



## Do Healthier Foods and Diet Patterns Cost More Than Less Healthy Options? A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis

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**CLEAN VERSION****Do Healthier Foods and Diet Patterns Cost More Than Less Healthy Options? A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis**

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Word count: 4,760

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3 **Objective**-To conduct a systematic review and meta-analysis of prices of healthier vs. less healthy  
4 foods/diet patterns while accounting for key sources of heterogeneity.  
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7 **Data sources**-Medline (2000-2011), supplemented with expert consultations and hand-reviews of  
8 reference lists and related citations.  
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11 **Design**-Studies, reviewed independently and in duplicate, were included if reporting mean retail price of  
12 foods or diet patterns stratified by healthfulness. We extracted, in duplicate, mean prices and their  
13 uncertainties of healthier and less healthy foods/diet patterns, and rated the intensity of health  
14 differences for each comparison (range 1 to 10). Prices were adjusted for inflation and World Bank  
15 purchasing power parity, standardized to the international dollar (defined as one USD) in 2011. Using  
16 random-effects models, we quantified price differences of healthier vs. less healthy options for specific  
17 food types, diet patterns, and units of price (serving, day, calorie). Statistical heterogeneity was  
18 quantified using  $I^2$  statistics.  
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26 **Results**-Twenty-seven studies from 10 countries met inclusion criteria. Among food groups,  
27 meats/protein had largest price differences: healthier options cost \$0.29/serving (95% CI: \$0.19 to  
28 \$0.40) and \$0.47/200 kcal (\$0.42 to \$0.53) more than less healthy options. Price differences per serving  
29 for healthier vs. less healthy foods were smaller among grains (\$0.03), dairy (-\$0.004), snacks/sweets  
30 (\$0.12), and fats/oils (\$0.02) ( $p < 0.05$  each), and not significant for soda/juice (\$0.11,  $p = 0.64$ ). Comparing  
31 extremes (top vs. bottom quantile) of food-based diet patterns, healthier diets cost \$1.48/day (\$1.01 to  
32 \$1.95) and \$1.54/2000 kcal (\$1.15 to \$1.94) more. Comparing nutrient-based patterns, price per day  
33 was not significantly different (top vs. bottom quantile: \$0.04;  $p = 0.916$ ), whereas price per 2000 kcal  
34 was \$1.56 (\$0.61 to \$2.51) more. Adjustment for intensity of differences in healthfulness yielded similar  
35 results.  
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44 **Conclusions**-This meta-analysis provides the best evidence to-date of price differences of healthier vs.  
45 less healthy foods/diet patterns, highlighting challenges and opportunities for reducing financial barriers  
46 to healthy eating.  
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## Article summary

### *Article focus*

- To conduct a systematic review and meta-analysis of prices of healthier vs. less healthy foods and diet patterns, while also evaluating and accounting for key sources of heterogeneity.

### *Key messages*

- Among 6 food groups, larger price differences were observed by healthfulness for meats/protein, as well as smaller but statistically significant differences for snacks/sweets, grains, fats/oils, and dairy.
- Comparing extremes of healthier food-based diet patterns, the healthiest diets cost an average of \$1.48/day (95% CI: \$1.01 to \$1.95) more than the least healthy diets.

### *Strengths and limitations of this study*

- This systematic review and meta-analysis represents, to our knowledge, the most comprehensive examination of the evidence on prices of more vs. less healthy foods and diet patterns. Strengths include the systematic search; adjustment for inflation and purchasing power parity; separate analyses of food groups, diet patterns, and units of price; and evaluation of heterogeneity by food type, intensity of contrast, and unit of comparison.
- The study was limited by less available data on restaurant prices and prices from low- and middle-income countries. High statistical heterogeneity was evident, although the actual observed range of price differences was more modest.

## INTRODUCTION

Consumption of a healthy diet is a priority for reducing chronic diseases including obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, and several cancers. This is especially crucial for socioeconomically disadvantaged populations, who have both less healthy diets and higher disease risk than higher socioeconomic groups.<sup>1-4</sup> Many factors, including the availability and cultural acceptability of healthy foods, pose obstacles to the promotion of healthy diets. One of the most commonly described barriers is cost: conventional wisdom holds that healthier foods and diets are more expensive than less healthy options, an assumption which has become “a reflexive part of how we explain why so many Americans are overweight.”<sup>5</sup>

Yet, whereas several studies have evaluated whether healthier foods or diets cost more,<sup>6-10</sup> the evidence has never, to our knowledge, been systematically reviewed nor quantified to critically evaluate the relationship between healthfulness of foods or diet patterns and price. In addition, little is known about the potential heterogeneity of this relationship. For example, price differences may vary by the foods or diets being compared. Many studies compare healthier and less healthy versions of the same food (i.e. more vs. less healthy grains), while other studies examine the price differences of healthier vs. less healthy overall diet patterns. Price differences may also depend on how healthfulness is defined, ranging from definitions based on single nutrients (e.g., fat content, sugar content) to those based on foods or more complex diet patterns. The intensity of the health contrast could also affect the price difference; for example, a fast food meal vs. a healthier home-cooked meal is a more extreme comparison than a low-fat vs. high-fat cookie. Finally, price differences may vary by the unit of comparison, e.g., per serving, per calorie, etc. In particular, price differences per calorie may be limited by reverse causation, as healthier foods (e.g., fruits, vegetables) often have fewer calories; evaluation of price differences per serving may alter conclusions.<sup>11</sup>

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To address each of these key gaps in knowledge, we performed a systematic review and meta-analysis of the evidence for relationships between the healthfulness of foods/diet patterns and their price, including consideration of different food groups and diet patterns, definitions of healthfulness, intensities of the contrast, and units of comparison (calorie, serving, daily diet).

For peer review only

## METHODS

We followed the Meta-analysis of Observational Studies in Epidemiology (MOOSE) guidelines throughout all stages of design, implementation, and reporting.<sup>12</sup> The independent and dependent variables of interest were the healthfulness of foods or diet patterns and their price, respectively. The protocol, which was not altered after commencement of the study, is available from the authors upon request.

### Search strategy and selection of articles

Systematic searches were conducted using Medline (via PubMed) for all eligible English-language articles published through December 2011. Additional articles were identified by expert consultations, and hand-reviews of reference lists and first 20 “Related citations” in PubMed for all studies included after full-text review. Because our focus was on contemporary price differences related to healthfulness, and because such price differences could vary in earlier decades, we focused our search on studies having collected price data in the year 2000 or later. The search query combined terms related to foods/diet patterns, price, setting, and time (**Supporting Appendix 1**).

Studies were included if they reported the mean retail prices of foods (including beverages) or diet patterns stratified by a specified measure of healthfulness, as well as sufficient (or obtainable by direct contact) data to derive or estimate the statistical uncertainty (i.e., standard error of difference in means). No foods or diet patterns were excluded. Studies reporting wholesale price or perceived rather than actual price, as well as reviews, letters, editorials, and commentaries, were excluded.

One investigator screened all identified studies based on these inclusion and exclusion criteria by title and abstract. Following screening, remaining full-text articles were obtained and reviewed independently and in duplicate by two investigators for final inclusion/exclusion using the same criteria.

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3 Any differences were resolved by discussion among all of the investigators. A list of excluded citations is  
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5 available from the authors upon request.  
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### 10 **Data extraction and synthesis**

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12 For each included study, two investigators extracted data independently and in duplicate using a  
13  
14 standardized electronic spreadsheet. Data extracted included first author, title, publication year, year of  
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16 price data collection, source of price data, demographic variables of study participants and/or  
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18 community from which price data was collected, definition(s) of healthfulness, food/diet pattern  
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20 comparison(s), numbers of participants and/or numbers of foods, and mean prices and uncertainties  
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22 (including unit, e.g., calorie, serving) of the healthier and less healthy foods/diet patterns compared.  
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24 Because the magnitude of differences in healthfulness could influence price differences, we also rated  
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26 the intensity of the contrast in health difference between the compared foods/diet patterns on an  
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28 ordinal scale (1 to 10), with 1 representing a very small difference in healthfulness and 10 a marked  
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30 difference in healthfulness. These ratings were based on growing evidence that different types of foods  
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32 and food-based diet patterns predict chronic disease outcomes better than differences in single  
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34 nutrients.<sup>13</sup> Thus, foods/diet patterns that differed by a single nutrient were rated as low intensity, while  
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36 foods/diet patterns that differed across multiple nutrients (e.g., three home-cooked meals vs. three fast-  
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38 food meals) were rated as high intensity. The intensity of contrast was rated independently and in  
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40 duplicate by two investigators with good concordance (generally less than or equal to 2 points);  
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42 discrepancies were resolved by group discussion. These ratings are available in the Supporting  
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44 Information.  
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### 54 **Statistical analysis**

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Our primary endpoint was the difference in mean price between the healthier and less healthy foods or diet patterns. When data on the variance of the difference in means or information to directly calculate this variance were not reported, we calculated it based on the variance of the mean prices in each category, based on standard formulas<sup>14</sup>:

$$SE_{diff} = \sqrt{SE_{healthier}^2 + SE_{less\ healthy}^2}$$

$$SE_{diff} = \sqrt{\frac{SD_{healthier}^2}{n_{healthier}} + \frac{SD_{less\ healthy}^2}{n_{less\ healthy}}}$$

For 9 studies in which mean prices were reported without their uncertainty, the SEs were imputed from the number of observations in each category, based on linear regression of studies with complete data, performed separately for market surveys (6 studies comparing samples of foods) and individual dietary surveys (3 studies comparing diets across samples of participants) (**Supporting Figure 1**).

We recognized that price comparisons within food groups (i.e., healthier vs. less healthy options within the same category of food) may vary from price comparisons across overall diet patterns. Furthermore, price differences may vary for diet patterns largely based on foods vs. diet patterns largely based on one or a few isolated nutrients. Thus, we separately investigated price differences that compared options within a single similar category of food (e.g., meats/protein, grains, dairy), price differences that compared varying concordance to food-based diet patterns (e.g., Alternative Healthy Eating Index, Western, or Mediterranean diet patterns), and price differences that compared varying concordance to isolated nutrient-based (e.g., fat, sugar) diet patterns. For analyses of diet patterns, we evaluated price differences for the extreme categories (e.g., the top vs. bottom quartile or quintile) of diet, to enable comparisons of the largest differences in diet quality.

Because price differences could also vary by the unit of comparison, findings for foods were evaluated standardized both to one usual serving and to 200 kcal; and for diet patterns, standardized both to one day (3 meals) and to 2000 kcal. Standard serving sizes were based on 2011 USDA MyPlate

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3 guidelines or, if not available from MyPlate, on nutrition labels from a major grocery website.<sup>15 16</sup> Calorie  
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5 conversions were derived from the USDA database.<sup>17</sup> For standardizing studies of food baskets to meals,  
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7 one serving of any food was assigned as one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, or oils for  
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9 which one serving was assigned one-eighth of a meal. All price differences were adjusted for inflation  
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11 by country to reflect prices in 2011. In addition, to account for the varying values of currencies across  
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13 countries, these prices were further adjusted for purchasing power parity by standardizing to 2011  
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15 international dollars; one international dollar is defined as one US dollar. Inflation rates and purchasing  
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17 power parity conversion factors were obtained from the World Bank; 2011 is the latest year for which  
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19 these data are available.<sup>18</sup> We also repeated all analyses with additional weighting for the intensity of  
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21 the contrast in healthfulness (range 1 to 10), i.e. with greater differences (higher intensity values)  
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23 carrying greater weights.  
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29 Summary estimates were quantified using inverse-variance weighted, random effects meta-  
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31 analysis (*metan* command in Stata). Statistical heterogeneity was evaluated using the  $I^2$  statistic. Meta-  
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33 regression (*metareg* command in Stata) was performed on intensity, study location (USA/Canada vs.  
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35 other), and type of survey (market survey vs. dietary survey) to explore potential sources of  
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37 heterogeneity. Publication bias was assessed using the Egger test and visual inspection of funnel plots.  
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39 Statistical analyses were performed using Stata 12 (StataCorp, College Station, Texas), with two-tailed  
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41 alpha = 0.05.  
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## RESULTS

### Search results and study characteristics

Of 1,010 articles identified by the Medline search and screened for inclusion, 83 were selected for full-text review (**Figure 1**). Of these, 19 articles met inclusion criteria, and an additional 8 articles were identified from hand-searches of references lists, related citations in PubMed, and expert consultations. Among the final 27 studies, 14 were conducted in the US, 2 in Canada, 6 in Europe, and 5 in other countries including South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, and Brazil (**Table**). Twelve studies were market surveys, and 15 were dietary surveys. The number of foods evaluated by the market surveys ranged from 2 to 133, with prices collected from between 1 and 1,230 stores. The number of participants evaluated by the dietary surveys ranged from 30 to 78,191. Several studies reported prices for multiple food comparisons or from different types of stores and contributed more than one estimate to the analysis.

### Price Differences of Foods

Evidence on price comparisons within similar food groups was available in 6 major food groups, including meats/protein, grains, dairy, snacks/sweets, fats/oils, and soda/juice.

Per serving, meats/protein exhibited the largest price difference by healthfulness (**Figure 2A**). On average, the healthier choice was \$0.29 more expensive per serving than the less healthy choice (95% CI: \$0.19 to \$0.40). Considerable statistical heterogeneity was evident ( $I^2=99.4\%$ ) that appeared at least partly related to the type of comparison. For example, price differences by healthfulness appeared largest for chicken, intermediate for beef, and smallest for peanut butter. Healthier snacks/sweets, grains, and fats/oils were also more expensive per serving than less healthy options, but with smaller price differences: for snacks/sweets, \$0.12/serving (\$0.02 to \$0.23); for grains, \$0.03/serving (\$0.01 to \$0.05); and for fats/oils, \$0.02/serving (\$0.01 to \$0.02). For dairy, healthier options were slightly less

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3 expensive per serving (-\$0.004/serving; 95% CI: -\$0.005 to -\$0.004), although pooled findings were  
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5 driven by one study with reported high statistical certainty. Excluding this study, healthier dairy options  
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7 were similar in price to less healthy options (-\$0.004/serving, p=0.389). No significant price differences  
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9 per serving were seen between healthier and less healthy soda/juice (\$0.11; 95% CI: -\$0.34 to \$0.56;  
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11  $I^2=25.1\%$ ), but only two studies evaluated this comparison.  
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15 For most of these food groups, findings were similar or stronger for pooled price differences  
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17 standardized per calorie (**Figure 2B**), rather than per serving. The largest price difference was again  
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19 among meats/protein, with healthier options costing \$0.47 per 200 kcal more (\$0.42 to \$0.53) than less  
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21 healthy options. The main exception was dairy foods, for which the pooled price difference per 200 kcal  
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23 was much greater than the price difference per serving. Per 200 kcal, healthier dairy foods were \$0.21  
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25 more expensive than less healthy options (\$0.11 to \$0.31), consistent with the strong calorie effect of  
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27 the metric (fat content) that was used to define healthfulness in this food group.  
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### 33 **Price Differences of Diet Patterns**

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35 Twenty studies evaluated price differences according to concordance with overall healthful diet  
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37 patterns, with 14 studies evaluating more food-based patterns and 7 studies evaluating more nutrient-  
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39 based patterns (one study evaluated both<sup>19</sup>).  
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43 Comparing extreme categories of food-based diet patterns, the highest category of healthier  
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45 diets cost \$1.48/day (\$1.01 to \$1.95) more than the lowest category (**Figure 3A**). Findings were broadly  
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47 consistent across several different definitions of healthful diet patterns, including based on the  
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49 Mediterranean dietary pattern, Western dietary pattern, Alternative Healthy Eating Index, fruit and  
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51 vegetable intake, and energy density. Some food-based diet patterns exhibited smaller or no price  
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53 differences, including based on the Healthy Eating Index, the Environmental Standards for Healthy  
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55 Eating, and comparing home-cooked to fast food meals. When standardized to 2000 kcal, healthier  
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3 food-based diet patterns cost \$1.54 more than less healthy options (\$1.15 to \$1.94), with price  
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5 differences modestly larger for patterns based on the Alternative Healthy Eating Index and energy  
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7 density, smaller for patterns based on fruit and vegetable consumption alone, and no longer significant  
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9 for the Mediterranean dietary pattern. (**Figure 3B**).

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12 For diet patterns based largely on single or few isolated nutrients, the price of the highest  
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14 category of diets meeting these criteria was not significantly different than the lowest when based on a  
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16 day's intake (**Figure 4A**). In contrast, when standardized to 2000 kcal, the highest category of nutrient-  
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18 based patterns cost \$1.56 more than the lowest (\$0.61 to \$2.51) (**Figure 4B**). Price differences per 2000  
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20 kcal were larger relative to the per day estimates for patterns based on fat; sugar; and fiber, fat, and  
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22 sugar combined.  
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26 We also performed analyses restricted to US studies. Results were similar: healthier food-based  
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28 diet patterns cost an average of \$1.49/day (\$0.60 to \$0.237; n=7 studies) and \$1.79/2000 calories (\$0.78  
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30 to \$2.80; n=6 studies) more than less healthy patterns. Healthier nutrient-based diet patterns cost an  
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32 average of \$0.40/day (\$0.17 to \$0.63; n=3 studies) and \$2.46/2000 calories (-\$2.17 to \$7.09; n=2  
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34 studies) more than less healthy patterns.  
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### 37 38 39 40 **Intensity of the Contrast in Healthfulness**

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42 We repeated all analyses adjusting for differences in the intensity of contrast in healthfulness in  
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44 each comparison. Within food groups, intensities of contrasts were generally rated in the 4 to 6 range,  
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46 with smallest contrast of 3 (e.g., comparing different types of cookies) and largest of 9 (e.g., comparing  
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48 fruits/vegetables to packaged snacks). For food groups, intensity-weighted price differences were  
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50 generally similar to the unweighted findings (**Supporting Figure 2**). Contrasts of diet patterns were most  
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52 often rated 6 or 7, with smallest contrast of 1 (comparing patterns based on total fat alone) to largest of  
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54 10 (comparing 3 healthier home-cooked meals to 3 fast food meals). Compared with unweighted  
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3 comparisons, the intensity-weighted price differences of healthier vs. less healthy food-based diet  
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5 patterns were similar: \$1.46/day (\$1.00 to \$1.92) and \$1.53/2000 kcal (\$1.14 to \$1.93) (**Supporting**  
6  
7 **Figure 3**). Intensity-weighted price differences were also similar to unweighted results for nutrient-  
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9 based diet patterns: \$0.11/day (-\$0.64 to \$0.85) and \$1.66/2000 kcal (\$0.55 to \$2.78) (**Supporting**  
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11 **Figure 4**).

### 12 13 14 15 16 17 **Potential Sources of Heterogeneity**

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19 Statistical heterogeneity as quantified by the  $I^2$  statistic was high in most analyses. Meta-  
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21 regression did not identify significant effect modification based on study location (USA/Canada vs.  
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23 other), intensity of the contrast in healthfulness, or study type (market survey vs. dietary survey). Meta-  
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25 regression by study type (market survey vs. dietary survey) was not possible for the food group analyses  
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27 due to collinearity.  
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### 30 31 32 33 **Publication bias**

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35 Publication bias was assessed using the Egger test and funnel plots (**Supporting Figure 5**).<sup>20</sup>  
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37 There was no significant bias identified by the Egger test. Visual inspection of funnel plots suggested  
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39 asymmetrical distributions for dairy food, food-based diet patterns, and nutrient-based diet pattern  
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41 comparisons, consistent with a larger number of smaller studies reporting greater price differences than  
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43 the overall pooled estimate.  
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## DISCUSSION

The findings from this systematic review and meta-analysis provide the most robust evidence to-date on price differences of healthier versus less healthy foods and diet patterns. The results by food group provide insight into the relationship between healthfulness and price among similar foods. The results by diet pattern inform price differences between greater extremes of healthfulness, comparing very different foods, e.g., diets rich in fruits and vegetables vs. diets rich in processed foods. Although statistical heterogeneity was high, this was at least partly related to relatively small uncertainty of each within-study price difference; the magnitude of clinically relevant heterogeneity was much lower, with comparatively similar price differences between studies. In addition, with a few exceptions, findings were similar across different units of price (per serving or day vs. calorie), intensity of contrast, study location, and type of survey, increasing confidence in the validity and consistency of the findings.

### Price Differences of Foods

Among 6 food groups, relatively large price differences were observed for meats/protein, as well as smaller but statistically significant differences for snacks/sweets, grains, fats/oils, and dairy. According to the USDA, the farm share of proceeds of a one dollar expenditure on domestically produced food in the United States is 14.1 cents<sup>21</sup>, suggesting that final retail prices are determined largely by other industries and procedures in the food supply chain. Additional cost of processing and manufacturing could explain some of the identified variation in price differences; for example, lean beef and skinless chicken require more processing, perhaps accounting for their higher price. Our findings highlight the need for more research on the underlying drivers of price differences of specific items within broad food categories.

Our findings also demonstrate that, for certain metrics of healthfulness, the selected unit of comparison alters the results. In particular, metrics based largely on fat content demonstrated greater

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3 price differences per calorie than per serving. The most striking example was for dairy foods: healthier  
4 options were \$0.004 less expensive per serving but \$0.21 more expensive per 200 kcal. Whole milk  
5 contains nearly twice the calories as fat-free milk,<sup>17</sup> so nearly double the amount of fat-free milk must  
6 be purchased to achieve equivalent calories. These findings highlight the dangers of circular reasoning  
7 (e.g., selecting a metric based on fat content and then evaluating price differences per calorie) and the  
8 importance of identifying the most relevant unit of comparison for any individual or public health  
9 decision about price differences of foods.<sup>11</sup>  
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### 21 **Price Differences of Diet Patterns**

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24 On average, healthier food-based diet patterns were more expensive than less healthy patterns,  
25 whether based on an actual day's intake or per 2000 kcal. The price difference – about \$1.50 per day –  
26 represents the price difference per person for consuming a much healthier vs. much less healthy overall  
27 diet, e.g., comparing Mediterranean-type diets rich in fruits, vegetables, fish, and nuts vs. diets rich in  
28 processed food, meats, and refined grains. Thus, this price difference is for a relatively extreme contrast,  
29 between the healthiest and least healthy diet pattern. Better adherence to such food-based diet  
30 patterns consistently relates to improved health and lower risk of chronic diseases.<sup>22 23</sup>  
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40 In contrast to the findings for food-based diet patterns, healthier vs. less healthy nutrient-based  
41 diet patterns were not significantly different in price when based on a day's actual intake, but only cost  
42 more when standardized to 2000 kcal. These results mirror those observed when comparing individual  
43 food groups, such as dairy, based on single-nutrient metrics of healthfulness. These findings emphasize  
44 the crucial role of the unit of comparison when comparing prices by nutrient-based metrics. Healthier  
45 diets defined based on fiber or fat content will, by definition, have fewer calories, so they will naturally  
46 cost more per calorie. Yet, such diets will not necessarily cost more per serving or per meal. In the  
47 setting of a global obesity pandemic, assessing price differences per calorie may make little sense when  
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3 a healthier diet also leads to reductions in total calorie consumption. Growing evidence also indicates  
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5 that single or selected nutrients are less useful for distinguishing healthfulness than types of foods and  
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7 food-based diet patterns.<sup>13</sup>  
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### 10 11 12 **Heterogeneity**

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15 In most comparisons, statistical heterogeneity as measured by  $I^2$  was high. Yet, adjustment for  
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17 intensity of differences in healthfulness had little effect on pooled price differences, and meta-  
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19 regression revealed no significant effect modification by intensity, study location, or study type. The  
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21 high  $I^2$  values may be partly explained by the relatively small uncertainty for each within-study price  
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23 difference. In many of the identified studies, the combination of a continuous outcome (price) and a  
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25 relatively large number of samples (foods or individuals) resulted in low uncertainty of each study-  
26  
27 specific price difference. Lower within-study uncertainty produces higher  $I^2$  values, even when absolute  
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29 magnitudes of price heterogeneity among studies may be modest from a public health or practical  
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31 perspective. For example, the price differences among snacks/sweets studies fell within a relatively  
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33 limited range (-\$0.04 to \$0.30/serving), with a reasonable summary estimate of \$0.12/serving, but  
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35 statistical heterogeneity was high ( $I^2=85.9%$ ) partly due to narrow within-study confidence intervals.  
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37 Thus, the calculated heterogeneity in each summary estimate should be interpreted in light of the actual  
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39 range of observed price differences across studies. Since clinically relevant heterogeneity was lower  
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41 than statistical heterogeneity, the pooled results provide insight into average price differences between  
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43 healthier and less healthy foods and diet patterns.  
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50 Although similar classes of foods and diet patterns were evaluated separately, the foods or diet  
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52 patterns within each category were not exactly the same. Our aim – and the relevant public health  
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54 question – was not whether one specific product costs more than another, but whether healthier foods  
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56 in a broad class of foods cost more, on average, than less healthy foods in the same broad class.  
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## Strengths and Limitations

Several strengths can be highlighted. This systematic review and meta-analysis represents, to our knowledge, the most comprehensive examination of the evidence on prices of more vs. less healthy foods and diet patterns. Our systematic search makes it unlikely that we missed any large reported studies. Error and bias were each minimized by independent, duplicate decisions on inclusion of studies and data extraction. Adjustment for inflation and purchasing power parity to 2011 prices accounted for the varying value of money across years and countries. Exclusion of price data prior to the year 2000 increased generalizability of the results to contemporary diets. A key strength of our analysis was evaluation of food groups separately from diet patterns. The former provides data to inform choices when comparing otherwise relatively similar foods, whereas the latter informs price differences across very different selections of foods. Additional strengths include the standardization of disparate metrics, foods, and units; the assessment of food-based and nutrient-based diet patterns; and the evaluation of heterogeneity by food type, intensity of contrast, and unit of comparison.

Potential limitations should be considered. Like all meta-analyses, our analysis was based on available data; for certain comparisons, relatively few studies were available. For example, only one study directly compared prices of restaurant foods to home-cooked foods; all other studies reported supermarket prices. Thus, our results summarize the best current data on price differences of foods and diet patterns while also highlighting gaps in knowledge that require further investigation. Definitions of healthfulness varied across food groups and diet patterns. Yet, our findings across a variety of diet patterns and definitions of healthfulness inform how such contrasts may influence price differences. Our assessment of publication bias suggested that price differences for dairy foods and diet patterns may be partly overestimated due to selective publication of smaller studies with more extreme estimates. Statistical heterogeneity was evident in most comparisons, a significant consideration in the

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3 interpretation of the results. All meta-analyses must strike a balance between the imperative for  
4 generalizability and the need to minimize heterogeneity. Additionally, the actual range of observed price  
5 differences for many comparisons was not extreme. The rating system for intensity of contrast was  
6 subjective; yet, the ratings were assigned independently and in duplicate with good concordance and  
7 provide important sensitivity analyses on the robustness of the results. Our findings on price differences  
8 per day and per 2000 calories reflect an adult diet; the summary estimates should be adjusted for other  
9 caloric intakes, e.g. in young children. Only English-language studies from PubMed were included, so  
10 some studies may have been missed. Given absence of accepted criteria for judging quality of  
11 observational studies, quality of studies was not formally assessed. Most comparisons were from high-  
12 income countries, highlighting the need for similar studies in low- and middle-income nations.  
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## 28 **CONCLUSIONS**

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31 In sum, our findings provide the most robust evidence to-date on price differences of healthier  
32 foods and diet patterns, while also highlighting the importance of carefully considering the metric of  
33 healthfulness, intensity of contrast, and unit of comparison. Our results indicate that lowering the price  
34 of healthier diet patterns – on average ~\$1.50/day more expensive – should be a goal of public health  
35 and policy efforts, and some studies suggest that this intervention can indeed reduce consumption of  
36 unhealthy foods.<sup>24-26</sup>  
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45 It remains an open question as to *why* healthier diets cost more. Some have argued that US  
46 agricultural subsidies for commodities (e.g. corn, soy) lower the price of less healthy, more processed  
47 foods compared with unprocessed foods.<sup>27</sup> However, careful economic analyses demonstrate that the  
48 main impact of such subsidies is direct income transfer to farmers, with little influence on retail prices;  
49 and that tariffs and other protectionist policies are actually raising the prices of many US commodities  
50 such as sugar.<sup>28-30</sup> Conversely, many decades of policies focused on producing inexpensive, high volume  
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3 commodities have led to a complex network of farming, storage, transportation, processing,  
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5 manufacturing, and marketing capabilities that favor sales of highly processed food products for  
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7 maximal industry profit.<sup>31</sup> Based on these experiences, efforts to create an infrastructure and  
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9 commercial framework that facilitates production, transportation, and marketing of healthier foods  
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11 could increase availability and reduce prices of more healthful products.<sup>31</sup> Taxation of less healthy foods  
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13 and subsidies for healthier foods would also be an evidence-based intervention to balance price  
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15 differences.<sup>31</sup>  
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19 Other potential barriers to a healthier diet exist, such as availability and cultural acceptability.  
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21 However, our findings suggest that for socioeconomically disadvantaged populations, the relatively  
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23 higher cost of healthy foods may be an impediment to eating better. On the other hand, Americans at all  
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25 income levels allocate too little of their food budgets toward healthy foods.<sup>32</sup> A daily price difference of  
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27 ~\$1.50 translates to ~\$550 higher annual food costs per person. For many low-income families, this  
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29 additional cost represents a genuine barrier to healthier eating. Yet, this daily price difference is trivial in  
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31 comparison to the lifetime personal and societal financial burdens of diet-related chronic diseases.<sup>33 34</sup>  
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33 For example, suboptimal diet quality was recently estimated to account for 14% of all disability-adjusted  
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35 life years (DALYs) in 2010 in the United States;<sup>35</sup> if translated to a proportion of national health  
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37 expenditures in 2012,<sup>36</sup> this corresponds to diet-related health care costs of \$393 billion/year, or more  
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39 than \$1200/year for every American. Our findings highlight the nuanced challenges and the  
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41 opportunities for reducing financial barriers to healthy eating.  
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52 [www.icmje.org/coi\\_disclosure.pdf](http://www.icmje.org/coi_disclosure.pdf) and declare: no support from any organisation for the submitted  
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54 work; no financial relationships with any organisations that might have an interest in the submitted  
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34  
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37 are guarantors. All authors had full access to all of the data and can take responsibility for the integrity  
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39 of the data and the accuracy of the data analysis.  
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45 *Data sharing:* Technical appendix available upon request from corresponding author.  
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## Figure legends

**Figure 1.** Search and screening of studies comparing prices of healthier and less healthy foods or diet patterns.

**Figure 2. Price difference between healthier and less healthy foods per serving (A) and per 200 kcal**

**(B).** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Standardized serving sizes were derived from 2011 USDA MyPlate guidelines or, if not available from MyPlate, nutrition labels from a major grocery website. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

**Figure 3. Price difference between healthier and less healthy food-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B).**

Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for Mozaffarian RS, 2012.<sup>37</sup> Energy density was included as a food-based pattern since this metric represents a set of foods more than it represents any single nutrient.<sup>19</sup> For studies reporting price across quantiles of healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Number of participants reported for dietary surveys (studies comparing diets across samples of participants), and number of foods reported for market surveys (studies comparing samples of foods). Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

**Figure 4. Price difference between healthier and less healthy nutrient-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B).**

One outlying, implausible estimate from Aggarwal A, 2011 (mean adequacy ratio) was excluded (\$17.23; 95% CI: \$14.35, \$20.11).<sup>38</sup> Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based

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3 on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for  
4 Temple NJ, 2009 and Krukowski RA, 2010.<sup>39 40</sup> For studies reporting price across quantiles of  
5 healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Number of  
6 participants reported for dietary surveys (studies comparing diets across samples of participants), and  
7 number of foods reported for market surveys (studies comparing samples of foods). Summary estimates  
8 were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse  
9 variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity –  
10 standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.  
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**Table. Characteristics of food price studies included in meta-analysis.**

Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
<b>Market studies</b>				
Cassady D et al, 2007 <sup>41*</sup>	June 2003, Sept-Oct 2003, March-April 2004	35 foods from 25 stores in Sacramento and Los Angeles, California	Fruit and vegetable basket meeting 2005 Dietary Guidelines vs. 1995 Thrifty Food Plan fruit and vegetable basket <sup>††</sup>	Cross-sectional price survey conducted across 3 time periods in chain supermarkets, small independent grocery stores, and supermarkets selling bulk food items with no membership fee
Jetter KM and DL Cassady, 2006 <sup>7</sup>	June 2003, Sept 2003, March-April 2004	133 foods from 25 stores in Sacramento and Los Angeles, California	Market basket with four times the amount of fiber and one-fifth the grams of total fat vs. 1995 Thrifty Food Plan market basket <sup>§</sup>	Cross-sectional price survey conducted across 3 time periods in chain supermarkets, small independent grocery stores, and supermarkets selling bulk food items with no membership fee
Katz DL et al, 2011 <sup>42</sup>	NR	131 foods in 8 food categories from 6 stores in Jackson County, Missouri	Nutrition Detectives program criteria for healthfulness (meeting vs. not meeting) <sup>‡†</sup>	Prices collected from chain grocery stores accessible to research assistant
Krukowski RA et al, 2010 <sup>40</sup>	Feb-April 2008	20 foods from 42 stores in Arkansas and Vermont	10 high-fiber, low-fat, low-sugar foods vs. 10 low-fiber, high-fat, high-sugar foods <sup>§</sup>	Overweight individuals entering a behavioral weight loss research program self-reported their primary grocery store. Trained data collectors assessed food prices at these stores
Liese AD et al, 2007 <sup>43</sup>	2004	8 foods from 75 stores in Orangeburg County, South Carolina	Lean ground beef vs. high-fat ground beef; skinless and boneless chicken breasts vs. chicken drumsticks; high-fiber bread vs. low-fiber bread; low-fat/non-fat milk vs. whole milk	All food stores in county identified from Licensed Food Service Facilities Database and in-person verification. Prices recorded and reported by store type (supermarket, grocery store, convenience store)
Lipsky LM et al, 2009 <sup>44</sup>	2008	2 food groups from 1 store in mid-Atlantic region	Produce (fruits, vegetables) vs. snacks (cookies, chips)	Price collected from online supermarket
McDermott AJ et al, 2010 <sup>8</sup>	NR	34 foods from 4 stores in Baltimore, Maryland	3 c milk/dairy, 5 oz lean meat, 1.5 c fruit, 2.5 c vegetables, and 6 oz grains per day vs. breakfast, lunch, and dinner from fast-food restaurant	Prices for healthier foods obtained from 3 large supermarket chains. Prices for less healthy foods obtained from a large, multinational fast-food chain.

Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
Ricciuto L et al, 2005 <sup>45</sup>	Nov 2002	229 foods from 9 stores in Toronto, Canada	Margarine with vs. without label "low in saturated fat" or "cholesterol free"	Prices obtained from 9 stores of 3 major chain supermarkets
Ricciuto L et al, 2009 <sup>46</sup>	Nov 2002 and Nov-Dec 2006	229 foods from 9 stores in 2002 and 274 foods from 10 stores in 2006 in Toronto, Canada	Trans fat-free vs. non trans fat-free margarine <sup>£</sup>	Prices obtained from 10 stores of 3 major chain supermarkets
Temple NJ and NP Steyn, 2009 <sup>39</sup>	May 2006	24 foods from 1 store in each of 3 communities in Cape Town, South Africa	Higher-fiber, lower-fat, and lower-sugar daily menu vs. typical daily menu <sup>¶</sup>	Food prices obtained from supermarkets; price reported by community
Wang J et al, 2010 <sup>47</sup>	June-Aug 2005	14 foods from 1230 stores in Waikato and Lakes Districts, New Zealand	Basket including bread, chicken, beef/pork, sugar-sweetened drinks, milk, snacks, spreads, and sugar meeting vs. not meeting New Zealand food-based dietary guidelines (i.e. less energy-dense; lower- fat, salt, and sugar; and higher-fiber) <sup>‡</sup>	Prices obtained from 1230 stores (including supermarkets, dairies, bakeries, service stations, restaurants and takeaways). Each food was not available in every store
Wilson N and O Mansoor, 2005 <sup>48</sup>	Jan 23, 2005	18 foods from 2 stores in Wellington, New Zealand	Basket of foods including butter, butter/vegetable oil blend, margarine type spread, cream cheese, hard cheese, grated cheese, cream, biscuits & crackers, and chocolate with mean saturated fat of 14.9 g/100 g vs. basket of same foods with mean saturated fat of 29.0 g/100 g <sup>‡**</sup>	Within each of 9 food-types, items with highest and lowest levels of saturated fat identified and prices obtained from 2 large supermarkets
<b>Dietary studies</b>				
Aggarwal A et al, 2011 <sup>48</sup>	April-June 2004 and May-July 2006	1266 participants in Seattle Obesity Study; 3 stores	Dietary energy density, kJ/g and mean adequacy ratio (quintile 1 vs. quintile 5) <sup>††</sup>	Diet cost calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Food prices obtained from 3 supermarket chains via in-store visits and websites
Bernstein AM et al, 2010 <sup>6</sup>	2001-2002	78191 participants in Nurses' Health Study; 467 foods	Alternative Healthy Eating Index score (quintile 5 vs. quintile 1) <sup>††</sup>	Diet cost calculated by merging FFQ database with USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion price database

Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
Drewnowski A et al, 2004 <sup>19</sup>	NR	837 participants in Val-de-Marne, France; 57 foods	Fats and sweets intake, fruit and vegetables intake, total fat intake, and sucrose intake (quintile 1 vs. quintile 5)	Diet cost calculated from food prices from French National Institute of Statistics
Lopez CN et al, 2009 <sup>49</sup>	Dec 1999-May 2005	11195 participants in Spain; 136 foods	Western dietary pattern score and Mediterranean dietary pattern score (quintile 1 vs. quintile 5) <sup>55</sup>	Diet cost calculated from food prices from Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Commerce of Spain. When data not available from ministry, food prices obtained from national supermarket websites
Monsivais P and A Drewnowski, 2009 <sup>50</sup>	May-July 2006	164 participants; 384 foods from 3 stores in Seattle, Washington	Dietary energy density, kcal/g (tertile 1 vs. tertile 3)	Diet cost calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Prices obtained at supermarket chains. Price reported separately for men and women
Monsivais P et al, 2010 <sup>51</sup>	April-June 2004 and May-July 2006	1295 participants; 384 foods from 3 stores in Seattle, Washington	Nutrient density of diet (quintile 5 vs. quintile 1 of diet cost) <sup>54,56</sup>	Diet cost calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Food prices obtained from 3 supermarket chains via in-store visits and websites
Mozaffarian RS et al, 2012 <sup>37</sup>	2003-2004	1294 snack-days in 32 YMCA after-school programs in 4 metropolitan areas	Environmental Standards for Healthy Eating (meeting vs. not meeting) <sup>57</sup>	Prices from USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion price database
Murakami K et al, 2009 <sup>52</sup>	2004	596 pregnant women in Neyagawa City, Osaka Prefecture, Japan; 150 foods	Dietary energy density, kcal/g (quartile 4 vs. quartile 1 of diet cost) <sup>58</sup>	Diet cost based on National Retail Price Survey. For foods not in survey, prices obtained from websites of nationally distributed supermarket or fast-food restaurant chains
Rauber F and MR Vitolo, 2009 <sup>53</sup>	NR	346 children aged 3-4 y; 3 brands each of 104 foods from 2 stores in São Leopoldo, Brazil	Calories from sugar-rich foods (<= 150 kcal vs. > 150 kcal) and calories from fat-rich foods (<= 150 kcal vs. > 150 kcal)	Diet cost based on prices obtained at a large establishment (supermarket or hypermarket) and a small establishment (market, minimart or bakery)
Rehm CD et al, 2011 <sup>9</sup>	2001-2002	4744 participants in NHANES	Healthy Eating Index-2005 score (quintile 5 vs. quintile 1 of diet cost) <sup>59,60</sup>	Diet cost calculated from USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion price database
Rydén PJ et al, 2008 <sup>54</sup>	Autumn 2005	30 participants in Kalmar province, Sweden; 600 foods	Mediterranean diet vs. typical diet <sup>61</sup>	Diet cost calculated from prices from Statistics Sweden. For foods not reported by Statistics Sweden, prices



Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
				obtained from 4 stores and 2 online stores
Rydén PJ and L Hagfors, 2011 <sup>10</sup>	Spring 2010	2160 children ages 4, 8, and 11 y in Sweden; prices of 991 foods from Statistics Sweden, and stores when not available from Statistics Sweden	Healthy Eating Index-2005 score (> 70 vs. < 50) <sup>¶¶</sup>	Average national prices of 391 foods obtained from Statistics Sweden. Prices of remaining 600 foods were not available from Statistics Sweden; obtained from one online supermarket and one online grocery store
Schroder H et al, 2006 <sup>55</sup>	May 2005	2847 participants in Girona, Spain; 165 foods	Mediterranean Diet Score and Healthy Eating Index score (quartile 4 vs. quartile 1) <sup>¶¶</sup>	Diet cost calculated from average national price database of the Secretaria de Estado de Turismo y Comercio de Espana
Townsend MS et al, 2009 <sup>56</sup>	2006	112 participants; 8 stores in San Joaquin, Solano, Calaveras, and Tulare counties in California	Dietary energy density, kcal/g (tertile 1 vs. tertile 3)	Diet cost (with and without beverages) calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Prices obtained from a large supermarket chain store and a small independent market in each county
Waterlander WE et al, 2010 <sup>57</sup>	Feb-April 2008	373 participants in Longitudinal Ageing Study Amsterdam and 200 participants in Amsterdam Growth and Health Longitudinal Study; 2 stores	Dietary energy density, kJ/g (quartile 1 vs. quartile 4)	Diet cost calculated from prices obtained from 2 market leader supermarkets. Price reported separately for men and women

\* This study is not included in analysis since it is the only market survey on fruits and vegetables.

† Baskets include varying amounts of fruits, dark green vegetables, orange vegetables, legumes, starchy vegetables, and "other" vegetables.

‡ Components of baskets also compared.

§ Baskets include healthier vs. less healthy breads, canned fruit, cheese, chicken, cereal; cooking oil, egg noodles, evaporated milk, flour, potatoes; frozen fish; ground meat, milk, rice, salad dressing, spaghetti, margarine, and tuna fish. Baskets also include fresh fruits and vegetables, eggs, and beans which are unchanged between two baskets.

¥ Nutrition Detectives criteria: subjectively determined to not have excessive marketing-related claims or images on the front of the package; not have an unhealthy ingredient such as sugar or white flour listed first on ingredient list, does not contain partially hydrogenated oil or high-fructose corn syrup, and does not have a long ingredient list relative to other items in the same food category. For grain-based products only, more nutritious foods also contain at least 2 g fiber per serving.

β Baskets include healthy vs. less healthy juice, hot dogs, ground beef, chips, bread, soda, milk, frozen dinner, baked goods, and cereals.

£ Trans fat-free defined as containing 1) ≤ 0.2 g TFA per 10 g; 2) ≤ 2 g TFA and SFA combined per 10 g; and 3) ≤ 15% energy from TFA and SFA combined per 10 g.

¶ Typical menu includes corn flakes, whole milk, sugar, and cola drink in the morning; white bread, brick margarine, jam, and cookies for lunch; and regular hamburger, white rice, fried cabbage, and candied butternut for dinner. Healthier menu includes bran flakes, skim milk, banana, and orange juice in the morning, whole wheat bread, tub margarine, low-fat cottage cheese, and apple for lunch; and lean hamburger, brown rice, boiled cabbage, and boiled butternut for dinner.

\*\*Average price at the 2 stores calculated and used in meta-analysis.

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<sup>††</sup> Model 3 coefficients in Tables 4a and 4b used to calculate difference in price between quintiles 1 and 5. Mean adequacy ratio is a truncated index of the percent of daily recommended intakes for key nutrients. Computed by taking the average of nutrient adequacy ratio for 11 key nutrients: vitamins A, C, D, E, B12, calcium, iron, magnesium, potassium, folate and fiber. Expressed as percent of adequacy/day.

<sup>‡‡</sup> The Alternative Healthy Eating Index reflects intake of fruit, vegetables, nuts, soy, beans, white and red meats, cereal fiber, trans unsaturated fatty acids, polyunsaturated fatty acids, saturated fatty acids, alcohol, and years of multivitamin use.

<sup>§§</sup> Food items identified in Western pattern were red meat, processed meats, eggs, sauces, precooked food, fast-food, caloric soft drinks, whole-fat dairy and potatoes. Food items identified in the Mediterranean pattern included olive oil, poultry, fish, low-fat dairy, legumes, fruits, and vegetables.

<sup>¥¥</sup> Healthfulness of diet stratified by quantile of diet cost.

<sup>ββ</sup> Nutrient density is defined as mean percentage daily value for vitamin A, vitamin C, vitamin E, calcium, magnesium, potassium, and dietary fiber in 2000 kcal of dietary energy.

<sup>££</sup> Environmental Standards for Healthy Eating guidelines: do not serve sugar-sweetened beverages, serve water every day, serve a fruit and/or vegetable every day, do not serve foods with trans fat, and when serving grains (such as bread, crackers, and cereals), serve whole grains.

<sup>¶¶</sup> Healthy Eating Index is a measure of overall diet quality based on consumption of sodium, saturated fat, total fruit, whole fruit, total vegetables, dark green and orange vegetables, milk, total grains, whole grains, meat and beans, oils, and empty calories.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Mediterranean diet included eating more fruit, vegetables and pulses; choosing whole-grain products; changing dietary fat intake to products containing less saturated fat and more unsaturated fat; avoiding meat and meat products; and limiting the intake of sweets, snacks and desserts.

<sup>†††</sup> Mediterranean diet based on intake of cereals, fruits, vegetables, legumes, fish, olive oil, nuts, and red wine.

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## TRACKED CHANGES VERSION

**Do Healthier Foods and Diet Patterns Cost More Than Less Healthy Options? A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis**

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**Keywords:** [food/economics, diet/economics, public health, chronic disease, primary prevention](#)

**Word count:** [4,760](#)

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9 **Background:** ~~Conventional wisdom holds that healthier foods cost more than less healthy options. Yet, this research question has not been systematically evaluated, including consideration of types of foods and diet patterns and definitions of healthfulness.~~

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13 **Objective:** ~~To conduct a systematic review and meta-analysis of prices of healthier vs. less healthy~~ foods/diet patterns while ~~evaluating and~~ accounting for key sources of heterogeneity.

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17 **Data sources:** ~~Medline (2000-2011), supplemented with expert consultations and hand-reviews of~~ reference lists and related citations.

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21 **Eligibility criteria for selecting studies:** ~~Studies were reviewed independently and in duplicate, and included if reporting mean retail price of foods or diet patterns stratified by a specified measure of healthfulness. Data before 2000 were excluded to maximize contemporary generalizability.~~

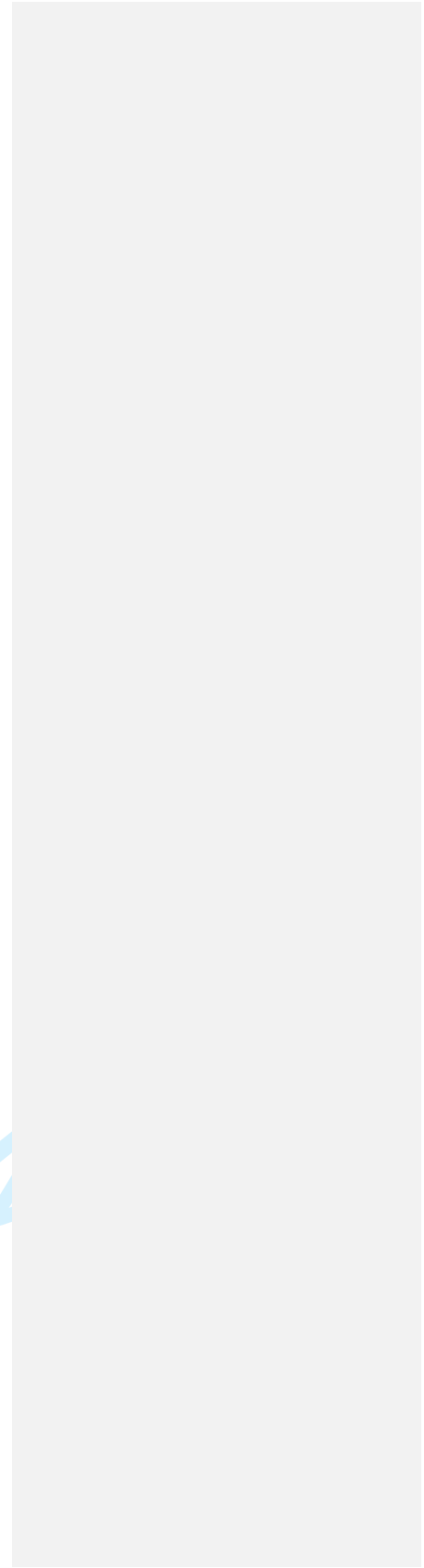
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25 **Design:** ~~Studies were reviewed independently and in duplicate, were and included if reporting mean retail price of foods or diet patterns stratified by a specified measure of healthfulness. Data before 2000 were excluded to maximize contemporary generalizability.~~ We extracted, in duplicate, mean prices and their uncertainties of healthier and less healthy foods/diet patterns, and rated the intensity of health differences for each comparison (range 1 to 10). Prices were adjusted for inflation and World Bank purchasing power parity, standardized to the international dollar (defined as one USD) in 2011. Using random-effects models, we quantified price differences of healthier vs. less healthy options for specific food types, diet patterns, and units of price (serving, day, calorie). Statistical heterogeneity was quantified using  $I^2$  statistics.

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39 **Results:** ~~Twenty-seven studies from 10 countries met inclusion criteria. Among food groups, meats/protein had largest price differences: healthier options cost \$0.29/serving (95% CI: \$0.19 to 0.40) and \$0.47/200 kcal (\$0.42 to 0.53) more than less healthy options. Price differences per serving for healthier vs. less healthy foods were smaller among grains (\$0.03), dairy (-\$0.004), snacks/sweets (\$0.12), and fats/oils (\$0.02) ( $p < 0.05$  each), and not significant for soda/juice (\$0.11,  $p = 0.64$ ). Comparing extremes (top vs. bottom quantile) of food-based diet patterns, healthier diets cost \$1.48/day (\$1.01 to 1.95) and \$1.54/2000 kcal (\$1.15 to 1.94) more. Comparing nutrient-based patterns, price per day was not significantly different (top vs. bottom quantile: \$0.04;  $p = 0.916$ ), whereas price per 2000 kcal was \$1.56 (\$0.61 to 2.51) more. Results were similar after a~~ adjustment for intensity of differences in healthfulness ~~yielded similar results.~~

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**Conclusions:** This meta-analysis provides the best evidence to-date of price differences of healthier vs. less healthy foods/diet patterns, highlighting **nuanced** challenges and opportunities for reducing financial barriers to healthy eating.

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9 **“What this paper adds” box**

10 *What is already known on this subject:*

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12 One commonly described barrier to promotion of healthy diets is cost: conventional wisdom holds that  
13 healthier foods and diets are more expensive than less healthy options. Yet, whereas several studies  
14 have evaluated whether healthier foods or diets cost more,<sup>1-5</sup> the evidence has never been  
15 systematically reviewed nor quantified to critically evaluate the relationship between healthfulness of  
16 foods or diet patterns and price. In addition, little is known about the potential heterogeneity of this  
17 relationship.  
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19 *What this study adds:*

20 Our study finds that healthier diet patterns cost more than less healthy diet patterns. This additional  
21 cost, while significant for many low-income families, is dwarfed by the lifetime financial burdens of diet-  
22 related chronic diseases. These findings highlight the nuanced challenges and opportunities for reducing  
23 financial barriers to healthy eating. **Article summary**

24 *Article focus*

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- To conduct a systematic review and meta-analysis of prices of healthier vs. less healthy foods and diet patterns, while also evaluating and accounting for key sources of heterogeneity.

*Key messages*

- Among 6 food groups, larger price differences were observed by healthfulness for meats/protein, as well as smaller but statistically significant differences for snacks/sweets, grains, fats/oils, and dairy.
- Comparing extremes of healthier food-based diet patterns, the healthiest diets cost an average of \$1.48/day (95% CI: \$1.01 to \$1.95) more than the least healthy diets.

*Strengths and limitations of this study*

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- This systematic review and meta-analysis represents, to our knowledge, the most comprehensive examination of the evidence on prices of more vs. less healthy foods and diet patterns. Strengths include the systematic search; adjustment for inflation and purchasing power parity; separate analyses of food groups, diet patterns, and units of price; and evaluation of heterogeneity by food type, intensity of contrast, and unit of comparison.
  - The study was limited by less available data on restaurant prices and prices from low- and middle-income countries. High statistical heterogeneity was evident, although the actual observed range of price differences was more modest.

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## INTRODUCTION

Consumption of a healthy diet is a priority for reducing chronic diseases including obesity, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases, and several cancers. This is especially crucial for socioeconomically disadvantaged populations, who have both less healthy diets and higher disease risk than higher socioeconomic groups.<sup>6-9</sup> ~~One commonly described barrier~~<sup>1-4</sup> Many factors, including the availability and cultural acceptability of healthy foods, pose obstacles to the promotion of healthy diets. One of the most commonly described barriers is cost: conventional wisdom holds that healthier foods and diets are more expensive than less healthy options, ~~and this an~~ which has become “a reflexive part of how we explain why so many Americans are overweight.”<sup>105</sup>

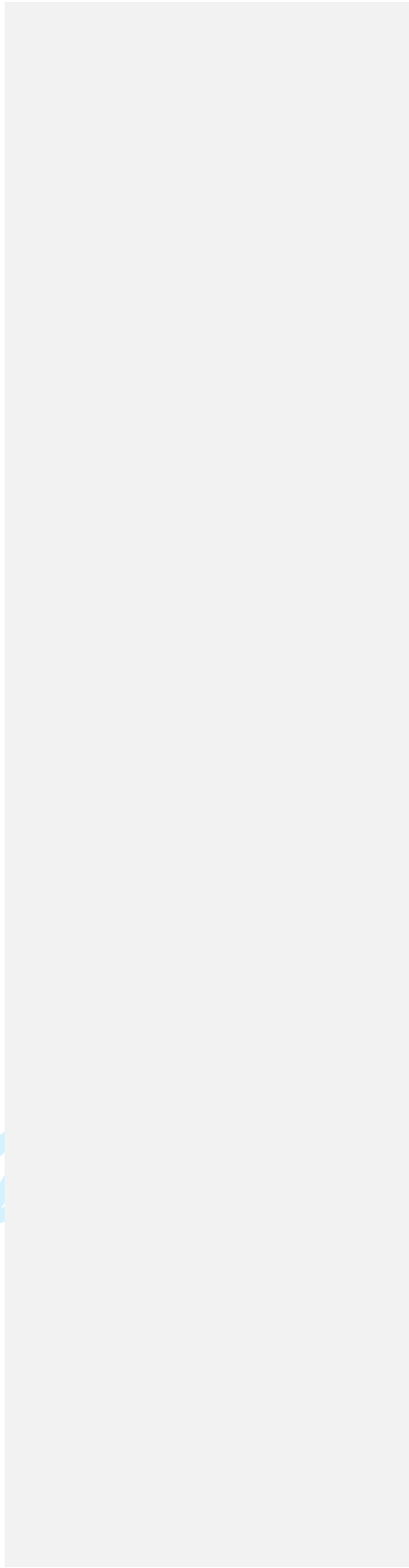
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Yet, whereas several studies have evaluated whether healthier foods or diets cost more,<sup>1-56-10</sup> the evidence has never, to our knowledge, been systematically reviewed nor quantified to critically evaluate the relationship between healthfulness of foods or diet patterns and price. In addition, little is known about the potential heterogeneity of this relationship. For example, price differences may vary by the foods or diets being compared. Many studies compare healthier and less healthy versions of the same food (i.e. more vs. less healthy grains), while other studies examine the price differences of a healthier vs. less healthy overall diet patterns. Price differences may also depend on how healthfulness is defined, ranging from definitions based on single nutrients (e.g., fat content, sugar content) to those based on foods or more complex diet patterns. The intensity of the health contrast could also affect the price difference; for example, a fast food meal vs. a healthier home-cooked meal is a more extreme comparison than a low-fat vs. high-fat cookie. Finally, price differences may vary by the unit of comparison, e.g., per serving, per calorie, etc. In particular, price differences per calorie may be limited by reverse causation, as healthier foods (e.g., fruits, vegetables) often have fewer calories; evaluation of price differences per serving may alter conclusions.<sup>11</sup>

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To address each of these key gaps in knowledge, we performed a systematic review and meta-analysis of the evidence for relationships between the healthfulness of foods/diet patterns and their price, including consideration of different food groups and diet patterns, definitions of healthfulness, intensities of the contrast, and units of comparison (calorie, serving, daily diet).

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## METHODS

We followed the Meta-analysis of Observational Studies in Epidemiology (MOOSE) guidelines throughout all stages of design, implementation, and reporting.<sup>12</sup> The independent and dependent variables of interest were the healthfulness of foods or diet patterns and their price, respectively. [The protocol, which was not altered after commencement of the study, is available from the authors upon request.](#)

### Search strategy and selection of articles

Systematic searches were conducted using Medline (via PubMed) for all eligible English-language articles published through December 2011. Additional articles were identified by expert consultations, and hand-reviews of reference lists and first 20 "Related citations" in PubMed for all studies included after full-text review. Because our focus was on contemporary price differences related to healthfulness, and because such price differences could vary in earlier decades, we focused our search on studies having collected price data in the year 2000 or later. The search query combined terms related to foods/diet patterns, price, setting, and time (**Supporting Appendix 1**).

Studies were included if they reported the mean retail prices of foods (including beverages) or diet patterns stratified by a specified measure of healthfulness, as well as sufficient (or obtainable by direct contact) data to derive or estimate the statistical uncertainty (i.e., standard error of difference in means). [No foods or diet patterns were excluded.](#) Studies reporting wholesale price or perceived rather than actual price, as well as reviews, letters, editorials, and commentaries, were excluded.

One investigator screened all identified studies ~~for~~ [based on these inclusion and exclusion criteria](#) by title and abstract. Following screening, remaining full-text articles were obtained and reviewed independently and in duplicate by two investigators for final inclusion/exclusion- [using the](#)

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same criteria. Any differences were resolved by discussion among all of the investigators. A list of excluded citations is available from the authors upon request.

#### **Data extraction and synthesis**

For each included study, two investigators extracted data independently and in duplicate using a standardized electronic spreadsheet. Data extracted included first author, title, publication year, year of price data collection, source of price data, demographic variables of study participants and/or community from which price data was collected, definition(s) of healthfulness, food/diet pattern comparison(s), numbers of participants and/or numbers of foods, and mean prices and uncertainties (including unit, e.g., calorie, serving) of the healthier and less healthy foods/diet patterns compared. Because the magnitude of differences in healthfulness could influence price differences, we also rated the intensity of the contrast in health difference between the compared foods/diet patterns on an ordinal scale (1 to 10), with 1 representing a very small difference in healthfulness and 10 a marked difference in healthfulness. ~~These ratings are available in the Supporting Information. The intensity of contrast was rated independently and in duplicate by two investigators, with discrepancies resolved by group discussion.~~ These ratings were based on growing evidence that different types of foods and food-based diet patterns predict chronic disease outcomes better than differences in single nutrients.<sup>13</sup> Thus, foods/diet patterns that differed by a single nutrient were rated as low intensity, while foods/diet patterns that differed across multiple nutrients (e.g., three home-cooked meals vs. three fast-food meals) were rated as high intensity. The intensity of contrast was rated independently and in duplicate by two investigators with good concordance (generally less than or equal to 2 points); discrepancies were resolved by group discussion. These ratings are available in the Supporting Information.

#### **Statistical analysis**

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Our primary endpoint was the difference in mean price between the healthier and less healthy foods or diet patterns. When data on the variance of the difference in means or information to directly calculate this variance were not reported, we calculated it based on the variance of the mean prices in each category, based on standard formulas<sup>13,14</sup>:

$$SE_{diff} = \sqrt{SE_{healthier}^2 + SE_{less\ healthy}^2}$$

$$SE_{diff} = \sqrt{\frac{SD_{healthier}^2}{n_{healthier}} + \frac{SD_{less\ healthy}^2}{n_{less\ healthy}}}$$

For 9 studies in which mean prices were reported without their uncertainty, the SEs were imputed from the number of observations in each category, based on linear regression of studies with complete data, performed separately for market surveys (6 studies comparing samples of foods) and individual dietary surveys (3 studies comparing diets across samples of participants) (**Supporting Figure 1**).

We recognized that price comparisons within food groups (i.e., healthier vs. less healthy options within the same category of food) may vary from price comparisons across overall diet patterns. Furthermore, price differences may vary for diet patterns largely based on foods vs. diet patterns largely based on one or a few isolated nutrients. Thus, we separately investigated price differences that compared options within a single similar category of food (e.g., meats/protein, grains, dairy), price differences that compared varying concordance to food-based diet patterns (e.g., Alternative Healthy Eating Index, Western, or Mediterranean diet patterns), and price differences that compared varying concordance to isolated nutrient-based (e.g., fat, sugar) diet patterns. For analyses of diet patterns, we evaluated price differences for the extreme categories (e.g., the top vs. bottom quartile or quintile) of diet, to enable comparisons of the largest differences in diet quality.

Because price differences could also vary by the unit of comparison, findings for foods were evaluated standardized both to one usual serving and to 200 kcal; and for diet patterns, standardized both to one day (3 meals) and to 2000 kcal. Standard serving sizes were based on 2011 USDA MyPlate

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guidelines or, if not available from MyPlate, on nutrition labels from a major grocery website.<sup>15 16</sup> Calorie conversions were derived from the USDA database.<sup>17</sup> For standardizing studies of food baskets to meals, one serving of any food was assigned as one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, or oils for which one serving was assigned one-eighth of a meal. All price differences were adjusted for inflation by country to reflect prices in 2011. In addition, to account for the varying values of currencies across countries, these prices were further adjusted for purchasing power parity by standardizing to 2011 international dollars; one international dollar is defined as one US dollar. Inflation rates and purchasing power parity conversion factors were obtained from the World Bank; 2011 is the latest year for which these data are available.<sup>18</sup> We also repeated all analyses with additional weighting for the intensity of the contrast in healthfulness (range 1 to 10), i.e. with greater differences (higher intensity values) carrying greater weights.

Summary estimates were quantified using inverse-variance weighted, random effects meta-analysis (*metan* command in Stata). Statistical heterogeneity was evaluated using the  $I^2$  statistic. Meta-regression (*metareg* command in Stata) was performed on intensity, study location (USA/Canada vs. other), and type of survey (market survey vs. dietary survey) to explore potential sources of heterogeneity. Publication bias was assessed using the Egger test and visual inspection of funnel plots. Statistical analyses were performed using Stata 12 (StataCorp, College Station, Texas), with two-tailed  $\alpha = 0.05$ .

## RESULTS

### Search results and study characteristics

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Of 1,010 articles identified by the Medline search and screened for inclusion, 83 were selected for full-text review (Figure 1). Of these, 19 articles met inclusion criteria, and an additional 8 articles were identified from hand-searches of references lists, related citations in PubMed, and expert consultations. Among the final 27 studies, 14 were conducted in the US, 2 in Canada, 6 in Europe, and 5 in other countries including South Africa, New Zealand, Japan, and Brazil (Table). Twelve studies were market surveys, and 15 were dietary surveys. The number of foods evaluated by the market surveys ranged from 2 to 133, with prices collected from between 1 and 1,230 stores. The number of participants evaluated by the dietary surveys ranged from 30 to 78,191. Several studies reported prices for multiple food comparisons or from different types of stores and contributed more than one estimate to the analysis.

### Price Differences of Foods

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Evidence on price comparisons within similar food groups was available in 6 major food groups, including meats/protein, grains, dairy, snacks/sweets, fats/oils, and soda/juice.

Per serving, meats/protein exhibited the largest price difference by healthfulness (Figure 2A). On average, the healthier choice was \$0.29 more expensive per serving than the less healthy choice (95% CI: \$0.19 to \$0.40). Considerable statistical heterogeneity was evident ( $I^2=99.4\%$ ) that appeared at least partly related to the type of comparison. For example, price differences by healthfulness appeared largest for chicken, intermediate for beef, and smallest for peanut butter. Healthier snacks/sweets, grains, and fats/oils were also more expensive per serving than less healthy options, but with smaller price differences: for snacks/sweets, \$0.12/serving (\$0.02 to \$0.23); for grains, \$0.03/serving (\$0.01 to \$0.05); and for fats/oils, \$0.02/serving (\$0.01 to \$0.02). For dairy, healthier options were slightly less

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expensive per serving (-\$0.004/serving; 95% CI: -\$0.005 to -\$0.004), although pooled findings were driven by one study with reported high statistical certainty. Excluding this study, healthier dairy options were similar in price to less healthy options (-\$0.004/serving,  $p=0.389$ ). No significant price differences per serving were seen between healthier and less healthy soda/juice (\$0.11; 95% CI: -\$0.34 to \$0.56;  $I^2=25.1\%$ ), but only two studies evaluated this comparison.

For most of these food groups, findings were similar or stronger for pooled price differences standardized per calorie (**Figure 2B**), rather than per serving. The largest price difference was again among meats/protein, with healthier options costing \$0.47 per 200 kcal more (\$0.42 to \$0.53) than less healthy options. The main exception was dairy foods, for which the pooled price difference per 200 kcal was much greater than the price difference per serving. Per 200 kcal, healthier dairy foods were \$0.21 more expensive than less healthy options (\$0.11 to \$0.31), consistent with the strong calorie effect of the metric (fat content) that was used to define healthfulness in this food group.

### Price Differences of Diet Patterns

Twenty studies evaluated price differences according to concordance with overall healthful diet patterns, with 14 studies evaluating more food-based patterns and 7 studies evaluating more nutrient-based patterns (one study evaluated both<sup>48,19</sup>).

Comparing extreme categories of food-based diet patterns, the highest category of healthier diets cost \$1.48/day (\$1.01 to \$1.95) more than the lowest category (**Figure 3A**). Findings were broadly consistent across several different definitions of healthful diet patterns, including based on the Mediterranean dietary pattern, Western dietary pattern, Alternative Healthy Eating Index, fruit and vegetable intake, and energy density. Some food-based diet patterns exhibited smaller or no price differences, including based on the Healthy Eating Index, the Environmental Standards for Healthy Eating, and comparing home-cooked to fast food meals. When standardized to 2000 kcal, healthier

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9 food-based diet patterns cost \$1.54 more than less healthy options (\$1.15 to \$1.94), with price  
10 differences modestly larger for patterns based on the Alternative Healthy Eating Index and energy  
11 density, smaller for patterns based on fruit and vegetable consumption alone, and no longer significant  
12 for the Mediterranean dietary pattern. (Figure 3B).  
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16 For diet patterns based largely on single or few isolated nutrients, the price of the highest  
17 category of diets meeting these criteria was not significantly different than the lowest when based on a  
18 day's intake (Figure 4A). In contrast, when standardized to 2000 kcal, the highest category of nutrient-  
19 based patterns cost \$1.56 more than the lowest (\$0.61 to \$2.51) (Figure 4B). Price differences per 2000  
20 kcal were larger relative to the per day estimates for patterns based on fat; sugar; and fiber, fat, and  
21 sugar combined.  
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27 We also performed analyses restricted to US studies. Results were similar: healthier food-based  
28 diet patterns cost an average of \$1.49/day (\$0.60 to \$0.237; n=7 studies) and \$1.79/2000 calories (\$0.78  
29 to \$2.80; n=6 studies) more than less healthy patterns. Healthier nutrient-based diet patterns cost an  
30 average of \$0.40/day (\$0.17 to \$0.63; n=3 studies) and \$2.46/2000 calories (-\$2.17 to \$7.09; n=2  
31 studies) more than less healthy patterns.  
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### 37 38 **Intensity of the Contrast in Healthfulness**

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40 We repeated all analyses adjusting for differences in the intensity of contrast in healthfulness in  
41 each comparison. Within food groups, intensities of contrasts were generally rated in the 4 to 6 range,  
42 with smallest contrast of 3 (e.g., comparing different types of cookies) and largest of 9 (e.g., comparing  
43 fruits/vegetables to packaged snacks). For food groups, intensity-weighted price differences were  
44 generally similar to the unweighted findings (Supporting Figure 2). Contrasts of diet patterns were most  
45 often rated 6 or 7, with smallest contrast of 1 (comparing patterns based on total fat alone) to largest of  
46 10 (comparing 3 healthier home-cooked meals to 3 fast food meals). Compared with unweighted  
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comparisons, the intensity-weighted price differences of healthier vs. less healthy food-based diet patterns were similar: \$1.46/day (\$1.00 to \$1.92) and \$1.53/2000 kcal (\$1.14 to \$1.93) (**Supporting Figure 3**). Intensity-weighted price differences were also similar to unweighted results for nutrient-based diet patterns: \$0.11/day (-\$0.64 to \$0.85) and \$1.66/2000 kcal (\$0.55 to \$2.78) (**Supporting Figure 4**).

### **Potential Sources of Heterogeneity**

Statistical heterogeneity as quantified by the  $I^2$  statistic was high in most analyses. Meta-regression did not identify significant effect modification based on study location (USA/Canada vs. other), intensity of the contrast in healthfulness, or study type (market survey vs. dietary survey). Meta-regression by study type (market survey vs. dietary survey) was not possible for the food group analyses due to collinearity.

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### **Publication bias**

Publication bias was assessed using the Egger test and funnel plots (**Supporting Figure 5**).<sup>20</sup> There was no significant bias identified by the Egger test. Visual inspection of funnel plots suggested asymmetrical distributions for dairy food, food-based diet patterns, and nutrient-based diet pattern comparisons, consistent with a larger number of smaller studies reporting greater price differences than the overall pooled estimate.

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## DISCUSSION

The findings from this systematic review and meta-analysis provide the most robust evidence to-date on price differences of healthier versus less healthy foods and diet patterns. The results by food group provide insight into the relationship between healthfulness and price among similar foods. The results by diet pattern inform price differences between greater extremes of healthfulness, comparing very different foods, e.g., diets rich in fruits and vegetables vs. diets rich in processed foods.

With Although statistical heterogeneity was high, this was at least partly related to relatively small uncertainty of each within-study price difference; the magnitude of clinically relevant heterogeneity was much lower, with comparatively similar price differences between studies. In addition, with a few exceptions, findings were similar across different units of price (per serving or day vs. calorie), intensity of contrast, study location, and type of survey, increasing confidence in the validity and consistency of the findings.

### Price Differences of Foods

Among 6 food groups, relatively large price differences were observed for meats/protein, as well as smaller but statistically significant differences for snacks/sweets, grains, fats/oils, and dairy. According to the USDA, the farm share of proceeds of a one dollar expenditure on domestically produced food in the United States is 14.1 cents<sup>2021</sup>, suggesting that final retail prices are determined largely by other industries and procedures in the food supply chain. Additional cost of processing and manufacturing could explain some of the identified variation in price differences; for example, lean beef and skinless chicken require more processing, perhaps accounting for their higher price. Our findings highlight the need for more research on the underlying drivers of price differences of specific items within broad food categories.

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Our findings also demonstrate that, for certain metrics of healthfulness, the selected unit of comparison alters the results. In particular, metrics based largely on fat content demonstrated greater price differences per calorie than per serving. The most striking example was for dairy foods: healthier options were \$0.004 less expensive per serving but \$0.21 more expensive per 200 kcal. Whole milk contains nearly twice the calories as fat-free milk,<sup>1617</sup> so nearly double the amount of fat-free milk must be purchased to achieve equivalent calories. These findings highlight the dangers of circular reasoning (e.g., selecting a metric based on fat content and then evaluating price differences per calorie) and the importance of identifying the most relevant unit of comparison for any individual or public health decision about price differences of foods.<sup>11</sup>

#### Price Differences of Diet Patterns

On average, healthier food-based diet patterns were more expensive than less healthy patterns, whether based on an actual day's intake or per 2000 kcal. -The price difference – about \$1.50 per day – represents the price difference per person for consuming a much healthier vs. much less healthy overall diet, e.g., comparing Mediterranean-type diets rich in fruits, vegetables, fish, and nuts vs. diets rich in processed food, meats, and refined grains. Thus, ~~the results represent this price differences~~ difference is for a relatively extreme ~~contrasts~~ contrast, between the ~~highest~~ healthiest and ~~lowest categories of an overall~~ least healthy diet pattern. Better adherence to such food-based diet patterns consistently relates to improved health and lower risk of chronic diseases.<sup>2422 2223</sup>

In contrast to the findings for food-based diet patterns, healthier vs. less healthy nutrient-based diet patterns were not significantly different in price when based on a day's actual intake, but only cost more when standardized to 2000 kcal. These results mirror those observed when comparing individual food groups, such as dairy, based on single-nutrient metrics of healthfulness. These findings emphasize the crucial role of the unit of comparison when comparing prices by nutrient-based metrics. Healthier

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9 diets defined based on fiber or fat content will, by definition, have fewer calories, so they will naturally  
10 cost more per calorie. Yet, such diets will not necessarily cost more per serving or per meal. In the  
11 setting of a global obesity pandemic, assessing price differences per calorie may make little sense when  
12 a healthier diet also leads to reductions in total calorie consumption. Growing evidence also indicates  
13 that single or selected nutrients are less useful for distinguishing healthfulness than types of foods and  
14 food-based diet patterns.<sup>24,13</sup>

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### Heterogeneity

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24 In most comparisons, statistical heterogeneity as measured by  $I^2$  was high. Yet, adjustment for  
25 intensity of differences in healthfulness had little effect on pooled price differences, and meta-  
26 regression revealed no significant effect modification by intensity, study location, or study type. The  
27 high  $I^2$  values may be partly explained by the relatively small uncertainty for each within-study price  
28 difference. In many of the identified studies, the combination of a continuous outcome (price) and a  
29 relatively large number of samples (foods or individuals) resulted in low uncertainty of each study-  
30 specific price difference. Lower within-study uncertainty produces higher  $I^2$  values, even when absolute  
31 magnitudes of price heterogeneity among studies may be modest from a public health or practical  
32 perspective. For example, the price differences among snacks/sweets studies fell within a relatively  
33 limited range (-\$0.04 to \$0.30/serving), with a reasonable summary estimate of \$0.12/serving, but  
34 statistical heterogeneity was high ( $I^2=85.9%$ ) partly due to narrow within-study confidence intervals.  
35 Thus, the calculated heterogeneity in each summary estimate should be interpreted in light of the actual  
36 range of observed price differences across studies. Since clinically relevant heterogeneity was lower  
37 than statistical heterogeneity, the pooled results provide insight into average price differences between  
38 healthier and less healthy foods and diet patterns.

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Although similar classes of foods and diet patterns were evaluated separately, the foods or diet patterns within each category were not exactly the same. Our aim – and the relevant public health question – was not whether one specific product costs more than another, but whether healthier foods in a broad class of foods cost more, on average, than less healthy foods in the same broad class.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

Several strengths can be highlighted. This systematic review and meta-analysis represents, to our knowledge, the most comprehensive examination of the evidence on prices of more vs. less healthy foods and diet patterns. Our systematic search makes it unlikely that we missed any large reported studies. Error and bias were each minimized by independent, duplicate decisions on inclusion of studies and data extraction. Adjustment for inflation and purchasing power parity to 2011 prices accounted for the varying value of money across years and countries. Exclusion of price data prior to the year 2000 increased generalizability of the results to contemporary diets. A key strength of our analysis was evaluation of food groups separately from diet patterns. The former provides data to inform choices when comparing otherwise relatively similar foods, whereas the latter informs price differences across very different selections of foods. Additional strengths include the standardization of disparate metrics, foods, and units; the assessment of food-based and nutrient-based diet patterns; and the evaluation of heterogeneity by food type, intensity of contrast, and unit of comparison.

Potential limitations should be considered. Like all meta-analyses, our analysis was based on available data; for certain comparisons, relatively few studies were available. For example, only one study directly compared prices of restaurant foods to home-cooked foods; all other studies reported supermarket prices. Thus, our results summarize the best current data on price differences of foods and diet patterns while also highlighting gaps in knowledge that require further investigation. Definitions of healthfulness varied across food groups and diet patterns. Yet, our findings across a variety of diet

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9 patterns and definitions of healthfulness inform how such contrasts may influence price differences. Our  
10 assessment of publication bias suggested that price differences for dairy foods and diet patterns may be  
11 partly overestimated due to selective publication of smaller studies with more extreme estimates.  
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14 ~~Statistical heterogeneity was evident in most comparisons, although the range of observed price~~  
15 ~~differences for many comparisons was not extreme.~~ Statistical heterogeneity was evident in most  
16 comparisons, a significant consideration in the interpretation of the results. All meta-analyses must  
17 strike a balance between the imperative for generalizability and the need to minimize heterogeneity.  
18 Additionally, the actual range of observed price differences for many comparisons was not extreme. The  
19 rating system for intensity of contrast was subjective; yet, the ratings were assigned independently and  
20 in duplicate with good concordance and provide important sensitivity analyses on the robustness of the  
21 results. Our findings on price differences per day and per 2000 calories reflect an adult diet; the  
22 summary estimates should be adjusted for other caloric intakes, e.g. in young children. Only English-  
23 language studies from PubMed were included, so some studies may have been missed. Given absence of  
24 accepted criteria for judging quality of observational studies, quality of studies was not formally  
25 assessed. Most comparisons were from high-income countries, highlighting the need for similar studies  
26 in low- and middle-income nations.  
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#### 40 ~~Conclusions~~ **CONCLUSIONS**

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42 In sum, our findings provide the most robust evidence to-date on price differences of healthier  
43 foods and diet patterns, while also highlighting the importance of carefully considering the metric of  
44 healthfulness, intensity of contrast, and unit of comparison. Our results indicate that lowering the price  
45 of healthier diet patterns – on average ~\$1.50/day more expensive – should be a goal of public health  
46 and policy efforts, and some studies suggest that this intervention can indeed reduce consumption of  
47 unhealthy foods.<sup>24-26</sup>  
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9 It remains an open question as to why healthier diets cost more. Some have argued that US  
10 agricultural subsidies for commodities (e.g. corn, soy) lower the price of less healthy, more processed  
11 foods compared with unprocessed foods.<sup>27</sup> However, careful economic analyses demonstrate that the  
12 main impact of such subsidies is direct income transfer to farmers, with little influence on retail prices;  
13 and that tariffs and other protectionist policies are actually raising the prices of many US commodities  
14 such as sugar.<sup>28-30</sup> Conversely, many decades of policies focused on producing inexpensive, high volume  
15 commodities have led to a complex network of farming, storage, transportation, processing,  
16 manufacturing, and marketing capabilities that favor sales of highly processed food products for  
17 maximal industry profit.<sup>31</sup> Based on these experiences, efforts to create an infrastructure and  
18 commercial framework that facilitates production, transportation, and marketing of healthier foods  
19 could increase availability and reduce prices of more healthful products.<sup>31</sup> Taxation of less healthy foods  
20 and subsidies for healthier foods would also be an evidence-based intervention to balance price  
21 differences.<sup>31</sup>

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33 ~~For~~ Other potential barriers to a healthier diet exist, such as availability and cultural  
34 acceptability. However, our findings suggest that for socioeconomically disadvantaged populations, the  
35 relatively higher cost of healthy foods may be an impediment to eating better. On the other hand,  
36 Americans at all income levels allocate too little of their food budgets toward healthy foods.<sup>32</sup> A daily  
37 price difference of ~\$1.50 translates to ~\$550 higher annual food costs per person. For many low-  
38 income families, this additional cost ~~might represent~~ represents a genuine barrier to healthier eating.  
39 Yet, this daily price difference is ~~also similar to the price of a cup of coffee and quite~~ trivial in comparison  
40 to the lifetime personal and societal financial burdens of diet-related chronic diseases.<sup>33 34</sup> ~~Our findings~~  
41 highlight the nuanced challenges and the opportunities for reducing financial barriers to healthy  
42 eating. For example, suboptimal diet quality was recently estimated to account for 14% of all disability-  
43 adjusted life years (DALYs) in 2010 in the United States;<sup>35</sup> if translated to a proportion of national health  
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9 expenditures in 2012,<sup>36</sup> this corresponds to diet-related health care costs of \$393 billion/year, or more  
10 than \$1200/year for every American. Our findings highlight the nuanced challenges and the  
11 opportunities for reducing financial barriers to healthy eating.  
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*Competing interests:* All authors have completed the ICMJE uniform disclosure form at

[www.icmje.org/coi\\_disclosure.pdf](http://www.icmje.org/coi_disclosure.pdf) and declare: no support from any organisation for the submitted work; no financial relationships with any organisations that might have an interest in the submitted work in the previous three years; no other relationships or activities that could appear to have influenced the submitted work.

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*Contributors:* MR and DM conceived the study design and aims. MR, AA, and GS performed the systematic review and data extraction. MR performed the analysis. MR, AA, GS, and DM interpreted the results. MR and DM drafted the manuscript; AA and GS contributed to manuscript revisions. MR and DM are guarantors. All authors had full access to all of the data and can take responsibility for the integrity of the data and the accuracy of the data analysis.

*Data sharing:* Technical appendix available upon request from corresponding author.

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Figure 1. Search and screening of studies comparing prices of healthier and less healthy foods or diet patterns.

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9 **Figure 2. Price difference between healthier and less healthy foods per serving (A) and per 200 kcal**  
10 **(B).** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Standardized  
11 serving sizes were derived from 2011 USDA MyPlate guidelines or, if not available from MyPlate,  
12 nutrition labels from a major grocery website. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the  
13 USDA database. Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies  
14 were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for  
15 inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar  
16 – by country to reflect prices in 2011.  
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**Figure 3. Price difference between healthier and less healthy food-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B).** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for Mozaffarian RS, 2012.<sup>37</sup> Energy density was included as a food-based pattern since this metric represents a set of foods more than it represents any single nutrient.<sup>19</sup> For studies reporting price across quantiles of healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Number of participants reported for dietary surveys (studies comparing diets across samples of participants), and number of foods reported for market surveys (studies comparing samples of foods). Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

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9 **Figure 4. Price difference between healthier and less healthy nutrient-based diet patterns per day (A)**  
10 **and per 2000 kcal (B).** One outlying, implausible estimate from Aggarwal A, 2011 (mean adequacy ratio)  
11 was excluded (\$17.23; 95% CI: \$14.35, \$20.11).<sup>38</sup> Price difference defined as the healthier category  
12 minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food  
13 was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one  
14 serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based  
15 on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for  
16 Temple NJ, 2009 and Krukowski RA, 2010.<sup>39 40</sup> For studies reporting price across quantiles of  
17 healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Number of  
18 participants reported for dietary surveys (studies comparing diets across samples of participants), and  
19 number of foods reported for market surveys (studies comparing samples of foods). Summary estimates  
20 were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse  
21 variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity –  
22 standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.  
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**Table.** Characteristics of food price studies included in meta-analysis.

Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
<b>Market studies</b>				
<a href="#">Cassady D et al, 2007</a> <sup>35*</sup> , <a href="#">Cassady D et al, 2007</a> <sup>41*</sup>	June 2003, Sept-Oct 2003, March-April 2004	35 foods from 25 stores in Sacramento and Los Angeles, California	Fruit and vegetable basket meeting 2005 Dietary Guidelines vs. 1995 Thrifty Food Plan fruit and vegetable basket <sup>††</sup>	Cross-sectional price survey conducted across 3 time periods in chain supermarkets, small independent grocery stores, and supermarkets selling bulk food items with no membership fee
<a href="#">Jetter KM and DL Cassady, 2006</a> <sup>3</sup> , <a href="#">Jetter KM and DL Cassady, 2006</a> <sup>7</sup>	June 2003, Sept 2003, March-April 2004	133 foods from 25 stores in Sacramento and Los Angeles, California	Market basket with four times the amount of fiber and one-fifth the grams of total fat vs. 1995 Thrifty Food Plan market basket <sup>§</sup>	Cross-sectional price survey conducted across 3 time periods in chain supermarkets, small independent grocery stores, and supermarkets selling bulk food items with no membership fee
<a href="#">Katz DL et al, 2011</a> <sup>36</sup> , <a href="#">Katz DL et al, 2011</a> <sup>42</sup>	NR	131 foods in 8 food categories from 6 stores in Jackson County, Missouri	Nutrition Detectives program criteria for healthfulness (meeting vs. not meeting) <sup>††</sup>	Prices collected from chain grocery stores accessible to research assistant
<a href="#">Krukowski RA et al, 2010</a> <sup>37</sup> , <a href="#">Krukowski RA et al, 2010</a> <sup>40</sup>	Feb-April 2008	20 foods from 42 stores in Arkansas and Vermont	10 high-fiber, low-fat, low-sugar foods vs. 10 low-fiber, high-fat, high-sugar foods <sup>§</sup>	Overweight individuals entering a behavioral weight loss research program self-reported their primary grocery store. Trained data collectors assessed food prices at these stores
<a href="#">Liese AD et al, 2007</a> <sup>38</sup> , <a href="#">Liese AD et al, 2007</a> <sup>43</sup>	2004	8 foods from 75 stores in Orangeburg County, South Carolina	Lean ground beef vs. high-fat ground beef; skinless and boneless chicken breasts vs. chicken drumsticks; high-fiber bread vs. low-fiber bread; low-fat/non-fat milk vs. whole milk	All food stores in county identified from Licensed Food Service Facilities Database and in-person verification. Prices recorded and reported by store type (supermarket, grocery store, convenience store)
<a href="#">Lipsky LM et al, 2009</a> <sup>39</sup> , <a href="#">Lipsky LM et al, 2009</a> <sup>44</sup>	2008	2 food groups from 1 store in mid-Atlantic region	Produce (fruits, vegetables) vs. snacks (cookies, chips)	Price collected from online supermarket
<a href="#">McDermott AJ et al, 2010</a> <sup>3</sup> , <a href="#">McDermott AJ et al, 2010</a> <sup>8</sup>	NR	34 foods from 4 stores in Baltimore, Maryland	3 c milk/dairy, 5 oz lean meat, 1.5 c fruit, 2.5 c vegetables, and 6 oz grains per day vs. breakfast, lunch, and dinner from fast-food	Prices for healthier foods obtained from 3 large supermarket chains. Prices for less healthy foods obtained from a large, multinational fast-food chain.

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Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
			restaurant	
<a href="#">Ricciuto L et al, 2009</a> <sup>40</sup> <a href="#">Ricciuto L et al, 2009</a> <sup>45</sup>	Nov 2002	229 foods from 9 stores in Toronto, Canada	Margarine with vs. without label "low in saturated fat" or "cholesterol free"	Prices obtained from 9 stores of 3 major chain supermarkets
<a href="#">Ricciuto L et al, 2009</a> <sup>44</sup> <a href="#">Ricciuto L et al, 2009</a> <sup>46</sup>	Nov 2002 and Nov-Dec 2006	229 foods from 9 stores in 2002 and 274 foods from 10 stores in 2006 in Toronto, Canada	Trans fat-free vs. non trans fat-free margarine <sup>£</sup>	Prices obtained from 10 stores of 3 major chain supermarkets
<a href="#">Temple NJ and NP Steyn, 2009</a> <sup>42</sup> <a href="#">Temple NJ and NP Steyn, 2009</a> <sup>39</sup>	May 2006	24 foods from 1 store in each of 3 communities in Cape Town, South Africa	Higher-fiber, lower-fat, and lower-sugar daily menu vs. typical daily menu <sup>¶</sup>	Food prices obtained from supermarkets; price reported by community
<a href="#">Wang J et al, 2010</a> <sup>43</sup> <a href="#">Wang J et al, 2010</a> <sup>47</sup>	June-Aug 2005	14 foods from 1230 stores in Waikato and Lakes Districts, New Zealand	Basket including bread, chicken, beef/pork, sugar-sweetened drinks, milk, snacks, spreads, and sugar meeting vs. not meeting New Zealand food-based dietary guidelines (i.e. less energy-dense; lower- fat, salt, and sugar; and higher-fiber) <sup>‡</sup>	Prices obtained from 1230 stores (including supermarkets, dairies, bakeries, service stations, restaurants and takeaways). Each food was not available in every store
<a href="#">Wilson N and O Mansoor, 2009</a> <sup>44</sup> <a href="#">Wilson N and O Mansoor, 2005</a> <sup>48</sup>	Jan 23, 2005	18 foods from 2 stores in Wellington, New Zealand	Basket of foods including butter, butter/vegetable oil blend, margarine type spread, cream cheese, hard cheese, grated cheese, cream, biscuits & crackers, and chocolate with mean saturated fat of 14.9 g/100 g vs. basket of same foods with mean saturated fat of 29.0 g/100 g <sup>***</sup>	Within each of 9 food-types, items with highest and lowest levels of saturated fat identified and prices obtained from 2 large supermarkets
<b>Dietary studies</b>				
<a href="#">Aggarwal A et al, 2011</a> <sup>4538</sup>	April-June 2004 and May-July 2006	1266 participants in Seattle Obesity Study; 3 stores	Dietary energy density, kJ/g and mean adequacy ratio (quintile 1 vs. quintile 5) <sup>††</sup>	Diet cost calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Food prices obtained from 3 supermarket chains via in-store visits and websites
<a href="#">Bernstein AM et al, 2010</a> <sup>4</sup> <a href="#">Bernstein AM et al,</a>	2001-2002	78191 participants in Nurses'	Alternative Healthy Eating Index score	Diet cost calculated by merging FFQ database with USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion price

Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
<a href="#">2010<sup>6</sup></a>		Health Study; 467 foods	(quintile 5 vs. quintile 1) <sup>††</sup>	database
<a href="#">Drewnowski A et al, 2004<sup>48,19</sup></a>	NR	837 participants in Val-de-Marne, France; 57 foods	Fats and sweets intake, fruit and vegetables intake, total fat intake, and sucrose intake (quintile 1 vs. quintile 5)	Diet cost calculated from food prices from French National Institute of Statistics
<a href="#">Lopez CN et al, 2009<sup>46</sup></a> <a href="#">Lopez CN et al, 2009<sup>49</sup></a>	Dec 1999-May 2005	11195 participants in Spain; 136 foods	Western dietary pattern score and Mediterranean dietary pattern score (quintile 1 vs. quintile 5) <sup>§§</sup>	Diet cost calculated from food prices from Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Commerce of Spain. When data not available from ministry, food prices obtained from national supermarket websites
<a href="#">Monsivais P and A Drewnowski, 2009<sup>47,50</sup></a>	May-July 2006	164 participants; 384 foods from 3 stores in Seattle, Washington	Dietary energy density, kcal/g (tertile 1 vs. tertile 3)	Diet cost calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Prices obtained at supermarket chains. Price reported separately for men and women
<a href="#">Monsivais P et al, 2014<sup>48</sup></a> <a href="#">Monsivais P et al, 2010<sup>51</sup></a>	April-June 2004 and May-July 2006	1295 participants; 384 foods from 3 stores in Seattle, Washington	Nutrient density of diet (quintile 5 vs. quintile 1 of diet cost) <sup>***pp</sup>	Diet cost calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Food prices obtained from 3 supermarket chains via in-store visits and websites
<a href="#">Mozaffarian RS et al, 2011<sup>49</sup></a> <a href="#">Mozaffarian RS et al, 2012<sup>37</sup></a>	2003-2004	1294 snack-days in 32 YMCA after-school programs in 4 metropolitan areas	Environmental Standards for Healthy Eating (meeting vs. not meeting) <sup>EE</sup>	Prices from USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion price database
<a href="#">Murakami K et al, 2009<sup>50</sup></a> <a href="#">Murakami K et al, 2009<sup>52</sup></a>	2004	596 pregnant women in Neyagawa City, Osaka Prefecture, Japan; 150 foods	Dietary energy density, kcal/g (quartile 4 vs. quartile 1 of diet cost) <sup>¥¥</sup>	Diet cost based on National Retail Price Survey. For foods not in survey, prices obtained from websites of nationally distributed supermarket or fast-food restaurant chains
<a href="#">Rauber F and MR Vitolo, 2009<sup>54</sup></a> <a href="#">Rauber F and MR Vitolo, 2009<sup>53</sup></a>	NR	346 children aged 3-4 y; 3 brands each of 104 foods from 2 stores in São Leopoldo, Brazil	Calories from sugar-rich foods (<= 150 kcal vs. > 150 kcal) and calories from fat-rich foods (<= 150 kcal vs. > 150 kcal)	Diet cost based on prices obtained at a large establishment (supermarket or hypermarket) and a small establishment (market, minimart or bakery)
<a href="#">Rehm CD et al, 2011<sup>4</sup></a> <a href="#">Rehm CD et al, 2011<sup>9</sup></a>	2001-2002	4744 participants in NHANES	Healthy Eating Index-2005 score (quintile 5 vs. quintile 1 of diet cost) <sup>¥¥¶¶</sup>	Diet cost calculated from USDA Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion price database

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Author, year	Time of price data collection	Participants or foods, setting	Assessment of healthfulness	Price assessment
Ryden PJ et al, 2009 <sup>52</sup> Ryden PJ et al, 2008 <sup>54</sup>	Autumn 2005	30 participants in Kalmar province, Sweden; 600 foods	Mediterranean diet vs. typical diet***	Diet cost calculated from prices from Statistics Sweden. For foods not reported by Statistics Sweden, prices obtained from 4 stores and 2 online stores
Ryden PJ and L Hagfors, 2011 <sup>5</sup> Ryden PJ and L Hagfors, 2011 <sup>10</sup>	Spring 2010	2160 children ages 4, 8, and 11 y in Sweden; prices of 991 foods from Statistics Sweden, and stores when not available from Statistics Sweden	Healthy Eating Index-2005 score (> 70 vs. < 50) <sup>††</sup>	Average national prices of 391 foods obtained from Statistics Sweden. Prices of remaining 600 foods were not available from Statistics Sweden; obtained from one online supermarket and one online grocery store
Schröder H et al, 2006 <sup>59,55</sup>	May 2005	2847 participants in Girona, Spain; 165 foods	Mediterranean Diet Score and Healthy Eating Index score (quartile 4 vs. quartile 1) <sup>††</sup>	Diet cost calculated from average national price database of the Secretaria de Estado de Turismo y Comercio de Espana
Townsend MS et al, 2009 <sup>54,56</sup>	2006	112 participants; 8 stores in San Joaquin, Solano, Calaveras, and Tulare counties in California	Dietary energy density, kcal/g (tertile 1 vs. tertile 3)	Diet cost (with and without beverages) calculated based on prices of FFQ component foods. Prices obtained from a large supermarket chain store and a small independent market in each county
Waterlander WE et al, 2010 <sup>55,57</sup>	Feb-April 2008	373 participants in Longitudinal Ageing Study Amsterdam and 200 participants in Amsterdam Growth and Health Longitudinal Study; 2 stores	Dietary energy density, kJ/g (quartile 1 vs. quartile 4)	Diet cost calculated from prices obtained from 2 market leader supermarkets. Price reported separately for men and women

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\* This study is not included in analysis since it is the only market survey on fruits and vegetables.

† Baskets include varying amounts of fruits, dark green vegetables, orange vegetables, legumes, starchy vegetables, and "other" vegetables.

‡ Components of baskets also compared.

§ Baskets include healthier vs. less healthy breads, canned fruit, cheese, chicken, cereal; cooking oil, egg noodles, evaporated milk, flour, potatoes; frozen fish; ground meat, milk, rice, salad dressing, spaghetti, margarine, and tuna fish. Baskets also include fresh fruits and vegetables, eggs, and beans which are unchanged between two baskets.

¥ Nutrition Detectives criteria: subjectively determined to not have excessive marketing-related claims or images on the front of the package; not have an unhealthy ingredient such as sugar or white flour listed first on ingredient list, does not contain partially hydrogenated oil or high-fructose corn syrup, and does not have a long ingredient list relative to other items in the same food category. For grain-based products only, more nutritious foods also contain at least 2 g fiber per serving.

β Baskets include healthy vs. less healthy juice, hot dogs, ground beef, chips, bread, soda, milk, frozen dinner, baked goods, and cereals.

£ Trans fat-free defined as containing 1) ≤ 0.2 g TFA per 10 g; 2) ≤ 2 g TFA and SFA combined per 10 g; and 3) ≤ 15% energy from TFA and SFA combined per 10 g.

¶ Typical menu includes corn flakes, whole milk, sugar, and cola drink in the morning; white bread, brick margarine, jam, and cookies for lunch; and regular hamburger, white rice, fried cabbage, and candied butternut for dinner. Healthier menu includes bran flakes, skim milk, banana, and orange juice in the morning, whole wheat bread, tub margarine, low-fat cottage cheese, and apple for lunch; and lean hamburger, brown rice, boiled cabbage, and boiled butternut for dinner.

\*\*Average price at the 2 stores calculated and used in meta-analysis.

†† Model 3 coefficients in Tables 4a and 4b used to calculate difference in price between quintiles 1 and 5. Mean adequacy ratio is a truncated index of the percent of daily recommended intakes for key nutrients. Computed by taking the average of nutrient adequacy ratio for 11 key nutrients: vitamins A, C, D, E, B12, calcium, iron, magnesium, potassium, folate and fiber. Expressed as percent of adequacy/day.

‡‡ The Alternative Healthy Eating Index reflects intake of fruit, vegetables, nuts, soy, beans, white and red meats, cereal fiber, trans unsaturated fatty acids, polyunsaturated fatty acids, saturated fatty acids, alcohol, and years of multivitamin use.

§§ Food items identified in Western pattern were red meat, processed meats, eggs, sauces, precooked food, fast-food, caloric soft drinks, whole-fat dairy and potatoes. Food items identified in the Mediterranean pattern included olive oil, poultry, fish, low-fat dairy, legumes, fruits, and vegetables.

¥¥ Healthfulness of diet stratified by quantile of diet cost.

ββ Nutrient density is defined as mean percentage daily value for vitamin A, vitamin C, vitamin E, calcium, magnesium, potassium, and dietary fiber in 2000 kcal of dietary energy.

££ Environmental Standards for Healthy Eating guidelines: do not serve sugar-sweetened beverages, serve water every day, serve a fruit and/or vegetable every day, do not serve foods with trans fat, and when serving grains (such as bread, crackers, and cereals), serve whole grains.

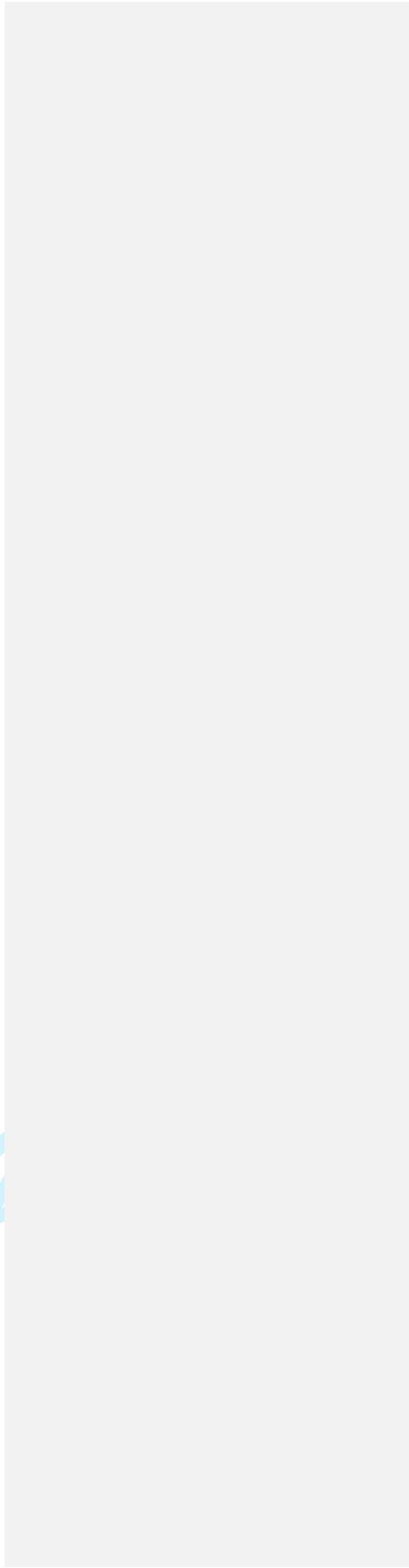
¶¶ Healthy Eating Index is a measure of overall diet quality based on consumption of sodium, saturated fat, total fruit, whole fruit, total vegetables, dark green and orange vegetables, milk, total grains, whole grains, meat and beans, oils, and empty calories.

\*\*\* Mediterranean diet included eating more fruit, vegetables and pulses; choosing whole-grain products; changing dietary fat intake to products containing less saturated fat and more unsaturated fat; avoiding meat and meat products; and limiting the intake of sweets, snacks and desserts.

††† Mediterranean diet based on intake of cereals, fruits, vegetables, legumes, fish, olive oil, nuts, and red wine.

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For peer review only



("Diet/economics"[Mesh] OR "Food/economics"[Mesh] OR "Health food/economics"[Mesh]) AND (healthy[tw] OR unhealthy[tw] OR nutritious[tw] OR market basket [tw] OR thrifty food plan [tw] OR food stamps [tw] OR dietary guidelines [tw] OR price [tw] OR cost [tw] OR affordable [tw] OR fast food [tw] OR restaurant [tw] OR supermarket [tw] OR grocery [tw] OR store [tw]) AND ("2000"[Date - Publication] : "3000"[Date - Publication]) AND English[Language].

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Supporting Appendix 1. PubMed search query used to identify studies comparing prices of healthier and less healthy foods/diet patterns.

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For peer review only

Background should include

- Problem definition
- Hypothesis statement
- Description of study outcome(s)
- Type of exposure or intervention used
- Type of study designs used
- Study population

Reporting of search strategy should include

- Qualifications of searchers (eg, librarians and investigators)
- Search strategy, including time period included in the synthesis and keywords
- Effort to include all available studies, including contact with authors
- Databases and registries searched
- Search software used, name and version, including special features used (eg, explosion)
- Use of hand searching (eg, reference lists of obtained articles)
- List of citations located and those excluded, including justification
- Method of addressing articles published in languages other than English
- Method of handling abstracts and unpublished studies
- Description of any contact with authors

Reporting of methods should include

- Description of relevance or appropriateness of studies assembled for assessing the hypothesis to be tested
- Rationale for the selection and coding of data (eg, sound clinical principles or convenience)
- Documentation of how data were classified and coded (eg, multiple raters, blinding, and interrater reliability)
- Assessment of confounding (eg, comparability of cases and controls in studies where appropriate)
- Assessment of study quality, including blinding of quality assessors; stratification or regression on possible predictors of study results
- Assessment of heterogeneity
- Description of statistical methods (eg, complete description of fixed or random effects models, justification of whether the chosen models account for predictors of study results, dose-response models, or cumulative meta-analysis) in sufficient detail to be replicated
- Provision of appropriate tables and graphics

Reporting of results should include

- Graphic summarizing individual study estimates and overall estimate
- Table giving descriptive information for each study included
- Results of sensitivity testing (eg, subgroup analysis)
- Indication of statistical uncertainty of findings

Reporting of discussion should include

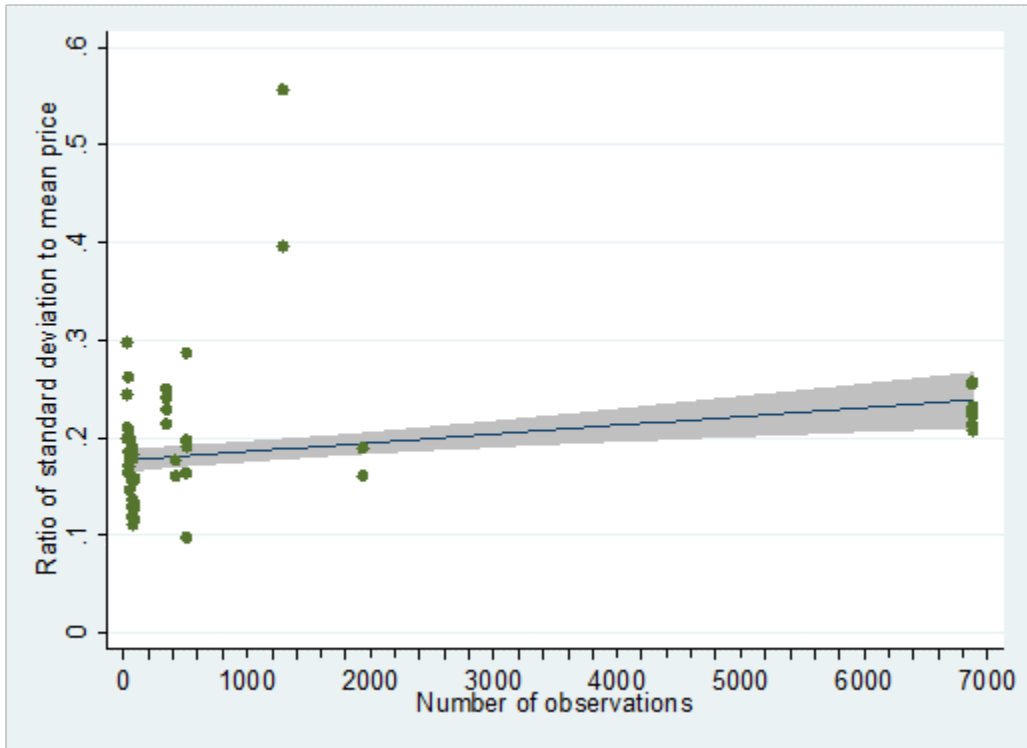
- Quantitative assessment of bias (eg, publication bias)
- Justification for exclusion (eg, exclusion of non-English-language citations)
- Assessment of quality of included studies

Reporting of conclusions should include

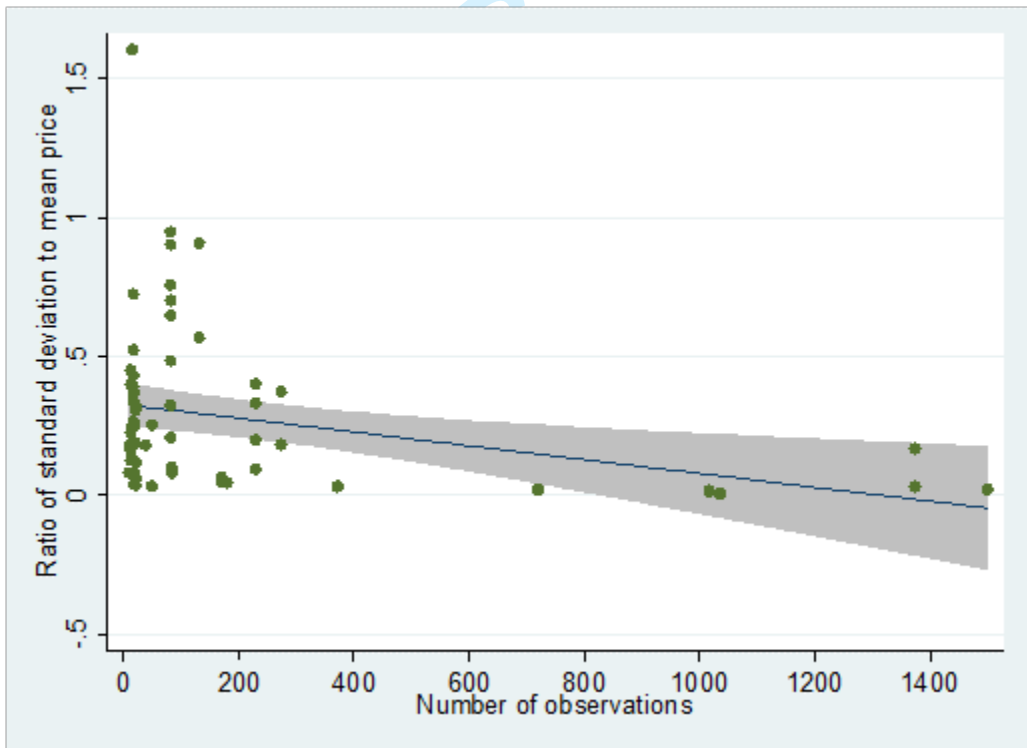
- Consideration of alternative explanations for observed results
- Generalization of the conclusions (ie, appropriate for the data presented and within the domain of the literature review)
- Guidelines for future research
- Disclosure of funding source

Supporting Appendix 2. Meta-analysis Of Observational Studies in Epidemiology checklist. We followed the Meta-analysis of Observational Studies in Epidemiology (MOOSE) guidelines throughout all stages of design, implementation, and reporting.<sup>12</sup>





Market surveys

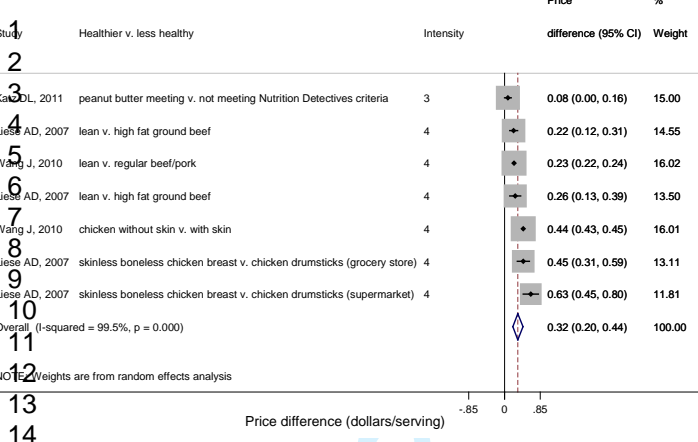


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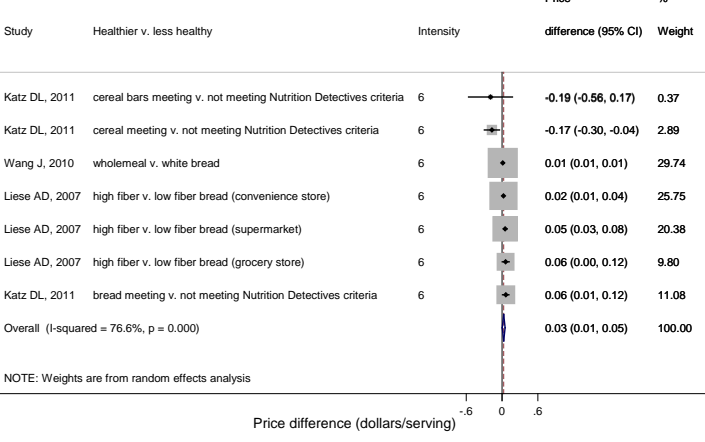
Supporting Figure 1. Linear regression of ratios of SD to mean price vs. number of observations for studies with complete data. Regression results were used to impute the SE of the price difference from the number of observations in each category for nine studies (3 dietary surveys and 6 market surveys) in which the mean price was reported without its uncertainty. Imputations were performed separately for dietary surveys and market surveys. Regression coefficients were  $8.99 \times 10^{-6}$  (95%CI  $4.43 \times 10^{-6}$ ,  $1.35 \times 10^{-5}$ ) for dietary surveys and  $-2.486 \times 10^{-4}$  ( $-4.14 \times 10^{-4}$ ,  $-8.33 \times 10^{-5}$ ) for market surveys.

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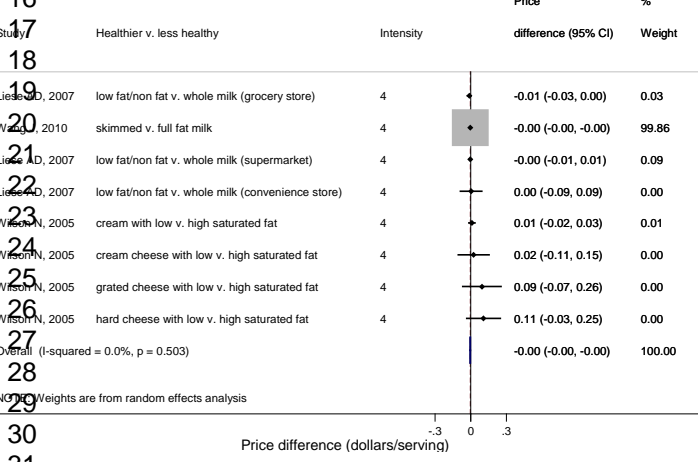
Meats/protein



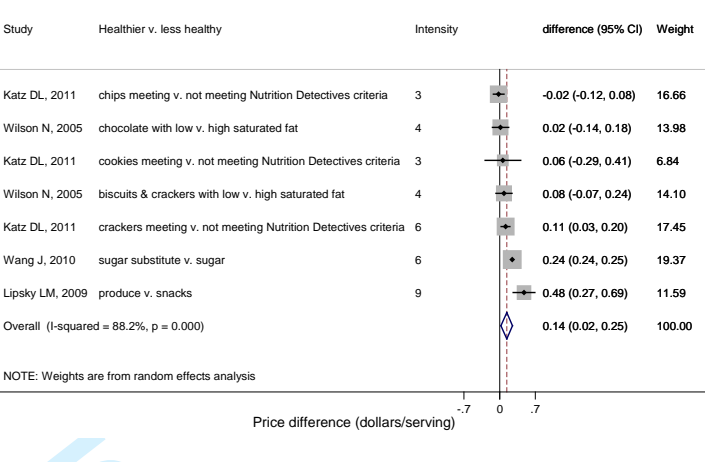
Grains



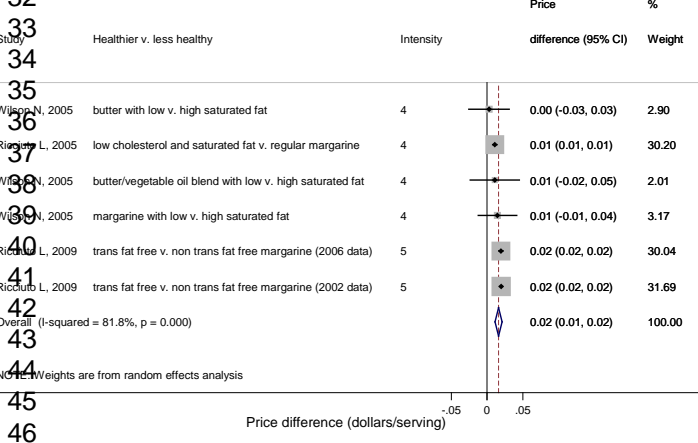
Dairy



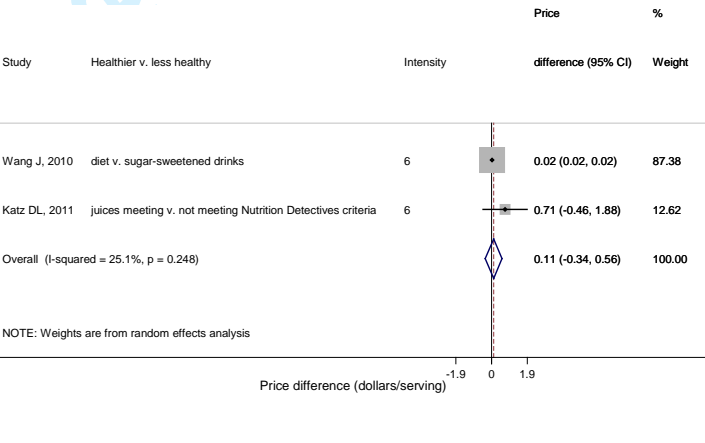
Snacks/sweets



Fats/oils



Soda/juice

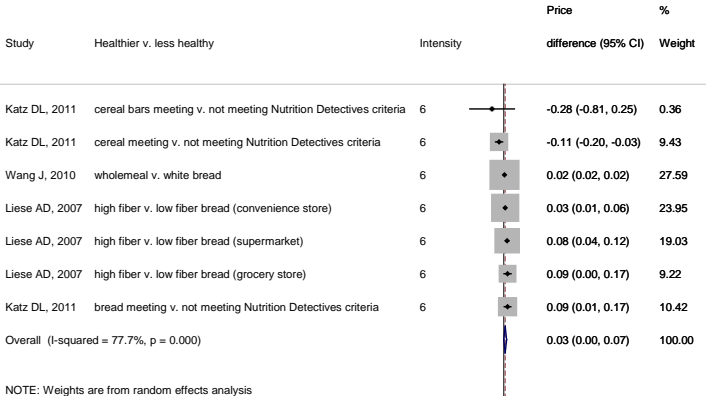


**Supporting Figure 2. Price difference between healthier and less healthy foods per serving (A) and per 200 kcal (B), standardized to mean intensity.** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Each comparison was assigned an intensity between 1 and 10, with 1 signifying that the healthfulness of the two foods was almost the same and 10 signifying that the healthfulness of the food was extremely different. Each price difference was multiplied by the ratio of the intensity of the study comparison to the mean intensity of the food group. Standardized serving sizes were derived from 2011 USDA MyPlate guidelines or, if not available from MyPlate, nutrition labels from a major grocery website. Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

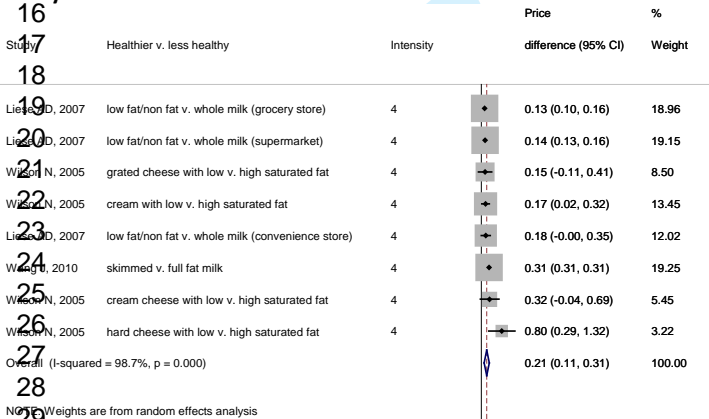
Meats/protein



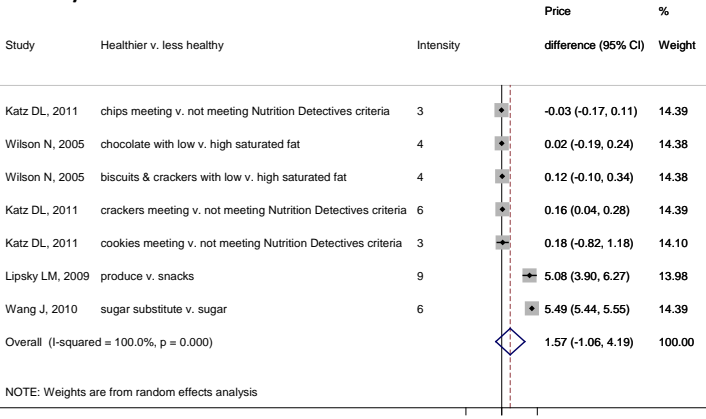
Grains



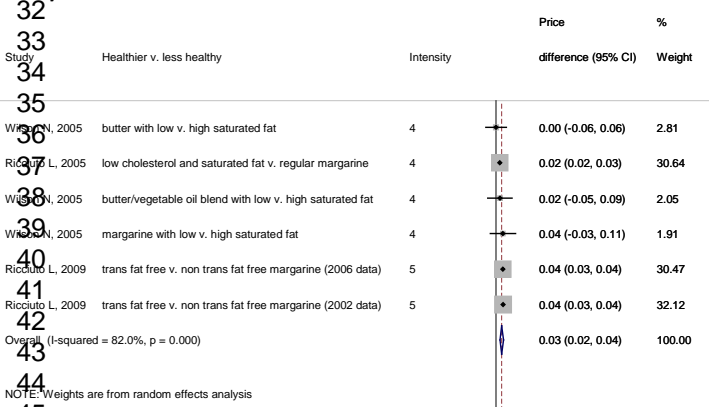
Dairy



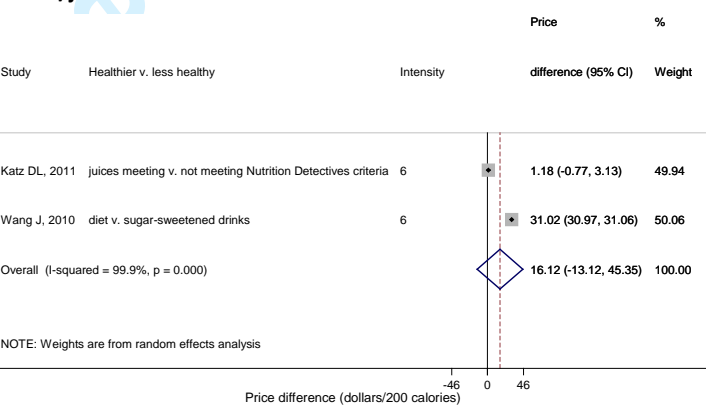
Snacks/sweets

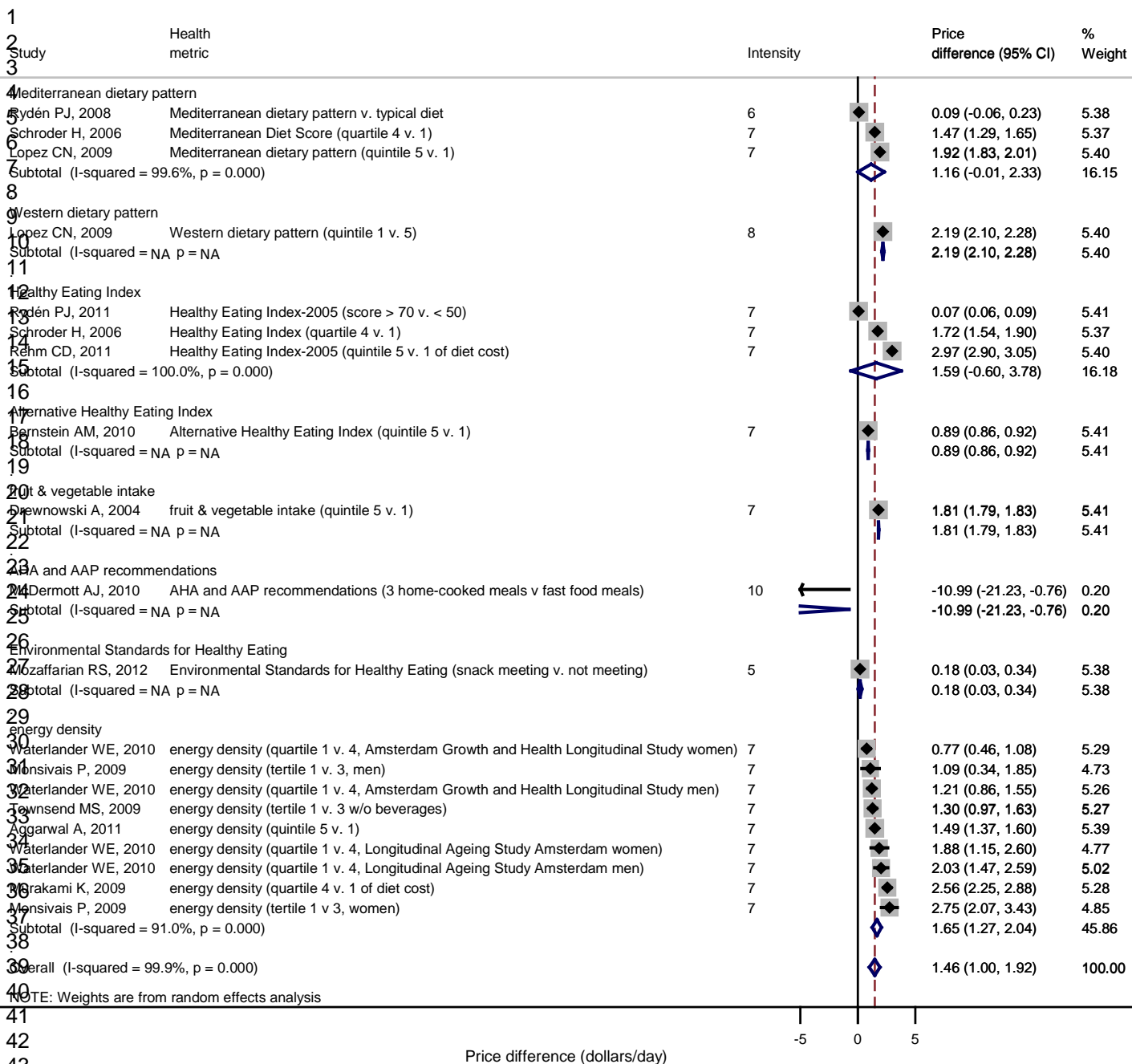


Fats/oils



Soda/juice

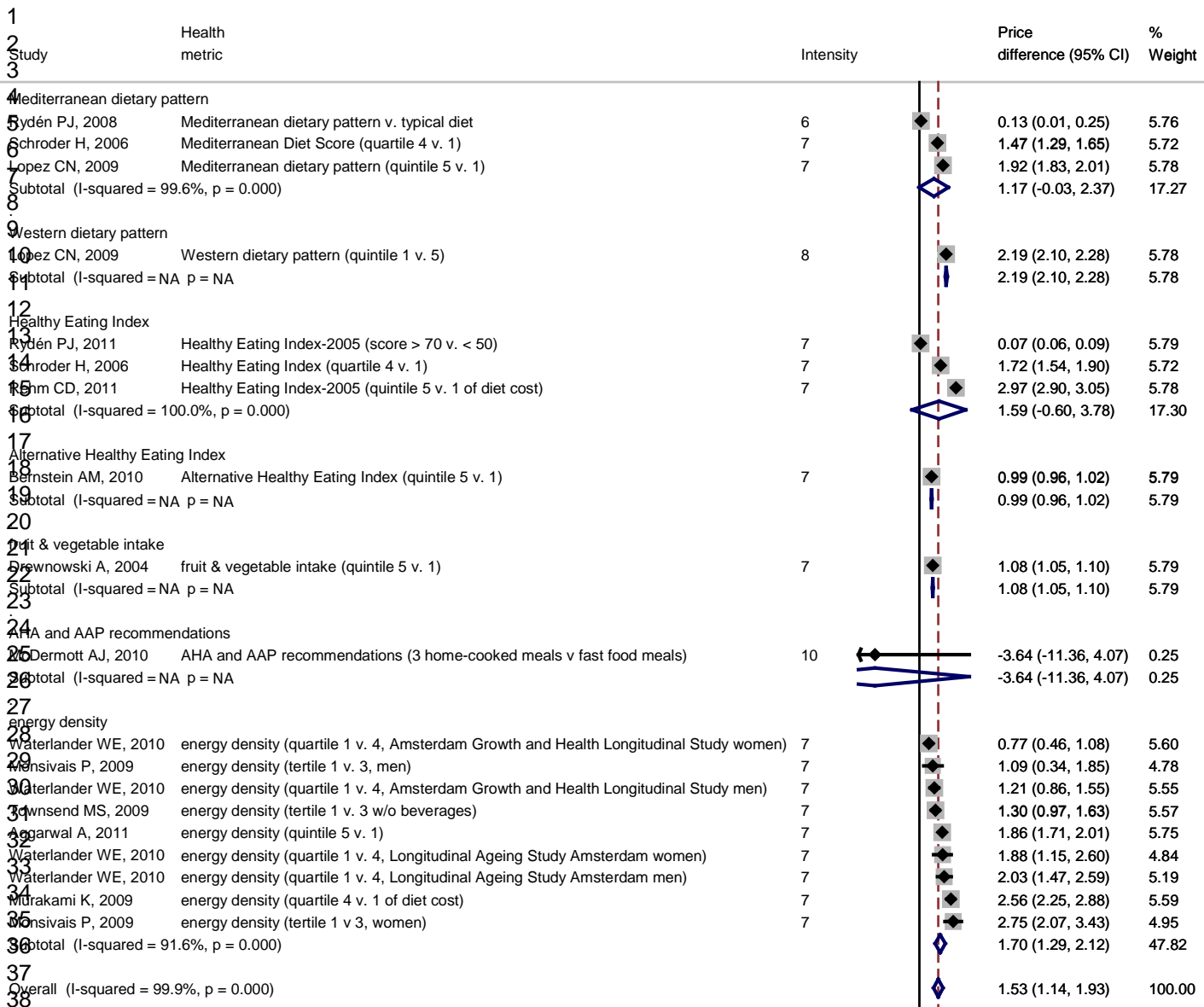




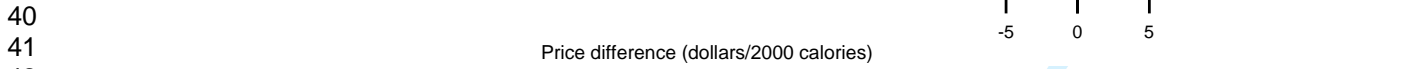
NOTE: Weights are from random effects analysis

Price difference (dollars/day)

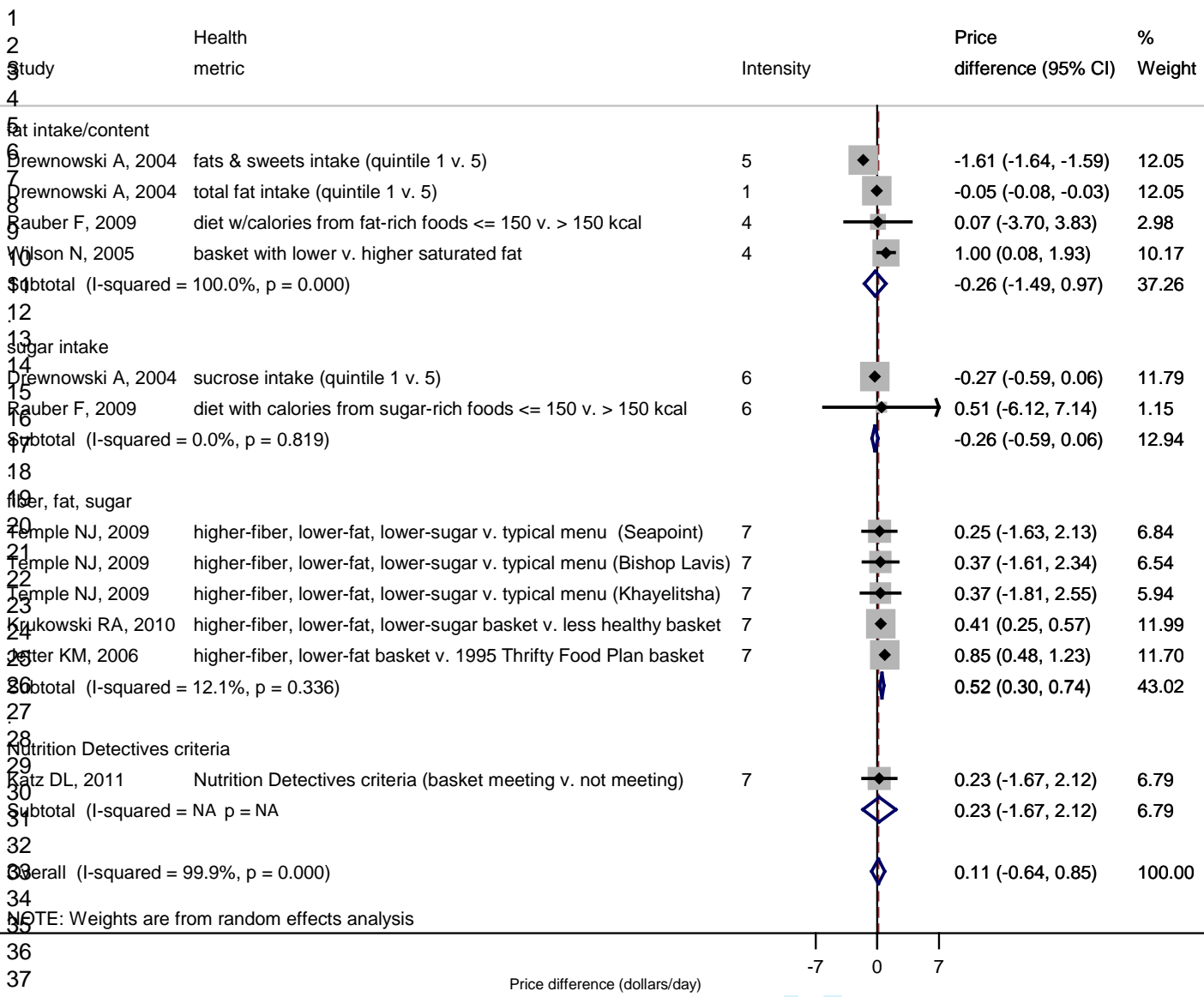
**Supporting Figure 3. Price difference between healthier and less healthy food-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B), standardized to mean intensity.** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for Mozaffarian RS, 2012.<sup>37</sup> Energy density was included as a food-based pattern since this metric represents a set of foods more than it represents any single nutrient.<sup>19</sup> Each comparison was assigned an intensity between 1 and 10, with 1 signifying that the healthfulness of the two diet patterns was almost the same and 10 signifying that the healthfulness of the two diet patterns was extremely different. Each price difference was multiplied by the ratio of the intensity of the study comparison to the mean intensity across all studies. For studies reporting price across quantiles of healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.



NOTE: Weights are from random effects analysis



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NOTE: Weights are from random effects analysis

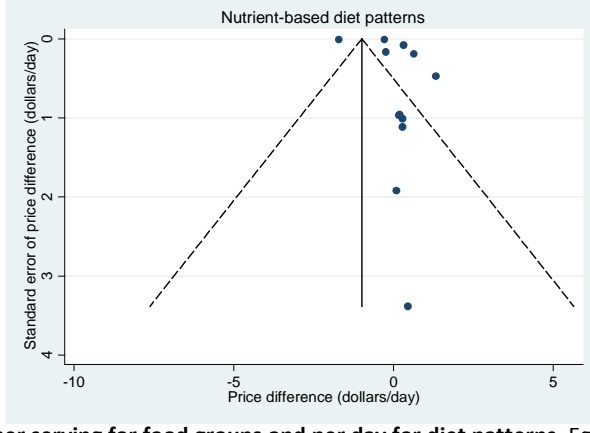
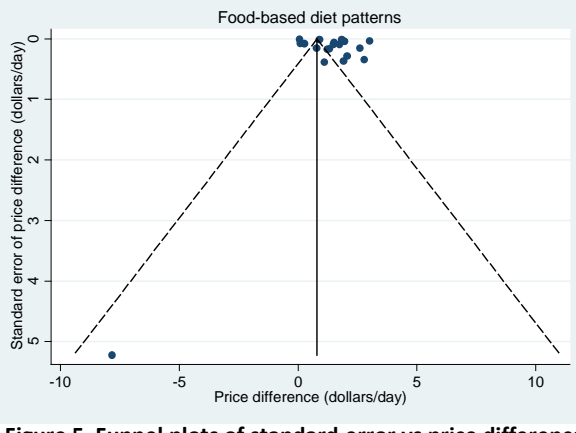
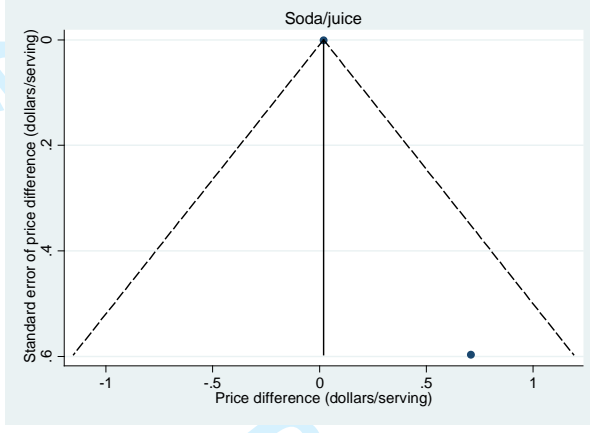
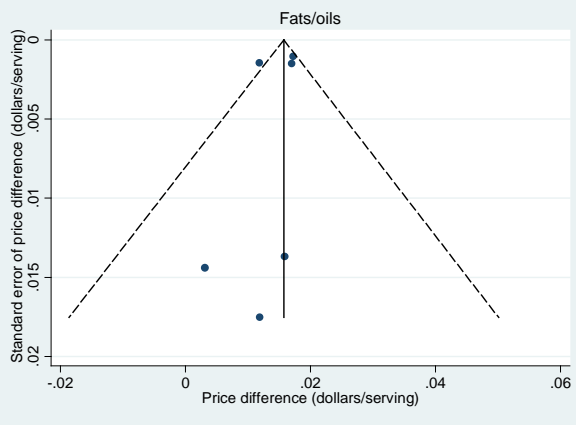
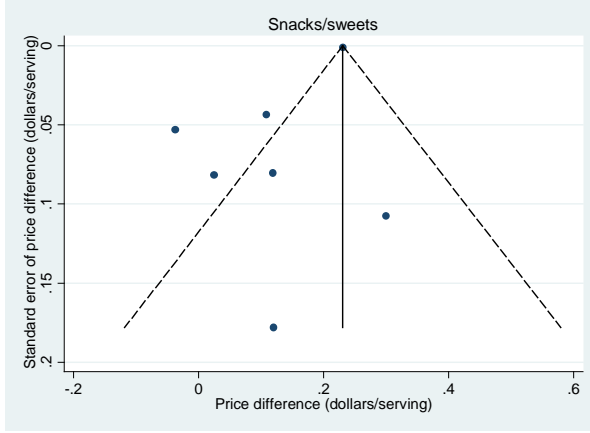
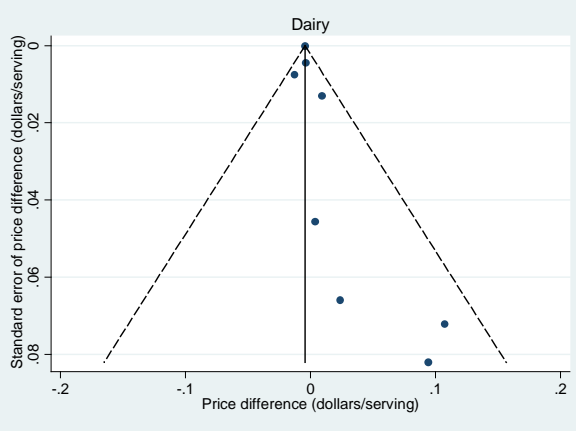
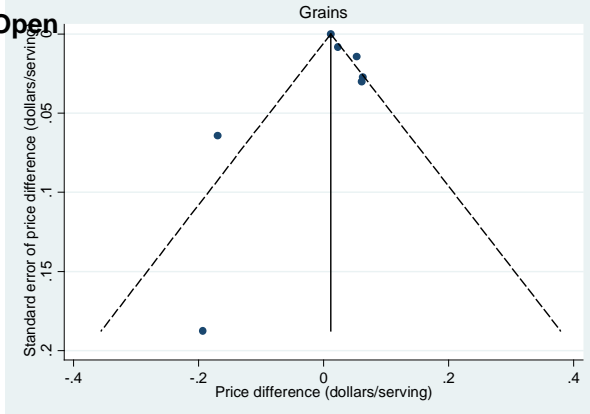
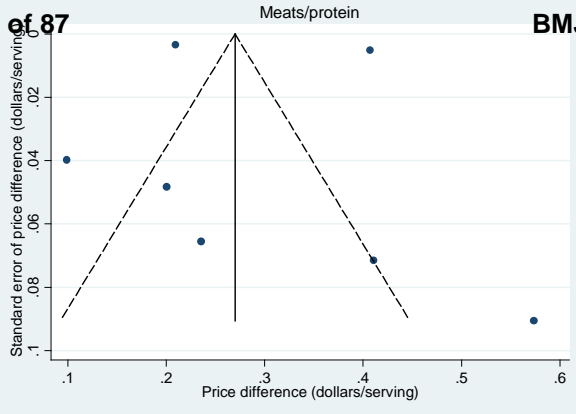
Price difference (dollars/day)

**Supporting Figure 4. Price difference between healthier and less healthy nutrient-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B), standardized to mean intensity.** One outlying, implausible estimate from Aggarwal A, 2011 (mean adequacy ratio) was excluded (\$17.23; 95% CI \$14.35, \$20.11).<sup>38</sup> Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for Temple NJ, 2009 and Krukowski RA, 2010.<sup>39,40</sup> Each comparison was assigned an intensity between 1 and 10, with 1 signifying that the healthfulness of the two diet patterns was almost the same and 10 signifying that the healthfulness of the two diet patterns was extremely different. Each price difference was multiplied by the ratio of the intensity of the study comparison to the mean intensity across all studies. For studies reporting price across quantiles of healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

Study	Health metric	Intensity	Price difference (95% CI)	Weight
<b>fat intake/content</b>				
Rauber F, 2009	diet w/calories from fat-rich foods <= 150 v. > 150 kcal	4	0.07 (-3.70, 3.83)	5.74
Drewnowski A, 2004	total fat intake (quintile 1 v. 5)	1	0.11 (0.08, 0.13)	16.46
Wilson N, 2005	basket with lower v. higher saturated fat	4	0.80 (0.26, 1.34)	15.85
Drewnowski A, 2004	fats & sweets intake (quintile 1 v. 5)	5	2.10 (2.08, 2.12)	16.46
Subtotal (I-squared = 100.0%, p = 0.000)				0.91 (-0.61, 2.42) 54.51
<b>sugar intake</b>				
Rauber F, 2009	diet with calories from sugar-rich foods <= 150 v. > 150 kcal	6	0.51 (-6.12, 7.14)	2.42
Drewnowski A, 2004	sucrose intake (quintile 1 v. 5)	6	1.86 (1.55, 2.17)	16.26
Subtotal (I-squared = 0.0%, p = 0.690)				1.86 (1.55, 2.16) 18.68
<b>fiber, fat, sugar</b>				
Katz KM, 2006	higher-fiber, lower-fat basket v. 1995 Thrifty Food Plan basket	7	6.41 (5.00, 7.82)	13.04
Subtotal (I-squared = NA p = NA)				6.41 (5.00, 7.82) 13.04
<b>Nutrition Detectives criteria</b>				
Katz DL, 2011	Nutrition Detectives criteria (basket meeting v. not meeting)	7	0.14 (-1.07, 1.36)	13.76
Subtotal (I-squared = NA p = NA)				0.14 (-1.07, 1.36) 13.76
Overall (I-squared = 99.9%, p = 0.000)				1.66 (0.55, 2.78) 100.00

Price difference (dollars/2000 calories)

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**Supporting Figure 5. Funnel plots of standard error vs price difference, per serving for food groups and per day for diet patterns.** Egger test was performed to assess publication bias; p-values for per serving and per day analyses were 0.797 for meats/protein, 0.498 for grains, 0.190 for dairy, 0.561 for snacks/sweets, 0.582 for fats/oils, 0.197 for food-based diet patterns, and 0.621 for nutrient-based diet patterns with one outlier removed from Aggarwal A, 2011 (quintile 5 v. 1 of mean adequacy ratio). P-values for per 200 kcal and per 2000 kcal analyses were 0.206 for meats/protein, 0.533 for grains, 0.162 for dairy, 0.139 for snacks/sweets, 0.621 for fats/oils, 0.053 for food-based diet patterns, and 0.962 for nutrient-based diet patterns. There were too few soda/juice studies to perform the Egger test for this food group.



Problem definition

Hypothesis statement

Description of study outcome(s)

Type of exposure or intervention used

Type of study designs used

Study population

Reporting of search strategy should include

Qualifications of searchers (eg, librarians and investigators)

Search strategy, including time period included in the synthesis and keywords

Effort to include all available studies, including contact with authors

Databases and registries searched

Search software used, name and version, including special features used (eg, explosion)

Use of hand searching (eg, reference lists of obtained articles)

List of citations located and those excluded, including justification

Method of addressing articles published in languages other than English

Method of handling abstracts and unpublished studies

Description of any contact with authors

Reporting of methods should include

Description of relevance or appropriateness of studies assembled for assessing the hypothesis to be tested

Rationale for the selection and coding of data (eg, sound clinical principles or convenience)

Documentation of how data were classified and coded (eg, multiple raters, blinding, and interrater reliability)

Assessment of confounding (eg, comparability of cases and controls in studies where appropriate)

Assessment of study quality, including blinding of quality assessors; stratification or regression on possible predictors of study results

Assessment of heterogeneity

Description of statistical methods (eg, complete description of fixed or random effects models, justification of whether the chosen models account for predictors of study results, dose-response models, or cumulative meta-analysis) in sufficient detail to be replicated

Provision of appropriate tables and graphics

Reporting of results should include

Graphic summarizing individual study estimates and overall estimate

Table giving descriptive information for each study included

Results of sensitivity testing (eg, subgroup analysis)

Indication of statistical uncertainty of findings

Reporting of discussion should include

Quantitative assessment of bias (eg, publication bias)

Justification for exclusion (eg, exclusion of non-English-language citations)

Assessment of quality of included studies

Reporting of conclusions should include

Consideration of alternative explanations for observed results

Generalization of the conclusions (ie, appropriate for the data presented and within the domain of the literature review)

Guidelines for future research

Disclosure of funding source

**Meta-analysis Of Observational Studies in Epidemiology checklist.** We followed the Meta-analysis of Observational Studies in Epidemiology (MOOSE) guidelines throughout all stages of design, implementation, and reporting.<sup>12</sup>

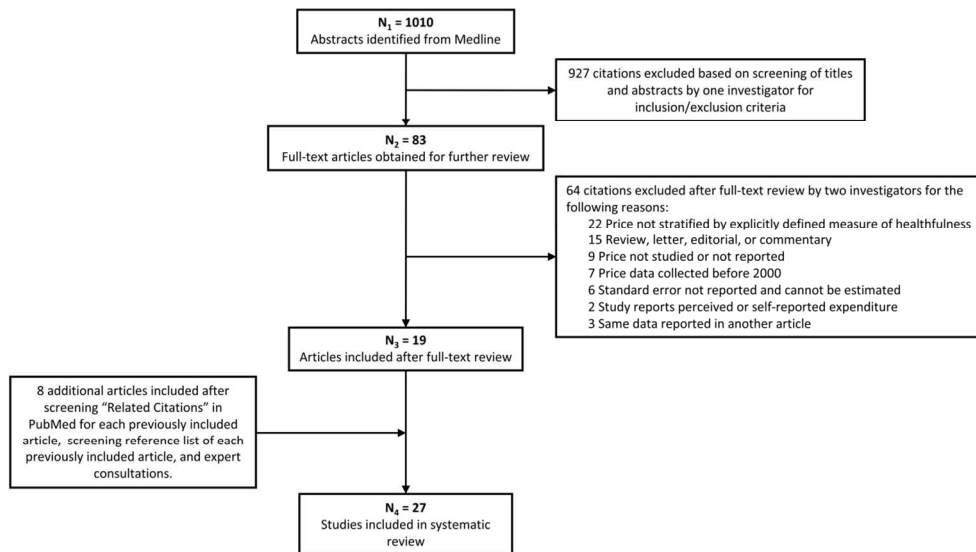
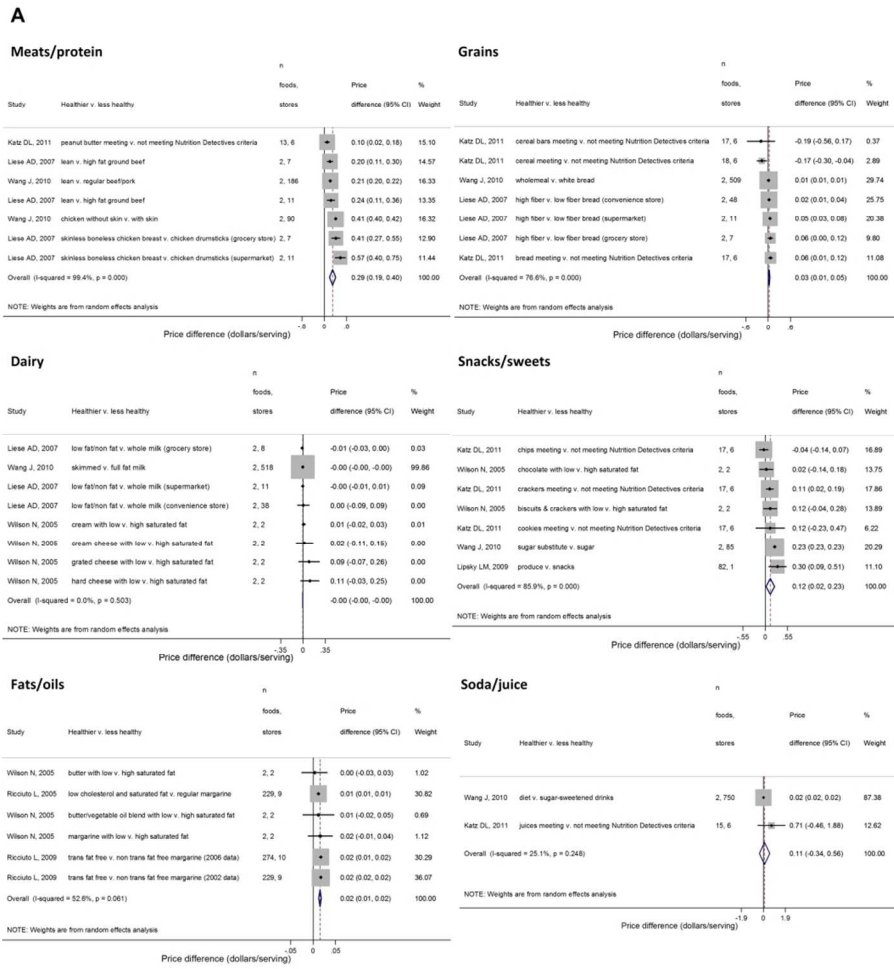


Figure 1. Search and screening of studies comparing prices of healthier and less healthy foods or diet patterns.

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Review only



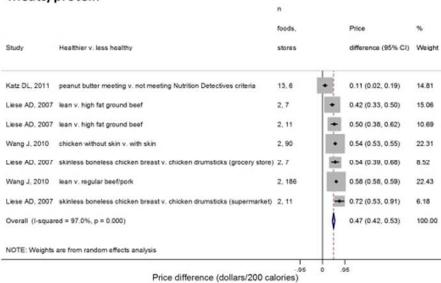
**Figure 2. Price difference between healthier and less healthy foods per serving (A) and per 200 kcal (B).** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Standardized serving sizes were derived from 2011 USDA MyPlate guidelines or, if not available from MyPlate, nutrition labels from a major grocery website. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

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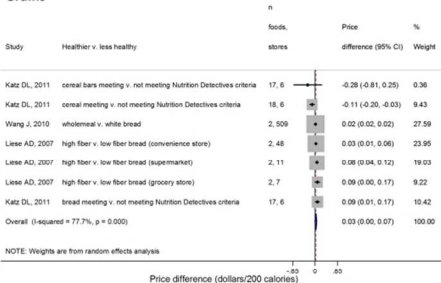
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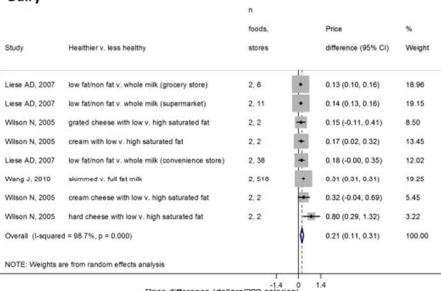
**Meats/protein**



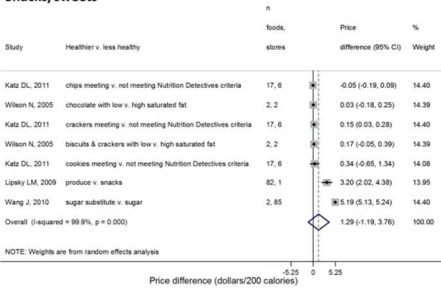
**Grains**



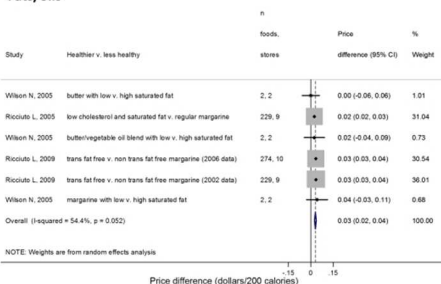
**Dairy**



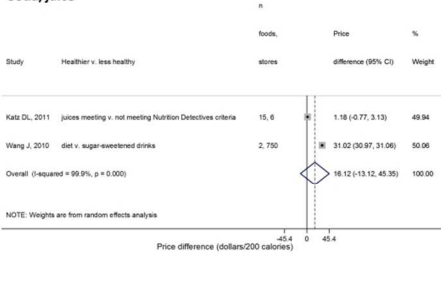
**Snacks/sweets**



**Fats/oils**

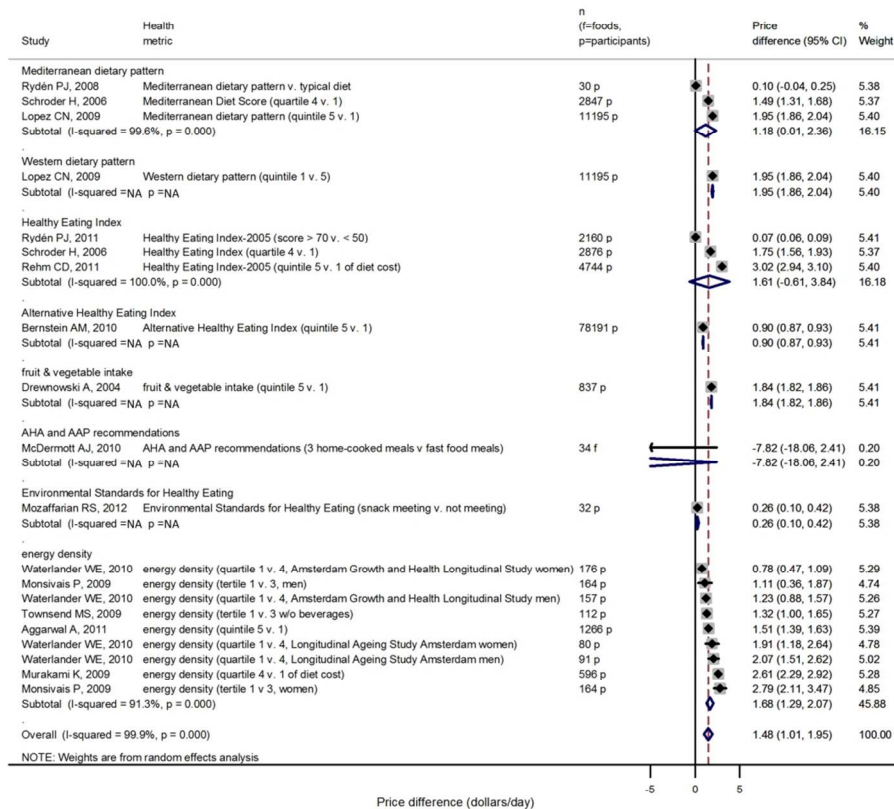


**Soda/juice**



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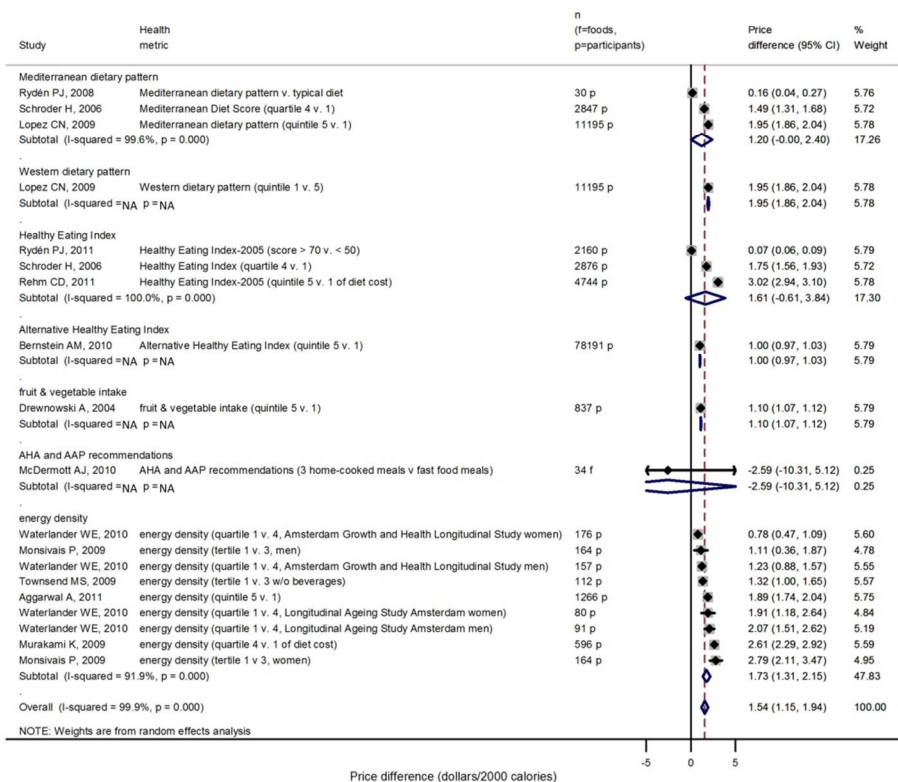
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**Figure 3. Price difference between healthier and less healthy food-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B).** Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for Mozaffarian RS, 2012.<sup>37</sup> Energy density was included as a food-based pattern since this metric represents a set of foods more than it represents any single nutrient.<sup>19</sup> For studies reporting price across quantiles of healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Number of participants reported for dietary surveys (studies comparing diets across samples of participants), and number of foods reported for market surveys (studies comparing samples of foods). Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

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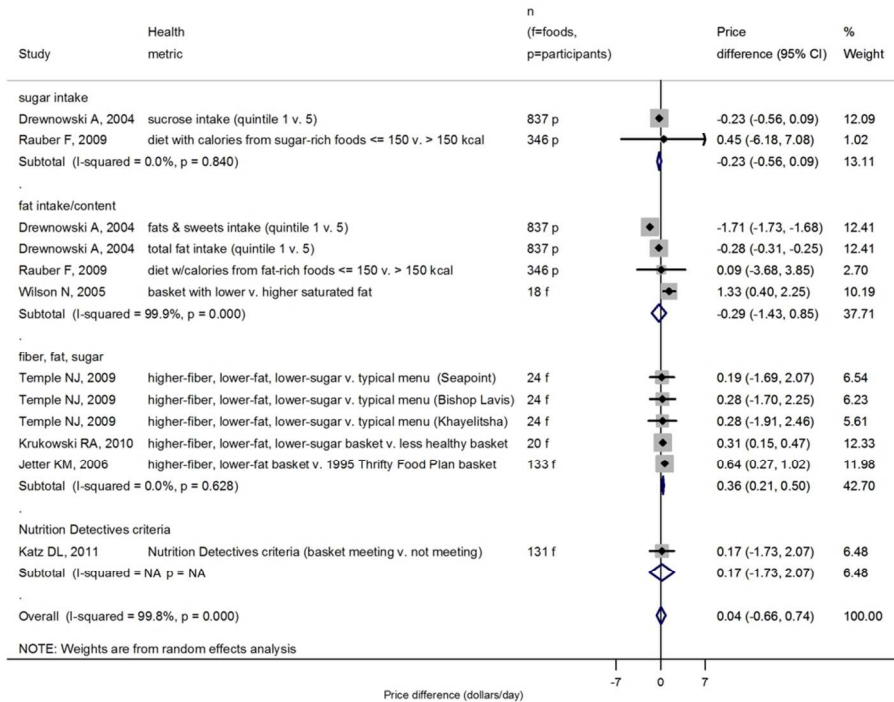
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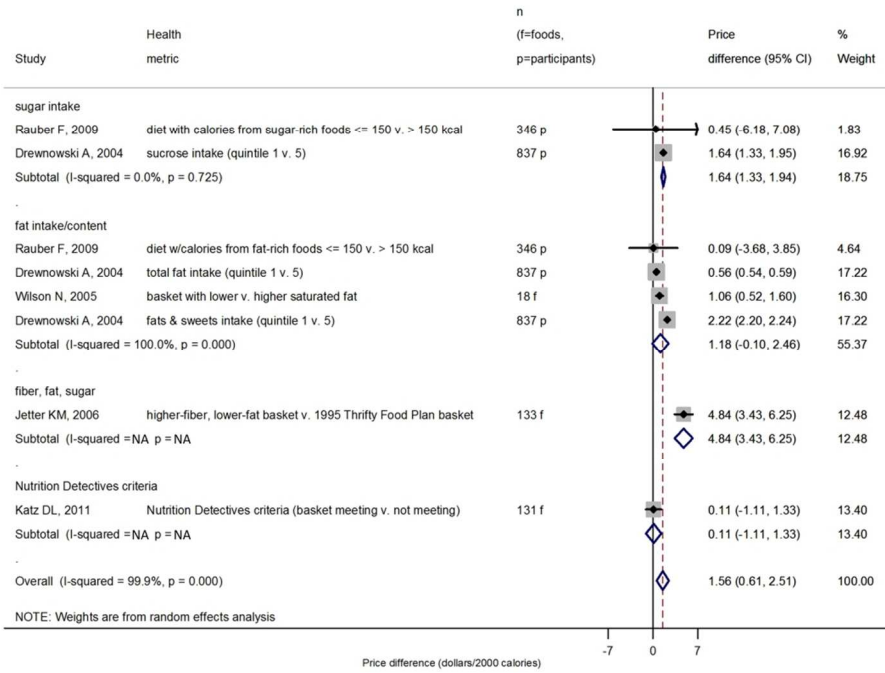
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**Figure 4. Price difference between healthier and less healthy nutrient-based diet patterns per day (A) and per 2000 kcal (B).** One outlying, implausible estimate from Aggarwal A, 2011 (mean adequacy ratio) was excluded (\$17.23; 95% CI: \$14.35, \$20.11).<sup>38</sup> Price difference defined as the healthier category minus the less healthy category. Dollars/day was defined as dollars/3 meals. One serving of any food was assumed to comprise one-fourth of a meal, except for condiments, fats, and oils for which one serving was assumed to comprise one-eighth of a meal. Calorie-adjustment of price differences based on the USDA database. Information reported was not sufficient to perform calorie-adjustment for Temple NJ, 2009 and Krukowski RA, 2010.<sup>39,40</sup> For studies reporting price across quantiles of healthfulness, the most extreme quantile comparison was selected for meta-analysis. Number of participants reported for dietary surveys (studies comparing diets across samples of participants), and number of foods reported for market surveys (studies comparing samples of foods). Summary estimates were generated using a random effects model in which studies were weighted according to the inverse variance of the price difference. All estimates were adjusted for inflation and purchasing power parity – standardized to the international dollar, defined as one US dollar – by country to reflect prices in 2011.

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