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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Addiction and Other Reasons Adolescent Smokers Give to Justify Smoking

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Background: The primary purpose of this paper is to examine youth addiction and other justifications for adolescent smoking, and how they affect the level of consumption. **Methods:** Data from the Spanish ‘State Survey on Drug Use among High School Students’ aged between 14 and 18 years old were used in this paper. To account for the nature of the cigarette consumption data, several count data models were estimated in order to select the one that best fits adolescent smoking consumption. **Results:** Most adolescent smokers smoke because it relaxes them, and about a quarter of them recognize that they are addicted. Moreover, the latter group smoke 44% more cigarettes than the rest (IRR = 1.444), revealing the strong addictive nature of tobacco, even at early ages. Moreover, parents’ smoking increases the probability of smoking and has an impact on the level of consumption. **Conclusions:** The implications of these findings offer insight for parents, researchers, educators, and cessation interventionists, as awareness of self-reported and other predictors held by smoking youth creates a vantage point to facilitate changes in smoking behavior.

Keywords: addiction, smoking predictors, smoking reasons, adolescents

INTRODUCTION

Since the appearance, in 1964, of the first official report documenting the harmful effects of tobacco consumption on smokers in the United States, namely *The Surgeon General’s Report on Smoking and Health*, many countries have implemented policies aimed at reducing tobacco consumption: tax increases, or entirely new taxes, in order to increase tobacco prices, limitations on advertising, warning labels, limitations on the places where smoking is allowed, etc. At the same time, there has been a great amount of research to identify the determinants of cigarette smoking. However, despite these efforts, the

World Health Organization’s *Report on the Global Tobacco Epidemic* (2013) considers tobacco as the leading global cause of preventable death. This shows that smoking continues to be a health problem of the first magnitude.

Given that most smokers begin smoking in adolescence or earlier (Smith, Phongsavan, Bauman, Havea, & Chey, 2007), and become regular smokers at the same stage of life (Vandewater, Park, Carey, & Wilkinson, 2014), it is important to understand the reasons that drive adolescents to start smoking and become regular smokers, which is why the bulk of the literature examining smoking predictors focuses on young children, pre-teens, and adolescents (Ali & Dwyer, 2009; Duarte, Escario, & Molina, 2014a; Kelly et al., 2011; McVicar, 2011; Piko & Balázs, 2012; Wileyto et al., 2009). Despite the complexity that rules the smoking decision, it is increasingly accepted that the predictors of smoking analyzed in the literature include, among others, socio-demographic characteristics, familial and social influences, psychosocial characteristics, genetic factors, cigarette prices, tobacco advertising campaigns, and addiction (Höhne, Pabst, Hannemann, & Kraus, 2014; O’Loughlin, Karp, Koulis, Paradis, & Difranza, 2009). Although literature has extensively analyzed the effects of these and other predictors on smoking, few papers have analyzed the reasons smokers provide to justify their behavior. Two notable exceptions are Precht, Keiding, Nielsen, & Madsen (2006) who analyze the reasons for initiating and maintaining smoking among secondary school adolescents with asthma, and Ramon Torrell, et al. (2009), on the reasons smokers give for kicking the habit.

Our paper aims to contribute to this scarce literature by analyzing the reasons adolescents give for taking up smoking, with a special emphasis on the role of addiction. We also investigate how these justifications influence the amount and frequency of smoking. We extend similar prior studies on smoking predictors by considering the effect of these predictors, not only on the probability of

becoming a smoker, or not, but also the effect on the number of cigarettes smoked.

METHODS

Sample

The data used in this work comes from the 2004 State Survey on Drug Use among High School Students, carried out by the Spanish Government Delegation for the National Plan on Drugs. (Subsequent surveys do not include information on the reasons why daily smokers currently smoke.) Participants constitute a nationally representative sample of Spanish students aged between 14 and 18 years. A total of 25,521 students were surveyed.

The Spanish Government Delegation for the National Plan on Drugs (GDNPD) works in accordance with the guidelines established by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA). The approval of the survey and its content, considering the ethical aspects, was given by GDNPD and by the Research Ethical Committee of the Spanish Ministry of Health and Consumer Affairs. The Law of protection of personal data (Boletín Oficial del Estado, 1999) and the recommendations of ethical principles for medical research (World Medical Association, 2000) are followed.

All the information was obtained directly from the adolescents, anonymously. Parents were informed, in writing, about the purpose of the survey and could, if they wished, refuse to allow their children's participation. The percentage of students who declined to participate in the survey was 1.12%.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in the study is *CigaretteSmoking*, indicating the mean consumption of cigarettes per day over the last 30 days. We also present the prevalence of smoking among adolescents, and to that end we obtain the variable *Smoking*, dichotomizing the previous variable and taking value 1 if the individual has smoked cigarettes during the last 30 days, and 0 otherwise. Those adolescents who responded to the question 'Do you smoke cigarettes?' reporting 'I have smoked but only a few cigarettes in my life' are considered by the survey to be nonsmokers, and have not been asked about their smoking behavior for the last 30 days.

COVARIATES

The primary variables of interest in this work are the reasons that smokers report to justify their current status of smokers, and how these reasons influence the level of smoking. Consequently, we define a dichotomous variable for each of the reasons that appear in the survey: because I like it (*LikeIt*), because it relaxes me (*Relax*), because I do not know but I cannot stop smoking (*Addiction*), because it makes me feel better (*FeelBetter*), because

friends smoke (*Peer*), and because it is fashionable (*Fashion*).

In order to evaluate the effects of these justifications on the number of cigarettes smoked, we have also controlled for physical characteristics of the adolescents (gender and age), family characteristics (housewife mother, living without father, unemployed father, smoker mother, smoker father, smoker sibling, university degree of parents), as well as for the implementation of informative campaigns about drugs at school (Duarte, Escario, & Molina, 2014a; Lundborg, 2006). Table 1 provides the definition and a descriptive analysis of all variables.

Statistical Analysis

Given the nature of the dependent variable, we used a range of count data models in order to evaluate the association between the number of cigarettes smoked and the independent variables. A good review of these models can be found in Winkelmann (2008). More specifically, we have considered Poisson (P), Negative Binomial (NB), Zero Inflated Poisson (ZIP), and Zero Inflated Negative Binomial (ZINB) models. Unlike P and NB models, the ZIP and ZINB models have two equations, the nonsmoking or nonparticipation equation, in which individuals decide to be a smoker, or not, and the consumption equation where, conditional on not being a nonsmoker, individuals decide the quantity to smoke. In order to evaluate the association between the independent variables and *CigaretteSmoking*, and to interpret the coefficients, we report the Odds Ratios (OR) and the Incidence Rate Ratios (IRR). The IRR provide the relative change in the level of cigarette consumption when the independent variable increases by one unit. Similar to the OR, an IRR higher than one implies that the explanatory variable has a positive impact on cigarette smoking. The statistical analysis was carried out with Stata 8 software.

RESULTS

Table 2 shows what reasons adolescent smokers provided for their current smoking (more than one reason can be given). This information is also provided by gender and by age. Accordingly, most individuals justify their current status as smokers because they enjoy it (58.6%). The second most important reason is that tobacco relaxes them (53.69%). The third reason is addiction; 25.02% of adolescents declare that they do not know why they smoke but they cannot give up the habit. The other three reasons provided by the survey are reported by a fewer percentage of smokers compared to the previous reasons: to feel better (4.24%), because peers smoke (3.10%), and because it is fashionable (1.47%).

The reasons given by adolescents barely differ across gender and age. Perhaps the most important gender differences are that the addiction explanation is more important for females (27.25%) than for males (22.6%), that a higher percentage of girls declare that smoking relaxes

TABLE 1. Descriptive Analysis

		Percentage or mean (SD)
Smoking	This takes value 1 if the adolescent has smoked more than one cigarette per day in the last month and 0 otherwise	32.65
Smoking Girls ^a	This takes value 1 if the adolescent girl has smoked more than one cigarette per day in the last month and 0 otherwise	36.01
Smoking Boys ^a	This takes value 1 if the adolescent boy has smoked more than one cigarette per day in the last month and 0 otherwise	29.18
Cigarette Smoking	Number of cigarettes smoked per day in the last month	7.50 (5.69)
Cigarette Smoking Girls ^b	Number of cigarettes smoked per day in the last month	7.31 (5.40)
Cigarette Smoking Boys ^b	Number of cigarettes smoked per day in the last month	7.76 (6.04)
Likelt	It takes value 1 if the adolescent declare that on of the principal reason why he/she smokes is because he/she like it	58.62
Relax	It takes value 1 if the adolescent declare that on of the principal reason why he/she smokes is because it relaxes him/her	53.69
Addiction	It takes value 1 if the adolescent declare that on of the principal reason why he/she smokes is because he/she can stop it	25.02
Fel Better	It takes value 1 if the adolescent declare that on of the principal reason why he/she smokes is because he/she feels better	4.24
Peer	It takes value 1 if the adolescent declare that on of the principal reason why he/she smokes is because their friends do it.	3.10
Fashion	It takes value 1 if the adolescent declare that on of the principal reason why he/she smokes if because it is fashionable	1.47
Gender	This takes the value 1 if the young person is male and 0 if female	49.25
Age14	This takes value 1 if the adolescent is 14 years old and 0 otherwise (<i>omitted category</i>)	20.63
Age15	This takes value 1 if the adolescent is 15 years old and 0 otherwise	27.64
Age16	This takes value 1 if the adolescent is 16 years old and 0 otherwise	34.87
Age17	This takes value 1 if the adolescent is 17 years old and 0 otherwise	16.86
Age18	This takes value 1 if the adolescent is 14 years old and 0 otherwise	6.44
Housewife	This takes value 1 if the mother is a housewife and 0 otherwise	32.45
Without Father	This takes value 1 if the adolescent lives without the father at home and 0 otherwise	12.16
Unemployed Father	This takes value 1 if the father of the adolescent is unemployed and 0 otherwise	1.54
Smoker Mother	This takes value 1 if the mother of the adolescent smokes and 0 otherwise	31.77
Smoker Father	This takes value 1 if the father of the adolescent smokes and 0 otherwise	31.92
Smoker Sibling	This takes value 1 if other sibling of the adolescent smokes and 0 otherwise	15.19
University Mother	This takes value 1 if the mother has a university degree and 0 otherwise	20.41
University Father	This takes value 1 if the father has a university degree and 0 otherwise	22.96
Information Campaign	This takes value 1 if the adolescent studies at a school which has implemented information campaigns on the risks associated with tobacco, alcohol and drug consumption and 0 otherwise	75.38

Note. All figures indicate percentages except for cigarette smoking variables that indicate means (and standard deviation in parenthesis). ^{a,b} A two-sample *t*-test with unequal variances rejects the null hypothesis of equal mean among genders for both variables: $p < .0001$ for the variable *Smoking* and $p = .0013$ for the variable *Cigarette Smoking*.

them (55.10% vs. 51.82%), and that the peer justification for smoking is important for nearly twice as many boys as girls (4.15% versus 2.32%). With reference to age, the most noticeable result is that the percentage of individuals who say they smoke because friends smoke declines constantly from 7.14% for adolescents aged 14, to 1.58% for those aged 18. A similar pattern is found for the fashionable reason, declining from 3.57% to 1.05%.

Several tests, including LR tests and Vuong tests, reported in Table 3, select the ZIP model as our preferred model. Given that only smokers report the reasons why they currently smoke, there is no point in including them

in the equation that explains the decision to be a non-smoker (the nonparticipation equation), and so these variables only appear in the consumption equation. Including these variables in the consumption equation causes estimation problems when estimating the ZINB model. Thus, all explanatory variables appear as not significant in the nonparticipation equation, it is rejected against the NB model, and the coefficients for the consumption equation are very similar to the NB model. On the contrary, the ZIP models do not yield these estimation problems and provide plausible results also for the nonparticipation equation.

TABLE 2. Reasons why adolescents are smokers (Descriptive analysis)

	All	Girls	Boys	14 years old	15 years old	16 years old	17 years old	18 years old
Likelt	58.62	58.51	58.76	58.48	57.23	59.54	57.67	60.66
Relax	53.69	55.10	51.82	51.34	51.73	53.48	55.59	55.53
Addiction	25.02	27.25	22.06	26.12	25.19	25.46	24.55	23.68
FelBetter	4.24	4.11	4.41	9.15	4.60	4.08	3.24	3.42
Peer	3.10	2.32	4.15	7.14	4.03	3.21	1.74	1.58
Fashion	1.47	1.12	1.92	3.57	1.92	1.35	0.87	1.05

Note. All figures indicate percentages

The estimates reported in Table 4 for the ZIP model shows that the probability of being a nonsmoker is greater for boys than for girls ($OR = 1.513$) and that this probability decreases as adolescents grow older. Similarly, the probability of being a nonsmoker is lower for those whose parents are smokers ($OR = 0.738$ for having a smoker mother and $OR = 0.837$ for having a smoker father). Similarly, having a smoker sibling is associated with a lower probability of being a nonsmoker ($OR = 0.407$). On the contrary, informative campaigns at school increase the odds of adolescents remaining nonsmokers, by 31.1 percentage points ($OR = 1.311$).

With respect to the consumption equation, the IRR gives the relative change in the dependent variable for every unit increase in the explanatory variables. According to this, boys smoke around 7.5% ($IRR = 1.075$) more cigarettes than girls. The level of consumption increases quite rapidly with age; compared with adolescents aged 14, the consumption of cigarettes increases by 20.9%, 31.8%, 45.6%, and 69.5% for those aged 15, 16, 17, and 18, respectively. The number of cigarettes smoked is also higher for those who have a smoker mother ($IRR = 1.097$) and for those who have a smoker father ($IRR = 1.087$). On the contrary, school campaigns reduce the number of cigarettes consumed by 2 percentage points ($IRR = 0.9807$), indicating that they have a moderate quantitative effect in the consumption equation.

Focusing now on how the reasons why adolescents currently smoke affect the number of cigarettes smoked, we find that the most important appears to be addiction. Thus, those adolescents who declare that they do not know why they smoke, but they cannot give it up, smoke 44.4% more cigarettes than the rest. The following reasons, in order of importance, are because they like it ($IRR = 1.280$), because it relaxes them (1.150), and because it makes

them feel better ($IRR = 1.142$). By contrast, those who declare that they smoke because it is fashionable smoke 10.3% fewer cigarettes ($IRR = 0.897$). Similarly, those who smoke because other friends smoke too, consume fewer cigarettes by around 7.2 percentage points ($IRR = 0.928$). All results are very similar when the model is estimated separately for boys and girls.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our study reveals that smoking among Spanish adolescents is a quite common behaviour. More specifically, 32.65% of students aged from 14 to 18 reported having smoked in the last month. This percentage is higher among girls (36.01%) than among boys (29.18%). The average number of cigarettes smoked per day in the last month, conditional on being a smoker, is 7.50 cigarettes. This figure is lower among girls (7.31 cigarettes) than among boys (7.76 cigarettes). These gender differences are significant in both cases ($p < .0001$, $p = .0013$, respectively).

While a fair amount of the literature focuses on smoking determinants, an examination of the role of the subjective reasons reported by adolescents smokers is scarce (Precht et al., 2006; Ramon Torrell et al., 2009). Our work examines these subjective explanations. This topic is of great relevance in explaining smoking behavior, since beliefs, rather than reality, are what drive behavior (Foster & Frijters, 2010). Consequently, it is important to know what reasons adolescents provide to explain their smoking.

The most important reasons given by these individuals are because they like to smoke (58.62%), and because smoking allows them to relax (53.69%), entailing increases in the number of cigarettes smoked by 28% and 15%, respectively. With reference to the first reason, it appears that, as has been pointed out, the tobacco industry could have had some measure of success in presenting smoking as being 'tough' and 'cool' (Comité Nacional para la Prevención del Tabaquismo, 1998). Precht et al. (2006) reported that around 71% of pupils in Denmark declared that they smoke because it is relaxing. Even though the prevalence of this factor is lower in Spain, the figure is still a matter of some concern, implying as it does that a majority of adolescents seek tobacco as an instrument to control the nerves. But this strategy will trap a significant portion of them in the smoking habit.

TABLE 3. Model selection tests

	Statistic	<i>p</i> -value
NB vs. P (LR test)	4.0e+04***	<.0001
ZIP vs P (Vuong test)	26.86***	<.0001
ZINB vs NB (Vuong test)	0.00	.5017
ZINB vs. ZIP (LR test)	1.7e+04***	<.0001

Note. *** significant at 1%.

TABLE 4. Reasons why adolescents currently smoke (Regressions)

Variable	All		Girls		Boys	
	IRR	<i>p</i> -value	IRR	<i>p</i> -value	IRR	<i>p</i> -value
Consumption						
LikeIt	1.280***	.000	1.341***	.000	1.212***	.000
Relax	1.150***	.000	1.169***	.000	1.125***	.000
Addiction	1.444***	.000	1.440***	.000	1.458***	.000
Feel Better	1.142***	.000	1.103***	.001	1.203***	.000
Peer	0.928***	.010	0.939	.155	0.917**	.025
Fashion	0.897**	.011	0.973	.679	0.844***	.003
Gender	1.075***	.000				
Age15	1.209***	.000	1.167***	.000	1.280***	.000
Age16	1.318***	.000	1.299***	.000	1.350***	.000
Age17	1.456***	.000	1.428***	.000	1.510***	.000
Age18	1.695***	.000	1.608***	.000	1.806***	.000
Housewife	1.001	.936	0.968**	.017	1.041***	.006
Without Father	1.200***	.000	1.195***	.000	1.205***	.000
Unemployed Father	1.037	.310	0.981	.674	1.137**	.029
Smoker Mother	1.097***	.000	1.097***	.000	1.098***	.000
Smoker Father	1.087***	.000	1.085***	.000	1.088***	.000
Smoker Sibling	1.088***	.000	1.104***	.000	1.069***	.000
University Mother	0.955***	.001	0.940***	.001	0.978	.285
University Father	0.994	.646	0.985	.415	1.000	.987
Information	0.981**	.049	0.977*	.082	0.988	.408
Campaign						
Intercept	3.501***	.000	3.506***	.000	3.700***	.000
	OR	<i>p</i> -value	OR	<i>p</i> -value	OR	<i>p</i> -value
Non-participation						
Gender	1.513***	.000				
Age15	0.510***	.000	0.535***	.000	0.474***	.000
Age16	0.369***	.000	0.397***	.000	0.329***	.000
Age17	0.212***	.000	0.229***	.000	0.191***	.000
Age18	0.161***	.000	0.172***	.000	0.146***	.000
Housewife	1.257***	.000	1.244***	.000	1.265***	.000
Without Father	0.753***	.000	0.698***	.000	0.832**	.018
Unemployed Father	1.343**	.019	1.259	.157	1.496**	.046
Smoker Mother	0.738***	.000	0.696***	.000	0.792***	.000
Smoker Father	0.837***	.000	0.838***	.000	0.837***	.000
Smoker Sibling	0.407***	.000	0.412***	.000	0.397***	.000
University Mother	1.113**	.019	1.188***	.006	1.031	.646
University Father	1.040	.367	1.038	.525	1.046	.481
Information	1.311***	.000	1.238***	.000	1.391***	.000
Campaign						
Intercept	5.441***	.000	5.438***	.000	8.495***	.000

Note. IRR: Incidence Rate Ratio; OR = Odds Ratio.

This paper also highlights the extent to which tobacco consumption is addictive. Thus, 25% of adolescents who currently smoke declare that they cannot give it up, and, according to the estimates, this group smokes 44% more cigarettes than the rest. This is in line with certain prior investigations that have pointed out the addictive nature of nicotine, stressing that the effect of this addictive force is more severe the earlier an adolescent takes up smoking (US Department of Health and Human Services, 1994). This is also borne out by studies recognizing that the nicotine content of tobacco makes smoking addictive—reinforced by the fact that people draw psychological comfort and reassurance from continuing to

smoke (Prochaska, DiClemente, & Norcross, 1992; Suranovic, Goldfarb, & Leonard, 1999; Warner, 1986). Thus, although there could be some psychological dependence in addition to physical dependence, it is plausible to assume that limiting tar and nicotine content, and other substances that can cause physical dependence would reduce the number of smokers and the number of cigarettes consumed.

The remaining justifications for being a current smoker are social, but they are minority reasons. Thus, only a small number of adolescents report that they smoke because their peers do it, or because it is fashionable. This appears contrary to prior studies that have identified peer

smoking as an important predictor of smoking (Ali & Dwyer, 2009; Duarte, Escario, & Molina, 2014a; Duarte, Escario, & Molina, 2014b; Lundborg, 2006). One possible explanation for this result is that adolescents under-report peer and other social influences because they do not want to recognize that their behavior follows that of others, thus undermining their sense of independence. But, at the same time, the low number of adolescents who report the peer effect could be consistent with some studies that claim the difficulty of estimating peer effects with cross-sectional data (Manski, 1993; Scheinkman, 2008), or with other papers that review the empirical evidence and find mixed evidence (McVicar, 2011), or that peer effects are not significant under different statistical procedures (Duarte, Escario, & Molina, 2014a; McVicar, 2011). In addition to the finding that these social reasons are applicable to a reduced proportion of adolescents, these individuals appear to smoke fewer cigarettes than their peers.

With respect to the rest of the family variables, it can be seen that having a housewife mother and an unemployed father increase the probability of being a nonsmoker, although these characteristics do not exert a significant influence on the level of consumption. While the father studies level has a negligible effect on the probability of being a non-smoker, and on the consumption level, having a mother with a university education increases the probability of being a nonsmoker and reduces the level of consumption.

Most notably, estimates suggest that smoking among family members is an important determinant of smoking. In this sense, the probability of being a nonsmoker is lower for those whose parents are smokers. Moreover, having two smoking parents implies a greater risk of becoming a smoker than having only one smoking parent. There is strong evidence of this result in the literature, where it is known as the intergenerational transmission of smoking (Ashley et al., 2008; Becoña et al., 2012; Melchior, Chastang, Mackinnon, Galéra, & Fombonne, 2010; Vandewater et al., 2014). However, unlike prior research, that only analyses the effect of parents smoking on the probability of children smoking, our work also estimates the effects of having smoker parents on the level of cigarette consumption. These estimates suggest that each smoker parent increases the consumption level by around 9% (9.7% for the mother and 8.7% for the father). Consequently, our work is in line with the existing literature that claims that visibility of smoking among adult role models is an important predictor of adolescent smoking (O'Loughlin et al., 2009), but we go further, finding that this visibility of smoking among parents increases the level of consumption.

All in all, this paper offers insights and implications for parents, researchers, educators, and cessation interventionists, as awareness of self-reported and other predictors held by smoking youth creates a vantage point to facilitate smoking behavior change. In light of these results, it would appear that parents giving up smoking before their children reach adolescence could reduce the probability

that their children become smokers, and could also have a positive effect reducing the level of consumption. At the same time, informative campaigns at school at least reduce the number of smokers, although their effect on the number of cigarettes consumed is minor. Moreover, policy interventions in attempts to reduce the attractiveness of smoking, and to control the addictive components of tobacco, especially nicotine, will reduce the number of cigarettes smoked and will facilitate some adolescents kicking the habit.

DECLARATION OF INTEREST

The authors report no conflicts of interest. The authors alone are responsible for the content and writing of the article.

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