WHY IS THE DEVELOPED WORLD OBESE?

Sara Bleich David Cutler Christopher Murray Alyce Adams

Working Paper 12954 http://www.nber.org/papers/w12954

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH 1050 Massachusetts Avenue Cambridge, MA 02138 February 2007

We thank Alan Zaslavsky, Joseph Newhouse, Tom McGuire, and Robert Blendon for helpful comments. The views expressed herein are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

© 2007 by Sara Bleich, David Cutler, Christopher Murray, and Alyce Adams. All rights reserved. Short sections of text, not to exceed two paragraphs, may be quoted without explicit permission provided that full credit, including © notice, is given to the source.

Posted with permission from the Annual Review of Public Health, Volume 29, copyright 2008 by Annual Reviews, <u>www.annualreviews.org</u>.

Why is the Developed World Obese? Sara Bleich, David Cutler, Christopher Murray, and Alyce Adams NBER Working Paper No. 12954 March 2007, Revised October 2007 JEL No. 112, 118

ABSTRACT

Obesity has risen dramatically in the past few decades. However, the relative contribution of energy intake and energy expenditure to rising obesity is not known. Moreover, the extent to which social and economic factors tip the energy balance is not well understood. In this longitudinal analysis of developed countries, we estimate the relative contribution of increased caloric intake and reduced physical activity to obesity using two methods of energy accounting. Results show that rising obesity is primarily the result of consuming more calories. We estimate multivariate regression models and use simulation analysis to explore technological and sociodemographic determinants of this dietary excess. Results indicate that the increase in caloric intake is associated with technological innovations such as reduced food prices as well as changing sociodemographic factors such as increased urbanization and increased female labor force participation. The study findings offer useful insights to future research concerned with the etiology of obesity and may help inform the development of obesity-related policy. In particular, our results suggest that policies to encourage less caloric intake may help reverse past trends in increased consumption.

Sara Bleich Johns Hopkins School of Public Health Department of Health Policy and Management 624 N. Broadway, Room 451 Baltimore, MD 21205 sbleich@jhsph.edu

Christopher Murray University of Washington Institute of Health Metrics and Evaluation 1616 Eastlake Avenue East, Suite 300 Seattle, WA 98102 christopher murray@harvard.edu David Cutler Harvard University and NBER Graduate School of Arts and Sciences University Hall 031 Cambridge, MA 02138 dcutler@fas.harvard.edu

Alyce Adams Harvard University Department of Ambulatory Care and Prevention 133 Brookline Avenue, 6th Floor Boston, MA 02215 Alyce Adams@harvardpilgrim.org

INTRODUCTION

Today, obesity affects more than 300 million adults; the majority of whom live in the developed world (72). In the past two decades, the average level of obesity in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries has risen by 8 percent. Unlike previous centuries, where increased weight was a sign of improved health, (24) the rapid increase in body mass index (BMI)¹ over the past few decades has meant that a growing share of the population in developed countries is becoming obese (22, 33).

Excess body weight is the fifth most important risk factor contributing to the burden of disease in developed countries (73). Rising body mass index steadily increases the risks of type 2 diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular disease, and some cancers (3). In addition, obesity is responsible for approximately six to ten percent of national health expenditures in the U.S. and two percent to four percent in other developed countries (3, 8, 21, 42, 66, 68). Moreover, the lifetime medical costs related to diabetes, heart disease, high cholesterol, hypertension and stroke among the obese are \$10,000 higher than among the non-obese (6).

It is clear that genetic changes are not the cause of increased obesity over such a short period of time. Rather, changes in the energy balance are key; consuming more calories than are expended leads to weight gain (35). However, the relative culpability of energy intake and energy expenditure to the pathogenesis of weight gain is the subject of some dispute. Some studies place blame on increased physical inactivity (29, 49, 57, 70) while others point to over consumption (13, 46, 47, 65).

The complex range of social and economic factors that tip the energy balance are not well understood despite a vast body of research exploring obesity and its determinants (40).

¹ The levels of Body Mass Index (BMI) that distinguish healthy weight from overweight (BMI at or above 25kg/m^2) and obesity (BMI at or above 30 kg/m^2) are based on how much the risk of chronic disease and death increases for populations as weight increases.

Increasingly, experts point to technology innovations as a key mechanism driving the energy imbalance (21, 40). Technological innovations refer to improvements which have lowered the costs associated with consumption and a sedentary lifestyle. However, whether obesity is more related to dietary excess or physical inactivity as a result of these innovations is unclear. Those in support of the reduced energy expenditure theory point to the increasingly automated work place and rising time costs of physical activity (21, 41, 50). This argument is weakened by the fact that available evidence on declines in work-related physical activity suggests that reductions have been gradual and largely predated the dramatic increase in weight gain across the developed world in the past few decades (2). Those arguing that over consumption is responsible point to decreases in food prices, increases in the mass preparation of food, increases in the efficiency of food production, and increases in the availability of fast food and calorie-dense foods. Studies linking dietary excess to obesity are supported by empirical evidence indicating that food consumption has increased in parallel with rising obesity (12, 13).

In addition to the behavior and environmental changes fueled by technological innovations, obesity has also been related to changes in sociodemographic factors. We focus on those factors which are both strongly supported by empirical evidence and amenable to data analysis. In particular, we look at urbanization and female labor force participation. There is a vast body of literature relating urbanization to rising obesity. Rising urbanization is associated with increased opportunities for eating and reduced opportunities for physical activity. For example, food options in urban areas are typically more varied and accessible than rural areas. Moreover, people in rural areas typically have higher levels of physical activity due to the focus on agricultural work (53). The differences between diet and activity patterns in urban and rural

areas are lowest in those high-income countries where urbanization is most prevalent as a result of infrastructure development (54).

Increasing female labor force participation has been related to rising obesity through changes in time allocation and food consumption. The proliferation of women in the workforce has meant that women are devoting more time to work and less time to food preparation – a trend which has increased their reliance on convenient food and fast food (12). Such foods are not only inexpensive but they also have high caloric density to increase palatability which has been shown to increase weight gain (28, 44, 61). Healthy food, by contrast, is less convenient, less accessible, and more expensive (16).

Previous research exploring the relative contribution of caloric intake and energy expenditure to weight gain has been limited by the focus on single countries or sub-populations. This study is the first to use a series of cross-sectional observations in a multi-country analysis. Use of data from multiple countries allows us to observe common trends among the OECD countries. The developed world was selected because data are most ubiquitous and obesity rates are among the highest in the world.

The main purpose of this study is to identify the relative contribution of caloric intake and energy expenditure to obesity and the mechanisms driving the energy imbalance. We first discuss our data sources and methods. We next provide evidence about trends in obesity and caloric supply. We then evaluate whether the rise in obesity is more attributable to increased caloric intake or reduced physical activity. We subsequently look at the factors driving this imbalance, focusing on those with the greatest public sector implications. We conclude with a discussion of policy implications as well as how our findings relate to the broader obesity literature.

We propose a theory based on dietary excess. In particular, we hypothesize that rising obesity is the result of increased caloric intake and that this shift towards over consumption is driven by technological innovations and changing sociodemographic factors.

RESEARCH METHODS AND PROCEDURES

Data

The data for this study includes country-level and individual-level measures obtained from several sources (Table 1).

Energy Accounting. To evaluate the relative contribution of energy intake and energy expenditure to obesity, we constructed a panel data set of OECD countries using data from food balance sheets (FBS) from the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) and obesity prevalence from the OECD Health database. We also used individual-level data from the United States and England.

The FBS data are compiled from national accounts of the supply and use of foods. Food available for consumption is calculated as total food production (including imports excluding exports) net losses from processing at the mill and food for animal consumption. These data are widely used and cited as they provide the most comprehensive picture of food consumption at the national level, making it possible to study trends in per capita caloric supply across countries and over time.

There are several limitations to using the FBS (19). The data do not reflect actual consumption and are typically overestimated due to failure to account for household waste and spoilage, as well as transformation of food composition during the process of cooking (15, 63).

The resulting measurement error may vary by country (e.g., U.S. 26%; U.K.10%; Japan 25%) (9, 37, 64).

We only included FBS data from countries with a reputation for high quality data collection methods and that scored well above average in terms of data completeness. However, differences in methodologies or definitions between countries may lead to some incomparability. We employed methods to reduce the impact of these limitations (described below).

The OECD Health Data are the most comprehensive source of health-related data, including obesity prevalence, for the OECD countries. Survey respondents are classified as obese if their self-reported or measured BMI is 30 kg/m^2 or more. To account for the fact that, on average, women under report weight and men over report height, (18) we control for whether the BMI measure is observed or self-reported.

For the U.S. and England, individual-level data were obtained from two nationally representative surveys: the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) III (1988-94) and IV (1999-2002) and the Health Survey for England (HSE) for 1991 and 2003.

Energy Expenditure. There is no single, comparable source of information on energy expenditure across OECD countries. Therefore, we used World Development Indicators (WDI) and a number of individual level data sources to measure physical activity, which was categorized into four broad types: highly active work, less active work, active leisure time,² and everything else (see Appendix A and B).

There are several limitations of the physical activity data used for this study. The employment categories in the World Development Indicators are broad making it difficult to

² Trends in work commuting are included in the Appendix, but were placed in the "everything else" category given that changes over the period were very small.

capture variations in work-related physical activity. The data collection methods for leisure time activity are not uniform across countries and the accuracy and methodology used by the reporting country. Moreover, the leisure time activity data only includes measures of physical exercise. Ideally, we would have also included measures of other activities such as television use, household chores, or errands due to the potentially large effect of sedentary or household activity for some countries or population subgroups. Unfortunately, those data were not available.

Drivers of the Energy Imbalance. To measure drivers of the energy balance, we use the WDI and the Economic Freedom of the World Index (EFW). The Economic Freedom of the World Index measures the degree to which the policies and institutions of countries are supportive of economic freedom. We use the following measures of economic freedom as previously validated proxies for technological innovation: relative food prices (WDI), market entry – the ease with which new businesses can enter the market place (EFW), and pricing freedom – the freedom of businesses to set their own prices (EFW) (13, 17). Sociodemographic change is measured as the degree of urbanization (WDI) and female labor force participation (WDI).

Analysis

This study is conducted in two parts. In part I, we use two methods of energy accounting and a 24-hour time budget of energy expenditure to assess the relative contributions of caloric intake and energy expenditure to the rising prevalence of obesity in developed countries. Consistency in results across these methods should provide a relatively convincing explanation for increasing obesity in spite of data limitations. In part II, we use ordinary least squares

regression to assess whether technological innovation and sociodemographic changes are associated with changes in the energy balance.

Part I: Calories In or Energy Out

Energy Accounting. To calculate the relative contribution of energy intake and energy expenditure to rising obesity, we use two methods of energy accounting. The first method uses country-level data and the second method uses individual-level data.

Each energy accounting model is based on the biological fact that the energy balance is equal to the difference between net energy intake and net energy expenditure (27, 35). The energy accounting analyses address the question of whether people are eating more or exercising less. We examine factors that drive changes in the energy balance in the second part of this paper

At the individual level, a change in the energy balance is equal to the summation of changes in energy intake and energy expenditure over time, written as:

Energy balance<sub>t, t+
$$\alpha$$</sub> = $\sum_{t}^{t+\alpha}$ energy intake - $\sum_{t}^{t+\alpha}$ energy expenditure

where t is time and α is the number of years. Energy expenditure is the sum of three parts:

$$K = \alpha + (\beta + E) * Weight + 0.1 * K$$

where K represents the daily calories consumed; $\alpha + \beta * Weight$ represents the basal metabolic rate, energy associated with keeping the body alive (~60 percent of daily energy expenditure); *E* represents activity-related energy expenditure (~30 percent of daily energy expenditure); and 0.1 * *K* represents the thermic effect of food, energy necessary to process food (~10 percent of daily energy expenditure). This weight equation was parameterized by Cutler et al. (2003) from the most commonly used estimates in the literature (13, 62, 71).³ Because it describes a biological phenomenon, we can be reasonably confident that this equation can be applied across developed countries and aggregated to the population level (20).

Given that individual-level BMI data are not available for all of the countries included in this analysis, we rely on an aggregate measure of percent obese. We compared trends in mean BMI and percent obese using individual-level data from England, Japan and the United States to estimate the linear relationship between BMI and obesity and found a high level of correlation.⁴

Method #1. The first energy accounting model estimated the relationship between caloric intake and obesity as described below:

percent obese_{c,t} = $\beta_0 + \beta_1$ (total caloric supply)_{c,t} + country_c + time_t + e_{c,t}

where *c* indicates country and *t* indicates year. For this model, the country is the unit of analysis. The outcome variable is percent obese and the primary independent variable of interest is total caloric supply.⁵ The inclusion of country and year fixed effects control for shifts in wastage and other unobserved factors across countries and over time. The time fixed effects are measured in five year increments (e.g., 1990-94, 1995-99, 2000-02 etc.).

³ The estimates from the literature are as follows: α : men = 879 and women = 829; β : men = 11.6 and women = 8.7 (Schofield WN et al. 1985). The estimates from Schofield et al. were accepted as the standard by the FAO/WHO/UNU expert consultation on the Energy Requirements of Adults in 2001.

⁴ For England, we used data from the Health Survey for England fielded annually from 1991 to 2003. For Japan, we used data from the National Nutrition Survey fielded annually from 1976 to 2002. For the United States, we used data from the National Health and Examination Survey (NHES), NHANES I, NHANES II, NHANES III, and NHANES IV. The correlations between mean BMI and percent obese were very high: Japan (0.93), England (0.95) and U.S. (0.99).

⁵ There is disagreement in the literature regarding the relative importance of the key dietary factors that have been most associated with obesity including: high fat, energy-dense foods, and carbohydrate rich foods with high sugar content. Given this lack of consensus, we do not address the possibility that calories may differentially impact obesity and instead focus on the relationship between total caloric intake and percent obese, since it is here where the science is the clearest.

The coefficient for caloric supply (β_1) represents the association between caloric supply and percent obese. To obtain a predicted estimate of average percent obese, this coefficient is multiplied by the actual change in caloric supply for each country individually and for all countries as a group (e.g., pooled) over the respective survey period. The difference between our calculation (predicted percent obese) and the actual percent obese indicates how much of the change in percent obese is due to reductions in physical activity (i.e., residual unexplained variance). Countries were included in the pooled model if they had three obesity surveys or more from 1990 to 2002. For those countries with four or more obesity surveys, only three data points were used in the analysis.

Using the same basic model structure described above, we also estimated the association between the change in caloric supply and the change in the percent obese, excluding fixed effects.

To the extent that caloric supply and physical activity are highly correlated, the coefficient on caloric supply above could absorb some of the effect of physical activity, leading to a biased estimate of the independent contributions of these behaviors.⁶ We found evidence of a slight correlation, but nothing to suggest that the model cannot produce unbiased estimates of the independent effects of caloric supply and physical activity.⁷

⁶ Correlations between caloric supply and unmeasured wastage will underestimate the impact of caloric supply on percent obese causing our estimate of the coefficient for caloric supply to shrink towards zero. Correlations between caloric supply and physical activity could go in either direction. Our estimate would be biased downwards if individuals who eat more also exercise more (less likely). Our estimate would be biased upwards if individuals who eat more also exercise less (more likely).

⁷ Using country-level data, we empirically tested the possible correlations between caloric supply and physical activity proxies using an OLS regression model and found that our coefficient estimate for caloric supply remained relatively constant with ($\beta = 0.0042$) and without ($\beta = 0.0039$) the inclusion of physical activity proxies (e.g., number of cars per 1000, type of employment: agricultural, industrial and service). However, given the limitations of these proxies, we also looked to the individual-level data to help understand the direction of the bias. Using data from the NHANES IV we estimated correlations between caloric intake and a series of physical activity variables measuring exercise related to moderately active work (r = 0.08), leisure-time activity (r = 0.10), housework (r = 0.09), and commuting (r = 0.03). Each association was positive but small.

Method #2. The second energy accounting analysis evaluated the effect of additional weight from calories on obesity using individual level data. We first translated the actual change in food supply for a particular country into the predicted weight gain, which was then allocated proportionally across individuals within each country according to their BMI percentile. We then compared the predicted BMI gain with the actual BMI gain over the period to estimate the portion of obesity attributable to increased calories. We ran this model for the United States using the NHANES III and IV and for England using the Health Survey for England 1991 and 2003. If the hypothesis of dietary excess is correct, we would expect this model to over predict the growth in obesity given that our caloric supply measure does not account for household wastage. We show that the results of this model are robust against the over consumption error of the caloric supply data.

Energy Expenditure. As an alternative approach to the energy accounting method described above, we calculated a 24-hour time budget of energy expenditure for each country with available physical activity data including: highly active work, less active work, active leisure time and everything else. Each activity was assigned a metabolic equivalent (MET) score based on the classification from Compendium of Physical Activities (1), producing MET hours for each activity. We then estimated the change in calories expended for each MET score, translated the change in calories into pounds, calculated the aggregate change in energy expenditure, and determined the effect of weight change on the percent obese. These calculations are detailed in Appendix C.

To validate our energy expenditure findings, we also related several crude proxies of physical activity (the number of passenger cars per 1000, the number of internet users per 1000,

and the number personal computers per 1000) to the percent obese using an OLS model with country and year fixed effects. The model includes data from approximately 1990 to 2002.

Part II: Drivers of the Energy Imbalance

We use a series of OLS models with country and year fixed effects and all years of data from all OECD countries to estimate the impact of technological innovation and sociodemographic factors on caloric supply. Technological innovation is represented by three proxy measures: food prices, pricing freedom and market entry. Food prices are measured as the ratio of food price index to the consumer price index and serve as a proxy for efficiency in food production. We expect reduced food prices to be associated with increased caloric consumption given that individuals consume more when prices are low (52). Reduced food prices should lead to the biggest increase in caloric intake where they are falling faster than overall prices.

Pricing freedom is measured as the ability of businesses to set their own prices and is measured on a scale from 0 to 10; where 0 indicates high government interference and 10 indicates little or no government interference. Market entry is defined as the ease of starting a new business and is measured on a scale of 0 to 10; low scores signify that countries have regulations which retard entry into the market place while high scores indicate ease of market entry. The critical relationship between pricing freedom/market entry and the broader concept of technological innovation is the role of regulation. Empirical evidence suggests that regulation can stop new technology (14). In other words, there is an inverse relationship between regulation and technological innovation. Therefore, we expect that countries with more regulation (e.g. more price controls and more barriers to market entry) would have lower technological innovation and, subsequently, lower caloric supply. Ideally, we would have included a variable

which measures the ease of market entry for only food venders. Unfortunately, these data were not available.

Changing sociodemographic factors were represented by two variables: percent urban and percent female labor force participation (as a percent of the total labor force). We expect urbanization and women working to be positively associated with consumption.

The influence of each of these factors was modeled separately, controlling for GDP which is measured in purchasing power parity (PPP). We do not present a multivariate regression including all the independent variables for two reasons. First, the data for each independent variable is sparse, so putting them all together in one model significantly reduces the total number of observations and results in low explanatory power. Second, normal practices of imputation are not designed to work well on time-series data (38). The model relating urbanization to caloric supply is shown below:

caloric supply_{c,t} = $\beta_0 + \beta_1 GDP(PPP)_{c,t} + \beta_2 urbanization_{c,t} + country_c + year_t + e_{c,t}$

where we control for country and time fixed effects represented by c and t, respectively.

Using the coefficients from these models, we use Monte Carlo simulation⁸ (Clarify software in STATA) to calculate the expected change in caloric supply due to changes in technological innovation and sociodemographic factors (39).

⁸ Monte Carlo simulation is a procedure that generates possible outcomes by sampling from a theoretical distribution with predefined parameters. For this analysis, estimates are drawn from a normal distribution. To increase precision, each simulation uses 1000 draws.

RESULTS

Descriptive Trends

Trends in Obesity

Figure 1 illustrates the level and trend of obesity in developed countries with measured (as opposed to self-reported) BMI data.⁹ The United States has the highest level of obesity at all points in time. However, the rate of increase is quite similar across countries. For example, Korea, which has a much lower level of obesity than the United States, has a comparable rate of increase. Similarities in the speed with which obesity prevalence has increased across all countries with measured data, suggests a worldwide time-related phenomenon rather than a country-specific trend.

This consistent increase in adult obesity across the developed world is further illustrated in Figure 2, which shows the annual average change in the percent obese across all OECD countries. We observe the highest annual change in the United States (0.8 percent) and lowest in Japan (0.1 percent). While this annual change in the United States may seem small, it is synonymous with approximately 1.5 million more adults becoming obese each year.

In Figure 3, we compare percentiles of BMI over time for England, Japan and the United States. In particular, the value for each BMI percentile in the distribution in an earlier survey period (x-axis) is compared to the same BMI percentile of the distribution in a later survey period (y-axis). The 45 degree equivalence line is included to highlight the BMI percentiles demonstrating the largest changes over time. For example, in the early 70's, the 95th percentile of BMI in the United States was 35. By the early 2000's this number has risen to 40. We observe similar trends in England and Japan. Consistent with other evidence, BMI in all three countries is

⁹ Although Mexico is included in the OECD countries, it is not a developed country. For this reason, it is not included in the analyses conducted for this paper.

increasing more rapidly at the higher percentiles (23, 36). In other words, heavier people are getting heavier at a faster rate and thinner people are getting heavier at a slower rate.

International Evidence on Energy Intake

Trends in caloric supply for selected countries are shown in Figure 4. In each country, increases in caloric supply appear to be rising in parallel with obesity. Starting with the United States, we can see that caloric supply increased at a modest rate in the 1970's. However, from 1985 to 2000 caloric supply rose by about 12 percent or 300 calories a day (58). The size of this increase is more than sufficient to explain rising obesity in the United States which, the literature has suggested, may have resulted from an average net increase in calories as small as 50-100 calories per day (30). In Canada, we see a similar trend; modest increases in caloric supply until after the mid-1980s, followed by a sharp increase in trend. From 1985 to 2002, per capita caloric supply in Canada increased by 530 kcal compared to the period from 1970 to 1984 where it only increased by 67 kcal. We observe the same pattern in the United Kingdom where caloric supply jumped by 190 kcal from 1985 to 2002 and only by 63 kcal from 1970 to 1984. Of all the countries shown in Figure 4, Japan shows the most modest increases in caloric supply. This preliminary evidence suggests that trends in energy supply since mid-1980 may be of a sufficient magnitude to explain the rise in weight gain.

Part I: Energy In or Energy Out

Energy Accounting

The findings from the first energy accounting method are shown in Figure 5. The graph includes the results for the individual countries as well as the pooled model, represented by the

last bar on the right. Excluding Australia and Finland, the portion of obesity due to increased calories ranges from 17 percent in New Zealand to 100 percent in the Netherlands, Canada, Italy, Norway and Switzerland with almost all of the countries attributing 60 percent or more of their weight gain to dietary excess. The pooled model results, excluding Australia and Finland, suggests that calories in account for 93 percent of the change in obesity from 1990 to 2002. The typical confidence interval for the percent change in obesity in a typical country is plus or minus 2 percent.

The pattern in Australia and Finland is puzzling as it suggests that decreased physical activity is the driving force behind obesity in these countries. Why do these two countries follow an opposite pattern? One explanation is that the pattern in Australia and Finland reflects a true reduction in physical activity. However, this is not supported by evidence on energy expenditure (Table 2) presented in the following section. An alternative explanation is that the caloric supply measures for these countries are unreliable. Individual-level dietary data from Australia (National Nutrition Survey) and Finland (National Public Health Institute) are in conflict with data from the FBS for the same time period, (5, 51) indicating that the FBS from these two countries may lack face validity. For these reasons, we present the pooled result on the right hand side of Figure 5 without Australia and Finland.

Results from the model using a differencing approach (i.e., outcome=change in obesity) show that an additional 100 calories was associated with a 1.6 percent increase in the percent obese ($\beta = 0.016$; 95% confidence interval 0.01 to 0.02). This suggests that countries with higher increases in food consumption have higher increases in obesity.

The results from the second energy accounting method are shown in Figures 6a and 6b. This method evaluates the effect of additional weight from calories on obesity in the United

States (Figure 6a) and in England (Figure 6b). From 1991 to 2000, caloric supply in the U.S. increased by 296 kcal, or a weight equivalent of 26 lbs, resulting in an estimated proportional weight gain of 19 pounds for those in the bottom percentile and approximately 40 pounds for those in the top percentile of BMI. We estimate the corresponding weight gain to be 26 percent, more than three times the actual increase (8 percent) from 1991 to 2000. We found a similar overestimation for England shown in Figure 6b. There, caloric supply increased by 179 kcal from 1991 to 2002 which translates into 16 lbs or 7.1 kg. When we proportionately assigned this additional weight and recalculated BMI, we predicted an increase in obesity of 17 percent. The actual increase in obesity over the period was only 9 percent.

These discrepancies between the actual change in obesity and the predicted change in obesity for both the United States and the United Kingdom beg the question, why has obesity not risen as much as the models predict? A possible, but unlikely explanation is that people are exercising more over the respective periods. However, as we show in the following section, physical activity in the United States and United Kingdom has remained largely constant. Given these trends in energy expenditure, a more plausible explanation for the discrepancy we observe between the predicted level of obesity and the actual level of obesity is that the increase in food supply overstates the increase in food consumption. In other words, caloric intake has not increased as much as caloric supply. We calculate the overestimation of the change in caloric supply and find that the food balance sheet data does overestimate consumption. This analysis is detailed in Appendix D.

International Evidence on Energy Expenditure

As a final piece of evidence in support of our theory of dietary excess, we present available data on cross-country comparisons of changes in energy expenditure from 1990 to 2001 in Table 2. The allocation of time to each type of activity is remarkably stable over time and across countries. Where energy expenditure appears to have changed the most is with respect to highly active work, which is consistent with patterns observed worldwide (53). We observe the largest declines in highly active work in the United Kingdom and the lowest in Canada. Despite this variation, the changes in highly active work differ at most by 30 minutes between the countries and research suggests that moderate intensity activity of approximately 45 to 60 minutes per day is required to prevent the transition to overweight or obesity (60). The small changes in highly active work we observe are expected given that the majority of the shift away from manual labor occurred in the 1960's and 1970's, before the rapid rise in obesity (69). The importance of employment-related energy expenditure to weight gain is also challenged by the fact that obesity among children and the elderly has been rising in tandem with adult obesity, yet these two sub-groups largely fall outside of the employment sector.

For each country, the total change in calories and total change in METs is small (Table 2). The effect of these changes in energy expenditure on weight gain is less than 3.5 percent for all countries (Table 2, col 5). For example, for the average 65 kilogram person in the U.S., the decrease in physical activity was associated with a small 2.8 pound increase in weight, resulting in a rise in obesity of 2.1 percent. This is hardly sufficient to explain the eight percent increase in obesity in the United States over the period. Our finding of decreasing energy expenditure in the U.S. is supported by recent research suggesting that physical activity has, on average, declined

for adults and children (10). Of note, the time between which the change in calories turns into steady-state pounds is not known, but probably does not exceed a few months.

The results of our model relating several crude proxies of physical activity (the number of passenger cars per 1000, the number of internet users per 1000, and the number personal computers per 1000) to the percent obese support our finding that declining energy expenditure is not the primary driver of excess weight gain. We found a significant inverse relationship between passenger cars per 1000 and percent obese ($\beta = -0.017$; p<0.0001) which is the opposite direction we expected. This result is similar to a recent study looking at environmental and policy correlates of obesity in Europe (59). We found no effect of internet users and personal computers users per 1000 on percent obese.

Part II: Drivers of the Energy Imbalance

The results of the OLS models of caloric supply as a function of technological innovations and changing sociodemographic factors are presented in Table 3. Simulated results are shown in the bottom two rows.

The first column shows the association between caloric supply and relative food prices which is measured as the ratio of the food price index to the consumer price index. A ratio above one implies that food prices are increasing faster than the overall cost of living. We find a negative and statistically significant relationship between relative food prices and caloric supply (β =-317.38; p<0.0001). Our results suggest that a decrease in the relative food price of 8 percent, equivalent to the change in the U.S. between 1980 and 2002, was associated with a corresponding higher caloric intake of 25 calories (0.08 * 317). Across the developed world, average food prices fell by 12 percent from 1980 to 2002.

Model 2 (Table 3, col 2) examined the relationship between pricing freedom and caloric intake. We find no statistically significant relationship between pricing freedom and caloric intake.

Model 3 (Table 3, col 3) explored the relationship between market entry and caloric supply. We find a positive and statistically significant relationship between the ease of starting a new business and caloric supply (β =19.73; p<0.001).

The results of the model investigating the association between female labor force participation (measured in percent) and caloric supply are presented in column 4. Female labor force participation is positively and significantly associated with caloric supply (β =7.05; p<0.001). A ten percent increase in female labor force participation is associated with an increase of approximately 70 calories.

The last column in Table 3 relates urbanization (measured in percent) and caloric supply. Urbanization was positively and significantly and caloric supply (β =11.25; p<0.0001).

The last two rows of Table 3 report the results from the first difference analysis using Monte Carlo simulation. For these simulations, we look at how much caloric supply would change if we increased each independent variable from its lowest value to its highest value. This is useful for understanding the maximum change in caloric supply that is possible for each model. For example, if we look at column three, we can see that changing the ease with which businesses can enter into the market place from the most difficult (0) to the easiest (10) is associated with an increase of 192 calories. We observe the largest effect for urbanization. Increasing urbanization from zero to 100 percent is associated with an increase of 1127 kcal.

Our results suggest that changes in consumption can be addressed through policy intervention. Table 4 considers the impact of some potential policies based on the results of our

analysis looking at the possible drivers in increased caloric intake. The first column shows the impact of increased food prices on caloric supply. Specifically, a 12 percent increase in food prices is associated with a decrease of 38 calories. While this caloric change may seem small, it would lead to a reduction of approximately 3 pounds for a 65 kilogram person at a steady state. The second column relates market entry to caloric supply and indicates that the average 65 kilogram person would lose almost 4 pounds if entry into the market place was retarded by 20 percent. The third column shows the relationship between urbanization and caloric supply. Decreasing urbanization by 5 percent reduction is associated with a decrease of 5 pounds for the average 65 kilogram person.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this exploratory study was to assess the relative impact of caloric intake and energy expenditure on the rising obesity epidemic in developing countries and to explore the drivers of changes in the energy balance. The available data on energy expenditure, albeit limited, suggests that physical activity has declined but that the magnitude of the change is probably too small to explain most of the rise in adult obesity. With the exception of Australia and Finland, our analyses suggest that increased caloric intake is the driving force behind the growing obesity epidemic. However, we do not want to diminish the importance of energy expenditure to weight management and overall health.

Also, in our study, we examined two main mechanisms driving increases in caloric supply: technological innovations and changing sociodemographic factors. Technological innovations refer to those factors which reduce the costs associated with consumption and a sedentary lifestyle. We focused on technological innovations associated with consumption given

our finding that increased caloric intake is the primary driver of weight gain in the developed world. In particular, we looked at relative food prices, the ease of businesses to enter the market place, and the ease with which businesses can set their own prices. In support of our hypothesis, we find lower relative food prices to be associated with increased caloric supply. Our analysis of technological and sociodemographic drivers of this energy imbalance indicate that certain characteristics of development (i.e., lower food prices, higher percentage of women working, increasing urbanization, and GDP) are associated with greater weight gain, even among developed nations.

Our results are consistent with recent evidence from the U.S. that the increase in adult weight gain is primarily attributable to over consumption (46). In addition, evidence from two longitudinal studies, one using infants and the other using Pima Indians, found caloric intake to be the primary determinant of weight gain (65, 67). In contrast, research using food recall – where respondents detail everything they ate in the previous 24-hour period – place majority blame for excess body weight on physical inactivity (57). However, a major limitation of food recall data is underreporting which makes it very difficult to capture an accurate picture of consumption (43, 56).

Our findings with respect to the drivers of over consumption are supported by other research evidence (4, 7, 12, 13, 40, 45, 54, 55). While we do not model the relationship between these factors and physical activity, changing sociodemographic characteristics such as increased urbanization have been linked to more sedentary lifestyles (54). Above and beyond the determinants of the energy imbalance explored in this study, there are others which the literature has identified as important such as advertisements, television use, and limited access to healthy food options (25, 31, 32, 48).

There are limitations of our analysis that deserve discussion. We cannot draw causal inferences from this observational data analysis. Therefore, our conclusions are restricted to associations between factors. This paper mostly relies on a country-level analysis which does not make it possible to account for the natural heterogeneity within populations and may limit our generalizability to individuals. In addition, the use of data from a variety of sources is both a strength and weakness of this study. Lack of consistent data across countries required the use of data from different sources resulting in measurement error, non-comparable measures and unequal time periods for analysis. Further, we had to use proxy measures for many of our key covariates due to the absence of direct measures at the country level. For example, overestimation of actual BMI for England and the U.S. using the second energy accounting method indicates that caloric supply is a poor proxy for actual consumption.

Despite these limitations, our data provide consistent evidence that caloric supply, driven by changing technological and sociodemographic factors, is highly associated with the increase on obesity among the OECD countries. Our findings also highlight potential unintended consequences of positive societal trends such as increased availability of food and increased participation of women in the work force.

Our findings suggest that relatively small changes in the price of food (e.g., junk food tax) have the potential to slow the trend in obesity. However, more research is needed to assess whether these programs disproportionately affect vulnerable populations (e.g., poor, adolescents) in areas where access to health foods is limited. Other strategies may include increasing access to weight loss services (e.g., bariatric surgery, pharmacological treatments, commercial weight-loss programs) and population-based interventions such as healthy eating programs, or price reductions of healthy foods (11, 25, 26, 34).

The uncertainties about the etiology and macro drivers of obesity remain chief barriers to our understanding of weight gain. As developed countries continue to develop and innovate, the factors associated with increased caloric intake identified in this research and elsewhere will likely increase, potentially making it harder and harder for individuals to maintain a healthy weight. Additional research is necessary to better understand the questions explored in this study. An ideal study investigating the relative contribution of energy intake and energy expenditure to obesity would use comparable data on food consumption and total physical activity across countries and over time. This requires the development of accurate tracking systems. There is also a need for more research within countries and sub-populations to improve our understanding of the drivers of the energy imbalance. Improved knowledge in this area will allow for the development of effective targeted and universal interventions.

However, improving the precision of our estimates and gaining a stronger understanding of the causes of obesity is necessary but not sufficient. The creation of effective interventions will require collaboration across a diverse set of stakeholders including: legislators, educators, the food and health industries, media, community organizations, researchers, and public health organizations. And the complexity of obesity dictates that the solution will not be simple. Without sustained commitment from the broader society and an improved understanding of its determinants, obesity itself and the associated morbidity and mortality from excess body weight are likely to rise.

LITERATURE CITED

- 1. Ainsworth BE. 1993. Compendium of physical activity: Classification of energy costs of human physical activities. *Medicine & Science in Sports & Exercise*. 25 : 71-80
- Akeyeampong E, Winter J. 1993. International employment trends by industry a note.
 Perspectives on Labor and Income. 5 : 1-6
- 3. Allison DB, Fontaine KR, Manson JE, Stevens J, VanItallie TB. 1999. Annual deaths attributable to obesity in the United States. *JAMA*. 282 : 1530-8
- 4. Anderson PM, Butcher KF, Levine PB. 2003. Maternal employment and overweight children. *Journal of Health Economics*. 22 : 477-504
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare. 2003. Apparent consumption of nutrients Australia 1997 - 1998
- Bhattacharya J, Sood N. 2005. Health insurance and obesity externality. *National Bureau of Economic Research*. Working Paper 11529
- 7. Binkley JK, Eales J, Jekanowski M. The relation between dietary change and rising US obesity. *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders*. 24 : 1032-9
- 8. Birmingham CL, Muller JL, Palepu A, Spinelli JJ, Anis AH. 1999. The cost of obesity in canada. *Canadian Medical Association Journal*. 160 : 483-8
- British Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries, Food and National Statistics. 1999. Appendix A. national food survey 1999. Annual Report on Food Expenditure, Consumption, and Nutrient Intakes. Rep. 125, The Stationary Office, London
- 10. Brownson RC, Boehmer TK, Luke DA. 2005. Declining rates of physical activity in the united states: What are the contributors? *Annual Review of Public Health.* 26 : 443

- Byers T, Sedjo RL. 2007. Public health response to the obesity epidemic: Too soon or too late? *The Journal of Nutrition*. 137 : 488-92
- 12. Chou S, Grossman M, Saffer H. 2003. An economic analysis of adult obesity: Results from the behavioral risk factor surveillance system. *NBER*. Working Paper No. 9247 :
- Cutler DM, Edwards EL, Shapiro JM. 2003. Why have Americans become more obese? Journal of Economic Perspectives. 17: 93-118
- Djankov S, La Porta R, Lopez-de-Silanes R, Shleifer A. 2002. The regulation of entry. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 117 : 1-38
- 15. Dowler ES, Young OS. 1985. Assessment of energy intake: Estimates of food supply v measurement of food consumption. Food Policy. Rep. 278 -288
- Drewnowski A, Darmon N. 2005. Food choices and diet costs: An economic analysis. *The Journal of Nutrition*. 135 : 900-4
- 17. EFW. 2005. Economic freedom of the world index.
- Ezzati M, Martin H, Skjold S, Hoorn SV, Murray CJ. 2006. Trends in national and statelevel obesity in the USA after correction for self-report bias: Analysis of health surveys. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*. 99 : 250-7
- FAO. 2005. Supply utilization accounts and food balance sheets in the context of a national statistical system.
- 20. FAO/WHO/UNU. 2001. *Human energy requirements. Food and Nutrition Technical Report Series.* Report of a Joint FAO/WHO/UNU Expert Consultation, Rome
- Finkelstein EA, Ruhm CJ, Kosa KM. 2005. Economic causes and consequences of obesity.
 Annual Review of Public Health. 26 : 239-57

- Flegal KM, Campbell SM, Johnson CL. 2002. Prevalence and trends in obesity among US adults, 1999-2000. *JAMA*. 288 : 1723–1727
- 23. Flegal KM, Troiano RP. 2000. Changes in the distribution of body mass index of adults and children in the US population. *International Journal of Obesity*. 24 : 807-18
- 24. Fogel RW. 1994. Economic growth, population theory and physiology. *American Economic Review*. 84 : 369-95
- French SA, Story M, Jeffrey RW. 2001. Environmental influences on eating and physical activity. *Annual Review of Public Health*. 22: 309-35
- 26. French SA, Jeffery RW, Story M, Breitlow KK, Baxter JS, et al. 2001. Pricing and promotion effects on low-fat vending snack purchases: The CHIPS study. *American Journal* of Public Health. 91 : 112-7
- 27. Garrow J. 1978. Energy balance and obesity in man, New York: Elsevier. 2nd ed.
- Guthrie JF, Lin BH, Frazao E. 2002. Role of food prepared away from home in the American diet, 1977-78 versus 1994-96: Consequences and changes. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior*. 34 : 140-50
- 29. Heini AF, Weinsier RL. 1997. Divergent trends in obesity and fat intake patterns: The American paradox. *The American Journal of Medicine*. 102 : 259-64
- 30. Hill JO, Wyatt HR, Reed GW, Peters JC. 2003. Obesity and the environment: Where do we go from here? *Science*. 299 : 853-5
- 31. Hill JO, Peters JC. 1998. Environmental contributions to the obesity epidemic. *Science*. 280: 1371-4

- Hu F, Li T, Colditz G, Willett W, Manson J. 2003. Television watching and other sedentary behaviors in relation to risk of obesity and type 2 diabetes mellitus in women. *JAMA*. 289 : 1785-91
- IOTF. 2002. *Obesity in Europe*. International Obesity Task Force in collaboration with the European Association for the Study of Obesity Task Forces, London
- Jacobson MF, Brownell K. 2000. Small taxes on soft drinks and snack foods to promote health. *American Journal of Public Health*. 90: 854-7
- 35. Jéquier E, Tappy L. 1999. Regulation of body weight in humans. *Physiological Reviews*. 79
 : 451-80
- Jolliffe D. 2000. Continuous and robust measures of the overweight epidemic: 1971-2000.
 Demography. 41 : 303-14
- 37. Kantor LS, Lipton K, Manchester A, Oliveira V. 1997. *Estimating and addressing America's food losses. Rep. 12*, U.S. Department of Agriculture,
- King G, Honaker J, Joseph A, Scheve K. 2001. Analyzing incomplete political science data. *American Political Science Review*. 45 : 49-69
- 39. King G, Tomz M, Wittenberg J. 2000. Making the most of statistical analyses: Improving interpretation and presentation. *American Journal of Political Science*. 44 : 347-61
- 40. Kopelman PG. 2000. Obesity as a medical problem. Nature. 404 : 635-43
- 41. Lakdawalla D, Philipson T. 2002. The growth of obesity and technological change: A theoretical and empirical examination. *NBER*. Working Paper No. 8946
- 42. Levy E, Levy P, Le Pen C, Basdevant A. 1995. The economic cost of obesity: The French situation. *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders*. 19 : 788-92

- Lichtman SW, Pisarska K, Berman ER, Pestone M, Dowling H, et al. 1993. Discrepancy between self-reported and actual caloric intake and exercise in obese subjects. *New England Journal of Medicine*. 327 : 1893-8
- 44. Ludwig DS. 2000. Dietary glycemic index and obesity. Journal of Nutrition. 130: 280S-3S
- 45. Maddock J. 2004. The relationship between obesity and the prevalence of fast food restaurants: State-level analysis. *American Journal of Health Promotion*. 19 : 137-43
- McCrory MA, Suen VM, Roberts SB. 2002. Biobehavioral influences on energy intake and adult weight gain. *Journal of Nutrition*. 132 : 3830S-4S
- 47. Nielsen SJ, Popkin BM. 2003. Patterns and trends in food portion sizes, 1977-1998. *JAMA*.289 : 450-3
- 48. Papas MA, Alberg AJ, Ewing R, Helzlsouer KJ, Gary TL, Klassen AC. 2007. The built environment and obesity. *Epidemiologic Reviews*. 29 : 129-43
- Philipson T. 2001. The world-wide growth in obesity: An economic research agenda. *Heath Economics.* 10 : 1-7
- Philipson TJ, Posner RA. 1999. The long-run growth in obesity as a function of technological change. *NBER*. Working Paper 7423
- Pietinen P, Vartiainen E, Seppanen R, Aro A, Puska P. 1996. Changes in diet in Finland from 1972 to 1992: Impact on coronary heart disease risk. *Preventative Medicine*. 25 : 243-50
- 52. Pindyck RS, Rubinfeld DL. 2001. Individual and market demand. In *Microeconomics*, 102-47. New Jersey: Prentice Hall
- Popkin BM. 2004. The nutrition transition: Worldwide obesity dynamics and their determinants. *International Journal of Obesity*. 28: S2-9

- Popkin BM. 1999. Urbanization, lifestyle changes, and the nutrition transition. *World Development*. 27 : 1905-16
- Popkin BM, Nielsen SJ. 2003. The sweetening of the world's diet. *Obesity Research*. 11: 1325-32
- 56. Poppitt SD, Swann D, Black AE, Prentice AM. 1998. Assessment of selective underreporting of food intake by both obese and non-obese women in a metabolic facility. *International Journal of Obesity and Related Metabolic Disorders*. 22 : 303-11
- 57. Prentice AM, Jebb SA. 1995. Obesity in Britain: Gluttony or sloth? *British Medical Journal*.311: 437-9
- Putnum JJ, Allshouse JE. 1999. Food consumption, prices and expenditures, 1970-1997. Statistics Bulletin. Economic Research Service, Washington, DC
- 59. Rabin BA, Boehmer TK, Brownson RC. 2006. Cross-national comparison of environmental and policy correlates of obesity in Europe. *European Journal of Public Health.* 17 : 53-62
- 60. Saris WH, Blair SN, van Baak MA, Eaton SB, Davies PS, et al. 2003. How much physical activity is enough to prevent unhealthy weight gain? outcome of the IASO 1st stock conference and consensus statement. *Obesity Reviews*. 4 : 101-14
- 61. Schlosser E. 2001. Fast food nation: The dark side of the all-American meal, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company
- Schofield WN, Schofield C, James WPT. 1985. Basal metabolic rate review and prediction, together with an annotated bibliography of source material. *Human Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. 39C : 5-41
- 63. Serra-Majem L, MacLean D, Ribas L, Brulé D, Sekula W, et al. 2003. Comparative analysis of nutrition data from national, household, and individual levels: Results from a WHO-

CINDI collaborative project in Canada, Finland, Poland, and Spain. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health.* 57 : 74-80

- 64. Smil V. 1987. Energy, food, environment: Realities, myths, options, Oxford: Clarendon Press
- 65. Stunkard AJ, Berkowitz RI, Stallings VA, Schoeller DA. 1999. Energy intake, not energy output, is a determinant of body size in infants. *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition*. 69: 524-30
- 66. Swinburn B, Ashton T, Gillespie J, Cox B, Menon A, et al. 1997. Health care costs of obesity in New Zealand. *International Journal of Obesity Related Metabolic Disorders*. 21: 891-6
- 67. Tataranni PA, Harper IT, Snitker S, Del Parigi A, Vozarova B, et al. 2003. Body weight gain in free-living Pima Indians: Effect of energy intake vs expenditure. *International Journal of Obesity.* 27 : 1578-83
- Thompson D, Wolf AM. 2001. The medical-care cost burden of obesity. *Obesity Review*. 2: 189-97
- 69. WDI. 2002. World development indicators.
- Weinsier RL, Hunter GR, Heini AF, Goran MI, Sell SM. 1998. The etiology of obesity: Relative contribution of metabolic factors, diet, and physical activity. *The American Journal of Medicine*. 105 : 145-50
- 71. Whitney EN, Cataldo CB, Rolfes SR. 1983. Understanding normal and clinical nutrition, Belmont: West-Wadsworth Publishing Company
- 72. WHO. 2003. Obesity and overweight. World Health Organization, Geneva

WHO. 2002. World health report 2002: Reducing risks, promoting healthy life. World Health Organization, Geneva

Indicator	Year ^a	Unit	Description	Source			
Prevalence of obesity							
All countries	1978 - 2002	% of population	Percentage of population with a body mass index (BMI) \ge 30 kg/m2	OECD Health ^b			
United States	1988, 2001	% of population	BMI was calculated from measured height and weight	NHANES III, IV			
England	1991, 2003	% of population	BMI was calculated from measured height and weight	HSE ^d			
Caloric supply	1961 - 2002	kcal/person/day	Total amount of food available for consumption (including imports excluding exports) net losses from processing at the mill and food for animal consumption	FBS ^e			
Evidence on Energy Expenditure	See Appendices A, B, and C						
Technology variables							
Relative food prices	1980 - 2002	Ratio	Ratio of the food price index to the consumer price index; reflects changes in the cost of food prices relative to consumer goods	WDI ^f			
Pricing freedom	1984 - 2002	Point estimate	The freedom of businesses to set prices; measured on an index from 0 to 10 where high scores indicate little or no government interference	EFW ^g			
Market entry	1995 - 2002	Point estimate	The ease with which businesses can enter into the market place; measured on a scale from 0 to 10 where high scores signify little or no regulation to entering the market place	EFW ^g			

 Table 1: Description of dependent and independent variables included in the analysis with their sources

Indicator	or Year ^a Unit Description		Source		
Sociodemographic variables			•		
Urbanization 1961 - 2002		% of total population	Percentage of population residing in urban areas in each country according to national definition	WDI ^f	
Women working	1961 - 2002	% of total population	Percentage of female labor force participation as a percent of the total labor force	WDI ^f	
Economic variable					
GDP(PPP)	1961 - 2002	1000 US PPP\$/capita	The per capita GDP expressed in purchasing power parity (PPP)	WDI ^f	

C: National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey III and IV D: Health Survey for England E: Food Balance Sheets F: World Development Indictors G: Economic Freedom of the World Index

TABLES

Country	Activity Type	Hours 1990	Hours 2001	Δ in METS	∆ in kcal per day	Steady-state ∆ in Pounds	Δ % Obese
Australia	Highly active work	1.1	0.9				
	Less active work	2.5	2.7				
	Active leisure time	0.3	0.3				
	Everything else	20.1	20.1				
	TOTAL	24	24	-0.9	55.3	3.25	1.66
Canada	Highly active work	1.1	1.0				
	Less active work	2.8	2.8				
	Active leisure time	0.4	0.5				
	Everything else	19.7	19.8				
	TOTAL	24	24	-0.4	26.8	1.50	0.86
Finland	Highly active work	1.4	1.2				
	Less active work	2.2	2.3				
	Active leisure time	0.5	0.6				
	Everything else	19.8	19.9				
	TOTAL	24	24	-1.1	69.9	3.47	1.98
Japan	Highly active work	1.5	1.3				
	Less active work	2.1	2.3				
	Active leisure time	0.8	1.3				
	Everything else	19.7	19.3				
	TOTAL	24	24	-0.4	26.1	1.11	0.23

Table 2. Evidence on Trends in Physical Activity
Country	Activity Type	Hours 1990	Hours 2001	Δ in METS	∆ in kcal per day	Steady-state ∆ in Pounds	Δ % Obese
New Zealand	Highly active work	1.3	1.1				
	Less active work	2.3	2.4				
	Active leisure time	0.7	0.7				
	Everything else	19.7	19.8				
	TOTAL	24	24	-0.7	43.9	2.19	1.25
United Kingdom	Highly active work	1.2	0.9				
	Less active work	2.4	2.6				
	Active leisure time	0.3	0.3				
	Everything else	20.1	20.2				
	TOTAL	24	24	-1.3	82.7	4.79	3.10
United States	Highly active work	1.1	0.9				
	Less active work	2.7	2.9				
	Active leisure time	0.2	0.3				
	Everything else	20.0	19.9				
	TOTAL	24	24	-0.7	47.1	2.78	2.12

Notes: For United Kingdom, data on leisure time is for England only. Highly active work refers to agriculture, hunting, forestry, fishing, mining, quarrying (including oil production), manufacturing, construction, and public utilities. Less active work refers to wholesale and retail trade and restaurants and hotels; transport, storage, and communications; financing, insurance, real estate, and business services; and community, social, and personal services. Each activity was weighted by a MET score and an average number of hours per day. MET scores were obtained from the Compendium of Physical Activity (Ainsworth BE 1993). Detailed notes about the calculations for this table can be found in Appendix C. The time between which the change in calories turns into steady-state pounds is not known, but probably does not exceed a few months.

Sources: World Development Indicators, LABORSTA database, Health Survey for England 1991, Japanese National Nutrition Survey, NHANES III.

Independent Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Ratio fpi to cpi ^a	-317.38***				
	(85.06)				
Pricing freedom ^b		2.05			
		(8.37)	10 72**		
Market entry ^c			19.73** (9.5)		
% women working			(9.3)	7.05**	
/ Wollien Wolling				(3.37)	
% urban					11.25***
					(1.67)
GDP (PPP)	0.01***	0.01*	0.01***	0.01**	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Constant	3134.98	2840.23	2758.12	3219.36	1881.30
	(104.75)	(121.40)	(159.77)	(68.05)	(146.18)
Observations	569	152	106	703	728
Adjusted <i>R</i> -squared	0.80	0.82	0.95	0.78	0.80
Simulated Δ (min and max)	$1.5 \rightarrow 0.5$	$0 \rightarrow 10$	0→10	0‰→100%	0%→100%
Effect of Δ	-317 kcal	19 kcal	192 kcal	707 kcal	1127 kcal

Table 3. Technological and Social Drivers of Caloric Intake (Dependent variable: kilogelories)

Notes: *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001. Standard errors are in parentheses under the coefficients estimates. Standard errors <0.001 are reported as zero (0.00). Simulated results are estimated using the coefficients from the models. The values selected for the simulation represent the minimum and maximum for each independent variable. A: fpi (food price index); cpi (consumer price index)

B: Measured on a scale from 0 to 10; where 0 indicates high government interference and 10 indicates little or no government interference.

C: Measured on a scale of 0 to 10; low scores signify that countries have regulations which retard entry into the market place while high scores indicate ease of market entry.

Sources: FAOSTAT, OECD Health database, Economic Freedom of the World Index, and the World Development Indicators.

· ·	Food Prices	Market Entry	Urban
Simulated Δ	↑ 12 percent	↓ 20 percent	↓ 5 percent
Effect of Δ	-38 kcal	-40 kcal	-56 kcal
Δ in weight for 65 kg person	-3.4 lbs	-3.6 lbs	-5.0 lbs

Notes: Values are estimated by Monte Carlo simulation using the coefficient values from Table 3. The predicted change in weight is calculated from the formula $K = \alpha + (\beta + E) * Weight + 0.1 * K$, from Cutler et al. (2003).

FIGURES





Note: For the United Kingdom, estimates are from England only from 1991 forward. *Source:* OECD Health Data; obesity is measured and defined as \geq 30 kg/m²; for detailed information about country surveys see: <u>http://www.irdes.fr/ecosante/OCDE/814010.html</u>



Figure 2. Average Annual Change in the Percent Obese

Notes: The years of available survey data differ by country. The United Kingdom and England have been separated on the graph since the most recent obesity data are not available for the entire country. "USA-Meas" refers to data from the National Health and Nutrition Examination Surveys (NHANES) and "USA-SR" refers to data from the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance Surveys (BRFSS).

Source: OECD Health data; for detailed information about country surveys see: <u>http://www.irdes.fr/ecosante/OCDE/814010.html</u>



Figure 3. Changes in BMI Percentiles over Time: England, Japan and the United States

Notes: This figure shows the value for each BMI percentile in the distribution in an earlier survey period (x-axis) compared to the same BMI percentile of the distribution in a later survey period (y-axis). The 45 degree equivalence line is included to highlight the BMI percentiles demonstrating the largest changes over time. *Sources:* Japan – National Nutrition Survey (NNS), England – Health Survey for England (HSE), and the United

States – National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES).



Figure 4. Trends in Energy Supply, Selected Countries

Source: FAOSTAT



Figure 5. Attributable Fraction of Obesity Due to Calories in and Calories out

Sources: FAOSTAT and OECD Health database, for detailed information about country surveys see: <u>http://www.irdes.fr/ecosante/OCDE/814010.html</u>.

Figure 6a. Predicted and Actual BMI: United States



Notes: BMI plus proportionate weight is calculated from the formula $K = \alpha + (\beta + E) * Weight + 0.1 * K$, from Cutler et al. (2003).

Sources: NHANES III, NHANES IV, and FAOSTAT.

Figure 6b. Predicted and Actual BMI: England



Notes: BMI plus proportionate weight is calculated from the formula $K = \alpha + (\beta + E) * Weight + 0.1 *K$, from Cutler et al. (2003).

Sources: Health Survey for England 1991and 2003, and FAOSTAT.

APPENDICES

Country	Agricultural		Industr	Industrial Sector		Service Sector	
	Sector ((%)	(%)		(%)		
	1990	2001	1990	2001	1990	2001	
Australia	6.5	4.9	25.0	20.9	69.5	74.1	
Canada	4.3	2.9	24.4	22.7	71.3	74.4	
Denmark	5.6	3.3	27.4	25.4	65.8	70.9	
Finland	8.9	5.6	30.4	27.2	60.5	66.7	
France	1.4	1.6	31.0	24.4	67.6	74.1	
Italy	8.9	5.3	32.3	32.1	58.8	62.5	
Japan	7.2	4.9	34.1	30.5	58.2	63.9	
Netherlands	4.6	2.9	26.3	21.2	68.2	73.4	
New Zealand	10.6	9.1	24.6	22.8	64.5	67.9	
Norway	6.5	4.0	24.8	22.3	68.5	73.5	
Spain	11.5	6.4	33.8	31.6	54.7	61.9	
Sweden	3.4	2.3	29.2	23.8	67.2	73.8	
Switzerland	4.2	4.2	32.2	26.2	63.6	69.6	
United Kingdom	1.1	1.4	32.4	24.9	66.2	73.4	
United States	2.9	2.4	26.2	22.4	70.9	75.2	

Appendix A. Changing Allocation of Employment by Major Economic Sector

Source: World Development Indicators

Country	Activity Type	Data source	Trend
Australia	Leisure time	National Health Survey: 1995, 2001	The proportion of adults engaging in vigorous or moderately active physical activity increased from 30.2% in 1995 to 30.5% in 2001.
	Work commuting	Australian Census: 1976, 2001	From 1976 to 2001, the percentage of people walking for biking to work decreased from 9.1% to 5.9%.
Canada	Leisure time	National Population Health Survey: 1994 Canadian Community Health Survey: 2002	The proportion of adults engaging in moderately active physical activity increased from 38% in 1994 to 49% in 2002. ^a
	Work commuting	Canadian Census: 1996, 2001	From 1996 to 2001, the percentage of people walking or biking to work decreased from 8.1% to 7.8%
England	Leisure time	Health Survey for England: 1997, 2004	In 1997, 32% of men and 21% of women engaged in a minimum of five days a week of 30 minutes or more moderate-intensity activity compared to 37% of men and 25% of women in 2004.
	Work commuting	British Household Panel Survey: 1991, 2001	From 1991 to 2001, the percentage of people walking or biking to work declined from 16.6% to 14.9%.
Finland	Leisure time	Adult Health Behavior Survey: 1990, 2002	The proportion of adults engaging in physical activity at least twice a week increased from 51% in 1990 to 63% in 2002.
	Work commuting	Adult Health Behavior Survey: 1990, 2002	In 1990, 30% of the population spent least 15 minutes walking or cycling to work compared to 29% in 2002.

Appendix B. International Evidence on Leisure Time and Work-Related Physical Activity

Country	Activity Type	Data source	Trend
Japan	Leisure time	Survey on Time Use and Physical Activity: 1976, 2001	Average time participating in physical activity increased from 5.5 hours in 1976 to 8.5 hours in 2001.
	Work commuting	Survey on Time Use and Physical Activity: 1976, 2001	Data on the commuting mode is not available. However, average time spent commuting was 36 minutes in 1981 compared to 31 minutes in 2001.
New Zealand	Leisure time	Sport and Physical Activity Survey: 1997, 1999	The percentage of physically active adults engaged in 2.5 to 5 hours of activity increased from 66.9% in 1997 to 69.8% in 1999.
	Work commuting	Census of Population and Dwellings: 1991, 2001	From 1996 to 2001, the percentage of people walking or biking to work decreased from 11.4% to 7.7%.
United States	Leisure time	Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance Survey (BRFSS): 1986, 2000	In 1990, 24.3% of the U.S. population engaged in 30 minutes or more of moderate-intensity physical activity at least 5 times per week compared to 26.2% in 2000.
2	Work commuting	Nationwide Personal Transportation Surveys: 1977 National Household Transportation Survey: 2001	From 1977 to 2001, the percentage of people walking or biking to work decreased from 6.7% to 3.9%.

^a Moderately active is defined as a daily expenditure of 1.5 kilocalories/kilogram of body weight/day or more; roughly equivalent to a half hour every day or more. ^b The surveys sampled university students.

Appendix C. Calculations for Energy Expenditure Trends

To calculate a 24-hour time budget for physical activity we first divide the week into four activities: highly active work, less active work, active leisure time and everything else. The proportion of the population level engaged in each type of work activity is obtained from the World Development Indicators (detailed in Appendix A). Participation levels for leisure-time physical activity are obtained from individual-level surveys (detailed in Appendix B). We assume a 40-hour work week and 7 hours of leisure-time physical activity per week. To determine the amount of time spent in each activity we multiply the fraction of the population participating in the activity by the average number of hours. These values are reported in columns one and two.

Each activity is assigned a metabolic equivalent (MET) score based on the classification from Compendium of Physical Activities (Ainsworth BE 1993). The MET score for an activity is defined as the ratio of the metabolic rate associated with that activity divided by the resting metabolic rate. One MET is the rate at which adults burn calories at rest; this is approximately one kcal per kilogram (kg) of body weight per hour (expressed as 1 kcal/kg/hr). We calculate the MET hours for each activity by multiplying the hours spent in each activity by the assigned MET score. We assume that eight hours of the activity type labeled "everything else" is sleeping. The difference in MET hours from 1990 to 2001 is reported in the third column.

To find the caloric equivalent, the assigned MET value is multiplied by the amount of time spent in each activity and by average weight. The change in calories from 1990 and 2001 is reported in the fourth column.

To translate the change in calories into pounds we use weight equation from Cutler et al (2003) shown below:

$$K = \alpha + (\beta + E) * Weight + 0.1 * K$$

where K represents calories consumed (we use 2268 kcal/day based on the average of caloric intake for men and women in the NHANES 1999-2000); $\alpha + \beta *$ *Weight* represents the basal metabolic rate; 0.1 * *K* represents the thermic effect of food; and *E* represents physical activity. Together, these three factors represent total energy expenditure. The basal metabolic rate refers to the energy necessary to keep the body alive and represents about 60 percent of all energy expenditure. The higher a person's weight the more energy is necessary to sustain bodily functions. Estimates for α and β are from the literature. α : men = 879 and women = 829; β : men = 11.6 and women = 8.7 (Schofield WN et al. 1985). Weight is measured in kilograms. The thermic effect of food is the energy necessary to process food and represents about 10 percent of daily energy expenditure. Physical activity (*E*) represents the remaining 30 percent of energy expenditure. We calculate *E* as follows:

First, we calculate energy expenditure as a ratio of resting metabolic rate. This is done by summing the MET values from the individual activities to find the total MET hours per day and dividing by the total number of hours in a day. This ratio is calculated for each country where *a* represents each type of activity as follows:

ratio =
$$\frac{\sum_{a} \text{ time}_{a} * \text{MET}_{a}}{\sum_{a} \text{ time}_{a}}$$

Next, we find the per-kilogram average energy expenditure for physical activity (E) net of resting metabolic rate (RMR). RMR is about 1-kilogram per kilogram hour. We assume average weight to be 65 kg (143 pounds) and calculate E as follows:

$$E = \frac{RMR * (ratio - 1)}{weight}$$

Given that we are interested in weight, we rearrange the weight equation from Cutler et al. (2003) in the following way:

$$W = \frac{.9K - \alpha}{(\beta + E)}$$

To determine the effect of weight change on the percent obese we use individual-level data from England, Japan and the United States. For each country, we add the weight change to each person in the distribution, recalculate BMI, and recalculate the percent obese. This value is reported in the last column of the table. Those countries without individual-level data are matched to the country with individual-level data which most closely approximates their level of obesity in 1990. We calculate the percent increase in obesity for an additional pound in England, Japan and the United States. Next, we proportionately apply the known percent increase in obesity from the most closely related country and recalculate the percent obese.

Appendix D: Overestimation of the Food Balance Sheets

We look at the overestimation of the change in caloric supply data in the table below. The first and second columns of the table illustrate the country and available years of survey data, respectively. The third column describes the change in obesity over the period. The fourth column provides estimates of the average percent increase in weight which is calculated using two steps. First, we determine how much average weight would need to increase around the BMI cutoff to explain the observed increase in percent obese. Second, using the impact around the cutoff, we add the same percent increase in obesity to each person in the individual-level distribution and observe what average weight change is implied. This individual-level data is available for England, Japan and the United States. (For those countries where individual-level data was not available, we used the estimate of the percent increase in obesity from the country with the closest initial level of obesity.) The fifth column gives the observed change in caloric supply over the period. The sixth column includes estimates of the calories required for the observed increase in weight using the weight equation from Cutler et al. (2003). The final column provides a calculation of the overestimation of the Food Balance Sheets (the ratio of our predicted change in caloric supply to the actual change in caloric supply). Given that caloric supply may fluctuate significantly in the short term, we only include those countries with at least ten years of trend data.

With the exception of Australia and Finland, where caloric supply is significantly lower than our estimate of the calories required for weight gain, the overestimation of caloric supply ranges from approximately a factor of one in Denmark and Japan to approximately a factor of three in the United States. This overestimation may be attributable to household wastage in the Food Balance Sheets.

Country	Time period	Δ in %	Avg %	Actual Δ	Δ in kcal	Over-
		obese	increase	in food	related to	estimation
			in weight	availability	Δ in	of food
					percent	balance
					obese	sheets
Australia	1980 - 1999	13.4%	10.0%	6	144	0.04
Denmark	1978 - 2000	4.0%	10.0%	99	124	0.80
England	1991 - 2002	8.0%	6.0%	179	95	1.88
Finland	1978 - 2002	5.2%	9.5%	16	137	0.12
Japan	1978 - 2002	1.5%	4.0%	44	49	0.90
Netherlands	1981 - 2002	4.9%	9.1%	352	131	2.68
Spain	1987 - 2002	6.3%	11.0%	352	138	2.56
Sweden	1989 - 2002	4.7%	9.0%	57	111	1.95
U.S. (measured)	1980 - 2002	15.6%	11.0%	584	175	3.33

Predicted caloric change to explain weight gain

Notes: The predicted change in kcal is calculated from the formula $K = \alpha + (\beta + E) * Weight + 0.1 * K$, from Cutler et al. (2003).

Sources: FAOSTAT, Health Survey for England 1991, Japanese National Nutrition Survey 1991, and NHANES III.