

Obesity in the media: Political hot potato or human interest story?

**Catriona Bonfiglioli, Lesley King, Ben Smith,
Simon Chapman and Simon Holding**

Abstract

This paper examines the voices in Australian television news coverage of overweight and obesity. Overweight is now recognised as a serious health problem affecting the majority of Australian adults and a significant proportion of children. The increasing quantity of media coverage will be shaping public awareness and understandings of this issue but few researchers have analysed the role of the news media in the 'obesity epidemic'. This paper identifies the dominant voices in obesity news (people with weight problems, experts and journalists) as well as those stakeholders who are rarely seen (politicians, industry, government officials and parents). It concludes by arguing that despite the hosting of several obesity summits in Australia since 2002, Australian television news portrays obesity largely as a personal health and human interest story not as hot political news; thus missing an opportunity to generate adequate support for the policy solutions obesity experts advocate.

Introduction

The increases in the proportion of the population who are overweight in Australia, New Zealand, the United States and other developed countries have been described as an obesity epidemic (Pringle, 1994; Swinburn, 2003; New Zealand Ministry of Health, 2004). Obesity is widely recognised as a major public health problem (World Health Organization, 2003). Adult obesity is associated with cardiovascular disease, diabetes, arthritis, non-alcoholic fatty liver disease, certain cancers, sleep apnoea, as well as psychological problems such as depression, lowered self-esteem and stigmatisation (Pi-Sunyer, 1994; Commonwealth of Australia, 2006). Childhood obesity is seen as even more problematic because children who are overweight or obese are more likely to become overweight or obese adults and many such children already show early signs of disease (Duderstadt, 2004; Booth, Okely et al., 2006). In Australia, more than 3.2 million people are obese and the cost of obesity to the economy reached \$21 billion in 2005 (Metherell, 2006).

These constructions of overweight and obesity as major health problems are not uncontested; with some observers dismissing the heightened focus on obesity as 'moral panic' or as a disease-mongering exercise designed to expand the territory dominated by obesity 'experts', the diet industry and manufacturers of pharmaceutical treatments for weight problems (Gard and Wright, 2005; Campos, Saguy et al., 2006). The significance of overweight and obesity as independent risk factors for diseases such as diabetes and heart disease has also been challenged, particularly through the 'fat and fit' argument (Blair, Kohl et al., 1989; Gaesser, 2002; Flegal, Graubard et al., 2005). While there is no scientific evidence, some observers have warned that overhyping the obesity issue may contribute to anorexia (Gard and Wright, 2001). Much of the obesity debate centres on issues of responsibility for causing and solving the obesity 'epidemic' – to what extent are governments, industry or individuals responsible (National Health and Medical Research Council, 1997; Gill, King et al., 2004; Lawrence, 2004; Mello, Studdert et al., 2006)? These contested framings of the risks of obesity exemplify the paradoxes of the 'risk society': if risks are later found to have been overstated promoters will be accused of scaremongering, if risks are wrongly dismissed as minor, there will be accusations of cover-ups (Giddens, 1999; Beck, 2000).

The controversies over obesity, the health risks and the human interest value of obesity have attracted increasing quantities of news media attention (Bonfiglioli, Smith et al., 2006). The traditional news angles of controversy and health scare have contributed to obesity rising up the media, community and political agendas. In the United States, obesity overtook tobacco as a peak news media issue in 1999, and media interest surged from 2002 onwards (International Food Information Council, 2005; Saguy and Almeling, 2005; Saguy and Riley, 2005). News media coverage of obesity is also rising rapidly in Australia, with mentions of obesity in major Australian news and business publications rising from 38 in 1998 to 344 in 2002 and 1,348 in 31 August 2006 (Unpublished data courtesy of the NSW Centre for Physical Activity and Health). The news media are increasingly branding the issue as the 'obesity crisis'. This phrase was used in major Australian newspapers (*The Australian*, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Age*, and *The Herald-Sun*) just twice in 2002, with 19 mentions in 2005, rising to 94 mentions in 2006.

Media depictions of obesity are likely to be influencing public attitudes to these issues as problems and shaping consumer and politicians' understandings of possible solutions to the problem of obesity (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Tuchman, 1978; Ryan, 1991; Menashe and Siegel, 1998). For example, US researchers who analysed obesity news articles argued that coverage was inflating perceptions of the risks of moderate obesity by rarely distinguishing between obesity and morbid obesity, thus linking the health risks of morbid obesity to all obese people (Saguy and Almeling, 2005).

The news media are important to Australians' health because they influence "what issues we collectively think about and how we think about them" as well as influencing health policymaking (Dorfman, 2003, p. S217). Key theories which explain media influence on public awareness and understandings include agenda-setting theory and framing theory. Agenda setting explains how journalists' selection of some stories and rejection of others confers importance on the chosen topics, thus influencing their rank on social and public policy agendas (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Framing theory explains how news stories frame issues by highlighting certain aspects of an issue, sidelining others and using metaphors and catchphrases to link new stories to archetypal tales, such as the David and Goliath story, and their associated values (Entman, 1993). Stories thereby define problems, identify causes, apportion blame and thus promote particular solutions (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). So, for example, news reports which focus on the criminality of illicit drug users support punishment as a solution, while those which emphasise that drug users are people with an addiction point towards health care solutions (Elliott and Chapman, 2000).

As well as being an important source of health information for laypeople (Wade and Schramm, 1969; Johnson, 1998), news media coverage has been shown to influence health behaviours and policy (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001). Research shows how the news that Kylie Minogue had breast cancer stimulated an increase in breast screening (Chapman, McLeod et al., 2005); reports about health benefits of wine boosted red wine sales (Dodd and Morse, 1994); publicity about health risks of hormone replacement therapy (HRT) dramatically reduced women's use of HRT (Lawton, Rose et al., 2003; Haas, Kaplan et al., 2004); and, heavy coverage of suicide in Australia was associated with spikes in suicide rates (Pirkis, Burgess et al., 2006). These elements of media power make the news media an important arena in which public health professionals must work to improve population health through increased news visibility of issues and wider use of health-promoting frames (Ryan, 1991; Dorfman, 2003). Despite the influential role of the media, few researchers have analysed Australian news media coverage of obesity and none appear to have analysed Australian television coverage of the issue (Lupton, 2004).

Analyses of the individuals and organisations who are quoted by the media, referred to in this study as 'news actors', can illuminate the way health problems and affected people are constructed (Ryan, 1991; Burr, 1995). For example, a failure to interview homeless individuals for stories about homelessness may reinforce their status as 'other' and absolve society of responsibility for solving homelessness, focusing on police and courts as sources for stories about illicit drugs may frame drug use as a criminal activity which requires punishment rather than as a health problem which requires treatment, and using police sources on violence contributes to a picture of violence as string of unexpected events rather than as a symptom of deeper social problems (van Dijk, 1998; Elliott and Chapman, 2000; Stevens and Dorfman, 2001).

Overweight and obesity individuals are clearly important people in these debates, however, obesity experts argue that these issues require policy solutions because individuals do not have the power to change such crucial external drivers of weight gain as: public transport, working hours, urban design, road safety, access to supermarkets, fast food outlet distribution, food prices, food and drink advertising, fear of violence, portion size in restaurants, or energy density in manufactured foods and restaurant foods (Swinburn, 2003). For these reasons and because there have been a number of high-profile childhood obesity summits involving prominent politicians in Australia since 2002, it would be expected that obesity coverage would be dominated by political voices.

This paper reports results of an analysis of news actors who appear in Australian television news and current affairs coverage of overweight and obesity conducted at the New South Wales Centre for Overweight and Obesity.

Methods

A sample was drawn from a new dataset of television health news and current affairs items broadcast by five free-to-air television channels received in New South Wales which is being generated in the University of Sydney's School of Public Health (Chapman, McLeod et al., 2005). From a total of 3,021 health news and current affairs items broadcast between 2 May and 31 October 2005, 115 items which were about overweight and/or obesity were identified. Television ratings data was used to create a stratified, random sample of 50 items designed to be representative of each channel's share of television audiences. The sample included the following proportion of items from the five channels: Seven Network: 31%; Nine Network 31%, Network Ten 19%, ABC 16% and SBS 3% (AC Nielsen, 2001).

A coding sheet was designed, piloted and revised for use in analysing the content of the 50 items. The content coding categories included: the main subject of each item, i.e. that which had made it newsworthy (the news angle), the age groups represented, and the causes of and solutions to the problem of overweight mentioned. In order to examine which stakeholders are given

the greatest opportunity to offer solutions to obesity, the person proposing each solution was recorded. These people were categorised according to whether they were identified as an expert, a government official, a politician, a spokesperson for industry, someone with a weight problem, a parent of someone with a weight problem, an activist or a spokesperson for a lobby group, a celebrity, a journalist or other types of news actor.

Results

The analysis identified 165 people who were shown/heard suggesting solutions to the problem of obesity within the 50 items. The largest single group of people given this opportunity to voice their opinion was people with a weight problem (29% of news actors presenting solutions). Experts voices were the next most frequently heard (27% of news actors). Experts featured included: nutritionists, surgeons, paediatricians, obesity experts, family doctors, research scientists, clinical psychologists, body language experts and cancer experts. The next largest group was journalists (23%).

By contrast, just 4% of voices heard on the subject of solutions were those of politicians, 3% were those of government officials, 4% were those of spokesperson for industry and only 4% were those of activists or of a spokesperson for a lobby group. Few celebrities were shown offering solutions to obesity (2%) and parents were rarely given the opportunity to contribute solutions (1%).

When the distribution of news actors was analysed by television item, 66% of items were found to include at least one expert presenting solutions to overweight and obesity. Almost half of the 50 items (44%) featured at least one person with a weight problem offering solutions. In 76% of items, a journalist offers solutions. Other types of actors, such as politicians, government officials and industry spokesperson, were present in fewer than 10% of items each.

Discussion

In Australia, public events have been staged since 2002 to highlight obesity as a problem. These events included a number of childhood obesity summits, with one in New South Wales in 2002, the ABC's Four Corners special television investigation in October 2005 and Australian federal Senator Guy Barnett's obesity forum in Canberra, ACT, in December 2005. These high-profile events suggest that overweight has become a highly politicised issue. However, in this sample only 4% of the voices heard were those of politicians. This unexpected finding is consistent with the analysis of the main topics of these news items which found that few items focused on aspects of the obesity debates which could be considered as political (Bonfiglioli, Smith et al., 2006).

The very small proportion of industry spokesperson present in this sample suggests that the media focus is not on industry. This finding may be influenced by fact that many businesses employ public relations or issues management professionals to minimise their media exposure (Fombrun, Gardberg et al., 2000). The paucity of industry or government voices, the frequent appearance of experts and people with a weight problem, and the largely non-political choice of news angles, suggest that the Australian media were seeing obesity at that time largely as a personal health and human interest story rather than as a political or party political issue.

The finding that 23% of people seen proposing solutions were journalists is probably an artefact of television production. In press news coverage journalists do not overtly state their opinions but on television it is often necessary for reporters or presenters to set the scene before interviews can be screened. The effect of this is that many messages about solutions to obesity come from the mouths of journalists. However, while journalists bring their own opinions and experiences to their work as shapers of news, it is likely that they are often summarising information from their source data or the views of their interviewees rather than necessarily expressing a personal

opinion or endorsing a position. However, as gatekeepers, journalists help to shape the news and the impact of their reinforcement of these messages should not be underestimated (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001).

There are strong journalistic imperatives to interview people affected by a particular problem, the chief being that putting a real face to a story uses the power of human interest to attract audiences. Television news is dependent on visual presentation of issues and telling an individual's story can flesh out coverage of an issue and make abstract problems more comprehensible. From a public health point of view, showing individuals struggling with their weight problem is likely to make the problem of obesity more salient, to provoke a more active approach to solving the problem, and to resonate with audiences. However, the tendency to focus on overweight and obese people and their medical carers reinforces the idea that obesity is a problem which is caused solely by individual behaviours and which should be solved by individuals improving their lifestyle, possibly with the help of medical or surgical solutions. This argument has strong common-sense appeal and resonates with modern society's dominant discourse of personal responsibility for healthy behaviours. While strong human interest stories may contribute to policy pressure, this framing of obesity as an individual problem overshadows other causes and solutions which need to be highlighted in order to develop more effective solutions than blaming the overweight individual for their plight and simply recommending they eat less and move more.

The routine use of neck-down depictions of very obese people as background footage to television news stories was incidentally observed in this study. This may also contribute to the framing of weight as an individual problem experienced by specific people. These faceless fatties can depersonalise and perhaps demonise people with a weight problem, and may frame weight as a risk only for the very obese. While news and current affairs television items are clearly not designed as public health information services, they are highly influential and if mildly overweight people who are on an unhealthy trajectory do not identify with the people used in television news to illustrate the obesity epidemic they will get the message that this is not their problem, thus losing an important opportunity for preventing further weight gain.

These research findings can be used to identify those aspects of obesity prevention that are not attracting media attention in proportion to their importance as solutions to overweight and obesity (World Health Organization, 2003; Gebel, King et al., 2005). The NSW Centre for Overweight and Obesity, in collaboration with the NSW Centre for Physical Activity and Health and the NSW Centre for Public Health Nutrition, is currently developing a portfolio of novel news angles which address the many drivers of obesity which are largely beyond the control of the individual. For example, these drivers include: suburban design and planning, car dependency, working hours, building design (particularly access to stairs), accessibility and affordability of facilities for physical activity, safety issues affecting the acceptability of exercising on footpaths, in parks and in other public spaces, access to healthy food, support for active transport and the accessibility and reliability of public transport. Other issues which have been touched upon by the media but which could be investigated in greater depth include portion size, 'value' meals, product labelling, overall healthiness of foods (particularly fast foods) and drinks, government policy, tax or other disincentives to loading food products with unnecessary fats and sugars, sedentary entertainment, elite-biased sports funding, sophisticated public relations strategies employed by fast food and soft drink industry players to reframe their products as healthy and necessary and advertising of junk foods to children. This last issue has recently been debated in the Australian media, and may contribute to heightened politicization of obesity prevention overall in media debates.

Limitations

The present study analysed only television news and current affairs coverage of obesity and overweight. This issue may have been handled differently by radio stations, newspapers or magazines. However, this analysis gives some insight into the media messages presented to view-

ers of Australian television news programs which reach up to 1.8 million viewers (AC Nielsen, 2001). Further study will elucidate whether people reliant on television news and current affairs are missing out on important information about the issues of obesity, overweight and physical activity. Previous analyses of newspaper reportage suggest there may be similarities in the way newspapers and television frame the issues of causation and responsibility (Lawrence, 2004). The sample was collected in May to October 2005 and informal observations of recent news coverage suggest obesity may be becoming a more politicised debate within Australia.

Conclusions

This study suggests that, contrary to expectations, Australian television journalists frequently see obesity as a personal health and human interest story rather than as a political hot potato. This frames the individual as largely or solely responsible and makes the issue personal not political. In this frame, government, employers and industry are able to argue that they have a limited or negligible responsibility for solving current obesity problems and preventing future obesity. We suggest that obesity prevention could be portrayed as a great deal more political. This means going beyond the immediate causes such as food and inactivity to investigate more fully the underlying social, economic and environmental causes and engaging a wider range of sources including those in politics, the food and diet industries and advertising.

While individuals are likely to benefit from eating more healthily and moving more, researchers studying the determinants of overweight and obesity have identified forces beyond the control of individuals which are driving weight gain. The obesogenic nature of the environment has been well described in the academic literature and, to some extent, in the news media, however the reluctance to apply the politically challenging solutions has not been sufficiently highlighted.

Despite journalists' ability to question politicians, government officials and industry spokespeople, individual responsibility framing means that journalists, news editors and television producers tend to see little or no need to interview such sources for obesity news stories. If these powerful players are not put in the media spotlight on obesity they are not implicated in the failure to implement adequate solutions to obesity. Arguments that government should not interfere with what can be seen as a private behavioural problem ignore the valuable public health interventions in other 'private' realms such as smoking, drink-driving, and seatbelts (Kersh and Morone, 2002).

Journalists can ask policy makers more questions about what they are doing to counter the obesogenic nature of the Australian 'environment'. Policy makers can examine their existing powers to control the manufacture, sale and labelling of foods and drinks (Okie, 2007) and their powers to control relevant aspects of the physical environment, including building design, public transport, pedestrian safety, cycleways, and the distribution of healthy and unhealthy food and drink outlets (Gebel, King et al., 2005).

As long as individual responsibility is the dominant explanation, solutions will be focused on educating individuals, prevention will languish and Australia and other developed nations will remain stuck in the rut of burgeoning obesity (Brownell, 2005).

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the New South Wales Health Department for supporting the research, Ms Isla Tooth for coding the sample, Dr Siranda Torvaldsen for comments on the draft article and the two anonymous referees for their constructive comments.

References

- AC Nielsen (2001). *Australian TV Trends 2001*. Sydney, NSW: AC Nielsen Media International.
- Beck, U. (2000). Risk society revisited: Theory, politics and research programmes. In *The risk society and beyond*. B. Adam, U. Beck and J. van Loon (Eds.). London: Sage Publications.
- Blair, S. N., H. W. Kohl, et al. (1989). Physical fitness and all-cause mortality. A prospective study of healthy men and women. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 262(17), 2395-2401.
- Bonfiglioli, C. M. F., B. Smith, et al. (2006). Choice and voice - obesity debates in Australian television news. *Obesity Reviews*, 7(s2), 74-75.
- Booth, M., T. Okely, et al. (2006). NSW schools physical activity and nutrition survey (SPANS) 2004: *full report*. Sydney, NSW: NSW Department of Health.
- Brownell, K. D. (2005). The chronicling of obesity: growing awareness of its social, economic, and political contexts. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, 30(5), 955-964.
- Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism*. London: Routledge.
- Callaghan, K. and F. Schnell (2001). Assessing the democratic debate: how the news media frame elite policy discourse. *Political Communication*, 18(2), 183-213.
- Campos, P., A. C. Saguy, et al. (2006). The epidemiology of overweight and obesity: public health crisis or moral panic? *International Journal of Epidemiology*, 35(1), 55-60.
- Chapman, S. F., K. McLeod, et al. (2005). Impact of news of celebrity illness on breast cancer screening: Kylie Minogue's breast cancer diagnosis. *Medical Journal of Australia*, 183(5), 247-250.
- Commonwealth of Australia (2006). *Healthy weight for adults and older Australians: a national action agenda to address overweight and obesity in adults and older Australians 2006-2010*. Canberra, ACT: Commonwealth of Australia.
- Dodd, T. and S. Morse (1994). The impact of media stories concerning health issues on food product sales. *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 11(2), 17-24.
- Dorfman, L. (2003). Studying the news on public health: how content analysis supports media advocacy. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 27(S3), S217-S226.
- Duderstadt, K. G. (2004). Advocacy for reducing childhood obesity. *Journal of Pediatric Health Care*, 18(2), 103-5.
- Elliott, A. and S. Chapman (2000). 'Heroin hell their own making': construction of heroin users in the Australian press 1992-97. *Drug & Alcohol Review*, 19, 191-201.
- Entman, R. (1993). Framing: towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Flegal, K. M., B. I. Graubard, et al. (2005). Excess deaths associated with underweight, overweight, and obesity. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 293(15), 1861-1867.
- Fombrun, C. J., N. A. Gardberg, et al. (2000). Opportunity platforms and safety nets: corporate citizenship and reputational risk. *Business and Society Review*, 105(1), 85-106.
- Gaesser, G. (2002). *Big fat lies: the truth about your weight & your health*. Carlsbad, California: Gurze Books.
- Gamson, W. A. and A. Modigliani (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear

- power: a constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 1-37.
- Gard, M. and J. Wright (2001). Managing uncertainty: obesity discourses and physical education in a risk society. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 20(6), 535-549.
- Gard, M. and J. Wright, Eds. (2005). *The obesity epidemic: science and ideology*, London: Routledge.
- Gebel, K., L. King, et al. (2005). *Creating healthy environments: a review of links between the physical environment, physical activity and obesity*. Sydney, NSW: NSW Health Department and NSW Centre for Overweight and Obesity.
- Giddens, A. (1999). Risk and Responsibility. *Modern Law Review*, 62(1), 1-10.
- Gill, T., L. King, et al. (2004). *Best options for promoting healthy weight and preventing weight gain in NSW*. Sydney, NSW: NSW Department of Health and NSW Centre for Public Health Nutrition.
- Haas, J., C. Kaplan, et al. (2004). Changes in the use of postmenopausal hormone therapy after the publication of clinical trial results. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 140(3), 184-88.
- International Food Information Council (2005). *Food for thought VI*. Washington, DC: International Food Information Council.
- Johnson, T. (1998). Shattuck lecture - medicine and the media. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 339(2), 87-92.
- Kersh, R. and J. Morone (2002). How the personal becomes political: prohibitions, public health, and obesity. *Studies in American Political Development*, 16, 162-175.
- Lawrence, R. G. (2004). Framing obesity: the evolution of news discourse on a public health issue. *The Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics*, 9(3), 56-75.
- Lawton, B., S. Rose, et al. (2003). Changes in use of hormone replacement therapy after the report from the Women's Health Initiative: cross sectional survey of users. *British Medical Journal*, 327, 845-846.
- Lupton, D. (2004). 'A grim health future': food risks in the Sydney press. *Health, Risk & Society*, 6(2), 187-200.
- McCombs, M. and D. Shaw (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187.
- Mello, M. M., D. M. Studdert, et al. (2006). Obesity - the new frontier of public health law. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 354(24), 2601-2610.
- Menashe, C. and M. Siegel (1998). The power of a frame: an analysis of newspaper coverage of tobacco issues--United States, 1985-1996. *Journal of Health Communication*, 3(4), 307-325.
- Metherell, M. (2006, October 18). Obesity's huge cost dwarfs Medicare. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, p. 1.
- National Health and Medical Research Council (1997). *Acting on Australia's weight: a strategic plan for the prevention of overweight and obesity*. Canberra, ACT: National Health and Medical Research Council.
- New Zealand Ministry of Health (2004). A portrait of health: key results of the 2002/03 New Zealand health survey. *Public Health Intelligence Occasional Bulletin No.21*.
- Okie, S. (2007). New York to trans fats: you're out! *New England Journal of Medicine*, 356(20), 2017-21.

- Pirkis, J. E., P. M. Burgess, et al. (2006). The relationship between media reporting of suicide and actual suicide in Australia. *Social Science & Medicine*, 62(11), 2874-2886.
- Pi-Sunyer, F. (1994). The fattening of America. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 272(3), 238-9.
- Pringle, P. (1994, July 19). Washington counts the cost of fat America getting fatter. *The Independent*. p. 12.
- Ryan, C. (1991). *Prime time activism: media strategies for grassroots organizing*. Boston, Massachusetts: South End Press.
- Saguy, A. C. and R. Almeling (2005). *Fat devils and moral panics: news reporting on obesity science*. Sociology Departmental Colloquium Series, University of California, Berkeley.
- Saguy, A. C. and K. W. Riley (2005). Weighing both sides: morality, mortality and framing contests over obesity. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, 30(5), 869-921.
- Stevens, J. E. and L. Dorfman (2001). *Reporting on violence: new ideas for television, print and web*. Berkeley, California: Berkeley Studies Media Group.
- Swinburn, B. (2003). The obesity epidemic in Australia: can public health interventions work? *Asia Pacific Journal of Clinical Nutrition*, 12(Suppl:S7).
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: a study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: a multidisciplinary approach*. London; Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Wade, S. and W. Schramm (1969). The mass media as sources of public affairs, science, and health knowledge. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 33(2), 197-209.
- World Health Organization (2003). Diet, nutrition and the prevention of chronic diseases: report of a joint WHO/FAO expert consultation. *Technical Report Series No.916*. WHO. Geneva: World Health Organization.

Authors

Dr Catriona Bonfiglioli, NSW Centre for Overweight and Obesity, The University of Sydney

Ms Lesley King, NSW Centre for Overweight and Obesity, The University of Sydney

Dr Ben Smith, Department of Health Science, Monash University

(formerly with the NSW Centre for Physical Activity and Health The University of Sydney)

Professor Simon Chapman, School of Public Health, University of Sydney

Mr Simon Holding, School of Public Health, University of Sydney