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An Integrated Analysis of Maternal-Infant Sleep, Breastfeeding and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome Research Supporting A Balanced Discourse

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3 **Keywords:** bed-sharing, breastfeeding, co-sleeping, epidemiological methods, infant behavior,
4 lactation, maternal behavior, mother-infant dyad
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10 **Key Messages**

- 12 • Sudden Infant Death Syndrome studies have often been interpreted as consistent with
13 policies to exclude breastfeeding mothers from sleeping with their infants even in the absence of
14 risk factors for infant death.
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- 17 • Except for policy in the United Kingdom, the primary source of information to guide
18 families on safe sleeping and breastfeeding that does not separate the mother and the child comes
19 from breastfeeding support organisations.
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- 22 • In the context of “breastsleeping” we can emphasize the magnitude of risk surrounding
23 unsafe sleeping practices involving alcohol, drugs and sofas or chairs and have a more
24 coordinated approach with public health strategists on how to best care for infants and keep them
25 safe.
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3 **An Integrated Analysis of Maternal-Infant Sleep, Breastfeeding and Sudden Infant Death**
4 **Syndrome Research Supporting A Balanced Discourse**
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8 **Abstract**
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10 Breastfeeding and the place of sleep of the mother and the infant have been controversial
11 internationally due to reported concerns for infant deaths despite the known benefits of exclusive
12 and prolonged breastfeeding, which are increased by breastfeeding at night. The aims of this
13 integrated analysis were to (a) review breastfeeding and maternal and infant sleep research
14 literature via historical, epidemiological, anthropological and methodological lenses; (b) use this
15 information to determine where we are currently in safeguarding both infant lives and
16 breastfeeding; and (c) postulate what direction research might take from this point forward to
17 improve our knowledge and inform our policy and practice. Despite well-meaning but
18 unsuccessful campaigns in some countries to dissuade parents from sleeping with their babies,
19 many breastfeeding mothers and caregivers do sleep with their infants whether intentionally or
20 unintentionally. Data supports policies to counsel parents and caregivers on safe sleep practices
21 including bed-sharing in non-hazardous circumstances, particularly in the absence of parental
22 smoking, recent parental alcohol consumption or sleeping next to an adult on a sofa, taking
23 cultural contexts and socio-ecological circumstances into consideration. Further research with
24 appropriate methodology is needed to drill down on actual rates of infant deaths paying close
25 attention to the definitions of deaths, the circumstances of the deaths, and confounding factors to
26 ensure we have the best information on which to derive public health policy. Introduction and
27 use of the concept of “breastsleeping” is a plausible way to remove the negative connotations of
28 “co-sleeping” and redirect ongoing data-driven discussions and education of best practices of
29 breastfeeding and sleep.
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Background

The matter of breastfeeding and the place of sleep of the mother and the infant has been and remains a contentious issue in maternal-child health globally. The aims of this paper were to review the literature associated with this topic using an historical, epidemiological, anthropological and methodological lens and then, with this information determine where we are now in safeguarding both infant lives and breastfeeding as well as what direction research might take from this point forward to improve our knowledge and inform our policy and practice.

History and Background to Current Debate

This is an issue of relevance for mothers and their babies and other caregivers throughout the world. The bed-sharing debate ignited in the late twentieth century during a period of intense research seeking explanations for unexplained infant deaths (known as SIDS or Sudden Infant Death Syndrome) that occurred during sleep and peaked during the second to third month of life. Although the cause of SIDS remains unknown, epidemiological studies identified a strong association with infant sleep position, leading to campaigns that informed parents to put babies to sleep on their backs (Gilbert, Salanti, Harden, & See, 2005). Further infant care practices in the sleep environment were intensely scrutinized in Western countries, for example the use of pacifiers, soft bedding, and infant head coverings.

Anthropologists noted how poorly Western sleep arrangements met the human infant's unique biological and behavioral needs (McKenna, 1986; Konner & Super, 1987), with babies predominantly sleeping alone in a crib in a separate room from their parents. As placental mammals, humans produce helpless young who require prolonged maternal post-natal care and lactation. This is especially characteristic of the human infant who is born neurologically the least mature primate of all, the most dependent on the caregiver for bodily regulation, and for the

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3 longest period of time. Human milk follows the typical primate composition: low in protein and
4 fat, but high in sugar (Jelliffe & Jelliffe, 1978). Cross-cultural studies emphasize that in most
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6 fat, but high in sugar (Jelliffe & Jelliffe, 1978). Cross-cultural studies emphasize that in most
7
8 traditional societies, infants are maintained in physical contact with their mother day and night,
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10 experience frequent arousals during sleep, and suckle on demand throughout the first year of life
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12 (Ball, 2007). In contrast, social and cultural changes in industrial and post-industrial societies
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14 have encouraged solitary and prolonged sleep periods from an early postnatal age, and which are
15
16 now considered characteristic of Western cultures (McKenna, Ball, & Gettler, 2007).
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20 Against this backdrop anthropologists hypothesized that one explanation for SIDS could
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22 be the unusual practice of separating babies and mothers at night (McKenna, 1986; Konner &
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24 Super 1987; McKenna et al 1993a). That infants undergo dramatic changes in their breathing
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26 control around 3 months of age makes them particularly vulnerable to unpredictable breathing
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28 cessation (Mosko, Richard, & McKenna, 1997). SIDS researchers were investigating suppressed
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30 infant arousals and breathing pauses (apnea) as potential precursors to unexpected infant deaths
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32 when McKenna proposed that infants experiencing close sleep contact may be protected from
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34 apneic pauses and blunted arousal by maternal sounds, movements, and breathing (McKenna et
35
36 al., 1993b). In a series of polysomnographic studies of breastfeeding mothers and babies
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38 McKenna and colleagues demonstrated that sleep contact between them promoted regular night-
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40 time interaction and lighter stages of sleep, with fewer obstructive apneas (McKenna, Mosko,
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42 Dungy, & McAninch, 1990; Mosko, McKenna, Dickel, & Hunt, 1993; Mosko, Richard, &
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44 McKenna, 1997a; Mosko, Richard, & McKenna, 1997b). This led him to propose that mother-
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46 baby co-sleeping was adaptive for breastfeeding dyads and helped to protect babies from SIDS.
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48 However, epidemiologists studying sudden infant deaths were encountering different patterns in
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50 their data that indicated mother-baby co-sleeping was associated with increased risk (Mitchell &
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3 Scragg, 1993). To them the notion that mothers and babies might choose to sleep together was
4 inherently problematic. The ensuing discourse, debate and disagreements about the role of
5 mother-infant sleep contact in reducing or increasing sudden and unexpected infant deaths has
6 continued for over three decades.
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12 The progression of the discussion over co-sleeping, breastfeeding and SIDS has been an
13 iterative one involving negotiation and re-negotiation of research foci, data collection methods,
14 variable definitions, and ever-closer interrogation of more detailed data sets. The more carefully
15 the details are examined, the clearer it becomes that the answer to the simple question of whether
16 mother-infant sleep contact is a good or bad thing is 'It depends' (Ball, 2017a).
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24 **Epidemiology of Bed-sharing**

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26 Prolonged physical contact between parents and infants during sleep is a normal infant
27 care behavior in many different cultures and despite previous assumptions to the contrary is
28 commonly practiced in Western society. In England, almost half of all neonates bed-share at
29 some time with their parents, and a fifth of infants are brought into the parental bed on a regular
30 basis over the first year of life (Blair & Ball, 2004). In the US bed-sharing prevalence peaks in
31 early infancy declining with increasing age (Blair & Ball, 2004; McCoy et al., 2004; Blair,
32 Heron, & Fleming, 2010; Colson et al., 2013). Older data from the US National Infant Sleep
33 Position Study (Willinger, Ko, & Hoffman, 2003) found over 40% of 8000 parents reported their
34 infants slept with them in an adult bed. The strongest predictors of bed-sharing in the US were
35 being Black or Asian, breastfeeding, having a mother younger than 18 years of age, and low
36 household income. An increase in bed-sharing between 1993 to 2000 was associated with
37 maternal age > 18 years, self-identification as White or Asian, infant age older than 8 weeks, and
38 term infants with normal birth weight. More recently in the United States, about 21% of all
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3 mothers and more than 25% of Hispanic mothers report bed-sharing for some or all of the night
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5 (Smith et al., 2016), although no doubt especially in the United States (US) this likely represents
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7 a significant undercount given the fact that the condemnation of bed-sharing and bed-sharing
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9 families makes it difficult for families to be honest about where their infants actually sleep.
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12 **Bed-sharing and Breastfeeding**

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15 A strong relationship between bed-sharing and breastfeeding was demonstrated in
16
17 multiple studies, suggesting that a ‘Never Bed-share’ message may not only hinder maternal and
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19 child health promotion by impeding breastfeeding (Ball, 2003; Bartick & Smith, 2014), but also
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21 SIDS reduction itself, as breastfeeding has been associated with a greatly reduced risk of SIDS
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23 (Hauck, Thompson, Tanabe, Moon, & Vennemann, 2011; Thompson et al., 2017). It also
24
25 became clear that although bed-sharing has been associated with particular cultural contexts and
26
27 socio-ecological circumstances (Luijk et al., 2013; Salm Ward & Doering, 2014) SIDS rates
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29 were extremely low in some of these settings (e.g., Ball et al., 2012).
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33 **Epidemiology of Sudden Infant Death Syndrome and Bed-sharing**

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36 Although flagged as a potential risk factor three decades ago (Mitchell & Scragg, 1993),
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38 the definitions of ‘bed-sharing deaths’ varied widely, encompassing sofa-sharing, sleep-sharing
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40 with siblings or pets, and babies returned to a crib (Côté, 2006). Furthermore, control families’
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42 reports of ‘bed-sharing’ were not collected using standard definitions, and ranged from ‘usual
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44 behavior’, to sleep location on a particular night (or part of the night), to ever sharing a sleep
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46 surface. Data were not comparable between studies, or even between cases and controls in the
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48 same study (Ball, Hooker, & Kelly, 1999; Ball, 2007). Potential interactions between bed-sharing
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50 and hazardous circumstances such as sleeping next to parents who smoked, drank alcohol or
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52 used a sofa for the sleep started to emerge (Blair, 2009) but carried different weight in national
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3 risk reduction campaigns. The relationship between bed-sharing and SIDS was revealed to be
4 more complex than that initially assumed (Fetherston & Leach, 2012; Ball & Volpe, 2013) and
5 the approach on how we advise parents diverged to both strict guidance to avoid bed-sharing to
6 acknowledging bed-sharing happens and discussing when this may not be appropriate.
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12 Although commonly known as ‘cot death’ or ‘crib death’, SIDS can occur in any infant
13 sleeping environment and has increasingly been discovered to occur more often in shared
14 sleeping spaces than expected. Recent observational case-control studies suggest as much as half
15 of the SIDS deaths take place when infants sleep alongside an adult (Vennemann et al., 2012).
16 This rather alarming proportional rise in SIDS deaths outside the cot has led some countries to
17 recommend against bed sharing including the American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) since
18 2005 (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2005; Moon, 2016a). A meta-analysis of 11 SIDS case-
19 control studies published in 2012 showed a pooled three-fold increased risk associated with bed-
20 sharing although this did not reach significance in older infants (>12 weeks) or those not exposed
21 to tobacco smoke (Vennemann et al. 2012). Longitudinal data from Avon in England of 300
22 consecutive SIDS deaths over a 20-year period show that the proportional rise in bed-sharing
23 SIDS deaths does not equate to a numerical increase (Blair, Sidebotham, Berry, Evans, &
24 Fleming, 2006). The striking feature in this unique dataset is the seven-fold fall in deaths
25 occurring in the cot (Figure 1). SIDS deaths in the parental bed also fell by half over this time-
26 period but increased proportionally as part of the whole. Why the ‘Back to Sleep’ campaign
27 (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2019) was less effective among bed-sharing deaths is not
28 clear although data from the Avon cohort (Blair et al., 2006) and subsequent studies (Blair et al.,
29 2014) suggested placing infants prone to sleep was far more common among those sleeping
30 alone rather than those sleeping with someone. This may partly explain the inherent protection of
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3 breastfeeding against SIDS in that to initiate or enable this a process infants are more likely to be
4 placed supine and that the exposure of risk while bed-sharing may thus lay elsewhere. Notably
5 the only sleeping environment in which the SIDS deaths increased during these 20 years was
6 infants found sleeping next to a parent on a sofa. This is particularly important to observe
7 because any caregiver who wants to avoid the potential risk of bringing the baby into bed to
8 breastfeed and inadvertently falling asleep may put the infant at greater risk by getting out of bed
9 and sitting in a chair or on a sofa.

19 **Significant interactions providing hazardous exposure to the infant**

21 The interaction between maternal smoking and bed-sharing as a risk for SIDS was first
22 identified by Mitchell and colleague's large 1993 New Zealand study (Scragg et al., 1993)
23 and has been confirmed in their most recent study in 2017 (Mitchell et al., 2017). The risk
24 among infants bed-sharing next to mothers who smoked was more than four-fold (OR = 4.55
25 [95% CI: 2.63 to 7.88]) compared to no risk among infants sleeping next to non-smoking
26 mothers (OR = 0.98 [95% CI: 0.44 to 2.18]). Similar findings were observed in subsequent
27 studies. It is not clear why this exposure would put the infant at risk; innate vulnerability due to
28 fetal exposure of tobacco smoke during pregnancy, postnatal prolonged passive exposure or a
29 proxy marker for some other unmeasured risk-taking parental behavior have all been postulated
30 but little further evidence has been provided. Significant interactions have also been observed
31 between bed-sharing and parental use of alcohol or drugs prior to the last sleep and using a sofa
32 to sleep with the infant (Blair et al., 2009). A combined analysis from two English studies (Blair
33 et al., 2014) suggested an 18-fold increase in SIDS deaths if an infant sleeps next to an adult who
34 drinks more than two units of alcohol or an infant sleeps with an adult on a sofa. Both hazardous
35 circumstances are suggestive that overlaying is a potential causal explanation for these SIDS
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3 deaths although it is difficult to verify a causal classification using current post-mortem
4 techniques. Noticeably, the exposure of these two hazardous circumstances was very rare
5 amongst the controls (<1%) suggesting these practices are potentially lethal. Researchers report
6 of an observational study of nearly 8,000 sleep-related infant deaths in 24 US states from 2004 to
7 2012 showed that over 800 occurred while the infants slept with an adult on a sofa (Rechtman,
8 Colvin, Blair, Moon, 2014). The diagnoses of these deaths were fairly evenly split between
9 SIDS, ill defined and accidental suffocation and strangulation in bed (ASSB) suggesting the
10 prevalence of sofa-sharing deaths is far higher than first reported in observational SIDS studies.
11 Bed-sharing SIDS victims are younger than those infants found in cots/cribs, and other potential
12 characteristics that may lead to increased risk include the use of pillows near the infant, parental
13 exhaustion, vulnerable low birthweight or premature infants, not breastfeeding, and lack of
14 provision for a cot/crib, although further evidence is needed for these factors.

30 **The Risk of Bed-sharing in Non-Hazardous Circumstances**

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33 The combined analysis from England suggested there was no risk of bed-sharing in the
34 absence of three particular hazards—parental smoking, recent parental alcohol consumption or
35 sleeping next to an adult on the sofa. A sub-group analysis in the same study limited to younger
36 infants (under 12 weeks) increases the observed risk (OR=1.62 [95%: 0.96 to 2.73]) but this did
37 not become significant (Blair et al., 2014). In contrast, a similar combined analysis showed a
38 five-fold increased risk associated with younger infants bed-sharing in non-hazardous
39 circumstances. However, the idealized reference group used was breastfed infants placed on their
40 back to sleep in a separate room by non-smoking parents in the absence of any other risk factors.
41 This renders this quantification as uninterpretable as these two groups are not comparable despite
42 this assumption (Carpenter et al., 2013). The AAP (Moon, 2016b), in their review of the
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3 evidence to support their 2016 guidelines, concluded that the data from these two different
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5 analyses do not support a definitive conclusion that bed-sharing among the youngest infants is
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7 safe, even under less hazardous circumstances. In contrast a 2014 review of these two analyses
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9 by the independent body NICE (National Institute for Health and Care Excellence, 2014a) in the
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11 UK concluded that bed-sharing in itself is not causal and that parents need to be informed of the
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13 specific hazards associated with this practice.
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16 17 **Benefits of Bed-sharing**

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19 When parents are interviewed about sleeping with their baby they give various reasons
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21 for doing so (Ball, 2002; McKenna & Volpe, 2007; Ateah & Hamelin, 2008; Culver, 2009;
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23 Crane & Ball, 2013). Their answers express deeply-rooted cultural or religious beliefs and
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25 parenting philosophies, invoke the physiological links between lactation and night-time
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27 breastfeeding, and reflect the biological compulsion that drives the urge for close contact (Salm-
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29 Ward, 2015). On a practical level they explain that sleeping with the baby makes night-time care
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31 easier, helps them to monitor the baby, provide comfort, and yet obtain sleep (Ball, 2002; Ball,
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33 2003; Rudzik & Ball, 2016). Sometimes parents report having nowhere else to put their baby at
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35 night, or that they have fallen asleep with their baby unintentionally.
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40 For breastfeeding mothers all the above reasons may apply, so it is unsurprising that the
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42 largest group of bed-sharers around the globe are breastfeeding mothers. Of 34 studies exploring
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44 maternal reasons for co-sleeping 26 reported breastfeeding as the key (Salm-Ward, 2015). Bed-
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46 sharing facilitates night-time breastfeeding, is associated with more frequent night-time feeds
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48 (which promotes milk production taking advantage of the physiological prolactin surge), and
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50 with more months of breastfeeding. The observed association between bed-sharing and greater
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52 breastfeeding duration was demonstrated in Brazil where researchers investigated breastfeeding
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3 outcomes at 12 months by interviewing mothers of infants at birth ($N=4231$), 3 and 12 months
4 about their feeding and sleeping arrangements. Breastfeeding prevalence at 12 months was 59%
5 for those who bed-shared (habitually for all or part of the night) at 3 months and 44% for those
6 who did not. Among infants exclusively breastfed at 3 months, 75% of bed-sharers were still
7 breastfed at 12 months, versus 52% of non-sharers (Santos, Mota, Matijasevich, Barros, &
8 Barros, 2009). Although the authors accepted these results as evidence that bed-sharing protects
9 against early weaning, the association did not reveal the direction of causality. In the UK a
10 similar association was found with mothers being twice as likely to still be breastfeeding 6
11 months post-birth, if they commenced bed-sharing within the first 3 months, than if they did not;
12 however in this study strength of intent to breastfeed had been assessed in early pregnancy and it
13 was found that mothers who chose to bed-share were those with the strongest intent to breastfeed
14 to 6 months or beyond (Ball et al., 2016). These data are consistent with the interpretation that
15 bed-sharing is a strategy used by breastfeeding mothers to reduce the costs (e.g. sleep disruption)
16 of prolonged breastfeeding (Tully & Ball, 2013). Prevention of bed-sharing is therefore likely to
17 undermine breastfeeding goals (Ball 2003).
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37 With regard to maternal sleep, numerous studies have confirmed that although bed-
38 sharing breastfeeding mothers wake frequently to feed, they also wake for shorter periods, fall
39 back to sleep more rapidly (Mosko et al., 1997b), and achieve greater sleep duration (Quillin, &
40 Glenn, 2004), when compared to those not bed-sharing. Mothers choose to bed-share to make
41 night-time care easier and reduce sleep disruption, particularly when breastfeeding (Ateah et al.,
42 2008; Rudzik et al., 2016). Although many breastfeeding mothers report having been told that
43 bed-sharing is ‘wrong’, almost every breastfeeding mother sometimes falls asleep with her baby,
44 in bed, in a chair, or on a couch, regardless of whether or not she considers herself to be a ‘bed-
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3 sharer'. It is vital, therefore, that all health professionals who support breastfeeding mothers are
4 well informed about the issues surrounding sleep-sharing and can help new mothers make sense
5
6 of how the research evidence relates to their own situations.
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9 10 **The Concept of Breastsleeping**

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12 In 2016 Mobbs and colleagues described the need for, and benefits of, immediate and
13 sustained contact, including co-sleeping, to establish an appropriate foundation for optimal
14 human infant breastfeeding, neonatal attachment and brain growth. In further support of this
15 model, and building upon existing knowledge of breastfeeding and sleep data, McKenna and
16
17 Gettler (2016) proposed the concept, 'breastsleeping', with which they aimed to help resolve the
18 bed-sharing debate and to distinguish the known and potential differences between
19 breastfeeding–bed-sharing dyads and non-breastfeeding–bed-sharing situations, particularly
20 when breastfeeding–bed-sharing is practiced in the absence of all known hazardous factors. They
21 argued that, because breastfeeding “is so physiologically and behaviorally entwined and
22 functionally interdependent with forms of co-sleeping” (McKenna & Gettler, 2016, pg. 17) that a
23 new term 'breastsleeping' would encourage acknowledgment of the following components:
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38 (i) the critical role that immediate and sustained maternal contact plays in helping to
39 establish optimal breastfeeding (Ball, 2017b; Ball & Russell, 2012; Ball, 2008);
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42 (ii) normal, human (species wide) infant sleep parameters should only be derived from
43 studies of breastsleeping dyads because of the ways maternal–infant contact affects
44 the delivery of mother's milk, the milk's ingestion, the infant's concomitant and
45 subsequent metabolism and other physiological processes, maternal and infant sleep
46 architecture, including arousal patterns, (McKenna et al., 1990; Mosko et al., 1997a;
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3 Mosko et al 1997b) as well as breastfeeding frequency and prolongation (Ball et al.,
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5 2016; Ball et al., 2006); and
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8 that breastsleeping by mother–infant pairs appears to involve substantially different behavioral
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10 and physiological characteristics compared with never-breastfeeding mothers and infants, that
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12 this dyadic context must be more closely researched and more carefully understood, and
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14 potentially distinguished as a separate epidemiological category for the purpose of benefit and
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16 risk assessment (Baddock et al 2019; Ball 2006; Mobbs et al., 2016; McKenna, 2016).
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19 As can be seen, there have been a number of studies done over the past 20 or more years,
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21 attempting to look at the relationships of maternal/caregiver sleep, hazardous risk factors,
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23 breastfeeding, and infant death. Many are limited by poor or inadequate data collection (e.g.,
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25 unclear where baby was positioned and in what position—bed, sofa, at the time of death or what
26
27 part of the night); confounders like cigarette smoking, drug and alcohol use not collected; and
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29 cultural and socioecological factors that differ between populations that must to be considered.
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31 There are many factors that we do know. We know the benefits of human milk and breastfeeding
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33 to infants and their mothers, and that these are dose-dependent; that breastfeeding through the
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35 night makes physiological sense because the one largest prolactin surge in 24 hours occurs in the
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37 middle of the night; that breastfeeding through the night is associated with higher rates of
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39 exclusive breastfeeding and longer duration of breastfeeding, with leads to higher doses of
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41 human milk. So, it is not a huge leap to accept that safe breastfeeding through the night, that does
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43 not lead to an increase in infant death, hence “breastsleeping”, is desirable. With current data,
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45 correctly interpreted, we are able to say this and develop public policy, in line with that already
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47 in place in the United Kingdom, to support families to safely sleep with and breastfeed their
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49 infants through the night. This concept is a potential game-changer given the current polarised
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3 debate on what we should be advising parents. In many places healthcare providers, including
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5 physicians, nurses, and International Board Certified Lactation Consultants are hampered by
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7 current policy in not being able to counsel families on safe sleep practices. This evokes fear of
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9 sleeping on the safe surface of their bed and puts these families at risk of getting out of bed to
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11 feed their baby on a chair/sofa, falling asleep there instead, a significantly more unsafe place.
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14 The onus is on us to call for better designed studies, with adequate interpretation and appropriate
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16 translation into public policy for the safety of families globally.
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18 19 **Risk-reduction Strategies**

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21 Different strategies have been adopted to advise parents on bed-sharing over the last
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23 decade. One is to advise against bed-sharing which has been adopted in some countries like the
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25 US since 2005 (Table 1) (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2005; Moon, 2016a). Another
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27 strategy, adopted in some countries, for example the UK (Table 2), is to acknowledge that bed-
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29 sharing occurs either intentionally or unintentionally and it is appropriate to discuss the
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31 circumstances when it would be risky to bedshare (National Institute for Health and Care
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33 Excellence, 2014b).
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38 The US strategy has the advantage of being a clear direct message to the public and
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40 perceived to be an easier one to get across. Despite campaigns to decrease bed-sharing in some
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42 States, bed-sharing has increased in the US in recent years, especially among black and Hispanic
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44 communities (Colson et al., 2014). Taking into account the potential diagnostic shift currently
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46 happening in the US from SIDS to Accidental Suffocation and Strangulation in Bed (ASSB), the
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48 combined sudden unexpected infant death rate (SUID) appears to be almost flat-lining (Figure 2)
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50 (CDC/NHCHS, 2019). There is now recognition that current AAP (2016) recommendations
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52 about bed-sharing are not being followed, as widely as hoped, due to the complexity of the
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3 practice and reasons for choosing it. Bed-sharing is a culturally ingrained infant care practice and
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5 in some low income communities, used to keep infants safe (Joyner, Oden, Ajao, & Moon,
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7 2010), while others choose to bedshare to facilitate breastfeeding. In one trial using enhanced
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9 messaging with high-risk families to avoid bed-sharing, the prevalence of bed-sharing actually
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11 increased rather than decreased during (Moon et al., 2017).
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15 Although the UK approach lacks the same simplicity as the US approach, it is more
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17 closely aligned to the evidence; acknowledging that bed-sharing happens means it can be
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19 discussed without judgement and specific hazardous situations or environments can be discussed
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21 (UNICEF UK, 2019). In the UK both the SIDS rate and combined SUDI rate have fallen over
22
23 the last 10 years (Figure 3) (Office for National Statistics Great Britain, 2017), albeit it is not
24
25 clear which elements of the risk reduction strategy have had the greater influence. The approach
26
27 in the US in its most recent 2016 set of guidelines has been more nuanced; although they do not
28
29 recommend bed-sharing they do acknowledge that mothers often fall asleep while breastfeeding
30
31 their babies in bed, and advise that the parental bed should be prepared to avoid hazardous
32
33 bedding should this occur (Moon, 2016a). The latest guidelines also advise that it is safer to
34
35 breastfeed in bed at nighttime, compared with on sofas or armchairs, and strongly advise against
36
37 the latter.
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41
42 In New Zealand, the high SIDS rate among the Māori population, who often bed-share
43
44 and where smoking rates are high, has led to an intervention based on the premise that the
45
46 provision of a separate sleep surface deployed in a shared sleep environment would reduce the
47
48 risk of hazardous bed-sharing. The *wahakura*, a woven flax bassinet-like structure and the Pēpi-
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50 Pod™, a plastic box of similar proportions, were introduced into SIDS/SUDI prevention efforts
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52 in 2006 and 2011, respectively (Abel, Tipene-Leach, 2013). The intervention involved the
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3 distribution of these devices in high SUDI risk situations like smoking in pregnancy, and the
4
5 provision of one-on-one counseling that heightened awareness of risk and promoted ‘Safe
6
7 Sleep’. Importantly, the acceptability of this change to a culturally valued practice has been
8
9 enhanced by the appeal of ‘reclaiming’ a traditional Māori infant care practice (Abel, Stockdale-
10
11 Frost, Rolls, & Tipene-Leach, 2015) and the fact that this device, placed in the shared bed,
12
13 maintains the highly valued proximity of mother and infant. The high SIDS and SUDI rates in
14
15 New Zealand have fallen dramatically since 2009, especially among Māori infants and in the
16
17 areas with the most intensive Safe Sleep programs (Mitchell, Cowan, & Tipene-Leach 2016).
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19 Based on these results, the New Zealand Ministry of Health has recently adopted the Safe Sleep
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21 program as national policy.
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26 **The Way Forward**

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28 It is now clear that bed-sharing on its own does not substantially increase the risk of
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30 SIDS, but bed-sharing in conjunction with other hazardous circumstances—for instance
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32 smoking, alcohol consumption, drug use, and ad-hoc sleeping arrangements (e.g., sofa-sharing)
33
34 are clearly implicated (Blair, Sidebotham, Pease, & Fleming, 2014), within a larger context of
35
36 poverty and inequality (Bartick & Tomori, 2018). Different risk reduction strategies have been
37
38 used in different populations, although there are signs that a mixed-strategy approach targeting
39
40 certain populations may be more beneficial in the future. What is clear is that the negative
41
42 rhetoric that eliminates any hope of honest, bi-directional conversations between bed-sharing
43
44 parents and their health providers must cease and be replaced by an emphasis on the magnitude
45
46 of risk surrounding unsafe sleeping practices involving alcohol, drugs and sofas/chairs and have
47
48 a more coordinated approach with other public health strategists on how to best care for the
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50 infants as well as keep them safe.
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Dr. Helen Ball served on the 2014 NICE Guidance Update Committee on Co-sleeping & SIDS.

She is Chair of the Lullaby Trust Scientific Committee and a Scientific Advisor to the Trust, and she has collaborated with both UNICEF UK Baby Friendly Initiative and Lullaby Trust in the production of safer sleep guidance for parents and health professionals in the UK. She has also served on the Board of ISPID (International Society for the Study and Prevention of Infant Deaths) and serves on the *JHL* Editorial Review Board.

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Table 1.

National Institute for Health and Care Excellence Guidance on Cosleeping and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome Issued for England and Wales (2014)

Co-sleeping and sudden infant death syndrome

The cause of sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) is not known. It is possible that many factors contribute, but some factors are known to make SIDS more likely. These include placing a baby on her or his front or side to sleep. We need clear evidence to say that a factor directly causes SIDS. Evidence was reviewed relating to co-sleeping (parents or carers sleeping on a bed or sofa or chair with an infant) in the 1st year of an infant's life. Some of the reviewed evidence showed that there is a statistical relationship between SIDS and co-sleeping. This means that where co-sleeping occurs, there may be an increase in the number of cases of SIDS. However, the evidence does not allow us to say that co-sleeping causes SIDS. Therefore, the term association has been used in the recommendations to describe the relationship between co-sleeping and SIDS. The recommendations on co-sleeping and SIDS cover the 1st year of an infant's life.

1.4.47 Recognize that co-sleeping can be intentional or unintentional. Discuss this with parents and carers and inform them that there is an association between co-sleeping (parents or carers sleeping on a bed or sofa or chair with an infant) and SIDS.

1.4.48 Inform parents and carers that the association between co-sleeping (sleeping on a bed or sofa or chair with an infant) and SIDS is likely to be greater when they, or their partner, smoke.

1.4.49 Inform parents and carers that the association between co-sleeping (sleeping on a bed or sofa or chair with an infant) and SIDS may be greater with

- parental or carer recent alcohol consumption, or
- parental or carer drug use, or

- low birth weight or premature infants.

Adapted from <https://www.nice.org.uk/guidance/cg37/chapter/1->

Recommendations#maintaining-infant-health Retrieved April 28, 2019.

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Table 2.

American Academy of Pediatrics Guidance on Bed-Sharing and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome and Other Sleep-Related Infant Deaths for the United States (2016)

It is recommended that infants sleep in the parents' room, close to the parents' bed but on a separate surface designed for infants, ideally for the 1st year of life, but at least for the first 6 months.

There is evidence that sleeping in the parents' room but on a separate surface decreases the risk of sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) by as much as 50%. In addition, this arrangement is most likely to prevent suffocation, strangulation, and entrapment that may occur when the infant is sleeping in the adult bed.

Infants who are brought into the bed for feeding or comforting should be returned to their own crib or bassinet when the parent is ready to return to sleep.

Couches and armchairs are extremely dangerous places for infants. Sleeping on couches and armchairs places infants at extraordinarily high risk of infant death, including SIDS, suffocation through entrapment or wedging between seat cushions, or overlay if another person is also sharing this surface. Therefore, parents and other caregivers should be especially vigilant as to their wakefulness when feeding infants or lying with infants on these surfaces. Infants should never be placed on a couch or armchair for sleep.

The safest place for an infant to sleep is on a separate sleep surface designed for infants close to the parents' bed. However, the American Academy of Pediatrics acknowledges that parents frequently fall asleep while feeding the infant. Evidence suggests that it is less hazardous to fall asleep with the infant in the adult bed than on a sofa or armchair, should the parent fall asleep. It is important to note that a large percentage of infants who die of SIDS are found with their head

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3 covered by bedding. Therefore, no pillows, sheets, blankets, or any other items that could
4 obstruct infant breathing or cause overheating should be in the bed. Parents should also follow
5 safe sleep recommendations outlined elsewhere in this statement. Because there is evidence that
6 the risk of bed-sharing is higher with longer duration, if the parent falls asleep while feeding the
7 infant in bed, the infant should be placed on a separate sleep surface as soon as the parent
8 awakens.
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11 There are specific circumstances that, in case-control studies and case series, have been shown to
12 substantially increase the risk of SIDS or unintentional injury or death while bed-sharing, and
13 these should be avoided at all times:
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16 • Bed-sharing with a term normal-weight infant younger than 4 months or infant born
17 preterm and/or with low birth weight, regardless of parental smoking status. Even for breastfed
18 infants, there is an increased risk of SIDS when bed-sharing if younger than 4 months. This
19 appears to be a particularly vulnerable time, so if parents choose to feed their infants younger
20 than 4 months in bed, they should be especially vigilant to not fall asleep.
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23 • Bed-sharing with a current smoker (even if he or she does not smoke in bed) or if the
24 mother smoked during pregnancy.
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27 • Bed-sharing with someone who is impaired in his or her alertness or ability to arouse
28 because of fatigue or use of sedating medications (e.g., certain antidepressants, pain medications)
29 or substances (e.g., alcohol, illicit drugs).
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32 • Bed-sharing with anyone who is not the infant's parent, including nonparental
33 caregivers and other children.
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36 • Bed-sharing on a soft surface, such as a waterbed, old mattress, sofa, couch, or
37 armchair.
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- Bed-sharing with soft bedding accessories, such as pillows or blankets.

Adapted from Moon R. Y., & Task Force on Sudden Infant Death Syndrome. (2016a). SIDS and other sleep-related infant deaths: Updated 2016 recommendations for a safe infant sleeping environment. *Pediatrics*, 138(5). e20162938.

For Peer Review

Figure 1. SIDS deaths by sleeping environment (300 consecutive SIDS deaths in Avon, UK between 1984 and 2003)

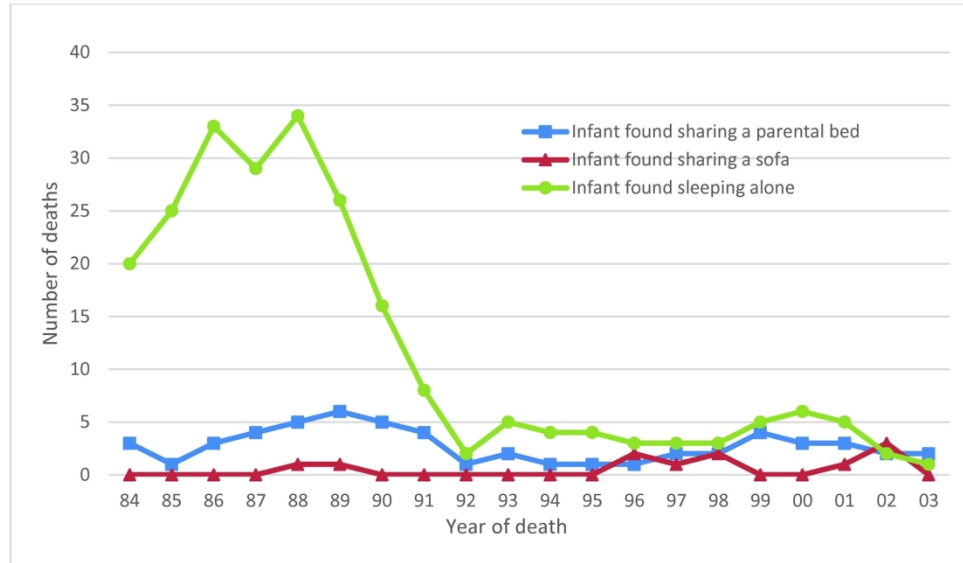


Figure 1. SIDS deaths by sleeping environment (300 consecutive SIDS deaths in Avon, UK between 1984 and 2003)

158x107mm (300 x 300 DPI)

Figure 2. Trends in US Sudden Unexpected Infant Death by Cause, 1990-2017

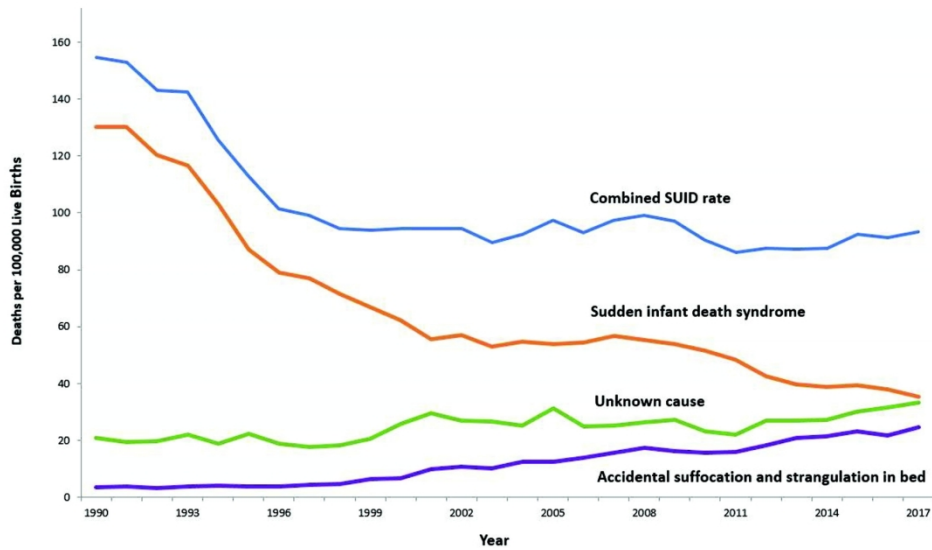
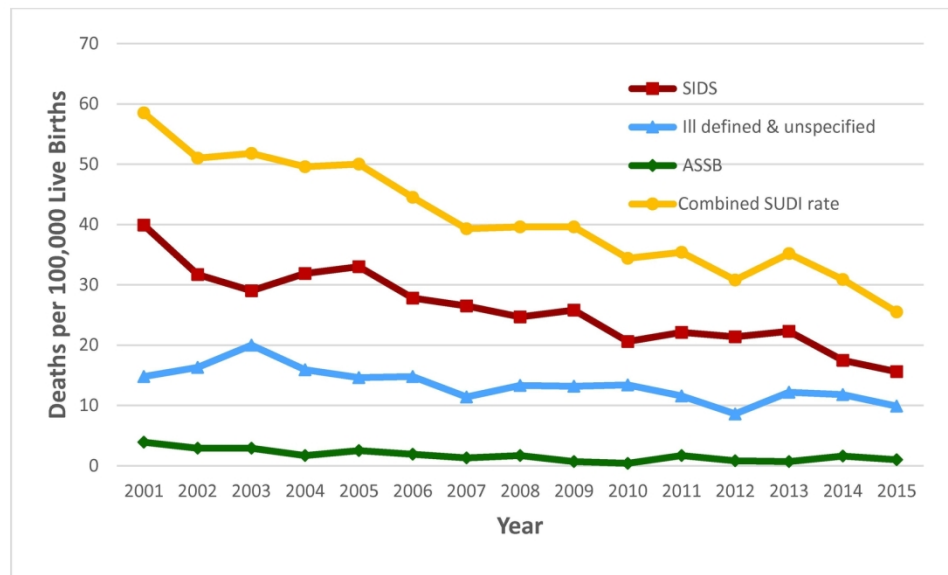


Figure 2. Trends in US Sudden Unexpected Infant Death by Cause, 1990-2017

171x111mm (300 x 300 DPI)

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Figure 3: *England and Wales Trends in SIDS and SUDI (2000-2015)*



SIDS, Sudden Infant Death Syndrome

ASSB, Accidental Suffocation and Strangulation in Bed

SUDI, Sudden and Unexpected Infant Death

Figure 3: England and Wales Trends in SIDS and SUDI (2000-2015)

161x130mm (300 x 300 DPI)