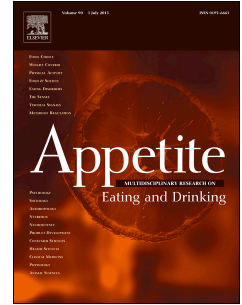


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Price and convenience: the influence of supermarkets on consumption of ultra-processed foods and beverages in Brazil

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Abstract

Objective: To evaluate the influence of convenience and price of ultra-processed foods and beverages on purchases at supermarkets. **Methods:** The study used data on food and beverage acquisition for household consumption from the Brazilian Household Budget Survey, performed in a random sample of 55,970 households between 2008-2009. Foods and beverages were categorized into four groups, according to characteristics of food processing. Retail stores were grouped into supermarkets and other food stores. Proportion of calories from foods and beverages purchased at supermarkets and other food stores, and respective mean prices (R\$/1,000 kcal), were calculated according to households' geographical and socioeconomic characteristics. Effect of convenience in household purchases at retail stores was expressed by the acquisition of several food items at the same store. The influence of convenience and prices of ultra-processed products on purchases at supermarkets was analyzed using log-log regression model with estimation of elasticity coefficients. **Results:** The mean prices of foods and beverages purchased at supermarkets were 37% lower in comparison to other food stores. The share of ultra-processed foods and beverages in purchases made at supermarkets was 25% higher than at other food stores. An increase of 1% in prices of ultra-processed food items led to a 0.59% reduction in calorie acquisition at supermarkets ($R^2=0.75$; $p<0.001$). On the other hand, an increase of 1% in the number of food items purchased at supermarkets resulted in 1.83% increase in calorie acquisition of ultra-processed foods and beverages ($p<0.001$). **Conclusion:** Convenience and lower relative prices of food items purchased at supermarkets, in comparison to other food stores, are relevant to explain higher share of purchases of ultra-processed foods and beverages at supermarkets.

Keywords: food processing, food acquisition, cost, food demand, household budget survey, retail.

33 Introduction

34 The expansion of marketing and consumption of ultra-processed foods and
35 beverages proceeds jointly with the increase in prevalence of overweight, obesity and
36 other chronic diseases related to improper nutrition and insufficient physical activity in
37 almost every country (SWINBURN et al., 2011; MONTEIRO et al., 2013). Several
38 studies point to potential connections between the current pandemic in
39 noncommunicable diseases related to obesity and the recent changes in food production
40 and distribution structures worldwide, especially due to intrinsic characteristics of ultra-
41 processed food and beverage products that favor overconsumption: convenience, price
42 and flavor. However, ultra-processed foods and beverages are also marked by low
43 nutritional quality (MONTEIRO et al., 2013; LOUZADA et al., 2015a,b,c).

44 Changes in food supply systems are related to greater availability of ultra-
45 processed food products in populations' diets, especially considering the rise of large
46 supermarket chains and the concentration of household food acquisition at supermarket
47 retail stores (SWINBURN et al., 2011; REARDON & TIMMER, 2012; MONTEIRO et
48 al., 2013; COSTA et al., 2013; GÓMEZ; RICKETTS, 2013; POPKIN, 2014;
49 STANTON, 2015; TAILLIE, NG, POPKIN, 2016). Besides the aggressive massive
50 advertisement for ultra-processed products on the TV, magazines and other media
51 platforms, consumers are constantly induced to purchase large volumes of ultra-
52 processed foods and beverages at supermarkets through pricing policies, constant
53 introduction of new products, promotions and elaborate marketing strategies involving
54 priority placement that allows more exposure of those products on shelves, among other
55 things (HAWKES, 2008; REARDON & TIMMER, 2012; STANTON, 2015; STERN;
56 NG; POPKIN, 2015).

57 Price is considered a primary determinant of food demand (ANDREYEVA,
58 LONG, BROWNELL, 2010) and a core factor leading consumers to replace traditional
59 food retail stores with supermarket' (HAWKES, 2008; CASPI et al., 2012; GÓMEZ;
60 RICKETTS, 2013). Therefore, supermarket managers have pricing policies as one of
61 the main strategies to influence consumers' decisions on what and how much to buy
62 (HAWKES et al., 2008; REARDON & TIMMER, 2012).

63 Technological improvements, increasing returns of scale in food industry
64 production, and use of low-cost ingredients and food additives allowed reduction in
65 prices per calorie of ultra-processed products (POPKIN; ADAIR; NG, 2012;
66 MONTEIRO et al., 2013; WIGGINS et al., 2015), reinforced by longer shelflife and
67 lower production losses due to high levels of sugars, refined starches, fats, salt and
68 various additives (POPKIN; ADAIR; NG, 2012; RICARDO & CLARO, 2012;
69 MOUBARAC et al., 2013).

70 In Brazil, ultra-processed foods and beverages are still expensive in comparison
71 to unprocessed or minimally processed foods and processed culinary ingredients
72 (MOUBARAC et al., 2013; CLARO et al., 2016); however, the magnitude of price
73 differences is dependent of the place of purchase (FARINA; NUNES, MONTEIRO,
74 2005; HAWKES, 2008). Moreover, relative prices of ultra-processed foods and
75 beverages have been decreasing during the past 30 years compared to other food items
76 in the Brazilian diet (YUBA et al., 2013), an increase in relative prices of healthy foods
77 that suggests the encouragement of obesogenic eating patterns (WIGGINS et al., 2015).

78 Evidence shows that supermarket chains play an important role in the food retail
79 scenario due to large-scale acquisition contracts negotiated with special conditions by
80 using market power to drive prices of ultra-processed foods and beverages below prices
81 usually charged by traditional retail outlets (HAWKES, 2008; STANTON, 2015;
82 TAILLIE, NG, POPKIN, 2016). A similar strategy is also applied to fresh foods;
83 however, results for the latter are systematically inferior than for ultra-processed foods
84 because of inherent characteristics of the products. Therefore, it supports the hypothesis
85 that supermarkets have encouraged use of many ultra-processed foods by making them
86 more purchases than fresh foods (HAWKES, 2008), especially in emerging countries
87 (GÓMEZ; RICKETTS, 2013; POPKIN, 2014).

88 Results from previous studies, using data from the Brazilian Household Budget
89 Survey carried out between 2002-2003 and 2009-2009, showed that supermarkets have
90 made major contributions to the household foods and drinks purchased in Brazil,
91 especially those commonly described as ultra-processed (COSTA et al., 2013;
92 MACHADO, 2016). More widespread patronage of supermarkets is directly associated
93 with greater use of ultra-processed foods, suggesting that convenience and price of
94 ultra-processed foods and drinks at supermarkets explain their greater place in
95 households. Thus, the study aims to evaluate the influence of convenience and prices of
96 ultra-processed foods and beverages on the choice of foods purchased from
97 supermarkets.

98

99 **Material and methods**

100

101 *Database*

102 Data on characteristics of household food purchases were gathered from the
103 nationally representative 2008-2009 Household Budget Survey conducted by the
104 Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) on a probabilistic sample of
105 55,970 Brazilian households. The survey used a complex clustered sampling procedure,
106 with geographical and socioeconomic stratification of census tracts in the country,
107 followed by two stage sample selection based on tracts and households.

108 In the sample selection, tracts of the 2000 Demographic Census were selected to
109 obtain household strata with geographic and socioeconomic homogeneity, considering
110 geographic location of the tracts (region, state, capital or other city, geographic locus,
111 urban or rural setting) and spectrum of socioeconomic variation of households, based on
112 educational attainment of the household head, resulting in formation of 550 household
113 strata (IBGE, 2010).

114

115 *Data collection*

116 Household interviews were performed during one year period, in order to
117 provide information on household budgets in different situations, including seasonal
118 variations of food acquisitions, prices and income (IBGE, 2010). Data analyzed in the
119 study includes records of foods and beverages bought for household consumption,
120 during seven consecutive days for each household, registered by household members or
121 trained interviewers (if necessary), including characteristics of food items purchased,
122 the amount (in kilograms or liters), prices (in Brazilian currency, Reais, R\$) and type of

123 food retail stores visited (e.g. supermarket, local market, other food stores). Considering
 124 the short reference period used for recording household expenditures on food, the
 125 survey does not allow to identify usual patterns of food acquisition for each household
 126 interviewed. Therefore, the unit of analysis in the study are household strata, according
 127 to the survey sample design (IBGE, 2010).

128

129 *Variables*

130 Using food composition tables, the energy content (kcal) was calculated from
 131 the amount of foods and beverages bought by each household, excluding non-edible
 132 items (UNICAMP, 2004; USDA, 2009). Items consumed were categorized according to
 133 the new food classification system, which considers the extent and the purpose of
 134 industrial food processing into four groups (MONTEIRO et al., 2016):

- 135 1. Unprocessed or minimally processed foods (e.g. rice, beans, meat, milk,
 136 eggs, fruit, roots and tubers, vegetables, and flour);
- 137 2. Processed culinary ingredients (e.g. sugar, oils and fats, culinary products
 138 used to cook foods from the previous group);
- 139 3. Processed foods (e.g. processed breads and cheese, canned fruit and fish, and
 140 salted and smoked meats);
- 141 4. Ultra-processed foods and beverages (e.g. cookies, snacks, candy, frozen and
 142 ready meals and soft drinks).

143 The fourth group, which is focus of interest in the study, includes industrial
 144 formulations of substances extracted from foods or synthesized based on food substrates
 145 or other organic sources (MONTEIRO et al., 2016). Food items included within the four
 146 groups previously described referred to 35 subgroups, used to estimate the variety in
 147 household purchases at each type of food store.

148 Household food purchases reported in the 2008-2009 Household Budget Survey
 149 referred to 357 different types of retail food stores, which were initially distributed into
 150 nine categories: supermarkets (including supermarkets, hypermarkets and wholeretail
 151 stores), small markets, street fairs/greengrocers/public markets, bakeries, small farmers,
 152 butchers, street vendors, bars/restaurants and others. The last eight groups were
 153 considered to deal with traditional food retail, thus, were clustered into one category
 154 'other food stores'.

155 Considering the complex sampling design, variables referring to individuals'
 156 characteristics in the stratum were established using weighted average of individuals'
 157 characteristics within the stratum, e.g., income per capita per month of stratum s (I_{pcs}),
 158 expressed in Brazilian currency (Reais, R\$), was obtained by dividing global income of
 159 n households h in the stratum s (I_{hs}) by the respective number of residents (r_{hs}),
 160 according to its weight in the sample (w_{hs}).

161

$$I_{pcs} = \sum_{h=1}^n \frac{I_{hs}}{r_{hs}} \times w_{hs}$$

162

163 Similar procedure was used to estimate age, educational attainment (in years),
 164 proportion of women, children (≤ 5 years old) and elderly adults (≥ 65 years old),
 165 proportion of calories per capita per day from food products purchased according to

166 type of food store (supermarket vs. other stores), and its respective average prices per
 167 thousand calories (R\$/1,000 kcal). Market prices of food products within a certain
 168 stratum were considered valid for households that purchased the items or not, in order to
 169 encompass complete market demand system (i.e., including households that chose
 170 buying zero of a particular item due to market price) (IPEA, 2006). Control variables
 171 included in the model referred to geographic region and situation of the household in
 172 the stratum (state capital, metropolitan area, urban area and rural area).

173 Price imputation was based on the calculation of the median price paid by
 174 households at the same type of food store at the same decile of monthly income per
 175 capita and in the same geographic region (large region, state capital or countryside).
 176 Measures of central tendency and dispersion were used to compare variables before and
 177 after imputation of market prices, indicating good validity for the procedure adopted.

178 Relative prices of ultra-processed foods and beverages (group 4) acquired at
 179 supermarkets and other food stores were calculated by dividing the mean price of the
 180 groups and its subgroups by the mean price of other foods (combination of items in the
 181 groups 1, 2 and 3). Subsequently, a ratio of relative prices between different types of
 182 food stores was estimated by dividing the relative prices of ultra-processed foods
 183 purchased at supermarkets by the relative prices of the same food group obtained at
 184 other food stores.

185 A set of variables referring to the effect of convenience in food purchases
 186 according to type of store, and the effect of competition among different types of food
 187 stores were estimated for each strata, using the total number of subgroups bought in
 188 each store (ranging from 1 to 35, based on the classification of food subgroups
 189 proposed) and the total number of retail stores where each food subgroup was purchased
 190 (ranging from 1 to 9, based on the categorization of food stores proposed), respectively.

191

192 *Data analysis*

193 The share of calories and the mean prices from food groups and subgroups from
 194 supermarkets were compared to those obtained in other stores using test of means for
 195 independent samples (t-test). A ratio between the share of ultra-processed foods and
 196 beverages (calorie percentage) from supermarkets and at other food stores was
 197 calculated, and a linear regression model was used to check potential linear associations
 198 between the ratios of calorie percentage shares and relative prices of ultra-processed
 199 foods and beverages.

200 To test the hypothesis that household availability of ultra-processed foods from
 201 supermarkets are influenced by its prices, a log-log linear regression model was used to
 202 estimate price elasticity coefficients. The elasticity coefficient indicates the percentage
 203 variation in the share of ultra-processed foods and beverages from supermarkets
 204 corresponding to 1% variation in the prices of the food item (own-price elasticity).
 205 Elasticity coefficients correspond to regression coefficients (β) of explanatory variables
 206 in linear regression models of log-log type (MITTELHAMMER; JUDGE; MILLER,
 207 2000). The general model used is defined as:

208

$$209 \ln(Q_s^u) = \alpha + \beta_1 \cdot \ln(P_s^u) + \beta_2 \cdot \ln(P_s^o) + \chi \cdot (v) \quad [\text{Eq.1}]$$

210

211 Where Q_s^u is the percentage of calories in ultra-processed foods and beverages
212 acquired at supermarkets; P_s^u is the price per unit of energy of ultra-processed foods and
213 beverages acquired at supermarkets (R\$/1,000 kcal); P_s^o is the price per unit of energy
214 of other foods complementary to ultra-processed foods and beverages acquired at
215 supermarkets (R\$/1,000 kcal); and ν is a vector related to control variables.

216 Control variables included in the model included: geographic region; area
217 (capital, metropolitan area, other urban areas and rural area); monthly income per capita
218 (R\$); residents' mean age; mean years of schooling of household heads; proportion of
219 women, children under five years old and adults aged 65 or more; mean price (R\$/1,000
220 kcal) of ultra-processed foods from other food stores; mean price (R\$/1,000 kcal) of
221 other foods complementary to ultra-processed foods from other food stores; total
222 number of retail outlets visited for food shopping (competition effect); and total number
223 of food items from each store (convenience effect).

224 The global fit of the model was analyzed using likelihood ratio test with
225 significance levels ≤ 0.05 . Extensions to the general regression model, including
226 quadratic terms of variables referring to food prices and income per capita, were tested
227 to identify nonlinear relationships between variables and the share of ultra-processed
228 foods and beverages calories from supermarkets.

229 Weighted analyzes were performed in survey module to consider the effect of
230 complex sampling procedures adopted in the Brazilian Household Budget Survey, in
231 order to allow extrapolation of results for representativeness of the Brazilian population,
232 considering a 95% confidence interval. The statistical analyses were performed using
233 Stata/SE, version 14 (Stata Corp., CollegeStation, United States).

234

235 Results

236 The daily per capita energy available from food items bought for household
237 consumption was 1,719 kcal in 2008-2009: 1,016 kcal were from foods purchased at
238 supermarkets, 703 kcal were from foods from other types of food stores. Supermarkets
239 accounted for the highest percentage of calories per capita in urban settings, in the
240 Center-South regions and in the largest income quintiles (Table 1).

241

242 Table 1

243

244 Unprocessed or minimally processed foods accounted for 48.0% of calories from
245 supermarkets and 54.0% of calories from other food stores (Table 2). Rice, beans, meat,
246 milk and yogurt accounted for 67% of total food available from both types of food
247 stores. Substantial differences between supermarkets and other food stores were
248 observed in the calorie share of wheat flour (2.8% vs. 1.3%) and, conversely, in the
249 calorie share of cassava flour (1.3% vs. 5.0%), fruit (1.5% vs. 3.3%), root and tubers
250 (0.8% vs. 1.5%), eggs (0.5% vs. 1.0%) and fish (0.2% vs. 0.9%).

251 The share of processed culinary ingredients purchased at supermarkets was
252 almost the double of the share acquired at other food stores; whilst the share of
253 processed foods purchased at other food stores was almost four times larger in
254 comparison to the share from supermarkets. The largest difference in processed foods
255 was the high share of breads bought at 'other stores'.

256 Ultra-processed foods and beverages accounted for 19.2% of calories purchased
257 for household consumption at supermarkets, 25% higher in comparison to purchases
258 from other food stores (15.3%). The share of cookies, crackers and chips, soft drinks,
259 bread and ultra-processed cheese was similar at different types of food stores. The larger
260 differences between purchases made at supermarkets and at other food stores were
261 found in the subgroups of other sugary drinks (0.8% vs. 0.2%) and sauces and spreads
262 (0.5% vs. 0.2%). The share of ice cream, chocolate and other sweets was higher at
263 supermarkets (2.6%) than at other food stores (1.2%).

264 The mean price per calorie of food groups and subgroups from supermarkets
265 was 37% lower than at other food stores. In addition, supermarkets presented lower
266 prices for unprocessed or minimally processed food groups, processed culinary
267 ingredients and ultra-processed foods and beverages; although there were substantial
268 differences among prices of food groups components. Unprocessed or minimally
269 processed foods and processed culinary ingredients with higher prices at supermarkets
270 include milk and yogurt, cassava flour, fruit, roots and tubers, eggs, fish, oils and fats.

271 The group of processed foods was the only with higher mean prices at
272 supermarkets, and its components showed similar prices. In relation to ultra-processed
273 foods and beverages, subgroups had lower prices at supermarkets, except for ultra-
274 processed bread. Regardless the type of food store, the group of ultra-processed
275 products had higher prices than the mean prices of complementary foods (combination
276 of groups 1, 2 and 3). However, prices of ultra-processed products from supermarkets
277 were nearly 15% lower than charged at other food stores (Table 2).

278 279 **Table 2**

280
281 The consumption of ultra-processed food items was considerably higher at
282 supermarkets, according to its lower relative prices in comparison to other food stores
283 (e.g. the proportion of calories from other sugary drinks purchased at supermarkets was
284 higher in comparison to other food stores due to relative prices 20% lower). The
285 exceptions were ultra-processed cheeses, which presented similar level of consumption
286 and prices at the distinct types of food stores.

287 The ratio of calories from ultra-processed foods obtained at supermarkets, in
288 comparison to other stores, showed a significant inverse association with the ratio of
289 relative prices paid for ultra-processed foods at supermarkets, in comparison to other
290 food stores (Figure 1). That is, the lower the relative price of ultra-processed foods at
291 supermarkets compared to other stores, the higher its consumption at household level.

292 293 **Figure 1**

294
295 Estimation of price elasticity in the model adjusted for control variables (model
296 3) was -0.59 ; indicating that 1% increase in the relative prices of ultra-processed foods
297 acquired at supermarkets would lead to 0.59% decrease in purchases ($R^2=0.75$;
298 $p<0.001$). Furthermore, the convenience effect presented coefficient 1.83 ($p<0.001$), and
299 relative prices of ultra-processed foods acquired at other food stores had elasticity
300 coefficient 0.40 ($p<0.001$), indicating the influence of both convenience and substitution

301 effects, respectively (Table 3). There was no evidence of significant nonlinear
302 relationships between ultra-processed food prices and share of purchases made at
303 supermarkets.

304

305 **Table 3**

306

307 **Discussion**

308 The present study is the first population-based investigation to analyze the
309 relationship between relative prices, convenience and purchase of foods at different
310 types of food retail stores (supermarkets and other food stores) applying the innovative
311 classification of foods based on the extent and the purpose of industrial processing. The
312 results indicate that the demand for ultra-processed food items was sensitive to relative
313 prices and significantly influenced by convenience, indicating that price and
314 convenience act jointly to stimulate the purchase of ultra-processed foods and beverages
315 at supermarkets in Brazil.

316 Several other countries have also shown similar patterns of more food being
317 bought at supermarkets in place of the more traditional food retailers such as street fairs,
318 small markets and butchers shops (REARDON; HENSON; BERDEGUÉ, 2007;
319 REARDON & TIMMER, 2012; COSTA et al., 2013; POPKIN, 2014).

320 Supermarkets have become dominant in global food supply chains
321 (SWINBURN et al., 2011; STANTON, 2015; TAILLIE, NG, POPKIN, 2016).
322 Consumers usually refer to convenience and variety with high quality at low prices as
323 one of the main factors for preferential purchasing at supermarkets (CASPI et al., 2012;
324 KRUKOWSKI et al., 2012; GÓMEZ & RICKETTS, 2013). During the 1990s, there
325 were rapid changes in the retail sector in Brazil, including increased concentration of
326 food retail sales at five major supermarket chains (MONTEIRO; FARINA; NUNES,
327 2012).

328 Our study shows that the highest proportion of foods were bought from
329 supermarkets, especially in households with the highest income, in urban areas and
330 regions with the highest development index. Previous studies indicate that access to
331 supermarkets is directly related to the population's income, a trend observed mostly in
332 emerging countries due to the patterns of expansion adopted by supermarkets, initially
333 targeting consumers with higher income in large urban centers, a strategy to have higher
334 returns in cities with substantial population concentration (REARDON; HENSON;
335 BERDEGUÉ, 2007; REARDON & TIMMER, 2012).

336 Subsequent phases for supermarkets business expansion include merges and
337 acquisitions of local retailers and small neighborhood and discount stores (REARDON
338 & TIMMER, 2012; EUROMONITOR, 2015), especially due to trends in purchasing
339 food at neighborhood stores (FARINA; NUNES, MONTEIRO, 2005). The supermarket
340 chains have been expanding participation in terms of market share; thus, increase
341 bargaining power with suppliers and managing to operate with lower costs due to
342 production scale (HAWKES, 2008; REARDON; HENSON; BERDEGUÉ, 2007;
343 REARDON & TIMMER, 2012; STANTON, 2015).

344 The results of the study showed lower prices charged by supermarkets in three
345 food groups, in comparison to other food stores. Almost all subgroups of ultra-

346 processed products had lower prices at supermarkets. Moreover, the proportion of
347 calories from ultra-processed foods and beverages from supermarkets was 25% higher
348 than at other food stores, whilst relative prices were almost 15% lower at supermarkets.
349 Plenty of evidence supports the hypothesis that prices are major determinants of
350 increased consumption of ultra-processed foods (LEE; RALSTON; TRUBY, 2011;
351 WENDT & TODD, 2011; RICARDO & CLARO, 2012; MOUBARAC et al., 2013;
352 POWELL et al., 2013), and probably linked to the rising incidence of obesity
353 (POWELL et al., 2013; FINKELSTEIN et al., 2014); whilst there has been increase in
354 relative prices of healthy foods, especially fruits and vegetables in several countries
355 (WENDT & TODD, 2011; LEE; RALSTON; TRUBY, 2011; YUBA et al., 2013;
356 POWELL et al., 2013), including Brazil (YUBA et al., 2013; WIGGINS et al., 2015).

357 Supermarkets are important outlets for the food industry to offer consumers a
358 wide variety of ultra-processed products (COSTA et al., 2013; STANTON, 2015;
359 POPKIN, ADAIR, NG, 2015). Price, assortment, promotion/advertising and placement
360 are used to influence consumers' decision about what and how much to buy
361 (HAWKES, 2008; COHEN & BABEY, 2012; GLANZ et al., 2012; STANTON, 2015).
362 Point of sale strategies used with ultra-processed foods exploit convenience and
363 stimulate impulsive purchase (HAWKES, 2008; COHEN & BABEY, 2012; GLANZ et
364 al., 2012; STANTON, 2015). Tactics include relative price discounts on large packages,
365 prominent large displays at the end of the supermarket aisles and placing snack food
366 lines close to cash registers (GLANZ et al., 2012; COHEN & BABEY, 2012;
367 STANTON, 2015).

368 In line with literature available for high-income countries, the findings showed
369 that the calorie share of ultra-processed foods bought from supermarkets in Brazil can
370 be explained either by their relative price or by their price at other food stores, showing
371 the role of competition through prices in food retail (FARINA, NUNES, MONTEIRO,
372 2005; MONTEIRO, FARINA, NUNES, 2012). However, there was also an important
373 influence due to the effect of convenience on purchases of ultra-processed foods and
374 beverages at supermarkets, especially combined with lower relative prices at
375 supermarkets in comparison to other food stores. Lower prices at supermarkets tend to
376 attract consumers, encouraging bulk purchases of food items, especially ultra-processed
377 foods; thus reinforcing the consumer evaluation of food retail based on the
378 "convenience price" (GLANZ et al., 2012), a combination of perceptions on product
379 quality, monetary price and time and travel costs (BRUNNER; VAN DER HORS;
380 SIEGRIST, 2010).

381 Ultra-processed foods and beverages are convenient for retail chains and
382 consumers, because of longer shelflife, ease of transportation and storage, high profit
383 margins, and practicality in access and consumption (BRUNNER; VAN DER HORS;
384 SIEGRIST, 2010; REARDON & TIMMER, 2012; MONTEIRO et al., 2013;
385 STANTON, 2015). Therefore, convenience is a business strategy for retailers and a
386 barrier to the adoption of healthy eating habits by consumers (BRUNNER; VAN DER
387 HORS; SIEGRIST, 2010; GLANZ et al., 2012; HAWKES et al., 2015).

388 Also, price is considered an obstacle to buying healthy foods, especially for
389 individuals with lower socioeconomic status (STEENHUIS; WATERLANDER; DE
390 MUL, 2011; HOLLYWOOD et al., 2013; MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF BRAZIL,

391 2014). Note, however, that in Brazil, the cost of diets based on fresh foods and meals
392 prepared at home is still lower than the cost of diets based on ultra-processed foods and
393 beverages (CLARO et al., 2016).

394 While the great concentration of food purchases at supermarkets might have
395 contributed to the improvement of food safety in these countries (REARDON &
396 TIMMER, 2012), it also has negative effects. The expansion of supermarket chains and
397 the move by populations to buy their foods there can worsen diet quality (VOLPE,
398 OKRENT, LEIBTAG, 2013) and play a role in increasing the incidence of obesity
399 (CHAIX et al., 2012; TAILLIE, NG, POPKIN, 2015, STANTON, 2015). To create
400 healthy food environments, we need fewer ultra-processed foods (MINISTRY OF
401 HEALTH OF BRAZIL, 2014, MONTEIRO et al., 2017). This study shows that dietary
402 guidelines, public policies and public health interventions must consider the obstacles to
403 healthy food environments that arise from food supply chains and direct (relative prices)
404 and indirect (convenience) factors (MINISTRY OF HEALTH OF BRAZIL, 2014;
405 ROBERTO et al., 2015; HAWKES et al., 2015).

406 There is lack of evidences regarding the effects of interventions focusing prices
407 in food stores in low- and middle-income countries. In high-income countries,
408 interventions directed to the inclusion of supermarkets in areas considered “food
409 deserts” were ineffective to ensure access to healthy foods and especially to reduce
410 consumption of ultra-processed foods and beverages (BOONE-HEINONEN et al.,
411 2011; MAYNE; AUCHINCLOSS; MICHAEL, 2015). On the other hand, combined
412 strategies for improving food microenvironment, focusing on availability, product
413 placement, advertising and price have shown positive effects (ESCARON et al., 2013;
414 OLSTAD et al., 2016).

415 Food purchases rely on multiple determinants (SWINBURN et al., 2011;
416 STEENHUIS, WATERLANDER, DE MUL, 2011; COHEN & BABEY, 2012), and
417 there is a need for combined initiatives to promote consumption of healthy foods based
418 on greater access to their supply (ESCARON et al., 2013; ROBERTO et al., 2015;
419 MAYNE, AUCHINCLOSS, MICHAEL, 2015; OLSTAD et al., 2016).

420 The limitations of the study include the short period of reference for data
421 collection on food purchases (seven days) it was not possible to make inferences on
422 usual food purchasing patterns for household consumption, including seasonal and price
423 variations. Consequently, the study relies on data from homogeneous household
424 aggregates, considered study units referring to diverse geographical locations and
425 socioeconomic spectra. Another limitation inherent to the study refers to potential errors
426 in the processes involving record of information on food prices. To minimize that,
427 respondents were asked to keep purchase receipts during data collection (IBGE, 2010).

428 An important contribution of the study was to challenge the assertion that
429 presence of supermarkets may be considered as proxy for access to healthy eating
430 patterns (MORLAND & EVENSON, 2009; WALKER; KEANE; BURKE, 2010),
431 exposing the ambiguous role played by supermarket chains, especially referring to the
432 pressure for lowering prices of unhealthy foods using market power, in comparison to
433 other retail outlets. The elasticity coefficient estimates produced in the study were based
434 on relative prices of food products through comparison of prices in different types of
435 food retail stores, an unprecedented approach to assess the effect of prices and other

436 determinants of food purchases from the perspective of health promotion. Furthermore,
437 studies usually focus on the evaluation of access to and characteristics of supermarkets
438 in high-income countries (MORLAND & EVENSON, 2009; WALKER; KEANE;
439 BURKE, 2010), and there is lack of evidences regarding food consumption using a
440 novel food classification based on industrial processing (LOUZADA et al., 2015c;
441 MONTEIRO, 2016), food environment (VEDOVATO et al., 2015), and relative prices
442 assessment (MOUBARAC et al., 2013; CLARO et al., 2016).

443

444 **Conclusion**

445 The lower price of food items bought at supermarkets, in comparison to other
446 food stores, is relevant to explain the higher share of ultra-processed food purchases at
447 supermarkets. However, in addition to price, convenience was also relevant to explain
448 the increase in ultra-processed food purchases and, therefore, its consumption in Brazil.

449 The results obtained suggests that pricing strategies adopted by supermarkets
450 due to their market power may be compelling to the reduction of prices of ultra-
451 processed foods and beverages in the Brazilian food retail market, in detriment of
452 traditional food retail stores and other outlets for healthy food, thereby encouraging
453 consumption of ultra-processed foods among the population.

454 Understanding the role of supermarkets in favoring the consumption of ultra-
455 processed foods through price and convenience mechanisms may help to advance
456 proposals of public policies and actions aimed at democratizing food supply systems to
457 promote access to proper diets and healthy foods.

458

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TABLES

Table 1 – Proportion of calories (%) from food items acquired for household consumption at different types of food stores, according to strata characteristics. Brazil, 2008-2009.

Strata characteristics	Type of food store			
	Supermarkets		Other stores	
	%	(95%CI)	%	(95%CI)
Household setting				
Urban	62.2	(59.7-64.6)	37.8	(35.4-40.3)
Rural	42.3	(38.7-45.9)	57.7	(54.1-61.3)
Region				
North (HDI 0.667)*	39.4	(34.3-44.4)	60.6	(55.6-65.7)
Northeast (HDI 0.663) *	38.9	(36.2-41.6)	61.1	(58.4-63.8)
Southeast (HDI 0.766) *	69.2	(66.5-71.9)	30.8	(28.1-33.5)
South (HDI 0.754) *	66.7	(63.8-69.6)	33.3	(30.4-36.2)
Central-West (HDI 0.757)*	71.9	(68.5-75.2)	28.1	(24.8-31.5)
Income quintile				
1 st quintile	34.7	(31.5-37.9)	65.3	(62.1-68.5)
2 nd quintile	51.8	(48.1-55.5)	48.2	(44.5-51.9)
3 rd quintile	64.2	(60.3-68.1)	35.8	(31.9-39.7)
4 th quintile	70.6	(67.6-73.7)	29.4	(26.3-32.4)
5 th quintile	74.3	(72.3-76.4)	25.7	(23.6-27.7)

(*) Data on Human Development Index (HDI) obtained from the United Nations Program for Human Development (UNDP) referring to 2010.

Table 2 – Proportion of calories (%) and prices (R\$ per 1,000 calories) referring to food groups and subgroups acquired at different types of food stores. Brazil, 2008-2009.

Food groups	Total		Supermarkets		Other stores	
	%	R\$/1,000kcal	%	R\$/1,000kcal	%	R\$/1,000kcal
Unprocessed or minimally processed food	50.4	2.07	48.0	1.83	53.7^a	2.68^a
Rice	16.2	0.52	18.8	0.53	12.5 ^a	0.54 ^a
Beans	5.1	1.03	5.1	0.99	5.2	1.00
Meats	8.9	4.44	7.0	4.26	11.6 ^a	4.53 ^a
Milk and natural yoghurt	4.5	2.38	3.9	2.76	5.3 ^a	2.47 ^a
Cassava flour	2.8	0.50	1.3	0.49	5.0 ^a	0.47 ^a
Wheat flour	2.2	0.53	2.8	0.55	1.3 ^a	0.57 ^a
Pasta	2.4	0.97	2.9	0.93	1.7 ^a	0.98 ^a
Fruits	2.2	4.47	1.5	4.86	3.3 ^a	4.02 ^a
Roots and tubers	1.1	2.25	0.8	2.59	1.5 ^a	2.22 ^a
Vegetables	0.7	10.50	0.6	9.46	0.9 ^a	11.70 ^a
Eggs	0.7	3.03	0.5	3.56	1.0 ^a	3.19 ^a
Fish	0.5	8.31	0.2	10.50	0.9 ^a	7.75 ^a
Other unprocessed or minimally processed foods ^b	3.0	2.98	2.6	4.98	3.5 ^a	4.59 ^a
Processed culinary ingredients	23.3	0.42	28.8	0.42	15.4^a	0.72^a
Table sugar	11.2	0.3	13.3	0.27	8.1 ^a	0.31
Vegetable oils	11.2	0.4	14.5	0.39	6.4 ^a	0.36
Animal fats (butter, lard)	0.7	1.6	0.8	1.74	0.7 ^a	1.54
Other culinary ingredients ^c	0.2	2.3	0.2	2.63	0.2	4.28
Processed food	8.9	2.01	4.0	2.93	15.6^a	1.71^a
Processed breads	6.6	1.43	1.9	1.48	13.3 ^a	1.42 ^a
Processed cheese	1.0	3.89	1.0	4.06	1.0	3.83 ^a
Cured/salted meats	0.8	3.26	0.7	3.73	1.0 ^a	3.28 ^a
Preserved fish and eggs	0.1	5.08	0.1	5.35	0.1	4.61 ^a
Preserved vegetables	0.1	3.16	0.1	9.31	0.1	9.40
Preserved fruits	0.2	6.02	0.2	3.47	0.1 ^a	2.97 ^a
Ultra-processed food	17.5	2.51	19.2	2.43	15.3^a	2.74^a
Biscuits and cakes	3.2	1.65	3.2	1.58	3.0 ^a	1.78 ^a
Ice cream, chocolates, sweets	2.0	2.55	2.6	2.46	1.2 ^a	2.93 ^a
Crackers and chips	1.5	1.46	1.6	1.48	1.4 ^a	1.53 ^a
Soft drinks	1.5	4.32	1.7	4.22	1.4 ^a	4.72 ^a
Other sugary drinks	0.5	9.51	0.8	9.64	0.2 ^a	12.10 ^a
Margarine	1.7	0.91	2.1	0.91	1.2 ^a	0.95 ^a
Breads	1.2	1.99	1.1	2.07	1.3 ^a	2.00 ^a
Hamburger and sausages	2.5	2.57	2.8	2.60	2.1 ^a	2.75 ^a
Ready meals, frozen foods	2.2	3.15	1.9	2.52	2.7 ^a	3.86 ^a
Sauces and spreads	0.4	7.33	0.5	7.84	0.2 ^a	10.70 ^a
Breakfast cereals	0.7	2.41	0.8	2.45	0.5 ^a	2.57 ^a
Ultraprocessed cheeses	0.1	4.91	0.1	5.05	0.1	5.15 ^a
All items	100.0	1.75	100.0	1.57	100.0	2.15

1 kcal = 4.184 kJ. Numbers in bold highlight major groups and are not included in the total sum.

a $p < 0.001$ for t-test of means from independent samples.

b Grains (other than rice and beans), other types of flour, seafood, nuts and seeds, tea, coffee and dry spices.

c Other sugars (such as honey, molasses, *rapadura* – a type of candy made from sugarcane juice), starch, coconut milk and coconut flakes.

Table 3 – Price elasticity coefficients of proportion of calories from ultra-processed foods and beverages acquired at supermarkets in relation to its mean price (R\$ per 1,000 calories), obtained through regression models. Brazil, 2008-2009.

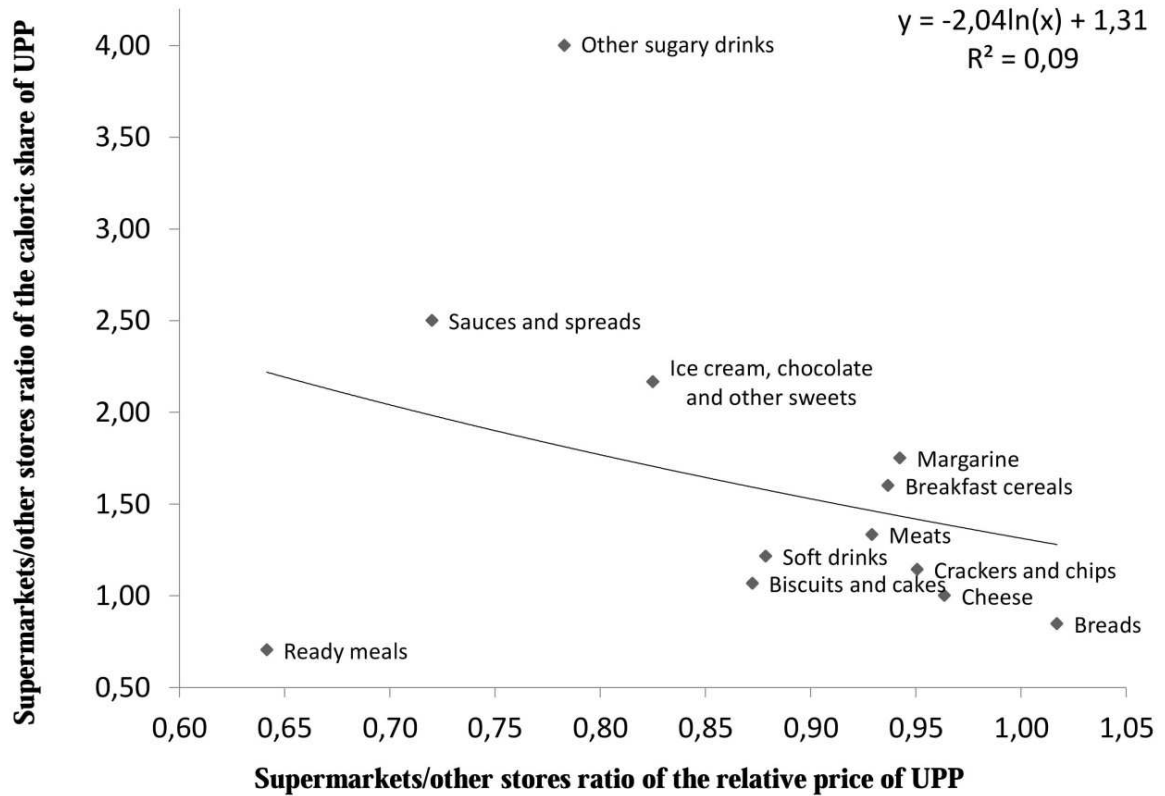
Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	β (95% CI)	β (95% CI)	β (95% IC)
Price of ultra-processed foods at supermarkets	0.60 (0.44; 0.76)	0.41 (0.13; 0.68)	-0.59 (-0.82; -0.36)
Price of complementary foods ^a at supermarkets		0.22 (-0.09; 0.44)	0.06 (-0.09; 0.20)
Price of ultra-processed foods at other stores			0.40 (0.25; 0.54)
Convenience at supermarkets			1.83 (1.51; 2.15)
Convenience at other stores			-0.16 (-0.23; -0.09)
Income (R\$/person/month)			0.21 (0.12; 0.30)
Setting (0 = rural, 1 = urban)			-0.05 (-0.15; 0.05)
Schooling of heads of household			0.16 (0.23; 0.09)
Region			
North			
Northeast			0.03 (-0.12; 0.18)
Southeast			0.19 (0.05; 0.32)
South			0.25 (0.11; 0.39)
Central-West			0.26 (0.12; 0.39)
R ²	0.09	0.10	0.75

^a Complementary foods correspond to unprocessed or minimally processed foods, processed culinary ingredients and processed foods.

1 kcal = 4.184 kJ.

FIGURES

Figure 1 – Relationship between the ratio of caloric shares and relative prices of ultra-processed food products obtained at supermarkets in comparison to other food stores. Brazil, 2008-2009.



UPP: ultra-processed products