

Purpose in life, Neural Alcohol Cue Reactivity, and Daily Alcohol Use in Social Drinkers

Yoona Kang^{1*}, Danielle Cosme¹, David Lydon-Staley¹, Jeesung Ahn², Mia Jovanova¹,
Faustine Corbani³, Silicia Lomax¹, Ovidia Stanoi³, Victor Strecher⁴, Peter J. Mucha⁵,
Kevin Ochsner³, Dani S. Bassett⁶ & Emily B. Falk^{1,2,7,8,*}

¹ Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania

² Department of Psychology, University of Pennsylvania

³ Department of Psychology, Columbia University

⁴ School of Public Health, University of Michigan

⁵ Department of Mathematics, Dartmouth College

⁶ Department of Physics and Astronomy, University of Pennsylvania

⁷ Wharton Marketing Department, University of Pennsylvania

⁸ Wharton Operations, Information and Decisions Department, University of Pennsylvania

*Correspondence

yoona.kang@asc.upenn.edu

emily.falk@asc.upenn.edu

3907 words, 1 figure, 2 tables, and supplementary information

Declarations of competing interest

Vic Strecher, Ph.D. is a founder and chief executive officer for Kumanu, a digital well-being company. Emily Falk, Ph.D. is on the scientific advisory board for Kumanu and has consulted for Google in the past year. Danielle Cosme, Ph.D. has consulted for Lotic AI in the past year. The rest of the authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

This is the author manuscript accepted for publication and has undergone full peer review but has not been through the copyediting, typesetting, pagination and proofreading process, which may lead to differences between this version and the [Version of Record](#). Please cite this article as doi: [10.1111/add.16012](https://doi.org/10.1111/add.16012)

Abstract

Background and Aim

Alcohol craving is an urge to consume alcohol that commonly precedes drinking; however, craving does not lead to drinking for all people under all circumstances. The current study measured the correlation between neural reactivity and alcohol cues as a risk, and purpose in daily life as a protective factor that may influence the link between alcohol craving and the subsequent amount of consumption.

Design

Observational study that correlated functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) data on neural cue reactivity and ecological momentary assessments (EMA) on purpose in life and alcohol use.

Setting

Two college campuses in the United States.

Participants

54 college students (37 women, 16 men, 1 other) recruited via campus-based groups from January 2019 to October 2020.

Measurements

Participants underwent fMRI while viewing images of alcohol; we examined activity within the ventral striatum, a key region of interest implicated in reward and craving. Participants then completed 28 days of EMA and answered questions about daily levels of purpose in life and alcohol use, including how much they craved and consumed alcohol.

Findings

A significant three-way interaction indicated that greater alcohol cue reactivity within the ventral striatum was associated with heavier alcohol use following craving in daily life only when people were previously feeling a lower than usual sense of purpose. By contrast, individuals with heightened neural alcohol cue reactivity drank less in response to craving if they were feeling a stronger than their usual sense of purpose in the preceding moments ($b_{\text{interaction}}=-0.086$, $p<.001$, 95% confidence interval= -0.137 , -0.035).

Conclusions

Neural sensitivity to alcohol cues within the ventral striatum appears to be a potential risk for increased alcohol use in social drinkers, when people feel less purposeful. Enhancing daily levels of purpose in life may promote alcohol moderation among social drinkers who show relatively higher reactivity to alcohol cues.

Keywords: craving, alcohol use, cue reactivity, ventral striatum, purpose in life, fMRI, ecological momentary assessment, experience sampling, college students

Author Manuscript

Purpose in life, Neural Alcohol Cue Reactivity, and Daily Alcohol Use in Social Drinkers

Heavy alcohol use in young adulthood is associated with a wide range of adverse outcomes, such as violence¹, personal injuries², suicidal ideation³, risky sexual behaviors⁴, and academic failure⁵; as well as longer-term health conditions such as increased risk for cardiovascular disease⁶ and cancer.⁷ Alcohol craving, or an urge to consume alcohol, commonly precedes alcohol use, particularly among heavy drinkers and alcohol-dependent individuals.⁸ Alcohol craving is also considered a risk for alcohol use in non-dependent college-aged social drinkers⁹ and may result from exposure to alcohol cues that are common in college environments from peers¹⁰ and media.¹¹ However, avoiding alcohol to preempt craving in daily life is difficult for some and may be perceived as socially costly in college environments.¹² Therefore, identifying individual risk and protective factors that influence drinking decisions in the face of alcohol craving may inform interventions to prevent increased drinking before it becomes problematic.

Neural Reactivity to Alcohol Cues as a Risk for Alcohol Use

People experience varying degrees of affective, physiological, and/or behavioral reactivity upon encountering alcohol. Such individual differences in cue reactivity can be tracked via functional magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), and a core system of alcohol cue-induced activation has been identified in limbic and prefrontal brain regions.¹³ In particular, ventral striatum responds robustly to appetitive cues such as images of alcohol^{13,14}, as well as other drugs and natural reward stimuli.¹⁵ The ventral striatum receives dopaminergic inputs from

regions involved in motivation¹⁶ and is a central component of the neural system underlying reward processing.^{17,18} For this reason, increased alcohol cue reactivity within the ventral striatum is thought to reflect reward expectation and craving.¹⁹ Consistent with this view, the ventral striatum was responsive to alcohol cues among individuals with a history of alcohol-use disorders^{20–22} as well as non-treatment seeking social drinkers.²³ Cue-elicited ventral striatum activity, in turn, was associated with self-reported craving.^{21,24} Hypersensitivity within the ventral striatum is also a risk for heavier alcohol use, whereas reduced reactivity might signal reduced risk. For example, heightened ventral striatum activity in response to neutral images predicted higher cue-induced alcohol craving as well as more severe and shorter time to relapse among alcohol-dependent individuals.²⁵ Reduction in alcohol cue reactivity in ventral striatum also tended to follow successful alcohol cessation treatments.^{13,26–28} Although less is known about the relationship between cue-elicited ventral striatum activity and subsequent alcohol use among non-dependent drinkers, evidence collectively suggests the potential risk for increased drinking associated with the ventral striatum activity during alcohol cue exposure.

Purpose in Life as a Protective Factor in Alcohol Use

Purpose in life refers to having a sense that one's life has goals and directions that guide behavior.²⁹ An individual's purpose in life is a function of goals associated with core values, which then provide a clear sense of priorities in response to competing choices.^{30–32} Purpose in life may promote healthy choices by providing an orientation toward long-term goals and motivating actions that are aligned with those goals.³³ Supportive of this view, purpose in life

was uniquely associated with increased longevity^{34,35} and healthier lifestyles including better alcohol-related outcomes.³⁶ Stronger purpose in life was longitudinally associated with greater decreases in temptation to consume alcohol³⁷ and greater likelihood of remission status at a later point.³⁸ The link between purpose and health may be in part due to the ease of making healthy decisions when people are feeling purposeful. For example, individuals with stronger purpose showed lower conflict-related processing in the brain while considering health advice, suggesting less effortful processing, which in turn was associated with greater endorsement of health recommendations.³¹ Specifically in the alcohol use context, decision-making processes in response to alcohol craving may be governed by individuals' conscious and/or unconscious evaluation of whether the reward of drinking will outweigh that of not drinking.^{39,40} At each step of the decision-making process, purpose in life may counterbalance the immediate reward of drinking by making the value of longer-term goals more salient and encouraging healthier behavior. Further, purpose in life might be particularly effective for alcohol moderation for individuals with heightened neural reactivity to alcohol cues, who may experience greater craving and expect greater rewards by consuming alcohol¹³, even if they are not alcohol-dependent.²³

The Current Study

The current study examined the interplay between neural reactivity to alcohol cues within the ventral striatum, measured via functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI), as a risk factor, and daily levels of purpose in life as a protective factor, that may moderate the link

between alcohol craving and subsequent alcohol consumption in non-dependent, college-aged social drinkers. Specifically, we tested whether feeling purposeful in the moment would be protective during high-risk situations for subsequent alcohol use, such as when individuals with heightened neural reactivity to alcohol cues crave alcohol.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

Students in two urban universities who belonged to a campus group (as part of a parent study) were invited to participate. Based on the initial online responses, 111 participants who met the fMRI eligibility criteria completed an fMRI visit and had usable data. All participants who completed fMRI were invited to an initial round of ecological momentary assessment (EMA) that did not contain any purpose in life questions, and hence was not able to be used in the current report. About nine months (mean=307.8 days, median=280 days; $SD=135.75$, range=85-533) after the fMRI scan, at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, all participants were once again invited to complete an additional 28-day ecological momentary assessment (EMA), which included both the relevant drinking and the purpose in life measures relevant to the current investigation. In this round, 54 of the participants who completed the fMRI also completed the EMA portion of the study with usable data ($M_{age}=20.35$ years, $SD_{age}=1.32$; 37 women, 16 men, 1 other; 26 White, 16 Asian, 2 Black, 3 Latino/a, 7 Other). Given the focus of the current study on alcohol use outcomes, participants were excluded if they had a history of alcohol use disorders, never drank alcohol in their life, or consumed less than one drink in a typical drinking occasion.

Please see Supplemental Material 1 [SI1] for further recruitment and eligibility details. This study was approved by the University of Pennsylvania and the Army Research Office Institutional Review Boards. All participants provided informed consent and were paid for their participation. Online surveys were conducted via Qualtrics, scanner tasks were presented using PsychoPy2, and the EMA prompts and participants' responses were delivered via the LiveData app (www.lifedatacorp.com).

Measures and Tasks

fMRI alcohol cue reactivity task. To measure neural reactivity to alcohol cues, we used an alcohol cue reactivity task that identified neural regions responsive to alcohol cues in previous studies.^{13,15} Participants were presented with images of beer, wine, and liquor⁴¹ and asked to respond in different ways. For the present investigation, we focus on trials in which participants were asked to “simply look at them and respond according to your initial gut reaction.”

Participants were then asked to indicate their craving rated on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) scale (craving scores not reported here). Across four task runs, participants completed 96 trials of different types, of which 24, 32, or 48 trials were of interest for the current report, depending on the condition assignment as part of a larger parent study [SI2]. Each block began with a trial condition cue (3s) followed by 4 trials, each consisting of an image presentation (6s) and a craving rating (3s). Each event was separated by a jittered fixation cross (mean=4.0s, *SD*=2.6s).

Ecological momentary assessment surveys. Throughout the 28-day EMA period, participants received two surveys per day via mobile app in the morning (8am) and evening

(6pm) that assessed current levels of purpose in life (morning only) and alcohol-related questions (morning and evening) [SI3].

Daily purpose in life. Once a day during each morning survey, participants reported their current levels of purpose in life (“Right now, I feel that I have a sense of direction and purpose in my life”) on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 100 (*extremely*) with higher scores indicating stronger purpose on a given day. The question was modified from the Psychological Well-Being Scales²⁹ into an EMA format⁴² to assess state levels of daily purpose.

Alcohol craving and consumption. Twice a day, participants indicated their current levels of alcohol craving (“How strongly are you craving alcohol right now?”) on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 100 (*extremely*) with higher scores indicating greater craving. Participants also retroactively reported the amount of alcohol consumption since the last survey. First, participants were asked whether they had alcohol (“Since your morning/evening survey, have you consumed any alcohol?” *yes/no*). Answering “Yes” prompted subsequent questions about the amount of alcohol consumption based on the standard servings for beer (12 fl oz), wine (5 fl oz), and liquor (1.5 fl oz). Following methods from a previous study that used EMA to assess daily alcohol use,⁴³ we summed responses across alcoholic beverage categories to obtain the total servings of alcohol consumed for each assessment. If participants responded “No” to having consumed alcohol, then they were redirected to answer questions about other non alcohol-related health questions to ensure that all surveys had the same length.

Demographics. Participants self-reported their age, gender, race/ethnicity, and perceived status within the campus group they belonged to using the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status.⁴⁴ The race/ethnicity variable was converted to indicate White, Asian, Black, Latino/a, and Other status (Table 1).

[Insert Table 1 around here]

fMRI Data Acquisition, Modeling, and ROI Analysis

Neuroimaging data were acquired on 3 Tesla Siemens Prisma scanners equipped with a 64-channel head coil. High-resolution T1-weighted structural images were collected using an MPRAGE sequence (TI=1,100ms, voxel size=0.9×0.9×1mm, 160 slices, field of view [FOV]=256, repetition time [TR]=1850ms, echo time [TE]=3.91ms, flip angle=8°). T2*-weighted functional images were also collected (voxel size=3x3x3mm, 42 slices, FOV=70, TR=1,000ms, TE=30, flip angle=62°). The anatomical and functional data were preprocessed using fMRIPrep. The cue reactivity task was modeled including the following regressors: trials during which participants were instructed to: “react naturally” to alcohol cues (trials of interest), “react naturally” to non-alcohol cues, downregulate response to alcohol cues, and upregulate response to alcohol cues. Models also included nuisance regressors of no interest: rating period and five motion regressors. Please see [SI2] for further details about the fMRI data preprocessing and modeling. To index alcohol cue reactivity, we extracted mean parameter estimates from the

“react naturally” to alcohol cues > resting fixation contrast within the ventral striatum region of interest (ROI). The ventral striatum ROI was taken from a meta-analysis of 206 studies that reported neural signals associated with reward and positive value processing.¹⁸ As an exploratory analysis, we also extracted a functionally defined map of craving-related activity from Neurosynth (<https://neurosynth.org/analyses/terms/craving/>) using the search term ‘craving’ (80 studies; $p < .01$, corrected) [SI4].

Analysis Plan

To account for the zero-inflated data (i.e., alcohol consumption) and to focus on within-person relationships, time-varying variables were within-person standardized to z scores, which allowed us to test within-person changes while holding the between-person differences constant. Please see [SI3] for further details about data preparation. A multilevel analysis model included daily purpose, ventral striatum activity, alcohol craving, and their interaction terms as predictors of the subsequent amount of alcohol consumption. We focused on the 1) link between alcohol craving and consumption, and 2) three-way interaction (purpose * ventral striatum * craving) predicting consumption. We selected the model with maximal random effects structure by removing terms that accounted for no variance until the model converged and all parameters were identified. This resulted in a structure that allowed craving scores to vary randomly across participants [SI5].

We also conducted follow-up simple slopes analyses⁴⁵ to explore whether the relationship between alcohol craving and consumption varied across three different levels of purpose,

including one standard deviation below the participant's own mean, at their own mean, and one standard deviation above their own mean levels of daily purpose. Adopting previous procedures,⁴⁵ all continuous variables were mean-centered (within-person mean-centered from raw scores for time varying EMA data, between-person mean-centered for ventral striatum activity) for this portion of the analysis. The simple slopes were specified *a priori*, and no correction was planned; the results were robust to false discovery rate correction [SI5].

As a part of a parent study, participants were randomly assigned to intervention conditions designed to influence alcohol use, which is not the focus of the current investigation; all models therefore controlled for the condition as a covariate. Analyses also controlled for demographic variables including age, gender, race/ethnicity, and perceived social status. All results remained robust without controlling for these potential covariates [SI6]. Analyses were performed in R (v3.6.1, www.r-project.org) using the R-studio interface (v1.2.1335).

Results

Alcohol Use, Purpose in Life, and Cue Reactivity Descriptives

Throughout the 28-day EMA period, 43 out of 54 participants (79.6%) reported that they drank at least once (62.5% men, 86.5% women). This rate was higher than the average monthly prevalence of 54.3% (53.9% men, 54.7% women) among the U.S. adults aged between 18 and 25.⁴⁶ The average number of drinking occasions was slightly more than once per week (mean=5.296 in 28 days, *SD*=6.70; range=0-27). Of the participants who reported having had

alcohol at least once throughout the EMA period, the within-person average number of drinks per drinking occasion was 2.57 ($SD=1.79$; range=1-10).

The daily purpose in life measure provided sufficient variability to detect within-person relationships (mean within-person coefficient of variation [CV]=34.83%, range_{cv}=5.31-237.26, $SD_{cv}=33.02$). Intraclass correlation (ICC) analysis indicated that, of the total variance in purpose, 37.08% was attributable to within-person variation. For ROI analyses, we focused on the variability in cue reactivity across individuals; in terms of the average activity, viewing alcohol images, on average, did not significantly increase activity from rest within the ventral striatum (mean parameter estimate=-0.131, $SD=1.078$; $t(53)=-0.891$, $p=0.377$) in our non-dependent social drinker sample.

Daily Purpose, Neural Alcohol Cue Reactivity, and Alcohol Craving Predicting Subsequent Alcohol Consumption

Among the predictor variables, higher ventral striatum cue reactivity was associated with greater average alcohol craving throughout the EMA period ($r=.286$, $p=.036$, $CI_{95\%}[0.019, 0.514]$), but no issues of multicollinearity was detected [SI5]. The coefficients and statistics for all models are reported in Table 2.

We found that greater alcohol craving from a previous time point was associated with a larger amount of alcohol consumption at a later time point among non-dependent social drinkers ($b=0.209$, $p<.001$). In the same model, we also observed a significant three-way interaction between daily purpose in life, alcohol cue reactivity within the ventral striatum, alcohol craving,

and their interaction terms simultaneously as predictors of subsequent alcohol use ($b=-0.086$, $p<.001$). Results from follow-up simple slopes analyses showed that alcohol cue reactivity within the ventral striatum strengthened the link between alcohol craving and the subsequent amount of consumption when people previously reported lower than their mean levels of purpose ($b=0.012$, $p=.015$). By contrast, when people were previously at near their mean ($b=0.008$, $p=.073$) or higher than their usual levels of daily purpose ($b=0.005$, $p=.320$), neural alcohol cue reactivity did not affect the relationship between alcohol craving and the subsequent amount of alcohol consumption (Figure 1).

[Insert Table 2 around here]

[Insert Figure 1 around here]

Please see [SI7] for the significant interaction results between purpose in life and ventral striatum activity predicting alcohol consumption, which showed no significant relationship between ventral striatum activity and alcohol consumption across different levels of purpose. All results remained robust to the inclusion of the number of days between the fMRI and EMA data collection as a covariate [SI8].

Discussion

What factors nudge social drinkers into drinking more on some days and less on others? Answering this question can inform prevention guidelines for healthy alcohol use before individuals start developing problematic behavior, and help understand how people make health

decisions more generally. Our results showed that greater alcohol craving predicted larger amounts of subsequent alcohol consumption. This link was moderated by individual differences in neural reactivity to alcohol cues and purpose in life, such that greater alcohol cue reactivity within the ventral striatum was associated with heavier alcohol use following craving when people were previously feeling a weaker sense of purpose.

Overall, the frequency and amount of alcohol use in our sample was slightly higher than the national average, but was still within the range of healthy, non-problematic levels of consumption. Thus, our data suggest that previous findings on the relationships among alcohol craving, neural alcohol cue reactivity, and alcohol consumption among alcohol-dependent individuals^{8,20,25} might be generalizable to non-dependent social drinkers. Mainly, craving preceded drinking in our non alcohol-dependent college samples, parallel to previous evidence that highlighted craving as a risk for alcohol use among alcohol-dependent individuals.⁸ Further, greater alcohol cue reactivity within the ventral striatum was associated with higher average craving throughout the EMA period. These results suggest that alcohol craving and neural reactivity to alcohol cues might be a health risk not only for alcohol-dependent individuals studied in prior work¹³ but also for non-dependent social drinkers who were part of the current study.

Individuals with heightened cue-induced neural reactivity in the ventral striatum consumed more alcohol in response to craving only when their sense of purpose was weak. One possibility is that the benefit of purpose in life may be the greatest when there is a need to

regulate impulses and manage behavior. This result may also help explain previously mixed findings on the relationship between cue reactivity within the ventral striatum and alcohol use habits among light drinkers,^{23,47} underscoring the importance of subjective contexts within which non-dependent drinkers make decisions to drink. That is, whereas baseline neural reactivity alone might not pose a significant health risk for non-dependent individuals, it may exacerbate the risk for drinking more than a person's usual amount, when combined with other conditions that facilitate alcohol use.

Feeling purposeful was especially protective for individuals with higher neural reactivity, such that when they craved alcohol, they still consumed a smaller amount of alcohol if they were previously feeling a strong sense of purpose. This result adds to the growing literature that connects purpose in life to a wide range of health benefits,⁴⁸ and further supports the potential utility of purpose-based interventions to promote healthy alcohol use. Our data also indicate that within-person variations in purpose in daily life, beyond what has been previously shown for between-person differences in dispositional purpose, are associated with health behavior. Purpose in life is traditionally treated as a relatively stable trait²⁹, and indeed, the ICC value of daily purpose in our sample (0.63) was greater than those observed in previous studies that examined more state-like experiences (e.g., 0.38–0.48 for positive affect⁴⁹). However, recent studies suggest that an individual's purpose in life may vary from baseline throughout the days and weeks, much like the way a number of other personality traits relevant to health may fluctuate over various timescales.^{43,50} Considering how daily dynamics in purpose in life may be

associated with immediate health outcomes can provide more fine-grained information about optimal timing of intervention. For example, temporarily boosting purpose in life prior to or during at-risk situations (e.g., exposure to alcohol cues that may trigger craving) might be an effective prevention strategy among non-dependent social drinkers.

At least two potential pathways may explain how feeling purposeful may subsequently weaken the link between alcohol craving and alcohol consumption among individuals who show heightened neural alcohol cue reactivity. One possibility is that when individuals feel a strong sense of purpose, they may experience lower than usual levels of alcohol cue reactivity. Although the average levels of daily purpose throughout the EMA period were not significantly associated with the neural reactivity within the ventral striatum in our data ($r=-0.143$, $p=.303$, $CI_{95\%}[-0.396, 0.130]$), future studies may assess synchronous dynamics between neural cue reactivity and purpose in life. In particular, purpose in life may concurrently influence the reward calculation processes within the brain's reward system, by foregrounding the value of longer-term goals that counterbalances the immediate reward of drinking.⁴⁰ Another non-mutually exclusive possibility is that feeling purposeful in the moment may help downregulate reactivity once it is activated. Purpose in life has also been associated with better regulation of stress⁵¹ and psychological³¹ and physical pain,⁵² suggesting more efficient regulatory processing. Future studies could examine precise regulatory mechanisms that might be associated with purpose in life.

We note several limitations of this study. First, although alcohol cue-induced reactivity of the ventral striatum was associated with craving in our data, it may also reflect a number of other cognitive, affective, and physiological responses, not all of which are specific to impulses and motivations to consume alcohol. Especially for non-dependent social drinkers, as in our sample, the neural reactivity to alcohol cues may signal other processes in addition to craving, such as expectation of social reward that tends to accompany alcohol use or more general hypersensitivity to any reward cues. Given the correlational nature of our data, it is also possible that people who crave alcohol more, paired with drinking, might then develop stronger neural cue reactivity. Second, it is unclear whether purpose in life is partly societally determined by one's immediate context (structures of oppression, dimensions of marginalization, differences in safety, affluence, etc.), and hence could be correlated with factors of privilege.⁵³ Although we controlled for demographic variables to statistically account for this potential relation, future studies may benchmark purpose in life across diverse samples to determine its effects across different racial and ethnic identities, and across variations in socioeconomic status. Third, we used a group-based sampling method as part of a parent study. Although we used multilevel models to account for the nesting of individuals within the groups, the current findings should be tested in general populations to be more generalizable. Fourth, as part of a larger study, a subset of participants (n=34) were asked to regulate their reactions to alcohol images in some trials during the fMRI cue reactivity task, which we did not analyze in the current manuscript. The current block design (36s for the same trial type) and the inclusion of the condition as a covariate

may have addressed this issue to some degree. Future replication studies may test the current results outside intervention contexts. Finally, the current study was not pre-registered and the results should be considered exploratory.

To conclude, our results show that while neural reactivity to alcohol cues is a potential risk for increased drinking among non-dependent social drinkers, feeling purposeful in the moment can help promote alcohol moderation. Having a strong sense of purpose in daily life might be especially beneficial during health decision-making that involves regulatory demands for reactivity to reward cues. Future studies are warranted to identify precise mechanisms through which purpose in life promotes successful regulation of cue reactivity among individuals with heightened alcohol cue reactivity.

Acknowledgments

Data and analysis scripts are available in https://github.com/cnlab/purpose_craving. We thank José Carreras-Tartak, Yi Zhang, Sky Zhang, and Bradley Mattan for research assistance. This work was supported by Army Research Office [to E.B.F., W911NF1810244], Mind and Life Institute [to Y.K.], and Hopelab [to Y.K. and E.B.F.]. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not represent the views of the funding agencies.

Positionality Statement

Mindful that our identities can influence our approach to science⁵⁹ the authors wish to provide the reader with information about our backgrounds. With respect to gender, when the

manuscript was drafted, eight authors self-identified as women, four as men, and one as non-binary. With respect to race, ten authors self-identified as White, two as Asian, and one as Black.

Citation Diversity Statement

Recent work in several fields has identified a bias in citation practices such that papers from women and other minority scholars are under-cited relative to the number of such papers in the field.^{54,55} Here we sought to consider choosing references that reflect the diversity of the field in thought, form of contribution, gender, and other factors. We obtained the predicted gender of the first and last author of each reference by using databases that store the probability of a first name being carried by a woman.⁵⁶ By this measure, our references contain 22.66% woman(first)/woman(last), 17.18% man/woman, 26.85% woman/man, and 33.3% man/man. This method is limited in that a) names, pronouns, and social media profiles used to construct the databases may not, in every case, be indicative of gender identity and b) it cannot account for intersex, non-binary, or transgender people.

References

1. Proescholdt MG, Walter M, Wiesbeck GA. Alkohol und Gewalt: Eine aktuelle Übersicht. *Fortschr Neurol Psychiatr* 2012; 80: 441–449.
2. White A, Hingson R. The burden of alcohol use: excessive alcohol consumption and related consequences among college students. *Alcohol Res* 2013; 35: 201–218.
3. Zhang X, Wu L-T. Suicidal ideation and substance use among adolescents and young adults: a bidirectional relation? *Drug Alcohol Depend* 2014; 142: 63–73.
4. Lewis MA, Patrick ME, Litt DM, et al. Randomized controlled trial of a web-delivered personalized normative feedback intervention to reduce alcohol-related risky sexual behavior among college students. *J Consult Clin Psychol* 2014; 82: 429–440.
5. Thombs DL, Olds RS, Bondy SJ, et al. Undergraduate Drinking and Academic Performance: A Prospective Investigation With Objective Measures. *J Stud Alcohol Drugs* 2009; 70: 776–785.
6. Klatsky AL. Alcohol and cardiovascular health. *Physiol Behav* 2010; 100: 76–81.
7. Pöschl G, Seitz HK. Alcohol and cancer. *Alcohol Alcohol* 2004; 39: 155–165.
8. Serre F, Fatseas M, Swendsen J, et al. Ecological momentary assessment in the investigation of craving and substance use in daily life: a systematic review. *Drug Alcohol Depend* 2015; 148: 1–20.
9. Hochster A, Block-Lerner J, Marks DR, et al. Mindfulness buffers the effects of cue-induced craving on alcohol demand in college drinkers. *Addict Behav* 2018; 84: 53–56.
10. Sheehan BE, Lau-Barraco C, Linden AN. An examination of risky drinking behaviors and motivations for alcohol use in a college sample. *J Am Coll Health* 2013; 61: 444–452.
11. Hoffman EW, Pinkleton BE, Austin EW, et al. Exploring College Students' Use of General and Alcohol-Related Social Media and Their Associations With Alcohol-Related Behaviors. *Journal of American College Health* 2014; 62: 328–335.
12. Colby SM, Colby JJ, Raymond GA. College versus the real world: student perceptions and implications for understanding heavy drinking among college students. *Addict Behav* 2009; 34: 17–27.

13. Schacht JP, Anton RF, Myrick H. Functional neuroimaging studies of alcohol cue reactivity: a quantitative meta-analysis and systematic review. *Addict Biol* 2013; 18: 121–133.
14. Kühn S, Gallinat J. Common biology of craving across legal and illegal drugs - a quantitative meta-analysis of cue-reactivity brain response. *Eur J Neurosci* 2011; 33: 1318–1326.
15. Hill-Bowen LD, Riedel MC, Poudel R, et al. The cue-reactivity paradigm: An ensemble of networks driving attention and cognition when viewing drug and natural reward-related stimuli. *bioRxiv* 2021; 2020.02.26.966549.
16. Haber SN. The place of dopamine in the cortico-basal ganglia circuit. *Neuroscience* 2014; 282: 248–257.
17. Haber SN, Knutson B. The reward circuit: linking primate anatomy and human imaging. *Neuropsychopharmacology* 2010; 35: 4–26.
18. Bartra O, McGuire JT, Kable JW. The valuation system: a coordinate-based meta-analysis of BOLD fMRI experiments examining neural correlates of subjective value. *Neuroimage* 2013; 76: 412–427.
19. Heinz A, Beck A, Grüsser SM, et al. Identifying the neural circuitry of alcohol craving and relapse vulnerability. *Addict Biol* 2009; 14: 108–118.
20. Grüsser SM, Wrase J, Klein S, et al. Cue-induced activation of the striatum and medial prefrontal cortex is associated with subsequent relapse in abstinent alcoholics. *Psychopharmacology* 2004; 175: 296–302.
21. Heinz A, Siessmeier T, Wrase J, et al. Correlation Between Dopamine D2 Receptors in the Ventral Striatum and Central Processing of Alcohol Cues and Craving. *AJP* 2004; 161: 1783–1789.
22. Sjoerds Z, van den Brink W, Beekman ATF, et al. Cue reactivity is associated with duration and severity of alcohol dependence: an FMRI study. *PLoS One* 2014; 9: e84560.
23. Vollstädt-Klein S, Wichert S, Rabinstein J, et al. Initial, habitual and compulsive alcohol use is characterized by a shift of cue processing from ventral to dorsal striatum. *Addiction* 2010; 105: 1741–1749.
24. Wrase J, Schlagenhauf F, Kienast T, et al. Dysfunction of reward processing correlates with alcohol craving in detoxified alcoholics. *Neuroimage* 2007; 35: 787–794.

25. Seo D, Lacadie CM, Tuit K, et al. Disrupted ventromedial prefrontal function, alcohol craving, and subsequent relapse risk. *JAMA Psychiatry* 2013; 70: 727–739.
26. Beck A, Pelz P, Lorenz RC, et al. Effects of high-dose baclofen on cue reactivity in alcohol dependence: A randomized, placebo-controlled pharmacofMRI study. *Eur Neuropsychopharmacol* 2018; 28: 1206–1216.
27. Vollstädt-Klein S, Loeber S, Kirsch M, et al. Effects of cue-exposure treatment on neural cue reactivity in alcohol dependence: a randomized trial. *Biol Psychiatry* 2011; 69: 1060–1066.
28. Karl D, Bumb JM, Bach P, et al. Nalmefene attenuates neural alcohol cue-reactivity in the ventral striatum and subjective alcohol craving in patients with alcohol use disorder. *Psychopharmacology* 2021; 238: 2179–2189.
29. Ryff CD. Happiness is everything, or is it? Explorations on the meaning of psychological well-being. *J Pers Soc Psychol* 1989; 57: 1069.
30. Hill PL, Edmonds GW, Peterson M, et al. Purpose in Life in Emerging Adulthood: Development and Validation of a New Brief Measure. *J Posit Psychol* 2016; 11: 237–245.
31. Kang Y, Strecher VJ, Kim E, et al. Purpose in life and conflict-related neural responses during health decision-making. *Health Psychol* 2019; 38: 545–552.
32. McKnight PE, Kashdan TB. Purpose in life as a system that creates and sustains health and well-being: an integrative, testable theory. *Rev Gen Psychol* 2009; 13: 242.
33. Kang Y, Cosme D, Pei R, et al. Purpose in life, loneliness, and protective health behaviors during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Gerontologist*. Epub ahead of print 14 June 2021. DOI: 10.1093/geront/gnab081.
34. Boyle PA, Buchman AS, Bennett DA. Purpose in Life Is Associated With a Reduced Risk of Incident Disability Among Community-Dwelling Older Persons. *The American Journal of Geriatric Psychiatry* 2010; 18: 1093–1102.
35. Alimujiang A, Wiensch A, Boss J, et al. Association Between Life Purpose and Mortality Among US Adults Older Than 50 Years. *JAMA Netw Open* 2019; 2: e194270.
36. Sliedrecht W, de Waart R, Witkiewitz K, et al. Alcohol use disorder relapse factors: A systematic review. *Psychiatry Res* 2019; 278: 97–115.
37. Roos CR, Kirouac M, Pearson MR, et al. Examining temptation to drink from an existential

- perspective: Associations among temptation, purpose in life, and drinking outcomes. *Psychol Addict Behav* 2015; 29: 716–724.
38. Krentzman AR, Cranford JA, Robinson EAR. Long-Term Increases in Purpose in Life are Associated with Remission from Alcohol Dependence. *Alcohol Treat Q* 2015; 33: 252–269.
 39. Cooper ML, Frone MR, Russell M, et al. Drinking to regulate positive and negative emotions: a motivational model of alcohol use. *J Pers Soc Psychol* 1995; 69: 990–1005.
 40. Berkman ET, Hutcherson CA, Livingston JL, et al. Self-Control as Value-Based Choice. *Curr Dir Psychol Sci* 2017; 26: 422–428.
 41. López-Caneda E, Carbia C. The Galician Beverage Picture Set (GBPS): A standardized database of alcohol and non-alcohol images. *Drug Alcohol Depend* 2018; 184: 42–47.
 42. Fosco GM, Lydon-Staley DM. Implications of Family Cohesion and Conflict for Adolescent Mood and Well-Being: Examining Within- and Between-Family Processes on a Daily Timescale. *Family Process* 2020; 59: 1672–1689.
 43. Lydon-Staley DM, Falk EB, Bassett DS. Within-person variability in sensation-seeking during daily life: Positive associations with alcohol use and self-defined risky behaviors. *Psychol Addict Behav* 2020; 34: 257–268.
 44. Adler NE, Epel ES, Castellazzo G, et al. Relationship of subjective and objective social status with psychological and physiological functioning: preliminary data in healthy white women. *Health Psychol* 2000; 19: 586–592.
 45. Aiken LS, West SG, Reno RR. *Multiple Regression: Testing and Interpreting Interactions*. SAGE, 1991.
 46. Abuse S. Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA).(2019). Key substance use and mental health indicators in the United States: results from the 2018 National Survey on drug use and health (HHS publication no. PEP19-5068, NSDUH series H-54). Rockville, MD: Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality. *Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration Retrieved from <https://www.samhsa.gov/data>*.
 47. Ihssen N, Cox WM, Wiggett A, et al. Differentiating heavy from light drinkers by neural responses to visual alcohol cues and other motivational stimuli. *Cereb Cortex* 2011; 21: 1408–1415.
 48. Pinquart M. Creating and maintaining purpose in life in old age: A meta-analysis. *Ageing Int* 2002; 27: 90–114.

49. Merz EL, Roesch SC. Modeling trait and state variation using multilevel factor analysis with PANAS daily diary data. *J Res Pers* 2011; 45: 2–9.
50. Kashdan TB, McKnight PE. Commitment to a purpose in life: an antidote to the suffering by individuals with social anxiety disorder. *Emotion* 2013; 13: 1150–1159.
51. Fogelman N, Canli T. ‘Purpose in Life’ as a psychosocial resource in healthy aging: an examination of cortisol baseline levels and response to the Trier Social Stress Test. *npj Aging and Mechanisms of Disease* 2015; 1: 15006.
52. Smith BW, Tooley EM, Montague EQ, et al. The role of resilience and purpose in life in habituation to heat and cold pain. *J Pain* 2009; 10: 493–500.
53. Shiba K, Kubzansky LD, Williams DR, et al. Associations Between Purpose in Life and Mortality by SES. *Am J Prev Med*. Epub ahead of print 18 May 2021. DOI: 10.1016/j.amepre.2021.02.011.
54. Dion ML, Sumner JL, Mitchell SM. Gendered Citation Patterns across Political Science and Social Science Methodology Fields. *Polit Anal* 2018; 26: 312–327.
55. Mitchell JP, Banaji MR, Macrae CN. The link between social cognition and self-referential thought in the medial prefrontal cortex. *J Cogn Neurosci* 2005; 17: 1306–1315.
56. Zhou, D., Cornblath, E. J., Stiso, J., Teich, E. G., Dworkin, J. D., Blevins, A. S., & Bassett, D. S. *Gender diversity statement and code notebook v1.0*. <https://github.com/dalejn/cleanBib> (2020).

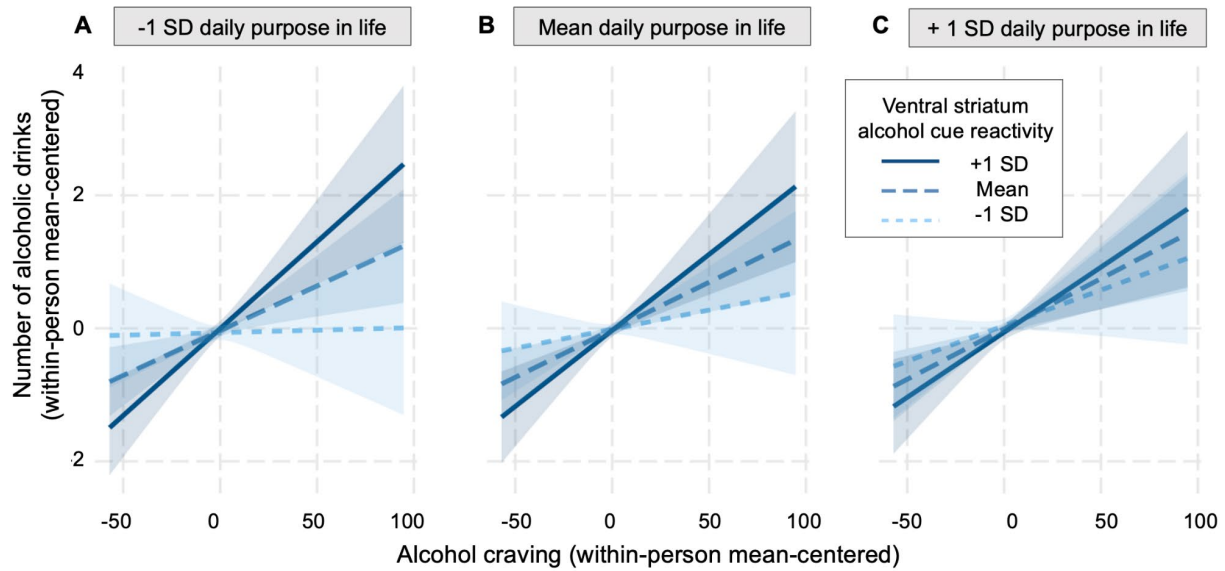


Figure 1. Simple slopes analysis. Individuals with heightened ventral striatum alcohol cue reactivity consumed a larger amount of alcohol following craving only when they were previously feeling weaker (A) levels of purpose in life. By contrast, neural reactivity did not affect the link between alcohol craving and subsequent drinking when people were previously feeling a mean (B) or stronger sense of purpose in life (C). The ventral striatum variable was between-person mean-centered, and purpose in life, alcohol craving, and alcohol consumption variables were within-person mean-centered. SD=standard deviation

Table 1. Demographic characteristics (N=54)

Age	
Mean (<i>SD</i>)	20.35 (1.32)
Median	20.00
Range	18-23
Gender, n(%)	
Women	37 (68.5)
Men	16 (29.6)
Other	1 (1.9)
Race/Ethnicity, n(%)	
White	26 (48.1)
Asian	16 (29.6)
Black or African American	2 (3.7)
Latino/a	3 (5.6)
Other	7 (13.0)
Status in group	
Mean (<i>SD</i>)	4.92 (2.20)
Median	5
Range	1-10

Notes: *SD*=standard deviation; Status in group = Perceptions of one's status within the campus

group measured by the MacArthur Scale of Subjective Social Status, with their social group as the reference (1=low, 10=high).⁴⁴

Author Manuscript

Table 2. Multilevel analyses of alcohol craving, neural reactivity to alcohol cues within the ventral striatum, and purpose in daily life predicting the amount of alcohol consumed.

	β	b	se	t	p	95% CI	d
Craving	0.209	0.209	0.050	4.147	<0.001	0.110, 0.308	1.514
Purpose in life	0.019	0.019	0.026	0.731	0.465	-0.032, 0.070	0.040
Ventral striatum	-0.020	-0.018	0.027	-0.683	0.495	-0.071, 0.034	-0.038
Craving * Purpose in life	-0.018	-0.017	0.027	-0.645	0.519	-0.069, 0.035	-0.035
Craving * Ventral striatum	0.027	0.025	0.048	0.531	0.599	-0.068, 0.118	0.197
Purpose in life * Ventral striatum	-0.058	-0.053	0.024	-2.165	0.031	-0.101, -0.005	-0.118
Craving * Purpose in life * Ventral striatum	-0.093	-0.086	0.026	-3.316	<0.001	-0.137, -0.035	-0.181

Notes: Standardized (β) and unstandardized (**b**) regression coefficients, 95% confidence intervals (CI), standard error for unstandardized regression coefficients (se), and Cohen's *d* scores (d) are displayed. Time-varying variables (purpose in life, alcohol craving, and amount of later alcohol consumption) were within-person standardized (N=54; 1358 observations). All analyses controlled for potential covariates, including demographic variables (age, gender, race/ethnicity, and perceived social status) and the condition assignment as part of a parent study. Please see https://github.com/cnlab/purpose_craving for the complete model output statistics. The phrase "ventral striatum" indicates the neural reactivity to alcohol cues within the ventral striatum while viewing images of alcoholic beverages.