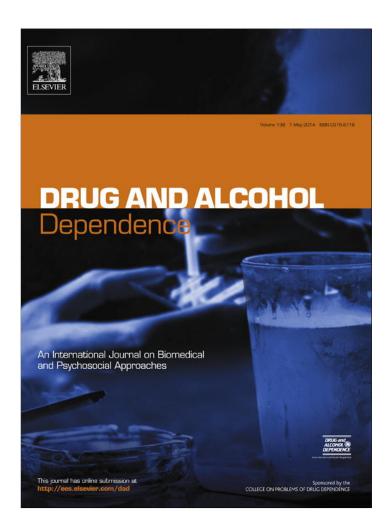
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# Parental, peer and school experiences as predictors of alcohol drinking among first and second generation immigrant adolescents in Israel



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### ABSTRACT

*Background:* Ecological perspectives stress the importance of environmental predictors of adolescent alcohol use, yet little research has examined such predictors among immigrant adolescents. This study examines parental, peer and school predictors of alcohol drinking (casual drinking, binge drinking and drunkenness) among Israeli-born adolescents and first and second generation adolescent immigrants from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Ethiopia in Israel.

Methods: The study uses data from the 2010 to 2011 Israeli Health Behaviors of School age Children (HBSC) survey and includes a representative sample of 3059 adolescents, aged 11–17. Differences between the groups for drinking were examined using Pearson's chi square. Logistic regression models were used to examine group specific predictors of drinking.

Results: First generation FSU and both Ethiopian groups reported higher levels of binge drinking and drunkenness than Israeli-born adolescents. All immigrant groups reported lower levels of parental monitoring than native born adolescents; both first generation groups reported difficulties talking to parents; and first generation FSU and second generation Ethiopian adolescents reported greater time with friends. Group specific logistic regression models suggest that while parent, peer and school variables all predicted alcohol use among Israeli adolescents, only time spent with peers consistently predicted immigrant alcohol use.

Conclusions: Findings highlight specific vulnerability of first generation FSU and second generation Ethiopian adolescents to high levels of drinking and the salience of time spent with peers as predicting immigrant adolescent drinking patterns. They suggest that drinking patterns must be understood in relation to country of origin and immigration experience of a particular group.

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# 1. Introduction

Adolescent alcohol drinking is a major public health concern. Results from the US 2011 National Survey on Drug Use and Health found 7.4% of 12–17 year olds involved in binge drinking, with 13.3% of this age-group reporting on-going alcohol use (SAMHSA, 2012). Statistics from the 2010 Health Behaviors of School age children (HBSC) study conducted in over 40 countries in Europe and North America show 29% of 15 year old girls and 34% of boys reported having been drunk at least twice (ranging from 55% in Denmark to 14% in the US; Currie et al., 2012). Concern has been raised as to the involvement of *immigrant* adolescents in problem drinking (Vazsonyi et al., 2006). Research on drinking patterns among adolescent immigrants has shown that levels of drinking depend

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on country of origin, receiving country and immigrant generation status (Amundsen et al., 2005; Eitle et al., 2009; Svensson and Hagquist, 2010). However, little research has examined psychosocial predictors of immigrant youth drinking and more research is needed to understand drinking patterns across immigrant generations in different cultural contexts.

# 1.1. Adolescent immigrant adaptation

Empirical research stresses vulnerability of immigrant youth to negative psychological, social and academic outcomes (Crosnoe and Fuligni, 2012; Janssen et al., 2004; Stevens et al., 2003; Vazsonyi et al., 2006). In Israel, immigrant adolescents from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) and Ethiopia report higher rates of alcohol and ecstasy use, binge drinking, smoking and lower levels of mental health than Israeli-born youth (Isralowitz and Reznik, 2007; Walsh et al., 2010). However, research suggests that second (and later) generation immigrants (i.e., born in host country), in countries

other than Israel, are at even higher risk than those born abroad for substance use and delinquency (Bui and Thongniramol, 2005; Pena et al., 2008; Vazsonyi et al., 2006).

The majority of literature to date comparing alcohol use among different generations of immigrant youth has focused on Hispanic/Latino youth in the US (Bacio et al., 2013; Pena et al., 2008). Few studies have explored generation differences in alcohol use in other populations (see Svensson and Hagquist, 2010 for an exception), despite the importance of understanding cross-generational processes of adaptation. Mass global migration in past decades and large numbers of children of immigrant parents born in a new country (Kwak, 2003), make the understanding of immigrant adolescent risk behavior in general and alcohol use in particular a relevant and important topic.

# 1.2. Parental, peer and school experiences as related to alcohol drinking

Ecological perspectives stress environmental context as important in predicting adolescent substance use (Dishion and Skaggs, 2000; Kumpfer and Turner, 1990). The role of parental relationships in predicting adolescent substance use has been well-documented. Parental support and monitoring have been found to be negatively related to drug, smoking and alcohol use (Barnes et al., 2000; Capaldi et al., 2009; Dick et al., 2007; Lifrak et al., 1997; Steinberg et al., 1994). Parental involvement and communication can act as protective factors against the development of risk behaviors in general (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Otten et al., 2007; Resnick et al., 1997; Simons-Morton et al., 2004) and against immigrant adolescents risk behavior (Murad et al., 2004; Stevens et al., 2007) and alcohol use (Schwartz et al., 2012) in particular.

The link between parent-adolescent involvement and alcohol use may be particularly salient in immigrant families where processes of immigration and adaptation can undermine family structure. Immigrant adolescents frequently learn new cultural values, norms, language and practices faster and more easily than their parents (Buriel et al., 1998; Portes, 1997; Valdes et al., 2003). Parents' own acculturation difficulties and lack of cultural knowledge and language can lead to immigrant parents being less able or confident to fulfill roles of support or monitoring (Berry, 1997; Kwak, 2003).

Peer relationships play a central role in adolescent alcohol use (Kuntsche and Jordan, 2006; Poelen et al., 2007) and may be a better predictor of risk behavior than parental influence (Brook et al., 1997; Gerrard et al., 1999). Strong deviant peer associations have been found with alcohol consumption and other substance abuse (Alexander and Hickner, 1997; Beal et al., 2001; Gerrard et al., 1999; Steinberg et al., 1994 Wills et al., 2004). Time with friends has been shown to predict involvement in adolescent risk behavior in general (Alikasifoglu et al., 2004) and immigrant alcohol use in particular (Walsh et al., 2010). School perceptions (including feelings of social connectedness, teacher caring and respect) have been found to be related to substance use, smoking, drinking, violence, truancy and mental health (see LaRusso et al., 2008 for a review). In an environment in which immigrant adolescents may find it harder to turn to their parents for support and guidance, the school environment and relationships with peers and teachers can be critical in predicting adolescent immigrant alcohol use (Walsh et al., 2010).

# 1.3. Adolescent drinking in a cultural context: convergence theory

Cultural context is needed to make sense of immigrant adolescent adaptation and drinking norms (Berry et al., 2006; Kwak, 2003). Research in Sweden shows that second generation adolescent immigrants coming from cultures with lower levels of drinking

report similar (increased) levels of alcohol use to the Swedish majority (Svensson and Hagquist, 2010). This may reflect a cross-generational process of integration (i.e., adopting behaviors of the receiving population). A similar convergence of drinking patterns has been found in Israel among young immigrant adults from the FSU (Sznitman et al., 2013), yet in the opposite direction, with immigrants showing lower levels of drinking over time (more similar to those of Israelis).

Russia has among the highest levels of alcohol use (Pridemore, 2002) and significantly higher socially accepted levels of alcohol drinking as compared with Israeli culture (Hasin et al., 1998; Rahav et al., 1999). In contrast, very low levels of alcohol use have been found among Ethiopian adolescents in general (Kebede et al., 2005) and among Ethiopian Jews in villages in particular (Grisaro and Witztum, 2012). Alcohol use, both adult and adolescent, in Israel has consistently been found to be moderate to low as compared with the US and other countries (Dohrenwend et al., 1992; Harel-Fisch et al., 2013; Neumark et al., 2001). Convergence theories would suggest that integrated immigrant youth, over time and generation, would show increasingly similar levels of alcohol use to Israeli-born adolescents

#### 1.4. Immigrant adolescents from the FSU and Ethiopia in Israel

Statistics report 60,000 immigrant adolescents aged 12–17 from the FSU (35% first generation) and 17,900 Ethiopian adolescents (45% first generation) in Israel (Kahan-Strawczynski et al., 2012), approximately 19% of all 12–17 year olds (figures from the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, http://www.cbs.gov.il/shnaton63/st02\_22x.pdf). The wave of immigrants from the FSU following 1990 took place in the socio-economic crisis that ensued after the break-up of the FSU (Remennick, 1999). FSU immigrants came with high levels of education, literacy and human capital and studies have documented high levels of employment as compared with other immigrant groups in Israel (Amit, 2012; Remennick, 1998). Today, FSU immigrants are well-integrated into Israeli society in general (Remennick, 2012).

For Ethiopian immigrants, difficulties in integration have resulted from deep cultural differences (Kaniel, 1990; Tannenbaum, 2008). Significant illiteracy and the transition from poor rural living to an urban society have brought with it many absorption problems (Kurman and Ronen-Eilon, 2004). Ethiopian immigrants to Israel remain disadvantaged in terms of education and occupational attainment compared to other ethnic groups in Israel (Offer, 2004, 2007). Ethiopian youth are particularly at risk with high levels of juvenile delinquency and school drop-out (Kaplan and Salamon, 1998).

In summary, existing research emphasizes the vulnerability of immigrant youth for problem drinking, but stresses a need to understand cultural context. Theories of immigration highlight the changes in family structure and suggest that relationships with peers and the school experience may play a more dominant role in influencing adolescent immigrant behavior than parental relationships (in comparison to non-immigrant adolescents). We hypothesized that immigrant adolescents would report higher levels of drinking, lower levels of parental communication and monitoring, and higher levels of time with friends than Israeli-born adolescents. We also hypothesized, in accord with convergence theory, that second generation immigrants would report similar levels of drinking to Israeli-born adolescents. In addition, we hypothesize that school perceptions and time spent with friends (in comparison with parental relations) would be strong predictors of alcohol use for immigrant adolescents.

#### 2. Methods

This study uses Israeli data from the 2010 to 2011 HBSC-WHO cross-national survey conducted among children aged 11–17. The HBSC is a school-based survey of adolescent health behaviors and psychosocial determinants, carried out every 4 years, using an international standardized methodological protocol (Currie et al., 2012; Roberts et al., 2009). A standard, anonymous, self-administered in-class questionnaire is used.

The 2010–2011 study included students from 130 Jewish and 52 Arab schools. This paper is based on the analyses of the Jewish sub-sample only. The current study included 3059 adolescents (46% male): 2250 second generation Israeli-born adolescents (i.e., both child and parents were born in Israel), 197 first and 410 second generation FSU, 90 first and 112 second generation Ethiopian adolescents. Immigrant adolescents from other countries were excluded.

Using the Ministry of Education's list, classrooms were randomly sampled (90% classroom response). Once a class was chosen, in order to limit the number of schools involved, an additional two classes in the same school were randomly sampled. All students in sampled classrooms present were included (>95% pupil response). The research protocol received approval from ethics committees of the Israeli Ministry of Education and Bar Ilan University. Passive parental consent was obtained through letters sent home. Adolescents signed informed consent before answering the questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered in Hebrew (all schools are Hebrew speaking schools); teachers were present to help students with difficulties completing questionnaires.

#### 2.1. Measures

2.1.1. Alcohol drinking. Drinking alcohol was measured through three questions: (1) Casual drinking: "In the past month have you drunk wine/beer/hard liquor/any other alcoholic drink" (0 – No, 1 – once or more); (2) Drunkenness: "Have you ever had so much alcohol that you were really drunk?" (1 – Never; 2 – once; 3 – 2–3 times; 4 – 4–10 times; 5 – more than 10 times); (3) Binge drinking: "In the past 30 days how many times have you drunk five drinks of alcohol or more within a period

of a few hours?" (1 - never; 2 - not in the past month; 3 - once; 4 - twice; 5 - 3 times; 6 - four times or more). For each question a dichotomous variable was created in order to identify adolescents involved in alcohol use (0 - No/never 1 - other). HBSC items on drunkenness and binge drinking have been found to have good predictive and criterion validity (Kuntsche et al., 2011).

2.1.2. Relationships with parents and peers. Difficulty talking to parents was measured by 2-items: "How easy is it for you to talk to the following persons about things that really bother you?" (mother/father separately), measured on a 4-point scale (1 - very easy: 4 - not at all). Answers were summed and dichotomized (0 - easy/yery easy to talk to at least one parent: 1 - other). Parental monitoring was measured through 5-items: "How much do your parents really know about: who your friends are, how you spend your money, where you are after school, where you go at night and what you do with your free time?". Questions were measured on a 4-point scale (1 - my parents know a lot; 3 - my parents do not know at all; 4 - I don't have or don't see my parents; Cronbach's alpha = 0.79). Each question was dichotomized (1 - my parents know a lot; 0 - other). Dichotomous variables for the 5 items were summed and divided into three levels of monitoring: low (0 items), medium (1-2 items) and high (3-5 items). The parental relations measures have been well-used in HBSC research and show good reliability and validity (Moreno et al., 2009; Tabak et al., 2012). Time spent with friends was measured by "How many evenings per week do you usually spend out with your friends?" (0-7). Responses were recoded 1 (5-7 evenings) 0 (4 or less) (Walsh

2.1.3. Negative school perceptions. This included 15 items on a five point scale (1 – 'strongly agree' to 5 – 'strongly disagree'). The question areas included academic achievement (e.g., feeling pressured by school work-reversed), student social relationships (e.g., students are kind and helpful); general school perception (e.g., liking school); rules and regulations (e.g., rules are fair), teacher-pupil relations (e.g., teachers are interested in students) and general school perceptions (e.g., school is a nice place to be); Cronbach's alpha = 0.82. Each question was dichotomized into

**Table 1**Proportions of respondents reporting the presence of selected demographics and risk behaviors.

	Israeli-parents N=2250 I	1st generation		2nd generation		Total	$\chi^2$	Pairwise comparisons <sup>a</sup>
		FSU N=197 II	Ethiopian N=90 III	FSU N=410 IV	Ethiopian N=112 V	N = 3059		
Gender								
Male	0.47	0.52	0.26	0.47	0.43	0.46	18.97**	III $\neq$ all
Female	0.53	0.48	0.74	0.53	0.57	0.54		
SES								
Low SES	0.02	0.09	0.54	0.04	0.34	0.06	767.44**	I, IV $\neq$ II,III,V II $\neq$ all III $\neq$ all V $\neq$ all
Medium SES	0.22	0.42	0.37	0.38	0.41	0.27		
High SES	0.75	0.49	0.09	0.58	0.25	0.68		
Parental monitoring								
High	0.45	0.31	0.15	0.31	0.19	0.41	155.85**	$I \neq all$ $II,IV \neq III,V$
Medium	0.38	0.33	0.46	0.39	0.35	0.38		
Low	0.17	0.36	0.39	0.30	0.45	0.21		
Difficulty talking with parents	0.05	0.12	0.22	0.08	0.11	0.06	20.63**	$\begin{array}{l} \text{III} \ \neq \ \text{all} \\ \text{I,IV} \ \neq \ \text{II, V} \end{array}$
Time spent with friends	0.10	0.23	0.14	0.15	0.25	0.12	49.66**	I,III,IV ≠ II,V
Negative School Perceptions								
0–1	0.34	0.25	0.41	0.33	0.38	0.34	55.15 <sup>**</sup>	$\begin{array}{l} \text{II} \ \neq \ \text{all} \\ \text{I,IV} \ \neq \ \text{III} \end{array}$
2–3	0.41	0.39	0.34	0.37	0.32	0.40		
4 or more	0.25	0.36	0.24	0.30	0.29	0.27		
Casual drinking	0.20	0.40	0.22	0.23	0.24	0.22	42.68**	$II \neq all$
Binge drinking	0.11	0.29	0.24	0.15	0.23	0.13	71.36**	I,IV ≠ II,III,V
Drunkenness	0.13	0.47	0.23	0.21	0.31	0.18	161.33**	$ \begin{array}{ll} I \neq II,III,V \\ II \neq all \\ III \neq I,II,V \\ IV \neq V \end{array} $

a  $\chi^2$  Relates to the overall test of group differences. Post hoc pairwise comparisons with a Bonferroni correction were carried out.  $\neq$  shows where groups differ significantly.  $\neq$  p<.01

presence or absence of negative perception (1 – disagree or strongly disagree; 0 – other). All questions were summed into a new variable of negative school perceptions, recoded as 0 – zero-one negative perceptions, 1 – two-three perceptions, and 2 – four or more perceptions. The HBSC school perceptions questions and the cut-off points have been found to have good reliability and validity (Torsheim et al., 2010).

2.1.4. Socio-economic status. SES was measured by four questions: Does your family own a car, van or truck (0 - No; 2 - 2 or more); Do you have your own bedroom (0 - No; 1 - Yes); During the past 12 months how many times did you travel abroad with your family (0 - none; 3 - more than twice); How many computers does your family own (0 - None; 3 - more than 2). The continuous variable created as a sum of the four questions was divided into three groups of low, medium, high FAS (see Currie et al., 2008 for a full review of the HBSC family affluence scale).

#### 2.2. Statistical analysis

Differences between the five groups were examined for all the study variables using Pearsons Chi-Square (and Bonferroni corrected post hoc pairwise comparison) for alcohol drinking (casual/binge/drunkenness), negative school perceptions, parental relations and time spent with friends. Logistic regression models, firstly for the whole sample and secondly for each of the five population groups separately, were used to examine predictors of drinking. For the whole sample, in model 1 demographic variables of gender, age and SES (low SES as the reference group) were entered. Each subsequent model included the demographic variables together with specific added variables. In model 2 immigration status was added (Israeli-born adolescents as the reference group). In model 3, parental monitoring was entered (high monitoring as reference group). Similarly, in models 4, 5 and 6, difficulties talking with parents (good communication as reference group), time with friends

(less than 5 nights as reference group) and negative school perceptions (0–1 negative perceptions as reference group) were added. In model 7 all variables were entered together. Finally, the full regression model was run separately for each of the five (Israeli-born and immigrant) groups.

#### 3. Results

Initial analysis of SES showed immigrants with substantially lower SES, with the exception of second generation FSU (see Table 1). As groups also differed substantially on gender, gender and SES were included in subsequent analyses.

# 3.1. Differences between the groups in measures of drinking, parental, peer and school experiences

Significant differences between the five groups were found for all drinking measures, parental monitoring and communication, time with friends and negative school perceptions (see Table 1). In comparison with Israeli-born adolescents, first generation FSU and both Ethiopian groups reported lower levels of monitoring and higher levels of difficulty talking with parents, binge drinking and drunkenness. First generation FSU and second generation Ethiopian adolescents reported greater time spent with friends than the other groups. First generation FSU adolescents reported

 Table 2

 Logistic regression models examining relations between selected demographics and risk behaviors and different alcohol use.

		Binge drinking		Drunkenness	Drunkenness		Casual drinking	
		Specific partial models	Full model	Specific partial models	Full model	Specific partial models	Full model	
I	Gender	2.49 (1.97,3.13)	2.31 (1.80,2.96)	2.72 (2.20,3.37)	2.52 (2.00,3.18)	2.70 (2.24,3.26)	2.46 (2.02,3.01)	
	Age	1.49 (1.40,1.58)	1.38 (1.29,1.48)	1.72 (1.61,1.83)	1.60 (1.50,1.71)	1.46 (1.39,1.54)	1.41 (1.33,1.49)	
	SES							
	Low SES	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
	Medium SES	1.21 (0.78,1.87)	0.74 (0.43,1.30)	0.95 (0.62,1.44)	0.68 (0.40,1.15)	0.98 (0.66,1.44)	1.03 (0.65,1.63)	
	High SES	0.99 (0.76,1.28)	0.83 (0.63,1.10)	0.88 (0.69,1.12)	0.70 (0.54,0.92)	0.83 (0.67,1.03)	0.77 (0.62,0.97)	
II	Immigration Status							
	Israel	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
	FSU G1	1.79 (1.22,2.63)	1.44 (0.96,2.16)	3.02 (2.10,4.33)	2.57 (1.76,3.74)	1.47 (1.04,2.08)	1.23 (0.86,1.76)	
	Ethiopian G1	1.78 (0.92,3.45)	1.67 (0.82,3.41)	0.96 (0.49,1.87)	0.91 (0.44,1.86)	0.63 (0.33,1.18)	0.53 (0.27,1.04)	
	FSU G2	1.24 (0.89,1.72)	1.05 (0.75,1.48)	1.39 (1.03,1.89)	1.18 (0.86,1.62)	1.03 (0.78,1.36)	0.89 (0.67,1.18)	
	Ethiopian G2	1.86 (1.09,3.16)	1.19 (0.67,2.13)	2.15 (1.29,3.56)	1.39 (0.80,2.41)	0.87 (0.52,1.46)	0.60 (0.34,1.03)	
III	Parental monitoring							
	High	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
	Medium	1.23 (0.91,1.66)	1.19 (0.88,1.62)	1.22 (0.93,1.59)	1.19 (0.90,1.57)	1.29 (1.03,1.63)	1.26 (1.00,1.59)	
	Low	3.43 (2.57,4.59)	3.01 (2.22,4.08)	3.56 (2.72,4.67)	3.21 (2.41,4.27)	2.58 (2.02,3.29)	2.39 (1.85,3.08)	
IV	Difficulty talking with parents	1.48 (1.01,2.17)	1.06 (0.71,1.59)	1.42 (0.99,2.04)	1.01 (0.69,1.50)	1.47 (1.05,2.07)	1.14 (0.80,1.62)	
V	Time spent with friends	3.16 (2.40,4.17)	2.80 (2.09,3.74)	3.06 (2.33,4.01)	2.68 (2.01,3.56)	2.40 (1.87,3.09)	2.22 (1.71,2.88)	
VI	Negative school perceptions							
	0–1	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	
	2–3	1.20 (0.90,1.59)	1.16 (0.86,1.56)	1.45 (1.12,1.88)	1.41 (1.07,1.86)	1.23 (0.98,1.55)	1.17 (0.93,1.49)	
	4+	(0.90,1.59) 1.93 (1.44,2.58)	(0.86,1.36) 1.68 (1.23,2.28)	1.81 (1.37,2.39)	(1.07,1.86) 1.54 (1.15,2.08)	1.61 (1.25,2.08)	(0.95,1.49) 1.85 (1.45,2.36)	

Specific partial models: For each model II–VI, the variables of the specific model were added alone (e.g. excess time with friends or parental monitoring) together with demographic variables from model I in order to see the individual effect of each predictor.

Full model: All variables in models I-VI were included, in order to examine the predictive value of each of the variables when combined.

particularly high levels of casual drinking (40%), drunkenness and negative school perceptions. Second generation FSU adolescents did not differ significantly from Israeli-born adolescents on drinking measures, parental communication, time with friends and school perceptions.

# 3.2. Predictors of problem drinking

In the first stage logistic regression was carried out for casual drinking, binge drinking and drunkenness for the population as a whole (see Table 2). Boys and older adolescents reported significantly higher levels of all three forms of drinking; SES did not serve as a significant predictor of drinking. In partial models, first generation FSU adolescents reported higher levels of all drinking outcomes and second generation Ethiopian adolescents reported higher levels of drunkenness and binge drinking. Low parental monitoring, difficulty talking to parents, time spent with friends and more negative school perceptions predicted casual drinking, binge drinking and drunkenness (with the exception of difficulty talking with parents, which was not a significant predictor for drunkenness). In the full model (once parent, peer and school variables were added) immigrant status only remained significant for first generation FSU adolescents in their reported drunkenness. Parental monitoring, time with friends and negative school perceptions retained significance.

In the second stage, the final logistic model was run for each of the five groups for all drinking measures. While the model as described above (with parent, peer and school variables as predictors) was significant for the Israeli adolescents, the models for the immigrant groups showed major differences (see Tables 3–5). Time spent with friends was the only consistent significant predictor across immigrant groups. Additionally, negative school perceptions were significant for first generation Ethiopians in predicting drunkenness. For second generation FSU adolescents, parental monitoring was significant in predicting binge drinking and drunkenness, while difficulties talking predicted casual drinking.

#### 4. Discussion

## 4.1. Drinking patterns and risk factors across groups.

The study explored alcohol use among Israeli-born and immigrant adolescents from the FSU and Ethiopia in Israel. First generation FSU and both groups of Ethiopian adolescents reported higher levels of binge drinking and drunkenness than Israeli-born adolescents. As such, the results partially support the hypothesis that immigrant adolescents are more susceptible to risk behaviors (Bengi-Arslan et al., 1997; Isralowitz and Reznik, 2007; Janssen et al., 2004; Stevens et al., 2003). Yet, cross-generational differences in drinking patterns between FSU and Ethiopian adolescents suggest that immigrant adolescent alcohol use needs to be understood within the context of country/culture of origin and immigrant generation. First generation FSU adolescents report particularly high levels of casual drinking and drunkenness. This may reflect socially accepted higher levels of alcohol drinking in Russian culture as compared with Israeli culture (Hasin et al., 1998; Rahav et al., 1999). However, higher levels of negative school perceptions, time with friends, difficulty talking with parents and low monitoring suggest more than just a cultural difference in drinking patterns.

In contrast, second generation FSU adolescents report levels of drinking and risk behaviors similar to Israeli adolescents. Results parallel findings in the US that immigrant adolescents from the FSU show a linear process of acculturation and integration into the host society (Birman and Trickett, 2001) and strengthen a convergence theory of drinking (Svensson and Hagquist, 2010; Sznitman et al., 2013) which posits that drinking patterns of immigrants become more like those of natives over time. Results suggest second generation FSU immigrant adolescents are integrating and adapting in Israeli society. Both first and second generation Ethiopian adolescents reported higher levels of binge drinking and drunkenness than Israeli adolescents in contrast to a convergence theory.

While the results of the current study cannot explain underlying causes of problematic drinking, difficulties of immigrant youth have been explained by disadvantaged social conditions

**Table 3**Logistic regression model predicting casual drinking past 30 days by immigration status.

	Israeli-parents	1st generation		2nd generation	
		FSU	Ethiopian	FSU	Ethiopian
Gender	2.71	1.50	16.01	1.87	2.72
	(2.13,3.44)	(0.71,3.15)	(1.91,134.10)	(1.09,3.21)	(0.80, 9.22)
Age	1.32	1.65	2.39	1.64	1.82
	(1.23,1.41)	(1.36,2.02)	(1.22,4.65)	(1.42,1.90)	(1.20, 2.76)
SES	, ,	, ,	, ,	,	, , ,
Low SES	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium SES	2.86	1.10	0.05	0.24	0.50
	(1.49,5.49)	(0.30, 3.99)	(0.00,0.78)	(0.05,1.21)	(0.12,2.05)
High SES	0.78	2.33	0.13	0.37	0.43
	(0.59,1.04)	(1.10,4.94)	(0.01,2.53)	(0.20,0.67)	(0.10,1.79)
Parental monitoring					
High	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Medium	1.23	0.76	9.65	1.98	1.47
	(0.94,1.61)	(0.31, 1.85)	(0.38,246.15)	(0.98,4.02)	(0.28, 7.90)
Low	2.88	1.95	3.76	1.90	1.15
	(2.12,3.90)	(0.81,4.71)	(0.14,97.62)	(0.92,3.93)	(0.24,5.48)
Difficulty talking with parents	1.11	0.66	1.09	2.66	2.47
	(0.70,1.76)	(0.23, 1.92)	(0.16,7.43)	(1.08,6.55)	(0.49,12.34)
Time spent with friends	1.92	3.02	12.99	2.90	4.06
-F	(1.38,2.69)	(1.28,7.10)	(1.18,142.88)	(1.49,5.63)	(1.27,13.00)
Negative school perceptions					
0–1	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
2–3	1.37	0.34	1.14	0.90	1.06
	(1.03,1.81)	(0.14, 0.86)	(0.14,9.27)	(0.46,1.78)	(0.28,4.03)
4 or more	1.67	0.86	2.64	1.34	0.93
	(1.23,2.27)	(0.33,2.23)	(0.27,26.03)	(0.68, 2.65)	(0.24,3.58)

**Table 4**Logistic regression model predicting binge drinking (past 30 days) by immigration status.

	Israeli-parents	1st generation		2nd generation	
		FSU	Ethiopian	FSU	Ethiopian
Gender	2.27	2.05	6.72	2.21	2.33
	(1.66,3.11)	(0.93,4.53)	(1.22,37.09)	(1.18,4.14)	(0.67,8.05)
Age	1.36	1.33	1.29	1.55	1.45
	(1.24,1.49)	(1.10,1.62)	(0.88,1.87)	(1.31,1.84)	(0.98,2.16)
SES					
Low SES	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Medium SES	1.72	1.12	0.06	1.05	0.63
	(0.73,4.05)	(0.27,4.63)	(0.00,0.75)	(0.25,4.47)	(0.14,2.81)
High SES	0.73	1.59	0.52	0.67	0.96
	(0.50,1.07)	(0.73,3.42)	(0.05,5.80)	(0.34,1.30)	(0.23,4.04)
Parental monitoring					
High	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Medium	1.22	0.67	1.06	1.55	1.00
	(0.84,1.77)	(0.25,1.78)	(0.11,10.57)	(0.65,3.71)	(0.18,5.68)
Low	3.86	1.56	0.46	2.78	1.04
	(2.65,5.62)	(0.63,3.89)	(0.04,5.04)	(1.21,6.38)	(0.20,5.29)
Difficulty talking with parents	0.98	0.48	0.88	2.30	4.98
	(0.55,1.73)	(0.14,1.59)	(0.11,6.85)	(0.91,5.86)	(0.95,26.11)
Time spent with friends	2.32	4.82	20.82	3.44	5.96
	(1.57,3.43)	(2.10,11.09)	(2.06,210.41)	(1.65,7.19)	(1.73,20.59)
Negative school perceptions					
0–1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
2–3	1.17	0.62	2.94	0.82	2.92
	(0.80,1.69)	(0.24,1.60)	(0.46,19.00)	(0.37,1.85)	(0.77,11.11)
4 or more	1.79	1.17	1.76	1.41	0.70
	(1.22,2.64)	(0.44,3.09)	(0.21,14.72)	(0.64,3.11)	(0.16,3.08)

("segmented assimilation"; Portes and Zhou, 1993), difficulties in consolidating an ethnic identity (Goldblatt and Rosenblum, 2007; Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1990; Walsh et al., 2012), downward mobility (Bui, 2012), discrimination and rejection (Ben-Eliezer, 2004, 2008; Leshem, 1998; Remennick, 1999, 2002; Ringel et al., 2005; Walsh and Tuval-Mashiach, 2012) and loss of heritage practices and values (Gonzales et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2011).

Previous research in Israel has shown that adolescent substance use can be a reaction to stress (Schiff et al., 2007). However, as the study does not examine identity and discrimination, these remain topics for future investigation.

Results also suggest that Israeli adolescents reported higher levels of parental monitoring than immigrant adolescents. Changes in family structure including lower levels of monitoring following

**Table 5**Logistic regression model predicting drunkenness by immigration status.

	Israeli-parents	1st generation		2nd generation	
		FSU	Ethiopian	FSU	Ethiopian
Gender	2.34 (1.75,3.12)	3.20 (1.44,7.07)	5.74 (1.14,28.88)	2.58 (1.45,4.59)	8.47 (2.01,35.61)
Age	1.56	1.65	1.36	1.70	2.13
nge .	(1.43,1.71)	(1.35,2.01)	(0.93,2.00)	(1.45,1.99)	(1.33,3.42)
SES					
Low SES	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Medium SES	0.95	2.89	0.12	0.57	1.12
	(0.38,2.35)	(0.76,10.95)	(0.01,1.29)	(0.13,2.40)	(0.23,5.53)
High SES	0.62	1.64	0.69	0.55	1.30
	(0.43,0.88)	(0.77,3.48)	(0.07,7.15)	(0.30,1.03)	(0.25,6.84)
Parental monitoring					
High	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Medium	1.23	0.73	2.09	1.62	0.25
	(0.87,1.73)	(0.30,1.79)	(0.24,18.34)	(0.75,3.48)	(0.04, 1.67)
Low	4.51	1.66	1.09	2.62	0.32
	(3.18,6.41)	(0.68,4.04)	(0.12,9.59)	(1.23,5.57)	(0.05, 1.86)
Difficulty talking with parents	0.91	0.96	0.72	1.49	5.55
	(0.53,1.55)	(0.31,2.96)	(0.13,3.97)	(0.59, 3.76)	(0.79,39.03)
Time spent with friends	1.90	6.83	2.43	4.14	16.88
•	(1.29,2.80)	(2.66,17.52)	(0.32,18.29)	(2.07,8.28)	(3.74,76.22)
Negative school perceptions					
0–1	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
2-3	1.33	1.69	2.42	1.32	0.90
	(0.95,1.87)	(0.67,4.27)	(0.40,14.57)	(0.65,2.71)	(0.19, 4.26)
4 or more	1.55	1.65	7.43	1.17	0.37
	(1.07,2.25)	(0.60,4.54)	(1.03,53.49)	(0.55, 2.47)	(0.08, 1.75)

immigration may be connected to economic hardship (Kwak, 2003; McLloyd, 1990; Taylor et al., 2000), in line with study findings. Lower levels of monitoring may also result from parents' lack of the cultural knowledge, language and confidence needed to monitor in a new cultural reality (Berry, 1997; Kwak, 2003).

# 4.2. Risk factors for drinking among immigrant and non-immigrant groups

Findings suggest that while parental monitoring, time with friends and school perceptions were all important for predicting alcohol use among Israeli-born adolescents, patterns were different for the immigrant groups. Of particular note is the significant role that time with friends played in predicting immigrant problem drinking. The pivotal role of peer influence on adolescent drinking has been consistently found in alcohol research among adolescents in general (Beal et al., 2001; Kuntsche and Jordan, 2006; Poelen et al., 2007; Steinberg et al., 1994; Wills et al., 2004) and among immigrant and minority adolescents in particular (Elder et al., 2000; Hahm et al., 2004; Kim et al., 2002). Results suggest that for immigrant adolescents, peer influence may take on even greater importance in predicting alcohol use (Brook et al., 1997; Gerrard et al., 1999). While some literature to date has emphasized the heightened salience of peer over parental relations in adolescent immigrant drinking (Blake et al., 2001), the particular aspects of peer influence most relevant to adolescent immigrants still need more investigation.

### 4.3. Limitations

One major limitation of this study is the cross-sectional nature of HBSC data. Longitudinal research designs would be needed to see how patterns of immigrant adolescent drinking and the relationships between adolescents and their parents change and develop over a process of integration. Israel is a particular immigration context: although formally encouraging and enabling immigration of Jews, Israel has also been considered to encourage cultural assimilation amongst its immigrants (Ben-Eliezer, 2004; Bourhis and Dayan, 2004; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003). This may leave immigrants feeling pressure to swiftly integrate, and yet leads to continued feelings of marginalization for Ethiopian immigrants whose skin color will never allow their immigrant status to leave them. In addition, the HBSC study while covering a large number of adolescent health behaviors does not include variables which may be important for understanding adolescent immigrant drinking such as levels of acculturation of adolescents and their parents (Santisteban et al., 2012; Schwartz et al., 2012), neighborhood context (Molina et al., 2012) and measures of peer drinking (Kuntsche and Jordan, 2006). Lastly, despite the large and representative number of adolescents in the survey, the relatively small number of Ethiopian adolescents led to wide confidence intervals.

# 4.4. Conclusions

Immigrant groups from different countries may differ substantially from each other in many ways, and may therefore manifest differential patterns of health behaviors, including drinking-related behaviors, in the first and second generations. Only by studying such groups separately can the drinking and acculturation of immigrants be better understood. High levels of drinking and risk behaviors among first generation FSU and Ethiopian adolescents found in the current study demand attention on a school, community and societal level. Results suggest the importance of helping parents fill positive monitoring roles and being involved in their children's lives, a task made complicated by generational gaps in cultural understandings and language competence. Education

toward greater multicultural awareness and acceptance at school could help immigrant and minority adolescents feel a greater sense of belonging and acceptance.

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### **Contributors**

SDW and YHF designed the study. SDW and MBN managed the literature searches and summaries of previous related work. SDW, YHF and AD undertook the statistical analysis, and SDW wrote the first draft of the manuscript. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript.

### **Conflict of interest**

All authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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