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Breastfeeding support in low and middle-income countries: secondary analysis of national survey data

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Conflict of interest statement

The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest. The contents expressed in the article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the policies or views of the organisations they are affiliated with.

Ethical approval

4 Data for this study were used under an agreement with the DHS Program. In addition to Institutional
5 Review Board (IRB) approval in each host country, the ICF International IRB reviewed all survey
6 procedures and tools for DHS surveys. Informed consent and voluntary participation were ensured
7 before each interview and data were kept strictly confidential during the survey implementation and
8 identifying information was destroyed after data processing. The King's College London College
9 Research Ethics Committee granted approval to conduct these analyses (LRS-17/18-5570) and the
10 project has been registered with the King's College London Data Protection Registration (DPRF-
11 17/18-8170), in compliance with European data protection regulations.

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13 Abstract

14 **Background**-Early initiation of breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding can reduce infant
15 mortality. Breastfeeding support interventions such as counselling may improve adherence to
16 recommended practices. However, it is not known if these interventions work at the population
17 level.

18 **Objective**-The aim of this study was to assess the relationship between early postnatal breastfeeding
19 support and recommended breastfeeding practices.

20 **Design/setting**-We pooled data from 11 Demographic and Health Surveys in Africa (n=7), South East
21 Asia (n=2), the Americas (n=1), and Europe (n=1) to analyse these associations at the population
22 level.

23 **Participants**-We limited the data to the most recent live births in the two years before the survey,
24 including 41431 births.

25 **Analysis**-We fitted three multivariable logistic regression models to estimate the relationship
26 between early postnatal breastfeeding support (a newborn postnatal check within an hour of birth
27 plus counselling and observation of breastfeeding within two days) and three breastfeeding
28 outcomes (early initiation of breastfeeding, absence of prelacteal feeding, and exclusive
29 breastfeeding), adjusting for sociodemographic characteristics and birth-related factors.

30 **Findings**-Early breastfeeding support was associated with a 24% increase (OR=1.24 95%CI=1.11,1.39)
31 in the odds of initiating breastfeeding within one hour of birth. No relationships were found
32 between breastfeeding support and prelacteal feeding in the first three days or exclusive
33 breastfeeding at six months.

34 **Key conclusion**-While postnatal breastfeeding counselling and observation may improve early
35 initiation of breastfeeding, impact is not persistent for longer term breastfeeding outcomes.

36 **Implication for practice**-Improved training for breastfeeding support and an enabling policy
37 environment are required to improve breastfeeding practices for women and newborns.

38 Introduction

39 Early initiation of breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding to six months can protect against infant
40 mortality in low- and middle-income countries (LMIC) (Edmond et al., 2006; Sankar et al., 2015). It
41 has been suggested that near universal breastfeeding could prevent over 800,000 child deaths as
42 well as 20,000 deaths from maternal breast cancer, annually (Victora et al., 2016). As lack of
43 knowledge, confidence, and perception of insufficient milk have been associated with suboptimal
44 breastfeeding practices, care providers should actively promote, educate and support women to
45 breastfeed (Haroon, Das, Salam, Imdad, & Bhutta, 2013). The World Health Organization (WHO)
46 recommends exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months of life and that breastfeeding

47 counselling and support should be offered to women at all postnatal contacts (World Health
48 Organization, 2014).

49 A systematic review of breastfeeding interventions in low- and middle-income countries by Sinha et
50 al. (2017) showed that interventions led to improvements in breastfeeding outcomes such as early
51 (28 studies, OR: 3.31; 95% CI: 2.44, 4.50, $I^2=96.3$), exclusive (exclusive breastfeeding at 1-5 months,
52 62 studies, OR: 3.08; 95% CI: 2.57, 3.68, $I^2=95.1$), and continued breastfeeding (7 studies, OR: 1.62;
53 95% CI: 1.16, 2.27, $I^2= 72.1$); although all were subject to high levels of heterogeneity. The largest
54 improvements in breastfeeding outcomes were seen when interventions were delivered in multiple
55 settings in parallel (i.e. home, community, and health systems). An earlier systematic review by
56 Haroon et al. (2013) showed that counselling (individual or group; prenatal, postnatal, or both)
57 increased exclusive breastfeeding and decreased rates of no breastfeeding, particularly in low-
58 resource countries (exclusive breastfeeding at 1-5 months increased by 90%, 66 studies, RR:1.9, 95%
59 CI: 1.54,2.34, $I^2 =96%$). Additionally, a systematic review by Imdad et al. (2011) of breastfeeding
60 promotion studies in diverse settings found a significant 43% increase in exclusive breastfeeding at
61 4-6 weeks when breastfeeding support interventions were implemented antenatally, postnatally, or
62 both (32 studies, RR = 1.43; 95% CI: 1.28, 1.60, $I^2 =85%$). Furthermore, the review supported
63 interventions such as education, professional and lay support (Imdad et al., 2011).

64 These systematic reviews synthesised evidence from small randomised control trials (RCT) and quasi-
65 experimental studies, most with fewer than 1,000 participants, some with fewer than 50 people
66 (Haroon et al., 2013; Imdad et al., 2011). While this research provides insight on early changes in
67 breastfeeding practices during small-scale, researcher supported studies, it does not necessarily
68 elucidate the relationship between scaled-up interventions and population-level breastfeeding
69 practices (Proctor et al., 2015). Indeed, scale-up of newborn care is a global priority (Knippenberg et
70 al., 2005), and additional research is needed outside of the realm of RCTs to adequately understand
71 the association between national-level coverage of breastfeeding support interventions and

72 population breastfeeding practices. Here, we aim to assess the relationship between early postnatal
73 breastfeeding support and recommended breastfeeding practices at the national level across 11
74 LMICs. A better understanding of this relationship could inform decision making by policy makers
75 and programme implementers.

76 Methods

77 Data

78 We analysed secondary data from 11 Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) implemented since
79 2015 (see Supplemental Table 1 for countries, survey years, and number of women). Funded largely
80 by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), DHS surveys collect data on a
81 range of population and health issues, including early postnatal breastfeeding support and
82 breastfeeding outcomes. Data are collected at the household- and the individual-level, primarily
83 from women of reproductive age (15-49 years). Nationally representative results are produced for
84 each country through a complex, multi-stage cluster sampling procedure with stratification (ICF
85 International, 2012a). Standard procedures and methodologies ensure comparable data across
86 countries (ICF International, 2012b). Survey results, data, and further information about the program
87 can be found at the DHS Program website: dhsprogram.com.

88 Population

89 Countries were included in the analysis if the survey contained data on postnatal breastfeeding
90 support and breastfeeding practices. Further information is provided in Supplementary table 1.
91 DHS surveys included detailed information about all of a woman's births in the previous five years.
92 We limited the data to last (most recent) live births in the two years before the survey. Outcome
93 variables included prelacteal feeding in the first three days of life, therefore newborns that did not
94 live to three days (i.e. were born in the three days before the survey or did not survive to day three)

95 were excluded. The age of children is calculated using century day codes and subtracting the day of
96 birth from the day of the interview (Croft, Marshall, & Allen, 2018).

97 Variables

98 The main outcome variables for this study were all dichotomised breastfeeding practices including
99 initiation of breastfeeding within one hour of birth, absence of prelacteal feeding in the first three
100 days of birth, and exclusive breastfeeding status. The outcome variable definitions and populations
101 are presented in Table 1.

102 Postnatal breastfeeding support variables were the key independent variables considered.

103 Specifically, receipt of breastfeeding counselling and observation of breastfeeding by any health care
104 provider in the first two days after birth (both binary variables). This was combined with newborns
105 who received a postnatal check in the first hour of life as we assumed breastfeeding support took
106 place at the postnatal check. Breastfeeding support could have been provided in a facility, in the
107 community, or at home. These are the only standard breastfeeding support variables included in
108 DHS. As we were interested in whether a woman received early and comprehensive support, we
109 created a binary variable for whether a woman reported a newborn postnatal check (see Table 1)
110 and breastfeeding support. We coded this variable as a '1' if a woman received both breastfeeding
111 support interventions in the first two days after birth and additionally reported a newborn postnatal
112 check in the first hour of birth; otherwise, it was coded as '0'.

113 For each outcome measure, we adjusted for a different set of covariates as shown in Table 2,
114 including socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. education, residence, wealth, age at the index
115 birth, employment), pregnancy- (e.g. attended antenatal care, previous birth interval), birth- (e.g.
116 skilled delivery assistance, mode of birth), and newborn- (e.g. size of the baby, immediate skin-to-
117 skin contact) related factors. The functional form of each of these covariates is described in Table 2.

118 Analysis

119 All statistical analyses were conducted in R (R Core Team, 2018). We used the weights provided by
120 DHS to account for sampling probability and non-response and R's Survey package (Lumley, 2018) to
121 adjust for the complex, cluster sampling design. For each survey, we applied individual-level weights
122 to ensure the sample was nationally representative. In the pooled analysis, we scaled the weights up
123 or down so all countries held equal weight. The pooled analysis excludes cases with any missing
124 values for the independent or dependent variables.

125 Descriptive statistics are presented for each country as well as the pooled data from all surveys. To
126 assess for multi-collinearity, we calculated a Pearson's correlation matrix; any variables with high
127 correlation ($r > 0.6$) were excluded from the regression models.

128 In the regression analysis, we fitted three different logistic regression models, one for each outcome
129 of interest- initiation of breastfeeding within one hour, absence of prelacteal feeding in the first
130 three days, and current exclusive breastfeeding status. First, we fitted unadjusted models to assess
131 for association between breastfeeding support variables and each covariate. In multivariable
132 analysis, we fitted logistic regression models adjusting for breastfeeding support and all the
133 covariates selected for the outcome. As information on skin-to-skin contact was not collected for
134 non-facility births in Zimbabwe (n=375) and Burundi (n=750), these births were excluded from the
135 early breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding models. In analysis of exclusive breastfeeding, the
136 sample was reduced to living children under six months of age. In this sub-population, some survey
137 strata had only one cluster and sampling variance could not be calculated. In such cases, the strata
138 contribution to variance was taken as the average of all strata with two or more clusters (Lumley,
139 2010).

140 Ethical approval

141 The ICF International Institutional Review Board (IRB) reviewed all survey procedures and tools for
142 standard DHS surveys and country-specific protocols and tools. Each country survey is also approved

143 by an IRB in the host country and informed consent and voluntary participation were ensured before
144 each interview (ICF International, 2012b).

145 We accessed and used these data under an agreement with the DHS Program. Further ethical
146 approval to conduct these analyses was granted by King's College London College Research
147 Ethics Committee (LRS-17/18-5570). Additionally, in compliance with European data regulations, this
148 project was registered with the King's College London Data Protection Registration (DPRF-17/18-
149 8170).

150 Results

151 Sample characteristics

152 Table 3 shows the background characteristics of last (most recent) births in the two years before the
153 survey for each country and the pooled sample. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of births were rural,
154 ranging from 40% in Angola to 91% in Burundi. Sixty-three percent of births had four or more
155 antenatal visits during pregnancy, ranging from 34% in Ethiopia to 97% in Armenia. Three-quarters
156 of births (76%) were vaginal and attended by a skilled provider, ranging from 35% in Ethiopia and
157 Haiti to 79% in Armenia.

158 Prevalence of breastfeeding practices

159 Figure 1 shows the coverage of breastfeeding counselling and observation of breastfeeding and the
160 prevalence of breastfeeding practices by country. While initiation of breastfeeding within 24 hours
161 of the birth was high, ranging from 84% in Haiti to 98% in Burundi, initiation of breastfeeding within
162 one hour of birth was substantially lower in all settings of interest. Initiation of breastfeeding within
163 an hour of birth ranged from 41% in Armenia to 85% in Burundi.

164 Prolactal feeding was absent for 72% of births in Nepal and for 97% in Malawi. Prolactal feeding
165 was more common among women who did not commence early breastfeeding (46%) than among
166 women who commenced breastfeeding within one day of birth (11%).

167 Exclusive breastfeeding among last-born children under six months ranged from 37% in Angola to
168 82% in Burundi.

169 Coverage of postnatal breastfeeding support

170 Early postnatal breastfeeding support was highest in Armenia where 50% of women received both
171 breastfeeding support interventions (along with a postnatal check in the first hour of birth).
172 Breastfeeding support in Burundi, however, was extremely low with only 2% of women recorded as
173 receiving both interventions.

174 Logistic regression results

175 Early breastfeeding

176 After adjusting for sociodemographic, pregnancy-, birth-, and newborn-related factors, women who
177 received both breastfeeding support interventions from any health care provider (counselling and
178 observation) in the first hour after birth, had a 24% increase (OR=1.24 95%CI=1.11,1.39) in the odds
179 of initiating breastfeeding within one hour of birth (Table 4). Having no skilled attendant present at
180 the birth (OR=0.77, 95%CI=0.70-0.85), having a c-section (OR=0.23, 95%CI=0.19-0.28), no immediate
181 skin-to-skin contact (OR=0.62, 95%CI=0.58-0.68), and being in the richer wealth quintile (OR=0.87,
182 95%CI=0.78-0.89) were all associated with a decrease in the odds of early breastfeeding. Any birth
183 interval was associated with an increase in the odds of early breastfeeding, as compared with first
184 births (<2 years: OR=1.27, 95%CI=1.11,1.45; 2+years: OR=1.29, 95%CI=1.16,1.42).

185 Pre-lacteal feeding

186 Receiving both early postnatal breastfeeding interventions was not associated with absence of
187 pre-lacteal feeds (anything other than breastmilk given in the first three days of life) (OR=0.99,
188 95%CI=0.81-1.14). Decreased odds of absence of pre-lacteal feeds was associated with having a c-
189 section (OR=0.31, 95%CI=0.26-0.37), not having a skilled attendant present at the birth (OR=0.67,
190 95%CI=0.60-0.75), being in the middle (OR=0.70, 95%CI=0.61-0.82), richer (OR=0.67, 95%CI=0.57-

191 0.78), or richest (OR=0.55, 95%CI=0.46-0.66) wealth quintiles, and perceived size of the newborn as
192 small or very small (OR=0.87, 95%CI=0.79-0.96). Multiparous births were associated with an increase
193 in the odds of absence of prelacteal feeding, as compared with first births (birth interval <2 years:
194 OR=1.21, 95%CI=1.04,1.41; birth interval 2+years: OR=1.34, 95%CI=1.17,1.53).

195 Exclusive breastfeeding

196 Receipt of both early postnatal breastfeeding support interventions was not associated with
197 exclusive breastfeeding in infants under six months of age (OR=0.93, 95%CI=0.82-1.06). Factors that
198 were positively associated with exclusive breastfeeding included giving birth to a female newborn
199 (OR=1.09, 95%CI=1.01-1.19), and older maternal age (20-34 years: OR=1.24, 95%CI=1.08-1.42; 35+
200 years: OR=1.41, 95%CI=1.18,1.68). Factors negatively associated with exclusive breastfeeding
201 included living in an urban residence (OR=0.87, 95%CI=0.77,0.98), having no skilled attendant
202 present at the birth (OR=0.84, 95%CI=0.75-0.95), a birth interval of less than two years (as compared
203 to first birth) (OR=0.79, 95%CI=0.68-0.92), and having a small or very small baby (OR=0.86,
204 95%CI=0.78-0.95).

205 Discussion

206 We analysed the relationships between early postnatal breastfeeding support and recommended
207 breastfeeding practices in 11 LMICs using nationally representative DHS survey data. We found wide
208 variations between countries in support received by women and their newborns and breastfeeding
209 practices. While receipt of early postnatal breastfeeding support was associated with early initiation
210 of breastfeeding, it was not associated with exclusive breastfeeding in the first six months of life or
211 absence prelacteal feeding in the first three days. It is likely that any effect from early postnatal
212 breastfeeding support was short-lived. As the complex nature of exclusive breastfeeding is likely to
213 be heavily influenced by sociocultural factors, duration of exclusive breastfeeding is unlikely to be
214 modified to any great extent by implementation of short-term interventions.

215 Findings from Burundi and Armenia highlight the heterogeneity in receipt of breastfeeding support
216 and breastfeeding practices. While early postnatal breastfeeding support was almost non-existent in
217 Burundi, early and exclusive breastfeeding was widely practiced and offering of prelacteal feeds was
218 rare. Conversely, in Armenia, although early postnatal breastfeeding support was more common,
219 implementation of recommended breastfeeding practices were amongst the lowest in this study.
220 This may be explained by external contextual factors. Armenia suffered a rapid decrease in
221 breastfeeding rates in the aftermath of the 1988 earthquake when infant formula was widely
222 distributed by aid agencies (Harutyunyan, 2015). Breastfeeding practices further suffered during the
223 early 1990s from poor hospital practices (such as routine feeding with water and use of bottles)
224 (Abazyan, 2009) and formula marketing (Harutyunyan, 2015). To improve breastfeeding practices,
225 Armenia revised numerous policies and practices to promote breastfeeding, including the
226 implementation of the Baby Friendly Hospital Initiative (BFHI), the Baby Friendly Polyclinics Initiative
227 (BFPI), the Breastfeeding Promotion and Regulation of Marketing of Baby Food law, and the
228 Improving health and nutrition of infants and young children educational project (Harutyunyan,
229 2015). The strong political efforts in Armenia may explain the high coverage of early postnatal
230 breastfeeding support while these external contextual and historical factors may continue to explain
231 the low breastfeeding practices.

232 Devastation from civil war in Burundi from 1993 to 2000 included disruption to the health system.
233 Challenges in the health sector include insufficient and poorly trained staff, concentration of staff in
234 the capital, poor quality health services, and lack of reliable health information (World Health
235 Organization, 2015). To improve maternal and child mortality rates, a policy of free health care for
236 children under five and access to facility deliveries was adopted in Burundi in 2006. Utilization of
237 health services rose substantially and increased pressure on understaffed and underequipped
238 facilities. Further changes to the health system, particularly performance-based financing, have
239 contributed to more recent improvements in the stability of health personnel and quality of services
240 (World Health Organization, 2015). A study of nutrition in children under two years of age in two

241 districts in Burundi showed high levels of contact with pre-, peri-, and postnatal health services but
242 poor service delivery (i.e. few recommended interventions were provided at these contacts) (Parker,
243 Leroy, Olney, Harris, & Ruel, 2012). Despite high rates of skilled delivery assistance, an understaffed
244 and underequipped health system may explain poor early postnatal breastfeeding support.
245 Furthermore, with high rates of breastfeeding practiced by women in Burundi, health workers may
246 not see a need to offer breastfeeding support.

247 Receipt of early postnatal breastfeeding support was not associated with exclusive breastfeeding in
248 infants under six months of age. This finding is consistent with other findings from the literature
249 which show that while postnatal breastfeeding support may achieve higher breastfeeding rates than
250 the absence of intervention, interventions have often failed to achieve high rates of breastfeeding
251 (Imdad et al., 2011). Furthermore, studies have shown a dose-dependent relationship where more
252 breastfeeding support visits have been associated with increased breastfeeding rates (Morrow et al.,
253 1999). A systematic review of breastfeeding interventions for exclusive breastfeeding at six months
254 showed that the most effective interventions were on a continuum, commencing in the antenatal
255 period and continuing through the postnatal period and involving multiple types of interventions
256 (e.g. emotional support, counselling, education) (Kim, Park, Oh, Kim, & Ahn, 2018). In fact, Kim et al.
257 (2018) found postnatal-only interventions to be the least effective. Additionally, systems-level
258 changes play an important role in behaviours, particularly sustainability of behaviour change, such as
259 breastfeeding where legal and regulatory action is needed to support maternity leave and limit
260 breastmilk substitute marketing (Bradley et al., 2012). There may also be regional differences in the
261 cultural valuation of breastfeeding (Daglas & Antoniou, 2012) as well as the structural development
262 of health systems and breastfeeding support (Patil et al., 2015) which would affect both the quality
263 of postnatal breastfeeding support and the broader contextual support for breastfeeding.
264 These studies and reviews reported the results of focused implementation efforts. However,
265 evidence shows after initial implementation efforts, routine and sustained integration of evidence-

266 based practices in healthcare settings are low. Furthermore, the degree to which interventions are
267 sustained is heavily influenced by context, adaptability, and health system capacity (Wiltsey Stirman
268 et al., 2012). Therefore, extrapolating to the population level from small focused efforts to improve
269 breastfeeding practices may not be reliable. In contrast, nationally representative data can show
270 levels and association of breastfeeding support in a broader context, without specific, time-limited
271 implementation support. This can improve our understanding of how these interventions work in
272 routine practice.

273 Common bottlenecks to delivering and sustaining interventions such as breastfeeding counselling
274 include low quality of services, insufficient number of providers, and financial, cultural, and
275 geographical barriers (Chopra, Sharkey, Dalmiya, Anthony, & Binkin, 2012). At the national level,
276 providers need adequate and ongoing training to support the uptake and continuation of exclusive
277 breastfeeding. Furthermore, providers require the time and motivation to provide support, and
278 require training themselves. Analysis of recent facility-based surveys on service delivery showed that
279 only approximately one-third or fewer providers in most countries have received recent training on
280 breastfeeding or child-nutrition topics (Mallick, Temsah, & Benedict, 2018). Education and training
281 are associated with improved provider communication (Larson, Leslie, & Kruk, 2017) so improved
282 provider training could increase breastfeeding support and improve breastfeeding practices.

283 In addition to provider training and education, the country policy environment must be supportive
284 of breastfeeding practices. Drafting, monitoring, and enforcing local regulations can improve
285 compliance with the International Code of Marketing of Breast-milk Substitutes (Barennes, Slesak,
286 Goyet, Aaron, & Srour, 2016), as seen in Armenia (Harutyunyan, 2015). However, policy must also
287 support maternity leave and workplace breastfeeding provisions (Save the Children, 2013).

288 Additionally, context and cultural preferences might explain variability in breastfeeding support
289 effectiveness (Sudfeld, Fawzi, & Lahariya, 2012). Health practice, education, research and policy

290 interact in complex and dynamic ways. Integrating systems-thinking approaches may improve use of
291 resources and improve health outcomes (Swanson et al., 2012).

292 [Strengths and limitations](#)

293 While data on breastfeeding practices have been collected by DHS since the inception of the
294 programme, early postnatal breastfeeding support was only recently added to the model survey
295 questionnaire (DHS, 2015). This has allowed us to examine breastfeeding support and practices at
296 the national level to understand their relationship outside of specific, time-limited implementation
297 efforts typically studied in RCTs and quasi-experimental studies. Furthermore, we were able to
298 examine a diverse population, representative at the national level, and pool data to provide a large
299 number of recent births.

300 However, some limitations should be noted. Detailed analysis of the health system and cultural
301 context within the countries included in this analysis was outside the scope of this
302 study. Furthermore, survey-based measurement of breastfeeding support and practices is subject to
303 respondents being able to understand the questions and accurately recall the answers. Qualitative
304 research in Bangladesh and Malawi has shown women's recall of timing of events around the time of
305 birth becomes less precise over time (Yoder et al., 2010). A recent study in Nigeria showed that
306 women's report of early initiation of breastfeeding was accurate at an exit-interview, the same level
307 of accuracy wasn't met at future follow-up interviews (Bhattacharya et al., 2019). To increase the
308 likelihood of accurate recall of support and practices, we limited the study population to the most
309 recent birth in the two years before the survey. Other validation studies have also shown women
310 can accurately report on multiple aspects of postnatal care, however, early initiation of
311 breastfeeding has shown variable results for survey-reported accuracy (Blanc, Diaz, McCarthy, &
312 Berdichevsky, 2016; Blanc, Warren, et al., 2016; McCarthy et al., 2016; Stanton et al., 2013) .

313 DHS survey questions asked women if they were counselled on or observed breastfeeding in the first
314 two days of life. Additionally, they were asked the timing of the first newborn postnatal check. We

315 combined these variables to estimate breastfeeding support in the first hour of life under the
316 assumption the breastfeeding support took place during the newborn postnatal check. However, it is
317 possible the newborn had a postnatal check in the first hour after birth and the breastfeeding
318 support took place at another time during the first two days of life and we cannot test the validity of
319 this assumption. If our assumption is incorrect, then we may have overestimated early postnatal
320 breastfeeding support and over emphasised its association with early initiation of breastfeeding.

321 Another limitation of this study is that there is no information on the quality of the breastfeeding
322 support provided to women. The survey data include only maternal report of any observation of or
323 counselling on breastfeeding from any health care provider. While the counselling could have been
324 thorough and based on recommended practices, it also could have been superficial or included
325 inaccurate information. Studies of antenatal, family planning, and sick child counselling have shown
326 poor quality of counselling and over-reporting of receipt of services (Assaf, Wang, & Mallick, 2016).

327 As this is a cross-sectional study, causation cannot be inferred. While early postnatal breastfeeding
328 support was associated with early initiation of breastfeeding, it may not be causally linked. Where
329 early postnatal breastfeeding support is provided, cultural, political and promotion environments
330 may also be conducive to supporting breastfeeding (Lindsay Mallick, Benedict, & Wang, 2019; Pérez-
331 Escamilla, Curry, Minhas, Taylor, & Bradley, 2012). Improvement of breastfeeding outcomes has
332 been successful in settings where goals, coordination, and monitoring have been aligned across
333 multiple domains including political will, policy, research and promotion (Pérez-Escamilla et al.,
334 2012).

335 Conclusion

336 While receipt of breastfeeding support was associated with early initiation of breastfeeding, it was
337 not associated with exclusive breastfeeding or absence of prelacteal feeding, thereby lacking
338 sustainability of impact. Key risk factors for poorer breastfeeding practices included not having a
339 skilled attendant at the birth, having a c-section birth, relatively richer groups, and smaller newborns

340 (size as perceived by the woman). Increased education and improved ongoing training of health care
341 providers to deliver breastfeeding support may improve breastfeeding practices. Furthermore,
342 national and local policies must create an enabling environment for health care providers to support
343 breastfeeding women as well as for workplaces, communities, and families to support breastfeeding
344 women. Further research is needed to understand what features of breastfeeding support improve
345 breastfeeding practices at scale.

346

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Tables and Figures

Table 1 Breastfeeding practices and support, definitions and populations

| Practice/Support | Definition | Survey question | Population |
|---|--|---|--|
| Early initiation of breastfeeding | Newborn was put to the breast within one hour | How long after birth did you first put (NAME) to the breast? | Last births in the two years before the survey |
| Prelacteal feeding | Feeding the newborn anything other than breast milk in the first three days of life | In the first three days after delivery, was (NAME) given anything to drink other than breastmilk? | Last births in the two years before the survey |
| Exclusive breastfeeding | Infant under six months and living with the mother was given nothing besides breastmilk during the day and night before the survey | Are you still breastfeeding (NAME)? Now I would like to ask you about liquids or foods that (NAME) had yesterday during the day or at night. I am interested in whether your child had the item I mention even if it was combined with other foods. Did (NAME) drink or eat: (LIST OF FOODS/DRINKS) | Last births in the six months before the survey living with their mother |
| Breastfeeding counselling | Any health care provider counselled on breastfeeding within two days of birth | During the first two days after (NAME)'s birth, did any health care provider do the following: Counsel you on breastfeeding? | Last births in the two years before the survey |
| Breastfeeding observation | Any health care provider observed breastfeeding within two days of birth | During the first two days after (NAME)'s birth, did any health care provider do the following: Observe (NAME) breastfeeding? | Last births in the two years before the survey |
| Newborn postnatal check | Anyone checked on the newborn's health in the first hour after birth | I would like to talk to you about checks on (NAME)'s health after delivery – for example, someone examining (NAME), checking the cord, or seeing if (NAME) is OK. In the two months after (NAME) was born, did any health care provider or a traditional birth attendant check on (NAME)'s health? How long after delivery did the first check take place? | Last births in the two years before the survey |
| Both early breastfeeding support interventions | Women received counselling and was observed breastfeeding plus had a newborn postnatal check in the first hour of birth | -- | Last births in the two years before the survey |

Table 2 Covariates

| Covariate | Definition | Models used for |
|---|---|--|
| Country | Categorical variable with a level for each country included in the analysis | All |
| Residence | Binary variable for urban/rural residence | All |
| Mode of delivery | Categorical variable for c-section, vaginal delivery with skilled delivery attendant, and vaginal delivery with no skilled attendant. Skilled attendant was defined for each country based on DHS final reports | All |
| Education | Binary variable for no/primary education or secondary/higher education | All |
| Wealth | Categorical variable created by the DHS Program for country-specific wealth quintile | All |
| Birth interval | Categorical variable for first birth, <2 years since previous birth, or + years since previous birth | All |
| Sex of baby | Binary variable for sex of the baby | All |
| Size of baby | Binary variable for mother's perceived size of the baby at birth being small or very small | All |
| Age of mother at last birth | Categorical variable for age of mother <20 years, 20-34 years, 35+years | All |
| Antenatal care | Binary variable for receipt of 4 or more antenatal care visits | All |
| Immediate skin-to-skin contact^a | Binary variable for immediate skin-to-skin contact | Early breastfeeding, exclusive breastfeeding |
| Formal employment | Binary variable for mother works for cash or doesn't work/paid in kind | Exclusive breastfeeding only |

^a In Zimbabwe and Burundi, information on immediate skin-to-skin contact was only collected for facility births

Table 3 Sample characteristics

Percent distribution of socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, mean number of years in education, and mean age, by country

| | Angola | Armenia | Burundi | Ethiopia | Haiti | Malawi | Nepal | Timor- Leste | Tanzania | Uganda | Zimbabwe | Pooled sample (SE) |
|---------------------------|--------|---------|---------|----------|-------|--------|-------|-----------------|----------|--------|----------|-----------------------|
| Rural | 39.6 | 41.3 | 91.0 | 87.9 | 66.8 | 86.3 | 46.2 | 72.6 | 72.3 | 78.7 | 72.0 | 68.28 (0.0052) |
| Not formally employed | 56.7 | 79.5 | 57.1 | 83.7 | 41.4 | 76.0 | 82.2 | 82.2 | 57.2 | 40.0 | 57.1 | 64.5 (0.0041) |
| Male baby | 49.9 | 50.7 | 50.6 | 47.9 | 49.5 | 50.6 | 53.6 | 51.1 | 51.0 | 50.9 | 50.5 | 50.56 (0.0034) |
| Primary or no education | 66.8 | 5.8 | 88.0 | 91.2 | 56.9 | 78.8 | 48.3 | 39.6 | 83.0 | 70.2 | 33.3 | 59.97 (0.0048) |
| Poorest | 21.8 | 17.6 | 22.1 | 23.5 | 26.2 | 25.4 | 21.0 | 19.5 | 24.4 | 22.4 | 25.0 | 22.36 (0.0044) |
| Poorer | 23.9 | 21.1 | 22.1 | 22.1 | 22.4 | 22.7 | 20.9 | 20.5 | 21.0 | 21.2 | 20.4 | 21.49 (0.0035) |
| Middle | 21.8 | 18.8 | 20.6 | 20.6 | 21.3 | 19.3 | 23.1 | 20.6 | 18.8 | 19.0 | 18.1 | 20.15 (0.0036) |
| Richer | 17.6 | 18.3 | 18.9 | 18.2 | 16.6 | 16.9 | 20.6 | 20.5 | 18.9 | 17.6 | 22.3 | 18.94 (0.0037) |
| Richest | 14.9 | 24.2 | 16.3 | 15.6 | 13.5 | 15.7 | 14.5 | 18.9 | 16.9 | 19.9 | 14.3 | 17.05 (0.0045) |
| <20 years at delivery | 20.6 | 5.4 | 7.5 | 11.9 | 12.7 | 20.7 | 22.7 | 7.8 | 18.6 | 17.4 | 18.2 | 14.91 (0.0025) |
| 20-34 years at delivery | 65.7 | 86.8 | 73.8 | 72.7 | 69.2 | 67.2 | 73.5 | 77.5 | 65.9 | 69.8 | 70.4 | 72.05 (0.0032) |
| 35+ years at delivery | 13.8 | 7.8 | 18.7 | 15.4 | 18.1 | 12.1 | 3.8 | 14.7 | 15.5 | 12.8 | 11.4 | 13.03 (0.0023) |
| First birth | 20.8 | 41.5 | 17.3 | 20.6 | 29.8 | 27.6 | 40.7 | 25.3 | 27.0 | 22.6 | 26.5 | 27.45 (0.0036) |
| <2 years since last birth | 17.2 | 12.9 | 12.7 | 13.3 | 10.6 | 6.4 | 11.4 | 21.4 | 13.0 | 16.4 | 7.3 | 12.67 (0.0025) |
| 2+ years since last birth | 62.0 | 45.5 | 70.0 | 66.0 | 59.6 | 66.0 | 47.9 | 53.4 | 60.0 | 61.0 | 66.2 | 59.88 (0.0036) |
| Average or large baby | 71.7 | 66.9 | 66.0 | 70.1 | 81.6 | 65.8 | 85.0 | 78.6 | 80.0 | 74.0 | 64.8 | 73.01 (0.0034) |
| 4+ ANC visits | 60.0 | 96.8 | 51.7 | 33.5 | 63.1 | 48.4 | 71.2 | 76.7 | 48.1 | 60.7 | 73.7 | 62.53 (0.0043) |
| C-section | 3.8 | 21.5 | 5.2 | 2.6 | 5.7 | 6.5 | 10.0 | 3.4 | 6.6 | 7.2 | 6.1 | 7.28 (0.0025) |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----------------------------|
| Vaginal delivery, skilled attendant | 47.5 | 78.5 | 80.4 | 34.5 | 34.5 | 84.5 | 54.5 | 56.0 | 59.3 | 69.4 | 75.7 | 62.5 (0.0048) |
| Vaginal delivery, no skilled attendant | 48.5 | 0.0 | 13.8 | 62.9 | 59.2 | 8.7 | 35.4 | 40.4 | 34.1 | 23.1 | 18.1 | 30.21 (0.0048) |
| National total, <24 months ^a | 5263 | 664 | 5348 | 4210 | 2370 | 6549 | 1956 | 2810 | 4081 | 5765 | 2415 | 41431 (350.57) |
| National total, <6 months ^a | 1465 | 173 | 1247 | 1175 | 672 | 1653 | 443 | 743 | 992 | 1451 | 622 | 10636 (131.5) |
| Pooled total, <24 months ^b | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 3766 | 41431 (387.49) ^c |
| Pooled total, <6 months ^b | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 967 | 10636 (131.06) ^c |

488 ^a Total using un-scaled, nationally-representative survey weights, ^b Total using scaled weights with all countries weighted equally, ^c Sum of country pooled sample totals do not add up to the
489 full pooled sample total due to rounding

490

| Characteristic | Early breastfeeding model (n=37,807) | | | | Absence of prelacteal feeding model (n=39,601) | | | | Exclusive breastfeeding model (n=9,920) | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|--|-------------|------|-------------|---|-------------|------|-------------|
| | COR ^a | 95% CI | AOR ^b | 95% CI | COR | 95% CI | AOR | 95% CI | COR | 95% CI | AOR | 95% CI |
| Breastfeeding assistance (ref= one or no interventions) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Both interventions | 0.92 | (0.84,1.02) | 1.24 | (1.11,1.39) | 0.92 | (0.81,1.05) | 0.99 | (0.86,1.14) | 0.97 | (0.87,1.09) | 0.93 | (0.82,1.06) |
| Country (ref=Angola) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Armenia | 0.73 | (0.59,0.90) | 0.62 | (0.49,0.79) | 0.96 | (0.70,1.33) | 1.05 | (0.75,1.49) | 1.34 | (0.97,1.85) | 1.16 | (0.82,1.66) |
| Burundi | 6.13 | (5.31,7.08) | 7.34 | (6.18,8.71) | 2.06 | (1.68,2.54) | 2.03 | (1.63,2.54) | 7.31 | (6.1,8.75) | 6.58 | (5.29,8.18) |
| Ethiopia | 3.03 | (2.58,3.56) | 3.49 | (2.95,4.13) | 1.40 | (1.13,1.74) | 1.63 | (1.29,2.04) | 2.01 | (1.70,2.39) | 1.92 | (1.60,2.30) |
| Haiti | 0.97 | (0.84,1.12) | 1.09 | (0.93,1.28) | 0.54 | (0.44,0.66) | 0.58 | (0.47,0.72) | 1.00 | (0.83,1.22) | 0.92 | (0.75,1.12) |
| Malawi | 3.54 | (3.10,4.04) | 3.03 | (2.61,3.52) | 3.95 | (3.14,4.97) | 4.03 | (3.16,5.15) | 2.33 | (2.01,2.70) | 2.06 | (1.73,2.45) |
| Nepal | 1.29 | (1.10,1.51) | 1.27 | (1.08,1.50) | 0.30 | (0.24,0.37) | 0.31 | (0.25,0.38) | 3.38 | (2.69,4.26) | 3.20 | (2.51,4.07) |
| Timor-Leste | 3.32 | (2.78,3.96) | 2.81 | (2.31,3.42) | 0.54 | (0.44,0.66) | 0.45 | (0.36,0.55) | 1.64 | (1.36,1.98) | 1.33 | (1.08,1.65) |
| Tanzania | 1.12 | (0.97,1.29) | 1.19 | (1.02,1.38) | 0.75 | (0.60,0.93) | 0.79 | (0.63,0.99) | 1.89 | (1.60,2.23) | 1.77 | (1.48,2.12) |
| Uganda | 2.10 | (1.85,2.40) | 1.81 | (1.57,2.09) | 0.33 | (0.28,0.39) | 0.33 | (0.27,0.39) | 3.08 | (2.63,3.61) | 2.73 | (2.29,3.26) |
| Zimbabwe | 1.46 | (1.24,1.72) | 1.32 | (1.10,1.58) | 0.83 | (0.66,1.05) | 0.77 | (0.60,0.98) | 1.51 | (1.25,1.82) | 1.40 | (1.13,1.75) |
| Residence (ref=rural) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Urban | 0.63 | (0.58,0.68) | 0.92 | (0.82,1.02) | 0.70 | (0.63,0.78) | 1.02 | (0.89,1.17) | 0.72 | (0.66,0.79) | 0.87 | (0.77,0.98) |
| Mode of delivery (ref= vaginal, skilled attendant) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| C-section | 0.17 | (0.14,0.19) | 0.23 | (0.19,0.28) | 0.29 | (0.25,0.34) | 0.31 | (0.26,0.37) | 0.88 | (0.75,1.04) | 0.91 | (0.75,1.11) |
| Vaginal, no skilled attendant | 0.63 | (0.59,0.68) | 0.77 | (0.70,0.85) | 0.70 | (0.63,0.77) | 0.67 | (0.60,0.75) | 0.66 | (0.61,0.72) | 0.84 | (0.75,0.95) |
| Education (ref=primary or none) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Secondary or higher | 0.70 | (0.65,0.75) | 1.01 | (0.93,1.10) | 0.74 | (0.68,0.82) | 1.05 | (0.94,1.17) | 0.86 | (0.79,0.94) | 1.04 | (0.93,1.16) |
| Wealth (ref= poorest) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Poorer | 0.99 | (0.90,1.09) | 0.97 | (0.88,1.07) | 0.89 | (0.79,1.01) | 0.88 | (0.77,1.00) | 0.95 | (0.85,1.07) | 0.96 | (0.85,1.09) |
| Middle | 0.97 | (0.88,1.07) | 0.92 | (0.83,1.02) | 0.72 | (0.63,0.83) | 0.70 | (0.61,0.82) | 1.07 | (0.95,1.21) | 1.08 | (0.94,1.23) |
| Richer | 0.94 | (0.85,1.04) | 0.87 | (0.78,0.98) | 0.72 | (0.62,0.82) | 0.67 | (0.57,0.78) | 1.01 | (0.89,1.14) | 0.92 | (0.80,1.06) |
| Richest | 0.89 | (0.79,1.00) | 0.91 | (0.78,1.06) | 0.57 | (0.49,0.65) | 0.55 | (0.46,0.66) | 1.06 | (0.94,1.20) | 0.91 | (0.77,1.07) |
| Birth interval (ref=First birth) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <2 years | 1.33 | (1.20,1.48) | 1.27 | (1.11,1.45) | 1.17 | (1.03,1.33) | 1.21 | (1.04,1.41) | 0.89 | (0.79,1.02) | 0.79 | (0.68,0.92) |

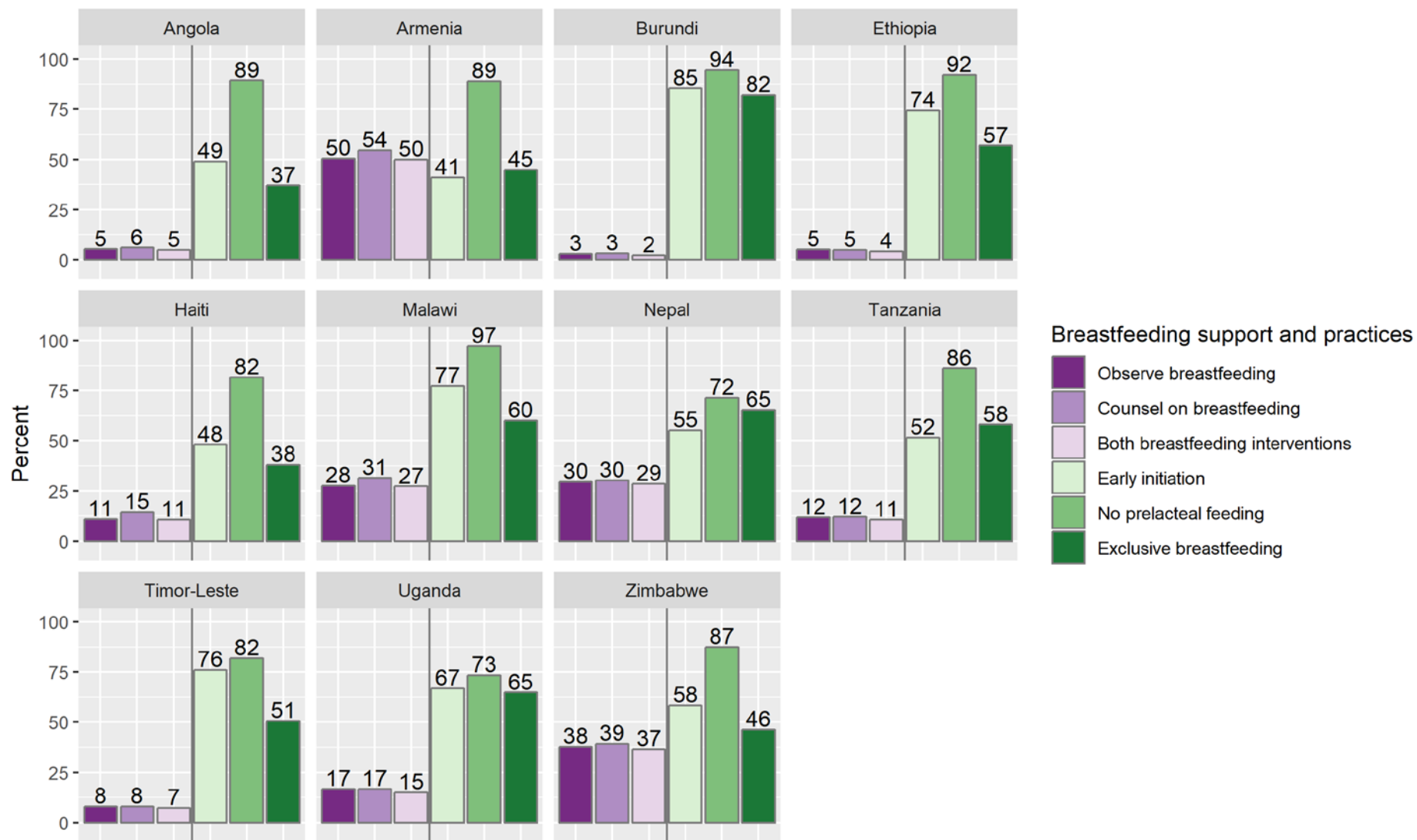
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|------|-------------|
| 2+ years | 1.41 | (1.31,1.52) | 1.29 | (1.16,1.42) | 1.4 | (1.26,1.54) | 1.34 | (1.17,1.53) | 1.04 | (0.95,1.14) | 0.88 | (0.78,1.00) |
| Sex of baby (ref=male) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Female | 1.05 | (0.99,1.12) | 1.05 | (0.98,1.12) | 1.04 | (0.96,1.13) | 1.02 | (0.93,1.11) | 1.08 | (1.00,1.16) | 1.09 | (1.01,1.19) |
| Size of baby (ref= average, large, or very large) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Small or very small | 1.10 | (1.02,1.18) | 1.03 | (0.95,1.12) | 1.06 | (0.96,1.16) | 0.87 | (0.79,0.96) | 0.91 | (0.83,0.99) | 0.86 | (0.78,0.95) |
| Maternal age at delivery (ref= less than 20 years) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20-34 years | 1.13 | (1.05,1.22) | 1.02 | (0.92,1.12) | 1.11 | (1.00,1.23) | 0.97 | (0.85,1.11) | 1.19 | (1.07,1.32) | 1.24 | (1.08,1.42) |
| 35+ years | 1.23 | (1.11,1.36) | 1.01 | (0.88,1.17) | 1.09 | (0.94,1.25) | 0.85 | (0.71,1.01) | 1.36 | (1.18,1.56) | 1.41 | (1.18,1.68) |
| Antenatal care (ref=4+ ANC visits) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| <4 ANC visits | 1.12 | (1.05,1.20) | 0.93 | (0.87,1.00) | 0.99 | (0.91,1.08) | 0.76 | (0.69,0.83) | 0.96 | (0.89,1.04) | 0.93 | (0.85,1.01) |
| Immediate skin-to-skin (ref= yes) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| No | 0.68 | (0.64,0.73) | 0.62 | (0.58,0.68) | -- | -- | -- | -- | 0.94 | (0.87,1.02) | 0.95 | (0.86,1.05) |
| Employed (ref= Not in formal employment) | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Formal employment | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1.02 | (0.94,1.11) | 0.97 | (0.89,1.07) |

^a COR=Crude odds ration; ^b AOR=Adjusted odds ratio

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Figure 1 Coverage of breastfeeding support and prevalence of breastfeeding practices, by country



Supplementary table

Supplementary table 1 Included countries, survey year, and sample size

| Country | Survey year | Number of women interviewed ^a |
|-------------|-------------|--|
| Angola | 2015-16 | 14379 |
| Armenia | 2015-16 | 6116 |
| Burundi | 2016-17 | 17269 |
| Ethiopia | 2016 | 15683 |
| Haiti | 2016-17 | 14371 |
| Malawi | 2015-16 | 24562 |
| Nepal | 2016 | 12862 |
| Timor-Leste | 2016 | 13266 |
| Tanzania | 2015-16 | 12607 |
| Uganda | 2016 | 18506 |
| Zimbabwe | 2015 | 9955 |

^aWeighted, from ICF International (2015)

Author contribution statement

Kimberly Peven: Conceptualisation, Formal analysis, Visualization, Writing - Original Draft

Edward Purssell: Conceptualisation, Supervision, Writing - Review & Editing

Cath Taylor: Conceptualisation, Supervision, Writing - Review & Editing

Debra Bick: Conceptualisation, Supervision, Writing - Review & Editing

Velma K. Lopez: Conceptualisation, Methodology, Supervision, Writing - Review & Editing

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