

RUNNING HEAD: Mortality Salience and Consumption Behavior

What would you have as a last supper? Thoughts about death influence evaluation and  
consumption of food products

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### Abstract

Terror Management Theory posits that after thinking about their own death people take sides with and defend their culture. We tested the hypothesis that mortality salience leads to an increased preference for products from the own culture compared to products from a foreign culture in terms of evaluation and consumption. In a product test, participants sampled local and foreign soft drinks (Study 1) or local and foreign chocolates (Study 2). As expected, relative to a foreign product, mortality salience led to more positive appraisals of the local products compared to a control condition. Furthermore, mortality salience brought about more consumption of the local compared to the foreign products. In addition, in Study 2 an implicit reaction time measure predicted total chocolate consumption as expected for participants who had dealt with death thoughts, but not for participants who had thought about a control topic.

Keywords: terror management theory, consumer behavior, death, mortality, product evaluation, consumption, predictive validity, implicit measures, self-regulatory resources, self-control

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What would you have as a last supper? Thoughts about death influence evaluation and consumption of food products

When someone asks us how much we like a certain product, we taste it and simply report what our senses tell us. Right? Taste, hunger, and thirst determine how much we eat and drink. Right? If there is one thing we can be sure about, it is that death has nothing to do with it, neither evaluation nor consumption. – Can we really?

Terror Management Theory (TMT, e.g., Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991) states that awareness of one's mortality is aversive and poses a serious threat to individuals. The own culture provides a psychological buffer against this threat and compliance with it enhances self-esteem and feelings of security. TMT proposes that individuals whose mortality is salient to them devalue persons who threaten their cultural values and appreciate persons who live up to these values (e.g., Greenberg et al., 1990). For example, mortality salience led judges to suggest a higher punishment for a prostitute who violated their cultural worldview compared to judges in a control group (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989).

Several studies investigated implications of TMT associated with behavior toward companies and consumer products. In one study, participants saw film material of fatal car crashes. In line with TMT, U.S. American participants who were reminded of their mortality blamed the car manufacturer more for the crash if the manufacturer was Japanese compared to American (Nelson, Moore, Olivetti, & Scott, 1997). In a study by Mandel and Heine (1999) participants evaluated advertisements of various high-status (e.g. a Lexus car) and low-status (e.g., potato chips) products. Compared to a control task, mortality salience led participants to rate the ads for the luxury goods

more attractive. No difference emerged for the low-status products. Thus, products that convey high status and boost the owner's self-esteem receive particularly positive evaluations under MS. Finally, Jonas, Fritzsche, and Greenberg (2005) asked several questions referring to diverse cultural items (cars, cuisine, preferred European capital etc.). They combined these diverse items into a compound score and found their German participants in the mortality salience condition to prefer German alternatives to foreign alternatives significantly stronger than control participants. Because at least a few of the items used by Jonas and colleagues referred to consumer products, this study provides preliminary evidence for the notion that mortality salience may accentuate a preference for consumer products from the own relative to a foreign culture.

The present research tested this assumption directly. In addition, we extended past research on TMT by assuming that cultural defense might not only be expressed in terms of self-reported evaluation, but also in terms of increased actual *consumption* of a local product relative to a foreign product. In two studies, participants were assigned to either a mortality salience or a control condition. Later on, they engaged in a product test in which they rated and tasted two products, a local and a foreign product. Based on TMT we pursued two hypotheses:

H1: Relative to the foreign products, participants in the mortality salience condition *evaluate* the local products better than participants in a control condition.

H2: Relative to the foreign products, participants in the mortality salience condition *consume* more of the local products than participants in a control condition.

### Study 1

Both studies were carried out in Switzerland. In Study 1, participants tested a Swiss soft drink (Rivella) and an American soft drink (Dr. Pepper). Rivella is a whey-

based soft drink that is only available in Switzerland. It is recognized to be typically Swiss.

### *Method*

Sixty-nine (55 female) Swiss participants were invited to a study on personality and taste perception. They were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, mortality salience or dental pain. Age ranged from 20 to 42 years ( $M = 23.03$ ,  $SD = 4.13$ ).

First, participants filled in a couple of personality questionnaires, including the experimental manipulation and a German version of the PANAS mood scale (Krohne, Egloff, Kohlmann, & Tausch, 1996). The manipulation was introduced as a new projective personality assessment. In the mortality salience condition, participants answered two open-ended questions related to death (“Please briefly describe the emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you.”; “Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to *you* as you physically die and once you are physically dead.”; e.g., Greenberg et al., 1990). Participants in the control condition answered the same questions with regard to dental pain.

Next, participants engaged in a filler task unrelated to present purposes that served to put some time between the experimental manipulation and the dependent variables, because research has shown that subtle defense reactions only occur after a delay (e.g., Greenberg, Arndt, Simon, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 2000). Finally, participants were asked to sample as much as they liked of two soft drinks, a Swiss (Rivella) and an American (Dr. Pepper) brand.<sup>1</sup> During the 8-minute product test participants answered a number of questions related to several attributes of the soft drinks (e.g., color, foam formation, packaging etc.). Embedded in this questionnaire was a question representing our first dependent variable, product evaluation of both Rivella

and Dr. Pepper (on a 20-point rating scale ranging from “very bad” to “perfect”). After the session, the experimenter measured how much each participant had drunken from each soft drink.

### *Results and Discussion*

The essays that were written by participants as part of the experimental manipulation were screened to make sure that participants in the mortality salience condition had written about their death and participants in the control condition had not written about death.

Conditions neither differed with regard to positive nor negative mood (positive mood ( $\alpha = .85$ ):  $M_{MS} = 3.03$ ,  $SD = .66$  vs.  $M_{DP} = 2.95$ ,  $SD = .61$ ,  $t(66) = .52$ ,  $p = .604$ ; negative mood ( $\alpha = .74$ ):  $M_{MS} = 1.27$ ,  $SD = .29$  vs.  $M_{DP} = 1.35$ ,  $SD = .39$ ,  $t(66) = -1.04$ ,  $p = .303$ ).<sup>2</sup> Thus, mood cannot account for any differences on our dependent variables.

We expected participants in the mortality salience condition to show a stronger preference for the Swiss soft drink relative to the American soft drink than participants in the control condition. To test this hypothesis we ran a 2 (condition: mortality salience vs. dental pain)  $\times$  2 (Evaluation: Swiss soft drink vs. American soft drink) mixed ANOVA with repeated measures on the second factor (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics). Overall, participants evaluated the Swiss soft drink much better than the American soft drink,  $F(1, 67) = 116.84$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .636$ . However, as expected this effect was pronounced more strongly in the mortality salience condition, as was reflected in a marginally significant interaction between condition and type of soft drink,  $F(1, 67) = 3.82$ ,  $p = .055$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .054$  (see Figure 1). The main effect of condition was non-significant,  $F(1, 67) = 2.39$ ,  $p = .127$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .034$ .

Similarly, we expected participants in the mortality salience condition to consume more of the Swiss relative to the American soft drink compared to participants in the control condition. Again, we ran a 2 (condition: mortality salience vs. dental pain)  $\times$  2 (Consumption: Swiss soft drink vs. American soft drink) mixed ANOVA with repeated measures on the second factor. Participants consumed significantly more of the Swiss soft drink than of the American soft drink,  $F(1, 67) = 34.18, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .338$ . The main effect of condition was non-significant,  $F(1, 67) = 1.22, p = .274, \eta_p^2 = .018$ , suggesting that overall both experimental conditions consumed equal amounts. However, in line with the second hypothesis the interaction between the experimental condition and type of soft drink was significant,  $F(1, 67) = 5.18, p = .026, \eta_p^2 = .072$  (see Figure 1). Participants consumed more of the Swiss relative to the American soft drink when they had thought about their own death compared to participants in the control condition.

## Study 2

In Study 2 we aimed at replicating the results from Study 1 with different products, a different behavior (eating) and with a different cultural contrast. In particular, participants sampled two kinds of chocolate, one coming from Switzerland and the other one from Germany. Note that the production of the worldwide famous chocolate is viewed as a distinctly Swiss field of expertise in Switzerland. We expected participants in the mortality salience condition to evaluate the local chocolate (relative to the foreign chocolate) better and also to consume more of the local chocolate (relative to the foreign chocolate) than participants in the control condition.

In addition to the hypotheses regarding the differential evaluation and consumption of the chocolates as a consequence of mortality salience, we pursued a

supplementary third hypothesis. With this hypothesis we aimed to investigate yet another consequence of mortality salience on behavior regulation. Research on terror management theory has shown that individuals who are confronted with their own mortality initially suppress their thoughts about death or redirect their attention to other topics (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994; Harmon-Jones et al., 1997). Recently, Gailliot, Schmeichel, and Baumeister (2006) demonstrated that such controlled and effortful activities deplete the capacity to self-control. In their model of self-regulation Muraven and Baumeister (2000) propose that this capacity to self-control is a limited resource. Usage of this resource leads to a state of ego-depletion with the consequence that any further act of self-control will likely be less successful. Instead, impulsive tendencies will more strongly influence behavior. Thus, the occupation with one's death can function as a manipulation of ego-depletion (Gailliot et al., 2006). In fact, activities individuals commonly engage in after a manipulation of mortality salience – thought suppression and redirection of thought (Greenberg et al., 1994; Harmon-Jones et al., 1997) – are among the standard experimental manipulations to deplete self-regulatory resources (e.g., Muraven, Tice, & Baumeister, 1998).

Consistent with the self-regulation model (Muraven & Baumeister, 2000), contemporary dual-process models in social psychology such as the MODE model (Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999) or the reflective-impulsive model (Strack & Deutsch, 2004) assume that impulsive processes are more important in guiding behavior when control resources are scarce compared to conditions of full resources. According to these models implicit reaction time measures (e.g., Fazio & Olson, 2003) tap into the associative structures underlying such rather uncontrolled, impulsive behavior. In line with this reasoning, in a recent study an implicit measure relating to candy predicted



consumption of this candy in a later product test. However, as predicted by dual-process models this predictive validity emerged only for participants who had expended self-regulatory resources in a preceding emotion suppression task, but not for participants with full resources (Hofmann, Rauch, & Gawronski, 2007). Based on these considerations we expected an implicit measure relating to chocolate to predict total chocolate consumption for participants in the mortality salience condition, but less so in the control condition. Note that in analogy to Hofmann et al. (2007) this hypothesis refers to total chocolate consumption and does not involve different origins of the chocolates.

### *Method*

Forty-nine (39 female) participants were invited to a study on personality and taste perception. They were randomly assigned to one of two conditions, mortality salience or dental pain. Age ranged from 17 to 34 years ( $M = 21.71$ ,  $SD = 3.29$ ).

The procedure followed that of Study 1 with the following exceptions: After the personality questionnaires and before the filler task participants completed a Single Category Implicit Association Test (Karpinski & Steinman, 2006) to their measure spontaneous reaction toward chocolate. In the first (second) critical block, “pleasant” (“unpleasant”) words and pictures shared a response key with pictures of chocolate (no specific brand was perceptible). Since we were interested in individual differences, order of blocks was held constant for all participants (e.g., Egloff & Schmukle, 2002; Gawronski, 2002). Each combined block contained 70 trials in a predetermined random order. For each category, the number of stimuli per block was determined such that the proportion of left and right key responses was 3:4 in the first combined block and 4:3 in the second combined block. SC-IAT scores were calculated using the D-algorithm

(Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003) such that more positive values indicate a more positive reaction toward chocolate ( $\alpha = .72$ ).<sup>3</sup> Participants sampled two bars of milk chocolate, a Swiss (Lindt) and a German (Milka) brand.<sup>1</sup> Two items for the product evaluation were embedded in the product test: “I find the product Lindt (Milka)...” on 5-point rating scales ranging from “negative” to “positive” and “Concluding evaluation: Altogether I like the product “Lindt” (“Milka”)...” on 5-point rating scales ranging from “not at all” to “very much”,  $\alpha = .73$  (.74) for Lindt (Milka). After the session, the experimenter measured how much each participant had eaten from each chocolate.

### *Results and Discussion*

For H1 and H2, we excluded all participants who indicated non-Swiss nationality, because these hypotheses only hold for individuals who could protect their Swiss culture in the product test.

Again, the essays that were written by participants as part of the experimental manipulation were screened to make sure that participants in the mortality salience condition had written about their death and participants in the control condition had not written about death.

Conditions neither differed with regard to positive nor negative mood (positive mood ( $\alpha = .89$ ):  $M_{MS} = 3.16$ ,  $SD = .73$  vs.  $M_{DP} = 3.23$ ,  $SD = .70$ ,  $t(40) = -.34$ ,  $p = .740$ ; negative mood ( $\alpha = .81$ ):  $M_{MS} = 1.54$ ,  $SD = .54$  vs.  $M_{DP} = 1.36$ ,  $SD = .40$ ,  $t(40) = 1.20$ ,  $p = .238$ ). Thus, mood cannot account for any differences on our dependent variables.

We expected participants in the mortality salience condition to show a stronger preference for the Swiss chocolate relative to the German chocolate than participants in the control condition. To test this hypothesis we ran a 2 (condition: mortality salience vs. dental pain)  $\times$  2 (Evaluation: Swiss chocolate vs. German chocolate) mixed ANOVA

with repeated measures on the second factor (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics).

Participants evaluated the Swiss chocolate much better than the German chocolate,  $F(1, 40) = 42.31, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .514$ . As expected this effect was more strongly pronounced in the mortality salience condition, as was reflected in a significant interaction between condition and type of chocolate,  $F(1, 40) = 6.98, p = .012, \eta_p^2 = .149$  (see Figure 2). The main effect of condition was non-significant,  $F(1, 40) < 1, p = .782, \eta_p^2 = .002$ .

Similarly, we expected participants in the mortality salience condition to consume more Swiss relative to German chocolate compared to participants in the control condition. Again, we ran a 2 (condition: mortality salience vs. dental pain)  $\times$  2 (Consumption: Swiss chocolate vs. German chocolate) mixed ANOVA with repeated measures on the second factor. Neither the main effect for type of chocolate,  $F(1, 40) = 1.33, p = .256, \eta_p^2 = .032$ , nor the main effect of condition,  $F(1, 40) < 1, p = .700, \eta_p^2 = .004$ , was significant, suggesting that overall neither chocolate was preferred over the other in terms of consumption and that the total amount of chocolate consumed was equal in both conditions. However, in line with the second hypothesis the interaction between the experimental condition and type of chocolate was significant,  $F(1, 40) = 5.37, p = .026, \eta_p^2 = .118$  (see Figure 2). Participants consumed more Swiss relative to German chocolate when they had thought about their own death compared to participants in the control condition. These results replicate the findings from Study 1. Participants who had thought about their death showed accentuated preferences for the local chocolate in terms of evaluation and consumption compared to participants in a control condition.

Next, we tested the supplementary third hypothesis that was based on the model of self-regulation and dual process theories. One participant committed 20% errors in

the SC-IAT and was dropped from these analyses. The experimental manipulation did not affect performance on the SC-IAT as there was no difference in mean effects ( $M_{MS} = .39$ ,  $SD = .50$  vs.  $M_{DP} = .43$ ,  $SD = .33$ ,  $t(46) = -.34$ ,  $p = .736$ ) or errors ( $M_{MS} = 6.43\%$ ,  $SD = 3.28$  vs.  $M_{DP} = 6.14\%$ ,  $SD = 3.27$ ,  $t(46) = .31$ ,  $p = .760$ ). As expected, the zero-order correlation between the SC-IAT and total chocolate consumption (independent of the brand) was significant in the mortality salience condition ( $r = .47$ ,  $p = .015$ ), but non-significant in the control condition ( $r = -.20$ ,  $p = .364$ ). To test the hypothesis that mortality salience moderates the predictive validity of the implicit measure more adequately, we regressed the z-standardized overall consumption of chocolate on the experimental condition (0 = mortality salience condition, 1 = control condition), the z-standardized SC-IAT effect and their two-way interaction. The main effect of condition was not significant,  $\beta = .04$ ,  $t(44) = .13$ ,  $p = .898$ , indicating similar overall amount of consumption in both conditions. Importantly, the interaction between the experimental condition and the implicit measure was significant,  $\beta = .68$ ,  $t(44) = 2.17$ ,  $p = .036$ . Simple slope tests (Aiken & West, 1991) revealed that as expected the implicit measure was a significant predictor in the mortality salience condition,  $\beta = .44$ ,  $t(44) = 2.71$ ,  $p = .009$ , but not in the control condition,  $\beta = -.24$ ,  $t(44) = -.88$ ,  $p = .382$ . This result supports the view that the occupation with one's death demands self-regulatory resources (Gailliot et al., 2006). The SC-IAT was able to predict chocolate consumption for participants with scarce, but not with full resources.

### *General Discussion*

The present research tested the hypothesis that thinking about one's own death can influence the evaluation and consumption of consumer products. Past research found preliminary evidence for the assumption that people might accentuate their

preferences for products of the own culture after being reminded of their mortality (Jonas et al., 2005). In contrast to previous research, in the present studies participants did not answer abstract, general questions. They actually sampled the products and directly experienced their taste, appearance, and other sensual qualities. As expected, compared to participants in a control condition, participants who had thought about their own death showed a stronger preference for tasted products from their culture relative to a foreign product. This preference carried over to consumption behavior. Relative to a foreign product, mortality salience led to more consumption of a local product. From the perspective of TMT participants defended their culture through these amplified preferences in terms of evaluation and consumption.

We found support for our hypotheses using two different sets of products (soft drinks and chocolate), two different consumption behaviors (drinking and eating) and with two different cultural contrasts to the local Swiss culture (the U.S. and Germany). In both studies it was obvious to all participants that we were interested in a comparison of the two offered products. However, post-experimental interviews provided no evidence that participants were aware of the hypotheses regarding the experimental manipulation. This suggests that the effect of thinking about one's death on the evaluation and consumption of the products does not necessarily depend on conscious deliberation.

Research had shown that inducing mortality salience by viewing severe car crashes on TV can lead to higher attributions of blame for the crash on foreign compared to national car manufacturers (Nelson et al., 1997). The present studies go beyond extant research by demonstrating the effects of mortality salience on evaluation and consumption of everyday comestible goods. These finding may have important

implications for consumer behavior. Just remember your last cozy evening in front of the TV. It is hardly possible to hop between channels for a quarter of an hour without witnessing some character on TV getting shot, dying because of an illness, or in an accident, not to talk about actual crimes reported in the news. Reminders of death are almost omnipresent on TV. A similar argument can be made with regard to the reminders of death on cigarette packets required by an increasing number of countries (e.g., pictures of tobacco-damaged organs or slogans like “Smoking kills!”). The present research suggests that these reminders can influence consumer behavior with regard to products individuals consume after being reminded about death. Future studies should address the question if thoughts about death also influence product choice and actual buying behavior.

It may be valuable to reconcile the results from Study 2 with research by Goldenberg, Arndt, Hart, and Brown (2005). These authors reasoned that mortality salience should foster behavior in line with the social norm to stay thin. They found female participants with a high body mass index to eat less of a high-fat product compared to control participants. Indeed, participants in our mortality salience condition in Study 2 may have experienced conflicting behavioral tendencies. On the one hand, mortality salience may have activated the tendency to take sides with the own culture (e.g., Greenberg et al., 1997) and eat more local compared with foreign chocolate. On the other hand, mortality salience may have activated the tendency to adhere to the social norm of thinness (i.e., to eat little chocolate). Interestingly, there was no difference in absolute consumption between conditions, indicating that only the relative weights of both kinds of chocolate changed between conditions. Furthermore, there are several differences between the two lines of research. First, Goldenberg et al. used only

one snack without mention of origin. Worldview defense by means of eating was impossible. Second, both sexes formed our sample while Goldenberg et al. found their effect only for women. Third, we used partition walls between participants to create privacy during the product test while in some studies Goldenberg et al. placed all participants at a round table to enhance the social norm of thinness.

In addition to the hypotheses referring to altered preferences as a consequence of mortality salience, we found mortality salience to moderate the predictive validity of an implicit reaction time measure. As expected, a SC-IAT (Karpinski & Steinman, 2006) predicted total chocolate consumption for participants who had thought about their own death, but not for control participants. This result lends support to the view that the preoccupation with death thoughts depletes self-regulatory resources (Gailliot et al., 2007) and leads to less controlled behavior. Implicit measures such as the SC-IAT are assumed to tap into the associative structures that are underlying such impulsive behavior. This pattern of moderated predictive validity is in line with prominent dual-process models (Fazio & Towles-Schwen, 1999; Strack & Deutsch, 2004) in general and with recent research on moderators of the predictive validity of implicit measures in particular (Frieze, Hofmann, & Wänke, 2007; Hofmann et al., 2007).

One may wonder if the absence of a main effect in total chocolate consumption speaks against our interpretation of more impulsive behavior following death thoughts. In most research testing the self-regulation model the success of the ego-depletion manipulation was inferred by mean differences between experimental conditions (e.g., Muraven, Collins, & Nienhaus, 2002; Vohs & Heatherton, 2000). However, in Study 2, we focused on varying predictive validities, not on mean differences. In fact, we found moderated predictive validity for implicit measures as a function of available control

resources in several studies in our laboratory despite the absence of mean differences in consumption (Frieze et al., 2007; Hofmann et al., 2007). Although we assume that scarce self-regulatory resources lead to more impulsive behavior this does not necessarily have to be reflected in different consumption between groups. While consumption may increase for those participants with positive spontaneous reactions toward the target product as indicated by the implicit measure, consumption may decrease for participants with negative spontaneous reactions. These tendencies can (but do not have) to cancel each other, leading to small and insignificant differences between groups. Thus, taking into account individual differences in the spontaneous reactions towards chocolate in Study 2 provided a more detailed and fine-grained analysis than the mere reliance on mean differences.

In sum, we would like to stress the diverse and far-reaching implications that thoughts about death have in many different domains. Our research shows that these effects extend to differential evaluation and consumption of consumer products. These findings have both applied as well as theoretical implications. From an applied perspective, being exposed to cigarette packets with a reminder of death, or watching movies or commercials with death-related content can increase preferences for national products and could influence consumer choices among different brands of cigarettes as well as consumption of other products such as snacks and drinks. From a theoretical perspective, the present findings on moderated predictive validity of an implicit reaction time measure suggest that TMT should take into account the resource depleting effects of mortality salience that may lead to more impulsively driven behavior in self-regulation situations. Closing, we would like to come back to the question posed at the



outset of this paper. What would you have as a last supper? In the end, death may have more to do with the answer than you initially thought.

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Footnotes

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<sup>1</sup> In a pretest 25 different participants correctly identified Rivella and Lindt as Swiss products. Twenty-one (23) identified Dr. Pepper (Milka) as an American (German) product. The remaining 4 (2) classified Dr. Pepper (Milka) as British (Austrian). Thus, we could be sure that the Swiss products were identified as Swiss and the foreign products as foreign.

<sup>2</sup> Changes in degrees of freedom are due to one participant failing to complete the PANAS scale.

<sup>3</sup> In order to estimate reliability, we divided each combined block into four sub-blocks and calculated the SC-IAT effect for each sub-block. The four resulting effects were used as items to estimate Cronbach's alpha.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of the evaluation and consumption of local and foreign products as a function of experimental condition

	Study 1				Study 2			
	Evaluation	Evaluation	Consumption	Consumption	Evaluation	Evaluation	Consumption	Consumption
	Swiss soft	American	Swiss soft	American	Swiss	German	Swiss	German
	drink	soft drink	drink (g)	soft drink (g)	chocolate	chocolate	chocolate (g)	chocolate (g)
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Mortality	12.69 (4.90)	3.57 (3.23)	156.37	56.77 (51.11)	4.40 (.75)	3.15 (.87)	21.37 (20.00)	14.58 (13.94)
salience			(123.50)					
Dental	12.44 (4.28)	6.12 (4.56)	111.85	68.09 (66.20)	3.97 (1.04)	3.44 (.71)	18.67 (15.83)	20.94 (14.37)
pain			(60.27)					
Total	12.57 (4.57)	4.83 (4.12)	134.43	62.35 (58.87)	4.21 (.90)	3.27 (.81)	20.21 (18.17)	17.31 (14.31)
			(99.46)					

*Note.*  $n_{MS} = 35$ ,  $n_{DP} = 34$  in Study 1;  $n_{MS} = 24$ ,  $n_{DP} = 18$  in Study 2. The scales for the evaluation of the products ranged from 1 to 20

(Study 1) and 1 to 5 (Study 2), respectively.

Figure Captions

*Figure 1.* Evaluation (top panel) and consumption (bottom panel) of soft drinks as a function of condition (mortality salience vs. control) and product origin (local vs. foreign) in Study 1.

*Figure 2.* Evaluation (top panel) and consumption (bottom panel) of chocolate as a function of condition (mortality salience vs. control) and product origin (local vs. foreign) in Study 2.



Figure 1

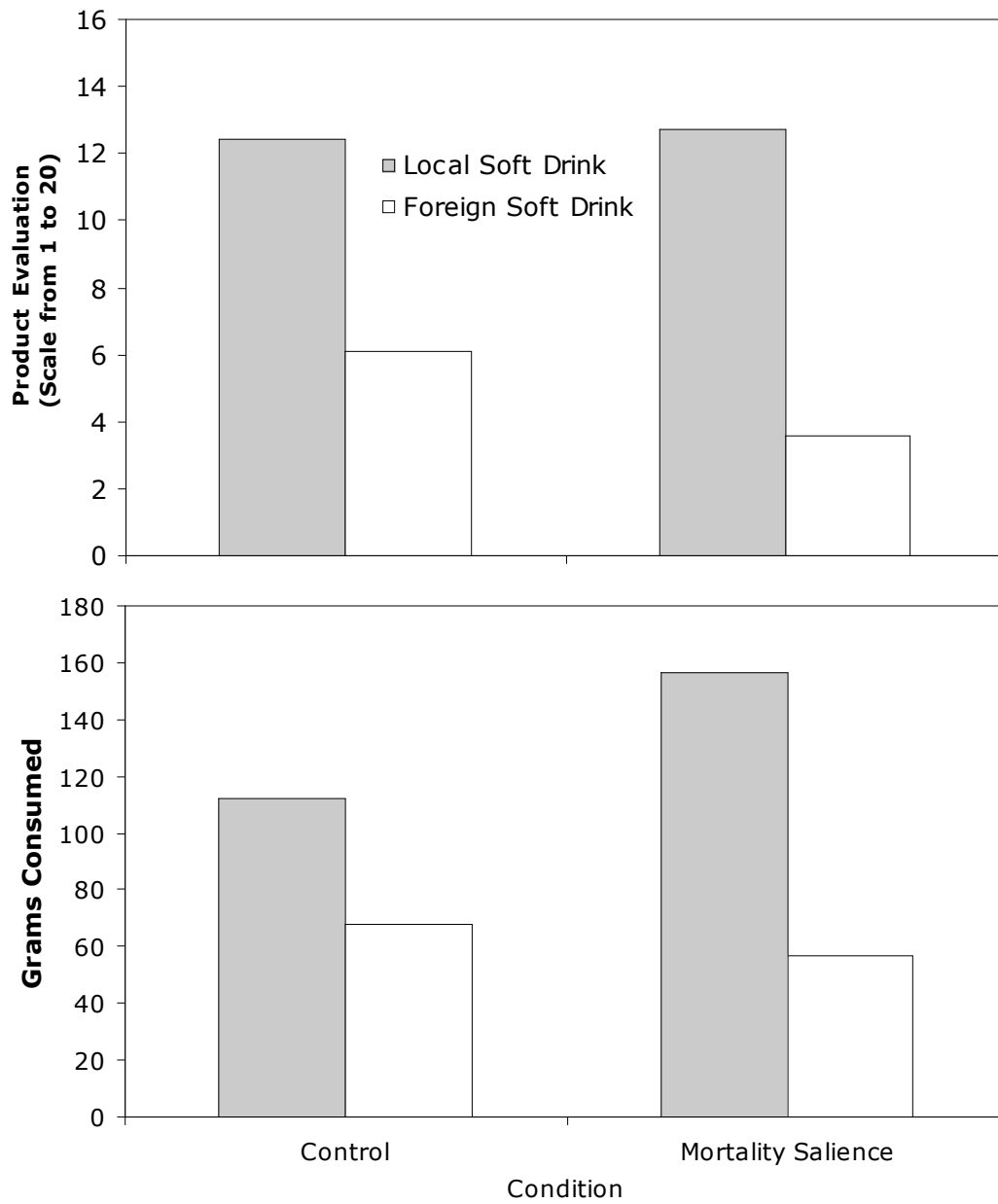


Figure 2

