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9 AHA Scientific Statement

10 **Caregiver Influences on Eating Behaviors in Young Children**

11 A Scientific Statement from the American Heart Association

12

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18 Prevention; and Cardiovascular Disease in the Young; Council on Cardiovascular Stroke
19 Nursing and the Stroke Council

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1 **ABSTRACT**

2 A substantial body of research suggests that efforts to prevent pediatric obesity may benefit
3 from targeting not just *what* a child eats, but *how* they eat. Specifically, child obesity prevention
4 should include a component which addresses reasons why children have differing abilities to
5 start and stop eating in response to internal cues of hunger and satiety, a construct known as
6 “eating self-regulation”. This review summarizes current knowledge regarding how caregivers
7 can be an important influence on children’s eating self-regulation during early childhood. First,
8 we discuss the evidence supporting an association between caregiver feeding and child eating
9 self-regulation. Second, we provide recommendations for caregivers on how to lower children’s
10 obesity risk by supporting their eating self-regulation. Finally, we consider these
11 recommendations in the light of a broader social, economic and cultural context and the
12 implications of this context for implementation. As far as we are aware, this is the first American
13 Heart Association Scientific Statement to focus on a psychobehavioral approach to reducing
14 obesity risk in young children. It is anticipated that the timely information provided in this review
15 can be utilized not only by immediate caregivers within the immediate and extended family but
16 also by a broad range of community-based care providers.

1 INTRODUCTION

2 *Need for statement.* A healthy body mass index (BMI) is one of seven core factors which the
3 American Heart Association (AHA) emphasizes as important to ideal cardiovascular health.¹
4 Eight percent of infants (0-2 y) and 23 percent of children (2-5 y) in the United States suffer from
5 excess adiposity.² There is wide recognition that cardiovascular disease (CVD) prevention
6 should begin in early childhood,³ with a component aimed at reducing obesity.^{3, 4} Behavioral
7 dimensions of eating (“eating behaviors”), collectively describing *what*, *when* and *how much*
8 children eat, are robust correlates of childhood weight status (**Table 1**),⁵⁻²⁶ and child obesity
9 prevention efforts should benefit from a component focused on these. Yet, most interventions²⁷
10 and / or recommendations^{3, 28} to reduce child obesity risk only try to manipulate *what* a child
11 eats. This review has been compiled to discuss the role of caregiver feeding behaviors in
12 shaping child eating behaviors associated with healthy body weight outcomes.

13
14 *Focus of statement.* First, we describe available evidence on how caregiver feeding behaviors
15 influence obesogenic child eating behaviors, adopting a developmental perspective prenatally to
16 childhood, and consider the limitations to this evidence. In the next section, we present
17 evidence-based recommendations designed to help caregivers provide a feeding environment
18 which supports healthy eating behaviors in children. In the final section, we discuss challenges
19 to implementing these recommendations.

20
21 *Limitations to statement* Although a wide variety of caregiver factors may influence child eating
22 behaviors, such as attachment quality,²⁹ this review focusses only on caregiver factors which
23 influence child eating behaviors within the immediate feeding environment. Although such
24 factors also often associate with children’s dietary intake, this review does not discuss how
25 caregivers may influence children’s dietary composition, quality or variety. It is beyond the

1 scope of this document to review any mechanisms underlying caregiver feeding and child eating
2 behavior associations.

3

4 **THE FEEDING ENVIRONMENT**

5 *Conceptual framework* Feeding children is a reciprocal process that depends on the abilities of
6 the caregiver and the child.²⁹ Early observational data³⁰⁻³⁴ indicated that many children
7 inherently vary their food intake in response to the caloric density of foods and energy
8 expenditure to maintain healthy growth. This ability is thought to arise from the “satiety cascade”
9 which cues children to eat in response to hunger, and stop eating in response to satiation, and a
10 biobehavioral mechanism termed “eating self-regulation”.³⁵ Some studies refer to ‘regulation’
11 over relatively short periods (e.g., 24 hours, or immediately following a fixed preload meal),³⁶
12 while other studies consider eating self-regulation as children’s general behavioral responses to
13 hunger, satiation and satiety, which can be measured over a longer term.³⁷

14 Under the assumption that eating self-regulation is present from birth (even in preterm
15 infants³⁴), caregivers are thought to either (1) support children’s innate eating self-regulation
16 tendency; or (2) promote a deviation from this tendency. Thus, early feeding research has
17 focused on a didactic relationship between children and caregivers, examining the
18 interrelationship between children’s appetite cues, caregiver responsivity to these, and the effect
19 this has on child eating self-regulation.

20

21 At the same time, observational data^{30-34, 38} reveal that children vary widely in the extent
22 to which they demonstrate eating self-regulation, even in controlled settings. The strong
23 heritability underlying child eating behaviors, ranging from 49-74% during the first year of life to
24 62-75% in early childhood (see^{9, 39} for reviews), calls into question whether all children are born
25 with good eating self-regulation, and highlights the need for research into a more tailored
26 approach to the feeding environment that reflects children’s predispositions around eating. Yet,

1 it is not possible to infer the importance of environmental influences from heritability estimates.
2 For example the heritability for child BMI is inversely associated with parental education level⁴⁰
3 suggesting the environmental moderation of genetic effects. Changes in the heritability of
4 standardized BMI across childhood (~40% at 4 y and 75% at 19 y),⁴¹ thought to result from
5 factors such as growing child autonomy over their personal food intake within the home, and
6 increasing exposure to the wider obesogenic environment, demonstrate that heritable traits can
7 still be influenced by the environment. When considered alongside decades of developmental
8 science demonstrating that sociocultural context can have a powerful role in shaping a wide
9 range of outcomes for children, including general self-regulatory skills,⁴²⁻⁴⁴ these findings
10 highlight a core concept underlying this Scientific Statement, which is that while strong
11 heritability estimates suggest inherent individual differences in child eating self-regulation, they
12 do not negate the potential for caregivers to shape, or moderate the expression of, children's
13 eating tendencies.

14

15 **CAREGIVER INFLUENCES UNDERLYING CHILD APPETITIVE TRAITS**

16

17 *Prenatal influences.* Pre-pregnancy obesity,⁴⁵ maternal diet,⁴⁶ and excess weight gain⁴⁵ during
18 pregnancy are all associated with increased risk of obesity among offspring. Long-standing
19 research suggests that what a woman eats during pregnancy not only influences children's taste
20 preferences⁴⁷⁻⁴⁹ (with effects that can occur across their lifetime⁵⁰⁻⁵²), but may also influence
21 children's growth via effects on appetite. Little human research on this topic exists, although
22 higher correlations have been shown between children's protein and fat consumption at 10
23 years of age with their mother's intake of these macronutrients during pregnancy, than with her
24 postnatal intake.⁵³ However, undernutrition may also be problematic; survivors of the Dutch
25 famine (1944-45) who experienced caloric restriction during pregnancy saw increased obesity
26 rates in their children up to thirty years after birth.⁵⁴ Given the challenges of implementing long-

1 term experimental studies in humans, animal studies, which allow for much greater
2 experimental control of exposure, have been widely used to examine the association between
3 diet and various health and health-related outcomes.^{55, 56} Offspring of obese (but not lean)
4 dams who are subsequently fed high-fat diet for two-to-seven years, including during gestation
5 and lactation, may be more likely to overconsume fat and sucrose,⁵⁷ be heavier at birth,⁵⁸ gain
6 more weight,⁵⁷ and be more susceptible to diet-induced obesity⁵⁸ and poor glycemic control.⁵⁸
7 Dams who are fed a low-protein diet for discrete periods of gestation have female offspring who
8 consume lower amounts of fat, and show less compensation for changes in the caloric content
9 of foods⁵⁹, an effect not seen in males. Animal studies suggest that a prenatal diet impacts
10 offspring neurocircuits involved in satiety,⁶⁰ and alters offspring dopamine signaling.⁵⁷

11
12 *The feeding environment.* After birth, psychobehavioral aspects of the feeding environment
13 become a more important influence on child eating self-regulation. To maintain good eating self-
14 regulation in children, current research suggests that a caregiver's overarching goal should be:
15 *to allow children autonomy over their eating, such that they start and stop eating in response to*
16 *their hunger and satiation.* Yet, recognizing the potential role of good dietary quality and variety
17 in healthy growth trajectories for children,^{61, 62} and the availability of calorically dense, nutrient
18 poor foods for many children, caregivers also need to *provide structure within the eating*
19 *environment* such that children can be autonomous without compromising a healthy diet.^{48,75,91,92}

20 It is important to acknowledge that factors such as cultural practices and beliefs (e.g.,
21 preference for breastfeeding⁶³ about ideal body size⁶⁴) and resources (e.g., food insecurity that
22 may limit food options⁶⁵) can shape caregivers' methods to achieve these goals. Thus, the
23 challenge for caregivers is to provide structure and boundaries without decreasing children's
24 eating autonomy to the extent that they no longer self-regulate their eating, but instead look to
25 external factors to cue eating.

1 In describing the behaviors which reflect caregiver goals around child feeding/eating,
2 the literature has made the distinction between caregiver feeding *styles* and caregiver feeding
3 *practices*. Feeding *styles* (**Figure 1**) capture the overall emotional climate of meals, and are
4 measured along two dimensions: responsiveness (represented by warmth, acceptance, and
5 involvement during feeding) and demandingness (represented by parental control and
6 supervision of feeding). Feeding behaviors are often categorized using these dimensions into
7 four feeding styles: authoritarian, authoritative, indulgent, and uninvolved,⁶⁶ which characterize
8 the extent to which a caregiver's overall feeding behaviors reflect responsiveness to the child
9 within the context of boundary setting around food.⁶⁶ Alternatively, feeding *practices* describe
10 specific goal-oriented behaviors and can be organized along higher-order dimensions of
11 coercive control (e.g. pressuring children to eat), structure (e.g. limit setting), and autonomy
12 support (e.g. praise, active guidance).⁶⁷

13 Authoritative and indulgent feeders are both considered high in responsiveness,
14 however they differ in that the indulgent feeding style is low in demandingness (indicating a lack
15 of structure; **Figure 1**).^{67, 68} It is the indulgent feeding style out of the two which is associated
16 with higher child adiposity and lower child eating-self-regulation, emphasizing the importance of
17 setting boundaries around food.^{48,75,91,92.} Both authoritative and authoritarian feeders set
18 boundaries around food (**Figure 1**);⁶⁹ but authoritarian parents are considered less responsive
19 and show behaviors aiming to change the child's behavior overtly. Such overt behaviors can
20 include using rewards and/or punishments to control food intake, or physically struggling with
21 the child, and are often labelled as "directive".⁶⁹ Authoritative feeders also set boundaries, but
22 implement these via more covert "non-directive" strategies that support the child's autonomy^{69, 70}
23 These strategies include reasoning, complimenting, and exerting control over the food
24 environment rather than the child, for example making the most readily available foods nutrient
25 dense options from which the child can make selections, and setting mealtime routines within
26 which the child can decide how much to eat.⁶⁹ When compared to the authoritarian feeding

1 style, the authoritative style is associated with better child dietary quality.^{70, 71} As the key
2 difference between these two styles lies in the higher responsivity of authoritative feeders to
3 child cues, these findings highlight the need to implement boundaries within a responsive
4 feeding environment.

5 A strong evidence base suggests that children's eating self-regulation is best supported
6 when caregivers provide a feeding environment which *covertly* sets boundaries around food,
7 such as meal timing and the types of foods eaten by children.⁷⁰⁻⁷² Using overt, directive attempts
8 to control what children eat seems to have "spill over" effects on *how* and / or *how much* they
9 eat.⁷³ It seems that when children choose foods based on parental directives, they also start
10 and stop eating in response to these, and no longer self-regulate their eating to their appetite
11 cues. The first five years of life is a time of rapid development – below we discuss how each
12 developmental stage during this time (infancy, toddlerhood and preschool) poses unique
13 challenges to maintaining a structured, yet responsive, feeding environment.

14

15 *Infancy.* Responsive feeding is a reciprocal relationship – children need to communicate their
16 needs in order for caregivers to respond to these. From infancy, children display a number of
17 external appetite cues. The earliest hunger cues include sucking, opening/closing mouth
18 repeatedly, smacking and licking lips, and increased alertness.⁷⁴ Corresponding fullness cues
19 include turning the head away, increased interest in the environment, decreased activity level,
20 frowning and grimacing, gaze aversion and putting hand(s) to face.⁷⁴ Such cues are non-verbal
21 and covert and an early challenge to responsive feeding is the ability of caregivers to perceive
22 and accurately interpret these cues, which varies considerably.⁷⁵ By contrast, crying is a late-
23 stage feeding cue, which is widely recognized by caregivers,^{76, 77} but which may be confused
24 with non-hunger infant distress. Caregivers endorsing crying as a reliable hunger cue are nearly
25 3 times as likely to have a pressuring feeding style, perhaps due to feeding when the infant is
26 not hungry.⁷⁷ Infants who are fed to soothe non-hunger related distress, which may sometimes

1 be driven by caregivers mistaking distress signals for hunger, are also perceived to have a high
2 responsiveness to food,⁷⁸ and have a higher BMI in childhood.⁷⁹ Interventions which have
3 taught caregivers how to discriminate infant cues of hunger from cues of other distress, and
4 how to soothe non hunger related fussiness without food, have had success in supporting
5 healthy growth.⁸⁰⁻⁸² Parents of children in neonatal intensive care are more involved in feeding,
6 and show better awareness of infant distress cues post discharge when they had social support
7 via an intervention.⁸³

8
9 The ability of caregivers to recognize and respond to children's cues of internal
10 hunger/satiation may be influenced by early feeding modality (bottle vs. breast). Many studies
11 refute an association between breastfeeding and child obesity risk,^{84-88, 89} which it is beyond the
12 scope of this review to discuss. However, some studies have shown that breastfeeding is
13 associated with better child eating self-regulation,⁹⁰ including better satiety responsiveness,⁹¹
14 and a lower likelihood of emptying a bottle or cup,⁹² than bottle feeding. Contrary findings have
15 also been shown.³² A small randomized study using weighted, opaque bottles that removed
16 external cues to bottle fullness, resulted in less formula intake and greater maternal
17 responsiveness to infant feeding cues compared with a standard bottle.⁹³ This effect was seen
18 particularly in mothers who were less responsive to infant satiation cues (defined as highly
19 pressuring). It is theorized that less responsive mothers may be more susceptible to feeding in
20 response to cues other than hunger/satiation from infants and so benefit the most from early
21 interventions.⁹³ In addition, in-home recorded sessions found that breastfed infants displayed
22 more engagement and disengagement clues than formula-fed infants,⁹⁴ perhaps making the
23 hunger/satiation cues from infants fed at the breast easier to "read".

24
25 *Toddlerhood.* The rapid development of toddlerhood enables children to communicate their
26 appetite more overtly, such as with rudimentary language and reaching for food. While this may

1 make toddlers' appetites easier to read, toddlerhood brings new challenges as children strive for
2 autonomy and independence. Striving for autonomy is thought to bring about two food-related
3 behaviors which present a particular challenge to responsive, non-directive feeding: food
4 neophobia (wariness of trying new foods) and food fussiness / "picky" eating (a more general
5 selectivity regarding which foods are consumed).^{29, 95} Both of these behaviors can be associated
6 with children eating a more limited, often less unhealthy diet, and with weight status (**Table 1**).⁹⁶
7 Food fussiness and neophobia can involve disgust-response to disliked foods, the rejection of
8 foods on sight, and for some children a contamination-response where disliked foods touching
9 or hidden under liked foods may lead to rejection of the whole meal..⁹⁷ While this phase is
10 developmentally normative and typically short-lived, both behaviors also have trait-like
11 dimensions that result in the persistence of these behaviors throughout childhood and
12 adolescence for some children. Little is understood about why food neophobia or fussiness
13 persist in a some children, but not in others.⁷³ This uncertainty, which is often reported as a
14 significant source of caregiver stress,⁹⁸ may push caregivers to employ feeding strategies
15 designed to reduce fussiness around food. Parents who perceive their children as more "picky"
16 with food report using more directive attempts to control child intake, than do parents who do
17 not perceive their children as picky.⁷³ Picky eating in toddlerhood is associated with controlling
18 feeding practices in caregivers, with mothers who perceive their children as "picky" more likely
19 to report restriction and pressure to eat.⁹⁹⁻¹⁰² Not only may directive feeding behaviors pose
20 challenges to child eating self-regulation, which can disrupt children's ability to respond to
21 internal hunger/fullness cues thereby contributing to overweight, but they are also associated
22 with increased parental stress at mealtimes.⁷³ Observational data show that stressful feeding
23 encounters are not likely to stimulate a positive response from the child to novel and/or aversive
24 tasting foods,¹⁰³⁻¹⁰⁵ and overall do not appear to alter children's food acceptance.^{106, 107} Non-
25 directive strategies such repeatedly offering foods,¹⁰⁸⁻¹¹⁰ offering a familiar and accepted food
26 alongside novel, or refused foods (such as ketchup¹¹¹ or other palatable dip¹¹²), and having

1 caregivers¹¹³ and/or peers¹¹⁴ model eating the food with enjoyment have been demonstrated to
2 increase the consumption of a given food, to support children's liking for a wider variety of
3 healthy foods, and may help maintain responsiveness in the feeding environment.

4
5 *Preschool period.* As the child progresses into the preschool period, food neophobia and food
6 fussiness typically decline, and a wider variety of foods are consumed. While the increased
7 dietary variety is considered a positive development for health, the preschool period brings more
8 possibilities for autonomy as children can access a greater variety of foods and self-feed more
9 capably. Research suggests that for good child eating self-regulation, the preschool period is
10 critical for boundaries around food, but without overt control of child eating. Directive
11 approaches which focus on what (or the amount) a child is eating directly, such as pressure to
12 eat certain foods or restricting the types and amount of food consumed are often well-
13 intentioned (the goal is usually to improve dietary quality, for example vegetable intake, or
14 overall variety¹¹⁵). However, pressure to eat has been associated with an impaired ability to self-
15 regulate eating behaviors in preschool,¹¹⁶ and poorer energy compensation in childhood.¹⁰⁵ By
16 contrast, restrictive feeding practices such as limiting intakes of certain (typically snack) foods,
17 have been associated with higher consumption of food when not hungry,¹¹⁷ energy intake,¹⁰³
18 adiposity,¹¹⁸ and likelihood of failing to stop eating when full,¹¹⁹ as well as poorer compensation
19 for the energy density of food¹²⁰ in early childhood. In preschool, more supportive approaches,
20 such as questions, suggestions, and offering choices within a structured environment which
21 limits the types of food available and the timing of meals rather than places limits on the child's
22 eating behaviors is associated with better eating self-regulation and growth trajectories.^{66, 71, 121}

23
24 *Limitations of research.* Much, but not all, of the caregiver feeding research to date is cross-
25 sectional, particularly in the preschool age group, which makes it hard to rule out confounding
26 influences such as socioeconomic status (SES). Yet SES is positively correlated with rates and

1 duration of breastfeeding in most countries,^{122, 123} and may be inversely correlated with child
2 obesity,^{124, 125} suggesting it may confound the relationships between breastfeeding and child
3 adiposity outcomes. Similarly, mothers with obesity are less likely to initiate breastfeeding,¹²⁶⁻¹²⁸
4 and, those that do breastfeed, do so for shorter periods than their healthy weight
5 counterparts.^{126, 127, 129-131} There may also be a confounding role for caregiver characteristics;
6 parents with a high BMI are more likely to use controlling^{132, 133} and restrictive¹⁰⁴ feeding
7 practices. One study in 7-12 year old siblings discordant for parent feeding did not support a
8 causal role in caregiver feeding control with child obesity risk,¹³³ which highlights the
9 importance of considering factors in addition to caregiver feeding when developing strategies for
10 child obesity prevention.

11 Even the extant longitudinal studies to date make it difficult to identify the direction of
12 many associations. Evidence has supported directionality from child eating behaviors¹³⁴⁻¹³⁶ and
13 child BMI¹³⁷⁻¹⁴⁰ to controlling feeding practices from caregivers, as well as the reverse.¹⁴¹⁻¹⁴³
14 Taken together, this and similar evidence suggests a bi-directionality between child eating
15 behaviors and / or adiposity and caregiver feeding behaviors which some studies have found
16 supported.^{144, 145} Finally, despite a strong theoretical foundation, there is relatively little empirical
17 evidence demonstrating the benefits of approaches that reflect warmth and responsiveness to
18 children's eating cues while providing developmentally appropriate expectations, structure, and
19 involvement, with more focusing on the sequelae of less responsive, more directive behaviors.
20 Relatedly, much of the extant evidence is observational and only a small number of intervention
21 programs have demonstrated evidence of effectiveness at changing caregivers' food-related
22 interactions and behaviors.^{81, 146}

23

24 **RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CAREGIVERS**

25 Tremendous progress has been made linking specific aspects of the caregiver provided feeding
26 environment with children's ability to self-regulate their eating behaviors. The associated

1 literature is now substantial, and suggests that good eating self-regulation, and lowered obesity
2 risk, is supported when:

3

4 1. Prenatal influences on child eating self-regulation are largely inferred from animal
5 studies which support the recommendation that pregnancies are initiated at a healthy
6 weight, current dietary guidelines for the intake of total calories, fats and sugars are
7 adhered to throughout their pregnancy, and weight gain during pregnancy is kept within
8 guideline levels.

9 2. Caregivers have knowledge of infant hunger (such as opening mouth wide or settling
10 into the feed⁷⁴) and satiety (such as taking interest in surroundings, decreases in activity
11 level, pulling away abruptly or detaching from the nipple, and falling asleep⁷⁴) cues, and
12 can distinguish these from non-appetite related cues.

13 3. Caregivers are responsive to children's hunger and fullness cues, paying attention to
14 children's verbal and non-verbal signals and not pressuring children to eat more than
15 they wish. For a child who is not underweight (zBMI less than two standard deviations
16 from the WHO Median; ¹⁴⁷), caregivers should allow children the choice of when to stop
17 eating during a meal, and perhaps the choice not to eat at all.

18 4. Caregivers do not focus on what, or how much, a child eats. Rather, a varied diet is
19 encouraged via environmental structure such as the consistent and repeated offering of
20 healthy foods to children, the use of "preferred" foods (such as a dip), and caregivers
21 enthusiastically consuming the food themselves.

22 5. An appropriate structure around food is set which focuses not on child behavior
23 specifically, but instead provides rules and limits around children's meals, via consistent
24 snack routines, timing of meals, and selective availability of foods in the home.

25

1 **POTENTIAL CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS** Caregivers
2 should feel empowered to contribute to the development of a healthy eating behavior trajectory
3 in children. However, we recognize that translating these findings into recommendations for
4 caregivers faces significant challenges.

5
6 *The role of child development.* Most children have developed the motor skills necessary to self-
7 feed by around 14 months of age¹⁴⁸. During this time, caregivers typically try socialize children,
8 and their eating behaviors, to their personal, familial and cultural values. Such socialization is
9 enabled by children's rapid cognitive development during early childhood children, when
10 children learn language comprehension (~11-12m¹⁴⁹), and that others have beliefs, requests
11 and intentions (~14m;¹⁵⁰). However, such cognitive development also enables non-compliance
12 with caregiver requests (the emergency of autonomy; ~1.5 y; ¹⁵¹). Physically, height increases
13 linearly until four years of age, at which time growth slows.¹⁵² However, this pattern may be
14 different for children with a lower birth weight who experience "catch up" growth in early life,
15 which then slows to mirror the expected trajectory.¹⁵² BMI typically has a strongly non-linear
16 growth trajectory, with significant changes in BMI growth rate at approximately 7-9 months of
17 age (peak)¹⁵³ and close to 6 years of age (trough).¹⁵² Growth changes are often accompanied
18 by changes in food consumption,¹⁵⁴ and emerging research shows that parent feeding practices
19 are influenced by child BMI^{139, 140} and child eating behaviors^{135, 136} as well as the reverse. And
20 we recognize that there are individual differences with how children transition through
21 developmental periods and growth changes, and there is no one single healthy way. Taken
22 together this highlights that children's individual differences influence the feeding-eating
23 relationship, and can pose challenges to caregiver attempts to shape healthy eating behaviors
24 in children.

25

1 *The role of child characteristics.* We have already shown that eating behaviors have strong
2 heritabilities. While a strong heritability does limit the potential for the environment to mediate
3 the expression of child eating behaviors, we acknowledge that the downstream heritable
4 phenotypes, such as temperament, may represent additional challenges to caregivers. There is
5 now emerging evidence for associations between infant temperament, defined as “individual
6 differences in reactivity and self-regulation that are assumed to have a constitutional basis”,¹⁵⁵
7 and elevated adiposity indices. Adiposity at 6-, 9-, and 12-months of age associates with early
8 distress to limitations.^{156, 157} At 6 years of age, BMI associates with early infant low negative
9 affectivity.^{157, 158} Poorer general self-regulation and self-soothing ability at 9 months has
10 predicted BMI at ~4 years of age.^{157, 159} Temperament may pose a challenge to responsive
11 caregiver feeding practices if food is used to assuage distress,^{160, 161} and may influence the
12 associations of caregiver feeding with child eating behaviors, highlighting the reciprocal nature
13 of the relationship between caregiver feeding and child eating.

14
15 *The wider socio-economic context.* At a broader level, caregivers who are living in poverty or in
16 under-resourced circumstances may face unique challenges to implementing recommended
17 feeding practices. Income and SES can influence feeding practices through many interrelated
18 and complex pathways, including the relatively limited access to relatively more expensive
19 healthy foods for many poor families,¹⁶² especially when such foods require time, expertise, and
20 facilities to prepare and store.¹⁶³ In addition, unpredictable job schedules can constrain meal
21 planning and mitigate against regular routines such as family mealtimes.¹⁶⁴⁻¹⁶⁶ Food insecurity
22 may also impact a parent’s food options¹⁶⁷ and drive caregivers to restrict the range of foods
23 given to children, in order to ensure consumption and avoid waste.^{168, 169} Living in poverty can
24 increase caregiver stress; caregivers who are under stress have been found to engage in
25 more restrictive feeding practices with their preschool-aged children.¹⁷⁰ An additional stressor
26 that may influence caregiver feeding practices is the pressure to be a “perfect parent”. Although

1 this has not been examined explicitly in regard to feeding, online social comparisons can
2 negatively affect parenting and relationship outcomes, such as parental competence, co-
3 parenting relationship quality, and perceived social support.¹⁷¹

4 These social-contextual factors shape feeding practices at multiple levels. Mental health issues,
5 such as depression, presents challenges in child feeding.¹⁷¹ Differences of opinion on feeding
6 practices between caregiver and partner have been associated with conflict around feeding
7 strategies during early childhood.^{172, 173} Culture may also shape which individuals are
8 responsible for child feeding (e.g., mothers vs. fathers;^{174, 175} the role of grandparents^{176, 177}) and
9 beliefs about the role of restrictive vs. indulgent feeding^{178, 179} in achieving feeding or obesity
10 prevention goals. This statement acknowledges that a single caregiver often does not control
11 the child's entire feeding environment, which may pose a challenge to an individual caregiver's
12 capacity to follow recommendations for their children. Caregivers may feel particularly
13 frustrated when their feeding goals for their children are disrupted by others who care for the
14 child, for example grandparents or daycare providers.¹⁶⁸ It may therefore be helpful to develop
15 recommendations for caregivers that include advice on how to navigate such conflicts, for
16 example by encouraging them to explain responsive feeding practices to others involved in their
17 child's care and/or identifying ways to respect cultural and/or family-of-origin influences on
18 feeding while incorporating other options (e.g., healthier preparations of traditional foods).¹⁶⁸

19

20 *Considerations:* Recommendations to caregivers regarding their feeding behaviors need to be
21 offered within the context of implementation challenges. It is important to recognize that:

22

- 23 1. Infants and caregivers can learn from each other regarding healthy, responsive feeding
24 practices, and recognition of hunger and satiety cues, regardless of decisions about
25 what the infant is fed.

- 1 2. Modifying one’s feeding behaviors can be harder for some caregivers than others.
2 Caregiver feeding behaviors are not “set”, but differ based on the child’s temperament,¹⁸⁰
3 and the caregiver’s psychological wellbeing.^{107, 181, 182} The guilt and judgement some
4 caregivers feel when their child does not conform to their idea of “good” eating
5 behaviors⁹⁸ can be relinquished, which may ultimately encourage a more responsive
6 partnership between the caregiver and child with feeding.
- 7 3. Optimal feeding strategies may differ depending on a child’s genetically-influenced
8 behavioral profile, and research has not yet delineated the form this tailoring should
9 take. A caveat to an individually-tailored approach to food parenting is that being
10 critiqued for their weight and directly encouraged to lose weight may promote poorer
11 body self-esteem and disordered eating in children.¹⁸³ Thus, strategies should likely be
12 adopted for the whole family.^{184, 185}

14 **CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

15 A substantial body of literature links specific caregiver feeding behaviors to child eating self-
16 regulation. Our recommendations are that caregivers focus not on child characteristics (how
17 much he child eats, or their adiposity), but on creating a structured environment which inherently
18 limits undesirable behaviors (e.g. eating certain foods) without requiring overt control over
19 children. However, such recommendations are made in light of several pressing research
20 needs, perhaps the most pertinent of which is integrating how children’s individual differences in
21 temperament, appetite, and adiposity shape parent feeding behaviors and influence their effects
22 on feeding self-regulation. Caregiver feeding recommendations will need to be updated as such
23 understanding increases. Further, recognizing the difficulties inherent with implementing our
24 recommendations, we encourage policies which address barriers within the wider
25 socioeconomic context, including the social determinants of health, alongside individual
26 caregiver efforts in child obesity prevention. While efforts that encourage caregivers to provide a

1 responsive, structured feeding environment could be an important component of reducing
2 obesity and cardiometabolic risk across the lifespan, it is likely they will be most effective as part
3 of a multi-level, multi-component prevention strategy.

4

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1 **Table 1:** The Association of Appetitive Traits with Child Adiposity

Appetitive Trait	Definition	Direction of Association	Evidence of null associations? ¹
<i>Traits with consistent evidence across studies</i>			
Eating in the absence of hunger (EAH)	Eating when having recently consumed a meal to satiation	Positive ^{6, 8, 11, 12, 19}	-
Enjoyment of food	The extent to which palatable foods provoke eating	Positive ^{10, 21, 26}	-
Restrained eating	How strong attempts to restrain eating are	Inverse ²²⁻²⁴	
Satiety responsiveness	The extent to which children avoid eating, and for how long after, satiation	Positive ^{5, 10, 21, 26}	-
Slowness in eating	Fewer bites per minute, usually as a meal progresses	Inverse ^{10, 21, 26}	-
<i>Traits with null studies and studies suggesting a consistent direction of association with child adiposity</i>			
Compensation of energy intake	The extent to which energy intake is reduced, following a caloric 'preload'	Positive ^{13, 105}	One exception ¹⁸⁶
Desire to drink	The tendency to carry drinks, (often sweetened).	Positive ^{10, 21}	One exception ¹⁸⁷
Emotional Overeating	The extent of a tendency to eat in response to negative emotions	Positive ^{10, 21}	One exception ²⁶

Emotional undereating	The extent of a tendency to reduce food intake in response to negative emotions	Inverse ²¹	Yes ^{10, 26}
External eating / Food responsiveness	Eating in response to external (usually food-related stimuli).	Positive ^{5, 10, 21-23, 26}	One exception ¹⁸⁷
Food fussiness / pickiness	Selectivity regarding which foods are consumed	Positive ^{10, 21, 25, 26}	Yes ^{26, 188}

1 ¹To date, to the authors' knowledge

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1 **Figure 1: Feeding Styles Typology**

2

		Responsiveness	
		Low	High
Demandingness	High	<p>Authoritarian</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sets boundaries around food.• Targets child eating behaviors directly• Often uses directive strategies.	<p>Authoritative</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Sets boundaries around food• Maintains responsivity to child hunger / satiation cues• Targets child eating behaviors covertly via the feeding environment• Supports child autonomy
	Low	<p>Uninvolved</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Low responsivity to child hunger / satiation cues• Boundaries around food are few	<p>Indulgent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Maintains responsivity to child hunger / satiation cues• Boundaries around food are few• Lack of structure to the eating environment

3

4