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**Children's purchase behavior in the snack market:
Can branding or lower prices motivate healthier choices?**

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Abstract

Background: Children's dietary-related diseases and their associated costs have expanded dramatically in many countries, making children's food choice a policy issue of increasing relevance. As children spend a considerable amount of money on energy-dense, nutrient-poor (EDNP) products, a better understanding of the main drivers of children's independent food purchase decisions is crucial to move this behavior toward healthier options.

Objective: The objective of the study is to investigate the role of branding and price in motivating children to choose healthier snack options.

Methods: The study investigates snack choices of children ages 8 to 11, using a survey and a purchase experiment. The research took place in after-school programs of selected schools in the Boston area. Participants included 116 children. Products in the choice experiment differed on three factors: product type, brand, and price. Data were analyzed using aggregated and mixed logit models.

Results: Children's purchase decisions are primarily determined by product type (Importance Value (IV) 56.6%), while brand (IV 22.8%) and price (IV 20.6%) prove to be of less relevance. Only those children who state that they like the familiar brand reveal a preference for the branded product in their purchase decision. Price is a significant predictor of choice when controlling for whether or not children obtain an allowance.

Conclusion: It is not simple brand awareness but a child's liking of the brand that determines whether a brand is successful in motivating a child to choose a product. The extent of children's experience with money influences their price responsiveness. To the extent that children who receive an allowance are primarily the ones buying food snacks, higher prices for EDNP snacks could be successful in motivating children to choose a healthier option.

Key words: children's food preference, children as consumers, discrete choice experiment, aggregated and mixed logit models, marketing, branding

35 **Introduction**

36 In recent years, the incidence and prevalence of children's dietary-related diseases and
37 their associated costs have grown dramatically in many countries, making children's food
38 choice a policy issue of increasing relevance (CDC, 2015). To improve children's eating
39 habits, various school-based interventions have been implemented in several countries (e.g.,
40 De Sa & Lock, 2008; Evans et al., 2012). However, those efforts might be offset by
41 compensatory behavior of children at other times of the day (i.e., the consumption of energy-
42 dense, nutrient-poor (EDNP) foods before or after school). This holds especially as children
43 have a considerable amount of money at their disposal. Much of this is spent on food, espe-
44 cially on EDNP products (Borradaile et al., 2009; Cash & McAlister, 2011). Measures such as
45 regulating food advertisements to children, as well as the implementation of fat or sugar taxes,
46 acknowledge the direct and indirect economic activities of young consumers. The former is
47 motivated by the fact that food advertising and branding of products directed at children are
48 omnipresent, address children via different media and are primarily used to promote EDNP
49 food and drinks (regarding TV advertisements see e.g. Batada, et al., 2008; Calvert, 2008;
50 Gantz, et al., 2007; Hastings, et al., 2006; Matthews, et al., 2005; regarding online-marketing
51 see e.g. Alvy & Cavert, 2008; Calvert, 2008; Culp et al., 2010; Lee et al., 2009; Lingas et al.,
52 2009; Mallinckrodt & Mizerski, 2007; regarding product packaging see foodwatch, 2012;
53 Harris et al., 2009a; Harris et al., 2009b; Maschkowski et al., 2014; Mehta et al., 2012).
54 Furthermore, this widespread food marketing has been shown to influence children's food
55 preferences and consumption patterns (Boyland & Halford, 2012; Cairns et al., 2012;
56 Cornwell & McAlister, 2013; Cornwell, McAlister & Polmear-Swendris, 2014; Elliott, 2008;
57 Forman et al., 2009; Harris et al., 2009; IOM, 2006; Keller et al., 2012; McNeal & Li, 2003;
58 Mehta et al., 2012). By targeting food ads directly to children, companies strive to increase
59 children's brand awareness and their emotional attachment to products (Connor, 2006).
60 Research shows that children as young as two to four years of age recognize brands

61 (McAlister & Cornwell, 2010; Valkenburg & Buijzen, 2005) and that the branding of
62 products has an influence on children's preferences and product choice (Robinson et al., 2007;
63 Wansink et al., 2012; Forman et al., 2009; Keller et al., 2012; Mallinckrodt & Mizerski,
64 2007). Moreover, Forman et al. (2009) found that children's brand awareness was
65 considerably higher for unhealthy food.

66 Only few studies have directly investigated the relevance of price to children's food
67 choice, with somewhat inconsistent results. Some studies argue that prices might play only a
68 minor role in children's food purchase decisions since children have no long-term financial
69 obligations, less market experience, less developed cognitive capacities, and rather impulsive
70 behavior (Cash & McAlister, 2014; Farrell & Shields, 1997). Empirical research investigating
71 children's price responsiveness focuses mainly on middle- and high-school children. Findings
72 on the relevance of prices for children's food choice show that children react to prices and
73 that price adjustments can induce unexpected substitution effects that are influenced by
74 children's budgets. With respect to the purchase of EDNP products, the availability of
75 attractive alternatives seems to be of greater relevance for children's food choices than price
76 (e.g., Brown & Tammineni, 2009; Epstein et al., 2006a; Epstein et al., 2006b; French et al.,
77 1997, 2001; Heard et al., 2016; Kocken et al., 2012).

78 Overall, the literature on children's price responsiveness and brand awareness is
79 scarce. The former is especially true for younger children (elementary school). With the
80 exception of a handful of studies that examine the ways in which cartoon characters and brand
81 logos increase children's interest in healthy food products (e.g., Robinson et al., 2007),
82 relatively few studies have examined how branding might be used to increase the appeal of
83 healthy foods among young children. Heard et al. (2016) investigated the behavior of 7- to 12-
84 year-olds in a virtual store and considered specific branded products and on-package
85 promotions (for possible prizes) in a budget-constrained simulation, but did not vary the price
86 of the items offered to children. To date, no study has investigated the interacting effects of

87 price, brand, and product type on children's purchase decisions in an experimental
88 framework.

89 Given this background, the present study seeks to address the research question: What
90 roles do branding and price play in motivating children to choose healthier snack options?

91 **Method**

92 *Data collection and survey instruments*

93 The study involves quantitative and qualitative elements to investigate the food
94 choices of children ages 8 to 11. The research took place in after-school programs of selected
95 schools in the Boston area. The study received human subjects approval from the Institutional
96 Review Board at [university name redacted for review]. Both parental informed consent and
97 child participant assent were obtained prior to data collection.

98 The quantitative part of the study involved 116 children and consisted of three tasks: a
99 survey, two cognitive tests, and a purchase experiment. First, children filled out a pencil-and-
100 paper questionnaire¹ (task 1), which asked about whether they receive pocket money or an
101 allowance and how they spend it, their food preferences and consumption habits, their
102 knowledge and liking of brands, their nutritional knowledge as well as information on
103 demographic characteristics such as age and gender. This was followed by two cognitive tests
104 (task 2). Children were then provided with a small remuneration (\$2.00) for their participation
105 in these tests, which was framed explicitly as compensation for their work so far. This was
106 done to underscore that the money to be used in the purchase choices later was actually their
107 own money that they had earned.

108 In the third task - an incentive-compatible discrete choice experiment (DCE) - children
109 were given a choice between two products, along with a "no purchase" option. Products
110 differed on three factors, namely, healthfulness (i.e. chocolate chip cookie as a less healthy

¹ The questionnaire had been tested in a pilot study in Germany and was adapted to the US environment.

111 snack option, and apple slices and a tube of drinkable strawberry yogurt as the healthier snack
 112 options)², brand (i.e. McDonald's or generic), and price (i.e. \$0.30, \$0.50, or \$0.70) (see
 113 Table 1). McDonald's was selected as the brand of interest here as previous studies confirmed
 114 widespread high awareness of the McDonald's brand among children (e.g., Forman et al.,
 115 2009; McAlister & Cornwell, 2010). The price range considered in the study reflected the
 116 current market prices of the products selected at the time of data collection, while allowing
 117 sufficient variation for meaningful analysis.³ The "no purchase" option was included as it
 118 allows children to opt out if none of the snacks looked appealing to them or if the snacks were
 119 too expensive. Omission of the opt-out possibility might lead to biased results as it forces
 120 children to make a choice that they may not make in the marketplace.

121 **Table 1.** Attribute and attribute levels used in DCE

Attributes	Levels
Product	1. Chocolate Chip Cookie 2. Apple Slices 3. Strawberry Tube Yogurt
Brand	1. McDonald's 2. Generic
Price	1. 0.30 US Dollar 2. 0.50 US Dollar 3. 0.70 US Dollar



122
 123 The combination of all attributes and levels in the study resulted in 18 (3*2*3)
 124 possible profiles and thus 324 potential choice pairs. Such a full factorial design is generally
 125 impractical in terms of respondent fatigue, and especially inappropriate for use with children
 126 whose attention spans are limited. Thus, a fractional orthogonal *D-optimal* choice experimental

² Products' weight and calories: Chocolate chip cookies: McDonald's 30g, 170 calories; Generic 27g, 150 calories. Apple slices: McDonald's 34g, 15 calories; Generic 51g, 25 calories. Strawberry yogurt: McDonald's: 64g, 50 calories; Generic 64 g, 70 calories.

³ Actual market price per item for generic products ranged from \$0.23 to \$0.56 when purchased in multi-unit packages at the time of data collection. Market prices for the McDonald's products ranged between \$0.59 and \$0.69 but was as low as \$0.50 when more than one item was bought (e.g. price for 4 cookies amounted to \$2.00).

127 design was generated from the attributes and attribute levels using NGENE software package
128 version 1.1 (ChoiceMetrics, 2014). The experimental design used had a D-error⁴ (or its
129 inverse, D-efficiency or D-optimality) of 0.142 and consisted of 10 paired choices. These 10
130 paired choices were presented to each participant via picture cards with the products displayed
131 in their real size. We manipulated some of the images so that the products only differed with
132 respect to the attributes investigated in the experiment (e.g., nutrition claims were removed
133 from packaging; see Appendix). Thus, for each of the ten choice tasks, the children were
134 presented with large laminated pictures of the items labeled with a price. The children were
135 asked to choose item A, item B, or a choice of neither. The children's choices were recorded
136 on separate cards by the interviewer in full view of the children. An example of the choice task
137 recording cards used with the children is shown in Figure 1. At the end of the simulation, one of
138 the choices made by the child was randomly chosen by shuffling the ten recording cards on
139 which the choices were documented. The child had to buy this food item. After the children
140 obtained their product we asked them their satisfaction with the choice made, whether they
141 had tried any of the products from the choice experiment before and their general liking of
142 McDonald's.
143

⁴ Huber and Zwerina (1996) pointed out that when the four criteria of orthogonality, level balance, minimal overlap, and utility balance are jointly satisfied, then an experimental design with a minimal D-error can be achieved.

	Option A	Option B	Option C
Product	Chocolate Chip Cookie 	Apple Slices 	None
Price	\$0.30	\$0.70	
<i>I would choose →</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

144

145 **Figure 1. Example of a recording card used in the choice task**

146

147 Before starting the purchase experiment, children had been trained so that they
 148 understood the binding nature of their choice through the random selection of one of the
 149 choice recording cards. In other words, children were trained to understand that one of the
 150 choices would be selected at the end of the experiment and they would be expected to actually
 151 use their money to make the purchase (or would go without a snack if the “opt out” option
 152 had been selected). Having children understand the binding nature of their choices throughout
 153 the experiment was essential to ensure incentive-compatibility of the choice task. This ensures
 154 that children were choosing options on each trial that were reflective of autonomous choices
 155 they would make in an actual purchase setting, where money would be surrendered in order to
 156 receive the chosen snack (or opting out of purchase means not receiving a snack).

157 Prior to the quantitative study, we used a different sample of children to pretest the
 158 brand, price range, and products selected for the discrete choice analysis through two focus
 159 group discussions with children of the same age, in order to assist us in designing a reasonable
 160 attribute set. There were four children⁵ in each of the two focus group discussions. The results
 161 reveal that children know McDonald’s and recognize the selected McDonald’s products. The
 162 stated opinion regarding this fast food brand was generally (though not entirely) positive. The

⁵ We had planned to conduct two focus groups with up to 6 children in each. Due to absences of children in the after-school programs or missing parental consent only four children took part in each of the discussions.

163 children considered the selected products - apple slices, strawberry tube yogurt and chocolate
164 chip cookies - as attractive for purchase though not every child was interested in every
165 product. In both focus groups, children expressed an especially high preference for apple
166 slices. In a hypothetical question regarding which of the three snacks they would buy, most of
167 the children specified apple slices, irrespective of the branding of the product. At the end of
168 the focus group discussion, children were invited to select one of the six products (three
169 snacks, each from a generic brand and from McDonald's) to take home. Most children chose
170 the chocolate chip cookie, counter to their earlier stated choice. When confronted with this
171 inconsistency between their stated preference (apple slices) and their revealed preference
172 (chocolate chip cookies), children mentioned various reasons such as *having already had*
173 *fruits as an afternoon snack* or that they *felt like having a cookie* at that particular moment.
174 Regarding brand, children opted largely for the McDonald's version of the respective product.

175 The focus group discussions also served as a means to gain insights into children's
176 willingness to pay for the different snack products. We did not provide any prices to anchor
177 the children, but instead asked them to note on a piece of paper how much they would be
178 willing to pay for the respective products. Prices ranged considerably. However, of those
179 children interested in buying a product, most were willing to pay between \$0.50 and \$2.00 for
180 each of the six products.

181 Finally, one of the aims of the group discussion was to check whether our manipulated
182 pictures of the products would lead to any disappointment or change in their preference
183 ranking, once children saw the real products. This, however, proved not to be the case. In
184 summary, the focus group discussion confirmed the appropriateness of the quantitative study
185 and our chosen stimuli.

186 *Statistical analysis*

187 Discrete choice experiments (DCE) have become an established tool for obtaining
188 insights into consumer preferences and are nowadays also extensively applied in

189 environmental, medical and political research. So far, however, this method has rarely been
 190 employed in studies involving children (Cash et al., 2013). The method of DCE is based on
 191 Lancaster's (1966) new demand theory, which assumes that consumers derive utility from the
 192 underlying characteristics of a product or a service, and on the Random Utility Theory (RUT)
 193 introduced by Thurstone in 1927 and extended by McFadden (1973).

194 In this study, children's preferences for different snack products are analyzed based on
 195 a series of snack purchase choices, each with different choice pair combinations and an opt-
 196 out alternative. The modeling approach decomposes latent, unobservable utility (U_{itj})
 197 associated with each child i for alternative j in the choice task t into a deterministic (X_{itj}) and
 198 a stochastic portion (ε_{itj}):

$$199 \quad U_{itj} = \beta_i X_{itj} + \varepsilon_{itj} \quad (1)$$

200 where X_{itj} is a vector of observed variables, β_i is a vector of individual-specific parameters
 201 reflecting the degree of the attributes preference, and ε_{itj} is the independent and identically
 202 distributed error term representing the unexplainable component. In line with the RUT, it is
 203 assumed that each child maximizes her or his utility by selecting the snack product in each
 204 choice set that provides her/him with the greatest utility.

205 We estimated four different choice models. DCE data were first analyzed using the
 206 aggregate-level logit model over the whole sample, as a part-worth main effect model.
 207 Calculated part-worth utilities reveal information on the values the children assigned to each
 208 attribute level and thus provide a general picture of children's snack preference. However, in
 209 aggregate-level logit models error terms are under the assumption that the unobserved
 210 stochastic portions are distributed according to a Type I extreme value distribution. Thus, the
 211 coefficients of variables that enter the model are identical for all participants in the study,
 212 implying that children with the same observed characteristics have the same values for each
 213 factor of the model. Furthermore, for aggregate-level logit models the 'independence from

214 irrelevant alternatives' (IIA) assumption holds implying in our study that the odds of choosing
215 snack 1 over snack 2 should not depend on whether some other snack 3 is present or absent
216 (Train, 2009).

217 To test the stability of our results, a second model (Model 2), the Mixed Logit Model,
218 was applied to overcome the aforementioned limitations. Partworth utility values were
219 estimated taking into account the heterogeneity of children regarding their preferences for
220 snacks (Train, 2009). Models 3 (a-c) and 4 are again aggregate level logit models with the
221 former differentiating children according to who does or does not receive an allowance
222 (Model 3a and Model 3b) and the latter including covariates such as liking of McDonald's
223 and liking the products under investigation (Model 4). Due to the small sample size, we have
224 set the significance level for reporting at $p < 0.1$.

225 **Results**

226 A total of 116 children took part in the quantitative survey. Of these, only 101 respondents
227 (87.1%) met all criteria for being included in subsequent data analysis. These criteria were (a)
228 there were no missing data across all 10 trials of the choice task, and (b) the child chose a
229 product (as opposed to a "neither") response on at least one trial. Participating children were
230 on average 9.3 years old ($SD = 0.92$) and girls were overrepresented in the final sample
231 (56.4% girls, 38.6% boys and 5.0% missing values).

232 The majority of children (58.4%) stated that they enjoy going to McDonald's. Most
233 children said that they like or even "like a lot" those products we selected for the choice
234 experiment (top 2 boxes on a five point Likert scale: 83.2% chocolate chip cookies; 79.2%
235 sliced apples; 55.5% strawberry tube yogurt). The majority of children (62.4%) receive al-
236 lowance from their parents and 25.7% of kids obtain it on a regular basis. Moreover, only
237 3.0% of the children indicated that they have no experience in buying food, 15.8% only spend
238 their money if an adult is present, and 41.6% state that they ask for permission before
239 spending their allowance (but are not required to have an adult present), while 30.7% of the

240 interviewed children can allocate their spending money on their own. See Table 2 for a
241 summary description of the participant sample.

242

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243 **Table 2.** Sample structure and descriptive information

<i>Number of respondents</i>	101	
	Freq.	(%)
<i>Gender</i>		
Male	39	38.6
Female	57	56.4
Missing	5	5.0
<i>Age</i>		
8 years	20	19.8
9 years	43	42.6
10 years	26	25.7
11 years	12	11.9
<i>Get Allowance</i>		
No	35	34.7
Yes	63	62.4
Missing	3	3.0
<i>What is true regarding purchase decision</i>		
No experience in buying food	3	3.0
Purchase only if adult present	16	15.8
Ask for permission but purchase alone	42	41.6
Decide on my own what I purchase	31	30.7
Missing answer	9	8.9
<i>Like to go to McDonald's</i>		
Yes	59	58.4
No	40	39.6
Don't know	2	2.0
<i>Like the following food items</i> <i>(Chose "like it" or "like it a lot" from 5 point</i> <i>Emoticon scale of like it a lot to don't like it at all)</i>		
244 Chocolate Chip Cookies	84	83.2
245 Apple Slices	80	79.2
245 Strawberry Yogurt	56	55.5

246 The empirical models estimated in this study are based on the choice experiment
247 structure depicted in Table 1. According to the results for the aggregate-level logit model
248 (model 1), only product type and brand were significant (see Table 3). The positive sign for
249 chocolate chip cookies (0.65; $p < 0.000$) shows that children preferred this snack product
250 compared to apple slices and strawberry tube yogurt (-0.23; $p = 0.02$ and -0.42; $p = 0.01$,
251 respectively). The coefficient of McDonald's is negative, implying that, for the specific

252 products in our choice set, children are more likely to choose the generic brand compared to
 253 McDonald's. Price shows the expected negative sign but is not significant (-0.12; $p = 0.10$).

254 **Table 3. Aggregate-level logit and mixed logit model**

	Model 1 Aggregate-level logit model			Model 2 Mixed logit model			
N	101			101			
RLH	0.365			0.597			
	Utilities	SE	p-value	Average Importance	SD	Average Utilities	SD
Product type				56.60	19.98		
Cookies	0.65	0.08	0.00			65.79	81.35
Apple slices	-0.23	0.09	0.02			-20.63	48.44
Strawberry yogurt	-0.42	0.11	0.01			-45.16	53.89
Brand				22.77	14.33		
McDonald's	-0.15	0.08	0.06			-19.11	35.66
Generic	0.15	0.08	0.06			19.11	35.66
Price	-0.12	0.09	0.10	20.63	15.70	-11.40	37.28
None	0.15	0.07	0.04			12.87	156.92

255
 256 The mixed logit analysis⁶ (Model 2; Table 3) that considers heterogeneity in
 257 preferences for primary school students' snack choice confirms the findings of the aggregate
 258 logit model: the product type has, on average, the highest relative importance (attribute
 259 importance: 56.60%), followed by the brand (attribute importance: 22.77%) with the price
 260 being of least importance (attribute importance: 20.63%). Children showed by far the highest
 261 preference for cookies while strawberry tube yogurt was the least preferred product type. As
 262 already indicated by the results of the aggregate logit model, children were not in favor of
 263 McDonald's labeled products.

264 Estimating a linear main effects aggregate level logit model for the whole sample
 265 (Model 3a; Table 4) confirms the previous results of the respective part-worth model (Model
 266 1). Segmenting the sample into two groups, one with children who receive allowance (Model

⁶ In model 2, for comparability part-worth utilities are reported as rescaled normalized zero-centered measure.

267 3b) and the other consisting of children who do not (Model 3c), reveals that in this case price
 268 does predict choice (children with an allowance: -0.09; $p = 0.099$; children without an
 269 allowance: (0.18; $p = 0.02$). However, while the coefficient for price is as expected negative
 270 in the case of children that receive an allowance, it is positive for the other group – suggesting
 271 that children who do not receive allowance do not fully understand the implication that a
 272 higher price has for a budget constraint and may instead interpret price as a signal of quality.

273 **Table 4. Aggregate Level Logit Models (whole sample, getting allowance, not getting**
 274 **allowance) (Models 3a to 3c)^a**

	Model 3a Total sample N = 101			Model 3b Getting allowance N = 63			Model 3c Not getting allowance N = 35		
Log likelihood for the initial model	-1928.64			-1203.01			-668.34		
Log likelihood for the restricted model	-1803.19			-1128.03			-620.08		
Pseudo R2	0.07			0.06			0.07		
LR test	250.9			149.96			96.52		
	Coef.	SE	p-Value	Coef.	SE	p-Value	Coef.	SE	p-Value
Constant	-0.73	0.07	0.00	-0.72	0.08	0.00	-0.81	0.11	0.00
Product	-0.65	0.05	0.00	-0.58	0.06	0.00	-0.72	0.09	0.00
Brand	0.77	0.06	0.00	0.82	0.08	0.00	0.73	0.11	0.00
Price	0.02	0.05	0.72	-0.09	0.06	0.10 ^b	0.18	0.08	0.02

275 ^aCoding of attribute levels lower to higher according to Table 1; b) $p = 0.099$.

276 Finally, the aggregate level logit model for the whole sample (Model 3a) is extended
 277 by including children's stated preference for the brand McDonald's and for the different
 278 products; linking stated preferences for the brand to the attribute brand, and for the specific
 279 product (e.g., liking of chocolate chip cookies) to the attribute level of the product (e.g.,
 280 chocolate chip cookies); and considering whether children obtain allowance and linking this
 281 variable with the price attribute. Thus, this model allows for a better understanding of the
 282 drivers for children's product choice.

283 **Table 5. Aggregate Level Logit Models with covariates and interaction (Model 4) ^a**

	Model 4 N = 101		
Log likelihood for the initial model	-1814.07		
Log likelihood for the restricted model	-1644.73		
Pseudo R2	0.09		
LR test	338.66		
	Coef.	SE	p-Value
Constant	-0.16	0.37	0.66
Product	-0.68	0.16	0.00
Like Choc. Chip Cookie (1 = Yes (Top 2 Boxes))	-0.15	0.05	0.00
Like Apple Slices (1 = Yes (Top 2 Boxes))	-0.07	0.05	0.16
Like Strawberry Tube Yogurt (1 = Yes (Top 2 Boxes))	-0.05	0.03	0.14
Product Choc. Chip Cookie * Like Choc. Chip Cookie	0.48	0.07	0.00
Product Apple Slices * Like Apple Slices	0.37	0.06	0.00
Product Strawberry Tube Yogurt * Like Strawberry Tube Yogurt	0.41	0.09	0.00
Brand (0 = McDonald's)	0.50	0.19	0.01
Like to go to McDonald's (1 = Yes)	0.24	0.12	0.05
Brand * Like to go to McDonald's	-0.24	0.09	0.01
Price	-0.25	0.10	0.00
Get allowance (1 = Yes)	0.16	0.13	0.22
Price * Get allowance	-0.13	0.08	0.09

284 ^aCoding of attribute levels lower to higher according to Table 1

285 The results illustrated in Table 5 reveal that controlling for (dis)liking of products and
286 brands leads to significant main effects for all three attributes with the one for product being
287 negative (product: -0.68; $p < 0.001$), confirming that chocolate chip cookies is liked most
288 compared to apple slices and strawberry tube yogurt. Brand reveals a significant positive sign
289 (brand: 0.50; $p = 0.01$), indicating a preference of children in our sample for the generic
290 branded product. The variable price is significant and negative (price: -0.25; $p < 0.001$). In
291 addition, interaction effects of product with liking (Product Choc. Chip Cookie * Like Choc.
292 Chip Cookie: 0.48; $p < 0.001$; Product Apple Slices * Like Apple Slices: 0.37; $p < 0.001$;
293 Product Strawberry Tube Yogurt * Like Strawberry Tube Yogurt: 0.41; $p < 0.001$), brand

294 with liking to go to McDonald's (-0.24; $p = 0.01$) as well as price and getting an allowance (-
295 0.13; $p = 0.09$) are significant. The latter implies that those children obtaining allowances are
296 more price-sensitive than children who do not receive an allowance. The former indicates
297 that, for example, children who stated that they liked a specific product (e.g., chocolate chip
298 cookies), or liked McDonald's have a higher probability of choosing that specific product or
299 brand if a choice set with that product or brand being presented.

300 **Discussion and conclusions**

301 The results of our experiment and survey demonstrate that children's purchase deci-
302 sions are primarily determined by product type, with most children in this sample showing a
303 high and significant preference for chocolate chip cookies. In addition, our findings reveal
304 that liking is of considerable importance for the product type children choose, an outcome that
305 is in line with previous studies. Brug et al. (2008), De Bourdeaudhuij et al. (2008) and
306 Rasmussen et al. (2006) found a positive association between liking and consumption of fruits
307 and vegetables. McKinley et al. (2005) also stress the relevance of taste and product liking for
308 children's product choice. Those researchers showed in their qualitative study that children
309 seem to be especially "reluctant to 'risk' spending their money on something that was not
310 guaranteed to taste good" (McKinley et al., 2005, p. 547).

311 Our results show that the generic product variants are preferred over the McDonald's
312 products across the whole sample. This is true despite 100% awareness of the McDonald's
313 brand among the children. One interpretation of this result could be that children, though they
314 are aware of and like McDonald's, do not care for the products we selected from that brand.
315 However, for our sample we can show that about 40% of the children do not like to go to
316 McDonald's (i.e., a general tendency to avoid McDonald's is seen in these children,

317 irrespective of the products offered in this study).⁷ These findings indicate that, in terms of
318 children's purchase decisions, awareness of a brand is not sufficient to motivate purchase. The
319 brand and the respective product need to be attractive and liked by children in order to
320 motivate them to buy the branded product. In fact, children have a preference for an unknown
321 generic brand compared to a well-known one such as McDonald's if they dislike McDonald's.
322 However, children liking McDonald's is positively associated with their choice of products
323 from this brand.

324 The role of price in children's food purchase decisions reveals a rather heterogeneous
325 picture. Price proves to be non-significant in all models not controlling for whether or not
326 children obtain an allowance. Splitting the sample into children that receive an allowance and
327 those who do not reveals that both groups are price sensitive but only the former group as
328 expected. Children who receive an allowance have, as expected, a negative price reaction –
329 implying that higher prices would lead to lower consumption. In contrast, children who do not
330 receive an allowance seem to react counter to standard expectation in that higher prices
331 induce higher consumption. One possible explanation for this disparity is that for those
332 children with the least experience, price may function primarily as an indicator of quality
333 rather than information about affordability. These results indicate that the extent of children's
334 experience with money influences their price responsiveness. In fact, previous studies indicate
335 that allowances can play an important role in developing budgeting skills with children that
336 receive an allowance being more capable in dealing with money (Abramovitch et al., 1991).

337 The findings of this study should be interpreted with attention to a few limitations.
338 First, our analysis is limited to only one well-known brand, a rather small price range and a
339 specific budget the children can use. For a better understanding of the relevance of brand and

⁷ We asked the children without any reference to a product: Do you like to go to McDonald's? The high share of 40% responding "no" is likely not representative for all US children ages 8 to 11 and may be an anomaly in the location where the study was conducted.

340 price in children's purchase decisions around snack foods, additional research is needed. It is
341 recommended that future studies should vary the budget available to the children and the
342 prices of the products. In addition, future work should consider other products and brands.
343 Second, all children saw the identical laminated pictures in the same order. Given the
344 relatively small sample size, we followed Bliemer and Rose's (2005) approach and generated
345 a single version efficient design for an unlabeled choice experiment. Because the experiment
346 was carried out as paper and pencil exercise with special attention paid to presenting the
347 choice tasks in a format accessible to children, randomization was considered impracticable.
348 A third limitation is that we relied on a convenience sample from after-school programs in
349 one region only. Hence, the results obtained in this study most likely are not representative of
350 all American children ages 8 to 11.

351 Several of our findings have relevance for health-oriented policy interventions. First, it
352 is not simple brand awareness but a child's liking of the brand that determines whether a
353 brand is successful in motivating a child to choose a product and potentially a healthier
354 option, suggesting that attempts to promote healthier foods through branding can backfire for
355 a portion of children. Second, the extent of children's experience with money influences their
356 price responsiveness. In this respect, price seems to play an essential role among children
357 though in a different way for those who receive an allowance than for those who do not. To
358 the extent that the former are primarily the ones buying food snacks, higher prices for EDNP
359 snacks could be successful in motivating children to choose the healthier option. The role of
360 autonomous food purchasing decision in out-of-school settings remains an important – and
361 understudied – area of influencing children's dietary health.

362

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368

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