

FOOD INSECURITY: THE EXPERIENCES OF HUNGER AMONG THE HOUSEHOLDS LIVING IN MANILA A SLUM

By

Christine Jade B. Diamante

University of Santo Tomas

Abstract:

This working paper examines the people's aspiration to food security through investigating on the experiences of food insecurity and hunger among the selected households living in the slum community of BASECO Compound, Tondo Manila, Philippines. It aims to assess the dynamics of food insecurity, including the food-related problems that the households encounter and their means to adapt to these. Household level food insecurity and hunger is a worsening problem that inhibits the social development of the locals in Baseco, specifically in Block 6 where severe hunger and food insecurity is concentrated. The study seeks to know the perception of the locals on the concept of human development and to identify their aspirations in terms of food security. Furthermore, the study would explore how the locals define hunger and food insecurity, identify the actors and factors that are involved in food production and food allocation among household members, and what are the indicators that determine their social development in the context of food security.

The study applies a qualitative design, specifically a descriptive analysis on the perception of the concept of human development by the locals living in BASECO. Gathering of data will employ focused ethnography through interviews, participant observations and small group discussions. Selection of key informants involves purposive sampling. 15 women that belong to a household that is vulnerable to food insecurity and hunger and consumes "terter" were interviewed for the study. The theory of food entitlement, viewed from the political economic perspective is used as the theoretical lens in exploring the dynamics of food insecurity and human development. The study argues that the locals of Baseco oversee human development by means of acquiring acceptable food in socially acceptable ways and to consume three meals every day.

Preliminary data gathered from primary sources through observations and interviews to 15 selected women as key informants show that lack of financial resource to access a balanced, healthful and safe food is the problem among the households in the area. With this, they resort to consume leftover food, commonly known as "pagpag" or "terter" because for them, it is nutritious and affordable. Women described food insecurity as a crisis, and hunger as a painful sensation in the head, body and stomach because of the lack of food. In addition, the experience of hunger and food insecurity at the household level includes the insufficient quantity of food to be distributed among the members of the household and the uncertainty and worry where to acquire food. Results also identified concerns such as food safety and disruption of meal patterns brought about by instability of supply and poor access to food. Lastly, for the women, being the most vulnerable to food insecurity and hunger views human development by being able to purchase a complete meal fresh from the market with vegetables and meat whenever they acquire extra money.

Future studies on hunger and food insecurity should consider the findings from this study as additional knowledge to the current and previous literatures that can generate further information that can be used as a basis of food security policies and programs.

Keywords: Human development, aspirations, food security, food insecurity, hunger

Food Insecurity: The Experiences of Hunger among the Households Living in A Manila Slums

This paper examines the people's aspiration to food security through investigating on the experiences of food insecurity and hunger among selected households living in Block 6 old site, BASECO Compound, located in the South Harbor of the Port Area of Tondo Manila. Residences near the barangay hall are built from concrete with various floor levels; some houses has its parking space for their automobiles. Walking along the “eskinitas” of the seawall, where shanties are built, I came accross various “sari-sari” stores, a mini wet and dry market, and many houses where anyone can easily peek into the open windows and see what is inside their narrow-spaced house, containing appliances like television, radio, speakers, karaoke and etc.

Aside from the abovementioned semi-affluent living conditions of some households in Baseco, there are many areas where living conditions are really difficult. One is in Block 6 old site area, where severe poverty and hunger is concentrated, which will be discussed throughout the paper. Slums as defined by Ballesteros (2010) are areas that have limited access to healthy food, safe water and sanitation and etc. In the context of Baseco, as I walk into one of the “eskinitas” along the seawall, leading to Block six, old site. I came across the pathways in front of the houses which are submerged in stagnant, ankle to knee-deep *burak* (mud) covered with layers of garbage. Flies, mosquitoes, and different insects are all over the place. One of the locals said, “*normal lang yan baha at burak dito pero bumababa naman yan pag hindi tag-ulan*”. The shanties are built with pieces of wood, roof, *yero*, tires and other light materials patched together, at an average size of 2 by 5 meters that accomodates 3-9 members of the household.

Ragragio (2003) described slums in the context of the Philippines as “iskwater (Tagalog translation of squatter that refers to areas with disorganized shelters composing of light inappropriate materials where the poor resides), estero (estuary areas with unpleasant smell), eskinita (narrow alleys that could accomodate one person at a time), looban (inner areas where houses are built closely beside each

other), and dagat-dagatan (dagat maning river- a coastal areas or areas that are frequently flooded).”

As of the 2007 census of the National Statistics Office, there are 42,249 people living in Baseco, and the vast majority of whom are informal settlers. According to Guevara, Mayor, and Racelis (2009) BASECO was derived from Bataan Shipyard Engineering Company; and is a reclaimed land built from accumulated tidal deposits of sand, shells and trash from the river and the bay and for so many years, it served as a ship loading and unloading site. Moreover, during the 1990's, it became a relocation site for thousands of informal settlers evicted from various parts of Metro Manila and on 2002, President Arroyo declared Baseco as a socialized housing site and awarded lands to beneficiaries.

Urbanisation is being linked with rural-urban migration whereas most urban activities and economic opportunities are concentrated in the metropolitan areas. With this, people in the rural areas are attracted to search for better income opportunities in the metro (Ballesteros 2010; Grant 2012; World Bank 2000). In another context, most of the locals that we have interviewed were migrants from different provinces, to the urban settlements in the metro, bringing them in Baseco. According to one of my key informants, Jakie, *“Galing akong Cebu. Dalaga pa ako ng lumuwas po ako dati kasi naghahanap ako ng trabaho tapos ayun nakapag asawa ako”*. *“I was in my teenage years when I migrated in Manila to seek for a job and then here, I met my husband and had a family.”* In her search for employment opportunities here, she was able to settle down with her live-in partner who happens to live in Baseco.

In spite of the substantial progress that the urban cities achieved, the growth of urban poverty is increasing. The Asian Development Bank (2009) stated that majority of the urban poor resides in the slums and informal settlements in Metro Manila. A large percentage of the poor are brought about by rural-urban migration. These migrants have no jobs and are unable to afford housing, bringing them to the informal settlements around the Metro (USAID 2012).

Methods

Essentially, a purposive sampling using predefined criteria was implemented in this research, familiarized toward the understanding of household level food insecurity and hunger. Selection criteria included 15 women, mothers in particular; who are vulnerable to food insecurity and hunger; and are belonging to a household that consumes leftover and scavenged food locally known as “*pagpag*” or “*terter*”. It is significant to interview 16 key informants, specifically women in the household primarily because the research tools contain indicators on household food security, food allocation and food distribution. With this, the women are the ones who are more knowledgeable in such matters. Moreover, in many Filipino households, in conformity with the culture and traditions, it is the task of the wife or the women to deal with the household matters especially in terms of child rearing, household budgeting, food preparation and etc. On the other hand, the men or the husbands are culturally the ones who has to be the breadwinner in the household (Aileen S.P. Baviera, Liao Shaolian 1999; Ashraf 2009; Guevara et al. 2009). Basically, the women are the ones available for interview sessions however, if the men happens to be available on the day of the interview sessions, he is encouraged to participate.

Data were collected from an ethnographic research, allowing the researcher to conduct preliminary field visits for rapport building, residing in the field for 3 weeks and a succession of field visits to fill in data gaps. With this, recording of field notes is crucial. Data gathering involved in-depth key informant semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The goal of the method is to understand the dynamics of the household level food insecurity in the slums.

Household Income

During the interviews with the key informants, I inquired about their income sources. 16 out of 17 of women consider their husbands as the head of the household primarily because they are the breadwinners in the family. In contrast with this Aileen S.P. Baviera, Liao Shaolian (1999) and Guevara et al. (2009) claimed that in many Filipino families, the men and the husbands are automatically considered as the household head in conformity to the culture and traditions. “*Ano lang, extra extra lang sya minsan kung may*

nagpapagawa. hakot kung ano ano lang, yung tambak. Kung anong pwedeng pagkakitaan para lang sa araw araw” “He does any extra work, part time jobs including *Hakot (collecting garbage), and any work to earn for our daily living.*” That was according to Janine. Another key informant, Sara said “*Pinagkakakitaan? Yung asawa ko ano, nag eextra lang dyan sa may pier. Nagkakarga doon. Nag eextra lang.*” “*Income source? My husband works in the port, as a part time porter.*” Both of them exclaimed that their husbands will take any available job in order to provide for the needs of the household. During the interviews, the term “extra” was frequently uttered when asked regarding the source of income of the breadwinners in the household. The term “extra” would mean acquiring part time or irregular job and work that are available in any given time.

Figure 1.2: Income Source of the Household

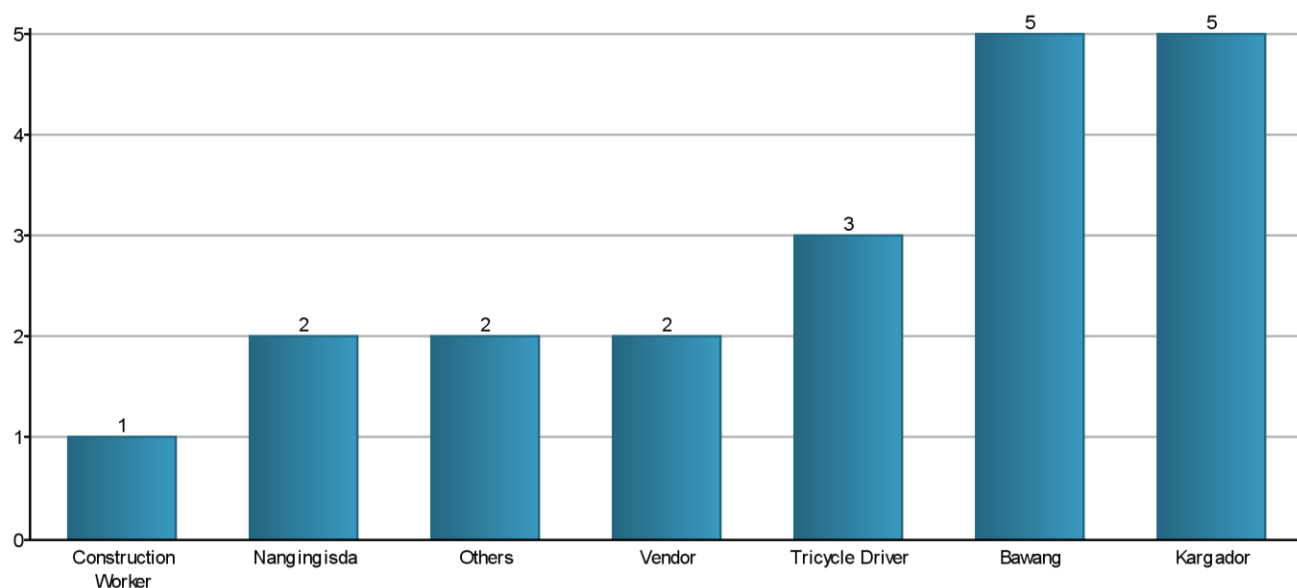
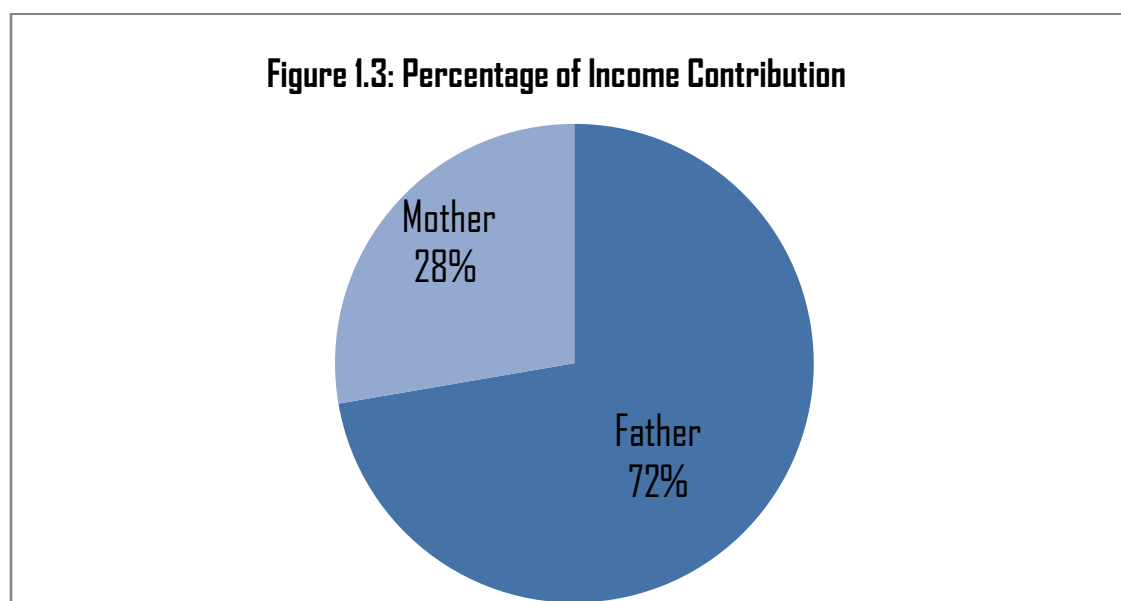


Figure 1.2 presents the income source of the breadwinners or men in the household. The endowment set of these men are their skills and labour power. With these, they are able to generate income in order to provide for the needs of the household members.

In the context of Baseco, due to insufficient household budget, 6 out of 16 women seek livelihood in order to contribute to the household budget by means of “*pagbabawang*” or Peeling garlic cloves. During my interviews with my key informants, Nina, a mother of five

children exclaimed: *“yung asawa ko bardsman. Yung nangangargada ng bakal, extra extra lang.”* *“My husband works as a bardsman who carries steel. He works part time.”* And when I asked her about what she do, *“Sa bahay lang. Nag aalaga ng mga chikiting minsan nagbabawang.”* *“I stay at home, taking care of our children and sometimes, I peel garlic cloves.”* Another key informant, Jannice said, *“Wala sa bahay lang. Nag aalaga ng mga bata. Minsan nagbabalat ako ng bawang.”* *“None. I stay at home to take care of our children and sometimes I peel garlic cloves.”* The supplier of the sacks of garlic from Divisoria provides livelihood to selected women, paying them 50 pesos per sack. During one my field visits, Dana, a key informant complained that her hands are sore from peeling garlic cloves. *“Hindi muna ako magbabalat ng bawang. Mahapdi na yung kamay ko. Tignan mo nagbabalat na.”* *“My hands are sore from peeling garlic cloves. I’ll stop peeling for the mean time.”* These women being house bound, since their husbands are the ones who leave for work and they are to deal with household matters, they accept livelihood like peeling garlic cloves to do something during their free time and at the same time to earn extra income.



The husbands are considered to be the household head particularly because they contribute to 72% of the household income, as presented in Figure1.3. However, in terms

of decision making, during one of my interviews with Elise together with her husband, according to them, household decisions would depend on their joint decisions.

Frisco asked *“Sino daw ang mas nasusunod satin?” “kaming dalawa. Pinaguuspan namin kung paano dapat. Tulungan lang ganon.”* *“Who decides between the two of us?” “Both of us decides. We compromise and decides together on what to do. We help each other.”* In terms of household budgetting, it is Elise who manages the income of Frisco. *“Binibigay nya sakín ang sweldo kunwari, lingguhan kasi sya eh. Yung dalawang libo na kita nya sa isang linggo, nababawasan pa yun ng renta nya eh. Stay in kasi sila sa constructions sa Pasig. Pag binibigay nya sakín, ibbudget ko na yun, eto sa pagkain, eto sa pagpaaral kay JM sa anak namin, eto pang bayad sa ganyan. Ganon lang tulungan lang kami importante kasi yun.”* *“He hands me over his income. For instance, he earns Php 2000 weekly, to be deducted for his house rentals because he stays in his work place near their construction site in Pasig. Whenever he gives me his income, my task is to budget and allocate it to food, JM’s education, and other expenses. Us, helping each other is really important.”*

The same set-up with the others that 15 have interviewed, the women are the managers of the household income, and at the same time, it is their primary task to budget it to acquire the basic needs of the household members. Contrary to this, A. Timothy Church (1986); Jeanne F. Illo (1989); Belen T. G. Medina (1991); Mina M. Ramirez (1984) as cited in Ashraf (2009) claimed that women are the financial decision makers of the household and has control over the budgetting, allocating and spending decisions. Moreover, Illo (1989, 45) cited in Ashraf (2009) asserted that “Cultural norms dictate that the husband turn over his earnings to his wife to receive in return a daily allowance for his daily expenses.”

Vulnerability to Urban Exclusion

The status of living in urban poor communities is characterized by employment and income insecurity, unaffordability of goods and services, low quality housing, inadequate access to services and infrastructures (Moser 1996, 9-10, 6-22 cited in Guevara 2007). In contrast with this, the locals of Baseco, specifically in block 6 are in the same way, exposed to

vulnerabilities in terms of public services as seen in the informal make-shift houses in block 6, where the roads are not furnished and are swampy and covered with mud and garbages, lack of sewage system; the low quality of the houses built with light materials that are patched together; inaccess to piped water and sanitary toilets and electricity; employment and income insecurity.

Inspite of the country’s substantial developments; and in Metro Manila where the efforts of the government on poverty reduction programs; and in the case of Baseco where NGO’s like the Gawad Kalinga and Habitat Foundation in building nearly 2000 houses and enjoying amenities like piped water, electricity and sanitary toilets at home for the fire victims in Baseco in the year 2002, the majority of Baseco’s more than 8000 households still resides in the informal settlement areas, “*tambakan*” or dumpsites which are easily flooded (Ballesteros 2010; Guevara et al. 2009; Ragragio 2003). With this, there are still areas that are underdeveloped similar to the case of Block 6, Old site where the locals are vulnerable to environmental and health hazards which results to their poor living conditions.

The Urban poor consists of an average size of 5 and above household members, living in the informal settlements around the Metro. Moreover, in two-thirds of the poor families, the head of the household has only elementary education. With this, they are unable to seek an average to high paying jobs so they settle to informal and low paying jobs (Asian Development Bank 2009).

Table 2: Unstable employment and Income Insecurity

Key Informant	Educational Attainment	Income Source	Status	Daily Income
1	Elementary Level	Nangingisda	Irregular/ Seasonal	Php 140
2		Kargador	Part time	120
3	No Education	Kargador	Part time	130

4	Elementary Level	Vendor/ Kargador	Part time	140
5	Elementary Level	Kargador	Part time	180
6	Elementary Level	Tambak/ Hakot	Part time	120
7	Elementary Level	Kargador	Part time	200
8	Elementary Level	Pintor/ Kargador	Part time	200
9	Elementary Level	Buko	Part time	120
10	Elementary Level	Construction	Contractual	180
11	No Education	Sidecar	Part time	200
12	High school Level	Technician	Irregular	150
13	Elementary Level	Sidecar	Regular	140
14	High school Level	Sidecar	Regular	150
15	Elementary Level	Nangingisda	Part time	120

Table 2 shows the relationship among the three variables, jobs, regularity of jobs and income. The locals in block six are vulnerable to unstable, irregular, and low income employment. With this, the allocation of the budget to the household expenses are risked; especially in terms of food budget where the highest percent of money is allocated.

Figure 3.1

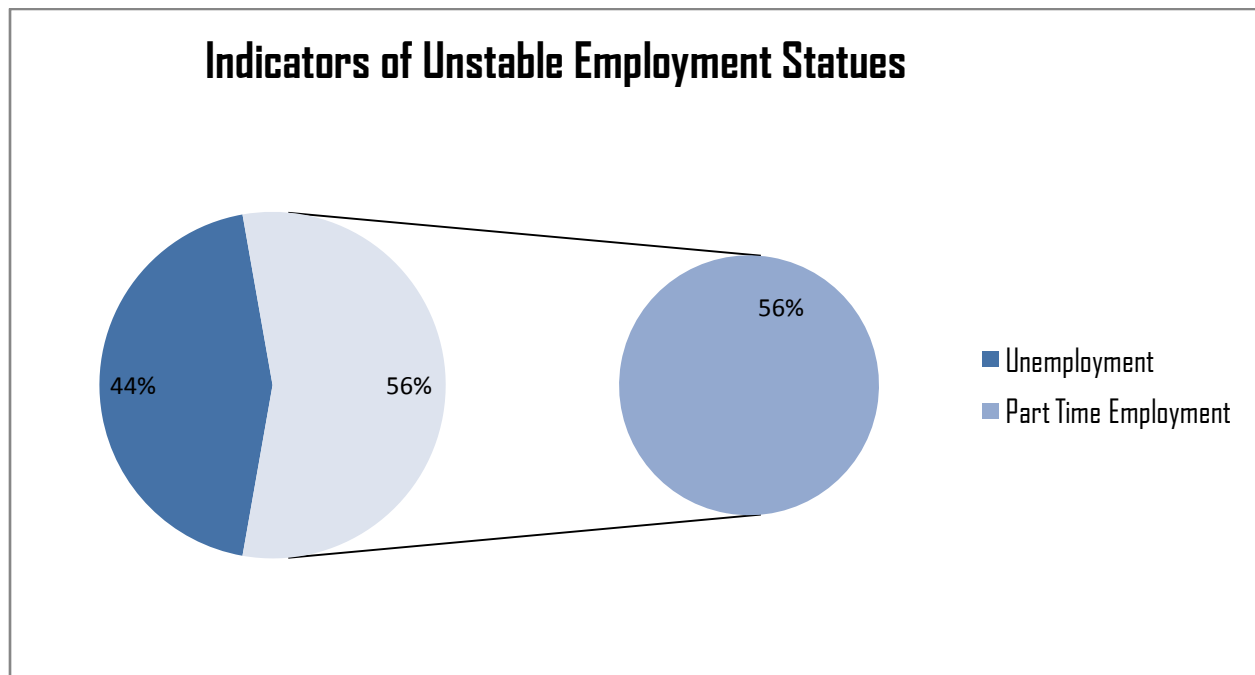


Table 3.1 presents the indicators of employment status of the household breadwinners. 44% of the coded segments from the interviews showed that a significant percent of the key informants said that their household breadwinners experienced transitory unemployment. *“Yung asawa ko nagconstruction eh kaya lang wala syang trabaho ngayon. Natatanggal kasi eh. Naghahanap pa sya ng trabaho kasi minsan talaga natatanggal.”* *“My husband works as a construction worker. Unfortunately, he is unemployed for now. He was terminated and now, he seeks for a job”* (Elisa, 29).

In the case of Marlyn, another key informant, *“Noon po nung may trabaho asawa ko, nagtitinda yun ng kamatis, nangangargada kaya lang nahinto kasi mahina ang benta tapos yung pangkain nya pa.”* *“Before, when my husband still has a job, he works as a tomato vendor. He stopped because of the low sales.”*

Another 56% of the coded segments represents for the breadwinners who have low-income and part time jobs. *“Hindi po sapat yung kita nya kasi nag eextra lang sya sa trabaho”* *“His income is not enough for us because he only works part time in work”* (Sara).

Another key informant said, “Minsan kasi nageextra yun ma'am. mangargada. depende po kung ano yung magiging sideline sa Divisoria” “Sometimes he works part time as a vendor. Depends on the available sidelines he could work on in Divisoria” (Jackie).

The employment opportunities that are available for these breadwinners are informal and part time jobs i.e. Porter, Side car driver, vendor, fishing, and construction work, as stated in the previous sections of the paper. 2 of the household breadwinners reached highschool level, 10 reached the elementary level and 2 did not have any educational attainment. With this, there are only limited jobs that they could acquire. These are low income and unstable jobs that in turn, results into financial insecurity of the households in Baseco.

Figure 3.2

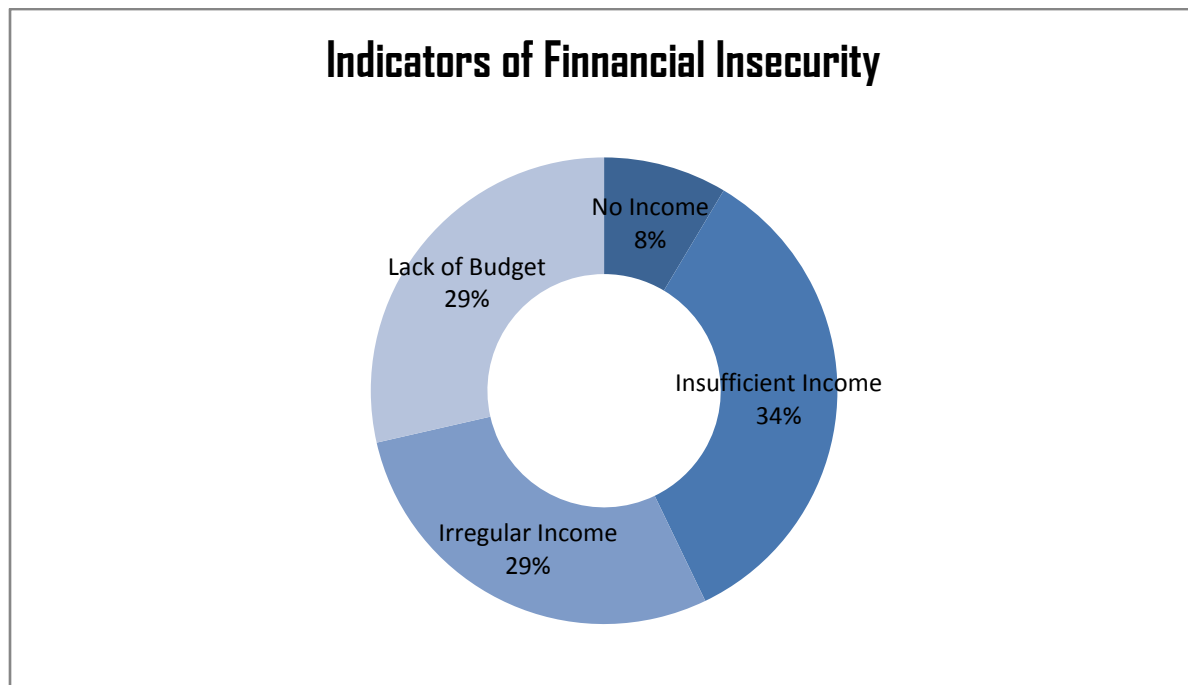


Table 3.2 presents the indicators of financial insecurity of the households in Block 6, which results from low-income and unstable employment status of the household breadwinners. The data shows that 8% of the coded segments show that due to transitional unemployment, their household head earns no income. With this, according to one key informant, since her husband is currently unemployed, she started a sari-sari store. “Yan lang po ma'am (sari-sari store). kasi yung asawa ko walang trabaho eh” (Marlyn).

The data shows that 29% of the coded segments presents that the household heads receives an irregular income due to unstable employment status. *“Oo kulang (kita) minsan kasi hindi naman lagi lagi na may kita sya sa dagat. Minsan walang huli, minsan meron.”* *“His income is insufficient because it is not at all times that they get to catch fishes. Sometimes there are no catch”* (Jaqui). Another key informant, Janine said that her husband does any extra work, part time jobs including *Hakot (collecting garbage)*, and any work to earn for *our daily living.* Their daily income would depend on what will be the side line of their household breadwinners. These informal jobs generates a low income which is not enough to provide for the household expenses.

Another 29% of the coded segments from the interviews present that the households lacks budget for daily expenses. “Kadalasan, tumungtong ang Sabado ng gabi. Ayan medyo ano na ko nyan alerto na ko kasi wala na akong budget, wala na akong pagkain. Kinabukasan Linggo, tapos Monday, pamasaha nanaman ng asawa ko papunta sa side car nya.” *“Frequently, there are instances where Saturday night comes; I am bothered because we lack budget and food. The next day will be Sunday, and then Monday, I have to allocate money for my husband’s transportation going to his work place to drive a sidecar”* (Genelyn).

A significant 34% of the coded segments show that the household income is insufficient to provide for the household expenses most especially to food budget having to feed an average of 5 and above members where most are dependents on the household breadwinners. Aileen cited *“Kulang din. Ayan masakit sa ulo. Nagiisip kung saan talaga mag hahanap o kakayod ng ipapakain sa tatlo kong anak”*. *Insufficient income gives me a headache, stressing over how and where to get resources to feed my three children.”*

Figure 3.1 and 3.2 presents the indicators of unstable employment and income insecurity of the household breadwinners. These two themes emerged as barriers in achieving food security. *“Nababahala din kami minsan pag walang wala. bagyo pa minsan naiisip, san kaya tayo kukuha nang pagkain? Syempre kailangan ko sabihan yung asawa ko, maghanap ka nang trabaho syempre may mga anak tayo. buti kung tayo lang. Hindi naman pwede na ako magtrabaho, yung mga anak mo rin papano?”* (Marlyn, 30). This goes to show that unstable employment and income insecurity inhibits the locals’ entitlement to food, making them

vulnerable to food insecurity. Unemployment, low paying jobs, and poor government benefits partly explain why households struggle to afford adequate food.

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (Committee on World Food Security 2009).

The Experience of Hunger and Food Insecurity in the Slums

Food is a basic human right and as stated in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, food is included in the physiological needs- physical requirements for human survival. However, there are 795 million people out of 7 billion people in the world are food deprived and are undernourished. Given that, one in nine people experiences hunger globally. Even more, 98% of the world's undernourished people lives in the developing countries (Food and Agriculture Organization 2015; The Hunger Project Organization 2015; United Nations World Food Programme 2014; World Bank 2000).

In the context of the Philippines, The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (2012) states that among the Tiger Cub economies in Asia, the Philippines has the highest rate of food insecurity from the year 2005 – 2012. Moreover, according to the (Food and Agriculture Organization 2015) during the years 1990-2 to 2010-12, there was a decline of the total population of the undernourished from 16.7 million to 12.7. However, during the year 2014-16, the total population of the undernourished increased by 1 million into 13.7 million. Even more, the Philippines may have achieved the Millennium Development Goals' (MGD-1c) of halving the portion of undernourished people in 2015 to 13.5% from the 1990's total undernourished population of 26.3%. However, the country did not achieve the target set by the World Food Summit (WFS) of halving the number of the undernourished population.

The Philippine government is aiming to bring down poverty incidence to at least 18% higher than the 16.6% set under the Millennium Development Goals (Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform; and Asian Alliance Against Hunger and Malnutrition 2012).

Consequently, 51% of Filipinos consider themselves poor in the first quarter of 2015. In present, 31% consider themselves as food poor or without enough entitlement to access a stable supply of food (Social Weather Stations 2015).

In another context, Ballesteros (2010) stated that “slums are areas with inadequate access to safe water, food, sanitation and etc.” Moreover, Tawodzera (2011) added that the urban poor households living in slums are highly vulnerable to food insecurity because of the lack of resources to purchase food, considering that slums have high levels of unemployment. Similar to poverty, hunger is also a worsening problem of the society knowing that food is a basic necessity of an individual. The study aims to explore the experiences of hunger and food insecurity among the households living in the slums of Baseco Compound, Tondo Manila. With this, the research explores the household level food insecurity.

The household level context of food security refers to the ability of the household to secure, either from its own production or through purchases, adequate food for meeting the dietary needs of all members of the household” (FAO Household Food Insecurity and Nutrition Group 2010).

Moreover, according to USDA cited in Rahim et al. (2011), household food security status has three levels:

- a. Food secure households are those who has access at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life.
- b. Food insecure households are those who are at times were uncertain of having or unable to acquire enough food for the members because of the lack of resources for food.
 - b-1. Low food security (without hunger) are the food insecure households obtained enough food to avoid disrupting their meal patterns or reducing food intake by means of a variety of coping strategies such as eating less,

participating in food assistance programs and getting emergency food from community. These are the “food insecure but not hungry.”

b-2 Very low food security (with hunger) food-insecure households, normal eating patterns of one or more household members were disrupted and food intake was reduced at times during the year because they had insufficient money or other resources for food. In reports prior to 2006, these households described as “food insecure with hunger”.

Food insecure households are those who could not afford to purchase balanced and nutritious food because of the lack of resources, those households who worry that their food will run out before they even acquire resources to purchase more supply and those who skip meals and experience chronic hunger because of the lack of purchasing power.

In another context, the word hunger, a more powerful term to which most people are familiarized ranges in meaning from short-term physical discomfort to life-threatening lack of food, and often encompasses broader issues related to food access and socioeconomic deprivation (Habicht et al., 2004 cited in Ballard, Kepple, and Cafiero 2013). On the other hand, in the locals of Baseco, they define hunger as a painful sensation in the stomach, associated with pain in the head, a crisis and feeling of hopelessness.

Table 5: Local Concepts of Hunger

Local Concepts of Hunger			
	Local Terms	Frequency	Indicators
Physical Pain	Sakit sa ulo (Pain in the Head)	8	<p><i>“Yung ano nalilipasan nang gutom ba. Masakit sa ulo pag nagutom. Mainit ang ulo pag gutom, nagiisip nang masama.”</i></p> <p><i>“My head aches whenever I am hungry. It makes me furious and it compels me to have cruel intentions”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 7</i></p>
	Sakit sa Tiyan, Hapdi sa Sigmura (Pain in the Stomach)	10	<p><i>“kunwari po wala kayong makain, sympre po masakit sa tyan, yung mga ganon po yung mahapdi yung sigmura kasi gutom.”</i></p> <p><i>“Whenever I have nothing to eat, my stomach aches and my intestines throbs.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 2</i></p>
	Sakit sa Katawan (Pain in the Body)	3	<p><i>“Madalas. Minsan manginginig nga yung katawan ko sa gutom. Ang gagawin ko nalang, inom ng tubig.”</i></p> <p><i>“Sometimes my whole body trembles because of hunger. I will just drink water for relief.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 4</i></p> <p><i>“Mahirap ang gutom eh. Masakit sa katawan. Manghihina ka talaga.”</i></p> <p><i>“Mahirap ang gutom eh. Masakit sa katawan. Manghihina ka talaga.” “It is really difficult to experience hunger. The body aches and weakens”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 5</i></p>
	Lipas ng Gutom (Passing Hunger)	3	<p><i>“Tapos yung hapunan namin aabot na minsan nang alas gis alas onse (*laughs) parang nung linngo. etong linggo naghanap pa sya kung saan hahagilap nang pagkain”</i></p>

			<p><i>"Sometimes we eat late dinner at eight to ten in the evening. Like last Sunday, my husband seeks for resources for us to buy food."</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 9</i></p>
Psychological and Emotional Pain	<p>Sakit sa Kaiisip (Hunger affecting the Mind)</p>	2	<p><i>"Yung di ka makapag isip ng ayos. Na nakakisip ka na gumawa ng masama. Mainit ulo ganun."</i></p> <p><i>"You can't think properly. You'll have cruel intentions. Anger."</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 14</i></p>
	<p>Pagtitiis (Tolerance)</p>	3	<p><i>"Minsan magtiis ka na wala talaga kami. Kape at tinapay. Kung walang tinapay, kape nalang talaga."</i></p> <p><i>"If there is no available bread, just coffee"</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 6</i></p> <p><i>"Oo. Minsan natutulog po kaming walang kain sa gabi."</i></p> <p><i>"Sometimes we sleep at night without eating dinner."</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 8</i></p>
	<p>Pagsubok ng Diyos (God's test)</p>	2	<p><i>"Pagsubok din kasi minsan sa buhay yan eh. Saka yung pananalig natin sa Diyos kung hanggang saan. Ganun lang kami mag asawa. parang di kami nawawalan nang pagasa kasi habang buhay basta magsikap lang kahit mahirap."</i></p> <p><i>"It is a challenge in life. Testing the extent of our faith in God. My husband and I are like that. We do not lose hope as long as we work hard, we'll be fine."</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 10</i></p>

	Krisis (Crisis)	6	<p><i>“Ano parang krisis. Yung masasabi ko na walang wala na talaga. Na parang ano ba itong buhay ko. Parang andaming iniisip na problema na patong patong. Ganun.”</i></p> <p><i>It is a crisis. I can clearly say that we are broke and empty-handed. Asking why my life is like this. My mind is preoccupied with loads of problems.”</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 10</i></p>
	Kawalan ng Pagasa (a feeling of hopelessness and despair)	6	<p><i>“Yung kawalan talaga ng pagasa na papaano ba itong buhay ko? Yung mga anak ko paano na.”</i></p> <p><i>“Hopelessness. How will my life turn out? How about my children?”</i></p> <p><i>-Key Informant 13</i></p>

Figure 5 1

Local Concepts of Hunger

Physiological Pain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sakit sa Ulo (Pain in the Head) ▪ Sakit sa Tiyan, Hapdi sa Sigmura (Pain in the Stomach) ▪ Sakit sa Katawan (Pain int the Body) ▪ Lipas ng Gutom
Psychological Pain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sakit sa Kaiisip (Hunger affecting the Mind)
Emotional Pain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Pagtitiis ▪ Pagsubok ng Diyos ▪ Krisis ▪ Kawalan ng Pagasa (A Feeling of Hopelessness and Despair)

Table 5 presents the local concepts of hunger that emerged during the in-depth interviews with the key informants when asked what their notion of hunger is.

The locals associated hunger physiologically, as a painful sensation in the body, *“Madalas. Minsan manginginig nga yung katawan ko sa gutom. Ang gagawin ko nalang, inom ng tubig.”* Key informant number 4 said that she frequently experiences hunger. *“Sometimes my whole body trembles because of hunger. I will just drink water for relief.”* Another key informant exclaimed, *“Mahirap ang gutom eh. Masakit sa katawan. Manghihina ka talaga.”* *“It is really difficult to experience hunger. The body aches and weakens”* (Key informant 5)

Hunger as a painful sensation in the head and the stomach. *“Masakit sa ulo pag nagutom. Mainit ang ulo pag gutom, nagiisip nang masama.”* *“My head aches whenever I am hungry. It makes me furious and it compels me to have cruel intentions”* (Key Informant 7). Key informant 2 exclaimed that whenever she has nothing to eat, her stomach aches and her intestines throb. *“kunwari po wala kayong makain, sympre po masakit sa tyan, yung mga ganon po yung mahapdi yung sikhura kasi gutom.”*

Another key informant said that she feels hungry whenever they skip meals and pass meal times. There are instances where they were able to eat dinner at 10:00 or 11:00 pm for the reason that her husband still seek out for food. *“Tapos yung hapunan namin aabot na minsan nang alas gis alas onse (*laughs) parang nung linngo. etong linggo naghanap pa sya kung saan hahagilap nang pagkain”*

Moreover, the locals associate hunger into psychological and emotional pains. , According to them, there are instances where they endure hunger. *“Minsan magtiis ka na wala talaga kami. Kape at tinapay. Kung walang tinapay, kape nalang talaga”* *They settle consuming bread and coffee. “If there is no available bread, just coffee”* (Key Informant 6). To add, some of the key informants also said that sometimes they sleep at night without having dinner.

For some of them, hunger is a life crisis accompanied by a feeling of hopelessness and despair. *“Ano parang krisis. Yung masasabi ko na walang wala na talaga. Na parang ano ba itong buhay ko. Parang andaming iniisip na problema na patong patong. Ganun.”* *“It is a*

crisis. I can clearly say that we are broke and empty-handed. Asking why my life is like this. My mind is preoccupied with loads of problems.” (Key Informant 10).

“Syempre ma'am para sa kinikita sa loob kasi nagugutuman tayo, tas magisip tayo pano kaya tayo makakain araw araw, yung ganun ba, syempre maisip natin iba iba na. Minsan pinapanalangin ko nalang na kahit papano di kami mawalan nang pagkain, kahit ganyan po yung ulam natin, atleast nakakaraos kami araw araw” “For me, it really hurts that we experience hunger, worried on how are we going to eat every day, things like that. Sometimes we think differently. Sometimes I pray that somehow, we'll not ran out of food despite of our viand, atleast we get through the day” (Marlyn, 30).

For the locals, hunger does not only affect the physical body but also the mind and how they perceive life, some sees it as a challenge or trial given by God. In an interview with Marlyn, as a coping mechanism, hunger strengthens their faith, praying that somehow, they won't run out of food supply.

Table 6: Determinants of Food Insecurity

Themes	Indications
Income Insecurity	<p><i>“Kulang din. Ayan masakit sa ulo. Nagiisip kung saan talaga mag hahanap o kakayod ng ipapakain sa tatlo kong anak.”</i></p> <p><i>“Not enough. It bring headache. I always think where to get resources to feed my three children”</i></p> <p>-Key informant 1</p>
Skipping Meals	<p><i>“Ayun lang naman yung minsan kakain kami sa isang araw nang dalawang beses. Kadalasan po kasi ma'am, ako minsan di na rin ako kumakain nang tanghalian eh. Minsan diretso na yung tanghalian, di na ko nagaalmusal. Importante lang kasi sa kinikita yung mga bata.”</i></p> <p><i>“Sometimes we eat only twice daily. Most of the time, I don't eat lunch. Sometimes I eat brunch. For me, the kids are more important.</i></p>

	Key Informant 13
Uncertainty of Food Supply	<p><i>“Oo. yung ano mga ganito Myerkules wala na. Mag aalala ka na kung, magiisp na kug saan kukuha kasi hindi kasya yung budget.”</i></p> <p><i>“Yes, in days like these. Wednesdays we are left with nothing. I worry and I start to think where to get resources because the we lack budget”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">-Key Informant 9</p>
Sacrificing Meals for other Household Members	<p><i>“Kung may tira sila bago pumasok, yun na yung samin ng asawa ko. Tas paghatian nalang namin. Minsan talaga o madalas, tubig nalang kasi inuuna ko talaga yung mga bata. Mahalaga kasi mamaya magkasakit ba. mga bata pa kasi, saka mareklamo yung anak ko pag kulang sa kain. Kaya sabi ko sige kumain ka lang.”</i></p> <p><i>“We eat and share on what is left before the children goes to school. More often than not, we settle on drinking water because it is important that we prioritize the children and they might get sick. They are still young, and my other child complains whenever he lacks food. With that, I just tell him to eat more”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">-Key informant 3</p> <p><i>“Pag talaga walang makain, mahalaga, bata yung nakain dibale na kami kaya namin tiisin. eh ang bata iiyak talaga. Mahirap talaga eh”</i></p> <p><i>Whenever we have nothing to eat, it is important that the children eat even if we don't. We, adults can manage but the kids will cry. It is really difficult.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">-Key Informant 11</p>

Table 6 presents the emerging themes of food insecurity which will be further elaborated in the next sections of the paper. Food insecure households experiences income insecurity which hinders them to acquire sufficient and stable supply of balanced and nutritious food

without having to skip meals and limit food consumption for the benefit of the other household members.

Availability and Entitlement to Food

Food availability is the physical existence of food be it from our own production or in the market (World Food Programme 2012). In the context of Baseco, a port area, food is physically existent. However, in block 6, considering the proximity, the market is distant from the area. The nearest area to purchase commodities like rice, meat, vegetables and etc. is in the Seawall area where there are many meat, vegetables and fruit stands. Another is that, there are various *sari-sari* stores or variety stores that can found in the area. Physical existence of food is not the problem in Baseco; rather, it is the access to food.

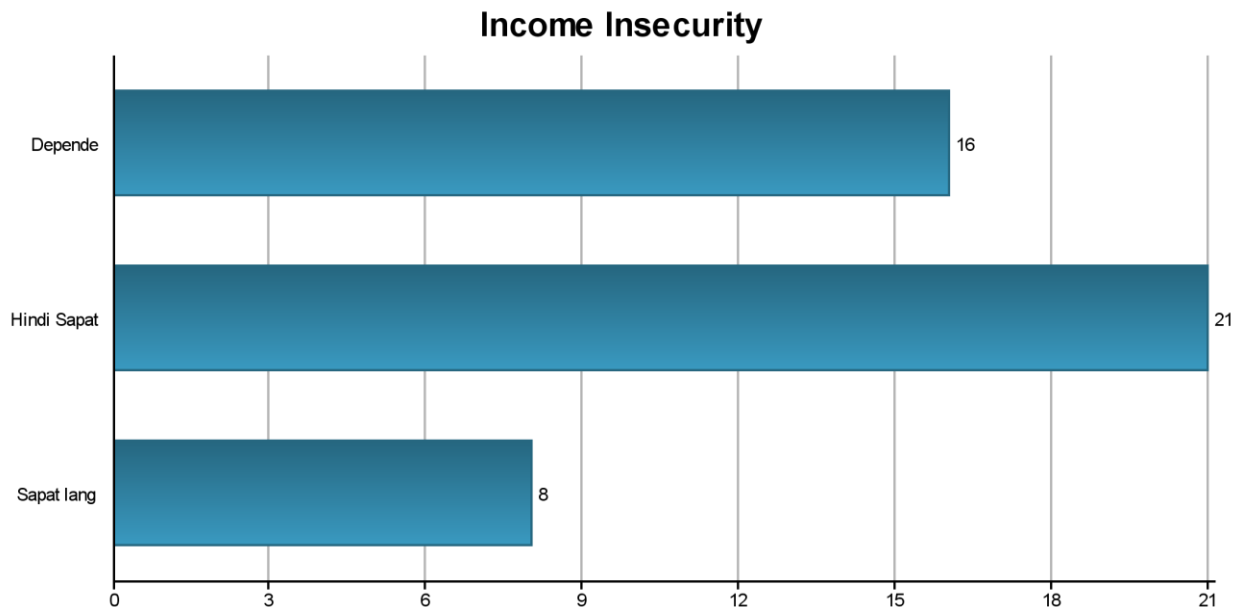
Access to food according to Maxwell and Smith (1991) is “the question of whether individuals and households (and nations) are able to acquire sufficient food.” Riely et al. (1995) in Aidoo, Mensah, and Tuffour (2013) argued that, the access to food is guaranteed when the individuals, households and the whole community have sufficient resources such as money in order to acquire safe food for a healthy diet.

The entitlement approach to hunger and famines by Sen (1981) cited in Osmani (1993) demonstrates that “people having or not having command over food is distinct from there being or not being enough food to eat.” In line with this, there are three conceptual categories to understand food entitlement. First is the *Endowment set*. These are the resources or assets owned by a person. Second is the *Entitlement set*. These are all the possible combinations of the goods and services that a person owns by using resources from the endowment set. Third is the *Entitlement mapping*. This is simply the relationship between the endowment set and the entitlement set. Moreover, a person suffers from failure to food entitlement is when her entitlement set does not contain enough food to enable her to avoid starvation.

Table 7: Employment Status Income and Household Size				
Key Informant	Income Source	Status	Daily Income	Household Size
1	Nangingisda	Iregular/ Seasonal	Php 140	6
2	Kargador	Part time	120	5
3	Kargador	Part time	130	4
4	Vendor/ Kargador	Part time	140	4
5	Kargador	Part time	180	7
6	Tambak/ Hakot	Part time	120	4
7	Kargador	Part time	200	4
8	Pintor/ Kargador	Part time	200	9
9	Buko	Part time	120	5
10	Construction	Contractual	180	3
11	Sidecar	Part time	200	5
12	Technician	Irregular	150	5
13	Sidecar	Regular	140	6
14	Sidecar	Regular	150	5
15	Nangingisda	Part time	120	5

Table 7 presents the cross tabulation of the variables: Income source, employment status, daily income and household size.

Figure 7.2: Income Insecurity of the Household



In the context of Baseco, the assets of the locals living in Block 6 are their skills and labor power (Endowment set). They use these skills to generate income in order to provide for the needs of the members of the household particularly, their food (Entitlement set). The laborers, in turn for their labor work receives income wage. With this, they are able to purchase food for the household. Moreover, the household food stability depends on the household income, and that in turn, would depend on what they (household breadwinner) are able to sell, whether goods, services or labor power in order to acquire wage employment.

As presented in Table 3.1, the locals experiences vulnerability in terms of irregular status and low-income employment, because in the previous section of the paper (Table 1.4), most of the household heads or the breadwinners reached elementary to highschool undergraduate education. With this, they are unable to seek an average to high income paying jobs. Their daily of 120-200 pesos could hardly suffice for the basic needs of an average household size of 5 members, considering their household income allocation to expenses like food, water, healthcare and education of the children.

With this, table 3.2 presents that there are 21 coded segments from the in-depth interviews saying that their household income is not sufficient to provide for their needs.

“Kulang din. Ayan masakit sa ulo. Nagiisip kung saan talaga mag hahanap o kakayod ng ipapakain sa tatlo kong anak” “Not enough. It bring headache. I always think where to get resources to feed my three children” (Key Informant 1).

“Oo. yung ano mga ganito Myerkules wala na. Mag aalala ka na kung, magiisp na kug saan kukuha kasi hindi kasya yung budget.” “Yes, in days like these. Wednesdays we are left with nothing. I worry and I start to think where to get resources because the we lack budget” (Key Informant 9).

16 coded segments showed that their household budget would depend on their daily income.

“Hindi rin. Kasi minsan wala, minsan meron. Di magka kwan yung araw” “Not really. Sometimes we have, sometimes we don’t have. Depends on the days” (Key Informant 3).

“Pagkasyahin nalang. Kinsenas kasi ang sahod nila eh. Pagkasyahin nalang sa kinsenas. Pwede naman pasagad sagad ang bigas, kinse pesos.” “We’ll budget whatever amount we have every month. Sometimes we exhaust 15 pesos of rice” (Key Informant 6).

And 8 coded segments implied that their household income is only enough to provide for their basic needs, not being able to set aside any amount intended for savings.

“Hindi. Nag eextra lang kasi syempre budget, Minsan kasi, ano pag umaalis yung asawa ko walang iniwan saakin.” No because he only works part time for budget. Sometimes he leaves for work without leaving any amount to me.”(Key Informant 8)

According to the World Food Programme (2012), households that spend high amount of budget (of almost 70%) on food are the most vulnerable to food insecurity because if it happens that an unforeseen circumstance occur (price hikes of commodities, disaster, health issues and etc), their budget allocation will be negatively affected. With this, the household budget for food will be limited. In the context of Baseco, considering the low amount of daily income, having to support an average family size of 5, their budget

allocation is already limited. With the unforeseen events aforementioned, they will fall into the category of food insecure and hungry households.

Household Food Allocation

A typical Filipino setting rooted from societal norms involves the men or husbands working to provide for household income, and women dealing with household tasks including household chores, food preparation and allocation, household budgeting and allocation, child rearing and etc. In the context of Baseco, the primary task of women is to manage household income and spending. With this, they are the ones tasked to prepare meals and allocate it with the household members.

During one of my field visits and interviews, I was invited to join lunch with one of my key informants, Dana in her small house in Block 6. For purposes of social justice and courtesy for taking her time for my interview, I offered to buy 2 canned goods, 2 kilos of rice and soda for drinks. I started interviewing her as she was pan frying pieces of left over pizza, mojos and fried chicken from Shakey's. According to her, it was "pagpag" given by *Papay* her father-in-law whose business is "*kalakal*" and gathering left over food from different establishments and fast food chains near Baseco. The rice was already prepared at that time. As I was observing her, while she talks about her life and at the same time preparing the food, she prepared 6 plates and divided the rice. She opened the can of corned beef and placed a spoonful to one plate together with the biggest chunk of chicken and rice. She asked her daughter to bring it to *Papay* who lives beside their small house. After that we started eating and she warned us not to eat "*pagpag*" anymore because it might cause us digestive problems because according to her "*wag na kayo kumain nyan. Sasakit tiyan nyo at di kayo sanay dyan.*" "*Don't eat those anymore. Your stomach might get sick because it is not used to those kinds of food.*" In their household setup, Dana allocates the food for the household members, the same with the other 15 key informants. However, in this setup, the household breadwinner was given a bigger share of food because according to her, "*Papay*" deserves it for supporting their financial needs in the absence of his son, the father of Dana's children.

15 (women) of the interviewees answered that it is their duty to prepare meals and allocate the food to the members because they are ones who has an obligation to perform household task. *“Ako ang naghahanda ng pagkain samin. Sandukan ko lang sila” “I prepare the food in our household. I divide it to their plates.”* (Nora).

Figure 8: Household Food Consumption

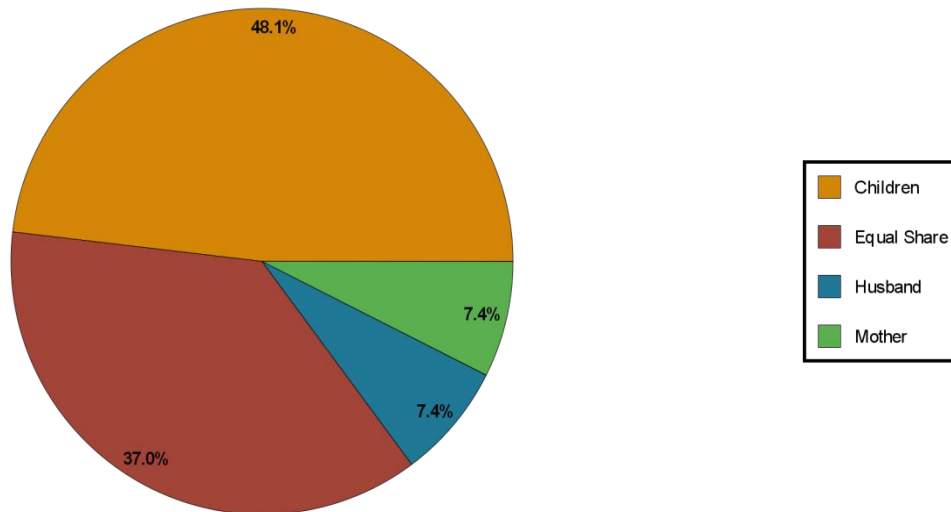


Figure 8 presents the coded segments from the interviews to key informants when asked about their household food consumption. The adults show an equal percentage of food consumption and 37% answered that the household members would have equal share of food.

“Paano po yung hatian nyo nang pagkain sa bawat myembro nang pamilya nyo? Sino po yung maraming kinakain?” “How do you distribute food among the household members? Who consumes the most?”

-“Ayun pantay pantay lang tatlo sila eh” “It is equally divided.” (Jakie)

-“Pareho lang. pantay pantay lang. kalahati lang samin. “The same, equally divided for the children. We consume only half.” (Jannice)

-“Konti lang naman kinakain namin. Pantay pantay lang.” We only eat a small amount. Equally divided.” (Amor)

These households who consume equally divided amount of food adjust to the limited supply of food. With this, they limit their food consumption. Another, there are 48.1% coded segments implying that children consumes the highest amount of food among the household members. In contrast with this, Compton, Wiggins, and Keats (2010) cited that more often than not, it is the duty of the women to prepare meals for the household and they are usually the ones who reduce food consumption in times of food shortage for the benefit of the other members of the household.

Table 9: Sample Food Calendar of a child living in Block 6

Food Insecurity: The Experiences of Hunger among the Households Living in BASECO			
Research Subject # 1			
Name: JM		Guardian: Eliza Minil	
Block: 6	Biological Sex: Male	Birthday: Aug 27, 2010	Age 5
Height:	Weight:	BMI:	
Food Calendar			
Dec 1-14, 2014	Breakfast	Lunch	Dinner
Sunday	Pizza, Coffee	Pastel	Pagpag Rice
Monday	Pizza, Coffee	Terter, Rice	Rice
Tuesday	Pizza, Coffee	Vegetable, Rice	Soy sauce, Rice
Wednesday	Lucky Me Instant Noodles, Egg, Rice	Sayote, Rice	Tinola, Rice
Thursday	Pizza, Coffee	Tinola, Rice	Paksiw, Rice
Friday	Bread	Coffee, Rice	Coffee, Rice
Saturday	Pizza, Coffee	Fish GG, Rice	Tuyo, Rice
Sunday	Pizza	Adobo Terter, Rice	Adobo Terter, Rice
Monday	Pizza, Coffee	Pechay Adobo, Rice	Sitaw Adobo, Rice
Tuesday	Lugaw	Liver, Rice	Lucky Me Instant noodles
Wednesday	Pizza, Coffee	Rice	Sayote, Rice
Thursday	Pandesal, Coffee	Vegetable, Rice	Tinola, Rice
Friday	Pandesal, Coffee	Pork sabaw, Pechay, Rice	Hotdog, Egg, Rice
Saturday	Terter Rice	Pizza (Terter)	Pagpag Rice

A typical Filipino food would consist of rice, fish and vegetables, equivalent to 861 grams of food and the Recommended Energy Nutrient Intakes of Filipinos is 1867 kcal (World Food Programme 2012). In the context of Baseco, 2 out of 4 children assessed consume rice 3 times daily, for breakfast, lunch and dinner. On the other hand, another 2 consumes rice twice daily for lunch and dinner. (See Appendix to see other samples)

In the sample, Table 9 presents the two weeks of food consumption of JM, son of one of the key informants. For his breakfast, he often consumes a left over pizza called *Terter*. According to my key informant Elise, the mother of JM: *"Pizza na tira tira sa shakey's. Pero iniinit din naman namin. Saka pag walang wala talaga, terter uulamin"* *"Left over pizza from shakey's. We reheat it. And whenever we have nothing, we settle to eat terter for our viand."* Together with it, he drinks coffee instead of milk. When I inquired as to why he drinks coffee instead of milk, his mother answered *"kase mas mura yan. Saka gusto nya yan kape."* *"Because it is cheaper. And he likes drinking coffee."* For lunch, he often eats rice and for his viand, her mother prepares pagpag, vegetables, fish and sometimes pork depending on their daily budget. There are days when their household budget could not afford to acquire a healthy viand so he settles for coffee, bagoong or soy sauce to add flavor to his rice. The important thing is for him to eat rice.

"Nakakain naman kayo nang masustansyang pagkain?" "Are you able to consume nutritious food?"

"Oo naman. lalo na pag may trabaho yan. Pero pag walang trabaho, magtyaga muna tayo sa pagpag. Minsan ano, dalawang beses sa isang linggo. Minsan tatlo. Pag kasi kung meron naman kami dyan ulam na gulay, hindi kami mag ano nang pagpag. Pero naghahantay din kami na bigyan nang pizza ni Tatay. araw araw tuloy pizza. Araw araw. kakaubos nga lang oh. Paresan nang kape." *"Of course. Most especially when he has a job. But if none, we'll settle to consume pagpag. Sometimes two to three times a week. Whenever we have money, we buy vegetables for viand and won't settle for pagpag. We usually wait for father to give us pagpag pizza. Every day, we eat pizza. In fact, we just finished eating pizza partnered with coffee."*

In the same context, yet different setting, Wutich and Brewis (2014) cited that food insecure households often substitute lower quality of food that is more affordable than

nutritious and balanced food that costs much amount of budget. Another is that food insecure household consumes “stigmatized food, often called famine foods” in times of food shortage (Butterley and Sheperd 2010; Corbett 1988; Hadley and Crooks 2012; Maxwell et al. 2008; Shipton 1990 cited in Wutich and Brewis 2014). In the context of Baseco, the locals settle to consuming leftover food locally known as “pagpag” or “terter” because according to them, it is affordable, ranging from 10-40 pesos of meat coming from notable fast food chains.

During the interviews, interviewees often say that they, as parents would compromise their share of food for their children. *“kung may tira sila bago pumasok, yun na yung samin. tas paghatian nalang namin. Minsan talaga o madalas, tubig nalang kasi inuuna ko talaga yung mga bata. Mahalaga kasi mamaya magkasakit ba. mga bata pa kasi, saka mareklamo yung anak ko pag kulang sa kain. Kaya sabi ko sige kumain ka lang”* “We eat and share on what is left before the children goes to school. More often than not, we settle on drinking water because it is important that we prioritize the children and they might get sick. They are still young, and my other child complains whenever he lacks food. With that, I just tell him to eat more” (Marlyn). Elise also exclaimed, *“Tapos yung hapunan namin aabot na minsan nang alas gis alas onse (*laughs) parang nung linngo. etong linggo naghanap pa sya kung saan hahagilap nang pagkain eh etong bawang kinabukasan pa bayad. Pag talaga walang makain, mahalaga, bata yung nakain dibale na kami kaya namin tiisin. eh ang bata iiyak talaga. Mahirap talaga eh.”* “Sometimes we eat late dinner at eight to ten in the evening. Like last Sunday, my husband seek for resources for us to buy food, too bad that these peeled garlic cloves are to be paid tomorrow. Whenever we have nothing to eat, it is important that the children eat even if we don’t. We, adults can manage but the kids will cry. It is really difficult.”

The adults especially the women sacrifices for the benefit of the other household members, particularly, for the children. In contrast with this, according to Wutich and Brewis (2014), food insecure households limits food consumption to prolong the food supply. This in turn, could provide more amount of food for the other members of the household. In the local context, the adults, especially women compromise and limit food intake for the benefit of the other household members.

Households' Coping Strategies in Hunger and Food Insecurity Experience

In spite of their vulnerability to hunger and food insecurity, the locals of Block 6, to the best of their abilities, seek and strengthen their resilience to food insecurity in order to provide sufficient and balanced food for the household members.

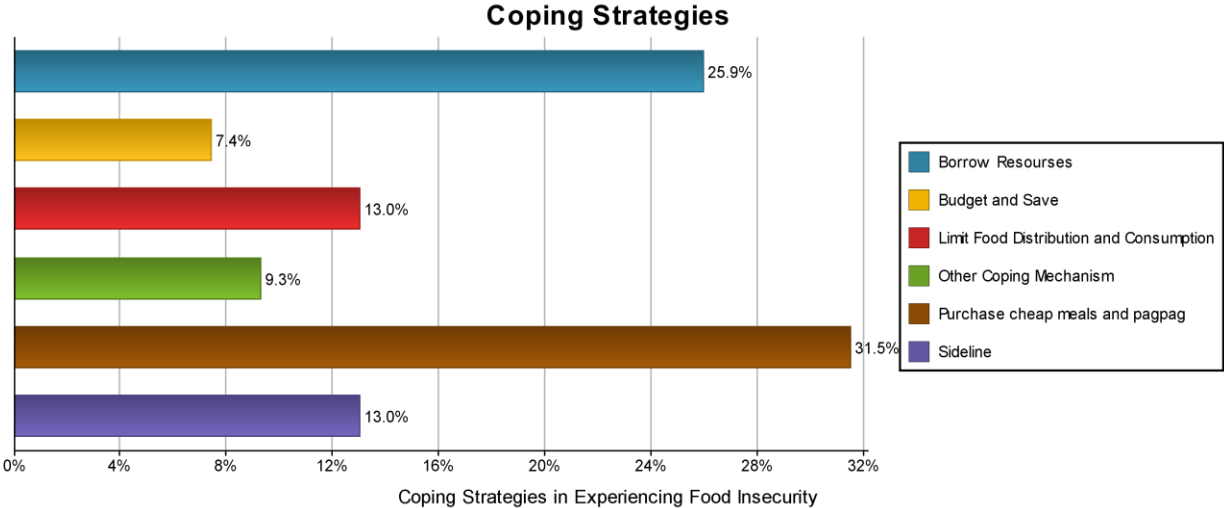
Table 10: Coping Strategies to Food Insecurity

Themes	Indications
<p>Small Scale Resource Borrowing and Lending (i.e. commodities, cash)</p>	<p><i>“Minsan lang po. Pag wala po kaming ano. Halimbawa wala na kaming pera. kukuha nalang kami dyan o sa tindahan.”</i></p> <p><i>“Sometimes. There are instances that we totally have no money, we borrow commodities from the store.”</i></p> <p>-Key informant 2</p> <p><i>“ Talagang hahagilap talaga yung asawa ko nang pera. Mangungutang sa tindahan kung may magpautang.”</i></p> <p><i>“My husband will seek ways to earn. If possible, we’ll borrow resources from the sari sari store if they would lend us.”</i></p> <p>-Key Informant 1</p> <p><i>“ Oo minsan makapos, mangutang nalang sa kapit bahay.”</i></p> <p><i>“Sometimes we are empty-handed. We’ll borrow from our neighbours.”</i></p> <p>-Key Informant 6</p>
<p>Budget and Save</p>	<p><i>“Syempre budget. Minsan kasi, ano pag umaalis yung asawa ko, walang iniwan</i></p>

	<p style="text-align: right;"><i>saakin.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Budget. There are times that my husband leaves for work without leaving any amount of money”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 8</i></p>
<p>Reduce Food Consumption</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Oo naman. lalo na pag may trabaho yan(masustansya at masarap na pagkain). Pero pag walang trabaho, magtyaga muna tayo sa pagpag.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“We eat nutritious and delicious food whenever my husband has work but if he has none, we’ll settle to consume pagpag.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 13</i></p>
<p>Reduce Food Quality / Pagpag Consumption</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Ayan masakit sa ulo kung kwan eh (gutom). Kelan sagaran eh may gulay. Kung walang wala na, may tuyo. Yung mura talaga yung tuyo. Bili ka limang piso o sampung piso kasya na. Ayun may ma kwan lang sa kanin pampaalat. Kasi di naman malunok ang kanin pag walang pampaalat eh.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Hunger brings headache. Whenever we lack money, we eat vegetables. Whenever we are totally empty handed, we eat tuyo dried fish that can be bought for five to ten pesos enough to add flavour to the rice because plain rice without flavour or saltiness is difficult to swallow.”</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>-Key Informant 1</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>“Hindi tayo makabili nang sampung piso o bente na karne na ganyan karami (pagpag). Atleast dito karne kahit papano. “</i></p>

	<p><i>“We cannot purchase big chunks of meat for 10-20 pesos. Atleast with pagpag, we are able to consume meat.”</i></p> <p>-Key Informant 3</p>
<p>Part Time Jobs</p>	<p><i>“Kaya kung kailangan nagisip ako sympre mag tinda tinda kahit papano. Yun nga lang di rin sya sapat kasi marami din dyang tindihan”</i></p> <p><i>“If needed, I thought of putting up aa small sari-sari store. However, the income is not enough because there are many sari-sari stores in here.”</i></p> <p>-Key Informant 4</p>

Table 10 presents the emerging themes of the locals’ coping mechanisms to food insecurity.



Food insecure households have limited resource to purchase food with this, the parents struggle to seek ways in order to ensure food availability in the household, one is to borrow and lend resources such as cash and commodities such as rice, canned goods, noodles,

meat, vegetables and condiments. With the 25.9% coded segments, this implies that small scale borrowing and lending from the support systems i.e. relatives, friends and neighbors is the second most utilized coping mechanism.

Another 7.4% coded segments were budgeting and saving has been an effective coping mechanism. With this, the locals are able to maximize the small amount of budget to feed an average family size of five.

As stated in the previous section of the paper, food insecure households reduce or limit the amount of food consumption for the benefit of other household members. In the same context, there are food insecure households where a larger portion of food is allocated to nutritionally vulnerable children or income generating men (Butterley and Sheperd 2010; Corbett 1988; Hadley and Crooks 2012; Maxwell et al. 2008 cited in Wutich and Brewis 2014)

There are 32.5% coded segments showing that their household reduce the quality of food they eat, that is fit for their household budget. They opt to consume leftovers and scavenged food locally known as *pagpag* (to brush off dirt) or *terter* (a Filipino slang for *tira tira*, meaning, excess). The supplier of this is Papay. He gathers these foods from notable fast food chains establishments, in exchange of cleaning and gathering their garbages called *kalakal*. He repacks these and sells it to the locals of Block 6 in prices ranging from 10-40. The locals are fond of buying this because for them, it is nutritious and affordable.

13% of the coded segments imply that some women, due to income insecurity seeks livelihood in order to contribute to the household budget. 6 of my key informants peel garlic cloves “pagbabawang” amounting to 50 pesos per sack.

Conclusion

Through the study of the experiences of food insecurity and hunger among the locals' of Baseco, we arrive at a local definition of household food security as being able to consume a delicious food inclusive of meat for protein, and rice for carbohydrates that is fit to the household budget risking food safety; with the parents prioritizing their children's food

security and being able to eat three times daily. 16 women claimed that their husbands are the household breadwinners and in terms of budget and food distribution, it is the primary task of the women. Results also showed that the adults especially the women mostly sacrifice their food consumption for the benefit of their children.

Poverty, Education, Unstable Employment and Income Insecurity are the themes that emerged from the study as barriers to food security. The urban poor in the Philippines as defined by the National Economic and Development Authority are the individuals and families whose income fall below the poverty threshold. In this context, the locals of Baseco are in the same way, unable to afford a stable supply of their basic needs such as balanced food, healthcare, housing, education and etc. Consequently, majority of the urban poor belong to large family size of 5 and above with greater number of dependents and; 68% of the total population of poor Filipinos whose household heads reached elementary educational attainment. With this, they are unable to seek an average to high paying jobs, leaving them no options but to settle into low-income, informal and unstable jobs. Employment insecurity leads to income insecurity making the locals' vulnerable to food insecurity and in worst cases, hunger.

In the context of Baseco, the typical household set-up would be the women are primarily tasked to do the household management including resource allocation, chores and childrearing while men are the heads and are the household breadwinners. This is in conformity to the patriarchal culture of the Filipinos; however, due to income insecurity, the women also seek livelihood in order to contribute to the household budget. Moreover, the only resource endowment set that the breadwinners own is their skills and labor power. With this, they are able to generate income in order to provide for the needs of the household. However, the low wage income from their labor could hardly suffice for the basic needs of the household comprising of five and above dependents. With this, the household becomes vulnerable to food insecurity. Four themes emerged as indicators of household food insecurity. Income insecurity limits the households' access to food because of the lack of resources and this in turn would cause to uncertainty in food supply, making the adults, particularly the women to skip meals and to reduce their food consumption for the benefit of the other household members.

The locals remain resilient from their vulnerability to food insecurity. In turn, they are able to cope with food insecurity by means of small scale borrowing and lending resources from support systems, budgets and saves income, engage into extra jobs for income contribution, reduces food consumption and reduces the quality of food that would fit in the household budget. These people would settle in eating leftover food locally known as pagpag/ terter which came from nitable fast food chains and establishments. For them, it is nutritious and affordable amounting into 10-40 pesos of meet to be recooked.

From the interviews, the locals perceive development through extra income, being able to purchase delicious food-balanced and nutritious food including vegetables and meat. Another is , their strong faith to the Lord for them to just get it through the day being able to eat three times. These are the stories of hunger experience among the 16 interviewed locals living in Baseco slums. They experience vulnerabilities in urban exclusion and structural violence, in terms of poor public services resulting to their poor living conditions, unemployment, income insecurity which in turn, translates into food insecurity, and yet, they are able to seek coping strategies to stay resilient from the bitter reality of poverty.

Recommendation

Food insecurity and hunger has been and is still a growing problem globally. Different countries and international multi-organizations have been proposing strategic plans on eradicating hunger. Numerous research and studies from the Western countries are conducted; however, these are not applicable to the local context. This study provided a community level understanding of the local determinants of food insecurity and hunger. .

The researcher suggests that future studies would explore an in-depth macroeconomic study on food insecurity and hunger in the urban poor should be explored. Along with this, organizing a sustainable intervention programs would be a big help for the community.

The findings presented in this study contribute to the pool of previous and current literatures on food insecurity and hunger experience of the urban poor. Findings may notify government and non government organizations on the importance of education,

employment and sustainable inclusive growth that would shape their policies, programs and to develop strategies on eradicating hunger.

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