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A systematic review and meta-analysis of the social facilitation of eating

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1 Abstract 2 Background: Research suggests that people tend to eat more when eating with other people compared 3 with when they eat alone, and this is known as the social facilitation of eating. However, little is known 4 about when and why this phenomenon occurs. 5 **Objective:** This review aimed to quantify the evidence for social facilitation of eating and 6 identify moderating factors and underlying mechanisms. 7 **Design:** We systematically reviewed studies that used experimental and non-experimental 8 approaches to examine food intake/food choice as a function of the number of co-eaters. The 9 following databases were searched during April 2019: PsychInfo, Embase, Medline, and 10 Social Sciences Citation Index. Studies that used naturalistic techniques were narratively 11 synthesized, and meta-analyses were conducted to synthesize results from experimental 12 studies. 13 **Results:** 42 studies were reviewed. We found strong evidence that people select and eat more 14 when eating with friends compared with when they eat alone (Z=5.32, p < 0.001, Standardized 15 Mean Difference (SMD)=0.76, 95% Confidence Intervals (CIs)=0.48, 1.03). The meta-16 analysis revealed no evidence for social facilitation across studies that had examined food 17 intake when participants at alone or with strangers/acquaintances (Z=1.32, p=0.19, 18 SMD=0.21, 95% CIs=-0.10, 0.51). There was some evidence that social facilitation of eating 19 is moderated by gender, weight status, and food type. However, this evidence was limited by 20 a lack of experimental research examining the moderating effect of these factors on social 21 facilitation of eating amongst friends. In two studies, there was evidence that the effect of 22 social context on eating may be partly mediated by longer meal duration and perceived 23 'appropriateness' of eating. 24 Conclusion: Findings suggest that eating with others increases food intake relative to eating

alone, and this is moderated by the familiarity of co-eaters. The review identifies potential

26	mechanisms for social facilitation of eating and highlights the need for further research to
27	establish mediating factors. Finally, we propose a new theoretical framework in which we
28	suggest that the social facilitation of eating has evolved as an efficient evolutionary
29	adaptation.
30	Keywords: Social facilitation; Social influences; Food intake; Food choice; Meta-analysis
31 32	A systematic review and meta-analysis of the social facilitation of eating
33	
34	1. Introduction
35	
36	Social factors are important in determining what and how much we eat (1). The tendency for
37	people to eat more when eating in groups than when eating alone is known as the 'social
38	facilitation of eating'. Social facilitation effects have been well-documented across a range of
39	cognitive and physical tasks, and it is thought that the presence of other people potentiates
40	dominant responses (2). In the presence of food, the dominant response is to eat. De Castro
41	and colleagues (3) describe social facilitation as "the most important and all pervasive
42	influence on eating yet identified" (p.100). Given that 77% of adults in the UK eat as a
43	household at least once a week (4), and that a substantial proportion of people's meals are
44	eaten with others (5), it is important to establish when and why social context facilitates food
45	intake.
46	
47	Research on the social facilitation of eating examines eating behavior when participants eat in
48	larger or smaller social groups (or alone). Social facilitation effects on eating have been
49	examined using both experimental methods, in which group size is experimentally
50	manipulated, and non-experimental methods, in which eating behavior is examined within
51	real-world contexts. Non-experimental research into social facilitation of eating have gathered

data using self-report (i.e. food diaries/ecological momentary assessment) and researcherobservation methods. Research examining social facilitation of eating has typically used naive volunteers who are free to eat as much or as little as they like, and comparisons are made between the eating behavior (e.g. food intake) of participants eating alone and the eating behavior of participants eating with other people. Some social facilitation studies have also examined associations between the number of people present at a meal and amounts consumed (this is known as the 'social correlation').

59

There have been two recent narrative reviews of the social facilitation of eating (6,7). These 60 61 reviews concluded that the social facilitation of eating is a robust phenomenon, yet the underlying cause(s) remain unclear. A systematic review and meta-analysis of the literature 62 63 on the social facilitation of eating would build on existing narrative reviews to quantify the 64 size of the effect of social facilitation and formally identify moderators and mediators. In this 65 paper, we present results from a systematic review and meta-analysis that aimed to assess 66 quantitative evidence for the social facilitation of eating and to identify moderating factors. 67 We include both naturalistic and experimental studies which examined food intake or choice 68 as a function of group size in human participants. We also draw conclusions on the current 69 evidence regarding the mechanisms underlying the social facilitation of eating and, in doing 70 so, we identify gaps in the existing knowledge base and provide directions for future research.

71

2. Methods

74 **2.1. Eligibility criteria**

75 We included studies with human volunteers of any age that had used naturalistic or 76 experimental approaches to examine food intake or food choice as a function of the 77 presence of co-eaters. Experimental studies were excluded if both group size and 78 environmental context were manipulated simultaneously (e.g. examining food intake 79 when participants ate alone in a laboratory context and with others in a cafeteria setting) 80 (8-10). Because social facilitation effects on eating are thought to occur when eating in 81 the presence of other co-eaters (i.e. not with passive observers) (11), we excluded studies 82 which examined food intake when participants ate in the presence of others who were not 83 eating (e.g. 12). Only studies published in English were included.

84 2.2. Search strategy

85 The search strategy was guided by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews 86 and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) (13). Relevant studies were identified by searching the 87 following electronic databases during April 2019: PsychInfo, Embase, Medline, and 88 Social Sciences Citation Index. We searched for papers that contained the term 'social 89 facilitation' in addition to either 'food choice,' 'food intake,' 'food selection' or 'eating'. 90 Search limiters included human subjects and studies published in English. These 91 electronic searches were supplemented with a manual search of the citation list of relevant 92 articles. Two reviewers independently screened all search results for their eligibility by 93 examining titles and abstracts. No disagreements were reported. The full text of 94 potentially relevant papers was then screened.

95 **2.3. Quality assessment**

96 Quality checks for randomized control trials and epidemiological studies were not relevant as 97 these approaches were not used in any of the studies identified in the current review. We 98 recorded whether attempts to disguise the study aims were reported (in both experimental and 99 diary/ecological momentary assessment studies), and whether demand awareness was 100 assessed and reported. Funnel plots were inspected to check for publication bias amongst 101 experimental studies that were included in the meta-analysis (supplementary figure 1).

102 **2.4. Data extraction**

For each study, we extracted the following information: (1) sample characteristics, (2) design, (3) primary outcome measures, (4) main findings, and (5) whether any moderators or mechanisms were tested or identified. If data required for the meta-analysis (e.g. means and standard deviations) were missing, lead authors on manuscripts were contacted and asked to provide the necessary information. Missing standard deviation values were calculated based on the observed mean difference between conditions and the corresponding p value (14).

110 **2.5. Data synthesis**

111 An inverse variance meta-analysis was used to combine the results from experimental 112 studies that had compared food intake when participants ate alone and with other people. 113 Revman (Cochrane) version 5.3.5. was used to calculate the standardized weighted mean 114 difference (SMD) between 'alone' and 'social' eating conditions for each study. A 115 positive SMD indicates that people ate more when eating socially compared with when they ate alone. Confidence Intervals (95%) and I^2 values were also provided to assess 116 117 statistical heterogeneity. Where high levels of heterogeneity were observed, we calculated the random effects weighted mean difference. Subgroup analyses were conducted to 118

119	compare findings from studies that had examined social facilitation when participants ate
120	with their friends with studies that had examined eating with groups of strangers or
121	acquaintances. Standardized mean differences were calculated separately for each
122	subgroup. Some studies compared social facilitation effects across different populations
123	(e.g. in overweight and non-overweight participants) and so these provided more than one
124	comparison to the analysis. For studies that compared food intake when participants ate in
125	larger versus smaller sized groups, mean values were collapsed across all groups.
126	
127	Owing to the limited number of experimental studies, those that examined the effect of
128	social facilitation on other aspects of eating (e.g. food choice) were narratively
129	synthesized. Similarly, studies that did not include an eat-alone condition, or which used
130	non-experimental methods, were unsuitable for inclusion in the meta-analysis and were
131	therefore narratively synthesized.

134 **3.1. Search results**

135 Initial searches identified 263 publications, of which 65 were fully assessed. A further 25 136 articles were excluded on the following basis: no variation in group size (n=16); did not 137 measure food intake or choice when eating with other people (n=5); did not compare group 138 vs. alone under similar conditions (n=3); and repeated findings from another study (n=1). 139 Two articles (15, 16) each reported two separate studies that met the eligibility criteria, and so 140 42 studies were included from 40 publications (Figure 1). Some studies did not meet the 141 inclusion criteria in the systematic review/meta-analysis but nonetheless provide insight into 142 the moderators and mechanisms involved in social facilitation of eating (12, 17-22). We

therefore include these in our wider discussion of the literature.

144 **3.2 Study type**

145 Studies were classified based on the methodology used: 14 used an experimental approach, 146 and 28 used non-experimental methods. Of the non-experimental studies, six studies recorded 147 data using naturalistic observation methods, and 22 used diary or ecological momentary 148 assessment methods. Of the studies that used diary/ecological momentary assessment 149 methods, 13 reported original data and 9 used reanalyzed datasets from previous diary studies. 150 To avoid duplication of data across reanalyzed and original diary studies, reanalyzed datasets 151 were not included when discussing the strength of the effect of social facilitation. Instead, 152 findings from these studies were used only to provide insight into moderators and 153 mechanisms of the social facilitation of eating. An overview of the included studies is 154 presented in Table 1.

155 3.3. Overview of study designs and participants

156 3.3.1. Experimental research

157 Across the 14 studies that used experimental approaches, data were collected from a total of 158 1,004 participants. With the exception of one study (23), all studies reported the mean age of 159 participants. Social facilitation was examined across a range of age groups, including: 160 children (mean age range=4 - 8 years) (24-26), adolescents aged 15-16 years (27,28), older 161 adults (mean age=68 years) (29), and adults (mean age 22-41) (15, 30-35). The majority 162 (n=10) of studies recruited both male and female participants, two recruited females only (30, 163 31), and two recruited males only (27, 32). Four studies did not report participants' weight 164 status (15, 23, 24, 35), three specifically recruited roughly equal numbers of overweight and 165 non-overweight participants (25, 27, 32), and one study restricted recruitment to non-166 overweight participants (26). Across the six studies that did not restrict recruitment on the 167 basis of weight status (and which reported Body Mass Index, BMI), the mean BMI ranged from 21 kg/m² to 26 kg/m².

168

169

170 The majority of studies compared eating behavior when participants ate alone with when 171 participants ate with others (n=12). Two studies did not include an alone condition but 172 compared eating behavior when participants ate in smaller versus larger groups (15, 24). In 173 the majority of studies (n=13), the primary outcome measure was the amount eaten. One 174 study recorded the number of dishes ordered in a mock restaurant scenario (15).

175 3.3.1.1. Quality Assessment

176 Nine of the 14 experimental studies reported using a cover story to disguise the aim of the

177 study (15, 23, 25, 26, 31-35). However, only one study reported examining whether

178 participants were aware of the study aims (31). In this study, two participants (out of 120)

- indicated that they were aware of the aims of the study. Inspection of funnel plots
- 180 revealed no evidence of publication bias in experimental studies (supplementary figure 1).
- 181 3.3.2. Non-experimental research

182 3.3.2.1. Diary/Ecological momentary assessment studies

183 Across the 13 studies which used diary methods (original datasets only), data were obtained 184 from a total of 5047 participants. The majority of studies (n=12) examined the social 185 facilitation of eating in adults (mean age range 21 - 53 years), and one study examined social 186 facilitation effects in young infants (mean age=13 months) (36). Three studies recruited 187 females only (37-39), and the remaining nine studies included both males and females. Of the 188 studies that examined social facilitation in adults, three did not report the participants' weight 189 status (37,40, 41), one study specifically recruited women with obesity (mean BMI=32 kg/m²) 190 (39) and one study recruited female participants with underweight (mean BMI=19 kg/m²) and 191 normal weight (mean BMI=24 kg/m²) based on Metropolitan Height and Weight tables (38). 192 For studies that did not restrict recruitment on the basis of weight status, the mean BMI ranged from 20 kg/m² to 25 kg/m². One study specifically recruited participants with treated 193 194 or untreated bulimia (37), and one study recruited participants with type-1 diabetes (42). 195 Finally, one study (43) specifically recruited representative samples from French (n=26), 196 Dutch (n=50), and American (n=140) populations.

197

198 Nine studies examined data that had been collected in previous research (3, 44-51). The mean 199 age of participants in these datasets ranged from 32 to 44 years, and all studies analyzed data 200 from both male and female participants. In these reanalyzed datasets, the mean BMI of 201 participants ranged from 23 kg/m² to 26 kg/m². Two studies did not report BMI (3, 45). 202 In studies using diary methods, participants recorded everything they ate, the start and end time of each meal (to determine meal duration), levels of hunger and fullness, and the number of people who were present at each meal. In some studies, participants also recorded their mood (38, 39, 42) and the amount that they intended to eat (16).

207

Schüz and colleagues (52) used an ecological momentary assessment task in which
participants recorded (a) whether other people were eating in their immediate environment
(i.e. social eating cues) and (b) the extent to which they felt that eating was appropriate and
encouraged. Records were taken whenever participants ate a snack, and at randomly timed
prompts throughout the day.

213

214 The majority (n=19) of diary/ecological momentary assessment studies (original and 215 reanalyzed datasets) examined eating behavior as a function of group size, and seven 216 compared eating behavior when participants ate alone with when they ate with others (39-41, 217 44, 51-53). In the majority (n=21) of original and reanalyzed datasets, the primary outcome 218 variable was the calorie content of a meal. Notably, the primary outcome of one study was the 219 probability and amount of meat consumption (41). However, for the purpose of the current 220 review, we also extracted the *total* energy content of meals reported in this study. In one 221 study, the primary outcome was whether a snack was being consumed at each moment of 222 assessment (52). Diary/ecological momentary assessment measures were taken over four (16, 223 41), seven (36-38, 40, 42, 43, 53, 54), or 14 days (39, 52).

224 *3.2.2.2. Researcher-observed behavior*

225 Researcher-observed behaviors were recorded from a total of 3,600 people and, in every case,

both male and female diners were assessed. In three studies, participants' age was estimated:

227 Brindal and colleagues (55) estimated that 83.4% were between 15 and 25 years, Krantz (56)

estimated the median age to be 27-28 years, and Maykovich (57) estimated that their sample
was between 30-50 years. Subjects' weight status was estimated in three studies: 69% (57)
and 82% (55) of subjects were rated as non-overweight in two of the studies, and another
study specifically sought to observe approximately equal numbers of subjects with (n=101)
and without (n=96) obesity (56).

233

Observations were conducted in fast-food and formal dining restaurants (15, 55, 57, 58), and in university or work cafeterias (56, 59). Three studies compared social facilitation effects when subjects ate alone to when they ate in groups (56-58), and four examined the effect of group size on eating behavior (15, 55, 58, 59). The primary outcome variables included the amount eaten (55, 57, 58), the calorie content of foods selected (56, 59), and the number of dishes ordered (15).

240 **3.4. Study findings**

241 3.4.1. Meta-analysis results

242 Of the 12 experimental studies that included an 'alone' condition, eight reported evidence of social facilitation (23, 25, 26, 29, 31-33, 35). Data from 11 studies (comprising 17 243 244 comparisons) that examined food intake when participants ate alone and with others were 245 entered into a meta-analysis. Data from one study were not included due to the pseudo-246 experimental method used (35). In separate blocks of five consecutive days, participants were asked to eat all of their meals 'only with other people,' 'only alone,' and 'as normal,' and to 247 248 record everything that they ate during each phase. This study was therefore methodologically different to other experimental research in which group size was manipulated and examined 249 250 under controlled conditions.

252 The meta-analysis revealed an overall significant effect of social context on food intake, 253 Z=2.57, p=0.01, SMD=0.35, 95% Confidence Intervals (CIs)=0.08, 0.61 (Figure 2). A high 254 level of heterogeneity was detected across comparisons ($I^2=72\%$), and the forest plot suggests 255 that stronger social facilitation effects are observed when people eat with friends and family 256 members than when they eat with strangers. We therefore conducted a subgroup analysis in 257 which studies that specifically examined food intake in groups of friends were analyzed 258 separately from studies that tested groups of strangers/acquaintances. Specifically, 259 comparisons from studies that had specifically aimed to recruit groups of people who knew 260 each other were included in the 'friends' subgroup. Comparisons from studies that had 261 examined social facilitation effects in strangers, or which had not attempted to recruit groups 262 of friends, were included in the 'strangers/acquaintances' subgroup. Notably, some 263 comparisons within this subgroup involved participants who were recruited from the same 264 school or workplace and who may therefore have been acquainted (e.g. 27, 28, 32, 34). Of 265 these, one study assessed the degree to which participants knew each other on a 7-point Likert 266 scale (1 = not at all, and 7=extremely) (34). The researchers noted substantial variability in 267 the degree of familiarity between groups (eight groups provided a mean familiarity rating 268 between 1.00-1.99, and five groups provided a mean rating between 6.00-6.99).

269

270

271 3.4.1.1. Subgroup analysis

Four studies compared food intake when participants ate alone and with friends, and 10 studies (contributing 13 comparisons) examined food intake when participants ate alone and with strangers/acquaintances. Subgroup analysis revealed a significant effect of social context across studies that compared food intake when participants ate alone and with friends (Z=5.32, p< 0.001, SMD=0.76, 95% CIs=0.48, 1.03). Specifically, these 277 comparisons revealed greater food intake when participants ate with friends compared to

278 when they ate alone. However, no significant effect of social context was observed in

studies which compared food intake when participants ate alone and with

280 strangers/acquaintances (Z=1.32, *p*=0.19, SMD=0.21, 95% CIs=-0.10, 0.51).

281 3.4.2. Narrative synthesis

282 *3.4.2.1. Comparisons between eating alone and eating in groups*

283 In studies using diary techniques, meal size was between 29% and 48% larger when 284 participants ate with others compared with when they ate alone (40, 44, 53). Horgan et al. (41) 285 found that participants ate up to 23 percent more calories when eating with friends, family, or 286 colleagues, relative to when eating alone. Among women with obesity, social meals were 287 29% larger than meals eaten alone (39). Furthermore, using an Ecological Momentary 288 Assessment task, Schüz et al. (52) found that the presence of others eating significantly 289 increased the odds that a measurement occasion represented a 'snack report,' compared with a 290 'random report' (odds ratio=4.18). Two researcher-observed behavior studies found that 291 subjects eating in groups selected or consumed 12% more calories than did those eating alone 292 (56, 58). However, Krantz (56) reported this social facilitation effect only in normal weight 293 subjects; overweight males and females selected 18% less food when with others relative to 294 when eating alone (587 vs. 479 kcals). One researcher-observed behavior study found no 295 evidence that subjects eating in groups ate more than those eating alone (57). 296 3.4.2.2. Moderators of the social facilitation of eating

297 Familiarity

298 The results from our meta-analysis suggest that familiarity with one's dining

299 companion(s) is a significant moderator of social facilitation effects on eating. No effect

300 of eating in a group versus eating alone was observed in studies in which the participants

301 were eating with strangers/acquaintances, whereas a significant social facilitation effects 302 was observed in the small number of studies that tested people in groups of familiar 303 others (26, 29, 31, 33). These findings are consistent with those obtained from a diary 304 study in which the amount consumed was predicted by group size when subjects ate with 305 friends and family, but not when they ate with (presumably less familiar) co-workers (51). 306 307 Gender 308 One researcher-observed behavior study reported that females ate the same amount as 309 males when in smaller groups (less than 3 people), but ate significantly less than males in 310 larger groups (58). Consistent with that finding, a self-report study found a stronger 311 correlation between meal size and the number of people present in male participants 312 compared with female participants (54). However, experimental studies have reported no 313 significant two-way interactions between gender and social context (23, 25, 28, 34).

314 Notably, these experimental studies did not compare social facilitation of eating in male

315 and female *friends*, and this may have obscured any gender differences.

316

Berry et al. (23) reported an interaction between food variety and social context that
differed between male and female participants. Specifically, both males and females ate
more in a group, relative to alone, when they were given one flavor of ice-cream.
However, when given three flavors of ice-cream, social facilitation was only observed in
female participants.

322

323 Two researcher-observed behavior studies reported an interaction between subjects' 324 gender and the gender composition of the group. Specifically, Brindal et al. (55) found 325 that males, but not females, ate more when eating in mixed-sex groups of 3 or more 326 people, compared with mixed-sex pairs. Similarly, Young et al. (59) found that, for 327 female diners, calorie selection was negatively predicted by the number of males in a 328 group, and positively predicted by the number of females in a group. In contrast, neither 329 group size nor gender composition significantly predicted calorie selection in males. The 330 degree of familiarity between co-eaters in these researcher-observed behavior studies was 331 not reported (55,59).

332

333 Dietary restraint/Weight status

334 Two experimental studies examined social facilitation in high and low restrained eaters (30, 335 31). Bellisle and colleagues found no overall social facilitation effect and this did not differ 336 according to dietary restraint (30). Clendenen et al. (31) reported social facilitation of eating 337 among familiar participants, but no moderation by dietary restraint. Similarly, a diary study 338 found that the number of people present at a meal predicted food intake irrespective of dietary 339 restraint (49). One study found that the strength of the social correlation did not differ 340 significantly between those with high and low external eating scores (assessed using the 341 Dutch Eating Behavior Questionnaire) (16).

342

343 Two researcher-observed behavior studies examined whether the effects of social context on 344 food intake differed as a function of participants' weight status (56, 57). Krantz et al. (56) 345 reported social facilitation effects only in non-overweight subjects, while overweight subjects 346 eating alone selected more calories than did those eating with others. Maykovich (57) 347 reported no effect of social context on the amount of food consumed in non-overweight 348 individuals, while subjects with overweight or obesity ate less when with other people 349 compared to alone. Salvy et al. (25) found that social facilitation effects were only evident in 350 non-overweight children; overweight children ate more when eating alone compared with

when they ate with others. Contrary to these findings, one experimental study reported no
effect of social context on eating behavior in normal weight and overweight male adolescents
(27). Furthermore, Edelman (32) found that social facilitation effects on eating were not
significantly moderated by weight status in male participants. However, the experimental
studies described above examined food intake amongst strangers/acquaintances (25, 27, 32);
to our knowledge, there has been no experimental examination of the moderating effect of
weight status on social facilitation within groups of friends.

358

359 Food type

360 Several diary studies examined whether social facilitation is observed across various meal 361 types. Three found greater social facilitation effects for foods high in fat and/or protein, 362 and lower in carbohydrate (35, 39, 40), and one study (53) reported social facilitation 363 effects across all food types (i.e. across foods high in fat, protein, and carbohydrates). 364 Horgan et al. (41) found that meals consumed with others were more likely to contain 365 meat than meals eaten alone. One experimental study also demonstrated an 18% 366 increased intake when individuals ate with a friend compared with when they ate alone, 367 and the social facilitation effect was particularly enhanced for high-fat sweet food (55%) 368 (33). However, Clendenen et al. (31) found that participants eating in groups four friends 369 did *not* consume more sweet or savory foods than those eating in groups of two. Several 370 experimental studies found no evidence of social facilitation for foods high or low in fat 371 and/or sugar (i.e. casserole, cake, fruit sherbets, pizza, cookies) (27, 28, 30, 34). The null 372 effects obtained in these studies is likely due to the fact that they examined food intake 373 amongst groups of strangers/acquaintances, and not friends.

374

Diary studies have found small to moderate correlations between the number of people
present at a meal and meal size in healthy adult populations (45, 16, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43,
47, 48, 49, 50, 54). Heusel and de Castro (38) found a correlation between the number of
people present and meal size, and reported that this was true for both healthy weight and
underweight women.

382

383 De Castro et al. (3) reported a social correlation across both meals and snacks, and in 384 meals consumed with and without alcohol. However, one study found that the social 385 correlation was only evident for snacks and for meals eaten at breakfast; there was no social correlation for meals eaten at lunch and dinner (16). In a reanalysis of existing 386 387 datasets, de Castro and Brewer (45) reported a non-linear relationship between meal size 388 and the number of people present. Specifically, eating with one other person was 389 associated with 28% larger meal size, relative to eating alone, while eating with 2, 3, 4, 5, 390 and 6 or more people was associated with a 41%, 53%, 53%, 71%, and 76% increase in 391 meal size, respectively.

392

393 One researcher-observed behavior study reported a greater number of dishes ordered as a 394 function of increased group size (15). Cavazza et al. (15) also found that the number of dishes 395 ordered in a mock restaurant could be predicted by the size of the group. This was moderated 396 by trait self-monitoring (i.e. the degree to which one is motivated to act appropriately), such 397 that social facilitation effects were only observed for those who scored high on this trait. In 398 contrast, three researcher-observed behavior studies found no effect of group size on the 399 energy content of foods selected (59) or eaten (55, 57). Klesges et al. (58) also reported that 400 females ate less in larger, compared with smaller, groups. One experimental study reported no 401 effect of group size on intake; participants did not eat more in groups of four compared with402 pairs (31).

403 The social correlation has also been investigated in children. One-year-old infants 404 demonstrated a weak correlation (r=.14) between the number of people who were present 405 during feeding and the amount they ate (36). Another study found that, after controlling for 406 snack duration, children ate more when eating in groups of 9 compared with groups of 3 (24). 407 There was also a group size by meal duration interaction such that, for children who ate for 408 longer duration (>11.4 minutes), those in larger groups ate 30% more than did those in 409 smaller groups. For those children who ate for a shorter duration (<11.4 minutes), there was 410 no difference in the amounts eaten when groups of 3 and 9 children were compared (24).

411 *3.4.2.4. Mechanisms*

412 Meal duration

413 Several studies have examined whether social facilitation effects on eating are explained 414 by a longer meal duration for those eating in groups, relative to those eating alone (or in 415 larger groups relative to smaller groups). Using a diary approach, four studies reported 416 positive correlations between group size, food intake, and meal duration (44, 45, 16, 51). 417 Partially consistent with these findings, one researcher-observed behavior study found 418 that food intake correlated positively with meal duration, but not with group size (55). 419 Meal duration also significantly mediated the relationship between group size and food 420 intake (16). In addition, Feunekes et al. (16) reported an indirect effect of group size on 421 intake via participants' ratings of the atmosphere (rated on a 10-point scale from 422 'unsociable' to 'sociable') and meal duration. Interestingly, one study found that the 423 mechanisms by which social context facilitated intake differed between types of 424 companions; specifically, eating with friends and eating with family members facilitated 425 intake via increased meal *duration* and faster eating *rate* (calories consumed per minute),
426 respectively (51).

427

428 Experimental research has uncovered a relationship between meal duration, group size, and 429 food intake. Specifically, Redd and de Castro (35) reported longer meal duration and larger 430 meal sizes when participants ate with others, compared to when they ate alone. Furthermore, 431 Clendenen et al. (31) found that participants eating in pairs took significantly longer to eat, 432 and ate more, than did those eating alone and in groups of four (although the amount eaten 433 did not significantly differ between those eating in pairs and groups of four). To directly 434 examine the role of meal duration, one study limited meals to a shorter (12 minutes) or longer 435 (36 minutes) duration when participants ate alone, in pairs, and in groups of four (34). 436 Participants in the longer duration condition ate more than did those in the shorter duration 437 condition, however food intake was not affected by social context. 438 439 While the majority of evidence supports the idea that longer meal duration plays an important 440 role in the social facilitation of eating, findings from two experimental studies suggest that extended meal duration is neither necessary nor sufficient for the social facilitation of eating. 441 442 One study found that, for those who ate for longer duration (i.e. > 11.4 minutes), children in 443 groups of 9 consumed 30% more than did those who ate in groups of 3 (24). Furthermore,

Hetherington et al. (33) found a longer meal duration when participants ate with friends and
strangers, relative to alone, yet social facilitation effects were only observed when participants
ate with friends.

447

448

451 Four experimental studies compared the effects of social context and other forms of 452 distracting activities on eating. Three reported increased intake when participants ate while 453 watching TV or listening to a story or to music, relative to when they ate without distraction, 454 but found no evidence for social facilitation (27, 28, 30). Notably, none of these studies 455 examined eating when participants were with friends (instead, participants ate with 456 strangers/acquaintances). In contrast, Hetherington et al. (33) found that participants 457 consumed 18% more food when they ate with friends and 14% more food when they ate 458 while watching TV relative to when they ate alone with no distraction. This increased intake 459 also coincided with the extent that each activity distracted participants away from the lunch 460 meal; participants spent significantly less time looking away from the lunch meal (indicative 461 of less distraction) when eating alone, compared to when watching TV or eating with a friend. 462 However, while eating with friends and strangers distracted participants' attention away from 463 the food to the same degree, increased intake was only observed when participants ate with 464 friends (33).

465

466 *Mood*

467 Several diary studies examined whether social facilitation effects were attributable to the 468 effect of social context on mood. Three studies reported increased levels of elation and 469 anxiety prior to and after eating with others, compared with eating alone (44, 51, 53), 470 although there was no correlation between group size and an objective measure of arousal (i.e. 471 heart rate) (53). Other findings suggest that levels of elation and anxiety cannot adequately 472 account for the social facilitation of eating. Firstly, de Castro (44) found that differences in 473 elation ratings between meals eaten alone and socially accounted for just 2% of the variance 474 in meal size. Secondly, subjective mood ratings were not significant predictors of meal size

when entered into a multiple linear regression with group size (44, 53). Finally, de Castro (51)
reported greater social facilitation when participants ate with friends or spouses, compared to
when they ate with co-workers, despite the fact that eating with co-workers was associated
with greater levels anxiety and elation.

479

480 Norms of appropriate intake

481 One study examined whether the effects of social context on food intake was due to 482 normative influences (52). Using an Ecological Momentary Assessment task, Schüz et al. (52) reported that the relationship between social context and snack intake was mediated 483 484 by the extent to which participants perceived eating to be 'encouraged' and 'appropriate'. 485 Across two studies, Cavazza et al. (15) reported that people ordered more food as a 486 function of group size, and that the number of dishes ordered by each individual in a 487 group corresponded highly with the number of dishes ordered by others in the group. This 488 finding provides further evidence for the role of norms as a potential mechanism behind 489 the social facilitation of eating. In their normative perspective of social eating, Herman 490 and colleagues (60) suggest that individuals eating socially generally try to eat as much as 491 possible, without being seen to be eating excessively; that is, they attempt to eat no more 492 than the largest eater in the group. This may lead to positive feedback whereby the larger 493 norm set by one individual 'permits' greater intake of another, and vice-versa. This is 494 consistent with the idea that social eating provides a 'license' to indulge (60).

495 *Food palatability/appetite*

496 One diary study found that the palatability of the meal was associated with the size and 497 gender composition of a group. Specifically, male and female participants rated meals eaten 498 with one female as more palatable than meals eaten with many females, while the number of 499 males was not related to palatability ratings (54). However, Feunekes (16) found that food palatability did not mediate the relationship between group size and intake. No studies have examined whether social context moderates changes in appetite during the course of a meal, although McAlpine et al. (29) found that when participants ate alone or with others their preand post-meal ratings of hunger, fullness, and desire to eat changed to the same extent. This was despite the fact that those who ate in groups consumed 60% more calories than did those who ate alone.

507

4. Discussion

508 We found strong evidence that people eat more food when eating with familiar others 509 compared with when they eat alone. Social facilitation was not observed across studies that 510 had examined eating amongst groups of strangers or acquaintances. The effect of social 511 facilitation on food intake (when eating with friends) (d=.76) is considerably larger than that 512 of portion size (d=.45) (61), and is similar to the large effect reported for modelling of eating 513 (d=.85) (62). We find that evidence for the 'social correlation' is weak and that the available 514 evidence provides limited insight into the mechanisms underlying the social facilitation of 515 eating.

516 **4.1. Moderators of social facilitation effects**

517 The majority of experimental studies we reviewed recruited groups of strangers/

518 acquaintances, and across these studies there was no significant facilitation of eating.

519 However, a significant social facilitation effect was observed across four studies that tested

520 groups of familiar others, and the size of this effect was large (d=.76). In addition, social

521 facilitation of eating was observed consistently across diary studies, which may be due to the

522 fact that the majority of self-selected dining groups likely comprise friends and family. The

523 moderating effect of co-eater familiarity has been alluded to in previous reviews (7; 60) but

524 here we provide the first quantitative evidence for such moderation. It remains unclear

525 whether social facilitation effects on eating are more pronounced in very close friends relative

526 to less close friends, and so this may be an avenue for future research.

527 We also found some evidence that social facilitation effects are attenuated when women eat in

528 groups that include men (55, 59) and people with overweight/obesity eat with lean people (19,

529 21, 25, 56, 57). These effects are likely explained by impression management concerns.

530 People are motivated to convey positive impressions to strangers (63, 64) and selecting small

531 portions may provide a means of doing so (6, 62, 65, 66). Impression management concerns

are likely to be particularly pronounced for women who are eating with men whom they wish
to impress and for people with obesity who are eating with lean dining companions and who
wish to avoid negative judgments related to perceptions of overeating (63).

535

Social context may specifically facilitate intake of indulgent foods (33, 35, 39) but the moderating effect of food type on social facilitation has not been assessed directly. In addition, De Castro et al. (3) reported social facilitation effects across all meal types, but Feunekes et al. (16) found that the positive correlation between group size and meal size was only significant for meals eaten at breakfast and snacks. Further research is required to establish the robustness of social facilitation effects with different food types and meals.

542 **4.2.** The social correlation

543 Evidence from diary studies suggests a positive correlation between the number of people 544 present and the amount consumed by an individual in that group, but only up to about six 545 people, after which no further increase is observed (45). On the other hand, evidence from 546 researcher-observed behavioral studies and experimental studies is more mixed: some 547 studies find a positive social correlation (15), while others report no effect (31, 55, 58, 548 59). At present, there is not sufficient data to be able to determine how factors such as the 549 degree of acquaintance of the group members may influence the social correlation. It is 550 possible that when a group includes even one member who is less well known to other 551 group members, impression management concerns are heightened, and the size of the 552 social correlation is reduced.

553 **4.3. Mediators of the social facilitation of eating**

Only two studies have formally examined the mechanisms behind social facilitation using
mediation analyses (16, 52). The results suggest that social facilitation can be partly explained

556 by longer meal duration (16) and perceptions about the 'appropriateness' of eating (52). 557 However, longer meal duration has been found to be neither necessary nor sufficient for 558 social facilitation (33). Another possibility that has yet to be tested is that social context 559 affects eating via its effects on hunger/food palatability. Ogden et al. (12) found a positive 560 relationship between the amount consumed in a social situation and post-meal ratings of 561 hunger, but this study examined intake while participants talked with the researcher (i.e. there 562 was no co-eater). There is evidence that eating in company enhances food palatability (18, 22, 563 54), but this is yet to be examined as a mediating mechanism of social facilitation.

564 4.4. Gaps in knowledge and a framework for future research

In order to be able to fully investigate the moderators and mediators of the social
facilitation of eating, it will be necessary to minimize the effects of impression
management concerns and to conduct studies on participants who are well known to each
other.

569 Previous research has tended to focus on the effect of social context on immediate food intake 570 and the effects on longer term intake have yet to be thoroughly investigated. Diary studies 571 have found no correlation between the number of people present at a meal and food intake at 572 a subsequent meal, suggesting that people do not reduce their food intake after consuming a 573 large meal socially (40, 45). However, using survey methods, a recent study found a 574 significant positive correlation between social meal frequency and energy intake for female, 575 but not male, participants (67). Clearly, this issue deserves further investigation because 576 uncompensated social facilitation of eating could play a role in promoting chronic overeating 577 and obesity.

578 There are several other mechanisms that might promote food sharing and explain why579 people eat more in groups than they do alone. Eating with others may be more enjoyable,

580 and the enhanced reward from social eating might serve to increase consumption. 581 Alternatively, social norms might license overeating in company but sanction it when 582 eating alone, and they might encourage greater food sharing because social eating 583 provides an opportunity to consume a larger meal (60). Food sharing might also be 584 promoted if the act of providing food becomes associated with praise and recognition 585 from the social group, thereby strengthening social bonds. Indeed, larger quantities of 586 food are often anticipated and made available (per capita) even before a meal begins (15), 587 a phenomenon referred to as the social 'precilitation' of intake (6).

588 Finally, and in relation to our question about why social facilitation occurs, it may be 589 helpful to dissociate different levels of explanation. Behavioral ecologists sometimes 590 draw a distinction between 'why' and 'how'. 'Ultimate explanations' consider why a 591 behavior confers an adaptive advantage, whereas 'proximate explanations' refer to how 592 this benefit might be realized (68). For example, omnivores will seek to reduce foraging 593 costs because (why) this reduces the risk of predation. However, the ability to do so (how) 594 is governed by a tendency to find energy-rich food especially rewarding (69). In this 595 review we have focused on plausible proximate mechanisms. However, the underlying 596 (ultimate) reason(s) why social facilitation occurs is rarely considered. As with many 597 other species, humans tend to share a common food resource. However, in humans this is 598 especially true, and many have suggested that hunter gatherers even adopt(ed) an 'active' 599 egalitarian approach to resource distribution (70). Active food sharing probably confers a 600 broader benefit because it protects against periods of food insecurity. A person's day-to-601 day foraging success is likely to be variable. However, when spread across a group this 602 risk is reduced, and on occasions when a large animal is killed, and when more meat is 603 available than can be consumed by a single individual, it can be distributed before it 604 spoils. Accordingly, in modern hunter-gatherers, meat is not available every day and food

sharing is ubiquitous (70), probably because the cost of sharing is low relative to thebenefit from receiving meat from others.

607 Why then does social facilitation promote an *increase* in food consumption relative to 608 solo eating? First, it is perhaps important to note that the same process has been observed 609 in numerous other species; including; chickens (71,72), rats (73), and gerbils (74). Since 610 social facilitation is conserved across so many species this suggests it serves an ultimate 611 purpose. Although inclusive fitness may be enhanced by strong social collaboration, 612 individuals also compete for resource. Eating more than others is likely to lead to 613 ostracism, which, in turn, reduces food security. Therefore, a tension is created between 614 'being seen' to engage in altruistic sharing and procuring maximum personal resource. 615 We suggest that when eating socially, a simple solution might be to consume at least as 616 much as others in the group. Hence, social facilitation might occur because individual 617 group members are guided to match their behavior to others, promoting a larger meal than 618 might otherwise be eaten in the absence of this 'social competition'. Although a single 619 meal will have a trivial impact on energy reserves (75), a chronic failure to adopt this 620 strategy (or similar) might have a serious impact on relative fitness. In this way, social 621 facilitation can be viewed as a natural byproduct of social food sharing - a strategy that 622 would have served a critical function in our ancestral environments. The suggestion that 623 social facilitation occurs in response to food sharing also explains why it is confined to 624 individuals who are familiar with each other: food sharing relies on a long-standing 625 reciprocal exchange of food supplies, which is unlikely to occur with strangers.

Of course, most humans are no longer hunter gatherers. Nevertheless, proximate
mechanisms that once served efficient foraging continue to guide our dietary behavior
(for a review see 76). Indeed, the recent and rapid transition to a dietary landscape in
which food is abundant has created forms of 'evolutionary mismatch', whereby these

630 inherited foraging strategies no longer serve their ultimate purpose. In the case of social
631 facilitation, we have inherited a mechanism that ensured equitable food distribution but
632 which now exerts a powerful influence on unhealthy dietary intakes.

633 4.5. Theoretical and practical implications of research on the social facilitation of eating

634 Traditionally, social influences on eating have been conceptualized as an independent 635 influence on appetite, separate from the fundamental motivational processes that underpin 636 the control of food choices. However, more recent theorizing on appetite control suggests 637 that social and motivational influences on eating are part of an integrated system in which 638 decisions about what and how much to eat are informed by representations of the value of 639 a particular food item at any one moment and that these representations of value are 640 influenced by beliefs about the nutritional value of foods and many other factors 641 including cultural and social factors (e.g. 77, 78). This theory can be tested by 642 investigating whether eating with others increases amounts consumed via enhancement of 643 the value assigned to food in that context.

644

645 If it turns out that eating socially is a driver of positive energy balance, then this will raise 646 questions about whether avoidance of social eating situations should be recommended for 647 weight control. Social eating is generally considered positive because it may contribute to 648 better interpersonal relations and enhanced well-being. For example, research on family meals 649 suggests that regular eating in a family group is positively associated with well-being (e.g. 650 79). Furthermore, solo eating is often viewed negatively and people report that they would 651 prefer not to do so (80, 81). Hence, advice to eat alone may be neither desirable nor 652 acceptable. An alternative approach would be to suggest strategies that might mitigate

overeating so that people can experience the benefits of social eating while avoiding potentialeffects on weight gain.

655 4.6. Conclusions

656 We present the first systematic review and meta-analysis of the social facilitation of eating. 657 Our results suggest that eating with familiar others has a powerful effect to increase food 658 intake relative to eating alone. However, further work is required to assess the moderators and 659 mediators of this effect and the contribution of social eating to positive energy balance. Such 660 research will have important implications for the development of weight management 661 strategies. We argue that future research on the social facilitation of intake might be 662 usefully guided by our new framework, which proposes that social facilitation of eating has 663 evolved as a strategy that ensures procurement of maximum personal food intake in the 664 context of food sharing.

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- 671 HR, JB, LV, and SH designed the research. HR conducted the research and analyzed data.
- 672 HR, JB, LV, and SH wrote the paper. SH had primary responsibility for final content.
- 673 All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

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Authors (year)	Ν	Participant age (M=mean)	Participant BMI (M=Mean) or weight status (NW=Normal weight; OW=Overweight)	Participant gender (M=male; F=female)	Design	Primary outcome variable(s)	Evidence of social facilitation (SF)?	Moderators/mechanisms examined
Experime	ntal studi	es						
Bellisle (30)	40	M=26	M=22	F	1) eating alone 2) Eating in groups of 3 (unaquainted) 3) listening to detective story 4) Watching TV (no food cues) 5) Watching TV (food adverts)	Amount (g) eaten of main meal and dessert (casserole and fruit sherberts)	No	No moderating effect of dietary restraint.
Berry (23)	126	Not reported	Not reported	M (n=65) + F (n=61)	1) Eating alone + 1 flavor ice-cream 2) Eating alone + 3 flavors of ice cream 3) Eating with others + 1 flavor ice-cream 4) Eating with others + 3 flavors of ice-cream	Amount eaten (ice cream)	Yes	SF observed in both M+F given 1 flavor of ice-cream. SF only observed for F, not M, in p's given 3 flavors of ice-cream.
Cavazza (study 2) (15)	255	M=30	Not reported	M (n=142) + F (n=113)	1) 1 other person, 2) 2 other people 3) 3 other people 4) 4 other people.	Number of dishes selected	Yes	SF only observed in people who scored high on a measure of self-monitoring.
Clendenen (31)	120	M=22	M=21	F	1) Alone 2) in pairs (friends) 3) in pairs (strangers) 4) in groups of 4 (friends) 5) in groups of 4 (strangers)	Amount eaten (deli foods and cookies)	Yes	No moderating effect of familiarity on effect of group size on food intake (excluding 'alone' condition). No moderating effect of dietary restraint. Those eating in pairs and fours ate for longer than those eating alone.
Edelman (32)	53 (46 used in analysis)	M=34	25 OW (>15% height/weight norms; 21 NW (<10% height/weight norms)	М	1) Alone 2) Eating in groups of 4 or 5	Amount eaten (lasagna)	Yes	Moderating effect of weight status did not reach significance.

Table 1. Study information and methods of selected studies grouped by study design

Hetherington (33)	37	M=28	M=24	M (n=21) + F (n=16)	1) Solo eating, 2) Eating while watching TV 3) Eating with strangers (2 others) 4) eating with friends (2 others).	Amount eaten (buffet lunch). Meal duration. Amount of time spent attending to and looking away from food.	Yes	Familiarity: SF observed when participants ate with friends, not strangers. Food type: SF specifically for high-fat/sweet food. Eating with friends and strangers significantly increased meal duration and time spent looking away from the food, relative to eating alone.
Lumeng & Hillman (24)	54	M=4	Not reported	M(n=37) + F(n=17)	1) Eating in small groups (3 children) 2) eating in large groups (9 children)	Amount eaten (crackers)	Yes – controlling for meal duration	No difference in meal duration between large and small groups
McAlpine (29)	21	M=68	M=27	M(n=2) + F(n=19)	1) eating alone 2) eating with 2 friends	Amount consumed (weight and energy intake) from snacks (sip feed, crisps, cereal bar, chocolate, beer, crackers)	Yes	Changes in hunger, fullness, and desire to eat ratings, prior to and after a meal, were similar in 'alone' and 'with friends' conditions.
Mekhmoukh (27)	38	M=16	Normal weight (M=21; Overweight (M=29).	М	 Eating alone 2) Eating in groups of 3 Watching TV 4) Listening to music 	Energy intake from food (casserole, chocolate brownies) and drinks (soda, water, juice)	No	No moderating effect of weight status
Peneau (28)	29	15-16	M=21	M (n=14)+ F(n=15)	1) Watching TV 2) Listening to music 3) Eating alone 4) Eating in groups of 3	Energy intake from food (casserole and cake) and drinks (water, soda, juice)	No	No moderating effect of gender.

Pliner (34)	132	M=41	M=26	M(n=70)+ F(n=62)	1) male/12 min/alone 2) male/36 min/alone 3) female/12 min/alone 4) female/36 min/alone 5) male/12 min/2 people 6) male/36 min/2 people 7) female/12 min/2 people 8) female/36 min/2 people, 9) male/12min/4 people 10) male/36min/4 people 11)female/12 min/4 people 12)female/36min/4 people	Amount eaten (pizza and cookies)	No	No moderating effect of gender. Participants ate more in longer meals, relative to shorter meals, regardless of group size.
Redd & de Castro (35)	30	M=23	Not reported	M(n=10) + F(n=20)	Over 5-day periods, participants instructed to a) eat as they normally would b) eat exclusively alone, and c) to eat only with others present. Participants recorded their food intake.	Self-reported food intake	Yes	Meal type: Fat intake higher in normal vs. alone condition. Within normal condition, fat intake was higher when participants ate with others, relative to when they ate alone.
Salvy (25)	32	M=8	15 NW; 17 OW	M(n=16) + F(n=16)	1) Overweight/alone 2) overweight/in groups of 4 3) normal weight/alone 4) normal weight/in groups of 4	Amount eaten (pizza)	Yes – only for non- overweight participants.	Weight status: Social facilitation observed in non-overweight, and not in overweight, children. No moderating effect of gender.
Salvy (26)	44	M=7	NW only	M(n=20) + F(n=24)	1) alone 2) with sibling 3) with unfamiliar child	Amount eaten (cookies)	Yes – only for children who ate with siblings.	Familiarity: Social facilitation only observed in children eating with siblings, not strangers.

Non-experimental: Diary studies

Bellisle et al. 26 (54)	M=23	M=20	M(n=10) + F(n=16)	For seven days, participants recorded amount eaten and the number of people present at each meal. Levels of hunger and fullness were also recorded before and after each meal.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported) and number of people present.	Yes	Stronger correlation between meal size and number of people present in males, relative to females. The authors do not state whether this difference was significant.
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de Castro (3)	78	M=32	Not reported	M(n=21) + F(n=57)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size, number of people present, whether the record was a meal or snack, eaten with or without alcohol, and eaten at home, in a restaurant, or elsewhere.	Yes	Social facilitation was reported across all meals (breakfast, lunch, dinner) and snacks, eaten at all locations, and consumed with and without alcohol.
de Castro (44)	82	M=32	M=23	M(n=23) + F(n=59)	Reanalyzed diary datasets.	Self-reported meal size, number of people present, meal duration, eating rate, subjective ratings of elation and anxiety.	Yes	Eating rate was unrelated to number of people present. Meal duration was predicted by group size and was associated with the amount eaten. Elation ratings did not predict meal size when controlling for number of people present.
de Castro (47)	762	Age range: 20- 34(n=325) 35-49(n=292)) 40-64(n=99) 65+ (n=46).	M=25	M (n=348)+ F (n=414)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size (kcals), the number of people present.	Yes	Social correlation did not differ between age groups.
de Castro (48)	315	M=32	M=23	M (n=121) + F (n=194)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size (kcals), number of people present, and whether the meal was eaten at the weekend or during the week.	Yes	Social correlation greater for meals consumed at weekends, compared with weekdays.
de Castro (51)	515	M=42	M=25	M(n=276) + F(n=239)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size, number of people present, type of companion (friend, family, spouse, co-worker, or other), subjective ratings of elation and anxiety.	Yes	Meals eaten with family/spouse were larger and faster, and meals eaten with friends were larger and of longer duration, compared with meals eaten with others. Anxiety/elation ratings were higher in meals eaten alone. Participant gender x companion gender interaction: females ate more when eating with male companions, than with females. Males unaffected by companion's gender.

de Castro (49)	358	M=44	M=26	M(n=201) + F(n=157)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size, dietary restraint (assessed using TFEQ).	Yes	Social facilitation was not moderated by dietary restraint.
de Castro (43)	216 (26 French; 140 American; 50 Dutch)	M=23	M=22	M (n=68) + F(n=148)	For seven days, participants recorded amount eaten, and the number of people (males and females) present at each meal. Hunger ratings were also recorded before and after each meal.	Self-reported meal size	Yes	Correlation between meal size and number of people present similar across all three nationalities (i.e. French, Dutch, American).
de Castro (42)	84 (56 with type-1 diabetes, and 28 healthy controls)	Diabetics: M=53 Healthy: M=49	Diabetics: M=25; Healthy: M=23	M (n=30 with diabetes; n=5 controls) + F (n=26 with diabetes; n=23 controls)	For seven days, participants recorded amount eaten, and the number of people (males and females) present at each meal. Mood and appetite ratings were also recorded before and after each meal, and participants rated the palatability of each meal.	Self-reported meal size	Yes	Social correlation did not differ between diabetic and control participants.
de Castro (50)	265 twin pairs (110 identical twins; 102 fraternal same-sex twins; 53 fraternal mixed-sex twins)	M=40	M=25	M+F	Reanalyzed diary datasets: Self-report data originally collected from 110 identical twins and 102 non-identical (same-sex) twins. An additional 53 mixed-sex twins were recruited for this study.	Self-reported meal size.	Yes	Genetic influences explained 30% of the difference in regression slopes between the number of people present at a meal and meal size.
de Castro & de Castro(40)	63	M=34	Not reported	M (n=14) + F(n=49)	For seven days, participants recorded amount eaten, and the number of people present at each meal. Levels of hunger were also recorded prior to each meal.	Self-reported meal size.	Yes	Meals eaten alone had higher proportion of carbohydrates, and lower proportion of fat, than meals eaten with other people.
de Castro & Brewer (45)	153	M=34	Not reported	M(n=49) + F(n=104)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size.	Yes	

de Castro & Taylor (46)	650 (99 smokers; 551 non-smokers)	M=38	M=25	M(n=288) + F(n=362)	Reanalyzed diary datasets	Self-reported meal size, number of people present, smoking status.	Yes	Social facilitation effect stronger in smokers compared with non- smokers.
Elmore & de Castro (37)	52 (19 untreated bulimics; 12 recovered bulimics; 21 controls)	Untreated bulimics: M=22; Recovered bulimics: M=26; Normal eaters: M=26.	Not reported	F	For seven days, participants recorded everything that they ate and drank, and the number of people present at each meal.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported) and number of people present	Yes	Social correlation was stronger in healthy controls, compared with those with untreated and recovered bulimia.
Feunekes (study 1) (16)	30	M=22	M=22	M (n=15) + F(n=15)	Participants recorded food consumption, meal duration, no. of others present, relationship to co-eaters, and atmosphere (sociability). Records made over 4 days.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported), number of people present, meal duration, and atmosphere.	Yes	Social correlation only observed for meals eaten at breakfast time.
Feunekes (study 2) (16)	20	M=23	M=22	M(n=10) + F(n=10)	Participants recorded food consumed, meal duration, no. of others present, atmosphere (sociability), relationship to co-eaters, and amount intended to eat (small to large amount on 10 point scale). Records made over 7 days.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported), number of people present, meal duration, atmosphere, amount intended to eat prior to meal occasion.	Yes	Social correlation only observed for snacks. Across studies 1 and 2, the social correlation was not moderated by external eating score. Meal duration mediated the relationship between group size and food intake.
Heusel & de Castro (38)	99 (33 underweight; 66 normal weight)	Underweight: M=26; Control group 1=35; Control 2=28	Underweight: M=19; NW: M=24	F	For seven days, participants recorded everything they ate and drank, and the number of people present at each meal. They also reported the time of each meal, and their pre-and post-meal ratings of hunger, fullness, depression, and anxiety.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported)	Yes	No moderating effect of weight status.

Horgan (41)	4156	M=50 years	Not reported	M+F	For four days, participants recorded everything they ate and drank, as well as the time it was eaten, where it was eaten, and who they were eating with.	Calories and meat (g) consumption at each meal	Yes	
Patel & Schlundt (39)	78	M=37	M=32	F	Participants recorded everything that they ate, and whether other people were present. Participants also recorded their mood at each eating episode. Records were taken over 2 weeks.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported), mood, and number of people present.	Yes	No interaction between mood state and social context on intake. Meals eaten socially contained more calories from fat and protein, and less calories from carbohydrates, than meals eaten alone.
Pearcey & de Castro (36)	29	M=13 months	19 infants fell between 5 th and 95 th percentiles for height and weight for age.	M(n=18) + F(n=11)	Parents recorded everything the infants ate, the number of people present and their relation to the infant, and the beginning and end time of the eating episode.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported) and the number of people present,	Yes	
Schüz (52)	61	M=32	M=25	M(n=19) + F(n=42)	Ecological Momentary Assessment task. At randomly timed prompts, and after every time they consumed a snack, participants recorded whether or not there was anyone in their presence who were also eating. Participants also recorded the extent to which they felt that others approved and encouraged them to eat at that moment (i.e. inductive norms). Participants completed the task over 14 days.	Probability of snack consumption vs. random prompt.	Yes	The effect of others eating on snack intake was partially mediated by the perceived approval/encouragement of eating.

Stroebel Castro (,		133	M=21	M=25	M(n=29) + F(n=104)	Over seven days, participants recorded everything that they consumed, the number people present at each meal. Subjective ratings of arousal (i.e. elation and excitement) were also recorded, and physiological arousal was recorded in a subset of participants using heart rate monitors.	Calories consumed at each meal (self- reported), the number of people present, and subjective and objective measures of excitement and elation.	Yes	Social facilitation found for intake of protein, fat, and carbohydrate. Social facilitation was not mediated by ratings of excitement / elation.
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Non-experimental: Researcher-observed behavior

Brindal (55)	157	83.4% rated 15-25; 7.6% rated 26-35; 4.5% rated 36+	82% rated 'not overweight/obese'	M (n=86) + F(n=71)	Subjects observed eating in a fast-food restaurant. Subjects ate in pairs (67.5%), or groups of 3 (19.7%), four (9.6%) or five or more (3.4%). Lone diners were not observed.	Foods eaten, meal duration, and the number of others present.	No	Group size x participant gender x group composition interaction. M in mixed sex groups ate more than M in mixed-sex pairs. F in same- sex groups ate more than those in mixed-sex groups. Amount eaten correlated with meal duration but not group size.
Cavazza (study 1) (15)	1685	Not reported. Excluded children who appeared younger than 13.	Not reported	M(n=793)+ F(n=892)	Subjects observed eating in an Italian restaurant. Subjects ate alone (n=22), in pairs (n=259), or in groups of between 3-30 people (n=228).	Mean number of dishes ordered; mean number of plates with leftovers; average bread and wine consumption	Yes	

Klesges (58)	539	Not reported	Not reported	M(n=294) + F(n=245)	Subjects observed eating in 7 fast-food and 7 formal-dining restaurants. Observers recorded whether subjects ate alone, or in a small (1-3 people) or large (3+ people) group, and the gender composition of each group (i.e. mixed-sex / same-sex). Observers also recorded whether each subject was overweight or normal-weight.	Calories consumed	Yes	Moderating effect of gender. F ate the same as M in small groups, but less than M in large groups.
Krantz (56)	197	Estimated median = 27 - 28	101 rated obese; 96 rated NW.	M(n=106)+ F(n=91)	Students and staff observed eating at a University cafeteria at lunch time. Observers coded participants' gender, and whether or not they ate alone $(n=76)$ or with others $(n=121)$.	Calorie content and number of items chosen.	Yes – only in non- overweight subjects.	Moderating effect of weight status - only non-overweight subjects showed SF. OW individuals ate more when alone, than with others.
Maykovich (57)	553	30-50 years	15% obese; 16% OW.	M + F	Observations conducted across 20 restaurants in a large city in N. America.	Amount eaten	No	Overweight and obese individuals ate less when with others than when alone. For normal weight individuals, there was no difference in the amount eaten by those who ate alone vs. those who ate with other people.
Young (59)	469	Not reported	not reported	M(n=210) + F(n=259)	Subjects observed eating at three University cafeterias. Subjects ate alone $(n=37)$, in pairs $(n=188)$, or in groups of three $(n=117)$, four $(n=80)$, five $(n=35)$, or six $(n=12)$.	Calorie content of foods selected.	No	Moderating effect of gender. For F, the number of M in the group negatively predicted intake, & the number of F positively predicted intake. Number of M or F did not predict intake for M.

Legends for Figures

Figure 1. PRISMA search and inclusion flow chart.

Figure 2. Forest plot for experimental studies comparing food intake when participants ate alone and/or in groups.

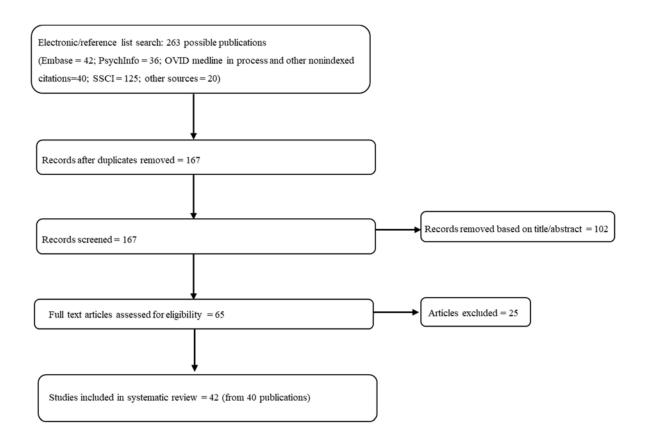


Figure 1.

		Group			Alone			Std. Mean Difference	Std. Mean Difference
Study or Subgroup	Mean	SD	Total	Mean	SD	Total	Weight	IV, Random, 95% CI	IV, Random, 95% Cl
1.1.1 Friends vs. alone									
Clendenen 1994 (ref 31)	843	612	48	375	161	24	6.5%	0.91 [0.39, 1.42]	
Hetherington 2006 (ref 33)	4,565	1,655	37	3,861	1,216	37	6.8%	0.48 [0.02, 0.94]	
McAlpine 2012 (ref 29)	308	182	21	187	12	21	5.7%	0.92 [0.28, 1.56]	
Salvy 2008 (ref 26)	297	172	16	143	157	18	5.3%	0.92 [0.20, 1.63]	
Subtotal (95% CI)			122			100	24.2%	0.76 [0.48, 1.03]	◆
Heterogeneity: Tau ² = 0.00; Ch	i ² = 2.15,	df = 3 (P	= 0.54)	$ ^{2} = 0\%$	>				
Test for overall effect: Z = 5.32	(P < 0.00	001)							
1.1.2 Strangers/Acquaintance									
Bellisle 2009 (ref 30)	2,361	987	40	2,636	1,081	40	6.9%	-0.26 [-0.70, 0.18]	
Berry 1985 (ref 23)	190	96	67	133	96	59	7.4%	0.59 [0.23, 0.95]	
Clendenen 1994 (ref 31)	586	280	48	375	161	24	6.5%	0.84 [0.33, 1.35]	
Edelman 1986 (ref 32) (1)	514.1	121.7	10		133.4	10	4.2%	0.72 [-0.19, 1.63]	+
Edelman 1986 (ref 32) (2)	728.8	186.3	14		168.2	11	4.2%	1.53 [0.61, 2.44]	
Hetherington 2006 (ref 33)	4,320	1,772.8	37	3,861	1,216	37	6.8%	0.30 [-0.16, 0.76]	+
Mekhmoukh 2012 (ref 27) (3)	4,974	1,185.6	19		1,586.6	19	5.7%	-0.03 [-0.66, 0.61]	
Mekhmoukh 2012 (ref 27) (4)	5,208	876	19		1,055	19	5.7%	-0.14 [-0.78, 0.50]	
Peneau 2009 (ref 28)	4,498	1,494	33		1,865	33	6.6%	-0.49 [-0.98, 0.00]	
Pliner 2006 (ref 34)	646.7	288.5	37	672.3	384.1	22	6.4%	-0.08 [-0.61, 0.45]	
Salvy 2007 (ref 25) (5)	418.2	179	15	254.8	179	15	5.0%	0.89 [0.13, 1.64]	
Salvy 2007 (ref 25) (6)	470.4	237	17	614.5	239	17	5.4%	-0.59 [-1.28, 0.10]	
Salvy 2008 (ref 26)	123	152	10	143	157	18	4.9%	-0.13 [-0.90, 0.65]	
Subtotal (95% CI)			366			324	75.8%	0.21 [-0.10, 0.51]	₹
Heterogeneity: Tau ² = 0.22; Ch			(P < 0.0	0001); P	= 72%				
Test for overall effect: Z = 1.32	(P = 0.19)							
Total (95% CI)			488			424	100.0%	0.35 [0.08, 0.61]	▲
Heterogeneity: Tau ² = 0.21; Ch	2 - 67.9/	df = 16		00011	17 - 72%	-724	100.070	0.00 [0.00, 0.01]	
Test for overall effect: Z = 2.57			(r ~ 0.0	,0001),	- 7270				-4 -2 0 2 4
Test for subgroup differences:			P = 0	0.000 12	- 95 2%				Favors Alone Favors Group
reactor aungroup unterences.	0.11 = 0.	02, ui = 1	(i ⁻ = 0.	003), 1	- 00.3%				

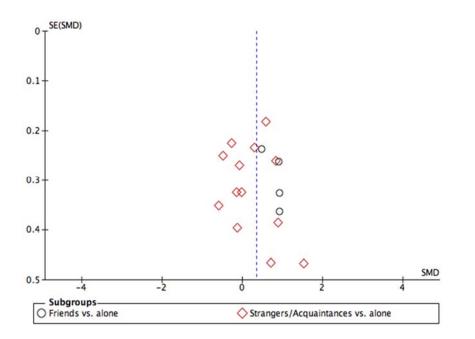
Figure 2.

Notes. Total refers to the number of participants. Studies are grouped based on whether participants ate with friends or with strangers/acquaintances. SD=standard deviation; IV=independent variable; OW=overweight participants; NW=normal weight participants. 1= NW male adults; 2= OW male adults; 3=NW male adolescents; 4=OW male adolescents; 5= NW male and female children; 6=OW male and female children.

Supplementary

A systematic review and meta-analysis of the social facilitation of eating

Helen K. Ruddock, Jeffrey M. Brunstrom, Lenny R. Vartanian, & Suzanne Higgs



Supplementary Figure 1. Funnel plot of effect sizes from experimental studies examining social facilitation effects