

# Changes in Unhealthy Food Consumption Among Vulnerable Elementary-aged Children in the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic: A Serial Cross-sectional Analysis

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## Scope Statement

Our paper, titled "Changes in Unhealthy Food Consumption Among Vulnerable Elementary School-aged Children in the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic: A Serial Cross-sectional Analysis," is well-suited for publication in *Frontiers in Nutrition*. By investigating the intersection of dietary habits and socioeconomic factors in a crisis context, our research contributes to the journal's focus on advancing nutritional science through addressing complex public health issues. We believe our article particularly fits in the Nutritional Epidemiology section of the journal as it provides insights into dietary patterns among an underserved community during a pandemic. Our research underscores the impact of macro socioeconomic changes during the pandemic on the pre-existing socioeconomic disparities in diet behaviors. These results not only highlight the vulnerabilities of the low-income population, but also may serve as a benchmark for future innovative disaster preparedness and response efforts. Given its potential to inform future research, public health policy, and clinical practice, our paper is a valuable addition to the discourse promoted by *Frontiers in Nutrition*.

## Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare a potential conflict of interest and state it below

Dr. Shreela Sharma serves on the board of directors of Brighter Bites 501c3 nonprofit organization. This is an unpaid board position. All other authors did not have any conflicts of interest to declare.

The author(s) declared that they were not an editorial board member of *Frontiers*, at the time of submission.

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Christine Margaret Markham: Conceptualization, Supervision, Validation, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Deepali Ernest: Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Jacqueline Noyola: Data curation, Methodology, Resources, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Mike Pomeroy: Data curation, Methodology, Resources, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Nalini Ranjit: Conceptualization, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Supervision, Validation, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Nivedhitha Parthasarathy: Conceptualization, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Validation, Visualization, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Ru-Jye Chuang: Formal Analysis, Methodology, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing. Shreela Sharma: Conceptualization, Formal Analysis, Funding acquisition, Investigation, Methodology, Resources, Visualization, Writing - original draft, Writing - review & editing.

## Keywords

Diet, Unhealthy food, Children, COVID-19 pandemic, public health nutrition

## Abstract

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**Objective:** Several studies suggest that during the early pandemic, amidst socioeconomic instability, children from underserved families were more likely to resort to consuming cheaper, lower-quality foods with longer shelf lives. This study investigated the change in unhealthy food consumption across different phases (pre, early, mid) of the COVID-19 pandemic, and whether the strength of association between unhealthy food consumption and household socioeconomic disadvantage (HSED) varied across phases of the pandemic. **Methods:** This study utilized serial cross-sectional data collected from low-income families enrolled in a school-based food co-op, Brighter Bites. Secondary data analysis included 5384 surveys from families who had complete data: 3422 pre-pandemic, 944 from the early pandemic, and 1018 mid-pandemic. Outcome measures included sugary food intake and convenience / fast food intake, each of which was operationalized as a scale using pre-validated items from the surveys. HSED was operationalized as a composite of parent employment, parent education, food insecurity, and participation in government programs; responses were categorized into low, medium, and high HSED groups for analysis. We examined the interaction between HSED and time period to explore how HSED and its association with dietary measures changed over the course of the pandemic. **Results:** A significant linear negative trend, i.e., a decrease in consumption from pre-to-midpandemic period was seen in sugary food intake ( $p < 0.001$ ), but not in convenience food intake. In data pooled across time-periods, both sugary food and convenience/fast food consumption were inversely associated with HSED, and low unhealthy food consumption was observed among high-disadvantage groups. No significant interaction between time period and HSED was observed on either scale. However, the post-regression estimates from the adjusted interaction model showed a significant association between convenience/fast food consumption and HSED in pre-and mid-pandemic periods. The study highlights the nuances of socioeconomic dynamics on the diet behaviors of children from low-income families during a natural disaster.

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1           **Changes in Unhealthy Food Consumption Among Vulnerable Elementary-aged**  
2           **Children in the United States during the COVID-19 pandemic: A Serial Cross-sectional**  
3           **Analysis**

4  
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27

## Abstract

28   **Objective:** Several studies suggest that during the early pandemic, amidst socioeconomic  
29 instability, children from underserved families were more likely to resort to consuming cheaper,  
30 lower-quality foods with longer shelf lives. This study investigated the change in unhealthy food  
31 consumption across different phases (pre, early, mid) of the COVID-19 pandemic, and whether  
32 the strength of association between unhealthy food consumption and household socioeconomic  
33 disadvantage (HSED) varied across phases of the pandemic.

34

35   **Methods:** This study utilized serial cross-sectional data collected from low-income families  
36 enrolled in a school-based food co-op, Brighter Bites. Secondary data analysis included 5384  
37 surveys from families who had complete data: 3422 pre-pandemic, 944 from the early pandemic,  
38 and 1018 mid-pandemic. Outcome measures included sugary food intake and convenience / fast  
39 food intake, each of which was operationalized as a scale using pre-validated items from the  
40 surveys. HSED was operationalized as a composite of parent employment, parent education,  
41 food insecurity, and participation in government programs; responses were categorized into low,  
42 medium, and high HSED groups for analysis. We examined the interaction between HSED and  
43 time period to explore how HSED and its association with dietary measures changed over the  
44 course of the pandemic.

45

46   **Results:** A significant linear negative trend, i.e., a decrease in consumption from pre-to-mid-  
47 pandemic period was seen in sugary food intake ( $p < 0.001$ ), but not in convenience food intake.  
48 In data pooled across time-periods, both sugary food and convenience/fast food consumption  
49 were inversely associated with HSED, and low unhealthy food consumption was observed  
50 among high-disadvantage groups. No significant interaction between time period and HSED was  
51 observed on either scale. However, the post-regression estimates from the adjusted interaction  
52 model showed a significant association between convenience/fast food consumption and HSED  
53 in pre- and mid-pandemic periods.

54

55   **Conclusion:** The study highlights the nuances of socioeconomic dynamics on the diet behaviors  
56 of children from low-income families during a natural disaster.

57

58   **Keywords:** Diet, Unhealthy Food, Children, COVID-19 pandemic, Public Health Nutrition

59 **Introduction**

60  
61 Unhealthy food consumption contributes to a plethora of chronic diseases in the United States  
62 (U.S.).<sup>1,2</sup>; nearly half the elementary-aged children (6-11 years) consume inferior quality diets  
63 and excess junk food compared to their peers in other age groups.<sup>3-5</sup> During the early phase of  
64 the COVID-19 pandemic, social measures like lockdowns/school closures implemented to curb  
65 transmission of the SARS-COV2 virus, worsened diet quality among families with children.<sup>6,7</sup>  
66 Longitudinal studies conducted on diverse U.S. populations reported the highest increase in  
67 eating disorders and BMI in this age group.<sup>8</sup> As the elementary school age is considered a  
68 critical period in the development of chronic diseases that track into adulthood, it is vital to  
69 identify any detrimental diet changes that may have occurred during the pandemic, among this  
70 population.<sup>9</sup>

71  
72 Socioeconomic status (SES) has emerged as a crucial determinant of diet and nutrition quality,  
73 and their downstream health consequences; as families with lower SES often face barriers such  
74 as limited financial resources, reduced access to healthy foods, and greater reliance on cheaper,  
75 calorie-dense options, which can lead to poorer diet quality and subsequent health issues.<sup>10</sup>  
76 Particularly during times of crises, families experiencing poverty are more vulnerable to  
77 macroeconomic fluctuations.<sup>11,12</sup> Along with the ongoing challenges that low-income families  
78 face, the added burden of food insecurity further exacerbates their situation, creating a  
79 cumulative socioeconomic disadvantage.<sup>13</sup> During the pandemic, millions of Americans  
80 experienced pandemic-related job losses and financial setbacks, resulting in a three-fold increase  
81 in the prevalence of food insecurity in the U.S.<sup>14</sup> Low-income families with children, especially  
82 those belonging to racial minority groups, were disproportionately affected by interruptions in  
83 food supply chain, government assistance programs, and nutritious school meals. Overburdened  
84 with financial insecurity and loss of access to reliable food sources, these families were forced to  
85 choose affordability over quality of food.<sup>15-19</sup> Studies conducted during the early pandemic  
86 reported an increase in the purchase and consumption of sugary drinks, chips, ready-to-eat meals,  
87 and a decrease in fresh produce, among children belonging to such vulnerable families.<sup>19,20</sup>  
88 However, a majority of these studies did not include objective control data from pre-pandemic  
89 time for comparison. Furthermore, as schools reopened for hybrid learning in 2021, USDA  
90 introduced new waivers in school meal programs, such as meal-time and meal pattern flexibility  
91 to ensure continued access to school meals.<sup>21-23</sup> There is little information on how elementary-  
92 aged children's diet changed with the re-opening of schools and economic instability experienced  
93 in the U.S. at that time, with objective comparative data.<sup>24,25</sup> It is of particular interest to  
94 understand how children's dietary behaviors were impacted by rapidly evolving government  
95 mandates and employment situations, especially since this knowledge provides critical insights  
96 into the immediate health impacts of the pandemic and serves as a foundation for evidence-based  
97 disaster preparedness strategies.

98  
99 Therefore, this study aims to investigate changes in unhealthy food consumption across different  
100 phases (pre, early, mid) of the COVID-19 pandemic. The second objective is to examine the  
101 strength of associations between unhealthy food consumption and household socioeconomic  
102 disadvantage, and determine whether the magnitude of these associations varied across phases of  
103 the pandemic.

104

105 **Materials and Methods**

106

107 **I. Research Design and Study Participants**

108 This study utilized serial survey-based cross-sectional data collected between 2018 and 2022  
109 from Brighter Bites, a theory-grounded school-based food co-op health intervention serving low-  
110 income families across the U.S.<sup>26</sup> Brighter Bites is a 501c3 non-profit organization that  
111 implements school-based health promotion programs in Texas (Houston, Austin, Dallas, San  
112 Antonio); Florida (Southwest Florida); New York (New York City); Washington, D.C.; California  
113 (Salinas, Los Angeles, Bakersfield); and Arizona (Phoenix). The organization provides free fresh  
114 produce and implementation support of nutrition education at schools that predominately serve  
115 children from low-income families for three years in a row, to mitigate food insecurity and  
116 improve dietary habits.<sup>16,27-29</sup> Each school year, at the beginning of the fall semester, before the  
117 Brighter Bites program began, informed consent was obtained, and electronic surveys were sent  
118 to parents to obtain data. Survey completion and participation in the study was voluntary, and all  
119 participants provided informed consent. The University of Texas Health Science Center at  
120 Houston (UTHealth Houston) is the evaluation partner for Brighter Bites. As a part of a data  
121 sharing agreement, deidentified data were shared with UTHealth for analysis. The UTHealth  
122 Committee for Protection of Human Subjects approved the parent study (HSC-SPH-15-0752).

123 The current analysis is based on four of these annual baseline parent surveys (2018-2019,  
124 2019-2020, 2020-2021, 2021-2022) from seven areas (Houston, Dallas, Austin, Southwest  
125 Florida, Washington, D.C., Salinas, and Bakersfield). The response rate for each year is as  
126 follows: 2018 – 28.1%, 2019 – 27.9%, 2020 – 33%, 2021 – 16.8%. Parent and child data from  
127 5384 surveys (self-reported data from the parents); 3422 during the pre-pandemic period (fall  
128 2018, 2019), 944 from the early pandemic period (fall 2020), and 1018 from the mid-pandemic  
129 period (fall 2021) were included in the analysis.

130

131

132 **Measures**

133

134 **II. Children's unhealthy food consumption**

135 Nine pre-validated items<sup>30</sup> were identified from the parent survey that captured the frequency of  
136 consumption of the following unhealthy items in the week prior to survey completion – sugar-  
137 sweetened beverages (SSB) (3 items), sugary cereals, frozen desserts, fried potatoes, chips, heat-  
138 and-serve meals, and meals from the restaurant. The responses for all the items were captured on  
139 a Likert scale (never in a week – every day in a week). For this study, dietary items were broadly  
140 classified into two main categories based on the Family Life, Activity, Sun, Health, and Eating  
141 (FLASHE) study data guide.<sup>30</sup>: (1) Sugary foods including Sugar-Sweetened Beverages (SSB),  
142 sugary cereals, and frozen desserts, and (2) Convenience/Fast-food including fried potatoes,  
143 chips, heat-and-serve meals, and meals from restaurants. These categories represented the two  
144 most consumed unhealthy food groups during the pandemic period.<sup>31-34</sup> The possible score for  
145 sugary foods ranges between 0 to 20, and the possible score for the convenience/fast-food  
146 category ranges between 0 and 16. In both cases, higher scores represented a higher frequency in  
147 the consumption of that food group.

148

149 **III. Assessment of Household Socioeconomic Disadvantage (HSED)**

150 Socioeconomic disadvantage is a multidimensional construct that cannot be captured by single  
151 item scales.<sup>10</sup> Especially in low income populations, where income sources are irregular and not  
152 reliably reported, alternative measures need to be utilized to capture variation of socioeconomic  
153 status. We utilized a composite household socioeconomic disadvantage measure from literature,  
154 which encompassed indicators both stable and those that were relatively exacerbated by the  
155 pandemic.<sup>35</sup> Based on literature<sup>10,35</sup>, we utilized four variables: parent employment, parent  
156 education, food insecurity, and participation in government assistance programs to create the  
157 composite measure – household socioeconomic disadvantage.

158 In our dataset (pooled over time period), when analyzed independently, we noticed that almost  
159 all components of HSED were significantly associated with both sugary food ( $p < 0.05$ ) and  
160 convenience/fast food ( $p < 0.05$ ), except for food insecurity with convenience/fast food scale  
161 ( $p = 0.643$ ); the strongest association was observed for food insecurity with sugary food scale  
162 (Coeff: 0.22;  $p = 0.004$ ), and for parent education with convenience/fast food scale (Coeff: 0.36;  
163  $p = <0.001$ ). Although food insecurity was not a significant predictor, we included it in our  
164 composite HSED measure due to its empirical association with diet behavior, and its relevance to  
165 the COVID-19 pandemic.

166 Information regarding each component of household socio-economic status was captured using  
167 appropriate single-item scales.<sup>10,36</sup> Information regarding parent education was categorized into  
168 0: never – attended middle school; 1: attended/graduate high school; and 2: attended/graduated  
169 college; employment status of the parent was categorized as 0: involuntarily unemployed; 2:  
170 voluntarily unemployed; and 2: employed. Food insecurity was measured using the Hunger Vital  
171 Sign questionnaires, and individuals who selected “sometimes true” or “often true” for either  
172 question were classified as food insecure.<sup>37</sup> Participation in any government assistance programs  
173 (WIC, SNAP, Double Dollars, Medicaid, Medicare, CHIP, free/reduced meals at school) were  
174 categorized as not participating or participating. Using the above information, we created a  
175 composite measure of household socio-economic disadvantage, guided by similar work in prior  
176 literature<sup>10,35</sup>. The summative composite score ranged from 0-8 representing decreasing order of  
177 household socioeconomic disadvantage (HSED). The scores were grouped into high (score 0-2),  
178 medium (score 3-5), and low (score 6-8) disadvantage groups for analysis. Additionally, each  
179 HSED component was examined independently in relation to the outcomes, to provide insight  
180 into their role as individual predictors of unhealthy food consumption.

181

182 **IV. Effect Modifier**

183 We examined whether the phase of the pandemic modified the relationship between  
184 socioeconomic disadvantage and dietary measures. Three phases were identified: pre-pandemic  
185 (fall 2018 to fall 2019), early pandemic (fall 2020), and mid pandemic (fall 2021). This  
186 categorization corresponded to macro-socioeconomic changes that occurred in the U.S. during  
187 this time. Macroeconomic changes in the early pandemic phase (March 2020 – March 2021)  
188 included increases in unemployment, the introduction of government fiscal response (Families  
189 First Act; CARES act; SNAP and WIC waivers) while macrosocial changes include school  
190 closures, and halting of school lunch programs. The macroeconomic environment of the mid  
191 pandemic phase (March 2021 – May 2022) was characterized by high inflation, decline in  
192 unemployment, extension of benefits, and macrosocial changes such as school reopening,

193 adapted school nutrition programs (e.g., waivers in NSLP).<sup>21,23-25,38</sup>

194

## 195 **V. Covariates**

196 Data on child's grade (K-5), gender (male, female/), race (Black/African American,  
 197 Hispanic/Latino/Mexican American, White/Caucasian, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander,  
 198 American Indian/Alaskan Native, Other), number of children at home, and number of people at  
 199 home were collected in the surveys. Beneficial food consumed in the week before the survey was  
 200 captured in the following items – 100% fruit juice, water, fresh fruits, vegetables, and other non-  
 201 fried vegetables. These variables were combined to form a beneficial food scale.<sup>30</sup>

202

## 203 **VI. Statistical Analysis**

204 Schools that were only in the first year of the Brighter Bites program, (i.e., those who had not  
 205 received any component of the intervention at the time of the baseline survey), were included in  
 206 the analysis. Means and standard deviations were reported for continuous measures while  
 207 proportions were reported for categorical variables. The changes in unhealthy food consumption  
 208 over time (time period 0 = pre-pandemic; 1 = early pandemic; 2 = mid pandemic) were reported  
 209 using p for linear trend. Mixed effects regression models were built using pooled data from  
 210 2018-2021 and were used to examine the strength of the association of unhealthy food  
 211 consumption with household socioeconomic disadvantage. Covariates were selected for analysis  
 212 using Wald tests. Univariable analysis was conducted to determine the unadjusted associations  
 213 between the outcome and each covariate. Next, based on statistically significant bivariate  
 214 associations with the outcome, and modification of regression coefficients by 10%, we identified  
 215 that child's race and beneficial food scale served as potential confounders and adjusted for them  
 216 in our analysis. We also ran initial models including location fixed effects, but none of these  
 217 effects was significant, hence they were discarded. The overall fit of the models was determined  
 218 using likelihood ratio tests. Additional tests for multicollinearity included checking the variance  
 219 inflation factor (VIF). No multicollinearity was detected.

220

221 To assess changes in this association over time, an interaction term between household  
 222 socioeconomic disadvantage and time period was added to the model. Post-regression estimates  
 223 including predicted means and pairwise comparison of effects were examined to quantify the  
 224 independent and joint effects of household socioeconomic disadvantage and time period. Mixed  
 225 models accounted for school-level clustering. Statistical significance was set at p<0.05. All  
 226 analyses were performed using STATA Version 17.0 (College Station, TX: Stata Press.  
 227 StataCorp. 2019).

228

## 229 **Results**

230

231 Overall, 5384 participants were included in the final analysis; this includes complete data from  
 232 3422 surveys during the pre-pandemic period (fall 2018, 2019), 944 surveys from the early  
 233 pandemic period (fall 2020), and 1018 surveys from the mid-pandemic period (fall 2021). The  
 234 sociodemographic data of the participants included in the analysis are presented in **Table 1**.  
 235 Mothers (92.4%) completed the majority of the surveys. In all three time periods, a majority of  
 236 the children studied in grades 3-5 (pre: 39.7%; early: 47.9%; mid: 45.4%), and belonged to  
 237 Mexican American/Hispanic/Latino race/ethnicity (pre: 83.7%; early: 82.4%; mid: 81.5%).  
 238 According to parent demographic data, a majority of the parents either attended or completed

239 high school (pre: 53.5%; early: 57.9%; mid: 52.1%), and were voluntarily unemployed (pre:  
 240 50%; early: 48.2%; mid: 55.6%). More than three-quarters of the parents reported participating  
 241 in government assistance programs (pre: 87.9%; early: 93.6%; mid: 92.3%), and approximately  
 242 quarter of them reported food insecurity (pre: 26.7%; early: 15.3%; mid: 25.4%). A majority of  
 243 the participants were at greatest disadvantage; more than one-third belonged to high  
 244 socioeconomic disadvantage groups during all the time periods (pre: 38.6%; early: 42.6%; mid:  
 245 44.1%).  
 246  
 247

### 248 **I. Changes in unhealthy food consumption over the course of the pandemic**

249 A significant negative trend was observed in the sugary foods scale, indicating a decrease in the  
 250 consumption of sugary food from the pre- to mid-pandemic period ( $p < 0.001$ ). For the  
 251 convenience/fast food scale, we noticed a slight increase in consumption from the pre- to early  
 252 pandemic, followed by a decrease to the mid-pandemic. No significant linear trend was observed  
 253 ( $p = 0.57$ ) (**Table 2**).  
 254

255 Mixed effect models were used to estimate the magnitude of change in sugary foods and  
 256 convenience/fast foods scale during the pandemic as compared to pre-pandemic period. As  
 257 compared to the pre-pandemic period, sugary food consumption decreased in the early pandemic  
 258 period ( $\beta = -0.29$ ; 95% CI: -0.56, -0.02;  $p = 0.032$ ), and in the mid-pandemic period ( $\beta = -0.51$ ;  
 259 95% CI: -0.76, -0.25;  $p = <0.001$ ), after adjusting for confounders. Convenience/fast food  
 260 consumption showed only slight and non-significant decreases in the early pandemic period ( $\beta = -$   
 261 0.04; 95% CI: -0.24, 0.15;  $p = 0.654$ ), and in the mid-pandemic ( $\beta = -0.12$ ; 95% CI: -0.03, 0.07;  $p$   
 262 = 0.216), as compared to pre-pandemic time period. (**Table 3**).  
 263

### 264 **II. Association between unhealthy food consumption and household socioeconomic 265 disadvantage**

266 **Table 4** examines differences in unhealthy food consumption across household socioeconomic  
 267 disadvantage categories using data pooled across the pandemic, i.e., without reference to time  
 268 period. Overall, we noticed that lower unhealthy food consumption among those who were more  
 269 disadvantaged. Pooled across study periods, sugary food and convenience/fast food consumption  
 270 appears to be highest in the low socioeconomic disadvantage group (reference group, Table 4) As  
 271 compared to the low socioeconomic disadvantage group, sugary food consumption was  
 272 significantly lower in the medium disadvantage group ( $\beta = -0.2$ ;  $p = 0.036$ , 95% CI: -0.38, -  
 273 0.013), and in the high socioeconomic disadvantage group ( $\beta = -0.16$ ;  $p = 0.06$ , 95% CI: -0.33, -  
 274 0.006), after adjusting for confounders. As compared to the low socioeconomic disadvantage  
 275 group, convenience/fast food consumption was lower in the medium disadvantage group ( $\beta = -$   
 276 0.28;  $p = <0.001$ , 95% CI: -0.48, -0.20) and in the high disadvantage group ( $\beta = -0.34$ ;  $p = <0.001$ ,  
 277 95% CI: -0.41, -0.15), after adjusting for confounders.  
 278

### 279 **III. Interaction effect of household socioeconomic disadvantage and time period on 280 unhealthy food consumption**

281 The post-regression estimates from the adjusted interaction model show that the socioeconomic  
 282 differences in convenience/fast food consumption disappeared during the mid-pandemic phase  
 283 (**Table 5**). The significant association between convenience/fast food consumption and household

284 socioeconomic disadvantage was seen in pre-pandemic (pairwise estimate low vs high  
285 socioeconomic disadvantage group: contrast=0.33, p ≤ 0.001; low vs medium socioeconomic  
286 disadvantage group: contrast=0.31, p ≤ 0.001); and mid-pandemic period (pairwise estimate low  
287 vs high socioeconomic disadvantage group: contrast=0.27, p ≤ 0.001; low vs medium  
288 socioeconomic disadvantage group: contrast=0.22, p ≤ 0.001) time periods.

289

## 290 Discussion

291

292 Periods of instability can cause significant changes in dietary behaviors. Although evidence of  
293 the short-term impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic has been explored by studies across the  
294 globe, there is little evidence of the long-term effects in the years following the pandemic. Our  
295 study investigated serial cross-sectional changes in unhealthy food consumption over the course  
296 of the pandemic. We observed a significant minor decrease in sugary food consumption during  
297 the early and mid-pandemic phases. In regard to convenience/fast food consumption , we  
298 observed a slight increase in consumption from the pre- to early pandemic, followed by a  
299 decrease to the mid-pandemic.

300

301 These results only partially align with the results from other national <sup>39-42</sup> and international  
302 studies <sup>9,18,43,44</sup>; a majority of other studies that collected data in the first months of the pandemic  
303 (March- April 2020) report contradictory results. <sup>15-18</sup> A cross-sectional study conducted by  
304 Adams et al. (2020) reported a decrease in sweets and dessert consumption among approximately  
305 one-third of food-insecure families. <sup>45</sup> A study conducted in Greece among secondary school  
306 students also reported a decrease in sweets and sugary drinks. <sup>43</sup> We hypothesize that this may be  
307 partly attributed to the time of data collection. In a longitudinal study that examined changes in  
308 home food availability, it was noted that although about one-third of the sample reported an  
309 increase in desserts at home in May 2020, a decrease in the same was noticed in 30% of the  
310 families in September 2020. <sup>40</sup> As the data for our study was collected in the fall of each year, it  
311 is possible that “panic-buying” and “comfort food” purchases had subsided, and that the children  
312 had already adapted to their new lifestyle. <sup>40,46</sup> Another reason could also be the pandemic-related  
313 waivers in the implementation of government nutrition programs. For instance, state agencies  
314 reported that utilization of the COVID-19 Child Nutrition nationwide waivers improved the  
315 implementation of the National School Lunch Program (NSLP), Summer Food Service Program,  
316 and Child and Adult Care Food Program. <sup>47</sup> Similarly, Adams et al. (2022) noted that in 2021,  
317 parents who participated in child tax credit expansion reported a significant decrease in  
318 children’s consumption of added sugar and sugar-sweetened beverages. <sup>48</sup> In addition to this,  
319 innovative implementation of health promotion programs such as non-profit–for-profit  
320 partnerships <sup>49</sup> and direct to consumer models <sup>50</sup>, have been proven effective to improve access to  
321 fresh food in times of crises. <sup>51</sup> It is important to evaluate the public health impact of pandemic-  
322 related policies and novel solutions, introduced during a disaster, on the behaviors of individuals  
323 in different economic strata.

324

325 We also observed heterogeneity in unhealthy food consumption among children, by  
326 socioeconomic disadvantage levels. There were significantly lower levels of convenience/fast  
327 food and sugary food consumption among those who were most disadvantaged. Of note, this  
328 sample was homogenously lower income given that one of the eligibility criteria for participating  
329 in Brighter Bites is that the school composition is >75% of the children receive free/reduced

330 lunch program. However, even within our lower income sample, we saw differences by SES  
331 disadvantage. Previous studies have reported discrepancies in the association between  
332 socioeconomic status and eating behaviors. A study that examined family-affluence-related  
333 inequities in adolescent food consumption among 41 countries reported that in some countries,  
334 adolescents from the lowest family affluence consumed fewer fruits, vegetables, sweets, and  
335 chocolates.<sup>52</sup> The low budget constraint and limited ability to buy food of any kind may explain  
336 this result.<sup>18,52</sup> Notably, the socioeconomic disadvantage measure in our study included multiple  
337 components. Previous studies report that children's reduced consumption of healthy food was  
338 associated with mothers' higher education and/or a full-time employment status.<sup>53</sup> Parents who  
339 work full-time or multiple jobs may face time constraints in meal planning, preparation, and  
340 consequently in providing healthier food for their children.<sup>54,55</sup> However, we noticed a lack of  
341 socioeconomic heterogeneity in convenience/fast food consumption during early pandemic  
342 period. This may be attributed to the relatively uniform impact of the early pandemic period  
343 experiences across the disadvantaged groups of the low-income sample.<sup>56</sup> Food supply chain  
344 disruptions and restaurant closures might have minimized differences in fast-food consumption  
345 since fewer families, regardless of their specific level of disadvantage, could easily obtain these  
346 foods. These findings underscore the critical need to develop sustainable and resilient food  
347 systems that ensure reliable access to healthy food options for all socioeconomic groups,  
348 particularly in times of crisis. It is imperative to examine multiple barriers to healthy food access  
349 that arise during and after a disaster, using comprehensive and nuanced measures.<sup>51</sup> Moving  
350 beyond physical access to food, studies have also recorded the urgency of investigating other  
351 factors such as social accessibility, cultural acceptability, and food agency during a crisis and  
352 addressing these factors through community cross-sectoral collaboration.<sup>51,57</sup>

353  
354 Our study was novel in examining the changes in unhealthy food consumption and its association  
355 with household socioeconomic disadvantage through the course of a public health crisis. Using  
356 multi-site data, the external validity of the study is strengthened. The serial cross-sectional nature  
357 of our data, along with access to pre-pandemic data helped us investigate changes over time,  
358 which is an added strength to this study. However, the validity of the study results may have been  
359 compromised due to multiple reasons. The results may have limited generalizability to other  
360 populations across the country, a. since those who participated in our study may have been in  
361 extreme need of help during the COVID-19 pandemic, b. a majority of our participants belonged  
362 to the Mexican/Hispanic/Latino race ethnicity. As this ethnic group exhibits a collectivist cultural  
363 lifestyle, the home environment findings reported may not be generalizable to individualistic  
364 group. The study may also be subjected to selection bias since study surveys were available only  
365 to those with digital access. The data may also be subjected to social desirability bias due to the  
366 self-reporting nature of the surveys. Finally, low response rate could have led to non-random loss  
367 of data.

368

## 369 Conclusion

370

371 Our findings provide valuable insights into the varied impact of an unprecedented crisis on  
372 unhealthy food consumption of children from low-income families at different levels of  
373 socioeconomic disadvantage. The results can serve as a benchmark for community or  
374 government organizations to design tailored policies/intervention strategies that address the  
375 specific challenges faced by underserved communities. Careful investigation is required in

376 qualifying a community as economically vulnerable to disasters or economic shutdowns. Further  
377 research needs to be conducted to understand the nuances of socioeconomic dynamics on the diet  
378 behaviors of families-in-need in the post-pandemic setting.

379 **Ethics Statement**

380 This research study was approved by the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston  
381 (UTHealth Houston) School of Public Health Office of Student Research. The parent study was  
382 approved by the UTHealth Houston Committee for Protection of Human Subjects (IRB# HSC-  
383 SPH-15-0752).

384

385 **Author contributions**

386 NP: Conceptualization, Methodology, Analysis, Writing – original draft, review & editing. NR:  
387 Conceptualization, Methodology, Analysis, Writing – review & editing. RC: Methodology,  
388 Writing – review & editing. CM: Conceptualization, Writing – review & editing. DE: Writing –  
389 review & editing. SS: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing – review & editing.

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396

397 **Conflict of Interest**

398 The author(s) declared the following potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research,  
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402

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405

406 **Publisher's Note**

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**Tables**  
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**Table 1.** Sociodemographic summary of the families included in the analysis (Brighter Bites pre-fall parent surveys 2018-2022)

	Measure	Time period			
<b>Child grade N (%)</b>	Kindergarten	745 (21.8%)	178 (18.9%)	158 (15.5%)	<b>&lt;0.001<sup>1</sup></b>
	Grades 1-2	1319 (38.5%)	314 (33.3%)	398 (39.1%)	
	Grades 3-5	1358 (39.7%)	452 (47.9%)	462 (45.4%)	
<b>Child gender N (%)</b>	Male	1663 (49.5%)	475 (50.7%)	483 (48.1%)	<b>0.57<sup>2</sup></b>
	Female	1695 (50.5%)	462 (49.3%)	522 (51.9%)	
<b>Child race N (%)</b>	White/Caucasian	170 (5.1%)	16 (2%)	63 (8%)	<b>0.58<sup>1</sup></b>
	Mexican-American/Hispanic/Latino	2767 (83.7%)	666 (81.4%)	647 (82.5%)	
	Black/African-American	256 (7.7%)	85 (10.4%)	47 (6%)	
	Other	113 (3.4%)	51 (6.2%)	27 (3.4%)	
<b>Number of children at home</b>		Mean (SD)	2.6 (1.2)	2.7 (1.2)	2.5 (1.1)
					<b>0.03<sup>3</sup></b>
<b>Number of adults at home</b>		Mean (SD)	1.5 (1.1)	2.5 (1.2)	2.5 (1.1)
					<b>0.35<sup>3</sup></b>
<b>Individual who answered the survey N (%)</b>	Mother	3163 (93.1%)	873 (92.6%)	939 (92.4%)	<b>0.45<sup>2</sup></b>
	Other	236 (6.9%)	70 (7.4%)	77 (7.6%)	
<b>Parent employment status N (%)</b>	Involuntarily unemployed	258 (8.2%)	141 (17.8%)	71 (9.3%)	<b>&lt;0.001<sup>1</sup></b>
	Voluntarily unemployed	1578 (50%)	382 (48.2%)	423 (55.6%)	
	Employed	1317 (41.8%)	269 (34%)	267 (35.1%)	
<b>Parent education status N (%)</b>	Never attended school – 8 <sup>th</sup> grade	530 (16.7%)	140 (17.7%)	133 (17.6%)	<b>0.18<sup>1</sup></b>
	9 <sup>th</sup> grade – GED	1699 (53.5%)	457 (57.9%)	395 (52.1%)	
	Attended/Graduated college	949 (29.9%)	192 (24.3%)	230 (30.3%)	
<b>Participation in government assistance programs (Yes)</b>		N (%)	2964 (87.9%)	822 (93.6%)	812 (92.3%)
					<b>&lt;0.001<sup>2</sup></b>
<b>Food insecurity (Yes) N (%)</b>			845 (26.7%)	127 (15.3%)	210 (25.4%)
					<b>0.001<sup>2</sup></b>
<b>Household socioeconomic disadvantage<sup>a</sup></b>	Low	1211 (35.6%)	254 (28.9%)	244 (27.6%)	<b>&lt;0.001<sup>1</sup></b>
	Medium	877 (25.8%)	251 (28.5%)	251 (28.4%)	
	High	1312 (38.6%)	375 (42.6%)	390 (44.1%)	

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 Bold indicates statistical significance; 1 Jonckheere-Terpstra Test for trend; 2 Cochran-Armitage Trend Test; 3 Linear Trend Test; a Composite  
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 measure that include parent employment, education, food insecurity, and participation in government assistance programs  
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680      **Table 2.** Serial cross-sectional changes in child unhealthy food consumption through the course  
 681      of the pandemic (Brighter Bites 2018-2022)

<b>Measure</b>	<b>Time period</b>			<b>p-value<sup>4</sup></b>
	<b>Pre pandemic</b> (2018, 2019) Mean (SD)	<b>Early pandemic</b> (2020) Mean (SD)	<b>Mid pandemic</b> (2021) Mean (SD)	
<b>Sugary foods<sup>1</sup></b>	5.3 (2.55)	5.06 (2.69)	4.87 (2.51)	< 0.001
<b>Sweetened fruit drinks and teas<sup>3</sup></b>	1.35 (0.93)	1.34 (0.94)	1.29 (0.89)	
<b>Soda<sup>3</sup></b>	0.86 (0.7)	0.76 (0.7)	0.79 (0.67)	
<b>Sports drinks<sup>3</sup></b>	0.78 (0.82)	0.66 (0.79)	0.64 (0.76)	
<b>Sugary cereals<sup>3</sup></b>	1.30 (0.95)	1.28 (0.95)	1.16 (0.88)	
<b>Frozen desserts<sup>3</sup></b>	1.08 (0.75)	1.13 (0.75)	1.10 (0.77)	
<b>Convenience/fast foods<sup>2</sup></b>	4.03 (1.99)	4.07 (2.14)	3.97 (1.96)	0.57
<b>Fried potatoes<sup>3</sup></b>	1.10 (0.66)	1.13 (0.67)	1.1 (0.61)	
<b>Potato chips<sup>3</sup></b>	1.26 (0.76)	1.22 (0.76)	1.27 (0.79)	
<b>Heat and serve food<sup>3</sup></b>	0.69 (0.86)	0.86 (0.80)	0.69 (0.83)	
<b>Food from restaurant<sup>3</sup></b>	1.02 (0.60)	0.93 (0.61)	0.98 (0.58)	

682      Significance at p < 0.05; Bold indicates statistical significance; <sup>1</sup> Score range for sugary foods scale = 0-20; <sup>2</sup> Score range for  
 683      convenience/fast food scale = 0-16; <sup>3</sup> Score range for all component variables = 0-5 (never, 1-2 times, 3-4 times, 5-6 times, and  
 684      every day); <sup>4</sup> Linear test for trend

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**Table 3.** Magnitude of change in unhealthy food consumption during the pandemic as compared to pre-pandemic period.

Time period	Unhealthy food consumption			
	Sugary food <sup>a,b,c</sup>		Convenience/fast food <sup>a,b,d</sup>	
	Coefficient (p-value)	95%CI	Coefficient (p-value)	95%CI
<b>Pre-pandemic</b>	REFERENCE			
<b>Early pandemic</b>	<b>-0.29 (0.032)</b>	<b>-0.56, -0.02</b>	-0.04 (0.654)	-0.24, 0.15
<b>Mid pandemic</b>	<b>-0.51 (&lt;0.001)</b>	<b>-0.76, -0.25</b>	-0.12 (0.216)	-0.3, 0.07

Bold indicates statistical significance; <sup>a</sup> Interaction models adjusted for child race/ethnicity, beneficial food consumption; <sup>b</sup> Mixed effects linear regression; <sup>c</sup> Includes consumption of sweetened fruit drinks and teas, soda, sport drinks, sugary cereals, and frozen desserts in the previous week;  
<sup>d</sup> Includes consumption of fried potatoes, potato chips, heat and serve food, and food from restaurant in the previous week.

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**Table 4.** Cross-sectional associations of unhealthy food consumption with household socioeconomic disadvantage (pooled data from 2018 to 2022)

Household socioeconomic disadvantage	Unhealthy food consumption			
	Sugary food <sup>a,b,c</sup>		Convenience/fast food <sup>a,b,d</sup>	
	Coefficient (p-value)	95%CI	Coefficient (p-value)	95%CI
<b>Low</b>	REFERENCE			
<b>Medium</b>	<b>-0.2 (0.036)</b>	<b>-0.38, -0.013</b>	<b>-0.28 (&lt;0.001)</b>	<b>-0.48, -0.20</b>
<b>High</b>	-0.16 (0.060)	-0.33, -0.006	<b>-0.34 (&lt;0.001)</b>	<b>-0.41, -0.15</b>

698 Bold indicates statistical significance; <sup>a</sup> Interaction models adjusted for child race/ethnicity, beneficial food consumption; <sup>b</sup> Mixed effects linear  
699 regression; <sup>c</sup> Includes consumption of sweetened fruit drinks and teas, soda, sport drinks, sugary cereals, and frozen desserts in the previous week;  
700 <sup>d</sup> Includes consumption of fried potatoes, potato chips, heat and serve food, and food from restaurant in the previous week.

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702 **Table 5.** Post regression estimates (pairwise comparison of effects) from the adjusted<sup>a</sup>  
703 interaction model

Time period	Household socioeconomic disadvantage groups	Unhealthy food consumption	
		Sugary food <sup>b,c</sup>	Convenience/fast food <sup>b,d</sup>
Contrast (p-value)			
<b>Pre-pandemic</b>	Medium vs High	0.01 (0.941)	0.02 (0.84)
	Low vs High	0.2 (0.054)	<b>0.33 (&lt;0.001)</b>
	Low vs Medium	0.19 (0.09)	<b>0.31 (&lt;0.001)</b>
<b>Early pandemic</b>	Medium vs High	-0.36 (0.09)	-0.47 (0.782)
	Low vs High	0.34 (0.139)	0.06 (0.713)
	Low vs Medium	-0.4 (0.166)	0.53 (0.215)
<b>Mid-pandemic</b>	Medium vs High	0.17 (0.438)	0.05 (0.09)
	Low vs High	0.13 (0.55)	<b>0.27 (&lt;0.001)</b>
	Low vs Medium	-0.04 (0.867)	<b>0.22 (&lt;0.001)</b>

704 Bold indicates statistical significance; <sup>a</sup> Interaction models adjusted for child race/ethnicity, beneficial food consumption; <sup>b</sup> Mixed effects linear  
705 regression; <sup>c</sup> Includes consumption of sweetened fruit drinks and teas, soda, sport drinks, sugary cereals, and frozen desserts in the previous week;  
706 <sup>d</sup> Includes consumption of fried potatoes, potato chips, heat and serve food, and food from restaurant in the previous week.

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