The relationship between alcohol consumption of youth and their parents in modern Russia

Numerous studies show that parents are the primary agents of alcohol socialization for children and shape their alcohol consumption practices. This predict children's alcohol consumption in the future (Coffelt et al., 2006; Vermeulen-Smit et al., 2012; Randolph et al., 2018). Despite a variety of studies of alcohol consumption by children and parents, we cannot fully understand how this connection actually works because of the inconsistency of the results. It still remains unclear who makes the greatest "contribution" to young people's alcohol consumption – father or mother (Vermeulen-Smit et al., 2012; Bryant, 2020); whether the influence differs by gender and age (Bussey and Bandure, 1983; Eadie et al., 2010; Bryant, 2020). The differences in the results could be explained by methodology of the research, sample size and patterns of alcohol consumption in different countries (Green et al., 1991; O'Connor, 1978). The practices of alcohol consumption in Russia are quite specific and they have changed due to various methods of anti-alcohol policy, which is carried out in the state (Roshchina, 2012; Radaev and Kotelnikova, 2016; Kondratenko, 2021). The youth is the group that has made the greatest contribution to changing alcohol consumption patterns in Russia in recent decades (Radaev, Roshchina, 2019; Radaev, Roshchina, Salnikova, 2020),

In this study we aim to analyze the relationship between alcohol consumption by youth and their parents in modern Russia. We will conduct our research taking into account different age and sex groups of young people, as well as considering the influence of father and mother separately. Doing that we will be able to fill the gaps in existing empirical research noted above. The object of the study is youth aged 14 to 22, which we divide into younger (14-17) and older (18-22) youth. We use RLMS database from 2007 to 2019 years, the sample included 27,638 cases for all the analyzed period. We built 4 regression models. The dependent variable is youth alcohol consumption, the key independent variables are alcohol consumption by the father and mother (separately), as well as alcohol consumption by other family members. Theoretical framework of this research includes: the concept of (consumer) socialization (Ward, 1974), development theory (Randolph et al., 2018), A. Bandura's social learning theory (1969) and the concept of social hoops by T.Hirshi (1969).

We can make several key points based on the conducted data analysis. Using Russian data we confirmed that parents do influence whether young people consume alcohol or not. This thesis is in line with the concept of social learning (Bandura, 1969). We found that the mother has the greatest influence on the likelihood of young people drinking alcoholic beverages. This conclusion does not correlate with the main results of different studies where father usually plays the key role (Vermeulen-Smit et. al., 2012). We can explain this difference through cultural differences. In Russia the proportion of men who drink is higher than among women (Roshchina, 2013). That is why father's alcohol consumption (including excessive) is not considered as something outside the existing norms. However, consumption (including excessive) of alcohol by mothers is not common in Russia, it might have a big imprint on the perception of children considering their alcohol consumption patterns. Our data also shows that it is necessary to account not only for excessive parental alcohol consumption which was mostly done before in different studies (for example, Herd, 1994; Engels et al., 2005; Benville, 2019)., but also for moderate alcohol consumption.

We also found an unequal effect of parental alcohol consumption on youth depending on their gender and age. First, parents have a greater influence on girls, and in both age groups. It can be assumed that due to the fact that girls in general are more susceptible to the influence of the home atmosphere (Davies & Lindsay, 2004). In general, if there are any problems within the family, girls could be driven to depression and stress ("internal" symptoms), and boys to aggression and hyperactivity ("external" symptoms). Depression and

stress lead to alcohol consumption and problems with substance use in general in the future (Skeer et al., 2010). Secondly, we found that "younger youth" are more affected by excessive alcohol consumption, and for "older youth" this parameter is not dominant, it is affected by any alcohol consumption by parents. It turns out that younger children are affected by critical situations when parents drink excessively. Otherwise older young people have time to go through the stages of "alcoholic socialization" and develop their habits. So they are affected more by alcohol consumption by parents, and not so much by their excessive consumption. This explanation is driven from development theory and, in general, with the concept of consumer socialization (Eadie et al., 2010; Bryant, 2020).

The most important result lies within the impact of alcohol consumption by other family members, in addition to parents. We have identified a non-linear relationship of excessive alcohol consumption in the family. If an increase in the number of family members who drink alcohol moderately leads to an increase in the likelihood of young people to drink alcohol, then with an increase in family members who drink alcohol excessively, this probability decreases. Thus, we can confirm our hypothesis about the non-linearity of the influence of excessive parental alcohol consumption on children's alcohol consumption. Most of the research on this topic has more developed the idea that the presence of excessively drinking family members increases the likelihood that a child will drink alcohol. The idea of the ambiguity of parents' excessive alcohol consumption, its "nonlinearity" is rarely explored in studies (e.g. Herd, 1994), especially in the Russian context.

Thus, in this study, we were able to fill in the existing gaps in how exactly the influence of alcohol consumption by parents and other family members on alcohol consumption by young people is structured using Russian data as an example, which is the academic significance of this study. The practical significance of the study lies in the fact that the results we have identified can be used to formulate preventive measures to combat the expected increase in demand among young people for alcohol during a period of economic and social instability. Despite this, this study has some limitations, which are mostly related to the HSE RLMS database used. However, it is the only one that allows us to fulfill the tasks set in the study.

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