iv) Number of children _____; iii). Husband full name _____ iv) Mother's name _____; v). Daughters name (s) _____ vi) Grandmother's name _____;

SPACE FOR A FAMILY TREE

Section I. Life-history (title only for the researcher)

1.1. Born place _____ 1.2. Current occupation _____; 1.3. Years of education _____; 1.4. Religion _____; 1.5. Languages _____; 1.6. Years living in Metro-Manila _____; 1.7. Past job activities _____ 1.8. Number of relatives living abroad that economically support this family: _____

2. History line: *In a paper sheet draw a horizontal line starting from the birth-year and register food consumption memories in important life-stages of her life: Childhood, school time, migration to the city, job activities, marriage, first childbirth, etc., until arrive in present time. These time makers facilitate the remembrance of events.*

Line of life:

CPF sub-segment	Childhood Time-marker (tm): school.	Teenager tm: school, job, migration	Early adulthood tm: job, marriage, child	Adulthood tm: job, life events	Adulthood tm: job, life events
Candies and Snacks					
Biscuits					
Milk and Milk products					
Cocoa beverages					
Soft drinks					
Juices					
Coffee					
Noodles					
Canned fish					
Canned meats					
Packaged meats					
Sauces and Vinegars					
Seasonings					
Other CPF:					

Section II. Food consumption (title only for the researcher)

3. Approximately how much do you spend on food and beverage by day?
4. Generally, how do you get the money to buy them?
5. Who decides what to eat, thus what to buy and where to buy?

Probe: Now request a second visit for fill out the following table: Household food consumption (on site inquiry)

Household food consumption (on site inquiry)

Food	Quantity Kg/lt/			Cost			Comment
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	
Rice							
Vegetables							
Noodles							
Cup and Packaged Noodles							
Poultry							
Fish							
Canned Sardines							
Canned Tuna							
Dried fish							
Meat (pork, beef)							
Canned meat							
Packaged meat							
Fruits							
Calamancin							
Grains except rice							
Starchy roots and tubers (potatoes, camote, cassava)							
Salt							
Garlic							
Ginger							
Condiments and species							
Seasonings (sachets)							
Soy sauce							
Vinegars							
Bottled Fish sauces							

Other products	Quantity Kg/lt/			Cost			Comment
	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	
Oils and fats							
Sugar							
Milk							
Milk products (include ice-cream)							
Juices							
Soft-drinks							
Coffee							
Chocolate beverages							
Snacks							
Bread							
Biscuits: Bread, cookies and cakes							
Eggs							
Ketchup							
Mayonnaise							
Other related							
Water							
Gas							
Electricity							
Charcoal-kerosene-wood							

Note: Bolded words refer to Corporate Packaged Food (CPF)

From Carinderias –eateries–

Dish name	Quantity		Cost		Comment
	Daily	Weekly	Daily	Weekly	

From Jollibee, Mc. Donald's, KFC or similar:

Dish name	Quantity		Cost		Comment
	Daily	Weekly	Daily	Weekly	

Other general comments and observations:

D. Research fieldwork: Forms for collecting data in the meanings Sphere

D1. Meanings of Corporate Packaged Food: Guidelines for an interview in *Sari-Sari* stores

Researcher: __Heriberto Ruiz Tafoya__

Sari-Sari store: _____

Location: _____

Translator (s): _____

Date (s) of interview _____

Introduction

Good morning, thank you very much for meeting me again. I would like to continue our conversation about branded food. Even if you are not selling some products, I would like to ask your opinion about certain goods.. To facilitate the capture of your valuable opinions, I will need to record the conversation assuring I will fully get your opinion and also to check my notes. Is it fine for you? You are free to answer or not to answer any question or stop the interview if you need to.

Thank you very much.

Probe: Directly go to the questions of each segment:

Can you name the main brands that you sell? If you don't sell, do you name the brands you know?

What would you like to say about the product...

CPF segment	Take notes about: her references to brand names (symbols, icons, mascots); her thoughts (comments, reflections)	Notes of your observation of CPF consumption (referents) inside or outside the store:
Noodles		
Snacks (salty and spicy)		
Candies (e.g. mints, caramels, gums, chocolates, lollipops, etc.)		
Biscuits		
Coffee		

Milk		
Powdered Cacao & Cereal Drink		
Soft drinks		
Juice (Powder & Liquid)		
Canned meats and fishes		
Packaged meats		
Seasonings,		
Condiments , Sauces & Vinegars		
If you have time:		
Ice cream		

D2. Meanings of Corporate Packaged Food. Guidelines for an interview in a household

Researcher: __Heriberto Ruiz Tafoya__

Interviewee: _____

Location: _____

Translator (s): _____

Date (s) of interview _____

Introduction

Good morning, thank you very much for meeting me again. I would like to continue our conversation about branded food. I prepared questions ready to guide the conversation. To facilitate the capture of your valuable opinions, I will need to record the conversation assuring I will fully get your opinion and also to check my notes. Is it fine for you? You are free to answer or not to answer any question or stop the interview if you need to.

Thank you very much.

Section I. Symbols—brand logos— (Title only for Researchers)

1.1. Do you identify these symbols? (Y/N); 1.2 what words came to your mind when you see the following symbols?

Probe: Use frequently the question, WHAT DO YOU THINK WHEN YOU SEE THIS BRAND? And remember not to tell her that there are logos that are not sell in the Philippines. This trick part is only to confirm that she is paying attention in her answers and being honest in the recognition.

					
2.1. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2.					

					
2.2. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2.					

					
2.1. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2.					

					
2.1. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2					
					
2.2. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2					

					
2.1. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2					

					
2.1. Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()	Yes () No ()
2.2					

Section II. Thoughts and references of CPF (Title only for researchers)

General guiding questions of each segment:

2. Can you name the brands that you eat?
 - If you don't eat, do you know brands that someone of your family eats?
 - What would you like to say about the product...

Probe: During the conversation find a moment to ask a comparison of eating a 'natural' (non-industrialized) counterpart (e.g. Milo vs Chocolate tableya; Powdered coffee vs local grained coffee barako; Powdered Juice versus juice of local fruits, etc.)

CPF segment	Notes of her thoughts (comments, reflections) about each CPF segment or specific product (brand) she mentions.	Observation of CPF consumption inside or outside the house— including garbage:
Noodles		
Snacks (salty and spicy)		
Candies (e.g. mints, caramels, gums, chocolates, lollipops, etc.)		
Biscuits		
Coffee		

Milk		
Powdered Cacao & Cereal Drink		
Soft drinks		
Juice (Powder & Liquid)		
Canned meats and fishes		
Packaged meats		
Seasonings,		
Condiments, Sauces & Vinegars		
If you have time:		
Ice cream		

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