Drinking Motives as Mediators of the Relationship between Cultural Orientation and Alcohol Outcomes in College Students from Seven Countries

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Abstract

Aims. Past research has examined the association of cultural orientation with drinking motives and drinking outcomes, mainly, at the country level or in participants from a single region. This study examined the indirect associations of features of cultural orientation (i.e., vertical individualism, vertical collectivism, horizontal individualism, horizontal collectivism; VI, VC, HI and HC, respectively) with alcohol outcomes (i.e., use and negative consequences) via drinking motives in college students from seven countries (n = 4093, 72.8% female). Methods. Participants completed an online survey reporting alcohol use, experienced alcohol-related problems, drinking motives and cultural orientation. Results. VI was significantly indirectly associated with drinking outcomes mainly via positive reinforcement motives. VC and HC were indirectly associated with drinking outcomes via conformity motives; although the association was negative for HC and positive for VC. Although most of the associations between variables were invariant across countries, a few differences emerged. Conclusions. Overall, our findings suggest that the vertical component of individualism and the horizontal component of collectivism might operate as risk or protective factors, respectively. The small effect sizes of some paths also suggest that other variables could be mediating the association between cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes.

Key words: college students, alcohol, cultural orientation, drinking motives

Introduction

Broadly speaking, culture refers to a set of items (including language, norms, values, beliefs and life experiences) shared by the individuals of a given social group (Johnson, 2007). Culture influences behavior by specifying how people define themselves and their relation to others (Oyserman et al., 2002). Two primary styles of cultural orientation are individualism and collectivism. Individualistic societies, groups or individuals stimulates thinking of each individual as independent from the others and promote behaviors, beliefs and attitudes aimed at pursuing goals at the individual over the group level. The collectivistic orientation, where individuals are strongly tied to each other and seen as parts of a larger unit, gives more importance to the group (i.e., community, family) over individuals (Oyserman et al., 2002). Each of these broad categories can be additionally described as vertical (i.e., members are hierarchically different from each other) or horizontal (i.e., members are similar to each other), yielding to four dimensions: horizontal individualism (HI), vertical individualism (VI), horizontal collectivism (HC) and vertical collectivism (VC) (Bobbio & Sarrica, 2009; Chiou, 2001; Singelis et al., 1995).

Cultures, societies and individuals differ in the preponderance placed to each of these cultural patterns. Previous research has described U.S. (Foster et al., 2014; Oyserman et al., 2002; Schreier et al., 2010), U.K. or Canada (Mackinnon et al., 2017; Schreier et al., 2010) as individualistic countries while Argentina (Khosrowjerdi et al., 2020), Uruguay (Khosrowjerdi et al., 2020) and Spain (Mackinnon et al., 2017) are generally described as collectivistic countries. However, patterns of cultural orientation are not crystalized and uniformly applied to all situations and contexts and individual differences are expected (Ford & Mauss, 2015; Oyserman et al., 2002; Singelis et al., 1995). Moreover, even when a cultural orientation may be prevalent at a given time or situation, the same country, society, group or

individual might exhibit other cultural orientation at a later time or when faced with a different situation (Gouveia et al., 2003).

Cultural orientation and alcohol use

Different studies have examined, at the individual level, the associations between patterns of cultural orientation and behaviors than entail risk for personal health, including substance use. Overall, results have suggested that higher individualism is associated with greater substance use while collectivism has, depending on the study, either non-significant or protective effects. For instance, higher individualism was associated with more drinking days and number of drinks per week but not with alcohol-related problems in a sample of U.S. college students (Foster et al., 2014). In a sample of Russian adolescents, higher individualism was associated with greater substance use and higher risky sexual behavior whereas collectivism was negatively associated with risky sexual behavior (Pokhrel et al., 2018). Studies conducted in China indicated that higher individualism and lower collectivism were associated, via hopelessness, with greater substance use in a sample of young adults (Du et al., 2014); while individualism was positively associated with lifetime use of nonmedical use of prescription drugs in a sample of college students (Tam et al., 2018). Another study with Chinese college students showed that the traditional Western cultural orientation (i.e., an individualistic-related orientation), but not the traditional Chinese cultural orientation (i.e., a collectivistic-related orientation), increased the odds of recent alcohol consumption (Wang et al., 2016).

Using data from 74 countries, Inman et al. (2017) found that cultural value orientation was significantly associated with alcohol use. Among other results, they found that autonomy (i.e., being independent, a feature associated with individualism) and embeddedness (i.e., being part of a collective) were positively and negatively, respectively, associated with alcohol consumption. Specifically, they found that those who placed more value on autonomy exhibited greater alcohol use while those greatly valuing embeddedness displayed lower alcohol use. Altogether, past research has suggested that specific patterns of cultural orientation or attitudes are associated with risky behaviors and substance use. Moreover, and within a given country, individual differences in these cultural patterns are associated with increased or decreased vulnerability for alcohol use outcomes. However, less is known about the association between individual cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes in samples from different countries/regions. This has been highlighted as a research gap that needs to be addressed (Inman et al., 2017).

Cultural orientation and Drinking Motives

Different mechanisms may underlie the effect of cultural orientation on drinking, yet intriguing recent research pinpoint drinking motives as a likely mediator of this association. Drinking motives are proximal antecedents of alcohol use (Cooper, 1994; Cox & Klinger, 1988) that mediate the effect of distal variables on drinking behaviors (Cooper et al., 2016). Bresin and Mekawi (2021), using meta-analytic structural equation models, found that enhancement motives were the strongest predictor of alcohol use, while enhancement and coping motives showed the strongest associations with drinking problems. However, the relationship between enhancement motives and drinking problems was mainly mediated by alcohol use. Additionally, social motives related with alcohol use, while conformity motives related negatively with alcohol use and positively with drinking problems.

When cultural features are considered, it seems that some differences among countries arose. For instance, adolescents from the northern region of Europe (traditionally characterized by socially accepting infrequent occasions of excessive drinking) compared to those from the southern region (typically characterized by socially accepting the frequent consumption of moderate amounts of alcohol) endorsed more drinking motives (Kuntsche et al., 2015). Similarly, college students from Hungary, that has been typically characterized as an individualistic country with frequent heavy consumption, reported a higher mean in social, enhancement and coping motives than their peers from Spain, that has been traditionally known as a collectivistic country with a Mediterranean drinking style (Németh et al., 2011). Although the association between drinking motives and alcohol outcomes was fairly similar across both countries, enhancement motives were associated with drinking problems only among students from Spain (Németh et al., 2011).

Mackinnon et al. (2017) compared drinking motives in samples of college students from 10 countries that were previously classified as individualistic or collectivistic. Although all college students, regardless of their country of origin, reported to engage in drinking behaviors for highly similar reasons, positive reinforcement drinking motives (i.e., social and enhancement) were more prominent in college students from countries categorized as individualistic (e.g., Canada, U.K., and U.S.) than in college students from countries described as collectivistic (e.g., Brazil, Mexico, Portugal and Spain). Altogether, these findings suggest cultural features (such as individualism or collectivism) influence drinking motives. Notably, this has been mainly examined at the country/region level and less is known about the association of individual levels of cultural orientation and drinking motives.

Purpose of the present study

The present study tested a model examining whether the relationship between vertical and horizontal individualist and collectivist attitudes on the individual level indirectly relate to college drinking (i.e., alcohol use and alcohol-related negative consequences) via drinking motives in a sample of college students from several countries/regions. Given the present study is predominantly exploratory, there were no a priori hypotheses for the associations between features of cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes via drinking motives. However, it could be postulated that higher individualism would be positively indirectly associated with drinking outcomes via higher drinking motives (mainly positive reinforcement drinking motives).

The model put forward in the present study was tested in college students from seven countries and three continents: U.S., Canada, Spain, Uruguay, Argentina, South Africa and England. Therefore, an additional aim was to examine whether the proposed associations were culturally-universal (i.e., invariant) or culturally-specific (i.e., non-invariant) across countries or regions. These countries differ in their patterns of alcohol use (Bloomfield et al., 2003), alcohol-related consequences (Graham et al., 2011; Bravo et al., 2019) and also in other variables relevant to understand drinking behaviors such as college life, minimum legal drinking age and the role of alcohol in daily life (including the availability and price of alcoholic beverages). It is important to remark that the aim was not to compare nations against each other but instead individual reflections of cultural attitudes on drinking motives and substance use. In this, we align with a growing set of studies (e.g., Ford & Mauss, 2015; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) that, challenging the widespread description of countries as purely individual instead of societal attitudes.

Method

Sample and procedure

A convenience sample of 9171 college students enrolled in 12 universities across seven countries (U.S., Canada, Spain, England, Argentina, Uruguay, and South Africa) completed an online survey assessing risk and protective factors associated with addictive behaviors (see Anonymous, 2021 for more information about the recruitment procedure). The survey was programmed following a planned missingness design (Graham et al., 2006; Schafer, 1997), such that all participants completed a set of sociodemographic and substance use measures followed by a randomly selected set of 12 measures (out of a total of 17 measures). For the present study, we considered data from past-month drinkers who completed the individualism/collectivism measure (n = 4093 [72.8% female]: U.S., n = 1892[69.77% female]; Canada, n = 808, [71.66% female]; South Africa, n = 314 [84.07\% female]; Spain, n = 353 [73.65% female]; Argentina, n = 382 [76.96% female]; Uruguay n = 65[84.6% female]; England, n = 279 [78.8% female]). Since only 65 participants from the Uruguayan sample reported alcohol use within the previous month and completed the cultural orientation measures, we combined this and the Argentinian samples and labeled them as "South America" (*n* = 447 [78.97% female]). Uruguay and Argentina are neighboring South-American countries with a large cultural overlap (Rocha et al., 2017) in key elements of daily/college life, family organization, language and economy. Although independent t-test between Uruguay and Argentinian students revealed statistically significant mean differences for VC and three motives dimensions, these differences were not large (VC, Cohen's d =0.28; social motives Cohen's d = 0.20; coping motives Cohen's d = 0.24; conformity motives Cohen's d = 0.24). Study procedures were approved by the institutional review boards (or the international equivalent) for each participating university.

Measures

We conducted multi-group confirmatory factor analyses (MG-CFA) using a diagonally weighted least squares (WLSMV) estimator in Mplus 8.3 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2018) to determine the factorial invariance of the questionnaires assessing constructs in our model prior to our main analyses. Invariance testing of all measures supported at least

metric invariance (i.e., item-factor loadings similar across groups [Putnick, & Bornstein, 2016]) across countries, language, and sex. This is a necessary step when examining associations between a set of constructs across different groups (analyses available upon request). Supplemental Tables 1 to 6 present internal consistency of all psychometric measures by country.

Alcohol Use. The survey assessed several indicators of last-month alcohol use but, for the purpose of the present study, we used responses to past 30-day typical quantity of alcohol use. This section included a visual guide about typical drinks (specific to each country) to orient participants with the Standard Drink Units (SDUs) concept. Participants indicated the number of standard drinks they typically consumed during each of six 4-hour blocks of time (12a-4a, 4a-8a, 8a-12p, etc.) during a "typical week" in the past 30 days. We calculated typical quantity of alcohol use by summing the total number of standard drinks consumed across time blocks during the typical week. To make accurate comparisons across countries, the total number of Standard Drink Units (SDUs) consumed (summed) were transformed into grams of alcohol, taking into account country specific SDU rates based on grams of alcohol (quantity estimates >3SDs above the mean were Winsorized).

Alcohol-related Problems. We used the 24-item Brief-Young Adult Alcohol Consequences Questionnaire (B-YAACQ; Kahler et al., 2005), or its Spanish version (Pilatti et al., 2014) for measurements in Argentina, Spain, and Uruguay, to assess past 30-day alcohol-related problems. Each item was scored dichotomously and participants reported the presence/absence of the alcohol-related problem in the past month (0 = no, 1 = yes). We summed all items to create a composite score that reflects the total number of consequences experienced in that period. Reliability analyses of the total score was $\alpha = .86$ in the total sample. **Drinking motives**. Drinking motives were assessed with using the Drinking Motives Questionnaire-Revised Short Form (DMQ-R SF, Kuntsche & Kuntsche, 2009) and its Spanish version (Mezquita et al., 2018). This measure encompasses 12 items (3 per dimension) that assess social, coping, enhancement, and conformity motives. Participants indicated how often (1 = *almost never/never* to 5 = *almost always/always*) they drink for each reason. Reliability analyses of the subscales' scores in the total sample were as follow: social, $\alpha = .91$; coping, $\alpha = .83$; enhancement, $\alpha = .76$; conformity, $\alpha = .87$.

Individualism and Collectivism. Cultural attitudes were measured using the Vertical and Horizontal Individualism and Collectivism Scale (Singelis et al., 1995) or its Spanish version (Gouveia et al., 2003) for Spanish-speaking students. The measure assesses, via Likert-like options (1 = *strongly disagree* to 9 = *strongly agree*), agreement with statements specifically aimed at each of the four facets of vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism. The Spanish version (Gouveia et al., 2003) largely resemble the original English version, yet it features a few differences. We used a slightly modified Spanish version that fully resembles the content of the original English version. The rationale was to guarantee content correspondence between the two measures. Specifically, two items of the original English version that were absent in the Spanish adaptation were adapted from English into Spanish and three items were slightly modified to assurance content similarity. All these tasks were performed by bilingual researchers of the research team. Factor analyses and invariance testing of this measure supported a 17-item 4-factor model fit was acceptable on fit indices and metric invariant across countries, language, and sex (see Klein et al., 2021 for further details). Reliability analyses of the subscales' scores were as follow in the total sample: HI (3 items), $\alpha = .65$; VI (4 items), $\alpha = .78$; HC (6 items), $\alpha = .80$; VC (4 items), $\alpha = .58$.

Data analysis plan

First, we conducted Pearson correlations to examine bivariate associations between cultural orientation, drinking motives and alcohol outcomes (i.e., typical alcohol use and alcohol-related negative consequences). Then, we examined the indirect associations between individual cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes via drinking motives. Specifically, and considering the cross-sectional nature of the data, we conducted atemporal mediation analysis (Winer et al., 2016) which provides information about the association between the predictor and the outcome variables after accounting for the shared relation among all variables in the model. We employed a fully saturated path model such that all dimensions of cultural orientation have paths estimated on alcohol-related negative consequences via each type of drinking motives and alcohol use (e.g., VI \rightarrow coping \rightarrow alcohol use \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences). We examined the total, indirect, and direct effects of each distal variable on alcohol outcomes using bias-corrected bootstrapped estimates (Efron & Tibshirani, 1994), based on 10,000 bootstrapped samples. Considering the large sample size, statistical significance was determined by 99% bootstrapped confidence intervals not containing zero. Then, we conducted χ^2 difference tests to examine whether the mediation model was invariant or non-invariant across countries/cultures and across sex. Specifically, we compared a freely estimated multi-group model to a constrained multi-group model (i.e., constraining the paths of the mediation model) to determine whether constraining the paths to be equivalent across countries or sex resulted in a significantly worse fitting model. Given the χ^2 test statistics sensitivity to sample size (Brown, 2015), a more stringent alpha level was used (α =.01). We also relied on model comparison criteria of $\Delta CFI \leq 0.01$ (Cheung & Rensvold, 2002) to determine misfit. The correlation analyses were performed with SPSS 23.0 and the path analyses were conducted with Mplus 8.3 (Muthén &

Results

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics of all study variables among the total sample are shown in Table 1 (for country specific statistics, see Supplemental Tables 1-6). The total, total indirect, specific indirect, and direct effects of the mediation model are summarized in Table 2 and Figure 1 (see also Supplemental Table 7 for the direct associations between cultural features and drinking motives). The results of the atemporal mediation model are described below as a function of each dimension of drinking motives.

Mediation Results by Drinking Motives Dimension

Social Motives. Social motives significantly mediated the association of VI and VC with alcohol outcomes (alcohol use and negative consequences). That is, greater VI and greater VC were associated with more alcohol use and greater number of alcohol-related problems via the endorsement of more social motives. Additionally, the double mediated paths from VI/VC to alcohol-related problems via social motives and alcohol use was statistically significant (i.e., VI/VC \rightarrow social motives \rightarrow typical week alcohol consumption \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences).

Coping Motives. All dimensions of cultural orientation but HC were positively associated with greater alcohol use and alcohol problems via a greater motivation to use alcohol to alleviate negative mood (i.e., HI/VI/VC \rightarrow coping motives \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences). Moreover, the double mediated paths for HI, VI and VC were statistically significant such that each of these cultural orientations was related to alcohol-related problems via drinking to cope and alcohol use. HC, in turn, was negatively associated with alcohol use and number of problems via coping motives. The double mediated path from HC to alcohol-related problems via drinking to cope and alcohol use (i.e., HC \rightarrow coping

motives \rightarrow typical week alcohol consumption \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences) was statistically significant. That is, greater HC was associated with lower motivation to use alcohol to cope with negative mood which, in turn, lead to lower use of alcohol which was subsequently associated with fewer alcohol-related problems.

Enhancement Motives. Drinking motivated to increase positive mood significantly mediated the association between VI and alcohol outcomes (e.g., VI \rightarrow enhancement motives \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences). The paths from VI to alcohol problems via enhancement motives and alcohol use were significant. This doubled mediated path suggest that those exhibiting greater level of VI were more motivated to drink to increase positive mood which was associated with greater alcohol use which was associated with more alcohol-related negative consequences.

Conformity Motives. Conformity motives significantly mediated the associations linking the four patterns of cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes. VI and VC were negatively associated with alcohol use but positively associated with alcohol-related problems via conformity motives. That is, higher level of VI and VC was associated with lower alcohol use but more negative drinking consequences. HC and HI were positively associated with alcohol use but negatively associated with alcohol problems via conformity motives and paths from VI, HC, HI and VC to alcohol-related problems via conformity motives and alcohol use were statistically significant.

Even when accounting for all other predictors in the model, HI and VI had significant direct effects on alcohol use. Specifically, lower HI and higher VI were significantly associated with alcohol use. None of the cultural orientation dimensions had significant direct effects on alcohol-related negative consequences, once accounting for all other predictors.

Structural invariance testing across countries and gender

The comparison of the freely estimated multi-group model to the constrained multigroup model indicated that the model was invariant across sex ($[\chi^2_{(33)} = 51.80, p = 0.02]$; CFI = 0.998 [Δ CFI = 0.002]; TLI = 0.996; RMSEA = 0.013 [90% CI (0.005, 0.020)]) but was not invariant across countries ($[\chi^2_{(165)} = 394.189, p < .001]$; CFI = 0.977 [Δ CFI = 0.023]; TLI = 0.968; RMSEA = 0.036 [90% CI (0.032, 0.041)]). We identified those paths with the greatest contribution to reducing model fit within the fully constrained model to detect where the lack of invariance was located. In the final multi-group model ($[\chi^2_{(140)} = 231.636, p < .001]$; CFI = 0.991 [Δ CFI = 0.009]; TLI = 0.985; RMSEA = 0.025 [90% CI (0.019, 0.030)]), all the associations were constrained across countries with the exception of five paths: alcohol use \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences; enhancement motives \rightarrow alcohol-related negative consequences; enhancement motives \rightarrow alcohol use; VI \rightarrow conformity motives; HC \rightarrow conformity motives.

More in detail, the association between alcohol use and negative consequences was significant across all countries. However, this association was lower in Spain (β = .263 [.145, .380]) and South-America (β = .287 [.240, .371]) compared to U.S. (β = .329 [.274, .384]), Canada (β = .360 [.283, .438]), South-Africa (β = .388 [.271, .504]) and England (β = .394 [.267, .521]). Similarly, the association between enhancement motives and negative consequences was significant in all countries but the magnitude of the association was lower in U.S. (β = .091 [.039, .143]) and Canada (β = .095 [.026, .164]) compared to Spain (β = .160 [.047, .272]), South-America (β = .218 [.139, .296]), South-Africa (β = .148 [.050, .246]) and England (β = .217 [.115, .319]). The association between enhancement motives and alcohol use was also significant in all countries but these associations were larger in U.S. (β = .281 [.229, .334]), England (β = .333 [.228, .437]) and Canada (β = .275 [.201, .349]) compared to Spain (β = .182 [.058, .307]), South-America (β = .136 [.042, .230]), and South-

Africa (β = .150 [.043, .257]). Additionally, two paths involving cultural orientation and conformity motives were differently associated across countries. Specifically, the association between VI and conformity motives was significant in U.S. (β = .113 [.057, .170]), Canada (β = .164 [.084, .244]), South-Africa (β = .186 [.044, .328]) and England (β = .224 [.104, .344]) but non-significant in Spain (β = .081 [-.036, .198]) and South-America (β = .079 [-.036, .194]). Finally, the association between HC and conformity motives was non-significant in U.S. (β = -.051 [-.135, .032]) and South-America (β = -.010 [-.135, .115]) but significant in U.S. (β = -.145 [-.20.6, -.085]), Spain (β = -.199 [-.308, -.090]), South-Africa (β = -.159 [-.278, -.039]) and England (β = -.175 [-.314, -.036]).

Discussion

Our findings suggest that certain individual cultural features are positively (suggesting a risk factor) or negatively (suggesting a protective factor) linked with alcohol outcomes (i.e., use and negative consequences) via drinking motives. Notably, most of these associations remained invariant across countries/regions, supporting that these features of cultural orientation are not homogeneously distributed within each country but, instead, these patterns seem to influence drinking behaviors mainly at the individual level. Despite this overall similar pattern of associations across countries, a few differences emerged. It should also be noted that some of the direct and indirect associations between cultural orientation and drinking outcomes were small and the percentage of explained variance for drinking motives, may better explain the link between cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes. We further discuss all these findings and their implications keeping in mind these constrains and the cross-sectional nature of the study.

Focusing on drinking motives as the most proximal variables of alcohol outcomes, and similarly to recent findings presented in a meta-analytical study (Bresin & Mekawi, 2021), we found that the four drinking motives dimensions had significant direct associations with alcohol use and negative consequences. The positive association between alcohol use and enhancement motives was the strongest while the negative association with conformity motives was the weakest. Also similar to the meta-analysis, the positive association between enhancement and drinking problems was largely explained by increased alcohol use, whereas the positive relation between coping motives and drinking problems was only partially explained by increased alcohol use (Bresin & Mekawi, 2021).

In line with previous research (Foster et al., 2014; Inman et al., 2017; Pokhrel et al., 2018), VI was associated with greater alcohol use and, indirectly, with more alcohol-related problems. As VI stresses competition with others (Albarracin et al., 2018; Shavitt, & Cho, 2016), the present findings suggest that students higher in individualism, particularly those who prioritize distinguish from others via competition, might be at increased risk for excessive alcohol use and more alcohol-related problems. Results also expands previous work by suggesting that this association is mainly indirect via positive reinforcement motives (social and enhancement) and to a lesser extent through coping and conformity motives. Furthermore, our results suggest that the associations of individualism with drinking outcomes through positive reinforcement motives (Németh et al., 2011; Mackinnon et al., 2017) and coping motives (Németh et al., 2011) found in previous studies, may be mainly rooted in the vertical, rather than the horizontal, component of individualism.

Patrick et al. (2011) found social motives to negatively relate to use of protective strategies, such as choosing not to drink, pacing drinks, or avoiding drinking games. Social motives have previously been associated with increased risk of problematic drinking, and the

greater number of social motive items reported, the greater the risk of all problematic drinking indicators, as measured by the Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test (Van Damme et al., 2013). Altogether, this information suggests that a hierarchy focused cultural orientation (mainly VI but, to a lesser extent, also VC) combined with social motives may be indicative of an individual's reaction to social pressures or expectations, especially from others who may be perceived to have more social power. This may manifest in a feeling of obligation to either participate or compete with others in the context of alcohol consumption, potentially leading to increased alcohol consumption as well as alcohol related consequences.

The discrepancies of past research concerning the association between collectivism and substance use, with some suggesting non-significant associations (Pokhrel et al., 2018) and others suggesting a protective effect (Inman et al., 2017), could have emerged because each type of collectivism (vertical or horizontal) seems to be differently related to drinking outcomes. Moreover, although both types of collectivism were related to negative reinforcement motives (i.e., coping and conformity) the direction of the associations was negative for HC and positive for VC. HC values the interest of the group and the equality of its members and aims for the pursuit of outcomes that are equally beneficial for both the self and the other persons (Moon et al., 2018). Our data suggests that this cultural orientation feature may have a protective effect by lowering engaging in alcohol use or experiencing alcohol-related problems for coping motives. That is, students who place value to the interests of the group and see each member as an equal and interdependent partner may be less prone to engage in alcohol use as a way to alleviate negative affect. As Sivadas et al. (2008) have noted, VC centers around duty and sacrifice for the group and individuals high on this orientation feature may feel obligated to participate in certain activities, which can explain the positive association of VC with conformity motives. Additionally, these situations may

generate negative emotions, which could motivate the use of alcohol to regulate affect.

It is important to note that we found a paradoxical effect in the case of the indirect associations via conformity motives, as HC was indirectly related to higher alcohol use and lower drinking problems through conformity motives, and VC was related to lower drinking and higher problems. This paradoxical effect is due to the negative and positive association of conformity motives with alcohol use and drinking problems, respectively, a result that has been found in previous studies (Bresin & Mekawi, 2021). Previous research has argued that these two pathways may work against one another such as they did not find a net effect of conformity motives on drinking problems (Bresin & Mekawi, 2021). Similarly, the total indirect effect of horizontal and vertical collectivism on drinking was non-significant, suggesting a compensatory effect of drinking motives on alcohol use, while the protective role of horizontal collectivism and the increase risk of vertical collectivism on alcohol-related negative consequences trough negative reinforcement motives was significant.

Cross-cultural differences

The associations between variables evidenced a few differences across countries/regions. Although alcohol use and negative consequences were significantly associated across all countries/regions, the magnitude of this association was lower in Spain and South-America compared to the remaining countries. Spain, Argentina and Uruguay are countries where alcohol use with family members or in family settings are common behaviors and where frequent alcohol consumption of moderate quantities has been socially accepted. In that sense, it is possible that some level of alcohol use could generate less problems in these countries. Supporting this, previous work found that some alcohol-related problems (e.g., interpersonal problems) were low in Argentina, Uruguay and Spain (Graham et al. 2011). Additionally, the stronger association between alcohol use and problems could be

reflecting differences in alcohol use, particularly in binge drinking involvement, across countries. Binge drinking is a pattern commonly associated with alcohol-related problems (Krieger et al., 2018). Notably, in the present study, the samples from Spain and South America exhibited the lowest mean in past-month frequency of binge drinking (U.S. = 2.45, Canada = 2.00, South Africa = 2.45, Spain = 1.44, South America = 1.38 and England = 4.40 days/month).

Differences in alcohol use, particularly in heavy episodic drinking, could be also involved in the findings concerning the associations between enhancement motives and both drinking outcomes. The associations involving enhancement motives and alcohol use were significant in all countries but larger in U.S., England and Canada than in Spain, South-America and South-Africa. Enhancement motives have been consistently associated with greater alcohol use (Bresin & Mekawi, 2021; Cooper et al., 2016; Merril et al., 2014) and, therefore, it is possible that the stronger association is reflecting a higher motivation to engage in heavy drinking sessions. On the contrary, the association between enhancement motives and negative consequences was significant in all countries but lower in U.S. and Canada than in the other countries. This is fairly similar to past research showing that enhancement motives were significantly associated with alcohol problems among college students from Spain but not among those from Hungary (Németh et al., 2011). As in the study by Németh et al., this could be associated with variations in the frequency of heavy drinking.

The association between VI and conformity motives was significant in U.S, Canada, South-Africa and England, but not in Spain and South-America. This association may reflect, among those who perceive society as a hierarchical pyramid and attempt to achieve special status, a broader tendency to avoid rejection and interpersonal conflict with figures of power or considered influential for the purposes of upward social mobility. Notably, Canada, U.S. and the England (but not South Africa) exhibit greater levels of the latter construct than Spain and, particularly, Argentina. In addition, the association between HC and conformity motives was significant in U.S., Spain, South-Africa and England; but not in Canada or South-America. Future work is needed to ascertain the mechanisms underlying these intriguing country- or region-specific associations.

Limitations and future research

These findings should be interpreted considering some limitations. We used a large and diverse sample of college students from seven countries; however, the use of a convenience sample limits generalization to other college students. Additionally, the study cross-sectional nature of the study design hinders the evaluation of temporal effects between distal, proximal and dependent variables. Considering the small effect sizes of some paths and the low percentage of the explained variance for drinking motives, future research would benefit from using a longitudinal design to temporally examine the mediation role of drinking motives or other possible mediators on the association between cultural orientation and alcohol outcomes.

Conclusions

The present study, albeit preliminary, suggests there are significant associations between components of cultural orientation (i.e., horizontal and vertical collectivism and individualism) and drinking outcomes. The study moves forward from traditional approaches by exploring these associations at the individual level, instead of assuming that individuals within one country are homogeneously culturally oriented. Moreover, this study sampled participants from seven countries, which contrasts from most studies on cultural orientation and problem behavior, which have been conducted in the U.S. or in Southeast Asia.

The present study suggests a potential mechanism through which these features may

modulate drinking quantity and alcohol-related consequences. Specifically, these features seem to be associated indirectly with drinking outcomes, and differently mediated by drinking motives. Within this sample of participants, the results suggest that vertical individualism and horizontal collectivism connect, respectively, to greater or lower alcohol involvement (or to the report of alcohol-related negative consequences) mainly via increased positive reinforcement or decreased negative reinforcement drinking motives. These associations need to be confirmed in futures studies that will also benefit from including other potential mediators.

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Figure caption

Figure 1. Depiction of the significant standardized effects of the fully saturated mediation model. Significant associations were determined by a 99% bias-corrected standardized bootstrapped confidence interval (based on 10,000 bootstrapped samples) that does not contain zero. Non-significant path coefficients are not shown in the figure for reasons of parsimony.

Table 1.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in total sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Μ	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism		.12	.13	.02	.02	.05	.02	04	04	.01	6.51	1.50
2. Vertical Individualism			01	.19	.19	.11	.14	.18	.10	.09	4.39	1.79
3. Horizontal collectivism				.31	.01	12	00	10	02	06	6.79	1.34
4. Vertical Collectivism					.10	.08	.03	.13	00	.02	5.17	1.50
5. Social Motives						.30	.70	.39	.27	.39	3.16	1.23
6. Coping Motives							.37	.36	.17	.37	1.82	.94
7. Enhancement Motives								.29	.34	.42	2.74	1.08
8. Conformity Motives									.08	.27	1.59	.90
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.44	124.42	115.55
10. Negative Consequences											4.73	4.36

Note. Significant correlations (p < .05) are in bold typeface for emphasis.

Table 2.

Summary of total, indirect, and direct effects of comprehensive mediation path model

Summary of total, indirect, and direct effects of comp				
Alcohol Outcome Variables:		ohol Use	Negative	Consequences
Predictor Variable: Horizontal Individualism	β	99% CI	β	99% CI
Total	049	096,003	.008	033, .050
Total indirect ^a	.007	008, .023	008	033, .018
Social Motives	001	005, .003	001	006, .004
Coping Motives	.005	.001, .009	.012	.004, .021
Enhancement Motives	.000	011, .011	.000	006, .006
Conformity Motives	.003	.000, .006	004	007,000
Alcohol Typical Quantity			018	032,004
Social Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.000	001, .001
Coping Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.002	.000, .003
Enhancement Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.000	004, .004
Conformity Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.000	.000, .002
Direct	056	100,012	.016	019, .051
Predictor Variable: Vertical Individualism	030	100,012	.010	019, .031
	000	051 145	005	045 12(
Total Total in dimosf [®]	.098	.051, .145	.085	.045, .126
Total indirect ^a	.048	.032, .063	.100	.075, .126
Social Motives	.016	.007, .026	.022	.013, .031
Coping Motives	.006	.001, .010	.015	.006, .023
Enhancement Motives	.037	.025, .050	.018	.010, .026
Conformity Motives	011	018,005	.014	.007, .021
Alcohol Typical Quantity			.016	.001, .031
Social Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.005	.002, .008
Coping Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.002	.000, .003
Enhancement Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.012	.008, .016
Conformity Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			004	006,001
Direct	.050	.005, .096	015	049, .019
Predictor Variable: Horizontal collectivism				
Total	012	061, .036	065	110,019
Total indirect ^a	003	020, .013	046	072,020
Social Motives	001	005, .003	001	006, .004
Coping Motives	012	019,005	030	040,020
Enhancement Motives	.000	011, .011	.000	006, .006
Conformity Motives	.009	.003, .015	011	017,005
Alcohol Typical Quantity			003	018, .012
Social Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.000	001, .001
Coping Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			004	006,001
Enhancement Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.000	004, .004
Conformity Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.003	.001, .005
Direct	009	056, .038	018	057, .020
Predictor Variable: Vertical Collectivism				
Total	024	072, .025	.025	019, .068
Total indirect ^a	.005	011, .021	.033	.007, .059
Social Motives	.006	.001, .011	.008	.002, .014
Coping Motives	.008	.003, .013	.020	.011, .029
Enhancement Motives	.000	011, .012	.000	005, .006
Conformity Motives	010	016,003	.012	.006, .018
Alcohol Typical Quantity	010		009	024, .006
Social Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.009	.000, .004
Coping Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.002	.000, .004
Enhancement Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			.003	004, .004
Emancement Motives - Alconor Typical Qualitity			.000	004, .004

Conformity Motives - Alcohol Typical Quantity			003	005,001
Direct	029	076, .018	008	044, .028

Note. Significant associations are in bold typeface for emphasis and were determined by a 99% biascorrected standardized bootstrapped confidence interval (based on 10,000 bootstrapped samples) that does not contain zero. ^aReflects the combined indirect associations within the model.

Supplementary Table 1.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in the U.S. sample

	-						-				-	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	М	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism	.71	.18	.16	.07	.02	.06	.01	04	07	.02	6.46	1.56
2. Vertical Individualism		.77	.08	.14	.14	.08	.08	.11	.08	.07	4.66	1.71
3. Horizontal collectivism			.82	.38	.03	10	.02	10	03	06	6.67	1.38
4. Vertical Collectivism				<u>.57</u>	.04	.03	03	.05	03	.01	5.22	1.43
5. Social Motives					<u>.91</u>	.29	.67	.36	.27	.37	3.21	1.21
6. Coping Motives						<u>.85</u>	.38	.39	.16	.35	1.87	0.99
7. Enhancement Motives							<u>.75</u>	.28	.35	.39	2.90	1.08
8. Conformity Motives								.87	.06	.28	1.61	0.91
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.43	138.74	126.74
10. Negative Consequences										.88	4.76	4.58

Supplementary Table 2.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in the Canada sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	М	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism	.64	.08	.10	.06	.02	.07	.03	.02	00	.03	6.57	1.41
2. Vertical Individualism		.75	.02	.13	.15	.06	.17	.18	.08	.10	4.82	1.69
3. Horizontal collectivism			.80	.38	00	11	00	03	01	07	6.77	1.32
4. Vertical Collectivism				<u>.58</u>	.09	.09	.03	.19	03	.01	5.44	1.50
5. Social Motives					<u>.92</u>	.26	.70	.39	.32	.39	3.42	1.23
6. Coping Motives						<u>.83</u>	.33	.31	.17	.40	1.93	1.03
7. Enhancement Motives							<u>.73</u>	.33	.35	.44	2.74	1.06
8. Conformity Motives								.86	.10	.27	1.81	1.03
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.50	128.40	114.95
10. Negative Consequences										.86	4.18	4.07

Supplementary Table 3.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in the South African sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	М	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism	.57	.18	03	07	.04	.14	.07	.00	.04	.01	6.62	1.36
2. Vertical Individualism		<u>.76</u>	.04	.09	.13	.07	.11	.19	.11	.11	4.11	1.70
3. Horizontal collectivism			.82	.34	03	.01	.00	12	01	10	6.94	1.32
4. Vertical Collectivism				<u>.53</u>	04	.11	02	03	06	06	5.27	1.42
5. Social Motives					<u>.90</u>	.29	.68	.33	.26	.43	3.21	1.18
6. Coping Motives						<u>.78</u>	.42	.21	.23	.44	1.84	0.89
7. Enhancement Motives							.76	.18	.27	.42	2.77	1.05
8. Conformity Motives								<u>.80</u>	.07	.30	1.51	0.78
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.49	90.58	84.78
10. Negative Consequences										<u>.85</u>	5.59	4.47

Supplementary Table 4.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in the Spain sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Μ	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism	.61	.09	.25	.02	.11	.02	.10	02	.10	.02	6.63	1.40
2. Vertical Individualism		<u>.79</u>	03	.26	.19	.16	.13	.13	01	.23	3.82	1.77
3. Horizontal collectivism			<u>.83</u>	.24	.06	16	.01	18	.10	06	6.99	1.38
4. Vertical Collectivism				<u>.60</u>	.11	.00	.06	.07	.00	.07	5.05	1.51
5. Social Motives					<u>.87</u>	.24	.73	.30	.24	.39	2.87	1.16
6. Coping Motives						<u>.81</u>	.32	.32	.12	.30	1.51	0.69
7. Enhancement Motives							<u>.79</u>	.26	.28	.41	2.42	1.04
8. Conformity Motives								<u>.85</u>	.02	.23	1.31	0.63
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.36	105.09	94.78
10. Negative Consequences										<u>.83</u>	4.36	3.83

Supplementary Table 5.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in the South-American sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Μ	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism	.63	.07	.10	05	.11	.07	.13	.01	.09	.11	6.71	1.61
2. Vertical Individualism		.77	17	.16	.15	.07	.09	.10	01	.11	3.16	1.79
3. Horizontal collectivism			<u>.68</u>	.16	10	20	11	03	06	10	6.97	1.20
4. Vertical Collectivism				<u>.58</u>	.07	.05	.05	.10	00	.11	4.40	1.69
5. Social Motives					.88	.30	.71	.31	.21	.44	2.51	1.14
6. Coping Motives						.74	.35	.23	.18	.44	1.61	0.76
7. Enhancement Motives							.76	.20	.22	.46	2.26	1.00
8. Conformity Motives								.82	03	.18	1.23	0.55
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.39	107.62	106.22
10. Negative Consequences										.82	4.23	3.75

Supplementary Table 6.

Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics among study variables in the England sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	М	SD
1. Horizontal Individualism	.62	.10	01	11	.01	.06	03	01	11	08	6.08	1.35
2. Vertical Individualism		.75	10	.18	.10	.07	02	.24	.02	.06	4.31	1.57
3. Horizontal collectivism			.80	.23	.18	19	.16	16	.11	02	6.97	1.22
4. Vertical Collectivism				<u>.53</u>	.17	.13	.01	.22	.02	02	5.23	1.33
5. Social Motives					<u>.89</u>	.25	.64	.37	.30	.45	3.84	1.01
6. Coping Motives						<u>.79</u>	.30	.42	.10	.30	1.97	0.92
7. Enhancement Motives							.71	.20	.40	.52	3.10	1.00
8. Conformity Motives								<u>.89</u>	.06	.23	2.13	1.14
9. Alcohol Typical Quantity										.54	131.48	105.84
10. Negative Consequences										.86	6.56	4.64

		Drinking Motives											
		Social		Coping	Enh	hancement	Са	onformity					
Cultural orientation features	β	99% CI	β	99% CI	β	99% CI	β	99% CI					
Horizontal Individualism	006	048, .036	.063	.023, .103	.000	042, .043	041	080,002					
Vertical Individualism	.178	.137, .220	.074	.034, .115	.141	.100, .182	.157	.118, .196					
Horizontal collectivism	007	050, .036	155	197,112	.000	043, .043	128	170,086					
Vertical Collectivism	.065	.022, .109	.104	.061, .147	.002	042, .047	.132	.091, .173					

Supplemental Table 7. Summary of direct effects of cultural orientation features on drinking motives.

Note. Significant associations are in bold typeface for emphasis and were determined by a 99% bias-corrected standardized bootstrapped confidence interval (based on 10,000 bootstrapped samples) that does not contain zero.

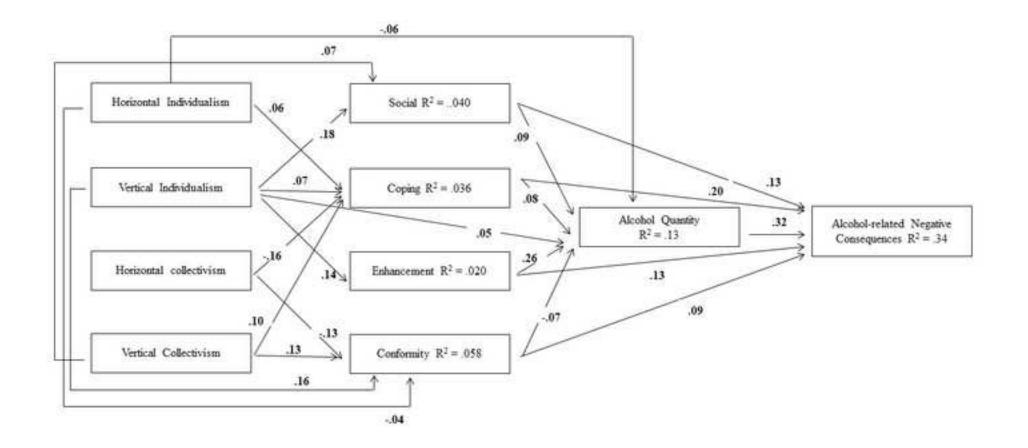
Supplemental Table 2.

Summary of direct effects of cultural orientation features on drinking motives.

	Alcohol outcomes										
	Ale	cohol Use	Negative	e Consequences							
Drinking Motives	β	99% CI	β	99% CI							
Social	.092	.045, .139	.125	.085, .165							
Coping	.075	.036, .114	.195	.161, .229							
Enhancement	.263	.216, .310	.129	.089, .169							
Conformity	072	111,033	.089	.053, .125							

Note. Significant associations are in bold typeface for emphasis and were determined by a 99% bias-corrected standardized bootstrapped confidence interval (based on 10,000 bootstrapped samples) that does not contain zero.





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Conflict of interest

All authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

Ethics

Study procedures were approved by the institutional review boards (or the international equivalent) for each participating university. The study was conducted in accordance with the declaration of Helsinki and it followed the ethical guidelines of the American Psychological Association (2016).

Informed consent. All procedures followed were in accordance with the ethical standards of the responsible committee on human experimentation (institutional and national) and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2000 (5). Informed consent was obtained from all participants for being included in the study.

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