Childhood Obesity and Positive Obligations: 
A Child Rights-Based Approach

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ABSTRACT
Childhood obesity is one of the most serious current public health challenges. Its prevalence has increased at an alarming rate. The World Health Organization estimated that in 2016 the global number of overweight children under the age of five was over 41 million. Although there is widespread concern about the rising rates of childhood obesity, there is not as much consensus on how to address the problem. Obesity has been mostly considered either a matter of personal responsibility or of parental responsibility when it concerns children. Inadequate attention has been given instead to the obligations borne by States to prevent and combat child obesity under international human rights law. This Article seeks to remedy such gap in the current research by discussing a comprehensive child rights-based approach that imposes positive obligations on States to prevent childhood obesity through the realization of children’s rights to adequate food, health, and participation. This Article begins by exploring the causes of childhood obesity focusing on the multiple factors that influence weight, food preferences, and eating patterns in children. The Article proceeds by examining the international human rights law framework for States’ positive obligations to fight obesity among children. It also discusses the child obesity-specific recommendations issued by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health, and finally, the Special Rapporteur in the Field of

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Cultural Rights who have further clarified the States’ central role and responsibilities in the development and implementation of effective measures and strategies for child obesity prevention. The Article concludes that the right of children to participate in the decision-making processes related to their nutrition and health in accordance to the principles of the Convention of the Rights of the Child must also be at the core of governments’ obligations to ensure the full realization of children’s rights to adequate food and to health and the adoption of more effective solutions.

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INTRODUCTION

Childhood obesity is one of the most serious current public health challenges. Its prevalence has increased at an alarming rate. The World Health Organization estimated that in 2016 the global number of overweight children under the age of five was over 41 million.\(^1\) A more

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recent study published by The New England Journal of Medicine found that there are approximately 108 million obese children worldwide, and in many countries, obesity rates among children are rising faster than among adults. In the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the number of children who are overweight or obese at the age of fifteen ranges from 10% in Denmark to 31% in the United States. In particular, in the United States, the percentage of obese children has more than tripled since the 1970s; one out of five children between the ages of six and nineteen are currently obese. Once considered to be mostly prevalent in developed countries, the percentage of overweight and obese children is now dramatically on the rise in developing countries too, particularly in urban settings, where the rate of increase of childhood overweight and obesity has been more than 30% higher than that of developed countries. Current estimates suggest that almost half of all overweight children under the age of five live in Asia and one quarter of them live in Africa.

Obese and overweight children experience significant health problems. They have an increased risk of developing breathing difficulties, hypertension, and noncommunicable diseases, like diabetes and cardiovascular diseases, at a younger age. Other health problems include gallstones, sleep apnea, bowed legs, back problems, hirsutism, and menstrual irregularities. Longitudinal studies have shown that obese children are more likely to remain obese throughout their life, and those...


7. WHO, Global Strategy on Diet, supra note 1.

8. Id.

who are not obese as adults still have a higher mortality rate compared to their peers who were not obese as children.\textsuperscript{10} 

Obesity and high body mass indices are also associated with a higher risk of developing psychological problems, including depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem, which can persist into adolescence and adulthood.\textsuperscript{11} Research has shown that the psychological well-being and quality of life of obese children is similar to those of children who have been diagnosed with a life-threatening disease like cancer.\textsuperscript{12} Socially, obese children are more likely to be bullied, rejected, and discriminated against by their peers than children who experience bias due to race, age, or gender.\textsuperscript{13} Studies report that obese children are socially excluded and stigmatized by their peers starting at nursery school, stereotyped as lazy, and often chosen last for teams in physical education classes.\textsuperscript{14}

Overweight and obesity, as well as their related diseases, are largely preventable, especially in children. In theory, child obesity prevention should be a high priority for all States. Although traditionally considered an issue of individual and parental responsibilities, childhood obesity has become a serious public health concern.\textsuperscript{15} In the United States, for

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{10} Aviva Must et al., \textit{Long-Term Morbidity and Mortality of Overweight Adolescents—A Follow-Up of the Harvard Growth Study of 1922 to 1935}, 327 NEW ENG. J. MED. 1350, 1354 (1992).
  \item \textsuperscript{12} See generally Jeffrey B. Schwimmer, Tasha. M. Burwinkle & James W. Varni, \textit{Health-Related Quality of Life of Severely Obese Children and Adolescents}, 289 JAMA 181 (2003).
instance, the Surgeon General and the U.S. Center for Disease, Control and Prevention pronounced obesity to be a national epidemic, and former First Lady Michelle Obama called it a public health crisis. In the past decade, public health authorities around the world have primarily adopted a weight-centered approach encouraging healthy eating and exercise that has proven to affect low-income families and immigrant communities disproportionately. Other interventions have ranged from imposing restrictions on the advertising of unhealthy foods directed at children to improving school meals, increasing taxes on unhealthy products to reduce their consumption, and subsiding local farming to increase intake of fruits and vegetables. In many countries, the effective implementation of such measures and policies has often fallen short while obesity rates have risen sharply.

On the contrary, the prevention of childhood obesity as a State obligation under international human rights law has received very limited consideration. A few studies have discussed it from the prospective of the right to health, but no studies have looked at the issue through the intersection of the right to adequate food, the right to the highest attainable standard of health, and the right to participation under the Convention of the Rights of the Child. This Article attempts to remedy such gaps in the current research by proposing a comprehensive child rights-based approach assigning positive obligations to States to prevent obesity through the fulfillment of the rights of children to adequate nutrition, to health, and to participation in the decisions affecting their lives.

This Article examines the causes of childhood obesity by focusing on the multiple factors that influence weight, food preferences, and eating...
patterns in children. It investigates the international human rights obligations that require States to respect, protect, and fulfill the rights of children to adequate food, to health, and to participation in the decision-making processes related to their nutrition, lifestyle, and wellbeing. This Article recommends a child rights-based approach that triggers positive obligations of States overarching the responsibilities of parents and any other stakeholders to prevent obesity in children, to support children’s inclusion in the decisions related to their health and nutrition, and to ensure their best interest above all.

I. CHILDHOOD OBESITY

A. Causes of Childhood Obesity

Obesity is a multifactorial problem influenced by genetical, biological, behavioral, environmental, and cultural components. Studies identify genetic influences, sedentary lifestyle, changes in school curriculum, poor nutrition, city planning, technology, and food advertising as major contributors to obesity. The increased rate of childhood obesity is partly attributable to sedentary behaviors of children, such as television viewing, computer use, and video game playing. Longitudinal studies have consistently found that the more television children watch, the more likely they are to become overweight.21 Television viewing in bedrooms has been associated with excess weight gain among preschool children and adolescents.22 Research suggests that television viewing in childhood


predicts future risk of obesity. As noted by the Surgeon General of the United States, where childhood obesity has tripled in recent decades:

[The] widespread adoption of multiple technological innovations in the home, workplace, and schools has reduced our daily physical activity. Similarly, the car-dependent design of our communities has made it much harder for our children to walk to school—and much harder for us to shop and do other errands entirely on foot or by bicycle.

This problem is not experienced by just the United States; fifteen year-old children living across Europe use the Internet for nearly two hours daily on weekdays and an extra half hour daily on weekends. In the United Kingdom, a recent survey found that children aged seven to fifteen reported spending an average of three hours online daily, while those aged fifteen to sixteen reported nearly five hours daily. The most frequently used devices to access the Internet content are smartphones and tablets: 67% of British children own a tablet, and tablet ownership is increasing very rapidly across central and eastern Europe. In terms of Internet content, younger children between nine and eleven go online mainly to watch videos, whereas older children between the ages of thirteen and


seventeen spend most of their Internet time on social media. In the United Kingdom, for instance, 78% of children aged ten to thirteen have a social media account (49% Facebook, 41% Instagram) and spend about one hundred minutes daily on social media. In Denmark, adolescents reported that social media, such as Facebook, is essential for their social life and that they are an integral part of their identity. Some studies have suggested that the use of computer, video game, and social media is associated with excess weight gain.

The heavy use of television and social media not only contributes to inactivity but, as discussed later, it also increases the consumption by children of high calorie foods that are heavily advertised on television. Lack of physical activity is further exacerbated by changes in school curriculum. In the United States, many schools have cut back or eliminated recess and physical education (PE) programs. School administrators, teachers, unions, and policymakers argue that the change is necessary to increase instruction time. However, keeping children in the classroom not only increases the likelihood of children’s weight gain but also affects their general development and well-being.

Families’ dietary choices also play an important role in children’s risk of obesity as well as on their food preferences that can last well into

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32. See generally sources cited supra note 31.


adulthood. The types of food that families buy and keep at home as well as the way family members eat their meals influence food intake in children. Recent studies have found that children eat more vegetables, fruits, and other healthy foods when they are available at home and when families eat their meals together. Some studies have suggested a correlation between frequency of family meals and children’s lower body weight status. However, healthy foods, like vegetables, fruits and whole grains, are more expensive than less healthy options, like refined grains and sweets, and may be unaffordable for lower income families.

Researchers have defined the current food environment as “toxic” given the increased consumption of cheap, tasty, and highly processed types of food, which are more likely to contribute to obesity and overweight. Preparing healthy meals is not only expensive but also time consuming. Women’s increased participation in the workforce means that more meals are pre-made, purchased, and consumed away from home. Such meals tend to be less healthy than those homemade and shared among family members. In the United States, families spend about half of


their food budget and consume one-third of their daily caloric intake on meals prepared away from home.\textsuperscript{41} Low-income working families, especially single parents, may have even less time for meal preparation and may end up buying convenience foods or fast foods.\textsuperscript{42} In the United States, it is estimated that since 1970 the amount spent on fast foods has increased from $6 billion to over $110 billion.\textsuperscript{43}

Low-income families have four times more access to unhealthy food options than healthy ones.\textsuperscript{44} They often live in neighborhoods with few supermarkets but with a high concentration of convenience stores and fast food restaurants, which has been associated with lower quality diets and increased risk of obesity.\textsuperscript{45} Convenience stores and fast food restaurants are not only more likely to be located in poor neighborhoods but also in proximity of schools.\textsuperscript{46} Studies have found that close proximity of fast food restaurants to schools is associated with an increased risk of obesity in schoolchildren.\textsuperscript{47} Convenience store snacks and sweetened beverages are also available for purchase in schools and their consumption has been


\textsuperscript{42} See generally Nicole Darmon & Adam Drewnowski, Does Social Class Predict Diet Quality?, 87 AM. J. CLINICAL NUTRITION 1107 (2008); Tamara Dubowitz et al., Lifecourse, Immigrant Status and Acculturation in Food Purchasing and Preparation among Low-Income Mothers, 10 PUB. HEALTH NUTRITION 396 (2007).


\textsuperscript{44} INST. OF MED., LEGAL STRATEGIES IN CHILDHOOD OBESITY PREVENTION: WORKSHOP SUMMARY 42 (2011).


\textsuperscript{47} See Brennan Davis & Christopher Carpenter, Proximity of Fast-Food Restaurants to Schools and Adolescent Obesity, 99 AM. J. PUB. HEALTH 505, 505–10 (2009); Austin SB et al., Clustering of Fast-Food Restaurants Around Schools: A Novel Application of Spatial Statistics to the Study of Food Environments, 95 AM. J. PUB. HEALTH 1575, 1575 (2005); Geeta Anand, One Man’s Stand Against Junk Food as Diabetes Climbs Across India, N.Y. TIMES (Dec. 26, 2017), https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/26/health/india-diabetes-junk-food.html (discussing the story of Mr. Verma, who filed a lawsuit before the Delhi High Court in 2010 seeking the ban on the sale of junk food and soft drinks in and around schools across India).
linked to an increased risk of obesity and diabetes. In 2004–2005, approximately 40% of American students bought such types of food on a given school day. Children’s lack of physical activity, poor eating choices, and minimal access to healthy and nutritious food are important factors contributing to what authorities call a “major public health dilemma.”

B. Food Marketing and Childhood Obesity

Food marketing and advertisements also shape children’s food choices and preferences. Identified as a key factor in the obesity crisis worldwide, food marketing targets children “on television, on the radio, on the Internet, in magazines, through product placement in movies and video games, in schools, on product packages, as toys, on clothing and other merchandise, and almost anywhere where a logo or product image can be shown.”

Although there may be some disagreement on how much influence marketing has on children’s diet and health, a joint study by the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations concluded that heavy marketing of unhealthy foods and drinks is a “probable” causal factor in weight gain and obesity.

In the United States, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) reported that food and beverage companies spent $1.79 billion in 2009 to market their products to kids; 72% of this amount was spent to market just breakfast cereals, fast foods, and carbonated drinks. Of the $1.79 billion, approximately $1 billion was directed to children between the ages of two and eleven, and $1 billion was directed to teenagers between the ages of twelve and seventeen. However, the overall amount spent for food and


50. SURGEON GENERAL’S VISION, supra note 25.

51. CTR. FOR SCI. IN THE PUB. INT., FOOD MARKETING TO CHILDREN, https://cspinet.org/sites/default/files/attachment/food_marketing_to_children.pdf [https://perma.cc/H5M6-ZC55].

52. CORINNA HAWKES, MARKETING FOOD TO CHILDREN: THE GLOBAL REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT 1 (2004).


54. Id.
beverage promotional activities marketed to adults that were also marketed to children or teenagers reached about $9.65 billion.\footnote{Id.}

Television has been the predominant medium to reach children for decades. The FTC estimated that food companies spent approximately $375 million to reach children via television and $364 million to reach adolescents in 2009.\footnote{Id. at ES 3.} Fast food restaurants ($154 million) and breakfast cereals ($102 million) accounted for 68\% of the child television expenditures; and fast food restaurants accounted for about 36\%, or about $130 million, of the adolescent television expenditures.\footnote{Id.} Overall food companies spent $695 million on traditional forms of media, including television, radio, and print.\footnote{Id.} In 2007–2008, a survey across eleven countries evaluating 2,496 hours of television on the three channels most popular with children found that food advertisements accounted for 18\% of the advertisements broadcasted; 67\% of these were advertising food products high in fat, sodium, and energy.\footnote{Bridget Kelly et al., Television Food Advertising to Children: A Global Perspective, 100 AM. J. PUB. HEALTH 1730, 1731 (2010).}

Across European countries, the leading categories of food being advertised on television are soft drinks, sweetened breakfast cereals, biscuits, candies, snack foods, ready meals, and fast food outlets.\footnote{WHO REG'L OFFICE FOR EUR., MARKETING OF FOODS HIGH IN FAT, SALT AND SUGAR TO CHILDREN: UPDATE 2012–2013 2 (2013), http://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0019/191125/e96859.pdf [https://perma.cc/U22Y-YDH3].} Surveys conducted in 2007 across Europe found that over 50\% of food advertisements on children’s television programs were for food products high in fat, sugar, or salt, such as in Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom; this percentage was found to be over 60\% in Greece and Italy, over 80\% in Germany, and over 90\% in Bulgaria.\footnote{Id.}

Studies conducted in the United Kingdom on the prevalence of food advertising broadcast with children’s television programs found that food and drinks were the third most heavily advertised products and that most of such advertisements were promoting unhealthy food items and beverages during children’s peak viewing times.\footnote{See generally Emma Boyland et al., The Extent of Food Advertising to Children on UK Television in 2008, 6 INT’L J. OF PEDIATRIC OBESITY 455 (2011); MK Lewis & AJ Hill, Food Advertising on British Children’s Television: A Content Analysis and Experiential Study With Nine Year Olds, 22 INT’L J. OBESITY 206 (1998).} Even in a developing country like South Africa, where many children suffer from hunger and malnutrition, cheap, high-fat, high-sugar, high-salt, energy-dense, and
micronutrient-poor types of food are heavily promoted to children. According to a report released from Statistics South Africa on the food and beverages industry, takeaway and fast food outlets spent R462 million on advertising in 2012 alone.

In 2005, an Australian study evaluated 390 hours of advertisements and 346 hours of advertisements for sweets and fast food restaurants shown during children’s viewing time over fifteen television stations. The study concluded that 50% of the advertisements promoted food that was high in fat, sugar, or both fat and sugar. The study also found that sweets and fast food restaurants were, respectively, three times and two times more likely to be advertised during children’s viewing times than during adult’s viewing times and that fruits and vegetables were the least advertised food.

Another Australian study, evaluating 645 hours of television food advertising, found that 81% of the advertisements promoted unhealthy types of food, including fast food, takeaway food, chocolate, and other sweets. Similarly, in 2006 and 2007, a longitudinal analysis of the content of advertisements on three Australian commercial television stations showed that 61.3% of the food advertisements shown during children’s peak viewing times were promoting fast food restaurants, chocolate, and other sweets.

In the United States, about 80% of foods advertised on children’s television programs promoted convenience foods, fast foods, and sweets. A daily 2,000 calorie diet of such advertised foods would exceed the USDA recommended guidelines for sodium and provide nearly one cup of added sugar. In the last decade, food companies have spent 50% more in marketing their products to children using new media, including the Internet, smartphones, and viral marketing. Breakfast cereals ($22 million), fast foods ($19 million), and snack foods ($10 million) were the

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66. Id. at 108–09.
69. CTR. FOR SCI. IN THE PUB. INT., supra note 51.
70. Id.
71. FED.TRADE COMM’N., supra note 53, at 12.
top three categories for child-directed digital media expenditures. Carbonated beverages ($23 million), sweets ($12 million), and snack foods ($11 million) were the top three categories for adolescents. 72

Food companies use a variety of promotional techniques to market their products to children and adolescents. Popular movies, television programs, and cartoon characters are used to promote fast food meals, cereal, fruit snacks, yogurt, sweets, and carbonated beverages. Foods and beverages are also cross-promoted with amusement parks, video games, and children’s websites. Most food companies engage in online marketing, which is more appealing for children and far less expensive than television and other media. In 2009, about two million children between the ages of two and eleven and approximately three million between the ages of six and fourteen visited at least one of seventy-three food company websites per month. 73 Food companies’ websites, Facebook pages, and Twitter accounts feature popular cartoon characters, video games, and sport and musical celebrities. 74

Consumer research studies conducted by some food companies reported that the purchase of particular foods or the choice to eat at a specific fast food restaurant is often driven by a child’s request. 75 In one company’s study, 75% of the participants reported having purchased the product for the first time because their child suggested it. 76 Another study found that in-store advertising campaigns designed for children were far more effective than targeted in-store advertising for mothers. 77 Innovative product packaging formats and kids branding—reclassified by some researchers as “fun food”—are effective promotional techniques to target young people. 78 Online marketing, in particular, fosters brand loyalty and interactive participation by children and teenagers.

These results suggest that children play a key role in purchasing decisions for food and beverages, and that across the world and across multiple forms of media, foods high in fat and sugar are disproportionally advertised to them. In a recent study investigating the nutritional quality of foods advertised with popular children’s characters, 72% of the

72. Id.
73. Id. at 18–19.
74. See also WHO REG’L OFFICE FOR EUR., supra note 60.
75. See THE EUR. HEART NETWORK, THE MARKETING OF UNHEALTHY FOOD TO CHILDREN IN EUROPE 10 (2005).
76. FED. TRADE COMM’N, supra note 53, at ES 11.
78. Id. See generally Angela Groves, Children’s Food: Market Forces and Industry Responses, 27 BRITISH NUTRITION FOUND. NUTRITION BULL. 187 (2002).
advertisements promoted foods of low nutritional value.\textsuperscript{79} It is well-demonstrated by current literature that advertising of unhealthy and low-nutrient types of food correlates with the prevalence of childhood obesity. Recent studies have indeed found a direct link between children’s exposure to food advertisements and their food preferences.\textsuperscript{80} In a review of 123 studies, the Institute of Medicine concluded that “food and beverage marketing influences the preferences and purchase requests of children, influences consumption at least in the short term, is a likely contributor to less healthy diets, and may contribute to negative diet-related health outcomes and risks.”\textsuperscript{81}

Empirical evidence shows that young children have limited ability to process advertising content in an appropriate way. Between the ages of two and eleven, children start developing their consumer preferences and values; they begin to comprehend the different products, brands, and pricing and can express their purchase requests.\textsuperscript{82} However, before eight years of age, children still lack the defenses and skills necessary to discern marketing’s persuasive intent.\textsuperscript{83} A study investigating children’s ability to evaluate and respond to advertising messages concluded that 64.8\% of six-and seven-year-old children reported “trusting all commercials” compared to 7.4\% of ten- and eleven-year-old children.\textsuperscript{84} These findings suggest that children have limited capacity to comprehend the nature and purpose of advertising; further, attractive messages and subtle selling techniques may impair their ability to resist the implicit persuasion of food marketing efforts.

\section*{II. INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK}

The main international legal instruments addressing children’s right to adequate food and to health are the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). This section of the Article first examines ICESCR provisions that generally impose obligations on States to achieve

\textsuperscript{81} Id. at 307.
\textsuperscript{82} GERARD HASTINGS ET AL., REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF FOOD PROMOTION TO CHILDREN 33–36 (2003).
and protect the right to adequate food. The Article then proceeds by analyzing similar provisions under the CRC, which provides a more specific and robust basis for protecting the right of children to healthy food. The analysis also includes references to other legal instruments issued by international bodies that, although not binding, have addressed issues related to childhood obesity either under the right to food and adequate nutrition or under the right to the highest attainable standard of health.

A. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

Under the ICESCR, which puts socioeconomic rights at the forefront, the right to adequate food is first mentioned in connection with the right to an adequate standard of living. Article 11 of the ICESCR assigns States Parties the obligation of taking appropriate measures to ensure the realization and protection of “the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions.”85 In practice, States Parties shall adopt all appropriate measures to “improve methods of production, conservation and distribution of food by making full use of technical and scientific knowledge, [and] by disseminating knowledge of the principles of nutrition.”86

Further support for the interpretation that children have a right to adequate food comes from the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR Committee).87 The ICESCR Committee, in General Comment No. 12, clarifies that the right to adequate food is realized when “every man, woman, and child, alone or in community with others, have physical and economic access at all times to adequate food or means for its procurement.”88 The United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food further clarified that “the right to food cannot be reduced to a right not to starve,” but rather, “it is an inclusive right to an adequate

86. Id. art. 11(2)(a).
87. The ICESCR Committee is the treaty body comprised of independent experts that monitors the implementation of the ICESCR by its States Parties.
diet providing all the nutritional elements an individual requires to live a healthy and active life, and the means to access them.\textsuperscript{89}

The term adequate is not defined under the ICESCR. However, according to the ICESCR Committee, adequacy means that the food must be in a quantity and quality sufficient to satisfy dietary needs,\textsuperscript{90} taking into consideration the individual’s age, living conditions, health, occupation, sex, and so forth.\textsuperscript{91} For example, unhealthy types of food that can contribute to obesity and other health problems constitute inadequate food. Similarly, food that does not contain the nutrients that are necessary for children’s physical and mental development is not adequate.\textsuperscript{92} Food must also be safe for human consumption and free from adverse substances, culturally acceptable, and economically and physically accessible to everyone, including the most vulnerable, such as infants and children.\textsuperscript{93}

Human rights are often mutually related and dependent on each other; violating the right to adequate food may impair the enjoyment of other rights, like the right to education or the right to health. The dietary-needs requirement is fundamental to ensure the full realization of the right to education given that sufficient and adequate nourishment is necessary for children to attend and succeed at school. When children are denied access to nutritious food, both their right to adequate food and their right to health are violated as healthy nourishment is crucial to ensure their optimal health and development. Article 12 of the ICESCR provides that “States Parties recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health”\textsuperscript{94} and that the measures to be adopted in order to “achieve the full realization of this right shall include those necessary for . . . the healthy development of the child.”\textsuperscript{95} Moreover, States must take “special measures . . . and assistance . . . on behalf of all children and young persons without any discrimination for reasons of parentage or other conditions.”\textsuperscript{96} These two provisions, which link the right to nondiscrimination and special protection for


\textsuperscript{90} General Comment 12, \textit{supra} note 88.


\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{94} ICESCR, \textit{supra} note 85, art. 12.

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Id.} art. 12(2)(a).

\textsuperscript{96} \textit{Id.} art. 10(3).
children to their right to the highest attainable standard to physical and mental health and, by inclusion, their right to nutritious food, should be interpreted in conjunction to one another because such rights are closely related. In order to ensure children’s optimal growth and development, States Parties to the ICESCR are thus under the obligation to take positive measures to provide protection and access to healthy food for all children.

In General Comment No. 14, the ICESCR Committee also affirms that everyone is “entitled to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health conducive to living a life in dignity.”97 The full realization of the right to health closely correlates with the implementation of other rights, including the rights to food, education, human dignity, life, nondiscrimination, equality, and access to information, among others.98 The ICESCR Committee further clarifies that the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health is not limited to the right to healthcare, but rather, it should be intended to embrace “a wide range of socioeconomic factors that promote conditions in which people can lead a healthy life, and extends to the underlying determinants of health, such as food and nutrition . . . ”99 Thus, the ICESCR Committee interprets the right to health “as an inclusive right extending not only to timely and appropriate health care but also to the underlying determinants of health, such as access to . . . adequate supply of safe food, nutrition . . . healthy occupational and environmental conditions, and access to health-related education and information . . . ”100

Interpreting the right to health as an inclusive right means that State obligations cannot be limited to building hospitals and ensuring availability to healthcare services for everyone.101 Rather, positive measures must also be taken to secure access to the underlying determinants of health, including adequate nutrition and safe food, that are necessary to lead a healthy life.102 Failure to ensure the full realization of the right to adequate nutritious food for children means that children’s right to health is also violated. Providing access to healthcare facilities and services to obese children is not sufficient to fulfill children’s right to health. Children’s right to the highest attainable standard of physical and

98. Id. ¶ 3.
99. Id. ¶ 4.
100. Id. ¶ 11.
102. Id.
mental health can only be achieved by ensuring the realization of the wide range of factors and conditions that protect and promote their healthy growth and development, such as adequate food.

The challenge for the implementation of the ICESCR and related rights lies in Article 2(1), which somewhat limits the responsibility of States Parties to adopt steps “to the maximum of . . . [their] available resources, with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Covenant by all appropriate means . . . .”103 This wording undermines the effective implementation of rights under the ICESCR contrary to the immediate applicability of rights provided under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.104 The concept of progressive realization entails that the full implementation of all economic, social, and cultural rights might not be achieved by all States Parties immediately. As a matter of fact, this provision may allow States to slacken their efforts to comply by invoking lack of resources.

To remedy the unsatisfactory formulation of Article 2(1), the Limburg Principles, which clarify the nature and scope of the obligations under the ICESCR, provides that:

The obligation “to achieve progressively the full realization of the rights” requires States parties to move as expeditiously as possible towards the realization of the rights. Under no circumstances shall this be interpreted as implying for States the right to deter indefinitely efforts to ensure full realization. On the contrary all States parties have the obligation to begin immediately to take steps to fulfill their obligations under the Covenant.105

Subsequently, the Maastricht Guidelines, which emanates from a further elaboration on the Limburg Principles, emphasizes that:

The fact that the full realization of most economic, social and cultural rights can only be achieved progressively . . . does not alter the nature of the legal obligation of States which requires that certain steps be taken immediately and others as soon as possible. Therefore, the burden is on the State to demonstrate that it is making measurable progress toward the full realization of the rights in question. The State

103. Id. at 22.
cannot use the “progressive realization” provisions in article 2 of the Covenant as a pretext for non-compliance.\textsuperscript{106}

Although the Limburg Principles and the Maastricht Guidelines are not binding, they have been helpful for the interpretation of obligations under the ICESCR as well as to exhort States Parties to comply.

General Comment No. 3 on the Nature of States Parties’ Obligations, adopted by the ICESCR Committee in 1990, clarifies that, under Article 2(1) of the ICESCR, States Parties are required to take steps that should be “deliberate, concrete and targeted as clearly as possible towards meeting the obligations recognized in the Covenant.”\textsuperscript{107} The undertaking to take appropriate steps must be satisfied by adopting “all appropriate means, including particularly . . . legislative measures,” especially in the fields of health, the protection of children and mothers, and education.\textsuperscript{108} Other appropriate means include judicial or other effective remedies,\textsuperscript{109} and administrative, financial, educational, and social measures.\textsuperscript{110} The ICESCR Committee stresses that the obligation under Article 2(1) to take steps “with a view to achieving progressively the full realization of the rights” under the ICESCR should be intended to urge States “to move as expeditiously and effectively as possible towards that goal.”\textsuperscript{111}

States must take all necessary steps, to the maximum of their available resources, to ensure the realization of the right to adequate food and the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. According to the ICESCR Committee, the concept of “to the maximum of its available resources” should not be limited to the resources existing within a country but also to those available from the international community through international cooperation and assistance.\textsuperscript{112} The duty to use maximum available resources thus entails that States must invest not just their budgetary allocations but their full real resources to ensure the realization of the right to adequate food and the right to health.\textsuperscript{113} Even when States may be able to demonstrate that their resources are inadequate to fulfill the realization of such rights, they are still under the obligation to endeavor to ensure the enjoyment of those rights as far as possible.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{108} Id. ¶ 3.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Id. ¶ 5.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Id. ¶ 7.
\item \textsuperscript{111} Id. ¶ 9.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Id. ¶ 13.
\item \textsuperscript{113} See generally APPLYING AN INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FRAMEWORK TO STATE BUDGET ALLOCATIONS: RIGHTS AND RESOURCES (Rory O’Connell et al. eds., 2014).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The CRC, which recognizes children as holders of their own rights and fundamental freedoms, encompasses both their civil and political rights as well as their economic, social, and cultural rights in a single document.114 In particular, under the CRC, children’s right to food is protected in the context of the rights to life, survival and development, the highest attainable standard of health, and an adequate standard of living. Article 6 of the CRC provides that “every child has the inherent right to life”115 and requires that States ensure “to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child.”116 According to the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC Committee),117 the notion of “development” must be interpreted in its broadest sense as a holistic concept, embracing the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral, psychological, and social development.118

Thus, the right to adequate food can be broadly implied under such provision as sufficient, safe, and nutritious food is necessary for children to grow physically and mentally. Children are particularly vulnerable to undernutrition and malnutrition. Inadequate food affects them disproportionately, leading to death or other long-lasting health consequences, including mental and physical impairment, chronic illness, weak immune systems, and poor reproductive health.119 Because children are largely dependent on their families or caregivers for food, their ability to enjoy their right to food is significantly affected by the choice and capacity of families and caregivers to provide adequate food.120

The right to adequate food can also be implied under Article 24 of the CRC, which recognizes “the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health.”121 As previously discussed, also under the CRC, the right to adequate food and the right to the highest attainable standard of health are interrelated and interdependent. For example, to

115. Id. art. 6(1).
116. Id. art. 6(2).
117. The CRC Committee is the treaty body comprised of independent experts that monitors the implementation of the CRC by States Parties.
120. See id.
121. CRC, supra note 114, art. 24(1).
fulfill children’s right to health, States must ensure equal access to health care services for all children affected by obesity. Before they can do so, States must also strive to provide adequate and nutritious food to reduce the risk for children of becoming overweight and incurring related health problems. Under Article 24, the right to food is also directly mentioned when States Parties are required to take appropriate measures in order to “diminish infant and child mortality” and to “combat disease and malnutrition, . . . through, inter alia, the application of readily available technology and through the provision of adequate nutritious foods.”

In General Comment No. 15, The CRC Committee clarifies that children’s right to health must be interpreted as an inclusive right extending not only to access to healthcare services but also the right of children “to grow and develop to their full potential, and live in conditions that enable them to attain the highest standard of health by implementing programmes that address the underlying determinants of health.” The concept of “underlying determinants of health” encompasses a great range of socioeconomic factors, including food and nutrition, housing, access to safe and potable water and adequate sanitation, safe and healthy working conditions, and a healthy environment. Children’s right to health should be understood holistically and can only be fully realized in conjunction with other international human rights obligations, such as the right to adequate food.

Finally, Article 27(1) of the CRC, providing for “the right of every child to a standard of living adequate for . . . [her or his] physical, mental, spiritual, moral and social development,” can also be interpreted to include, by extension, the right to healthy and adequate food. In fact, Article 27(3) requires “States Parties . . . [to] provide material assistance and support programmes, particularly with regard to nutrition.” The right to an adequate standard of living entitles children to enjoy the necessary subsistence rights, such as adequate food and nutrition, clothing, and housing. Lack of adequate food impairs children’s ability to be full

122. Id.
123. Id. art. 24(2)(a).
124. Id. art. 24(2)(c).
127. CRC, supra note 114, art. 27(1).
128. Id. art. 27(3).
participants in their everyday life and to reach their optimal physical, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development. Studies have shown that lack of adequate nutrition and poor eating habits affect children’s cognitive functions and may lead to behavioral, emotional, and academic problems, as well as to obesity.\textsuperscript{130} For instance, research conducted in 2013 across eight European countries found that children aged ten to twelve who skipped breakfast were 80\% more likely to be obese.\textsuperscript{131}

Under Article 4 of the CRC, States Parties “undertake all appropriate legislative, administrative, and other measures for the implementation of [all] rights.”\textsuperscript{132} In particular, “with regard to economic, social and cultural rights, States Parties shall undertake such measures to the maximum extent of their available resources and, where needed, within the framework of international co-operation.”\textsuperscript{133} Although the enjoyment of economic, social, and cultural rights is interdependent and intertwined with the enjoyment of civil and political rights, and States bear an overall obligation of implementation, this sentence recognizes that lack of resources can impede the full and immediate implementation of economic, social, and cultural rights in some countries.\textsuperscript{134}

Thus, the CRC suffers from the same limitation of the ICESCR with regard to the immediate implementation of such rights. Indeed, both agreements contain wordings such as “to the maximum extent possible” and “to the maximum of . . . available resources,” respectively, which subject the realization of the rights to food and health to the resources available and the priorities of the States. However, if both provisions are read in conjunction with Limburg Principle 21, States’ obligation of intent to provide children with adequate food, the highest attainable standard of health, and an adequate standard of living and nutrition acquires a much stronger connotation.\textsuperscript{135}

Similarly, the CRC Committee, in its General Comment No. 5, holds that the concept of “progressive realization” of rights under Article 4 of the CRC should impose an obligation on States to demonstrate that they have implemented economic, social, and cultural rights “to the maximum extent of their available resources,” and where necessary, they have sought


\textsuperscript{131} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{132} CRC, \textit{supra} note 114, art. 4.

\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Id.}

\textsuperscript{134} See Comm. on the Rts. of the Child, General Comment No. 5, \textit{supra} note 118, ¶ 7.

international cooperation to implement these rights. This means that States are expected to not only strive to ensure the implementation of such rights within their jurisdiction but also to contribute through international cooperation to the global implementation of economic, social, and cultural rights in those countries that may be lacking the necessary resources.

Even if States may have been able to demonstrate the inadequacy of their available resources, they are still bound to ensure the widest possible enjoyment of the relevant rights under the prevailing circumstances. The CRC Committee further clarifies that “whatever their economic circumstances, States are required to undertake all possible measures towards the realization of the rights of the child, paying special attention to the most disadvantaged groups.” In particular, despite resource constraints, legislative measures should be adopted to ensure that domestic laws consistently reflect the principles and standards of the CRC, especially in the fields of health, education, and justice, among others.

III. CHILD RIGHTS-BASED APPROACH TO CHILDHOOD OBESITY

A. State Obligations

Under Article 2 of the ICESCR and the ICESCR Committee’s General Comment No. 3, the principal positive obligation for States Parties is to take steps to achieve progressively, but as expeditiously as possible, the full realization of the right to adequate food. To this end, each State must ensure for everyone access to food that is sufficient, nutritionally adequate, and safe. More specifically, the right to adequate food imposes three positive obligations on States: the obligations to respect, to protect, and to fulfill.

The obligation to respect requires States to not take any measures that may result in preventing existing access to adequate food. States shall not pass legislation or develop policies that can interfere with anyone’s existing enjoyment of the right to adequate food.

The obligation to protect requires States to ensure third parties—including individuals, enterprises, and other entities—do not violate

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137. Id. ¶ 8.
138. Id. ¶ 22.
141. Id.
anyone’s access to adequate food. For example, States should ensure that food available on the market is safe and nutritious. They should also particularly protect children from the advertising and promotions of unhealthy food in order to support the efforts of parents and health professionals to encourage healthier food choices and eating habits.

The obligation to fulfill the right to adequate food incorporates both the obligation to facilitate and the obligation to provide. To facilitate the full realization of the right to adequate food, a State must strive to strengthen everyone’s access to resources and means necessary to ensure a livelihood, including food security. States must also inform people, including children, of their right to adequate food and increase people’s ability to participate in the development process of food and nutrition programs.

Finally, whenever persons are unable, for reasons beyond their control, to enjoy the right to adequate food by the means at their disposal, States have the obligation to provide adequate food directly, as in the case of the most deprived, often including children, or those who are victims of natural or other disasters.

In addition to such progressive duties that can be realized over time, States also bear the following positive obligations of immediate effects: elimination of discrimination, prohibition of retrogressive measures, and protection of minimum essential level of the right to adequate food. Any discrimination in access to food on the basis of race, color, sex, language, or age, among others, should be immediately prohibited. The concept of discrimination includes both direct and indirect forms of differential treatment. In General Comment No. 20 on non-discrimination in economic, social, and cultural rights, the ICESCR Committee clarifies that direct discrimination occurs when an individual is treated less favorably than another in a similar situation on prohibited grounds. Indirect discrimination includes any legislation, policies, or practices that do not appear to be discriminatory at face value but have a disproportionate impact on the enjoyment of the right to adequate food by a particular

142. Id.
144. Id.
145. Id. at 19.
Ensuring non-discrimination in access to adequate food means not only abolishing laws, policies, and programs that may treat individuals differently because of their gender, age, disability, race, or any other prohibited ground but also entails recognizing and providing for the specific needs of different groups, which may have different dietary needs, like children. For instance, in designing and implementing welfare measures, States must take into consideration the different dietary needs of children to ensure their access to adequate food.\textsuperscript{149}

States are also prohibited from introducing any retrogressive measures that can degrade the existing enjoyment of the right to adequate food unless the State can demonstrate that it has carefully considered all the prevailing options, assessed the impact of such measures, and fully used the maximum available resources.\textsuperscript{150} Also of immediate application is the core minimum obligation for States to satisfy: the minimum essential level of the right to food.\textsuperscript{151} This means, for example, ensuring that everyone is free from hunger, even in times of natural or other disasters, or that access to adequate food is provided for those who are unable to secure it by themselves, as it may be the case for children. Whenever States may seek to justify failure to meet such minimum obligations due to resource constraints, they must demonstrate that every effort has been made to use all their available resources to satisfy, as a matter of priority, those core obligations.\textsuperscript{152}

States’ obligation to protect the right to adequate food includes ensuring that third parties, such as individuals, families, local communities, enterprises, and other entities, do not infringe upon the realization of such right. To what extent all members of society also have responsibilities with regard to the promotion and protection of human rights, including the right to adequate food, has been increasingly under debate. For example, the issue of obesity has been mostly approached as a matter of personal responsibility or, in the case of children, as a matter of parental responsibility. However, children have a limited ability to control their diets because they do not purchase their own food, they may not be able to prepare meals for their families, and they do not have a full understanding of the long-term health consequences of their actions and eating habits. By the same token, for all the reasons previously discussed in this Article, parents may also not be able to determine what will serve

\textsuperscript{148} Id.
\textsuperscript{149} OFFICE OF THE U.N. HIGH COMM. FOR HUM. RTS., supra note 91, at 20–21.
\textsuperscript{150} Id.
\textsuperscript{151} Id. at 22.
\textsuperscript{152} Id.
their children’s best interest when it comes to food choices and eating patterns.

Although children are recognized as holders of their own rights under the CRC, parents have the primary responsibility for their upbringing and development. The CRC holds that the family is the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for children’s growth and well-being, and thus, should be accorded with the necessary protection and assistance to be able to fulfill its responsibilities within the community.

According to Article 5 of the CRC, “States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents . . . to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance” in children’s exercise and enjoyment of the rights recognized under the CRC. Parents bear the primary responsibility to provide their children with adequate nutritious food and health, among other obligations. Their primary responsibility is further stated under Article 14 of the CRC, on children’s freedom of thought, conscience, and religion, providing that States Parties shall respect the rights and duties of the parents to provide direction to children’s exercise and enjoyment of such right in a manner consistent with their evolving capacities. In order to ensure the full realization of children’s rights, States Parties must accord appropriate assistance to parents in performing their child-rearing responsibilities and must ensure the development and effective operation of institutions, facilities, and services for the care of children.

Secondary to parental obligations, the State must afford children the protection and care necessary for their well-being, “taking into account the rights and duties of [their] parents . . . and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures.” In cases of child neglect or abuse, for example, Article 19 of the CRC requires States to “take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s) . . . ,” thereby suggesting that parental rights may be conditional and subject to limitations whenever this may be in the child’s best interest. Despite the primary role of parents, and States’ obligation to support them, the paramount principle under the CRC is that “in all actions concerning
children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interest of the child shall be a primary consideration.\textsuperscript{160}

Ensuring their best interests means that the State has the positive obligation to intervene for the protection and care of children as a measure of last resort, whenever their health and wellbeing may be at serious risk, as determined by a competent authority. In multiple cases of severe obesity both in the United States and in the United Kingdom, for example, children have been removed from their families by social services because their excessive weight raised major concerns for their health.\textsuperscript{161} Scholars have argued that childhood obesity may amount to medical neglect and may require intervention of child protection services should parents fail to follow recommended treatments and dietary guidelines, and if the following conditions are met: there is a high risk of serious imminent harm, there is a reasonable likelihood that State intervention will result in effective treatment, and all alternative options have been exhausted.\textsuperscript{162}

Even in the United States, one of the only two countries that did not ratify the CRC and thus may not be bound by its obligations, governments are considered responsible for protecting children’s best interest through the application of the \textit{parens patriae} doctrine whenever parents or families...

\textsuperscript{160} Id. art. 3(1); see Michael Freeman, \textsc{Article 3: The Best Interests of the Child} 53–56 (2007); John Tobin, Beyond the Supermarket Shelf: Using a Rights-Based Approach to Address Children’s Health Needs, 14 INT’L J. CHILD. RTS. 275, 287 (2006); Mitchell Woolf, Coming of Age?—The Principle of the “Best Interests of the Child,” 2 EUR. HUM. RTS. L. REV. 205, 205–10 (2003).

\textsuperscript{161} See In re L.T., 494 N.W.2d 450 (Iowa Ct. App. 1992) (holding that a ten-year-old girl suffering from morbid obesity, depression, and a personality disorder following the divorce of her parents was properly adjudicated a “child in need of assistance” and that placement in a residential treatment foster care home was the least restrictive means available to address both her psychological and life-threatening physical problems); In re G.C., 66 S.W.3d 517 (Tex. App. 2002) (upholding the termination of parental rights for medical neglect of a morbidly obese four-year-old boy whose mother had failed to adhere to the recommended diet for him). See In re Brittany T., 835 N.Y.S.2d 829 (N.Y. Fam. Ct. 2007), rev’d, 852 N.Y.S.2d 475 (N.Y. App. Div. 2008), in which the family court found the parents guilty of willfully violating court orders to, \textit{inter alia}, keep the child on a diet, to get nutritional counseling, to enroll the child in a gym, and to take all actions necessary to ensure the child attended school more regularly. The court ordered the child to be removed to foster care. On appeal, the court reversed the family court’s order because it determined that the Chemung County Department of Social Services had not proved “willful violation” of the family court orders by the parents and instead found that the parents had been trying to comply. Brittany T., 852 N.Y.S.2d at 480. For a discussion of these cases, see generally Denise Cohen, \textit{Childhood Obesity: Balancing the Nations’ Interest with a Parent’s Constitutional Right to Privacy}, 10 CARDozo PUB. L. POL’Y & ETHICS J. 358 (2012); Lizet Dominguez, Childhood Obesity as Child Abuse: Criminalizing Parents for Raising Obese Children, 2 CHILD AND FAM. L. J. 105 (2014). Finally, see also Obese Children Removed from Their Families, THE TELEGRAPH (Feb. 28, 2014), https://www.telegraph.co.uk/foodanddrink/healthyeating/10667066/Obese-children-removed-from-families.html, which discusses children put into care in the UK because of their morbid obesity.

\textsuperscript{162} See Todd Varness et al., \textit{Childhood Obesity and Medical Neglect}, 123 PEDIATRICS 399, 399–406 (2009); R.M. Viner et al., \textit{When Does Childhood Obesity Become a Child Protection Issue?}, 341 BRITISH MED. J. 375, 375 (2010).
are failing to meet their primary obligations.\textsuperscript{163} The \textit{parens patriae} doctrine has its roots in English Common Law, when rights and duties were ultimately reserved to the King as parent of the country. Lately, its main application has been in the treatment of minors, the mentally handicapped, or otherwise incapacitated people who are legally unable to act for themselves. The government serves as their ultimate guardian to protect their best interest and their property. However, legal scholars have recently argued that “[the legislature’s] paternalistic vigilance” should also be extended to secure adequate protection to all children from the “obesity epidemic.”\textsuperscript{164}

Adopting a rights-based approach to children’s right to adequate food and to health entails that the prevention of childhood obesity is a matter of States’ responsibility rather than being solely a matter of familial responsibility. The children’s rights approach recognizes the crucial importance of the family as the natural social unit for children’s optimal development and well-being, as well as its importance for the promotion and realization of children’s right to adequate food. Such right is indeed “a source of parental responsibility, the discharge of which requires support from the state for good parenting practices.”\textsuperscript{165} However, “equally importantly, the existence of parental responsibility means that the children of parents with bad parenting practices should not be unduly disadvantaged by the inappropriate decisions of their parents.”\textsuperscript{166}

Adopting a children’s rights-based approach to adequate food also means that the decision-making and implementation processes of the necessary measures must adhere to the human rights principles of participation, accountability, non-discrimination, transparency, human dignity, empowerment, and the rule of law, generally referred to as the PANTHER framework.\textsuperscript{167} The principle of participation, as we will discuss further in the last section of this Article, entails that all actors,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{164} Id.; see also Mangini v. R.J. Reynolds Tobacco, 875 P.2d 73, 83 (Cal. 1994) (discussing how, when anti-smoking advocates brought suit against R.J. Reynolds challenging the Joe Camel advertising campaign targeting children in the 1990s, the California Supreme Court referred to the \textit{parens patriae} doctrine in dismissing a summary judgment challenge).
\item \textsuperscript{166} Id.
\end{itemize}
including children, families, and communities whose right to adequate nutrition might be affected, should be included in the decision-making and implementation processes of relevant policies and programs. Accountability requires that States must be held accountable for violations of the right to adequate food and that effective remedies must be provided when violations have occurred. Non-discrimination requires States both to refrain from any form of discrimination on prohibited grounds and to adopt measures that can remove the conditions causing or perpetuating inequality and disparities.

Transparency means that the actors involved, including children, families, and communities, must receive all information related to decision-making processes about policies and programs that can impact the realization of their right to adequate food. The principle of human dignity requires States to provide access to food in a way that is consistent with children’s dignity by ensuring, for instance, nutritional adequacy and cultural acceptability of food assistance. Empowerment means strengthening children’s ability to effectively exercise and enjoy their right to adequate food by participating in decision-making and implementation processes of relevant policies and programs. Finally, the rule of law requires a state and its officials to obey to the laws of the country and to take actions that are consistent with human rights principles.

States’ obligations to protect the right to adequate food also include ensuring that food companies do not infringe upon its realization, for instance, by assessing, monitoring, and regulating the impact of food advertising on childhood obesity. Complying with this obligation requires States to balance children’s rights to adequate food and to health with children’s right to freedom of expression.

Article 13 of the CRC provides that children’s right to freedom of expression, which includes the freedom “to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds,” may be subject to restrictions for public health reasons, among others.168 Furthermore, Article 17 of the CRC imposes specific obligations on States Parties to ensure that children have “access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of [their] . . . social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health.”169 To this end, States must “encourage the development of appropriate guidelines for the protection of the child from information and material injurious to his or her well-being.”170

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168. CRC, supra note 114, art. 13(1)(2).
169. Id. art. 17.
170. Id. art. 17(c).
The CRC emphasizes the impact that information may have on children’s health and thus requires States not only to provide adequate access to health care for children but also to provide information related to children’s health and nutrition. This requirement implies that States have the obligation to ensure that food advertising is in compliance with children’s freedom of expression, is in compliance with the restrictions under Article 17, and above all, is in accordance with the best interest of children. Under Article 32, the CRC recognizes States Parties’ obligation to protect children from economic exploitation. Article 32 has been mostly interpreted as related to the exploitation of children in the workforce.\textsuperscript{171} However, advertising might also be considered exploitative of children as consumers.\textsuperscript{172}

B. Child Obesity-Specific Recommendations

States’ human rights obligations related to childhood obesity have also been explored by reports and recommendations of United Nations bodies that, although not binding, can influence relevant legislations and policy making. In General Comment No. 15, the CRC Committee explicitly urges States to address obesity among children by limiting their exposure to fast foods “that are high in fat, sugar or salt, energy-dense and micronutrient-poor, and drinks containing high levels of caffeine.”\textsuperscript{173} Advertising of these products should be regulated and their availability in schools should be restricted.\textsuperscript{174} To ensure that both children and parents are informed and supported in the use of basic knowledge of children’s health and nutrition, the CRC Committee recommends that “information and life skills education should address a broad range of health issues including, inter alia, healthy eating and promotion of physical activity, sports, and recreation.”\textsuperscript{175}

In General Comment No. 16 on State obligations regarding the impact of the business sector on children’s rights, the CRC Committee clarifies that the right to life, survival, and development under Article 6 of the CRC must be interpreted holistically to include children’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral, psychological, and social development.\textsuperscript{176} Therefore, food enterprises marketing unhealthy products to children can compromise children’s rights to health and adequate food and can impact

\textsuperscript{171} CRC, \textit{supra} note 114, art. 24.
\textsuperscript{172} Handsley, \textit{supra} note 165, at 131.
\textsuperscript{173} Comm. of the Rts. of the Child, General Comment No. 15, \textit{supra} note 125, ¶ 47.
\textsuperscript{174} Id.
\textsuperscript{175} Id. art. 59.
the effective realization of children’s right to life and their holistic development.\textsuperscript{177} States have the responsibility to ensure that the media disseminates information and materials beneficial to the child, for instance regarding healthy lifestyles and eating.\textsuperscript{178} In order to monitor, investigate, and provide remedies for abuses of children’s rights to health, safety, and consumer rights, the CRC Committee suggests that regulatory agencies responsible for the oversight of advertising and marketing must strengthen their enforcement mechanisms.\textsuperscript{179}

In its latest concluding observations, the CRC Committee has expressed serious concern for the growing rates of child obesity in several countries and has recommended prompt State actions. For instance, the CRC Committee encouraged Canada to promote a healthy lifestyle and physical activity among children and ensure greater regulation over the production and advertisement of fast food and other unhealthy foods, especially those targeted at children.\textsuperscript{180} The CRC Committee has also recommended multiple European States increase their efforts to prevent and combat obesity among children.\textsuperscript{181} In Finland, the CRC Committee shared its concern for the lack of regulation to restrict the marketing and advertising of unhealthy foods that affect child nutrition and contribute to childhood obesity and other negative health consequences.\textsuperscript{182} In Denmark, the CRC Committee recommended the States Party engage with media and the food industry to ensure their contribution to healthy lifestyles and consumption patterns by children and adolescents.\textsuperscript{183}

\textsuperscript{177} Id. ¶ 19.
\textsuperscript{178} Id. ¶ 58.
\textsuperscript{179} Id. ¶ 61(a).
Although such recommendations are not legally binding, some States have been responsive to the observations of the CRC Committee related to childhood obesity. For instance, Spain reported that regulations have been amended to protect children from child-targeted advertising of toys, foods, and beverages with a view of preventing obesity and promoting healthy living.\textsuperscript{184} Spain has adopted a strategic plan that includes measures aimed at controlling obesity among children to ensure the fullest realization of children’s right to health.\textsuperscript{185} Finally, an observation on nutrition and an assessment of the prevalence of child obesity in the country has been conducted to improve diets and life habits among children and raise awareness of the risk associated with childhood obesity.\textsuperscript{186}

Denmark also provided a detailed plan and budget allocation for the implementation of multiple cross-sector initiatives to combat obesity among children for the period of 2013 to 2017.\textsuperscript{187} The efforts included the publication of guidelines on early identification and intervention of obesity among children and adolescents; the dissemination of health prevention packages on nutrition, physical activity, and obesity to municipalities;\textsuperscript{188} the implementation of a nationwide campaign to promote physical activity for children including commercials, advertisements, and a website;\textsuperscript{189} the provision of healthy lunch meals in day-care centers;\textsuperscript{190} the development of dietary guidelines for elementary schools;\textsuperscript{191} the adoption by the food industry of a self-regulation code to limit the marketing of unhealthy products to children; the prohibition of vending machine in schools and pre-schools; and the introduction of mandatory physical exercise in any school day.\textsuperscript{192}

Other countries have been more timid and generic in their responses. For instance, Canada’s report only focused on specific initiatives.

\textsuperscript{185} Id. ¶ 200.
\textsuperscript{186} Id. ¶¶ 213–14.
\textsuperscript{188} Id. ¶¶ 120, 122.
\textsuperscript{189} Id. ¶ 121.
\textsuperscript{190} Id. ¶ 124.
\textsuperscript{191} Id. ¶ 125.
\textsuperscript{192} Id.
addressing obesity among aboriginal children. Finland generally mentioned the government’s goal to enhance children’s eating habits and achieve lifestyle changes that contribute to the prevention of obesity among children as part of the larger policy program on health promotion but failed to describe any imaginative steps. In their latest reports, other countries—including Austria, Belgium, and Italy—have not discussed any measures taken to combat child obesity within their efforts to realize the right to adequate food and health. Although compliance with recommendations of the CRC Committee can vary greatly among countries, reports for the most part show that States recognize bearing positive obligations to prevent obesity under the CRC.

In General Comment No. 14, the ICESCR Committee also provides that States must take measures to promote children’s healthy development by ensuring the dissemination of appropriate information in relation to healthy lifestyle and nutrition in addition to supporting families and communities in implementing these practices. Measures and polices adopted by States for the implementation of the right to health of children and adolescents must ensure that their best interest is the primary consideration. In General Comment No. 24 on State obligations under the ICESCR in the context of business activities, the ICESCR Committee acknowledges that the realization of children’s right to health and food, among others, is disproportionally impacted by the advertising of

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197. Id. art. 24.
unhealthy foods and beverages.\textsuperscript{198} To fulfill their obligation to protect, States should consider measures aimed at restricting the marketing and advertising of products that can be detrimental to public health, including the marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages to children.\textsuperscript{199}

In 2012, the High Commissioner for Human Rights drew attention to overnutrition in its report to the Human Rights Council on the right of the child to enjoy the highest attainable standard of health.\textsuperscript{200} The High Commissioner stressed that over-nutrition, due to lack of physical activity and unhealthy diets, and stigmatization of obese children represent serious concerns.\textsuperscript{201} The measures proposed to address childhood obesity included the promotion of healthy eating habits and physical exercise, parental education, and regulation of advertising.\textsuperscript{202} The High Commissioner also emphasized children’s need for information and education on the importance of healthy eating and physical activity, which will enable them to realize their right to health, make informed choices in relation to lifestyle, and access health services.\textsuperscript{203}

In particular, the High Commissioner recognized the essential role that schools can play in health promotion by including health-related information in the school curricula and fostering physical education programs.\textsuperscript{204} The High Commissioner also advocated for imposing restrictions on the advertisement of food and beverage products that are detrimental to children’s health and development\textsuperscript{205} and for encouraging media to promote healthy eating habits and lifestyles among children and adolescents by providing free advertising space for health promotion and avoiding health-related stigma.\textsuperscript{206} The approach adopted by the High Commissioner mostly reflected existing interventions focusing on information provision and did not suggest any innovative strategies to combat child obesity, nor did he propose any practical measures for States to guide and regulate food marketing and advertising.


\textsuperscript{199} Id. ¶ 19.


\textsuperscript{201} Id. ¶¶ 41–42.

\textsuperscript{202} Id. ¶ 44.

\textsuperscript{203} Id. ¶ 86.

\textsuperscript{204} Id. ¶ 87.

\textsuperscript{205} Id. ¶ 107.

\textsuperscript{206} Id. ¶ 108.
Conversely, in 2014, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health, Anand Grover, in his report to the Human Rights Council on Unhealthy Foods, Non-Communicable Diseases and the Right to Health, clarified the following:

States [are required] to ensure the availability and accessibility of food in a quantity and quality to satisfy the individuals’ dietary needs, and which contain a mix of nutrients for physical and mental growth, development and maintenance, and physical activity that are in compliance with human physiological needs at all stages of life.207

Like the High Commissioner, the Special Rapporteur recommended the formulation and dissemination of food and nutrition guidelines for a healthy diet for vulnerable groups, including children.208 However, to reduce the consumption of unhealthy foods, the Special Rapporteur went further than the High Commissioner by encouraging States to increase taxes on unhealthy foods, like sugar-sweetened beverages, and reduce the prices of healthy foods.209 The Special Rapporteur suggested the adoption of tax benefits and agricultural investments to incentivize the production of vegetables and fruits.210 He also recommended the distribution of local and fresh produce to schools both to support localized farming and to encourage the consumption of healthy foods by school-children.211

Finally, the Special Rapporteur urged States to implement their obligations regarding children’s right to health through the adoption of further measures such as providing healthful food in child-centered institutions, limiting access to fast food and drinks, and teaching the benefits of a healthy diet within the school curriculum to influence children’s food choices and preferences.212

The Special Rapporteur clarified that although States should refrain from interfering with people’s enjoyment of their right to food and related decision-making processes, such obligation should not imply “a disengaged approach by States towards laws and policies concerning the food industry.”213 States bear the positive obligation to protect people from violations of their right to health caused by third parties, like food

208. Id. ¶ 17.
209. Id.
210. Id.
211. Id. ¶¶ 18, 20; see also KEI OTSUKI & ALBERTO ARCE, BRAZIL: A DESK REVIEW OF THE NATIONAL SCHOOL FEEDING PROGRAMME (2007).
213. Id. ¶ 14.
companies, and to ensure that food advertising and marketing convey accurate information on products because advertising and marketing influence people’s diet choices and impacts their right to health.214 For children, States must implement their obligations regarding children’s right to health by limiting their exposure to fast foods and drinks high in sugar and caffeine, and by regulating the marketing of such products and controlling their availability in schools and other places frequented by children.215

The Special Rapporteur included specific recommendations for States to adopt national policies to regulate advertising of unhealthy foods and legislative measures to reduce children’s exposure to food and drink marketing.216 It clarified that “the responsibility to protect the enjoyment of the right to health warrants State intervention in situations when third parties, such as food companies, use their position to influence dietary habits by directly or indirectly encouraging unhealthy diets, which negatively affect people’s health.”217 This means that States have a positive duty to regulate unhealthy food advertising and the promotion strategies of food companies, especially those targeted at vulnerable groups, such as children.218 Although reports issued by the Special Rapporteur are not legally binding, the Human Rights Council urged States to give full consideration to his recommendations.219

Similarly, the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights, Farida Shaheed, in her report to the Secretary General in 2014, noted that the rights of children, including the right to adequate food and to health, deserve particular attention.220 The Special Rapporteur recalled that, under Principle 6 of the Children’s Rights and Business Principles, corporations should refrain from advertising products that could have an adverse impact on children’s rights and health, and they should use marketing that raises awareness of and promotes children’s rights, positive self-esteem, and healthy lifestyle and eating habits.221 The report acknowledges that food marketing and advertising of products with a high content of fat, sugar,
and salt have contributed to changes in eating patterns and cooking practices into less healthy dietary habits.\textsuperscript{222}

To reduce the risks related to childhood obesity and noncommunicable diseases, the report indicates that States have adopted different strategies. Some States have prohibited food companies from advertising junk food to young children or using toys to promote children’s food;\textsuperscript{223} other States have prohibited television advertising during certain hours or children’s programs;\textsuperscript{224} and some other States, like Brazil, Canada, Denmark, and Norway, have prohibited all forms of advertising to children younger than twelve.\textsuperscript{225} The Special Rapporteur recommended that nutritional information should be more effectively provided by improving the content, form, and layout during advertising;\textsuperscript{226} efforts should be made to regulate all forms of indirect advertising and sponsorship also in digital spaces;\textsuperscript{227} and children should not be exposed to any marketing of unhealthy foods and beverages while at school or on playgrounds.\textsuperscript{228}

\textbf{C. Children’s Participation}

Finally, under a child rights-based approach, States must ensure the realization of children’s right to participate in the decision-making processes affecting their adequate nutrition and health and include children’s perspectives in the development and implementation of relevant measures. Under Article 12 of the CRC, children are entitled to express their views freely in all matters affecting them, and such views should be accorded due weight in consideration of the age and maturity of the child.\textsuperscript{229} The CRC’s General Comment No. 12 of 2009 defined participation as the children’s ability to participate in “ongoing processes, which include information-sharing and dialogue between children and adults based on mutual respect, and in which children can learn how their views and those of adults are taken into account and shape the outcome of such processes.”\textsuperscript{230}

The Open-Ended Working Group established by the Commission on Human Rights, which drafted the text of the CRC, intentionally provided

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{222} Id. ¶ 50.
\item \textsuperscript{223} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{224} Id. ¶ 58.
\item \textsuperscript{225} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{226} Id. ¶ 51.
\item \textsuperscript{227} Id. ¶¶ 52–53.
\item \textsuperscript{228} Id. ¶ 66.
\item \textsuperscript{229} CRC, supra note 114, art. 12.
\item \textsuperscript{230} Comm. on the Rts. of the Child, General Comment No. 12: The Right of the Child to be Heard, ¶ 3, U.N. Doc. CRC/C/GC/12 (July 20, 2009), http://undocs.org/CRC/C/GC/12.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
that the right to be heard should be applied broadly to all matters affecting children’s lives, including their nutritional well-being. For practical implementation, Article 12 should be interpreted in connection with Article 3 of the CRC (primary consideration of the best interests of the child) when applied to children’s best interest in relation to their nutritional health. To achieve children’s participation in the decisions related to their nutritional needs and healthy diet, both Articles 12 and 3 should also be read in connection with Article 5 of the CRC (evolving capacities of the child and appropriate direction and guidance from parents) since it is crucial that parents acknowledge children’s evolving capacities to participate in all matters affecting them.231

General Comment No. 12 of 2009 clarifies that the realization of the provisions of the CRC requires respect for children’s right to participate in promoting their healthy development and well-being. Paragraph 98 states that this applies to individual health-care decisions in addition to children’s involvement in the development of health policy and services.232 By extension, children’s right to participation should also be interpreted to apply to decisions related to children’s healthy nutrition and eating habits, which are indeed a crucial component of their optimal development and well-being. Children’s involvement in the development of nutrition policy and related measures is crucial to achieve effective programs and services that take into due consideration their perspectives and experiences and ensure their commitment as primary beneficiaries.

Under General Comment No. 12, States Parties are required to introduce legislation or regulations to ensure that children have access to confidential medical counseling and advice without parental consent, regardless of their age, whenever this may be necessary for their safety or well-being.233 This requirement should be provided in case of conflicts between parents and children over access to health services, and by analogy, also whenever children’s health and well-being may be at risk due to parental choices regarding children’s nutritional needs or when conflicts arise between parents and children on such matters. Allowing children to seek support from experts and professionals whenever their current and future health may be compromised because of unhealthy eating habits and nutritional choices made by their parents should be intended as part of the right of children to participate in such crucial decisions affecting their long-term well-being and healthy relationship with food.

231. Id. ¶¶ 68–69.
232. Id. ¶ 98.
233. Id. ¶ 101.
Similarly, in General Comment No. 14, the ICESCR Committee provided that States must secure people’s participation in the decision-making processes affecting their development and that such participation must be an integral component of any policy, program, or strategy developed for the realization of the right to the highest attainable standard of health. For children and adolescents, States must provide a safe and supportive environment that fosters their ability “to participate in decisions affecting their health, to build life skills, to acquire appropriate information, to receive counselling and to negotiate the health-behaviour choices they make.” Only by adopting participatory and transparent processes that include children’s perspectives in the development and implementation of steps and measures designed to prevent obesity can States effectively fulfill their positive obligations to the realization of the rights to adequate food and to health for all children.

As previously discussed, participation is among the human rights principles under the PANTHER framework, developed by FAO, that must be applied in the development and implementation of effective policies and programs related to adequate nutrition and food security. The practical application of such principle implies that all stakeholders, including children, who are among the vulnerable groups most affected by lack of adequate food must be given the choice to participate in the assessment, decision-making, implementation, and monitoring of measures, strategies, policies, and programs related to adequate nutrition. When it pertains to children, participatory processes must respect and take in due consideration their age and level of maturity to enable them to contribute to more effective outcomes.

In its 2012 report to the Human Rights Council, the High Commissioner stated that the full realization of children’s right to the highest attainable standard of health requires States to make efforts to increase “interaction with children, and their participation at all stages of health system design and operation to improve the acceptability and, by extension, the uptake and use of services.” Beyond parents, schools, nutritionists, health professionals, and any other stakeholders, the High Commissioner thus recognized that only by according children with the opportunity to actively participate in the decision-making processes

235. Id. ¶ 23.
related to their adequate nutrition and health in a manner suitable to their age and level of maturity can the acceptability, understanding, and use of healthcare services by children themselves be improved. The High Commissioner also encouraged States to disseminate information on healthy eating and physical activity in a child-friendly manner to enable children to make informed choices in relation to their lifestyle, adequate nutrition, and access to healthcare services.\footnote{237} To ensure that such information related to health and adequate nutrition can effectively reach children and promote their healthy eating and physical activity, children must be given the opportunity to participate in designing relevant materials and social media campaigns in collaboration with adults.\footnote{238}

Finally, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food reaffirmed that the principle of participation requires beneficiaries of nutrition-based measures to partake in the development and implementation of the solutions that can benefit them.\footnote{239} This means that overweight and obese children should be included in designing nutrition, physical activity, and obesity prevention strategies and programs in collaboration with nutritionists and healthcare professionals. Participatory processes not only benefit children because their perspectives as primary beneficiaries enhance the effectiveness of measures and interventions adopted but also because children are empowered by the process and thus become committed in the success of the proposed solutions.

\textbf{CONCLUSION}

This Article has summarized the individual and societal costs connected to childhood obesity. It investigated the main causes of excessive weight gain in children and the consequences for their general health and development, as well as eating behaviors that can persist into adulthood. The Article explored the multiple contributing factors for child obesity, focusing on the complex relationship between sedentary lifestyle, extensive use of technology, advertising of unhealthy foods, poor nutrition, and families’ food choices or necessities. In response to the general view that frames the obesity problem in children either as a personal issue or as a matter of parental responsibility, this Article proposes a child rights-based approach, positing that States bear an ultimate duty to prevent and combat childhood obesity.

To this end, the Article provides the first comprehensive analysis of the human rights obligations of States to respect, protect, and fulfill the rights of children to adequate food, the highest attainable standard of
health, and participation in the decision-making processes related to their nutrition, lifestyle, and well-being. Further, this Article analyzes the child obesity-specific recommendations issued by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Health, and the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights that, although not binding, have helped clarify States’ responsibilities in child obesity prevention and suggested some strategies for action.

Adopting a child rights-based approach ultimately means that childhood obesity is a child rights issue and that the obligation to realize children’s right to healthy food must be shared among parents, families, States, and any other relevant stakeholders. Following the principles of the CRC, this Article recognizes that parents and families are the first responsible entities to provide for their children’s nutrition and health, and that governments are required to support them in implementing best practices for healthy lifestyle and dietary choices. However, whenever parents or families fail to fulfill their obligations—by choice, incapacity, or necessity—States must compensate for such loss and ensure the best interests of the child are valued above any other considerations. When it pertains to childhood obesity, States have an overarching responsibility to realize children’s right to receive adequate nutrition, to enjoy the highest attainable standard of health possible, and to have their views included in the decision-making processes affecting their well-being. A child rights-based approach to child obesity further means that children must be recognized as active agents; holders of their own rights besides the rights and duties of parents, families, or the State. Children’s interests, needs, and perspectives must be at the core of governments’ strategies and solutions.