

EXPLORING ALCOHOL EXPECTANCIES IN KOREA AND AMERICA USING
THE HOLISM THEORY

by

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ABSTRACT

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The present study examines what alcohol expectancies people in holistic and analytic cultures have, and how they affect alcohol consumption patterns. The past research on comparative studies of alcohol expectancies has lacked theoretical backgrounds that could identify the underlying factors that form different alcohol expectancies. The Holism theory was employed in order to investigate this research topic.

A survey was conducted in two large universities located in Korea and the United States. A total of 144 Korean students and 141 American students, ages 18-30, participated in the research. Results indicated that Koreans had higher social alcohol expectancies than Americans did, while Americans had higher individual alcohol expectancies (such as emotion and capability enhancement) than did Koreans. Also, alcohol expectancies were found to be a strong predictor of the alcohol consumption among Koreans. It was also found that Koreans were more likely to accommodate their drinking habits according to the individuals with whom they drink.

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Introduction

Alcohol is a cultural artifact; the amount and frequency of intake, and the time and location of drinking, and even the kind of alcoholic beverages are culturally defined (Marshall, 1979). Previous research has shown that there are different patterns of drinking alcohol across cultures, people in each culture have different perceptions of drinking alcohol, and attitudes toward alcohol consumption also vary. (Caetano & Herd, 1988; Heim, Hunter, Ross, Bakshi, Davies, Flatlet, & Meer, 2004; Hendershot, Dillworth, Neighbors & George, 2008; Herd & Grube, 1996; Johnson & Glassman, 1998; Rodham, Hawton, Evans, & Weatherall, 2005;)

However, little research has drawn attention to the underlying causes that create the different alcohol expectancies between East and West. This research aims to shed light on what individuals in Korea as a holistic culture, and the United States as an analytic culture think of drinking alcohol, and how expectancies of drinking alcohol are associated with alcohol consumption. Understanding differences in alcohol expectancies can not only reveal fundamental reasons why alcohol consumption rates are so high in certain cultures, but also reduce misunderstanding and stereotypes of their drinking culture. This study particularly explores different alcohol expectancies in the U.S. and Korea and how they affect people's drinking patterns and intention to drink alcohol. It is generally believed that people from Korea will be more likely to believe that alcohol can facilitate deep social and interdependent bonds, while individuals from the U.S., will feel less strongly about the social implications of alcohol consumption. The next chapter will go over the literature on the holistic-analytic cultural distinction, which is a prevalent construct in studying cultural differences. Also past research on alcohol expectancies will be reviewed in the

following section.

Literature Review

Drinking cultures in Korea and America

Korea is one of the countries with highest binge drinking rate where getting drunk has proven to be somewhat more acceptable than other countries. According to WHO Global Status Report on Alcohol (2004), heavy and binge drinking rate were 63.4% in Korea. The high binge drinking rates stems from a permissive drinking culture, especially among Korean men. Misbehaviors after excessive alcohol consumption are widely considered as socially acceptable and forgivable.

Although the binge drinking rates were found to be high in Korea, most consumers do not drink alcohol when they are alone. Only 3.3% of the Koreans drink alcohol alone. Half of Koreans drink alcohol for the first time when their friends or relatives invite them to drink alcohol. The WHO survey (2001) also reported that the rate of alcohol dependence was only 12.8% among males and 3.7% among females, which is relatively low considering binge drinking rates.

Many Koreans tend to underestimate the negative effects of drinking alcohol and believe alcohol is not harmful. Instead, advantages of drinking alcohol are often emphasized, such as relieving stress along with developing and maintaining positive social relationships. For Koreans, excessive alcohol consumption is not problematic as long as it is social and enjoyable (Lee, Park, Lee, Kim & Kim, 2007).

In America, the evaluation of drinking alcohol has been changed over the past centuries. According to Gusfield (1983), in the colonial period in America alcohol was not considered as a serious public issue. Only few campaigns against binge drinking existed. Rather, alcohol was a creature of God and beneficial, so people

could get drunk without being judged. However, during the most 19th and the early 20th century, movements for limitation and abolition of alcohol consumption started. Drinking alcohol was thought to be a mode of leisure that was far from God's will. With the influence from the 19th and 20th centuries, excessive drinking of alcohol in the U.S. is regarded as alcohol abuse or alcoholism that must be healed. In the United States, unlike Korea, there is no such acceptable excessive drinking and misbehaviors. People who often binge drink are considered as unable to control themselves, thus are encouraged to participate in activities from such a group as Alcoholics Anonymous.

Theoretical Framework to explain cultural differences in alcohol expectancies

Hofstede's individualism-collectivism. Hofstede (1980) made the first attempt to explain cultural differences theoretically. Before Hofstede, researchers did not focus much on studying Hofstede's individualism-collectivism. Hofstede made a great contribution to the study of intercultural communication in that he drew researchers' attention to the field and his five dimensions (such as Power Distance, Individualism, Uncertainty avoidance, Masculinity, and Long Term Orientation) have been widely used to explain the cultural differences. Many researchers jumped into testifying and extending Hofstede's dimension by generating various conceptualizations and measurements for many years.

However, Western researchers' dichotomous approach toward studying cultural differences in the communication and academic field have not been able to comprehensively explain the cultural differences that could be formed by various factors. Another problem of the Western scholars who attempted to test IND-COL was that their definition of collectivism was not correct. Eastern researchers criticized that Hofstede's distinctions did not accurately mirror the real aspects of holism in

Eastern cultures. Lim, Kim and Kim (2011) argued that “ego” individualism and normative collectivism were confusedly and interchangeably used as measurements of IND-COL. They argued that one society promoted either ego individualism or normative collectivism to maintain the harmony of the social systems. Ego individualism is likely to be fostered in East Asia, where holism discourages the members from pursuing their own personal interests. In contrast, normative collectivism such as respecting the group norms is particularly emphasized, since individualism that does not value the spirit of teamwork and community can threaten the society that tries to achieve individual liberty.

The mistakenly understood construct of individualism and collectivism produced results that were contradictory to Hofstede’s arguments. The countries that were conventionally thought to be collectivistic turned out to be less collectivistic than the individualistic cultures. A meta-analysis conducted by Oyserman, Coon, and Kimmelmeier (2002) suggested that America, one of the most typical individualistic countries according to Hofstede's findings, was just as collectivistic as other conventionally collectivistic countries such as Japan and Korea. Moreover, some countries in Latin America that were previously regarded as collectivistic appeared even more individualistic than America.

Holistic-Analytic Worldview. Researchers over the past decades have studied individualism and collectivism as a dichotomy, and ended up having contradictory results with the theories. The correlation of these two opposite cultural attributes was neither negative, positive, nor significant. This was because the concepts of individualism and collectivism are not opposing to each other; instead, they are just different concepts that cannot be compared. Individualism is a worldview that is basic

and fundamental while collectivism is not a worldview, rather it is a social norm.

Since individualism deals with individuals' identity issues, an alternative concept was proposed by Lim, Kim and Kim(2011) to overcome the critical limitations of Hofstede's IND-COL. *Holism*, as an alternate for collectivism, refers to how individuals see themselves as having connected identity with others, while individualism, or the *analytic* style, describes how people see themselves as separated identity from others. Lim et al. distinguished ego-individualism from traditionally known as individualism, and normative collectivism from holism. The confusing two terms "individualistic-collectivistic" dimension revised to comprise the "analytic-holistic" distinction.

Lim and colleagues (2011) pointed out that the most fundamental differences that distinguish the Western and Eastern culture surround the analytic-holistic worldview. People from the East see the world with a holistic mindset, while people from the West are most likely to hold the analytic world view. Kim, Lim, Dindia, and Burrell (2010) claimed that “the holistic worldview in the East instills holism, a tendency to see everything, such as the universe, nature, human, physical elements, psychological elements, or behavioral elements, as a whole. On the other hand, the analytic worldview instills reductionism: a tendency to analyze the whole to find out the key elements and key relationships between them (p.547).”

The concept of holism appears somewhat similar to Moemeka's (1998) notion of communalism, in that both of the two constructs share the worldview of the General Systems Theory (Bertalanffy, 1969). In holistic cultures, humans are parts of various holistic entities and their identities are shared with each other in groups of

which they are a part. Individuals are integrated into various social entities in holistic societies. Lim and his colleagues (2011) claimed about the holistic cultures that “one group member’s behavior is not considered as a separated individual’s performance, but as a part of the family’s conduct” (p.25). For example, holists typically believe that children are the mirror image of their parents. Lim also found that the main difference between collectivism and holism is that people in holistic cultures are encouraged and even pushed to seek their personal goals as part of a larger complete whole. This is because an individual member’s good performance can represent the whole group’s performance and “we” (group)” and “I” (individual)” are compatible. Moreover, group members can enjoy the success of one individual member. This is different from a collectivistic presumption that members should not pursue their personal interests, because “we” (group)” and “I” (individual)” are contradictory, sacrifices of individual members are required in order to achieve the group’s goal.

The current study will use the analytic-holistic measurement by Lim et al. (2011) to examine different expectancies in drinking alcohol across cultures. Alcohol expectancies, which are closely related to what people perceive about alcohol effects, must be measured by considering the ways people view the object (in this study, the object is alcohol). To be specific, people with a holistic world view approach alcohol use in intuitive and global ways, whereas people with an analytic style may be more judgmental and focus on the detailed information related to the effect of alcohol (Beyler and Schmeck, 1992). In other words, Eastern people with holistic worldview would be likely to consider not only the function and effect of alcohol, but also the environments that encourage them to drink alcohol. However, Westerners who are analytic pay attention only to alcohol itself.

Alcohol Expectancies

Expectancies refer to “the beliefs that individuals hold about the effects of alcohol on their behavior, moods, and emotions” (Leigh and Stacy, 1991, p. 147).

Expectancies act as cognitive mediators that determine the relationships between alcohol consumption and a person. Researchers have found that expectancies as a form of cognition are likely to have a great impact on the quantity and frequency of alcohol consumption and drinking patterns (Rauch and Bryant, 2000).

Expectancies have been widely studied in the realm of people’s perception toward drinking alcohol. Palfai and Wood (2001) suggested that what people expect from drinking alcohol was positively associated with why people drink alcohol.

Furthermore, they found that the intensity of positive alcohol expectancies plays a pivotal role in making an actual choice to drink alcohol among those who are likely to drink with the expectation of certain desired outcomes. They also found that alcohol expectancies are more positively associated with frequency of drinking alcohol than with amount of alcohol consumed. Some studies used alcohol expectancies measurements that distinguish positive and negative aspects of alcohol expectancies.

Positive expectancies that are associated with beliefs that pleasurable/desirable effects will occur as a consequence of a behavior and are a robust predictor of drinking patterns (Brown, 1985; Rohsenow, 1983; Stacy, Widaman, & Marlatt, 1990). On the other hand, negative expectancies are associated with beliefs that non-pleasurable/undesirable effects will occur as a consequence of a behavior and appear to limit consumption and may predict abstention (Lee, Greely, & Oei, 1999; Leigh & Stacy, 2004). These results are consistent with Finn, Bobova, Wehner, Fargo and Rickert's study (2005), in that positive alcohol expectancies encouraged excessive

alcohol consumption, while negative alcohol expectancies reduce excessive alcohol use.

Another study also suggested that those who drank alcohol regularly had lower negative consequences and higher positive alcohol expectancies than those who drank rarely and occasionally. Regular drinkers may have broad and general expectations for more positive outcomes and fewer negative consequences in general rather than specific personal or social outcomes. (Shell, Newman, and Qu, 2002)

Leigh (1990) found that motivation for alcohol consumption is closely related to positive alcohol expectancies, while negative expectancies may deter people from drinking alcohol. For example, if people drink to relax, then their belief about alcohol should involve its relaxing effects. He also argued that people who were under certain conditions did not necessarily drink alcohol to achieve those effects, although they admitted some expectancies of alcohol effects. His research showed that enjoyable alcohol effects that were expected during or after drinking alcohol were not always motivations to drink alcohol when some expectancies violated personal or societal norms.

The problem of expectancies of drinking is that, although alcohol expectancy is a necessary condition for a reason to drink, some people do not drink alcohol despite understanding alcohol's effects (Leigh, 1984). Alcohol expectancy, therefore, may not fully explain the different drinking patterns and perceptions among cultures. For example, an individual may expect a negative consequence after drinking, such as hangover, but he or she still may choose to drink because of social pressure.

Additionally, as Shell, Newman and Qu(2002) suggested, non-drinkers may

have higher concern for reputation than occasional and regular drinkers. In cultures where drunkenness is acceptable, they may choose to drink despite the expectation that some negative consequences will occur. A similar result has been demonstrated by Bot, Engles, and Knibbe (2005). Negative expectations were not related to the amount of alcohol consumption when people drank with their friends or acquaintances. This is probably because social interactions, rather than individual differences in expectancies of alcohol outcome, primarily influenced drinking levels. Mahon and Jones (1993) found a somewhat contradictory result that short-term negative alcohol expectancies, such as the day after drinking, are a stronger predictor of drinking decision than long-term expectancies.

Gender differences in alcohol expectancies were also found. Many studies have revealed that males usually have more positive alcohol expectancies than females (Mooney, & Corcoran, 1991; Read, Wood, Lejuez, & Palfai, 2004). This may be due to differences in social norms and standards of drinking alcohol in gender. In Indian, Chinese, and Japanese cultures, women's alcohol use and drunkenness are generally considered less acceptable than men's.

Comparative studies of alcohol expectancies in different cultures have been done in some Asian countries and the United States, but with only limited age groups. Newman, Shell, Innadda, and Li (2005) suggested that some alcohol expectancies are globally shown across the culture with some exceptions. General alcohol expectancies of Thai adolescents were found to be similar to those of American adolescents, suggesting those who are heavy drinkers reported higher positive alcohol expectancies for enhancing sexual performance and power. However, Thai adolescents

distinguished expectancies between Buddhist religious expectancies and other personal and social expectancies. The limitation of their study is that religious expectancies were not included in American samples, which makes the study itself incomparable.

Shell, Newman, and Qu (2009)'s study suggested a similar result with Newman et al. (2005). The Mongolian Chinese sample reported five similar expectancies of alcohol effects with those in the American sample: (a) General Negative Consequences, (b) Harm to Person/Reputation, (c) Negative Uses of Alcohol, (d) General Positive Perceptions, and (e) Tension Reduction/Relaxation. However, three expectancies in the sample were unique and consistent with the Chinese culture: (a) Drinking as Social Courtesy, (b) Social Facilitation, and (c) Beneficial Drinking/Moderation.

One problem of alcohol expectancies studies is that they lack comprehensive factors that significantly relate to alcohol expectancies. Specifically, the alcohol expectancies measurement that has been broadly used in the study of alcohol expectancies focused only upon personal factors. The current study assumes that people with social pressure when they drink alcohol may have different expectancies from those without social pressure who perceive more freedom to make decision on drinking alcohol on their own. It is also possible that different expectancies may bring about different alcohol consumption patterns.

The higher drinking alcohol rate is, the more positive expectancies are. Thus Koreans who have been shown to drink excessive alcohol may represent positive alcohol expectancies, while Americans would show less positive alcohol expectancies.

Holistic and analytic worldview is an essential concept to the study of alcohol expectancies. Previous studies of alcohol expectancies in the cross-cultural field have not accounted for underlying factors that may create different expectancies in each culture. The current study examines how people with a holistic worldview see drinking alcohol differently from those who have an analytic worldview. In addition to the traditional alcohol expectancies measurement, the analytical-holistic construct will be used to identify what causes different alcohol expectancies across the cultures. As discussed above, drinking alcohol in Korea, a holistic country, is considered to be a group action. Social pressure always involves people in drinking occasions and refusing someone's drinking suggestion may be considered as "against-group-unity" behaviors. Drinking alcohol often occurs when people are around. It is assumed that people from holistic cultures may have alcohol expectancies that maximize the effect of alcohol such as creating positive and relaxing atmosphere and minimize negative consequences of alcohol, so that the members are less likely to have proper reasons to refuse to drink alcohol. For example, Kim, Choi, Lee, and Kwak (1999) found that Korean adults were likely to underestimate the negative effects of alcohol consumption and even have positive attitudes toward drinking alcohol. They believe that alcohol is a good opportunity to get to know each other better and it is essential for creating a pleasant atmosphere. Holists also consider various external factors and cultural characteristics that forces individuals to drink alcohol.

In contrast, people with analytic worldview focus on an object itself rather than its surroundings. For Westerners, drinking alcohol may be evaluated solely in light of the object itself (alcohol) instead of considering alcohol as an essential part of social relationships. Analytical cognitive styles of Westerners may pay more attention

to the causes and effects after drinking alcohol. Thus, in the United States, there may be less underestimation of a negative alcohol effect or overestimation of a positive alcohol effect than in Korea. In addition, analysts will be less likely to consider their relationship with the people that they are with whom they interacting when they drink. Thus, they will be less prone to drink alcohol to maintain unity and therefore less concerned about accommodating their drinking style to ensure harmony with others.

Along those lines, the following hypotheses are proffered.

Hypothesis 1: Koreans will have more positive and permissive alcohol expectancies than Americans.

Hypothesis 2: Koreans will be more likely to accommodate their drinking styles to others than Americans.

Hypothesis 3: An individual's expectancies of alcohol will be a strong predictor of alcohol consumption.

Hypothesis 4: People will be tempted to drink alcohol for different reasons based on the expectancies that they have.

Method

Participants Sample

In total, 361($N=361$) college students participated in this study. One hundred fifty-two were recruited from one large university in South Korea (enrolling approximately 36,500 students), and the remaining 147 were sampled from a large

public university located in the Midwestern United States (with an approximate enrollment of 30,500 students). Specifically, the sample from Korea comprised 144 Korean, five Chinese, two Japanese, and one Mongolian student. The non-Korean citizen sample was excluded from further analysis in order to isolate the holistic cultural influences in Korea. The American sample was 79.8% Caucasian ($N=115$), 9% African American ($N=13$), 3.4% Asian ($N=5$), 2.7% Hispanics ($N=4$), 1.3% Native Americans ($N=2$), 1.3% Pacific Islanders ($N=2$), and 2% of the respondents ($N=3$) did not report their nationality. To filter out non-analytic cultures, 3 non-US citizens were not included in further analysis.

In addition, sixty-six American men (46%) and seventy-eight American women (54%) participated in the survey. The age range of the American sample was from 18 to 40 and over. 18% of the American sample ($N=25$) were freshmen, 20% ($N=28$) were sophomores, 34% ($N=48$) were juniors, 28% ($N=39$) were seniors, and 1% ($N=1$) were graduate students. Seventy-six men (52.7%) and 68 women (47.2%) comprised the Korean sample. Ages ranged from 18 to 30. The respondents' self-reported college year was as follows: 3 freshmen (2%), 28 sophomores (19.4%), 31 juniors (21.5%), and 60 seniors (41.6%). Twenty-two (15.2%) respondents were graduate students.

Data Collection Procedures

In order to collect data from the United States, the researcher contacted instructors who were teaching college courses on campus, and asked for their permission to recruit students and sent an email to the students to participate the web-based survey that was available online. The recruitment materials and survey

questionnaire were then translated for Korean participants. After the recruitment announcement was distributed, individuals who wanted to participate in the study were asked to complete a set of questionnaires via a university-licensed online survey tool (www.qualtrics.com). Prior to the questionnaires, participants were required to read the online consent form, which included brief description of the whole study process. After participants read and completed the consent form, they proceeded to completing the survey questionnaire. American students got extra credit for participating in the survey, while Korean students did not receive any rewards for doing so.

Survey Structure and Measures

Alcohol expectancies. The Alcohol Expectancy Questionnaire (Brown, Christiansen, & Goldman, 1987) was used to examine expectancies about alcohol effects. This measurement focuses mostly on personal aspects, such as behavioral and emotional changes, and health issues regarding alcohol effects. Some items that were not related to the purpose of the study were eliminated (i.e. sexual effects). And items regarding social factors were added to the questionnaire such as group commitment, relationship improvement and so forth. All questions were answered on a five-point Likert scale (*1 = Very Strongly Disagree, 5 = Very Strongly Agree*).

Alcohol consumption (Binge drinking rates). The second part of the survey asked participants about their alcohol consumption, including the frequency of binge drinking and amount of alcohol consumed. Skinner's Alcohol Dependence Scale (1982 & 1984) was used for this measurement and covers alcohol-withdrawal symptoms, impaired control over drinking, and salience of drinking-seeking behavior.

Accommodation of drinking style. The accommodation of drinking style questionnaire was developed in order to measure and reflect the characteristics of people from holistic and analytic cultures. Lim et al. (2011) pointed out that holists perceive, think, and behave relatively and differently based on the situation and the group members with whom they are interacting. They are likely to find their appropriate position and act accordingly, especially if the people that they are interacting with are in-group members. Accommodating one's drinking style to others is one of the characteristics that represent well the holistic culture. Accommodation of drinking style based on a situation and others is viewed as appropriate and necessary for in-group unity. Some of the questions that were included are as followings; "I often say 'yes' when I do not want to drink alcohol, but my friends do"; "I go out for a drink to maintain a good relationship with my friends"; "I try not to drink too much alcohol when I hang out with my friends." All questions in this section were rated on a five-point Likert scale (*1 = Very Strongly Disagree, 5 = Very Strongly Agree*).

Temptation to drink alcohol. The Alcohol Abstinence Self-Efficacy Scale (DiClemente, Carbonari, Montgomery and Hughes, 1994) was used to examine conditions and situations when people would find it more tempting to drink alcohol. The questionnaire included mainly personal factors, such as physical conditions. Some social situations were also included in this survey. Some of the questions that were asked were as follows: "When my classmates ask me to drink"; "When my classmates go out for a drink"; "When I sense everything is going wrong for me." All questions in this section were recorded on a six-point Likert scale (*1 = Not at all tempted, 2 = Not very tempted, 3 = Moderately tempted, 4 = Very tempted, 5 = Easy, 6 = Extremely tempted*).

Results

Factor analysis and measurement

An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted for all the four variables, including alcohol expectancies, accommodation of drinking styles, alcohol consumption, and intention to drink. After obtaining a final factor structure, Cronbach's alpha was assessed to gauge the reliability of each factor. The current study used several criteria to identify and exclude poor questions, and the following standards were applied for all the variables. Questions were excluded if the factor loading score was not excess of .50 on the factors. Additionally, some items, which were found to be unrelated to any factor, were removed. Factor extraction was specified for Eigen values > 1.00 . Lastly, items were removed if including it in the scale significantly lowered Cronbach's alpha.

Alcohol expectancies. Alcohol expectancies resulted in three factors with 29 items. The first factor included fifteen items that consisted of expectancies that people have regarding the social aspects from drinking alcohol. The items representing *social alcohol expectancies* had to do with group unity, sense of belongingness, and commitment to the group to which they belong. Examples of the first factor included: "Drinking together helps members of a group develop a sense of unity" and "People develop a better sense of belonging after having drinks together." The reliability of this factor appeared adequate ($\alpha = .95$)

The second factor, *individual-emotion enhancement alcohol expectancies*, involved eleven items that assessed the extent of positive emotions people have when

consuming alcohol. The items for the individual emotion enhancement factor included: "Drinking makes it easier to concentrate on the good feelings I have at the time" and "I am not as tense if I am drinking." The reliability of the individual emotion enhancement factor was shown as substantially high ($\alpha = .91$).

The third factor, labeled *individual-capability enhancement alcohol expectancies*, included four items that gauged the degree to which individuals perceived the influence of alcohol in increasing of physical and psychological capability, such as "After a few drinks, I feel brave and more capable of fighting" and "I feel powerful when I drink as if I can really influence others to do as I want." The internal consistency reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha) was $\alpha = .74$.

Table 1
EFA for Alcohol Expectancies

Component	Question Item	Factor Loading
Social Alcohol Expectancies	People develop a better sense of belonging after having drinks together	.84
	Drinking together helps members of a group develop a sense of unity	.82
	I feel more comfortable around people who I have had drinks together with	.81
	Drinking together helps develop a relationship	.76
	Drinking together breaks the awkward silence within a group	.72
	We learn more about each other when we drink together	.71
	It is easier to get to know others when we drink together	.70
	I can get to know more about my friends when I drink with them	.66
	Team spirit can be enhanced by partying or drinking together	.66
	Talking with people when we are drinking helps us to better understand each other	.65
	Drinking is a good opportunity to reconcile with someone whose relationship with me is in trouble	.62
	One may have a few drinks of alcohol in order to be part of the group they belong to	.60
	Drinking together increases the members' commitment to the group	.56
Drinking together helps me feel closer to people	.55	

	Alcohol makes me feel closer to people	.55
	Having a few drinks helps me relax in a social situation	.76
	Drinking makes me feel good	.74
	When I feel buzzed from drinking, everything seems to feel better	.72
	Alcohol enables me to have a better time at parties	.70
Emotional	I am not as tense if I am drinking	.70
Enhancement	Alcohol makes me feel happy	.66
Alcohol	Drinking relieve stress	.65
Expectancies	After a few drinks, I am usually in a better mood	.63
	A drink or two makes the humorous side of me come out	.62
	Drinking makes me easier to concentrate on the good feelings I have at the time	.54
Capability	I drink when I am bothered by something	.68
Enhancement	After a few drinks I feel more self-reliant than usual	.68
Alcohol	I feel more powerful when I drink, as if I can really influence others to do as I want	.65
Expectancies	After a few drinks, I feel brave and more capable of fighting	.59

Accommodation of drinking styles. The second variable, accommodation of drinking styles, turned out to have only one factor with 12 items after conducting EFA. Three out of 15 items did not load on accommodation of drinking styles. Items comprised of accommodation of drinking styles were “I do not refuse to drink alcohol if my friends come up with reasons to drink.” and “I fear losing my friends if I refuse to drink alcohol with them”. The reliability of this subscale appeared acceptable ($\alpha = .85$)

Table 2
EFA for Accommodation of Drinking Styles

Component	Question Item	Factor Loading
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	I say yes when my friends ask me to go out with them for a drink just to avoid hurting their feelings	.77
	I go out for a drink to maintain a good relationship with my friends	.74
	I often say yes, when I do not want to drink alcohol, but my friends do	.72
	I do not refuse to drink alcohol if my friends come up with reasons to drink	.71
Accommodation	I often accommodate the drinking style of my best friends	.68
of Drinking Styles	I adapt my drinking habits to match with my friends	.68
	I fear losing my friends if I refuse to drink alcohol with them	.66
	I drink more alcohol than I can tolerate when I am with my friends that drink alcohol a lot	.65
	When I am with friends that always drink alcohol, I am sure to join them in drinking.	.59
	My friends make me drink more alcohol than I want to	.56

Temptation to drink alcohol. The third variable, temptation to drink alcohol, yielded two factors with 26 items out of 35 questions. The first factor, intention to drink alcohol, was characterized by items pertaining to personal situations that made people desire to drink alcohol. This factor was labeled as *personal situations* in temptation to drink alcohol. Items comprising this factor included: “When I feel worried” or “When everything is going wrong for me.” The internal consistency reliability coefficient was $\alpha = .95$

The second factor consisted of items describing social situations that people are likely to want to drink alcohol or not. This factor was termed *social situations* in temptation to drink alcohol. Items for this subscale included: “When I am being offered a drink in a social situation” and “When my friends are drinking.” Reliability coefficients α was .92

Table 3
EFA for Temptation to Drink

Component	Question Item	Factor Loading
	When I feel worried	.80
	When I feel nervous	.79
	When I want to test my willpower over drinking	.79
	When I sense everything is going wrong for me	.77
	When I am feeling angry inside	.77
	When I am concerned about someone	.77
	When I feel ashamed	.76
	When I feel sad	.76
Personal Situations in Being Tempted to Drink Alcohol	When I have just finished playing a sport	.75
	When I want to feel more accepted by friends	.72
	When I feel down	.68
	When I am experiencing some physical pain or injury	.66
	When I feel frustrated	.63
	When I feel upset	.63
	When I feel restless	.60
	When trouble at school or home drives me to drink	.57
	When I am in agony because of stopping or withdrawing from alcohol use	.54
	When I dream about taking a drink	.51
	When I am being offered a drink in a social situation	.83
	When my friends are drinking	.83
	When someone offers me a drink	.83
	When I am on vacation and want to relax	.80
Social Situations in Being Tempted to Drink Alcohol	When I am at a pub or club	.78
	When I see others drinking at a bar or at a party	.75
	When my friends go out for a drink	.68
	When people I used to drink with encourage me to drink	.67
	When I am excited or celebrating with others	.66
	When I am feeling a physical need or craving for alcohol	.54

Alcohol consumption. Items that did not have high factor loadings ($<.50$) were excluded. Six out of ten items were used for the further analysis. The items for the final version of this measurement were: “Have you passed out as a result of drinking?” and “Have you had blackouts?” The Cronbach’s alpha was $\alpha = .811$, which was acceptable.

Table 4
EFA for Alcohol Consumption

Component	Question Item	Factor Loading
Alcohol Consumption	I have woken up somewhere without knowing how I got there	.81
	In the past 12 months, I have passed out as a result of drinking	.77
	I have made drunken phone calls that I regret	.74
	I have had blackouts (loss of memory)	.74
	I have gotten sick from drinking too much alcohol	.66
	I have had blackouts (“loss of memory” without passing out) as a result of drinking	.57

Hypothesis testing

An independent-sample t-test was performed to compare alcohol expectancies of Koreans and Americans. A slight difference was found in the scores for three factors. For the social alcohol expectancies factor, Koreans ($M = 3.41, SD = .78$) scored higher than Americans ($M = 3.14, SD = .84$); $t(302) = -2.9, p = .004$. In contrast, Americans ($M = 3.49, SD = .82$) scored higher than Koreans ($M = 3.10, SD = .77$) in the individual-emotional enhancement factor expectancies, $t(308) = 4.273, p < .000$. The

hypothesis was also supported for the third factor (individual-capability enhancement) (Koreans: $M = 2.55$, $SD = .81$), (Americans: $M = 2.78$, $SD = .87$); $t(308) = 2.50$, $p = .013$. These results suggest that social aspects play a more pivotal role in alcohol expectancies among Koreans than Americans. Koreans do not really expect personal factors to enhance their emotions or physical capabilities.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that Koreans would be more likely to accommodate their drinking styles to others. An independent-sample t-test was also conducted to test the second hypothesis. There was a significant difference in the scores for accommodation of drinking styles for Koreans ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .55$) and Americans ($M = 2.70$, $SD = .76$); $t(299) = -5.37$, $p < .000$. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was accepted by these results.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that alcohol expectancies will be a strong predictor of alcohol consumption. A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was conducted in order to assess the relationship between alcohol expectancies and alcohol consumption. As seen the table 5 provided below, the correlations between three factors of alcohol expectancies and alcohol consumption in the U.S. sample were not strong; social expectancies CIs [-.05, .29], emotion enhancement expectancies CIs [-.02, .32], and capability enhancement expectancies CIs [-.04, .296]. In contrast, significantly strong correlations were found in the Korean sample, between social expectancies and alcohol consumption ($r = .26$), and emotion enhancement expectancies and alcohol consumption ($r = .32$). The correlation between capability enhancement expectancies and alcohol consumption appeared as not significant; social expectancies CIs [.10, .41], emotion enhancement expectancies CIs [.17, .47],

and capability enhancement expectancies CIs [.02, .04]. These results suggest that the social and emotional alcohol expectancies in the Korean sample have a great impact on drinking alcohol, whereas alcohol consumption in the American sample was not affected by alcohol expectancies.

Table 5

Correlations between Alcohol Consumption and Alcohol Expectancies

Variable	Culture	Social Expectancies	Emotion Enhancement Expectancies	Capability Enhancement Expectancies
Alcohol Consumption	U.S.	.118	.148	.128
	Korea	.256**	.320**	.187*

** $p < .01$ level. * $p < .05$ level.

In order to test Hypothesis 4, Pearson's correlation coefficient was also conducted. The assessment showed strong correlations between alcohol expectancies and temptation to drink alcohol in both the Korean and American sample, as seen the table 6 shown below. Specifically, the correlations among those variables for the Korean sample appeared even higher than those of the American sample. These results suggested that alcohol expectancies have a great impact on situations when people are tempted to have drinks.

Table 6

Correlations between Alcohol Expectancies and Temptation to Drink Alcohol

Variable	Culture	Social Expectancies	Emotion Enhancement Expectancies	Capability Enhancement Expectancies
Personal situations in Being Tempted to Drink Alcohol	U.S.	.383**	.294**	.442**
	Korea	.574**	.619**	.512**
Social situations in Being Tempted to Drink Alcohol	U.S.	.544**	.548**	.474**
	Korea	.511**	.525**	.424**

** $p < .01$ level.

Discussion

The current study examined alcohol expectancies using the holistic-analytic theoretical approach. The study found several important and empirical facts about the drinking cultures in Korea and the United States. In general, findings in this study suggested that Koreans who hold a holistic worldview have high social alcohol expectancies, and Americans with an analytic worldview have high individual alcohol expectancies.

Hypothesis 1 was partially supported in this study. Koreans reported higher social alcohol expectancies than did Americans, while Koreans' personal alcohol expectancies with the emotion and capability enhancement factors were found to be lower than Americans'. High social alcohol expectancies of Koreans, which promote the use of alcohol to achieve societal harmony, can lead them to accommodating their drinking styles with others. Emphasis on social aspects such as increasing group unity and group commitment makes them decide how much alcohol they will drink. From

Hypothesis 2 testing, it was discovered that alcohol use among Koreans tends to be a social rather than an individual activity.

Interestingly, alcohol expectancies were found to be a significant predictor of alcohol consumption in Korea, while the relationship was not observed among Americans. Koreans are likely to drink alcohol because of the outcomes that they can obtain from drinking alcohol. As the holism theory explains, holists see an object as a whole with consideration of internal and external factors. Similarly, Koreans are prone to approach alcohol by considering not only alcohol itself, but also consequences that come from consuming it. Regarding high social alcohol expectancies and alcohol consumption in the Korean sample, the results indicate that many Koreans drink alcohol in order to increase the unity of the in-group to which they belong. Lee et al.(2007) found that promoting group cohesion by joining in drinking parties can help an individual maintain harmonious relationships with their coworkers.

Situations when people are tempted to drink were found to be a strong predictor of alcohol expectancies in both Korea and America. In other words, social and individual (emotion and capability enhancement) alcohol expectancies were related to social and individual situations where people feel tempted to drink alcohol. People who have high alcohol expectancies are more likely to feel tempted to drink alcohol in individual and social situations.

Conclusion

The current study proposed that people in holistic and analytic cultures will have different alcohol expectancies. This study addressed the lack of theoretical

backgrounds in the cultural comparative studies of alcohol expectancies. I used the holism theory which has been recognized as an alternative of Hofstede's conventionally dominant IND-COL theory. Employing the holism theory helped us to see the underlying factors that caused different expectancies in holistic and analytic cultures.

Although the present study revealed interesting and significant results, there is a limitation that needs to be considered for the future research. There were more senior students in the Korean sample, while more lower-level students comprised the American sample. Moreover, the binge-drinking rates of Americans turned out to be higher than Koreans, which contradicts previous survey results (WTO, 2004). This discrepancy is likely due to upper-level Korean students having little time to go out for a drink, since they may be stressed out about graduating and getting a job. Future studies need to collect demographically balanced data in order to produce more accurate data results.

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