



RESEARCH REPORT

The Integration of Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescent Boys

Paula Kahan-Strawczynski ♦ Dganit Levi ♦ Viacheslav Konstantinov
Ruth Baruj-Kovarsky ♦ Jack Habib

The study was funded with the assistance of Bader Philanthropies

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Editing: Raya Cohen

English translation: Naomi Halsted

Print and Production Design: Leslie Klineman

Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute

Engelberg Center for Children and Youth

P.O.B. 3886

Jerusalem 9103702, Israel

Tel: (02) 655-7400

Fax: (02) 561-2391

Website: <http://brookdale.jdc.org.il/>

e-mail: brook@jdc.org.il



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Somekh, S.; Nijam-Ektelat, F. and Ben-Rabi, D. 2016. *Improving the Absorption of Ethiopian Israelis – Five-Year Plan of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Services: Findings and Insights from the Follow-Up of Activities among Families and Young Adults*. RR-715-16 (Hebrew).

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Executive Summary

Introduction

At the end of 2014, the Ethiopian-Israeli population in Israel numbered 138,200 – 2% of the total population. Within the Ethiopian-Israeli population, 18,180 were adolescents aged 12-17, around half of them boys. Forty percent were born in Ethiopia (first generation) and 60% in Israel (second generation).

A study conducted at Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute in 2010 emphasized the difficulties of Ethiopian-Israeli youth ages 12-17, particularly the much lower achievements of the boys than the girls. The gap between the status of the boys and girls is much greater than the recognized gender differences found in most population groups in Israel and elsewhere. At the same time, the implication is that there are much larger gaps between Ethiopian-Israeli boys and non-immigrant Jewish boys than between Ethiopian-Israeli girls and non-immigrant Jewish girls.

Nevertheless, very little attention has been given to the special problems of Ethiopian-Israeli adolescent boys (hereafter, Ethiopian-Israeli boys) and there has been almost no public discussion about how to improve their unique situation. Indeed, until we published the 2010 report, there was not even an awareness of these gender gaps.

In recognition of these findings, it was agreed with the Bader Philanthropies to conduct a study to address these issues. This study, presents the first comprehensive picture of the unique status of Ethiopian-Israeli boys, examines the factors that contribute to the gap between the boys and the girls, and proposes programmatic directions to improve their status. The findings make it possible to considerably expand the database used to plan policy, develop services, and adapt existing services to the special needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys.

The international literature documents the gaps between adolescent boys and girls (to the disadvantage of boys) among the general population in a number of areas, including school. In the international PISA¹ tests, the scholastic achievements and learning skills of the boys were found to be lower, and the boys had higher dropout rates, whether hidden or actual, from the education system.

Similarly, international studies have shown that the achievements of boys from immigrant or minority families are lower than of boys in general society. In addition, there is a greater chance that they will be involved in risk behaviors. The literature emphasizes that the cumulative effect of gender, origin and the process of immigration creates a situation of triple jeopardy, in addition to the overlap with the family's low socioeconomic status.

¹ Program for International Students Assessment OECD 2015 (b)

The study was based on three sources of information:

- ◆ In-depth interviews with key informants
- ◆ An analysis of existing studies and databases relating to Ethiopian-Israeli and non-immigrant Jewish youth.
- ◆ A review of the international literature.

Main Findings

Needs and Characteristics of Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescent Boys – Analysis of Available Data

The analysis of the data from all the available studies and databases indicates that Ethiopian-Israeli boys face very significant gaps between them and Ethiopian-Israeli girls and even greater gaps between them and non-immigrant Jewish boys. This is consistent with what the international literature would lead us to expect. We indicate a number of significant gaps, by gender and by origin:

- ◆ Gender-based gaps:
 - Among Ethiopian-Israelis, the scholastic performance of the boys is poorer than that of the girls. Dropout rates are far higher among boys. The percentages of boys eligible for a regular matriculation certificate or a certificate that meets university admission criteria are much lower. Moreover, the gender gap is considerably wider in the second generation.
 - Despite their lower achievements, the boys are much less interested in receiving additional scholastic assistance.
 - A higher percentage of boys study in a vocational-technological track, with concentrations in lower level tracks.
 - Boys are much more involved in risk behaviors, which increase significantly in the second generation.
 - A higher percentage of boys have been victims of violence and have been ridiculed due to their origin.
- ◆ Origin based gaps: the gaps with non-immigrant Jewish boys are much greater. Thus, Ethiopian-Israeli boys:
 - Live in families whose socioeconomic characteristics indicate far greater difficulties
 - Have less supportive relationships with their parents and less parental supervision
 - Have a much poorer scholastic performance
 - Have a much higher rate of students in a low-level technological track
 - The second generation exhibits much higher risk behaviors.

Factors Affecting the Gaps by Gender and Origin

The literature review identifies a large number of factors relating to the relative status of boys, and particularly those from immigrant and disadvantaged backgrounds. These factors impact on the

perceptions, behavior and scholastic achievement of adolescent boys. The report highlights the key factors:

- ◆ School: Teachers have lower expectations of boys; parents are less involved in boys' schooling; boys have more difficulties transitioning to middle school and high school; they are exposed to more negative school experiences; and have a higher rate of learning disabilities. There is a wide achievement gap, with overrepresentation in low tracks and special education.
- ◆ Impact of family and society: The family's lower socioeconomic status, lower expectations of boys.
- ◆ Different types of social capital: While girls tend to form supportive social networks and rely on friendships to advance scholastically, boys turn more to gang friendships characterized by risk behaviors such as hanging about and consuming alcohol, resulting in more encounters with the police.
- ◆ Boys (and males in general) have more difficulties in making the transition to new societies, such as acquiring language and cultural knowledge about the society into which they have to integrate.

In addition, the key informants emphasized factors that they view as having a particular impact on Ethiopian-Israeli boys:

- ◆ The change in the roles of mothers and fathers upon immigration to Israel, which considerably weakened the status of the father in the family.
- ◆ Parents allow the boys to hang about in the neighborhood unsupervised
- ◆ Boys tend to participate less in programs available to them, and to be less engaged when they do participate.
- ◆ Negative societal experiences of other adolescent boys and young adults, such as denial of entry to clubs, failure to find work commensurate with their education, or, other expressions of discrimination, which reduce the boys' motivation to make an effort and try to succeed. These situations also increase their frustration and disappointment with society as a whole.

Policy in Israel on Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescent Boys

Over the years, the Government of Israel has defined the improved integration of Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents as a key objective. Accordingly, programs are implemented in various areas, some exclusively for Ethiopian-Israelis and some for Ethiopian-Israelis along with other adolescents. Over the last decade, the government has developed several national programs to promote the Ethiopian-Israeli community, including the Ethiopian National Project (ENP), implemented since 2004 and the Five-Year Plan, implemented in 2008-12.

In 2014, there was a major shift in national policies with the launch of a new inter-ministerial multiyear plan – "A New Way". This new plan emphasize the better integration of the Ethiopian-Israeli community in general, into existing systems and programs through a broad range of efforts. At the same time, there is little or no reference in this plan to the special problems and needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys as emphasized by the key informants.

Programmatic Directions Emerging from the Study

The report presents a broad range of policy and programmatic directions to enhance the relative status of immigrant boys. These directions emerge from an integrative analysis of proposals raised by the key informants, suggestions in the literature, and those arising from the analysis of all the available studies and data. We present here some of the key directions:

a. Schooling and the Education System

- ◆ Strengthening the formal education system by improving school and neighborhood infrastructures where there is a high concentration of Ethiopian-Israelis.
- ◆ Enhancing teachers' awareness of the special difficulties faced by boys, including learning disabilities, in order to provide suitable responses.
- ◆ Enhancing teachers' abilities for early detection of these difficulties
- ◆ Strengthening teachers' personal relationship with the boys
- ◆ Providing scholastic assistance and support to help the boys cope with the special difficulties they face in their transition to middle school and high school. The largest current source of educational assistance in the middle school and high school years is the Ethiopian National Project, which the government has proposed to expand. It is particularly important to review and enhance the work of this program with Ethiopian boys.
- ◆ Changing the preconceptions of society in general, and in particular of the education staff, with respect to the scholastic potential of Ethiopian-Israeli boys.
- ◆ Examining the quality and effectiveness of the scholastic assistance provided, and how to motivate the boys to better utilize this assistance.
- ◆ Avoiding unnecessary tracking, and assisting disadvantaged groups to integrate into higher tracks. It is important to ensure that Ethiopian-Israeli boys are making appropriate choices or being steered to these tracks, and that the tracks offer the boys the best opportunities for their future. This also requires placing more emphasis on the assistance that these boys receive in these tracks, so that they gain the maximum benefit from them.

b. Perceptions of Ethiopian-Israeli Youth, Racism and Identity

As noted, the perceptions, attitudes and discriminating practices of society in general, and of service professionals in particular have an impact on Ethiopian-Israeli boys. A broad range of efforts are required to address these issues:

- ◆ Including multicultural education as part of the school curriculum and giving full expression to the unique story of the Ethiopian immigration to Israel.
- ◆ Promoting cultural competence and sensitivity of the professional staff in schools and other frameworks and service systems. This was considered particularly critical to creating a relationship of respect and trust between professionals and the boys.
- ◆ Promoting a strong complex identity by strengthening the boys' connection to their Ethiopian-Jewish roots as well as their sense of belonging to Israeli society.

- ◆ Enhancing the exposure to positive Ethiopian-Israeli adult role models, in particular male role models in schools, other systems and in society in general.

c. Parents

- ◆ Giving guidance to parents to raise awareness of the particular difficulties faced by their sons, and of the importance of greater involvement in their children's lives and encouraging their children to apply themselves to their schooling and continue to study in the future.
- ◆ Creating a shared discourse among the boys, the parents and the services. And establishing cooperation, coordination and a continuum of care among the different services working with these boys and their families.

d. Socio-Emotional Difficulties

- ◆ Personal empowerment and strengthening the boys' sense of self-efficacy. The recommended focuses include leadership development; increasing opportunities for positive afterschool activity and volunteering in the community for individual empowerment; strengthening abilities such as problem solving and overcoming barriers.
- ◆ Focusing more on working with the boys' strengths, *"to show them what they can do,"* and provide them with an opportunity to experience success. This includes activities and content that are beyond the curriculum that bring out the adolescents' strengths.
- ◆ Promoting the development of positive social reference groups and preventing the exposure to negative peer's influences.

e. Increasing activities to prevent and address risk behaviors.

f. Provision of enhanced information and preparation for military service.

g. Taking account of the diversity within the Ethiopian-Israeli community when planning programs and policy.

Closing Remarks

The recommendations in this report are for the most part consistent with the emphasis of the new national government policy to strengthen the integration of Ethiopian-Israelis into existing programs that address the needs of youth in general. At the same time, they also point to the factors and circumstances that require separate efforts for Ethiopian-Israeli youth and their families. Most importantly, the recommendations emphasize the importance of paying special attention to the unique needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys, of both first and second generation.

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1. Introduction

At the end of 2014, the Ethiopian-Israeli population in Israel numbered 138,200 – 2% of the total population. Within the Ethiopian-Israel population, 18,180 were adolescents aged 12-17, around half of them boys. Forty percent were born in Ethiopia (first generation) and 60% in Israel (second generation).

A study conducted at Myers-JDC-Brookdale Institute (MJB) in 2010 emphasized the difficulties of Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents, particularly the boys and the much lower achievements of the boys than the Ethiopian-Israeli girls. The gap between the status of the boys and girls is much greater than the recognized gender differences found in most population groups in Israel and elsewhere. At the same time, the implication is that there are much larger gaps between Ethiopian-Israeli boys and non-immigrant Jewish boys than between Ethiopian-Israeli girls and non-immigrant Jewish girls.

Nevertheless, very little attention has been given to the special problems of Ethiopian-Israeli adolescent boys and there has been almost no public discussion about how to improve their unique situation. Indeed, until we published the 2010 report, there was not even an awareness of these gender gaps.

In recognition of these findings, it was agreed with the Bader Philanthropies to conduct a study that will help to understand the factors affecting these gaps, and bring to light possible directions for addressing them.

Study Goals

The current study presents the first comprehensive picture of the unique status of Ethiopian-Israeli adolescent boys ages 12-17 (hereafter, "Ethiopian-Israeli boys") in relation both to non-immigrant Jewish boys and to Ethiopian-Israeli girls.

The goals of the study are to examine:

- ◆ The central challenges and needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys and the areas where they are at a disadvantage.
- ◆ The factors contributing to the relative status of Ethiopian-Israeli boys
- ◆ The current policy with respect to Ethiopian-Israeli youth and boys specifically
- ◆ Potential policy and programmatic directions.

These issues are examined from the perspective of available studies and databases on Ethiopian-Israeli youth, key informants in Israel, and the discussion in the international literature of the special problems of immigrant and minority boys and the gender gaps.

The findings considerably broaden the pool of knowledge on which to base policy planning, service development, and the adaptation of existing services to meet the specific needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys. They will also illuminate directions that will be important for Ethiopian-Israeli girls as well.

The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework relates to the interaction between three concepts: characteristics, life spheres and dimensions.

1. Characteristics

As might be evident from the introduction, this study has undertaken an especially complex task. One key source of complexity is that there are multiple factors affecting the relative status of Ethiopian-Israeli boys. There are two broad ways that emerge from the literature to classify these factors.

The first is the interaction between the impact of four defining characteristics: gender, immigrant status, socioeconomic status and Ethiopian-immigrant status. Thus, Ethiopian-Israeli boys face (see Figure 1):

- a) The challenges that arise from the impact of gender on youth achievements in modern societies and the emergence of a gender gap that favors girls.
- b) The challenges that arise from being an immigrant and growing up in an immigrant family (first generation) as they affect youth in general and the gender gap.
- c) The challenges that arise from the low socioeconomic status of their families and communities.
- d) The specific challenges that arise from being an immigrant from Ethiopia as they affect Ethiopian youth and the gender gap.

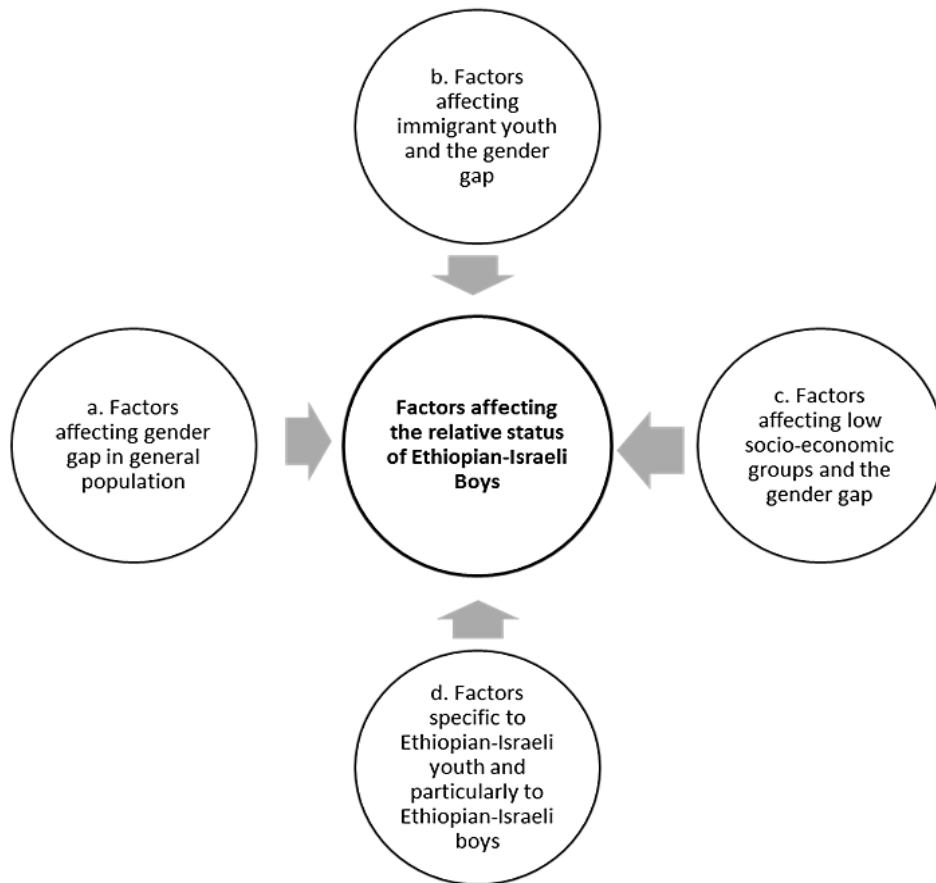
2. Life Spheres

The second classification relates to the life spheres that define the specific challenges and factors that affect achievements. This range from the family to the school, to the community/neighborhood.

3. Dimensions

Finally, we distinguish between the impacts of the status on a range of dimensions that are relevant in each context: attitudes, behaviors, resources, support and achievements.

Figure 1: The Impact of Four Defining Characteristics on the Challenges Faced by Ethiopian-Israeli Boys and their Relative Status: Gender, Immigrant Status, Socioeconomic Status and Ethiopian-Immigrant Status



2. Study Design: Types and Sources of Information

The study was based on three sources of information:

- ◆ In-depth interviews with key informants
- ◆ An analysis of existing databases relating to Ethiopian-Israeli and non-immigrant Jewish youth
- ◆ A review of the international literature.

a. In-Depth Interviews with Key Informants

We conducted 13 in-depth interviews with key informants from the public sector (including government ministries) and the voluntary sector and with social activists from the Ethiopian-Israeli community. About two-thirds of the informants were Ethiopian-Israelis.

The interviews focused on:

- ◆ How professionals perceive the needs of Ethiopian-Israeli youth in general and particularly those of boys.
- ◆ The key factors affecting their relative status
- ◆ Existing efforts to advance Ethiopian-Israeli boys and additional programmatic directions to address the gaps.

b. Analysis of Existing Data Files

The goal of the analysis was:

- ◆ To map the gaps in relative status of Ethiopian boys
- ◆ To identify factors that are contributing to these gaps.

To this end, we analyzed data files from various sources of information, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Data Files Analyzed

| File | Date | Source |
|--|-----------|---|
| National survey of immigrant youth | 2008-2010 | MJB |
| Population file | 2014 | Central Bureau of Statistics |
| Student files | 2003-2015 | Ministry of Education |
| GEMS ¹ tests in 8 th grade | 2013 | RAMA, ² Ministry of Education |
| School Climate and Pedagogic Environment Survey | 2014 | RAMA, Ministry of Education |
| HS high-school matriculation files | 2006-2014 | Ministry of Education |
| National database on children at risk | 2009-2014 | 360 ⁰ –National Program for Children and Youth at Risk, Ministry of Social Affairs and Services (MSAS) |

¹ GEMS Growth and Effectiveness Measures for Schools (*Meitzav*) – School measurement system that provide information about the school's performance in a range of areas. This includes data at student level on academic performance and school climate.

² RAMA – The National Authority for Measurement and Evaluation in Education

We analyze this information where possible by:

- ◆ Gender: Boys and girls
- ◆ Immigration generation:
 - First generation (born in Ethiopia and immigrated)
 - Second generation (born in Israel, to immigrant parents)
- ◆ Origin:
 - Ethiopia: First and second generation

- Non-immigrant Jews: Native Israelis, excluding those born in Israel to parents who immigrated from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union (FSU).

c. Review of the International Literature

A review was conducted of the literature on gender gaps in general, on gender gaps among immigrant youth and adolescent boys (first and second generation) and among minority groups. The review focused in particular on identifying the main factors impacting on the relative status of boys, and directions for policies and programs to address them.

3. Review of the International Literature

3.1 Factors Affecting the Gender Gap

There is extensive literature that discusses gaps in favor of girls in the total population. The best overall sources of studies and databases on the general gap between boys and girls are the international studies of the OECD. For example, the PISA² tests administered to an international sample of 15-year-old students (OECD, 2015b) found that the scholastic achievements of the boys were consistently lower across countries than those of the girls, as were measures of learning skills. The boys also display greater disengagement from the learning processes within the school ("hidden dropout"). Accordingly, the boys tend to drop out of school more than the girls do, and the percentage of boys finishing their education without a certificate is higher than among girls. (Roderick, 2003; Toldson, 2008; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Thomas & Stevenson, 2009; Popkin, 2014, Cohen Kdoshay and Amihai, 2014). This is reflected in the literature from various studies in specific countries.

Another major issue is whether the gender gap is in all subjects or whether there are still areas in which boys have an advantage. Thus, for example it was found in international surveys that boys on average have an advantage in math or science, but this is not always the case.

However, the OECD analysis and the comparative international literature do not address the gender gaps by socioeconomic status or for immigrant and minority groups as opposed to the broader population. These have been examined by specific studies in specific countries. In this report, we review a broad range of studies that examine the special difficulties of these sub- groups (OECD, 2015a), with a particular emphasis on those that relate to gender gaps. These studies support the fact that in many indicators the gender gap is greater than in the general population, and thus the disadvantages among boys in these subgroups are even greater. The literature emphasizes that the factors affecting the gaps between the boys and girls have a stronger impact in these groups and there may be additional factors that are particular to these groups. The cumulative effect of gender, origin and the process of immigration creates a situation of triple jeopardy (Matthews et al., 2010) that affects all ages and some argue that this is expressed particularly during adolescence. Most of this literature is from US, and addresses groups such as Afro-Americans and Latino immigrants, but there are also studies from other countries, such as Germany, Britain, Norway and Canada (Ding & Hall, 2007; Cassen & Kingdon 2007; Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2008; Matthews et al., 2010; Koller et al., 2010;

² Program for International Students Assessment

Kahan-Strawczynski et al., 2012; Borg 2013 Titzmann; Mesch & Silbereisen, 2014 Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015).

3.2 Factors Affecting the Particular Difficulties of Immigrant Boys

In this subsection we review the factors that are cited in the literature for the relative status of boys in general and among immigrants and other disadvantaged groups in particular. These factors affect the perceptions of the adolescents, their risk behaviors and their scholastic achievements. Each factor has a direct impact, but ultimately the status of immigrant boys is determined by their cumulative interaction.

a. Gender-Related Characteristic and Propensities

Personal factors. Beyond the social, family and systemic factors surrounding adolescent boys, there are biological factors more characteristic of boys than of girls. Learning disabilities, ADD and ADHD, behavioral problems, rebelliousness, and maladaptation are more prevalent among boys and, accordingly, boys of minority groups have more difficulties. This impacts on their scholastic achievement and adaptation to the absorption society (Child Trends, 2016; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016; Popkin, 2014; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Buchmann, DiPrete & McDaniel, 2008 ; Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015).

Social networks. Another characteristic that manifests itself differently between boys and girls is the formation of friendships. If adolescents have insufficient sources of social capital through family or their immediate surroundings, the social capital they achieve through friends becomes highly important. Rigle-Crumb & Callahan (2009) found that boys of Latin origin have fewer sources of social capital (just as they have fewer contacts with teachers and their parents are less involved in school). In addition, the authors note that girls tend to be more involved in social groups, to create a supportive social network for themselves, and to rely on friendships to advance scholastically. In contrast, boys turn more to friendships in gangs – social groups characterized by risk behavior, such as hanging about and consuming alcohol, which brings them into more encounters with the police (Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015).

b. Impact of Family

Impact of a family's socioeconomic status. As noted, low scholastic achievement correlates with low socioeconomic status (OECD, 2011; Spitzer & Aronson, 2015; Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013 Toldson, 2008). On the whole, immigrants and/or minority groups in society are characterized by a lower socioeconomic status than that of society at large (Matthews et. al., 2010), and this status is reflected both in a family's financial status and in the characteristics of the environment in which the adolescent boys live.

Poverty and a segregated ethnic environment impact more negatively on adolescent boys than girls (Child Trends, 2016), and on Afro-American than "white" adolescent boys, at the same socioeconomic level (Fantuzzo et al., 2012). A mother's low education reduces the chances of the family and children being connected to supportive agencies in the community that can provide scholastic assistance and this particularly affects the boys (Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015).

Perceptions and expectations of the family and society. Many factors may impact on the integration of immigrants, their offspring, and members of minority groups in the absorption society, including language learning, an acquired knowledge of the culture of the general society, and the extent of assimilation of the first and second generations in society. These factors apparently affect boys and girls differently, the boys exhibiting greater difficulty in the integration process (Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015). Similarly, problems of adaptation to the new society are more prevalent among male than female immigrants (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Buchmann, DiPrete & McDaniel, 2008; Popkin, 2014; Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015; Child Trends, 2016; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016).

Family and society have a major impact on the social norms and perceptions constructed by adolescent boys, and these too affect the scholastic achievement and attitude to studies of minority groups. If society relates skeptically to the boys' ability to succeed, this would impact negatively on their behavioral patterns and perceptions (Popkin, 2014). If the social stereotype identifies an ethnic group as low-achieving, the students' scholastic aspirations would not be high nor would they perceive the importance and significance of high achievement (Irvin & Hudley, 2005), and they would not believe that school can contribute to their future (Roderick, 2003). These false beliefs, especially prevalent among boys, engender negative perceptions of their picture of the future and their scholastic abilities.

The family obviously plays a key role in impacting the boys' self-perception and scholastic achievement. Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose (2015) note that in families of low socioeconomic status there are usually greater expectations of girls whereas boys are less directed towards higher education. Saenz & Ponjuan (2009) note that in families of Latin origin, there will often be tight solidarity and individual needs will be sacrificed for the benefit of the family as a whole. In particular, boys are expected to protect their families and help support them. For the boys, this expectation creates a route where higher education is not part of the picture of their future.

On the other hand, boys in minority families that provided encouragement to their sons to succeed and had high expectations, achieved a higher scholastic level than boys without this support (Koller et al., 2010; Toldson, 2008; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016). Another important aspect helping to construct positive perceptions for the boys is the presence at home of the role model of an educated father (Toldson, 2008). Toldson found that Afro-American boys who lived with their fathers or other male role models, especially one who was educated, also had higher scholastic achievements.

The process of immigration and integration often involves an identity crisis, and some scholars regard the lack of a strong ethnic identity as a barrier impacting the scholastic ability of immigrants and minority groups (Roderick, 2003; Spitzer & Aronson, 2015). For example, the studies of Thomas & Stevenson (2009) found that positive feelings of Afro-American boys towards the ethnic group correlated with their positive attitude to school and positive beliefs about their studies and achievements. In contrast, boys whose teachers reported them as problematic tended to be ignorant of the cultural heritage of their ethnic origins. Sometimes, a lack of desire to succeed in school is part of the rejection of characteristics identified with "white" society ("acting white") (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009).

c. School-Related Factors

Integration provisions for immigrant boys in school. Different countries absorb immigrant children differently. An analysis of PISA tests (OECD, 2015) showed that immigrant children from the same country of origin with similar socio-demographic characteristics fared differently in different countries. Thus, some countries do a much better job to promote the abilities and talents of students from diverse backgrounds. The PISA data suggest that this is directly related to the education policies that are implemented.

Perceptions and expectations of teachers. Apart from the preliminary perceptions and assumptions of society and family, the perceptions and expectations of teachers also impact scholastic achievement (Thomas & Stevenson, 2009; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016). Teachers were found to perceive Afro-American boys and girls differently (Roderick, 2003; Ding & Hall, 2007; Thomas & Stevenson, 2009; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016). The boys were generally perceived by their teachers as valuing sports achievements more highly than scholastic achievements, tending towards violence, and being more disruptive in class. These perceptions are particularly negative when teachers do not understand the students' cultural characteristics and their attitudes are based on preconceptions (Thomas & Stevenson, 2009). In addition, the absence of male teachers hailing from the group of origin reduces the possibilities of presenting a positive role model in school (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015).

Parental involvement in students' schooling. High parental involvement contributes to a student's scholastic achievement (Koller et al., 2010; Toldson, 2008; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016) and helps reduce risk and delinquent behaviors (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2008). Immigrant families or minority groups sometimes display significant hardship regarding involvement in school activities due to language or cultural barriers (Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015; Roderick, 2003). At the same time, parental involvement was found to be higher in the case of girls than boys (Buchmann, DiPrete & McDaniel, 2008).

Transition to middle school and high school. These transitions exacerbate existing difficulties, especially in the case of at-risk adolescents (Vaxberg, 2015), for boys in general, and particularly boys of minority groups or immigrants (Roderick, 2003; Buchmann, DiPrete & McDaniel, 2008; Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013; Akos 2014; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016). Over the years, the gaps in scholastic achievement and behavior widen to the disadvantage of boys in minority groups, peaking in high school. Roderick (2003) notes that the transition to high school generally includes a dramatic change in the size of the school, the structure of the studies, and the schedule of hours. Even more complex he argues is the change in the school environment. A larger school also means a dramatic change in the social organization of the peer group. In addition, the transition spells greater scholastic demands and more complex subjects that require higher and more effective learning skills. At the same time, there are fewer opportunities for teacher-student interaction and less group work. Moreover, students become more anonymous (Vaxberg, 2015) and teachers rely more on stereotyped conceptions and prior experience in constructing their relationship with a student (Roderick, 2003). The abilities of students to adapt to a new school environment will decide whether they negotiate the transition successfully. Roderick (2003) contends that boys from minority groups

find the transition to high school more difficult since they have fewer resources to cope with the associated scholastic and social challenges, and they reach high school with weaker learning skills and less familial support.

Negative school experience. This type of experience, reflected in the absence of positive interaction between teachers and students, also correlates with low scholastic achievement and is more prevalent among boys from minority groups (Roderick, 2003; Ding & Hall, 2007; Toldson, 2008). Roderick (2003) notes in his study that these students feel a great sense of loneliness and being unwanted at school. The negative interaction between teachers and students who do not ask for help often stems from a male stereotype that causes them to hide difficulties and failed experiences from their surroundings (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). Taken in total, these characteristics exacerbate the boys' negative experience of school.

Conduct of the educational system and the school. The literature emphasizes the need to avoid unnecessary tracking, and to assist disadvantage groups to integrate into higher tracks. Boys should be given enough time to acclimate before being placed in a particular study track (scholastic level or subject) that will limit the possibilities open to them in the future. In many cases, these disadvantaged boys were found to be overrepresented in special education and in referral to lower scholastic tracks, and they are suspended or expelled from school more frequently. This may have several sources such as inappropriate assessment of potential or lack of student desire to assume the more demanding and risky challenge posed by higher-level tracks. This in turn, could be related to their underestimating their capacities and the lack of parental encouragement and ability to help (Roderick, 2003; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013; OECD, 2015a).

4. Factors that Can Help to Explain the Relative Status of Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescent Boys, as Perceived by Key Informants

The key informants were asked about factors that explain the relative status of Ethiopian-Israeli boys and girls. They were then asked which of these factors were more prominent or unique among boys.

4.1 Factors that Affect the Status of Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescents Overall

The informants emphasized two factors: family characteristics and neighborhood characteristics.

a. Family Characteristics

The informants cited a number of family characteristics that make it difficult for the parents to support and supervise their children:

- ◆ Low family income and large numbers of children, which make it economically difficult to address the needs and wishes of each individual child.
- ◆ The high relative prevalence of single-parent families and families with children by different fathers, in particular, the absence of a father-figure.

- ◆ Intergenerational, cultural and even language gaps between parents and children, particularly when the children were born in Israel or arrived in the country at a young age.
- ◆ Younger fathers who grew up in Israel also have difficulty because they themselves grew up without a father figure and many spent their adolescent years in residential facilities.

b. Neighborhood Characteristics

The informants noted that many of the adolescents had grown up in a "ghetto" of Ethiopian-Israelis and other families living in poverty. These were disadvantaged neighborhoods characterized by:

- ◆ Weak schools with limited resources, and teachers with poorer teaching ability and knowledge about how to provide the children with appropriate assistance.
- ◆ A lack of positive recreational activities within the neighborhood, such as after-school activities, youth movements and youth centers; negative street culture, characterized by risk behaviors such as alcohol consumption and frequent encounters with the police.
- ◆ Neglected or non-existent infrastructures (such as parks)
- ◆ Inadequate public transportation, making it difficult to travel out of the neighborhood and therefore to go to a better school, to participate in afterschool activities, to visit friends and relatives who live outside the neighborhood, or to find work. Good public transportation is particularly important since most of the families do not own a car.

4.2 Particular Factors that Explain the Relative Status of Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescent Boys

The following subsections are based on the reports of the key informants.

a. Changes in the Status of Mothers and Fathers in the Family and in Society in General that Occurred in the Process of Integration into Israeli Society

There was a strengthening of the status of the mothers, while the status of the fathers was weakened and thus there was a considerable change in the balance of relationships within the family. This happened for several reasons:

- ◆ The extensive efforts carried out to empower Ethiopian-Israeli women at the start of their absorption in the country. Even when activities were open to all parents, in many cases, only the mothers participated.
- ◆ The women demonstrated more willingness to participate in professional training provided by various agencies and to integrate into different types of work, including poorly paid unskilled jobs.
- ◆ This was fertile ground for producing positive female role models (for the girls), while on the other hand, there was a notable lack of positive male role models (for the boys).

b. The Different Attitude of Parents towards their Children and their Different Expectations of Boys and Girls, which Leads to Different Behaviors among each of the Sexes

- ◆ In general, parents supervise their daughters' behavior more closely and place more restrictions on going out, while the boys are allowed to hang out in the neighborhood.
- ◆ The lack of supervision enhances the exposure to risk behaviors
- ◆ Increased police presence in disadvantaged neighborhoods increases the likelihood of contact with the law enforcement system. Moreover, it is claimed that there is over-policing when it comes to Ethiopian-Israeli youth, and at the same time, these adolescents and their families have more limited ability to cope with the police.

As noted, this is well documented in the literature on gender gaps among migrants and minority groups (Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009).

c. The Experience of Family Members, Community Members in General and Young Adults

The key informants emphasized that the youth were influenced by the experiences of their families and other members of community of perceived or actual racial discrimination. Indeed, in the survey carried out by the MJB of Ethiopian adults in 2012, these feelings were found to be very prevalent.

For example, young college graduates experience difficulties finding work commensurate with their education. Stories of this kind are felt personally by the boys and reduce their motivation to make an effort and try to succeed. These situations also increase their frustration and disappointment with society as a whole.

5. Needs and Characteristics of Ethiopian-Israeli Adolescent Boys – Analysis of the Available Data

The key informants believe that the boys and girls have many similar needs. However, there is a very significant difference in the strength of these needs and in the way in which they find expression. In other words, the needs of the boys are more extensive and more visible because their behavior is more extreme.

The boys' needs are reflected in lower academic achievements and difficulty functioning in school; more numerous and serious risk behaviors; greater difficulty defining their own identity and integrating components of their identity (group of origin vs. new society); a greater sense of alienation and greater sensitivity to expressions of racism and discrimination. These differences and the reasons for them have been examined extensively in the literature (see above).

The quantitative analysis of the characteristics and needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys reinforces the picture presented by the international literature and by the key informants.

We present the findings from three perspectives:

- ◆ Ethiopian-Israeli boys vs. Ethiopian-Israeli girls.
- ◆ First generation vs. second generation Ethiopian-Israeli boys
- ◆ Ethiopian-Israeli boys (first and second generation) vs. non-immigrant Jewish boys

The findings are summarized in a table form in Appendix 1. The findings clearly reveal the disadvantages faced by boys. At the same time, such disadvantages are not always consistent, or of equal magnitude. Therefore, it is very important to be aware of this complexity and focus on those areas where the disadvantages are significant.

5.1 The Situation of Ethiopian Boys and the Gender Gaps

Note that gender gaps are found in all population groups in various areas, e.g., scholastic achievements, perception of school, risk behaviors and the relationship with parents – in most cases, to the disadvantage of the boys. However, an analysis of the extent of the gender gap found that in many areas the gap among Ethiopian-Israeli boys is greater than among the non-immigrant Jewish boys.

a. Family Background

- ◆ We did not find any significant differences in family background. Ethiopian-Israeli boys and girls grow up in families with very low socioeconomic backgrounds to the same extent.

b. Performance in Middle and High School

- ◆ The scores in the 8th grade GEMS tests (Growth and Effectiveness Measures for Schools) are lower for boys than for girls. The gaps increase significantly by the end of high school.
- ◆ The most basic indicator of academic performance is the rate of dropouts who do not complete high school. The dropout rate is 12.1% for Ethiopian-Israeli boys, versus only 0.2% for Ethiopian-Israeli girls. The gender gap here is much greater than in the general Jewish population.
- ◆ The gaps became equally dramatic when examining the scores of the matriculation exams at the end of high school.
 - The percentage eligible for a regular matriculation certificate (45.4% vs. 61.2%)
 - Matriculation certificate that meet university admission criteria ("university-level matriculation") (24.6% vs. 37.4%).
 - For both types of certificate, the gender gap widens in the second generation.
- ◆ The percentage in vocational-technological tracks is much higher (58% vs. 45%). Among the students in these tracks, the percentage of boys eligible for regular matriculation certificates is also lower (42% vs. 55%).

c. Scholastic Motivation and Aspirations

- ◆ The majority of boys report that they are motivated to study. However, twice as many boys as girls reported a lack of motivation to study (11%, vs. 5%).
- ◆ Most of the boys reported a sense of scholastic self-efficacy – and the gender gap is small (83% vs. 89%). This is based on an index that included the following statements: "When I want, I can succeed in my studies;" "When I decide to learn something difficult, I'm able to do so"; "If I want, I can perform various scholastic assignments such as exams or papers successfully."
- ◆ Most of the boys believe they will obtain a matriculation certificate by the end of 12th grade, and the gender gap is not large (80% vs 88%). Thus, there is a very large gap between their aspirations

and their achievements. However, the gender gap in aspiration to pursue post-secondary education in the future is very large (40% vs. 61%).

d. Assistance

- ◆ A similar percentage of boys and girls receive scholastic assistance. Yet, despite the boys' lower achievements, they are much less interested in receiving additional assistance (45% vs. 70%).

e. Relationships with Teachers and Peers

- ◆ No gaps were found in the percentage that indicated a positive relationship with teachers (38%) and with other students (57%). Similarly, there is no gender gap in the perception of those who indicated that there is "someone to turn to" at school when they have difficulties or problems (51%).
- ◆ However, a small gap was found in the percentage that viewed the overall school climate as positive (57% vs. 61%).
- ◆ It is very significant that overall, a very large percentage of Ethiopian youth do not have positive perceptions of the school environment. Perhaps, as a result, they feel that they do not have an address to which to turn.

f. Risk Behavior and Exposure to Violence

There is a very large gender gap in risk behaviors:

- ◆ There are significant rates of smoking and alcohol consumption. For example, 34% of the boys reported that they had consumed alcohol at least once a week, compared with 13% of the girls.
- ◆ A higher percentage of boys have been victims of violence (14% vs. 6%) and have been ridiculed due to their origin (34% vs. 23%).
- ◆ Consistently, the percentage of boys identified to be at risk in the National Program for Children and Youth at Risk is much higher as well: 51%, vs. 37% had multiple risk factors.

g. Afterschool Activities

- ◆ The percentage of boys participating in afterschool activities is somewhat higher (62% vs. 54%). Although given the less positive characteristics of their social networks, the importance of their participation on a wider scale is even greater.

In other measures, no gender-related differences were found between the Ethiopian-Israeli boys and girls. The rates for the boys: Social rejection (12%); active parental supervision (45%); supportive relationship with parents (67%); complex personal identity (70% feel Israeli as well as Ethiopian to a great or very great extent); participation in fights (13% had been in a fight at least three times in the previous year), and the intention and wish to serve in the Israel Defense Forces/National Service (91% and 79% respectively).

5.2 Similarities and Differences between First and Second Generations of Ethiopian-Israeli Boys

a. Family Background

- ◆ The family backgrounds of the first and second generations are very similar, with the exception of the mothers' level of education. The education of the mothers of the second generation is still very low, albeit somewhat higher – 5.7 years vs. 2.1.

b. Performance in Middle and High School and Relationships with Teachers

With regard to scholastic performance, the trend is mixed:

- ◆ The scores of the second generation in the GEMS tests in 8th grade are higher
- ◆ The percentage eligible for a matriculation that meets university admission criteria is only somewhat higher among the second generation (26%, vs. 23%). However, a lower percentage is eligible for regular matriculation certificates (43% vs. 49%).
- ◆ Among the second generation, there is a higher percentage of dropout from school (12.6% vs. 11.5%).
- ◆ The percentage that indicated a positive relationship with teachers is somewhat lower in the second generation (36% vs. 41%).

c. Risk Behavior and Exposure to Violence

- ◆ Risk behaviors such as smoking and alcohol consumption, are higher among the second generation. For example, 41% consume alcohol at least once a week, versus 27% among the first generation.

In other measures examined, no significant differences were found by generation. These include: Sense of scholastic self-efficacy (83%); lack of motivation to study (11%); academic aspirations (40%); relationships in school with other students (57%); social rejection (12%); feel there is "someone to turn to" at school when they have difficulties or problems (51%); active parental supervision (45%); supportive relationship with parents (67%); victims of violence (14%) and ridicule due to their origin (34%); participation in fights (13% had been in a fight at least three times in the previous year) climate; intention and wish to serve in the IDF/National Service (91% and 79%, respectively); and personal identity (70% feel Israeli and members of their group of origin to a great or very great extent).

Aside from the GEMS tests in 8th grade and university-level matriculation, on all the other measures, there is no improvement or decline in the second generation. This general trend was a major finding of the original report (Kahan-Strawczynski et al., 2012), and continues to raise a great deal of concern. Here, we have examined this trend in much more detail among Ethiopian-Israeli boys.

5.3 Similarities and Differences between Ethiopian-Israeli Boys and Non-Immigrant Jewish Boys

a. Family Background

- ◆ The income levels are much lower and rates of poverty are much higher
- ◆ The percentage of Ethiopian-Israeli boys living in single-parent families (15%) is more than double that among non-immigrant Jewish families (6%).
- ◆ Education of parents. The mothers of Ethiopian-Israeli boys have a considerably lower level of education: an average of 4 years' education compared with an average of 14 among the mothers of non-immigrant Jewish boys.

b. Performance in Middle and High School

In all the measures, the scholastic performance of the Ethiopian-Israeli boys is much lower:

- ◆ The GEMS tests in 8th grade are much lower. For example, the average score in mathematics is 34.6, compared with 65.6 among non-immigrant Jewish boys; the average score in Hebrew is 45.4 compared with 64.3.
- ◆ The percentage eligible for a regular matriculation certificate is considerably lower (45% vs. 68%), and even more so for certificate meeting university admission criteria (25% vs. 58%).
- ◆ The percentage in lower level vocational-technological tracks is much higher (46% vs. 22%)
- ◆ By contrast, even though the dropout rate is higher, the gap is not as large (12.1% vs 9.0%).

c. Scholastic Motivation and Aspirations

- ◆ Most of the boys are motivated to study. However, a higher percentage of Ethiopian-Israeli boys reported a lack of motivation to study (11% vs. 6%).
- ◆ Most of the boys reported a sense of scholastic self-efficacy, with only a small gap (83% vs. 88%)
- ◆ Most of Ethiopian-Israeli boys believe they will obtain a matriculation certificate by the end of 12th grade and the gap is not very large (80% vs. 90%). However, there is a very large gap in the percentage hoping to continue their studies (40% vs. 76%).

d. Assistance

- ◆ A small gap was found in the percentage receiving scholastic assistance (61% vs 56%). However, Ethiopian-Israeli boys are much more interested in receiving additional assistance than non-immigrant Jewish boys (45% vs. 29%), reflecting the self-perceived unmet needs.

e. Relationships with Teachers and Peers

- ◆ Small gaps were found in the percentages that indicate a positive relationship with teachers (38% vs. 42%) and with their peers (57% vs. 62%). However a larger gap was found in the percentage that viewed the overall school climate as positive (57% vs, 69%).
- ◆ A lower percentage feel there is "someone to turn to" at school when they have difficulties or problems (51% vs. 67%). This is all the more significant in light of the much lower achievements of Ethiopian-Israeli boys and the other difficulties they face.

f. Risk Behavior and Exposure to Violence

- ◆ Twice the percentage of Ethiopian-Israeli boys reported being ridiculed due to the color of their skin or origin (34% vs. 15%).
- ◆ A slightly higher percentage reported being victims of violence (14% vs. 11%)
- ◆ No gap was found in participation in violence (13% and 12%)
- ◆ No significant differences were found among the groups with regard to smoking and alcohol consumption. Similar percentages of the boys smoke at least once a week (38% vs. 35%), and consume alcohol at least once a week (34% vs. 35%). However, as noted in the previous section, these risk behaviors increase in the second generation among Ethiopian-Israelis, so that the second generation has higher rates than non-immigrant Jewish boys (smoke: 51%, drink alcohol: 41%).
- ◆ The rate of Ethiopian-Israelis (first generation) referred to the Juvenile Probation Service is much higher – 55.1 vs. 20.5 per thousand boys. Approximately 90% of the Ethiopians referred to the service are boys.

g. Relationships with Parents

- ◆ The Ethiopian-Israeli boys receive less support from their parents (67% vs. 80%) and there is much less parental supervision (45% vs. 70%).

h. Enlistment in the IDF

- ◆ The *intention* to enlist in the IDF is very high and the gap is small (91% vs. 97%). However, fewer Ethiopian-Israeli boys indicates that they *wish* to enlist and the gap is larger (79% vs. 89%).

6. Current Policy in Israel

In this section, we first review current policy in Israel regarding Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents. In the second part of the chapter, we relate to how the key informants view these policies. As we shall indicate below, we are at a point of major shift in national policies. At the same time, there is little or no reference in this policy to the special problems and needs of Ethiopian boys.

6.1 Public Policy in Israel

Over the years, the Government of Israel has defined the improved integration of Ethiopian-Israel adolescents as a key objective. Accordingly, each ministry carries out specific activities, some exclusively for Ethiopian-Israelis and some for Ethiopian-Israelis along with other adolescents. At the same time, there have been a number of broader national programs. We describe three main programs below.

a. The Five Year Plan – Implemented from 2008-2012

In February 2008, the Government of Israel passed a resolution to implement a five-year plan to provide multidisciplinary services in the areas of integration, social welfare, education, employment and housing. The program was primarily implemented at the national and neighborhood levels in selected neighborhoods. At the national level, the program worked with young adults (age 16-35) to

prepare them for life after military service and/or the labor market. At the neighborhood level, the program focused on neighborhoods with a large number of Ethiopian-Israeli residents. The program partners included the ministries of Aliyah and Immigration Absorption; Social Affairs and Services (MSAS); Education; Industry, Trade and Labor;³ and Housing and Construction.

The program had three guiding principles:

1. Providing services for populations that had received almost none prior to implementation of the program (ages 16-35).
2. Addressing the needs arising in the integration of Ethiopian-Israelis as a whole and defining preferred action plans and strategies to meet each of the needs.
3. Promoting inter-ministerial work to encourage discourse and cooperation among the ministries at implementation level.

Over the years, the government passed several resolutions that somewhat changed the program budget and it was decided to extend the program until 2013 (Habib and Hendin, 2014). At the end of the period set for the program and after publication of the State Comptroller's Report for 2012, which indicated problems in the implementation of the plan, it was decided not to extend the program in its present format.

b. The New National Plan to Integrate Ethiopian-Israelis into Israeli Society: A New Way – Initiated in 2014

As the five-year National Plan came to its conclusion, the question arose whether it should be extended in its current framework. In light of the considerable criticism of the plan and its implementation, the decision was made to review the goals and strategy. Thus, in February 2014, the government passed a resolution to draw up a plan to promote the integration of Ethiopian-Israelis into Israeli society. An inter-ministerial committee was established under the auspices of the Ministry of Aliyah and Immigrant Absorption. The committee issued its recommendations, and these were formally approved by the government on July 2015.

The recommendation provided for a major shift in strategy. The plan is based on seven principles. Each ministry in turn was charged with the responsibility of translating these principles into a concrete plan. We first describe the seven principles, and then elucidate on two of the ministerial plans with particular relevance for youth.

The seven principles are:

1. *"The best way to promote the integration of Ethiopian-Israelis"*: All the separate programs for Ethiopian-Israelis must be re-examined and restructured to include non-immigrant Jewish participants. Exclusive programs for Ethiopian-Israelis can be justified only if there is a substantial

³ Now renamed the Ministry of Economy

obstacle that cannot be addressed in an integrated framework (such as language, relatively new arrivals, etc.)

2. **"Diversity among Ethiopian-Israelis"**: The diversity within the Ethiopian-Israeli population should be reflected in all efforts to support them.
3. **"Strengthening the family unit"**: Out of respect for the Ethiopian culture and heritage, and to preserve human dignity and freedom, parents should be given appropriate tools to fulfill their responsibilities to their children.
4. **"Reducing gaps"**: Success will have been achieved when the measures for Ethiopian-Israelis are the same as for Israeli society as a whole. There needs to be an ongoing mapping of the needs of Ethiopian community, and how they develop over time.
5. **"Promoting excellence and leadership"**: The important potential of the Ethiopian community to contribute to Israeli society should be realized. Leaders within the community must be identified, promoted, and allowed to take their place in key positions in Israeli society.
6. **"Israeli society"**: Israeli society must combat open and hidden racism and discrimination. The public must be made more familiar with the culture and heritage of Ethiopian Jewry, alongside other cultures within our society. There should be a broad effort to provide the training required to promote cultural competency among all those who serve the Ethiopian community.
7. **"Ongoing partnership of the Ethiopian community in the plan"**: In light of these guidelines, seven consultative groups were set up to formulate policy and to set out how each ministry should work. The process was headed by the Prime Minister's Office, in cooperation with the ministries of Aliyah and Immigrant Absorption; Finance; Education; MSAS; Economy; Construction and Housing; Health; Public Security; Defense; and Culture and Sport. The guidelines and the work plans for the ministries were adopted by the government in mid-2015. Subsequently, a 2016 resolution provided for the establishment of an inter-ministerial team to eradicate racism and discrimination against Ethiopian-Israelis, headed by the Ministry of Justice.⁴

We elaborate on the plans of the Ministry of Education and MSAS.

Ministry of Education Work Plan:

1. Best possible integration: Conducting a survey of programs implemented at the Ministry and adapting them to the new policy guidelines with the goal of reducing the number of separate programs for Ethiopian-Israelis.
2. Strengthening the family unit: Increasing the participation of parents and their involvement in decisions relating to their children. Providing them with the tools to better fulfill these roles.

⁴ Prime Minister's Office website. Accessed June 15, 2016.

3. Narrowing gaps: Increasing the percentage of students eligible for regular matriculation certificates and those that meet university admission criteria, and improving scores in GEMS tests in 8th grade; increasing the utilization of culturally sensitive diagnostic tools in order to reduce the number of students referred to special education.
4. Excellence and strengths: Increasing the percentage of youth who participate in enrichment programs that can develop their strengths, as well as in programs that promote excellence, leadership and service to the community.
5. Increasing the number of Ethiopian-Israeli teachers employed in the education system.
6. Israeli society: Inclusion of study units on the culture and heritage of the Ethiopian-Israeli community in the national curriculum.

A key strategy to achieve these goals will be to focus resources on schools and on neighborhoods with high concentrations of Ethiopian-Israeli children and youth.

MSAS Work Plan:

1. Ongoing consultation and involvement of the Ethiopian-Israeli community in implementing the program. Regular publication of data on the extent and variety of services that are provided.
2. Best possible integration: Increasing the number of families who realize their entitlements; inclusion of families in programs to leave the cycle of poverty.
3. Narrowing gaps – the key emphasis will be:
 - ◆ Identifying families at high risk and referring them to participation in the Ministry's programs; increasing parental supervision and support of adolescents.
 - ◆ Reducing risk situations for youth, with a special emphasis on those at high risk; expanding rehabilitation services for juvenile offenders; placing adolescents in suitable educational and employment frameworks (decreasing the length of stay of adolescents in frameworks of the Youth Protection Authority); strengthening the family unit and its role in the rehabilitation process.
4. Strengthening Ethiopian-Israeli families in general and their role in all care planning activities
5. Promoting excellence and strengths: Increasing the number of Ethiopian-Israeli employees in the Ministry, in various roles and levels.
6. Israeli society: Develop measures for cultural competency of programs, and emphasizing their implementation in all programs.

c. The Ethiopian National Project (ENP) – 2004 through the Present

The goal of the ENP is to allow the Ethiopian-Israeli community to fulfill its potential and increase the likelihood of social mobility and future integration into the labor market.

ENP has three main components:

1. A scholastic assistance program for students in 7th-12th grades: The goal is to improve scholastic achievements and reduce the gap between the participants and other students, particularly in

matriculation exams. The assistance is given after school, in small groups, and focuses mainly on English, mathematics and Hebrew. In addition, ENP provides socio-emotional support, which includes enrichment activities and social activities that give the participants the chance for personal empowerment, exposure to higher education, improved learning skills and skills to cope with difficulties. In 2015/2016, 3,413 students participated in the program in 101 schools in 20 localities. At its peak, ENP provided support for some 7,000 Ethiopian youth annually.

2. Youth outreach centers for adolescents aged 13-18: In 2015/2016, fourteen centers served some 1,000 youth. Open from 4pm until 10pm, the centers provide both risk-prevention and empowerment activities.
3. Community empowerment programs and programs to strengthen the role of parents in their children's education and development: Though formal training and workshops have largely been phased out due to budget cuts in recent years, special activities for leaders and parents are included as part of ENP's interventions and active community involvement is encouraged through municipal steering committees.

There are a number of notable and unique aspects of this program:

1. It was established by and remains a broad partnership between the Jewish Federations of North America, the Government of Israel, representatives of Ethiopian Jewish Organizations, the Jewish Agency for Israel, JDC-Israel and Keren Hayesod-UIA. This is reflected in the structure of its board of directors.
2. It is financed on a matching basis by the government and the Jewish Federations of North America.
3. From the start, the director of the program has been an Ethiopian-Israeli. Members of that community play a major role in staffing the program at all levels.
4. ENP subcontracts with key professional organizations in Israel. The organizations are selected to implement various aspects of the program through a tender process in which ENP partners participate.

The ENP and the New Way

ENP has been included in the framework of the New Way initiative with a number of changes and new elements. Consistent with the principle of the New Way, the program will now include 20%-30% non-immigrant Jewish Israelis. In addition, the government has decided to increase its funding, so as to expand the number of schoolchildren that participate (with a goal of some 9,000 youth) and strengthen various components particularly for parents. Finally, its mandate was expanded to include children from 3rd grade. The full realization of the program is dependent on its ability to continue to raise and expand the matching funds.

Post-script

In July 2016, a National Committee to Combat Discrimination towards the Ethiopian-Israeli Community in Israel issued a report with a broad range of recommendations.

6.2 Key Informants' Perception of Current Policy

In this section, we relate to the perception of current policies by the key informants. In the next section, we will expand on their recommendations with respect to future policies. The key informants noted three main principles on which many of the services provided to Ethiopian-Israelis over the years have been based.

1. ***Provision of specific services for Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents:*** As noted, one of the principles of A New Way is to integrate Ethiopian Israelis into existing programs and new initiatives for the general population. Some of the informants expressed their concern that it is not yet sufficiently clear how Ethiopian-Israelis will be assisted in participating in integrated programs. They raised the concern that as a result, the adolescents will not receive adequate services. However, opinions were divided among the informants with regard to significantly reducing the separate programs for Ethiopian-Israelis. Some agreed with the idea that separate programs should be phased out, others felt that it was necessary to examine each program and area on its own merit and not make across-the-board decisions. There were also informants who emphasized the need to invest great efforts in order to ensure better education and housing in every way possible, whether integrated or separately.
2. ***Employment of Ethiopian-Israeli professionals:*** The informants emphasized the importance of integrating Ethiopian professionals in all frameworks. This presents the adolescents with a positive role model and facilitates cultural-linguistic mediation with the family.
3. ***Programs for Ethiopian-Israeli youth in their neighborhoods:*** Many Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents live in neighborhoods with a large concentration of members of the community. The informants felt that it is important to provide programs in the local community. As a result, many programs are provided for Ethiopian-Israelis separately, due to the situation on the ground and not due to an intentional professional approach.

Approach to gender in current policy regarding Ethiopian-Israeli youth: The key informants were asked if it was important to have different policies for Ethiopian-Israeli boys and girls. Opinions were divided. Some did not see the need for separate policies but thought there was a need to make an effort to integrate more boys into existing programs. Others believed that separate policy should be structured, particularly with regard to risk behaviors and schooling. According to the professionals, in most cases, there is no general strategy for caring for the special needs of the boys. However, an awareness of gender differences is sometimes reflected in the specific content offered for boys and girls.

In general, they expressed concern that the boys participate less in programs and cooperate less when they do participate. They emphasized that the same difference exists between the parents, as fathers participate much less in various programs.

7. Policies and Steps to Improve the Relative Status of Ethiopian-Israeli Youth and Address the Challenges

In this section, we present an integrative analysis of the policy proposals and programmatic directions that:

- ◆ Were raised by the key informants
- ◆ Emerge from the international literature
- ◆ Emerge from the analysis of existing studies and databases presented in this report

The programmatic directions that emerge are presented below, according to eight key areas.

a. Schooling and the Education System

We documented in section 5 the very significant achievement gaps between Ethiopian-Israeli boys and non-immigrant Jewish boys, and between Ethiopian-Israeli boys and girls. These scholastic difficulties are expressed in lower scores in national tests in elementary school, and much greater gaps in eligibility rates for matriculation certificates, particularly those that meet university admission criteria.

1. *Strengthening the formal education system by improving school and neighborhood infrastructures* where there is a high concentration of Ethiopian immigrants, as emphasized by the key informants and the literature on disadvantaged populations, immigrants and minority groups (Toldson, 2008; Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013).
2. *Enhancing the capacity of teachers to address the difficulties faced by boys (key informants and the literature):*
 - ◆ Enhancing teachers' awareness of the special difficulties faced by boys
 - ◆ Enhancing teachers' ability to identify these difficulties including learning difficulties, at an early stage and to respond appropriately to their scholastic and behavioral difficulties (Irving & Hudley, 2005).
 - ◆ Enhancing teachers' ability to develop a positive personal relationship with the boys as a basis for the teachers' ability to address the boys' specific problems, and become a real address for the boys (Ding & Hall, 2007; Toldson, 2008; Roderick, 2003; Toldson, 2008; Fantuzzo, LeBoeuf & Rouse, 2012). This is particularly important given that we found a particularly low percentage of Ethiopian-Israeli boys who felt there was "someone to turn to" in the school if they encountered problems or difficulties.
 - ◆ Numerous authors, particularly of studies of disadvantaged groups, have found that teachers expect less of boys than of girls. Therefore, numerous authors recommend focusing efforts on changing perceptions among teachers. (Hartley & Sutton, 2013; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016).

3. *Provision of supplementary scholastic assistance:*

- ◆ Providing scholastic assistance as early as possible (Roderick, 2003; Matthews, Kizzie & Rowley, 2010; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016); with an emphasis on strengthening the boys ahead of the transition from elementary school to middle school and high school; Early intervention makes it possible to provide inputs in the early stages before the gap widens and additional behavioral and emotional problems develop (Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013; Vaxberg, 2015; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016).

The literature also emphasizes the importance of supporting boys from disadvantaged groups in the transition into middle school, which is characterized by the decline in their academic achievements and widening of the gap (Akos, 2014).

The literature also emphasizes the greater tendency of girls to seek and utilize assistance. Our review of the existing studies and databases indicated that most of the Ethiopian-Israeli boys and girls are receiving scholastic assistance. However, the percentage of boys and girls receiving assistance is the same, despite the fact that the girls performing much better. Moreover, a majority of the girls are seeking additional assistance, but the percentage of the boys is much lower. There is a need to examine the quality and effectiveness of the assistance provided, and how to motivate the boys to better utilize this assistance.

The largest current source of educational assistance in the middle school and high school years is the Ethiopian National Project, which the government has proposed to expand. It is particularly important to review and enhance the work of this program with Ethiopian boys.

4. *Augmenting the options of studying in advanced study tracks:*

One of the striking findings of the review of the existing studies and databases relates to the very high percentage of Ethiopian-Israeli students in vocational-technological tracks. The percentage is much higher for boys than girls, although both are much higher than for non-immigrant Jews.

The various vocational-technological tracks differ significantly by the level of the curriculum. They include high-level technologically oriented tracks, and lower level vocational-technological tracks (with limited matriculation certificate possibilities). The Ethiopian-Israelis are much more concentrated in the lower level tracks. There is also tracking within academic tracks (for example math or English at various levels). Finally, in middle school, there is also tracking to classes of various levels in some schools.

The literature emphasizes the need to avoid unnecessary tracking, and to assist disadvantaged groups to integrate into higher tracks. Boys should be given enough time to acclimate before being placed in a particular study track (scholastic level or subject) that will limit the possibilities open to them in the future (Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013; OECD, 2015a).

Against this background, several directions emerged. One is the importance of addressing inappropriate tracking, which contributes to the educational gaps and seems to affect boys more than girls. This may have several causes, such as inappropriate assessment of potential or lack of student desire to assume the more demanding and risky challenges posed by higher-level tracks.

This in turn could be related to their underestimating their capacities and the lack of parental encouragement and ability to help.

It was proposed that special attention be given to raising awareness of these issues in the schools and for special efforts to be made to better identify and encourage those with potential to participate in high-level tracks. This could include providing extra help if they take on these challenges.

Finally, a major issue is how success is defined and what are the occupational preferences by gender. A second form of tracking is the placement in vocational-technological or academic tracks, and placement in higher level or lower level vocational-technological tracks. As noted, Ethiopian-Israeli boys are much more concentrated in low level vocational-technological tracks. It is important to be sure that they are appropriately choosing or are being steered to these tracks, and that they represent the best opportunities for their future. This also requires giving more emphasis on the assistance Ethiopian-Israeli boys receive in these tracks, so that they can gain the maximum benefits.

b. Perceptions of Ethiopian Youth, Racism and Identity

1. Multicultural Education as Part of the School Curriculum

The literature emphasizes the importance that school curricula enable both immigrants and majority groups to be exposed to the diverse cultures of the student body (Whiting, 2006; Kasinitz, 2008). This was strongly echoed by the key informants.

If the different groups in society gain a more in-depth knowledge of one another, particularly within the school setting, this should moderate and reduce negative perceptions, particularly given the relatively high rate of Ethiopian-Israelis who reported that they felt ridiculed because of the color of their skin, origin or religion, and that they had been victims of violent events.

2. Cultural Competence and Sensitivity of Professionals

A related emphasis in the literature and among the key informants was on the need to promote the cultural competence and sensitivity of the professional staff in schools and other frameworks and service systems.

This is critical to creating a relationship of respect and trust between professionals and the boys. In the words of one key informant:

"[I] recommend that every person who comes to provide a service should be culturally sensitive. That's to say, have knowledge of the culture, understanding what that culture means to me as a professional, and coping with it. Try to come 'with a clean slate' and be attentive to the boy. The professional has to do the groundwork. The boys are very sensitive. They quickly pick up who has come to work with them and to listen to them, and who has not, [...] The adolescents watch, listen."

The literature deals extensively with ways to promote cultural competence and its importance (Irving & Hudley, 2005; Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013, OECD, 2015a, Thomas & Stevenson, 2009).

3. *Strengthening Identity*

The literature and the key informants emphasize the importance of helping immigrant and minority youth to develop a complex identity that integrates both their own group as well as the majority culture. Studies have shown that immigrants who adopt the strategy of integrating their identities have a more positive self-image and sense of personal well-being, and have adapted to their new society in the best possible way (Neter, 2006; Barry, 2003).

Analysis of the available data reveals that most of the Ethiopian-Israeli adolescents (both boys and girls) feel that they are both Israeli and members of their group of origin to a great extent or very great extent. However, the key informants considered that the boys (more than the girls) have difficulty integrating the two identities and that efforts are needed to reinforce their sense of belonging to Israeli society, and to strengthen their connection to their Jewish-Ethiopian roots. They suggested expanding the opportunities for the boys to become familiar with the heroic efforts of their community to emigrate to Israel.

Parents play a key role in socializing their children in general and specifically in formulating their identity. Parental support is particularly important in building a complex identity, in which ethnic uniqueness of the group of origin holds a key position, together with acceptance of the dominant culture (Irving & Hudley, 2005).

c. Parents

The family in general, and particularly the parents, obviously have an important influence on the adolescent – his perceptions, values, behavior and achievements. The analysis of available data indicates that Ethiopian-Israeli parents provide less parental supervision and more limited support than do non-immigrant Jewish parents. This is particularly true for the boys. There are many obvious obstacles that make it more difficult for Ethiopian parents to fulfill these roles in their new society. Therefore, it is particularly important to work with parents to strengthen their ability to fulfil these roles, despite the obstacles. It is important to note that in the data analysis we did not find improvement in the support of parents among second-generation immigrants.

Many studies (e.g., Roderick, 2003; OECD, 2015a) emphasize the need to raise the parents' awareness of the importance of involvement in their children's lives, as well as the importance of strengthening their involvement in what goes on in school (Roderick, 2003; Toldson, 2008; Vaxberg, 2015; Kingdon, Serbin & Stack, 2016).

This is supported by various studies, which found that immigrant adolescent boys and members of minority groups who were raised in families that encouraged them to continue on to higher education and that had high scholastic expectations for them attained higher scholastic achievements than boys with similar characteristics who did not have such support (Koller et al., 2010; Toldson, 2008).

Thus, the literature also emphasizes the need to work with parents in order to change stereotypes and alter perceptions regarding what can be expected from their children (Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015; Child Trends, 2016) so that they will be a source of strength and reinforcement for their children (Koller et al., 2010; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009).

The key informants also emphasized the importance of working with the families:

"Too little is invested in the home and the parents. The concept of the 'desert generation' is alive in the field. The parents are less relevant. It's the children who are important. The preference is to strengthen the children, not the parents. If you think the parents are a lost generation, at least invest in them for the children, for the sake of the future generation."

"Currently we count the number of parents who come to the school. The system needs to examine [parental involvement] using different measures, such as the number of hours of free time that parents and children spend together and the communication between the parents and children [...] The system sees the need and does not know how to direct the parents and how to get them to come."

They recommended a number of directions to deepen the relationship and interaction between the Ethiopian-Israeli youth, particularly the boys and their parents.

The key informants also stressed the need to create a shared discourse among the boys, the parents and the services. Furthermore, they emphasized the need for cooperation, coordination and a continuum of care among the different services working with these boys and their families. Another informant proposed:

"We need to create a single point where all the information is channeled. Even without pooling resources. If the information is gathered round one table, through integration at the municipal level, it will solve lots of problems. Today everyone acts separately."

d. Socio-Emotional Difficulties

The literature suggests a number of emphases in working with disadvantaged boys in the various frameworks in which they come into contact.

1. Personal empowerment and strengthening the boys' sense of efficacy

This is emphasized by various authors with a particular focus on disadvantage and immigrant groups (Popkin, 2014; Wilson, 2011; Whiting, 2006). The recommended focuses include leadership development (Whiting, 2006; Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013); expending opportunities for positive after school activity and volunteering in the community for individual empowerment (Whiting, 2006 and Toldson, 2008); strengthening abilities such as problem solving and overcoming barriers (Irving & Hudley, 2005; Thomas & Stevenson, 2009; Roderick, 2003).

2. Relating to strengths

The key informants emphasized that the service systems and professionals tend to focus their attention on the multiple difficulties that Ethiopian-Israeli boys have to contend with. They recommended focusing more on working with the boys' strengths, *"to show them what they can do,"* and provide them with an opportunity to experience success. This would include extra-curricular activities and content that bring out the adolescents' strengths (Child Trends, 2016; Roderick, 2003). Analysis of the data revealed that most of the Ethiopian-Israeli boys do participate in after-school activities, mainly at youth centers (in higher percentages than the girls) and therefore it is important to increase the use of this platform to this end.

3. *Create a positive social reference group*

The key informants emphasized the consequences of the communal environments where Ethiopian families concentrate – typically disadvantaged neighborhoods with a lack of positive recreational activity, a paucity of public resources, and inadequate public transportation. They emphasize the particularly negative consequences for boys. All of this often means that boys spend hours of their free time on the street, where they are exposed to risk behaviors, negative social influences and frequent contact with the police. They emphasized by contrast the critical importance of creating positive social networks among boys that strengthen social capital and provide emotional support. One of the key informants noted:

"The boys' social environment is critically important and has a stronger influence on them, than it does on the girls. They hang out with whoever is around ... [It is necessary] to create a social framework that meets the need for recreation and free time activity and does not, in contrast, expose them to negative influences. Youth clubs, for example, are an important framework for positive friendships and influence."

The literature also emphasizes the different social networks of boys and girls. Moreover, it emphasizes that if adolescents have insufficient sources of social capital through family or their immediate surroundings, the social capital they achieve through friends becomes highly important. Girls tend to create a supportive social network for themselves, and to rely on friendships to advance scholastically. In contrast, boys turn more to friendships in gangs – social groups characterized by risk behavior, such as hanging about and consuming alcohol, which brings them into more encounters with the police (Thomas & Stevenson, 2009; Rigle-Crumb & Callahan 2009; Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015; Spritzer & Aronson, 2015).

e. Positive Role Models

The literature and key informants emphasize the effectiveness of exposing the boys to positive male role models within the Ethiopian-Israeli community, in both the formal and informal education systems.

One approach is the integration of teaching staff from minority groups, particularly male teachers, that can change preconceptions about education both among the teachers and the adolescents alike (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Thomas & Stevenson, 2009). A second approach is to have an adult mentor from the same ethnic group (Villavicencio, Bhattacharya & Guidry, 2013; Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015). These mentors, should have achieved scholastic success and play a positive role in society (Toldson, 2008; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Escandell, Mari-Klose & Mari-Klose, 2015; Spritzer & Aronson, 2015). The best role models are those who themselves have had to struggle to succeed from an early age (Spritzer & Aronson, 2015).

A positive role model can assist in structuring a positive self-identity and view of their future.

f. Increasing Activities to Prevent and/or Address Risk Behaviors

Analysis of the existing data shows that the Ethiopian-Israeli boys are more likely than the girls to be involved in a wide range of risk behaviors. We have already noted the high percentage of school dropouts and involvement in school violence. They have much higher rates of various forms of

substance abuse. The data also showed that these difficulties tend to increase among second generation Ethiopian-Israeli boys and that for these boys the extent of risk behavior is higher than for non-immigrant Jewish boys.

Moreover, they are much more likely to be involved in juvenile delinquency and this is reflected in their overrepresentation in all the services dealing with delinquent youth and in the higher rate of those who have police records. The issue of discriminatory police behavior towards Ethiopian youth has also become a public issue and various incidents have sparked demonstrations.

The findings point to the importance of enhancing efforts to prevent and treat those problems.

g. Provision of Enhanced Information and Preparation for the IDF

Most Ethiopian-Israeli boys are *planning* to enlist in the IDF, at rates that are even somewhat higher than among non-immigrant Jewish boys. While a high percentage also expressed a *wish* to do so, the percentage was lower than among non-immigrant Jewish boys. This is one reflection of the fact that Ethiopian boys and their families face many unique difficulties in assuring a successful transition and ultimate success in the army.

Thus, the key informants proposed a number of ways to better prepare the families and the boys for their military service and to ease the transition. This includes enhancing the channels of information about service in the IDF and enhancing their opportunities for participation in preparatory training programs. These recommendations are particularly important – given that a considerable proportion of parents did not serve and are unfamiliar and do not understand what they and their sons will be expected to cope with in the IDF – and can be of an assistance in steering the boys towards meaningful positions in the military.

These activities are important to better prepare the boys for their impending military service and to enable a greater number of boys with difficulties to serve in the army. They also can serve to strengthen the boys' current self-image and functioning in and out of school.

h. Diversity within the Ethiopian-Israeli Community

The key informants interviewed, particularly the Ethiopian-Israelis, emphasized the need to relate to the diversity within the community, rather than relate to the entire community as a single entity. Such a view will facilitate the appropriate tailoring of efforts to groups at different phases in their integration into Israeli society.

Closing Remarks

The recommendations in this report are for the most part consistent with the emphasis of the new national government policy to strengthen the integration of Ethiopian-Israelis into existing programs that address the needs of youth in general. At the same time, they also point to the factors and circumstances that require separate efforts for Ethiopian-Israeli youth and their families. Most importantly, the recommendations emphasize the importance of paying special attention to the unique needs of Ethiopian-Israeli boys, both first and second generation.

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Appendix 1 - Summary of Key Findings

| Indicators | Ethiopian-Israeli Youth: Boys vs. Girls | Gender Gap: for Ethiopian-Israeli Youth vs. Non-Immigrant Jewish Youth | Boys: Ethiopian-Israeli: First vs. Second Generation | Boys: Ethiopian-Israeli vs. Non-Immigrant Jewish |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| Single-parent families | equal | equal | equal | higher |
| Head of family employed | equal | equal | equal | lower |
| Mother – post- high school education | equal | equal | lower | lower |
| Complex identity | equal | equal | equal | —not relevant |
| Vocational-technological tracks at school | higher | higher | equal | higher |
| High-level Vocational-technological track at school | equal | equal | equal | lower |
| School dropout | higher | higher | equal | equal |
| GEMS scores 8 th grade | lower | higher | lower | lower |
| Eligible for regular matriculation certificate | lower | higher | higher | lower |
| Eligible for matriculation certificate meeting university admission criteria | lower | higher | lower | lower |
| Vocational-technological track students: eligibility for regular matriculation certificate | lower | higher | higher | lower |
| Receives scholastic assistance | equal | equal | higher | equal |
| Wants scholastic assistance | lower | higher | equal | higher |
| Sense of scholastic self-efficacy | lower | higher | equal | lower |
| Scholastic motivation | lower | higher | equal | lower |
| Overall school climate <i>Relationships with:</i> | lower | equal | equal | lower |
| teachers | equal | higher | higher | lower |
| pupils | equal | higher | equal | lower |
| Feel that there is "someone to turn to" at school | equal | equal | equal | lower |
| <i>Aspirations for:</i> | | | | |
| matriculation | lower | higher | equal | lower |
| higher education | lower | higher | equal | lower |
| Participation in afterschool activities | higher | higher | equal | equal |
| Supportive relationship with parents | equal | equal | equal | lower |

| Indicators | Ethiopian-Israeli Youth: Boys vs. Girls | Gender Gap: for Ethiopian-Israeli Youth vs. Non-Immigrant Jewish Youth | Boys: Ethiopian-Israeli: First vs. Second Generation | Boys: Ethiopian- Israeli vs. Non-Immigrant Jewish |
|---|--|---|---|--|
| Parental supervision | equal | lower | equal | lower |
| Reports of ridicule due to skin color, origin or religion | higher | equal | equal | higher |
| Victims of violence | higher | equal | equal | higher |
| Participation in violence | equal | lower | equal | equal |
| Drinking alcohol | higher | equal | lower | equal |
| Smoking | higher | higher | lower | equal |
| Intention to serve in the army | equal | equal | equal | equal |
| Desire to serve in the army | equal | equal | equal | lower |