Balancing meaning and cost: The influence of health-conscious meaning pursuit on consumer food choices

Master Thesis Marketing

Radboud Universiteit

Maaike Hinssen

S1029087

Radboud University

2023-2024

Supervisor: dr. N.V.T. Belei

Second examiner: dr. S.M. Ritter

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationship between meaning pursuit and consumer food choices in the supermarket. More specifically, this study aimed to investigate whether consumers engaged in meaning pursuit tend to make less expensive food choices. Additionally, it aimed to explore the effects of the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness on the relationship between meaning pursuit and food choices. By understanding these dynamics, the study seeks to contribute to literature on consumer behaviour, specifically drawing upon the study by Mead and Williams (2022), focusing on opportunity cost consideration. The results show that meaning pursuit does not affect food choices in the supermarket, meaning both the price and the healthiness of food choices. This could be explained by other factors such as mood (Garg et al., 2007) and habit (Verplanken & Aarts, 1999; Wood & Neal, 2009). Furthermore, the difference between short-term and long-term goals could play an important role, as meaning mainly becomes relevant when considering long-term goals (Kim et al., 2014). By answering the call by Haws et al. (2017) for more research into trade-offs consumers face when making food choices and by testing whether the findings found my Mead and Williams (2022) about the importance of opportunity cost consideration hold up in the supermarket, this study highlights the importance of context in consumer decision-making by showing the same principles do not apply in every situation. Future research should focus on exploring more factors that could contribute to consumer food choices, in a variety of contexts.

Table of contents

Abstract....2
Introduction....4
Literature review....7
Method....13
Results....19
Discussion & conclusions....27
References....32
Appendices....36

Introduction

Pleasure and meaning are crucial factors in understanding human behaviour, often causing a trade-off where one is sacrificed in order to gain the other (Kim et al., 2014). Both are considered pathways to happiness and well-being (Mead & Williams, 2022). Whether decisions are based on the pursuit of pleasure or meaning is often based on long-term versus short-term goals. In the short-term people prefer to make choices based on pleasure, whereas in the long-term people focus more on meaning (Kim et al., 2014). Research has focused on pleasure and meaning as happiness outcomes of consumption (Schmitt et al., 2014), and has moved onto treating both as distinct concepts (Huta & Waterman, 2013; Huta & Ryan, 2009). While consumer research has extensively examined the hedonic motivations behind purchases, it has often overlooked alternative explanations for choices that do not prioritise pleasure, potentially labelling such decisions as irrational (Rudd et al., 2019). However, Mead and Williams (2022) shed light on the significance of meaning pursuit in consumer decision- making, emphasizing consumers' inclination towards purpose-driven actions and alignment with values in the marketplace.

Although past research showed the choice of consumers leaning towards high-quality products when it comes to meaning pursuit, Mead and Williams (2022) found that in their pursuit for meaning, consumers focus on opportunity costs. This consideration of other uses for their money leads to a preference for less expensive products. This effect was evident for multiple product categories and in situations where the more expensive product would result in greater meaning (Mead & Williams, 2022). This contradicts the preference for high-quality products found in past research, as the price-quality relationship poses price can be an indicator of quality for consumers (Judd, 2000). Therefore, buying less expensive products would lead to lower quality products, meaning high-quality products and a focus on opportunity costs are mutually exclusive.

Aside from meaning, food is an essential ingredient for well-being. If what Mead and Williams (2022) found is true, namely that the pursuit of meaning leads to people ‘cheaping out’ due to opportunity cost consideration, this could worsen the diets of many people. Therefore, the current research will investigate whether the findings of Mead and Williams hold up with respect to food choices. Consumer food choices have received ample attention in research, much literature focusing on the relation between food choices and price (Haws & Winterich, 2013; Dobson & Gerstner, 2010). An intuition involving two key factors regarding consumer food choices, healthiness and price, was examined by Haws et al. (2017). The healthy

= expensive intuition affects the way in which consumers process information about price and health, such as the perception of the healthiness of a product being based on its price. Moreover, the intuition affects the amount of information search consumers participate in to evaluate claims that are not consistent with their intuition (Haws et al., 2017). This is a relevant variable to consider for this research, as this would mean consumers could make a conscious choice to worsen their diet by 'cheaping out'.

Mead and Williams (2022) express a need for more research into what happens when a desire for meaning conflicts with the want to spend less. Past research found active meaning goals lead people to gravitate towards what they perceive to be most meaningful, including more expensive products (Chartrand et al., 2008). Consumer goals can even be activated and pursued nonconsciously (Chartrand et al., 2008). Yet, Mead and Williams (2022) found that in their pursuit of meaning, people focus on opportunity costs. This raises the question of whether the consideration of opportunity costs takes precedence over the pursuit of meaning, particularly in situations where the sought-after meaning pertains to health. This is specifically relevant considering the healthy = expensive intuition, as this reinforces the idea that healthy products are more expensive (Haws et al., 2017). Therefore, the research question of this thesis is: To what extent does the pursuit of meaning influence consumer food choices, and how do the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness interact with this effect? The effect of meaning pursuit on consumer food choices will be studied in contrast to a baseline condition.

Theoretical relevance

This thesis will draw upon the established theories of meaning in consumer behaviour to investigate whether the opportunity cost consideration found by Mead and Williams (2022) holds up in the food domain, particularly in the context of health-related meaning. Building upon the work of Kim et al. (2014) and Mead and Williams (2022), this study will use an online experiment to discover the dynamics of consumer decision-making. It seeks to shed light on how consumers navigate the opportunity costs of health-related meaning in their food choices, thereby addressing a notable gap in current research.

Managerial relevance

By addressing the healthy = expensive intuition and its impact on the pursuit of health-related meaning, this study aims to not only contribute to the existing literature but also offer practical insights. If as suggested by Mead and Williams (2022), the pursuit of meaning leads individuals to opt for less expensive products, this could have detrimental consequences for dietary quality and overall well-being. By demonstrating how the pursuit of meaning influences consumer food choices, particularly in relation to economic considerations and health consciousness, this study should provide valuable insights for designing targeted strategies aimed at encouraging healthier dietary behaviours. Furthermore, insights from this research can inform marketing strategies and product positioning efforts, enabling businesses to tailor their offerings to better align with consumer values and priorities in the marketplace. Thus, by demonstrating the complex interplay between meaning pursuit, economic considerations, and health consciousness, this research holds practical implications for enhancing well-being in the context of food choices.

Literature review

Meaning and pleasure in human behaviour

Human behaviour is shaped by pursuit of meaning, pleasure, and overall well-being (Kim et al., 2014). Understanding these fundamental factors is essential to gaining a full understanding of consumer choices and decision-making processes. Meaning and pleasure, as identified by Kim et al. (2014), play essential roles in defining the path consumers take to pursue happiness. Likewise, both factors were found as distinct pathways to well-being by Seligman (2002). Although behaviours belonging to both pathways contribute to well-being, consumers often face a trade-off between pleasure and meaning, balancing immediate gratification and long-term fulfilment (Kim et al., 2014). For example, the most meaningful action may not be pleasurable, whereas the most pleasurable activity may not be meaningful. This means consumers might have to choose one pathway and neglect the other (Schueller & Seligman, 2010).

Although meaning and pleasure are often discussed simultaneously and are positively related to each other, they are distinct concepts (Mead & Williams, 2022). According to Rudd et al. (2019), consumer research has focused on the reasoning behind material purchases, oftentimes motivated by hedonic factors such as pleasure. However, in instances when people choose activities that do not offer them pleasure, research has often lacked alternative reasoning for these choices and could even consider these choices irrational (Rudd et al., 2019). As discussed by Mead and Williams (2022), this is a surprise, as there is evidence of pursuit of meaning by consumers in the marketplace. Some indications mentioned by Mead and Williams (2022) are people wanting companies to be purpose-driven and making judgements about company activities that do not align with their own values. Therefore, a focus on meaning, rather than a focus on pleasure is necessary to gain further understanding of consumer decision-making in the marketplace.

Meaning pursuit

Meaning has been studied in varying contexts which, in combination with its abstract nature, has led to a diverse set of definitions (Rudd et al., 2019). Although this shows the attention the topic receives in research, it also demonstrates the difficulty of making progress due to a lack of consistency on measures and manipulations (Rudd et al., 2019). As discussed by Mead and Williams (2022), there has been ample research on the experience of meaning, resulting in a variety of views on the topic. Similarly, Huta and Waterman (2013) discuss the complications of discrepancies between operationalizations, as this leads to issues in comparability.

Contrarily, people pursuing meaning is an unwavering phenomenon (Mead & Williams, 2022). A study conducted by Heintzelman and King (2014) derived that the experience of meaning can be adaptable, based on the idea that one can both create the experience of meaning and gain meaning from interactions with the world. Tying in with this, Mead and Williams (2022) focus solely on the pursuit of meaning, offering a clear definition of meaning.

To define meaning for the sake of the current research, the definition given by Mead and Williams (2022) is used. Mead and Williams give a three-part definition to explain the pursuit of meaning, based on perspectives emerging from literature. This involves a focus on life having significance, purpose and connections apart from one's present self. Consequently, the pursuit of meaning comprises goal-driven attempts to achieve significance, purpose and connections. Significance refers to the feeling of adding value to the world and feeling important. Consumers increase these feelings by using their time wisely. Purpose is the sense of having goals in life to aim for, which means pursuing meaning this way involves acting in ways to achieve certain aims. This can be done by consumers through buying certain products or services which help reach these goals. Lastly, connections can be made with others, as well as with the world itself. This means connecting with other times, people, places and ideas. For example, consumers can connect with the past, present and future, for instance by buying a camera to capture moments (Mead & Williams, 2022).

Meaning in consumer choices

Looking into the effect of meaning on consumer decision-making, research has focused on the relation between consumption and meaning (Belk et al., 1989; Goodman et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2021). Through the pursuit of meaning, consumers can improve their psychological well-being (Wang et al., 2021). Furthermore, consumers select products based on life events and religion (Belk et al., 1989; Goodman et al., 2016). This suggests the values of consumers and the special or important events happening in their lives influence their consumption choices. Belk et al. (1989) explored the role of consumption to help consumers experience religion. According to this study, consumers participate in consumption of 'sacred' products to give their lives a purpose. This means consumers buy products related to their religion in order to feel more connected with the religion. Therefore, sacred consumption creates a transcendent meaning (Belk et al., 1989). Similarly, a study by Goodman et al. (2016) revealed that making material purchases can create strong connections, in this case to special events such as a wedding or graduation. Results of this study showed that material purchases play an important

role in memory and happiness related to a special event. For example, when participants were asked to describe either their wedding ring or their wedding ceremony, most chose to discuss their wedding ring. The stronger connection between material purchases to celebrate events, as opposed to experiential purchases, can be explained by the permanence of material goods (Goodman et al., 2016). Taking into account different factors, Wang et al. (2021) discovered that finding meaning in life is important due to its positive correlation with psychological well-being. Finding meaning in life through ritualistic consumption, can reduce loneliness.

Another sentiment often found in research is that meaning is considered "priceless" (Mead & Williams, 2022). Although there are "priceless" sources of meaning (e.g., praying or volunteering), products available to consumers are subject to market valuation. This results in a trade-off between price and quality, with consumers having to choose between expensive products higher in quality and less expensive options that are less in quality (Mead & Williams, 2022). Contrasting this view, Mead and Williams (2022) hypothesised that in their pursuit of meaning, as opposed to pleasure, consumers show a preference for less expensive options. The results of the study prove that this hypothesis holds up for a diverse set of material and experiential purchases and is robust across factors such as age, gender and income. The effect was explained by a focus on opportunity costs.

Opportunity costs in meaning pursuit

The research by Mead and Williams (2022) demonstrates that the pursuit of meaning leads to increased opportunity cost consideration, subsequently influencing preferences for more economical choices. This revealed that meaning might be a driving force behind opportunity cost consideration, which can positively and negatively affect consumer decisions. While opportunity cost consideration could help consumers use their financial resources more efficiently, it could also lead consumers to neglect more worthwhile options.

In addition to influencing product choices, consumers may also select stores based on their perceived prices. The pursuit of meaning prompts individuals to weigh the opportunity costs associated with their purchases (Mead & Williams, 2022), which could possibly lead to seeking out stores offering more economical options. However, this heightened consideration of opportunity costs could also potentially deter consumers from exploring high-priced options or premium retailers, limiting their exposure to a broader range of products. Thus, while the pursuit of meaning may drive consumers to prioritise economic efficiency in their purchasing decisions, it may also inadvertently restrict their shopping choices. In an attempt to balance

opportunity costs and health consciousness, consumers may opt to shop at a cheaper store to maximise their overall spending efficiency, while allocating a larger portion of their budget towards purchasing health-conscious products, even if they come at a higher price.

One limitation of the research done by Mead and Williams (2022) is the lack of manipulation of perceived meaningfulness for choice stimuli. This is why they call for more research into what happens when there is a conflict between the pursuit of meaning and a preference for less expense options. Mead and Williams (2022) pose that active meaning goals would lead to neglect of economic preferences and generally results in the selection of the most meaningful option. However, what has not been tested is the effect of opportunity cost consideration when there is a desire for both meaning and less spending. Would it be possible for a preference for spending less could supersede the pursuit of meaning? One domain in which this conflict could occur is the food domain, which is a relevant area to study as food choices also have an impact on consumer wellbeing (Haws et al., 2017). This is especially interesting when considering the "healthy-is-expensive" intuition. Based on the findings by Mead and Williams (2022) it is hypothesised that:

H1: *Meaning pursuit leads to less expensive food choices*

The healthy-is-expensive intuition

Within the food domain, the "healthy-is-expensive" intuition emerges as a salient cognitive bias exerting a profound impact on consumer behaviour, especially within the food domain. This prevailing belief, as explored by Haws et al. (2017), establishes a connection between the perceived healthiness of food products and their assumed cost. Individuals often develop the intuition that healthier food options are inherently more expensive than their less healthy counterparts, a perception that extends beyond specific product categories. Not only does this affect the initial perception of pricing, but it also shapes how consumers process information related to both the cost and health attributes of a product. As a result, consumers might unconsciously associate the price of a product with its perceived healthiness, influencing their product evaluation and purchase decisions (Haws et al., 2017). Based on this, it is hypothesised that:

H2: *The healthy=expensive intuition positively influences the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices*

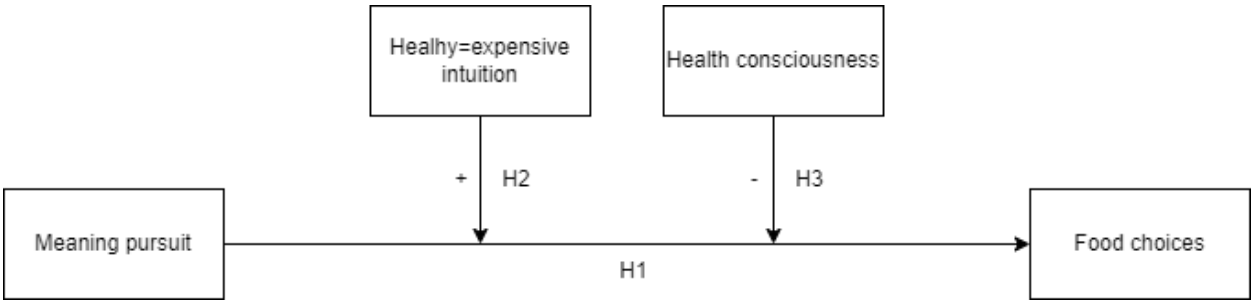
Taking into account both opportunity cost consideration and the healthy-is-expensive intuition, it is important to test what happens when a want for cheaper products coincides with a preference for healthy products. This situation would occur when a consumer pursues meaning in the form of health-conscious food choices, as opportunity cost consideration and healthy products are both preferred. Mead and Williams (2022) revealed that meaning pursuit leads to opportunity costs consideration and favouring cheaper products over more meaningful products. However, past research found that active meaning goals make consumers gravitate towards higher quality products to achieve meaning, even nonconsciously (Chartrand et al., 2008). As discussed, consumers may choose a cheaper store to achieve economic efficiency, while still buying more expensive items to attain the health goals. This leads to the following hypothesis:

H3: *Health consciousness negatively influences the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices*

The literature review sets the stage for addressing the research question at hand: To what extent does the pursuit of meaning influence consumer food choices, and how do the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness interact with this effect?
This thesis aims to add to the research done by Mead and Williams (2022) by providing more insight into opportunity cost consideration in the food domain and the effect of opportunity cost consideration in a situation in which it is in conflict with the pursuit of meaning. This conflict is created by the want to pursue meaning in the form of a healthy lifestyle and therefore a want to consume healthy products, opposite of a belief in the healthy-is-expensive intuition suggesting healthy products would cost more. Furthermore, it adds to the research by Haws et al. (2017), answering their call for more research into trade-offs consumers face when making food decisions, in particular considering health-conscious choice. Figure 1 summarises the main hypotheses.

Figure 1.

Conceptual model



Method

In order to test the hypotheses, an online experiment was conducted, similar to the online shopping experiment (Study 2) done by Mead and Williams (2022). Through the implementation of an experiment, it became feasible to draw causal conclusions, through the isolation of the cause (meaning pursuit) and the effect (consumer food choices) (Field & Hole, 2003). This makes an experiment the most suitable method to examine the hypotheses suggesting meaning pursuit leads to less expensive food choices and this relationship being moderated by the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness.

Experiment design

As mentioned, this experiment was a replication of the experiment conducted by Mead and Williams (2022). Therefore, the design of the current experiment was quite similar.

The study was a two-group (meaning vs baseline) between-subjects experiment, in order to analyse the differences/similarities between consumers pursuing meaning and consumers not pursuing meaning. The between-subjects design was chosen to prevent practice effects from affecting the outcomes (Field & Hole, 2003). Practice effects could mean participants perform different as a result of repeated exposure to the task. Furthermore, the experiment was conducted online for two main reasons. The first reason is the ease of distribution of an online survey. As opposed to participants having to travel to a location, participants were able to participate from any location. On top of this, an online experiment saves researchers a large amount of time. The second reason which influenced the decision to conduct the experiment online is that the presence of a researcher could affect the behaviour of participants and lead to different results. This is due to the fact that human social presence can affect consumer behaviour (Holthöwer & Van Doorn, 2022).

The independent variable manipulated in this experiment was meaning pursuit. Participants were randomly allocated to either of the conditions (meaning vs baseline). The participants under the baseline group went straight into the experiment task, whereas the participants under the meaning condition first read the following text:

"When making your selection, please focus on obtaining meaning from your choices. Focus on the product characteristics of each option that would be most purposeful, fulfilling and valuable for you. Create a meaningful experience."

As discussed by Mead and Williams (2022) the emphasis on the concepts purpose, fulfilment and values are interpretations of the three-part definition of meaning used in literature (purpose, connection and significance). Before moving further into the experiment, the participants under this condition were asked to spend two minutes writing about what meaning pursuit means to them, to get them in the right mindset. Following the experiment, a manipulation check consisting of two questions pertaining to the extent to which the participant took the writing task seriously, and the extent to which the choices made in the experiment were motivated by the pursuit of meaning, took place.

Population and sample

The initial sample consisted of $N = 264$ participants, of which $N = 171$ were included in the analysis. Contrary to the study by Mead and Williams (2022) which was completed in the United Kingdom, this experiment was administered in Dutch. Therefore, the population for this study consisted of Dutch speakers. Furthermore, the products and supermarkets used in the experiment were Dutch, which means participants needed to have a knowledge of Dutch supermarkets. Consequently, the two criteria to participate were speaking Dutch and living in the Netherlands.

Participants were reached through a variety of channels, mainly social media, to attain the highest possible number of participants. Examples of channels that were used are LinkedIn and WhatsApp. Since this experiment was online-based, reaching participants was not an issue. A link to the experiment was shared on social media channels and participants were asked to share the link with friends and family. Therefore, the types of sampling used were convenience sampling and referral sampling.

Procedure and measurement of key concepts

This section explains how the key concepts were operationalised and outlines the structure of the online experiment. The full outline of the survey can be found in Appendix A. Since the experiment was conducted in Dutch, the questions and items on the scale were translated to Dutch. This was done by three people individually and compared to ensure correct translations.

Participants first received an explanation about the experiment, telling them they would receive a budget of €50 to spend on ten food items of their choice for a weekend trip. They were told that the experiment includes a contest, stating that they could win the remainder of

the budget they did not use. Participants were provided a list of food items they could choose from. The list of products was created by the researchers, taking into consideration products that average consumers would buy. To do this, different product categories were used to include all relevant types of products. After the initial selection and assignment of healthiness scores, the number of products per level of healthiness were counted. To ensure that the number of items per healthiness level were equal, as to not influence the results, the products were reviewed. The final list of products including prices can be found in Appendix C. The healthiness scores can be found in Appendix D.

Store choice: Before starting the experiment, participants were asked what store they would choose to shop at, followed by a question asking them why they chose this supermarket. They were given five store options, based on the currently largest supermarkets in the Netherlands. This shows whether participants choose a store based on its prices and whether this is different between conditions.

Healthy-is-expensive intuition: After having made a selection of products, participants were asked three questions designed to measure their belief in the association between healthy products and higher prices. These questions assess participants' agreement or disagreement with statements such as "Healthy products are usually more expensive than other products" and "Expensive products are usually healthier than less expensive products". Responses were measured on a Likert scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The 5-point scale was selected instead of a 7-point scale as it was easier to understand by respondents and researchers alike, as well as better suitability for mobile screens. The latter is essential, since it was likely respondents would use their mobile devices to do the experiment.

Healthiness of basket: Participants were asked whether they believe the selection of products they made is healthy on a scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). This indicates whether they intended to make a healthy selection. To define whether this perception is correct, the products were all rated based on healthiness by the researchers. The average scores can be found in Appendix D. The overall healthiness of the basket was calculated by adding the healthiness scores of all products and dividing this by ten.

Price of basket: Participants were asked a question about whether they believe the selection they made is cheap on a scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). This measures their intention of spending. Since it was not possible to calculate the total price of the basket automatically in Qualtrics, this was done afterwards by adding the prices of all the products chosen.

Health consciousness: Participants answered one question about whether they pursue meaning in the form of health consciousness, on a scale ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). This shows whether participants pursue health-conscious meaning.

Control variables: To control for any factors that could influence the main effect, there were nine questions to define whether any other factors could explain the results. Firstly, participants were asked whether they thought the experiment was believable, authentic and realistic. Furthermore, they were asked whether they have any allergies and whether they are on a diet. Moreover, they were asked if they buy their own groceries and whether they always buy the same products. They were asked whether they based their choices on past experience and whether they kept track of the budget. Lastly, they were asked to what extent they were hungry while participating in the experiment.

Table 1 gives an overview of all scales. The full list of questions can be found in Appendix A.

Table 1. Overview of all scales

This table includes the relevant scales for this topic. This does not include the questions not measured on scales. Other scales included in the survey do not apply for this specific thesis topic.

Items (Question in survey)	**Variable**	**Source**
3 (5-7)	Healthy=expensive intuition	Haws et al. (2017)
1 (8)	Perception of healthiness of basket	Haws et al. (2017)
1 (9)	Perception of cost of basket	Haws et al. (2017)

1 (12)	Health consciousness	Haws et al. (2017)
2 (1+40)	Manipulation check	Mead & Williams (2023)
11 (29-39)	Control variables	Mead & Williams (2023)

Data analysis procedure

Firstly, data from participants who did not finish the experiment was excluded from the analysis. Secondly, data cleaning involved identifying and excluding outliers and checking for unreliable participants (participants who did not listen to instructions, people who indicated they did not take the writing task seriously and people who indicated they did not give their own authentic answers). This meant checking whether this data could still be used by conducting the analysis with and without this data. Next, a one-way ANOVA was conducted including the manipulation check, in order to see whether the manipulation worked, after which the necessarily variables were computed into new variables to enable better analysis. Consequently, two chi-square tests were conducted to test the role of store choice. To analyse H1, a one-way ANCOVA was conducted with price of basket as dependent variable, meaning as independent variable, and belief in the healthy-is-expensive intuition, health consciousness, age, gender, income, hungriness and education as covariates. To analyse H2, the same one-way ANCOVA was used, as well as the same one-way ANCOVA with average health as dependent variable. To analyse H3, the same ANCOVAS were used as for H2. Finally, to test the differences between perceived price and actual price and the differences between perceived healthiness and actual healthiness between groups two independent samples t-tests were conducted.

Research ethics

To ensure validity and reliability of the findings, participants were not fully informed about the purpose of this study beforehand. Although they were informed that this study looks at food choices in supermarkets, participants were not told that the effect of meaning pursuit, the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness on food choices was being tested.

Participants were, however, informed about their rights. Before participating, they were told the duration of the experiment and that they could stop the experiment at any point. Moreover, participants were guaranteed that their response would be kept anonymous and

confidential. Anonymity was ensured by not asking names or any other personal information and the data will not be shared outside of the research group to ensure confidentiality.

Lastly, before the experiment, participants were thanked for their participation and given the contact details of both the researcher and the data protection officer of Radboud University. In case any questions might arise, participants could use this to get in contact.

Results

This chapter focuses on the analyses conducted to test the hypotheses. First, the exclusion criteria are explained. Second, the manipulation check is discussed. Next, the calculations of variables are explained. The variable store choice is analysed, after which the chapter moves onto the testing op hypotheses. Lastly, the perceived price and healthiness of food choices are compared to the actual price and healthiness, between groups.

Exclusion criteria

To enable a reliable analysis, some data was excluded. Firstly, the data from participants who did not finish the full experiment was excluded (N = 77). Of this data, the majority (N = 70) did not make it through over half of the survey, meaning they did not answer all control questions and/or the manipulation check. Furthermore, outliers were identified through the 'explore' function is SPSS and excluded from the analysis (N = 16). The data was checked for participants who did not take the writing task seriously, based on the control question. Running the analysis with and without this data showed no significant difference. Therefore, this data was included in the analyses (N = 8). Moreover, the control question asking whether participants gave their own authentic answers was checked. The analysis was again conducted including and excluding this data, showing no significant difference. Therefore, participants who indicated they did not give their own authentic answers were included (N = 17). Lastly, a new variable was created for whether participants listened to the instructions. Participants who spent more than €50 and/or chose more than ten products were given label 0, meaning they did not listen to the instructions (N = 39). Running the analysis including and excluding this data again showed no significant difference. Therefore, this data was included in the analysis.

Manipulation check

In order to check whether the manipulation used in the experiment was effective, a manipulation check was conducted. This manipulation check consisted of the statement "my choices in this experiment are motivated by meaning pursuit", on a five-point scale. A one-way analysis of variance showed a significant difference in means for the manipulation check (F (1, 169) = 12.80, p < .001.). Participants in the baseline group scored lower (M = 2.48, SD = 1.15) on the manipulation check than the manipulation group (M = 3.18, SD = 1.40). Therefore, the manipulation was successful.

Variable calculations

In order to conduct analyses, summated scales were created for believability of the experiment and belief in the heathy-is-expensive intuition (H=E). These new variables show the total scores for all questions for each variable. The summated scales were calculated by adding the scores and dividing by the total number of items. The total health and price scores of the chosen baskets were calculated into a new variable. The total price of the basket was calculated by adding up the prices of all products chosen per participant. The total health was calculated similarly, by adding up the health scores of all chosen products per participant. To make the interpretation of health scores easier, the total health score was divided by the total number of products in the basket, creating a new variable 'average health'. Furthermore, a variable was created to show whether participants listened to the instructions or not, as described before. Lastly, a dummy variable for store choice was created, labelling each store as either expensive or inexpensive. For this variable, the options Albert Heijn, Jumbo and Plus were counted as expensive (1), whereas Lidl and Aldi were considered inexpensive (0).

Store choice

The first questions all participants were asked was what store they would choose to go to and why. This question aimed to show whether people would choose a less expensive store if they were pursuing meaning. To examine whether this was the case, a chi-square test was conducted, with the store choice dummy variable and meaning variable. The chi-square test showed no significant relation between meaning and store choice (χ^2 (1) = .18, p = .894). Therefore, people pursuing meaning do not choose less expensive stores. Table 2 below shows the frequencies for the expensive and less expensive stores.

Table 2. Chi-square test meaning and store choice, observed and expected counts per condition

		Baseline	Meaning	Total
Inexpensive	Observed	19	12	31
	Expected	18.7	12.3	31
Expensive	Observed	84	56	140
	Expected	84.3	55.7	140
Total	Observed	103	68	171
	Expected	103	68	171

Another chi-square test for the reasoning behind the store choice and meaning showed no significant relation (χ^2 (3) = 2.94, p = .401). This means people pursuing meaning did not base their store choice on different reasoning than people not pursuing meaning. The frequencies for each reason can be found in Table 3. As can be seen, price was not the most frequently chosen reason for store choice. Since store choice showed to be insignificant, this variable was not included in further analyses.

Table 3. Chi-square test meaning and reasoning store choice, observed and expected counts per condition

		Baseline	Meaning	Total
Other	Observed	21	17	34
	Expected	22.9	15.1	34
Price	Observed	23	10	30
	Expected	19.9	13.1	30
Location	Observed	25	22	43
	Expected	28.3	18.7	43
Habit	Observed	34	19	45
	Expected	31.9	21.1	45
Total	Observed	103	68	171
	Expected	103	68	171

Meaning pursuit and price of basket

Hypothesis 1 stated that meaning pursuit leads to less expensive food choices. To test this hypothesis, a univariate analysis of variance was conducted with price of basket as dependent variable and meaning as factor. The ANCOVA showed no significant main effect of meaning pursuit on price of basket (B = -.657, p = .351/2 = .176) on the intercept (B = 28.423, p < .001). The means for price of basket of the meaning group (M = 28.26, SD = 4.62) were not significantly different from the means of the baseline group (M = 27.83, SD = 4.31). The corrected model was not significant (F (1, 169) < 1, p = .351).

A second model was created. The control variables age, gender, income, hungriness and education were added as covariates. The ANCOVA showed no significant main effect of meaning pursuit on price of basket (B = -.514, p = .456) on the intercept (B = 32.529, p < .001). This model was significant (F (7, 160) = 2.27, p = .032). Therefore, the hypothesis that meaning pursuit leads to less expensive food choices was not supported. However, the ANCOVA showed a significant negative effect of hungriness on price of basket (B = -.857, p = .002), meaning that more hungriness led to a lower price of basket. Although not significant, the ANCOVA also showed a nearly significant positive effect of age on price of basket (B = -.065, p = .053). The older a person, the higher the price of their basket. This indicates that hungriness and age both significantly predict the price of the shopping basket.

The healthy-is-expensive intuition as moderator

Hypothesis 2 posed that the healthy-is-expensive intuition positively influences the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices. Analyses were conducted to examine the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices, focusing on the effect on price of basket and healthiness of basket.

Another ANCOVA was conducted to determine whether there is a significant effect of meaning on price of basket, controlling for belief in the healthy-is-expensive intuition. This is the same model as before, including H=E and an H=E interaction term. The new model again shows showed no significant effect of meaning on price of basket (B = -3.928, p = .212). The interaction term for H=E was not significant (B = -.980, p = .271), meaning H=E does not act as moderator of the main effect. The model was significant (F (8, 159) = 2.57, p = .012), indicating a significant prediction of price of basket. As mentioned before, the means for price of basket of the meaning group (M = 28.26, SD = 4.62) were not significantly different from the means of the baseline group (M = 27.83, SD = 4.31). Therefore, hypothesis 2 stating that H=E positively affects the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices was not supported for price of basket. Again, the control variable hungriness had a significant negative effect on price of basket (B = -.787, p = .004). In this model the control variable age had a significant positive effect on price of basket (B = .067, p = .046), and the control variable hungriness had a significant positive effect on price of basket (β = -.070, p = .034). The means and standard deviations for price of basket can be found in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Means and standard deviations price of basket

Manipulation group	***M***	***SD***	***N***
Baseline	27.83	4.31	102
Meaning	28.26	4.62	66
Total	28.00	4.43	168

Another ANCOVA was conducted to determine whether there is a significant effect of meaning on the average health of the basket, controlling for H=E. First, a basic model including only the independent and dependent variable was created. Average healthiness was included as dependent variable and meaning as factor. The ANCOVA showed no significant main effect of meaning on average healthiness (B = -.071, p = .444). The corrected model was not significant (F (1, 169) = .589, p = .444).

A new model was created, including H=E and an interaction term for H=E as covariate, as well as the control variables age, gender, income, hungriness and education. The ANCOVA corrected model was significant (F (8, 159) = 3.42, p = .001), indicating that the included predictors explain a significant amount of variance in average health, beyond what would be expected by chance. The ANCOVA showed no significant effect of meaning on average healthiness (B = -.456, p = .274). There was no significant difference in means for average health between the baseline group (M = 2.58, SD = .62) and the meaning group (M = 2.66, SD = .57). The interaction term for H=E was not significant (B = -.111, p = .347), indicating no moderation effect. Therefore, H=E does not moderate the effect of meaning on the healthiness of basket, meaning H2 was not supported. In this model the control variable hungriness had a significant positive effect on average healthiness (B = .079, p = .027), and the control variable education had a significant negative effect on average healthiness (β = -.084, p = .028). This means hungriness leads to less healthy choices, and education leads to healthier choices. The model Table 5 shows the means and standard deviations for this analysis.

Table 5. Means and standard deviations healthiness of basket

Manipulation group	***M***	***SD***	***N***
Baseline	2.52	.65	14
Meaning	2.61	.63	64
Total	2.60	.63	78

Health consciousness as moderator

Hypothesis 3 stated that health consciousness negatively influences the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices. The same ANCOVA model for price of basket was used as for H2, including health consciousness and a health consciousness interaction term instead of the H=E variables. The new model again shows showed no significant effect of meaning on price of basket (B = -3.047, p = .225). The interaction term for health consciousness was not significant (B = -.717, p = .294), meaning health consciousness does not act as moderator of the main effect. The model was significant (F (8, 159) = 2.12, p = .037), indicating a significant prediction of price of basket. As mentioned before, the means for price of basket of the meaning group (M = 28.26, SD = 4.62) were not significantly different from the means of the baseline group (M = 27.83, SD = 4.31). Therefore, H3 stating that health consciousness positively affects the effect of meaning pursuit on food choices was not supported for price of basket. Again, the control variable hungriness had a significant negative effect on price of basket (B = -.821, p = .003), suggesting that hungriness leads to less expensive food choices. The means and standard deviations for price of basket can be found in Table 3.

Another ANCOVA was conducted to determine whether there is a significant effect of meaning on the average health of the basket, controlling for health consciousness. First, a basic model including only the independent and dependent variable was created, as can be found under the previous paragraph.

A new model was created, including health consciousness and a health consciousness interaction term as covariate, as well as the control variables age, gender, income, hungriness and education. The ANCOVA corrected model was significant (F (8, 159) = 6.17, p < .001), indicating that the included predictors explain a significant amount of variance in average health, beyond what would be expected by chance. The ANCOVA showed no significant effect of

meaning on average healthiness (B = -.047, p = .881). There was no significant difference in means for average health between the baseline group (M = 2.58, SD = .62) and the meaning group (M = 2.66, SD = .57). The interaction term for health consciousness was not significant (B = ,024 p = .772), indicating no moderation effect. Therefore, health consciousness does not moderate the effect of meaning on the healthiness of basket, meaning H3 was not supported. In this model, health consciousness had a significant negative effect on average healthiness (B = -.199, p < .001), meaning that health consciousness led to healthier food choices (since a higher health score indicates less healthier choices).

Perceived healthiness

Data shows both the perceived health and the actual health scores of products chosen by participants. In order to define whether there is a difference between the meaning and baseline group when it comes to estimating the healthiness of their choices, an independent samples t-test was conducted. Firstly, the variable perceived healthiness was reverse coded into a new variable 'PerceivedHealthR' to ensure consistency in the direction of scoring. Next, the variable 'Health_Difference' was created to show to difference between perceived and actual healthiness of choices per participants. This was done by subtracting average health from perceived healthiness, so that a positive number for Health_Difference would mean an overestimation of healthiness. The independent samples t-test with Health_Difference as test variables and meaning as grouping variable showed no significant difference in means between the meaning and baseline group (t (152.69) = 1.80, p = .073). The mean for the difference between perceived and actual healthiness for the baseline group (M = -.09, SD = 1.02) did not differ significantly from the mean for the meaning group (M = -.36, SD = .93). Therefore, there is no significant difference between the estimations of healthiness of choices between the baseline and meaning group.

Perceived price

An independent samples t-test was conducted to define whether there was a difference in the accuracy of estimation of the price of basket between the baseline and the meaning group. The perceived price of basket was indicated by participants on a five-point scale, 1 being the most expensive. To ensure the direction of this scale is the same as the variable price of basket, perceived price was reverse coded into a new variable 'PerceivedPriceR'. To be able to compare

the perceived and actual price, the price of basket was normalised to a 5-point scale using the following formula:

$$\text{Normalized price of basket} = 1 + \left(\frac{price\ of\ basket - MIN\ price\ of\ basket}{MAX\ price\ of\ basket - MIN\ price\ of\ basket}\right) \times (5 - 1)$$

Next, similar to perceived and actual healthiness, a variable was created for difference in perceived and actual price by subtracting price of basket from PerceivedPriceR. An independent samples t-test with Price_Difference as test variable and meaning as grouping variable showed no significant difference between the baseline and meaning group regarding differences in perceived and actual price (t (145.47) < 1, p = .508). There was no difference between the baseline group (M = .41, SD = 1.14) and the meaning group (M = .29, SD = 1.12), meaning there was no difference in the accuracy of estimation of the price between people who were pursuing meaning and people who were not.

Discussion & conclusions

The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationship between meaning pursuit and consumer food choices in the supermarket. More specifically, this study aimed to investigate whether consumers engaged in meaning pursuit tend to make less expensive food choices. Additionally, it aimed to explore the effects of the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness on the relationship between meaning pursuit and food choices. By understanding these dynamics, the study seeks to contribute to literature on consumer behaviour, specifically drawing upon the study by Mead and Williams (2022), focusing on opportunity cost consideration.

Contrasting to the hypotheses, findings of the experiment show no effect of meaning pursuit on food choices, and no effect of the healthy-is-expensive intuition and health consciousness as moderators. Interestingly, health consciousness proved to have an effect on the average healthiness of choices, as did the control variables hungriness and education. The hungrier a person was, the unhealthier their food choices. This could be explained by the fact that hungriness leads to people to look for a quick solution, neglecting health goals. Education led to healthier food choices, which can be attributed to more knowledge on a healthy lifestyle. The control variables that had a significant effect on price of food choices were age and hungriness. The older people were, the more expensive their food choices, which could be explained by older people usually having a higher income and more assets. Moreover, the hungrier a person was, the less expensive their food choices were. This could be a result of impulse consumption, where people might go for foods that are more pleasurable and less expensive.

Although Mead and Williams (2022) found the importance of opportunity cost consideration when it comes to meaning pursuit, this effect was not found in the current research focusing on food choices in the supermarket. Whether consumers were pursuing meaning or not, did not have an effect on the price of their food choices. The different results of the current study could be attributed to the type of products used in the experiment. While the current study focused on food choices in the supermarket, Mead and Williams (2022) focused on a range of product types, such as cars, skiing and cameras. Although they also found an effect for restaurants, which is food related, this effect could occur due to the experiential aspect of restaurants. Experiential products can be considered purchases in order ‘to do’, whereas material products are purchases made ‘to have’ (Guevarra & Howell, 2014). Food can be considered both

a material and experiential product, as it is bought ‘to have in order to do’. Products falling somewhere in between material and experiential are often labelled as ‘ambiguous’ and overlooked (Guevarra & Howell, 2014). In the short-term food is a material product, turning into an experiential product more long-term.

This leads back to the discussion on pleasure and meaning, specifically the trade-off between short-term and long-term goals. When pursuing long-term goals, people tend to focus on meaning, whereas the pursuit of short-term goals often involves the pursuit of pleasure (Kim et al., 2014). Consumption of food in this experiment can be considered a short-term goal, as people were told to choose products for a week of holiday. This could explain the lack of focus on meaning and could mean choices were based on pleasure. People who stated they pursue meaning in the form of a healthy lifestyle focused on long-term health goals, and therefore chose healthier options. This suggests a difference in food choices between different types of meaning, as meaning in general did not lead to a different price or healthiness of food choices.

As mentioned, the findings show that meaning pursuit has no effect on the healthiness of consumer food choices. However, health consciousness affects the healthiness of food choices. The more people believe in the healthy-is-expensive intuition, the less healthy their food choices. Consequently, the more health-conscious people perceive themselves to be, the healthier their food choices. Therefore, according to these results, the only form of meaning that has an effect on healthy choices is the pursuit of meaning in the form of a healthy lifestyle. A study by Garg et al. (2007) showed the importance of mood when it comes to food choices. It was shown that a sad mental state can lead to the consumption of a larger amount of hedonic (pleasurable) foods, whereas a happy mood tends to lead to the consumption of a larger amount of less hedonic foods. The relation between mood and hedonic foods could explain the lack of influence of meaning, as choices are instead based on pleasure. Just as food can positively or negatively affect mood, mood influences personal food choices (AlAmmar et al., 2020; Köster & Mojet, 2015). It can be hard to navigate the influence of mood, as healthy foods contribute to a good mood, but unhealthy food choices can temporarily contribute to a good mood too. A stressed person could perceive unhealthy foods as more beneficial to their mood than healthy foods (AlAmmar et al., 2020). In these scenarios, there is also a clear distinction between short-term and long-term effects, specifically unhealthy foods offering a short-term solution, but potentially causing issues in the long-term. Since the current research did not take mood into account, this could have a played an important role. Not only could this affect the healthiness of food choices, but it could also lead to a neglect of opportunity cost consideration.

Another potential explanation for the observed results is the role of habitual behaviour in food choices. Although store choice was not a significant predictor of food choices, habit was the most frequently chosen reason for choosing a store. Habit may play a bigger role in food choices in general, as habit is a form of automaticity directly caused by certain contexts, such as location and past actions (Verplanken & Aarts, 1999; Wood & Neal, 2009). This means in the context of supermarkets, consumers could be making their decisions based on habit, rather than basing their decisions on other goals, such as meaning pursuit. Factors such as time constraints, distraction and a lack of self-control affect the tendency to act out of habit (Neal et al., 2013), which could have occurred in the experiment.

Although the results of this study are partly in line with the study by Haws et al. (2017), proposing that a belief in the healthy-is-expensive intuition could mean consumers associating the price of a product with its healthiness, this belief did not affect the relationship between meaning pursuit and food choices according to the current study. The results suggest that belief in the healthy-is-expensive intuition does not influence the price of food choices, but it does lead to less healthy choices. The intuition could be ingrained in consumers' minds to the extent that they assume healthy products are inherently expensive, leading to the consumption of less healthy products when under financial constraints. This does not necessarily affect the price of food choices when consumers do not take the actual price into account. Moreover, the healthy-is-expensive intuition could be reinforcing unhealthy habitual behaviour, by defaulting to familiar and affordable products to avoid perceived higher costs. The lack of effect of the intuition on the price of food choices could be attributed to the difference between perceived price and actual price. Just because consumers believe certain products are expensive due to their healthiness, does not mean they actually are, and therefore this does not automatically mean healthy or unhealthy choices would lead to a certain price point.

Theoretical implications

The results of this study contribute to existing theory by challenging the assumption that consumers pursuing meaning would choose less expensive products based on opportunity cost consideration. The findings specifically show that this assumption does not hold up for food choices in the supermarket, whereas past research would suggest consumers would select less expensive products over more meaningful products when pursuing meaning (Mead & Williams, 2022). In addition, this study highlights the importance of context in consumer decision-making by showing the same principles do not apply in every situation. Moreover, this study answers the

call made by Haws et al. (2017) for more research into trade-offs consumers face when making food choices. It specifically dives into the trade-off between price and healthiness, showing that in the context of meaning pursuit, consumers' food choices may not be as influenced by this trade-off as previously thought. This study contributes to literature by suggesting other factors that could influence food choices, such as habit and mood, suggesting multiple directions for future research (as will be discussed later).

Practical implications

Practically, these findings suggest that the healthy-is-expensive intuition needs to be addressed to promote healthier eating habits. This could mean emphasising healthy and affordable options in the supermarket, aiming to counteract inherent beliefs. Furthermore, perceptions of food pricing and healthiness can be challenged through public health campaigns and education. Since the findings suggest that meaning pursuit does not influence consumers to buy less expense products, targeting consumers based on meaning pursuit may not be effective in influencing food choices. Considering meaning pursuit in the form of a healthy lifestyle, marketing directed at the healthiness of products could be the most beneficial option. Nevertheless, marketing strategies should consider a broader range of motivators of purchase decisions. The finding relating to consumers perceiving their choices as healthier than they actually are suggests a need for consumer education. In order to influence consumer choices, governments could force retailers to position healthy and more cost-efficient products more prominently in order to help consumers make healthier choices. This could also be useful in combatting habitual behaviour.

Limitations

As with any experiment, the current study had some limitations. Firstly, as the method was an experiment, there was the chance of dishonest responses. Participants could have given answers that do not portray reality. Secondly, as this study focused on food choices in the supermarket, the habits of participants could play a role when it comes to their choices. Habit was the main reason mentioned for choosing a specific store. This could also have played a role when choosing products. Another limitation is attrition. Possibly due to the length of the experiment, 77 participants were lost along the way, affecting the sample size and therefore, the generalisability. A specific aspect of the methodology that could have affected the results is the scenario which participants were given. Although the scenario of being on vacation and choosing products for themselves offered participants the freedom of making their own choices, the

implication of being on vacation could have influenced their choices to be more focused on pleasure, as vacation can be associated with pleasure. Moreover, participants were able to select more products than they were supposed to and spend more money than they were allowed to according to the instructions. To ensure all participants followed instructions, it would have been beneficial to use a program which allowed to set these limits. This would also give participants the opportunity to focus solely on the task at hand without distractions.

Recommendations for future research

Future research should aim to test whether the current findings would hold up in different contexts and with a larger and more diverse sample. Additionally, more research is necessary into possible moderators and psychological factors contributing to food choices. As habit was given as the most frequent reason for choosing a supermarket, research should focus on the role of habitual behaviour when it comes to food choices. Moreover, more research into the effect of mood on food choices in the supermarket is needed, especially involving health consciousness as a factor. Furthermore, a focus on the relationship between meaning and opportunity cost consideration is needed to investigate why findings from the current study differed from the results found by Mead and Williams (2022). The current findings suggest short-term versus long-term goals could be an interesting alley of research into meaning. Lastly, more research into the healthy-is-expensive intuition should be done to define to what extent this affects food choices in different contexts and specifically what happens when consumers experience financial constraints.

References

AlAmmar, W. A., Albeesh, F. H., & Khattab, R. Y. (2020). Food and Mood: The Corresponsive Effect. *Current Nutrition Reports*, *9*(3), 296–308. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13668-020-00331-3

Belk, R. W., Wallendorf, M., & Sherry, J. F. (1989). The Sacred and the Profane in Consumer Behavior: Theodicy on the Odyssey. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *16*(1), 1–38. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2489299

Carlson, A., & Frazão, E. (2012). Are healthy foods really more expensive? It depends on how you measure the price. *Social Science Research Network*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2199553

Chartrand, T. L., Huber, J., Shiv, B., & Tanner, R. (2008). Nonconscious goals and consumer choice. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *35*(2), 189–201. https://doi.org/10.1086/588685

Dobson, P., & Gerstner, E. (2010). For a few cents more: why supersize unhealthy food? *Marketing Science*, *29*(4), 770–778. https://doi.org/10.1287/mksc.1100.0558

Field, A., & Hole, G. J. (2003). How to Design and Report Experiments. SAGE Publications.

Garg, N., Wansink, B., & Inman, J. J. (2007). The influence of incidental affect on consumers' food intake. *Journal of Marketing*, *71*(1), 194–206. https://doi.org/10.1509/jmkg.71.1.194

Goodman, J. K., Malkoc, S. A., & Stephenson, B. (2016). Celebrate or commemorate? A material purchase advantage when honoring special life events. *Journal of the Association for Consumer Research*, *1*(4), 497–508. https://doi.org/10.1086/688352

Guevarra, D. A., & Howell, R. T. (2014). To have in order to do: Exploring the effects of consuming experiential products on well-being. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *25*(1), 28–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2014.06.006

Haws, K. L., Reczek, R. W., & Sample, K. L. (2017). Healthy diets make empty wallets: the healthy = expensive intuition. *Journal of Consumer Research*, ucw078. https://doi.org/10.1093/jcr/ucw078

Haws, K. L., & Winterich, K. P. (2013). When Value Trumps Health in a Supersized World. *Journal of Marketing*, *77*(3), 48–64.

Heintzelman, S. J., & King, L. A. (2014). Life is pretty meaningful. *American Psychologist*, *69*(6), 561–574. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035049

Holthöwer, J., & Van Doorn, J. (2022). Robots do not judge: service robots can alleviate embarrassment in service encounters. *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, *51*(4), 767–784. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11747-022-00862-x

Huta, V., & Ryan, R. M. (2009). Pursuing pleasure or virtue: the differential and overlapping Well-Being benefits of hedonic and eudaimonic motives. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *11*(6), 735–762. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-009-9171-4

Huta, V., & Waterman, A. S. (2013). Eudaimonia and Its Distinction from Hedonia: Developing a Classification and Terminology for Understanding Conceptual and Operational Definitions. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *15*(6), 1425–1456. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-013-9485-0

Judd, V. C. (2000). The Price-Quality relationship. *Journal of Food Products Marketing*, *6*(1), 11–24. https://doi.org/10.1300/j038v06n01_02

Kim, J., Kang, P., & Choi, I. (2014). Pleasure now, meaning later: Temporal dynamics between pleasure and meaning. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *55*, 262–270. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.07.018

King, L. A., & Hicks, J. A. (2021). The science of meaning in life. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *72*(1), 561–584. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-072420-122921

Köster, E. P., & Mojet, J. (2015). From mood to food and from food to mood: A psychological perspective on the measurement of food-related emotions in consumer research. *Food Research International*, *76*, 180–191. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodres.2015.04.006

Mead, N. L., & Williams, L. E. (2022). The pursuit of meaning and the preference for less expensive options. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *49*(5), 741–761. https://doi.org/10.1093/jcr/ucac019

Neal, D. T., Wood, W., & Drolet, A. (2013). How do people adhere to goals when willpower is low? The profits (and pitfalls) of strong habits. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *104*(6), 959–975. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0032626

Rudd, M. D., Catapano, R., & Aaker, J. (2019). Making Time Matter: A review of research on Time and meaning. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *29*(4), 680–702. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcpy.1087

Schmitt, B. H., Brakus, J. J., & Zarantonello, L. (2014). From experiential psychology to consumer experience. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *25*(1), 166–171. 8 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2014.09.001

Schueller, S. M., & Seligman, M. E. P. (2010). Pursuit of pleasure, engagement, and meaning: Relationships to subjective and objective measures of well-being. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *5*(4), 253–263. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439761003794130

Seligman, M. E. P. (2002). *Authentic happiness: Using the New Positive Psychology to Realize Your Potential for Lasting Fulfillment*. Simon and Schuster.

Verplanken, B., & Aarts, H. (1999). Habit, attitude, and planned behaviour: Is habit an empty construct or an interesting case of goal-directed automaticity? *European Review of Social Psychology*, *10*(1), 101–134. https://doi.org/10.1080/14792779943000035

Wang, X., Sun, Y., & Krämer, T. (2021). Ritualistic consumption decreases loneliness by increasing meaning. *Journal of Marketing Research*, *58*(2), 282–298. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022243721993426

Wood, W., & Neal, D. T. (2009). The habitual consumer. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, *19*(4), 579–592. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2009.08.003

Appendices

Appendix A: Survey English

Dear respondent,

First of all, we would like to thank you for participating in the survey. Your participation will help us to gather insights for our Master Thesis. We are three students at the Radboud University, and we are doing a study to people's food choices. This survey will approximately take 10 - 15 minutes of your time. We would like to mention that your participation is fully voluntary, and your answers will be used confidential and anonymously. For further questions, you could send an email to one of our researchers (jurre.tlam@ru.nl).

It is not possible to stop and save the survey intermediately. We would appreciate it if you could fill in the survey in one take. Finally, we want to let you know that you can stop the survey at any moment.

Thank you in advance for your contribution to our research,

Maaike Hinssen, Michelle Kway, and Jurre 't Lam.

Grocery list
Try your best to fully embrace the scenario that will be sketched next.
Imagine you would spend the weekend alone in a holiday house to relax. You get a budget of 50 euros to select ten products for your own consumption. You select the products by browsing through our online supermarket. Select the products you would like, and regularly eat or drink. Please try not to deviate much from your standard eating and drinking pattern.
In the online supermarket, there are different product categories with a variety of products. You do not have to explicitly select products from every category. Select the products you want. At the end, please check whether you selected 10 products.

You are in luck! You can enter in a lottery, in which you have a chance of winning your total basket, including the remaining budget. More information on this will be disclosed at the end of the survey.

Pursuit of meaning
As you make your choices, please focus on deriving meaning from your choices. That is, focus on the aspects of each option that you personally find most purposeful, fulfilling, and valuable. Really try to make it a meaningful experience!
In the following two minutes, we ask you to perform a writing task, in which you need to write everything down that you associate with meaning in life. Please write down everything that comes up.

Below, you can fill in your associations with meaning in life. After two minutes you automatically will be directed to the next page. On this page you can see the different product categories, of which you need to select 10 products for your weekend away.

Manipulation check

1. I took the writing task about meaning in life seriously.
   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

On the next page, we would first like to ask you several general questions.

2. If you had to choose, at which supermarket would you do your groceries?

   0 Lidl
   0 Albert Heijn
   0 Aldi
   0 Jumbo
   0 Plus

3. Why would you choose this particular supermarket?

   0 Price
   0 Location
   0 Habit
   0 Other, namely:

To what extent do you agree with this statement?

4. At the moment I feel hungry.

   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

On the next page you will be shown all available products that you can select. Afterwards, please check whether you have selected 10 products with a maximum budget of €50.

Healthy = expensive intuition

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

5. Healthy products are usually more expensive than unhealthy products.
   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
6. Expensive products are usually healthier than cheaper products.
   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
7. Expensive products are usually of higher quality than cheaper products.
   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

Food preferences

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

8. To my knowledge, I made a relatively healthy selection of products.
   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
9. To my knowledge, I made a relatively cheap selection of products.
   Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
10. To my knowledge, I made a relatively varying selection of products.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
11. I made conscious food choices after considering all alternatives.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

12. I pursue meaning in the form of a healthy lifestyle.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

Mindset

Choose one of the two alternative descriptions of the activity that fits best with how you would describe the action. There are no wrong or right answers.

13. Picking an apple
    a. Getting food*
    b. Pulling an apple from a twig
14. Painting a room
    a. Applying brush strokes
    b. Making the room look fresh*
15. Locking a door
    a. Putting a key in the lock
    b. Protecting the house*
16. Voting
    a. Influencing the elections*
    b. Marketing the ballot paper
17. Taking a personality test
    a. Answering questions
    b. Revealing how you are*
18. Greeting someone
    a. Saying hello
    b. Showing friendliness*
19. Taking a test
    a. Showing your knowledge*
    b. Answering questions
20. Resisting temptation
    a. Saying "no"*
    b. Showing moral courage
21. Travelling by car
    a. Following a map
    b. Seeing landscapes*
22. Talking with a child
    a. Teaching a child something*
    b. Using simple words

*Alternative for higher level (Comment: in the actual survey there are no asterisks indicating the alternative of a higher level)

Choose the option that fits you best

23. When you look at a picture, what do you mainly focus on?
    0 The bigger picture as a whole
    0 Details in the picture
24. I process information in…
    0 A more general and clear way
    0 A more narrow and detail-oriented way

25. When solving a problem, I prefer…
    0 Analysing the general structure or pattern of the problem
    0 Identifying the specific steps or elements needed to solve the problem

Variety seeking

26. I am curious about products I have never eaten and/or drank.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
27. I find it boring to eat and/or drink the same products every week.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
28. I easily had enough of a product I have regularly eaten and/or drank.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

Control variables

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

29. I found this online supermarket to be believable.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
30. I found this online supermarket to be authentic.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
31. I found this online supermarket to be realistic.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

32. Are you allergic to specific food ingredients?
    0 No.
    0 Gluten.
    0 Lactose (milk)
    0 Nuts
    0 Other:

33. Do you currently follow a specific diet?
    0 Yes
    0 No

34. How often do you do your own groceries?
    Never O O O O O Always

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

35. I made my food choices based on prior experiences with the products.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
36. I eat the same products every week.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
37. I made my own unique choices
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
38. While making my food choices, I continuously calculated my remaining budget.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree
39. I experienced issues with calculating the budget
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

Manipulation check

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

40. My food choices in this experiment are motivated by the pursuit of meaning.
    Totally disagree O O O O O Totally agree

Demographics

41. How do you identify yourself?
    0 Female
    0 Male
    0 Non-binary
    0 Other:
    0 I do not want to tell.

42. What year were you born? ____

43. What is your highest educational degree?
    0 Secondary school
    0 MBO
    0 HBO Bachelor
    0 University Bachelor
    0 University Master
    0 Other:

44. How would you describe your income situation? (Model income in the Netherlands is currently €3.666 per month)
    0 Much below modal
    0 Below modal
    0 Modal
    0 Above modaal
    0 Far above modal
    0 I would rather not say

45. What is your current living situation?
    0 I live with my parents.
    0 I live alone in my house/apartment.
    0 I live with a partner or friend in a house/apartment.
    0 I live in student housing.
    0 Other:
    0 I would rather not say.

This is the end of this survey. We hope you enjoyed helping us. We would like to remind you again that all personal information will be handled anonymously and confidentially. If you would like to participate in the lottery to win your basket and the remaining budget, please enter your email address below. The winner will be announced on May 31st.

Finally, we would like to thank you for your participation. If there are any questions, please contact one of our researchers (jurre.tlam@ru.nl). We would like to wish you a pleasant day!

Kind regards,
Maaike Hinssen, Michelle Kway, and Jurre ‘t Lam.

Appendix B: Survey Dutch

Beste respondent,
Allereerst willen wij u hartelijk danken dat u deel wilt nemen aan deze enquête. Uw deelname zal ons helpen om inzichten te verkrijgen die wij nodig hebben voor onze Master Thesis. Wij zijn drie studenten aan de Radboud Universiteit en momenteel doen wij onderzoek naar welke voedingskeuzes mensen maken. De enquête die u zo meteen zal gaan afnemen zal ongeveer 10 - 15 minuten van uw tijd in beslag nemen. Graag vermelden wij dat deelname aan deze enquête volledig vrijwillig is en dat uw antwoorden vertrouwelijk en anoniem worden behandeld. Bij vragen kunt u een mail sturen naar een van onze onderzoekers (michelle.kway@ru.nl).

Let op: het is niet mogelijk om de enquête tussentijds op te slaan dus wij zouden het heel erg op prijs stellen als u de enquête in één keer kunt invullen. Tot slot willen wij u laten weten dat u op ieder gewenst moment kunt stoppen met de enquête.

Alvast bedankt voor uw bijdrage aan ons afstudeeronderzoek, Maaike Hinssen, Michelle Kway en Jurre 't Lam

Boodschappenlijst
Doe uw best om volledig op te gaan in het scenario dat hierna geschetst wordt.
Stelt u zich voor dat u een weekend alleen doorbrengt in een vakantiehuis ter ontspanning. U krijgt een budget van 50 euro om 10 producten te selecteren voor uw eigen consumptie. U kiest deze producten door in onze online supermarkt te scrollen. Kies de producten die u graag wilt en regelmatig eet. Probeer niet te veel af te wijken van uw standaard eetpatroon. In de online supermarkt bestaan verschillende productcategorieën met gevarieerde producten. U hoeft niet expliciet producten uit elke categorie te selecteren. Kies welk product u wilt. Controleer op het eind alstublieft of u 10 producten heeft gekozen.

U heeft geluk! U kunt deelnemen aan een loterij, waarbij u kans maakt om uw volledige winkelwagen te winnen, inclusief het overgebleven budget. Hier wordt aan het einde van de enquête meer informatie over gegeven.

Streven naar betekenis
Terwijl u uw keuzes maakt, focus dan vooral op het zoeken naar betekenis in uw keuzes. Dit betekent dat u zich focust op elk aspect van uw keuze die u persoonlijk het meest doelgericht, bevredigend en waardevol vindt. Maak er echt een betekenisvolle ervaring van! (Mead & Williams, 2022).

In de komende twee minuten vragen wij u een schrijfopdracht te doen, waarbij u alles opschrijft wat u associeert met betekenis in het leven. Zorg dat u echt nagaat wat betekenis in het leven voor u is.

U kunt nu onderstaand invullen wat u associeert met betekenis in het leven. Na twee minuten wordt u automatisch doorverwezen naar de volgende pagina.

Manipulatiecheck
In hoeverre bent u het eens met deze stelling?

1. Ik heb de schrijfopdracht over betekenis in het leven serieus genomen.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Op de volgende pagina willen wij u eerst een aantal algemene vragen stellen.

2. Als u moest kiezen, bij welke supermarkt zou u uw boodschappen dan doen?
   0 Lidl
   0 Albert Heijn
   0 Aldi
   0 Jumbo
   0 Plus

3. Waarom zou u deze supermarkt kiezen?
   0 Prijs
   0 Locatie
   0 Gewoonte
   0 Anders, namelijk:

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling:

4. Ik heb op dit moment honger.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Op de volgende pagina krijgt u alle producten te zien die u kunt selecteren. Controleer alstublieft achteraf of u precies 10 producten heeft geselecteerd met een maximaal budget van €50,00.

Gezond is duur intuïtie

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen:

5. Gezonde producten zijn doorgaans duurder dan ongezonde producten.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
6. Duurdere producten zijn doorgaans gezonder dan goedkopere producten.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
7. Duurdere producten zijn doorgaans van hogere kwaliteit dan goedkopere producten.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Voorkeur voor voeding

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen:

8. Naar mijn idee heb ik een relatief gezonde selectie van producten gemaakt.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
9. Naar mijn idee heb ik een relatief goedkope selectie van producten gemaakt.
   Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
10. Naar mijn idee heb ik een relatief variërende selectie van producten gemaakt.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
11. Ik heb bewuste keuzes gemaakt na het overwegen van alle alternatieven.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
12. Ik zoek betekenis in de vorm van een gezonde levensstijl
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Mentaliteit

Kies een van de twee alternatieve beschrijvingen van de activiteit die het beste past bij hoe jij de actie zou beschrijven. Er is geen goed of fout antwoord.

13. Een appel plukken
    a. Iets te eten krijgen*
    b. Een appel van een tak trekken

14. Een kamer schilderen
    a. Penseelstreken aanbrengen
    b. De kamer er fris uit laten zien*.
15. Een deur op slot doen
    a. Een sleutel in het slot steken
    b. Het huis beveiligen*
16. Stemmen
    a. De verkiezingen beïnvloeden*
    b. Het markeren van een stembiljet
17. Een persoonlijkheidstest invullen
    a. Vragen beantwoorden
    b. Onthullen hoe je bent*
18. Iemand begroeten
    a. Hallo zeggen
    b. Vriendelijkheid tonen*
19. Een test afleggen
    a. Je kennis tonen*
    b. Vragen beantwoorden
20. Verleiding weerstaan
    a. "Nee" zeggen*
    b. Morele moed tonen
21. Reizen met de auto
    a. Een kaart volgen
    b. Landschap zien*
22. Praten met een kind
    a. Een kind iets leren*
    b. Eenvoudige woorden gebruiken
    c.

Alternatief voor hoger niveau (Opmerking: in de echte enquête zijn er geen sterren die het alternatief van een hoger niveau aangeven)

Kies de optie die het beste bij u past.

23. Als u naar een afbeelding kijkt, waar let u dan meestal op?
    0 Het grote geheel van de afbeelding.
    0 De details van de afbeelding.
24. Ik verwerk informatie op…
    0 Een meer algemene en overzichtelijke manier.
    0 Een smaller en meer detailgerichte manier.
25. Bij het oplossen van problemen geef ik de voorkeur aan …
    0 Het analyseren van de algemene structuur of patroon van het probleem.
    0 Het identificeren van de specifieke stappen of elementen die nodig zijn om het probleem op te lossen.

Zoeken naar afwisseling

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stelling

26. Ik ben benieuwd naar producten die ik nog nooit gegeten en/of gedronken heb.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
27. Ik vind het saai om iedere week dezelfde producten te eten en/of drinken.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
28. Ik krijg snel genoeg van een bepaald product dat ik regelmatig eet en/of drink.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Control variables

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen over de online supermarkt:

29. Ik vond deze online supermarkt geloofwaardig.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
30. Ik vond deze online supermarkt authentiek.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
31. Ik vond deze online supermarkt realistisch.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

32. Bent u allergisch voor bepaalde producten?
    0 Nee
    0 Gluten
    0 Lactose
    0 Noten
    0 Anders, namelijk

33. Volgt u momenteel een specifiek dieet?
    0 Ja
    0 Nee

34. Hoe vaak doet u zelf uw boodschappen?
    Nooit O O O O O Altijd

In hoeverre bent u het eens met de volgende stellingen:

35. Ik heb mijn keuzes gebaseerd op eerdere ervaringen met de producten.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
36. Ik eet iedere week dezelfde producten.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
37. Ik heb mijn eigen, unieke keuzes gemaakt.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
38. Ik heb tijdens het maken van mijn keuzes berekend hoeveel budget ik over heb.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens
39. Ik heb veel moeite ervaren met het berekenen van mijn budget.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Manipulatiecheck

Deze stelling gaat over betekenis in uw keuzes.

40. Mijn keuzes in dit experiment zijn gemotiveerd door het zoeken naar betekenis.
    Helemaal mee oneens O O O O O Helemaal mee eens

Demografie

41. Wat is uw geslacht?
    0 Man
    0 Vrouw
    0 Non-binair
    0 Anders, namelijk
    0 Wil ik liever niet zeggen

42. In welk jaar bent u geboren? ___

43. Wat is uw hoogst behaalde opleidingsniveau?
0 Middelbare school
0 MBO
0 HBO
0 Universiteit Bachelor
0 Universiteit Master
0 Anders, namelijk

Deze vraag gaat over uw inkomenssituatie. Het modaal inkomen in Nederland is momenteel €3.666 bruto per maand.

44. Mijn inkomenssituatie is
0 Ver onder modaal
0 Onder modaal
0 Modaal
0 Boven modaal
0 Ver boven modaal
0 Wil ik liever niet zeggen

45. Wat is uw huidige woonsituatie?
0 Ik woon bij mijn ouders.
0 Ik woon alleen in een huis/appartement.
0 Ik woon met een partner of vriend in een huis/appartement.
0 Ik woon in een studentenhuis
0 Anders, namelijk
0 Wil ik liever niet zeggen

Dit is het einde van dit experiment. We hopen dat u het leuk vond om ons te helpen. We willen u nogmaals eraan herinneren dat alle persoonlijke informatie anoniem en vertrouwelijk worden behandeld. Als u mee wilt doen aan de loterij om uw geselecteerde winkelwagen en overgebleven budget te winnen, vul dan onderstaand alstublieft uw e-mailadres in. De winnaar zal op 31 mei bekend worden gemaakt.

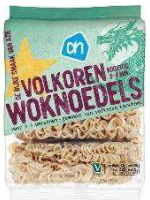
Als laatste willen wij u graag bedanken voor uw deelname. Als er nog vragen zijn, neem dan gerust contact op met een van de onderzoekers (michelle.kway@ru.nl). Wij wensen u een fijne dag!
Met vriendelijke groet, Maaike Hinssen, Michelle Kway en Jurre 't Lam

Appendix C: Product list (including prices)

Dairy products	Price	Images
AH Franse magere kwark	€1,35	
AH Volle melk	€1,29	
Campina dubbelvla (chocola/vanille)	€2,25	
Mona pudding griesmeel (rode bessensaus duo)	€2,09	
Melkunie protein kwark (aardbei)	€1,49	
Snacks		
Lays (paprika)	€2,39	
Milka chocoladereep (alpenmelk)	€0,85	

Redband winegums (original)	€2,49	

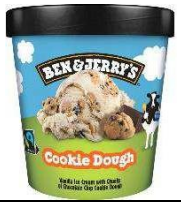
AH Chocolate chip cookies	€1,15	
AH Ongebrande amandelen	€1,98	
AH Donuts pink	€3,15	
Bread toppings		
AH Goudse kaas jong jong belegen 48+	€3,09	
AH Boterhamworst	€1,99	
AH Salami	€1,79	

Terra 100% pindakaas (naturel)	€2,59	
Nutella hazelnootpasta	€3,59	
AH Biologische witte eieren	€1,99	
Grain products		
Gran d'Italia fusili (volkoren)	€2,19	
Gran d'italia spaghetti	€1,99	
Woknoedels (volkoren)	€1,19	
Ah basmatirijst	€1,79	
Rond volkoren brood (heel)	€1,89	

Rond wit brood (heel)	€1,89	
Fruit / vegetables		
Mango	€2,19	
Paprika mix	€1,99	
Fruitmix framboos/blauwe bes	€4,99	
AH Roerbakgroente (Hollands)	€2,39	
AH Roerbakgroente (Italiaans)	€2,09	
AH Elstar schaal	€2,09	
Drinks		

Coca-Cola Original	€2,29	

Coca-Cola Zero sugar	€2,29	
Lipton ice tea (green)	€2,85	
Crystal Clear (sparkling lemon)	€1,99	
AH Verse sap (sinaasappel/aardbei)	€2,38	
Perla huisblends classic koffiepads	€4,69	
Alpro Amandeldrink	€2,99	
Desserts		
Lohilo proteïne ijs (cookie dough)	€5,49	

AH Roomijs (vanille)	€2,99	
Ben & Jerry's (cookie dough)	€6,59	
Meat/fish/vegan		

Rundergehakt	€3,49	
AH vegetarische burger deluxe	€2,49	
Zalmfilet	€5,85	
Vegetarische slager vegan kipleckere nuggets	€3,99	
Ossenhaaspuntjes	€7,80	

AH scharrel kipfilet	€4,49	
Alcoholic beverages		
Heineken Premium pilsener (6-pack)	€6,45	
Adobe Chardonnay reserva	€6,65	
Undurraga Merlot	€5,29	

Saint Louis Provence rosé	€6,99	
Heineken Premium pilsener 0.0% (6-pack)	€4,59	
Galilei Hugo 0%	€3,39	
Frozen		

Dr. Oetker Ristorante Pizza Mozzarella	€2,65	
AH Oven Partymix	€3,09	
Kwekkeboom Oven en airfryer gemixte hapjes	€5,49	

Appendix D: Product health scores

Product	Score	Rounded score
AH Franse magere kwark	1	1
Rond volkoren brood (heel)	1,4	1
Mango	1	1
AH Paprika mix	1	1
Fruitmix framboos/blauwe bes	1	1
AH Roerbakgroente (Hollands)	1	1
AH Roerbakgroente (Italiaans)	1	1
AH ongebrande amandelen	1	1
AH scharrel kipfilet	1	1
AH Biologisch witte eieren (6 stuks)	1,4	1
AH Elster schaal (4 stuks)	1	1
Total 11		
AH Volle melk	2,2	2
Melkunie protein kwark (aardbei)	2	2
Terra 100% pindakaas (naturel)	2,2	2
Gran d'Italia fusili (volkoren)	1,8	2
Woknoedels (volkoren)	1,8	2
Crystal Clear (sparkling lemon)	2	2
AH Verse sap (sinaasappel/aardbei)	2	2
AH vegetarische burger deluxe	2,2	2
Zalmfilet	1,8	2
Vegetarische slager kipnuggets	2,2	2
Perla Huisblends classic koffiepads (36 stuks)	2,4	2
Total 11		
Alpro Amandeldrink	2,6	3
AH Salami	3,4	3
AH boterhamworst	2,8	3
Gran d'italia spaghetti	2,6	3
Basmatirijst	3,2	3
Coca-Cola Zero sugar	3,2	3
Lohilo proteïne ijs (cookie dough)	3	3
Rundergehakt	3,4	3
Ossenhaaspuntjes	2,6	3
Heineken Premium pilsener 0.0% (6-pack)	3,4	3
Total 10		
AH Goudse kaas jonge belegen 48+	3,6	4
Campina dubbelvla (chocola/vanille)	3,6	4
Mona pudding griesmeel (rode bessensaus duo)	4	4
Redband winegums (original)	4,4	4
Nutella hazelnootpasta	3,6	4
Rond wit brood (heel)	3,8	4
Lipton ice tea (green)	3,8	4
Undurraga Merlot	4,2	4
Adobe Chardonnay reserva	3,8	4
Saint Louis Provence rosé	3,8	4
Galilei Hugo 0%	3,6	4

Total 11		
Lays (paprika)	5	5
Milka chocoladereep (alpenmelk)	5	5
AH Chocolate chip cookies	4,6	5
Coca-Cola Original	5	5
AH Roomijs (vanille)	4,6	5
Ben & Jerry's (cookie dough)	5	5
Heineken Premium pilsener (6-pack)	5	5
Dr Oetker Ristorante pizza (mozzarella/pesto)	5	5
AH Oven partymix	4,6	5
Kwekkeboom Oven en airfryer mix	4,6	5
AH Donuts pink	5	5
Total 11		

Score 1: 11 products
Score 2: 11 products
Score 3: 10 products
Score 4: 11 products
Score 5: 11 products